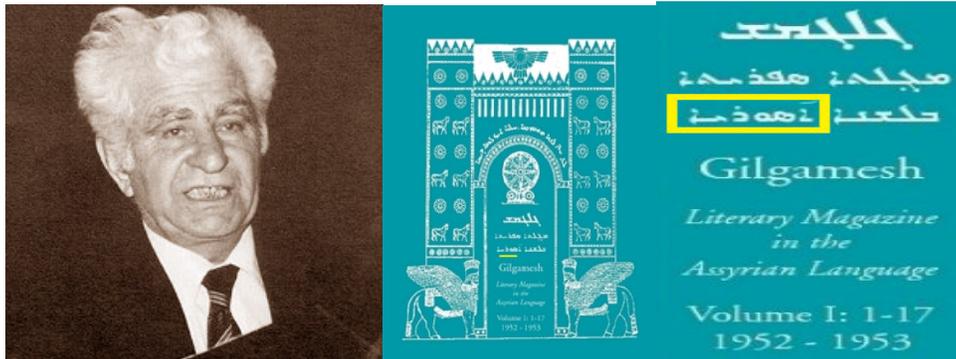


The terms “*Suraya*” & *Suroyo*” in spoken Neo-Aramaic dialects

David Dag (2015)

The argument that *Suraya* (*Suroyo*) was supposedly once spelled *Asuraya* (*Asuroyo*) is not new. It was a hypothesis circulating among *Eastern Syriacs Suryoye Madenhoye*, calling themselves Assyrians (*Aturaye/Ashuraye*), as well as assyrianists among some Syriac orthodox from Tur Abdin, Mesopotamian part of modern Turkey, and Cilicia. Assyrianists believe it to be a fact and not a hypothesis or theory today. In this paper I will prove whether or not this is true. Is there evidence? And if so what is the nature of it?

It started with Mirza Masrouf Khan Karam(1862-1943) in 1897, in the periodical magazine *Zahrira d-Bahra* also called "*Zarira d-Bara*" meaning “*Rays of Light*”. In this periodical Karam published the article "*Malkuta d-Aturaye yan d-(A)suraye men haqqiyat qaddistha u-antike d-Ninwe*".it was printed at the printing press of the Presbyterian Mission



Nimrod Simono

Gilgamesh

enhancement (A)suraya “Assyrian”

Nimrod Simono (1908-2004) followed his footsteps, He was the editor of the magazine “*Gilgamesh*” (founded in Teheran in Iran) which he edited between the years 1952-1963. Under the title he wrote “*Mghalta sipreta b-lishana (A')suraya swadaya*” (Literary Magazine in the (As)syrian spoken language) He also wrote a book on grammar in 1969 known as “*Turas Mamla grammatiqi b-lishana (A')suraya Swadaya*” (Correct speech grammar on the (As)syrian spoken vernacular).

I wonder how on earth a grammarian could spell *Suraya* with an *Alap/Olaf* (A)?

Mar Touma Odu, the Chaldean Catholic metropolitan of Urmia in what is Iran today wrote a dictionary that was printed in 1897. It was printed at the Dominican Printing Press in Mosul Iraq .It is claimed and believed by assyrianists that he wrote this footnote on page 9 or 10 of the preface. (more detail about this later)

Anyhow it mentions the name of the French Orientalist Ernest Renan. Despite this, the title of his dictionary spelled the name *Suryaya* without the initial A *Olaf/Alap* with *mbatlana* (*linea*

occultans). And he also wrote that we are *Suryaye* equating it with *Aramaye*. and that was” our original name”.

His brother Mar Israel Odu the Chaldean bishop of Mardin, who wrote a book about the Aramean (Syriac) genocide (Seyfo)

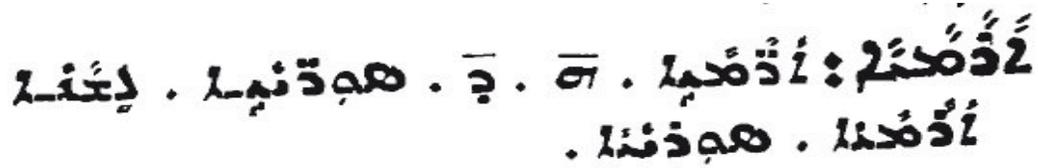
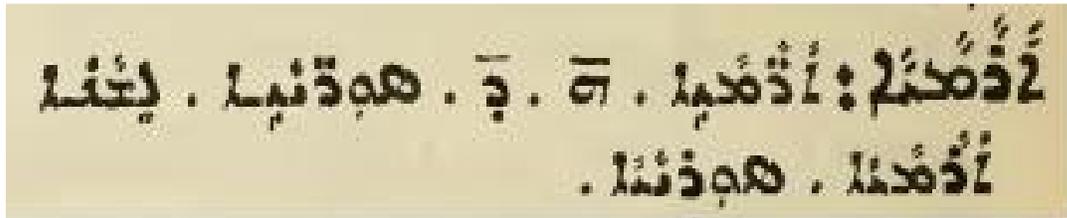
In this book he mostly used the term *ARAMAYE* and but used *Suryaye* and *Kaldaye* only as church denominations only (it was republished by the Assyrian Federation of Sweden in 2004 or 2005. They only converted the script from East into West-Syriac script). There is no mention of *Aturaye* (Assyrians) whatsoever in it. I have personally read it.

