

**The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East:
Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based
on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)**

Svetlana KUDAEVA

Maikop State Technological University, Maikop, Russian Federation

Abstract. *As of today, the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora counts according to the minimum data for around 3 million people. The areas of its compact settlement are Turkey, Syria, and Jordan. This situation has developed in the course of the mass migration of the Adyge to the Ottoman Empire in the XIX century during the Caucasian war. The manuscript presents a comparative analysis of the most known methods for studying "classic" Diasporas (their invariant component). Also, there was an attempt to adapt them in relation to the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora (variative component of the method), i.e. rather adequate approaches to studying the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora have been worked out. The author represents the main results of multi-year research on the history of formation and development of the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora in the countries of the Middle East in short.*

Keywords: Russia, North-West Caucasus, the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Middle East, the Circassian (Adyge), the Jewish diaspora.

Introduction

The Circassians (Adyge)¹ of the North-West Caucasus belong to the amount of the people, who became the national minority at their historic homeland. Currently, the Circassian (Adyge) ethnic group involves more than a three million people diaspora, while a little more than seven hundred thousand of them (the Adyge, the Circassian, and the Kabardians) live at their historic homeland. The areas of compact settlements of the Adyge abroad are Turkey, Syria, and Jordan. This situation was the result of the Caucasian war.

The available statistical data confirm that out of every 100 migrated North Caucasus residents, 57 people were of the Adyge ethnicity.² If one assesses the degree of tragedy of any people's fate by the ratio of the number of its representatives living in the historical homeland and the number of the diaspora, there are hardly a people in the world whose fate would have been so tragic. It should be noted that this ratio is two to one for the Armenians,³ one to four for the Jews,⁴ and one to five for the Adyge.⁵

¹ The Adyge is an endoethnonym (self-name), and the Circassians is an exoethnonym (ethnonym in other languages) of modern Kabardinians of Kabardino-Balkaria, the Circassians of Karachaevo-Cherkessia, the Adyge of the Republic of Adygea, the Shapsugs of the Black Sea and the Adyge living outside of Russia.

² S. G. Kudaeva, *The Adyge (Circassians) of the North-West Caucasus in the XIX Century: The Process of Transformation and Differentiation of the Adyge Society*, Maikop, Magarin O. G., 2014, p. 116, 375.

³ S.G. Kudaeva, *With Fire and Ferrum. Igni et Ferro. The Circassians' Forced Migration to the Ottoman Empire (20-70-es of the XIX century)*, Maikop, Maikop State Technological Institute, 1998, p. 18.

⁴ I.-M. Morariu, "Aspecte demografice privitoare la evreii din localitatea Salva, județul Bistrița-Năsăud (1885-1894)," in *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 11, p. 107–116.

⁵ S.G. Kudaeva, *With Fire and Ferrum. Igni et Ferro. The Circassians' Forced Migration to the Ottoman Empire (20-70-es of the XIX century)*, p. 18.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

Emigration of the Adyge at the XIX century to the limits of the Ottoman Empire was one of the central problems that determined the political and socio-economic history of the people. The extreme events related to the war could not but lead to differentiation of the society, change the nature of its functioning, determine the manifestation of critical areas of behavior, expressed in the emigration of a significant part of the population from the historic territory. In the course of military colonization, there have been cardinal changes in the political, socio-economic, cultural and mental spheres of the Adyge society, manifested in the process of transforming the traditional forms of joint living when the parts of the broken ethnicity enter the various spheres of the Russian Empire and the formation of numerous diaspora groups in the countries of the Middle East.

Today, in historical knowledge, interest in the problems of migration of peoples is becoming more and more evident. It is clear that the appeal to such a large-scale phenomenon as the Circassian (the Adyge) emigration is capable of substantially replenishing historical knowledge in the field of the Caucasus studies and international relations.

So far, sufficient experience has been accumulated in the systematic study of the causes and consequences of the Circassian (the Adyge) migration, and reasoned conclusions have been made. But still the problems connected with the peculiarities of the formation and development of the Circassian diaspora do not lose their relevance. This is natural, since the process of historical cognition is manifested in the movement of thought from the events of history to an understanding of their causes, the nature of development and consequences. In this context, the issue of the diasporality of the Circassian scattering is of particular interest, since the concept of "diaspora" is very multifaceted and complex. The identification of the nature of the diasporality of any scattering is of a special interest and importance for understanding ethnic processes.

In the course of the study of the diasporality theory, it was revealed that the diasporality consciousness manifests itself in very many scattering situations, but, according to scientists, not every ethnic group in the dispersion can be classified as a diaspora. That is why the article makes an attempt to distinguish in diaspora activities not only specific characteristics peculiar to a particular diaspora, but also general (invariant) characteristics that can be adapted to the Circassian scattering, i.e. variative component of the methodology.

The prevailing historiographic situation also determined the relevance of the researched problem. The modern state of historical science presupposes the development of scientific concepts, the formation of new research approaches, as well as the improvement of methods and methods of studying historical information, which will substantially expand the discussion space.

This formulation of the problem determined the choice of the object of study. It is, above all, the process of interaction of political and socio-economic phenomena leading to the modification of traditional social structures and the formation of diaspora groups, as well as the process of formation and development of the Circassian diaspora as an ethnosocial organism.

