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Dedicated to the commemoration of countless Syrians,
Whose stories of life and death are untold,
Because they were silenced by
GENOCIDE

The Ottoman genocide against Aramaic speaking Christians and the present situation Of Christian minorities in the Republic of Turkey

(Folio 2) Divided by language and denomination into a Western and Eastern branch, the Western Syriacs (Arameans) belong mainly to the Syriac Orthodox Church, whereas the Eastern Syriacs (Assyrians) form the Assyrian Church. The majority of Ottoman Assyrians lived in the province Van (Hakkari), most of the Arameans in the province of Diyarbakir, where the chalk plateau of the Tur Abdin formed their ancient heartland. A specific feature of the genocide against the Arameans/Assyrians was that the persecution extended to areas in officially neutral Iran.

(Folio 3) Aramaic speaking Christians are natives in a huge territory of the Near East, between *Beth Nahrin* (Mesopotamia in Greek - "the Land between the Rivers) and Iran.

Folios 4-10

Existing knowledge

Primary sources¹ and secondary literature on the genocide against Syriacs relate either to regional events in the Ottoman provinces Diyarbekir and Van or in the Iranian Urmia region.

Two of three collections of accounts on the massacres during 1914-1916 in Southwest Turkey, gathered by representatives of the Syriac Orthodox and Catholic churches were published *post mortem* in Germany and the Netherlands, where Syriac Orthodox communities of refugees from Turkey² had emerged.

Contemporary accounts of the Eastern Syriacs' or Assyrian sufferings in the Van province and in Iran were published already during WW1 both by Eastern Syriacs and foreign eye-witnesses.³ Chapter IV ('Azerbaijan and Hakkari') of the British '*Blue Book*', edited in 1916 by Viscount Bryce covers events which relate mainly to the Assyrians. Among secondary literature, the four volumes of the doctoral thesis of the Assyrian scholar Joseph Yacoub have to be named as the first comprehensive academic study⁴.

What do these sources tell us?

IRAN AND OTTOMAN EMPIRE: SUMMARY OF EVENTS

Simultaneously and often together with Armenians, Aramaic speaking Christians perished during massacres, deportations or flight. In the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, Christians were targeted twice by Ottoman invaders, in the beginning and near the end of WW1. When the Turks learnt about the withdrawal of Russian forces from Iran in late 1914, the 36th and 37th divisions of the Ottoman army occupied the Iranian Northwest. During the following occupation regular Ottoman forces and ir-

regular Kurdish units, together with some of the Muslim natives, slaughtered the Eastern Syriac and Armenian villages in the region of Lake Urmia for five months, destroying seventy villages. The few foreign relief stations, where 25,000 Christians had sought refuge, were completely overstrained; thousands of refugees were starving, living from hand to mouth. The director of the U.S. mission in Urmia, Rev. William Shedd, emphasised that Turkish regular troops participated in massacres, giving precise examples of his accusation. Previously, in November 1914, the Russian forces had expelled Kurds and other Sunni Muslims from the villages near Urmia and had, at the same time, armed parts of the Christian population. "The Turks in response expelled several thousand Christians from adjoining regions in Turkey. These refugees were settled in the villages vacated by the Sunni Moslems who had been expelled."⁵ Subsequently, the Muslims took bloody revenge on the Christian, when they got the opportunity during the Turkish occupation:

"There is no class of Mohammedans that can be exempted from blame. The villagers joined in the looting and shared in the crimes of violence, and Persians of the higher class acquiesced in the outrages and shared in the plunder. The Kurds were in their natural element. The Turks not only gave occasion for all that happened, but were direct participants in the worst of crimes. (On the other hand, individuals of every class deserve credit. (There were many villagers who showed only kindness. The Persian Governor made it possible, by his co-operation, for the American missionaries to do what they did; the Kurds responded to appeals for mercy and, in some cases, returned captive girls unsolicited and did other human service.) A few individual Turkish officers and a number of their soldiers took strong measures to keep order. One such officer saved the city (Urmia; TH) from loot when riot had already begun. There were various causes; jealousy of the greater prosperity of the Christian population was one, and political animosity, race hatred and religious fanaticism all had a part. **There was a definite and determined purpose and malice in the conduct of Turkish officials. It is certainly safe to say that a part of this outrage and ruin was directly due to the Turks, and that none of it would have taken place except for them.**"⁶

