



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Arabic and Aramaic in Iraq: Language and Syriac Christian Commitment to the Arab Nationalist Project (1920-1950)

Baarda, T.C.

Citation

Baarda, T. C. (2020, January 8). *Arabic and Aramaic in Iraq: Language and Syriac Christian Commitment to the Arab Nationalist Project (1920-1950)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/82480>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/82480>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/82480> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Baarda, T.C.

Title: Arabic and Aramaic in Iraq: Language and Syriac Christian Commitment to the Arab Nationalist Project (1920-1950)

Issue Date: 2020-01-08

Appendix A

The Syriac Churches in Iraq

Numbers

Christians formed two to four percent of the total population of Iraq. While the amount of Christians has sometimes been believed to be higher, official estimates and censuses from the period 1920–1950 are consistent in this figure.¹

Demographic information divided by church and locations is scattered over various sources and comes without accountability. This information is likely to come from the churches themselves, but on the whole the numbers from different sources are not completely consistent with each other. The numbers give some insight into the division of the Christians over the churches and over the country, however.

Numbers from the Dominican mission (tables A.1, A.2, and A.3)

These tables are representations of tables found in Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Z-91, Statistiques et recensements Iraq 1935. The formulations inside the tables are literal translations from French. The percentages were added by myself. No sources are given in this document.

¹See the statistical information reproduced by Hannah Müller-Sommerfeld, *Staatliche Religionspolitik im Irak gegenüber Juden, Assyrischen Christen und Bahá'í (1920–1958)*, 284.

Race	Number	Percentage
Arabs (Muslims, Christians, Jews, Sabeans)	3,410,000	80.7%
Kurds (Muslims, Christians, Sabeans)	750,000	17.8%
Turkmens (Muslims)	65,000	1.5%
Total	4,225,000	100.0%

Table A.1: Races in Iraq according to the census of 1935; percentages added

Religion	Number	Percentage
Christians	97,000	2.3%
Jews	75,000	1.8%
Yezidis	20,000	0.4%
Sabeans	5,000	0.1%
Muslims	4,028,000	95.3%
Total	4,225,000	100.0%

Table A.2: Religions in Iraq according to the census of 1935; percentages added

Numbers from the *Iraq Directory* of 1936 (table A.4)

The English-language *Iraq Directory* of 1936 offers some pages with general information about the “Iraqi Communities,” which includes the Jews, Chaldeans, Syrian Catholics, “Orthodox Syrians,” Carmelites, Sabeans, and Yezidis. The Assyrians are left out here, although they are featured at other places in the book. The sections on the Chaldeans, Syriac Catholic and Syriac Orthodox Christians offer some statistical information.

The numbers about the Chaldean Catholic Church are presented as a table and offer numbers per diocese and are presented in table A.4. The Syrian Catholics are only divided into those who live in the north of the country (20,000) and the rest (5000, adding up to 25,000). The only demographic information provided about the Syriac Orthodox is that their number in Iraq is 12,000.

Church	Number	Percentage
Chaldean Catholic Church	81,703	54.4%
Amadia	4,531	
Aqra	1,567	
Baghdad	29,883	
Kirkuk	6,175	
Mosul	31,405	
Zakho	8,142	
Assyrian Church of the East	22,395	14.9%
Amadia	6,710	
Aqra	635	
Baghdad	9,165	
Kirkuk	2,750	
Mosul	2,135	
Zakho	1,000	
Syriac Catholic Church	18,430	12.3%
Baghdad	3,695	
Mosul	14,735	
Syriac Orthodox Church	11,164	7.4%
Baghdad	490	
Mosul	10,674	
Armenian Catholic Church	1,840	1.2%
Armenian Apostolic Church	12,535	8.3%
Greeks (Catholics)	200	0.1%
Protestants	888	0.6%
Latin	900	0.6%
Sabbatins	105	0.1%
Total	150,160	100.0%

Table A.3: Christians in Iraq in May 1947 according to data from the Dominicans; leaving out the numbers of priests and with percentages added

Conclusions

The amount of Chaldeans according to the *Iraq Directory* of 1936 (98,800) is more or less the same as the total amount of Christians in Iraq according to the 1935 census, which is impossible. In addition

Location	Number
<i>Chaldean Catholic Church</i>	
Baghdad	20,085
Mosul	41,699
Basrah, Amara, and Kut	7,000
Zakho and Dohuk	11,146
Amadiyah	5,985
Kirkuk	9,685
Aqra	2,400
Total	98,000

Table A.4: Christians in Iraq according to the Iraq Directory of 1936

to that, the numbers of the Chaldeans, Syriac Catholic and Syriac Orthodox in the *Iraq Dictionary* of 1936 are all higher than in the Dominican figures from 1947, while the censuses show that in this period the total amount of Christians had risen together with the general population. Nevertheless, the distribution of the Christians according to the churches is more or less consistent.

The figures convincingly show that the great amount of the Syriac Christians lived in the north, especially in Mosul or in its vicinities. For the Chaldean Catholic Church, however, Baghdad was of growing importance, with over than a third belonging to the Baghdad diocese in 1947. Baghdad was also an important city for the Assyrian Church of the East from the beginning.

The churches

The following tables provide an overview of general information about the four Syriac churches in Iraq. Here, “National/ethnic identification” and “Group/*tā’ifa* identification” are according to my interpretation of what identifications are generally visible.

Chaldean Catholic Church

<p>Syriac: <i>I(d)tā Kaldetā Qātulī-qetā</i></p> <p>Arabic: <i>al-Kanīsa al-Kaldā-niyya al-Kāthūlīkiyya</i></p> <p>Branch: East Syriac Christianity</p> <p>Theology: Catholic (Chalcedonian)</p> <p>National/ethnic identification: Arab – common among elite Assyrian – not common (Chaldean – recently)</p> <p>Group/<i>tā’ifa</i> identification: Chaldean (<i>Kaldānī</i>, <i>Kaldetā</i>)</p>	<p>Patriarchate: Mosul (from 1830) Baghdad (from 1950)</p> <p>Patriarchs: Joseph VI Emmanuel II Thomas (1900–1947) Joseph VII Ghanīma (1947–1958)</p> <p>Priest seminaries: Syro-Chaldean Seminary of Saint John (Dominicans) Priest School of Saint Peter</p>
--	---

(Assyrian) Church of the East

<p>Syriac: <i>I(d)tā d-Madnħā d-Ātorāye</i></p> <p>Arabic: <i>Kanīsa al-Mashriq al-Āshūriyya</i></p> <p>Branch: East Syriac Christianity</p> <p>Theology: Dyophysitic (Nestorian)</p> <p>National/ethnic identification: Assyrian</p> <p>Group/<i>tā’ifa</i> identification: None</p>	<p>Patriarchate: Hakkari mountains Mosul (from 1918) Chicago (from 1940) Ankawa (from 2015)</p> <p>Patriarchs: Mar Shim‘un xix Benjamin (1903–1918) Mar Shim‘un xx Paul (1918–1920) Mar Shim‘un xxiii Eshai (1920–1975)</p> <p>Priest seminaries: None</p>
---	---