The irony is that this same dictionary of Touma Odu was reprinted by Assyrian nationalists in both Chicago as well as in Stockholm in the years 1978 and 1979. They kept the title in classical Syriac as “*Simta d-Lishana Suryaya*” in *estrangelo* script, BUT they named it “*Dictionary of the Assyrian language*” in English in accordance with Assyrian ideology (not every Assyrianist calls the language Assyrian in English, some call it Syriac or Aramaic in assyrianist circles as well)

It was later reprinted again by the late Metropolitan archbishop of Central Europe Mor Julius Yeshu Cicek in 1985 in the Netherlands. This edition correctly translated “*Simta d-Lishana Suryaya*” as “*Treasure of the Syriac Language*” As for the original it had the following title in French - since it was probably printed by the Dominicans who were from France- “*Dictionnaire de la Langue Chaldéenne*” (erroneously calling the language Chaldean). It was stored in the Archive of Urmia Persia (Iran) as it says on the cover of the 1897 Mosul edition.

No matter what edition you read today, it says the same thing on page 49. “*Aramaya: Aramaye hanaw den Suryaye. Lishana Aramaya. Suryaya*” (*Oromoyo: Oromoye honaw den Suryoye. Leshono Oromoyo. Suryoyo*” meaning “Aramean: Arameans i.e (that is) Syriacs (Syrians). Aramaic language. Syriac”

(“Simta d-Lishana Suryaya/Treasure of the Syriac Language” by Mar Touma Odu Chaldean Catholic Metropolitan of Urmia, Part I-II., ND Verlag Bar Hebräus, Losser-Holland 1985, p. 49)



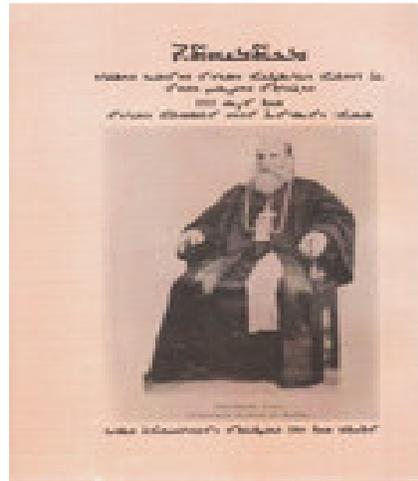
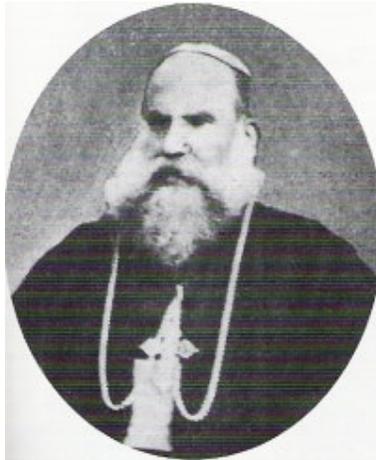
(Simta D Lishana Suryaya – Mar Touma Odu, , Dominican Press of Mosul 1897 edition)



Touma Odu

Who was Mar Touma Odu?

Mar Touma Odu, was born in Alqosh [Iraq] in 1855 and killed in the year of 1917 during the genocide (Seyfo). He was the Metropolitan bishop of Urmia Persia (modern Iran) and a famous dictionary writer. He was also the brother of another famous Chaldean catholic bishop of Mardin namely Mar Israel Odu, who was born in August 6th 1859 in Alqosh in the Nineveh plains and passed away on February 16th 1941, He was appointed as bishop of Mardin in 1909. Mar Israel Odu wrote a book in Edessan Aramaic (Syriac) about the genocide.



Mar Israel Odu and his book about the Genocide

The book's title is "The Book on the persecutions of the Christian Armenians and Arameans of Mardin, Amid (Diyarbakir), Séert, Djézire-Ibn-Omar and Nsibin which took place in the year 1915". This book was published in 2004 by the Assyrian Federation of Sweden. The funny thing is that the entire book of Israel Odu does not contain the term "Athuraya/othuroyo" (Assyrian in Aramaic), not even once. He mostly uses the term "Aramaye/Oromoye" (Arameans) and also the term "Suryaye/Suryoye" (Syrians or Syriacs) and "Kaldaye/kaldoye" (Chaldeans) when he speaks of the Syriac orthodox and Chaldean Catholic churches as church denominations of our people.

