

Circassian Bibliography & Library

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Compiled and edited

by

[Amjad M. Jaimoukha](#)

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Contents

Introduction

Bibliographies and Journals

Bibliographies

Journals, Serials, Periodicals, Newsletters, Magazines
& Newspapers

Bibliography and Library

Appendix: The Circassians

Other works by author

Introduction

There are more than 2,000 entries in this compilation, mainly in Western European languages, including more than 120 online books, articles and dissertations. There are also sections on Circassian bibliographies and periodicals (journals, serials, magazines, newsletters, and newspapers). The scope of this work has been extended to include all the works on the Circassians and related issues in Circassian (Kabardian and Adigean) and Russian. Where possible, original names of Adiga writers are given in brackets after their Russian versions. The information between square brackets at end of an entry is mainly my commentary on the contents and other additions. Every effort has been made to include all diacritics in French, German, Turkish, and other entries.

There has been literally an explosion in the number of publications on Circassian issues since the beginning of the third millennium of our era. This is an indication of the increased interest in Circassian affairs at all levels. This trend is expected to continue with an ever enhanced pace as the Circassian issue moves steadily to central stage. Gratifying though this might be, it means that more energy and effort are required in accessing these publications.

In a work of this nature perhaps a description of what is left out is as important as the content. There have been thousands of books published on Circassian issues in Circassian (Kabardian and Adigean) and Russian in the last century. The internet has made access to these works more possible (but of course more, much more, work needs to be done in this regard by the academic and cultural institutions in Circassia). In addition, there have been innumerable papers and articles on these same issues. Another valuable resource is the hundreds of dissertations and thesis by Circassian (and non-Circassian) graduate students. Again, it is possible to have access to some of these works on the web. There have been many publications on the Circassians in Turkish, but much less than is commensurate with their number and potential importance as one of the principal minorities in Turkey and as the largest Circassian diaspora community. Georgian scholars and researchers have published

dozens of works on the Circassians (mainly in Georgian, but also in Russian) in the 19th and 20th centuries (before the unfortunate demise of Pan-Caucasian ideals).

In light of this, the compilation process henceforth shall concentrate more on including these works (this shall be done in phases). The formats and orthographies in which the entries will be configured shall display more variety (for example, specialized articles in Russian shall be entered in Cyrillic, since they are of use only to those who know Russian). The ideal aim is to include all (non-trivial) works on the Circassians and their related issues in the languages of concern (mainly: Circassian, English, Russian, French, German, Spanish, and Dutch). No systematic efforts shall be made to include works in Turkish and Georgian, mainly due to linguistic limitations. In this respect, help from Turkish and Georgian speakers is most welcome and much appreciated. The ultimate goal of this endeavour is to publish the collection of entries in book format.

For suggestions and additions, please contact: jaimoukha@gmail.com

Bibliographies & Journals

Bibliographies

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- Circassian Word* [[АДЫГЭ ПСАЛЪЭ](#); [Adige Psalhe](#)]. Circassian language newspaper that is published five times a week. Organ of the Parliament and Government of the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic. It started publication in 1924. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://www.adyghepsale.ru/>>. Also available (in pdf format) at Mass Information Media Portal <<http://ap.smikbr.ru/index1.php>>.
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- [Elbrus News](#), Tyrnyauz, the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic. Available online: <<http://www.tyrnyauz.ru/gorod/prensa/prensa.html>>. [The social and political newspaper of the Elbrus District of the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic. It was first published in July 1979. The four page newspaper has one page in Circassian and three pages in Russian. It is issued twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays. About 1,500 copies of each edition are printed]
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- Kavkazski kalendar* [Caucasian Calendar], Tiflis (Tbilisi), 1854-1916.
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see ‘Ukazatel statei pervikh 18-ti tt. “Kavkazskogo sbornik”’, A. Gizetti, in *Kavkazski sbornik*, no. 19, 1898]

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Republic once every two months. Less than 3,000 copies of each edition of the Journal are published. ISSN 0206-5266]

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region institutions and practices respond to regional-level societal traits such as ethnicity and wealth influence whether—and which part of—the state becomes a target of political mobilization. If the responsibility for a region or ethnic group’s grievances can be attributed to the central government, mobilized action against the central government is more likely to occur. In Chechnya, both ethnic and economic grievances could be attributed to the central government and the ways in which relations between the center and the regions were governed, thus justifying action directed at the center. Furthermore, the central government’s response to the Chechen demands helped justify violence as a means. From 1991 to 1994, Moscow switched back and forth between promising concessions to the Chechens and preparing for violent action, resorting to the latter in late 1994. But even before the center’s military invasion of Grozny in December 1994, more routine channels for funneling the Chechen demands faced challenges due to divisions in Chechnya: The Chechen Revolution in late 1991 severed all party and institutional ties with the federal government and led to a situation of divided power within the Chechen republic, both of which made center-region negotiations problematic. The paper is part of a broader project that investigates federal states’ very diverse capacity to defuse struggles between central governments and sub-national actors in pursuit of greater autonomy. Acknowledging that there is no “one-size-fits-all” federal solution to conflicts in divided states, I argue that the degree to which federal institutions can contribute to peace depends on how these institutions respond to characteristics of the societies they govern. I maintain that the “peace-preserving” effects of specific federal traits are conditional on any given region’s wealth and ethnic composition]

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petroglyphs still remain in the mountains. These valuable relics, coupled with the histories and stories of the elders, provide the people with virtually the only remaining evidence of who their ancient ancestors were. This book contains both the texts of some of the tales and commentaries on them, focusing in particular on their shamanic elements.]

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<<http://monderusse.revues.org/docannexe4154.html>> (accessed 5 June 2008). Online. Available HTTP: <http://www.cairn.info/load_pdf.php?ID_ARTICLE=CMR_451_009> (accessed 4 January 2009). [Abstract: The Russian ruling elite included many non-Russians from the time of Peter the Great onwards – Baltic Germans, Poles, and other, but in earlier times it also included clans from other national groups. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth the most important were the Circassians. Originally relatives of the second wife of Ivan the Terrible, the Circassian princes of Kabarda married into the Romanov family and reached the pinnacle of power and wealth. Though Russian sources do not comment on their origins, their genealogy in the *Rodoslovnye knigi* preserves evidence of their continued awareness of their identity. European diplomats also noted their exotic origins. The decline in importance of Kabarda and the Russian fort at Terskii gorodok in present-day Dagestan led to the end of emigration to Moscow and the assimilation of the families as princes Cherkasskii in the eighteenth century. ... **La place des Kabardes parmi les boyars russes, 1570-1700.**

À partir de Pierre le Grand, l'élite dirigeante a compté dans ses rangs beaucoup d'éléments non russes – Allemands de la Baltique et Polonais, entre autres. Mais dans des temps plus reculés, elle a connu des clans d'autres nationalités. Ainsi, entre le milieu du xvi^e siècle et la fin du xvii^e siècle, le groupe le plus important était formé par des Circassiens. Parents à l'origine de la deuxième femme d'Ivan le Terrible, les princes circassiens de Kabarda se sont introduits dans la famille des Romanov par le biais du mariage et ont atteint le faîte de leur puissance et de leur fortune. Bien que les sources russes ne fassent pas mention de leurs origines, leur généalogie telle qu'elle est présentée dans les *Rodoslovnye knigi* montre qu'ils ont toujours eu conscience de leur identité. Et leurs origines exotiques n'ont pas échappé aux diplomates européens. Le déclin de Kabarda et du fort russe de Terskij gorodok, situé de nos jours au Daghestan, mit fin à l'émigration vers Moscou et favorisa l'assimilation au xviii^e siècle de ces familles, qui devinrent les princes Čerkasskij]

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Campana, A., 'Collective Memory and Violence: The Use of Myths in the Chechen Separatist Ideology, 1991-1994', in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 29, issue 1, March 2009, pp 43-56. **[Abstract:** This paper deals with the political uses of freedom myths in the Chechen separatist ideology between 1991 and 1994. By adopting a constructionist perspective, it shows that these myths could have a pervasive role in a period of deep political crisis. It explores the way myths have been evolving over times. It particularly points out the role of collective memories of past tragic events in reshaping myths and their political significance. From that point onwards it analyses how myths have been included into political rhetoric. Chechen separatist leaders make a linear reading of Russo-Chechen relationships and put forward independence as a necessity. In so doing, the new self-proclaimed independent state represents, beyond political and economic arguments, a 'guaranty for safety'. While the embryonic Chechen state was failing, separatist leaders borrowed from mythology to legitimize the Chechen state and raise the struggle for an independent state to the status of a right and just struggle. This paper demonstrates the strength that the narratives conveyed by myths could have in terms of constructing a common sense to past and present in a period of changes. Aurélie Campana est professeure à l'Université Laval depuis août 2006 et titulaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada sur les conflits identitaires et le

terrorisme depuis juin 2007. Elle est également membre de l'Institut Québécois des Hautes Études Internationales.]

