THE ARMENIAN POPULATION OF ARGHANA MADEN SANJAK OF PROVINCE DIARBEKIR (TIGRANAKERT) AT THE END OF XIX – BEGINNING OF XX CENTURIES

Key words: Western Armenia, Diarbekir, Arghana Maden, Balu, Tsopk, immigration, Hamidian massacres.

Introduction

Arghana Maden was one of three sanjaks of Diarbekir province of Western Armenia. The process of external border formation of Diarbekir province was terminated in 1885 when Arghana-Maden sanjak with its Arghni and Balu regions was ceded from Kharberd to Diarbekir province. According to historian G. Badalyan the area of the province was 47250 sq. km in 1914 and according to armenologist and geographer R. Hewsen it covered 42000 sq. km. The article refers to the historical and demographic situation of Arghana Maden sanjak at the end of the XIX – the beginning of the XX centuries, outcomes of hamidian massacres and their impact on the Armenian population. In particular it considers the issues, relating to the number of Armenian population in the mentioned region in 1914, before the Armenian genocide.

The area of Arghana Maden comprised mainly the territories of Great Tsopk, Balahovit, Paghnatin districts of historic Tsopk (Fourth Armenia) province. At the end of the XIX century, according to the administrative division of the Ottoman

1 See «Թույլաքորդու ուղղակիացություն» էջ 25.05.21, թույլաքորդու էջ 01.06.21, ռազմաքորդու էջ գրականության էջ 02.08.21
2 One of the administrative divisions of the Ottoman Empire, smaller than vilayets (provinces). The other smaller division than sanjak was kaza.
3 Hewsen 2006, 66.
Empire, Arghana Maden was itself divided into Balu, Maden, Jermuk kazas. S. Parsamyan, who was the author of the book about Jermuk settlement, wrote that Arghana sanjak had 18150 Armenians in the 1890s. The data match another one published by French orientalist V. Cuinet, who had taken it from the Ottoman official sources. According to S. Tsotsikyan, there were 1083 settlements in the above-mentioned district with 35000 population, 20000 of which were Armenians. Based on Constantinople patriarchate data which had been prepared for publication by French-Armenian historians R. Gevorgyan and P. Paboudjian there were 38460 Armenians living in Arghana Maden in the 1913–1914s. One can also find information about Armenian population of the province in the yearbook “Amenun tarecuyc” edited by an Armenian intellectual, publicist Teodik. This publication stated that before the war there had been 20000 Armenians in Balu, 12000 in Arghana and 13000 in Chnqush, in total there had been 45000 Armenian population in Arghana Maden sanjak. These data referred to the year of 1912 and had been compiled by the commission due to reopening of the Armenian Question. The statistical data introduced by Byuzand Yeghiayan were based on information provided by the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople, archival materials introduced by Cilicia Catholicosate and diocesan bulletins according to which, there had been 25875 Armenians in Balu, 11500 in Arghana, 6900 in Chnqush, in total there had been 44275 Armenian population. In fact, summarising data from all the above-mentioned sources, we can conclude that there had been up to 45000 Armenians in Arghana Maden sanjak in 1914. In this research an attempt is made to summarize the data both from this and other sources kaza by kaza.

**Balu kaza**

At first let’s consider the population and demographic issues of settlements of Balu kaza. Balu as well as central sanjak of Kharberd province had been the districts in Western Armenia with most fertile soil and densely populated with...
Armenians. Many of the settlements in Balu kaza were purely Armenian up to 1914. The central settlement of the province was town Balu, which according to protestant preacher G. Filian had 15000 inhabitants in the 1890s, among which 5000 were Armenians and 10000 were Muslims. The author also mentioned that “Paloo is one of the oldest cities in Armenia”\textsuperscript{11}. British traveller H. Lynch pictured Balu as a prospering settlement with 2000 houses and 10–12000 population. According to him, 600 houses of the population were Armenians the others being Kurds\textsuperscript{12}. We think that the data refer to the end of the 1870s. The book of memoirs by priest Harutyun Sargsyan devoted to Balu comes to prove the fact that in 1878 there were 600 Armenian families in Balu\textsuperscript{13}. Lynch also quoted the statistics of Balu sanjak in his work, which had been provided by the British vice consul Tomas Boyajyan. According to the statistics, 45580 people of the population of Balu were Muslims: 15150 were Armenians and in total there were 60730 people living in Balu region\textsuperscript{14}. V. Cuinet wrote about 9800 Armenians living in Balu sanjak, but his information was taken from Turkish official sources, referring to 1890\textsuperscript{15} and it is obvious that they can’t reflect the real number of Armenians living there.

