

THE PROBLEMS OF STUDYING OF THE EPIC OF “KOROGLU” AND ARMENIA*

SAMVEL RAMAZYAN

Keywords: Koroglu (Korogli), epic, Armenia, Armenian version, Urmia, Azerbaijan (Aturpatakan), A. Chodzko, Turkic, Iran, ashugh.

Introduction

The epic “Koroglu” (“Köroğlu”, “Koroghlu”, “Korogli”, “Kerogli”), despite its late origin (XVII century), in comparison with other Turkic epics, has no analogue in its prevalence. The formation of the epic started from the XVII century and lasted until the XIX century. Later, it was subjected to various artistic developments and changes, becoming a unique example of overcoming linguistic and ethnic boundaries¹. Mainly handed down by narrators, it began to be written down in the first half of XIX century to the beginning of XX century, and the stories spread in Central Asia, especially in 1930–1940s and later.

Some stories and songs of the epic were first recorded in the territory of the Russian Empire. In particular, the record of Russian historian, ethnographer and statesman of French origin Ivan Chopin (1798–1870) in the 1830s is known, which, however, is not considered complete and reliable. According to Chopin, he took notes in Nakhichevan of the Armenian Province (Armenian Oblast) from a local “Tatar”, i.e. Turkic speaker ashugh (minstrel, bard) with the help of an Armenian translator, and some additions were made by him².

The first complete recording of the epic was made in the first half of the XIX century, in the Iranian province of Azerbaijan (Azarbaijan /Aturpatakan), by the Russian Polish diplomat and orientalist Alexander Chodzko (Chodźko, 1804–1891). Having entered the Russian Empire’s diplomatic service, Chodzko served in Iran, particularly in Tabriz and Gilan, from 1830. He recorded the mentioned version in that period from a local Turkic speaker. Later, in 1842, it was published in English in London³. In Europe, this

* Submitted as of 06. II. 2024, reviewed on 19. II. 2024, approved for publication on 22. III. 2024.

¹ Reichl. 1992, 317.

² Шопен. 1840, 12–25.

³ Chodzko. 1842.

publication received the attention of not only scientific, but also literary circles⁴.

In the middle of XIX century in Europe the epic was mostly considered to be Iranian (Persian)⁵, and later Azerbaijani (i.e. Aturpatakan), considering the location of the first complete recording. After the collapse of the Russian Empire and with the creation of a new Caucasian state in 1918, called “Azerbaijan”, it was directly attributed to ethnicity.

Among the reactions of Russian literary circles, Ivan Evlakhov’s novel “Shamlibel Valley”, published in 1849 (Tiflis), is well known⁶. Also, other literary works of Russian authors (poems, fairy tales, etc.) are similarly known. The Russian translation of Chodzko’s book should have been quite expected in that period, but only 14 years later it was published in issues of the political-literary newspaper «Кавказ» (“Caucasus”) in Tiflis, translated by S.S. Penn⁷. In the same year it was published as a separate booklet with a limited edition.

Also, other such attempts are known, which were generally judged to be incomplete and quite deviant from the original. In particular, the translations of O.I. Senkovsky and N.V. Berg are known, in both cases, the epic was perceived as a sample of Persian literature, taking into account the location of the recording.

The translation of S.S. Penn in 1856 was considered more close to the original and successful, which, however, according to the results of our last research, does not correspond to reality⁸. In many cases, the translation deviated from the substantive details, and the references about Armenians and Armenia in general, which are of interest to us, were arbitrarily removed from the text⁹.

Typologically different versions of the epic are conventionally divided into two groups – Western and Eastern. The versions included in the Western group (Turkish, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, Dagestani, Kurdish, etc.) mainly come down to the version that was recorded by A. Chodzko. In all versions of the Western group, Rushan or Rovshan, nicknamed “Koroglu”, is

⁴ Sand. 2018; Longfellow. 1931.

⁵ An example was the title of Sand’s book: “Kourroglou, épopée persane” (i.e. “Persian Epic”).

⁶ Евлахов. 1849.

⁷ Кёп-Оглу. 1856.

⁸ *Ռաճաղյան. 2023ա, 148–157:*

⁹ According to the results of our research, despite the presence of unique references to Armenians and Armenia in Chodzko’s edition, these sections are completely absent in the Russian translation. Meanwhile, in two cases they were arbitrarily replaced by a general Christian character, in two other cases by a Muslim one. Such an anti-scientific approach went completely unnoticed by scientific and literary circles in the Russian Empire and the USSR, since the Russian-language version was more accessible and served as the basis for further research (*Ռաճաղյան. 2023ա, 151–157*).

a popular avenger and poet-musician (ashugh or ashyk), who, at the head of a group of avengers, punishes the tyrants who blinded his father (hence the nickname “Koroglu”, i.e. “son of the blind”). Koroglu conducts the activities of a typical “noble robber” (“noble bandit”), in the likeness of Robin Hood, attacks caravans, exacts tribute from merchants, hiding in the impregnable mountain fortress of Chamlibel (Shamlibel). The group’s versions are largely free of mythical and fairy-tale features, which indicate the presence of a stable historical basis.

In the versions of the Eastern group (Turkmen, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tajik, Bukhara-Arab, Tobol’s-Tatar, Karakalpak, etc.) this historical basis, characteristic of the Western group, is absent, giving way to archaic layers of legends, rich in pre-Islamic and earlier fairy tale elements, and Iranian mythology. Even his birth is legendary: Rushan (Rovshen) is born in a cemetery after his mother’s burial, hence the unique names of the Eastern group versions (Gorogli, Gurogli, Kurogli, Gurugli or Gurguli. i.e. “son of the grave”). In some national stories, this legend is combined with the fact of the hero’s father becoming blind, according to which there are also Turkmen, Kazakh and other stories with the name of “Korogli” (or “Korughili”)¹⁰. In these versions, Gorogli fights with devas and dragons, rules the fairy-tale country of Chandybil (in the likeness of King Arthur, the hero of Celtic-British folklore). In the Eastern group, the Tajik poetic epic “Gurugli” (“Gurguli”) has its own unique style of presentation.