- ‘Clivages générationnels et dynamiques nationalistes : La radicalisation des mouvements nationalistes tchéchènes et ingouches’, in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, dossier “Génération publiques”, vol. 16, no. 2, 2009, pp 263-78. [Résumé: Cet article interroge, sous l’angle comparatif, les développements nationalistes qui ont marqué la République de Tchétchéno-Ingouchie durant la Perestroïka, 1987-1991. Il analyse l’importance des effets générationnels sur les mobilisations. Dans un contexte d’effervescence généralisée, les représentants des « générations de l’exil » prennent la tête de la contestation. Ils participent à la création d’organisations et de partis politiques, porteurs d’aspirations au changement, et à l’élaboration de dispositifs rhétoriques qui font sens au-delà des frontières générationnelles. Toutefois, l’analyse des rapports internes aux groupes tchéchènes et ingouches montre le poids de l’événement et les impacts d’une configuration politique mouvante qui accentue les clivages au sein de l’ensemble générationnel jusqu’à en obérer l’existence. En ce sens, les générations politiques s’effacent sous les effets des divisions idéologiques. *This article examines, from a comparative viewpoint, the nationalist developments that marked the Chechen-Ingush Republic during the Perestroika period, 1987-1991. It analyses the importance of generational effects on mobilisation. In a context of widespread exuberance, the representatives of the ‘generations of exile’ took the leading role in protest. They took part in the creation of organisations and of political parties, bearers of hope for change, and in the development of rhetorical strategies which were heard beyond generational borders. However, analysis of the internal relations of Chechen and Ingush groups reveals the force of events and the impact of a changing political configuration that accentuated differences within the generational whole to such an extent as to compromise its existence. In this sense, political generations were destroyed under the effect of ideological division.*]

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- that of **ɨ**, compared to the mean duration of **i** which is 67.5% that of **ɨ**. These figures represent ratios characteristic of intrinsic durational differences rather than distinctive length and support a three-vowel analysis. Qualitatively, the formant frequency measurements support the claims in the literature that Kabardian vowels contrast uniquely along the height parameter with some frontback allophony for the two higher vowels. Moreover, **ɨ** has a mean *F* 1 of 690 Hz as compared to **ɨ** which exhibits a mean *F* 1 of 510 Hz, further supporting a three-vowel analysis.]
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some slight marginal dampstaining on a few plates, plate at page 342 vol. II with corner reinforced and with small portion in skillful pen facsimile, page 315 vol. I with margin torn affecting a couple of letters, contemporary vellum, slightly soiled, upper hinge split. La Mottraye spent twenty-six years travelling through northern Europe to Tartary and the Levant. The plates are of particular interest as they include many signed by Hogarth and this French edition contains 4 plates not found in the English edition. They illustrate costumes, antiquities and various scenes from Eastern life]

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Age costumes – its symbolism, manner of wearing, connected with the ideological representations found in oral folk legends formed on the Caucasus, for example, the Nart Epic. Legends and tales of the people of Caucasus represent particular value in the quality of sources, because clothes, head-dress and shoes were made and worn by the people who wrote the Epic, and in this the authors also revealed something of the Epic’s meaning. Archaeologists have found evidence that the form of costumes of the Caucasus in the Middle Ages came in the general course of development of the material culture. To explain, an interpretation of the Epic shows Caucasian peoples as having separate cultural identities, but the clothes were used in similar ways. This means the mode of culturisation is similar in all regions. Others have reviewed different parts of Caucasian medieval costume. Costume is a form of historical resource. We must open what it means for material culture and ideology of mountain peoples. They had internal interaction through etiquette, and with other peoples in the discourse of trade. Review of costumes may show signs of social and economic traits. In conclusion, this archaeological material can be used for interpreting the society of the medieval period. This material rests in the course of the Nart Epic, and with it historical events and occurrences which happened in Caucasus in the Middle Ages confirm community. Moreover, the formation of the material culture of the peoples of the Caucasus contained in the Epic are like an artistic representation, reflecting historical reality.’]

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исследования является средневековый костюм народов Северного Кавказа как культурная форма, содержащая совокупность характерных признаков, отражающих его утилитарные и символические функции. Костюм не только непреходящий атрибут культуры, связанный с этническими и социальными категориями функционирования человеческого общества, но и полноценный исторический источник, несущий важную информацию о различных областях деятельности человека. Этот источник обретает особое значение в тех случаях, когда изучается бесписьменный период истории северокавказских народов.]

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- discussions of grass root perceptions
 - the influence of informal power structures on ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus
 - Russian policies towards Islam and their destabilising influence
 - the influence of Islamic revival on the legal and social situations
 - nationalism and the revival of pre- and sub-national identities
 - shifts in identity as reflected in demography
 - reasons for the Chechen victory in the first Chechen war
 - the involvement of Islamic volunteers in Chechnya.

With the situation in Chechnia likely to spread across the entire North Caucasus, this cutting edge work will be of great value in the near future and will interest political scientists and regional experts of Russia, Central Asia, Caucasus, Middle East and Turkey, as well as NGOs, government agencies and think tanks. Available for preview on Google Books]

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- Circassian groups in diaspora have generated distinct ethnic and cultural identities depending on how they were recognised, or unrecognised, both by their neighbours and by the Turkish state. Cultural reification, or essentialisation, becomes common practice among diaspora groups, providing them with a safe haven against misrepresentation, prejudice, exclusion and discrimination. Cultural reification not only adds to the construction of a sense of communality, but also serves as a way of doing politics for the Circassians in diaspora. Culture, then, not only remains a heritage, but also becomes a political strategy]
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- This is the result of a high birth-rate, especially in the countryside (2.6 births per woman), where the bulk of the population lives. The average age of the Kabardians is 28.5 years. The socioeconomic indices of the Kabardians (also the Cherkess and Adigeans) suggest that they are undergoing modernization but that they are far from its completion]
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has one of the oldest civilizations and proudest national histories in the world, but most military histories treat it as a mere battleground for other great imperial powers such as the Ottoman Empire, the French, and the British. In a lively and stirring narrative, this work tells the untold story of the Egyptian experience. It looks at the lives of Egyptian soldiers fighting at home and abroad, and shows the roles those soldiers and their leaders have played in Middle-Eastern and world history for 500 years – especially in the convulsions that have transformed the Muslim world during the past two centuries. Beginning with an overview of Egypt’s ancient and medieval heritage, the book then explores Ottoman military rule, explaining how a tiny Turkish-speaking minority maintained absolute power by keeping military knowledge out of the grasp of native Egyptians. Readers will see how Napoleon’s failed Egyptian campaign of 1798 introduced the nation to Europe but, more important, brought modern Western influences to Egypt. During the 19th century, new arms and tactics and the rising force of nationalism transformed Egypt as the empire of the Ottoman Turks slowly decayed. Independence was thwarted by the British, who took over the country in the 1880s to secure links to India. Yet the British paved the way for independence, retraining and strengthening the Egyptian military to make it the strongest and most nationalist force in the country. Finally, McGregor’s closing chapters look at Arab nationalism, and at the Egyptian army in the wars of the late 20th century. This book should prove of particular use to researchers and readers interested in the fate of the Circassian Mamluks in Egypt following the destruction of their sultanate in 1517 at the hands of the Ottomans. It is shown that the Circassians maintained their sway in Egypt for centuries during the Ottoman suzerainty over Egypt. Available for preview on Google Books. Dr. Andrew McGregor is Director of Aberfoyle International Security in Toronto and editor of Global Terrorism Analysis Publications at the Jamestown Foundation in Washington DC. He has published many articles on historical and security issues, including a number of works on Circassian (and North Caucasian) matters.]

