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**GRIGOR AKNERTS'I. FACTS OF HIS NOT
BEING ALBANIAN. ON THE OCCASION OF STATEMENTS
BY FARIDA MAMEDOVA**

Key words: *History of the Nation of Archers*, historian, falsification, Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, king Het'um, Armenian era, Vanakan Vardapet, Kirakos Gandzakets'i, Grigor Aknerts'i's colophon.

Azerbaijani historian Farida Mamedova states that a number of medieval Armenian historians are Albanians, and one of them is Grigor Aknerts'i. She writes: "Among Albanian historians are the following: Vardan Arewelts'i (the Albanian), Grigor Patmich, who is Maghak'ia, born in Albania and raised in Utik', also called Grigor Aknerts'i, from the Akner monastery in Cilicia. Grigor Patmich is the author of the *History of the Nation of Archers*. Ukhtanes in his 65th chapter mentions 'Albanian historians'. Other Albanian authors are Step'anos Ōrbelean¹, Smbat Sparapet and the historian Het'um (Het'um Patmich), Esayi Hasan-Jalalean, and Makar Barkhudareants'. All the mentioned authors were born in Albania and its districts: Gyanja, Utik', Siwnik', and Arts'akh."²

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¹ She calls him Orbeli.

² **F. Mamedova**, *Кавказская Албания и албаны* [Caucasian Albania and Albanians], Baku, 2005, cc. 98-99.

Mamedova not only ignores the facts that starting with 1784 Grigor Aknerts'i and his historical work have been studied by Armenologists,³ but also the Armenian epithets of the authors she listed: "Arewelts'i" which means "Eastern" (not "Albanian") "Patmich" – "historian," and that they all wrote in Armenian. Mentioning the 18th and 19th century historians catholicos Esayi Hasan-Jalalean and Makar Barkhudareants' as Albanians is moreover strange, since it is impossible to speak of Albanians after the 13th century⁴. Elsewhere Mamedova adds: "The fact that Albanians settled in Cilicia is witnessed by Samuel of Ani, Smbat Sparapet (another Armenian title – V.E, L.H.), the historian Het'um and Grigor (Maghak'ia) Patmich who was a native of Albania, having been raised in Utik' and having written his work in the Akner monastery in Cilicia."⁵

There is no consent in Armenology concerning the authorship of the *History of the Nation of Archers*. Starting with Chamcheants, many scholars regarded monk (աբեղայ) Maghak'ia as its author,⁶ Karapet Melik-Ohanjanyan ascribed it to Grigor Akants'i,⁷ while others to Grigor Aknerts'i.⁸

³ **M. Chamcheants**, *Պատմություն Հայոց* [History of Armenia], vol. 1, Venice, 1784, p. 16, vol. 3, Venice, 1786, p. 187.

⁴ Moreover, "As historically the Albanian Church was absorbed into the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church from about the 11th century and on, there is no separate or "autocephalous" Albanian Apostolic Church, with its own liturgy, rites, doctrines, hierarchy, clergy, etc.," see **H. Tchilingirian**, "Reverse Engineering: A State-Created 'Albanian Apostolic Church'," *Caucasian Albania, an International Handbook*, ed. by **Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut**, Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter, 2023, p. 593.

⁵ **F. Mamedova**, op.cit., p. 414.

⁶ **S. Somalean**, *Quadro della storia letteraria di Armenia*, Venice, 1829, pp. 112-113; **E. Durean**, *Պատմություն հայ մատենագրության վաղ ժամանակաց միջևն մեր օրերն* [History of Armenian Literature from Early Time till Nowadays], Constantinople, 1885, p. 70; **G. Zarbhanalean**, *Պատմություն հայերէն դպրության* [History of Armenian Literature], vol. 2, Venice, 1905, pp. 112-115; *History of the Mongols by Monk Maghak'ia, 13th c.* [История монголов инока Магакки, XIII в.], translation and commentary by **K.P. Patkanov**, SPb, 1871; **Gh. Alishan**, *Հայաստանում* [Armenian History], Venice, 1901, pp. 109-110, 454-455; **M. Abeghyan**, *Երկեր* [Works], vols. IV, 1970, pp. 246-247; **M. Ormanean**, *Ազգայնություն* [National History], vol. 2, Holy Ethcmiadzin, 2001, 1949, p. 1954.