The Dictionary of Mar Touma Odu



Simta D Lishana Suryaya – Mar Touma Odu, Dominican printing press of Mosul 1987 edition

The **“Assyrian editions”** of 1978 and 1979



Simta d Lishana Suryaya

“Dictionary of the Assyrian Language”

Assyrian Federation of Sweden (Assyriska riksförbundet) edition 1979 Stockholm

It calls the Syriac language by the name “Assyrian language” (WRONG!!)

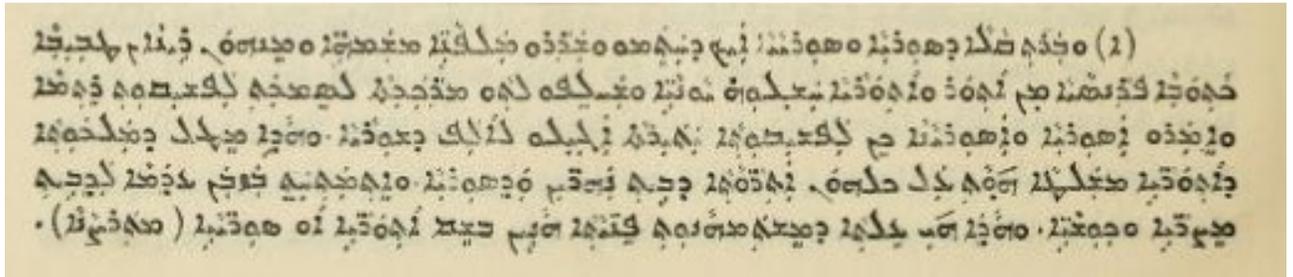


Assyrian taken in linguistics as the form of Akkadian cuneiform of the ancient Assyrians

Cannot be used for two Semitic languages



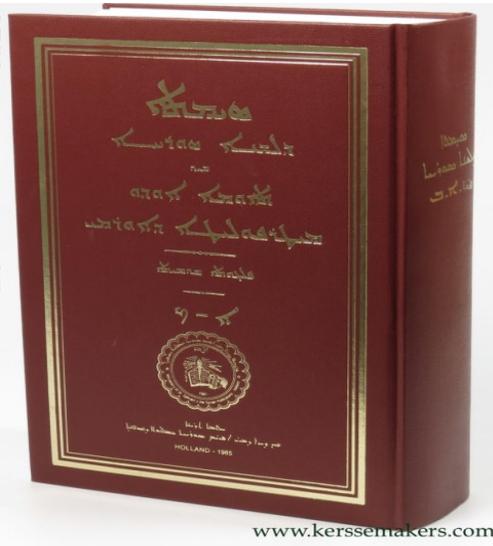
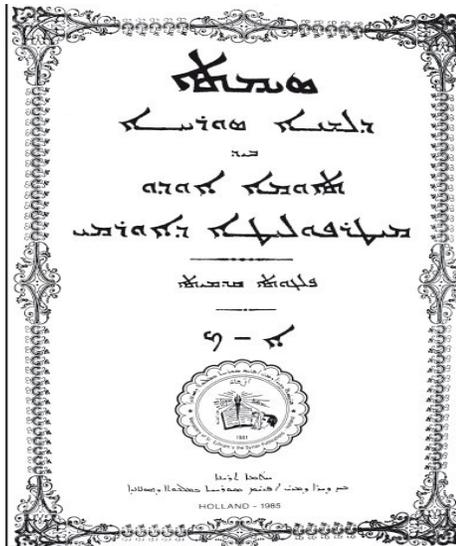
Correct translation of “*Simta d-Lishana Suryaya*” is “*Treasure of the Syriac Language*”



Enhancement of the footnote from 1987 Mosul edition

“1. u-Bath Qala d-Suriya u-Suryaye akh da-Htham u-sharar malpane mshamhe u-menhun [Ernest] Renan Tbiba kathuba Fransaya men Athur u-Athuraya Hashalwa yawnaye u-shahlep l-taw Mrakakhta l-semkath la-pshiquth rethma u-emar “Asuryana” khan la-pshiqutha yatirta agel l-alap (olaf) d-shuraya u-hade mettul d-malkutha d-Athuraye mshalta weth ‘al kulhun athrawatha d-Beth Nahrin wad Suriya u tamhath bazban ‘damma lad-beth Mesraye u-Kushaye u-haday ‘eltha d-meshtamhanuth pnitha hanen b-shem Athuraye aw Suryaye (mtarsana)”