In order to provide a reasoned solution to the research problem, the author presents summarized results obtained in the course of a comprehensive study of the events of the 19th century in the North-Western Caucasus and the Ottoman Empire. Circassian emigration is studied as a broad socio-political, economic and demographic phenomenon. An attempt was made for the first time, using the available developments in the theory of ethnicity and the theory of diasporas, as well as factual material on the history of the formation and development of the Circassian diaspora, conducting comparative analysis with the Jewish classical diaspora in order to reveal the typological features of Circassian scattering.

Materials and methods

The complexity of the object being studied is determined by its multidimensionality, which required the involvement of a variety of historians and historiography sources and literature of varied informativeness. The author selects the most significant information on the importance.

An important place was taken by general theoretical studies that made it possible to identify the main criteria that characterize the basic concepts of "ethnicity" and "diaspora" for this problem.

A lot of attention was paid to the study of the ethnopolitical phenomenon of the diasporas by well-known Russian scientists V.A. Tishkov,⁶ S.A. Arutyunov,⁷ Yu.I. Semenov,⁸ E. Melkonyan,⁹ Z.I. Levin,¹⁰ V. Popkov.¹¹ A scrupulous analysis of this problem is presented in the works of foreign authors such as U. Safran,¹² A. Ashkenasi,¹³ Kh. Tololyan,¹⁴ etc. A comparative analysis of the conclusions of these authors made it possible to single out those provisions that are indisputably the characteristic features of classical diasporas and adapt them to the Adyge diaspora.

Special attention should be paid to the bibliographic and statistical work of the Bulgarian academician Nikolay Mihov.¹⁵ The author collected a huge amount of

⁶ V. A. Tishkov, "The Historical Phenomenon of the Diaspora", in *Ethnographic Review*, (2000), no. 2, p. 43–63.

⁷ S. A. Arutyunov, "Diaspora is a Process", in *Ethnographic Review*, (2000), no. 2, p. 74–78.

⁸ Yu. I. Semenov, "Ethnicity, Nation, Diaspora", in *Ethnographic Review*, (2000), no. 2, p. 64–74.

⁹ E. Melkonyan, "Diaspora in the System of Ethnic Minorities (on the Example of the Armenians Scattering)", in *Diasporas*, (2000), no. 1-2, p. 6–29.

¹⁰ Z. I. Levin, *The Diaspora Mentality (Systematic and Sociocultural Analysis)*, Moscow, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2001, p. 176.

¹¹ V. Popkov, "'Classic' Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", in *Diasporas*, (2002), no. 1, p. 6–12.

¹² W. Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return", in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1 (1) (1991), p. 83–99.

¹³ A. Ashkenasi, "Identitätsbewahrung, Akkulturation und die Enttäuschung in der Diaspora", in M. Dabag, K. Platt (eds.), *Identität in der Fremde*, Bochum, Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer, 1993, p. 106–116.

¹⁴ Kh. Tololyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment", in *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 5 (1) (1996), p. 3–36.

¹⁵ N. Mihov, *Population in Turkey and Bulgaria in XVIII-XIX Centuries. Bibliographic and Statistical Studies*, vol. 1, Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Publishing House "Tsarska Pridvorna Pечатnica", 1915, p. 483.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

material on publications and printed publications dealing with issues of ethnic composition, numbers and regions of settling of the peoples of Turkey and Bulgaria. N. Mihov managed to analyze the materials of 15 European libraries. Thus, it was a rare opportunity to extract important information from the works of European authors on the number and geography of the settlement of the Circassian (Adyge) in the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

It should be noted the work of Turkish authors and representatives of the Adyge abroad. They contain valuable information that helped to supplement with concrete testimonies the data on the future fate of the migrants, the plans of the Ottoman government for their use, the geography of settlement and numbers.

Moreover, the publications of foreign historians extracted data from unpublished sources of funds of foreign countries. Basically, these are the archival documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, as well as the Prime Minister and the Division for the Record of Acts of Great Britain.

In the course of studying the further fate of the migrants, the peculiarities of their entry into the political and social environment of their new country of residence, more than 40 foreign sources and literature not previously translated into Russian were analyzed.

The volume and informative saturation of the identified sources and literature constituted a sufficient basis for studying the problem posed. The article presents the results of the author's many years research on the history of the formation and development of the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora in the countries of the Near and Middle East. Most of the above facts were confirmed during the work in the scientific historical and ethnographic expedition in Turkey.

The level of elaboration of the methodology questions allowed to systematize the material and to arrive at sufficiently reasoned conclusions and generalizations. As a methodological basis, the author took into account the fundamental provisions of the dialectical logic of cognition, as well as the philosophical interpretation of the universal connection and the interdependence of the phenomena of history.

The principles of scientificity, historicism, objectivity, psychology, as well as systemic, and evaluative formed a specific scientific part of the methodological basis. In the systematization and analysis of sources and literature, historical research methods, such as specific analysis, retrospective, historical-typological, synchronous analysis, were used. The auxiliary component of the theoretical basis was the provisions and conclusions of well-known ethnologists, ethno-sociologists and ethnopsychologists.

A special place was given to the historical-typological method, which presupposes the systematization and ordering of objects of study according to their characteristic features. The use of this method helps to identify the similarities and differences in the objects studied, to determine their structure and patterns of functioning, and also their identification.

