

## The Times and Characteristics of Koroghlu

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What is known about the hero and ashug Koroghlu informs us that he lived in the XVI century in Turkey. During that century, the Turk-Ottoman Empire became one of the most well-known states in the world. The Ottoman Empire was especially acknowledged for the strength of its conquering policies, although in that period for the first time the internal economy of Turkey underwent hardship. The populace became very unhappy as taxes constantly increased and as they suffered both material and moral difficulties. Naturally, the economic crisis brought conflicts to the internal politics. These conflicts grew to a wide range and resulted in political uprisings. The rule of Sheik Jelal, which began from such an uprising in Toqat in 1518, was the true source of further uprisings (continuing until the beginning of the XVII century); this agrees with the fact that those uprisings were given the name “Jelali.”

The Jelalis exploited the Ottoman Empire’s state of war for their own uprisings. From 1592 to 1606, the Ottoman state’s war with Austria allowed the Jelalis to continue their uprising. In 1598 the Abdulahim Gara Yazichi revolution widely spread. He essentially created guerilla detachments and recruited revolutionaries capable of leadership to those groups.

Gara Yazichi ended up in a brawl with Hasan Pasha Sokolluzada in August 1601 on the Göksün plateau, took shelter with the nearby Jelalis in the Janik Mountains (on the east side of Samsun) and died there that winter.<sup>1</sup> His brother Dali Hasan continued his work. In June 1602, with the leadership of Dali Hasan, the Jelalis shot and killed Hasan Pasha in Toqat. Dali Hasan headed due west with his group and went as far as Kütahya. In the end of 1602 he set up a winter camp in Afyonkarahisarina. In February 1603, he turned treacherous against the Jelalis, gave up the revolution, and reconciled with the government. In the spring of 1603,

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<sup>1</sup> F. Sumer. Oghuzlar. – B.: Yazichi, 1992. – P.180, 193-194.

he was forced to move to Rumelin along with ten thousand other people. In Rumelin he was given the position of district judge of Bosnia, and seven of his brothers in arms were given positions ruling provinces.

The Jelalis who went to Rumelin were immediately sent to war (the Austria-Ottoman War). Two-thirds of the Jelali forces in the war gave their lives, totaling 6000 casualties. Their leader Dali Hasan was executed in Bosnia for his inability to get along with the people.<sup>2</sup>

After Dali Hasan went to Bosnia, the rest of the forces remaining in Anadolu scattered in all directions and continued the Jelali movement. As Sardar Nuh Pasha said, “In place of one Dali Hasan, one hundred cropped up.” The revolutionaries surrounded all of Anadolu and generated a great deal of fear there.

During the time when the revolutionaries were widespread, one famous Jelali – Koroghlu—appeared on the scene. Koroghlu’s character was always a cause of conflicts. Sources that prove this fact include historical and ethnographic works, travelogues and folklore collections, manuscripts, “Muhimma” (Mühimmə) log books (a term denoting logs containing copies of the king’s orders which were sent to regions, towns and cities), decrees sent out from the central government, various Ottoman documents, “Bolunun Sheiriyye Sijilleri” (*legal logs* -E.I.), and other sources.

In archives of the head ministry in Turkey (Başbakanlık), there are eight “Muhimma” log books giving information about Koroghlu’s historical character. P. N. Boratov spoke briefly about this in his documents numbered 1, 3 and 4 (II.Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 12-20 Kasım 1943). Later Faruk Sümer gives eight illustrations in one article (TDA, S: 46, 1987, s.9-46), and various information about Koroghlu is given in these documents-- (*16 Ramazan 988 (25 October 1580)*, *7 Rebiülevvel 989 (11 April 1581)*, *gurre-i Cemaziyelevvel 989 (3 June 1581)*, *3 Zilkade 989 (29 November 1581)*, *4 Muharrem 990 (29 January 1582)*, *gurre-i Şaban 991 (20 August 1583)*, *9 Şaban 992 (16 August 1584)* ve *6 Rebiülevvel 993 (8 March 1585)*-- showing that Koroghlu Rovshen, who was from Geredenin Soyik village [*Geredənin Soyuk (Sayık – This village is referred to as Sayalık in C. Anadolu’s Koçyiğit Köroğlu book on page 18- E.I.)*] defeated houses and villages, killing and wounding people; kidnapped boys and girls; cut off people on the road and robbed them; and increased the number of his companions, after which village dwellers abandoned their villages, an order was given to judges, and people were sent after him, but he wasn’t caught.

<sup>2</sup> Naima. Tarih, J.I. – P. 439.-- M.Akdagh. Jelali İsyanları.– Ist., 1995. – P.406.

According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, “It is possible to research Koroghlu’s life in three sections on the basis of the information available, beginning with these archived documents. These seven documents pertain to Koroghlu’s life spent in Bolu. It is known that Koroghlu, whose first name was Rovshan, made a living as a robber from 1580 to 1584 (Hijri 988 to 992) in his own country, in Bolu. The main reason for this was that in 1578 the state began a row with Iran, and a large regiment from Bolu and its surrounding area were sent as soldiers to the scuffle. This gave Koroghlu and a few others the opportunity to begin committing robbery, creating work for them. Measures of punishment for Koroghlu would at least be delayed.

Koroghlu spent the second part of his criminal life in the mountains of Chamlibel. The eighth document shows that in 1585 Koroghlu was not in Bolu, but in Haymana in the south of Ankara. There a warrant was given by the government for his arrest. Koroghlu moved to a different location, to a caravan route between Toqat and Sivas. He made a living for himself and for those with him by exacting taxes from caravans coming from Chamlibel.

In the third phase of Koroghlu’s life, he was pressured by the Ottoman forces in Chamlibel, escaped to Iran, and entered the service of Shah Abbas. In one document written during that period (Vekayiname), it is noted that in 1603 at the time when the Shah took Nakhchivan from the Ottomans, Koroghlu was in the service of the Ottomans, and Sadlu Ali Kulu took both his son and mother Pasi and send them to the Shah (Celal Müneccim-i Yezdi. Tarih-i Abbasi, British Museum, Or., nr. 3549, vr.120b -121a – Encyclopaedia of Islam. – Ist., 2002, Vol. 26. – p. 269). In the story of “Koroghlu” in the Azeri legend (here speaking of the Paris manuscript- *E.I.*) it is noted that Shah Abbas ordered that Koroghlu be killed.<sup>3</sup>

We would like to call the reader’s attention to a few of the Muhimma logs, which are the strongest historical source among these documents. *From Muhimma log number 42, page 75*: to the Anadolu regional government... Koroghlu from Gere and the well-known robber Chakaloghlu from Cyprus became Jelalis, took control and destroyed those areas, causing the residents to flee;<sup>4</sup> *from Muhimma log number 51, page 67*: according to the letter from Behram Bey, who was an official from Bolu and the bey of Chorum, in the Bolu village the robbers named Koroghlu and Chakal killed one judge named Abdullatif with several innovations...;<sup>5</sup> *from Muhimma log number 3, page 132*: with famous Rovshan Koroghlu heading the division, in 989 (1581) there was robbery between Gara and Bolu. In 992 (1584)

<sup>3</sup> İslam Ansiklopedisi. – Ist., 2002, V.26. – P. 269.

