

Historical Turkish Presence in Jordan and Related Communities

الوجود التركي القديم والمجتمعات المشابهة في الأردن

Ürdün'de Kadim Türk Varlığı ve Akraba Topluluklar



INTRODUCTION

Turkish presence in the region ranging from Morocco to Afghanistan which is today called the Middle East can be traced back to the Umayyad era. In 674 AD, Ubeydullah bin Ziyad, who was the governor of Khorasan, set out from Bukhara with his army of 2,000 Turkish warriors, and after conquering Baykand, Nasaf, Râmîten and Sagāniyân arrived in Basra where he ordered the Turkish warriors under his command to settle. That is the first trace of the Turks in the Middle East, in which they made their impact for the following centuries. Thereafter, the westward march of the Turks began with the Turkish-Islamic state of the Tulunid Dynasty (868-905 AD) which ruled the territories known today as Egypt, Jordan, Palestine and Syria. Then the Turkish dynasty of Ikshidids held sway over the Hedjaz region, where the Ka'bah is located, for the first time as a Turkish state, in addition to the territories of Egypt, Jordan, Palestine and Syria. Although Turkish immigration to the region increased in these periods, the mass movement of Turks towards the Middle East started with the Seljuks. Many Oghuz (Turkish) tribes, along with the Seljuks, arrived in today's Middle East from Central Asia and then moved to Anatolia. In this sense, one could say that the mass migration of the Turks towards the Middle East took place from the 10th and 11th centuries onwards.¹

After the Seljuk rule, the consolidating Turkish presence in the Middle East, became an important element in the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties established after the Seljuk State. During this period, the Ottomans, after having established their reign in Anatolia, extended their rule to the Middle East, which would last more than 400 years, when Sultan Selim I defeated the Mamluks in Syria and the Sinai Desert in 1517 AD. Turks have deeply affected the Middle East during their reign and after the Ottoman State collapsed, all new states in its territory ranging from Morocco to Iran host a resident Turkish community. Particularly in the countries south of Turkey, there is a major Turkish presence. Although the Turkish communities in Syria and Iraq enjoy a degree of awareness in Turkey, little is known about the Turks in countries such as Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

¹ Hürmüzlü, Erşat. (2013). Ortadoğu Türkmenleri (Middle East Turkmens). Yeni Türkiye, September October 2013 (54), p. 2191-2195

Yet the Turks in these countries have significant populations and seek to find ways of self-expression in the last 15-20 years. Lately, the Turkish community in Jordan has been striving for reawakening. While the Turks in Jordan are weak in terms of language, the most important element of national identity. Having been included within the Ottoman territories, Jordan hosts some communities, the so called Ottoman remnants, who harbor an emotional bond with Turkey. Thus, a field trip was conducted in Jordan focusing on the Turkish and the Ottoman heritage communities in the country, in the context of a project executed by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM) and the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB).

Turkish Presence in Jordan and the Ottoman Heritage

Although the history of the Turkish presence in the present Jordanian territory is quite old, as stated above, it is difficult to say that there are high quality and detailed studies on the Turkish presence in Jordan. It is therefore difficult to find detailed and precise information on the Turkish presence in Jordan. Some of the information about Turkish presence in Jordan is obtained from written sources, the majority is based on the data obtained from the interviews conducted in the field study.

In the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, a massive migration wave took place towards the Jordanian territory. However, for both the characteristics of the immigration to Jordan, the reasons for the arrival and the settlements, as well as their social characteristics the Turkish and the Ottoman heritage communities have different features. As a matter of fact, in addition to communities of Turkish origin in Jordan, Circassians and Chechens also have an important place within Jordanian society and Jordanian Turks. These communities have developed emotional bonds with the Ottoman State and its heir Turkey. For that, they are the communities which are favorable toward Turkey. That is because, their ties with Turkey. At the same time, Turks were subjected to oppression in the post-Ottoman period and they settled within Chechen and Circassian communities hiding among them. It has enabled a high degree of interaction between Turks and the Ottoman remnant communities leading to the formation of a social structure intertwined in terms of culture and identity. Therefore, studies isolating the Turkish community individually will not provide a sufficient ground for understanding the phenomenon. This study will also handle the Circassians and Chechens while researching the Turkish community in Jordan.

Jordanian Turks

It will be appropriate to examine the Turkish presence in Jordan in several levels both periodic and qualitative. Even though the exact reasons for migration are unknown, Muhammed al-Turk, the Director of the Turkish Charity Association, the oldest civil society organization of Jordanian Turks founded in 1975, explains the reasons of migration as such:

- The Ottoman State resettled trustworthy Turkish families in regions with strategic significance in its last 50 troubled years seeking to establish distant outposts.
- Some Turks settled in the Jordanian territory during the construction of the Hedjaz railroad.
- Some Turkish families settled in Jordan for the commercial activity ranging from Anatolia to Damascus, Palestine, Hedjaz and Yemen.
- Some Turks migrated to Jordan for religious purposes (i.e. for being closer to Jerusalem and the Holy Land).
- Individual migration for religious education.
- Some Ottoman soldiers who fought in the World War I decided to remain in the area of duty.

While these factors are fundamental about the formation of the Turkish presence in Jordan and the surrounding region, there are also people of Turkish origin who saw the region as a immigration destination or route and later on remained there.

The first mass migration toward today's Jordanian territories took place in the 1860s. Approximately 100 nomadic families of the Avshar clan of the Oghuz settled in the Rumman village near the capital city of Amman. As a matter of fact, many families belonging to the different branches of the Avshar clan, which was still nomadic at that time, departed from different areas in Anatolia (such as Aydın, Kayseri, Bolu, Urfa, Erzincan) and settled permanently in Rumman, which has a fertile terrain. Damascus and Jerusalem had become two main hubs in this migration route. In addition, it is known that some of the Avshars who departed Turkey settled in Damascus, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Nablus. Later on when the state of Jordan was founded, the Turks of Rumman became a central element of the region.

Rumman was a settlement inhabited only by Turks until the 1970s. Turks ruled the local governor's office for 75 years. Afterwards, Arabs started to migrate into Rumman known for its fertile lands changing the city's de-

mographics. At the same time, local Turks started to sell their property and moved into Sweileh, a district of Amman. Consequently, Arabs came to dominate Rumman, which was historically a Turkish settlement. As of today, no Turkish family lives in Rumman. Known as the village of Beni Hasan tribe, it is an entirely Arab village. While most of the Turks in Rumman moved to the Sweileh district of Amman, some of them moved to other provinces. A historical Turkish cemetery remains in Rumman even though there are no Turks living there now. With the permission of the Jordanian government, the Turks living in other places can still be buried in the Turkish cemetery of Rumman.

In addition, the Turks of Rumman have experienced migration within and out of Jordan as well. Two major migration waves took place from Rumman to Turkey, one in 1936, in which half of the Turkish families in Rumman moved to Turkey, and the other is in 1952. Particularly between 1934 and 1938, the Balkan Turks were resettled in Turkey (mostly from Bulgaria and Romania) in a systematic way. During this period, more than 400 thousand Turks are known to come to Turkey. One could guess that some Jordanian Turks have returned to Turkey as well. Similarly, during the 1950s many Bulgarian Turks and Muslims have moved to Turkey due to the oppression they face. And during this period many Jordanian Turks are known to come to Turkey.

Another important factor for the Turkish presence in Jordan is the Hedjaz Railroad Project which was launched in the late era of the Ottoman Empire. The project started in September 1900 by the decree of Sultan Abdulhamid II and was inaugurated by the Sultan himself in 1909 when it was completed.² The railroad project was launched with defensive purposes in mind, particularly against external invasions toward Hedjaz and regional uprisings. Economic and regional reasons were considered as well. Many Turkish families moved to today's Jordanian territory accompanying railroad workers. In addition, some workers were selected from those who undertook military service in the region. When the project was completed, many of the workers remained in the regions where the Hedjaz railroad passes through.

