

The Arameans of Afrin: A Report on a Deep History and a Fragile Presence Before 2010

I. Introduction: Situating the Arameans in the Complex Mosaic of Afrin

The Afrin District of northern Syria, situated in the northwestern corner of the Aleppo Governorate, presents a profound historical paradox. Before the seismic demographic shifts initiated by the Syrian Civil War in 2011, the region was known demographically as an overwhelmingly Kurdish area.¹ Yet, beneath this modern reality lies a landscape saturated with the heritage of one of the ancient Near East's most influential peoples: the Arameans. The central paradox of Afrin's Aramean heritage is this stark dichotomy between a deep, tangible historical and archaeological legacy and the numerically small, almost demographically invisible, presence of an Aramean-descended Christian community in the period before 2010. This report seeks to investigate this paradox. It will explore how a region that hosts the magnificent Aramean-era temple of Ain Dara, the sacred burial site of the Aramean hermit Saint Maron in Brad, and the ruins of ancient Syriac-named churches like Fafartin, came to be populated by a small Christian community of only a few hundred families within a district of over half a million people.³ Understanding this requires a journey through millennia of history, from the rise of Aramean kingdoms to the Christianization of the Levant and the complex evolution of ethnic and religious identities.

The temporal scope of this analysis is strictly focused on the period leading up to and concluding in 2010. This year serves as a critical baseline, capturing the state of the region before the Syrian Civil War and the subsequent 2018 Turkish-led military operation, which radically and violently altered the district's demographic and social fabric.³ While events post-2010 fall outside the primary scope of this report, they underscore the importance of documenting the pre-conflict reality that has now been irrevocably lost.

A note on terminology is essential. The identities discussed herein are complex and often politically charged. This report will use the term "Aramean" to refer to the ancient Semitic people who emerged in the late second millennium BCE and to the modern communities who self-identify with this national name.¹⁰ The term "Syriac" will be used primarily to refer to the specific dialect of Aramaic that became the literary and liturgical language of these communities after their conversion to Christianity, and by extension, to the Christian

cultural-religious identity that evolved from the Aramean people.¹² It is crucial to acknowledge that "Syriac" originated as a Greek exonym for Arameans and that many modern individuals and groups use the terms "Aramean" and "Syriac" interchangeably.¹¹ Furthermore, this report recognizes the overlapping and sometimes competing identity claim of "Assyrian," which posits a direct continuity from the ancient Assyrian Empire and is held by many Aramaic-speaking Christians today.¹⁴ This analysis will present these different perspectives as documented in the sources without adjudicating their validity, aiming instead to understand the historical processes that gave rise to this complexity.

By synthesizing archaeological evidence, classical and medieval texts, modern demographic data, and community reports from a range of multilingual sources, this report will construct a holistic picture of the Aramean presence and heritage in Afrin. It will navigate the layers of history to explain how a land of such profound importance to Aramean-Syriac civilization came to hold only a fragile echo of that community in the modern era.

II. The Ancient Arameans: A Semitic Civilization and its Lingua Franca

The story of the Arameans in northern Syria is one of transformation from mobile pastoralist groups into the dominant cultural and linguistic force of the ancient Near East. Their legacy is not one of a single, monolithic empire, but of a pervasive and enduring civilization built upon a network of states and a shared language that would shape the region for over a millennium.

A. Origins and Rise to Prominence (c. 1200-800 BCE)

The Arameans were a Semitic-speaking people who likely existed as semi-nomadic pastoralists in the Syrian steppe and northern Mesopotamia long before their rise to political power.¹⁰ The earliest potential references to a place or people named "Aram" appear in inscriptions from Akkad under Naram-Sin (c. 2250 BCE), Mari (c. 1900 BCE), and Ugarit (c. 1300 BCE), establishing their deep roots in the Syrian landscape.¹⁰ However, it was during the widespread societal collapse of the Late Bronze Age around 1200 BCE that the highly mobile and competitive Aramean tribes seized the opportunity created by the decline of the great powers like the Hittite Empire and Egypt.¹⁰ They began to raid and migrate throughout the region, eventually taking control of many established cities and founding new ones.¹⁰ Unlike the centralized empires they replaced, the Arameans maintained a tribal organization. Their political entities were often identified as belonging to the "house of..." an ancestral figure, rendered in Akkadian as *Bit* followed by a name.¹⁰ This decentralized structure gave rise to a constellation of influential city-states and kingdoms across Syria and Mesopotamia. Among the most notable in and around northern Syria were Bit-Adini on the Euphrates, Bit Agusi (whose capital was Arpad, modern Tell Rifaat), and Sam'al (modern Zincirli Höyük) at the

foot of the Amanus mountains.¹⁰ Other significant Aramean states included Hamath and the powerful kingdom of Aram-Damascus, which became a major rival to both the northern kingdom of Israel and the expanding Neo-Assyrian Empire.¹⁰ By the 9th century BCE, Arameans politically dominated the entirety of ancient Syria.¹⁰

This historical pattern of political decentralization is foundational. The Arameans never forged a single, unified empire but existed as a dynamic, and often fractious, collection of rival kingdoms and tribal confederations.¹⁷ This lack of a central political authority meant that Aramean identity was likely localized, tied to a specific city like Damascus or Arpad, or to a tribal lineage like Adini or Agusi, rather than to a pan-Aramean national consciousness. This ancient political fragmentation appears to be a deep-rooted antecedent to the modern divisions among Aramean-descended peoples. When Christianity was later adopted, it entered a pre-existing landscape of regional and tribal loyalties. Ecclesiastical structures, such as bishoprics, often mapped onto these existing divisions. Subsequent theological disputes, particularly after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE, hardened these lines, contributing to the formation of distinct churches (e.g., Syriac Orthodox, Maronite, Church of the East).¹² Therefore, the contemporary challenge of uniting Syriac-speaking peoples under a single national identity is not merely a product of recent politics but reflects a historical pattern of fragmentation stretching back to their Iron Age origins.

B. The Aramaic Language: From Tribal Tongue to Imperial Lingua Franca

The most enduring legacy of the Arameans was their language. They developed a distinctive alphabetic script, an innovation of immense consequence.¹⁶ Unlike the cumbersome cuneiform script pressed into clay tablets, the Aramaic alphabet was written on perishable but portable materials like parchment, leather, and papyrus.¹⁰ This ease of use and transport facilitated its rapid and widespread adoption.