On 21 February, 1915 Turkish military authorities in Urmia took 61 leading Assyrians hostage from the French mission, demanding large ransoms. However, the mission had only enough money to convince the Ottomans to set 20 of the men free. Af-

ter the cruellest tortures, the remaining 41, among them the Assyrian bishop of Tergavar, Mar Denkha were murdered on the next day, having their heads cut off in the public.

A Turkish campaign to capture the city of Khoi, led by Tahrin Cevdet Bey, the brother-in-law of War Minister Enver, failed. Perhaps out of revenge, Cevdet "ordered the cold-blooded killing of about 800 people - mostly old men, women and children - in the Salmas district (...)"⁷ On 25th February 1915, Ottoman troops stormed their way into the village of Gulpashan and the district centre, Salmas (Salamas). Almost all the men of Gulpashan were bound with ropes and slaughtered in the cemetery. In Salmas 725 Armenian and Assyrian refugees were protected by Turkish civilians of the village. Nevertheless, the commander of the Ottoman division stormed the houses despite them containing Turkish people, and roped all the men together in big groups and forced them to march in the fields between Khusrawa and Haftevan. The men were shot or otherwise killed, after they had signed statements that they underwent a 'friendly treatment'⁸. The protection of Christians by local Turkish civilians is confirmed in the 1916 British 'Blue Book': "Many of the Moslems tried to save their Christian neighbours, and offered them shelter in their houses, but the Turkish authorities were implacable". The winter of 1915, 4,000 Assyrians died from disease, hunger, and exposure, and about 1,000 more were killed in the completely undefended villages of the Urmia region. As the other Non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire, the Assyrians both in the Ottoman Empire and in occupied Iran were compelled into forced labour and then killed. Assyrian men from Gavar (Hakkari) had to carry rolls of telephone wire across the border, were left without food while imprisoned in Urmia and were slaughtered on their return journey in the village of Ismael Agha's fort (Kala).⁹ Seventy corpses remained unburied there for six months and were eventually buried by an American missionary, who also buried 40 Assyrian victims in Charbash, including a bishop, und 51 in Gulpashan:

"These 161 persons, which I buried, have been killed in the most cruel way, by regular Turkish army troops and assisted by the Kurds under their command."¹⁰ In Diliman all men older than twelve years were killed, while women had to convert to Islam and were forcibly married to Muslim men. The orphaned and completely traumatised children were given to Kurdish families.

In early 1918, many Assyrians started to flee the Ottoman Empire. The charismatic Eastern Syriac spiritual and national leader, the Catholicos-Patriarch Mar Binyamin Shimon XX had arranged for some 3,500 Assyrians to reside in the district of Khoi. Not long after settling in, Kurdish troops of the Ottoman Army massacred the population almost entirely. Persecutions re-started in January 1918. On 3rd March 1918 alone, Ottoman-Kurdish units massacred 2,270 Assyrians in the town of Khoi. At the same time the Turks gathered the remaining Christians of the Salmas district, approximately 800 old men, women and children, and slaughtered these, allegedly by order of Cevdet, before again retreating from the re-advancing Russians.¹¹ Patriarch Mar Binyamin Shimon XX was treacherously murdered by the Kurdish chieftain Simko, whom he had met in order to build up a common line of defence for the Entente.