The term “Asuryana” seems to be the French transliteration for Assyrian namely “Assyrien” or “Assyriens” written with East-Syriac script (*Serta Maden(k)haya*) taken from Joseph Ernest Renan who wrote in French. The interesting thing is that this footnote ends with “*Mtarsana*” ,marked in red by me above (meaning editor or corrector). The question until today is: who added the footnote when it was printed in Mosul or in the Urmia archive? - where pan-Assyrianism flourished in the 1850s or 1860s prior to 1897 and until this very day?? I personally don't believe that it was Touma Odu himself. A possible candidate could be Pera Sarmas (?). But if it was Touma Odu, then it could have been added by him in 1906 when he wrote “*Kthawa d-Qeryane gubye*” supposedly favoring *Athuraye* instead of *Suryaye*. Or it could have been Pera Sarmas who wrote so in the name of Touma Odu under a *pseudonym* (what I call pseudo-Touma Odu). Let's assume for arguments sake that it was Touma Odu himself who wrote that footnote. It would only be mentioned as a theory mentioned by persons such as Renan. I haven't exactly read how Renan formulated this idea back then. I wonder in what book Renan wrote about this assumption?



www.kerssemakers.com

Simto d-leshono Suryoyo (Simta d-lishana suryaya) "Treasure of the Syriac Language"

<p>1897</p> <p>Footnote explains that the terms Suryoyo/Suryoyo comes from Othur/Othuroyo.</p>	<p>facebook.com/AssyrianIdentity</p>	<p>1985</p> <p>Bar Hebraeus Verlag published the dictionary in 1985 and removed the footnote.</p>	<p>4</p>
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As you can see the assyrianists think that the footnote shouldn't be removed or excluded in the 1985 edition of Mor Julius Yeshu Cicek, because they claim that "since it was in the original Mosul edition of 1897, it should also have been left in the 1985 edition as well". Anyhow I have proved that some kind of editor either in Mosul or in Urmia wrote that footnote.

So In that sense I can understand why it was removed in 1985. But assyrianists don't like this approach since the footnote, regardless of who the editor or corrector was – the footnote supports their pan-Assyrian ideology.

תעמוד בך **הענין** לך משהו לך יחד חסותו והענין עתה
הענין לך מן תבוא משהו. והענין הענין משהו כח משהו
הענין **הענין** הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין
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(הענין. הענין. הענין.)

לך חסותו, לך הענין **הענין** הענין הענין הענין הענין
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(הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין הענין)

("Treasure of the Syriac Language" – Touma Audo Chaldean Catholic Metropolitan of Urmia, pref.)

"It is well-known by scholars, that the Syriac language was at that time the spoken language of the population, which lived in large numbers in the eastern areas, that is Syria, Beth Nahrin, Assyria and the land of Sinear and its environments.

All these territories were called **Beth Aram** by the Jews, as it is revealed in the Old Testament.

For Aram, the son of Shem, ruled over them and populated them with his offspring. For this reason, the language is not called Syriac in the Old [Testament], but '**Aramaic**', which is its genuine and original name, as it appears to us.

For the Christian doctrine prospered first in that part of **Beth Aram**, which was called especially by the Greeks Syria, and primarily prospered first in Antiochia, the mother of all cities, where the disciples were called christians for the first time.

All the people from **Beth Aram**, who became Christians, were called **Syriacs/Syrians**.

(Treasure of the Syriac Language by Thomas Audo Metropolitan of Urmia, Part I-I, preface)

Anyhow Touma Audo was wrong when he wrote, that the Arameans who converted to the Christian faith, were called *Suryaye/Suryoye*. Its half true, because if one analyze the literature from the 4th century AD until modern times one will see that the name *Suryoyo* entered the Aramaic vocabulary via the translation movement- from Greek into Aramaic-Syriac in Urhoy/Edessa, since at least the days of Rabbula of Edessa, John Rufus, Jacob of Serugh as a starting point. Mor Afrem *Suryoyo* (306-373) never used the term *Suryoyo* in his own writings. He is simply known to us in the 21st century as “*Mor Afrem Suryoyo*” because of Sozomenos, and the Biography about Mor Afrem written centuries after his death (in contrast to the truth about him. This biography exists in different versions in Paris, Vatican etc, anyhow it claims that his father was a pagan who worshipped a fictitious deity called Abizel/Abinal or something like that, In fact Mor Afrem was a Christian born by Christian parents. The biography says “*Mor Afrem d-ith was b-ghense Suryoyo*”).

In short terms “*Suryoyo*” does not mean Christian as some have claimed. There is only the term *Mshihoye* (*Mshihaye/Mshikhaye*) and *Kristyone/Khristyone* (*Kristyane*). This last form is from the Greek word *Kristyanoi* found in the Acts of the Apostles in the New Testament.