Initially the language of disparate Aramean tribes, Aramaic's influence grew exponentially when it was adopted as the official language of empire. The scribes of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–605 BCE) began using Aramaic for administration alongside Akkadian, and its prominence soared.²³ This practice was continued and expanded by their successors, the Neo-Babylonian Empire (605–539 BCE) and, most significantly, the Achaemenid Persian Empire (539–330 BCE).¹¹ Under the Achaemenids, a standardized form of Aramaic, known as Imperial Aramaic, became the official language of administration, trade, and diplomacy across a vast territory stretching from Egypt to India.¹³

For centuries, Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Near East, the common tongue that connected diverse peoples.¹¹ It was the language of commerce and culture long after the Aramean kingdoms themselves had been subjugated by Assyria in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE.¹⁰ Its influence was profound, leaving its mark on other major languages of the region, including Hebrew, Persian, and later, Arabic.¹³ It is the language of sections of the Hebrew

Bible (in the books of Daniel and Ezra) and is widely recognized by scholars as the language spoken by Jesus and his disciples in 1st-century Judea.¹¹ This linguistic ascendancy ensured that even as the Arameans faded as a distinct political power, their cultural DNA, carried by their language, became deeply embedded throughout the Middle East.

III. The Transformation of an Identity: From "Aramean" to "Syriac"

The next great transformation in the history of the Aramean people was religious. The adoption of Christianity fundamentally reshaped their identity, culture, and even their name, initiating a complex process of evolution from the ancient "Aramean" to the Christian "Syriac" identity that persists in various forms to this day.

A. The Christianization of the Arameans

Between the 1st and 4th centuries CE, the Aramean-populated lands of Syria and Mesopotamia became fertile ground for the new Christian faith. This gradual conversion led to the replacement of the old polytheistic Aramean religion, which had centered on deities such as the storm-god Hadad (also known as Ramman).¹⁶ As communities embraced Christianity, their language, Aramaic, was adapted to serve the new religion. A specific dialect of Aramaic spoken in the city of Edessa (modern-day Şanlıurfa, Turkey) emerged as the premier literary standard for these Christian communities. This dialect, known as Classical Syriac, became the language of theology, philosophy, and liturgy.¹² The translation of the Bible into Syriac, known as the *Peshitta*, was a pivotal achievement that codified the language and became a cornerstone of this new Christian culture.¹⁶

B. "Syriac": An Exonym Becomes an Endonym

The name by which these Christian Arameans came to be known, "Syriac," has a complex history rooted in the naming conventions of outsiders. The term "Syria" itself is a Hellenistic abbreviation, a name the Greeks derived from "Assyria" to denote the lands of the Levant.¹¹ Classical historians writing in Greek, who had the most intimate contact with the region, consistently used this geographic term as an ethnic one. A wealth of historical testimony confirms that the people the Greeks called "Syríoi" (Syrians or Syriacs) were the very same people who identified themselves as "Arameans".¹¹

- The Greek Stoic philosopher **Poseidonios of Apamea** (c. 135–51 BCE) stated plainly: "The people we Greek call Syriacs, they call themselves Arameans".¹¹

- The geographer **Strabo** (c. 64 BCE - 24 CE), quoting Poseidonios, affirmed this, writing, "the people whom we call Syriacs are by the Syriacs themselves called Arameans".¹¹
- The 1st-century Jewish historian **Flavius Josephus** recorded that the biblical figure Aram was the ancestor of "the Arameans, which the Greeks called Syriacs".¹¹
- The 4th-century Christian historian **Eusebius of Caesarea** made the same connection, stating, "and from Aram the Arameans, which are also called Syriacs".¹¹

Over time, this Greek exonym was adopted by the Christian Arameans themselves. They began to use the Aramaic form *Suryoyo* (or *Suryaya*) as a synonym for their original identity, *Oromoyo* (Aramean).¹¹ This adoption was likely reinforced by the fact that their main ecclesiastical center was the Patriarchate of Antioch in Roman Syria. Aramean Christian writers from the 4th century onward provide abundant evidence of this fluid and interchangeable usage. The great theologian Saint Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373) referred to his homeland as "Aram-Nahrin" and to his people as Arameans, while also being known as "the Syrian".¹¹ The 12th-century Syriac Orthodox Patriarch Michael the Great wrote explicitly of "the kingdoms which have been established in Antiquity by our race, (that of) the Aramaeans [Oromoye], namely the descendants of Aram, who were called Syrians".¹² This historical record demonstrates a clear and conscious link between the two terms, with "Syriac" emerging as the Christianized marker for the ancient Aramean people.

C. The Modern Identity Discourse: Aramean, Syriac, Assyrian

In the modern era, these historical terms have become subjects of intense political and cultural debate, and they are no longer simple synonyms. Several competing identity narratives exist within the broader Aramaic-speaking Christian community.

The **Arameanist** perspective, strongly represented in the sources, argues that "Aramean" is the only historically and ethnically correct national name for the people.¹¹ From this viewpoint, "Syriac" is a valid cultural and linguistic descriptor that became a synonym for Aramean after Christianization. This perspective contends that the names "Assyrian" and "Chaldean" are misnomers applied to segments of their community by Western Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the 16th and 19th centuries, respectively, creating artificial divisions within a single Aramean nation.¹¹

The **Assyrianist** perspective, also well-documented, posits a direct and unbroken ethnic and cultural continuity from the ancient Assyrian Empire of Mesopotamia.¹⁴ Proponents of this view argue that the name "Syria" and "Syriac" are themselves direct linguistic derivatives of "Assyria" and "Assyrian".¹⁵ This identity is particularly strong among followers of the Church of the East and its Catholic counterpart, the Chaldean Catholic Church, but is also held by members of other Syriac denominations.¹⁵ They see themselves as the indigenous Assyrian people of Mesopotamia and the Levant, who adopted Christianity and the Aramaic/Syriac language.¹⁴

This report does not seek to resolve this deeply felt and complex debate. Rather, it

acknowledges its existence as a critical feature of the community's modern reality. Understanding this discourse is essential for interpreting the sources, as the choice of terminology—Aramean, Syriac, or Assyrian—often reflects a specific historical and political standpoint. For the purposes of this report, the focus remains on the demonstrable historical and archaeological connections of the Aramean people and their Syriac Christian successors to the Afrin region.

IV. The Aramean-Syriac Legacy in the Afrin Region: An Archaeological and Historical Survey

Despite its 20th-century demographic profile as a predominantly Kurdish region, the physical landscape of the Afrin District is a veritable open-air museum of Aramean and Syriac Christian history. The remarkable concentration of world-class archaeological sites provides irrefutable evidence that this area was once a cultural and religious heartland for these communities. The ruins are not merely isolated points on a map; collectively, they narrate a story of transition—from Aramean paganism to Syriac Christianity, from rural asceticism to institutionalized religion, and from local culture to a global faith.