It should be especially noted that “Koroglu” is the only Turkic epic in which the main character bears a name of distinct Indo-European origin (Rōshan or Roushan meaning in Persian – “light, bright, shining”). In the Armenian version in the Urmian dialect, Rushan-Koroglu also bears the Armenianized name Arushan or Urushan, and in the version in the Van dialect – Arsham¹¹.

The historicism of the epic and Armenian historiography

The historical basis of the epic of “Koroglu” generally concerns the Jelali Revolts (Celali Rebellions) in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the XVI century and the beginning of the XVII century.

Since the first recordings of the epic, researchers have been studying the issues of the events reflected in it, the characters, the features of historicism, the time and region of the origin and formation of the epic. Similar questions were explored in the works of authors of the late XIX century and early XX century, but they do not fully cover all issues. First of all, at that time the recording of the main versions of the epic was not completed and some stories and legends were analyzed, moreover, materials from historical sources were generally not available.

¹⁰ Жирмунский, Зарифов. 1947, 192–197.

¹¹ Քյան-Օղլի. 1941, 12:

For comparison, it should be noted that the necessary sufficient information was not found in foreign sources. Ottoman historians of the XVI-XVII centuries Ibrahim Peçevi, Mehmed Solakzade, Mustafa Naima, Koçi Bey (Koçibey), Kâtip Çelebi provides more information about the Jalali uprisings, but the name of Koroglu remained unknown to them. Only the famous Ottoman traveler and historian of the XVII century Evliya Çelebi in his “Book of Travel” (“Seyahatnâme”) twice mentions the robber (“haydut”) and the improvisatory poet Koroglu, however, being vague hints, these references gave rise to many misinterpretations.

The most reliable historical sources are documents from the late XVI century Ottoman state archives (Mühimme Defterleri), which are mainly decrees and reports of provincial authorities. In particular, the decrees of 1579–1581, 1588 and 1593–1595, addressed to representatives of the Ottoman authorities of Bolu, Gerede, İçel, Karaman and other areas, describe the bandit actions of Koroglu and his accomplices, and note the need to eliminate them and arrest Koroglu. It is emphasized that the robber Koroglu Rushen robbed caravans and kidnapped young men, which is quite consistent with the content of the epic. It appears from the documents that Koroglu was active, especially in Bolu and Gerede. Another document notes that during the war with Iran, Koroglu resorted to banditry with a gang of 200 people¹².

In these documents, Koroglu’s accomplice Giziroglu (Kiziroglu) Mustafa is repeatedly mentioned as the leader of a group of robbers operating between Malatia and Sebastia (Sivas), moreover, before the start of the Jalali uprisings themselves, as evidenced by Armenian historiography. In general, according to the results of studying documents from Ottoman archives, Koroglu and Giziroglu Mustafa are considered the leaders of the gangs of the pre-Jalali period. Famous bandits demonstrated disobedience to Ottoman authorities as early as 1582–1584, i.e. before the very first Jalali actions in the Ottoman Empire.

Having a centuries-old stable tradition, the Armenian historiography of the XVII century saved an important and unique information about these historical events, also about the leaders of Jelali, the historical prototypes of the epic (Koroglu, Giziroglu Mustafa, Tangri Tanimaz, Kosa Safar etc).

The particular importance in the studying of the historicism of the epic presents not only the works of Armenian historians of the XVII century Arakel Davrizhetsi (Arakel of Tabriz), Grigor Daranaghtsi (Grigor Kamakhetsi), Azaria Sasnetsi, Avetik Tigranakertsi and Yeremia Komurdjian (Jeremiah Keomurjian), but also small chronicles and colophons (memorable records) of manuscripts of the same period.

A brief testimony by Arakel Davrizhetsi (“*This is that Korogli who composed many songs that ashughs perform now*”)¹³, initially gave

¹² Akdagh. 1995, 265, 298.

¹³ Պատմության հուշեր. 1990, 108:

researchers the opportunity to confirm the presence of the historical figure of Koroglu. At the same time, this is the oldest mention of Koroglu known to us in historiography. Also valuable is the testimony of Giziroglu Mustafa, whose comradeship with Koroglu, unlike other rebel leaders speaking with the main character of the epic, is directly noted. The historian also clearly indicates the number of his troops (*“1000 men”*)¹⁴, as well as the fact that Koroglu mentions him in many of his songs.

Avetik Tigranakertsi (Avetik Baghdasaryan) also notes that the rebel Koroglu was an ashugh, and Giziroglu Mustafa was his friend, mentions the same year of the Kosa Safar uprising (1599), and also confirms the historicity of Tangri Tanimaz etc.¹⁵. In accordance with this, in fact, not only Davrizhetsi testify to these realities. The testimony of Grigor Daranaghtsi about Giziroglu Mustafa is very unique and detailed. Also it indicates a direct connection between the Kurdish rebellion in 1590 that took place in the Ekeghiats region (ancient Acilisene)¹⁶.

Also of interest is brief information from small chronicles of the XVIII century. In particular, in a typical chronological style, reports are mainly repeated about the historical Koroglu and his accomplice Giziroglu Mustafa. Similar messages are conveyed by the chronicles of Ghevond Tospetsi¹⁷, Ananun (Nameless) Vanetsi¹⁸, priest Haroutiun Khalfayan¹⁹, and the so-called *“Chronology of Jerusalem”*²⁰.

The work of Armenian merchant and folklorist of the XVIII century Elias Musheghian (Yeghia Karnetsi, 1689–1750) presents special importance. Although Musheghian is an author of a later period, he reports relatively more extensive information about Koroglu than all the mentioned Armenian historians and chroniclers. The most valuable part is the explanatory passage of the text, in which Musheghian summarizes the common stories about Koroglu, which basically coincide with the legends recorded later²¹.