Shortly after the Hedjaz Railroad was inaugurated, the First World War started in 1914 and the Arab tribes rebelled along the southern borders triggering a declaration of mobilization. Some survivors among the Turkish soldiers, who have been deployed to fight along the Palestine-Syria front and the Hedjaz-Yemen front also remained in the region. Some of these soldiers settled after the state of Jordan was founded. Therefore, the Ottoman rem-

² Ufuk Gülsoy, William Ochsenwald, "Hicaz Demiryolu (Hedjaz Railroad)", TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hicaz-demiryolu> (14.05.2019).

nant families and soldiers formed one of the main branches of the Turkish presence in Jordan.

As of today, while most Turkish families live in Sweileh, Amman; one can also find Turkish families in Zarqa, Irbid, Salt, Ma'an, Karak and even in Aqabe. The chart below shows the cities and regions where Turkish families as of today live in Jordan:

Current Distribution of Jordanian Turks						
Province		Settlement/ Figure	Settlement/ Figure	Settlement/ Figure	Settlement/ Figure	Settlement/ Figure
Ajloun	Settlement	Ajloun	Sakhra	Sifine		
	Number	1 family	2-3 families	1 family		
Amman	Settlement	Sweileh	Sahab	Jabal Nasr	Marj al-Hammam	Ras Al Ain
	Number	25-60 families	2 families	500 people	15 families	10 families
Balqa	Settlement	Salt				
	Number	1 family				
Jerash	Settlement	Jerash				
	Number	1 family				
Irbid	Settlement	Irbid	Nu'aimah			
	Number	10-30 families	1 family			
Karak	Settlement	Karak				
	Number	4-15 families				
Ma'an	Settlement	Ma'an	Shobak			
	Number	5 families	Portion of Hababi tribe			
Zarqa	Settlement	Zarqa	Sukhnah			
	Number	3,000 people	3 families			

Note: Family members can rise as high as one hundred. The reason for that is the individuals descending from a single ancestor are counted as one family.

Most Turks in Jordan have adopted the surname "al-Turk" after the Law for surname came into effect. However, there are also families who do not take the surname "al-Turk" among the Jordanian Turks. On the other hand, even the Turkish families who took the surname "al-Turk" in Jordan continue to be remembered with their old family names in the community. The chart below contains the names that the Turkish families in Jordan are known as:

Names of Jordanian Turkish Families					
1	Aga	16	Al-Turk	31	Kupeli
2	Aslan	17	Haci Yusufllu*	32	Mulazim
3	Avshar	18	Ciciklar*	33	Oglu
4	Avshar	19	Hacsilular*	34	Onbasi
5	Bedirhan	20	Kadilar*	35	Ozkan
6	Bostan	21	Kara Muhtar	36	Postacu
7	Burcak	22	Hakki	37	Salih
8	Burnu	23	Harputlu	38	Seyfi
9	Cennet	24	Hinkirik	39	Taslak
10	Cundi	25	Horsid	40	Tatar
11	Deknas	26	Hulusi	41	Tomaki
12	Demir	27	İzmirli	42	Ugurlu
13	Diri	28	Kanitli	43	Ustalar
14	Ebu Hasan	29	Karatelli	44	Zipli
15	Edhem	30	Kulak	45	Zulay

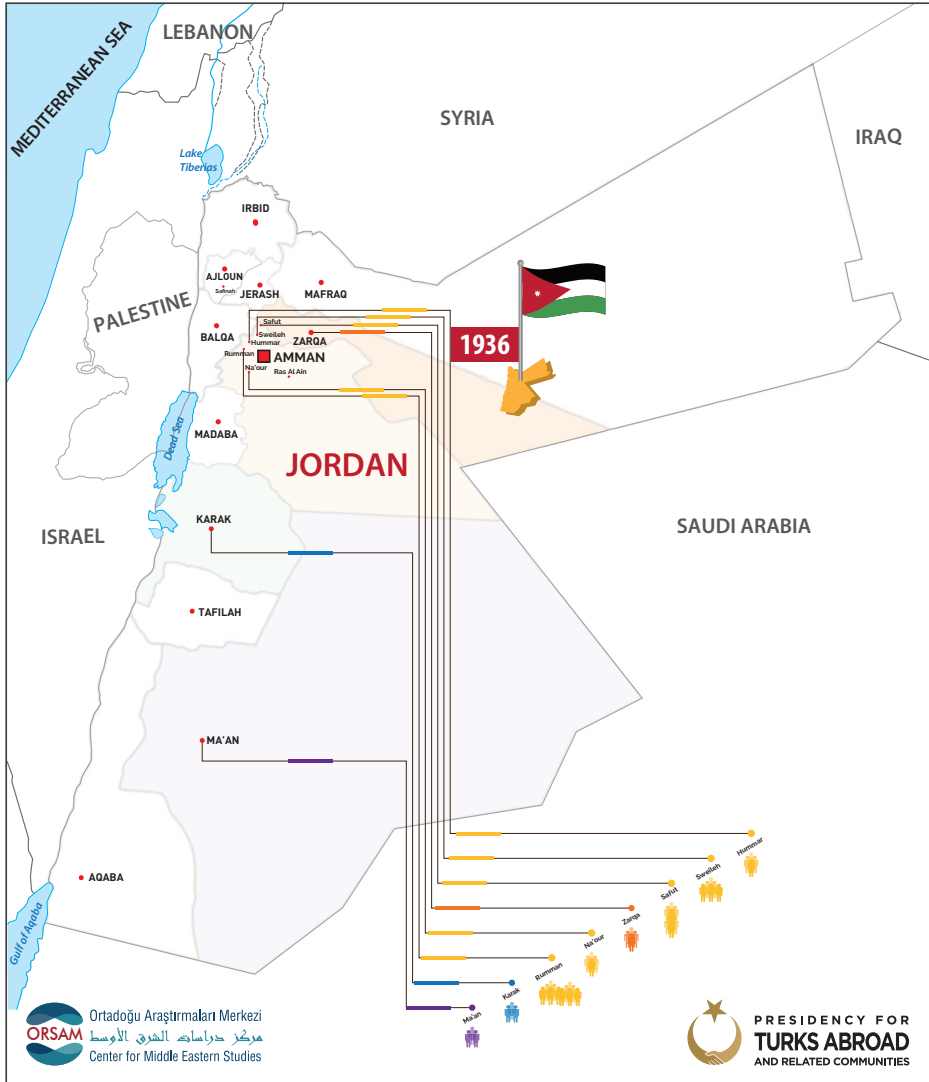
Note: The family of Haci Yusufllu also adopted the names of Hacsilular and Kadilar after the surname law came into effect.