Syriac Catholic Church

<p>Syriac: <i>I(d)tho Suryoytho Qathuliqaytho</i></p> <p>Arabic: <i>al-Kanīsa al-Suryā-niyya al-Kāthūlīkiyya</i></p> <p>Branch: West Syriac Christianity</p> <p>Theology: Catholic (Chalcedonian)</p> <p>National/ethnic identification: Unclear</p> <p>Group/<i>tā'ifa</i> identification: Syriac Catholic</p>	<p>Patriarchate: Mardin (from 1854) Beirut (from 1920s)</p> <p>Patriarchs: Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmānī (1897–1929) Ignatius Gabriel I Tappūnī (1929–1968)</p> <p>Priest seminaries: Syro-Chaldean Seminary of Saint John (Dominicans)</p>
---	---

Syriac Orthodox Church

<p>Syriac: <i>I(d)tho Suryoytho Trishath Shubḥo</i></p> <p>Arabic: <i>al-Kanīsa al-Suryā-niyya al-Uṛthūdhukṣiyya</i></p> <p>Branch: West Syriac Christianity</p> <p>Theology: Myaphysitic (“Jacobite”)</p> <p>National/ethnic identification: Syriac (<i>Suryānī</i>) Arab (not officially; not very common) Assyrian (common in early 1920s)</p> <p>Group/<i>tā'ifa</i> identification: Syriac Orthodox</p>	<p>Patriarchate: Deyrülzafaran monastery Homs (from 1933)</p> <p>Patriarchs: Ignatius Elias III (1917–1932) Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum (1933–1957)</p> <p>Priest seminaries: Mar Mattai monastery Saint Ephrem Institute (from 1946 in Mosul)</p>
--	---

Appendix B

Timeline

1900	Chaldeans • Consecration of Patriarch Joseph VI Emmanuel II Thomas
1905	Politics • Young Turk revolution; reinstatement of Ottoman constitution
1911–1914	Secular journalism • Publication of Anastās al-Karmili's <i>Lughat al-'Arab</i>
1915	Christians • Start of Anatolian genocide
1918	Church of the East/Assyrians • Patriarch Mar Shim‘ūn XIX Benjamin killed; consecration of Mar Shim‘ūn XXII Paulos
1918	Church of the East/Assyrians • Arrival of Assyrians in Ba'qūba refugee camp
1918	Politics • End of World War I; completion of British occupation of Iraq
1918–1921	Secular journalism • Publication of <i>Dār al-salām</i>
1920	Politics • Start of British mandate of Iraq
1920	Church of the East/Assyrians • Death of Patriarch Mar Shim‘ūn XXII Paulos; consecration of 11-year-old Mar Shim‘ūn XXIII Eshai
1920	Missions • Restart of Dominican mission
1921	Politics • Cairo Conference: foundation of State of Iraq
1924	Politics • First Anglo-Iraqi treaty; formal abolishment of the mandate

1924	Missions • Start of United Mission in Mesopotamia (Protestant, American)
1925	Politics • Granting of Mosul province to Iraq; instatement of the constitution of Iraq
1926	Politics • Second Anglo-Iraqi treaty
1926–1931	Secular journalism • Publication of Anastās al-Karmili's <i>Lughat al-'Arab</i>
1928–1938	Chaldeans • Publication of <i>al-Najm</i>
1929–1963	Secular journalism • Publication of Rafa'il Buṭṭī's <i>al-Bilād</i>
1930	Politics • Third Anglo-Iraqi treaty: independence formally planned; establishment of right-wing <i>al-Ikhā'</i> <i>al-waqtanī</i> party
1932	Politics • Independence of Iraq
1933	Church of the East/Assyrians • Simele massacre
1933	Politics • Death of King Faisal I; coronation of King Ghāzī; start of fierce Arab nationalist influence
1933–1937	Church of the East/Assyrians • Failed attempts to collectively transfer Assyrians to Brazil, British Guyana, and Syria
1936	Politics • Coup d'état by Bakr Ṣidqī; start of short-lived Iraqiist <i>al-Ahālī</i> influence
1937	Politics • Bakr Ṣidqī killed
1939	Politics • Death of King Ghāzī; coronation of Faisal II with Prince 'Abd al-Ilāh as regent (pro-British)
1941	Politics • Coup d'état of Rashīd 'Alī al-Kaylānī (Arab nationalist; pro-German); British invasion
1946–1948	Syriac Orthodox • Publication of <i>al-Mashriq</i>
1947	Chaldeans • Consecration of Patriarch Joseph VII Ghanīma; Patriarchate moved to Baghdad
1948–1950	Syriac Orthodox • Publication of <i>Lisān al-Mashriq</i>
1948	Church of the East/Assyrians • End of Patriarch's assumed role as worldly leader of the Assyrian nation
1958	Politics • Republican revolution in Iraq; end of Kingdom

Bibliography

Archival sources

- “Mingana Papers,” Cadbury Research Library, Birmingham (UK).
- “Archives Mossoul,” Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Paris.
- “Secretaries’ Files: United Mission in Iraq, 1924–1971,” Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

Periodicals

- Al-Hurriyya*, Baghdad.
- Laylā*, Baghdad.
- Lisān al-Mashriq*, Mosul.
- Lughat al-‘Arab*, Baghdad.
- Al-Majalla al-batrīkiyya*, Jerusalem.
- Al-Mashriq*, Mosul.
- Al-Najm*, Mosul.

Other primary and secondary sources

- Abdisho of Nisibis. *The Paradise of Eden*, edited by Joseph E. Y. De Kelaita. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Abu-Manneh, Butrus. “The Christians Between Ottomanism and Syrian Nationalism: The Ideas of Butrus al-Bustani.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 11 (1980): 287–304.
- al-‘Alāf, Ibrāhīm Khalil. “*Salīm Ḥassūn 1871–1947 wa-al-ṣahāfa al-Trāqiyya al-mu‘āṣira*.” *al-Hiwār al-mutamaddin*, March 14, 2009. Accessed March 27, 2018. <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=165636>.

- Allawi, Ali A. *Faisal I of Iraq*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Anonni auctoris (ascribed to Georgio Arbelensi). *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae*, part 2, edited by R.H. Connolly, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, scriptores syri*, series secunda xcii. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1913.
- Anonymous. “La Basilique de Chèvremont.” Accessed March 30, 2018 <http://users.skynet.be/jchoet/chevrehist.htm>.
- Anonymous. *British and Foreign State Papers, with which is incorporated Hertslet's Commercial Treaties*, 1926 part 1, vol. cxxiii. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1931.
- Anonymous. *Dayr Mār Afrām al-Suryānī – al-kulliyya al-lāhūtiyya*. Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate. Accessed 30 May 2018. <http://syrian-orthodox.com/page.php?id=5>.
- Anonymous. *Fahāris al-makhtūṭāt al-suryāniyya fī al-‘Irāq*, two volumes. Baghdad: Matba‘at al-majma‘ al-‘ilmī al-‘Irāqī, 1977–81.
- Anonymous. “Guide to the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations. Secretaries’ files: United Mission in Iraq.” Presbyterian Historical Society. Accessed May 30, 2018. <http://history.pcusa.org/collections/research-tools/guides-archival-collections/rg-89>.
- Anonymous. *The Iraq Directory: A General and Commercial Directory of Iraq with a Supplement for the Neighbouring Countries*, 1936. Baghdad: Dangoor’s Printing and Publishing House, 1936.
- Anonymous. “Iraq Grants Suffrage To Women.” *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, March 27, 1958. Accessed March 20, 2018. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/148985120?accountid=12045>.
- Anonymous. “*Lughat al-‘Arab: Majallat shahriyya adabiyya ‘ilmiyya tārīkhīyya*” (introductory article). *Lughat al-‘Arab* 1:1 (1329/1911): 1.
- Anonymous. “*Mahāṭṭāt fī ḥayāt al-ṣuḥufī al-mukhadram Sajjād al-Ghāzī*,” *Al-Madā Supplements*, February 24, 2016. Accessed September 8, 2018. <http://www.almadasupplements.com/news.php?action=view&id=14965>.
- Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1938.
- Aprem, Mar. “Mar Narsai Press.” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 (1996): 171–2.