Inside the Ottoman Empire, the first massacre of Syriacs occurred as early as October and November 1914. On 30th October 1914, 71 men from Gavar had been arrested and were taken to the regional capital town of Başkale (Bashkallah, Pashqala; in Kurdish Elblak), where they were killed. As a consequence Patriarch Mar Binyamin Shimon XX declared "war against Turkey", according to the decision of a great tribal assembly, prompted by the advance of Turkish forces and Kurdish volunteers. In February 1915 Cevdet replaced "the cunning and plausible ostensibly philo-Armenian Hassan Tahsin"¹² as governor of the Van province. In April 1915 when destroying the Gavar region and killing its Syriac population, Kurdish irregulars surrounded the village of Tel Mozilt and imprisoned 475 men, who were shot the following morning. Arguments rose between the Kurds and the Ottoman officials about what to do with the women and orphans left behind. In the end, the army decided to kill them as well. Being expelled from the Van province by the advancing Russian army at the end of May

1915, Cevded, together with his 8,000 irregulars, whom he called 'butcher forces' (*kassablar taburu*) fled southward, followed by general Halil (the uncle of War Minister Enver) with an army of 18,000.¹³ When entering the district town of Sa'irt (Sahirt, Siirt, Seerd, Srerd) in the Ottoman Bitlis province, they conducted, together with local Kurdish tribes, a general massacre in Sa'irt and its vicinity that lasted for a month. There were about 60,000 Christians (25,000 Armenians, 20,000 Syriac Orthodox, and 15,000 Khaldeans) in that *sanjak* or district.

About 70,000 Ottoman Eastern Syriacs escaped into neighbouring Iran, from where a part of the people was deported by their Russian allies into the Caucasus. Those remaining fled under tremendous losses of lives due to permanent Kurdish attacks, towards Hamadan, in order to seek shelter under the rule of the British. By mid-1918, the British army had convinced the Ottomans to let them have access to about 30,000 Assyrians from various parts of Iran. The British decided to deport all remaining 30,000 Assyrians from Iran to Baquba, Iraq. Although the transfer took just 25 days, at least 7,000 of the deportees died en route. 2,000 more perished during the following two years in the miserable camps of Baquba, which were closed by the British in 1920. The majority of Eastern Syriacs decided to return to their homeland in the Hakkari mountains, while the rest were dispersed throughout Iraq. But repatriation to Hakkari never materialized, due to the heavy resistance of the Kurds.

Today not a single faithful of the Apostolic Church of the East lives in the ancient region of origin in Southeast Turkey; the material monuments of their important early Christian culture have been systematically destroyed. The surviving East Syriacs were widely spread in numerous states of the Near and Middle East, where their existence is now threatened once again, as recent developments in Iraq prove.

Most Arameans or Western Syriacs lived in the province of Diyarbekir, governed in 1915 by Dr Mehmet Reşid Şahingiray, a notorious hater of Christians. There are several collections of reports from that time of what really happened to the local Christians as well as

to the arrested Armenians of Constantinople that were transferred from the Angora (Ankara) province to Diyarbekir. In his so-called 'Secret Report' the German protestant missionary Dr. Johannes Lepsius devotes a chapter to the province of Diyarbekir, albeit three pages only¹⁴. There we read, that the population - 471,000 inhabitants - was composed of two thirds Muslim - comprising 200,000 Kurds and 63,000 Turks - and one third Christians - comprising 105,000 Armenians and '60,000 Syriacs (Syriac Orthodox, Nestorians and Khaldeans)'.

Starting with summer 1914, male Non-Muslim citizens of the Ottoman Empire were conscripted in labour battalions, where they had to work under extremely harsh conditions. On 5 March 1915 a Syriac native of Diyarbekir, Abed Mshiho Qarabashi, was conscripted in a labour battalion numbering 1,100 men and assigned to work on the Diyarbekir-Aleppo road. According to his account, the maltreatments increased every other day, with bastinadoes and other beatings becoming commonplace, and the violence escalating into sporadic murders of individual conscripts by late March.¹⁵