It should also be noted that the analysis of the problem of the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora presented in the article fully fits into the philosophical four-

dimensional system of methodological reflection: ontological, epistemological, axiological and praxiological.¹⁶ This statement requires clarification.

First, the definition of the object of research, the objective conditions for its existence, as well as the identification of parameters and regularities of being can be attributed to the ontological aspect. The article describes the concept of the diaspora, defines the theoretical positions of its study. Secondly, from the point of view of epistemology, it is intended to move towards a more complete understanding of historical knowledge on the problem under study. Thirdly, the praxeological approach presupposes a rational determination of the expediency of choosing the object of investigation. And, finally, the awareness of the value of the object under study, the establishment of its socio-historical significance belongs to the sphere of axiology. That is, in the article an attempt is made to give a value characteristic of the phenomenon under study taking into account the real theoretical and methodological state of historical knowledge and an adequate definition of theoretical approaches to the study of the problem.

Results and discussion

Due to the tradition in the science of designating the term "classical diaspora" for Jewish minorities in the context of this problem, interest is represented in the studies on the ranking of signs of the classical diaspora based on the experience of studying Jewish minorities. This allows us to identify the main, key criteria for diasporality.

In all presented concepts there are no contradictions, moreover, in most positions they are unanimous in opinion, and in some cases complement each other. Most authors acknowledge the violent nature of migration as the main criterion of diasporality. It is forced migration that is considered one of the key characteristics of classical (historical) diasporas, which distinguishes them from new forms of scattering, where the main reasons for migration are economic.

As for the Adyge migration, it can be argued that by now scientists have come up with reasoned conclusions on the causes of the Adyge migration and the definition of its nature. It was the policy of the tsarist government in the North-Western Caucasus, especially during the final stage of the Caucasian War (1856-1864), when the idea of mastering a strategically important region becomes the main one in the plans of the Russian government, caused a mass migration of the Adyge to the Ottoman Empire. During the military colonization of the region, the Adyge society, which previously represented an integral system of life support and functioning, underwent a forced transformation. As a result, a completely different ethnocolonization of the Adyge was formed in the North-Western Caucasus and beyond. By the end of the Caucasian war, there were about a hundred thousand from more than 1.5 million people. Ten years later there were only sixty thousand people in the Kuban region. According to archival documents, by the middle of 1864, ninety Cossack villages were settled on the lands of the Adyge, and by the

¹⁶ D. I. Dubrovskiy, "On the Specifics of the Philosophical Issues and Fundamental Categorical Structures of Philosophical Knowledge", in *The Questions of Philosophy*, (1984), no. 11, p. 62–68.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

end of the 19th century there were already one hundred and seventy-six. According to data for 1901, the indigenous population, i.e. Adyge, in the general composition of the population of the region was 5.5%. The above-mentioned facts confirm that by now in historical science it is already sufficiently argued enough that the migration of the Adyge within the Ottoman Empire was a forced reaction to the policy and practice of colonization of the North-Western Caucasus.¹⁷

Special attention is paid to the position that diasporas can arise only on the basis of ethnically homogeneous groups that were formed in the period preceding the migration.¹⁸

Kh. Tololyan notes that the basis of the diaspora is a community with a clearly manifested identity.¹⁹ The essence of this proposition essentially extends the assertion of S.A. Arutyunov that the diaspora cannot be in the country or the state, the diaspora can only be found in the ethno-social organisms living in the territory where the ethnicity was formed and its ethnogenesis and the process of further development were accomplished.²⁰

Argumentation of this thesis with respect to the Adyge requires an appeal to the questions of their ethnogenesis. The history of the formation of the Adyge's ethnicity was considered by scientists in the general context of the development of the North Caucasian peoples and the conclusion that the Adyge are the autochthons of the North-Western Caucasus is quite conclusive. The process of their formation has been going on for a long time - from the Neolithic era to the early Iron Age (1 thousand BC), when one can confidently talk about the ethnic composition of the region's population.²¹ And by the 10th century AD it is believed that the Adyge formed as a people with a single language and culture and occupied quite extensive territories from the Taman Peninsula in the West and up to Abkhazia in the southeast, to the Azov Sea and the river Kuban in the North.²²

The fact of their indigenosity is also confirmed by the fact that by the 19th century the Adyge had a sufficiently developed economic system well adapted to complex landscape conditions, which could only be the result of hard work of many generations. But as a result of military operations on the part of tsarist Russia for centuries, the economic system that was formed was destroyed, and the people were deported to the Ottoman Empire. At present, according to various sources, more than three million Adyge diaspora live in different countries of the world, and places of its compact concentration are Turkey, Syria, and Jordan. Already these

¹⁷ S. G. Kudaeva, *The Adyge (Circassians) of the North-West Caucasus in the XIX Century: The Process of Transformation and Differentiation of the Adyge Society*, p. 319; Z. Yu. Kubashicheva, *Formation of the Ethnical Map of the North-Western Caucasus (End of XVIII - Beginning of 20s of the XX Century)*, Maikop, Pashtov Z. V., 2010, p. 197.

¹⁸ V. Popkov, "Classic" Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 17.

¹⁹ Kh. Tololyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment", p. 12.

²⁰ S. A. Arutyunov, "Diaspora is a Process", p. 78.