The idea that *Suryaya/Suryoyo* means Christian and/or that it replaced Aramean as soon as the Arameans converted to Christianity began at a late date. As late as the 1800s and forward amongst orientalist such as French Ernest Quatremere in his book about “Nabateans”, German Orientalist Theodore Nöldeke (1871), Syriac catholic bishop Qlimis Yawsef Dawid (Clemens Joseph David), Paulus al-Khury al-Kfarnisy the Syriac Maronite, Chaldean Catholic archbishop of Urmia (Persia) Touma Odu, Wolfhart Heinrichs etc. But in fact it never replaced *Oromoyo/Aramayo*. It just became secondary and existed in the shadow of *Suryoyo/Suryaya* until modern times.

His own authentic writings always use the term *Oromoyo* (Aramean)

“From Hebrews and Arameans, and also from the Watchers..”

(The Nisibene Hymns, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Series II, Vol. XIII, translated by Rev. J.T. Sarsfield Stopford, B.A., Hymn 67., no.20.)

“The Arameans praised him with their branches.“

(Edmund Beck, ed., Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Virginitate, Louvain, 1962, CSCO Syr 223, p. 64)

in other translations into English besides the King James Version that in turn is based on the Septuagint).

During the time of Naaman there was no Syria and that's why he is called Aramean in the OT and it was written in Hebrew. The reason he is called Syrian in the Gospel of Luke 4:27 is because during that time the Romans called it Syria. Having said that - this doesn't prove that the Arameans called themselves Syrians yet just because the Romans called that Roman province by the Syria

Naaman is usually called "Syrian" (Σύρος) in Gospel of Luke 4:27 in Greek and other Western languages such as Swedish and English. But he is called "Aramean" just as in 2 kings 5:1, He is called "Aramean" (*Armoyo/Oromoyo/Aramaya*) in different Edessan Aramaic NT versions according George Kiraz, except for in the Harklean version that was finished in 616 CE.

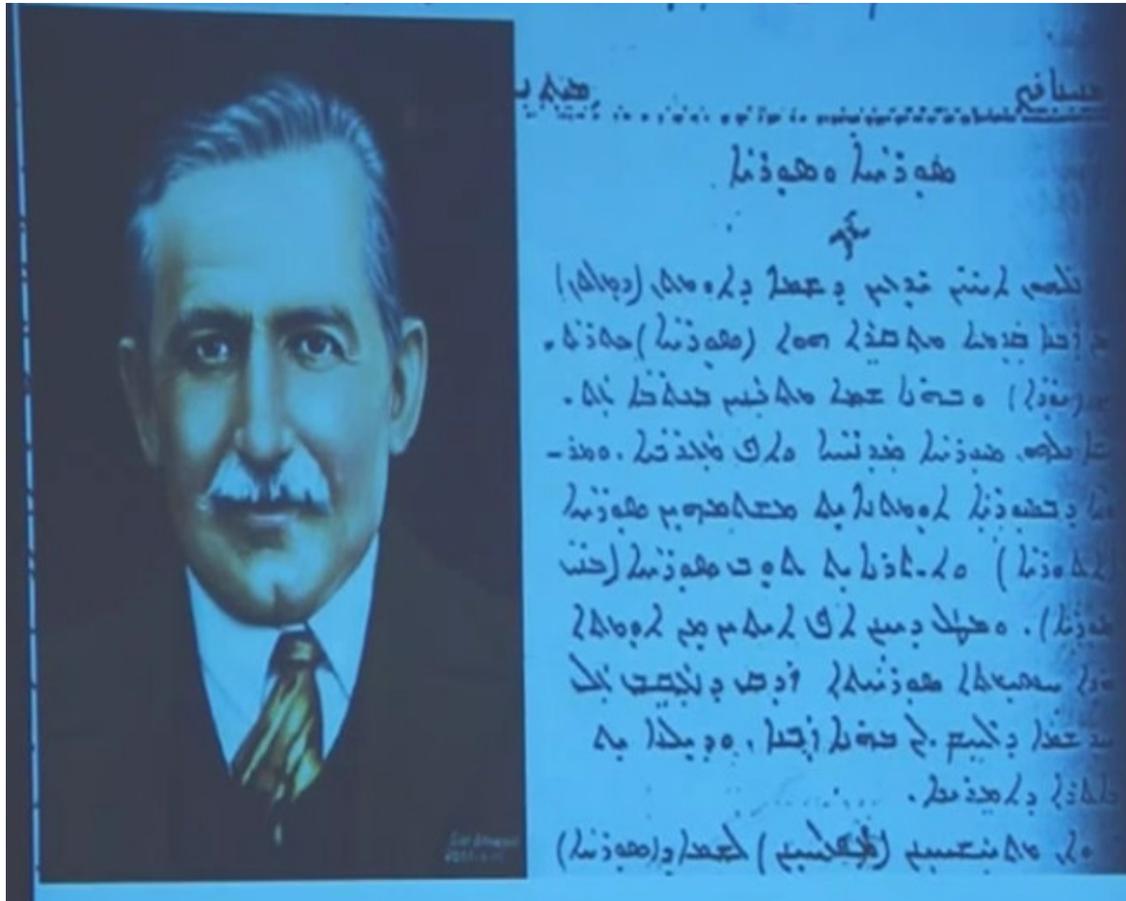
- *Sinaiticus Syriacus*: *Armāyā* "Aramean" (*Ewangelion da-Mfarshe*, Old Syriac in English)
- *Peshitta*: *Na'mon Armāyā* "Naaman the Aramean" (*Mafaqto Fshitto*)
- Harklean: *Na'mon haw Sūryoyo* "Naaman the Syrian" (*Mafaqto d-Touma Harqeloyo*) (this was based on the greek "*Ναϊμὸν ὁ Σύρος*" (*Naiman o Sōros*))