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reconfigurations. Eléonore Merza is a PhD candidate in anthropology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris, France). Her thesis, under the direction of Professor Jean-François Gossiaux (IIAC-LAIOS research centers: EHESS-CNRS) deals with the Circassian diaspora of Israel (Kfar Kama and Rihanya) and focuses on the links between Muslim cultural identity and Israeli citizenship. She has received two grants from the French Research Center of Jerusalem in 2007 and 2008. eleonoremerza@yahoo.fr

- ‘À la recherche d’un temps perdu: La (re)construction identitaire de la diaspora tcherkesse d’Israël’, in *Bulletin du Centre de recherche français de Jérusalem*, 19, année 2008. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://bcfrf.revues.org/document5908.html>> (accessed 24 May 2009). [**Résumé:** Les Tcherkesses d’Israël – dont la population est estimée à 4 000 personnes – sont répartis entre les deux villages de Kfar Kama et de Rihanya. Le cas de cette population d’Israël représente un exemple unique de population musulmane non-arabe (mais caucasienne), qui revendique une citoyenneté israélienne active et qui, contrairement à ce qu’une telle conjoncture pourrait laisser supposer, conserve divers éléments culturels traditionnels très prégnants tout en bénéficiant d’une intégration citoyenne indiscutable. Israéliens mais pas juifs, musulmans mais pas arabes, comment les Tcherkesses d’Israël pourraient-ils trouver leur place face aux deux entités identitaires qui se disputent, sans laisser beaucoup d’espace vacant, la légitimité d’une présence et dont les histoires, les catastrophes et les douleurs se confrontent ? « Traîtres » et « musulmans au service du sionisme » pour les uns, « citoyens de seconde zone » pour les autres, les concepts de nationalité ou de religion pourtant communément appliqués, ne suffisent pas à définir cette population, mal connue du public israélien. Constamment assimilés aux Druzes du pays (seule autre population non-juive qui partage une implication dans le processus de défense nationale), et alors qu’ils cherchent justement à faire reconnaître leur spécificité culturelle et religieuse, les Tcherkesses, à la lisière de toutes les frontières identitaires qui se disputent l’espace israélo-palestinien, ont fini par bâtir les leurs, bien fragiles, entre nostalgie d’un Caucase perdu et reconfigurations identitaires. Eléonore Merza est doctorante en anthropologie à l’École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales de Paris, sous la direction de Jean-François Gossiaux (IIAC-LAIOS). Rattachée au Laboratoire d’Anthropologie des Institutions et des Organisations

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- ‘Reconstruction of the Landscape of Homeland among Circassians in the Uzunyayla Plateau: “Landscape of Memory” (Village Names) and “Landscape as Memory” (Naming Villages)’, in

Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan, vol. 50, no. 1, 2007a, pp 128-55. [In Japanese. **Abstract:** Circassian place-names in the district of Uzunyayla (Kayseri, Turkey) are to be analysed in terms of an anthropological approach to landscape. Circassians were forced to migrate to Anatolia by Russia's military conquest of the North Caucasus in the mid-19th century. Uzunyayla, with 73 Circassian villages, is one of the principal locations where these refugees eventually settled down and strove to reconstruct their homeland. A landscape emerges at points where geography and human intentions meet. Place-names are the medium by which people inscribe history on natural environments and read history from them. S. Küchler (1993)'s "landscape of memory" is a landscape composed of a number of landmarks that record human actions. At the same time, she proposes to work on "landscape as memory", i.e. a process by which history is re-negotiated on each occasion that events associated with these landmarks are recalled. In Uzunyayla, a "landscape of memory" can be observed in the use of Circassian place-names that make a connection between the Circassians' homeland and their new "home". Most Circassian villages are named after families known as "lords". This practice tells a story that Circassians followed powerful leaders who struggled against each other. Such a landscape is part of Circassians' efforts to maintain an ethnic identity and territory in the face of the state's nationalist policy. The fact that the great majority of these village names are contested means that the process of making a "home" is yet to be completed. Villages are given different names in a competition for prestige, and different village names are often supported by different types of resources. The history of the Circassians' settling in Uzunyayla is constantly re-shaped as different village names accompanying different foundation stories are set off one against another. In this "landscape as memory", the production of history is open to dialogue.]

- 'Politics of Memory vs. Practice of Memory among Circassians in Anatolia: Former Nobles and Descendants of Slaves and their Contested Memories', in *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2007b, pp 145-69. [In Japanese. **Abstract:** Circassians (*Çerkes*) were forced to migrate to Anatolia in the mid-19th century, when Russia completed its military conquest of the North Caucasus. The Uzunyayla plateau (Kayseri, Turkey) is one of the principal locations of refugee re-settlement. Circassians there tend to compete for prestige, partly

due to contradictions between status differences among groups in the past and the socio-economic standing of these groups in the present. Among Circassians in Uzunyayla, contested memories are produced along the line dividing two social groups: descendants of nobles and descendants of slaves. Those families who are of noble descent eagerly tell a version of history that enhances their own honour. The ways in which nobles employ a discourse of memory (*hatıra/hatır*) to control the production of historic knowledge can be termed the “politics of memory”. This politics serves by not letting slave descendants give their own account of history freely. On the other hand, descendants of slaves produce favourable meanings by appropriating the discourse of those of noble descent as their own. They narrate counter-memories that provide them with a positive experience and a claim to social legitimacy. The memory politics of nobles is skilfully undermined. This may be seen as an exemplary case of the “practice of memory”, an idea discussed by de Certeau. This article discusses the production of contested memories, among Circassians in the Uzunyayla plateau (Kayseri, Turkey), along the line dividing two social groups: descendants of nobles (*vorks*) and descendants of slaves. The ways in which *vorks* employ a discourse of memory to control the production of historic knowledge can be termed the “politics of memory”. This is a politics aimed at maintaining their traditional high status. On the other hand, descendants of slaves narrate counter-memories that provide them with a positive experience and a claim to social legitimacy. This may be seen as an exemplary case of the “practice of memory”, an idea discussed by de Certeau. The analysis is intended in part to respond to the criticism that slavery studies in the Middle East lack a human-centred approach that treats slaves and their descendants as human actors. The paper is based on data collected during ethnographic fieldwork in the region (September 1997-April 1999, June-July 2004).

Summary: Circassians were forced to migrate to Anatolia in the mid-19th century, when Russia completed its military conquest of the North Caucasus. One of the principal locations of refugee resettlement is the district of Uzunyayla, where 73 Circassian villages were originally founded. Circassians in Uzunyayla tend to compete for prestige, partly due to contradictions between status differences among groups in the past and the socio-economic standing of these groups in the present. Those families who are of