- Asia, Isaac E. *British Policy in Assyrian Settlement* N.P.: 2009. Available online: <https://www.atour.com/people/20100815a.html>.
- Atto, Naures. *Hostages in the homeland, orphans in the diaspora: identity discourses among the Assyrian/Syriac elites in the European diaspora*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011.
- Awrāham, Shlīmūn Dāwud. “*Madrasat Ūrhuy al-Suryāniyya al-asāsiyya al-mukhtalīta fī Sarsink tuhriz al-markaz al-awwal fī thalāthat al-āb*.” *Ishtar TV*, December 13th, 2011. <http://ishtartv.com/viewarticle,39738.html>.
- Baarda, Tijmen C. “Firmly established in early 20th-century Orientalism: Mingana among his fellow scholars.” *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19 (2016): 3–34.
- Baarda, Tijmen C. “Standardized Arabic as a post-Nahda common ground: Mattai bar Paulus and his use of Syriac, Arabic and Garshuni.” In *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, edited by Sasha R. Goldstein and Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 71–95. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Baarda, Tijmen C. “The Poems of Ghattas Maqdisi Elyas and the Remembrance of Turabdin.” In *Sayfo 1915: An Anthology of Essays on the Genocide of Assyrians/Aramaean during the First World War*, edited by Shabo Talay & Soner O. Barthoma, 323–40. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018.
- al-Bakā’, Muḥammad. “*Al-majma‘ al-‘ilmī al-‘Irāqi: bidāyat al-nash'a wa-al-ahdāf*.” *Al-lugha al-‘arabiyya: ṣāḥib al-jalāla*. Accessed March 30, 2018. http://www.arabiclanguageic.org/view_page.php?id=1932.
- Barsaum, Ignatius Aphram I. *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr fī tārīkh al-‘ulūm wa-al-ādāb al-suryāniyya* (reprint). Baghdad: Majma‘ al-lugha al-suryāniyya, 1976.
- Bashkin, Orit. *The Other Iraq: Pluralism and Culture in Hashemite Iraq*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009.
- Bashkin, Orit. *The New Babylonians: A History of Jews in Modern Iraq*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012.
- Batatu, Hanna. *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq's Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of its Communists, Ba'thists, and Free Officers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

- Becker, Adam. *Revival and Awakening: American Evangelical Missionaries in Iran and the Origins of Assyrian Nationalism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Benjamin, Daniel. "Assyrian Printing Presses in Iraq During the 20th Century." *ARAM Periodical* 21 (2009): 149–61.
- d-Bêt Dar, Pawlos. *Turâṣ mamlâ qafisâ d-leshânâ suryâyâ Kaldâyâ*. Mosul: Ṭabā d-Ātorâye d-‘Idtâ ‘atiqtâ d-madnhâ: 1924.
- Biskupski, Ludwik. *L'imprimerie des pères dominicains de Mossoul et son activité linguistique et littéraire*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1955.
- Björkman, Walther. "Das irakische Bildungswesen und seine Probleme bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg," *Die Welt des Islams* 1 (1951): 175–94.
- Boas, Jacob. "A Nazi Travels to Palestine: Baron von Mildenstein." <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/palestine/travelpalestine.htm>. Accessed: December 30, 2016.
- van den Boogert, Maurits H. "Millets: Past and Present." In *Religious Minorities in the Middle East: Domination, Self-Empowerment, Accommodation*, edited by Anne Sofie Roald and Anh Nga Longva, 25–45. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Brelet, Mannès. *Deux siècles de mission dominicaine à Mossoul*. Mossoul: 1950. Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, Paris, Mosul mission archive, Z-11.
- Brock, Sebastian P. "Some Observations on the Use of Classical Syriac in the Late Twentieth Century." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34:2 (1989): 363–75.
- Brock, S.P. and G.A. Kiraz, "Rahmani, Ignatius Ephrem II." In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock et al. Accessed May 30, 2018. <https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Rahmani-Ignatius-Ephrem-II>.
- Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'identity.'" *Theory and Society* 29:1 (2000): 1–47.
- Burkitt, F.C. "The mss of 'Narsai on the mysteries.'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 29:2 (1928): 269–75.
- Butṭī, Fa’iq. *Mawsū‘at al-ṣahāfa al-suryāniyya fī al-Trāq: tārīkh wa-shakhṣiyāt*. Ankawa: Wizārat al-thaqāfa wa-l-shabāb, al-mudīriyya al-‘āmma lil-thaqāfa wa-l-funūn al-suryāniyya, 2014.

- Buttī, Fā'iq. *Al-mawsū'a al-suhufiyya al-'irāqiyya*. Damascus: Al-Madá, 2010.
- Buttī, Rafā'il. *Dhākira Ḥarāqiyya*, two volumes, edited by Fā'iq Buttī. Damascus: Dār al-Madá, 2000.
- Butts, Aaron Michael. "Assyrian Christians." In *A companion to Assyria*, edited by Eckart Frahm, 599–612. Hoboken: John Wiley, 2017.
- Central Intelligence Agency. *National Intelligence Survey: Iraq. Section 43: Religion, Education, and Public Information*. Washington: Central Intelligence Agency, 1950.
- Cleveland, William L. *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati' Al-Husri*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Clogg, Richard. "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, volume 1, *The Central Lands*, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 185–200. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982.
- Coakley, J.F. *The Church of the East and the Church of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Coakley, J.F. "The Church of the East since 1914." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 78 (1996): 179–98.
- Coakley J.F. and David G.K. Taylor. "Syriac Books Printed at the Dominican Press, Mosul." In *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, edited by George Kiraz, 71–110. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2008.
- Coghill, Eleonor. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Telkepe." In *Studies in Semitic Linguistics and Manuscripts: A Liber Discipulorum in Honour of Professor Geoffrey Khan*, edited by Nadia Vidro et al., 234–271. Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2018.f
- Costamagna, Henri. "Historique du sanctuaire de Notre-Dame de Laghet." *Nice historique* (2000): 59–75. <http://www.nicehistorique.org/vwr/?nav=Index&document=3403>.
- Dāniyāl, Bahnām. *Fahāris al-Makhtūtāt al-Suryāniyya fī Barṭallā*. Duhok, 2013.
- Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