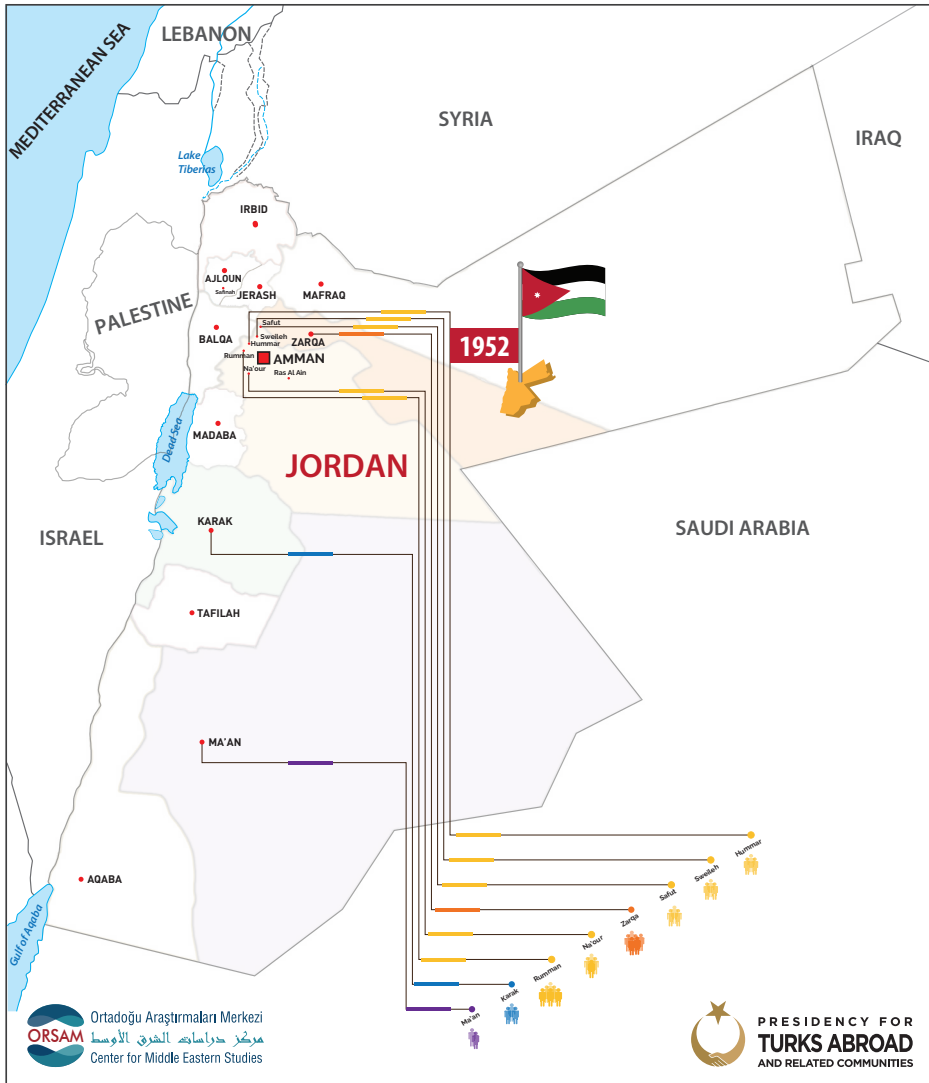
While the Turks living in Jordan are aware of their ethnic identity, the majority of them have lost their language. Those who speak Turkish very well are the second generation Turks who are few in number and very old. Although the following generation has generally forgotten the Turkish language, some of them have learned Turkish as a personal achievement. Jordanian Turks, who have for a long time coexisted with the dominant Arab identity, have been significantly impacted by the Arab culture as well. In addition, the negative effects of the historical struggle have brought the Turkish identity backwards and it has been sidelined. It is even to the extent that many Turks, who were interviewed in the field trip, told that they were warned by their families not to mention their Turkish identity in schools or in any social setting. The fact that Turks lived in different cities in Jordan in a scattered way has blunted the interaction between each other and caused them to fall under the influence of dominant identity. As a result of the education system, which rests on the Arab identity, Turks were not allowed education in their mother tongue thereby weakening the language connection. Under an identity dilemma, Turks opted for calling themselves 'Jordanian' and stressed the citizenship bond. It would be appropriate to state that problems between Turks and Arabs throughout the process have led to the current situation. For this,

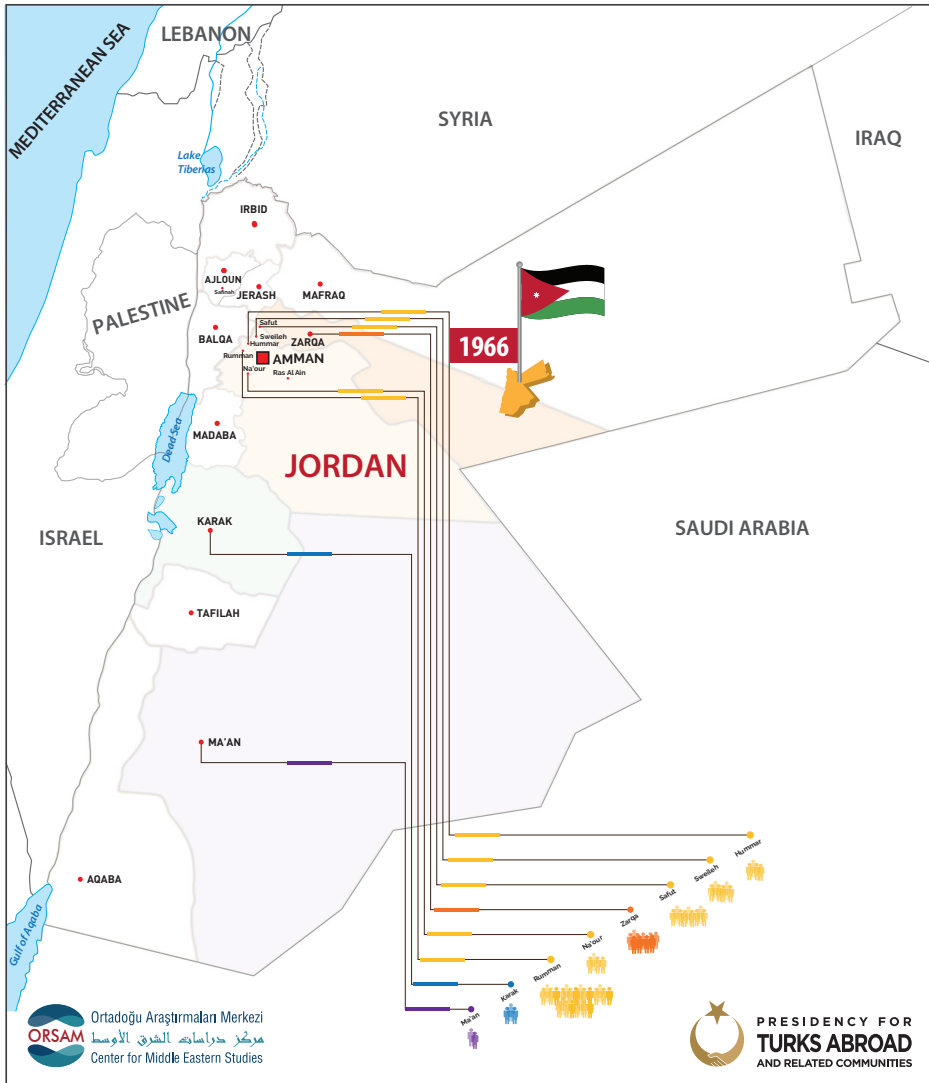
the Turks living in Jordan have put the citizenship identity at the forefront in order to avoid oppression.

