

The Roots of Circassian / Chechnian Identity in Turkey

*The first travelers stepped on the Caucasia, have met with an old man and have asked him who he was and where he was from. The old man responded: "Having melted the big world, just formed the land as a shell; stretched nets arisen all the sky; blasted lava hardened the land, was a small pile our exalted mountain, crossed the big Idil the youngs' step, at that time I was a man with white-bearded"**

To study the roots of Circassians and, to a lesser extent, Chechnians help us to understand the boundaries of their ethnic and diasporic identity in Turkey. The historical background, from ancient ages till today, is very significant discourse for the Circassians of Turkey (Özbay, 1995; Kutlu, 2005; Berkok, 1958; Öner, 2001, Ersoy & Kamacı, 1992). The Circassians emphasize the deep roots of their identity in human history. Apart from the discourse on deep roots, the other major identifying element of their identity is their migration/exile story, which is elaborated in this section, from the North Caucasia to the Ottoman lands in 1860s.

Since the late 1980s the collapse of the walls of the Eastern bloc and the improvements on the information and communication technologies (ICTs) have unfolded new developments, such as the awakened identities, the establishment of ethnic based associations, and direct news flow. To get information and to keep in touch with relatives from the lands that they migrated, the motherlands increased the awareness of Circassian groups in Turkey. For instance, Caucasian Association (*Kafkas Derneği*) organized a symposium on "Socio-Cultural Change in Circassians of Turkey" in 1993 at Ankara. These issues will be searched subsequent sections of the thesis.

1990s has also brought about other conflicts and discussions all over the world. Much more attention is paid to these renewed problems, which were neglected throughout the cold war period. Nonetheless, this does not mean that these issues did not exist previously. Holsti calls the cold war period as an "intellectual myopia" (Goldman et al., 2000: 2). Thanks to the improvements in information and communication technologies researchers become more aware of the existing problems in the world. Furthermore, globalization process has given an impetus to these diasporic ethnic groups by means of ICTs and political developments. According to Shami globalization "as a theory of present

* See, back cover of the book, Ünal, M. & Erol Yıldır (January 2005). Translation belongs to me.

movement, (...) captures the in-betweenness of a world always on the brink of newness” (Shami, 2000: 177).

According to modernity, past can take many forms as a tradition, history, evolution, antiquity or civilization; however these ideas do not give much space alternative pasts of cross bordered people, migrated and exiled population groups. “There is the past as tradition, a timeless, static past whose value lies not in explanation but in revealing the alter ego either as the anachronistic self or the distant other. A different past is History” (Shami, 2000: 177). An alternative reading of a history brings about a different past for different ethnic and diasporic groups. It provides a relationship between “motion and identity”. Shami explores this issue with a new conceptualization “prehistory of globalization” (2000: 178).¹ For Shami:

The unexpected divergences, convergences, and counter-intuitive insights illuminated by the juxtaposition illustrate the changing trajectories of migration, memory, and imagination. They help assess the utility of *prehistory* as a conceptual link between past and present and reveal the profoundly gendered nature of globalization and its past (2000: 178).

In line with Shami, another study for diasporic identity of Circassians belongs to Kaya (2004) who pursues Safran’s (1991) six steps typology for an ideal diaspora. Safran defines “Expatriate minority communities” as dispersed from one center to another place(s) with “a memory, vision or myth” of their homeland. Because of a belief not being accepted by the host country, diasporic communities believe that they will return back their homeland sooner or later, so they dedicate themselves to keep restoration of their ancestral country. They have never forgotten the importance of relationship with homeland and their group solidarity among themselves (Safran, 1991: 83-84 cited in Kaya, 2004). Kaya applies this model to Circassian groups living in Turkey. As will be elaborated in this chapter, Circassians migrated from one center, Northern Caucasia to several peripheral places in the Ottoman lands. After the collapse of the Ottoman, they moved other countries or stayed in the borders new nation states such as Jordan, Israel, and Syria. For Kaya, while Circassians have kept alive memory, vision or myth about their homeland, they do believe that host society, Turkey, do not fully accept them (2004: 226). Therefore, in line with this argument, Circassians also keep their feelings to go previous

¹ Shami (2000: 178) in order to explore the relationship between motion and identity search the “alternative pasts of modernity”. In the article, she looks two resources: first, ethnographic text narrating a journey from North Caucasus to Turkey, and second historical text from 1854 to documenting the journey of a slave woman”.

home back and are aware of being a community in diaspora. This diasporic identity co-exists and produces itself with the emergence of modern transportation and communication tools in global era (Kaya, 2005: 234).

On the other hand, there can be missing parts if Turkish Circassians have been described only with diasporic identity. They have been living in Turkey since 1864. So, third and fourth generations of the Turkish Circassians who are born in Turkey, continue the legacy of their parents. To listen the stories of motherland creates an emotional tie for them. In the interviews they defined Turkey as homeland, Northern Caucasia as “*Atayurt*”, the ancestral lands. The impact of new events in global era triggered many sentiments and consideration about the identity and recall their ancestral memory. Therefore, the identity of Turkish Circassians cannot merely be defined with reference to diaspora literature. In this study other complementary discussions and studies will be used together with diaspora, ethnic identity, majority versus minority. For instance, one of the interviewees from the Chechnian refugee camp in *Fenerbahçe İstanbul* commented on the Circassian exile.

“After they migrated to Anatolia 120 years ago, they have lost their culture and language. Their children today do not feel any sadness about their motherland. They just know that there is a country over there from their ancestors, so they just want to go and visit this place. They do not want to fight for their motherland. They are not heroes anymore, they do not want to die for their country” (12 January 2006).

According to him, all Turkish Chechnians have suddenly remembered their Chechnian identity after the Chechen-Russian war. Before the war they were not aware of their identity. Chechnian refugee asserts that there is a cultural disorder among the Circassians. The forgotten Circassian identity is only active within the borders of Turkey.

Who are Circassians?

It is important to emphasize the common use of the term in Turkey before elaborating the historical background. All North Caucasian people live in Turkey is indistinguishably accepted as *Çerkes* (*Cherkess*, *Circassian*). The “Circassian”, English equivalent term in Turkish “Cherkess”, indicate the indigenous peoples of the North Caucasus (Jaimoukha, 2001: 11). There are different uses of the term, for instance, according to Encyclopedia Britannica, Cherkess or Cherkess, plural *Cherkesy*, originally are Russian which mean member of Caucasian people who speaks Northern Caucasian language. The origin of the term Cherkess has not clearly defined yet; but there are three main theories among

various explanations: Greek, Iranian and Turkish (Avagyan, 2004: 9) Ancient Greek authors used the term *Kercetai* to call an indigenous people living in North Eastern Black Sea coast in IV century BC. It was commonly believed that *Kercetai* had transformed into Cherkess until 18th century (9-10).² On the other hand, in Persian, Cherkess means *caergaes* (eagle) (10-14). The last theory about the origin of the term is based on Turkish *çeri-kes* (*cengâver*) (warrior). This usage had become widespread during the Ottoman Empire (15).