- Dawisha, Adeed. *Iraq: A Political History from Independence to Occupation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Dāwud, Ṣabīḥa Shaykh. *Awwal al-ṭarīq ilá al-nahḍa al-nisawiyya fī al-Ṭrāq*. Maṭābi‘ al-Rābiṭa: Baghdad, 1958.
- Destani, B., ed. *Greek Orthodox Communities, Roman Catholic, Jacobite, Chaldean and Syrian Catholic Communities in the Levant and Iraq 1844–1955*. Cambridge: Archive Editions, 2007.
- Dodge, Toby. “International Obligation, Domestic Pressure and Colonial Nationalism: The Birth of the Iraqi State under the Mandate System.” In *The British and French mandates in comparative perspectives*, edited by Nadine Méouchy, Peter Sluglett and Gérard D. Khoury, 143–64. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Donabed, Sargon. “Rethinking Nationalism and an Appellative Conundrum: Historiography and Politics in Iraq.” *National Identities* 14:4 (2012): 403–31.
- Donabed, Sargon George. *Reforging a Forgotten History: Iraq and the Assyrians in the Twentieth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.
- Dundar, Fuat. “*Statisquo*”: *British Use of Statistics in the Iraqi Kurdish Question (1919–1932)*. Waltham: Crown Center for Middle East Studies, 2012.
- Efrati, Noga. *Women in Iraq: Past Meets Present*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Elliot, Matthew. *Independent Iraq: British Influence from 1941–1958*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1996.
- Elyas, Ghattas Maqdisi. *Tawgōne: nebhe w-re'yone*. Glane: Bar-Hebraeus Verlag, 1988.
- Emrence, Cem. *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East: Modernity, Imperial Bureaucracy and the Islamic State*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Fiey, J.-M. *Assyrie chrétienne : Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l'Iraq*, volume 2. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1965.
- Fiey, J.-M. *Mossoul Chrétienne : Essai sur l'histoire, l'archéologie et l'état actuel des monuments chrétiens de la ville de Mossoul*. Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1959.
- Flannery, John. “The Syrian Catholic Church: Martyrdom, Mission, Identity and Ecumenism in Modern History.” In *Christianity in*

- the Middle East: Studies in Modern History, Theology, and Politics*, edited by Anthony O’Mahony and Sebastian P. Brock, 143–67. London: Melisende, 2008.
- Froidevaux, Henri. “La nouvelle organisation de l’Empire Ottoman.” *L’Asie française* 1920: 79–92.
- Gaunt, David. *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia during World War I*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2006.
- Grabill, Joseph L. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Graf, Georg. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, part 1: *Die Übersetzungen*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944.
- Girling, Kristian. *The Chaldean Catholic Church: Modern History, Ecclesiology and Church-State Relationships*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Glass, Dagmar and Geoffrey Roper. “Arabic book and newspaper printing in the Arab world. Part I: The printing of Arabic books in the Arab world.” In *Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution. A Cross-cultural Encounter*, edited by Eva Hanebutt-Benz et al., 177–205. Westhoven: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002.
- Goldstein-Sabbah, Sasha. *Baghdadi Jewish Networks in Hashemite Iraq: Jewish Transnationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Leiden, Ph.D. dissertation.
- Goormachtigh, Bernard. *Histoire de la Mission Dominicaine de Mésopotamie et en Kurdistan depuis ses premières origines jusques à nos jours*. Mosul: 1873.
- Griffith, S.H. “What Does Mecca Have To Do With Urhōy? Syriac Christianity, Islamic Origins, and the Qur’ān.” In *Syriac Encounters*, ed. Maria Doerfler et al., 369–399. Peeters: Louvain, 2015.
- ter Haar Romeny, Bas et al. “Identity among West Syrian Christians: Results and Conclusions of the Leiden Project.” In *Religious Origins of Nations: The Christian Communities of the Middle East*, edited by Bas ter Haar Romeny, 1–52. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Halamī, Ibrāhīm. “Al-‘Irāq”. *Lughat al-‘Arab* 2:1 (1330/1912): 2–9.
- Hanssen, Jens and Max Weiss. “Language, Mind, Freedom and Time: The Modern Arab Intellectual Tradition in Four Words.” In *Arabic*

- Thought beyond the Liberal Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda*, edited by Jens Hanssen and Max Weiss, 1–38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Harrak, A. “Tappuni, Gabriel.” In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock et al. Accessed May 30, 2018. <https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Tappuni-Gabriel>.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Heinrichs, Wolfhart. “The Modern Assyrians – Name and Nation.” In *Semitica: Serta philologica, Constantino Tsereteli dicata*, edited by Riccardo Contini et al., 99–114. Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1993.
- Hellot-Bellier, Florence. *Chroniques de massacres annoncés: Les Assyro-Chaldéens d'Iran et du Hakkari face aux ambitions des empires (1896–1920)*. Paris: Editions Geuthner, 2014.
- Husry, Khaldun S. “The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I).” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5:2 (1974): 161–76.
- Husry, Khaldun S. “The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (II).” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5:3 (1974): 344–60.
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, ed. *Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Ibrahim, Vivian. *The Copts of Egypt: The Challenges of Modernisation and Identity*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.
- Isaf, Robert. “Awakening, or Arising: Syriac Language Poetry at the Fall of the Ottoman Empire.” In *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities in the Formative Years of the Modern Middle East (1920–1950)*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg et al. Forthcoming.
- al-Jabūrī, Haytham. “Al-Nashatāt al-thaqāfiyya li-al-mukawwin al-masīḥī fī al-Trāq: min awākhir al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar hattá ‘ām 1939.” *Majallat markaz al-dirāsāt al-insāniyya* 5:2 (2015): 58–81.
- Kayalı, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918*. Berkely: University of California Press, 1997.
- Khadar, Shafiq Haji. “The Legal Status of the Kurdish Language in Iraq.” *Niqash: Briefings from Inside and Across Iraq*. 7 November 2007. <http://www.niqash.org/en/articles/politics/2057/The-Legal-Status-of-the-Kurdish-Language-in-Iraq.htm>.

- Khan, Geoffrey. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- al-Khayyūn, Rashīd. “*Mīr Baṣrī yu’arrikh li-yahūd al-Irāq ayyām al-wahda al-wataniyya*.” *al-Sharq al-awsat*. 14 Safar 1427/15 March 2006. <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=353029&issueno=9969>.
- Knudsen, E.E. “An Important Step in the Revival of Literary Syriac: Abrohom Nuro’s Tawldotho.” *Oriens Christianus* 84 (2000): 59–66.
- Kiraz, George Anton. *A Grammar of the Syriac Language: Orthography*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012.
- Kiraz, George A. “Kthobonoyo Syriac: Some Observations and Remarks.” *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 10:2 (2011): 129–42.
- Landau, Jacob M. *Pan-Islam: History and Politics*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Leezenberg, Michiel. “Vernacularization as Governmentalization: The Development of Kurdish in Mandate Iraq.” In *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities in the Formative Years of the Modern Middle East (1920–1950)*, forthcoming.
- Levy, Lital. “Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the Mashriq.” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 98:4 (2008): 452–69.
- Luizard, Pierre-Jean. *La formation de l’Irak contemporain : le rôle politique des ulémas chiites à la fin de la domination ottomane et au moment de la création de l’Etat irakien*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1991.
- Macuch Rudolf. *Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976.
- Mahmoodi-Bakhtiari, B. “Iraq: Language Situation.” In *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, second edition, ed. K. Brown, 23–24. New York: Elsevier, 2006.
- Mardam-Bey, Farouk and Hilary Kilpatrick. “L’état des lieux dans le monde arabe à la fin du XVIII^e siècle.” In *Histoire de la littérature arabe moderne*, part 2: 1800–1945, edited by Boutros Hallaq and Heidi Toelle, 33–70. Paris: Sindbad 2007.
- Makko, Aryo. “The Historical Roots of Contemporary Controversies: National Revival and the Assyrian ‘Concept of Unity’.” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 24:1 (2010): 1–20.