As for the number of Armenians in Balu in 1914, R. Gevorgyan wrote that there had been 15753 Armenian inhabitants in 37 villages of Balu kaza, and particularly Balu had 5250 Armenians, in total there were 9850 inhabitants in Balu city\textsuperscript{16}. According to the statistical data of Constantinople patriarchate published by Teodik, in 1913-1914 Balu had 15200 Armenian population in all its settlements, 14500 of which belonged to Apostolic church, 700 belonged to Protestant church\textsuperscript{17}. The comparative analysis of data shows that the number of Armenian population of Balu in the 1870–1880s and in 1914 remained almost the same. Those demographic trends had several reasons, some of which will be considered in this work.

The number of Armenian population underwent some changes as in other regions of Western Armenia also in Diarbekir province. It must be mentioned that

\textsuperscript{11}Filian 1896, 266.
\textsuperscript{12}Lynch 1901, 391.
\textsuperscript{13}Yapmban 1965, 190.
\textsuperscript{14}Lynch 1901, 413.
\textsuperscript{15}Yapmban 2010, 263–264.
\textsuperscript{16}Kevorkian 2006, 278–280. See also - Ke'vorkian, Paboudjian 1992, 407.
\textsuperscript{17}Ottomhli 2014, 395.
serious demographic changes like islamization, transmigration of Kurds, emigration had already resulted in a decrease of Armenian population in the middle of the XIX century in the regions which had been once densely or purely populated by Armenians and Balu had not been an exception. Priest H. Sargsyan mentioned that only one Armenian family remained in village Norshnak of Balu kaza, and no Armenians remained in Ghamparshekh, Tilimli, Krpo, Qurdiqan, Temyrchi, Khaghari Mrza villages, they all had left their settlements. It was probable that the Armenians migrated from the settlements less populated by Armenians to the settlements which could be safer for them.

