

Dimitri Pirbari

Nodar Mossaki

A YEZIDI MANUSCRIPT – MIŠŪR OF P'ĪR 'OMAR KHĀLĀN, ITS STUDY AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Summary

The mišŭrs are rare examples of the written religious texts of the Yezidi community. Yezidi mišŭrs were written in the thirteenth century and after in accordance with the Yezidi tradition with the will and blessing of Sheikh 'Adī (other forms: Sheikh 'Adī, Šīkhādī, Šēkhādī, 1072/1078—1162) and his followers, who are seen in Yezidism as saints (khās, walī). The texts were consequently copied on a regular basis.

The task of this article is to describe and analyze the Mišŭr of P'īr 'Omar Khālān. As a part of the study of this mišŭr it is presented detailed information regarding the personality of the Yezidi saint 'Omar Khālān, after whom this mišŭr is named. It should also be noted, that the compilers who edited the document, took into consideration the Muslim environment that was hostile towards the Yezidi religious worldview.

Key words: *Yezidi religion, Yezidi mišŭrs, P'īr 'Omar Khālān, Sheikh 'Adī,*

It is known that Yezidi religion is mainly based not on written but on the oral tradition.¹ The Yezidi *mišŭrs*² are themselves one of the rare examples of the written religious texts of this community.

Yezidi *mišŭrs* were written in the thirteenth century and after in accordance with the Yezidi tradition with the will and blessing of Sheikh 'Adī (other forms: Sheikh 'Adī, Šīkhādī, Šēkhādī, 1072/1078—1162) and his followers, who are seen in Yezidism as saints (khās, walī). The texts were consequently copied on a regular basis.

It is known that the Yezidi community is based on the caste structure and consists of the two groups: clergy (Sheikhs and P'īrs) and laity (Murids), and the clerical functions are distributed among Sheikhs and P'īrs respectively.

The mišŭrs were issued to the heirs of the P'īrs—the founders of the P'īr clans, who are the followers of Sheikh 'Adī and his grand-nephew Sheikh 'Adī II and the son of the latter – Sheikh Ḥassan (1195—1246). Furthermore, for various reasons the mišŭrs were regularly copied and issued by the representatives of the P'īr clans as certificates, in which was written the list of Yezidi tribes – the Murids who were assigned to certain clans of the P'īrs. This sacred manuscripts are handed down from generation to generation of the P'īr families and are used in religious rituals.

According to tradition, P'īr is required to visit the families of his Murids on an annual basis and give them guidance, look after their religious lives, bless their hearths and recite a special prayer *Du'ā zikātē* over their bread and salt. On the other hand, the Murids have to give him donations—*fitū* and *zikat*.³ Therefore, the mišŭrs are the rare written documentations of one of the aspects of functioning of the Yezidi caste system.

However, to this day only a few of the mišŭrs have been published and/or given commentaries. The first document that can be identified as the mišŭr with high probability, was published by Roger Lescot⁴ in his book in

¹ Allison, *The Yezidi Oral Tradition*; Spät, “Religious Oral Tradition”; Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism—its Background*; Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism in Europe*.

² For more information about *mišŭrs*, as well as for analysis of the literature regarding these written sources, see: P'īrbari et al., “A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišŭr of P'īr Sīnī Bahrī;” Pirbari & Mossaki, “A Yezidi Manuscript – Mišŭr of Pir Amar Qubaysi.” In the present article there is no need to repeat the information that is already given in the aforementioned works. Moreover, the present article can be seen as a continuation of the *mišŭr* topic, which started by the works of authors named above. About *mišŭrs* see also Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 58–66.

³ At one time *zikāt* represented some sort of tithing system among Yezidis.

⁴ Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis*, 225–234.

1938; who however did not mention the word *mišūr* and called this document “le diplôme d’initiation de Pîr ...”⁵ In 1994 Pîr Khidir Silēmān (Pîr Xidir Silēman) published and described the *Mišūr of Pîr Xatîb Pisî, son of Pîr Bûtâr*.⁶ This *Mišūr* was translated in English by Khanna Omarkhali.⁷ In 2001 the photocopy of *Mišūr of Pîr 'Omar Khālān*⁸ was printed by the famous Yezidi activist Aziz Tamoyan in his own book. Not long ago the *Mišūr of Pîr Sînî Bahrî*⁹ and *Mišūr of Pîr Amar Qubaysî*¹⁰ were published and analyzed.