(George Anton Kiraz, Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels: Aligning the Sinaiticus, Curetonianus, Peshitta and Harklean Versions, III. Luke (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1996, p. 71.)

So in other words the Gospel of Luke was originally written in Greek and called Naaman Syrian (Σύρος). And as you see the *Sinaiticus Syriacus* calls him Aramean, as well as the *Peshitta* while the *Harklean* finished in 616 CE calls him *Suryoyo*. This means that the Arameans didn't call themselves *suryoye* when the Gospel of Luke was written in the first century CE. In Greek,

Back to Suroyo and Suryoyo spelled with A

Among Syriac Orthodox persons who were Assyrian minded one can mention that it had some impact on Naum Palakh (Better known as Naum Fayege d.1930. He was from Omid (Diyarbakir) and fled to USA in 1912 where he established the periodical magazine of *Beth Nahrin* and was editor of *Huyodo*.



This is from the lecture of the assyriologist Augin Kurt Haninke in Gothenburg (Göteborg) Sweden. He says this is from Beth Nahrin magazine in October 1916 number 20.

The title of this article was “*Suryaya wa-Suraya*” and was written in East-Syriac script.

Since Naum lived in America it is said that he wrote something that goes like this “*if we say we are Suryoye (Syrians) we will be confused/mixed up with Bnay Suriya (sons of Syria) and if way say Suraye (Suroye) we will be confused with inhabitants of Sur (Tyre/Tyrus on the Lebanese coast) so let’s spell Suryaya and Suraya as Asuryaya where the A is not pronounced*” (Augin’s conclusion of what Naum Fayege wrote). Augin says that Naum also said to have preferred the name “Assyrian” in English because “Syrian” was taken by the *Suriyin* (Syrians).. Then Augin mentions that Naum Fayege mentions the names of two pan-Assyrian magazines after Naum having read their articles in their magazines of “*Mashkhidana Suryaya*”(Suryaya Herald), This according to John Joseph who in turn refers to Daniel P Wolk mentions that this magazine was established in Chicago and first published in 1915, and five years later in 1920 the name was changed to “*Mashkhidana Atouraya*” and the English name was “*Assyrian American Herald*” that was established by pan-Assyrianist East-Syriacs and “*Izgadda*” probably “*Izgadda Atouraya*” of Yoel Warda from Urmia in Persia (Iran) who lived in Chicago. Yoel Warda was chairman of the “Assyrian National Association of

America” back then. This is the same Yoel Warda that went to the Paris peace conference in 1920 together with Abraham K. Yusuf from Harput, and the archbishop of those days Severius Aphrem Barsaoum (later patriarch Ignatius Aphrem I Barsoum). Of course this was before he became patriarch and he wrote his book the “*Syrian church of Antioch its name & history*” (1952), and his poem “*Beth Nahrin*” (“*Beth Nahrin d-Oromoye athro rghígho d Suryoye...*” 1940s)



Regarding the Lebanese city of Sur (Tyre/Tyros) it is not spelled with *semkath* but rather with *Sode/Sade* (double consonantal S).. As for the Eastern Neo-Aramaic form *Suraye*, when it is written and pronounced it is *Suraye* with *semkad* while in Central Neo-Aramaic *Turoyo*:

- That is if - *hypothetically speaking* - *Turoyo* had a literal tradition it would paradoxically be spelled with *Sode* – The only person to call the people *Suroye* in *Turoyo* (central neo-Aramaic) that I have seen is the assyriologist Fahmi Bargello (Bar Gallo) in Linköping in Sweden.