The origin of Cherkess, *Çerkes* is not a common name for all different ethnic groups live in the Caucasus, because there are ethnic and regional divergences in the region: Transcaucasus to the south and Ciscaucasia, or the North Caucasus, to the north (Jaimoukha, 2001: 11). Nonetheless, all North Caucasus people have been called as Circassians since the seventeenth century (Avagyan, 2004: 18). As all ethnies living in these territories have their own history and have their republics that carry their names such as, Chechens in Chechnia, Abkhaz in Abkhazia, Ossetians in Ossetia, Adyges in Adigea, Daghestanis in Daghestan. Although there is no agreement on which nations get this name, *Çerkes*, the most common use is to include all the indigenous peoples of the North Caucasus. Another use of the term excludes the Eastern Caucasians, Chechens and Daghestanis. It only contains, in less extend, Northwestern Caucasians, Adyges, Abkhaz and Abazas, and Ubykhs. The most lessened extend it includes only Adyges and their clans (Bağ, 2001:47; Ünal & Yıldır, 2005:15). Shami takes that the Adygeia population “as Circassians (or *Çerkez*, *Sharkass*, *Tcherkess*), are example of identity in motion” (2000: 179).

To use term, the Circassians, interchangeable for Adyges is both a “self-designation of the people” and use of “outsider to refer to them” (Jaimoukha, 2001: 11). On the other hand, for Berkok (1958: 65) “Every Adygeia is Kirkas (Cherkess). However every Kirkas (Cherkess) is not Adygeia”.³ However, as a result of the migrations and exiles from the North Caucasia to Turkey, all these emigrants renamed as *Çerkes* in Turkey from the Ottoman period onwards. It has been widely accepted as a common term even among the North Caucasian group in Turkey (Ünal & Yıldır, 2005: 15). For instance, Chechnians and Ingushs, Daghestanians, and the others have called themselves “Circassian Turkish” until recently (Avagyan, 2004: 18). For this reason, Avagyan asserts that Circassian term does not mean

² It is commonly believed that Cherkess as a word used by the ancient Greeks. Greeks called all people who lived in the Caucasus as *Kercetai* or a term similar to this. This term had been turned into today’s use as Cherkess as time passed in history (Bağ, 2001:47).

³ Berkok (1958: 58), searches the meaning of the Circassian etymologically and he asserts that *kirkas* means Cherkess with two explanation: *Kir* means “master” in Greek, “genuine” in Latin, so Cherkess means that real Kas or the master of the Kas people who originally lived in Caucasus in the ancient times.

ethnic, but contains a social content (19).⁴ The people, majority of whom live outside their ancestral lands, and have North Caucasian culture can be called as Circassian (Berzeg, 1996: 17). So, in this study, Circassian as a term is accepted as North Caucasian peoples who live in Turkey since the exile of 1800s.

Exile

The forced migration with political reasons have started in the eighteenth century and accelerated in the nineteenth century. As a result of political and religious factors, almost all-Muslim population from the Caucasus and the Balkans migrated to the Anatolia. In this chapter, migrations from the Caucasus will be elaborated; the other part of the study, the migration from the Balkans to Anatolia will be examined in subsequent chapters. These forced migrations based on religious and political reasons started just after the defeat of Crimea by the Russians in 1783 (Karpat, 2003: 15).

A breaking point for the Circassians in history was the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before the Russian expansionism, Circassian communities had been living independently on vast territories for centuries. Although Circassians accepted sovereignty of the Ottomans or the Persians as supreme powers, they had never given up their independence (McCarthy, 1995: 32). Long lasting wars between Circassians and Russians came to an end, and resulted in defeat of the Circassians. This development caused to involuntary mass migration to the Ottoman Empire.

Mass migration does not pay attention to the will of the migrants. Natural disasters, wars or deportation policies are causes of the forced migrations, i.e. the exile (Güngör). Exile, as a form of punishment, means, “to be away from one’s home (i.e. city, state or country) while either being explicitly refused permission to return and/or being threatened by prison or death upon return” (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exile>). McCarthy uses the concept of exile instead of the migration to emphasize mainly three notions: displacement of the masses without their desire and will, force people to migrate another country, and settle new people to the displaced people’s land.⁵ Russians and Kazaks were settled in the lands that the Circassians left over (2005: 13). Circassians forced to external resettlement, i.e. deportation outside their country of residence. When all the nation or large groups are

⁴ The term Circassian has been defined according to social and geographical boundaries. Russians call all Northern Caucasus peoples as “mountaineer”. This widespread use of the term does not have any scientific base and ethnic definition (Avagyan, 2004: 19).

⁵ McCarthy asserts that there were many different ethnic groups who tried to be a sovereign power in the Caucasus and Eastern Anatolia regions. These ethnic groups are in fond of exaggerating the number of the death people and losses, and are keen on calling these reciprocal wars as genocide. So McCarthy does not use the term genocide, since both sides lost people and shoot each other (1995; 21).

exiled “it can be said that this nation is in exile, or diaspora” (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exile>). Therefore it is a fact that the Circassian mass emigration was clearly an exile from the Caucasus to Anatolia (Güngör).

When I asked Circassians interviewees to explain the differences between exile and migration, they have defined both of the concepts exactly as they are defined in literature. They strongly emphasized that Circassian emigration from the Caucasus was definitely an exile, not a migration. For instance, one of the interviewees (Chechnian) defines “migration as a voluntary and optional replacement and exile as a compulsory replacement”. Then he stressed, “he does not accept the use of term migration, instead of exile, as the Circassians were forced to scatter around the world”. He told that he confirmed the definition of exile for Circassians’ forced migration to Anatolia (18/06/2005). Another Chechnian interviewee explained the exile with reference to 1944 events⁶ (when the Chechnians exiled to Siberia together with other ethnic groups in Stalin’s period). The same interviewee considers 1864 as the exile year of Caucasus people to the Ottoman state (30/07/2005).