<sup>4</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 298.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.. – P. 298.

Koroghlu, known in history as a Jelali, was continuing his activities, and it is known that officials and confessors covered up his doings out of fear.<sup>6</sup>

Various opinions have been offered about Koroghlu's personality and about the historicity of events recorded about him in legends. It is valuable that his name appears in annals as one of the leaders of the Jelali revolt, and Armenian historian Arakel Tabrizli (1595, Tabriz- 1669) writes about well-known ashug/poet Koroghlu in his *History Book* that: "Koroghlu (this is the same Koroghlu whose name is now connected with numerous songs sung by ashugs), Giziroghlu Mustafabey with 1000 people, (he was Koroghlu's comrade-in-arms, and his name is remembered in Koroghlu's songs), then Mustafabey, Garagash, Dali Nasib, Yolasighmaz, Tanritanimaz, Goyebakhan Chiplag, Kosa-kosa, Girli, Gara Saad, Aghajanpiri- these were all Jelalis."<sup>7</sup>

We also note that in the quote from Arakel Tabrizi, the names of Jelali men are given in a slightly different format from those in M. Akdagh's book *Jelali Revolutionaries*. In place of Aghajanpiri in the above quote, Mustafa Akdagh's book lists Aghajdanpiri;<sup>8</sup> in place of Tanritanimaz – Tanribilmez;<sup>9</sup> Yolasighmaz – Gabrasighmaz;<sup>10</sup> Gara Saad – Gara Sait;<sup>11</sup> Dali Nasib – Dali Nasuh.<sup>12</sup> M. Akdagh's commentary about Jelali men is based on various historical documents.

Evliya Chelebi, 17th century Turk geographer and traveler notes Koroghlu among the Jelalis in his "Travelogue." Turk researcher Enver Uzun writes: "In Evliya Chelebi's famous "Travelogue," in the story of his travel to Anadolu in 1658 with Jelalis, about "İç ağalar alayı," ("Regiment of Local Lords") shows that Koroghlu was also among these soldiers of the regiment and that he, like Jelali Haki Emir Chelebi, played the choghur, demonstrating that Koroghlu was from the people of Anadolu.<sup>13</sup> (A choghur is a stringed musical instrument played with a pick. Some sources refer to it as choghur, choghor or chukhur. Presently the choghur is used in the "ancient musical instruments" ensemble led by M. Karimov – E.I.)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F.Sumer. Oghuzlar. – B.:Yazichi, 1992. – P.193.

<sup>7</sup> A. Davrizhetsi. Kniga Istorii. – M., 1973. – P. 94-95.

<sup>8</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 475.

<sup>9</sup> Ibnulemin, shukr-u, shikayet, karton 1, № 94 – M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.428, 520.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.. – P.428.

<sup>11</sup> Ankara Sh.Sc. № 9, P.329, 330; №10, P.42, 73, 146. – M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 436, 473.

<sup>12</sup> Muh. def. 69, P.206; 71, P.234 – M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.337.

<sup>13</sup> E.Chelebi. Seyahatname. – Ist.: "Uchdal Neshriyyat", 1978, J.5. – P.1624. – E.Uzun. Koroghlu. – Trabzon, 1997. – P.90.

<sup>14</sup> A.Badalbayli. Izahli monoqrafik musiqi lughati. – B.: Elm, 1969. – P.79; ASE, KH jild. – B., 1987. – P.450; A.Najafzada. Azerbaijan chalghi alatarinin izahli lughati.– B., 2004. – P.65, 66.

J. Oztelli makes a separate note that E. Chelebi gave information about Koroghlu: “Evliya Chelebi (1611-1682), in the first volume of his travelogue when speaking about “Sazendegan and Chogurjiyan,” who were tradesmen of Istanbul, also remembers Koroghlu. Evliya Chelebi again in his fifth volume, *Fourth Mehmet*, says that in an incident where a procession was on the way to execute a soldier, there were prominent bards playing, and among them was Koroghlu.<sup>15</sup>

Evliya Chelebi also mentions that Koroghlu was a robber who lived in the Bolu-Cherkesh region. According to Evliya Chelebi, they left Cherkesh during a time of decline. The robbers along the road to Tosya want to rob them. At that time Evliya Chelebi softened them all by saying to them: “Hey Gazis! Didn’t Koroghlu first do long ago what you’re doing in these mountains?”<sup>16</sup>

One of the pieces of evidence proving Koroghlu’s historical personhood is Elyas Mushegyan’s manuscript composed in 1721 entitled “Neghmeler” (songs). The author penned thirteen independent poems to Koroghlu written in the Armenian alphabet in the manuscript. One of those poems further affirms the idea that Koroghlu was a Jelali:

*Koroğlu alur salanı*  
*Nə bürülür halal-haramı broy!*  
*Yeddi yüz yetmiş calalı,*  
*Yar dəlüə qurban olayım<sup>17</sup>.*  
*[Koroghlu will receive greetings-*  
*what do halal or haram contain!*  
*Seven hundred seventy Jelalis,*  
*A dear beloved warrior.]*

At the same time, this manuscript shows that: “During the time when Shah Abbas ruled Iran and Sultan Murad ruled Turkey, Koroghlu dominated the roads by standing before many horsemen; he robbed some passing merchants, and he took money from some of them with their agreement.”<sup>18</sup>

Turkish historian Mustafa Akdagh also confirms Koroghlu’s existence as a historic figure.<sup>19</sup> Referencing a Muhimma log, he writes, “According to the available records,

<sup>15</sup> J.Oztelli. Koroghlu, Dadaloghlu, Kuloghlu. – Ist., 1984. – P.121.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. – P.121.

<sup>17</sup> Azərbaycan dastanları, IV jild. – B.: Azarnashr. –1969. – P.473.

<sup>18</sup> B. A. Karryev. Episheskie skazaniya o Ker-ogly u tyurkoyazychnykh narodov. – M., 1968. – P.10.

<sup>19</sup> M.Akdagh. Jelali Isyanlari. – Ist., 1995. – P. 265, 288, 291, 298-302, 317, 346, 386.

the first well-known company commander, or more precisely Jelali commander, between Bolu and Gerede in 1581, beginning robbery with a two-hundred-man group and the hero of the Koroghlu legend, was Koroghlu Rushen.”<sup>20</sup>

In most versions of the Koroghlu saga, Koroghlu’s name is said to be Rovshan. In the Tbilisi copy, it is shown as Rovshan Ali. We direct the reader’s attention to several variations:

*Adım xəbər alsan Aşıq Rövsəndü,  
Bolu paşa, mən Koroğlu deyiləm*<sup>21</sup>.  
[If you find out my name, it’s Ashug Rovshan,  
Pasha Bolu, I am not Koroghlu.]<sup>22</sup>

*Öz adım Rövsəndi, atam Alıdı,  
İnan Bolu, mən Koroğlu deyiləm*<sup>23</sup>.  
[My name is Rovshen, my father is Ali,  
Believe me Bolu, I am not Koroghlu.]<sup>24</sup>

*Ashug Roshan, daxi səni qoymaram özgə yerə gedəsən;*

I won’t let you go to another place; I am Koroghlu, my name is Rovshan Ali.<sup>25</sup>

Mustafa Akdagh considers Koroghlu the Jelali rebels’ first flag bearer: “However, as far as we can guess, the reason that this well-known lead soldier Koroghlu was the only hero to be immortalized in the folktale under the name “Koroghlu,” which reflects the character and essence of all the Jelali rebels, is that he was the Jelali rebels’ first flag bearer. He independently became popular, so to speak, for meeting soldiers on the road between the places they lived, Istanbul and Iran, and for his brigandage.”<sup>26</sup>

According to the writings of F. Sumer, Iranian Ajam caravans travelled on the Toqat-Sivas road, which was one of the most used commerce roads in that century. As a result of the government’s oppression, Koroghlu left home and went along the

<sup>20</sup> M. Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 298.