The mass massacres of the Armenians in 1894–1896 in almost all Armenian settlements of Western Armenia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire led to serious demographic changes. There were tremendous losses among the Armenian population of Diarbekir province and first of all among Armenians of Balu kaza during the years of massacres. These facts have been proved and assured both by the Armenian and foreign sources. The American “New York Times” journal wrote that “one of the most difficult problems which we had was Palu, with its forty-three villages, many of them large. They have had the most awful treatment from Turks and Kurds…” Up to 2000 men were killed in Balu within several days. The adjacent settlements had also been attacked, hundreds of houses had been burnt and a great number of people killed. Unfortunately, the losses of the Armenian population were not limited only to the number of people killed in those days: after the hamidian massacres severe epidemics and famine spread over nearly all settlements, resulting in more and more human losses. Numerous houses and settlements had been robbed and destroyed, cultural centers had been damaged, in some of the settlements women and girls had been subjected to Islamization and there had been a feeling of fear and distrust almost everywhere. A long time was required until the Armenian population could recover from it, could restore its houses and rebuild its settlements. It is natural that a vast amount of people migrated to other settlements in search for safer life conditions. A great number of people left for the USA in that period, and it may...
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be strange but the number of immigrants from Balu was originally less compared with the number of Armenians from Kharberd. According to M. Krayan, “Before and after the Hamidian massacres in the 1895–1896s the Armenian population of Balu had immigrated to different cities of Turkey – Kharberd, Tigranakert, Urfa, Aynatap, Halep, Adana, Constantinople, etc.” In fact, the Armenians from Balu immigrated not to foreign countries but to different large cities in the Ottoman Empire. After 1908 the number of people migrating from Balu to the USA increased, and it resulted in the formation of “Usumnasirac Miutyun” (Studies Union) in New York by a few Armenians from Balu. New York became the center of the Union and in due course of time several branches were opened in other cities. Even though the number of people migrating to the USA from Balu was not so great, the migration had its negative impact on the number of the Armenian population. The fact that at first mainly men were migrating and later their families tended to have serious demographic impact on the future existence of the Armenians. The table given below reflects the compiled data about the number of the Armenian population of Balu kaza both at the end of the XIX century and in 1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>P. Natanyan(^\text{23})</th>
<th>G. Srvanizyiants(^\text{24})</th>
<th>M. Krayan(^\text{25})</th>
<th>Teodik(^\text{26})</th>
<th>R. Gevorgyan(^\text{27})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balu</td>
<td>550 families</td>
<td>250 families/1600 souls</td>
<td>5250 souls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrjuman</td>
<td>44 families/265 souls</td>
<td>27 families/30 families/1600 souls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mezre</td>
<td>27 families</td>
<td>30 families</td>
<td>30 families</td>
<td>20 families/180 souls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamshly</td>
<td>11/70</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9/82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artkan</td>
<td>31/263</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33/274</td>
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<tr>
<td>Havav</td>
<td>180/1436</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>207/1700</td>
<td>207/1648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharabovq</td>
<td>23/103</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21/195</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kso</td>
<td>8/74</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okhu</td>
<td>27/205</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25/250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tepe</td>
<td>48/444</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61/337</td>
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<td>Tilimi</td>
<td>4/36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qartiq</td>
<td>4/33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6/51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumpet</td>
<td>23/167</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32/196</td>
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<td>Ghampet</td>
<td>15/85</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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\(^{21}\) Հոգատար 1965, 426:  
\(^{22}\) Հոգատար 1965, 427:  
\(^{23}\) Հայաստանի [ազգայինական ինքնուրույներ]. 66-89:  
\(^{24}\) Մատուրաբարություն 1885, 166–167:  
\(^{25}\) Հոգատար 1965, 190–191:  
\(^{26}\) Թանձրի 2014, 805–806:  
\(^{27}\) Ke’vorkian, Paboudjian 1992, 408:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sheykh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janik</td>
<td>25/75</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karsdzor</td>
<td>5/55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isnis</td>
<td>3/24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temirchi</td>
<td>6/56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17/130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gharaghya</td>
<td>4/35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tovej</td>
<td>5/105</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabek</td>
<td>30/240</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khoshmat</td>
<td>100/1027-1207</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
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<td>Npsh</td>
<td>20/163</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nrkhi</td>
<td>31/263</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>Apranq</td>
<td>20/165</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
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<td>Shnax</td>
<td>53/420</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sgham</td>
<td>42/216</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
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<td>Sagrat</td>
<td>44/656</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dzet</td>
<td>62/754</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzun Ova</td>
<td>45/360</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzun Ova Mezre</td>
<td>10/73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kachar</td>
<td>35/283</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvalu</td>
<td>15/123</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19/130</td>
</tr>
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<td>Qenkerli</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>1/169</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pasharat</td>
<td>20/160</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12/104</td>
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<td>Halalagom</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khargelik</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Kyulishker</td>
<td>40/320</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>Armchan</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norgegh</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21/98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norgeghi Mezre</td>
<td>28/144</td>
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<tr>
<td>Davit</td>
<td>22/176</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Norshinak</td>
<td>8/48</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srin</td>
<td>21/166</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paghan</td>
<td>52/674</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>Nacharan</td>
<td>24/207</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>Trkhe</td>
<td>33/225</td>
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<td>60</td>
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<td>Til</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tchayiri Mezre</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashnegh</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aghbun</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1322/11277 -11457</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>1629</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 There is no data on the city of Balu in general calculation of Natanyan’s and Krayan’s data.
29 While mentioning the total number of Armenians in this kaza, R. Gevorgyan mentions a slightly different number – 15753.
We highly value the data about the number of Armenian population in every settlement but it must be emphasized that the data provided by the Patriarchate are more complete for the latter includes almost all the settlements of different kazas and sanjaks. At the same time, we must admit that they don’t reflect the real number of Armenians, because the comparative analyses of data from several settlements show that they are less than the real numbers. For example, the collection published by Armenian National Archive included interesting evidence about the village Nrkhî of Balu kaza. The survivor of the Armenian genocide Z. Fntkhyan, speaking about his village, stated that it was a settlement purely inhabited by the Armenians with 60 families and 2000 people\(^{30}\). It is interesting that according to the data of the Patriarchate, the above mentioned settlement had 62 families with only 440 Armenians. The previous source states that the number of Armenians in Nrkhî was 4–5 times larger. We can summarize that the total number of Armenians was underestimated in R. Gevorgyan’s publications. More obvious are the data introduced by Teodik according to which Balu town had 250 houses with 1600 Armenians, and it was about three times less than the real number of Armenian population. At the same time the total number of the Armenian’s houses in Balu villages was about 1300 at the end of the XIX century and this number seemed to be constant compared with the data introduced by the patriarchate in 1913–1914s. Meanwhile according to M. Krayan, the villages of Balu had 1550 families of Armenians in 1914. The comparative analyses show that in about 50 villages of Balu kaza there had been about 1500 Armenian houses (families) with 12000 population, the town of Balu had 5000 Armenians and in total Balu kaza had 17000 Armenian population.