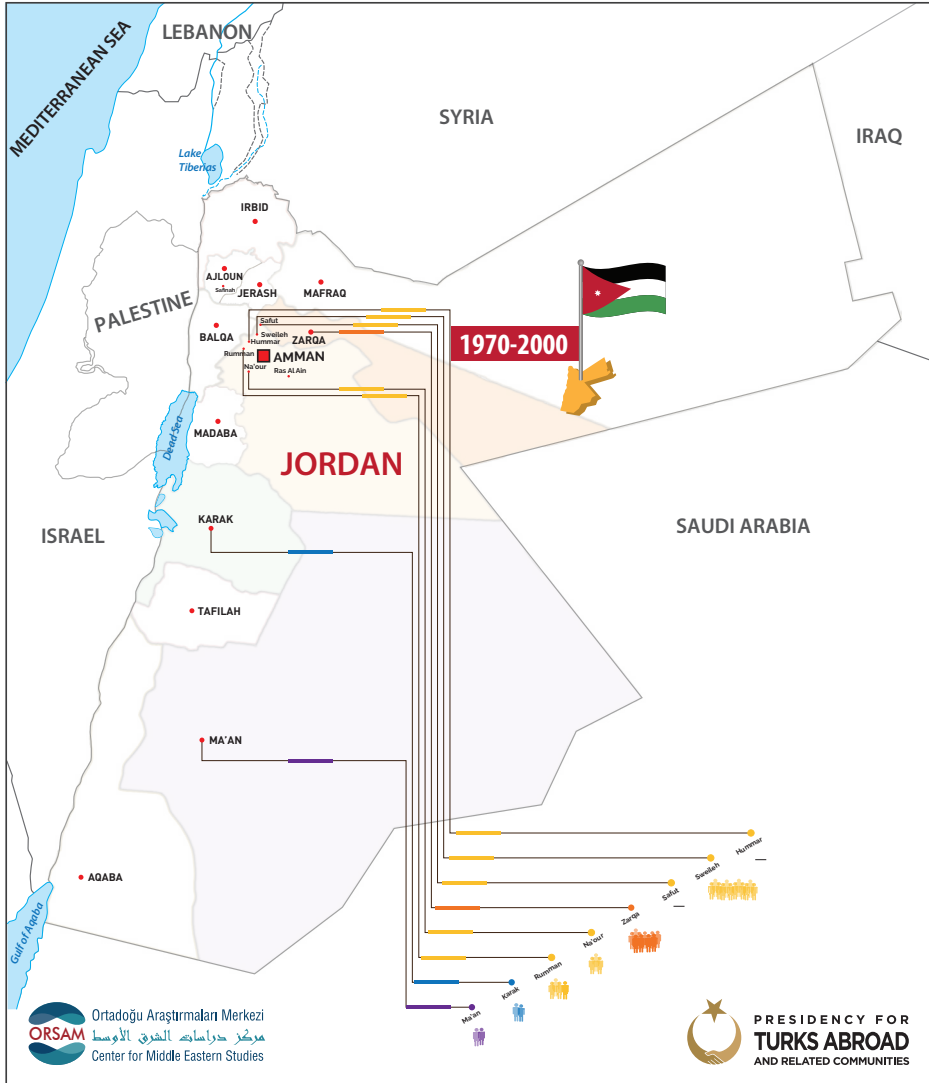
At the same time, as Turkey's influence in the Middle East have increased in the last 10-15 years, the Turkish youth in Jordan started to show more interest in the Turkish language and became more courageous in expressing their identity. As a matter of fact, the Turkish language courses started by the Jordan office of the Yunus Emre Institute and the Turkish Charity Association receive significant attention. Furthermore, not only the Turks but also a significant portion of the Jordanian society has come to be more interested in the Turkish language. It is well known that four princes and a princess belonging to the Jordanian royal family learn Turkish with the Yunus Emre Institute's support. Therefore, one could say that Jordanian Turks have started to claim their identity strongly and their consciousness about Turkness has risen. It is even to the extent that some families who formerly identified themselves as Arabs, now gradually adopt their Turkish identity.

According to the figures of the Turkish Charity Association, the number of Turks living in Jordan today is around 12,000 to 15,000. Yet, it is difficult to ascertain an exact number of Jordanian Turks. That is because some Turks do not adopt their Turkish identity while some others are called by Arabic names. Therefore, no exact number is available for the Jordanian Turks.

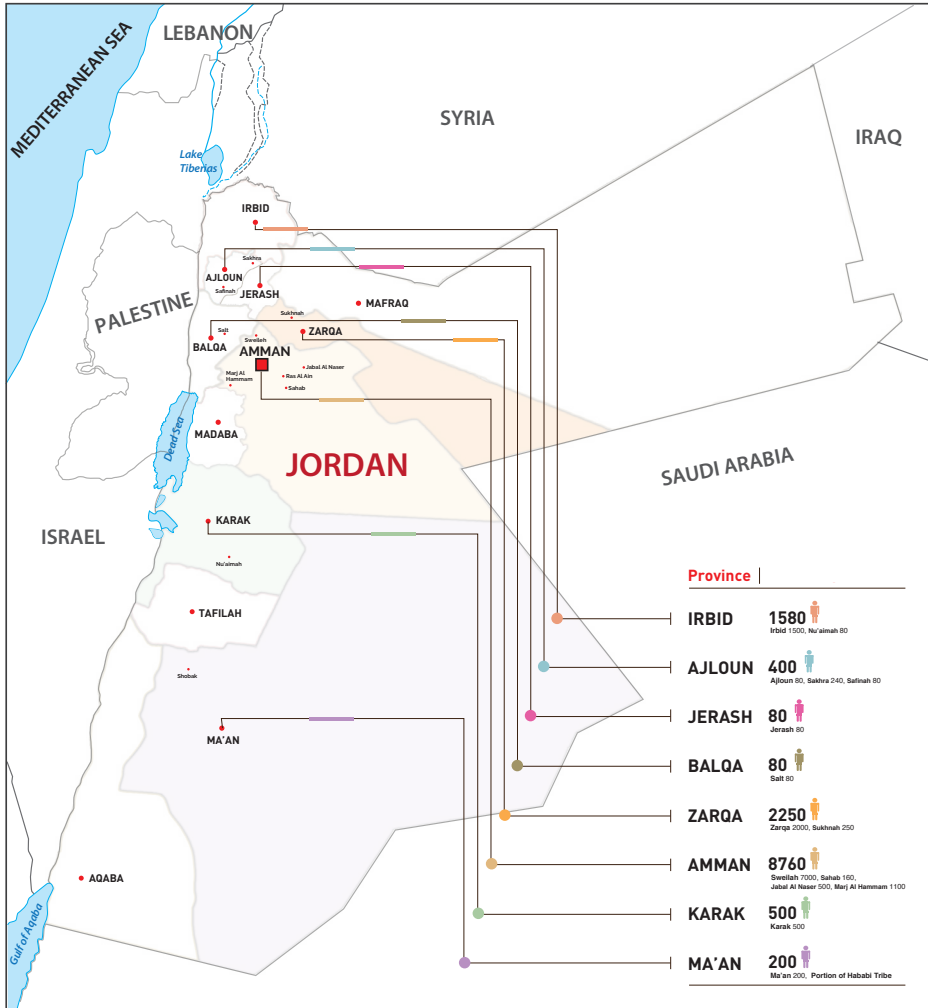








Current Distribution of the Jordanian Turks



The Turks in Jordan generally live in harmony with the overall social fabric of the country. They do not have controversial relations with any other social groups due to their minority conditions and the social structure. Turks have deeply intertwined with the Circassians, Chechens and other Ottoman remnant communities living in Jordan. The tense relations between Turks and Arabs caused by their troubled history have led Turks to feel themselves comfortable among Circassians and Chechens, and hide among their communities in order to find shelter and protection. The shared concerns and conditions about being a minority group have been effective in bringing these communities together. Therefore, Turks, Circassians and Chechens have come to share kinship bonds through cross community marriages.

Jordanian Turks are generally conservative. They are all Muslims from the Sunni denomination. Yet, the sectarian homogeneity in Jordan has prevented the Sunni identity from having a dominant character. It would not be wrong to state that Jordanian Turks have a moderate view of religion rather than a radical understanding.