²¹ V. I. Markovin, *The Dolmen Culture and the Questions of the Early Ethnogenesis of the Abkhaz-Adyge*, Nalchik, Elbrus, 1974, p. 48.

²² R. Betzov, *Origin and Ethnic and Cultural Connections of the Adyge*, Nalchik, Nart, 1991, p. 31-32.

facts predetermine the transnational character of the Adyge diaspora. In this connection, attention is drawn to the thesis of H. Tololyan²³ on maintaining ties between the Diasporas, which almost coincides with the idea of A. Ashkenasi²⁴ about communication networks of Diasporas. Proceeding from these provisions, V. Popkov singles out a kind of conditional concept, as a "branch" of the diaspora, i.e. when studying diasporas, it is necessary to take into account the degree of intensity of interaction between communities. At the same time, the author draws attention to the fact that the "branch" of the diaspora can be considered the aggregate of several communities of one region, connected by a denser network of communications than with the rest of the communities of the diaspora, and having a specific cultural identity that reflects the characteristics of the region. This is what distinguishes one "branch" of the diaspora from the other.²⁵

As for the Adyge Diasporas in Turkey, Syria, and Jordan - these are the different "branches" of the same diaspora, representing different communication spaces, which determines the formation of a local, specific culture (in Turkey, Syria, and Jordan). At the same time, these "branches" of the diaspora maintain close enough ties between themselves. British researcher A. Bra also agrees that the diaspora of one people can exist in different territories and not even always carry out links between themselves.²⁶

Next, I would like to note that an essential criterion, characterizing the viability of the diaspora, is its numerical index, as well as the features of settlement. According to scientists, there must be a certain "critical mass" that allows creating diaspora communities that have a certain density and compactness of settlement. A small group of immigrants, as a rule, cannot form a community. Preservation of ethnocultural features, i.e. the slowdown in the assimilation process, directly depends on the number and compactness of the resettlement. In this case, the type of settlement has a significant significance.²⁷ The ethnic diaspora can exist under the condition of disperse resettlement in a foreign ethnic territory and in another ethnic environment.²⁸

In the case of the Adyge, the quantitative indicator was sufficient for the reproduction and preservation of ethnic endogamy. The author of this article, as a result of a scrupulous analysis of the statistical data of the works of Russian, European, Turkish, Arab authors and representatives of the Adyge republic, managed to arrive at a reasoned conclusion that around 1 million people migrated from the territory of the North-Western Caucasus. 400 thousand people.²⁹

This statement requires more detailed comments since currently there is a wide range of opinions on the issue of the number of migrants in the historical

²³ Kh. Tololyan, "Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment", p. 3–36.

²⁴ A. Ashkenasi, "Identitätsbewahrung, Akkulturation und die Enttäuschung in der Diaspora", p. 106–116.

²⁵ V. Popkov, "'Classic' Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 17–18.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

²⁷ Z. I. Levin, *The Diaspora Mentality (Systematic and Sociocultural Analysis)*, p. 49.

²⁸ Yu. I. Semenov, "Ethnicity, Nation, Diaspora", p. 66.

²⁹ S. G. Kudaeva, *The Adyge (Circassians) of the North-West Caucasus in the XIX Century: The Process of Transformation and Differentiation of the Adyge Society*, p. 244–254.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

science. Russian and Soviet authors dealing with this problem indicate the number migrated people from 500 thousand to 3 million. As an example, the authors cite the data of some authors who at different times were engaged in this problem. Thus, the representative of the noble historiography, Ad. P. Berzhe believes that 493,194 people migrated from 1858 to 1865 to the Ottoman Empire.³⁰ Approximately same number (500 thousand people) is named by L.D. Lopatinskiy.³¹ V.E. Davidovich and S.Ya. Sushchiy, having analyzed the data of various archives, concluded that the amount of migrated people reached from 350,000 to 700,000.³² However, there are other points of view. The Abkhazian educator S. Basariya asserts that the number of the Circassian migrants reached 2 million people.³³ According to Sultan Dovlet-Giray, who referred to the data of the Statistical Committee, the number of the Circassians in Turkey by 1910 reached 2 million 750 thousand people.³⁴ Russian historian and ethnographer D.E. Eremeev believes that the number of resettled people is approaching 1.8 million people.³⁵ The work of another historian, R.G. Landa, this number is between 1 to 3 mln people.³⁶ The Russian general, an eyewitness to the events, R. Fadeev, estimates the number of resettled people to 1 million in an article published in the Turkish magazine *Birlesik Kafkasya* (United Caucasus).³⁷

This figure exceeds 1 million people in the European historiography, while accounting is mainly carried out in the period from 1859 to 1864. According to the official data of the world exhibition of 1873, cited by K. Saks, approximately 1 million people migrated to Turkey. A. Ubichini gives same figure. In 1 million people determines the number of the Circassian and D. Baker, referring to German statistics.³⁸

In the works of Turkish authors and representatives of the Adyge abroad, these figures range from 500 thousand to more than 2 million people. A Jordan historian, M.H. Hagondoqa claims that 1.5 mln people left the Caucasus, including

³⁰ A. P. Berzhe, "Eviction of the Highlanders from the Caucasus", in *The Russian Antiquity*, (1882), no. 1, p. 163.