In the Diyarbekir province and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire it was common for the authorities to target and destroy books during the genocide against Ottoman Christians. One of many examples is the destruction in July 1915 of the library of Addai Sher, the Khaldean Bishop of Siirt, which contained thousands of books. The library of the Saint John Church in Mardin was also confiscated and the books given away to stores in Mardin or sold for practically nothing. A teacher at the Syriac monastery of Deyrulzaferan noted in his memoirs that, thanks to the government's *carte blanche* to certain Kurdish tribes to attack Christians, the other important Syriac monastery, Mor Gabriel, was attacked in the fall of 1917 by the Kurdish brigand Şendi, who massacred inhabitants and destroyed the library.¹⁶

In spring 1915, governor Reşid Bey installed a *Commission for the Study of the Armenian Question* led by a certain Bedri Bey, who forestalled possible Armenian opposition by arresting real or alleged members of the Armenian Party *Dashnaktsutyun*, 27 persons in all, among them a clergyman. All 27 arrested were tortured and then mur-

dered. From the very beginning such arrests and murders included Syriacs as well. Lepsius reports:

"Between May 10 and 30 [1915] another 1,200 of the leading figures among the Armenians and Syriacs from the vilayet [Diyarbakir] were arrested. On May 30, 674 of them were loaded onto 13 *keleks* (rafts that floated through inflated hoses), under the pretext, that they were taken to Mosul. The adjutant of the *vali* was the leader of this transport, and had 50 gendarmes with him. Half of them were distributed over the boats, while the rest rode along the banks. Straight after they left, all their money was taken, some 6,000 Turkish pounds (110,000 Mark) and all their clothing. Then they were all thrown into the river. The gendarmes on the river banks were to kill anyone who tried to save himself swimming. The clothes of the casualties were sold in the Diyarbakir market."¹⁷

All Muslim subjects that hid Armenians were threatened with capital punishment. Civil servants, who opposed the government order for deportation of 27th May 1915 were replaced by more 'obedient' officials: In Mardin the mayor (*mutessarif*), in Midyat¹⁸ and Lice the *kaimakans* Beşiri (Sabit Bey) and Nesimi Bey were dismissed and killed.¹⁹ After the dismissal of the Mardin mayor, says Lepsius, 'first 500 and later another 300 Armenian and Syriac dignitaries were sent to Diyarbakir. The first 500 never arrived in Diyarbakir; neither was anything heard about the fate of the other 300.'²⁰

It did not escape the attention of the German vice-consul in Mosul, Walter Holstein that the annihilation in the Diyarbakir province was not limited to the Armenians, but possessed the character of a general destruction of Christians; starting with 10th June 1915²¹, Holstein, according to dispatches sent to the German Embassy at Constantinople. On 13th June 1915 the vice-consul reported:

„The massacre of the Armenians in the Diyarbakir vilayet becomes more known with every day und creates increasing unrest among the population, which may easily cause uncontrollable consequences due to the foolish lack of conscience and the weakness of the local government.²² In the districts of Mardin and Amadia the situation has developed into a genuine persecution of Christians. Undoubtedly this is caused by the government: Undoubtedly Christians are outlawed here, too. To name just one of numerous incidents, the local old and respectable Khaldean patriarch - I just returned from him - had been summoned by a common policeman to a military court without giving any reasons. From the side of the government this is a childish provocation of the local Christian community.

A government like the one here, whose officials communicate publicly with the most vulgar women and influence their public office in order to meet the wishes of prostitutes, should refrain from such provocations, in particular now.

We soon will have the highest arousal of emotions, if the central government is not changing its program to persecute the Christians. The massacres of Armenians must be prevented under any conditions".²³

On 10th July 1915 Holstein telegraphed from Mosul:

„I received the following information from the previous mutes-sarif of Mardin, who is presently residing here:

The vali of Diyarbekir, Reshid Bey, rages like a mad blood-hound among the Christians of his vilayet. Not long ago he ordered to gather in Mardin, too, 700 Christians (predominantly Armenians) in one night by the gendarmes, who had been sent for that purpose from Diyarbekir, among them the Armenian bishop, and had slaughtered them like sheep in the vicinity. Reshid Bey continues his bloody work among the innocent, whose number until today reached two thousand.