Special attention is paid to 13 songs (koshma), written in Armenian letters in the local Turkic language (Türki), which are considered the first examples of Koroglu texts. Having reached the present day, the songs recorded by Musheghian, in their main motives, stanzas and rhythms, coincide or have close parallels, especially with the Turkmen versions, it is obvious that the framework of these songs is in the repertoire of bagshys and

¹⁴ *Դաւրի ժեցի. 1990, 108:*

¹⁵ *Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII–XVIII դդ. 1956, 517:*

¹⁶ *Դաւանա ղցի. 1915, 32–33:*

¹⁷ *Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան. 1912, 502:*

¹⁸ *Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII–XVIII դդ. 1951, 355:*

¹⁹ *Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան. 1912, 124, Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII–XVIII դդ. 1956, 482:*

²⁰ *Ժամանակագրութիւն. 1969, 278, Սամուէլ Անեցի եւ շարունակողներ. 2014, 322:*

²¹ *Աբրահամյան, Գաբրիէլյան. 1954, 71–93:*

ashughs²². Musheghian’s collection with accompanying commentaries is still considered the oldest of the texts and songs. The recording and study of texts about Koroglu begins with this collection.

Many texts of Koroglu or attributed to him are also found in Armenian-lettered Turkic-language manuscripts of the XVIII–XIX centuries. According to the results of our research, Armenian manuscripts related to the Koroglu theme are currently kept in the following institutions in Armenia and abroad:

- Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts (Matenadaran);
- Archive of the Museum of Literature and Art of Armenia;
- St. Theodoros Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem.

Until recently, only 3 manuscripts were known in Matenadaran (No. 7318, 8540, 9003), but as a result of our research in 2022–2023, there are more of them. There is no doubt that this series is not exhausted by the above-mentioned materials, and in the process of replenishing and deciphering Armenian manuscripts, new texts will be discovered, which, in turn, will complement the topic.

The Armenian version

The Armenian version of the epic became better known during the USSR, in the 1930–1940s, although complete versions and legends were recorded at the end of the XIX century.

Among other national versions, the Armenian versions and stories were also known, the range of which covered a large area. It should be noted that if the spread of the national epic “Sasna Tsrer” (“Daredevils of Sassoun”) was limited to the main part of Western Armenia (Mush-Sasun), then “Koroglu” was incomparably more popular in Eastern Armenia and Western Armenia, among Caucasian and Iranian Armenians, as evidenced by numerous folklore records, literary, musical and other cultural echoes.

The existence of toponyms after Koroglu in the entire territory of historical Armenia (fortresses, mountains, bridges, roads, rocks, caves, wellsprings, etc.) also testifies to the huge radius of distribution. Moreover, the distribution of these and conversations is definitely interconnected. The writer Raffi (Hakob Melik-Hakobian, 1835–1888) mentioned the abundance of toponyms, known by the name of Koroglu, and justly explained it by the fact of the prevalence of stories and legends: *“Folk heroes in the traditions of the people do not die, but gradually grow and grow over the centuries, and even what was not done in their time and by their hands, the people attribute to them. For example, let’s take Koroglu. Starting from Tiflis to Yerevan and from Yerevan to Old Bayazet and from here to Karin, where you will see the ruins on the top of the*

²² Карыев. 1968, 12–13.

mountain, they will tell you “this is the fortress of Koroglu”, although none of them was the fortress of Koroglu... People give their heroes more than they had. And what they actually had, he keeps in his memory forever”²³. As a rule, “Koroglu fortresses” are defensive structures of a more ancient period, mainly from the XVIII century and then they were attributed to Koroglu, in parallel with the spread of stories and legends.

Soviet Russian ethnographer and historian Sergei Tokarev (1899–1985) testified about the prevalence of the Armenian version of the epic during the USSR in the section dedicated to Armenian culture in his famous work (“The Ethnography of the Peoples of the USSR”). After “Sasuntsi Davit” (i. e. “Daredevils of Sassoun”), Tokarev mentions “Koroglu” among the Armenian folk works, assuming that it “*probably reflects the influence of Turkic neighbors*”²⁴.

The epic was quite popular in Armenian circles during XIX–XX centuries; historical and artistic echoes appeared through Armenian tales of the epic, literary presentations, ashugh translations, and also notable references in Armenian literature and music. In some foreign philological circles, this problem is largely the result of a misconception, because the “Armenian version” still refers to the artistic developments of Armenian poets and ashughs, which, of course, cannot be versions of the epic.

First of all, we can talk about the version published in Yerevan in 1941 in the Urmia (Urumiyeh) dialect of Iranian Armenians, as well as about three dozen other unpublished versions. Among them there are known versions that were recorded at the beginning of the XX century, in Van, Moks, Bashkala, Erzurum dialects, as well as versions recorded in Eastern Armenia (Artashat, Vayk, Kotayk, Vagharshapat), including in Iranian Armenians’ dialects (Khoy, Salmast).

In the 1930s with the efforts of the Armenian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences (ArmFAN), appropriate data collection works were carried out, as a result of which dozens of Armenian versions and stories of the “Koroglu” epic were recorded from Eastern Armenian and Western Armenian narrators. According to a recently discovered archival document, recorded folklore material was subjected to scientific study at the academic level, in particular, some and other defects caused by the ideological influence of time were identified. A prominent figure in science and culture of that time, Hakob Haroutiunian (1888–1943), made his remarks in order to correct these defects²⁵.

Mostly in the 1930s Armenian scientific circles were quite close to publishing a collection of Armenian versions and stories of the epic. However, the process was hindered as a result of the problems caused by the Azerbaijani SSR circles within the framework of the policy proposed by the

²³ Ր ա Ք Ք ի. 1964, 448–449:

²⁴ Токарев. 1958, 294.