**Maden kaza**

The next kaza of Arghana Maden province was Maden. According to S. Tsotsikyan, Maden kaza comprised of 480 villages. He wrote that “Armenians living here speak Turkish in general, especially the old population”, they were involved in mining, trade, crafts, agriculture, silk weaving and “were in good economic condition”\(^{31}\). The settlements of Arghni and Maden were larger than other settlements in this kaza. Arghni was rich in nuts, vineyards, vegetables and

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\(^{30}\) Զավեն Զավենյան, Դատարան էջ հարուստ Հայոց ցուցաբերություն, Պատմական և մշակութային ինստիտուտ, 2012, 358:
\(^{31}\) Հովհաննես 1947, 394:
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was suitable for cultivation of cotton. The population both in Arghni and Maden was involved in working in gold and copper mines. Priest and folklorist G. Srvandzyants, whose writings referred to the 1878–80s mentioned that Maden had 163 houses of Armenians, St. Astvatsatsin Church and a school with 50 pupils. Arghni had two Armenian churches – St. Sargs and St. Savior, two colleges, which were closed in that period, and 252 Armenian homes. He also wrote that “the town which had an old and strong fortress had been gradually destroyed, several old and famous Kurdish and Turkish families were still living there, but mainly they were illiterate and uncivilised. The Armenians were also illiterate and had no solidarity.”

Based on data taken from state census in 1880s published in the journal “Araqs”, the Armenian population in Maden and Arghni constituted 1500 and 2500 people respectively. This information matches with the data introduced by V. Cuinet, who had taken it from official sources. He stated that in 1890 there were 1000 Armenians living in Maden and 2525 in Arghni. Unfortunately, the official sources generally underestimated the number of Armenians. The same data were introduced in S. Parsamyan’s works. It should be mentioned that in the Armenian sources the number of Armenians in Arghana Maden in the 1900s is counted at 7000 of the 48500 population.

Tsotsikyan wrote that the number of Armenians in Maden was 1000 and the total population was 5000, including Turks, Armenians and Greeks. Maden was comparatively a new town and was also called Arghana Maden. It was founded at the end of the XVII century by the Armenian immigrants from old Arghni. They succeeded in the development of copper mining and agriculture in the new settlement. According to R. Gevorgyan, Maden had 3300 Armenian population and there were 3100 Armenians of 7150 population in Arghni in 1913–1914.

The group of villages Akil (Ekil) was also located in Maden kaza and according to G. Srvandzyants, its center had 200 families of Armenians and a church called

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32 Արքայադրամբար 1884, 180–181:
33 Արքայադրամբար 1884, 180:
34 Մեր 1888, 30:
35 Ղազախկում 2010, 263-264:
36 Գազախկում 1969, 135:
37 Ղազախկում 1965, 23:
38 Թելեկիկ 1947, 394:
39 Kevorkian 2006, 277.
St. Nshan. G. Srvandztyants also mentioned the villages of Piran, Hreghan, Payamli and Hopik in this kaza.

R. Gevorgyan wrote about six more settlements from Maden kaza but provided information only about Akil’s Armenian population. Teodik introduced more detailed information about the settlements of kaza and we included it in the table below. Besides the settlements mentioned by G. Srvandztyants, Teodik also wrote about the villages Tpne, Til Bagh, Chnqush and Atish. The latter two settlements were included in the list of Jermuk kaza according to the administrative allotment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>G. Srvandztyants</th>
<th>Teodik</th>
<th>R. Gevorgyan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akil / Ekil</td>
<td>200 families</td>
<td>150 families</td>
<td>800 souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payamli</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piran</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hreghan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arghni</td>
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<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maden</td>
<td>163</td>
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<td>3300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopik</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tpne</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Til Baghdad</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>7200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Teodik presented, the number of Armenians’ houses in this kaza was 965. The average number of family members is considered to be 8 in villages and 6 in towns, which is quite a small number for these settlements with large families. However, the above mentioned settlements could hardly be considered towns, these were more townlike villages and that is why it should be more precise to count 8 members in each family instead of six. In total about 8000 people were accounted. Unfortunately, R. Gevorgyan did not provide data for a number of settlements in this kaza, but gave general data, according to which there were 10559 Armenians in this kaza. The point is that because of confused or incomplete information the group of villages called Akil was sometimes not included in the total number of population of kaza. Referring to the total number of Armenians in Arghni in the 1914-1915s, we can state that the data introduced by B. Yeghiyan and “Amenayn Tarecuyc” were nearly the same and accounted