A. Echoes of Antiquity: The Ain Dara Temple and Aramean Cultural Imprint

Located just 8 km south of the modern town of Afrin, the temple of Ain Dara stands as a monumental testament to the region's pre-Christian Aramean heritage.²⁷ Built between approximately 1300 and 740 BCE, during the height of the Syro-Hittite and Aramean city-states, the temple is a prime example of the religious architecture of the era.⁴ The structure, erected on a high platform overlooking the Afrin Valley, features a distinctive three-part layout of a porch, a middle room, and an inner sanctum, constructed with massive basalt blocks on limestone foundations.⁴ Its walls were adorned with basalt reliefs of lions and sphinxes, and most famously, a series of giant, 1-meter-long bare footprints carved into the stone floor, suggesting the procession of a colossal deity.⁴

The temple's significance is amplified by its striking similarities to the biblical description of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem; scholars have identified over 30 architectural elements common to both structures.⁴ The discovery in a nearby field of a Luwian stele from the 9th or 8th century BCE, a script often used alongside Aramaic in the Syro-Hittite cultural sphere, further solidifies the site's context within the Aramean world.²⁷ Ain Dara is not merely a local ruin; it is a site of global importance that anchors the Afrin region firmly within the orbit of ancient Aramean civilization.

B. The Christianization of the Afrin Valley: The Dead Cities and Early Syriac Heritage

The transition from Aramean polytheism to Syriac Christianity is vividly preserved in the landscape of the Limestone Massif, a rugged highland area that includes parts of Afrin and is famous for its hundreds of abandoned Byzantine-era settlements, often called the "Dead Cities".⁶ These settlements, which prospered from the 4th to the 7th centuries CE, were inhabited by a Syriac-speaking population and offer a unique snapshot of early Christian rural life.²⁹

- **Fafartin:** In the Kurdish village of Fafartin lie the remains of a basilica dated with precision by an inscription to 372 CE, making it one of the oldest known and dated church buildings in the world.⁷ The name "Fafartin" is itself of Syriac origin, meaning "fruit of the fig," a direct linguistic link to the Aramaic-speaking Christians who built and worshipped there.⁷ Though now mostly in ruins, its surviving apse stands as a silent witness to this early Christian community.
- **Kfar Nabu:** The archaeological site of Kfar Nabu offers a perfect illustration of the region's religious transformation. The name means "Village of Nabu," an ancient Mesopotamian and Aramean god of writing and wisdom, pointing to a pre-Christian cultic center.³⁰ On this site, a Roman-era pagan temple was physically converted into a Christian church in 398 CE.³⁰ This act of architectural and religious appropriation, documented in stone, encapsulates the profound cultural shift that swept through the Aramean population of the region.
- **Cyrrhus (Nabi Houri):** Overlooking the Afrin River, the ancient city of Cyrrhus was a major military and administrative hub for the Roman Empire.²⁷ By the 4th century CE, it had become an important Christian center with its own bishop, demonstrating the deep institutionalization of the church in the Afrin valley well before the Arab conquest.²⁷

C. Brad and the Maronite Connection: The Enduring Legacy of Saint Maron the Aramean

Perhaps the most significant Christian site in the Afrin District is the village of Brad (ancient Kparo Brad), located about 15 km northwest of Aleppo.⁶ This extensive Byzantine-era settlement is revered as the place where Saint Maron—the spiritual father of the Maronite Church—was buried after his death around 410 CE.⁶ Saint Maron himself was a Syriac-speaking hermit of Aramean origins who lived a life of open-air asceticism in the nearby region of Cyrrhus.³⁵ His disciples and the community that formed around them, known as the *Beit Maroun* (House of Maron), became the nucleus of what would evolve into the Maronite Church.³⁵

The archaeological remains at Brad attest to its importance. The site is dominated by the ruins of the Julianos Church, a magnificent three-aisled basilica built between 399 and 402 CE.⁶ At 42 meters long, it was one of the largest churches in northern Syria.³² Adjacent to it was a smaller, 5th-century chapel or martyrium, which is believed to have been built specifically to house the sarcophagus and relics of the renowned holy man, Saint Maron.³² The connection to this site is not merely historical; it remains a living part of Maronite identity. In February 2010, just a year before the Syrian conflict began, a high-level Lebanese Maronite delegation visited Brad to commemorate the 1600th anniversary of Saint Maron's death, declaring it a place of pilgrimage.⁶ This event powerfully reaffirmed the site's contemporary religious significance and its role as a foundational location for a global Christian community with Aramean roots. The collective evidence from Ain Dara, Fafartin, Kfar Nabu, Cyrrhus, and Brad paints a clear picture: the Afrin region was not a peripheral territory but a vibrant center of Aramean-Syriac civilization for well over a millennium.

Table 1: Key Archaeological and Historical Sites with Aramean-Syriac Significance in the Afrin Region

Site Name (Modern & Ancient)	Location (Sub-district)	Period of Significance	Cultural/Religious Affiliation	Key Features & Significance	Relevant Sources
Ain Dara	Afrin	Iron Age (c. 1300-740 BCE)	Aramean / Syro-Hittite	Major temple complex, colossal footprints, reliefs; noted similarities to Solomon's Temple.	⁴
Brad (Kparo Brad)	Afrin	Late Roman/Byzantine (4th-6th c. CE)	Syriac Christian, Maronite	Revered as the tomb site of St. Maron. Features the monumental Julianos Basilica, a monastery, and numerous other churches.	⁶
Fafartin	Afrin	Byzantine (372 CE)	Syriac Christian	One of the world's oldest	⁷

				dated basilicas. The name is Syriac for "fruit of the fig."	
Kfar Nabu	Afrin	Roman/Byzantine (2nd-5th c. CE)	Aramean (Pagan) -> Syriac Christian	Temple to the Aramean god Nabu, later converted into a church, illustrating religious transition. Considered a possible death place of St. Maron.	³⁰
Cyrrhus (Nabi Houri)	Sharran	Roman/Byzantine (until 7th c. CE)	Roman, Syriac Christian	Major Roman city that became an important Christian bishopric, indicating institutional strength of the church in the region.	²⁷

V. The Demographic Landscape of Afrin District Before 2010

In stark contrast to its deep Aramean-Syriac history, the demographic landscape of the Afrin District in the period immediately preceding the 2011 conflict was defined by an overwhelming Kurdish majority and a very small, multifaceted Christian minority. Reconstructing the precise size and nature of this Christian community requires a careful synthesis of disparate and sometimes fragmented data from official censuses, scholarly reports, and community sources.