²⁵ Ր ա Տ ա ղ յ ա ն. 2023թ., 163–185:

center “one epic – one nationality”. As a result, famous Armenian composer Armen Tigranian’s “Korogli” opera remained unfinished, similarly, other written Armenian versions and stories were not published, and the Armenian collected original of the epic was not compiled (on the example of Tajik, Turkmen and other versions).

Only thanks to the efforts of academician and orientalist Joseph Orbeli (1887–1961), who took over the leadership of ArmFAN, in 1941 (actually in 1942) the Armenian version was published, recorded in the Urmian dialect, becoming the only Armenian folklore version known to the scientific community until now.

The complete version in the dialect of the Armenians of Urmia was recorded in 1912, in the village of Azatavan of Artashat district, by folklorist Gegham Tarverdian (1884–1959) from the 53-year-old peasant Gevorg Taroyan Avagian, and published in 1941 with a lengthy foreword by ethnographer Khachik Samuelian (1873–1940)²⁶. The only published version consists of 46 thematic chapters and is a true example of folklore in an indispensable dialect language, which in turn creates a unique national environment. Regardless of the general content, the version can rightfully be considered unique monument of Armenian folklore.

In any case, during the USSR, the publication of “Kor-Oghli, a folk novelism” was a rather serious request by ArmFAN, from that time on, all studies on the subject of the epic definitely mentioned the existence of the Armenian version (although sometimes with some reservations). The aforementioned found its echo in relevant studies abroad, including European, American and Turkish. Such an approach has actually been preserved until now, regardless of the level of interest and work carried out by Armenian circles.

Based on only Urmia’s version, Karl Reichl emphasizes the allegedly exclusively poetic nature of Armenian texts²⁷. Recently, the Armenian version of the epic has been circulating in foreign publications, saying that it is less accurate in terms of historical and geographical details, but it is quite rich in content, which is indicated by Nora Chadwick and Victor Zhirmunsky’s study²⁸. Naturally, at most, only Urmia’s version or the various interpretations around it can be accessible to the foreign audience. Meanwhile, these controversial provisions are circulated in the available sources on the subject.

Soviet academician Baymuhamed Karriev, a famous researcher of the epic, once emphasized the popularity of heroic stories among Armenians and the need for a special study of the Armenian version, both based on the elaborations of ashughs and gusans, as well as on manuscript sources. Citing the reports of Armenian folklorists, Karriev also noted the existence of several dozen versions of “Koroglu” songs in Armenian dialects, of which “about 40

²⁶ Քյոսե-Օղլի. 1941, 5–23:

²⁷ Reichl. 1992, 322.

²⁸ Chadwick, Zhirmunsky. 2010, 302.

have been recorded”²⁹. However, it is clear that in this case we can talk about versions of the epic written in different dialects, but not songs.

The remaining several dozen versions and stories in different dialects are stored in various archives in Armenia. It is clear that the study of the Armenian version of the epic “Koroglu” is not limited to existing and newly discovered materials.

The tendencies of nationalization of the epic and Armenian versions

If in the main versions of the Western group of the epic Koroglu is a Turkmen (from the Teke tribe), then in others he is assigned a different ethnicity. From this point of view, the Van version is different, in which the characters and place names are Armenian. In other Armenian regions there were also tales about Koroglu, which were written down later. They again emphasize the Armenian origin of the hero.

As in other Armenian regions, the tales and stories of the epic “Koroglu” were also quite popular in Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh), which have been mentioned in writing at least since the end of the XVIII century³⁰. At least four Artsakh stories were recorded and published at one time³¹, but the epic cycle is not exhausted by them, they still exist among the Artsakh people. Artsakh legends are mainly nationalized and localized, they especially emphasize the Armenian origin of the main character of the epic (Koroglu is an Armenian or Armenian by origin). Although the tales clearly share characteristic features with Western versions of the epic, they also include elements of local fiction³².

From a comparison of reports from various sources, it is obvious that there was an Armenian version of the epic with the Armenianized name of the hero, known as Khorogli (i.e. “son of Khor”), just like the Turkmen and Uzbek “Gorogli”, the Tajik “Gurugli” (“Gurguli”). Accordingly, we can talk about a completely different Armenian version that existed at that time (and not just an artistic concept), which, in turn, could fill the “Koroglu-Gorogli-Gurugli” cycle mentioned by academician Iosif Braginsky³³. The same circumstance was pointed out in a separate chapter devoted to the Armenian version (Ermeni Rivayeti) by the famous researcher of the epic Pertev Naili Boratav³⁴.

Even the Armenian classic Khachatur Abovian (1809–1848), in the preface to his historical novel “Wounds of Armenia”, clearly considered Koroglu an Armenian: “*I knew for sure: in the Ottoman land, as well as in the Kizilbash {Iran}, how many wonderful, wise, gifted people there were,*

²⁹ Каппыев. 1968, 65–66.

³⁰ Рамазян. 2023, 179–181.

³¹ Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ. 1979, 178–180, 185–186, 187–198:

³² Рамазян. 2023, 199.

³³ Гургули. 1987, 24.

³⁴ Boratav. 2016, 79–81.

how many Khan's, Shah's, Sultan's courts of favorite ashughs, good singers, poets - most of them were Armenians. It is enough to mention at least Keshish-Oghli or Kor-Oghli to prove that my words are not a lie”³⁵. This is, obviously, a distant echo of the folk tradition created and developed before Abovian, according to which Koroglu is depicted as an Armenian ashugh, similar to the famous Keshishoglu³⁶. Moreover, the same conviction shows its vitality to some extent even today.

