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Robert Tatoyan (*Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, Armenia*)

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ON THE ARMENIAN DEATH TOLL AND DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACT OF THE 1909 ADANA MASSACRES

Robert Tatoyan

Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, Armenia

Abstract

This article examines the Armenian death toll and the demographic impact of the 1909 Adana massacres. It analyzes statistics on the number of Armenians who perished in these massacres and the distribution of casualties across various regions of Cilicia, using primary source evidence. Additionally, the article explores discrepancies between Ottoman and Armenian statistical data on the number of victims, noting that the figures reported by the Ottoman government are approximately 4 to 5 times lower than those reported by Armenian ecclesiastical authorities.

The comparison of Ottoman and Armenian statistics before and after the massacres reveals that these killings did not result in a relative decrease in the permanent Armenian population within the Adana Vilayet—the region most severely affected by the massacres. This outcome can be attributed to the following factors:

1. Based on the most reliable data, it is estimated that approximately 15,000 to 18,000 Armenians were killed during the 1909 Adana massacres. Of these, at least one-third—between 5,000 and 7,000, though estimates may range from 8,000 to 10,000, constituting up to half of the total death toll—were labor migrants. Consequently, the demographic impact of the massacres affected both the Armenians of Cilicia and those who had migrated to Cilicia from Western Armenia and other regions of the Ottoman Empire.
2. Following the massacres, Adana and other regions of Cilicia quickly returned to a relatively normal economic activity, thanks to substantial foreign investments in infrastructure (notably the Berlin-Baghdad railway), industry, trade, and agriculture. The population loss in the city and Sanjak of Adana—the areas most affected by the massacres—was rapidly offset by a new influx of Armenian labor migrants.

Keywords: statistics, demography, Ottoman Armenian population, Cilicia, 1909 Adana Massacres, Armenian Genocide.

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Introduction

The massacre of Armenians in the city of Adana, which escalated into a series of anti-Armenian pogroms across the Adana Vilayet in April 1909, has been characterized by many scholars as a “dress rehearsal” for the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923.¹ Similar to the Armenian Genocide, estimates of Armenian casualties in the 1909 Adana massacres vary significantly. Armenian sources report death tolls as high as 20,000 to 25,000, whereas official Turkish data estimates the number of Armenian deaths at approximately 4,000 to 5,000.²

Most scholarly research on the 1909 Adana massacres has focused on general estimates, typically ranging from 20,000 to 25,000 casualties,³ with some estimates extending up to 30,000.⁴ Some studies present conflicting figures from Armenian and Turkish sources without drawing definitive conclusions.⁵

In this article, I will provide an estimate of the number of Armenians killed and examine the demographic impact of the 1909 Adana massacres on the permanent Armenian population of Cilicia by analyzing detailed statistical data from primary sources.

Estimates of the Armenian Death Toll from the 1909 Adana Massacres

Detailed statistics on the Armenians who died in the massacres, broken down by regions of Cilicia, are presented in a 1909 report by Hakob Papikian, a member of the committee established by the Ottoman Parliament to investigate the Adana massacres,⁶ and in another report published by writer and publicist Hakob Terzian in “Cilicia Disaster” (1912).⁷ A further study documenting these

¹ Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia* (Providence-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995), 181; Bedross Der Matossian, *The Horrors of Adana: Revolution and Violence in the Early Twentieth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2022), 3.

² Fuat Dündar, *Crime of Numbers: The Role of Statistics in the Armenian Question (1878–1918)* (New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2010), 144.

³ See, for example, Dadrian – 25,000 (Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*, 181), Kévorkian – 25,000 (Raymond H. Kévorkian, “The Cilician Massacres, April 1909,” in *Historic Armenian Cities and Provinces, Volume 7: Armenian Cilicia*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2008), 353); Der Matossian – exceeding 15,000 in Adana Vilayet alone (Der Matossian, *The Horrors of Adana*, 132).