A. The Overwhelming Kurdish Majority

The last official Syrian census conducted before the major wartime displacements was in 2004, which recorded the population of Afrin District as 172,095.¹ A later estimate from Syria's Central Bureau of Statistics for 2010 gave a significantly higher figure of 523,000, a number that likely reflects the influx of internally displaced persons (IDPs) into the relatively stable region in the years leading up to the 2011 uprising.³

Crucially, official Syrian censuses under the Ba'athist government did not include data on ethnicity, as the state did not recognize non-Arab groups like the Kurds as a distinct ethnic identity.³ Despite this official erasure, the district was widely described by observers and scholars as "homogeneously Kurdish".¹ Kurdish sources estimate that at least 97% of Afrin's pre-war population was ethnically Kurdish.³ The small remaining percentage was composed of several other minority groups, including Arabs and Turkmen concentrated in a few villages, as well as distinct religious communities like the Yazidis and Alevis.³

B. Reconstructing the Christian Presence: A Synthesis of Disparate Data

The Christian population of Afrin before 2010 was a tiny fraction of the total. Various sources provide a range of estimates, but all point to a community of no more than a few hundred families. One report suggests a figure of 300 Christian families were present in the district.⁵ Another, from the Evangelical Christian Union Church, estimates 200 to 250 Christian families, totaling about 1,200 individuals, lived there before the 2018 invasion.⁴⁰ A separate account mentions a population of up to 2,000 Christians, though it notes most had already left.⁴¹ These Christians were primarily concentrated in Afrin city center and in the sub-districts of Rajo and Maabatli.⁵

The composition of this small community was notably complex, revealing what can be described as a "dual nature." On one hand, there is evidence of a very recent and dynamic community of ethnic Kurdish converts to Evangelical Protestantism. This group was centered around the Church of the Good Shepherd in Afrin city, a congregation that became particularly visible in the years just before and after 2011.³⁸ Their pastor confirmed that the community consisted of Kurdish families, and their services were conducted in Kurdish and Arabic.⁴⁴

On the other hand, there are indications of a more traditional and historically rooted Christian presence. One source speaks of "20 churches and ancient temples" in the district, a number that far exceeds the needs of a single Evangelical congregation and suggests a longer history of Christian worship.⁵ Other accounts mention the presence of Armenian families and allude to a historical medley of denominations including "Armenians, Nestorians, Orthodox, Greeks, Arameans (or Syriacs), Melkites" who had lived peacefully in the region.⁵

This evidence suggests that the pre-2010 Christian community was not monolithic. It was likely composed of two distinct, though possibly overlapping, groups: a small, residual population belonging to historic Eastern churches (such as Armenian Orthodox or perhaps a few Syriac/Aramean families) who represented a living link to the region's ancient Christian past, and a newer, more visible community of ethnic Kurdish converts to Evangelicalism. This duality is significant. The historical communities would carry the cultural and religious weight of the heritage embodied by sites like Brad and Fafartin. The Kurdish converts, meanwhile, would have had a different and unique relationship with the surrounding society—ethnically part of the Kurdish majority but religiously a distinct minority. To speak of "Christians in Afrin" before 2010 is therefore to speak of at least two different social realities coexisting within the same small community. This nuance helps explain why some sources emphasize the "recent" nature of the community while others allude to a deeper, more diverse history.

Table 2: Estimated Christian Population and Presence in Afrin District (Pre-2011)

Metric	Estimate / Description	Primary Sources
Total Christian Families	200-300 families	⁵
Total Christian Individuals	~1,200 individuals; "up to 2,000"	⁴⁰
Primary Locations	Afrin City, Rajo sub-district, Maabatli sub-district	⁵
Known Denominations	Evangelical (Kurdish converts), Armenian; historical presence of Syriac/Aramean, Orthodox, Catholic, Melkite mentioned.	³⁸
Key Places of Worship	Church of the Good Shepherd (Evangelical); claims of "20 churches and ancient temples" (largely unspecified).	⁵

VI. Inter-Community Relations and Social Fabric (Pre-2010)

Understanding the social dynamics of the small Aramean-Syriac and broader Christian community in Afrin before 2010 requires a largely inferential analysis, as specific sociological studies of the district from that period are scarce. However, by examining the overarching

political context of the Syrian state and drawing upon regional patterns of inter-communal relations, a plausible reconstruction of the social fabric can be achieved. The evidence suggests an environment of pragmatic, generally peaceful coexistence, shaped significantly by a dynamic of "shared otherness" in the face of the central government's policies.

A. The Ba'athist Context: An Arabist State and Non-Arab Minorities

From the time the Ba'ath Party came to power in 1963, the Syrian state aggressively promoted an Arab nationalist ideology.³ This official policy did not recognize the distinct ethnic identities of large non-Arab populations, most notably the Kurds, who were subjected to discriminatory policies, harassment, and the suppression of their language and culture.¹ In a district like Afrin, which was over 97% Kurdish, this state-sponsored Arabization was the dominant political reality and a primary source of tension between the local population and the central government in Damascus.²

Within this framework, Christians were officially recognized as a religious minority, but non-Arab Christians, such as Syriacs/Arameans and Armenians, faced a dual challenge. While their religion was tolerated, their non-Arab ethnicity and heritage were subsumed under the state's monolithic Arabist identity.⁴³ They shared with the Kurds the status of being outside the state's ideal national model.

B. Kurd-Christian Relations in Afrin: A Plausible Reconstruction

The history of Kurd-Christian relations in the broader Middle East is deeply complex, marked by periods of violent conflict and periods of coexistence. The 1915 Sayfo (Genocide) saw some Kurdish tribes participate in the Ottoman-era massacres of Armenians and Assyrians/Syriacs, a historical trauma that has left deep scars.⁴⁵ However, there have also been long periods of side-by-side living and pragmatic cooperation.⁴⁷

In the specific context of Ba'athist Syria, the shared experience of being non-Arabs under an Arabist regime likely fostered a localized environment of tolerance in Afrin. For the tiny Christian minority, navigating a social landscape dominated by the Kurdish majority would have required a delicate balance. Antagonizing the local majority would have been untenable, while aligning too closely with the repressive central state would have been both risky and culturally dissonant. The most stable path was a form of quiet integration into the local, Kurdish-dominated social fabric.

The strongest evidence for a relatively harmonious relationship is the existence of the Kurdish Evangelical community.³⁸ The fact that ethnic Kurds were converting to Christianity and establishing their own church within Afrin indicates that the social boundaries between the groups were permeable and that relations were not characterized by overt hostility or persecution. Such a development would be highly unlikely in an environment of deep-seated animosity. This suggests a level of social interaction that went beyond simple, segregated

coexistence.