The writer Ghazaros Aghayan (1840–1911) testified about the stories of “Khorogli”: “There is a legend that Rushan's father was not “kor”, which means “blind”, but Khor or Khorr, that he was an Armenian from the tribe Khorkhoruni, but becoming a bandit, mixed with a Kurdish tribe called Jalali³⁷ and was considered a Kurd or Turcoman. So at that time his name Khor was distorted, it became “Kor” and then it was believed that he was blind”³⁸. In Aghayan's own work, Koroglu is more than once presented as having Armenian origin (“I am Jalali, my name is Rushan, My father's name is Khor, my mother is Khorishan”)³⁹, and sometimes he secretly appears under the name of the Armenian Khorogli.

In general, Aghayan himself testified to the belief widespread in his time: “The glory of Korogli is widespread in our country and in every nation. The Turks consider him a Turk, the Kurds - a Kurd, the Armenians - a Turkified Armenian”⁴⁰. It is noteworthy that in none of the three episodes he developed on the topic of Khorogli, Aghayan did not refer to the story of the blinding of Rushan's father, with which, in fact, the epic itself begins, giving preference to the Armenian version “Khorogli” or “son of Khor”.

This circumstance of attribution of Armenian origin was also pointed out by Georges Dumézil⁴¹. According to the definition of the French-Armenian philologist Haik Berberian (Perperian), the above “is probably an echo of the Armenian memories of the assimilation of two epics”⁴².

³⁵ Աբովյան. 1981, 44:

³⁶ Keshishoglu or Keshishogli (Turkish: “son of a priest”) is a famous Turkish-speaking blind ashugh whose real name was David. He was born in 1804, in the village of Shamshulda, Javakhk, wrote songs in Turkish and Armenian, received the attention of the Sultan in Istanbul. There he took the nickname “Shavgi” (“Cheerful”). He died in 1872 in Istanbul. Also famous was the singer Keshishogli Jugayetsi (from Julfa), from whom a XVII century manuscript came down with 13 songs in Turkish and Armenian.

³⁷ This is due to a fairly common misconception at that time that the self-name of the Jalali (Celali) rebels comes from the Kurdish tribe of the same name.

³⁸ Աղայան. 1962, 100:

³⁹ Աղայան. 1962, 100:

⁴⁰ Աղայան. 1893, 70:

⁴¹ Dumézil. 1938, 72.

⁴² Պէրպերիան. 1938, 41:

Obviously, in this case we are dealing with folk etymology, as a result of which Koroglu was associated with Khorkhoruni, one of the famous noble families of Ancient Armenia.

Fragments of Armenian and Turkish poetry have been preserved containing this story about the Armenian origin of Koroglu (Khorogli). Koroglu's father is Murad, who became a robber, from the Armenian Khorkhoruni family, and his mother is Khorisha (Khorishah), from Artsakh. In all likelihood, these are fragments from songs created in a later period and attributed to Koroglu, the true origin of which, however, is still unknown. In turn, XIX–XX centuries, the belief that Koroglu was of Armenian origin was also widespread among some Armenian and Greek ashughs of the Caucasus (Tifli, Dovrani and Havasi)⁴³.

The poet Raphael Patkanian (1830–1892) also mentioned the concept of the image of the Armenian convert to Islam Koroglu in connection with his unfinished poem “Koroglu”⁴⁴. The image of Koroglu, converted to Islam, is later present in the artistic development of ashugh Jamali (Mkrtich Talian, 1848–1922), which is consonant with some of Koroglu's songs recorded in Armenian-lettered Turkish. The corresponding passage about the origin of Koroglu is also known from the first complete record by A. Chodzko⁴⁵.

In previously recorded Turkish legends, Koroglu himself acts as a protector of Christians and Armenians, which is also noted by P.N. Boratav⁴⁶.

According to the information we have, in the Armenian villages of the Shamkhor region⁴⁷, a story about Koroglu, a native of the Armenian Khorkhoruni noble family, was also spread. Moreover, Koroglu's father is mentioned as a Kurd, and his mother is an Armenian from this noble family⁴⁸.

The Armenian substratum

The Armenian influence in the epic is considered, manifested by the presence of elements of the Armenian epic tradition, Armenian characters (Bezirgan the merchant, Ayvaz, Kachal Hamza, the Armenian King, the

⁴³ Р а м а з я н. 2023, 195–196.

⁴⁴ Պ ա տ կ ա ն ի ա ն. 1964, 309:

⁴⁵ “Do not boast, Buly Pasha. Thou knowest that I am a royal tiger. Beware! I'll muddle thy blood. Having forsaken my faith, I am a Giaour” (Chodzko. 1842, 298). Elsewhere Koroglu himself says: “I like the Armenian cross. He will not die who kisses it” (Chodzko. 1842, 283). Koroglu is also hiding from a crowd of Turks (sic) in the Armenian church of Kars, which raises doubts among his comrades: “Is he an Armenian, that he should go to pray in a church?” (Chodzko. 1842, 207–211).

⁴⁶ Boratav emphasizes the presence of such passages, consonant with the above, for example: “Severim ben Ermeninin haçını”, i.e. “I like the Armenian cross” (Boratav. 2016, 126).

⁴⁷ Shamkir district in modern Azerbaijan, also known historically as Annenfeld.

⁴⁸ Р а м а з я н. 2023, 195–196.

Armenian Pasha etc.). Some archaic layers and ancient mythological elements that entered through Armenian channels are also considered.

Since the period of the first records, Armenian and foreign researchers have repeatedly pointed out the obvious presence of Armenian influence in the epic, which is expressed, in particular, in the versions of the Western group. Academician Vladimir Gordlevsky (1876–1956) once noted that careful examination will reveal the influence of Christian-Asia Minor (Armenian) poetry in songs about Koroglu⁴⁹.

The above is due to several circumstances, namely:

- The development of the Jalali uprisings, which served as the historical basis of the epic, in Armenian and Armenian-populated territories;
- The viability of the Armenian epic tradition even after changes in the demographic appearance of the region;
- Participation of Turkic-speaking Armenian ashughs in the creation and formation of the epic.