The Turks living in Jordan adopt a similarly moderate view toward politics as well. Citizenship is the most important concept for the Turks who stress the national interest of Jordan rather than a sharp ideology. In this sense, Jordanian Turks are 'nationalistic'. As a matter of fact, Jordanian Turks place themselves distant from politics. In other words, they are not interested in politics. The fact that Jordan is a monarchy is the main reason for Jordanian Turks' apathy in politics. Therefore, they avoid taking risks by adopting a political stance under such a regime in which representation does not matter. Up to now, they have not formed a political organization or undertaken responsibility within existing political groups in Jordan.

At the same time, the Jordanian Turks' level of education is rather high. A major portion of the Turkish families attach importance to education and the Turks' participation in education is high. The Turkish families in Jordan behave egalitarian in the context of participation to education and they consider the education of girls important unlike the general trend among the Middle Eastern societies. In this sense, the Jordanian Turks are an educated community. Thus, they are represented in every profession. Turks are assigned to varying degrees and positions in the government administration. They serve in large numbers particularly in the military domain. Yet, the Jordanian regime's general practice targets Turks as well. That is to say in Jordan, no one from the communities other than the Jordanian Arabs (Circassian, Turkish, Chechen, Palestinian, etc) may rise to the upper echelons of the government. For this reason, Turks generally serve in the lower and middle positions in the government.

In this context, one could say that the Jordanian Turks generally have a middle class economic power. Turks share the same standards of living with the civil servants who enjoy middle class life standards. At the same time, Turks are known to have local business in differing fields. In this sense, one could say that Turks are not concentrated in specific spheres of economic activity.

Distant from the political sphere, the Jordanian Turks lack a significant civil society activity either. That is because in Jordan there are only two civil society groups belonging to the Turks. One of the two is the Turkish Charity Association which is the oldest and the most well-known civil society group of the Jordanian Turks. It was founded in 1975 in Sweileh, in order to increase interaction and foster cooperation between the Turkish families who migrated there. One of the factors that contributed to the founding of this organization may be the fact that Turkey helped Jordan during its 'Black September' in the 1970s.³ The Turkish Charity Association still continues its activity. In addition, there is an association called Turkish Diwan, which was founded in 2016 by a splinter group from the Turkish Charity Association. Yet, the Turkish Charity Association still keeps its place and importance among the Turkish community.

Turkish Charity Association

Founded in 1975, the Turkish Charity Association has 448 general assembly delegates and more than 2,000 members. It undertakes director elections every three years. The 10 founding members of the Turkish Charity Association are:

1. Mahmud Mustafa Cennat al-Turk
2. Abdulsalam Ahmed al-Hac al-Turk
3. Muhammed Said al-Turk
4. Necmeddin Muhammed al-Turk
5. Necip Said Niyazi
6. Ahmed Osman al-Turk
7. Ali Omer al-Turk
8. Abdullah Mustafa al-Turk
9. Abdulaziz Muhammed Abdulaziz
10. Taha Eymen al-Turk

³ Akdevelioğlu, Atay ve Kürkcüoğlu, Ömer, Orta Doğu'yla İlişkiler (Relations with Middle East), Baskın Oran, Türk Dış Politikası Kurtuluş Savaşından Bugüne Olgular, Belgeler, Yorumlar, (Turkish Foreign Policy From War of Independence to Today: Concepts, Documents and Comments) 2. Edition, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2001, p. 790

Its current administration consists of:

1. Muhammed Cengiz al-Turk, Director
2. Aydin al-Turk, Vice Director
3. Yazan al-Turk, Accountant
4. Arej al-Turk, Secretary General
5. Hisam al-Turk, Board Member
6. Raid Davraz, Board Member
7. Mustafa al-Turk, Board Member

The regulation of the association remarks that its administration rests on the provisions of the “association and charity organizations of the Ministry of Social Development of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan. According to the regulation, the general aims of the association are:

- Adhere to and uphold law and order achieve development in this regard,
- Work for amending the difficulties of life and serving the people,
- Tell the Turkish history with all its aspects,
- Teach Turkish and open Turkish courses,
- Assist in preparing documents for Turkish citizenship in accordance with legal requirements,
- Aid needy Turkish families,
- Support university students to complete their education insofar as the association resources allow,
- Aid the members and their families in every sphere,
- Support orphans,
- Uphold sadaqa and charity
- Promote high ethics, Islamic values and tolerance,
- Encourage opinion exchange,
- Widen the base of cooperation and benefit,
- Present opinions with respect,
- Be tolerant toward others.

In this framework, the Turkish Charity Association has boosted its activities for promoting the interaction of the Turkish community in Jordan. Its social visibility has been upgraded thanks to its contacts with the Amman Embassy of Turkey, the presence of the Yunus Emre Institute, the activities

of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and the contributions of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA). Particularly, there is a high demand for Turkish courses organized by the association.

Turkish Diwan

The Turkish Diwan was founded by a group of breakaways from the Turkish Charity Association in April 2016. It differs from the Turkish Charity Association on the grounds that among its members there are Palestinian Turkmens. It undertakes similar charity activities. Its board consists of:

1. Muhammed al-Turk, Director
2. Munir al-Turk, Vice Director
3. Nidal al-Turk, Accountant
4. Ibrahim Aslan, Board Member
5. Muhammed Hulusi, Board Member
6. Neshat al-Turk, Board Member

According to Muhammed al-Turk, Director of the Turkish Diwan, approximately 200 families are registered in the organization. Some of these families are known to be registered in the Turkish Charity Association as well. Director Muhammed al-Turk states that their foremost aim is preserving and promoting Turkish language among the Turks living in Jordan thereby boosting their interaction with Turkey.

Palestine Turkmens

The Palestinian Turkmens constitute a major portion of the Turkish presence in Jordan. According to rumors, the majority of the Palestinian Turkmens are descendants of the Turkmen cavalry units deployed to Palestine by Salahaddin Ayyubi. The Turkmens that were interviewed during the field study state that they can trace their lineage back to seven generations yet cannot reach further back. Today, Turkmens live in the “Marj bin Amr” region of Palestine situated at the center of Haifa, Nasira, Janin triangle. Rumors say that Salahaddin Ayyubi granted the area to the Turkmens under his command after he conquered Jerusalem. During the Ottoman era, the area had governors from Palestinian Turkmens even though they did not speak Turkish. Today, there are still Turkmens in the region, but after the founding of the state of Israel, some Turkmen families migrated to several places in Jordan

and at last came together in Wadi al-Rayan. Wadi al-Rayan is situated just two kilometers away from the border between Jordan and Israel/Palestine. In addition, it is 14 kilometers from Janin, 30 kilometers from Golan, and 20 kilometers from the Jordanian city of Irbid.

As of today, the names of approximately 138 Turkmen families belonging to 8 tribes in Jordan are known. These tribes and families are given in the chart below.