⁴ Azat Hambaryan – 30,000 (Azat Hambaryan, «Գիլիկիայի 1909 թ. հայկական կոտորածները» [Armenian Massacres in Cilicia in 1919], *Patma-banasirakan Handes* 4 (1988): 25); Ruben Gasparyan – 30,000 (Ruben Gasparyan, *Գիլիկիահայտությունը 20-րդ դարի սկզբին* [Cilician Armenians at the Beginning of 20th century] (Yerevan: Institute of History of NAS RA, 1999), 43-46); Arpine Bablumyan – above 30,000 (Arpine Bablumyan, «1909 թ. Ադանայի և Հալեպի վիլայեթներում տեղի ունեցած կոտորածների ժողովրդագրական հետևանքները» [Demographic Changes after 1909 Massacres in Adana and Aleppo Vilayets], *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 1, no. 1 (2013): 17).

⁵ Dündar, *Crime of Numbers*, 144-145.

⁶ *Ատանայի եղեռնը. Տեղեկագիրք Յակոբ Պապիկեանի* (Օսմանեան Էրեսվոխսան Էտիրնէի), հայացուց՝ Յակոբ Սարգիսեան [Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian (The Deputy of the Ottoman Parliament from Edirne). Translated by Hakob Sarkisian] (Constantinople, 1919), 48.

⁷ Hakob Terzian, *Գիլիկիոյ աղէտը. ականատեսի նկարագրություններ, 5 հատորով (պատկերազարդ)* [Cilicia Disaster: The Testimonies of Eyewitness in 5 volumes (illustrated)] (Constantinople, 1912). All references are from the 1964 edition (Hakob Terzian, *Գիլիկիոյ աղէտը (պատկերազարդ)* [Cilicia Disaster (illustrated)] (Beirut, 1964), 243-245.

casualties is “History of Armenian Adana,” written by Armenian researcher Byuzand Yeghiaian.⁸ Additionally, Abraham Gulkhandanian, an Armenian public figure and member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, estimated the number of victims in his article series titled “Adana Massacres,” published in the “Horizon” newspaper (Tiflis) in 1910 under the pen name “Erminio.”⁹ The 1911 report by Jacques Sayapalian, the investigator-delegate of the “Widow Care (“Ayriakham”) Commission,” contains important information on the Armenian population in some settlements in Cilicia before and after the atrocities.¹⁰

Papikian’s and Terzian’s statistics share several common features, although Terzian references a report from the Investigative Special Group established by the National Administration of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople to investigate the massacres.¹¹ Yeghiaian's statistics are compiled from the aforementioned sources as well as others (unfortunately, the author does not specify all the sources used). Gulkhandanian's calculations are independent, based on various sources and information extracted from the press.

Below, we present the data compiled by Papikian, Terzian, Gulkhandanian, and Yeghiaian in a comparative table:

Table 1. Estimates of the Armenian Death Toll from the 1909 Adana Massacres

| | Administrative unit | Papikian ¹² | Terzian ¹³ | Gulkhandanian ¹⁴ | Yeghiaian ¹⁵ |
|-----|---|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | Adana Sanjak | | | | |
| 1.1 | Adana city and its surrounding areas | 9,780 | 9,780 | 6,682 ¹⁶ | 13,913 ¹⁷ |
| 1.2 | Tangri Verdi | 1,280 | 1,280 | | 850 |
| 1.3 | Msis, Abdoglu, Sai Kechit | 850 | 850 | | 1,558 |
| 1.4 | Karaisali, Hamidie, Karatash, Nal-Gulag, Isa-Hacili | 1,558 | 1,558 | | |
| | Total Adana Sanjak | 13,468 | 13,468 | 6,682 | 16,321 |

⁸ Byuzand Yeghiaian, *Ատանայի Հայոց պատմություն: Պատմագրական, եղենագրական, ազատագրական, մշակութային, ազգագրական, վաւերագրական, ժամանակագրական* [The History of the Armenian Adana. Historical, Liberational, Ethnographic, Documentary, Chronological] (Antelias, 1970), 268.