<sup>21</sup> Koroghlu (Paris nuskhəsi). – B.: Ozan, 1997. – P.171.

<sup>22</sup> Koroghlu (Paris nuskhəsi). – B.: Ozan, 1997. – P.171.

<sup>23</sup> Azərbaycan dastanları, IV jild. – B.: Azarnashr. – 1969. – P. 288.

<sup>24</sup> Azərbaycan dastanları, IV jild. – B.: Azarnashr. – 1969. – P. 288.

<sup>25</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhəsi). – B.: Sada. – P. 222

<sup>26</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.299.

Toqat-Sivas road to the Chamlibel Mountain. Moving along the Istanbul-Tabriz soldiers' road, he and his friends began to rob passing caravans.<sup>27</sup>

Affirmative evidence that Koroghlu was an ashug/poet is given by his collected poems in a volume called "Poem Collection" (1804) by Andalib Garajadaghin.

Sources confirm that Koroghlu lived from the late 16th century until the early 17th century. But the Koroghlu who was portrayed as a robber in those sources was transformed through folklore into the form of an idealized hero.

It is interesting to trace the echoes of Koroghlu's connection with the Jelali movement by comparatively examining the epic itself. In the Tbilisi and Paris copies of the saga, the fact that Koroghlu is named "Jelali Koroghlu" (*Qoç Koroğlu qədəm qoyub meydanə, / Düşmənlərin batırbudur al qanə, / Bac verməyüb İstambulda sultanə, / Görməmişən mənim kimin Cəlali*<sup>28</sup> [*Courageous Koroghlu took a step on the battlefield/ the enemies were spattered with red blood/ he didn't pay taxes to the Sultan in Istanbul/ You haven't seen a Jelali like me*]), and in the same version the participation of people like **Nazar Jelali** (Paris and Tbilisi copies) and **Hasan Jelali** (Tbilisi copy) in obtaining Tarjam (this place is thought to be either a district in the Terjil region [Amid- now Diyarbakir- E.I.] or Terjan [located 88 km from Erzinjandan- E.I.]), both show that Koroghlu was connected to the Jelali rebels.

The prototypes of Koroghlu's comrades in arms are also historical figures. Dali Hasan, Kosa Sefer, Giziroghlu Mustafa bey, Tanritanimaz and other Jeralis are shown as various detachment leaders in chronicles of the Jelali era.

According to the writings of P. N. Boratav, he found other documents connected to Koroghlu among the documents in the Ismail Hakkı Uzuncharshılı Bashbakanlık archive. In those documents, Koroghlu's companions appear with names like Kiziroghlu, Demirjioghlu, Mahmut Bezirgan, Kasap Isa (Isa Bali), Ivaz, Hasan, Sefer and Yusuf.<sup>29</sup>

Dali Hasanini Jelali, one of the famous warriors in the saga, is shown to be a historical figure by the following: documents kept in the Suleymaniyya Library in Istanbul such as a Muhimma log (№ 76, p.11, 331), Asad Afandi's manuscript (№ 2151, pg. 80), Ankara Poetry Selections (№ 7, p.334; №10, p. 146), and a Divan notebook (№ 150, p.75); historians' works such as those of Abdulkadir Afandi (Chronicles), Naima

<sup>27</sup> F.Sumer. Oghuzlar. – B., 1992. – P.193.

<sup>28</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhasi). – B.: Sada, 2005. – P.427.

<sup>29</sup> P.N.Boratav. Halk Hikayesi ve Halk Hikayejilighi. – Ank., 1988. – P.137. – M. Ekiji. Turk Dunyasinda Koroghlu. – Ank., 2004. – P. 72.

(v.I, p.327, 328, 439), I. Pechevi (v.II, p. 253, 270), Anna S. Tveritinova, M. Akdagh, F. Sumer, and others; and the Encyclopaedia of Islam (“Kara Yazichi” section). Using these sources, M. Akdagh also affirmed that Dali Hasan was a real historical figure in his research.<sup>30</sup>

Information is also given about Giziroghlu Mustafa bey, who appears in the saga, being a Jelali in various documents (*Muhimma logs* – №61, p. 64; №64, p.122, 125; №66, p.176; №72, p.316, 331; Huseyin Husamettin, *Amasya History*, v.3, p.355-364; Abdulkadir, *Vekayii History*, p.107, *Selected Poems*).<sup>31</sup> In the muhimma log, he is shown as making a movement with 250 horses (№ 64, p.122, 125).

Huseyin Husamettin calls attention to Giziroghlu from Alti-Boluk:

“It is so seen that the majority (and perhaps all) of the Jelali chiefs around Karayaziji were cavalry tyrants coming out of Alti-Boluk. For example, Arabachi Suleyman, Arnavut Huseyin, *Dali Zulfikar* were from Alti-Boluk; famous people like Tekeli Mahmet, *Kizir Mustafa*, Dundar, Tepesi Tuylu, Yildizli Ibrahim, and Kafir Murad are known to be from Alti-Boluk.”<sup>32</sup> In the Tbilisi manuscript, Zulfugar bey’s name appears with those counted among the warriors under Koroghlu’s name (“Zülfüqar bæg, yaxşı yerdə yetirdün, /İyidligün bu gün yeridür, yeri”<sup>33</sup>[Zulfugar bey, you grew up in a good place,/ today is the place for courage; go]). In various historical documents, including legal logs, there are also notes about Dali Zulfugar.<sup>34</sup> Mustafa Akdagh speaks about insurgents such as Husan Sheykhoghullari in Ankara, Gara Vali in Chankiri, Jabbar Gulu in Karaman, Giziroghlu Mustafa bey in Malatya and Sivas, and people such as Amrullah in Marash.<sup>35</sup>

M. Akdagh also gave information based on various sources about the fact that Damirchioghlu was also a Jelali (*Muhimma log* № 46, p. 135; Ibnulemin, box 3, № 609 and 615).<sup>36</sup> For example: people like *Damirji Oghlu* in Izmir, Aydin Yaziji in Haymana and Kulaksiz Yusuf in Kirshehir, and the workers and unemployed rebels who were starting to be seen in many more places than their motherland- each one always carries Koroghlu’s spirit. Even since Koroghlu’s era, the rebels worked in relation to Istanbul; they hatched many other plots in the city.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>30</sup> M.Akdagh. Jelali Isyanlari. – P. 23, 24, 27, 342, 382, 389, 400 etc.

