

My Brother Is But One: The Brief Life of Hormizd d'Mar Shimun (1889-1915)

(Part I of III)

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PART I

On July 10th, 1915, while convening with Assyrian tribal leaders in the Tal district of the Hakkari, the Patriarch of the Church of the East, Mar Benyamin Shimun, opened a message from Haydar Bey, the Turkish Vali (governor) of Mosul district and began reading: *"All of Tyari is destroyed and the fighting continues . . ."* The twenty-eight-year-old patriarch upon whose shoulders rested over 125,000¹ of the millet's² (nation's) renewed hopes after seemingly interminable impoverishment and oppression, gazed heavenward and cried, *"Ya Allaha hiyiran!"* (*"Oh God, help us!"*).

Haydar Bey was the former governor of Diza district and recognized by Mar Benyamin for having kept hostile Kurdish tribes in check. Times had changed and now the Assyrians were seen as "seditious rebels" to the nationalist Young Turk government. Repression and murders of Assyrian villagers were rapidly rising. Three months earlier, Mar Benyamin had gathered the heads of the Assyrian *ashirets*³ and after a debate lasting five days decided to sever political relations with the Ottoman government. This meant declaring war on Turkey and joining the Entente.⁴ Meanwhile, as one military operation after another to suppress the mountain Assyrians had been valiantly repulsed, Haydar Bey had grown increasingly agitated and desperate. Most concerning to his superiors were the recent defeats in the Caucasus by Russian forces who threatened to capture the city of Erzurum, thus bringing the Russian Empire closer to Constantinople.⁵

Mar Benyamin stared into the sombre countenances of the gathered *Maliks* (chiefs) of the six major *ashiret* districts (Tyari, Tkhuma, Jilu, Baz, Ishtazin, & Dizan) while addressing Haydar's sinister postscript directly to them: *"May I tell you that your brother Hormizd is in our hands in Constantinople. If you do not capitulate with all your tribes, your brother will be killed."*

Whether it was minutes, hours, or days later, Mar Benyamin's recalcitrant response to Haydar Bey, and thereby, the Sublime Porte,⁶ would become legendary amongst Assyrians. According to his brother-in-law Shlemon Malik Ismail (wedded to sister Romi) who was present at this gathering, the Patriarch

replied: *"Under no circumstances will I submit the tribes to your power, after having experienced what the Turkish government has done to the Assyrian Christians with oppression and torture. For this reason I prefer to let my brother be killed than to surrender the entire people."*⁷

Anglican missionary William Aigner Wigram, who had lived and worked amongst the Assyrians since the early 1900s --for several years as Hormizd's teacher-- explained to readers of The Living Church magazine back in England: *"Everyone who had knowledge of the family life of the patriarchal family knows how singularly close were the ties that united the two brothers; those then can appreciate to the full the heroism of the reply that went back from the Patriarch, breathing in every syllable the thought that his family held its position on condition of living, and if need be dying, for the nation. 'My people are my charge,' said the Patriarch, 'and they are many. My brother is one. He must do what I would do if my duty lay that way, and give his life for his people.'"*⁸

His sister, Surma Khanum, who religiously recorded the patriarch's day-to-day life in her private diaries documented a third, and plausibly more verbatim version of Mar Benyamin's telegraphic response: *"My people are my sons, and they are many. Hormizd my brother is but one. Let him therefore give his life for the nation."*⁹

This bald attempt at blackmail must rank as one of the most wretched decisions faced by any national leader throughout history. Though the patriarch's response and subsequent acts of bravery in the World War are well known to Assyrians, little has been said about the young man himself who was sacrificed. By piecing together scattered anecdotes from English missionaries along with references in the diaries of Surma Khanum and Shlemon Malik Ismail, and the addition of newly translated documents from Ottoman and Russian archives, a more complete portrait of this beloved son of the Patriarchal Family and Assyrian nation can finally be brought to light.

Hormizd d'Mar Shimun was born in 1889 in the Patriarchal See of Qudshanis to Asiat and Ishai d'Mar Shimun, the fourth child after Surma Khanum (born in 1883), Romi (b.



Surma Khanum, Mar Yosip Sargis, Mar Benyamin, Hormizd d'Mar Shimun, Eshai d'Mar Shimun, and unknown girl.

Patriarchal house, Qudshanis, 1894

[Source: Hermann Burchardt (Burchardt Collection, Ethnology Museum, Berlin)]

1885), and Benyamin (b. 1887). Ishai and Asiat were busy bees, for Dawid (b. 1890), the twins Zaya and Poulos (b. 1893), and Eshaya (b. 1895) followed soon after.