C. The Role of Afrin as a Relative Safe Haven

This pre-2010 dynamic of localized tolerance helps explain why Afrin was widely perceived as a safe haven in the initial years of the Syrian Civil War. From 2011 onwards, the district served as a refuge for a massive influx of IDPs of all ethnicities—including Kurds, Arabs, Yazidis, and Christians—fleeing violence in other parts of the country.¹ This reputation for stability and safety was not created in a vacuum; it was rooted in the pre-existing social dynamics. The state's political pressure on the Kurdish majority may have paradoxically created a space where other minorities were seen not as rivals, but as fellow "others" who could be afforded a degree of acceptance within the local societal structure, a structure that prioritized local stability over the divisive politics of the central government.

VII. Conclusion: A Small Community with a Deep History

The examination of the Aramean presence in the Afrin District before 2010 reveals a story of profound historical depth coexisting with a fragile demographic present. The central paradox identified at the outset of this report is confirmed by the evidence: while the modern, pre-war Christian community was numerically tiny, the land itself is a core territory of Aramean and Syriac Christian heritage.

The analysis has demonstrated that the Afrin region was not a peripheral area but a vibrant center of Aramean culture and, later, a cradle of Syriac Christianity. This is irrefutably proven by the monumental archaeological record. The Iron Age Aramean temple at Ain Dara, the numerous Byzantine Christian settlements of the "Dead Cities," the Syriac-named village of Fafartin with its ancient basilica, and, most poignantly, the village of Brad, revered as the resting place of the Aramean hermit Saint Maron, all anchor this region at the heart of Aramean-Syriac history. These sites physically narrate the key transitions of this people: from polytheism to Christianity, from asceticism to institutional religion, and from a local culture to a global faith.

Juxtaposed against this immense historical weight was the reality of 2010: a district that was overwhelmingly Kurdish, with a Christian population of only a few hundred families. This community was itself complex, composed of a small, residual element of historic denominations like the Armenians and a newer, growing congregation of ethnic Kurdish converts to Evangelicalism. Their existence, while demographically slight, was sustained within a social fabric of generally peaceful coexistence with the Kurdish majority, a dynamic likely fostered by their "shared otherness" in the face of the Ba'athist state's Arabist ideology. Ultimately, the Afrin District before 2010 must be understood as a place of deeply layered

identity. It was simultaneously an ancient Aramean heartland, a foundational site for Maronite Christianity, a center of Syrian Kurdish culture, and a small part of the modern Syrian state. The pre-2010 period represented a unique moment in this long and complex history, one where a deep past coexisted with a very different demographic present. The catastrophic events that have unfolded since 2011 have not just altered but have effectively erased this specific social and demographic arrangement. The Christian community has been almost entirely displaced. This makes the scholarly reconstruction of the pre-war period all the more critical, as it documents a lost historical baseline and preserves the memory of a small community with a history of immense significance.

VIII. Works Cited

1. ¹⁰ History Files. "Arameans."
2. ¹¹ Aramean Democratic Organization. "Evidences of our Aramean origin."
3. ¹⁶ History Draft. "Arameans." Timeline.
4. ¹⁷ Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Aramean."
5. ¹⁴ Assyrians.n.nu. "Historical summary of the Assyrian (Syriac) People."
6. ²⁶ Assyrians.n.nu. "Historical summary of the Assyrian (Syriac) People." (Longer version)
7. ⁴⁸ National Endowment for the Humanities. "Wherever Syriac is Spoken."
8. ¹² World Council of Arameans (Syriacs). "The Aramean (Syriac) People."
9. ²² History Draft (Arabic). "الآراميون."
10. ¹⁹ Alwatan Voice. "الآراميون في شمال سوريا."
11. ¹⁸ Alsabaah.iq. "الآراميون في شمال سوريا."
12. ⁴⁹ Aramean Democratic Organization. "رد على مقال."
13. ⁵⁰ Arabic Wikipedia. "الآشوريون والسريان والكلدان في سوريا."
14. ¹⁵ Arabic Wikipedia. "آشوريون/سريان/كلدان."
15. ⁵¹ YouTube. "حوارات شمال وشرق سوريا."
16. ²⁵ North Press Agency. "تاريخ السريان والآشوريين."
17. ³ Middle East Forum. "Turkey's Demographic Engineering in Syria's Afrin Region."
18. ¹ Wikipedia. "Afrin District."
19. ⁸ Rojava Information Center. "Explainer: Afrin, 5 years under Turkish occupation."
20. ² Wikipedia. "Afrin Canton."
21. ⁴ Wikipedia. "Ain Dara (archaeological site)."
22. ²⁷ Wikipedia. "Afrin, Syria."
23. ²⁸ Voice of America. "Kurds Say Turkish Airstrikes Damage Historic Temple."
24. ⁴³ Rojava Information Center. "Explainer: Christian communities in North and East Syria."
25. ⁵² Syrisch-Orthodox-Leipzig.de. "كنيسة أنطاكية السريانية الأرثوذكسية عبر العصور."
26. ⁵ Violations Documentation Center in Northern Syria (VDC-NSY). "تقرير عن الأقليات في عفرين."
27. ⁵³ Raseef22. "قصص مسيحيي عفرين."

28. ⁵⁴ Arabic Wikipedia. "المسيحية في سوريا."
29. ²⁷ Wikipedia. "Afrin, Syria." ²⁷
30. ⁹ European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights. "Crimes in Syria: The neglected atrocities of Afrin."
31. ⁵⁵ Wikipedia. "Syriac Military Council."
32. ⁵⁶ Armenian Weekly. "International Community Cannot Turn a Blind Eye to the People of Afrin."
33. ³⁸ Bellingcat. "Afrin: Incidents of Desecration and Destruction of Cultural Sites."
34. ³⁹ NLKA.net. "Afrin's rich and millennia-old Yazidi culture edges to the precipice."
35. ⁵⁷ DCKurd.org. "Withering Branch: The Story of Afrin."
36. ⁴⁶ Wikipedia. "Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria."
37. ⁵⁸ Taylor & Francis Online. "Urbanization and Nationalism in Turkey."
38. ⁵⁹ Wikipedia. "Turkish involvement in the Syrian civil war."
39. ⁶⁰ U.S. Department of State. "2010 Human Rights Reports: Ethiopia."
40. ²⁰ Wikipedia. "Syriac Orthodox Church."
41. ⁶¹ YouTube. "TRT World report on Afrin church."
42. ⁶² Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. Official Website.
43. ⁶³ TRT World. "Syria's Afrin welcomes new church opening."
44. ²¹ Wikipedia. "Syriac Catholic Church."
45. ⁴³ Rojava Information Center. "Explainer: Christian communities in North and East Syria."
⁴³
46. ⁴² Aid to the Church in Need UK. "SYRIA: Country's Churches under fire."
47. ⁶⁴ Roman Catholic Diocese of Saskatoon. "Mercy, prayer and faith sustain Syrian Christians."
48. ⁴⁰ Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker. "Syrian Arab Republic: Alevis and Yazidis in Afrin threatened with extinction."
49. ⁶⁵ Wikipedia. "Christianity in the Roman Africa province."
50. ⁶⁶ Syria Direct. "Strangers in our own homes: A waning Assyrian community holds on in northeastern Syria."
51. ⁶⁷ Wikipedia. "Religion in Syria."
52. ⁶⁸ Wikipedia. "Afrin Region."
53. ⁶⁹ KurdishPeople.org. "Rojava."
54. ⁷⁰ Reddit. "Many cities in northern Syria and southern Turkey have Kurdish names."
55. ²⁷ Wikipedia. "Afrin, Syria." ²⁷
56. ⁶ Wikipedia. "Barad, Syria."
57. ³⁵ Maronite Foundation. "A Brief History of the Maronites."
58. ²⁹ Brill. "The Last Statues of Antiquity."
59. ⁷¹ ResearchGate. "A Parisian Mystery in Metal: Tracing Saint Maron's Reliquary."
60. ⁴⁵ Wikipedia. "Kurds in Syria."