<sup>31</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 317, 329, 330, 332, 342, 381, 401, 421.

<sup>32</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 381.

<sup>33</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhasi). – B.: Sada, 2005. – P.296.

<sup>34</sup> M.Akdagh.Gostarilan asari. – P. 381, 401.

<sup>35</sup> M.Akdagh.Gostarilan asari. – P. 317.

<sup>36</sup> M.Akdagh.Gostarilan asari.– P.432.

<sup>37</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 299.

According to the writings of M. Akdagh, the name of Koroghlu's comrade Isabali also appears in historical sources, for example, in documents in the Bashbakanlik archive.<sup>38</sup>

Brosse, Arakel Tabrizli, Yereimiya Komurchuyan, Mustafa Akdagh and others consider Kosa Safari another one of the well-known Jelali leaders. M. Akdagh bases his claim that Kosa Safar was involved in the revolution on Brosse and Arakel Tabrizli (A. Tabrizli shows the revolution in 1599; M. Akdagh writes that it happened in 1958).

In the 6th volume of Ankara Law Register (Hijri 1008, 1600AD- E.I.) there is a note that Kosa Safar, as the regional governor of Marash, made a movement with 400 horses, killed the population and plundered everything they had: "Vazir Mahmat approached King Konya, the active leader of this region, Jelali Huseyn Pasha, quickly pulled away in the direction of the east, and in order to join Yazichi, passed over to the Marash region. Then, in that region, "300 persons were found on foot and with horses along with Maymun Dabudoghullar, as well as 400 working-class rebels with foreign horses with Kosa Safar, and 200 mounts with Osman Pasha Mutesellimi Omer..."

M. Akdagh also confirms this.<sup>39</sup> In M. Akdagh's book, he draws attention to the fact that Kosa Safar was Koroghlu's friend and that Kosa Safar took part in the Gara Yazichi- Dali Hasan revolution.

In his book *Azerbaijani History*, he especially notes what he did in eastern Anadolu in 1599. He shows that the disturbance in 1602 continued in Arzurum with Kosa Safar's support. He accompanied Jighaloghlu, the former Jelali who had become the judge of Arzurum and crusaded to Azerbaijan. On November 7, 1605 (this date is shown on page 406 of the 8th volume of ASE as 1603-E.I.), in a decisive battle around Sufiyan (which is near Tabriz), the Ottomans were defeated along with their neighbors. He fell captive and was executed.<sup>40</sup>

M. Akdagh also gives information about the fact that Balli Ahmad, one of Koroghlu's warriors, was a historical figure. Unlike the epic, M. Akdagh talked about Benli Ahmad instead of Balli Ahmad: "the vandals Kafir Murad and Benli Ahmed (Balli Ehmed in the Azerbaijani version - E.I.), together with all the vandals coming to the town and villages who are Jelali bandits, Turkmen clansmen, and those who have separated from the Karakash vandals, and with 800 horses, became violent, ate all the Muslims' food, bought boys and girls for pennies, and

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. – P.137.

<sup>39</sup> Ankara Sh.Sc. Nr. 6, P.257. – M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.386, 511.

<sup>40</sup> Azerbaijan tarikhi. – B., 1994. – P.473, 474.

shaved the girls' hair and employed them like boys. Those coming from the Barchinli villages to a town, seeing the things that had happened, presented them to the judge and wanted to tell Istanbul about them.”<sup>41</sup>

The forms of the names Tanritanimaz (in the Azerbaijani version), Gabrasighmaz (in the Turkish version), Dilbilmez (in the Azerbaijani version) are noted in historical sources. Arakel Tabrizli mentions Tanritanimaz and Gabrasighmaz in a list of Jelali names.<sup>42</sup> The names Tanribilmez, Gabrasighmaz and Dilsiz can also be found in M. Akdagh's memoir book: “Haji Shamlu's village, the reputed lead bandits' Kazdaghli, Kose Osman, *Dilsuz*, Simitlu Bolukbashi, passing that way, and besides cutting off heads, almost 200 men were killed by Jelali rebels;” “This pasha (Kurt Ahmet- E.I.) officials in his defense, one of the villages, Kirshehir, accused about 700 old brothers of being dervishes, and 3 or 4 hundred unemployed people came with horses. Rebels like “*Tanribilmez*,” “*Kabresighmaz*,” “*Dardoghan*” are remembered with fanciful horses... “in addition to this, the tyrant Tanribilmez took control and sent out 70 or 80 unemployed rebels to rob the governor's subjects.”<sup>43</sup>

We need to clarify a few facts connected to Shah Abbas and Sultan Murad, whose names are mentioned in the epic. In the Tbilisi manuscript of the epic, both Shah Abbas are mentioned. It is shown that after the death of Shah Abbas I, Shah Abbas II came to his throne: “...the previous Shah Abbas died, and the latter Shah Abbas took over his throne/sultanate.”<sup>44</sup> In the Tbilisi manuscript, Shah Abbas puts out Koroghlu's father Mirza bey's eyes.

Here history was not shown clearly, and allowed for errors. From history it is known that after Shah Abbas I, the government passed to his grandson Shah Safi (1629-1642), but because he couldn't run the country, his son Shah Abbas II overthrew him and took over ruling in 1642. He remained in control until 1666.<sup>45</sup> Information is given about this in Volume 8 of the Azerbaijan Soviet Encyclopedia.<sup>46</sup>

In the Paris manuscript of the epic, however, Shah Abbas II's name appears. Based on the Paris manuscript, A. Khodzko writes that Koroghlu lived in Azerbaijan during the rule of Shah Abbas II, was involved in robbery and banditry on the Arzurum road, and was a Turkmen who participated in pillaging Taka.

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<sup>41</sup> Muh. def. №75, P.330. – M.Akdagh. Jelali Isyanlari. – P.472.

<sup>42</sup> A.Tabrizli. Gostarilan asari. – P.94-95.

<sup>43</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P. 427, 428, 480.

<sup>44</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhasi), XIX majlis. – B.: Sada, 2005. – P.439.

<sup>45</sup> Azerbaijan tarixi (an qadim zamanlardan XX asradak), I jild. – B., 1994. – P. 483, 493.

<sup>46</sup> Azerbaijan Sovet Ensiklopediyasi, VIII jild. – B., 1984. – P.408.

It is the author's opinion that this is talking about Shah Abbas I, who ruled from 1587-1629<sup>47</sup> and was known among ashugs. In reality, the peak of the Jelali revolution coincides historically with Shah Abbas I's era. This can be noticed in several poems citing Koroghlu:

*Koroğlu der...*

*Müxənnətlər bu dünyada qalmaya,*

*İstambulun xəracını almaya,*

*Şeyx oğlunun qızılbaş gərəkdir<sup>48</sup>.*

*[Koroghlu says...*

*Traitors should not remain in this world,*

*They shouldn't take the taxes of Istanbul,*

*The sheik's son's Kizilbash is necessary.]*

Or:

*Koroğlu, gəldilər savaş qurmağa,*

*Qoçaqların muradını verməyə,*

*Kos, nağara çalınır qan almağa,*

*O Şeyx oğlu Şah Abbasın günüdür<sup>49</sup>.*

*[Koroghlu, they came to start a battle,*

*To give the wishes of the strong,*

*To shed blood as the weapons and drums play,*

*It's the day of Shah Abbas the sheik's son.]*

Sultan Murad, whose name appears in the epic, is also a historical figure. In the Paris manuscript, both rulers- Shah Abbas and Sultan Murad- are mentioned. For example: "If you don't know, know that I am Nigar khanum, the daughter of Sultan Murad, Sultan of Rum;" "Shah Abbas insisted, but Koroghlu didn't agree."<sup>50</sup>

In this manuscript, Sultan Murad is presented as the shah of Turkistan. It appears that Turkistan was a reference to the Ottoman Turkey, because Sultan Murad ruled during the Ottoman era. More appropriate for the era under investigation would be Sultan Murad III (1574-1595).