“noble” (*vork*) descent eagerly tell a version of history that enhances their own prestige and honour. This is a narrative that draws its significance from the opposition of nobles and slaves. It has assumed the quality of a dominant history, since families of slave descent are not able to comment on it without raising the issue of their own social inferiority. *Vorks* call Uçyol, a village that was the major location of my research, “slave village”, since more than half of the households (36 out of 69) residing there are seen as having descended from freed slaves. History, as represented by *vorks*, is hardly mentioned in this village. Nonetheless, from a viewpoint of “practice of memory”, this silence may be interpreted as a positive response and adaptation to the dominant history. The silence of families of slave descent is partly an effect of the memory politics of families of noble descent. This is a politics of memory aimed at controlling the production of historic knowledge by not letting slave descendants give their own account of history freely. Such politics of memory works through an interactive process of remembering and forgetting. It occurs at that point where the cultural understanding of memory (*hatural/hatır*) in Turkey meets the construction of the public space in the guestroom (*oda*) where remembering is actually done. A story about Huta (1873-1958), a “nouveaux riche” ex-slave of Uçyol, as recounted by a *vork*, is presented as a metaphor that enables us to understand the social process in which silence is actually imposed on slave descendants in everyday encounters. In this account, Huta’s positive self-recognition (*hatır*, or memory as self) is damaged, and he is silenced and relegated to the peripheral position assigned to slaves in the *oda*. Nobles maintain their prestige and honour by discursively controlling the ways in which Circassian society and history are represented. However, residents of Uçyol often produce favourable meanings by appropriating the discourse of those of noble descent as their own. For instance, a memory of Huta, related by an individual of slave descent, refers to an event similar to the one mentioned in the nobles’ account, but tells a very different story. The memory politics of nobles is skilfully undermined here, and an escape from their dominant discourse is achieved. This may be seen as an instance of another aspect of “practice of memory”, i.e. a counter-memory of resistance. The Turkish Republic promised equality among all its citizens at its foundation, but inequality still persists. As far as this gap remains recognised, memories of slavery, which disappeared in this region only a few generations ago, continue to

- serve as media by which local Circassians critically comment on current affairs in Turkey.]
- ‘Anayurtlarından Edilen Çerkeslerin Uzunyayla’da Yeniden Yerleşim Süreci’, in Muhittin Ünal (ed.), *Uzunyayla Rapor ve Belgeleri II*, Ankara: Kaf-Dav Yayınları, 2008a, pp 125-38. [In Turkish]
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 - ‘The Narrative of Nobles, the Silence of Slaves: Social Memories of a Bridewealth Problem among Circassians in Central Anatolia’, in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 76, 2008e, pp 21-49. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://repository.tufs.ac.jp/bitstream/10108/50659/1/jaas076002.pdf>> (accessed 11 June 2009).

[In Japanese. **Abstract:** The effects of slavery are still felt in aspects of social life in some Middle Eastern countries in which slavery was legally maintained till relatively recently. However, there is a dearth of academic studies of slavery in these societies, and studies that look at the problem from an anthropological perspective are almost non-existent. Among Circassians in Uzunyayla plateau of Central Anatolia—a major source of female slaves in Ottoman Istanbul—the silence of slave descendants about history is observable, whereas people from former noble families are highly articulate in recounting a specific version of history. This article examines the ways in which the silence and the dominant version of history are formed in relation to each

- other. With this aim in mind, it looks at the bridewealth problem that made marriage difficult among local Circassians in the 1960s, and analyses oral accounts of meetings that was held with the aim of reducing rates of bridewealth payment, in terms of their historic status and current economic conditions. This research shows that slave descendants, divided by unequal distribution of wealth, produce widely differing versions of the story, while former nobles, though equally heterogeneous in wealth, have a shared historical narrative. Nonetheless, slave descendants have certainly some stories to tell, though as a reaction against the former nobles' elite history, which ought to be regarded positively as part of the everyday practice of the socially weak, i.e. as strategic acts aimed at making out tactfully in difficult conditions. The article is based on the writer's participatory observation research in Uzunyayla for extended periods (September 1997-April 1999, June-July 2004)]
- 'New Roots for the Uprooted: The Ambiguous Experience of the Circassian Diaspora in Rural Turkey', in *The Contemporary Middle East*, vol. 47, July 2009a. [In Japanese]
 - 'Some Consequences of the Re-encounter with the 'Homeland' on the Production of Local Knowledge: A Case of Circassians in Turkey', in *Circassianacademia Abkhazia Conference Proceedings*, Ankara: Kaf-Dav Yayınları, 2009b. [In English]
 - 'Transformation of Local Knowledge among Circassians in Turkey: Some Impacts of the Revived Contacts with "Homeland"', in Ronald Grigor Suny & Hirotake Maeda (eds.), *Between Russia and the Middle East: Caucasia and its Peoples*, New York & London: Rutledge (the New Horizons of the Islamic Studies Series), 2009c. [In English. NOTE: The publisher of the book has not been finalised yet]
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- of Chechnya, a development that sheds light on the second Russo-Chechen War. Cerwyn Moore is Lecturer in International Relations in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, European Research Institute, University of Birmingham; Paul Tumelty is an analyst at the Strategic Analysis Group, Defence Science and Technology Laboratory (DSTL), UK Ministry of Defence.]
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from pre Islamic times. The period under review, however, saw some changes in the agricultural sector in Egypt. There was a reduction in the size of cultivated areas, a decrease in the number of villages and a diminution in the 'ibra (revenue) and the land tax compared to the previous period. The prices of crops also showed a gradual increase. During this time, the Mamluks imported certain agricultural productions for their own consumption and for the purpose of re-export to other countries. There are several factors that affected agriculture and its produce, such as the problems in the iqta' (fief) system, the problems in the irrigation system, the shortage of a productive labour force for the land, the lack of technological innovation in agriculture and the disturbances caused by climatic and biological disasters. It is the aim of this paper to examine the situation of agriculture in Egypt during the half century before the fall of the Mamluk kingdom. An overview of this sphere of activity is provided. This is followed by a discussion of the economic climate within which it was took place and the factors which affected it.

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- which had been surveying on the coast of Circassia, returned to Constantinople on March 21, bringing tidings of a complete victory gained by the Circassians over the Russians. Early in March {1854} the Circassians, provided with arms and ammunition, attacked the Russians, and, after a severely contested battle, drove them into the castles by the coast. These castles were surrounded and repeatedly attacked during four continuous days. Finally, the Russians, fearing to be cut to pieces, blew up their magazines, and sought shelter in their ships. The *Sampson* further reports that the Circassians fell on the garrisons who were retreating from two hill forts, and put them to the sword. The Circassian coast is, at present, free from the enemy.’]
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- Ta'rikh – al-Khayal – al-Siyasa, al-Sharakisa). His article was published in the academic journal *al-Manarah* and it was issued by his University in Jordan, vol 2, issue 1, Dhu'l-Qa'da, 1417 AH/1997 AD, pp 65-82. Jordan has a substantial Circassian community and so this enabled Dr Mufaku to obtain first hand comment and information from his Circassian colleagues and friends. I shall draw attention to his article later in my conclusion.']
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but primarily on the empirical data collected through 14 videotaped interviews conducted with prominent researchers and professors and teachers of Circassian, through observations and a survey covering 485 respondents, including 323 pupils from the age of 10 up to 16, and 162 parents. The Circassian language status and maintenance are analysed as a continuum of language functions and domains in a society. Classification is based on the traditional distribution of language policy dimensions, where language status, corpus and acquisition aspects, as well as UNESCO's nine language vitality factors and linguistic rights are considered. Different factors influencing language maintenance are useful for characterising a language's overall sociolinguistic situation. So far there has been neither expert evaluation of the Circassian language situation based on international legal documents, nor has there been research which would provide basis for requesting governmental support and plan further steps for language revitalisation.]

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nearly completely from 1979 to 1991 and comparable grave inventories. On this basis, it is discussed from which components the Maikop Culture emerged, to what extent a relative chronology can be established through stratigraphy and typology and what can already be said about the absolute dating. Five types of grave constructions were encountered in stratigraphically meaningful contexts, so that four phases can be defined and illustrated in schematic plates of types. The find material indicates connections with the west lasting from Tripol'e B/Cucuteni A, Amuq F, and Arslantepe VI A until Tripol'e C1-2, Usatovo, Cernavoda III, and Foltesti I (horizons 8-10 after Parzinger) and supported by C14-dates. Relations with Central Europe exist in the shape of the Novosvobodnaja monuments of a "cultural block" expanding from the Funnel Beaker Culture to the Caucasus and characterized by black burnished pottery and megalithic traditions. Together with Anatolian and Near Eastern elements, it led to the formation of the Maikop Culture. English and Russian summaries]

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ceceno si riferisce alla denominazione della Repubblica stessa. Il titolo della tesi riprende infatti il nome della Repubblica così come venne ridefinita nel 2003 dalla Costituzione promossa da Kadyrov. Nome che assumeva una particolare importanza per il fatto che si discostava da quello scelto dai rappresentanti ceceni negli anni '90, e portato ancora avanti dal governo in esilio, ovvero Repubblica di Ichkeria. Il problema che viene presentato all'interno della ricerca è relativo al ruolo che la Cecenia ricopre all'interno della Federazione russa e nello scenario internazionale, partendo dal presupposto che il conflitto ceceno è sempre stato descritto come una mera questione d'importanza strategica. Questa ricerca vorrebbe dimostrare il contrario. Si tratta infatti di una questione assai controversa e attorno alla quale sono fiorite numerose polemiche: per illustrarne adeguatamente i termini, lo studio si articola in sei parti... 165 pages]

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Appendix

The Circassians

(also includes an account of the Kabardians)

Capsule Summary

Location: Northwest Caucasus, mainly in three constituent republics of the Russian Federation.