If the government²⁴ does not take immediately [emphasised in the original; TH] energetic actions against Reshid Bey, the lower class Muslim population of this vilayet will also start slaughters of the Christians. The situation becomes more and more threatening.

The government should immediately remove Reshid Bey from his office and demonstrate by this action that it does not approve of his vile deeds. Such a step would appease the general state of agitation here".²⁵

Vice-consul Holstein's proposal prompted a note of protest against the indiscriminate anti-Christian actions of governor Reşid, forwarded by the German Embassy on 12th July 1915 to Home Minister Talat. Holstein had suggested, that the German Embassy should demand Reşid's removal from office. But the German protest remained without any practical consequences. On the contrary: One day after the German protest note Holstein telegraphed on 13th July 1915 that the Khaldean village Feinaurushabur near Jesire in the Diyarbekir province had been assaulted by Muslim Kurds who massacred the Christian population. Holstein's conclusion: "As long as the government is not taking steps against the vali of Diyarbekir, the massacres will continue."²⁶

That the events in the Diyarbekir province were more than just a private initiative of some Provincial Governor becomes clear also from the documentation given by Sleman Henno. When describing the events at Midyat, he mentions that, on 22nd June 1915, the leader of the army regiment, Rauf Bey, replied to protests: 'All this is done by order of the Empire. We have to search for weapons. If we find any, we will confiscate them (...)'".²⁷ Also the way in which the annihilation of the Syriacs was carried out, corresponds the pattern in which the genocide against the Armenians was carried out throughout the Empire: The disarmament and killing of the elite were followed by deportation or massacres. Only children under five were spared, and of course beautiful women. Christian clergymen of all denominations apparently enhanced the blood-thirst and gruesomeness of their suppressors in particular.

A distinctive feature of the destruction of the Aramean community in the Diyarbekir province and in particular in the district (sanjak) of Mardin is that killings became the main mean of annihilation. David Gaunt, who published one of the most authoritative studies on the genocide against Aramaic speaking Christians, concludes:

"(...) Christian villages were plucked one by one. In these cases all persons were killed, except the few who were taken captive, usually children or young women. In a few villages, the population were formed into deportation columns, but often they were cut down just outside their own village at the nearest convenient cliff or riverbank. The countryside was turned into one large killing field, with nearly the whole rural Christian population annihilated during the months of June and July [1915]. In the towns and cities, the Christian groups were arrested piecemeal."²⁸

Folio 11-15

Rightless, landless, defenceless: The Syriacs in the Tur Abdin today

Folie 16:

Villages

The last existing Syriac villages do not hold collective or individual land titles. Inquiries by the authorities since 2005 for the registration of land titles ended unsuccessfully for the Syriac villagers. Fallows and uncultivated fields are declared to be forests, if there is a single tree or bush growing on them, and are subse-

quently confiscated by the state authorities. It is a severe case of nationalisation of land properties, which had been private Christian properties since centuries.

Muslims who take land of their Syriac neighbours are supported by the state authorities on the ground that the Christians do not hold documents on land titles. This is a vicious circle, because under no circumstances are the Christians given any land titles. If confiscated or expropriated land is sold, it is very difficult for the Christian original proprietors to restore their rights. Expenses for lawyers are very high, and there is no insurance for legal representation, as in Europe. Because of expenses and long lasting court procedures most Christian proprietors give up their claims in profound frustration. Since two years the residents of the X village¹ try, through the service of an advocate, to reclaim their fields. But the judge in charge, who holds at the same time the office of a governor, does not appear at appointed court sessions or delays the procedure in other ways.

On the whole, Syriacs cohabit with the Muslim population, but consider the situation to be instable and unsafe, because their existence depends entirely on the good-will of the government, the authorities and the Muslim population.

Churches and monasteries

In villages deserted by Syriacs, Muslims take over church property and even graves. Property claims are considered void. Christians can only buy their property back.

A telling example is the church of St Mary in the Y village. When the villagers claimed their confiscated church, the cynic reply was: The church does not belong to you, but to St Mary. Let her come and claim her church!