61. ⁴⁷ GeoCurrents. "The Complex Relations Between Kurds and Christians in Northern Iraq."
62. ⁴⁴ North Press Agency. "Kurdish Christian IDPs of Afrin are fearful of reprisals and pray to return."
63. ⁷² Wikipedia. "Sectarianism and minorities in the Syrian civil war."
64. ⁷ ACI MENA. "قصة أقدم الكنائس الأثرية الكبرى في عفرين."
65. ⁵ VDC-NSY. "تقرير عن الأقليات في عفرين." ⁵
66. ⁵³ Raseef22. "قصص مسيحيي عفرين." ⁵³
67. ⁷³ North Press Agency. "مسيحيو عفرين يقيمون صلاة."
68. ³⁰ Arabic Wikipedia. "كفر نبر."
69. ³⁷ Tirej Afrin. "قرى ناحية شران."
70. ⁷⁴ ANF Arabic. "النبي هوري."
71. ⁵⁴ Arabic Wikipedia. "المسيحية في سوريا." ⁵⁴
72. ⁷⁵ Medarat Kurd. "اللغة الآرامية في عفرين."
73. ¹³ Arabic Wikipedia. "اللغة الآرامية."
74. ⁷⁶ Syrian Nation. "أسماء سريانية لمدن سورية."
75. ⁷⁷ TikTok. "اللغة الآرامية السريانية."
76. ³² YouTube. "تاريخ الموارد في براد عفرين."
77. ⁷⁸ Tirej Afrin. "براد وقصر براد."
78. ³⁴ BBC Arabic. "عيد القديس مارون."
79. ³⁶ YouTube. "تاريخ الموارد في سوريا."
80. ¹¹ Aramean Democratic Organization. "Evidences of our Aramean origin." (Detailed summary)
81. ³ Middle East Forum. "Turkey's Demographic Engineering in Syria's Afrin Region." (Summary)
82. ³⁸ BellinCat. "Afrin: Incidents of Desecration and Destruction of Cultural Sites." (Summary)
83. ⁵ VDC-NSY. "Details on Christian minorities in Afrin." (Summary)
84. ²⁵ North Press Agency. "Information on Syriac and Assyrian presence in northern Syria." (Summary)
85. ¹ Wikipedia. "Afrin District." (Summary)
86. ⁴³ Rojava Information Center. "Explainer: Christian communities in North and East Syria." (Summary)
87. ⁷ ACI MENA. "Details about the Fafartin Church in Afrin." (Summary)
88. ⁵ VDC-NSY. "Information on the Christian population of Afrin." (Summary)
89. ⁴⁴ North Press Agency. "Details about the Christian community in Afrin." (Summary)
90. ³⁴ BBC Arabic. "History of the Maronites in Brad, Afrin." (Summary)
91. ⁶ Wikipedia. "Barad, Syria." (Summary)
92. ³⁵ Maronite Foundation. "Historical overview of the Maronites." (Summary)

93. ⁴⁰ Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker. "Information on Christian villages in the Afrin district." (Summary)
94. ³⁰ Arabic Wikipedia. "Details about the archaeological site of Kfar Nabu in Afrin." (Summary)
95. ⁵³ Raseef22. "مسيحيو عفرين قبل 2010."
96. ⁵⁴ Arabic Wikipedia. "المسيحية في سوريا." ⁵⁴
97. ³¹ ANF Arabic. "لمحة صغيرة عن عفرين."
98. ³³ VDC-NSY. "عفرين: سرقة وتخريب الآثار."
99. ⁴¹ Syria Untold. "عفرين على طريق التعريب."
100. ⁷⁹ Irfaa Sawtak. "عودة عائلات مسيحية إلى إدلب."
101. ⁴⁰ Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker. "Syrian Arab Republic: Alevis and Yazidis in Afrin threatened with extinction." ⁴⁰
102. ⁸⁰ Syria Direct. "HTS looks to Idlib's Christians and Druze."
103. ⁴⁶ Wikipedia. "Democratic Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria." ⁴⁶
104. ⁸¹ ResearchGate. "Christianity in the Middle East | Report no.1"
105. ⁸² OpenEdition Journals. "Kurdish Sufi Spaces of Rural-Urban Connection in Northern Syria."
106. ⁸³ Catholic World Report. "Christians continue to suffer as President Erdoğan expands reach, power."
107. ⁴⁵ Wikipedia. "Kurds in Syria." ⁴⁵
108. ⁸⁴ Soka University. "TURKISH NATIONALISM, THE KURDISH FIGHT FOR FREEDOM."
109. ⁸ Rojava Information Center. "Explainer: Afrin, 5 years under Turkish occupation." ⁸
110. ⁸⁵ Syria Untold. "Afrin on the Road to Arabization."
111. ⁸⁶ Socialist Project. "Afrin and the Rojava Revolution."
112. ⁸⁷ IEMed. "The Kurdish Question in the Middle East."
113. ⁸⁸ Wikipedia. "Suret language."
114. ²³ Wikipedia. "Aramaic."
115. ⁶⁶ Syria Direct. "Strangers in our own homes." ⁶⁶
116. ⁸⁹ Assyrian International News Agency. "The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria."
117. ²⁴ Ad Fontes - WordPress.com. "What is Aramaic and Syriac?"
118. ⁹⁰ ResearchGate. "Languages of the Middle East and North Africa."