⁷ **Kirakos Gandzakets'i**, *Պատմություն Հայոց* [History of Armenia], ed. by **K. Melik-Ohanjanyan**, Yerevan, 1961, p. ԻԱ [21].

⁸ **T. Sawalaneants**, «Մաղաքիա աբեղա չէ հեղինակ «Պատմություն թաթարաց» գրքին» [“The Author of the book *History of the Mongols* is not Monk Maghak'ia”], *Ծաղիկ* [Tsaghik], Constantinople, 1891, № 10, pp. 112-113; **H. Zhamkochyan**, «Պատմություն վասն ազգին նախնուց երկի հեղինակը» [“The Author of the Book *History of the Nation of Archers*”], *ԵՊՀ Գիտական աշխատություններ* [Scholarly Works of Yerevan State University], vol. XXIII, 1946,

The work in question, extant in mss M1485, M3076, J32, J960 and V781, was published several times,⁹ once erroneously attributed to Vardan Arewelts'i,¹⁰ although this edition has a colophon which reads (p. 71): "In the year 720 of the Armenian era (1271) this great history was written by the order of Step'anos, the holy and glorious abbot of the Akner monastery, and by the consent of the doorkeeper of the holy monastery Vardan and the whole brotherhood of priests and monks, by the hand of the pitiable Grigor, servant of the word."¹¹ The introduction of that book contains the following (p. 7): "Written by the historian Vardan, a disciple of Vanakan Vardapet in the 13th century, in 1247, and copied in 1272; the copy we possess is handwritten by priest Grigor from the Akner monastery in Cilicia."

pp. 367-397; **N. Akinian**, «Գրիգոր քահանա Ակներցի» [“Priest Grigor Aknerts'i”], *Handes Amsorya*, 1948, № 7-8; **N. Pogharian**, *Հայ գրողներ, Ե-ԺԷ դար* [Armenian Writers], Jerusalem, 1971, p. 290; **F. Alpi**, “La Storia degli arcieri di Grigor di Akner: i modi della narrazione,” *Bazmavep*, 2010, 3-4, pp. 673-683; **B. Dashdondog**, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*, Brill, 2011, p. 15-17; **Grigor Aknerts'i**, *Պատմություն նեսաձիգների ազգի մասին* [History of the Nation of Archers], Eastern Armenian translation, introduction and commentary by **Gurgen Khachatryan** and **Vano Eghiazaryan**, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 5-17; **A. Shahnazaryan**, «Հայոց Արևելից կողմերի գիտության և մշակույթի գործիչների ազգային պատկանելության աղբրեջանական նենգափոխման շուրջ» [“On the Azerbaijanian Falsification of the National Identity of Scholars and Artists from the Eastern Regions of Armenia”], *Հայոց պատմության հարցեր* [Problems of the History of Armenia], vol. 16, Yerevan, 2015, pp. 118-140; **T. Minasyan**, *Ուտիքի գրչության կենտրոնները* [Scriptoria of Utik], Yerevan, 2020, p. 100.

⁹ **Մաղաքիայ արեղայի պատմություն փսն ազգին նևորդաց** [History of the Nation of the Archers by **Monk Maghak'ia**], ed. by Kerovbe Patkanean, St. Petersburg, 1870, 64 p.; **Grigor Aknerts'i**, *Պատմություն Թաթարաց* [History of the Tartars], ed. by **S. Pogharian**, Jerusalem, 1974, 80 p. (according to the editor, “although this is a short work, it has considerable historical, literary and linguistic value” (p. 15). The Eastern Armenian translation is made from this edition (see the previous note).

¹⁰ *Պատմություն թաթարաց Վարդանայ պատմի* [History of the Tatars by Vardan the Historian], ed. by **Tigran Sawalaneants**, Jerusalem, 1870, 76 p.; **M. Abeghyan**, op. cit., p. 246-247.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71: Յամի եւթն հարիւրերորդի քսաներորդի թուականութեանս Հայոց (1271). գրեցաւ այս աշխարհապատում տառս այս հրամանաւ սուրբ եւ փառաւորեալ հօր Ստեփաննոսի Ականց անապատիս, այլ եւ կամակցութեամբ փակակալի սուրբ անապատիս Վարդանայ եւ ամենայն եղբայրութեանս քահանայից եւ կրօնաւորաց, ձեռամբ տառապեալ Գրիգորոյ սպասաւորի բանին.