Despite the unreliable and indefinite resources about the number of the emigrated population, the continuous emigrations from the Caucasus to the Ottoman lands throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century were an irreversible fact. The migration movement can be traced from the following historical events: the migration from the Caucasus to Anatolia and Rumelia (The Ottoman territory in Europe) during the Ottoman and Russian war in 1828 and 1829; during the Crimean war in between 1853 and 1856; after the dissolution of Sheikh Shamil resistance in 1859. Russians were forced the Circassians to be Christian and to move them to Kuban plain in order render Caucasus region secure and safe. As a result of resistance to Russian forces, many Circassians were killed or were forced to migrate to Ottoman lands. Moreover, during the wars between Ottomans and Russians in 1877 and 1878, there were migrations from the Balkans to the Anatolia; as a result of the Balkan Wars 1912 and 1913, and the First World War migrations from the Balkans to the Anatolia had kept on (Karpas, 2003: 15-16). It has been a never-

⁶ It is estimated that 1,5 million people were forced to move from the Black and Caspian seas areas to Siberia between 1943 and 1944. Although the reasons for these deportations are not very clear, more than 100,000 Meskhetians, some researches claimed that Stalin wanted to make free southern Georgia from the Muslims. On the other hand, others have suggested that Stalin suspected from their obedience to the state. According to official explanation people are deported due to their collaboration with the enemy of the state, i.e., Germans, during the German occupation of the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus in 1941-42. The exiled populations to Siberia and Central Asia were Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush, Karachais, Kalmyks, Balkars, Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, Kurds, Hemshin, Meskhetians, and others (Peuch). See also Ramazanoğlu memories’ (2001). He shares his life story. As a Soviet soldier in the Second World War, he was a prisoner of war. He joined the Caucasian committee that aimed to establish independent Caucasus, when he was in the concentration camp in 1942. Germans, in order to weaken the Russians supported the committee (49).

ending story as migrations from Balkans to Anatolia continued until 1990s. It seems that it will not stop until all the wars stop in the world. In this section instead of giving an account of all these historical events, Turkish Circassians' history is taken into consideration. One of the interviewees (1/3/2005) said that his family had experienced three forced migrations since 1864. His grand father first moved from Sochi to Romania, after a while he migrated from the Balkans to the Anatolia, then from *Balıkesir, Manyas* to *Erzurum, Ulukışla* in the period of Atatürk, because of the Circassian Ethem event.⁷ These events that took place in the Republican Period will be explored in the following chapters.

In summary, the expansionist policies of the Russians, Pan-Slavism, and the annexation of the Crimea by the Russians had led to the deportation of many people.⁸ The exile implemented after the defeat of Sheikh Shamil. Circassian had been forced to move out of Caucasia first in 1864 and then between the years of 1877 and 1878 (Erkan, 2005: 8-9). Emigration started with the voluntary movement of certain Caucasian families' to the Ottoman lands at the first half of 1850s. For Berzeg (1996: 29), the defeat of Crimea by the Russians was the beginning of the end for the Caucasus. After the Crimean war, unlike the first one, emigration took an involuntary form between 1862 and 1865. This forced migration intensively continued between 1877 and 1878, 1890 and 1908, and then it ended in 1920s (Bice, 1991: 45).

The number of emigrants varies from 500,000 to 3 million according to different resources.⁹ The Ottoman resources give only the number of people who settled in the Ottoman lands. Russian resources are not certain (McCarty, 2005: 13). According to Karpát (2003:111) the predictions about the number of the Circassian emigrants vary from 700,000 to 1,000,000. When all the variables for the migration were taken into consideration, Karpát asserts that approximately 2,000,000 Caucasian people were forced to leave their ancestral lands between 1859 and 1879. Only 1,500,000 of them survived and settled in the Ottoman lands. After this migration, half million Circassian had also migrated to the Ottoman lands from 1881 to 1914 (112). Leitzinger (2000) gives estimated numbers on the basis of Neumann's (1839: 68-69) and Salaheddin Bey's (1867) works. Together with Kabardians and Abkhaz, all Circassians, 1,5 million people or 300,000

⁷ Turkish Republican period's events will be elaborated in succeeding chapters.

⁸ There are many explanations about expansionism policy of Russians that varies from the Russian paranoia of Mongols and Russian goal to reach the warm seashores and ports. Whatever the goals of this expansionism, Muslim population in Russia, especially Crimean Tatars, suffered a lot. Their mass migration started from 1772 and it was used as a model for the rest Muslim population (McCarthy, 1995:14).

⁹ Before the deportation, there were approximately 2 million Circassians living on 55,663 square kilometers stretching from northwestern Caucasus to northeastern shore of the Black Sea (Sterling, 2001).

families were destroyed by the Russians. On the other hand, Salaheddin Bey (27, 69) indicated that a number of 1,008,000 refugees, who were Crimean Tatars, Chechens and other Muslims from Caucasia and Crimea, arrived the Ottoman lands. 595,000 of them first settled in the Balkans in 1867, 500,000 of them by 1879, and another 500,000 till 1914. On the way to the Ottoman lands hundreds of thousands of Circassians, approximately 20 percent of total number had lost their lives due to malnutrition and disease, and means of transportation “by boats, carts and on foot” (Kaya, 2004: 223). In sum, between the years of 1857 and 1876 approximately 1,400,000 persons; just after from Ottoman and Russian war between the years 1877 and 1878 to 1910 300,000 persons, totally 1,700,000 persons between 1857 and 1910 had been exiled to Ottoman lands (Berzeg, 1996: 160).

Causes of the Exile

For most of the scholars, the main reason for the Circassians to emigrate to the Ottoman state was their perception of the empire as the center of the Islam. Main reason behind the mass migration to Ottoman lands, for Kaya (2004) was that the consideration of Istanbul as “the center of the Muslim world, to be safest place in which to seek refuge.” (222-223). However, Karpat asserts that to put emphasis on the religion, as the only one factor for the migration will be insufficient and misleading. There were many Muslim populations in Africa and Asia who did not succeed to establish their nation states did not migrate to the Ottoman state. The reason behind this preference and being a member of an Ottoman society is to share common “Ottoman political culture” in a certain degree. Since, all these population as subjects of the Ottoman had shared common legal, political and social values and attitudes in the state (2003: 17). However, Karpat’s emphasis on the culture does not minimize the significance of the Islam as a religion. According to Bice, in line with Kaya, in the formation of the today’s Caucasus, Islam has a priority on the construction of common identity in the region. Jihad and long years’ contention with Tsarist Russia were still valid in the mentality of Caucasian people. For Bice (1991: 5) “The Caucasians, throughout the years, who had kept on jihad symbolized in Sheikh Shamil’s personality, had “emigrated” to the “*Dar-ül İslâm*” [the Ottoman Lands] due to their belief system”. Therefore the religion, i.e. Islam was the prominent belief and definite reason for the migration to the Ottoman lands. All the interviewees support this idea with minor differences. One of the interviewees says “after the defeat of Sheikh Shamil in 1859, Russians forced the Circassians whether to go the regions where the Russians determined to settle or chose to go Muslim lands of the Ottoman. Ours, instead of accepting the Russian’s order, they decided to emigrate to the Muslim Ottoman lands. The Ottoman state was in need of population” (1/3/2005)

Another thought indicates that Russians very carefully planned to remove Circassians from their lands. Russians had implemented their plan to force Circassians; specifically Chechnians migrate with the consent to the Ottoman state. Brochures, signed by *Mehmet Nusret*, were distributed in an underhanded way. Brochures promised to give all Chechnians full of comfort, happiness and welfare in the Ottoman lands. However all these were false information. *Mihail Tarieloviç Loris Melikov* signed the brochure in the name of Mehmet Nusret (Kutlu, 2005: 314-315). Russians deceived not only Chechnians but also the Ottomans. While Chechnian considered that they were invited to the Ottoman lands with all comfort, the Ottomans thought that Circassians wanted to emigrate the lands of Caliph because of the deteriorated conditions after the war (Karpat, 2004:13; Toledano, 1994: 127).