³¹ L. G. Lopatinskiy, "Notes of the Adyge People in General and the Kabardians in Particular", in *Collection of Materials for the Description of the Districts and Tribes of the Caucasus*, (1891), no. 12, p. 5.

³² V. E. Davidovich, & S. Ya. Sushchiy, "Ethnic and Regional Factors in Shaping the Culture of the South of Russia", in *Civilizations and Cultures*, (1996), no. 3, p. 212.

³³ S. P. Basariya, *Abkhasia in Geographical, Ethnographical and Economic Terms*, Sukhum-Kale, People's Commissariat of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Abkhazia, 1923, p. 105.

³⁴ St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, <http://ranar.spb.ru/eng/>, accessed 13. 04. 2018.

³⁵ D. E. Eremeev, *The Ethnogenesis of the Turks (Origin and Main Stages of Ethnic History)*, Moscow, Nauka, 1971, p. 113.

³⁶ R. G. Landa, *Islam in the History of Russia*, Moscow, Publishing House of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Eastern Literature", 1995, p. 149.

³⁷ A. G. Avakyan, *The Circassian Factor in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey (2nd part of the XIX century - first quarter of the XX century)*, Yerevan, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 2001, p. 114.

³⁸ N. Mihov, *Population in Turkey and Bulgaria in XVIII-XIX Centuries. Bibliographic and Statistical Studies*, p. 29, 288, 339.

600 thousand Circassians for the period from 1857 to 1878.³⁹ According to Shaukat Mufti, 500 thousand people migrated.⁴⁰ A well-known historian, Professor Kemal Karpat, who summarized the data of the Turkish archives, writes that from 1859 to 1879, 2 million people migrated, however, only 1.5 million people reached the destination.⁴¹ A prominent public figure, historian Izzet Aydemir, names the number of 1.5 million people.⁴² Berzage Nihad claims that 2 million people migrated.⁴³ According to the Circassian newspaper "Guaze", 1 million 760 thousand Circassians found their second homeland in the Ottoman Empire. Turkish Encyclopedia names the figure of 500 thousand, and the Islamic Encyclopedia estimates the number of migrants to 1.5 million. Both encyclopedias were published in Turkey. The Turkish magazine Nocta estimates the number of migrants at 2 million.⁴⁴

The majority of authors note that such discrepancies are primarily due to the fact that the figures on the number of migrants do not coincide chronologically. An important factor was the fact that during the censuses in the Ottoman Empire only male population was considered, as the Muslim population was calculated only for military purposes. Moreover, the majority of authors did not consider the number of deaths in transit from diseases, epidemics and poor living conditions in the Ottoman Empire. It should also be noted that the policy of the Ottoman government was aimed at ensuring that as many migrants merged with the Turkish people, became Turks as possible.⁴⁵

The degree of influence of the political system of the host state, as well as the socio-economic situation in the country, is a significant criterion determining the features of diaspora formation, including the nature of resettlement. There is a close connection with A. Ashkenasi's thesis about immanent political conformism. The author draws attention to the inherent ability of Jewish communities to be useful to the host state.⁴⁶ V. Popkov explains this, first of all, by the social hyperactivity of the Jews, who were always in an unequal position in comparison with the local population.⁴⁷ But it is obvious that representatives of any diaspora cannot be in the same position with citizens of the host state and are forced to make much more efforts to prove their "relevance" and "usefulness", as well as determining their social status.

³⁹ M. K. Hagondoqa, *The Circassians: Origin, History, Customs, Traditions, Immigration to Jordan*, Amman, Rafidi Print, 1985, p. 31.

⁴⁰ S. Mufti, *Heroes and Emperors in Circassian History*, Beirut, Librairie du Liban, 1972, p. 269.

⁴¹ K. H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics (Turkish and Ottoman studies)*, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p. 69.

⁴² A. Izzet, *Göç. Kuzey Kafkasyalıların Göç Tarihi*, Ankara, Ge-lişim Mtb, 1988, p. 220.

⁴³ N. Berzage, *The Expulsion of the Circassians (The causes and the consequences)*, Maikop, Republican Publishing and Printing Association "Adygea", 1996, p. 82.

⁴⁴ A. G. Avakyan, *The Circassian Factor in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey (2nd part of the XIX century - first quarter of the XX century)*, p. 116, 118, 119.

⁴⁵ S. V. Lurye, *Historical Ethnology*, Moscow, Aspekt Press, 1997, p. 242.

⁴⁶ A. Ashkenasi, "Identitätsbewahrung, Akkulturation und die Enttäuschung in der Diaspora", p. 110.

⁴⁷ V. Popkov, "Classic" Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 15.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

The Adyge, having entered the Ottoman Empire, had to prove "own need" to the state especially at the stage of its formation. This is reasoned mainly by the political and socio-economic status of the host state. In world historical practice, there are no cases when the state, taking refugees in such numbers, would not have own plans for their use. This is true for the Ottoman government as well. The Ottoman Empire was experiencing a profound political and economic crisis at the time when the migrants flooded there. The national liberation movement of peoples, which for many centuries was part of the empire, took on a large scale. The retention of peoples within the colonial empire required the creation of a strong political-military system. In this situation, the Sultan's government placed great hopes on the Adyge in solving this problem.