⁹ The series of articles of Abraham Gulkhandanian in complete: Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [Adana Massacres], *Horizon* (Tiflis), 1910, nos. 22, 24, 27, 33, 39, 40, 42, 45, 47, 52, 54, 55, 56, 64, 66, 72, 73. For the examination of the Armenian death toll question by the author, see nos. 64, 66, 72, 73.

¹⁰ *Տեղեկագիր պրիսիսնսմ Յանձնաժողովի. 1910 սեպտ. 11- 1912 սեպտ. 11: Յանկուած տեղեկագիր, քննիչ- պատուիրակ Պ. Տազ Սայապալեանի* [Report of Widow Care Commission. 1910, September 11 – 1912, September 11. Attached – Report by Jacques Sayapalian] (Ghalatia, 1912).

¹¹ Terzian, *Cilicia Disaster*, 243. These data were also used by Western authors. See, for example, *Turkish Atrocities. The Young Turks and the Truth about Holocaust at Adana in Asia Minor, during April 1909. Written and compiled in April, 1911 by Ferriman Duckett* (London, 1913, Yerevan: AGMI, 2009), 57.

¹² *Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian*, 48.

¹³ Terzian, *Cilicia Disaster*, 243-245.

¹⁴ Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [Adana Massacres], *Horizon* (Tiflis), 1910, no. 73, 3.

¹⁵ Yeghiaian, *The History of the Armenian Adana*, 268.

¹⁶ Including 4,825 locals, 1,857 migrants.

¹⁷ Including 9,780 in Adana suburbs, 2,762 in guest-inns, 1,371 neighboring Armenian populated villages.

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 2 | Jebel Bereket Sanjak | | | | |
| 2.1 | Osmanie (Osmanie, Erzin, Dort Yol, Ocakli, Yozerli, Najarli) | 1,111 | 1,171 | 5,800 ¹⁸ | 1,171 |
| 2.2 | Ekbez- Entilli (Armenian populated settlements of Hassa and Islahiye kazas) | 1,277 | 1,577 | | 1,577 |
| 2.3 | Kurtlar (Hasanbeili-Bakhche) | 3,623 | 2,623 | | 2,623 |
| | Total Jebel Bereket Sanjak | 6,011 | 5,371 | 5,800 | 5,371 |
| 3 | Mersin Sanjak | – | – | - | 642 |
| 4 | Kozan Sanjak | – | – | 967 ¹⁹ | – |
| 5 | Marash Sanjak | – | 1,151 | 777 ²⁰ | 783 |
| 6 | Antioch, Beylan Jisr i-Shugur kazas | - | | 1,650 ²¹ | 368 |
| | Grand total | 19,479 | 19,990 | 15,876²² | 23,485 |

According to the sources presented in Table 1, estimates of Armenian deaths from the 1909 Adana massacres vary: 16,000 (Gulkhandanian), 20,000 (Papikian and Terzian), and 23,500 (Yeghiaian). The highest number of casualties was recorded in the city of Adana and surrounding settlements within the Adana Sanjak. Papikian and Terzian estimate 13,468 deaths in this area, representing 67-69% of the total. Gulkhandanian's estimate for this region is 6,682 (42%), while Yeghiaian reports 16,321 (69%).

The Jebel-Bereket Sanjak was the next most affected. Papikian estimates 6,011 deaths (31%), Terzian reports 5,371 (27%), Gulkhandanian provides 5,800 (36.5%), and Yeghiaian estimates 5,371 (23%).

Thus, approximately 95% of the total victims were registered within the Adana Vilayet. Papikian estimates 19,479 deaths, Terzian 18,839, Gulkhandanian 12,482, and Yeghiaian 21,692. This data indicates that the Armenian population of the Adana and Jebel-Bereket Sanjaks experienced the most significant demographic impact from the pogroms.