The interviewees usually accused both the Ottomans and the Russians; for them, the Ottomans invited them to their lands for the military and demographic reasons, and the Russians forced them in a diplomatic way to migrate or to go other lands in the Russia. Mambet summarizes Y. Abramov's perspective on this complicated issue: "The Russian administrators led Adygeias to move out from their regions to the Ottomans without any doubt, and they promised them many things to make them accept to go easily. Besides, they overlooked the Ottoman's ambassadors work which was serving exactly the same goal as Russians, and did not stop them" (Mambet). After the Crimean war, as indicated above, Russians who defeated the Circassians and occupied their lands offered two choices to Circassians either to move to inner parts of Russia or to migrate to Ottoman lands (Toledano, 1994: 126). Berkok (1958: 526) gives in detail the story of exile which continued from 1863 to 1866. For him, the order of exile was given by the Grand Duke Michael, brother of the Tsar in August 1864: "All the inhabitant of the Caucasus have to leave their houses and remove within a month otherwise they will be considered as a traitors and will be dispatched to Siberia" (http://circassianworld.5u.com/russian_circassian_war; <http://circassianworld.5u.com/1864.html>). This clear expulsion of Circassians from their lands remained to be continuous reminder of "the exile and the destruction". (Berkok, 1958: 526).

Slavery

Another factor for the emigration was the feudal structure and slavery system in the Caucasus tradition. The Caucasus region, especially *Kabartay*, *Bjediğu*, *Hatıkuay*, *Besleney* sub-regions were under feudal structure. The feudal structure was developing in west Caucasus, especially in Daghestan and Chechnia. The peasants, approximately 10,000

people revolted against the *pşı*¹⁰, the feudal prince in Kabartay in 1767. In collaboration of *pşı* with the imams, this rebel was suppressed. From time to time these rebels had been put down with the help of Russians. However, the peasants living in the Kuban River plain had eliminated the feudal class in between 1790 and 1810, as a result of this overthrow, the feudal class took a shelter in Russian and Crimea (Berzeg, 1996: 36). These economic and social changes indicated that the feudal system in the Caucasus were about the collapse. Here, another reason for the emigration shows up. Besides the significance of the defeat by the Russians and the Ottoman factors, the impact of Islam is continuously emphasized in almost all the researches. On the other hand, the structural changes in the society have been rarely mentioned. So it can be said that there was another factor to migrate at the end of the 1700s to the Ottoman state for a certain class, which was to keep their feudal and traditional structure.

One of the interviewee (11/02/2005) says

“There were two reasons behind the migration. Many relatives of Circassians were migrated so that they believed that Ottoman lands were good place to live in. Because of the good implications of the previous migrations, a lot of people wanted to go there. Islam is the main reason behind this idea. Islam had also caused to existence of relatives and friends in the Ottoman lands. Another important factor for the migration was according to the interviewee is slavery. In 1861 the slavery system was banned in the Caucasus. Circassians accepted the feudalism and there were plenty of families with slaves. In order to last their slavery system they chose the Ottoman state. This is very important factor to migrate to the Ottoman lands in 1864”.

The slavery, as the interviewee emphasized, was another factor for the migration. The exile in 1864 had changed the commercial dimension of the slave mercantilism from foreign trade to domestic trade. After fifteenth century, the agricultural slavery was a marginal fact in the Ottoman Empire; however, the exile had changed the context of agricultural slavery in the Empire. The empire gave the emigrants certain lands and led

¹⁰ There are four classes in Circassian class structure: *Pşı*, *Verk*, *Tfekotl*, *Pşitl*. Despite these classes, the aristocratic class did not emerge because of the existence of *Thamade*, i.e., white bearded olds who guide the system and conduct the system with an open voting system. *Pşı* means prince, noble class; *verk* as a word means refined person, actually this honor given by the nobility (Baj, 1995: 101-104). *Tfekotl* is another free class among Circassians. It means freeman (109). *Pşitlis* are slaves who are from the wars among themselves and other ethnic groups such as Russians, Tatars and Mongols. Slave class can be divided into two: *Vine kut* and *Habze*. *Vine kut* is servant, and female servant. *Habze* has a more flexible structure who has their own houses, lands like peasant class. They share the crop with the owners of them (110-111).

Circassians to bring their serfs together with them. Meantime the existence of military slavery was stopped in Ottoman system (Toledano, 1994:7).

Berzeg asserted that the grand vizier informed the Sultan that there were 150,000 slaves among the Circassian emigrants on March 30, 1867. Emigrants were very weak position in the front of the slavery merchants for two reasons. First, Circassians preferably settled in regions in turmoil. Second, they are settled in different parts of the Ottoman land. As they were scattered, they were more vulnerable to economic deprivation. The economic situation of Circassians got worse as a result of these negative conditions, although free serfs were sold as slaves to improve their life conditions (Berzeg, 1996: 59-60).¹¹

Ottoman slavery system categorized the slaves on the basis of their social positions. The black slaves were totally different from Circassian slaves who were further categorized into two: the harem slavery and the agricultural slavery (Toledano, 1994: 154-155). Beginning with 1840s, England tried to persuade the Ottomans to abolish the slavery; specifically these efforts consisted of African and Circassian slaves' trade. The Ottomans refused this request especially for Circassian slaves, but they gradually limited the volume of slave trade. Although the slave trade was abolished in the Ottoman state in 1857, it lasted illegally until the beginning of new century (Toledano, 1994: 11). Although officially banned, slave trade especially Circassian slave trade, continued in black market (Schick, 2004:12). A common practice for Circassians was to sell their children or their young girls with the expectation that they will be accepted to Istanbul harems (Toledano, 15). In the interviews, more or less, all of the interviewees emphasized that Circassians were good servants and their women were famous with their beauty. They were also proud that Circassian girls joined to Ottoman harem. They did not pronounce the harem exactly; instead they mentioned this event such as "to give the girls to the palace" (*Saraya kız verme*). For Schick (2004: 13) the consent to sell the children was both fascinating and horrifying events for the Europeans. Circassian women slaves' history and story were challenged with European image of Orient from two perspectives. While Circassians were oriental people, they were not black in the context of race, i.e., they were not "other".