- Masters, Bruce. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Matthews, Roderic D. and Matta Akrawi. *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East: Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1949.
- Mengozzi, Alessandro. *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe. A Story in a Truthful Language. Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac (North Iraq, 17th Century)*. Louvain: Peeters, 2002.
- Mengozzi, A. "Sureth." In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock et al., 385–86. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011.
- Mengozzi, Alessandro. "The History of Garshuni as a Writing System: Evidence from the Rabbula Codex." In *Casemud 2007: Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics, Held in Udine, May 21st–24th, 2007*, edited by F.M. Fales and G.F. Grassi, 297–304. Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, 2010.
- Merten, Kai. "Gab es im Osmanischen Reich eine nestorianische Millet? Annäherungen an eine ungelöste Frage." In *Zur Situation der Christen in der Türkei und in Syrien: Exemplarische Einsichten*, edited by Martin Tamcke, 59–72. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013.
- Mingana, A. *Catalogue of the Mingana collection of manuscripts, now in the possession of the trustees of the Woodbrooke settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, part 1. Cambridge: Heffer, 1933.
- Mingana, A. "Mosul. By One Who Knows It." *Manchester Guardian*, April 10, 1917.
- Mingana, A. "Mosul. Its Population and Resources. Why the Turks Desire It." *Manchester Guardian*, January 2, 1923.
- Mingana, A. "The Mandate For Mesopotamia." *Manchester Guardian*, July 19, 1920.
- Muhammad Muṣṭafā, Asmā'. "Shakhṣiyāt Baghdādiyya: Anāstās Mārī al-Karmilī... rīḥlat ḥayāh hāfila wa-dhikrā khālidā". Accessed 4 November 2015. <http://www.iraqnla-iq.com/baghdad%20memory/shakseat27.htm>.
- al-Muhsin, Fātimah. *Tamatthulāt al-nahda fi thaqāfat al-Irāq al-hadīth*. Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2010.

- Müller-Sommerfeld, Hannah. *Staatliche Religionspolitik im Irak gegenüber Juden, Assyrischen Christen und Bahá'í (1920–1958)*. 2015 (unpublished *Habilitationsschrift*).
- Müller-Sommerfeld, H. “The League of Nations, A-Mandates and Minority Rights during the Mandate Period in Iraq (1920–1932).” In *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, edited by S.R. Goldstein and H.L. Murre-van den Berg, 258–83. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. “Arabic and its Alternatives: Language and Religion in the Ottoman Empire and its Successor States”. In *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities and their Languages in the Emerging Nation States of the Middle East (1920–1950)*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg et al. Forthcoming.
- Murre-van den Berg, H.L. *From a Spoken to a Written Language: The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1999.
- Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. “‘I the Weak Scribe’: Scribes in the Church of the East in the Ottoman Period.” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 58:1–2 (2006): 9–26.
- Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. “Light from the East (1948–1954) and the Deterritorialization of the Assyrian Church of the East.” In *Religion beyond its Private Role in Modern Society*, edited by Wim Hofstee en Arie van der Kooij, 121–28. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Murre-van den Berg, H.L. *Scribes and Scriptures, The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces (1500–1850)*. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.
- Murre-van den Berg, H. “Classical Syriac and the Syriac Churches: A Twentieth-Century History.” In *Syriac Encounters*, edited by Maria Doerfler et al., 119–47. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.
- Murre-van den Berg, H. “The Language of the Nation: The Rise of Arabic among Jews and Christians (1900–1950).” *British Journal of Middle East Studies* 43, no. 2 (2016): 176–90.
- Murre-van den Berg, Heleen. “Writing Assyrian History: The Military, the Patriarch and the British in Yaqu bar Malek Ismael’s Assyrians in Two World Wars (Tehran 1964).” In *Sayfo 1915: An Anthology of Essays on the Genocide of Assyrians/Arameans during the*

- First World War*, edited by Shabo Talay and Soner Barthoma, 213–30. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018.
- Narsai. *Narsai doctoris Syri homiliae et carmina*, two volumes, edited by Alphonse Mingana. Mosul: Typis Fratrum Prædicatorum, 1905.
- Narsai. *The liturgical homilies of Narsai*, translated by R. Hugh Connolly, part of *Text and studies: contributions to biblical and patristic literature*, volume 8, no. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.
- Odisho, Edward Y. “Bilingualism and Multilingualism among Assyrians: A Case of Language Erosion and Demise.” In *Semitica: Serta philologica, Constantino Tsereteli dicata*, ed. Riccardo Contini et al., 189–200. Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1993.
- O’Mahony, Anthony. “Patriarchs and Politics: The Chaldean Catholic Church in Modern Iraq.” In *Christianity in the Middle East: Studies in Modern History, Theology, and Politics*, edited by Anthony O’Mahony and Sebastian P. Brock, 105–142. London: Melisende, 2008.
- Osman, Khalil. *Sectarianism in Iraq: The Making of State and Nation Since 1920*. Oxon: Routledge, 2015).
- Patel, Abdulrazzak. *The Arab Nahda: The Making of the Intellectual and Humanist Movement*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.
- Pursley, Sara. “‘Lines Drawn on an Empty Map’: Iraq’s Borders and the Legend of the Artificial State.” *Jadaliyya*, June 2nd, 2015. <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/21759/>.
- del Río Sánchez, F. “El árabe karshūnī come preservación de la identidad siríaca.” In *Lenguas en contacto: el testimonio escrito*, edited by P. Bádenas de la Peña et al., 185–94. Madrid: Consejo superiores de investigaciones científicas, 2004.
- Sauma, Assad. “Denho Makdisi-Elyas (1911–2008): The Last Giant of the Aramean Poets.” *Parole de l’Orient* 36 (2011): 329–66.
- Sélis, Claude. *Les Syriens orthodoxes et catholiques*. Turnhout: Editions Brepols, 1988.
- Snelders, B. “Behnam, Dayro d-Mor Behnam.” In *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage: Electronic Edition*, edited by Sebastian P. Brock et al. Accessed May 30, 2018. <http://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/Behnam-Dayro-d-Mor>.