There is a significant discrepancy between the death toll reported by the Ottoman government and the figures provided by Armenian sources, with Ottoman estimates being

¹⁸ Including 4,542 locals, 1,258 migrants.

¹⁹ Including 488 locals, 479 migrants.

²⁰ Including 443 locals, 334 migrants.

²¹ Including 1,150 locals, 500 migrants.

²² Including 4,428 migrants. Gulkhandanian rounds up the number of direct victims to approximately 15,000. He then adds to this figure an estimated 8,000 individuals who perished due to hunger, disease, and homelessness in the aftermath of the conflict, as well as about 500 people who were kidnapped, forcibly converted to Islam, or reported missing. Consequently, Gulkhandanian's total estimate of casualties resulting from the Adana massacres reaches 23,500.

approximately 4-5 times lower. According to Papikian's report, the Young Turk government officially announced a death toll of 6,000, which included 1,900 Muslims.²³ An Ottoman list from August 1909 documented 5,243 Christian victims, distributed as follows: 2,740 in Adana City (of whom 2,093 were Armenians), 422 in other regions of the Sanjak (Hamidie – 378, Karaisali – 44), 1,415 in the Jebel-Bereket Sanjak (Bakhche – 752, Osmanie – 372, Erzin – 208, Islahie – 50, Hassa – 33), 476 in the Mersin Sanjak (Tarson – 463, Elvanli – 13), and 190 in the Kozan Sanjak (Sis – 114, Hadjin – 14, Kars Bazar – 60, Feke (Vahka) – 2).²⁴

Another Ottoman parliamentary investigative commission recorded the names of 4,196 Christians and 1,487 Muslims (including policemen and soldiers) who died in the massacres.²⁵

Summarizing the official Ottoman data, the estimated Armenian death toll from the massacres was no more than 5,000, with the highest number of victims reported in the Adana and Jebel-Bereket Sanjaks.

The Ottoman authorities justified their lower casualty estimates by referencing Ottoman statistics on the total Armenian population in Adana Vilayet. They argued that the reported figures of 20,000-30,000 casualties in Armenian and foreign newspapers were “imaginary,” claiming that the entire Armenian population of Adana Vilayet was no more than 48,000.²⁶

To counter these claims and support the higher casualty estimates, Gulkhandanian highlights five key factors:

1. **Flaws in Data Collection:** The Ottoman data collection system was generally flawed and, in this case, further compromised by the authorities' interest in underreporting the true number of victims.

2. **Unregistered Victims:** Many victims were buried without religious rites and therefore were not recorded in church records.

3. **Hidden Graves:** Numerous hidden graves of Armenian victims were found outside settlements, “in fields, valleys, forests, the sea, rivers, and other remote locations.”

4. **Displacement of Survivors:** The flight of many survivors to other regions affected casualty calculations, as refugees were often mistakenly counted as killed or missing.

5. **Presence of Labor Migrants:** Many labor migrants from other regions of the Ottoman Empire were present in Cilicia and became frequent targets of the perpetrators.²⁷

Similarly, Papikian challenges the Ottoman data with two main arguments: first, that Ottoman registers were unreliable due to the authorities' interest in concealing the true number of Christian casualties; and second, that the official count did not include Armenian labor migrants present in Adana Vilayet during the massacres. He notes that the atrocities occurred in spring—the peak period for work and trade—when between 40,000 and 50,000 laborers, artisans, and merchants

²³ *Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian*, 17.

²⁴ Raymond H. Kévorkian, *La Cilicie (1909–1921): des Massacres d'Adana au mandat français* (Paris, Revue d'histoire arménienne contemporaine, 1999), 100.

²⁵ Dundar, *Crime of Numbers*, 144.

²⁶ Hrachik Simonyan, *Հայերի զանգվածային կոտորածները Կիլիկիայում (1909 թ. ապրիլ)* [Massacres of Armenians in Cilicia (April 1909)] (Yerevan: YSU Publishing, 2009), 202.