The remote mountain village of Qudshanis in which he was born had been the patriarchal see for nearly three centuries, and Assyrian (Church of the East) Christians and Muslim (mostly Sunni) Kurds had cohabitated the Hakkari region of Turkey's Eastern Anatolia for several centuries before that. Though the Kurds far outnumbered the Assyrians and regularly subjected them to a state of serfdom both peoples had been independent of Ottoman authority for most of their collective history. By the time Hormizd was born English missionaries were established in the region and one, William Henry Browne, had resided in the patriarchal village for several years. Browne, first and foremost, was a religious representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Anglican Church. But he also played a vital role as village apothecary and liaison between the British Government and the region's consuls, preventing an impending massacre on at least one notable occasion. He was also a private tutor to the Patriarch Mar Rowil's niece, Surma Khanum, and his nephews.

Hormizd's earliest memories would have included roaming the mountain village with his older brother Benyamin and his cousins, playing pranks alongside the patriarch's aging jester Shlimun, shooting slings at things they ought not to, hunting partridges and snakes (possibly bears and larger game with his father), swinging on the swing set up at Browne's house, and assisting his mother and aunts with daily household chores. Every week would end (and begin) with a climb up the rickety wooden ladder onto the outdoor terrace of Mar Shalita church, before ducking down and descending into the dim and spartan hearth of the fortress-like chapel to attend services with friends and fellow villagers to pray, sing, and listen to his uncle, Mar Rowil recite *raza* (liturgy) and offer *qurbana* (eucharist).

Qudshanis, despite being small, remote and difficult to access, was ironically one of the busiest villages in the region. Thousands of visitors came and went throughout the year. It was widely acknowledged that, "*There being no hotels in the East, the Patriarchal house was the largest guest house in Kurdistan.*"¹⁰ Surma once tallied 9,704 guests -- as of early spring!¹¹ This

steady stream of visitors came from far and wide to meet the Patriarch to "interview" over essential issues, lodge complaints, pay taxes, settle disputes, arrange marriages, call for the consecration of buildings and bishops, forge alliances, or rest on the way to somewhere else. Throughout Hormizd's childhood he would have regularly seen maliks of the Assyrian tribes, as well as Turkish government officials, Kurdish tribal representatives, foreign consuls, missionaries and independent travelers from each of the world's great powers: England, America, France, Russia, and Germany. As simple, rustic and poor as the people appeared to outsiders, in actuality, the *Qudshisnaye* encountered more of the world on their remote mountain-top on a weekly basis than the majority of countrified Americans or Europeans in their lifetimes.

Presiding over this "global" guest-house and all its affairs was Hormizd's aunt Sulte (Mar Rowil's sister), his mother Asiat, and sister Surma Khanum. Every visitor would have been welcomed by one of these three and treated most hospitably, regardless of religious denomination, nationality, tribal or political affiliation. In the summer of Hormizd's fifth year two foreign guests took some of the very earliest photographs we have of the Mar Shimun family, Mar Shalita church, and the village. Within a year of these images Hormizd's father Ishai would die of typhoid fever while visiting Urmia. As Mar Rowil's half-brother and trusted advisor, he was respected throughout the Assyrian community and beyond. His funeral procession in Urmia attracted large crowds and included a military marching band usually reserved for Persian nobility. "*Such a grand mix you never saw,*" recalled Katharine Cochran, wife of American missionary Dr. Joseph Cochran (who could not cure Ishai). "*High Church (Anglican), Old Church (Nestorian), and New Church (Evangelical), but in one way it was pleasant; all seemed to have a national feeling aroused and forgot for the moment the differences of sect.*"¹² Two years later in late 1897 we catch another fleeting glimpse of Hormizd as a now fatherless eight-year-old boy when English traveler Earl Percy visits. He wrote of his first moments upon entering Qudshanis: "*The whole Nestorian community had turned out to meet us and kiss our hands, headed by Mar Auraham, cousin of Mar Shimun, with Benjamin the little patriarch-designate and his brother. A strange group they made, with their fair complexions and blue eyes [sic],*



Mar Rowil Shimun XX (Jul. 1894)
[Source: Hermann Burchardt]