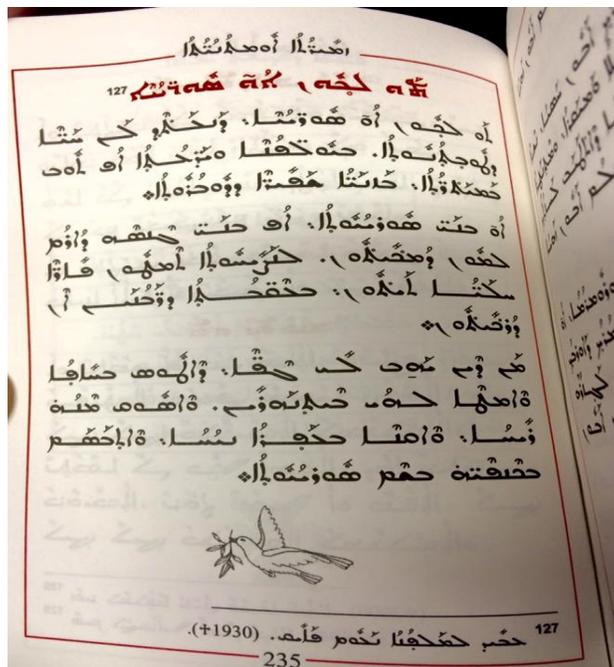
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Suroye/ in turoyo = Syriacs

Suroye in kthobonoyo = Tyrians

What Augin didn't mention, is that Naum Fayege used the Aramean name in some of his texts. For example this one “*Taw lkhun aw-Suryoye*” that was published lately in the book “*Quqnos d-Ne'motho*” in the middle it says “*aw bnay Suryoyutho. Of bnay ghenseh d-Orom*”



“*Taw Ikhun aw-Suryoye*” by Naum Fayeq (+1939)

Published in “*Quqnos d-Ne'motho*” by Nahir Akcay.

What’s the difference between the forms *Suraya/Suroyo* and *Suryaya/Suryoyo*?

The forms *Suroyo* and *Suraya* exist only in the spoken Neo-Aramaic dialects *Turoyo* and *Sureth*. But do not exist in *Kthobonoyo* Edessan Aramaic (classical Syriac), where only the forms *Suryoyo* and *Suryaya* exist.

Paradoxically there is *Suroyo/Suraya* but not in the same sense as in *turoyo* and *Sureth*. It is spelled with *Sode/sade* letter (double S) sound and refers to the inhabitants of the Lebanese coastal city of Tyre (Tyrus) called “*Sur mditho*”(city of Sur/Tyrus => phonetically *ssuroyel* *ßuroye* for the Tyrians. And the terms *Suryoyo/Suryaya* from the classical Syriac Edessan *Aramaic* entered *Turoyo* and *Sureth* via this Late Aramaic dialect of Urhoy Edessa and Osrhoene. (PS I don’t mean here that the term *Suroye* derives etymologically from Sur/Tyrus).

Others such as Johny Messo and Wolfhart Heinrichs have suggested that of *haplology*. Saying that *Suroyo/Suraya* developed from *Suryoyo/Suryaya* due to *haplology*, in the same sense as the term *Taye* (in *turoyo*) and *Tayoye* (in *kthobonoyo*). They claimed that the extra “*yud*” was dropped due to *haplology*.in the same sense of the word *Suryoyutho* pronounced by Arameans from Midyat in Tur Abdin as *Suryutho* cancelling the extra” *yud*”,

The word *Mashelmone* means Muslims in classical Syriac. In *Sureth* it is *Mushelmane* while it is *Taye* in *turoyo* that is used in general. The term must have entered *turoyo* (*Central Neo-Aramaic*) either from the *Tayoye* in *kthobonoyo* due to *haplology*. Or that the first Arab tribe

the Christian Arameans of Mesopotamia came in contact with was *Bani Tay* (tribe of Tay, sons of Tay). In general it's the term *Tayoye* that is translated in English into Arabs (for example in the *Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus* /Bar 'Ebroyo d.1286.

Another word for Arabs or Arabians is ܐܪܒܝܐ *Arabo*, and ܒܢܝ ܗܘܓܪ *Bnay Hogor/Bnay Hagar* (the sons of Hagar), and “*Mhagroye*” meaning either Hagarenes or related to the Arabic word *Muhajirun/Muhajerin*, meaning refugees. And there is ܣܪܩܝܐ *Sarqoye* (Saracenes, popular by the Crusading Frankish people known as “*Frangoye*” in Aramaic (Arabic: *al-Faranja*. It's only in modern time they are called as-Salibiyyin/Crusaders in Arabic and English.)