<sup>47</sup> Azərbaycan Sovet Ensiklopediyası, X jild. – B., 1987. – P.473.

<sup>48</sup> A. Qarajadaghi. Sheirlər məcmuəsi – Azərbaycan dastanları, IV jild. – B., 1969. – P.491.

<sup>49</sup> P.Mumtaz. El shairləri, II jild. – B., 1935. – P. 241.– Azərbaycan dastanları, IV jild, B., 2005. – P.508.

<sup>50</sup> Koroghlu (Paris nüsxəsi). – B.: Ozan, 1997. – P.48, 192.

It is known that there were four Sultan Murads who ruled during Ottoman history. Sultan Murad III (1574-1595) was the sultan of Turkey during Shah Abbas I's era. Sultan Mahmad III (1595-1603), Sultan Ahmed I (1603- 1617), Sultan Mustafa I (1617-1618), Sultan Osman II (1618- 1622), and Sultan Mustafa I (again – 1622-1623) were the sultans of Turkey between the rules of Sultan Murad III and Sultan Murad IV(1623-1640).

We note that Sultan Mahmud, the Turkish ruler whose name appears in the Tbilisi manuscript, is Nigar khanum's father, and maybe Mahmad III. Because "Koroghlu" is an epos, it is possible that it presents mixed-up versions of events, dates, and names of people and places. It is likely that he was mixed with Mahmud Mahmad in the Tbilisi manuscript.

It can be seen from historical sources that Sultan Murad III's rule overlaps with that of Shah Abbas I by 8 years, and that Sultan Murad IV's rule overlaps with that of Shah Abbas by 6 years. In the "Notes and Explanations" section of the Paris manuscript it is noted that Sultan Murad, whose name appears in the legend, is a historical figure. He was the Sultan of Turkey from 1623-1640 under the name of Sultan Murad IV (p. 199). In the author's opinion, Koroghlu lived during the rules of both Sultan Murads. It is seen in the epic that Koroghlu lived a long life. In order to confirm this theory, we turn to the writings of Tahmasib, H. Alizade and the Turkish version.

In Tahmasib and H. Alizade's writings:

*Titrəyir allərim, tor görür gözüm,  
Mənni qocalmışam, ya zəmanəmi?  
[My hands are shaking, my eyes are cloudy,  
Have I gotten old, or my times?]*

From the Turkish version:

*Köroğlu der, yarım gelmez,  
Akan gözüm yaşın silmez  
Eski gençlik ele girmez  
Kocaldım Ayvaz, pir oldum<sup>51</sup>.  
[Koroghlu says that my love will not come,  
My flowing tears will not be wiped away,  
My missing youth will not return,  
I got old, Ayvaz; I became wise.]*

<sup>51</sup> O.Yaghji. Koroghlu, Yashami ve Butun SHiirleri. – Ist.: Gun Yayinlari. – P.219.

It is apparent in the Antep legend of the Koroghlu epic that the king of Baghdad takes three of Koroghlu's warriors (Dali Hasan, Damirchioghlu, Daghistanli Hasan) captive. At that time he hears that the new shah of Iran, Ajam, is coming to take over Baghdad with an army of 100 thousand. By the time Sultan Murad can send help, the King of Baghdad appeals to Koroghlu for help by means of his captives: "Shah Ajam began a movement to take Baghdad with an army of one hundred thousand men. Our forces here are twelve thousand men. With them I won't be able to match Shah Ajam's army. We will lose Baghdad. Then we will be prisoners of war. If Koroghlu comes to our aid, in defending Baghdad we will put off our enemies. During that time Sultan Murad will send us forces, open the siege, and we will escape from Baghdad."<sup>52</sup>

Historical sources show that Baghdad was a kingdom submitting to the Ottoman state from 1534 to 1623. Making use of the revolt that took place in Baghdad in 1623-24, Shah Abbas I took the cities of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul, Najaf and Karbala into Iraqi-Arab hands.<sup>53</sup> At the same time it is written in the book *Azerbaijani History*: "In the success of Baghdad, a two-year struggle ended with the victory of Safavid troops (1624-1626)."<sup>54</sup> In the written explanations in A. Tabrizi's History Book, it is shown that Shah Abbas took Baghdad back from the Turks for the second time in 1623.<sup>55</sup>

This historical event agrees with the event described in the Antep legend. It is highly possible that Koroghlu assisted the Ottoman forces in Baghdad with his own soldiers. According to some views, it is probable that Koroghlu was still alive during the time of Sultan Murad (Sultan Murad IV, whose name is listed in the Koroghlu legend) (1623-1640). He had grown older and earned more authority. Because of his age, Koroghlu was only able to encourage his soldiers to fight during the time of Sultan Murad IV. The Antep legend shows that Koroghlu was not able to (figuratively) stir the mountains and rocks from their places by roaring as he had in the past. He watched the soldiers from behind, gave orders and motivated them to fight. Koroghlu's main actions had been during the time of Sultan Murad III. Various facts confirm this thought: it is known from history that the second stage of the Ottoman-Safavid war (1578-1590) began during the Sultan Murad III era. Koroghlu was also in Iran on a journey with King Ozdemiroghlu Osman in 1585 and dedicated two poems to King Osman. In one of the poems, before the king's death—during the time of the attack on Shirvan—and in the other poem, after taking Tabriz—he told about Osman's death with his own doom. Sultan Murad's

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<sup>52</sup> Huseyin Bayaz. Koroghlu (Antep Rivayeti). – Karajan Yayinlari, 1981. – P.323.

<sup>53</sup> Azerbaijan Sovet Ensiklopediyasi, VIII jild. – B., 1984. – P. 406.

<sup>54</sup> Azerbaijan tarixi , I jild. –B., 1994. – P.483.

<sup>55</sup> A.Tabrizli. Gostarilan asari. – P.526.

name appears in both of these rich poems by Koroghlu that also confirm the historical times:

*Köroğlu söyledi yine bu sözü  
Felek toprağa düşürdü gül yüzü  
“Aldım Demirkapı ile Tebriz`i  
Şarım \* teslim eylen Sultan Murad`a”<sup>56</sup>.  
[Koroghlu again said a word  
A hundred flowers fell to the fated land  
“I took Demirkapı and Tabriz  
Surrendering my city to Sultan Murad.”]*

All of these quotes and pieces of evidence show the historicity of Koroghlu’s life and the fact that he lived during the time of Sultan Murad III. It is also possible to include other citations among these types of citations.