Self-designation: Adiga.

Total population: 2-6 millions (about 1 million in the Caucasus).

Religion: Native religion and beliefs (99%), Orthodox Christianity (1%). Pagan/polytheistic beliefs still prevalent.

Essay:

The Circassians, together with the kindred Abkhaz-Abaza and the Ubykh, have formed the autochthonous population of the Northwest (NW) Caucasus for thousands of years. The number of Circassians in the Caucasus has gone over the 1 million mark. The majority live in the following republics of the Russian Federation, in each of which they have a different nominal designation: the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (Kabardians, about 600,000, almost 60% of the population of the Republic), the Karachai-Cherkess Republic (Cherkess, about 100,000) and the Republic of Adigea (Adigeans, about 150,000). There are also Circassian communities that exist outside these republics, but inside Russia, including the Shapsugh community of almost 20,000 in the Tuapse and Lazareyvsky regions on the Black Sea coast, and the Christian Kabardian community in Mozdok, which numbers a few thousands. There are also significant Adigean and Kabardian communities in the Krasnodar and Stavropol Krai, respectively. In the Krasnodar Krai there are about 60,000 Adigeans not contained within the borders of Adigea. The Circassians constitute almost 0.8% of the population of the Russian Federation.

There are Circassian diaspora communities in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Libya, Iraq, Germany, the USA, and the Netherlands, but their precise numbers are not known, with estimates ranging between 1 and 5 million people. It is generally accepted that the Circassian community in Turkey is the largest in the world, in some estimates reaching more than four million; however, it is scattered over the whole country, and many of its members have been assimilated.

Circassian is one of the three divisions of the NW group of Caucasian languages, which form a unique group distinct from the other major world language groups, the other two being Abkhaz-Abaza and the now extinct Ubykh. Though genetically related, the three languages are mutually unintelligible, the lexical differences between them being quite substantial. There are two official and literary languages of Circassian: Kabardian in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic and Karachai-Cherkess Republic and Adigean in the Adigey Republic (Adigea). The two languages, or more accurately dialects, are mutually intelligible and use Cyrillic orthography. It is thought that Northeast Caucasian, which is spoken by about 3.5 million people in Chechnya, Ingushetia, and Daghestan, is genetically related to NW Caucasian. The third group in the Caucasian language family is South Caucasian or Kartvelian: Georgian, Mingrelian, Svan, Adjar, and Laz, all of which are spoken by about 4.5 million people in the Transcaucasus and Northeast Turkey. Some linguists dispute the existence of any genetic link between North and South Caucasian. During the Soviet period, Circassian was relegated to a secondary position as Russian was made the language of instruction at schools and universities. In consequence, Circassian had suffered tremendously by the end of Communist rule. The challenge now is to restore the native language to pre-eminence. There are TV and radio broadcasts in Circassian, which are also relayed to the diaspora in the Middle East.

The Nart epic and the oral tales of the bards had formed the bulk of Circassian literature until the early part of the 19th century. The 20th century witnessed a quantum leap in quantity and quality of literary output, despite being somewhat tainted by Communist ideology.

History

In the Bronze Age, the Maikop culture flourished in the valley of the Kuban (Psizch) in the NW Caucasus, from the Taman Peninsula to present-day Chechnya, almost five millennia ago. It was contiguous with the Kuro-Arax culture of the kindred Chechens and Daghestanis. There are extant monuments to the glory of this civilization, especially in Western Circassia. Some authorities believe that the people of the

Maikop culture, together with a significant input from the Dolmen People, who inhabited the coastal and highland regions, engendered the forebears of the Adiga, or at least formed an important component of the proto-Circassians.

The Iron Age in the NW Caucasus began in the eighth century BC. Pre-Kuban culture is attributed to the proto-Circassian Maeots who inhabited the NW Caucasus and the steppes north of the Black Sea. Their civilization lasted for some 1,200 years. The Maeot State was contemporaneous with the Greek colonies on the Eastern Black Sea coast, which were established in the seventh and sixth centuries BC and lasted for almost a millennium. The Greeks set up trade relations with the Maeots. By the fifth century BC, the Sinds, a people kindred to the Maeots, had set up the magnificent Sindika civilization, which spread over the lower reaches of the Kuban (Psizch), the Black Sea coastal strip between Anapa and Taman Peninsula. The Romans occupied the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea in 64 BC. It was Strabo in 26 AD who first mentioned the name Zyghoy for Circassians, which replaced the old appellation Kerket.

The Goths, who established a state north of the Black Sea in the third century AD, invaded the NW Caucasus and engaged in fierce battles with the Circassians. The marauding Huns who had settled to the east undid the Eastern Gothic State in 370 AD and invaded the NW Caucasus in 374 AD. The Byzantine Empire secured a foothold in the Western Caucasus in the fourth century AD, erecting fortresses on the Black Sea coast and the Taman Peninsula. Thenceforward the Roman scribes referred to the Maeots as Zikhis. Christianity was introduced gradually among the upper classes of the Circassians, the masses clinging to their ancient beliefs. Byzantine presence lasted until they were replaced by the Venetians who were themselves displaced by the Genoese in the 13th century.

By the 10th century, the Circassians had emerged as a cohesive ethnic and linguistic entity. At the time, Circassia stretched from the middle of the Caucasus to the Black Sea. In the hinterland lived the Circassian nations of the Papaghis and Kasakhs. To the east of the Kasakhs (Kassogs), modern-day Kabardians, lived the Alans, ancestors of the Ossetes. The Circassians had kept their independence until the 13th century, when part of their country and Abkhazia were subjected by the Georgians under Queen Tamara (1184-1213) and Christianized. Around 1424 AD, the Circassians threw off the Georgian yoke for good. Ghenghis Khan led his Mongol hordes across the Caucasus in the 13th century and laid waste to the North Caucasus. Batu, grandson of Ghenghis, established the Khanate of the Golden Horde in the North

Caucasus in 1227. The Kipchak Khanate dominated the North Caucasus until the 15th century, when Tamerlane conquered the Caucasus and ended Mongol rule. In the 13th to 15th centuries, the Genoese constructed trading posts on the coastal regions of Circassia and Abkhazia. During their incessant wars with the Mongols and Tatars, the Circassians sought to forge closer relations with Russia, from whom they perceived no threat, being relatively distant and of the same faith. Circassian Mamluks furnished medieval Egypt with an important element of her elite warrior caste for about six centuries and its reigning Sultans for 135 years.

The Russian-Circassian War

After destroying the Empires of the Golden Horde at the end of the 16th century, Russia began to push south towards the northern steppes of the Caucasus in a process of gradual encroachments. Russia began to meddle in the affairs of Circassia in 1736. The construction of the Caucasian Military Line hastened the first open conflict between the Circassians and Russians in 1771. A protracted and devastating war extended for decades, and the Russian juggernaut had ground all resistance by 1864.