Urdunlu Filistin Turkmenleri (Sons of Beni Amir)							
Sukayrat Tribe	Al-Tavatha Tribe	Al-Avadin Tribe	Alkem (Al-Vuhus) Tribe	Beni Suaidan (Ibdah) Tribe	Beni Gerra Tribe	Beni Kalbe Tribe	Nagnaniye Tribe
1. Al-Sukeyra	1. Al-Musarife	1. Al-Yakup	1. Muammer	1. Al-Hatib	1. Al-Hevasin	1. Serran	1. Al-Feyyad
2. Al-Favair	2. Al-Favadile	2. Al-Zureyk	2. Zarrak	2. Mansur	2. Al-Bacavi	2. Al-Hindi	2. Al-Hurub
3. Al-Husuk	3. Al-Sevayihin	3. Al-Sehab	3. Al-Seyyid	3. Al-Sudi	3. Al-Ferasin	3. Al-Kerayime	3. Al-Muhsin
4. Al-Araira	4. Al-Geyt	4. Al-Sumuri	4. Al-Sami	4. Al-Makdadi	4. Al-Said	4. Al-Sehab	4. Nebhan
5. Al-Tubeysat	5. Al-Suheybat	5. Al-Hadarat	5. Halil	5. Al-Kevayide	5. Al-Amir	5. Al-Beyici	5. Al-Kehle
6. Al-Sukur	6. Al-Gababse	6. Ebu Hurme	6. Al-Haccat	6. Al-Nevakile	6. Al-Huceyci	6. Al-Ziyadine	6. Al-Firat
7. Al-Cevalil	7. Al-Gamamze	7. Kuteys	7. Al-Kurdat	7. Al-Gavadire	7. Al-Salahat	7. Al-Riyahat	7. Al-Kaveyide
8. Al-Ayyat	8. Al-Sobas	8. Duveyk	8. Al-Gazavi	8. Al-Suvari	8. Al-Hayrallat	8. Al-Hamid	8. Biladi
9. Al-Ziyabat	9. Al-Arbali	9. Sagar	9. Ebu Suves	9. Al-Ferhat	9. Ebu Zaga	9. Bilal	
10. Al-Hamayse	10. Akil	10. Al-Tayyar	10. Al-Mutlak	10. Al-Cundi	10. Al-Katanat	10. Ali Seyh	
11. Al-Zikarta	11. Esad	11. Al-Mutlak	11. Ebu Rumeyle	11. Al-Zevatin	11. Ebu Ferce		
12. Al-Garus	12. Muslah	12. Al-Hasan	12. Ebu Sileyen	12. Al-Budur			
13. Ebu Same	13. Ebu Somer	13. Al-Buzeyr	13. Riyme	13. Ebu al-Rab			
14. Al-Esmer	14. Al-Geyrut	14. Al-Hammad	14. Suveylat	14. Al-Fari			
15. Al-Abdavi	15. Numan	15. Ebu Atuk	15. Al-Nuseyrat	15. Selum			
16. Al-Rimali	16. Salih	16. Al-Gabari	16. Mufdi	16. Ebu Cevher			

17. Fadil	17. Cuneyd	17. Al-Saharir	17. Musebbe	17. Ebu Hatab			
18. Sabah	18. Ebu Same	18. Al-Furuc	18. Al-Furuc				
19. Ebu Rekbe	19. Ebu Nesib	19. Ebu Cebel					
20. İmedi	20. Al-Sahadat						
21. Yunus al-Hamdan	21. Al-Cevabire						
22. Al-Sersavi	22. Ebu Matar						
23. Ureybi	23. Buheyd						
24. Al-Hamidi							
25. Al-Esgar							
26. Tuama							
27. Al-Zakta							
28. Al-Masaliha							
29. Ebu Ceris							
30. Cuseyn							
31. Al-Huluf							
32. Al-Furuc							

In addition, there are some families, whose names are not mentioned here.

Apart from Al-Rayan and the tribe of Teamri in Sweileh, there is a significant Palestinian Turkmen population in Irbid, Zerqa and the Beqaa camp. There are three villages in Al-Rayan comprised of Turkmens, which are Ruveyhe, Kreyne and Darelle. Ruveyhe is the biggest among them. According to Yusuf Mahmud Turkmen, the mukhtar of Al-Rayan Turkmen tribes, approximately 2,000 people live in the village. Turkmens also held the mayorship of Kreyne in one period. At the same time, Turkmens live in the twenty two other villages of Al-Rayan.

Irbid hosts the second largest Palestinian Turkmen community after Wadi Rayan. Some Turkmens, who had settled in Wadi Rayan in 1948, migrated to Irbid where they formed a large district. The Turkmen district in Irbid with its eastern and western branches is the largest district in Irbid. Sevket Ibrahim (Turkmen), the mukhtar of the Turkmen district, stated in an interview conducted during the field trip that there are approximately 20,000 people and 4,000 houses in the district.

The third largest Palestinian Turkmen community in Jordan lives in the Beqaa camp. Approximately 10-15 thousand Palestinian Turkmen reside in this camp. Also, there are Palestinian Turkmen in the refugee camp in Sukhne. In addition, Palestinian Turkmen are settled in Sahna, which was a former refugee camp morphed into a city. One can find Palestinian Turkmen in the capital city of Amman as well. Even though figures regarding the number of Palestinian Turkmen differ, according to some accounts it is more than fifty thousand. As of today, all Palestinian Turkmen have acquired Jordanian citizenship.

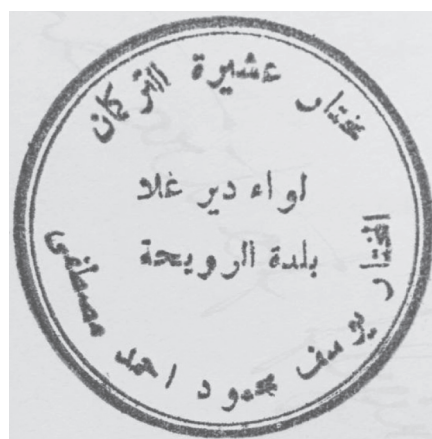
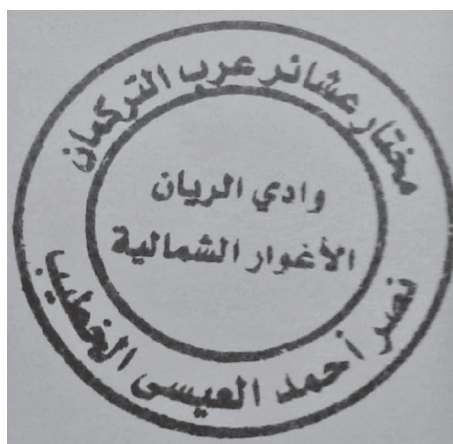
As of the current situation, both Turks and Palestinian Turkmen of Jordan have lost their mother tongues. While all Palestinian Turkmen speak Arabic, some families have “Turkmen” names in their IDs and they have local “Turkmen Tribal Mukhtars” registered officially by the Jordanian Interior Ministry. There are three officially registered mukhtars representing the Palestinian Turkmen. The mukhtars are not elected but picked by the consensus of tribes and declared to the Ministry of Interior and then they are officially assigned as the representative of Turkmen tribes in the eyes of the Jordanian government. Accordingly, the incumbent Turkmen mukhtars are:

Sevket İbrahim – Mukhtar of the Turkmen District in Irbid

Yusuf Mahmud Ahmed Mustafa – Mukhtar of the Ruveyha Neighborhood

Nasr Ahmet al-Isa al-Hatip – Mukhtar of the Turkmen-Arab Tribes of Wadi al-Rayan

Stamps of Mukhtars



As seen above, Nasr Ahmet, the mukhtar in Wadi al-Rayan is called the mukhtar of Turkmen-Arab tribes, which shows that the Palestinian Turkmen in Jordan are also called "Turkmen-Arab" (Arabi Turkmen). The phrase of "Arab-Turkmen" is also used to indicate nomads and this community is called as such because they speak Arabic even though they are of ethnic Turkish origin.

The Palestinian Turkmen community living in Jordan has a conservative character. They are all Muslims belonging to the Sunni sect. While they do not have sharp political positions regarding the internal affairs of Jordan, they clearly state their reactions against Israel's policies in Palestine. Even though they do not have a political group of their own, Hamza Mansur, a member of the Jordanian Parliament from the Islamic front of the Islah Group supported by the Muslim Brotherhood, is known to be a Palestinian Turkmen.

At the same time, Palestinian Turkmen are known to work actively in every sector. While there are numerous Turkmen in the civil service, the Palestinian Turkmen are also active in commerce and agriculture. The Palestinian Turkmen, who live in al-Rayan, an agricultural area ranging for 30 kilometers, are conducting remarkable agricultural activities. Since Al-Rayan has a high potential for agriculture and greenhouse activities, many Turkmen work in the sector. They call al-Rayan "the region that feeds Jordan".