During the Crimean War, Russian navy had lost its control on Black sea. The lack of authority and chaotic situation increased slave trade. On the basis of British Admiral

¹¹ Unlike Baj, Berzeg believes that there is no real slavery system among Circassians. Circassians just brought the serfdom system of their feudal structure to Anatolia He argues that the number of serfs among Circassians was miscalculated. so (1996: 59).

Dolfos memoires Berkok comments that¹² : “... if the Caucasia had rescued, the civilization would have not been suffered to watch a half million Caucasian’s exile as a punishment from their lands, where they battled to protect and challenge for three hundred years; the humanity would have rescued themselves to fell sad by witnessing on sacrifice of these refugees from the greediness and lust of merchants, as well.” This was “greediness”, since all the refugees were settled in the merchants’ boats without giving any space, as if they were African slaves and traveled from one port to another one; and “lust”, since all beautiful girls among these poor human clusters were scattered to all Black Sea edge (Berkok, 1958: 528).

English and French allied forces reacted to the increase in slave trade. They indicated if the Ottomans did not stop the disgraceful trade, they would withdraw their military support. As a result of this, on 23/09/1854 the grand vizier *Mehmet Emin* Pasha forwarded the council of ministers (*meclis-i vükelâ*) decisions and opinions to the Sultan. For the grand vizier there were several reasons for slave trade. While the Circassians as a tradition can sell their children and relatives, the Georgians were stolen and were made slaves by the *Lazs*, a people from the Black sea side and North Caucasus. Thanks to the abomination from Russians, many Georgians joined to Ottoman military. While they were away from their homes, their wives and children were kidnapped and sold as slaves (Toledano, 1994: 99). In reality, the grand vizier neither wanted to abolish the slave trade nor to give unlimited freedom to the slave merchants. The council of ministers decided to send two orders to the commander Mustafa Pasha to ban slave trade in Georgia, and to tell Circassians not to sell their relatives and children as slaves (100.)¹³

One of the interviewees told me a story from his family. His grand father had a passion for the money and richness. In 1930, *Keriman Halis*, Turkish Circassian won the world beauty contest. Her grand father was one of the relatives of his grand father. Halis won an award, British gold money. The interviewee says that his grand father was very sad, since his two daughters did not win anything. In order to protect their beauty, the girls refused to work in the farm fields and did not go out when the sun was very hot. The grand father said that despite all these measures of protection, their beauty was useless as it did not bring any financial asset (1/3/2005). This anecdote gives some hints about the perception of a Circassian family. The grand father treated his daughters as an asset. Although not

¹² Unfortunately, the information indicated can not be proved from the web search. The name of the admiral (*Dolfos*, *Dolphos*...)written according to the main reference, Berkok (1958) most probably wrote this name according to Turkish pronunciation.

¹³ Mambet indicates the existence of another reason for Circassians to give their family members as a servant and slave. In order to join the Ottoman forces the only requirement was to have family or married in this period. To save the children’s and wife’s lives they gave them to big houses as servants.

possible to generalize, the women among Circassians can be treated as an asset with a surplus value. In other words, their beauty can be considered as an asset, which might have a financial value. Shami asserts that “most women” protested their slavery in the Ottoman state. Existing of slavery system does not necessarily means that “all Circassian girls saw slavery as a route to ‘prosperity and happiness’”(2000: 197).

The aim of these discussions is certainly not to explore the reasons of the Circassian slavery. The goal is to explore one of the identifying discourses in the formation of the Circassian identity in Turkey. It is obvious that the exiles worsened the financial and social life of Circassian to a large extend. All the interviewees that I speak with indicated the bad conditions of exile. However, they did not have a comprehensive and detailed account of what happened when their grand or grand- grand relatives emigrated as their elders have not mentioned much about these events, except telling them about harsh conditions during the journey.

Russian consulate in *Trabzon* reported to the Russian General Katraçef¹⁴, responsible person from the operation of exile:

“70,000 Circassians came to *Batum* to leave for Turkey. Every day in average seven persons had been dying among them. Among from 24,700 people who were reached the *Trabzon* port, 19,000 people had died until now. Now, from the 63,900 people stayed there, 180-250 people among them were dying everyday. Everyday in average 200 persons were passing away among 110,000 people in *Samsun*. I received an information about the 4650 people were sent to *Trabzon*, *Varna*, and *Istanbul*, among them 40 -60 persons had passed away everyday” (cited in Berkok, 1958: 529).

One of the interviewees asserted that they, the Circassians have never eaten fish from the Black Sea. On the way to the Anatolia, a lot of people died due to very harsh conditions. He told “they threw dead bodies of their relatives to the Black Sea, all these dead bodies were eaten by fish. That’s why they could hardly eat some fish from the Black Sea” (1/3/2005). The Circassians believed that they had lived the most cruel genocide and exile in the world, which has to be criticized and interpreted in the light of reason and science (Yançatarol, 1999: 1). Exile discourse is very important in the formation of the Circassian identity. The stories, myths, and lost lands in the Caucasus have been repeated very often. One of the interviewees put emphasis on Circassian genocide. He shared the

¹⁴ The name of the Russian general is used how it was written in Berkok’s book.

federation's effort to explore the exile story scientifically. These efforts indicate how the exile is significant discourse for the Circassians. He told that:

There was a T.V. program about Armenian exile and Andrew Mango was the speaker. Mango said 'there is another genocide which will be explored within next ten years. He referred to Circassian genocide. After this broadcasting, we decided to organize a conference at the anniversary of the exile on 21 May 2004. We communicated with Mango and invited him for a conference, however he said that he learned all these information from Karpat's books and he advised us to invite him, instead of himself. We invited Karpat, he came and gave a conference. His speech was transcribed and published in our periodical *Nart*¹⁵ (11/1/2005).

Caucasus associations, will be elaborated in subsequent chapters, are very active recent years. They have published books and periodicals, organized conferences. All these events and actions should be taken as the boundaries that draw the outer limits of their identity.

Muridism

Muridism and the role of Islam are briefly examined in this section. Islam and the Ottoman state are two other complementary discourses for the construction of Circassian identity. *Ferah Ali Pasha*¹⁶ was in charge of converting North Caucasians to Islam and the Ottoman influences this region between 1780 and 1784 (Bice, 1991: 11). For Berzeg, Ferah Ali Pasha has mererly interested in his military and religious duties but also with Circassian's tradition. His close relations with Circassians facilitated the transformation of Circassians. For instance, Circassians strated to give Turkish names to their children three years after their emigration (1996:50; Bağ, 2001: 86). During the Ottoman - Russian war that took place between 1787 and 1792, all Caucasians followed the order of Ottoman caliph to fight the "war against the enemy of the Islam (*din düşmanlarına karşı gazâ*)" and they fought a battle with the Russians (Gökçe 47-55 cited in Bice, 1991:12). The Ottoman-Russian war demonstrates the importance of religion for the Circassians. This religious justification of the war enabled Caucasian people to gain power to fight in long military wars (Saydam, 1995: 95).