On 1 May 1864 – later dubbed the Circassian Day of Mourning, celebrated by all Circassian communities and even turned into a public holiday in the Circassian republics under pressure from the Circassian nationalists – Russia proclaimed the end of the Caucasian War. Covertly, the Russians pursued a policy of organized and systematic terror and thousands of people were massacred in cold blood. Those horrific acts, together with the collusion of the Ottomans, resulted in a mass exodus. Only 10% of the Circassians, about 200,000, remained in their ancestral lands to face occupation and persecution first under the Tsars and later the Communists. This is the most horrific genocide in modern history up to World War I.

During the tsarist period, Circassia remained desolate. There was an influx of Slav colonists, especially in the coastal regions. The Circassians joined the North Caucasian Mountain Republic in 1917. After victory of the Bolsheviks in the Civil War, the Circassians were divided into four regions, which kept changing status and nominal designations until the early 1990s. The horrors of centralization, the purges and World War II gave way to a long period of quiet and stagnation until the years of Glasnost and Perestroika. The demographic situation changed dramatically in the NW Caucasus, such that nowadays the Slavs constitute the majority in the region. However, figures from the 2002 Russian population census show that the increase in Circassian

population, especially in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic, since the preceding census in 1989 had been colossal by any standards. For example, the number of Kabardians in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic rose from 364,494 in 1989 (48.2% of total population) to 498,702 in 2002 (55.3% of total population), an increase of 37%. In the same period, the Russian population in the Republic dropped almost 6%, from 240,750 (31.9% of total population) to 226,620 (25.1% of total population).

Current Political Situation

After the demise of the Soviet Union, Circassian nationalists became very active demanding more autonomy and even independence. The International Circassian Association was established in 1991 and it included organizations from the Caucasus and the diaspora. In 1993, it became a member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation (UNPO), which was created in 1991 in The Hague to represent ethnic groups around the world that are barred from joining the United Nations for whatever reason.

The secessionist tendencies reached fever pitch during the Georgian-Abkhaz war of 1992-93. Victory gave the nationalists overwhelming popular support, but collusion of the local and central authorities, together with the onset of the Chechen war in 1994, overturned the tables. The nationalists have been on the defensive since the mid-1990s, being hounded by the local governments. People have been more concerned with their material well being, and nationalism has taken a secondary place in their reckoning.

The concept of a united Circassia is however still strong in the hearts and minds of all Circassian peoples. Some regard the re-creation of historical Circassia as inevitable, since Russia's colonial stance will have to ease for it to join the world comity. Ethnic tension is evident in all three republics: the Kabardians vs. the Balkars, the Cherkess-Abaza vs. the Karachai, and the Adigeans vs. the militant Cossacks. Fortunately, no serious conflicts have erupted thus far.

The Circassian diaspora, which is increasingly becoming more politicized, could play a decisive role in the demographic and political situations in the NW Caucasus, if the right conditions obtain. The few hundred Kosovar Circassians, who found refuge in their ancestral lands in 1998, caused trepidation among the local Cossacks, who had been wary of Adigean domination.

Attempts by the administration of the president of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin to repeal the autonomy of the Adigey Republic and subsume it under the administration of the Krasnodar Krai,

which started fervently in 2005, were narrowly defeated towards the end of 2006 by the unitary opposition of Adigea's President Hazret Sovmen and the Circassian nationalists in the Caucasus and diaspora. The mobilization of the nationalist forces and their solidary stance against this issue has brought to the fore the latent demands of the nationalists and brought back from the cold their erstwhile leaders, principally Yura Schenibe (Shanibov).¹ Sovmen was replaced in January 2007 by Aslancheriy Tkhakushinov, as he was denied a second term for his heroic stand against the Kremlin's attempt to deal a crippling blow to the Circassian Issue. Notwithstanding the tenuous victory of the nationalists, this episode underlines the precarious status of the Circassian political entities in the Caucasus and their vulnerability vis-à-vis arbitrary diktats issuing from Moscow.

The issue of the status of Circassia and the establishment of Greater Circassia is slowly but surely coming to the fore in current international politics, due mainly to the game of tug-of-war between Russia and the West regarding the formal independence of Kosovo on one hand and the status of Abkhazia and South Ossetia on the other.²

Circassian Society

The eastern Circassians, those living on the right-bank of the upper reaches of the Kuban River (Psizch), are composed of the Kabardians and Beslanay. The western Circassians are composed of many tribes: Abzakh, Shapsugh, Temirgoi, Bzhedugh, etc. Some tribes and clans have disappeared from the Caucasus as a result of the Russian-Circassian war. The social structure of Circassian society was extremely complex and was generally based on hierarchical feudalism. The main castes were the princes, nobles, freemen, serfs, and slaves. A few egalitarian tribes existed in the mountainous regions of Western Circassia. The feudal system came to a tragic end in 1864 when Russia conquered Circassia.

Traditional Circassian society was martial in nature and the offspring of the upper-classes were required to go through a very harsh

¹ A fascinating biography of Shanibov – and an eye-opening account of the Kabardian intellectual elite in the last decades of the 20th century – can be found in Georgi M. Derlugian's *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A World-System Biography*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.

² For more on 'Greater Circassia' in contemporary politics, refer to P. Goble, 'A Greater Circassia "More Probable than Nuclear War," Moscow Analyst Says', in *Window on Eurasia*, 11 December 2007. Online. Available HTTP: <<http://windowoneurasia.blogspot.com/2007/12/window-on-eurasia-greater-circassia.html>> (accessed 15 February 2008).

training regime. Frugality and abstinence were cherished attributes. The code of chivalry had respect for women and elders, hospitality and blood-revenge as its trinity. Avoidance customs, as when man and wife and siblings are proscribed from associating in public, were manifestations of the severity of social relations. Women, especially of the upper class, enjoyed a relatively high social status. The position of Circassian women is significantly better in many respects than the Russian average.

Traditional economy was agrarian and pastoral in nature. During Soviet times, centralization and industrialization transformed and modernized the economy. However, individualism and initiative were frowned upon, and after collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic situation in the Circassian republics took a nosedive. The two Chechen wars and political uncertainty and tensions have aggravated the situation.

The Circassians are nominally Sunni Muslims. There is a small Christian community in Mozdok in North Ossetia. The two most powerful formers of Circassian system of beliefs are the ancient animistic-pagan religion and the code of conduct, *Adige Xabze*, which also has regulated the mundane life. Religious persecution during the Soviet period and great attachment to traditions, a characteristic of the Circassians, have resulted in a superficial knowledge and practice of religion. There is no tradition of religious fanaticism.

The Kabardians

Capsule Summary

Location: Central North Caucasus, mainly in the Kabardino-Balkarian and Karachay-Cherkess republics of the Russian Federation.

Self designation: Adige, Qeberdey.

Total population: Approximately 1 million.

Religion: Eclectic amalgam of mainly pagan/polytheistic native beliefs and practices with Muslim and, to a lesser extent, Christian influences. Orthodox Christianity (2%).

Essay:

Ethnically, the Kabardians form one of the main tribal divisions of the Circassians. Presently, they occupy the middle and northern regions of the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (12,500 sq. km; about 1 million) making 55.3% of the population (according to 2002 Russian population census; but estimated now to make up almost 60% of the population of the Republic), form the majority of the Cherkess population of 100,000 in the Karachai-Cherkess Republic (14,100 sq. km; about 450,000), and are found in a few villages in Adigea and the Krasnodar and Stavropol Krajs. A significant Christian community is found in the area of the town of Mozdok in North Ossetia. There are about 750,000 Kabardians in the Caucasus, forming almost three-quarters of the Circassian population and almost 0.5% of total population in Russia. There are Kabardian diaspora communities scattered in the Middle East, especially in Turkey, Syria, and Jordan, with a total number estimated at 300,000. This diaspora formed mainly as a result of the Russian-Circassian War of the 19th century.