It should be noted, that the *Mišūr* published by Aziz Tamoyan was unnoticed by the researchers, or at least no reference of this is known to us. Until very recently we ourselves were unaware of the existence of the photocopy of *Mišūr of Pîr 'Omar Khālān*. This lack of knowledge among the scholars can be explained by few circumstances: first of all, the book is written in Armenian language and is not accessible for the majority of the scholars; Second factor apparently has to do with the personality of the publisher. By the end of 1980s Aziz Tamoyan is the head of the movement that advocated the recognition of Yezidis as separate nationality and was against their identification with the Kurds. His texts that were highly politically biased might interest some, first of all because of his political activities for the analysis of the modern ethnic orientation of the Yezidis in Armenia. In this sense one could hardly expect from him the critical analysis of the manuscript that can have a great value for the researchers who study the early history of the Yezidis.

In the words of Aziz Tamoyan, the document was given to him for safekeeping by the Pîr Ūskē Mrāz Pîr Bahri¹¹ (Uske Mraz Safoyan)¹², who inherited it from his mother Gulē from the clan of Pîrs 'Omarkhālā.¹³ Before this *Mišūr* belonged to the member of the clan Omarkhali. At the same time, since the publisher was not a specialist, he did not provide the photocopy of the manuscript with any kind of information, he did not mention that this was the *Mišūr* of Pîr Omarkhālā and for some reason wrote, that this *Mišūr* “was written by the leader of Yezidis in the year of death of Sheikh 'Adî.”¹⁴ Furthermore, the pages of the *Mišūr* are given in the wrong order – in the end some of the pages are printed upside-down.

By the example of the Photocopy of *Mišūr of Pîr 'Omar Khālān* we can once again make sure how important it is to have similar materials published with the critical commentaries written by the specialists. However, we should pay our respect to the publisher, given the shortage of written materials about Yezidi history, introduction of these materials into the circulation is already valuable in itself. Our task in this article is to describe and analyze the given document. As a part of the study of this *mišūr* we will present detailed information regarding the personality of the Yezidi saint 'Omar Khālān, after whom this *mišūr* is named.

Yezidi Saint 'Omar Khālān

'Omar Khālān is one of the most prominent of the Yezidi saints. It is known, that he and his brother Ḥassan al-Ānārî lived in Lalish¹⁵ where their memorial places are (āqid, nîšāngah) – on the slope of the mount Arafat. Moreover, the village Ānārîya (Zēwa Ānārîya) in the region of Bišērî (Batman, Turkey) is considered to be the domain of these Pîrs. In this place also originally lived the representatives of these two Pîrs. In this regions their shrine is still preserved - Zēwā 'Omarkhālā and Ḥassan Ānārî, a small structure of stacked stones. Zēwa comes from the word “zēw” or “zāwîjā”, i.e. a corner, or a spiritual school, or the place of solitude of the saint. Evidently, 'Omar Khālān and Ḥassan al-Ānārî founded their school in this place and were preaching among their followers.

⁵ Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis*, 225

⁶ Silēmān, “Mišūrat al-yazīdiyāt”; Silēmān, *Sifr al-izīdiya*, 5–24.

⁷ Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 377-398.

⁸ Tamoyan, *Mēnk yēzdî ēnk*, 167–170.

⁹ Pîrbarî et al., “A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišūr of Pîr Sînî Bahrî.”

¹⁰ Pirbarî & Mossakî, “A Yezidi Manuscript – Mišūr of Pîr Amar Qubaysî.”

¹¹ Aziz Tamoyan translates Pîr lineage Pîr Bahri literally – “Sea Pîrs” (Tamoyan, *Mēnk yēzdî ēnk*, 167) that is evidently wrong.

¹² We found out that in fact the surname Pir Uske Mraz is not Safoyan, but his surname is Safaryan.

¹³ Even though the finder of the clan is 'Omar Khālān, the clan is also called 'Omarkhālā and 'Omarkhālî.