The Syriac villagers are not supported by the state to regain their lost and stolen properties.

¹ For the sake of the Christian residents' safety place-names have been anonymised.

Another example is the village of Z, with two adjacent churches and a large churchyard. Since the Syriac residents had left the village, Muslims took over, and the brother of the mayor confiscated the land property belonging to the Syriac Orthodox Church which now faces tremendous difficulties in regaining its property.

There survive two famous Syriac Orthodox monasteries, Mor Gabriel and Deir Safaran, both of key relevance for Syriac Orthodox identity. Despite the fact, that Mor Gabriel was visited by 75,000 persons in 2006 alone, the government does in no way care to maintain the roads.

Native Language and training of priests

The law does not permit teaching of Syriacs in their own schools without the control of a Muslim teacher who would be present during all lessons.

At present, the authorities tacitly accept the teaching of Aramaic, without officially cancelling the prohibition of the Mardin governor ten years ago. This tolerance can end at any time, because it is not based on laws and regulations, but arbitrary.

Subsequently, the language of Christ is taught in 'hedge classes' and unofficially.

Neither is the theological education and training of Syriac Orthodox priests officially allowed. Inviting priests from abroad offers no alternative, because such priests would not have a sufficient command of Turkish and could not support their parishes in cases of conflict.

Returnees

There are no guarantees of safety and no regulations for those Syriac families who want to return to their homeland.

Government

So far, the last Syriac residents of the Tur Abdin did not notice any positive development since Prime Minister Erdogan and president Gül took their offices. On the contrary, Syriacs fear the increase of a 'hidden' radicalism.

Folio 18: Conclusion and Recommendations

Violations of Lausanne Treaty and many other international covenants, signed by Turkey, are commonplace. Any improvement of the given situation must include at least the following recommendations:

- **Recognition of the massacres and deportations as genocide against Syriacs according to the UN Convention (1948) as a precondition for confidence building and reconciliation**
- **Complete abolition of §301 (Turkish Penal Code)**
- **Safeguards for the reminder of Syriac population**
- **Safeguards for Syriac returnees**
- **Full acknowledgment of land titles**
- **Return of expropriated and confiscated private and church land properties and buildings**
- **Full stop of further confiscations**
- **Official right to teach Aramaic**
- **Official right to train Syriac-Orthodox priests**
- **To give Syriacs a future in their land of origin: Improvements of infrastructure**

¹ A comprehensive description of primary sources is to be found in David Gaunt's monograph: *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006, pp. 317-326

² And other states of the Near and Middle East. However, the percentage of Syriacs from Turkey and of Turkish citizenship is considerable among these Diasporas.

³ Hay, W. R.: *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*. London, 1921; Heazell, F. N.: *The Woes of a distressed Nation - Being an account of the Assyrian people from 1914-1934*. London 1934; Naayem. Joseph: *Les Assyro-Chaldéens et les Arméniens massacrés par les Turcs: Documents inédits recueillis par un témoin oculaire*. Paris 1920 (American edition: *Shall this Nation Die?* New York, 1921); Naayem. Joseph: *Une conférence sur les souffrances des Assyro-Chaldéens*. «L'Asie Française», Paris, Aout -Novembre, 1918, pp. 238-248; Naayem, Joseph: *Shall this nation die?*; with a preface by Lord Bryce. New York 1920. – Online edition <http://www.aina.org/books/stnd.htm>; Rockwell, William W.: *The Pitiful Plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*; New York 1916; Stafford, R.S.: *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*. London 1935; Strothmann, Rudolf: *Heutiges Orientchristentum und Schicksal der Assyrer [Oriental Christianity of today and the plight of the Assyrians]*. „Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte“, 55, 1936, pp. 17-82; Surma d-bait Mar Shimun: *Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun*. London 1920; Wendt, Otto: *Die furchtbaren Folgen des Weltkrieges für die nestorianischen Christen in Kurdistan: Nach authent. Berichten [The dreadful events of the World War in their meaning for the Nestorian Christians in Kurdistan: After authentic reports]*. 1915; Wigram, William Ainger: *Our smallest Ally - History of the Assyrian Nation*. London 1920;