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40 Մերձահեռական 1884, 181-183:
41 Հայերի 2014, 804:
42 Kevorkian 2006, 27.
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11500\(^{43}\) and 12000\(^{44}\) respectively. Summarizing the above-mentioned data, we can assume that there were about 10000 Armenians living in this kaza in 1914.

**Jermuk kaza**

The third kaza of Arghana Maden was Jermuk and it was included in historic Tsopk province. Jermuk and Chnqush settlements of the kaza were densely populated by Armenians. Both agriculture and some branches of crafts were developed here. Chnqush and Jermuk had fertile soils, that’s why people grew wheat, barley, flax, rice, cotton, fruits, almonds, pomegranate and grapes. There were also many gardens with famous types of grapes, which were like no other grapes in other provinces. Armenians were also predominant in trade, they were involved in government positions like judges, treasurers, translators and so on. Craftsmen in Jermuk and Chnqush were mainly Armenians and, as Srvandztyants wrote, “Armenians were craftsmen for everyday needs and were speaking purely Armenian”\(^{45}\). For many centuries people in Chnqush were involved in leather making and the masters of this branch of craft as well as others were mainly Armenians. In the XIX century immigrants from Chnqush contributed to the development of this craft in Malatia, Severek, Diarbekir, Kharberd. However, Chnqush had not lost its reputation of an important center which was definitely accepted in the area of Urfa, in the settlements of Kharberd, Diarbekir provinces. Until the beginning of the XX century, people of Chnqush imported leather for brogue from India, China and other countries, produced them and were considered to be monopolists in this sphere\(^{46}\).

The number of Armenian population both in this kaza and in other settlements of Western Armenia had decreased in due course of time because of migrations, movement of population, islamization and other demographic changes. G. Srvandztyants mentioned some villages which at the moment of his visits were populated by Kurds, but they had Armenian churches either standing or destroyed. Those villages were Habarman, Hasut, Akhorner, Halbat, S. Toros, Hilar, Malan, Balakhu, Tlkhdzor, Bakur, Varigegh, S. Yeghia, Hersni, Karmir Qar, Agrak, Mantiqan, Tlghati, Tlkhum, Eniqyoy, Laghary, Khangegh, Toghan, Almatin,

\(^{43}\) Եղեռնը 1975, 892:
\(^{44}\) Մեկհավուր 1921, 261:
\(^{45}\) Մեծահասակ 1884, 186–187:
\(^{46}\) Գեղեցկություն 1965, 19:
Qartil, Kavur qyoy, Aylu, Ghulfakhir and so on. This fact is an eloquent proof that many of the settlements which had been purely populated by Armenians had no Armenian population. At the end of the XIX century there were only few settlements populated by Armenians in Jermuk kaza. The authorities of Ottoman Empire as well as local authorities, rich Turks and average muslim population had adopted the policy of persecution and discrimination of the Armenians, and it led to the decrease of Armenians in all settlements. The media and contemporaries testified to persecutions and atrocities. One of the authors wrote: “It has become very common for an average Turk to order some work from an Armenian craftsman then to quarrel about the price, pay the half and leave shouting at him”47. S. Parsamyan mentioned a fact referring to religious atrocities and discrimination. He assured that the Apostolic church of Jermuk was restored only at the end of the 1870s, because before that muslims had hindered its restoration48.