We can also infer from these historical facts that Koroghlu’s main activity as a Jelali was connected to the time of Sultan Murad III. During that era, the rebels in Anadolu fought continually; blood covered their bodies. Koroghlu was also a well-known military leader (warlord) of that era. He gained fame during that time as a leader of the Jelalis.

The majority of those remembered in the epic as Koroghlu’s enemies are affirmed to be historical people by sources and research. The argument that king Hasan, King of Toqat, who was the main enemy in the “Koroghlu” epic, was a historical figure, is grounded.

At the same time, there are sources showing that Bolu bey was also a historical figure. F. Sumer writes that Bolu bey was a bey of the Ottoman region.<sup>57</sup> J. Anadol also affirms Bolu bey’s historicity: “In the middle of his (Koroghlu’s- E.I.) time, the Ottoman rulers were Sultan Murad III, chairman majors Damad Ahmed, Kibris Fatihi Lala Kara Mustafa Pasha, and Ferhad Pashalar. They Bey of Bolu was a state official who was sent from Istanbul: first Mahmad bey, later Behram bey sent from Chorum.”<sup>58</sup>

Jafar pasha, the king of Arzurum in the epic, is also presented as a historical person: “In leaving Tabriz, Jafar pasha, the tower official of the Turkish fortress in Tabriz, found it

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\* shar- shahar

<sup>56</sup> J.Oztelli. Koroghlu – Dadaloghlu – Kuloghlu. – Ist., 1984. – P.123.

<sup>57</sup> F.Sumer. Oghuzlar. – B., 1992. – P.193.

<sup>58</sup> J.Anadol. Kochyighit Koroghlu. – Ist., 1997. – P.20.

possible to take not only the surrounding lands, but also several territories of Azerbaijan's southern part."<sup>59</sup> Detailed information is given about Jafar Pasha in A. Tabrizli's *History Book*.<sup>60</sup>

A. Bakikhanov also mentions Jafar pasha in his work "Gulustani-Irem:" "In the year hijri 993 (1585), Jafar pasha went from Derbent, took the Kura fortress that the population had built, and plundered it."<sup>61</sup>

It is also written in the book *Azerbaijan History* that about 6 months after Tabriz was conquered, on February 7, 1586, Jafar pasha, the commander of the Ottoman garrison, informed Istanbul that 1500 people living in the city were in a critical condition. At the same time it is shown that the judge of Tabriz Jafar pasha badly beat the rebels with the help of Kurdish lords.<sup>62</sup>

We also would like to point out one fact from M. Akdagh: "Vizier Jafar Pasha, an official in the Tabriz defense and feudal and vassal tradesman who separated from the castle defense, answering to those who didn't obey the order, opened the prison and released them, and gave their lives to someone else. Ferhat Pasha, in command in 1586 (hijri 994) began to act with more definite and ultimate authority and began to reverse all the orders."<sup>63</sup> In the majority of sources, Jafar pasha was shown as a Tabriz judge (at that time Tabriz was under the Ottoman Empire).

There is another fact to be noted aside from the characteristic of sensing the traces of history in the epic.

We direct the reader's attention to the signature work *Escape of the Slave* by M. H. Tahmasib: a slave who was sent by the chief merchant Ahmad runs away and takes shelter in the Alamkulu khan. Damirchioghlu, Tanritanimaz, and Gurjuoghlu Mammad come after him. Taking the advice of Alamkulu khan's daughter Rukiyya, they have a grand feast and make sacrifices. Koroghlu comes, sets up a tent in the outskirts of the city, and entertains the Alamkulu khan for 3 days and 3 nights.

However the Yerevan leader Amrigune khan entertains the Anadolu Jelalis, Alamkulu khan in the epic will entertain Koroghlu and his Jelalis the same way. Thus, the way that Amirgune khan entertained the Jelalis forms the basis of the

<sup>59</sup> İ.Munshi. *Tarikh-i alam arayi Abbasi*. – P.356; B.Kutukoghlu. – P.181-182. -- O.Afandiyev. *Azerbaijan Safavilar Dovlati*. – B., 1993. – P.285.

<sup>60</sup> A.Tabrizli. *Gostarilan asari*. – P.56, 103, 470 va P.

<sup>61</sup> A.Bakikhanov. *Gulustani-Iram*. – B., 1951. – P.112.

<sup>62</sup> *Azerbaijan tarikhi*. – B., 1994. – P.468, 469.

<sup>63</sup> M.Akdagh. *Gostarilan asari*. – P.315.

*Escape of the Slave* story. M. H. Tahmasib also confirms this thought, saying that Alamkulu khan in the epic is the same as Amirgune khan.<sup>64</sup>

This is a historical fact: Amirgune khan was Koroghlu, Damirchioghlu and Tanritanitmaz's contemporary. In the *Escape of the Slave* story, Damirchioghlu, Tanritanitmaz and Gurjuoghlu Mammad pursue the runaway slave. Koroghlu, who is concerned about their tardiness, catches up to the group.

In the *Escape of the Slave* story in the epic, Alamkulu khan is the prototype of the historic Amirgune khan. Many sources agree with this theory. According to chronicles, including those written by A. A. Rahman, after the battle of Arzurum (1608) the Jelalis appealed to Shah Abbas I with the mediation of the Yerevan leader Amirgune khan to take refuge and avoid prosecution. Amirgune khan meets them triumphantly. Even according to the writings of Shah Abbas's palace historian Isgender Munshi (1560/61-1634), Amirgune khan gives these guests a feast for several days, including presenting them various gifts, robes, and titles.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, Koroghlu is one of the leaders of the Jelali rebels, and Alamkulu khan is the historic Amirgune khan.

At the same time, looking at how the epic lines up with history, it is interesting to trace Koroghlu's birthplace. Several variations list the name of Koroghlu's village as Muradbayli. This is confirmed by Koroghlu's own words:

***Yerim xəbər alsan, Muradbəyliyəm...***  
***Muradbəyli derlər bizə...***<sup>66</sup>

*[If you find out about my place, I'm from Muradbayli...]*

*They call us Muradbayli...]*

Some sources call attention to the fact that Muradbayli was located within the territory of Turkey. The epic shows that Ali kishi knows Chanlibeli very well. That is said to be where Goshabulaq is located. That also shows that Muradbayli was located close to Chanlibeli. Also confirming that Muradbayli was located in Turkey, J. Anadol writes that Koroghlu's family comes from the Murad khans in the Trabzon lands.<sup>67</sup>

Tahmasib's writings about the Koroghlu epic mention the name Alajalars in several places: *Alacalardan aşanda / Ərzurumu dolaşanda* [Spinning from the Alajars/

<sup>64</sup> M.H.Tahmasib. Azerbaijan khalq dastanlari (orta asrlar). – B., 1972. – P.170.

<sup>65</sup> A. A. Rakhmani. Tarikh-i alam araj-i Abbasi kak istochnik po istorii Azerbaijana, B., 1960. – P. 113-114. – M.H.Tahmasib. Azerbaijan khalq dastanlari (orta asrlar). – B., 1972. – P.171.

<sup>66</sup> Azerbaijan dastanlari, IV jild. – B., 1969. – P. 203, 335.