- Rhétoré, Jacques. *Qawā'id lughat al-Sūrīth aw al-Kaldāniyya al-‘āmmiyya ḥasba lahajat sahl al-Mawṣil wa-al-buldān al-mujāwara*, translated by Yaldā Tūmā Kikū. Duhok: Dār al-mashriq al-thaqāfiyya, 2012.
- Robson, Laura. "Refugee Camps and the Spatialization of Assyrian Nationalism in Iraq." In *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, edited by Sasha R. Goldstein and Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 237–257. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Şā'igh al-Mawṣilī, Sulaymān. *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*, edited by ‘Abd al-Khāliq ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Ḥasan al-Mawṣilī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2013.
- Samir, Samir Khalil. *Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937) and his contribution to early Christian-Muslim studies, a lecture delivered on 25 May 1990 to the First Woodbrooke Mingana Symposium on “Christian Arabic Apologetic texts during the Abbasid period 750–1258 CE”*. Birmingham: Selly Oak Colleges, 1990.
- Sanchez Summerer, Karène. "Linguistic Diversity and Ideologies among the Catholic Minority in Mandate Palestine: Fear of Confusion or a Powerful Tool." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43:2 (2016): 191–205.
- Sanchez Summerer, Karène. *Language and Religion in the Holy Land: Catholics, Nationalism and Language Challenges in Palestine (1918–1948)* (in preparation).
- Schlaepfer, Aline. *Les intellectuels juifs de Bagdad: Discours et allégeances*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Schlaepfer, A. "The King is Dead, Long Live the King! Jewish Funerary Performances in the Iraqi Public Space." In *Modernity, Minority, and the Public Sphere: Jews and Christians in the Middle East*, edited by S.R. Goldstein-Sabbah and H.L. Murre-van den Berg, 185–204. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Schneider, Suzanne. "Monolingualism and Education in Mandate Palestine." *Jerusalem Quarterly* 52 (2013): 68–74.
- Schofield, Richard N. (ed.). *Arabian boundary disputes*, volume 9, *Part 1: Turkey–Iraq, 1920–1946, part 2: Iraq–Jordan, 1926–1992*. Cambridge: Archive Editions, 1992.
- Şesen, Ramazan. "Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits musulmans." In *Scribes et*

- manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, edited by François Deroche and Francis Richard, 189–221. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1997.
- Shamuel, Robin. “The Private Assyrian Schools in Iraq During the 20th Century.” Unpublished master’s thesis, Leiden University, 2008.
- Sluglett, Peter. *Britain in Iraq: 1914–1932*. London: Ithaca Press, 1976.
- Solomon, Solomon. “The Assyrian Levies Move to Hinaidi, 1928; The Assyrian Levies and the 1933 Crisis; The Assyrian Refugees of 1933.” *Nineveh Magazine* 21:3 (1998): 18.
- Sony, Bihnam. *Fihris makhtūṭāt kanā’is Baghdādā wa-fihris makhtūṭāt al-baghdādiyyin*. Duhok: Oriental Cultural Center, 2011.
- Stafford, R.S. “Iraq and the Problem of the Assyrians.” *International Affairs* 13:2 (1934): 159–185.
- Stafford, R.S. *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1935.
- Starkey, P. “Nahda.” In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, volume 2, edited by J.S. Meisami and Paul Starkey, 574. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Suleiman, Yasir. “Nationalism and the Arabic Language: A Historical Overview.” In *Arabic Sociolinguistics: Issues & Perspectives*, edited by Yasir Suleiman, 3–24. Surrey: Curzon Press, 1994.
- Suleiman, Yasir. *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.
- Suleiman, Yasir. “Egypt: From Egyptian to Pan-Arab Nationalism.” In *Language and National Identity in Africa*, edited by Andrew Simpson, 26–43. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Suleiman, Yasir. *Arabic, Self and Identity: A Study in Conflict and Displacement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Szurek, Emmanuel. “Minorities or Minoritization? Uncertainties Regarding the Politics of Names and Identity in Interwar Turkey.” In *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities in the Formative Years of the Modern Middle East (1920–1950)*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg et al., forthcoming.
- al-Tālib, ‘Umar Muḥammad. *Mawsū’at Aḥlām al-Mawṣil fī al-qarn al-‘ashrīn*. Mosul: Markaz dirasāt al-Mawṣil, 2008.
- Taş, Latif. “The Myth of the Ottoman Millet System: Its Treatment of Kurds and a Discussion of Territorial and Non-Territorial Au-

- tonomy.” *International Journal of Minority and Group Rights* 21:4 (2014): 497–526.
- Teule, Herman. *Les Assyro-Chaldéens : Chrétiens d’Irak, d’Iran et de Turquie*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.
- Tripp, Charles. *A History of Iraq*, third edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Troupeau, Gérard. “Les colophons des manuscrits arabes chrétiens”. In *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, edited by François Déroche and Francis Richard, 223–31. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1997.
- Van Rompay, Lucas. “Some Preliminary Remarks on the Origins of Classical Syriac as a Standard Language: The Syriac Version of Eusebius of Caesarea’s Ecclesiastical History.” In *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, edited by Gideon Goldenberg and Shlomo Raz, 70–89. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.
- Van Rompay, Lucas. “The East (3): Syria and Mesopotamia.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, edited by Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter, 365–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Versteegh, C.H.M. *The Arabic Language*, second edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.
- Walther, Wiebke. “Camil Şidqī az-Zahāwī: Ein irakisches Zindīq im ersten Drittel dieses Jahrhunderts.” *Oriens* 34 (1994): 430–450.
- Wardini, Elie. “Modern Literary Syriac: A Case of Linguistic Divorce.” In *Symposium Syriacum VII*, edited by René Lavenant, 517–25. Rome: 1998.
- Watenpaugh, Keith D. *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle East*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Webb, Peter. *Imagining the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016.
- Werda, Joel Euel. *The Flickering Light of Asia, or, The Assyrian Nation and Church*. N.P., 1924.
- White, Benjamin T. *The Emergence of Minorities in the Middle East: The Politics of Community in French Mandate Syria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Wien, Peter. *Iraqi Arab Nationalism: Authoritarian, totalitarian, and pro-fascist inclinations 1932–1941*. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.

- Wilmshurst, David. *The Ecclesiastical Organization of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*. Louvain: Peeters, 2000.
- Winkler, Dietmar W. “The Twentieth Century.” In *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, by Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar W. Winkler, 135–57. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Zubaida, Sami. “Contested nations: Iraq and the Assyrians.” *Nations and Nationalism* 6:3 (2000): 363–82.
- Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History*, third edition. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Index

A

- ‘Abd al-Abad Tūmā, 167
‘Abd al-Ilāh, Prince, 58, 166
‘Abdisho‘ of Nisibis, 127
Abdülmahid II, 9
Ahālī, al-, 58, 59, 206
Alqosh, 62, 96
American mission, 84–86, 135–138
‘āmmiyya, 30, *see also* Arabic, colloquial
Anatolian genocide, 66, 78
Anderson, Benedict, 27
Anglo-Iraqi treaty, 54, 56, 57
anti-Assyrian sentiments, 3, 206
anti-British sentiments, 11, 69
anti-Christian sentiments, 3, 206, 208
Antonius, George, 12, 27, 191
Arab
definition of, 5, 12, 27, 55, 191
identification as, 154, 187, 197, 206
Arab identity of Iraq, 1, 4, 55, 59
Arab nation, 8, 55, 191