²⁷ Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [The Adana Massacres], *Horizon*, 23 March 1910, no. 64, 2. At the same time, Gulkhandanian notes that these factors have been partially neutralized, and a more realistic calculation of the number of victims has been made possible through data collected by the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, commissions sent to Cilicia by various humanitarian aid societies and local religious structures, and information compiled from press publications.

from various provinces of Asia Minor and Western Armenia gathered in Adana, with at least half being Armenians.²⁸

Papikian further supports his argument by recounting a conversation with Zihni Pasha, who was appointed governor of Adana Vilayet immediately after the massacres. Initially, Zihni claimed it was impossible for the Armenian death toll in Adana to have reached 15,000, citing official Ottoman statistics that suggested no more than 13,000 Armenians lived in the city. However, Papikian countered this assertion by reminding Pasha of his self-proclaimed "success story" in organizing the transportation of approximately 10,000 Armenian labor migrants who had survived the massacres and had set up tent encampments near Adana's central railway station.²⁹

Papikian's stance is supported by Terzian, who asserts that the actual Armenian population of Adana City before the massacres was approximately 30,000, including labor migrants. In contrast, the official Ottoman census data of 1908 lists the recorded number of Armenians as 17,844.³⁰

Further corroborating the significant presence of Armenians in the region, Gulkhandanian reports that 20,000-30,000 Armenian labor migrants were in Adana Vilayet before the massacres, having come from distant areas to work on farms owned by both Armenian and Muslim landowners.³¹

Hambardzum Ashchian, an eyewitness to the massacres, provides an even higher estimate, stating that approximately 40,000-50,000 labor migrants from across the Ottoman Empire arrived in Adana each spring. This influx, combined with the permanent population, suggests that over 100,000 Armenians were present in the region during the pogroms. Ashchian asserts that the death toll was proportional, affecting both Armenians from other provinces and local residents.³²

According to sources, during the first wave of massacres in Adana City (April 1-4, 1909), markets and inns (such as Acem-khan, Duz-khan, Haydach-Oglu-khan, and Deli-Mehemed-khan), which housed many Armenian merchants and artisans from other regions, were primary targets. Statistics from an Armenian investigative commission report that 2,762 people were killed in these *khans*. In comparison, 3,974 individuals from Adana's permanent Armenian population were killed, making migrants approximately 41% of the total fatalities in Adana City.³³

The massacres had a particularly severe impact on labor migrants in the rural areas of Adana Sanjak, with estimates placing the death toll among these migrants between 1,280³⁴ and 1,371.³⁵ Specific examples illustrate the extent of the violence. On farms located about 15 km from Adana,

²⁸ *Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian*, 18: Adana sanjak alone hosted between 12,000 and 15,000 labour migrants each year, who were engaged in cotton cultivation. See «Ատանու» [Adana], *Zhamanak*, 10/23 April 1909, no. 147. Terzian reports that the number of labor migrants coming to Adana vilayet varied with the seasons, averaging around 20,000 migrants. This number increased during the winter months, as artisans and retailers arrived from other regions of Cilicia and neighboring areas (Hadjin, Marash, Caesarea, etc.). In the spring, the number rose further with the influx of Armenian and Kurdish workers from regions of Western Armenia (Kharberd, Tigranakert, Mush, Erzeroum, etc.). See Hakob Terzian, *Ատանայի կեանքը* [Life in Adana] (Constantinople, 1909), 6.

²⁹ *Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian*, 18.

³⁰ Terzian, *Life in Adana*, 7.

³¹ Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [The Adana Massacres], *Horizon*, 23 March 1910, no. 64, 1.

³² Hambardzum Ashchian, *Ատանայի եղեռնը և Գոնիայի յուշերը (պատմություն համար)* [The Adana Calamity and Memoirs from Konia] (New York: «Kochnak», 1950), 15.

³³ H. Shahpazian, «Ինքնապաշտպանությունը Կիլիկիան աղետին մեջ» [Self-Defence in Cilicia Calamity], *Azatomart* (Constantinople), 2/15 April 1910, no.249, 1. Later, these data were used by Terzian and other authors. See Terzian, *Cilicia Disaster*, 137; Yeghiaian, *The History of the Armenian Adana*, 232.