<sup>67</sup> J.Anadol. Kochyighit Koroghlu. – Ist., 1997. – P.13.

Going around Arzurum] .<sup>68</sup> It is clear from the poem that while Ashug Jun was in Arzurum, he passed by the Alajars. As we see from the poem, the Alajars were located near to Arzurum. This theory is also affirmed by historical sources. For example, Heydar Chelebi writes in his “Ruzname” about the Ottoman-Safavi war that took place in 1514 in Chaldiran: “a delegation coming from the Kizilbashlar (a military class) was executed in a place by the name of Alajars (Alaja) that submits to Arzurum.”<sup>69</sup>

It is shown in the Azerbaijan Soviet Encyclopedia that “the revolution began to weaken after facing severe defeat at the hands of the Sultan’s army in 1608 in the Alaja valley...”<sup>70</sup>

In the book *Eastern Anadolu from the Ag Koyuns to the Ottoman Empire* (“*Восточная Анатолия от Ак-Коюнлу к Османской империи*”) by Shahin Mustafayev, there is one village called Alaja in the Kharput region, and it is stated that Alaja silk is known in Tire and Erzincan.<sup>71</sup>

It is known from history that the biggest battle between the Sultan army and the Jelalis happened in Arzurum. Therefore, Alajars is a real place and it is located in Arzurum. It is of foremost importance in order to establish Koroghlu’s personal identity and his place. M. Akdagh also shows that Alaja is a real place in his works: “Among the most complex places in the Marmara region were the localities of Akya, Tarakli, Goynuk, Alaja, and Duzje, falling near the Iznik-Adapazari-Bolu line.”<sup>72</sup>

Aside from that, in historical sources relating to the Jelalis, such as in details given in chronicles and memoirs, events in various chapters of the Koroghlu epic, similarities among events, names of places and historical figures that are organized the same way (and match up with) names in the epos can be seen.

The majority of place names (villages, cities, nations, countries) reflected in the epic match up with historical reality. Other sources about Jelalis recall the names of Istanbul, Ballija, Toqat, Arzurum, Kars, Derbend, Helep (Aleppo), Uskudar, Malatya, Georgia, Baghdad, Basra, Bolu, Karaman, Nakhchivan, etc.

It is known from history that the biggest battle between the Jelalis and the Ottoman forces took place in 1608 at Arzurum. One of the epic’s chapters is called the

<sup>68</sup> Koroghlu (Tahmasib nashri). – B., 1949. – P.135.

<sup>69</sup> Sh.F.Farzalibayli. Azerbaijan va Osmanli imperiyasi. – B.: Azarnashr, 1995. – P.172.

<sup>70</sup> Azerbaijan Sovet Ensiklopediyasi, X jild. – B., 1987. – P.411.

<sup>71</sup> Sh. Mustafayev. Vostochnaya Anatoliya ot Ak-Koyunlu k Osmanskoj imperii.– M.,1994. – P.16, 186.

<sup>72</sup> M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.131.

“Arzurum Trip.” This chapter is present in the majority of versions of the epic. In the epic, Koroghlu begins a bloody battle at Arzurum.

In the majority of versions of the epic, there is also a “Baghdad Trip” chapter. Based on historical documents, Baghdad was under the Ottoman Empire in the late XVI century and the beginning of the XVII century.

From a historical perspective, among all the information arousing interest, Koroghlu’s “Dagestan Trip” is particularly noteworthy. The name Derbent comes up in versions of the Koroghlu epic (*Koroğluyam, şöhrətim var Əcəmdə, / Adım düşüb Dağistanə, Dərbəndə* – [I am Koroghlu, I am famous in Acam, / My name fell to Dagistan, to Derbent]- from the Tbilisi manuscript, p. 628). The “Dagistan trip” also holds a special place in the writings of M. H. Tahmasib, H. Alizada, V. Khulufu, in the Tbilisi manuscript, and in the legends of Antep and Marash. It is known that Derbent was under the occupation of the Ottomans from 1578-1612. According to Arakel Tabrizli, the Jelali movement surrounded the territory as far as Damirgapi. He writes, “...They were all Jelalis who disobeyed the sultan. They... robbed from Constantinople (Istanbul- E.I.) to Yerevan, from Baghdad to Damirgapi (Derbent- E.I.), and all the countries in the whole region from the Aral sea to the Black sea. ...”<sup>73</sup> The fact that one tower in Derbent was named Koroghlu Tower was also connected to this.<sup>74</sup>

If we direct our attention to Koroghlu’s two historical poems dedicated to Ozdamiroghlu Osman Pasha, we can clearly see that Koroghlu took part in a journey to Derbent, Shirvan and Tabriz with Ozdamiroghlu Osman Pasha: “*Demirkapı`dan Şirvan`a geçildi, / Onca\* savaşı oldu, kanlar saçıldı...*”; “*Osman paşa eydür, devletli Hüncar, / İnşallah Sultanım, Şirvan bizimdir...*”; “*Şirvan elinden Tebriz`e ulaştık...*”; “*Aldım Demirkapı ile Tebriz`i...*” [Passed from *Damirkapı* to Shirvan, / It became a great battle, blood was spilled...”; “Hey Osman Pasha, rich Sultan, / Lord willing, my Sultan, *Shirvan* is ours...”; “from the land of *Shirvan* we arrived in Tabriz...”; “I took *Damirkapı* and *Tabriz*...”]<sup>75</sup>

Information is clarified in Koroghlu with the inclusions of the names of places that were included in the lands of the Ottoman Empire. For example, Sham (Damascus), Helep (Aleppo), Egypt, and Yemen are included in these.

<sup>73</sup> A. Davrizhetsi. *Kniga istorii.* – M., 1973. – P.95.

<sup>74</sup> Azerbaijan Sovet Ensiklopediyası, III jild. – B., 1979. – P.418.

\* onja- much

<sup>75</sup> J.Oztelli. *Koroghlu, Dadaloghlu, Kuloghlu.* – Ist., 1984. – P.122-124.

*Xəbəri eləyün Urumdan, Şama,  
Deyün, qoçaqlarım, ta mən gəlincə<sup>76</sup>.  
[Give the news from Urum to Sham,  
Tell them, my strong ones, until I come.]*

*Gəzməgilən Şamu Hələb düzlərin,  
Sənin üçün kömək edən tapulmaz<sup>77</sup>.  
[Don't go from Sham to the plains of Helep,  
No one will be found to help you.]*

*Şamu, Hələb, Ərzurumdan bac aldı.  
Ayrı düşdüm ulusumdam, elimdən<sup>78</sup>.  
[I collected taxes from Sham, Helep, Arzurum.  
Other than that I left my land, my people.]*

*Gəzəcək Misiri, Şamı, Osmanı,  
İgid gərək qabağında tablasın<sup>79</sup>.  
[We will go to Egypt, Sham, Ottoman,  
The mighty should withstand what's in front of him.]*

*Axtarın Hələbi, gəzin Mısırı,  
Bağlayın yolları, kəsin cəsiri<sup>80</sup>.  
[Search Helep, go through Egypt,  
Close the roads, cut the bridge.]*

The Tbilisi manuscript talks about Koroghlu's trip to *Egypt* to get Khumar khanim, his battle with Huseyn Pasha, and his victory.