¹⁴ Tamoyan, *Mēnk yēzdî ēnk*, 167.

¹⁵ Lalish – the main Yezidi temple complex. The name comes from the gorge Lalish, which is located in 60 kilometers from Mosul.

'Omar Khālān is known as the closest companion of Sheikh Ḥassan and his father Sheikh 'Adī II, i. e. 'Adī Ibn Abu al-Barakat (the grand-nephew of Sheikh 'Adī). Dedicated to him is Qawl¹⁶ 'Omarkhālā ū Ḥassančīnārī (Qawl of 'Omarkhālā and Ḥassančīnārī), he is also mentioned in number of other qawls, for example in the Qawlē Khāfilē Bēnāsīn. This saint is in the list of forty companions of Sheikh Ḥassan «Çilē Melek Şēxsin». According to the tradition, Sheikh 'Adī made 'Omar Khālān the spiritual tutor (*marabi*) of the future Yezidi Emirs. In the Qawlē Omarkhālā u Ḥassančīnārī it says:

Mālā bābā, mālaka bi dawlata, žē diča karāmata, Šīkhādī, pīrēt 'Omar Khālā kira marabīyēt khalīfata ¹⁷ .	House of the Fathers – house with wealth, From him come the miracles, Shikhadi the P'irs of Omarkhālā made <i>marabi</i> houses of the Khalifs. ¹⁸
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P'irs of 'Omarkhālā stand out among the P'ir clans because only their representatives can be ordained as *faqirs*,¹⁹ that is to say they are the only ones who are allowed to be clothed in the garment,²⁰ (*khirqā* – the most hallowed attributes in the Yezidi religion), which is a heavy responsibility as it imposes its certain restrictions, although at the same time it is an honorable duty in the Yezidi system. Also in this qawl the words of Sheikh 'Adī are quoted (most probably the words are of Sheikh 'Adī ibn Abu Al-Barakat, that is Sheikh 'Adī II),²¹ calling for the saints to honor 'Omar Khālān and Ḥassan Čīnārī:

Pišt vān gotinā Šīkhādī got: Galī mēra! Omar Khālā ū Ḥassan Čīnārī du mērēt mazina, Har du, nāvak ži nāvēt mina.	After these words spoke Sheikh 'Adī: Oh, Men! 'Omarkhālā and Ḥassan Čīnārī – two great men, (They are) both – one of my names.
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It is important to note, that according to Yezidi hagiography, the creation of the Yezidi saints is connected to the specific miracles, and as the rule this miracles took place at the will of Sheikh 'Adī. In the religious traditions – Qawls, Bayts and Qasidas – it is not unusual for saints to appear in two hypostasis. In one they are represented with their real personalities, founders of Sheikh and P'ir clans, disciples and followers of Sheikh 'Adī and Sheikh Ḥassan, that are consistent with the Medieval historical sources;²² and in another – their appearance coincides with Yezidi religious doctrine, where angels can manifest themselves in human forms. For example, Sheikh Ḥassan is considered to be the earthly incarnation of the angel Malak Shekhsin (Malak Šēkhsin), and Sheikh Shams – earthly

¹⁶ Qawl (meaning “word”) – the sacred texts of Yezidi oral tradition. They are the main sources for Yezidi religion. The qawls were mostly created in Kurmanji, however there are ones in Arabic, called Qasidas. There are also texts in Farsi and Turkic languages.

¹⁷ Omerxalī X., Xankī K. *Métodeke Analīza Qewlên Êzdiyan*.

¹⁸ The lineages of Yezidi Emirs are called House of Khalifs (family of Khalifs) in Yezidi tradition (Mossaki & P'irbari, “Konchina emira ezidov,” 50).

¹⁹ *Faqirs* – meaning poor, same as ascetic, Dervish - in Persian language. Although, for Yezidis *Faqirs* became one of the ways of monasticism. Later on only the members of certain lineages became *Faqirs*. Among Sheikhs – Šēkhūbakr and Šēxisin, and among P'irs, as mentioned above, only the members of Omārkhali lineage are *Faqirs* at the present time.