¹⁵ See the speech of Karpat, <http://kafkasfederasyonu.org/v1/>; or Nart, (2004), No.37: 12-17

¹⁶ Ferah Ali Pasha was sent to the Caucasus, after a report that was prepared by two commanders; Canikli Ali Pasha and Hasan Pasha. According to their report, they wanted to create regular army from the Caucasian people and construct the harbors to the Caucasian edge of Black Sea (Berzeg, 1996: 53).

While Ferah Ali Pasha was spreading Islam in the North Caucasus, *Imam Mansur*¹⁷ and his followers in Daghestan, west eastern Caucasus in 1783s had organized a *sufi* movement, called Muridism, (Bice, 1991: 13) which still have impact on today's Caucasus, specifically in Chechnia. A great proportion of Chechnians and Ingushs are Muslims. They accepted Islam between VIII and XII. centuries, and they were pioneers in spreading Islam (Kutlu, 2005: 65). Today, apart from four Christian villages and one town in the Circassian Ossetian Republic, all Caucasian people are Muslims. (Shami, 2000a: 105).

Being both religious and mystical, Muridism was a widespread belief in the Northern Caucasus at the end of eighteen century and nineteenth century. *Mansur, Gazi Muhammed, Hamzat-bek* and *Shamil* who were the leaders of this movement fought to create an Islamic theocratic state based on the ideas and practice of sufism. Militarized murids supported the existence of the regime and existed in Dagestan and Chechnia until 1859 (Caucasian Knot). For Bica (1991:15), "the movement of Muridism was the main factor in the formation of independent Caucasus", since jihad articulated different ethnic groups and tribes to each other to reach a same goal. They believed that the jihad, the war against the enemy of the Islam, would make independent Caucasus a reality.

Imam Mansur invited all Caucasians to jihad against to the Russians. Mansur was the first president of Chechens. For Kutlu, he was a leader who fought with a colonial power and lived according to Islamic rules. The Caucasus muridism consisted of two main elements: "Motherland and religion" (2005: 70). Mansur combined these two symbols and succeeded to unify the Caucasus until in 1791 when Imam Mansur was taken as a prisoner. After forty years from the death of Imam Mansur in 1794, Imam Gazi Muhammed organized another resistance movement against Russians that he called *Gazavat*, the synonym of jihad, i.e. holy war. Later, this resistance movement carried on by Hamzat and Shamil. They established a religious and militarist system where everybody is equal. Gazi Muhammed asserted, "The rights and assets of all Muslims are equal. Nobody could be man of anybody, except Allah" (Özbay, 1995: 31), Meantime, Imam Gazi Muhammed declared war to Russia, Russians defeated the Ottomans, and took *Erzurum* and *Muş* cities in eastern Turkey. After the defeat, the Ottomans signed *Edirne* pact, which left all the Caucasus and the Eastern Black sea to Russia. Imam Gazi Muhammed clearly refused this pact and struggled with Russia until 1864. Imam Gazi Muhammed died in 1832, and then Imam Hamzat Bek ruled this war until he died in 1834. Imam Sheikh Shamil was chosen then (Bica, 1991: 16-19).

¹⁷ Imam Mansur was borned in Alda, a village in Chechnia in 1722. He was the frontier of muridism movement that became widespread in the period of Shamil in Daghestan and Chechnia (Berzeg, 1996: 32).

Sheikh Shamil improved muridist movement in the Caucasus by challenging with the supporters of the Russians among themselves. Meanwhile in 1787 and in 1792 Ottoman and Russian war had started once again. Shamil forced Russians to withdraw to back front of the river Don. Sheikh Shamil continued to combat with Russian forces by withdrawing his army to Chechnia between 1840 and 1843. For Bica, he succeeded to unite all different tribes under the same goal of establishing a unified and independent North Caucasus (1991: 21). The advantage that Crimean war (fought between Russians and Ottomans) provided to Sheikh Shamil did not last long. After the Crimean war, Russian military destroyed the forest area where the guerillas lived in, and hold power over the Caucasus. Sheikh Shamil was imprisoned on September 6, 1859. The rest of the guerillas continued to struggle with Russian forces, but the resistance was totally broken in 1864, the year of migration to Anatolia (Bica, 1991: 25). One of the Islamic fighters, *mücahit*, that I interviewed, in the *Fenerbahçe* refuge camp, indicated that the Chechnians never accepted Sheikh Shamil's submission to Russian forces. He says, "Even if a Chechen has two souls, he has to sacrifice both of them for his motherland" (12/01/2006). The Chechnians accept Imam Mansur as a national hero, since for them, Shamil was not originally Chechnian, and he surrounded to Tsarist Russia and allowed Russians to occupy the country. After the defeat of muridist movement in the Caucasus, the Ottoman and Russian war is fought between 1877 and 1878. Ottoman forces were defeated and *Kars*, *Artvin* and *Batum*, three cities in eastern Anatolia were given to Russia with Berlin Pact in 1878 (Bica, 1991: 42).

After the Crimean war in 1858, the Caucasus Committee, which was established twenty years ago in Petersburg, implemented their Caucasus plan. According to the plan one third of the North Caucasian people migrated. They planned to allocate the evacuated lands to Russian and Kazak villagers. Furthermore they planned the settlement of Tsarist military and administrative personnel (Bice, 1991: 46). General R. A. Fadeyev (1899) in his book *Caucasus Letters* mentioned this plan:

"As the recent developments were confirmed as well, it was predicted that the most of the mountaineers would go to the Ottoman state, instead of comply with the Tsar of Russia. While the local Caucasian people were forced to exile as masses, they urged to go to the Black Sea Cost and sent to Anatolia by getting on the boats under compulsion" ^ (quoted from Bice, 1991: 46)

^ Turkish to English translation belongs to me.

This quote further demonstrates that the emigration was not voluntary. Russians wanted to repel Circassians from the Caucasus since these warrior people have not accepted the power and authority of Russians and they caused to a permanent disorder and inconsistency in the region. Tsarist government was in need of keeping a big military force in this region to provide the security and order. This brought heavy budget burden to the Tsarist government of Russia (Avagyan, 2004: 30).¹⁸ Meanwhile, the Ottoman state was under attack of Russians. There was a need for countervailing force and Muslim population functioned as a balancing instrument for the future of the empire. Circassians, “as a reliable, countervailing force used to interdict and discipline Kurds, Turkmen, Druze, Bedouin and other nomads, they were an asset for the empire from a demographic and military standpoint”, specifically in Balkans and the Middle East (Kaya, 2004: 223).