Michael the Syrian (Mikhoel Rabo) and the name “Asuraye” and its spelling

True Mikhoel Rabo wrote the term *Asuroye* (BUT it was not the traditional way of writing Assyrians in Edessan Aramaic (classical Syriac). It is *Othuroye/Aturaye*. Anyhow when he spelled it ܐܣܘܪܝܐ instead of ܐܘܪܘܝܐ it was a context spelling and a transliteration of the Greek word for Assyrians. Plus, the name of the mythical or eponymous ancestor of the ancient Assyrians is called *Ashur* ܐܫܘܪ and called his descendants *Ashuroye* ܐܫܘܪܝܐ. This *Ashuroye* in this context was "only context related spelling (not the traditional way of spelling Assyrians in Aramaic) on the name of Ashur in Hebrew that was indirectly taken by the Jews from the Akkadian form *Ashuraye* or *Ashurayu* in cuneiform, In Hebrew it is *Ashurim* (plural for Assyrians).

In turn Michael wrote that this Ashur's name became Hellenized "*Myononu methyawnin*" in the form of *Asur* ܐܣܘܪ and therefore he spelled it in that one sentence as *Asuroye* with *semkad* and not *sode/sade* (double consonant S) Meaning that it is not pronounced *Assuroye* but as *Asuroye* (as we say in *Turoyo* "nazik" . It was was a Hellenization of the name Ashur plus grammatical plural form -oye (Greek form Asur plus -oye => *Asuroye*). Michael read Flavius Josephus in Greek so the form ܐܣܘܪܝܐ *Asuroye* is simply a Greek transliteration from Greek into Syriac in this case

In this sence *Ashur/Ashuroye* = “Ashurians” *Asur/Asuroye*=”Asurians
Othur/othuroye/Athuraye/Aturaye=Athurians (Assyrians)

Final remarks

I have proven for how long assyrianist have tried to claim the term *Suraye* as *Asuraye* and *Suroye* as *Asuroye* in Eastern Neo-Aramaic *Sureth* and Central Neo-Aramaic *Turoyo* .

It goes back to 1897 to Mirza Masrouf Khan Karam, to one article of his published in the periodical of the Presbyterian Missions printing press of Urmia by the name:

ܠܘܫܢܐ ܠܘܫܢܐ, *Zahrire d-Bahra (Rays of Light).*

Besides *Turoyo* has no literal tradition. It was taught from one generation to the next orally. As for *Sureth*, it was first written in the late 1500s (16th century) But produced much more literature since the 19th century until modern times. So in that sense it is impossible to prove

that it was written with an *Alap/Olaf* (initial A), with or without *mbatlana/linea occultans* before the 19th century and even before that.

Next paper will be about of the Finish assyriologist Simo Parpola regarding his claim, that *Suraya* derives from the Akkadian form *Ashurayu/Ashuraya*. Stay tuned.

Sources:

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- Mar Israel Odu (Audo) - "The Book on the persecutions of the Christian Armeniens and Arameans of Mardin, Amid (Diyarbakir), Séert, Djézireh-Ibn-Omar and Nsibin which took place in the year 1915". (Sweden 2004, Assyrian Federation)
- Wolfhart Heinrichs – *The Modern Assyrians – Name & Nation* (1993) in *Festschrift: Philologica Constantino Tsereteli Dicta* ed, Silvio Zaorani (Turin, 1993)
- John Joseph – *The modern Assyrians of the Middle East encounters with western Christians missions archeologists and colonial powers*" (Brill, 2000)
- *The Hidden Pearl Vol III.* - Sebastian Brock, David Taylor, Witold Witakowski
- *Kthobo d Makhethbonuth Zabne* – Mor Mikhoel Rabo (Jean Baptist Chabot 1899 & Gabriel Yalgin 2006) Appendix "Aqefto" Chabot p. 784 and forward ; Gabriel Yalgin p.815 and forward

- I found this footnote in John Josephs book "*The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East – encounters with western Christians missions archeologists and colonial powers*" (Brill, 2000)

"[67] Daniel P. Wolk's recent research shows that even the Urmiyah Christians in America, in their own language, continued until after World War I to refer to themselves as *Suryaye*. In his reading of some of their major publications from 1907 to 1920, Wolk found that the first ethno-nationalist organization established in Urmiyah, *Khuyada--Unity--was a Suryeta organization. Chicago's newspaper Mashkhiddana Suryaya-- Suryaya Herald--first published in 1915--changed to Maskhiddana Aturaya only in 1920, when the nationalist discourse had come to age; the title in English was Assyrian, American Herald, most probably because "Syrian" in the United States stood for the more numerous Arab Christians from geographical Syria. See Wolk's "The Emergence of Assyrian ethno nationalism: The Discourse Against the Hachoqage ('Thieves of the Cross')," paper presented at the Middle*