The Armenian population of Chnqush was subjected to more severe atrocities. Still in the XIX century the 500 houses of Armenians of Chnqush being unable to bear the maltreatment and looting of Kurds and Turks had migrated to the cities Severek, Jermuk, Maden, Malatia, Kharberd and to villages of Shiro and Karkar kazas. According to G. Gevorgyan, men of those families had worked in those settlements for 8 months, returned to Chnqush and stayed there until Easter49. The priest of Armenian Apostolic church S. Naggashyan testified to the discrimination and atrocities of Armenians in Chnqush. He wrote about Turk aghas’ oppression of Armenians, harassment of Christians and those complaints always remained unheeded. S. Naggashyan described cases when for example a muslim stayed in an Armenian’s house who had migrated, but the taxes and tolls were charged from Armenians. There were many cases when Armenians had to pay off their debts to Turk aghas with their houses and gardens but were still forced to pay taxes50. In 1880 an article was published in the “Masis” daily about the atrocities of several beys51 in Chnqush. The deputy Primate of the Diocese,
Protestant and Catholic national activists wrote a letter of complaint to the governor and the patriarchate and sent it through American missionary H. Barnum\textsuperscript{52}. All those cases of discrimination and atrocities contributed to permanent resettlements and movements of Armenians both inside the province and to other far away settlements.

As for the number of Armenians, according to G. Srvandzyants\textsuperscript{52}, there were 278 Armenian families in Jermuk and 500 families in Chnqush. Jermuk was rich in gardens, had a large supply of water, but the buildings were “tasteless” and “dirty”\textsuperscript{53}.

G. Gevorgyan, the author of a book of memoirs about Chnqush, mentioned that the ancestors of this settlement had settled down there in the XI century immigrating from Ani. The analyses of the dialect spoken in Chnqush comes to confirm the above-mentioned fact. The author testified the settlement to be founded during that period\textsuperscript{54}. We suppose that information about two central settlements of this kaza mentioned by Srvandzyants is incomplete, and they are closer to the information stated by the official Turkish sources. In 1888 the monthly “Araqs” published a material about Kharberd province, which introduced some data, referring to the number of population as well as data about Armenian population from adjacent settlements. According to that publication, Chnqush had 4200 and Jermuk had 2400 Armenian population. Those numbers had been taken from the notebook of government census\textsuperscript{55}. It goes without saying that official sources of information wouldn’t reflect the real picture. The number of Christians and particularly Armenians was underestimated, there were incomplete data about the settlements, and the census was not conducted properly. The information on the number of Armenian population from other sources proves the incompleteness of the official sources. According to the article published in “The New York Times” on March 6, 1896, Chnqush had 1000 houses of Christians\textsuperscript{56}. According to E. Bliss who was the author of an important work on the Hamidian massacres in the 1894–1896s, Chnqush had 6000 Armenian

\textsuperscript{52} Գեղագիտության 1970, 48:
\textsuperscript{53} Արձագանցի 1884, 184–190:
\textsuperscript{54} Գեղագիտության 1970, 29–30:
\textsuperscript{55} Արձագանցի 1888, 30:
Bablumyan A.

population in 1896\textsuperscript{57}. What refers to Jermuk, S. Parsamyan, the author of the book of memoirs about Jermuk, wrote that it had 600 houses of Armenians before 1895. Some part of Armenians of Jermuk had migrated from Chnqush, another part had settled down here two centuries prior from Habarman village, the other part were people who had lived there for ages\textsuperscript{58}. Srvandzyants stated that in the 1880s Habarman wasn’t populated by Armenians any more. Probably Armenians had migrated to large cities and settlements like Jermuk.

Unfortunately, after the massacres of 1895 the Armenian population of Jermuk and Chnqush decreased and that was because of horrors of massacres and killings. The article published in “The New York Times” on 23\textsuperscript{rd} of January in 1896 introduced a table which had been published in the “Independent” showing data about the massacres in the settlements of Kharberd and Diarbekir. It also stated the approximate number of houses in the settlements each of them consisting of 8–10 members. Thus, according to the author, Chnqush had had 1000 houses of Armenians and 480 houses of Turks. During the massacres 680 Armenians had been killed and 103 houses had been burnt. The same source mentioned about 400 houses of Armenians and 700 houses of Turks in Jermuk\textsuperscript{59}. Armenians had been killed from almost all houses, and this fact allows us to depict the demographic changes after the massacres. The Hamidian massacres and persecutions towards Armenians forced people to migrate. About 400 families of Armenians had migrated from Chnqush. Atish village which was once populated only by Armenians and had 400 houses of prospering Armenians, had become desolated, Armenians had migrated leaving their fields, gardens and properties to Turks\textsuperscript{60}. Those Armenians who stayed had to share their earnings with Turks and Kurds in order to get their protection. People were forced to migrate as it was considered to be the only way out, they were migrating to safer and more prosperous settlements.