Mar Shimun Family,
Qudshanis (summer 1894)
[Source: Bedros Yeghiayian
collection, London, Courtesy of
Jean-Pierre/Chabouh
Kibarian at houshamadyan.org]

their raven hair falling over bare broad chests in long plaits from under the tall conical hats of white and black felt." Two days later he remarked: "The whole household is still plunged in grief at Ishai's death who seems to have been a fascinating person."¹³

When Mar Rowil died in 1903, Hormizd's older brother Benyamin became the next patriarch at age sixteen. From that moment life for Hormizd and his siblings became one of early adulthood. Lifelong commitment to ecclesiastical duties, management of the affairs of the nation, diplomacy, and, as fate would have it, military leadership had been assumed by a Mar Shimun since 1318.¹⁴

Between 1906 and 1908 Hormizd attended the newly built mission school in the town of Van, "four fairly hard marches"¹⁵ north of Qudshanis. In November of 1907 Anglican missionary W.S. Bowdon writes: "A little before this [winter], the Russian Consul, who had been journeying in the mountains, not knowing of the outbreak of fever [scarlet fever], had brought the Patriarch's sister, Surma, and her brother, Hormizd, a lad of [seventeen or eighteen] years, back with him to be his guests in Van. On my arrival I found that his household had not escaped, but that all three of his children were ill. I at once took Hormizd away for greater safety to the Mission House, where he commenced to read regularly with me. So another month passed and still the fever raged. . . . Hormizd, who had escaped infection, was to remain and read with me in Van. His sister had already returned home. This is the first year the Patriarch has consented to his brothers reading with us. We were very glad to have them. Hormizd here, and his three younger brothers at Qudshanis, have all been reading steadily, and we hope they will be able to come to Van and take good places in our school next year."¹⁶

On October 25, 1908 Wigram, then teaching in Van, was impressed enough to report back to the Archbishop that Hormizd, now aged nineteen, ". . . Is a promising young lad. Already he has shown himself capable of being a useful helper to his brother, in some diplomatic negotiations with a Kurdish chief ('a kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care' in very truth!), and he is very loyal to Mar Shimun. Also, we may state that he has a full share of the family inheritance of good looks. . . ."¹⁷

And elsewhere: "One person who has shown himself both an eager and very efficient 'walker in villages' is Hormizd, brother of Mar Shimun, who is still at the school, and it has been a very great pleasure to the Missionaries, and to the senior teachers, to see this young fellow rise to his position and responsibilities as one of the hereditary chiefs of his 'melet'. . . ." ¹⁸ The reference to his being a "chief" of course is meant figuratively since Hormizd held no rank beyond that of being a member of the Patriarchal family. But as Wigram points out (in typical colonialistic tones) to his fellow Anglicans back in London: "The anomalous position of the family of the patriarch in the church (their sanctity is second only to that of patriarch), has its distinct uses, in providing what the oriental most needs; leaders whose right to lead cannot be challenged."¹⁹

This period marks the beginning of Hormizd's work on behalf of his brother-patriarch and the Assyrian people. Like his father and grandfather before him he was sent out to assist in collecting annual taxes, a requirement imposed on the Patriarch by the Sublime Porte since the mid-19th century, and more strictly enforced in recent years. But, as recorded by missionaries who knew him, Hormizd was far more than a tax collector. In early 1909, for example, he accompanied George S. Reed on a village tour near Urmia, inspecting churches and schools.²⁰

May 3: "Hormizd, the second brother of the Patriarch and I left for Urmi. On the second day, we reached the Gawar Plain, and stayed a day, in order that I might examine the six village schools."

May 6: "Stayed the night in Iyal, at the house of the late Sh. Qambar, grandfather of the Patriarch [Hormizd's maternal grandfather]; and, in the morning, having visited the schools, went down to Pagi and Mar Bhishu. All the schools in these villages seem to be carefully taught, the Catechism in Mar Bhishu and Iyal being worthy of special note."

May 7: "We reached Mawana at sundown. The men had heard of our coming, and turned out in strong force to kiss the hand of Hormizd and escort him to the village."

May 8: "When the whole population of Anhar had welcomed



Mar Shalita Church, Qudshanis (Nov. 1897) [Source: Earl Percy (Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, U.K.)]



Qudshanis (Nov. 1897) [Source: Earl Percy]

Hormizd, we started for the city, but our progress was slow, as newcomers continued to meet us, and the people of Alwach (including the Russian bishop, Mar Sorishu), Senger, and Charbash, all demanded that the procession should stop while they paid their respects to the Patriarch's representative. Near Senger a company of 30 or so Balulan men greeted him with lusty cheers, and accompanied us into the city, firing deafening salutes at intervals. This is said to be the most enthusiastic welcome on record given to any member of the Patriarchal house."