Enlargement policies of Russia such as pan-Slavism targeted the Balkans. In order to balance population and religious demography, and provide security, the Ottomans settled the Circassians first to “Constance, Varna, Sofia, Pristina, Kosovo, Plevne and surrounding regions (Pinson, 1972 cited in Kaya, 2004:223). The Ottomans settled the Circassians in the Balkans in order to use them as a free military force. On the other hand, Russians did not led the Ottomans to settle the Circassian in the Ottoman borders of Russia, especially Chechnians. They were sent firstly to *Diyarbakır* and *Erzincan*, then to *Muş*, *Maraş*, *Mardin*, *Kızıltepe* (2000: 46-47).

The Ottoman and Russian war in 1877 and 1878 is considered as a new hope for the independence of Circassians. The riot in the Caucasus and the Ottoman attacks did not work well, and the Ottomans lost the war (Saydam, 1995: 106). This destruction led the Circassians to move from Rumelia to Anatolia, specifically to *Marmara* region of Anatolia and to the Golan Heights in Middle East. Remnants of several Circassian families, in average eighty families left there. They were later moved to Russian Federation in Bosnia war (Kaya, 2004: 223). For Ersoy & Kamacı, emigrants hardly adapted themselves to Balkan region. This created many social problems. After the Berlin Treaty in 1878 Circassians emigrated to Anatolia and the Middle East (1992: 115). Circassian thinkers give an account of the exile from the Balkans merely from the perspective of Caucasus people as if they were the only group who suffered. The researches do not reflect the whole picture. However, there were other factors in this period. There were attempts to divide

¹⁸ For Avagyan (2004: 33), there are other factors that increase the number of the refugees in mass migration, except the policies of the Tsarist Russia and the Ottoman state. These are religious propaganda and agitations of Turkish officials; move to Turkey as if they were going to Hadj; the relationship with the Ottoman Empire in the context of the Harem policies and relatives; the social structures of the Circassians; to have an unrestricted travel conditions for Circassians; the misbehavior of tsarist civil servants and Kazaks to Circassians.

the lands of Ottoman Rumelia into Bulgarians and Greeks in order to create new demographic and ethnic structure in Rumelia (Karpas, 2003: 115). During these period, a lot of Muslims, most of them Turks, approximately 250,000 - 300,000 people were killed, and 1,5 million people took shelter in the Ottoman lands (118).

The Circassian' emigrants were not randomly settled by the Ottoman state. "Immigrants Law" was enacted in 1857 and a commission for immigrants' matters was established in 1860. It was aimed to provide security and to allocate state lands the emigrants tax free (Berzeg, 1996: 121) Mass migrations forced Ottomans authorities to deal with the settlement of these peoples. However as they did not have enough human power and financial means, they authorized local authorities to take charge of this duty (McCarthy, 1998: 43). New populations were considered as a new human power and settled in critical places where the Ottomans were not powerful enough to provide security. The Circassians were used as a buffer zone between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples area (Berzeg, 1996: 140, 138). Furthermore, they were used as soldiers for the Ottoman army.

There was another factor in the settlement. Russians sought to prevent the settlement of emigrants by Ottomans according to domestic necessities. Russian administrators wanted the Ottomans to settle them in places, which were far away from their borders, "in any case, beyond *Erzincan, Tokat, Amasya* and *Samsun*" (Karpas, 2003: 112). After the Ottoman - Russian war of 1877-78, two groups arrived to Ottoman lands. First group arrived by boat from the Black Sea and continued to Syria. The other group arrived from Rumelia. After all these settlements, "there have been approximately 60,000 Circassians in Jordan (mostly Shapsugh, Chechen and Kabardian), 40,000 in Syria (mostly Abzekh, Kabardian and Abkhaz) and 3,000 in Israel (mostly Shapsugh and Akbhaz). (Kaya, 2005: 233).

Circassians who migrated to Anatolia were settled in cities stretching from *Samsun* to *Reyhali - Hatay*. There are also other settlement areas in the southern Marmara and eastern Black Sea regions. About 2,000,000 to 2,500,000 Circassians from various tribes such as Abkhaz, Sahpsugh, Kabardian, Ubikh, Abzekh, Chechen, etc are now living in Turkey. They speak different languages (Kaya, 2004: 224) and they communicate with each other through Turkish.

These expatriate groups in Turkey explore their history and especially their exile from the Caucasus to Anatolia. Exile has created a connection between their past and present, which reminds them who they are and where they come from. This period of "prehistory

of globalisation” awake their giant question about their identity and their differences from others. Before the collapse of the USSR, it was an ideal for them to go back the ancestral lands. The group who called themselves “returnist” advocated going back to the Caucasus. Currently they can go and live there if they wish to do so. According to Shami approximately 200 families from Turkey, Syria, and U.S. have migrated back to the republics of Kabardino-Balkaria and in Adygeia since 1989 (1998: 627). Circassians of Turkey who returned back to the ancestral lands in order to realize their big dream, soon become aware that their identity was somehow different from their relatives in the Caucasus. In order to legitimize their difference from the relatives in the Caucasus, Circassians of Turkey have involved in a big effort to define who they are. In order to discover the outer and inner limits of their identity, they dig the history very deep through the narrating the story of exile, scrutinizing the historical books, etc. It is similar to surgical operation that aims to remove all their infected history (the period from their exile until 1990s) to have a healthy and accurate identity. These detailed studies are not limited with the 1864 exile. The role of Circassians in the foundation of Turkish Republic; the events and deportations in the early Republican period; and their view of 1980s military coup, and their stories to discover their lands in the Caucasus will be elaborated in subsequent sections with reference to data obtained from the interviewees.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

An interview, (11/1/2005). The Caucasian Federation, General Secretary, Ankara.

An interview, (11/2/2005). Ankara Caucasus Association, the President, Ankara.

An interview, (1/3/2005). The Counsel of Unified Caucasus (Association) Federation, General Secretary, Ankara.

An interview, (18/6/2005). Chechnian Caucasian Culture and Solidarity Association, the president of Istanbul Branch, Istanbul.

An interview, (30/7/2005). Chechnian Caucasian Culture and Solidarity Association, the president of the association, Ankara.

Avagyan, A. (2004). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Kemalist Türkiye'nin Devlet - İktidar Sisteminde Çerkesler, Belge Yayınları: İstanbul.

Bağ, Y. (2001). Çerkeslerin Dünü Bugünü, Kafkas Derneği Yayınları 17: Ankara.

Baj, J. (1995). Çerkesler, Ayyıldız Yayınları: Ankara.

Berkok, İ. (1958). Tarihte Kafkasya, İstanbul Matbaası: İstanbul.