The implementation of the plans of the Ottoman government begins with the settlement of part of the Circassian in the European possessions of the empire, namely in the Balkans. Thus, the Porte intended to increase the Muslim population of the Christian regions. They were given space from the Danube mouth to Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is, they were to form a living border fence between the Christian population of Bulgaria and their co-religionists, the Serbs. However, by the summer of 1864, there were so many migrants in Istanbul that only the Balkans could not do. They were resettled in Asia Minor, central and western Anatolia. Judging by the available documents, on the territory of the empire there was not a single vilayet in which the Adyge would not have been settled.

The hardships associated with migration, illness, hunger forced the male part to voluntarily join the Ottoman army. Free meals, uniforms saved them from poverty, and the Ottoman government thereby strengthened the army not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively. The Porte intended to use their knowledge of Russian military tactics and strategy, which they acquired during the Caucasian War with the Russian army and for centuries, accumulated the Adyge's experience of managing the economy in the difficult conditions of the Caucasus.

The Adyge justified the plans of the Ottoman government to use them as a military force in the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-78. However, they could not influence the overall outcome of the war. Nevertheless, in the Balkans, they fulfilled the role of the "buffer" assigned to them by the government.

The further course of events finally determined the outcome of the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-78. The Ottoman Empire, defeated by the Treaty of San Stefano and the Treaty of Berlin, signed at the end of the war, was compelled to comply with the terms of the Russian government, which ultimately demanded the migration of the Circassian from the Balkans and away from the Russian border. Thus a new migration began - now from the Balkans to Anatolia and the countries of the Middle East. The resettlement was again carried out according to the plans of the Ottoman government. In the second half of the XIX century, the political situation is exacerbated in regions with a predominance of non-Turkish population. In this situation, the Turkish authorities decided to use the Circassian immigration.

Based on the method tested in the Balkans, paramilitary barriers were created from the Circassian settlements. The Circassians were settled in large batches on the territory of today's Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine. The powerless settlement of the government meant solving not only the problem of turning the migrants to Muslims and control over the adherents of different faiths, but also suppressed anti-Ottoman actions. As a result of all these migrations, the Circassian settlements were scattered throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Muslim population of Anatolia only increased by 50% from 1878 to 1911. On the coast of the Sea of Marmara between Adapazar and Bandirma the Circassian settlements stretched out in the form of a kind of "protective crescent" around Istanbul. Such tactics determined the established type of resettlement, that is, a point-dispersed one with predominance of the latter.

As a result, the Adyge became an important core of the regular Turkish army, actively participated in maintaining order in the special formations (gendarmerie). Their farming experience was used in the development of underdeveloped regions in agriculture.⁴⁸

Thus, despite the violation of the entire internal architectonics of the ethnicity, the transformation of its social structure and lifestyle, conditioned by sharp political and social upheavals, the Adyge managed to realize themselves under the new conditions. If at the initial stage of their stay in the Ottoman Empire it was passive conformism, when everything depended on the will of the government of the host state, over time they began to play a significant role in the socio-political and cultural life of their countries of residence. Well-known statesmen, military leaders, writers, artists, scientists, cultural figures, etc., emerged from the Adyge Circle. At present Adyge are well-integrated and high-status groups in their countries of residence, which indicates the resilience of the people, its potential opportunities.

An important, one might say, fundamental element of diasporality scientists consider the preservation of collective memory, an integral component of which is the memory of the homeland. Z.I. Levin notes that the diaspora remains so only as long as its ethnocultural specifics remain in its mentality, and while its members are aware of their otherness in the surrounding society. Gerard Shalyan, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, very vividly characterized this thesis: "A diaspora comes from disaster as a matrix of collective memory".⁴⁹ According to V.A. Tishkov, a diaspora almost always has a collective myth about the homeland, which is broadcast through oral memory or texts.⁵⁰ While agreeing with all these statements, nevertheless, I would like to note that in the context of this article, the authors adhere to the provision that the diaspora can have not the country, not the state, but an ethnosocial organism. In other words, collective memory is the level of people's awareness of their ethnicity, a set of

⁴⁸ S. G. Kudaeva, *The Adyge (Circassians) of the North-West Caucasus in the XIX Century: The Process of Transformation and Differentiation of the Adyge Society*, p. 290.

⁴⁹ Z. I. Levin, *The Diaspora Mentality (Systematic and Sociocultural Analysis)*, p. 9–10.

⁵⁰ V. A. Tishkov, "The Historical Phenomenon of the Diaspora", p. 48.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

representations of a nation or ethnicity, which make it possible to reproduce this community as a whole and assign each individual to a given social integrity.