The book was translated into French,¹² Russian,¹³ English,¹⁴ Georgian,¹⁵ Persian,¹⁶ Turkish¹⁷ and Mongolian¹⁸.

Scholars have made some comments about the historical work in question. Garegin Zarbhanalean mentioned that it is about the Mongol invasion of Armenia,¹⁹ archbishop Maghakia Ormanean characterized it as “a short history of the nation of archers, that is of the Tartars”²⁰, Tigran Sawaleants, as a 44year history of the Tartars.²¹ Hamazasp Oskian argued against the attribution to Vardan, but he also wrote that Vanakan Vardapet’s disciples “do not mention any Maghak’ia.”²² On the other hand Manuk Abeghyan considered him a pupil of Vanakan Vardapet and wrote that this historian gives important information on an intrigue that took place in the early years of king Lewon, son of king Het’um († 1270). He also assessed highly the artistic quality of this work, since its literary value is higher than that of Vardan’s *Universal History*.²³ Hrachya Acharyan wrote that Grigor

¹² **M. Brosset**, *Additions et éclaircissements à l’Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pétersbourg, 1851, p. 438-467: « Ouvrage de Malakia-Abégha, ou Malakia-le-Moine ».

¹³ *История монголов инок Магакки*, XIII в. [*History of the Mongols by Maghak’ia the Monk*], translation and commentary by **K.P. Patkanov**, SPb, 1871.

¹⁴ **Robert P. Blake** and **Richard N. Frye**, “History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc’ Hitherto Ascribed to Matak’ia The Monk,” The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 12, № 3/4 (Dec., 1949), pp. 269–399; see also *History of the Nation of the Archers (The Mongols) by Grigor of Akanc’ Hitherto Ascribed to Matak’ia The Monk*, The Armenian Text Edited with an English Translation and Notes by **Robert P. Blake** and **Richard N. Frye**, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954, 180 p.; Grigor Aknerts’i, *History of the Nation of Archers*, Translated from Classical Armenian by **Robert Bedrosian**, New Jersey, 2003.

¹⁵ *Տե՛ւ թոռնաճոճ լուծոճ օկճորոճ* [*History of the Nation of Archers*], translation from Armenian into Georgian by N. Shoshiashvili, Tbilisi, 1961.

¹⁶ 1397 رويگريگ يسترنگا، خيرات اهرات، موق نكفاريث، همجرت نوراگ نايسكراس، نارھت، یرينان. [*History of the Tatars by Grigor Aknerts’i*, translated by **Garun Sargsyan**, Tehran: Nairi, 1947].

¹⁷ **Grigor Aknerts’i**, *History of the Nation of Archers (Okçu Milletini Tarihi)*, translated by **Hrand D. Andreasyan**, Istanbul 2013.

¹⁸ *Нум сүмтәһ ард түмһуи түх* [*History of the Nation of Archers*], translated by **D. Bayarsaikhan**, **D. Akhbayar**, commentaries by **D. Bayarsaikhan** (Monograph series, volume 4), Ulan-Bator, 2010.

¹⁹ **G. Zarbhanalean**, *Պատմության հայերեն դարձումը* [*History of Armenian Literature*], vol. 2, Venice, 1905, pp. 112-115; idem, *Պատմության հայերեն դարձումը* [*History of Armenian Literature*], vol. 2, Venice, 1878, pp. 149-153.

²⁰ **M. Ormanean**, op.cit., p. 1949.

²¹ **T. Sawaleants**, op.cit., p. 113.

²² **H. Oskian**, *Յովհաննէս Վանական եւ իւր դպրոցը* [*Yovhannēs Vanakan and His School*], Vienna, 1922, p. 121.