Works cited

1. Afrin District - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_District
2. Afrin Canton - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Canton
3. Turkey's Demographic Engineering in Syria's Afrin Region: A Closer ..., accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.meforum.org/meq/turkeys-demographic-engineering-in-syrias-afrin>

[-region-a-closer-look](#)

4. Ain Dara (archaeological site) - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ain_Dara_\(archaeological_site\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ain_Dara_(archaeological_site))
5. عفرين بلا سكانها من الأقليات الدينية..الايزيديين والمسيحيين والأرمن ..., accessed June 14, 2025, <https://vdc-nsy.com/archives/15338>
6. Barad, Syria - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barad,_Syria
7. قصّة أقدم الكنائس الأثرية الكبرى في عفرين - آسي مينا, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.acimena.com/news/1089/ksw-akdm-alknays-alathryw-alkbr-fy-aafryn>
8. Explainer: Afrin, 5 years under Turkish occupation - Rojava Information Center, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://rojavainformationcenter.org/2023/01/explainer-afrin-5-years-under-turkish-occupation/>
9. Crimes in Syria: The neglected atrocities of Afrin - ECCHR, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.ecchr.eu/en/case/crimes-in-syria-the-neglected-atrocities-of-afrin/>
10. Kingdoms of Syria - Aramaeans (Syria) - The History Files, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.historyfiles.co.uk/KingListsMiddEast/SyriaArameans.htm>
11. Evidences of our Aramean origin - Aramean-Dem.Org, accessed June 14, 2025, https://aramean-dem.org/English/History/Evidences_of_our_Aramean_origin/Evidences_of_our_Aramean_origin.htm
12. The Aramean (Syriac) People, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.wca-ngo.org/heritage/102-people>
13. اللغة الآرامية - ويكيبيديا, accessed June 14, 2025, https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D8%BA%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9
14. assyrians.n.nu, accessed June 14, 2025, [https://assyrians.n.nu/10#:~:text=The%20Assyrians%20\(Syriacs\)%20of%20today,unique%20language%2C%20culture%20and%20heritage.](https://assyrians.n.nu/10#:~:text=The%20Assyrians%20(Syriacs)%20of%20today,unique%20language%2C%20culture%20and%20heritage.)
15. آشوريون/سريان/كلدان - ويكيبيديا, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A2%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%86/%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86/%D9%83%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86>
16. History of Arameans - Timeline - Historydraft, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://historydraft.com/story/aramaeans/timeline/843>
17. Aramaean | Ancient Middle Eastern Culture | Britannica, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Aramaean>
18. آرام والآراميون.. محاولة فهم تاريخهم ووجودهم الحضاري في الشرق الأوسط - جريدة الصباح, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://alsabaah.iq/82014-.html>
19. سوريا عبر العصور .. الحلقة الثالثة : الممالك الآرامية السورية - دنيا الوطن, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2013/09/05/432451.html>
20. Syriac Orthodox Church - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syriac_Orthodox_Church
21. Syriac Catholic Church - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025,

- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syriac_Catholic_Church
22. تاريخ الآراميين - تسلسل زمني - Historydraft, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://historydraft.com/ar/story/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A2%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86/timeline/843>
23. Aramaic - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aramaic>
24. What is Aramaic and Syriac? - Ad Fontes - WordPress.com, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://christhum.wordpress.com/2012/09/03/what-is-aramaic-and-syriac/>
25. سريان وآشوريو شمال شرقي سوريا.. واقع متأزم ومستقبل غامض - North ..., accessed June 14, 2025, <https://npasyria.com/4335/>
26. Historical summary of the Assyrian (Syriac) People, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://assyrians.n.nu/10>
27. Afrin, Syria - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin,_Syria
28. Kurds: Turkish Airstrikes Damaging Historic, Civilian Sites - VOA, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.voanews.com/a/kurds-say-turkish-airstrikes-damage-historic-temple-dam/4230262.html>
29. The Archaeological Evidence and its Implications 17 - Brill, accessed June 14, 2025, https://brill.com/display/book/9789004231849/B9789004231849_003.pdf
30. كفر نبو - ويكيبيديا, accessed June 14, 2025, https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D9%83%D9%81%D8%B1_%D9%86%D8%A8%D9%88
31. عفرين: مدينة السلام التي استباحها الاحتلال التركي - ANF, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://anfarabic.com/%D9%83%D8%B1%D8%AF%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86/%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%B5%D8%BA%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%B9%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%82%D8%A8%D9%84-%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%87%D8%A7-%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%82%D8%A8%D9%84-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A7-50483>
32. قرية براد الأثرية في حلب وضريح مار مارون الموجود في هذه القرية - YouTube, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DdGTTVaEvsY>
33. عفرين: سرقة وتخريب الآثار و المزارات الدينية - توثيق الانتهاكات - vdc-nsy.com/archives/3696, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://vdc-nsy.com/archives/3696>
34. مار مارون: من هو القديس الذي يعد عيده عطلة رسمية في لبنان؟ - BBC News ..., accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast-51422170>
35. A Brief History of the Maronites - Maronite Foundation, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://maronitefoundation.org/MaroniteFoundation/en/MaronitesHistory/66>
36. Mar Maroun Aleppo - YouTube, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PtrFagUL-yg>
37. قرانا الجميلة (قرى ناحية شران - ابيكي) - تيريج عفرين - http://www.tirejafrin.com/site/kura%20afrin%20%20sheran%20-%20eke%20dam.htm, accessed June 14, 2025, <http://www.tirejafrin.com/site/kura%20afrin%20%20sheran%20-%20eke%20dam.htm>
38. Afrin: Incidents Of Desecration And Destruction Of Cultural Sites ..., accessed June 14, 2025,

<https://www.bellingcat.com/news/mena/2019/07/11/afrin-incidents-of-desecration-and-destruction-of-cultural-sites/>

- [illegible]