During the Cilician massacres in 1909 people in Jermuk got some rumours that Sultan Hamid had ordered to slaughter also Armenians in Diarbekir, Severak, Chnqush, Arghni and Maden. Thousands of Kurds came to surround those set-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{57} Bliss 1982, 483.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Հայոց ցեղասպանություն 1969, 36–37:
\item \textsuperscript{60} Հայոց ցեղասպանություն 1970, 76:
\end{itemize}
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tlements as well as Jermuk, waiting for a command. But kaymakam\textsuperscript{61} announced that local Turks would be in charge of a riot and the attacks were prevented\textsuperscript{62}. Hearing about the massacres, the Turks and Kurds of Chnqush decided to organize the same slaughter in their settlement. Fortunately, people who were to migrate for work were still in Chnqush and they prepared for defence. Chnqush was surrounded by 2000 Kurds. At that time myudir\textsuperscript{63} of Chnqush joined Armenians with some of his policemen. People found shelter in the church. The blockade lasted 21 days, on the 10\textsuperscript{th} day of the blockade a centurion arrived at Chnqush from Jermuk escorted with 12 soldiers. He pretended to order and force Armenians and Kurds to return to their daily life routine. Armenians kept their promise to return to their daily life but didn’t weaken the defence. Soon a sheikh came to Chnqush, gathered all muslims in the mosque and started to punish and slay the Armenians. But Armenians took up their defence without panic and addressed letters to Maden and Diarbekir asking for help. This time those letters were helpful and the tyrants were sent away. But they were not punished even though people from Chnqush had written letters to the governor\textsuperscript{64}.

Consequently, migration was supposed to be one more reason for the decrease of Armenian population. During that period the Armenians were migrating particularly to the USA. In 1911-1914 more than 30 young people migrated from Jermuk city to the USA. The reason was that Armenians from Chnqush and Jermuk had relatives among those who had migrated from Kharberd to the USA earlier. Those immigrants settled down mainly in the city of Lorence, where Jermuk’s “Usumnasirats ynkerutyun” (Studies Union) was founded in 1913\textsuperscript{65}.

Now let’s consider the number of Armenians in the mentioned two settlements in 1914. According to the data introduced by S. Parsamyan, the town Jermuk had 3000 families, 350 of which were Armenians, 30 were Jews with their separate district and a synagogue. Starting from 1908, Jews of Chnqush began to migrate to Jerusalem, not more than 10 families remained\textsuperscript{66}. The remaining

\textsuperscript{61} The title used for the governor of a provincial district in the Ottoman Empire.
\textsuperscript{62} \textit{Кемпетев} 1970, 74:
\textsuperscript{63} The senior administrative officer in the Ottoman Empire.
\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Кемпетев} 1970, 88–90:
\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Парсамянян} 1969, 107, 110:
\textsuperscript{66} \textit{Парсамянян} 1969, 34–35:
population consisted of mainly Turks and some Kurds. In another part of his book S. Parsamyan mentioned 3896 Armenians, living in Jermuk in 1915. According to the data taken from the same book of memoirs, the population of Chnqush consisted of 1500 families with 8000 people, 1200 of which were Armenians with 6700 people, and 300 families were Turks with 1300 people.

The author of the memoir book about Chnqush G. Gevorgyan wrote that after the massacres in 1895 up to 1915 Chnqush had 1200 families of Armenians and 300 families of muslims according to the data published in the “Byzandion”Tsotsikyan mentioned 13000 population in Chnqush, in 1914. He wrote that there were 10000 Armenians in Chnqush in the words of a well-informed Armenian, living there. R. Gevorgyan cited some data, referring to 1895, according to which Jermuk had 1948 and Chnqush 10200 Armenians and the total population was 12650 people. According to the data of the patriarchate published by Teodik, Jermuk had 180 and Chnqush had 600 Armenian families. We suppose that the number of Armenian families stated by Teodik diverges from the reality, moreover, information provided by various sources completely differ from those mentioned by Teodik. According to the statistics from the yearbook “Amenun taretsuys” published by Teodik, Chnqush comprised 13000 Armenian population. The comparative analysis of both Armenian and foreign sources shows that about 1200 houses of Armenians lived in Chnqush and 350-400 houses in Jermuk.