³⁴ Shahpazian, "Self-Defence in Cilicia Calamity."

³⁵ Terzian, *Cilicia Disaster*, 137.

194 out of 200 Armenian labor migrants were killed. In Abdoglu village, which had a permanent Armenian population of 66 households, 180 local Armenians and 242 migrant Armenians were killed. In Sheikh Murad, with a permanent Armenian population of 60 households, around 200 Armenians were killed. The Muslim village of Gat-koy saw all 10-15 families of migrant Armenians living and working there massacred. On the Amir-Tatman farm in an Adana neighborhood, 180 out of 188 migrants (including 20 Greeks and 168 Armenians) were killed.³⁶

According to various calculations by Armenian authors, between 5,000 and 10,000 Armenian labor migrants were killed during the massacres in Adana. Thus, Gulkhandanian estimates that approximately 15,000 Armenians died in the Cilician massacres of 1909, with about 4,500 to 5,000—one-third of the total fatalities—being Armenians from other provinces.³⁷

According to Papikian, the majority of the 20,000-25,000 Armenian labor migrants who had come to Adana Vilayet from other regions were massacred.³⁸

Shahpazian's calculations indicate that approximately 8,147 Armenians were killed in the massacres within Adana Sanjak, including about 3,500 labor migrants. Shahpazian also reports that in other regions of Adana Vilayet, 10,293 Armenians were killed, with the majority being labor migrants. He states, "*Armenian labor migrants were killed in 254 Turkish villages and other places... These massacred individuals included labor migrants and some craftsmen from Hadjin, Kharberd, Kapan-Maden, Furnuz, Erzeroum, Everek, Yerepagan, Antioch, Keavur-Tagh, Kemerek, Sivas, Adiaman, Behesni, Malatia, Sgherd, Urfa, Mush, Alpistan, Tivrik, and other places.*"³⁹

Ottoman and Armenian Statistics on the Permanent Armenian Population of Adana Vilayet Before and After the Massacres

A comparison of Ottoman and Armenian statistics concerning the permanent (excluding labor migrants) Armenian population of Adana Vilayet reveals that the violence did not cause a significant reduction in the Armenian presence. Ottoman records from 1906/07 and 1914 indicate that the overall Armenian population in Adana Vilayet even increased by approximately 5% during this period. Specifically, the Armenian population in Adana Sanjak grew by around 8%, while in the Jebel-Bereket Sanjak, it declined by only about 1%. The most notable decrease was observed in the Mersin Sanjak, where Ottoman statistics report a reduction of 1,127 individuals, or roughly 21% (see Table 2).

At the same time, it should be noted that the Ottoman authorities systematically undercounted the Armenian population, resulting in a discrepancy between recorded and actual figures. The actual number of permanent Armenian residents in Adana city and other settlements prior to 1909 significantly exceeded the officially recorded figures. This discrepancy allowed officials conducting subsequent censuses to register previously uncounted individuals in place of those who had perished, thus maintaining population figures and ensuring the continuous collection of state taxes and duties.⁴⁰

³⁶ Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [The Adana Massacres], *Horizon*, 23 March 1910, no. 64, 2.

³⁷ Erminio, «Ադանայի ջարդերը» [The Adana Massacres], *Horizon*, 2 April 1910, no. 73, 3:

³⁸ *Adana Crime. Report by Hakob Papikian*, 18.

³⁹ Shahpazian, "Self-Defence in Cilicia Calamity."