This provision closely resembles the idea by A. Ashkenasi on intuitive communicative code, singled out as one of the main strategies of the Jewish diaspora.⁵¹ This refers to the integrity of the cultural communicative code with its own symbolism, which is read in the same way by all members of the diaspora, is understood and felt by them. When the idea of unity and a common historical fate was passed down from generation to generation, despite all sorts of geographical, social and temporary obstacles. In this regard, V. Popkov⁵² expressed his doubts about the fact that the "communicative code" is very difficult to comprehend in the research plan and is not able to bring the reader closer to an understanding of the criteria by which such a code can be judged by other scattered nations. They express themselves, etc. But here he also suggests that the concept of "Jewish civilization" by M. Chlenov, that is, his thesis about the presence of a metalanguage of civilization, which is not a speech communication tool.⁵³ This refers to the Hebrew language, which is used to meet all the needs of Jewish civilization, excluding speech communication. This language was most often referred to as the *lashon akodesh* or the "language of Holiness".⁵⁴

When talking about the Adyge society in the light of these statements, it is appropriate to turn to the concept of the "island" civilization of Circassia, put forward by the Adyge scientists B.S. Agrba and S.H. Khotko, which in more detailed study will help to judge the presence or absence of such code from Adyge. The main idea of the authors of this concept is that the ancient pagan tradition, the Nart epic, the Adyge code and the sophisticated etiquette were the basis of the ethnic identity of the Adyge.⁵⁵

In the context of the problem under consideration, it seems appropriate to refer specifically to the Nart epic and the Adyge etiquette. From the point of view of psychology, the origin of the epic is connected with the property of the human soul, the need of man not only to live life, but also to retell it, to fix it in words, to preserve the past. The uniqueness of the epic in its purpose is to broadcast the events of the past, thereby creating the space-time characteristics of the depicted world.

In the culture of the Adyge society the Nart epic occupies a special place, being a reflection of the national character, its outlook. Epic traditions, being formed on the basis of ancient genres of folklore, in many respects contribute to the preservation of the cultural unity of the Adyge, awareness of their ethnic

⁵¹ A. Ashkenasi, "Identitätsbewahrung, Akkulturation und die Enttäuschung in der Diaspora", p. 110.

⁵² V. Popkov, "'Classic' Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 6–23.

⁵³ M. Chlenov, "Jewry in the Civilizations System (to the question statement)", in *Diasporas*, (1999), no. 1, p. 34–56.

⁵⁴ V. Popkov, "'Classic' Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 16–17.

⁵⁵ B. S. Agrba, & S. Kh. Khotko, "*Insular* Civilization of Circassia, Maikop, State Unitary Republican Publishing and Printing Enterprise "Adygea", 2004, p. 42.

identity and the maintenance of collective memory. The well-known researcher of the Adyge abroad, Batrayr Ozbek, in his works made an attempt to understand the cultural and historical paradigm of the ethnicity through the prism of the Adyge common to all the Nart epos. In this context, the author tries to determine the genesis of the Adyge ethic, to understand the origins of the formation of the aesthetic representations of the people, i.e. to reconstruct an integral picture of its historical and cultural development. This is confirmed by the fact that the Adyge diaspora did not forget the oral folklore traditions that largely support their self-identification.⁵⁶

But it is indisputable that a complex of ethical views and ideas - the being an Adyge (adygag) - is a fundamental component of Adyge society's strategy. These are the principles of thinking and behavior that formed the basis of mental organization and became a symbol of the Adyge civilization.

The Adyge defines good and evil, decent and indecent, etc., that is, it is the system of values that constitute the basis of the ethical rationalization of the world. The main difference of the Adyge from other ethical systems lies in the name itself, which says that it is aimed at the production of ethnicity and opposition to processes that destroy the national spirit. Forming a common mental view of the ethnicity, the Adyge contributes to self-preservation and self-reproduction. Without a doubt, etiquette gives originality to Adyge society and distinguishes it from other civilizations. Of all the known ethical systems, only the Abkhazian system of moral principles has such characteristics: Apsuara (the being an Akhazian).

Etiquette, being an invariable element of the Adyge's culture, determines the algorithm of actions in various situations. This is the invisible basis of national behavior and, in the context of the ethnic crisis, it is etiquette that can greatly contribute to the self-structuring of the ethnicity and for a long time to maintain the integrity of the Adyge's picture of the world in consciousness.⁵⁷

Certainly, the Nart epic and etiquette are significant factors of collective memory and ethnic identification. They, as important components of the national context of the spiritual state of the people, contribute not only to the recognition of oneself as part of a single ethnicity, but also to the maintenance of collective memory. And in the conditions of the diaspora, they imperceptibly played a role, especially at a time when there were practically no contacts with the historical homeland.

A significant factor was the work of public cultural organizations. Already in 1927, the "The Circassian Cultural Society" was formed in the city of Al-Quneitra, which produced a newspaper in four languages - Arabic, Turkish, Circassian and French. The Circassian alphabet and textbooks of the Circassian language were published. In subsequent years similar societies are organized in other cities of Syria, Jordan, and Turkey. Currently, only in the territory of Istanbul there are about fifteen such cultural and educational societies. The main goal of these organizations is the preservation of ethnic culture.

⁵⁶ B. Özbek, *Die tscherkessische Nartensagen*, Heidelberg, Esprit-Verlag, 1982, p. 245.

⁵⁷ B. Kh. Bgazhnokov, *The Adyge Ethics*, Nalchik, Publishing House "Elfa", 1999, p. 15, 27.

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

A. Bra states that to judge the manifestation of collective memory can only be after a significant period of time.⁵⁸ Indeed, a successful process of integration into a different socio-cultural environment and at the same time the preservation of identity in the conditions of the diaspora can occur only if the collective memory and the elements of traditional culture are permanently updated. This process requires considerable effort, and it can be evaluated after more than a decade.