²³ **M. Abeghyan**, op. cit., pp. 246-247.

was from the Akner monastery in Cilicia.²⁴ Haykaz Zhamkochyan, besides specifying that the work was written by Grigor in 1273 in the Akner monastery, informs us that its manuscript kept in Jerusalem is the autograph; he thinks that the monk Maghak'ia and Vardan the Great were erroneously considered its authors.²⁵ Nerses Akinian searched for biographical data about the author and he discovered that he had a brother called Mkhit'ar, that there is a mention of him as the abbot of the Akner monastery in 1312-1313, and a scribe wrote about him in 1335, calling him "old priest, gentle and wise"; Akinian opined that he lived in 1250-1335 and was of Cilician origin.²⁶ Some comments on the work can be found in the articles by Marco Bais²⁷ and Louis Mariès.²⁸

These various scholarly opinions could be summarized by the following characteristic given to the work in question by the Mongol Armenologist Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog: "Grigor Aknerts'i in his *History of the Nation of Archers* describes the events relating to the Armenians from the reign of Chinggis Khan down to 1271/1273. The work was written in 1273 in Akants' Anapat (the Hermitage of Akan) in Cilicia. Unlike traditional Armenian historiography, although the author introduces himself as a student of Vanakan Vardapet, along with Vardan and Kirakos, this source is far from a universal history. Its main consideration is the history of the thirteenth-century Cilician and Greater Armenians."²⁹

In contrast with the considerable number of scholars who dealt with the *History of the Nation of Archers*, Farida Mamedova alone claims that Grigor Aknerts'i was Albanian, merely declaring this, without adducing arguments to confirm her opinion. This view has been refuted.³⁰

²⁴ H. Acharyan, Հայոց անձնանունների բառարան [Lexicon of Armenian Personal Names], vol. 1, 1942, p. 580.

²⁵ H. Zhamkochyan, op. cit., p. 383.

²⁶ N. Akinian, pp. 387-388, 401.

²⁷ M. Bais, "Armenian Sources on the Mongols," *Bazmavep*, 2010, 3-4, pp. 376-378.

²⁸ L. Mariès, « De Małak'ia, moine, Histoire concernant la nation des archers », *REArm.*, 2012, Vol. 34, pp. 119-167.

²⁹ B. Dashdondog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*, Brill, 2011, p. 16.

³⁰ A. Shahnazaryan, op. cit. pp. 136-137; V. Eghiazaryan, Արցախի հայկականության ակունքները և ադրբեջանական «աղիանագիտության» կեղծիքների հերքում [The Armenian Origin of Artsakh and Refutation of the Falsifications of the Azerbaijanian "Albanology"], Yerevan, 2023, 328 p.

Biographical data about Grigor Aknerts'i are scant: he was a priest, disciple of Vanakan Vardapet and wrote his work in the Akner monastery in Cilicia. But his history contains indirect evidence of his being Armenian.

Grigor Aknerts'i's information on his being Armenian

The *History of the Nation of Archers* contains information on Armenia, especially on the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and neighbouring countries, which provide a vivid picture of the situation in the era of Mongol rule. The historian impartially presents the events of which he is contemporary and even eyewitness. The plot and the spirit of his narrative leave no doubt that the author is Armenian, born and raised in an Armenian milieu and firmly connected with Armenian reality.

Here are corresponding passages of his work³¹:

1. Grigor was a clergyman, so he interprets the Mongol invasion as divine punishment for the sins of his people: "In this way an alien people brought upon us not only the chalice but the dregs of bitterness because of our many and diverse sins which always angered God the Creator at our deeds. As a result, the Lord roused [the Mongols] in anger as a lesson to us for not obeying His commands" (chapter 2). The expression "upon us" is noteworthy; it means "upon the Armenians."

2. The dates in the work are given according to the Armenian era, e.g.: "In 688 of the Armenian Era [A.D. 1239] Baiju noyin, the head of the T'at'ars mustered troops and came against the city of Karin [Erzerum] with a countless multitude" (chapter 6). There are plenty of other examples.