Linguistically, Kabardian, together with the closely related Beslanay, forms the eastern branch of Circassian. It has the status of an official and literary language in both Kabardino-Balkaria and Karachai-Cherkessia. Cyrillic orthography is used, although Arabic and later Latin adaptations had been used until 1923 and 1937, respectively. Kabardian in Kabardino-Balkaria is divided into four sub-dialects named after the main rivers in the republic: Balhq (Malka), Bax'sen (Bakhsan), Terch

(Terek), and Shejem (Chegem). Some authorities divide the language into Greater and Lesser Kabardian, the dialects spoken in Kabarda to the west and east of the Terch (Terek), respectively. Lesser Kabardian is also informally called Jilax'steney. Outside the nominal republic there are two more dialects, one spoken by the Christian community in Mozdok in North Ossetia, and Kuban Kabardian in Adigea, spoken in a few villages. The status of Kabardian has been slowly improving since the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is not thought that the language is under threat of extinction.

History

The earliest recorded instance of Kabardian differentiation from the rest of the Circassian nation was in *The Book of Administration of the Empire*, written in the 10th century by Emperor Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus (905-959), according to which the Zikhis, or Western Circassians, occupied the eastern Black Sea littoral and the Kasakhs (Kassogs), modern-day Kabardians, lived in the hinterland. To the east of the Kasakhs lived the Alans, ancestors of the Ossetes.

In the 11th century, the Russians under Mstislav took part in routing the Khazar army in the Crimea. They then crossed the Taman Strait and defeated the Kassogs, or Kabardians, under their legendary leader Idar. Mstislav then subjugated the Iron, or Ossetes. He founded a small principality, Tamtarkan, or Tmutarakan, under the suzerainty of Russia, with the Kabardians and Ossetes as subjects. This state lasted for a few centuries, but with diminishing influence in Kabarda.

During this period some Circassian tribes abandoned their mountainous abodes and resettled in the plains around the Sea of Azov, and in the Crimea. The majority of migrants hailed from Kabarda, who settled among the Tatars between the rivers Katch and Belbek. To this day, the area of the upper reaches of the Belbek is called 'Kabarda', and the land between the two rivers 'Tcherkess-Tuss', 'Plain of the Circassians' in Tatar.

The Kabardians had to suffer Georgian rule until 1424. In the early 13th century, the Kabardians left their original homeland in the Kuban region and, after wandering for some time, headed towards the Crimean Peninsula and occupied it in 1237 AD. At the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, the Crimean Kabardians were ruled by Abdun-Khan. They resettled in the middle of the North Caucasus between the rivers Psif in the east and Nefil in the west. This move was only possible after the demise of the Golden Horde, when a power vacuum was created by the defeat of Tokhtamish.

The establishment of Little Kabarda goes back to the middle of the 16th century, when a Kabardian prince, who wanted a large principality to rule, crossed the Terch (Terek), accompanied by his share of subjects, and established a principality to the east of Kabarda proper, or Greater Kabarda.

The Kabardians established a strong state in the 16th and 17th centuries. They built the town of Chantchir, which became the centre of their country. At the time, Kabarda had an area exceeding 40,000 sq km. It extended from the Kuban (Psizch) in the west to river Sunzha in the east, and from the plains north of Pyatigorsk and river Terch (Terek) in the north to Georgia in the south. An earlier instance of Circassian re-establishment in the middle plains of the Northern Caucasus was recorded as far back as 1250 AD.

Prince Inal Teghen (Tighwen), one of the descendants of Abdun-Khan, assumed the reins of power in Kabarda in the 15th century. He was brave, prudent and generous. During his reign many people submitted to his rule and chose to become part of his state. He managed to unite the Circassians and Abkhazians into one empire, which he ruled for a long time. In 1509, he invaded Imeretia and subsequently routed an army of Western Georgians. It is most probable that Tzandia Inal Daphita, desecrated in the Georgian Chronicles, was this self-same prince. However, after his demise Kabarda was riven into several rival principalities by his several sons. Civil war ensued in which the Kiakh (*Ch'axe*=Western Circassians) were instrumental in installing Prince Idar as sole potentate. It was during this chaotic period that Prince Qanoqwe son of Beslan left Kabarda to establish the Beslanay tribe.

Peace and stability prevailed for long years, allowing the Circassians to go on with their lives. As had become the usual scheme of things, a fresh wave of invaders broke on Circassian shores. A combined force of the Turghwt (ancestors of the Kalmyk) and Tatars of Tarki engaged the Kabardians at the confluence of the Balhq (Malka) and Terch (Terek). The first encounter went the way of the former party, the Circassians retreating to the Psigwensu River (in Kabarda).³ The Turghwt overwhelmed the entrenched Circassians, who were forced to take refuge in the mountains. At the third meeting, the Circassian forces were on the verge of total rout when a contingent of 2,000 warriors came to the rescue, turning the tide of the battle. The Turghwt were driven out and all Circassian lands were restored. The battle scene was

³ Psigwensu is a right tributary of the Sherej (Cherek), which is a right tributary of the Bax'sen (Bakhsan), which in turn is a right tributary of the Balhq (Malka), a left tributary of the Terch (Terek).

named 'Qereqeschqetaw', which means 'fleeing to the mountains' in Tatar.⁴

The feudal princes of Kabarda dominated the North Caucasus up to the start of the 18th century. By the end of the Middle Ages, Kabarda had become a formidable state. It spread its hegemony over the whole of central North Caucasus, reducing the Ossetes and various Turkic peoples, remnants of the Kipchaks, to vassalage. At times its power extended to the shores of the Caspian. Alliances were struck with the Shamkhals of Daghestan. These achievements would have supposed some degree of co-ordination and co-operation between the plethora of princes, the occasional civil strife notwithstanding. The main princely dynasties were Yidar (Idar), Qazi, Telhusten, Zhilax'sten, Mudar, and Zhambolet.

At its zenith, Kabarda was so dominant that all powers with vested interests in the area, namely Moscovy and the Ottoman Port, sought to court and bestow honours upon its princes in order to further their interests. This culminated in the betrothal of Tsar Ivan IV (1530-1584), nicknamed the Terrible, to Prince Temriuk Idarov's (Yidar Teimriqwe) daughter, Gwascheney (Gwaschene, in some sources; later baptized Princess Maria), in 1561 AD. This marriage of alliance served to cement the so-called 'Union' between Russia and Kabarda. In Soviet times, a bronze statue of Princess Maria was erected in the centre of Nalchik to mark the event. In this period, the Cherkasskys, Kabardian princes in the Russian court, as an aristocratic family formed whose descendants played a significant role in the Russian military and politics.

The date of the fictitious unification is reckoned by Russians to have occurred in 1557. However, as will be explained later, the authority of Temriuk over the other Kabardian princes was very tenuous and many of these declined to 'ratify' the alliance, which was at best symbolic. In 1705 (or 1708), the Tatar Khan, Qaplan-Gery, at the head of 100,000 men, marched against the Circassians of the Five Mountains. The Adiga, sensing the inferiority of their forces, decided to invoke ruse. They retreated into the mountains and built stone fortifications across the forbidding passes. Remains of these ramparts, called the 'Walls of the Crimea', can still be seen in Qenzhalischhe, in the environs of Pyatigorsk. In the absence of any resistance, the Tatars went into a rampage. The Circassians sent deputies to offer their submission to the Khan, who imposed stiff conditions. He demanded, among other things, 4,000 maids and boys as hostages. The Adiga pretended to accept the

⁴ The epic battle was immortalized in song, for example 'Qereqeschqetaw Zawem yi Wered' ('The Song of the Qereqeschqetaw Battle').

terms and sent provisions, including intoxicating liquors. The Tatars revelled in their 'victory'. One night, while they were in deep slumber induced by the strong drink, the Circassians rolled heavy stones on the tents below, and fell on the Khan's camp, massacring a great number of his men and putting the rest to flight. The Khan lost a brother and son. Thenceforth, the Kabardians were rid of the Tatars forever.

In 1736, a war broke out between Russia and the Ottoman Empire due to the latter's intervention in Kabarda. In the Treaty of Belgrade of 18 September 1739, the independence of Kabarda was formally guaranteed. The first military outpost of the Caucasian Military Line, Mozdok (Mezdegw=Deaf[=thick, deep]-Forest), was established in Kabarda in 1763 on the left bank of the Terch (Terek) at a distance of 250 km west of Kizliar.⁵ After this development, the Kabardians entered into negotiations with the Turks. In the summer of 1771, the Kabardian princes expressed their dissatisfaction with the policy of the imperial administration in the Caucasus and the construction of the military line between Mozdok and Kizliar. This hastened the first open battle between the Kabardians and Russians, which took place near the Balhq (Malka) River on 29 September 1771. The Russians under General Jacoby won the day.