We note that in variations of the epic, the name Yemen is also included:

*Əl verərsə İran, Turan xaniyam,  
Zəbt etmişəm Hindi, Yəmən mənimdi!<sup>81</sup>*

<sup>76</sup> Koroghlu (Paris nuskhəsi). – B.: Ozan, 1997. – P.23.

<sup>77</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhəsi), VI majlis.– B.: Sada, 2005.

<sup>78</sup> Koroghlu (Tiflis nuskhəsi), XIV majlis. – B.: Sada, 2005.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.. – P.327.

<sup>80</sup> Koroghlu (Khulufu nashri). – B., 1999. – P.33.

<sup>81</sup> Koroghlu (H.Alizada nashri).– B., 1941. – P.194.

*[If Iran is suitable, I am the khan of Turan,  
I conquered India, Yemen is mine!]*

*Bağdat`tan Basra`dan Yemen`den beri  
Gündoğandan günbatana benimdir<sup>82</sup>.  
[From Baghdad from Basra from Yemen to here  
From the sunrise to the sunset is mine.]*

The khanate of Crimea became a vassal state of Turkey in 1475. Usually at wars with Russia and the Safavids, the khanate of Crimea had been an ally of Turkey. In the time of the Safavid-Ottoman wars, the army of the khanate of Crimea also attacked Azerbaijan (four times from 1578-1582). Until 1774 the khanate of Crimea was a vassal state of Turkey.

In the Koroghlu epic's Antep and Marash legends, Koroghlu joins with the Ottoman forces and fights a battle against the Russian army which turns into guerilla warfare, heroism is displayed, and he wins over his enemies. The Ottoman Pasha (Osman Pasha) becomes a pasha with this victory. The king gives him the title of the hero of Sivastopol (Sevastopol – *E.İ.*). The Marash legend also speaks of Koroghlu's participation in the Russian war: one poem tells that "First Koroghlu, on his way to the Russian war, told the soldiers..."<sup>83</sup>

Or:

*Köroğlu yiğit merd  
Sivastopolun Kürdüyüm...  
[Brave warrior Koroghlu  
I am the Kurd of Sivastopol...]*

*Ben Çamlıbel`in kuduyum  
Yiğit Beyler sürü ilen<sup>84</sup>.  
[I am the wolf of Chamlibel  
With the pack of brave men.]*

In an article entitled "Notes about Koroghlu," Inan Abdulkadir discusses Koroghlu's battle at "Kırım kolu" with the khan of Crimea, Shahin Giray, from

<sup>82</sup> Marash Rivayeti, q.9.

<sup>83</sup> Marash Rivayeti, q.77.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.. – P.101.

collected quotes from Koroghlu.<sup>85</sup> In an article called “Koroghlu in Crimea,” Halil Bedi Yonetken gives a variation of the Turks’ poem said in Crimea, beginning with the line “I am one Koroghlu, I roam the mountains.”<sup>86</sup> It is evident in this article that Koroghlu carried out his revolution in Crimea as well.

We know from historical chronicles that at the end of the XVI century, Ozdamiroghlu Osman Pasha wanted to take control of the government that was ruling in Damirgapi in 1582. The government pardoned the fugitives and those who deserted the Austria war and sent them to Damirgapi. The soldiers came on ships from Trabzon and Samsun to Kafa (the name of the city of Feodosiya in the XIII–XVIII centuries- ASE, vol 5., B., 1981, p.360) and Damirgapi on the Crimea-Kafa road to help Osman Pasha: “Finally, in 1582 Ozdamir Osman Pasha arrived in Damir Kapu. Wanting to take power he made officers out of solders from all of Rum (Sivas) and the regions of Karaman, Anadolu regions, and various towns. They left with ships from the ports of Trabzon and Samsun, and were going to Damir Kapu from there;”<sup>87</sup> “...Again among those, Ozdamiroghlu Osman Pasha came from Shrivan to Kafa (991/1583) and, dismissing Mahmad Giray’s khanate, and in his place gave an order granting the permanent kingship of his brother Islam Giray.”<sup>88</sup>

Without giving further quotations we can be sure that Koroghlu was also among Ottoman Pasha’s army in Crimea and Kafa. At the same period Crimea was subject to attacks by the Russian Cossacks.<sup>89</sup> According to A. Bakikhanov, the Russian tsar Fyodor Ivanovich (1584-1598) send three thousand troops to Dagestan in 1594 and created a city named Goysu on the banks of the Sulak River. Boris Godunov also had three towers built in Dagestan to strengthen his own dominion while sitting on the throne of Russia (1598-1605). In 1604 Sultan Bud took thirteen thousand soldiers from Cherkezistan and attacked all three towers with the help of his brother Garay khan Shamkhal and the Crimean Tatars. In that battle, the Russians were annihilated.<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps as the Antep and Marash legends say, Koroghlu and his group participated in that battle at Crimea against the Russian Cossacks and displayed their heroism. That is

<sup>85</sup> A.Inan. Koroghlu`na Ait Notlar. – HBH, 1930. – S:92.

<sup>86</sup> H.B.Yonetken. Koroghlu Kirimda, TFA, jilt: II, 1968. – P.223. – J. Anadol . Kochyighit Koroghlu. – Ist., 1997. – P.63.

<sup>87</sup> Muh. def. № 55, P.102, 105 (Rum beylerbeyisine bu hususta hukumler) – M.Akdagh. Gostarilan asari. – P.312.

<sup>88</sup> Munejjimbashi. Sahaifu`l Ahbar. – Ist., 1868 – Giray Saynur Altugh. Hanlik Doneminde Kirim. – Turk Dunyasi Arashtirmalari, Nisan 2000. – P.125.

<sup>89</sup> H.Inaljik. Kirim Hanlighi. – Ank.,T.D.E.K., 1992.–P.53– Giray Saynur Altugh. Hanlik Doneminde Kirim, Turk Dunyasi Arashtirmalari, Nisan 2000. – P.125.

<sup>90</sup> A.Bakikhanov. Gulustani-Oram. – B., 1951. – P.115.

why he was named hero of Sevastopol. Of course, this is only one possibility. It would be worthwhile for more thought and research to be put into this subject.

In conclusion, much historical evidence confirms that Koroghlu lived during the end of the XVI century and beginning of the XVII century; was known as one of the leaders of the Jelalis; and was connected to the Anadolu School. From both historical chronicles and from the epic itself can be formed the basis for stating that Koroghlu was a historical figure. All of these are features reflecting the fact that Koroghlu's legendary heroism was widely known throughout various territories.

### **Summary**

#### **The Times and Characteristics of Koroghlu**

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The hero and ashug Koroghlu, who lived in the XVI century in Turkey, is known for his presence as a literary character and poet but is also documented as a historical figure. The article examines sources that mention his name in order to discuss the historicity of accounts about him and the events of his life as a Jalali fighter. Sources examined include historical and ethnographic works, travelogues and folklore collections, manuscripts, "Muhimma" (Mühimmə) log books, decrees sent out from the central government, various Ottoman documents, and legal logs.

**Keywords:** Koroghlu, Jelali uprising, ashug literature, Ottoman Empire