3. Grigor speaks with sympathy about Armenian princes, considers their role in the military power of the country important: "It was at this point, when the two sides clashed, that the crime we mentioned was perpetrated by the accursed Hamidawla, when [Iwane'] had the mighty and great prince Varham in charge of the right wing while he himself commanded the left wing" (chapter 3). On another occasion he praises their political foresight: "After this, when the wise princes of the Armenians and Georgians realized that it was God Who had given them the power and victory to take our lands, they went to the T'at'ars in submission and promised to pay taxes, that is, the *mal*

³¹ The citations are from the following English translation: **Grigor Aknerts'i**, *History of the Nation of Archers*, Translated from Classical Armenian by **Robert Bedrosian**, New Jersey, 2003. Chapter numbers are indicated in the text.

and *t'aghar* and to go with them wherever they went, with their own cavalry" (chapter 3).

4. Speaking about Armenia, the historian often uses expressions like "our country," "our land," "the land of the Armenians," "the Armenian troops," etc.

5. Grigor admires his teacher Vanakan Vardapet and writes with deep sadness about his and his disciples' captivity, and the pillaging of their possessions: "They took the cave of the great vardapet Vanakan, full of much wealth and took away our glorious vardapet himself, with his attending students. However, the entire country, united in grief, gave much treasure and gold and purchased their vardapet and his students" (chapter 3). He presents Vanakan Vardapet and his spiritual work with great respect and gratitude: "At this difficult and bitter time the holy spirit of our vardapet Vanakan shone forth like the sun in the eastern land [i.e., Greater Armenia]. He was styled 'the second Sunrise,' full of the light and incomparable knowledge of the all-knowing Holy Spirit who with much effort and labor freely distributed spiritual food, that is to say, the word of the doctrine of the Spirit" (chapter 5). He also mentions his disciples: "Similarly [Vanakan's] praiseworthy students—Vardan and Kirakos, Arak'eal and Yovsep—divided up the eastern lands in a cross shape and illuminated it with the life-giving doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In addition, they led many sons to glory, freely distributing the Lordly cruciform scepter, resembling their glorious vardapet, and fulfilling the Lord's command to 'take freely and give freely,' as Christ God forever gave His life to them for His church" (chapter 5).

The historian also mentions the death of the vardapets Vardan and Kirakos: "In 720 of the Armenian Era (A.D. 1271) [two] vardapets of the Armenians, Vardan [Arewelts'i] and Kirakos [Gandzakets'i] were translated to Christ. May their holy prayers be upon us and all the land" (chapter 17). The author's friends Vardan Arewelts'i and Kirakos Gandzakets'i are called "vardapets of the Armenians." This is an inarguable fact, although, as we have seen above, they, alongside Grigor's teacher Vanakan Vardapet, are ranked by Farida Mamedova among "Albanian" authors.

6. Grigor's words concerning the Armenian kings, princes and clergymen of Cilicia are marked with great tenderness and respect. Although his historical work is dedicated to the "T'art'ars," one of its central figures is the Cilician king Het'um; the work contains facts of his wise policy and skills in governing the country: "Het'um, the pious, Christ-crowned king of the Armenians filled with all the wisdom of his fathers, held a council with his God-protected brothers and princes and resolved to submit to the T'at'ars and

pay taxes and *xalan* so as not to allow [the Mongols] into their God-created Christian country” (chapter 7); “When Het‘um, the pious king of the Armenians, saw the honor and esteem visited upon his brother paron Smbat by the khan, he rejoiced exceedingly and especially over arrangements about the freeing of the country, monasteries, and all Christians” (chapter 7).

Elsewhere he writes: “When Het‘um, the pious king of the Armenians, heard that Hulegu had been enthroned and that he was so goodly and philo-Christian, he himself, the king of the Armenians, went to the east with many gifts and saw Hulegu-Khan. When the khan saw the king of the Armenians, he liked him a lot and honored him and again wrote [edicts granting] freedom for his kingdom and even more so for the Church and the clergy and all Christians of the country” (chapter 12). Obviously, this is about Cilicia.

The historian writes about the death of the king’s father with deep sorrow: “In these days the white-haired and elderly paron Kostandin, father of the king of the Armenians, was translated to Christ. He left the pious king Het‘um as well as all his other sons and the land of the Armenians in deep mourning, since paron Kostandin was the cause of the cultivation of the land of the Armenians as well as the foundation of the kingship of his son, Het‘um” (chapter 14). The expression “the land of the Armenians” is important here.