Awaiting the pair and their retinue in Urmia, missionary F.J. Blamire Brown recalled that, "On May 8th, a pencilled note came in from Mr. Reed saying that he and Hormizd, the brother of Mar Shimun, had arrived at a village some six hours off and would arrive with us on that day. We busied ourselves with preparations to go and meet them, and managed to get a carriage which took us out to Anhar. News had soon spread in Urmi of the coming of the Patriarch's brother, and we were accompanied by other vehicles and horsemen to Anhar. We had not been there ten minutes before Mr. Reed and Hormizd arrived. It was good to see an Englishman and colleague again, and those who knew or have heard of Hormizd, a fine young fellow of nineteen, will know what a welcome visitor he would be. There was no doubt what the Urmijnaye thought about it, for each village en route turned out in force to kiss the hand of a member of Mar Shimun's house, and more and more people kept arriving from the city on foot or horseback to welcome him. The pace back was reduced to a walk owing to the throngs on the road, and it was a fine sight to see several score of horsemen galloping round and round in Persian fashion, with guns banging on all sides. At Alwach there was even the aged Mar Sorishu, the Russian Bishop, protesting his devotion to the Patriarchal house. And so in royal style, headed by an escort of Turkish cavalry from the Turkish consulate and surrounded by a huge crowd, the city was entered, and we entered our yard to find it filled with another crowd; there followed a reception in the diwankhana, and every day since there have been many callers, and Hormizd with the Archdeacon have been working hard in returning them."²¹

However much he was flattered by such a spectacular reception, Hormizd might have remembered those glorious days for another reason. It seems that on this visit he

first met Beatrice (b. 1888), daughter of the Assyrian Anglican missionary Yaroo M. Neesan. She had recently returned to her family after six years of boarding school in England and was now superintending her own girls' school and helping her father with the mission work. At some point shortly afterwards Hormizd and Beatrice are promised to one another. Again, in early fall of the same year, Wigram testifies to Hormizd's further work on behalf of Patriarch and people: "After the consecration of Khinu Church, the Bishop [Mar Yabhalaha], with Hormizd and 'the Apostle,' [missionary] paid a round of visits among the Syrian villages of Van district. It was harvest time, and at every village capfuls of corn were brought to the Bishop, with prayer that he would deign to bless 'seed, crop, and threshing floor,' which he invariably did with great dignity. . . . ("Now we shall prosper, now our crops will be good, and our flocks and herds will increase, for the brother of Mar Shimun has come to bring us a blessing,' was the greeting given him in one village, that of Ermanis.") . . . One small incident may be mentioned for the hopefulness of it. The village of Ermanis, which is mixed Syrian and Kurdish, has a dispute with their neighbours of Khinu, the one asserting, the other denying, a right to drive sheep over the ground of their neighbour, in order that, as certain times of the year, the sheep may drink the salt waters of the lake on which Khinu looks. Ermanis, lying in an elevated basin, possesses no salt-lick. The Mussalmans of this village not only agreed (at the prayer of the village deacon, be it said to his credit) to refrain from going to law with the men of Khinu, but also fully agreed to submit to the decision of 'Mar Shimun's brother,' if he would act as Umpire. This is not only a high compliment to the character of this youth, but is a sign of the times. People who know their Ottoman empire well have often said, 'when you can get a Turk to obey a rayat, we may begin to believe in reform.' In this case Kurds voluntarily submitted an important decision to the impartiality of a Christian youth. It is a most hopeful sign. . . ."²²

Hormizd's adjudication was also called for on contentious pecuniary arguments such as the distribution of proceeds from the purchase of winter firewood: ". . . Just now, the question that is vexing the souls of purchaser and vendor, both is, who is to have the purchase-money? It is not fair that all should go to the present Qasha (priest), for the trees were not his personally, and the matter has been referred to the judgment of



DEACONS' SCHOOL, VAN

Hormizd (center) - 19 years old, at Van Deacon's School (1907-8)
 [Source: Heazell, F.N. *Kurds & Christians*, Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., London 1913: 177]



Patriarchal House (1910)

[Source: H. Malakhyan. Lalayan, Ervand. *Vasparakani Asoriner [The Assyrians of Vasparakan]*. Azgagrakan Hande [*Ethnographic Review*], XXIV (1913): 215