Atish was one of the villages of Chnqush. G. Srvandzyants mentioned about its Armenian population: “Almost all of them earn their living by migrating to Constantinople looking for a job, most of them are bakers”. The village had a church named St. Karapet, a college with 100 learners and 300 houses of Armenians. Tsotsikyan wrote that Atish had 360 houses of Armenians and was surrounded with pomegranate trees. According to the author, the old inhabitants

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67 Ուորոժիբ 1969, 135: 
68 Ուորոժիբ 1969, 61: 
69 Օտգուց 1970, 84: 
70 Օղձեր 1947, 507: 
71 Կերուկան 2006, 280. 
72 Օտինիս 2014, 803-804: 
73 Սմբաթ առագարձ 1921, 261: 
74 Ուրոժիբ 1884, 190:
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of Atish had migrated from Ani and founded the village of Veri Atish75. Teodik mentioned only 40 houses of Armenians, living in Atish village76, and R. Gevorgyan wrote that the population of Atish was mainly involved in trade and crafts and only 280 Armenians were engaged in agriculture77.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement</th>
<th>G. Srvandztyants</th>
<th>Memoir books</th>
<th>Teodik</th>
<th>R. Gevorgyan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jermuk</td>
<td>278 houses</td>
<td>350 houses / 3896 souls</td>
<td>180 houses</td>
<td>1948 souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chnkush</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>10200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atish</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1242878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, there was no information about other Armenian settlements in Jermuk kaza in 1914 except the above stated three settlements. So we can conclude that before the Armenian Genocide there had been 14.000 Armenians living in this kaza, 10.000 of them were in Chnqush and 4.000 in Jermuk and Atish.

Conclusion

According to the administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, Arghana Maden was one of the three sanjaks of Diarbekir province. The area of Arghana Maden comprised mainly the territories of Great Tsopk, Balahovit, Paghnatun districts of historic Tsopk (Fourth Armenia) province.

It must be stated that at the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX centuries the Armenian population of Arghana Maden was subjected to severe persecution and as a result of the Hamidian massacres thousands of Armenians were killed, tens of thousands became homeless. Because of both economic persecutions and slaughter numerous Armenians migrated to larger settlements, some of them to the USA, though the number of migrants and the rate of migrations were less compared with that from Kharberd.

The Armenian population in Jermuk and Maden was mainly concentrated in large, townlike settlements like Arghana, Maden, Akil, Jermuk and Chnqush. These settlements were considered to be safer and provided greater opportunities

75 Սողորկի 1947, 760:
76 Սողորկի 2014, 804:
77 Կևորկյան 2006, 281:
78 While mentioning the total number of Armenians in this kaza, R. Gevorgyan mentions a slightly different number – 12,650.
for living. As for Balu we conclude that a great number of Armenians lived both in the town of Balu and in 50 villages of kaza and in 1914 many of them were populated merely by Armenians. Based on the above-mentioned facts and sources we can conclude that there were about 41,000 Armenians, living in three kazas of Arghana Maden sanjak in 1914: about 17,000 Armenians lived in Balu, 10,000 in Maden and 14,000 in Jermuk kazas.

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ARMYANSKOE NASELENIE SANDJAKA ARGANA MADEN
PROVINCIYI DIARBECIR (TIGRANAKERT) V KONECE XIX-
NACHALE XX V.

BABLUMYAN A.

Резюме

Ключевые слова: Западная Армения, Диarbекир, Аргана Маден, Балу, Цопк, эмиграция, гамидовские погромы.

Территория санджака Аргана Маден провинции Диарбекир (Тиранакерт) в основном охватывала области Пагнатун и Баласовит исторической провинции Цопк. В конце XIX века, согласно административному делению Османской империи, область (санджак) Аргана Маден, в свою очередь, была разделена на казы Балу, Маден и Джермук. В конце XIX — начале XX в. в санджаке Аргана Маден, как и в других областях Западной Армении,
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армянское население подвергалось гонениям, тысячи армян были убиты во время гамидовской резни, а десятки тысяч остались без крови. В силу экономического гнета и массовых убийств многие армяне нашли убежище в других, более крупных поселениях, незначительное число армян эмигрировало в США, хотя поток эмигрантов из Аргона Маден в численном соотношении был меньше, чем из Харберда.

По нашим оценкам, около 41 000 армян проживало в трех казах санджака Аргона Маден – в основном они были сосредоточены в крупных городских поселениях – Аргона Маден, Акил, Джермук, Чикуш. Последнее было обусловлено тем, что эти города были относительно безопасными. Что же касается казы Балу, то армянское население здесь было многочисленным, причем как в самом Балу, так и примерно в 50 сельских поселениях, во многих из них к 1914 г. население было исключительно армянским.