- [%A7%D9%86_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7](#)
51. رؤية السريان لمستقبل سوريا بعد سقوط الأسد - YouTube, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AZna1JAtg2o>
 52. الكنيسة السريانية الأرثوذكسية - كنيسة مار سويريوس, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://syrisch-orthodox-leipzig.de/ar/%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B1%D8%AB%D9%88%D8%B0%D9%83%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A9/>
 53. أكثر من 200 عائلة هربت... قصص مسيحيي عفرين بعد تدخل تركيا عبر فصائل متشددة - رصيف22, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://raseef22.net/article/1079643-%D8%A3%D9%83%D8%AB%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86-200-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%AA-%D9%82%D8%B5%D8%B5-%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AD%D9%8A%D9%8A-%D8%B9%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%B9%D8%AF-%D8%AA%D8%AF%D8%AE%D9%84-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%B1-%D9%81%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%AF%D8%AF%D8%A9>
 54. ويكيبيديا - المسيحية في سوريا, accessed June 14, 2025, https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%A9_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A7
 55. Syriac Military Council - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syriac_Military_Council
 56. The International Community Cannot Turn Its Back on the People of Afrin, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://armenianweekly.com/2018/02/02/international-community-cannot-turn-back-people-afrin/>
 57. Withering Branch: The Story of Afrin and its Peoples, Pre & Post "Operation Olive Branch" | Washington Kurdish Institute, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://dckurd.org/2022/03/09/withering-branch-the-story-of-afrin-and-its-peoples-pre-post-operation-olive-branch/>
 58. Electoral dynamics, new nationalisms, and party positions on Syrian refugees in Turkey, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14683849.2024.2310850>
 59. Turkish involvement in the Syrian civil war - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_involvement_in_the_Syrian_civil_war
 60. 2010 Human Rights Reports: Ethiopia - U.S. Department of State, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/af/154346.htm>
 61. Syria's Afrin welcomes new church opening - YouTube, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zx7dqFBvE0U>
 62. Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://syriacpatriarchate.org/>
 63. Syria's Afrin welcomes new church opening, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.trtworld.com/video/news/syrias-afrin-welcomes-new-church-openi>

[ng-18248366](#)

64. Mercy, prayer and faith sustain Syrian Christians who fled terrorist persecution - Catholic Saskatoon News, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://news.rcdos.ca/2019/04/05/mercy-prayer-and-faith-sustain-syrian-christians-who-fled-terrorist-persecution/>
65. Christianity in the Roman Africa province - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_the_Roman_Africa_province
66. 'Strangers in our own homes': A waning Assyrian community holds on in northeastern Syria, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://syriadirect.org/strangers-in-our-own-homes-a-waning-assyrian-community-holds-on-in-northeastern-syria/>
67. Religion in Syria - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Syria
68. Afrin Region - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afrin_Region
69. Rojava - KurdishPeople.Org, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://kurdishpeople.org/rojava/>
70. Many cities in Northern Syria and Southern Turkiye do not have Arabic or Turkish names. What is the Kurdish definition of names of many of these cities in Kurdistan? I know Afrin is "Good job" but that is Aferin, no? - Reddit, accessed June 14, 2025, https://www.reddit.com/r/kurdistan/comments/1iah0dr/many_cities_in_northern_syria_and_southern/
71. (PDF) 2025 February 9-A Parisian Mystery in Metal-Tracing Saint Maron's Reliquary-Guita Hourani-MARI-FINAL - ResearchGate, accessed June 14, 2025, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/388808685_2025_February_9-A_Parisian_Mystery_in_Metal-Tracing_Saint_Maron's_Reliquary-Guita_Hourani-MARI-FINAL
72. Sectarianism and minorities in the Syrian civil war - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sectarianism_and_minorities_in_the_Syrian_civil_war
73. مسيحيو عفرين المهجرون يقيمون صلاة وصوم وتراثيل دينية لأهالي شرق الفرات - وكالة نورث برس, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://npasyria.com/13074/>
74. النبي هوري أهم معالم منطقة عفرين - ANF, accessed June 14, 2025, <https://anfarabic.com/%D8%AB%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%A9-%D9%88%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%AA%D9%85%D8%B9/Inby-hwry-hm-m-lm-mntq-fryn-7101>
75. 1 - الوجود الكردي في شمال سوريا: منطقة جبل الأكراد (عفرين) - accessed June 14, 2025, <https://www.medaratkurd.com/2016/12/04/1778/>
76. الأمانة السورية | The Syrian Nation - الأسماء السريانية لقرى وبلدات سوريا, accessed June 14, 2025, https://www.syriannation.net/2020/10/blog-post_23.html
77. اللغة الآرامية السريانية: أقدم لغة عالمية - TikTok, accessed June 14, 2025, https://www.tiktok.com/@this_is_ziena/video/7333966813283274016
78. القرى التي مر بها مار مارون أبو الطائفة المارونية - تيريج عفرين, accessed June 14, 2025, http://tirejafrin.com/index.php?page=category&category_id=93&lang=ar
79. وسط وعود بتوفير "الأمن والاستقرار" .. عودة عائلات مسيحية إلى إدلب - ارفع صوتك, accessed June 14,

2025,

https://www.irfaasawtak.com/minorities/2024/07/26/%D9%88%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%AF-%D8%A8%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%A9-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A5%D8%AF%D9%84%D8%A8?_wrapper_for_mat=html&page=182

80. HTS looks to Idlib's Christians and Druze to whitewash violations (map) - Syria Direct, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://syriadirect.org/hts-looks-to-idlibs-christians-and-druze-to-whitewash-violations/>
81. (PDF) Christianity in the Middle East | Report no.1 - ResearchGate, accessed June 14, 2025,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348606881_Christianity_in_the_Middle_East_Report_no1
82. Kurdish Sufi Spaces of Rural-Urban. Connection in Northern Syria - OpenEdition Journals, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://journals.openedition.org/etudesrurales/9290?lang=en>
83. Christians continue to suffer as President Erdoğan expands reach, power, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2018/03/19/christians-continue-to-suffer-as-president-erdogan-expands-reach-power/>
84. TURKISH NATIONALISM, THE KURDISH FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, AND THE COMPLICATIONS OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT: IS RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE? by Katherine Bennett '21 - Soka University, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://www.soka.edu/about/20th-anniversary-anthology/pacifism/turkish-nationalism-kurdish-fight-freedom-and>
85. Afrin on the Road to Arabization | SyriaUntold - حكاية ما انحكت, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://syriauntold.com/2018/08/13/afrin-on-the-road-to-arabization/>
86. Afrin and the Rojava Revolution - Socialist Project, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://socialistproject.ca/2018/01/afrin-and-rojava-revolution/>
87. The Kurdish Question in the Middle East: Regional Dynamics and Return to National Control - IEMed, accessed June 14, 2025,
<https://www.iemed.org/publication/the-kurdish-question-in-the-middle-east-regional-dynamics-and-return-to-national-control/>
88. Suret language - Wikipedia, accessed June 14, 2025,
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suret_language
89. The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria - Assyrian International News Agency, accessed June 14, 2025,
<http://www.aina.org/books/taias.pdf>
90. (PDF) Languages of the Middle East and North Africa - ResearchGate, accessed June 14, 2025,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334207836_Languages_of_the_Middle_East_and_North_Africa