Hormizd and the greybeards of the village.”²³

When Wigram and Hormizd stopped to rest at one of the Yezidi villages in the Van district that same fall, the *reis* (chief) of the village and a delegation of elders got word of their presence. As Wigram tells it: “*They came to declare that we must come to the house and ‘eat bread.’ The brother of Ali Beg, the head of all Yezidis, was in the village, for he too, as it appeared, was making a tour among the out-liers of his nation, and the Brother of Mar Shimun must come and call on him. Much politeness was exchanged during the two-and-a-half hours that our formal call lasted, for of course an elaborate meal had to be cooked, to show proper politeness to the visitors. . . .*”²⁴ And, “*In Zel, which is hidden away in the recesses of the Chokh range of mountains, ‘Had you not come, Kesi (term of respect), we should have turned Chaldean, or perhaps Protestant; we have been left alone by our Patriarch for so long, and we thought that he had quite forgotten us. Now we know that Mar Shimun cares.*”²⁵

At the end of his village tour with Hormizd, Wigram reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury: “. . . *There are real signs of a spirit of self-help and independence among the Syrian villagers. . . . Rebuilding of the church at Khimu, and Serai is now declaring that it will build a school for itself instead of using a room in somebody’s house, and will maintain its own teacher, at least in great part. The Qaimaqam (sub-district governor) has declared that in that case, he has the authority to make them a small grant in aid from their own taxes, if the teacher can teach Turkish fairly well. There is one necessity, however -- a manager of the building works. True to their quarrelsome nature, the villagers cannot agree to work under one of themselves, but there must be a tegbarana (leader) from without. Fortunately, we hope to provide one in the person of Hormizd, brother of Mar Shimun.*”²⁶

In the summer of 1910, the British consul of Shiraz in Iran, J.H. Bill, passed through Qudshanis on his “*Across Persia and Europe on Pony-Back*” expedition. A photo he took shows Hormizd standing alongside his sister Surma (with his brother Zaya or Poulos behind him) in front of the cherished Mar Shalita church that was the heart and soul of their village, family, and Assyrian nation. This is the last known image of him.

Soon after Bill galloped on his way, Surma and Hormizd accompanied Dr. Browne to Urmia. No doubt Hormizd visited with the Neesans and saw Beatrice again. She reminisced about England and felt life in Urmia tiring. “*Ever since we put our foot home we have not been left alone a minute; day after day people coming to see us,*” she confided to the Sisters back at St. Katharine’s School in Oxfordshire. “*This Persian air is so pressing and makes one very lazy, especially the heat, which has started badly a month ago, and I don’t know what we shall do in a couple of weeks. One can’t endure it in the city and as we still feel afraid of Kurdish raids we dare not go up to our beautiful summer house in the mountain, 12 miles from the city.*” To Hormizd she may also have confided her longing for escape: “*I am tired of people and would just love to live on a desert island with great delight.*” Apparently, however, Hormizd’s powers of persuasion with bickering village leaders over sheep grazing rights, building construction and the proceeds of firewood sales, couldn’t convince Beatrice that Qudshanis was the delightful desert island she dreamt of. Whatever appeal marriage to a prince of the patriarchal family held for her (or her family), the frightful prospect of a precarious and harried existence holed up in the wild and remote mountains of Hakkari was not enough to overcome her fears. Thus, the wedding was called off.²⁷

Further heartbreak for Hormizd followed in the fall, when on September 14th, William Henry Browne --virtually a father-figure to him and his siblings-- died (of an accidental overdose of medicine) in Qudshanis. He was 63 years old. Time for mourning was brief, for in early October Hormizd was sent by Mar Benyamin along with the bishop Mar Aprim to visit Assyrian churches and communities in Russia (specifically Tiflis/Tbilisi, Georgia). Many Assyrians had converted to Russian Orthodoxy and the growing appeal was that unlike the Americans, French, or English, the Russians had the dual-benefit of having a strong military presence in the region, as well as being Orthodox Christians. By the end of the year Mar Benyamin would be exchanging exploratory messages with the head of the Russian mission in Urmia, comparing ecclesiastical practices and customs. This led to speculation of future “unification” between the two churches.