When the Armenian king Het‘um heard that his son T‘oros was killed and the other son, Lewon, was captured, he went to the Akner monastery. “When the wise King Het‘um heard all of this, his heart broke from the extreme, impossible sorrow which suddenly gripped it, and he was unable to raise it up. So he went to the blessed and renowned congregation of monks at Akants‘ retreat where he was somewhat comforted by the brothers of the holy order. [Het‘um] remained there for a few days until the Turks had left the country... All of this the pious king of the Armenians pondered, burning with an unbelievable fire, his insides twisted with love for the sons he did not see... The high-minded, high-souled king Het‘um restrained his own broken heart and consoled the hearts of the princes, priests and vardapets” (chapter 14).

For releasing Het‘um’s captive son Lewon, the sultan of Egypt demanded to free Sghur who had been captured by the Mongols, and Het‘um managed to retrieve Sghur from the Mongols, and “brought the captive Sghur to our country.” “Our country” is Het‘um’s kingdom of Cilicia.

7. Grigor is interested in the fate of saints’ relics and church books kept in the settlements and fortresses occupied by the T‘art‘ars: “Now the great prince of the Armenians named T‘agheadin, from the Bagratuni clan, seized

a Syrian priest and made him say that he had found the right [hand] of the blessed apostle Bartholomew. With great joy, [T'agheadin] took this to his land in the east and placed it in his monastery. Subsequently, forced by the great prince of the Artsrunik' named Sadun, he gave [the relic] to him. Taking it, Sadun, lord of the great and renowned and blessed congregation of Haghbat, placed the blessed right [hand] of the apostle Bartholomew in the holy monastery of Haghbat" (chapter 11). This passage makes it clear that Haghbat is eastwards for one who is in Cilicia. This was not the case for an inhabitant of Caucasian Albania.

The historian writes with concern about Armenian catholicoi: "In this period, Lord Kostandin through brilliant and virtuous behavior pleasing to God and man, together with the Christ-crowned king, Het'um, with orthodox faith and glowing arrangements illuminated all the churches of the Armenians, in the east, west, and everywhere" (chapter 9). He speaks about Kostandin's death: "During this period the blessed and spotless patriarch of the Armenians, lord Kostandin of good name and in deep old age, also was translated to Christ" (chapter 14).

On another occasion he writes: "With the death of the great patriarch of the Armenians, the land of the Armenians had been without a patriarch for one year. For the king had been in despair over his sons and no one else could concern himself [about the kat'oghikosate] without the king. But then, the king was pressed by the princes, vardapets and bishops who said that it was improper for the country of the Armenians to be without a patriarch and kat'oghikos. The king, so pressed, held a great assembly of bishops, priests, and vardapets and made a selection from them. He found a man after his own heart, extremely wise and virtuous with a meek and mild disposition, a man named Yakob, a full vardapet" (chapter 15).

8. The historian writes that Het'um gave the royal power to his son Lewon, then "he himself retired to solitude, loving monasteries and retreats... After some days... Christ-crowned, pious king Het'um was translated to Christ. He was buried with great ceremony in the blessed and renowned monastery called Drazerk." On the occasion of Het'um's son Lewon being anointed king he writes: "There was rejoicing and great happiness throughout all the lands of the Armenians" (chapter 17).

The story ends with revealing the Greek ("Roman") princes' plot against king Lewon and their punishment, which is described with enthusiasm: "But the providence of God the Creator did not ignore the prayers of his servants, rather he preserved Lewon, king of the Armenians, born of a king, together

with his entire kingdom steadfast and untouched by the evils they had plotted” (chapter 17).

9. In 1248 priest Ishokh and his student Vardan Arewelts‘i translated Michael the Syrian’s Chronicle into Armenian. In 1273 Grigor Aknerts‘i copied this text (Ms J960) and left a colophon, in which he praises the Cilician Armenian kings: the king’s father Kostandin and his four sons, Barsegh, Smbat Sparapet, Oshin and Lewon, the catholicos of all Armenians Kostandin, the “Armenian king Het‘um, crowned by Christ” and the daughter of king Lewon, queen Zabel, “who lived a pious life” (սարկէշտակենցադ).³² In the colophon Grigor mentions Nerses the Great and calls him “our ancestor.”³³

The facts adduced are sufficient to prove that Grigor Aknerts‘i was Armenian, probably born in Cilicia. He was the contemporary and eyewitness of the historical events presented in his work. He had close relations with the Cilician royal family. He was not indifferent towards the fate of Armenian people and the Armenian Church.