The Palestinian Turkmen living in Jordan have high education levels. Not only those who work in the civil or official service but also those Turkmen who work in the commerce or agriculture sector are known to have undergraduate, graduate or doctoral degrees.

Palestinian Turkmen loudly state their loyalty and gratitude to Jordan, the country where they have been living for decades, while also declare their longing for Palestine by saying "One day we will return to Palestine". Some of them still live in Palestine (particularly in Janin) as of today. Palestinian Turkmen are known to have an association there called Turk-Turkmen Diwan which still continues its activities.

The Ottoman Heritage Communities in Jordan

Bukharis

The Bukharis from Uzbek origin is another Turkish community living in Jordan. Among those who fled to Jordan from Palestine in 1948, the community known as the Bukharis had migrated from Uzbekistan to Jerusalem, where they had settled after the Russian invasion of Turkistan and still live as of today. In 1731, they have founded the Hearth of the Bukharis in Jerusalem. It was founded with the purpose to host those coming from Bukhara and the Ottoman lands. Sheikh Resid Buhari, who migrated from Bukhara in 1960, has a big influence on the Hearth. Said Buhari, the third generation grandson of Sheikh Resid Buhari and who was interviewed during the field study conducted in Jordan, stated that the Hearth was founded for the Bukharis who wanted to go to Hajj. When the Russian army invaded Turkistan in 1918, a major migration took place from Bukhara to Jerusalem. Accordingly, Bukharis arrived and settled in Jordan via Jerusalem.

The initial movement of the Bukharis toward today's Jordanian territory took place at the beginning of the 1920s for economic reasons. The al-Bukhari Bazaar in Amman was founded in 1927-28 as the first trade center. In Irbid, there is an al-Bukhari market as well, which is operated by the Bukharis. These markets are still operational and managed by Bukharis.

The largest migration wave of the Bukharis to Jordan was after 1948, when the state of Israel was founded. Numerous Bukhari families joined the Palestinians moving to Jordan. Living in the cities of Amman and Irbid, some Bukharis have managed to preserve their Uzbek language while particularly the younger generation seems to be gradually losing their mother tongue.

Like the other communities of Turkish origin, all Bukharis have been granted Jordanian citizenship. The majority of them has "Bukhari" surname. Some others have family names as Kilani, Mirza, Taskendi, Can, etc.

At the same time, Bukharis seek to reclaim their customs and culture and try to live up to their traditions particularly on special occasions. Although they come from Central Asia, a region with very different characteristics from that of the Middle East, Bukharis have adapted to the new conditions over time and have been fully integrated in Jordan. They are low in number compared to the other communities of Turkish origin and have strong relations with Jordanian Turks, and the Ottoman remnant Circassians and Chechens.

The Bukhari community has a conservative character like the other communities of Turkish origin. They are moderate Muslims of the Sunni sect. At

the same time, one could say that Bukharis adopt a moderate stance in politics and stay away from it. Like the other communities of Turkish origin, they have no political parties of their own. Yet, they come together at times in the Bukhari Association, a gathering registered as an official association resembling a tribal diwan. Having financial difficulties, the Bukhari Association ceased its activities and has no elected leader since the latest director died in March 2019.

Most Bukharis enjoy mid-level economic welfare. Some of them are active in the commerce sector while others work in the civil service. The field study conducted in Jordan did not produce exact figures as to their current population. At the same time, rumors indicate that some in the Bukhari community in Jordan experience reverse migration. As a matter of fact, some Bukharis migrated to live with their relatives who live in Turkey or Europe due to the difficult economic conditions in Jordan.

Caucasians in Jordan: Circassians and Chechens

In addition to the Turkish communities in Jordan, there are also Circassian and Chechen communities from the Caucasus who are Ottoman remnants and favorable toward Turkey. Particularly the Circassian community in Jordan is significant for their place in the state administration and their population rate.

Some of the Circassians fleeing the Russian invasion had arrived in the Jordanian territory in large numbers. The main migration wave to today's Jordan took place between 1868 and 1909. Circassians determined Amman as a hub and dispersed to other provinces from there. They have played an important role in the founding and urbanization of Amman. As a matter of fact, the first elected mayor of Amman in 1909 was a Circassian named Ismail Babuk. Later on they settled in Jerash, Sahab, Naour, Wadi Sir, Zarqa, Sweileh and Rusayfah and ruled as mayors.

Circassians adopted an active stance after the state of Jordan was founded. Having founded different political groups along the historical process, they have played an active role in the political life of Jordan. For example, the first Circassian association was established in 16 January 1932 with the purpose of bringing Circassians together and it is still active. Its first office was established in Amman, Sweileh. Then in 1961, it had its provincial offices in Naour, Wadi Sir, Ruseyfah and Zerge opened. The Circassian Women's Union was launched in Amman in 1971 and in Jerash in 1984. Circassians opened a school in 1974. Zuhtu Canbeg, head of the Circassian Association who was

interviewed during the field trip in Jordan, stated that 1,200 students study in that school as of the current situation. In addition, the Circassian Association has a kindergarten named Prince bin Ali in Zarqa. Circassians are also active in sports. The Circassian Association has launched sports clubs Al-Ahli in 1942 and Cili Cedit (New Generation) in 1959. Circassians have founded another association in 1993 named the Group of Friends from Caucasias (Asdika Serakezet Kafkas).

Circassians are active in the political life as well. There is a Chechen and Circassian quota of 3 chairs in the 130-chair Jordanian Parliament. Depending on their demographics, Circassians ask for representation rights beyond the quota. There are also Circassians who served in the Jordanian cabinet. Moreover, the Royal Guard of Jordan consists wholly of Circassians. There are many Circassians among the high ranking members of the security apparatus in Jordan. Circassians are generally well educated and have higher incomes. They are active in trade as well as the state administration.

As of today, there are different figures as to the population of Circassians living in Jordan. The data provided by the Circassian Association is over two hundred thousand, while the official figures are approximately one hundred and sixty thousand. They are a closely knit community. The Circassians in Jordan has a strong communication network among themselves. Particularly the Circassians living in Amman preserve their language, customs and culture. Besides Amman, Circassians have large populations in Jerash, Zarqa, Ruseyfah and Irbid. At the same time, the Circassians of Jordan maintain strong communication with the Circassians in Turkey, Russia and other countries. They enjoy good kinship relations and strong links particularly with the Circassians in Turkey since most of them moved to Jordan via Turkey. Therefore, most of their relatives live in Turkey. Zuhtu Canbeg, director of the Jordan Circassian Association, state that older Circassians speak Turkish for they had spent some time in Turkey, while the next generation has forgotten.

In addition to Circassians, Chechens are an important Caucasian community in Jordan. The first migration wave to the territory of today's Jordan is known to have started in 1903 when the Russian army invaded Chechnya. Approximately 200 Chechen families fled the invasion and migrated toward Mecca for religious reasons, yet they could not pass the desert and remained in Zarqa. Chechens have also settled in Jordan to work in the Hedjaz Railroad and defend it during the Ottoman era. Later on, after Chechens had arrived in Jordan, some additional Chechen families continued to migrate and were

dispersed in other provinces of Jordan. In addition to Zarqa, some Chechens settled in Amman (Particularly Sweileh), Azraq and Sukhnah, the most important settlement of the Chechens in Jordan where they live in high numbers. There is a memorial building in Sukhnah representing the Chechen community. In addition, there is a Chechen neighborhood in Zarqa.