⁴ Yacoub, Joseph: *La Question Assyro-Chaldéenne, les Puissances Européennes et la Société des Nations (1908-1938)*. Lyon 1984 (Dissertation, University Lyon, 4 Vols.); see also: Yacoub, Joseph: *The Assyrian Question*. (Chicago/Ill., 1986)

⁵ Viscount Bryce (Ed.): *The Treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire 1915-16*. 2nd ed. Beirut 1979, p. 100

⁶ Idem, p. 104

⁷ Walker, Christopher J.: *Armenia: The Survival of a Nation*. London 1980, p. 205

⁸ Tamcke, Martin: *Der Genozid an den Assyrem/Nestorianern [The Genocide against the Assyrians/Nestorians]*. In: *Verfolgung, Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Christen im Osmanischen Reich 1912-1922*. Hrsg. von Tessa Hofmann. 2. Aufl. Münster, 2007 [Persecution, Expulsion and Annihilation of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire 1912-1922. 2nd rev. ed.] Münster 2007, p. 108

⁹ Bryce, Treatment, p. 162

¹⁰ Quoted from Tamcke, idem

¹¹ Tamcke, idem, p. 109

¹² Walker, idem, p. 206

¹³ <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/1915/bryce/a04.htm>

¹⁴ Lepsius, Johannes: *Bericht über die Lage des armenischen Volkes in der Turkey*. Potsdam 1916 (Further editions under the title ‘Der Todesgang des armenischen Volkes in der Turkey während des Weltkrieges)

¹⁵ Qarabashi names nine Armenians who were led away and killed. Qarabashi, Dmo Zliho, pp. 62, 64–66.

¹⁶ Üngör, Uğur Ü.: *When Persecution Bleeds into Mass Murder: The Processive Nature of Genocide*. “Genocide Studies and Prevention”, 1:2 September 2006, pp. 184

¹⁷ Lepsius, Johannes: *Der Todesgang des Armenischen Volkes; Bericht über das Schicksal des Armenischen Volkes in der Türkei während des Weltkrieges [The Death March of the Armenian People; report about the fate of the Armenian People in Turkey during the World War]*. Reprint; Heidelberg 1980, p. 75

¹⁸ Telegram of vice-consul Walter Holstein on 16th July, 1915 from Mosul. – German Foreign Office, Political Archives (AA/PA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169. – online-edition: http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_En?OpenFrameset

¹⁹ Kieser, Dr Mehmed Reshid, *ibid.*, p. 265

²⁰ Lepsius, *Der Todesgang*, *ibid.*, p. 76

²¹ Compare telegraph of June 10th, 1915 in German Foreign Office, Political Archives (PA/PP), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169, online-edition:
http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_En?OpenFrameset

²² ‘Government’ in contemporary German diplomatic reports and dispatches meant in most cases the local or regional (provincial) administration, in difference to the central government at Constantinople.

²³ German Foreign Office, Political Archives (AA/PA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169, online-edition
http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_En?OpenFrameset

²⁴ Meaning the Ottoman central government

²⁵ German Foreign Office, Political Archives (AA/PA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169. Quoted from: Gust, Wolfgang (Hg.): *Der Völkermord an den Armeniern 1915/16: Dokumente aus dem Politischen Archiv des Deutschen Auswärtigen Amtes* [The Genocide against the Armenians 1915/16: documents from the Political Archives of the German Foreign Office] . (Springe, 1915), p. 198

²⁶ German Foreign Office, Political Archives (PA/AA), Botschaft Konstantinopel, Vol. 169. Quoted after:
http://www.armenocide.de/armenocide/armgende.nsf/WebStart_En?OpenFrameset

²⁷ Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Syro-Aramäer im Tur Abdin 1915, *ibid.*, p. 77

²⁸ Gaunt, *idem*, p. 312