ՎԱՆՈ ԵՂԻԱԶԱՐՅԱՆ

ԼԵՌՆԻԿ ՀԱԿՈԲՅԱՆ

**ՎԿԱՅՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ ԱՌԱՅՆ, ՈՐ ԳՐԻԳՈՐ ԱԿՆԵՐՏԻՆ
ԱՂՎԱՆ ՊԱՏՄԻՉ ԶԷ. ՖԱՐԻԴԱ ՄԱՄԵԴՈՎԱՅԻ
ՀԱՅՏԱՐԱՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱՌԻՌՈՎ**

Բանալի բառեր՝ «Պատմություն վասն ազգին նետողաց», պատմիչ, զեղծարարություն, Կիլիկիայի հայկական թագավորություն, Հեթում թագավոր, հայոց տոմար, Վանական Վարդապետ, Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, Գրիգոր Ալենեցու հիշատակարանը:

Գրիգոր Ալենեցու (երկր վերագրվել է նաև Մաղաքիա արեղային) «Պատմություն վասն ազգին նետողաց» երկին հայագետներն անդրադարձել են սկսած 1784 թվականից, իսկ դեռևս 1870 թ. այն հրատարակվել է: Նրա մասին գրել են

³² **Grigor Aknerts‘i**, Պատմություն նետածիզների ազգի մասին [History of the Nation of Archers], Eastern Armenian translation, p. 121.

³³ Ibid., p. 123.

Միքայել Չամչյանցը, Սուքիաս Սոմայրյանը, Քերովրե Պատկանյանը, Եղիշե Դուրյանը, Գարեգին Չարքիանայրյանը, Ղևոնդ Ալիշանը, Մադաթիա արքեպիսկոպոս Օրմանյանը, Համազասպ Ոսկյանը, Մանուկ Աբեղյանը, Հրաչյա Աճառյանը, Հայկազ Ժամկոչյանը, Ներսես Ալիկյանը, Ֆրենսիս Վուդման Բլիվեր, Կարապետ Մելիք-Օհանջանյանը, Նորայր Պողարյանը: Բոլորն էլ հեղինակին համարել են հայ և նույնիսկ չեն էլ մոտաձել, որ 2005 թ. մի աղբյուրների Ֆարիդա Մամեդովա առանց որևէ փաստաթղթի կարող է աղվան հոշակել հայ պատմիչ Գրիգոր Ալկներցուն: Մամեդովայի այս սին հայտարարությունից հետո էլ Գաբրիելա Ուլուհոնյանը, Ֆեդերիկո Ալպին, Մարկո Բախր, Բայարասյիսան Դադոնդոգր, Գուրգեն Խաչատրյանը և Վանո Եղիսազարյանը, Լուի Սարիետը, Արտաշես Ճահնազարյանը, Գարուն Սարգսյանը, Թամարա Մինասյանը շարունակել են հայ պատմագրության այս երևելի հեղինակին ներկայացնել որպես ազգությամբ հայ պատմիչ:

Գրիգոր Ալկներցու մասին կենսագրական տեղեկությունները շատ սուղ են, սակայն նրա շարադրանքը կասկած չի թողնում, որ նա հայ է, և ոչ աղվան. նա գործածում է Հայոց տոմարը, «մեր երկրում», «աշխարհիս», «աշխարհս Հայոց», «ողջ երկիրս» արտահայտությունները: Թեև պատմությունը վերնագրված է «Թաթարների մասին», սակայն նրա կենտրոնական կերպարը Կիլիկիայի «բարեպաշտ և քրիստոնապապ» Հեթում թագավորն է, և պատմիչն ակնաձանքով է խոսում հայոց կաթողիկոսների մասին:

Վարդան Արևելցուն ու Կիրակոս Գանձակեցուն, որոնք հեղինակի աշակերտակից ընկերներն են եղել, նա անվանում է «հայոց փառավոր վարդապետներ», որով հաստատվում է թե՛ նրանց հայ լինելը, թե՛ իրենց ուսուցչի՝ Վանական Վարդապետի. այդ երեքը ևս հանիրավի աղվանացվել են աղբյուրների կողմից «աղվանագիտության» մեջ:

Միքայել Ասրու՝ 1273 թ. ասորերենից թարգմանված «Ժամանակագրությունը» Գրիգոր Ալկներցին ընդօրինակել է և ձեռագրում (Եղմ. 960) թողել հիշատակարան, որում փառաբանում է Կիլիկյան հայոց թագավորներին՝ Կոստանդին արքայահորը, ամենայն հայոց կաթողիկոս Կոստանդինին, «հայոց քրիստոնապապ Հեթում» թագավորին, Լևոն արքայի դուստր «պարկեշտակենցաղ» Չապել թագուհուն, իսկ Ներսես Մեծին անվանում է իր նախնի՝ «նախնի սուրբ հորն մերում Ներսեսի»:

ВАНО ЕГИАЗАРЯН

ЛЕРНИК АКОПЯН

**ФАКТЫ, СВИДЕТЕЛЬСТВУЮЩИЕ О ТОМ, ЧТО ГРИГОР
АКНЕРЦИ НЕ АЛБАНСКИЙ ИСТОРИК.
ОТКЛИК НА ЗАЯВЛЕНИЕ ФАРИДЫ МАМЕДОВОЙ**

Ключевые слова: «История народа стрелков», историк, фальсификация, Киликийское армянское царство, царь Хетум, Ванакан Вардапет, Киракос Гандзакечи, колофон Григора Акнерци.

К «Истории народа стрелков» Григора Акнерци (труд приписывался также иноку Магакии) арменоведы стали обращаться с 1784 года, а в 1870 году она была опубликована. О ней писало несколько поколений арменистов – Микаэл Чамчянц, Сукиас Сомальян, Керовбе Патканян, Егише Дурьян, Гарегин Зарпанальян, Гевонд Алишан, Магакия Архиепископ Орманиян, Амазасп Воскян, Манук Абемян, Грачья Ачарян, Айказ Жамкочян, Нерсес Акинян, Фрэнсис Вудман Кливз, Карапет Мелик-Оганджаниян, Норайр Погарян, – и все они считали автора «Истории татар» (известную также под названием «История народа стрелков») армянином и даже не предполагали, что в 2005 году азербайджанская исследовательница Фарида Мамедова без каких-либо аргументов объявит армянского историка Григора Акнерци албанским. И после необоснованного заявления Мамедовой Габриэлла Улуходжян, Федерико Альпи, Марко Баис, Баярсайхан Дашдондог, Гурген Хачатрян, Вано Егiazарян, Луи Марьес, Арташес Шахназарян, Гарун Саргсян, Тамара Минасян и др. продолжали представлять этого видного историка как армянского автора.

Факты жизни Григора Акнерци малоизвестны, однако само его повествование содержит свидетельства о том, что он армянин. Он использует армянское летоисчисление, выражения «в нашей стране», «моя армянская страна», «вся моя страна». Хотя произведение озаглавлено «История татар», центральным персонажем является «благочестивый и увенчанный Христом» царь Киликии Хетум; историк с благоговением отзывается и об армянском католикосе.

Вардана Аревелци и Киракоса Гандзакечи, которые были его товарищами по учебе, Григор Акнерци называет «славными армянскими духовными учителями».

лями», что подтверждает армянскую идентичность как Вардана Арвелци и Киракоса Гандзакеси, так и самого Григора Акнерци, а также их учителя Ванакана Вардапета (все они в современном азербайджанском «албановедении» объявлены албанцами). В 1273 году Григор Акнерци переписал переведенную с сирийского «Хронику» Михаила Сирина и оставил колофон, в котором восхваляет царей Киликийской Армении: «царственного отца» Константина, Католикоса всех армян Константина, «увенчанного Христом» царя Хетума, дочь царя Левона, «благочестивую» царицу Забел, а Нерсеса Великого называет общим предком: «Наш предок, святой отец Нерсес».