⁴⁰ The phenomenon of statistical growth of the Armenian population after the massacres was recorded in other Armenian-populated regions as well. In one of his editorials, Misak Gochunian, the editor of the Constantinople-based newspaper "Zhamanak" newspaper, recounts a noteworthy incident that took place after the Hamidian massacres in Urfa (Edessa). According to the journalist, "*When the massacres in Edessa happened (October 1895), more than 4,000*

Table 2. The Armenian Population of Adana Vilayet According to Ottoman Government Statistics from 1906/07 and 1914

| № | Administrative unit | 1906/07 ⁴¹ | 1914 ⁴² | Increase /decrease, % |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Adana Sanjak | 16,325 | 17,738 | + 7.9 |
| 2 | Mersin Sanjak | 5,391 | 4,264 | - 20.9 |
| 3 | Jebel Bereket Sanjak | 14,132 | 13,920 | - 0.9 |
| 4 | Kozan Sanjak | 18,854 | 21,556 | +14.3 |
| | Total Adana Vilayet | 54,702 | 57,478 | +5 |

A comparison of Armenian ecclesiastical-diocesan statistics from 1902 (Ormanian) and 1913 (“Mshak”) (see Table 3) reveals that the permanent Armenian population of Adana Vilayet increased by approximately 39% during this period. Specifically, the Armenian population in the area covered by the Adana diocese grew by about 47%.

Grigor Zohrap's analysis of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople's statistics from 1882 and 1912 further supports this trend, showing a rise in the number of Cilician Armenians. Zohrap's data indicate that the Armenian population in Cilicia grew by approximately 7% over this 30-year span, increasing from 380,000 to 407,000.⁴³

Table 3. The Armenian Population of Adana Vilayet According to Statistics Compiled from Armenian Ecclesiastical Sources (1902–1913)

| № | Administrative unit | 1902 Ormanian ⁴⁴ | 1913 «Mshak» ⁴⁵ | Increase /decrease, % |
|---|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Adana diocese (Adana and Mersin Sanjaks, Osmanie, Bakhche and Islahie kazas of Jebel-Bereket Sanjak) | 37,900 | 55,603 | +46.7 |

Armenians died in that merciless carnage. In order to understand how many Armenians perished, the local authorities carried out a census of Armenians and, surprisingly, despite the destruction of so many Armenians, not only did the number of Armenians not decrease, but, on the contrary, it increased by 5,000.” See Kasim (Misak Gochunian), *Օրուան մտածումներ (1908-1913)* [Daily Thoughts] (Istanbul: Jamanak, 2014), 434). The author adds that “the phenomenon is the same for every province’ and points out the reason: “The common people, fearing that new distribution of army conscription and/or state taxes will emerge as a result of these statistics, avoided registration” (ibid, 435).

⁴¹ Including Catholic and Protestant Armenians. See Karpat, *Ottoman population 1830-1914*, 162.

⁴² Including Catholic and Protestant Armenians. See Karpat, *Ottoman population 1830-1914*, 172.

⁴³ Marcel Léart, *La Question arménienne à la lumière des documents* (Paris: A Challamel, 1913), 62.

⁴⁴ Including Catholic and Protestant Armenians (Malachia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia: Her History, Doctrine, Rule, Discipline, Liturgy, Literature, and Existing Condition* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1912), 241, the distribution of data by dioceses is ours).

⁴⁵ «Հայերը Կիլիկիայում» [Armenians in Cilicia], *Mshak* (Tiflis), 31 July 1913, no. 166, 2 (The distribution of data by dioceses is ours).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| 2 | Payas diocese (Dort-Yol (including Erzin) and Hassa kazas of Jebel Bereket Sanjak) | 11,000 | 13,050 | +18.6 |
| 3 | Sis and Hadjin dioceses (Kozan Sanjak) | 30,700 | 42,673 | +39 |
| | Total Adana Vilayet | 79,600 | 111,326 | +39.8 |

The comparison of statistics on the number of permanent Armenian residents in individual settlements before and after the 1909 massacres also reveals no significant decline in the demographic dynamics of the Armenian population in Adana Vilayet. On the contrary, it appears that the loss of the Armenian population was rapidly offset in the years following the massacres.