- Arab nationalism, 3, 5, 8, 13, 55, 181, 188, 191, 198, 199, 205, 207, 208
Arab revolt, 10, 52
Arabic, 2–5, 10, 12, 27, 28, 37, 41, 54, 82, 88, 132, 154–157, 167, 173, 176, 177, 179, 182, 187, 202, 204, 207, 208
Classical, 29, 175
colloquial, 175
Middle, 31
Modern Standard, 29, 30
Standard, 31, 204
Arabism, 9, 173
Arabization, 166, 187, 191, 206
Aramaic, 32, 83, 203, 207, *see also* Neo-Aramaic, Syriac
literary Urmia, 35, 121
Aramaic nation, 163
Archbishop of Canterbury, 65
Armenian, 28
Armenian genocide, *see* Anatolian genocide
Armenians, 4, 12, 21, 66, 67, 124, 134, 164, 180
‘aṣabiyya, 191
Ashurbanipal Library, 42
‘Askarī, Ja‘far al-, 148

assimilation, 3, 7, 12, 198, 199, 206
 Assyrian Church of the East,
see Church of the East
 Assyrian nationalism, 19, 27, 35, 40, 68, 123, 124, 131, 139, 140, 207
 Assyrian school in Baghdad, 135, 139, 207
 Assyrian School in Mosul, 132
 Assyrian, modern, 34
 Assyrians, 2, 3, 12, 14, 27, 39, 60, 63–77, 86, 200, 203, 204, 206, 207
 identification as, 19, 124, 138, 188–190, 197, 200, 205
 settlement in Iraq, 68–74
 Assyrians, ancient, 188
 Atto, Naures, 40
 Audo, Thomas, 131
 authocephalous church, 77

B

Baghdad, 2, 5, 9, 17, 62, 71, 72, 79, 85, 118, 132, 152, 159, 167, 174, 176, 179, 182, 189, 190, 193, 195, 197, 203
 Baghdeda, 78, 97, 105, 106
 Bakr Şidqī, 58, 59, 75
 Ba‘qūba refugee camp, 67
 Bartallah, 78, 79, 97, 99–105, 204
 Becker, Adam, 27, 40, 123
 Beth Mardutha d-Madhnhā, 42
 Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, 42

Bibliothèque Orientale, 42
Bilād, al-, 180
 Britain, 8, 11, 19, 40, 53, 54, 56, 57, 65, 106, 108, 175, 177, 180, 190
 Brubaker, Rogers, 22
 Bustānī, Butrus al-, 9
 Buṭṭī, Fā’iq, 43, 172, 178
 Buṭṭī, Rafa’īl, 41, 42, 178–192, 197, 200, 202, 203, 205

C

Cadbury Research Library, 42
 Cairo, 190
 Cairo Conference, 53
 Canada, 165, 166
 catchwords, 97
 Catholics, Latin, 6
 censorship, 101, 116, 129
 Chaldean
 language, 156
 terminology, 61
 Chaldean Catholic Church, 1, 4, 19, 60–63, 96, 143, 200, 205, 207
 Church of the East, 17, 63–77, 96, 119, 123, 125, 128, 132, 139, 163, 200
 CIA, 26
 Classical Syriac, *see* Syriac, Classical
 colloquial language, 28, 33, 42, 203
 Committee for the Love of Church and Language, 166
 communism, 157, 173

- concentrical homeland, 9
constitution
 Iraqi, 54
 Ottoman, 172, 197
Cooper, Frederick, 22
Coptic, 5, 28
Copts, 5, 12, 13, 62
coup d'état
 1936, 58
 1941, 11, 58
Cox, Percy, 53
- D**
Deyrülzafaran monastery, 165
diglossia, 29, 32, 34
Dominican mission, 81–84,
 172, 179
Donabed, Sargon, 38, 74
Dār al-mu‘allimīn, 179, 189
Dār al-salām, 174, 177
- E**
East Syriac Christianity, 16–18,
 60
Edessa, 16, 32
education
 communal, 87, 132–138,
 179
 missionary, 179, 180
 state, 54, 87–89, 180
Efrati, Noga, 196
Egypt, 13, 150, 165, 179, 181, 190,
 192
Emrence, Cem, 9
English, 6, 38, 83, 88, 121, 127,
 132, 133, 154, 155
Estrangēlā, 33, 144
ethnicity, 24, 163
- Exposition of the Mysteries,
text, 128
- F**
Fahmī al-Mudarris, 181
Faisal I, King, 1, 10, 52, 54, 148,
 151–153, 159, 199, 208
Faisal II, King, 58, 166
Farhūd, 2, 59
fascism, 158–160
feminism, 193
France, 13, 174
French, 6, 38, 82, 154, 179
fūshá, 30, *see also* Arabic, Stan-
dard
- G**
Gabriel Tappuni, Patriarch, 79
Garshuni, 31, 35–37, 204
Gellner, Ernest, 27
General Directorate of Syriac
 Culture and Arts, 42
Germany, 11, 58, 60, 158
Ghanīma, Yūsuf Rizq Allāh,
 176
Ghattas Maqdisi Elyas, 165, 166
 Ghāzī, King, 58, 150, 151
Girling, Kristian, 39
Greek, 16, 28, 63, 174
Greek Catholic Christians, 12
Greek Orthodox Christians, 12
groupness, 23
- H**
Haddād, Benjamin, 42
Hakkari mountains, 66
Hamadan, 67
Hasan Kayalı, 9
 Hassūn, Paulina, 192–197, 201

- Hebrew, 28, 37, 63
Hurriyya, *al-*, 180, 185
 Husayn, Sharif, 52
 Ḥuṣrī, Sāti' *al-*, 55, 74, 87, 180, 191
 Husry, Khaldun, 74
 Hussein bin Ali, Sharif, 10
- I**
 Ibrahim, Vivian, 13
 identification, 23, 24
 identity, 22, 23
 Ignatius Elias III, Patriarch, 79
 Ignatius Ephrem I Barsoum, Patriarch, 43, 79
 Ignatius Ephrem II Rahmānī, Patriarch, 79
Ikhā' al-waṭanī, *al-*, 58, 158, 159, 181, 206
Iklīl al-Wurūd, 172, 192
 independence of Iraq, 11, 57
 India, 16, 52, 109, 126, 142, 145, 162
 Iraq
 borders, 51, 56
 homeland of, 55
 mandate, 53
 name, 49, 51
Irāq, *al-* (journal), 179, 182
 Iraqism, 59, 206
 Islam, 54, 56, 182, 187, 195, 198
 Israel, 2, 12, 106, 160
 Istifān Jibrī, bishop, 149
- J**
 Jews, 1, 2, 6, 37, 41, 60, 141, 153, 159
Jihād, *al-*, 190
- Joseph Emmanuel II, Patriarch, 146
 Joseph VI Emmanuel II Thomas, Patriarch, 61, 148, 185
 Joseph VII Ghanīma, Patriarch, 62
 journalism, 43, 141, 142, 171–173, 203
- K**
 Karmilī, Anastās *al-*, 10, 51, 79, 173–177, 179, 182, 184, 197, 203
 Kelaita, Joseph de, 41, 125–132, 207
 Khan, Geoffrey, 98
 Khoshaba, Fr. Shlimon I., 42
Kthobonoyo, 34, *see also* Syriac, Classical
 Kurdish, 3, 56
 Kurds, 3, 4, 11, 27, 55, 56, 192
- L**
 language academies, 176
 language policy, 40, 83
 Latin, 82, 174
Laylā, 192–196
 League of Nations, 8, 11, 13, 38, 56, 57, 70, 76
 Lebanon, 10, 145, 165, 174
 Levies, 70, 85, 134
 linguistics, 42, 173
Lisān al-Mashriq, 160–167, 201, 206, 207
 liturgical language, 5
 Local Languages Law, 56
Lughat al-‘Arab, 51, 174–177
lughat al-dād, 146, 161, 167