In 1779 Empress Catherine instructed the Governor General of Astrakhan, Prince Potemkin, to pacify Kabarda by fair means or foul. General Jacoby was given his marching orders. He conducted an offensive in Kabarda, which lasted all summer. After the arrival of fresh enforcements from Russia, the expedition succeeded in penetrating deep into Kabardian lands. At the end of September 1779, a fierce battle was fought in which the Kabardian force, taken unawares, was massacred. About fifty princes and more than 350 noblemen were killed, a huge toll by the reckoning of those days. Dubbed 'Qeberdey Zheschteiwe' ('Kabardian Night Assault'), the battle marked one of the bleakest days in Kabardian history.⁶ By December, the Kabardian princes were defeated and the northern frontier of Kabarda retracted to the rivers Balhq (Malka) and Terch (Terek).

In 1810, the Russians conducted a campaign in which many Circassians were killed and about 200 villages burnt. The Kabardians sent a delegation to St. Petersburg to petition for peace and to request that the rights and privileges granted by Empress Catherine II in the

⁵ According to other accounts, Mozdok was established by the (Kabardian) Prince Qwrghwoqwe in 1759.

⁶ The memory of this battle has been preserved in the song 'Qeberdey Zheschteiwem yi Wered' ('The Song of the Kabardian Night Assault').

early 1790s be restored. Tsar Alexander I concurred with these demands. Some Kabardians, today's Cherkess, dubbed '*Hejeret*' – immigrant or fugitive Circassians – refused to accept Russian hegemony, and moved west to the land between the upper Kuban (Psizch) and Zelenchuk (Yinzhi) rivers. The war in Kabarda was localized and badly organized. The Circassian princes failed to present a united front, the Russians taking advantage of principal rivalries. When General Yarmolov (Ermolov), military commander of the southern Tsarist forces, arrived on the scene in 1816, Kabarda was on her knees. Four decades of open conflict had demoralized the people and left the land in ruins. The Kabardians suffered heavy losses. By 1818, their number had fallen from 350,000 before the war to a mere 50,000.

In 1821, Yarmolov demanded that the Kabardians living in mountainous areas move to the plains to facilitate their control. The mountaineers refused to obey, causing the General to move against them in 1822. He laid the foundations for several forts and imposed harsh punishments on the population. The Caucasian Military Line was pushed further into Kabardian territory and many massacres were committed against the populace, which had been ravaged by the plague for close to fourteen years. The intensity of conflict subsided in 1825. No serious disturbances occurred until 1846.

Many Kabardians were forced to leave their native lands during the exodus years 1862-64. During the tsarist years, Kabarda was subsumed under the Stavropol Province. Cossack and Slav settlers found a new home in the north-eastern parts of Kabarda. In September 1921, the Kabardian Autonomous Oblast (AO) was formed, and in January 1922, the Balkar Okrug was attached to the Kabardian AO to form the Kabardino-Balkarian AO. In December 1936, the status of Kabardino-Balkaria was elevated to autonomous republic within the Russian SSR. In 1991, it became a constituent republic of the Russian Federation with no right of secession.

Present Political Situation

The Kabardian nationalists are mainly represented by the Adige Xase (Circassian Association), which is a member of the International Circassian Association. The nationalists' principal demand is restoration of historical Kabarda as a first step towards re-establishment of Greater Circassia, with the concomitant repatriation of the diaspora. The nationalists rode on a wave of popularity that almost managed to wash away the old apparatchiks, but by 1996, the people had become more concerned with the economic woes that had gripped all Russia. President Vladimir Kokov, effective leader of the Republic from 1990 to 2005,

won the 1997 and 2002 presidential elections, putting more pressure on the already beleaguered nationalists. The Kabardians and Balkars have been at loggerheads since the latter were rehabilitated after their banishment. The Cossacks also aspire to secession. There is a small chance of open conflict, which could involve other kindred people.

In September 2005, Arsein Kanokov (Qanoqwe), a Kabardian businessman based in Moscow and president of the Sindika Company, replaced the ailing Kokov as president of the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic (Kokov died on 29 October 2005). The new president is considered by many to be the right person to lift the Republic out of the myriad crises gripping it. Others have criticized him for being weak.

Kabardian Society

The Kabardians are part of the wider Circassian society, having the same traditions and customs with slight regional variations. The social structure was more elaborate and the *Xabze*, the code of conduct, was more developed. Despite feudalism, there was enough social cohesion to allow the formation of a huge empire in the 16th and 17th centuries, and enough clout to dominate the central northern Caucasus until the middle of the 18th.

‘The Kabardians well exemplify the peoples of the Northern Caucasus in their main socioeconomic indices. They are characterized by a low level of urbanization (44.3 percent of urban population) coupled with a high rate of urbanization (the growth of urban population from 1979 to 1989 was 89.3 percent). The age structure of the Kabardians shows a high proportion of young age groups (in 1989 as many as 32.4 percent of the population) and an insignificant proportion of people of pensionable age (9.9 percent). This is the result of a high birth-rate, especially in the countryside (2.6 births per woman), where the bulk of the population lives. The average age of the Kabardians is 28.5 years. The socioeconomic indices of the Kabardians (also the Cherkess and Adigeans) suggest that they are undergoing modernization but that they are far from its completion.’ — T. Mastyugina, L. Perepelkin, V. Naumkin (ed.), and I. Zviagelskaia (ed.), *An Ethnic History of Russia: Pre-revolutionary Times to the Present*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996.

Figures from the 2002 Russian population census show that the increase in Kabardian population, especially in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic, since the preceding census in 1989 had been colossal by any standards. For example, the number of Kabardians in the Kabardino-Balkarian Republic rose from 364,494 in 1989 (48.2% of total population) to 498,702 in 2002 (55.3% of total population), an increase

of 37%. In the same period, the Russian population in the Republic dropped almost 6%, from 240,750 (31.9% of total population) to 226,620 (25.1% of total population).

Kabardian Religion

The Kabardian Pantheon consisted of some three score deities that regulated the cosmos. Pagan and animistic beliefs, some of which are enshrined in the Nart legends, are still prevalent. Soviet propaganda and isolation have resulted in a superficial knowledge of Islam. The Kabardians of Mozdok are nominal Orthodox Christians, but they are almost indistinguishable from their pagan/Muslim kin culturally.

The Kabardian Language

Kabardian in Kabardino-Balkaria is divided into four sub-dialects named after the main rivers in the republic: Balhq (Malka), Bax'sen (Bakhsan), Terch (Terek), and Shejem (Chegem). Some authorities divide the language into Greater and Lesser Kabardian, the dialects spoken in Kabarda to the west and east of the Terch (Terek), respectively. Lesser Kabardian is also informally called Jilax'steney. Outside the nominal republic there are two more dialects, one spoken by the Christian community in Mozdok in North Ossetia, and Kuban Kabardian in Adigea, spoken in a few villages. In the heyday of Kabarda's dominance in the 16th to 18th centuries, Kabardian influenced Digor, a western dialect of Ossetian, in which Circassian loanwords are to be found in the semantic fields of economic life, especially in agriculture and animal husbandry.

Literary Kabardian is based on the dialect of Greater Kabarda. There are 57 letters in standard Kabardian, 19 of which are digraphs (e.g. хъ, пI), five trigraphs (e.g. хъу), and one tetragraph (кхъу). These combinations are used to represent the inordinate number of consonants.

Other works by Amjad Jaimoukha

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Other articles appeared in a number of local periodicals and on some Internet sites. There have also been a number of interviews by international and national media, such as the BBC (Arabic Service), Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (North Caucasus Service), *Faits & Projects Magazine* (Paris, September 2003, pp 51-52), etc.