From a comparative analysis of the versions of the epic, it is obvious that the introduction of Armenian and general Indo-European elements into the Turkish and partly into the Turkic epic tradition was carried out through Armenian channels. In such conditions, the presence of Armenian characters is logical, which is typical for the versions of the Western group of epics that have preserved the historical outline, and the stories recorded and still being recorded in Turkey. In the versions of the Eastern group, the Armenian characters already acquire a general Christian or Caucasian coloring, which is more manifested in the most diverse stories of the Turkmen “Gorogli”, which preserved the historical elements of the epic from the versions common in Central Asia.

In general, the Armenian substratum, in the presence of individual characters, could penetrate into different versions due to the following circumstances:

- Introduction of the Armenian epic tradition into Turkic folklore;
- The influence of historical events (the end of the XVI century and the beginning of the XVII century) during the period of the creation and formation of the Western group of epics and especially the Turkish versions.

The latter circumstance determines the presence of the characters of the Armenian merchant (Bezirgan) and the adopted Koroglu Ayvaz (Eyvaz) in the versions of both groups of the epic, which is clearly associated with the unique international role played by the Armenian merchants in the period under review⁵⁰, and the violent actions shown during the Jalali uprisings⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Гордлевский. 1962, 264.

⁵⁰ *Ռաճաշ գյւղ. 2018, 205–219:*

⁵¹ *Ռաճաշ գյւղ. 2018, 205–219:*

Of general interest is the presence of similar epic elements, in particular, between different versions and narratives of the epic “Koroglu” and “Daredevils of Sassoun” (“Sasna Tsrer”).

Considering the bilateral migration of Turkmen tribes, it can be assumed that the epic stories common in the Armenian Highlands could have reached Central Asia precisely through Turkmen channels⁵². According to the results of recent studies, there is also a process of bilateral mutual enrichment. At the same time, some characters were imported from the epic “Koroglu” into “Daredevils of Sassoun” (Kachal Hamza, Zinjil Kiran etc.).

Although the epic “Koroglu” is a work of the late Middle Ages, it contains many archaic layers and ancient mythological elements, of which the mythologemes of “son of the blind” and the cult of the horse are clearly expressed⁵³.

The issues of historicism of the “Koroglu” epic and the study of the Armenian substratum are not limited to existing and newly discovered materials. The publication of new materials can serve as the basis for further new research.

Conclusion

The first records of the “Koroglu” epic reflected details and episodes related to the Armenians, which were not properly studied at the time. The study of issues related to the historicity of the epic is impossible without the use of reports of Armenian historiography.

The existence of Armenian versions and stories in different dialects is undeniable, although there are still misconceptions about the issue in international scientific circles. As in other national versions, in the Armenian materials written so far, the main hero of the epic is attributed Armenian origin, in some cases the folklore material is completely nationalized and localized.

In the mostly Western group’s versions of the epic, the Armenian epic-folklore substratum is clearly noticeable, which is subject to a separate study.

Samvel Ramazyan – PhD, Researcher of the Department of Folklore Studies of the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of NAS RA. Lecturer at the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the YSU. Scientific interests: Armenian-Turkic folklore relations, history of the Armenian-Hellenic relations. Author of 1 monograph and about 40 articles. ORCID: 0009-0007-1782-4777; sramaz@mail.com

⁵² Р а м а з я н. 2002, 33–34.

⁵³ Պ է Բ Վ Է Բ Ե Մ Ի. 1938, 41:

REFERENCES

- Chadwick N., Zhirmunsky V. 2010, Oral Epics of Central Asia. New York, Reissue Edition, Cambridge University Press, 376 p.
- Chodzko A. 1842, Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as Found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit-Minstrel of Northern Persia, and in the Songs of the People Inhabiting the Shores of the Caspian Sea. London, X + 592 p.
- Longfellow H. 1931, The Leap of Roushan Beg, Ed. By Arthur Christy, New York, William Edwin Rudge, 68 p.
- Reichl K. 1992, Turkic oral epic poetry: tradition, forms, poetic structure. New York, Garland, 395 p.
- Dumézil G. 1938, Les légendes de “Fils d’aveugles” au Caucase et autour du Caucase. – “Revue de l’Histoire des Religions”, vol. 117, E. Leroux, Paris, pp. 50–74.
- Sand G. 2018, Le meunier d’Angibault; Kourroglou, épopée persane. Tome 1, Éd. 1845, Paris, Hachette Livre-BNF, 362 p.
- Akdağ M. 1995, Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası: “Celali İsyanları”, Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 540 s.
- Boratav P. N. 2016, Köroğlu Destanı. Bütün Eserleri – 6, Ankara, BilgeSu, 358 s.
- Гордлевский В. А. 1962, Избранные сочинения, т. III (История и культура). М., «Восточная литература», 591 с.
- Гуругли. 1987, Таджикский народный эпос. Вступ. статья И. С. Брагинского. – «Эпос народов СССР». М., «Наука», 701 с.
- Евлахов И. И. 1849, Шамлибельская долина. Повесть. – «Закавказский Вестник» (Тифлис), № 22, 23, 27 (отд. изд.).
- Жирмунский В. М., Зарифов Х. Т. 1947, Узбекский народный героический эпос. М., ОГИЗ, 530 с.
- Каррыев Б. А. 1968, Эпические сказания о Кёр-оглы у тюркоязычных народов. М., «Наука», 260 с.
- Кёр-Оглу, восточный поэт-наездник. 1856. Полное собрание его импровизаций с присовокуплением его биографии. Перевод с английского С. С. Пенна. – «Кавказ» (Тифлис), № 21–24, 26–27, 30–34, 36–42.
- Рамазян С. М. 2002, Тюркская эпическая традиция и Армения (на примере огузо-туркменского эпоса «Горкут Ата» и «Гёр-оглы»). – «Тамыр» (Алматы), № 7, с. 32–35.
- Рамазян С. М. 2023, Арцахские сказания эпоса «Кероглы». – «Армянский гуманитарный вестник» (Москва–Ереван), № 1, с. 177–206.
- Токарев С. А. 1958, Этнография народов СССР. Исторические основы быта и культуры. М., Изд-во Московского университета, 616 с.
- Шопен И. И. 1840, Кер-оглу. Татарская легенда. – Маяк современного просвещения и образованности. Труды ученых и литераторов, русских и иностранных, ч. I–II. СПб., Тип. Морского кадет. корпуса, с. 127–182.
- Արսլան Խ. 1981, Վերք Հայաստանի, Երևան, ԵՊՀ հրատ., 382 էջ:

Աբրահամյան Ա., Գաբրիելյան Ղ. 1954, Քյոռ-օղլու նորահայտ երգերը. – ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ «Տեղեկագիր հասարակական գիտությունների», № 9, էջ 71–93:

Աղայան Ղ. 1962, Երկերի ժողովածու 4 հատորով, հ. 2, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 592 էջ:

Աղայեանց Ղ. 1893, Քեօրօղլու թուրը (Աւանդութիւն). – «Տարագ» (Թիֆլիս), 4-րդ տարի, թիւ 5, էջ 70–71:

Առաքել Դարիժեցի. 1990, Գիրք պատմութեանց, աշխատասիրությամբ Լ. Խանլարյանի, Երևան, ՀԽՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 596 էջ:

Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան. 1912, գիրք Ժ, Մանր մատենագիրք, ԺԵ–ԺԹ դար, հրատարակեց Գիւտ Աղանեանց Ա. քահ., Թիֆլիս, Ելեքտր. տպարան Օր. Ն. Աղանեանցի, ԾՁ + 602 սյնկ. էջ:

Երեմիա Քեօմիւրճեան. 1982, Պատմութիւն համառօտ ՂՃ տարւոյ օսմանցոց թագաւորացն, աշխատասիրությամբ Ժ. Ավետիսյանի, Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 416 էջ:

Ժամանակագրութիւն Գրիգոր վարդապետի Կամախեցւոյ կամ Դարանաղցւոյ. 1915, հրատարակեց Մեսրոպ վարդապետ Նշանեան, Երուսաղէմ, Տպարան Առաք. Աթոռոյ Ս. Յակոբեանց, 667 էջ:

Ժամանակագրութիւն (XI–XVIII դդ.). 1969, տպագրութեան պատրաստեց Ն. Եպս. Պողարյան. – «Բանբեր Մատենադարանի», № 9, 257–282:

Հայ ժողովրդական հեքիաթներ. 1979, հ. 7 (Արցախ և Սյունիք), Երևան, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., 768 էջ:

Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII–XVIII դդ. 1951, կազմեց Վ. Հակոբյան, հ. Ա, Երևան, ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 455 էջ:

Մանր ժամանակագրութիւններ, XIII–XVIII դդ. 1956, կազմեց Վ. Հակոբյան, հ. Բ, Երևան, ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 685 էջ:

Պատկանյան Ռ. 1964, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 2, Երևան, ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ հրատ., 383 էջ:

Պէրպէրեան Հ. 1938, Արշակ Բ. եւ Քեօրօղլու, Փարիզ, Գեղ. Տպարան Խ. Մաթիկեան, 44 էջ:

Ռամազյան Ս. 2017, Որդեգրի կերպարը «Քյոռօղլի» էպոսում և դրա պատմականութեան հիմքերը. – «Արևելագիտության հարցեր» (Երևան), № 13, 272–311:

Ռամազյան Ս. 2018, Վաճառականի կերպարը «Քյոռօղլի» էպոսում և դրա պատմականության հիմքերը. – ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների», № 2, էջ 205–219:

Ռամազյան Ս. 2023 ա, Հայերը և Հայաստանը «Քյոռօղլի» էպոսի առաջին հրատարակության և ռուսերեն թարգմանության մեջ. – ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների», № 1, էջ 148–157:

Ռամազյան Ս. 2023 բ, Նորահայտ փաստաթուղթ «Քյոռօղլի» էպոսի հայկական տարբերակների քննության մասին. – ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների», № 3, էջ 163–185:

Սամուէլ Անեցի եւ շարունակողներ. 2014, Ժամանակագրութիւն, Աղամից մինչեւ 1776 թ., աշխատասիրությամբ Կ. Մաթևոսյանի, Երևան, «Նաիրի», 504 էջ:

Րաֆֆի. 1964, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 10, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 684 էջ:

Քյոռ-Օղլի, ժողովրդական վիպասանություն. 1941, հավաքեց և գրի առավ Գ. Թարվերդյան, առաջաբանը՝ խ. Սամուելյանի, Երևան, ԱրմՖԱՆ, 236 էջ:

«ՔՅՈՌՕՂԼԻ» ԷՊՈՍԻ ՈՒՍՈՒՄՆԱՍԻՐՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՀԱՐՑԵՐԸ ԵՎ ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԸ

ՍԱՄՎԵԼ ՌԱՄԱԶՅԱՆ

Ա մ փ ո փ ու մ

Բանալի բառեր՝ Քյոռօղլի (Քյոռօղլու), էպոս, Հայաստան, Հայկական տարբերակ, Ուրմիա, Աղբրեջան (Ատրպատական), Ա. Խոճկո, թյուրքական, Իրան, աշուղ:

«Քյոռօղլի» էպոսը, XVII դ. ստեղծագործություն լինելով, թյուրքական մյուս էպոսների համեմատ իր տարածվածության տեսակետից աննախադեպ է: Էպոսի առաջին գրառումն իրականացվել է Պատմական Հայաստանի տարածքում ազգագրագետ Ի. Շոպենի կողմից 1830-ական թթ. Ռուսական կայսրության Հայկական մարզում: Հետագայում իրանական Ատրպատականում Ա. Խոճկոյի գրառած և 1842 թ. հրատարակված առաջին ամբողջական տարբերակում առկա են Հայության հետ կապված մանրամասներ ու դրվագներ, որոնք, սակայն, ժամանակին պատշաճ չեն ուսումնասիրվել:

«Քյոռօղլի» էպոսի ուսումնասիրության համար առաջնահերթ նշանակություն ունեն օսմանյան պետական գրադրության փաստաթղթերը և XVII–XVIII դդ. հայ պատմագրության հաղորդած տեղեկությունները: Հայկական աղբյուրները ոչ միայն արժեքավոր տեղեկություններ են հաղորդում, այլև թույլ են տալիս պատասխանել էպոսին առնչվող բազմազան հարցերի: Էպոսի պատմականության հարցերի ուսումնասիրությունն անհնար է առանց հայոց պատմագրության հաղորդումների օգտագործման:

Էպոսը լայն բնութագրության է արժանացել հայկական շրջանակներում, ինչի արդյունքում XIX դ. վերջից մեզ են հասել գրական մշակումներ, աշուղական փոխադրություններ, առանձին տարբերակներ ու պատումներ: Տարբեր բարբառներով հայկական տարբերակների և պատումների գոյությունն անփաստելի է, թեև մինչ այժմ հարցի առումով միջազգային գիտական շրջանակներում չընդհանրված են թյուր կարծիքներ:

Ինչպես մյուս ազգային տարբերակներում, մինչ այժմ գրի առնված հայկական նյութերում ևս էպոսի գլխավոր հերոսին վերագրվում է հայկական ծագում, որոշ դեպքերում բանահյուսական նյութն ամբողջությամբ ազգայնացված է ու տեղայնացված:

Էպոսի արևելյան և արևմտյան խմբերի գրառման ժամանակահատվածից սկսած հայ և օտարազգի ուսումնասիրողների կողմից բազմիցս մատնանշվել է ակնհայտ դրսևորված հայկական ազդեցությունը, ինչն արտահայտվում է, մասնավորապես, պատմական ենթաշերտն առավելապես պահպանած արևմտյան խմբի տարբերակներում հայկական վիպական ավանդույթի տարրերի, հայազգի կերպարների և որոշ դրվագների առկայությամբ:

Ընդհանրապես, թեև էպոսն ուշ միջնադարի ստեղծագործություն է, սակայն ընդգրկում է բազմաթիվ վաղնջական շերտեր ու հնագույն առասպելաբանական տարրեր: Էպոսի՝ հիմնականում արևմտյան խմբի տարբերակներում հստակ նկատելի է հայոց վիպական-բանահյուսական ենթաշերտը, ինչը ենթակա է առանձին ուսումնասիրության:

Սամվել Ռամազյան – բ. գ. թ., ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Հնագիտության և ազգագրության ինստիտուտի բանագիտության բաժնի գիտաշխատող, ԵՊՀ արևելագիտության ֆակուլտետի դասախոս: Գիտական հետաքրքրությունները՝ հայ-թյուրքական բանահյուսական առնչություններ, հայ-հունական առնչությունների պատմություն: Հեղինակ է 1 մենագրության և շուրջ 40 հոդվածի: ORCID:0009-0007-1782-4777; sramaz@mail.com

ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ЭПОСА «КЁРОГЛЫ» И АРМЕНИЯ

SAMVEL RAMAZYAN

Резюме

Ключевые слова: Кёроглы (Кёроглу), эпос, Армения, армянская версия, Урмия, Азербайджан (Атурпатакан), А. Ходзько, тюркский, Иран, ашуг.

Эпос «Кёроглы» («Кёроглу»), будучи произведением XVII века, по сравнению с другими тюркскими эпосами, беспрецедентен с точки зрения своего распространения. Самая первая запись эпоса была сделана этнографом И. Шопеном на территории исторической Армении – в Армянской области Российской империи, в 1830-х гг. Позже, в записанной А. Ходзько в иранском Азербайджане (Атурпатакан) и опубликованной в 1842 г. первой полной версии были отражены детали и эпизоды, связанные с армянством, которые, однако, в свое время не были должным образом изучены.

Для изучения эпоса «Кёроглы» первостепенное значение имеют документы османской государственной переписки и сведения армянской историографии XVII–XVIII вв. Армянские источники не только передают ценную информацию, но и позволяют ответить на различные вопросы, связанные с эпосом. Изучение вопросов историзма эпоса невозможно без использования материалов армянской историографии.

Эпос получил широкое признание в армянских кругах, в результате чего с конца XIX в. до нас дошли литературные изложения, ашугские переводы, отдельные версии и сказания. Существование армянских версий и сказаний на разных диалектах неоспоримо, хотя в международных научных кругах до сих пор существуют неправильные представления по этому поводу.

Как и в других национальных версиях, в записанных до сих пор армянских материалах главному герою эпоса приписывается армянское происхож-

дение, в ряде случаев фольклорный материал полностью национализирован и локализован.

С периода записи версий восточной и западной групп эпоса армянские и зарубежные исследователи неоднократно указывали на ярко выраженное армянское влияние, которое проявляется, в частности, в наличии элементов армянской эпической традиции, армянских персонажей и некоторых эпизодов в версиях западной группы эпоса, в основном сохранившей исторический субстрат.

В целом, хотя эпос является произведением позднего средневековья, он содержит много древних пластов и античных мифологических элементов. В преимущественно западных версиях эпоса отчетливо заметен армянский эпический-фольклорный субстрат, который подлежит отдельному исследованию.

Самвел Рамазян – к. филол. н., научный сотрудник отдела фольклористики Института археологии и этнографии НАН РА, преподаватель факультета востоковедения ЕГУ. Научные интересы: армяно-тюркские фольклорные сношения, история армяно-греческих отношений. Автор 1 монографии и около 40 статей. ORCID:0009-0007-1782-4777; sramaz@mail.com