- M**
- Macuch, Rudolf, 43
Madhn̄hāyā, 33
 Magi, 144
 Malih, Saadi al-, 42
 manuscript catalogues, 94
 manuscript colophons, 97–
 106
 manuscripts, 94–118, 204
maqāma, 37
 Mar Behnam monastery, 78
 Mar Mattai monastery, 79, 97
 Mar Shim‘un xix Benjamin,
 Patriarch, 66
 Mar Shim‘un xx Paul, Patri-
 arch, 21, 67
 Mar Shim‘un xxiii Eshai, Pa-
 triarch, 68
 Mār Tūmā school, 179
 Maronites, 10, 12, 174, 197
Mashriq, al-, 80, 160–167
 Mattai bar Paulus, 109–116
milla, 26, 162, 184, 201
millet, 25–27, 162, 200, 201, 207
millet nationalism, 27
 Mingana, Alphonse, 42, 106–
 112
 minorities, 13, 26, 64, 70, 147,
 208
 minority protection, 56, 65
 missionaries, 5, 6, 37, 61,
 see also American
 mission; Dominican
 mission
 Mosul, 1, 5, 9, 17, 29, 62, 79,
 80, 84, 85, 87, 98, 102,
 106, 108–110, 114, 116–
 118, 125, 126, 133, 143–
 145, 153, 155, 159, 162,
 165, 166, 175, 179, 180,
 184, 188–190, 192, 197,
 200, 203, 207
 Ottoman province, 3, 11,
 51, 56, 83
motho, 166
 Mār Orāhā monastery, 63, 149
 Mudrus, armistice of, 11
 Müller-Sommerfeld, Hannah,
 38, 63
 multilingualism, 37
Muntadá al-tahdhīb, al-, 182,
 185
 Murre-van den Berg, Heleen,
 37, 74, 92, 100, 121
- N**
- nahda*, 9, 30, 31, 36, 37, 140, 171,
 194, 195, 197, 202, 204
nahda hypothesis, 32
Najm, al-, 1, 63, 143, 146–160,
 201, 205
 Narsai, 128
Nashra al-Suryāniyya, al-, 165
Nashrat al-ahad, 182, 184
 nation, 24, 102, 123, 139, 146–
 148, 151, 159, 161–164,
 168, 191, 194, 200
 national or ethnic identifica-
 tion, 24, 200
 National Pact, 52
 Nazism, 158
 Nematallah Denno, 112–116,
 179, 188, 200
 Neo-Aramaic, 4–6, 12, 29, 33,
 41, 66, 98, 120–122,

127, 131, 156, 157, 198,
203, 204

Nineve plains, 63, 78

North Africa, 191

Nādī al-nahḍa al-nisā’iyya, 196

Nūrī al-Sā’īd, 59

numerals, 97, 128

O

oral history, 42

Ottoman Empire, 9, 10, 25, 180,
186, 195

P

Palestine, 6, 12, 37, 160, 165,
192

pan-Arab nationalism, 11, 55,
60

Paradise of Eden, text, 127

Patel, Abdulrazzak, 31

patriotism, 7, 8, 55, 149, 150,
152, 166, 196, 199

Permanent Mandates Commission, 56

Petros de Baz, Agha, 67

population exchange, Greek-
Turkish, 64

Presbyterian Historical Society, 42

Priest school of Saint Peter, 63,
127, 154

printing press, 82, 91, 92, 96,
121, 125–132, 175, 180,
193

proportional representation,
13, 62

Q

Qaraqosh, *see* Baghdeda

Quran, 153, 155, 187, 195, 198

R

race, 20, 21, 24, 139, 153, 163,
184, 190, 200

Rashīd ‘Ali al-Kaylānī, 58

revival of Classical Syriac, 35,
104, 204

Robson, Laura, 38, 69

rubrication, 97

Ruṣāfī, Ma‘rūf al-, 176

S

Sadá Bābil, 172

Şā’igh, Sulaymān, 81, 143, 151,
155, 159

Saint Ephrem Institute, 80,
144, 162

Saint Joseph school, 174, 180,
182, 186

Şalīwā, Dāwud, 172

Salāma Mūsā, 186

Salīm Ḥassūn, 192

Sanchez Summerer, Karène,
38

Sayfo, 66

sectarianism, 185, 188

self-determination, 13, 53, 64

self-identification, 23

Sertā, 33, 98, 104, 113

Sèvres, treaty of, 52

Shamuel, Robin Beth, 42

Sherifian officers, 181

shi’ites, 59

Simele massacre, 3, 4, 7, 70–72,
74–77, 150, 153, 190,
206, 208

Stafford, R.S., 67, 74

Suleiman, Yasir, 27

- Sureth, 33, 98, *see also* Neo-Aramaic
- Surmā d-Beth Mār Shim'un, 68
- Suryānī*, 77, 162
- suryāyā*, 33
- Swadaya, 33, 66, 120–122, 127, 131, 204, *see also* Neo-Aramaic
- Sykes-Picot agreement, 8, 47, 50
- Syria, 9, 13, 79, 145, 165, 166, 180
- Syriac Catholic Church, 19, 78, 79, 146, 207
- Syriac Christianity, 4, 7, 15–20, 208
- Syriac Orthodox Church, 17, 79, 80, 98, 102, 104, 145, 165, 188, 197, 207
- Syriac, Classical, 4, 6, 28, 32, 34, 37, 82, 127, 132, 156, 157, 167, 179, 188, 198, 203, 204, 207
- Syrianism, 9
- Syro-Chaldean seminary of Saint John, 63, 79, 82–84, 156, 157
- T**
- tā'ifa*, 25, 26, 142, 146–148, 161, 166, 184, 186, 197, 200, 201, 207, 208
- Tanzimat, 10
- Telkepe, 62
- Tiyārā*, 189
- tāyepā*, 123
- transnationalism, 62, 162, 165
- Turkey, 52, 62, 68, 69, 79, 145, 165, 175, 192
- Turkification, 172, 191
- Turkish, 28, 82, 179
- Turkmens, 4
- U**
- umma*, 24, 146–148, 159, 161–167, 201, 202
- umtho*, 25, 102–104, 164, 169, 201
- umthonoyutho*, 7, 124, 164, 202
- United States, 63, 165
- 'unṣur*, 184, 190
- Urmia, 121
- Urmia plains, 66
- W**
- watan*, 9, 51, 149, 159, 161, 166, 184
- West Syriac Christianity, 16–18, 77–80
- Western civilization, 186
- White, Benjamin, 13
- Widener Library, 42
- Wien, Peter, 178, 181
- Wilmshurst, David, 93
- Wilson, Woodrow, 53
- women's suffrage, 196
- World War I, 10, 13, 28, 66–68
- World War II, 58
- Y**
- Young Effendia, 181
- Young Ottomans, 9
- Young Turks, 9, 172
- Yāqū, Mālik*, 70
- Z**
- Zahāwī, Asmā'*, 196

- Zahāwī, Jamīl Ṣidqī al-, 195
Zahrīrē d-Bahrā, 121, 124
Zawrā', al-, 172
Zionism, 159
Zubaida, Sami, 26, 74