For instance, according to Jacques Sayapalian, the permanent Armenian population of Adana Sanjak was 21,850 in 1909 and 20,855 in 1912. Over these three years, the number of Armenians in the Sanjak decreased by only 995, or 4.5%. This decrease was confined to the villages within Adana Sanjak, while the Armenian population in the city itself remained stable.⁴⁶

Additionally, French-Armenian researchers Kevorkian and Paboudjian, using statistics compiled in 1913 by the Catholicosate of Cilicia and archived in the Nubar Library in Paris, report the Armenian population of Adana Sanjak as 27,990, with 26,430 residing in the city of Adana⁴⁷ (see also Table 4).

Table 4. The Number of Armenians in the Settlements of Adana Sanjak According to Various Statistics

| | Settlement | 1908 Serovbian | 1911 Sayapalian | | 1914, Kevorkian- Paboudjian |
|---|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | | 1909 ꞑ. | 1911 ꞑ. | |
| 1 | Adana city | 17,844 | 20,000 | 20,000 | 26,430 |
| 2 | Giavur-koy | 190 | - ⁴⁸ | - | 190 |
| 3 | Abdoglu | 340 | 500 | 150 | 340 |
| 4 | Indjirlik | 250 | 400 | 150 | 250 |
| 5 | Msis | 500 | 400 | 50 | 480 |
| 6 | Sheikh Murad | 160 | 300 | 300 | 300 |
| 7 | Ceyhan (Hamidie) | 418 | 250 | 205 | - |
| | Total | 19,702 | 21,850 | 20,855 | 27,990 |

⁴⁶ *Report of Widow Care Commission*, 78-83:

⁴⁷ Raymond H. Kevorkian, Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Armeniens dans l'Empire ottoman a la veille du Genocide* (Paris, ARHIS, 1992), 267-271.

⁴⁸ Giavur-koy constituted one of Adana's suburbs; consequently, Sayapalian incorporates its Armenian inhabitants into the aggregate population figures for the city of Adana.

Conclusions

Analysis of primary source evidence yields the following key conclusions regarding the Armenian death toll and demographic impact on the permanent Armenian population of Adana Vilayet resulting from the 1909 massacres:

1. **Casualty Numbers and Distribution:** According to reliable data from primary sources, approximately 15,000 to 18,000 Armenians were killed in the 1909 Adana massacres, with at least one-third of these victims (5,000 to 7,000) being labor migrants. Estimates suggest that more than half of the fatalities (8,000 to 10,000) could have been labor migrants. This distribution indicates that the burden of human loss was shared relatively evenly between the permanent Armenian population of Cilicia and those who had migrated from Western Armenia and other regions of the Ottoman Empire.
2. **Undercounting of Victims:** The Ottoman authorities undercounted the victims of the 1909 Adana massacres. This undercounting resulted from both general flaws in the Ottoman data collection system and, in this case, the authorities' interest in underreporting the true number of victims, which further compromised the accuracy of the figures.
3. **Economic Recovery:** Following the massacres, Adana and other regions of Cilicia experienced relatively rapid economic recovery, driven by substantial foreign investments in infrastructure (including the Berlin-Baghdad railway), industry, trade, and agriculture. Consequently, the population loss in the city and Sanjak of Adana was quickly offset by an influx of new Armenian labor migrants.
4. **Impact on Permanent Population:** As a result of the aforementioned factors, the 1909 massacres did not significantly alter the recorded and actual numbers of the permanent Armenian population in Adana Vilayet, as indicated by both Ottoman and Armenian statistics.

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About the Author

Dr. Robert Tatoyan is a senior researcher at the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation, Yerevan, Armenia. His research interests include the issues of demography of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the Armenian Genocide, particularly the analysis of statistical sources for that period. He has authored numerous publications on the subject including the monograph “The Question of Western Armenian Population Number in 1878-1914,” (in Armenian) published in 2015 (for the complete list of publications visit: <https://independent.academia.edu/RobertTatoyan>).

Email: r.tatoyan@genocide-museum.am