It can be noted that for a century and a half of the experience of its existence the Adyge diaspora managed to demonstrate a unique example of preserving the collective memory, despite the fact that for a long time, due to a number of reasons, mainly political, representatives of the Adyge diaspora had no opportunity to maintain contact with the mother's ethnic group. And only radical changes in the last three decades in the political life of Russian society made it possible for the representatives of the Adyge diaspora to establish relations with the historical homeland. The first contacts with representatives of the Circassian (Adyge) diaspora showed that most of them are still clearly aware of their ethnicity, many are fluent in the language, which is a confirmation of the preservation of collective memory. This can be judged not only by personal contacts, but also by historical, literary and folklore works of authors, representatives of the Circassian (Adyge) abroad, such as A. Izzet,⁵⁹ M. Hagondoqa,⁶⁰ N. Berzage,⁶¹ B. Özbek,⁶² Shaukat Mufti,⁶³ and others. It should be noted that this problem requires further serious study and reflection. But, without a doubt, the Circassian diaspora is a different social, cultural, worldview experience, but not interrupting with the system of traditional values, with a historical memory that accumulates the experience of ancestors.⁶⁴

Conclusion

While studying theoretical issues and categorical definitions of diasporas, the main criteria for diasporality were identified and adapted to Circassian (Adyg) scattering.

The main component is the provision on *the forced nature of the relocation*. It is forced relocation that is considered one of the key characteristics of "classical" ("historical") diasporas, unlike new forms of dispersion, where economic dominants remain the dominant migration. The relocation of the Adygs to the Ottoman Empire was undoubtedly of a forced nature.

Special attention should be paid to the statement that a diaspora is formed as a result of *the relocation of the group(s) with the already established identity*. So far, the

⁵⁸ V. Popkov, "Classic" Diasporas: to the Question of the Term Definition", p. 19.

⁵⁹ A. Izzet, *Göç. Kuzey Kafkasyalıların Göç Tarihi*.

⁶⁰ M. K. Hagondoqa, *The Circassians: Origin, History, Customs, Traditions, Immigration to Jordan*.

⁶¹ N. Berzage, *The Expulsion of the Circassians (The causes and the consequences)*.

⁶² B. Özbek, *Die tscherkessische Nartensagen*.

⁶³ S. Mufti, *Heroes and Emperors in Circassian History*.

⁶⁴ K. K. Sultanov, "Two Cultures or One? (The problems of holistic characteristics)", in *Cultural Diaspora of the Peoples of the Caucasus: Genesis, Problems of Studying*, Cherkessk, 1993, p. 35.

state of historical knowledge on the issues of the ethno-genesis of the Circassians (Adygs) argues reasonably enough that the Adygs are the autochthons of the North-Western Caucasus.

One of the important indicators of the viability of the diaspora community is its *number and features of scattering*. The formation and existence of the community presupposes the presence of a certain number, the “critical mass” of migrants, some physical compactness of residence, the socio-psychological “density” of the diaspora, in which contact between migrants is possible, and the continuity of traditions. In the case of Adygs, the significance of the quantitative indicator is beyond doubt.

The type of scattering and the preservation of ethno-cultural boundaries are of great importance along with the quantitative indicators. Depending on the scattering type, the diaspora is usually divided into point, dispersed and mixed with the predominance of one or another scattering type. The information on Adyg auls scattering allows for stating that in Turkey a mixed type of settlement prevails, i.e. point-dispersed.

Moreover, not only Turkey is a place of compact scattering of the Adyg diaspora, but also Syria and Jordan. This fact pre-defines *transnational nature of the Adyg diaspora*.

The thesis of *collective memory*, which is the fundamental element of the consciousness of the diaspora community, is considerably interesting. Diaspora remains only as long as its ethno-cultural specifics remain in its mentality, and while its members are aware of their “otherness” in the surrounding world. The notion of common origin and historical destinies that are part of the ethnicity of people play an important role in ethnic self-awareness. Thus, it is appropriate to mention *the intuitive cultural communicative code* with own symbolism, which is read equally by all members of the diaspora, is understood and felt by them. In this situation, the idea of unity and a common historical destiny is transmitted from generation to generation, regardless of all sorts of geographical, social and temporary obstacles.

The question of the influence of the political system of the receiving state on the peculiarities of the formation of the diaspora, expressed in the so-called *immanent political conformism*, i.e. about the special attitude of the diaspora to the political system of the countries of residence, the ability to be useful to the receiving country, becomes especially meaningful. The proof of “own need” is inherent in the Adyg diaspora, especially at the stage of its formation. Despite all the difficulties of the Adygs, they were able to undergo the process of adaptation and gradually become full citizens of the countries of residence.

Thus, in the cross-cultural analysis, the use of the basic criteria of diasporality (the invariant component of the methodology) as applied to the Circassian diaspora (the variable component of the methodology) allowed for developing sufficiently adequate methods for studying the Circassian scattering. The facts pointed out above sufficiently confirm that the Circassian diaspora can be classified as a single typological series, as well as classical (historical) diasporas (Jewish, Armenian). This allows for building a scientific conceptual historical scheme for studying the Adyghe diaspora, which in turn will help reconstruct the

"The Circassian (Adyge) Scattering in the Countries of the Middle East: Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Diasporality Studies (Based on the Example of the Classic Jewish Diaspora)," *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), no. 12, p. 51-66

whole historical and cultural context of the ethnicity, determine the place of the diaspora in this process, and organically write the Adyghe history into the context of the world and national history.