Chechens opted for launching an association for the first time in 1957 and the Chechen Association was founded in Zarqa. It has offices in Sukhnah, Sweileh and Azraq. In the following decades Chechens have founded other organizations as well. There is also the Chechen Charity Organization in addition to the Chechen Association. It has offices in Sukhnah, Zarqa and Sweileh. The Chechen Womens' Union was established in connection with these organizations. At the same time, there is the Jordan Chechen Folklore Association, the Caucasian Culture Association, and the Friends of Chechens Organization along with some diwans belonging to some families. The Chechens living in Jordan have a tribal character. The tribe of Beyno is the largest of the Chechen tribes in Jordan. As of the current situation, Tamir Beyno, who is a member of the Parliament from Amman, belongs to this tribe. At the same time, there are the large Chechen tribes of Parcho, Gilno, Zendko, Bilto and Sono in Jordan.

Chechens are known to be a conservative community. Being Sunni Muslims, they have representatives among the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. One of these are Tamir Beyno, who is mentioned above. In addition, Nebil Kamil, who is the deputy of Zarqa in the Jordanian Parliament, is a Chechen. These two MPs were selected from the 3-seat quota granted to the Chechens and Circassians and belong to the Muslim Brotherhood group within the Jordanian Parliament.

Chechens are generally recognized as an educated community. It is known that Chechen families attach importance to education. Although among the new generation of Chechen people who have started to lose the Chechen language, Chechens living in Jordan are trying to preserve and to a large extent protect their language. Together with the courses offered by the Chechen Association, there is the idea of opening a school for Chechens.

Unlike the Circassians in Jordan, Chechens have weak relations with the Chechens in Turkey and in Russia. But some Chechen families are said to have immigrated to Turkey due to the weakening economic conditions in Jordan. The Chechens who were interviewed during the field study in Jordan state that returning to Russia is not an option as of the current situation and they would prefer Turkey particularly for religious reasons.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Turkish presence and the Ottoman heritage communities in Jordan are grouped into three categories. The first is the Jordanian Turks. The Turks of Jordan are the communities that came to the present-day Jordan en masse for different reasons or due to their duties, from different cities of Anatolia in the period starting from the 19th century when Jordan was within the Ottoman territories until the end of the First World War, when the Ottoman rule ended. The current population of Jordanian Turks, most of whom live in Sweileh of Amman, is between 12-15 thousand. The second element of the Turkish presence in Jordan is the Palestinian Turkmens, whose history dates back much earlier and had to emigrate to Jordan like the millions of other Palestinians after the Israeli occupation of Palestine. They live for a long time in Jordan despite being called Palestinian Turkmens. They have also been granted Jordanian citizenship. Therefore, they belong to the Turkish presence in Jordan. The population of Jordanian Palestinian Turkmens, most of whom live in Wadi al Rayan on the Jordan-Israel border, is estimated to be around 50,000. Counting the Jordanian Turks and the Palestinian Turkmens of Jordan together, it is found that there are around 60 thousand people belonging to the communities of Turkish origin. Yet, these two communities, which share the same historical background have no interaction with each other and to some extent are not aware of each other.

This study handles the Turkish presence in Jordan in a wide context and accordingly the communities, which harbor emotional bonds with the Ottomans and Turkey and ongoing kinship with various communities in Turkey, were included in the study. These communities are the Bukharis (Uzbeks), Circassians and Chechens. Another reason for counting these communities within the Turkish presence in Jordan is that they are close to the Jordanian Turks due to cultural and historical proximity and that kinship relations have been established among themselves through marriages. The most striking example of this is that the Ottoman soldiers who could not return to Anatolia after the First World War and who were under the threat of security were hiding among the Chechens in the region and having marriages.

Although the Turkish language has been lost to a large extent among Jordanian Turks and Turkmens, it can be said that they preserve their Turkish consciousness. Jordanian Turks have started to express their identity in a more comfortable manner since Turkey has increased its influence in the Middle East and the relations between Jordan and Turkey have been devel-

oped. Accordingly, the younger generation has developed a trend toward learning the Turkish language.

Turkey's first contact with Jordanian Turks was established in a later period and the interest of Turkey has remained at lower levels. The greatest need of the Jordanian Turks for preserving their identity is to learn the Turkish language which was forgotten before two generations. As of 2019, only the second generation of the Jordanian Turks maintains the Turkish language. These people can speak Turkish very well because they grew up in houses where both mothers and fathers spoke Turkish. Yet, there are only a handful of these people who are now very old. After the second generation passes, there will be no Turks left who speak Turkish as their mother tongue. Therefore, the Turkish language education should be a priority toward Jordanian Turks supported with projects. The Yunus Emre Institute openly provides Turkish language education to all Jordanian citizens. In addition, two Jordanian Turkish associations organize Turkish language courses with their own means. YTB provides aid such as free textbooks to these associations' Turkish language courses. More resources and more support toward the Turkish institutions' efforts toward this aim will be beneficial. For example, the Ministry of National Education could assign Turkish language teachers and other Turkish institutions could provide learning materials in order to support the Jordanian Turkish associations' courses. Another important assistance that would benefit the efforts for preserving the identity of Jordanian Turks involves organizing symposiums and conferences in Jordan for Jordanian Turks and producing documentaries in Turkish television channels such as TRT about Jordanian Turks. Not many written and visual studies and products are to be found neither in Turkish nor in Arabic literature about the Jordanian Turks. Making up for this shortcoming would be beneficial for the Jordanian Turks to become aware of, preserve and develop their identity, providing unity among themselves. For this reason, relevant Turkish institutions should have projects about the mentioned academic and visual studies and provide assistance.

Turkey's contact with the Palestinian Turkmens living in Jordan is a much newer development. Even though the contact has been established, Turkey has not yet initiated any projects toward the Palestinian Turkmens in Jordan. As mentioned earlier in the report, Palestinian Turkmens work in the agriculture sector that feeds Jordan. Therefore, the Jordan office of TİKA aims to implement projects that would assist the agricultural efforts of the

Palestinian Turkmens. Assisting the efforts by the TİKA Jordan Coordination Office would be beneficial for strengthening the bond between Palestinian Turkmens and Turkey. In addition, while the Jordanian Turks have their associations, Palestinian Turkmens lack a civil society organization as such. Among the Palestinian Turkmens, there is a prominent group that has risen to the position of membership in the parliament. If Turkey encourages this prominent group to set up a civil society organization, it would enable to institutionalize the relationship between Turkey and Palestinian Turkmens and would help preserve the identity of Turkmens through organizing activities of their own. While projects are being implemented, it would be wise not to neglect the communities of Chechens, Bukharis and Circassians, the integral elements of the Turkish presence in Jordan who harbor emotional bonds with Turkey. The Circassians of Jordan, who are already a prominent community, are very advanced in terms of civil society organization. While Chechens are more organized than Jordanian Turks, they lack the resources and potential that Circassians possess. They spend a great deal of effort in preserving their identity, language and culture. It is necessary to support the efforts that Chechens and Bukharis show for themselves. Providing assistance to Chechen language courses, supporting the survival of the Bukhari hearth in Jerusalem and organizing events that would bring together Jordanian Turks and other communities would be good examples.

It is very important in itself that the Turkish and Turkmen communities in Jordan have been experiencing a revival and renaissance regardless of their numbers. It is particularly striking that as Turkey's influence in the Middle East has grown in the last 10 to 15 years, the Turkish expatriate communities in the region started to become aware of their identity. While this phenomenon has proven to be a leverage for Turkey in the Middle East, it can also act as a bridge, which would develop relations between Turkey and Jordan. At the same time, as the Jordanian Turks strive to openly express themselves and their identity, they would inspire and encourage other expatriate Turkish communities in the Middle East.