Berzeg, N. (1996). Gerçek, Tarihi ve Politik Nedenleriyle Çerkes Sürgünü, Takav Matbaacılık: Ankara.

Bice, H. (1991). Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı: Ankara.

Circassian. (2006). *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved January 27, 2006, from Encyclopædia Britannica Premium Service.
<http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=9082685>

Caucasian knot, <http://eng.kavkaz.memo.ru/printenc/engencyclopedia/id/564403.html>

“Çerkes Sürgünü: 21 Mayıs 1864”, http://circassianworld.5u.com/21May_1864.html

Erkan, S. (May - June 2005). “Sürgün olgusuna analitik yaklaşım ve ‘Çerkes Sürgünü’ örneği”, Nart, No. 43, pp. 7-11.

Ersoy, H. & Kamacı, A. (1992). Çerkes Tarihi, Tüzmamanlaryayıncılık: İstanbul.

Goldman, K., U. Hanners and C. Westin (eds). (2000). “Introduction Nationalism and Internationalism in the post-Cold Ward Era” in Nationalism and Internationalism in the post-Cold Ward Era, Routledge: London and NY.

Gökçe, C. (1979). Kafkasya ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kafkasya Siyaseti, Şamil Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları: İstanbul, cited in Bice, H. (1991) Bice, H. (1991). Kafkasya'dan Anadolu'ya Göçler, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı: Ankara.

Güngör, F., “Çerkes Sürgünü”, <http://www.kafkas.org.tr/tarih/cerkessurgunu.htm>

Jaimoukha, A. (2001). The Circassians a handbook, Curzon Caucasus World: England.

Karpat, K., H. (2003). Osmanlı Nüfusu (1830-1914) Demografik ve Sosyal Özellikleri, Translated by Bahar Tırnakçı, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul.

Karpat, K., H. (May-June 2004). “21 Mayıs Konferansı”, Nart, No: 37, pp.12-17;or, <http://kafkasfederasyonu.org/v1/>.

Kaya, A. (2004). “Political Participation Strategies of the Circassian Diaspora in Turkey”, Mediterranean Politics, 9(2): 221-239.

Kaya, A. (2005). “Türkiye’deki Çerkes Diyasporası: Diyasporada Kültürel Tözün Yeniden Üretimi”, Türk(İye) Kültürleri, Tetragon: İstanbul, pp.225-248.

Kutlu, T., C. (2005). Çeçen Direniş Tarihi, Anka Yayınları: İstanbul.

Leitzinger, A. (October 2000). “The Circassian Genocide” The Eurasian Politician, (2), <http://circassianworld.5u.com/circassiangenocide.html>

Neumann, K., F. (1839). “Russland und die Tscherkessen” in Reisen und Landersbeschreibungen, 1840, Vol. 19 quoted from Leitzinger, A. (October 2000). “The Circassian Genocide” The Eurasian Politician, (2), <http://circassianworld.5u.com/circassiangenocide.html>

Mambet, H. (27 March 2004). “Sürgünün 140. Yılında Çerkes Sürgünü Hakkında Kısa Bilgiler, Adige Psalhe Gazetesi, Translated by Ergün Yıldız, http://www.circassiancanada.com/tr/arastirma/surgunun_140_yilinda.htm

McCarthy, J. (May-June 2005). “Röportaj Justin McCarthy” (A speech with Justin McCarthy), Nart, 43:12-13.

McCarthy, J. (1998). Ölüm ve Sürgün: Osmanlı Müslümanlarına karşı yürütülen ulus olarak temizleme işlemi 1821-1922, Translated by Bilge Umar, İnkılap Yayınları: İstanbul.

Öner, Ç. (2001, 2nd ed.), Şu Bizim Çerkesler, Can Yayınları: İstanbul.

Peuch, J., C. “World War II -- 60 Years After: For Victims Of Stalin's Deportations, War Lives On”, http://www.rferl.org/features/features_Article.aspx?m=05&y=2005&id=1350F316-420A-4A90-B42E-B59FE9FCC8E5

Pinson, M. (1972). “Ottoman Colonisation of the Circassians in Rumili after the Crimean War”, Etudes Balkaniques 3, pp. 71 - 85 cited in Kaya, A. (2004). “Political Participation Strategies of the Circassian Diaspora in Turkey”, Mediterranean Politics, 9(2): 221-239.

“Russian - Circassian War 1763 - 21 May 1864 Eviction”, http://www.circassianworld.5u.com/russian_circassian_war.html.

Ramazan, M. (2001). Bir Kafkas Göçmeninin Anıları, Kafkas Derneği: Ankara.

Saltık, T. (2000). Tarihsel Mücadele Sürecinde Adıgeler, Abhazlar, Alanlar (Osetinler), Çeçenler, Berfin: İstanbul.

Saydam, A. (Spring 1995). "Freedom Movements in Northern Caucasia", Eurasian Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 88 - 123.

Selahaddin Bey (1867) quoted from Leitzinger, A. (October 2000). "The Circassian Genocide" The Eurasian Politician, (2), <http://circassianworld.5u.com/circassiangenocide.html>

Safran, W. (1991). "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homelands and Return", Diaspora, 1(1):83-99, cited in Kaya, A. (2004). "Political Participation Strategies of the Circassian Diaspora in Turkey", Mediterranean Politics, 9(2): 221-239.

Schick, İ., C. (2004). Çerkes Güzeli Bir Şarkiyatçı İmgenin Serüveni, Translated by Ayşen Anadol, Oğlak Güzel Kitaplar: İstanbul.

Shami, S. (October 1998). "Circassian Encounters: The Self as Other and the Production of the Homeland in the North Caucasus", Development and Change, Vol. 29. No.4, pp. 617 - 647.

Shami, S. (2000). "Prehistories of Globalization: Circassian Identity in Motion", Public Culture, 12 (1): 177 - 204.

Shami, S. (2000a). "The little nation: minorities and majorities in the context of shifting geographies" in Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era, edited by Kjell Goldmann, et all, Roudledge: London & New York.

Sterling, E. (January 15, 2001). "The Massacre in History", [A Book Review], 6(1), <http://www.ideajournal.com/articles.php?id=32>.

Toledano, E., R. (1994). Osmanlı Köle Ticareti 1840 - 1890, Translated by, Y. H. Erdem, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul.

Ünal, M. & Erol Yıldır (January 2005). Chechnian Caucasian Culture and Solidarity Association, Biz Çerkesler, (We Circassians), KAF-FED: Ankara.

Yançatarol, S. (July 1999, 2nd ed.). "Türkiye Çerkeslerinde Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme Sempozyumu Sunuş Bildirisi", Türkiye Çerkeslerinde Sosyo-Kültürel Değişme, Kaf Der Yayınları 4: Ankara, pp. 1-5.