After obtaining passports from Turkish authorities



Hormizd, Surma Khanum and villagers in front of Mar Shalita Church (Jun. 1910)
[Source: J.H. Bill, *Wide World Magazine* (28) No. 167, Mar. 1912: p. 472]



Hormizd (Jun. 1910)

in nearby Julamerk, Hormizd and Mar Aprim set off for Tiflis. However, as had happened previously to Mar Aprim, they were turned back at the border -- likely by Russian officials paid off by leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church jealous of competition for congregants in their own territory. The two returned to Urmia where Hormizd probably saw Beatrice a last time before continuing on to Constantinople.²⁸

It was while on his way to the capital that Hormizd's mother Asiat passed away. Surma Khanum memorialized this sad day in a letter to the Neesans and other missionaries still in Urmia: "We had another unexpected loss, of our dear Mother, who had been unwell for these two years, but we thought she was getting on very well this winter until November 19th; I went to

her room in the morning and she told me she had not slept well through the night; yet she was talking of Mar Shimun's arrival the same day from his journey to Jilu and Baz, but at half past two we were called from our duties to see her passing away peacefully to her Lord, without any pain. Mar Shimun arrived half an hour later. We know that she has entered into the joy of her Lord: she had been preparing these two years to meet her Lord. This year we have a little school here, my brothers and some other boys, and as some of them are reading English, they will be very glad of the little books you have sent. Hormizd has gone to Constantinople to read more Turkish, by way of Tiflis with Mar Aprim; we have no news of him for more than two months. We are very anxious about him. . . ."²⁹

(To be continued . . .)

¹ Shimmon, Paul. *The Assyrians [i.e. Nestorians] numbered some 125,000 before the war. This is exclusive of the Jacobites (Syriac-Orthodox) and the Chaldeans, amounting to about 150,000.* *The Churchman*, v. 117, 561. [Churchman]. David Gaunt puts the total Assyrian population at over 500,000 (*Massacres, Resistance, Protectors*, Gorgias Press, 2006: 28).

² In Ottoman administrative system, an autonomous religious community with limited self-governing rights.

³ Semi-independent tribes who traditionally paid tribute only to their patriarch. As opposed to "rayats," or tribute-paying subjects of local Kurdish Aghas (rulers).

⁴ d'Mar Shimun, Surma. *Assyrian Church Customs & the Murder of Mar Shimun*. Vehicle Editions, 1920, 71. [Surma].

⁵ *The Living Church Magazine*, v. 64, 9. [LivChurch]. Erzurum would in fact be captured by the Russians on February 16, 1916.

⁶ Seat of government in Constantinople.

⁷ Ismail, Shlemon & Yacu Malik. *Assyrians and Two World Wars*. Assyrian Student's Literary Committee, Tehran, English ed., 1964, 49. [MalikIsmail].

⁸ *LivChurch* (64): 9.

⁹ Surma: 72-73.

¹⁰ *Churchman* (117): 56.

¹¹ d'Mar Shimun, Surma. *Private Diaries*, Mar Shimun Memorial Foundation. 27 Apr. 1912. [SurmaDiary].

¹² Hale (Cochran), Katharine Talcott. *Letters From Persia*. *Presbyterian Historical Society*. Unpublished. 1st ed 1916; rebound, 1936, 372-3.

¹³ Percy, Earl H.A.G. (Lord Warkworth). Unpublished diary, Alnwick Castle, England, 1897. [CochranDiary].

¹⁴ d'Mar Shimun, Theodore. *The History of the Patriarchal Succession of the d'Mar Shimun Family*. English ed., 2008, 25. [MarShimun].

¹⁵ Bill, J.H. "Across Europe and Asia on Ponyback," *Wide World Magazine*, 167, 28 (March 1912): 472.

¹⁶ *Assyrian Mission Quarterly Papers*, v. 3, no. 68, 826-7. Atour Publications, Lulu Press Inc. [AMQ].

¹⁷ AMQ 3 (74): 939-40.

¹⁸ AMQ 3 (74): 948-9.

¹⁹ AMQ 4 (80): 1032-33.

²⁰ AMQ 4 (77): 979-82.

²¹ AMQ 4 (76): 971.

²² AMQ 4 (78): 997-8; Heazell, F.N. *Kurds & Christians*, W. Gardner, Darton & Co., London, 1913: 176. [Heazell].

²³ AMQ 4 (79): 1011.

²⁴ AMQ 4 (80): 1030-1.

²⁵ Heazell: 176.

²⁶ AMQ 4 (80): 1032-33.

²⁷ Coakley, J.F. "Yaroom M. Neesan, 'A Missionary To His Own People,'" *ARAM*, 5 (1993), 95; *St. Katharine's School Magazine*, Wantage, Oxfordshire (Sep. 1907), 11; (Summer, 1912): 25-6.

²⁸ MarShimun: 61.

²⁹ AMQ 4 (83): 1071.