Victoria Arakelova says, that the term *Faqir* is a Kurmanji adaptation of Arabic word *faqīh* – “wise, scholar, interpreter of religious law”, and that this word “corresponds to the duties and status of the Yezidi *Faqirs* – at some point they had the role of the visiting judges in the community” (Arakelova, “Book Review: Kh. R. Omarkhali. Iz Glubiny Tysjačetij.”). However, we think this definition is wrong, as there is no kind of evidence that proves that *Faqirs* ever had this kind of duties and roles. Moreover, this “role of visiting judges” in Yezidi tradition fell upon *Qawals*, who were the representative of Yezidi Emir.

²⁰ It should be noted, that P'ir Hasn P'irk, who was most likely contemporary of Sheikh Ḥassan – *marabi* (tutor) of the Šēkhūbakr lineage, also wore the garment. However, there are no direct descendants of him left.

²¹ It should be noted, that in the Yezidi qawls the images of Sheikh 'Adī and Sheikh 'Adī II were combined and it is often hard to determine, about which Sheikh 'Adī the text is about. In these cases the Yezidi scholars refer to the fact that both Šīkhādīs are of same essence (one *surr*). However for the given text, we followed chronological evidence.

²² See for example: al-Tādīfī, *Qalā'id al-Jawāhir*, 85–90; Badri, *Manaqib Sheikh 'Adī*. In these sources Sheikh 'Adī is mentioned together with his disciples, some of which in Yezidism are believed to be saints and founders of P'ir lineages.

incarnation of Sun Angel – Malak Shamsadin (Malak Šamsadīn). About 'Omar Khālān several versions can be considered. According to tradition, he was created from the pupil (in Kurmanji: khāl means a pupil and a mole) of the eye of Sheikh 'Adī and thus he is called Khālān. Whereas in Qawlē 'Omarkhālā ū Ḥassančīnārī it is also said that 'Omar Khālān was made from the *surr* of tree, and his brother Ḥassan Čīnārī – from the sea foam. At the same time a part of a tree in the qawls is an apple, in which Sheikh 'Adī with the saints saw the essence of the saint and called him with a name “Omarkhālā”.

Mālā bābā ži a'nzalīya,
Hēvēnē wan ži Kāniyā Sipīya,
Lē tawāf dibin sunīya,
Kire khitmē čandī a'dawīya.

Home of the ancient fathers,
Their alum is from Kaniya Spi,²³
Before him bow down the Sunis,²⁴
And made them the seal of the Adawians.²⁵

Siltān Ēzīd li Šāmī bū,
Omar Khālā ži surā dārī bū,
Hasin Čīnārī ži kafā behrī bū.
Ālmā ji wēvā diīnin²⁸,
Çandī mēr lē dimayzīnin,
Nāvakī xoyī šīrīn li sar dāyīnin.

Sultan Ezid was Syrian
'Omarkhālān was from *surr*²⁶ of tree,
Ḥassan Čīnārī from the foam²⁷ of the sea.
Alma is carried from there,
All men are taking sight of him,
By his sweet names are calling him.

Ālmāyē īnān ži wēvā
Mērā mayza kir pēvā,
Šīxādī nāv lē dānī sēva.

They brought *Alma* from there,
Men took sight of him,
Shikhadi called him apple.

Sēv dānīn li bāla,
Pādšā nūr šamāla,
Nāv lē dānī 'Omar Khālā.

The apple was laid before him,
King - the glow of candles,
Called him the name – 'Omarkhālā.

Even though in this qawl it is written about 'Omarkhālān and Ḥassančīnārī (Chinari P'irs) as if they were brothers, it is also said that 'Omarkhālān is a father of Ḥassan Čīnārī:

Mēr rūništīn li dīwāna,
Dā am žē bidin bayāna,
Omar Khālā ū Hasin Čīnārī hardu birana.

Men sat down at the meeting,
Yes let us discuss this,
'Omar Khālā and Ḥassan Čīnārī – brothers.

Mīn li wē dītin zor maclisa,
Mēr rūništīn bi haqīyā Šīkhādī ū Malak
Šekhsin žēk dikin pīrsa,
'Omar Khālā bāba ū Hasin Čīnārī pīsa.

I saw a great light,
The saints sat and spoke of the truth of Shikhadi
and Malak Shekhsin,
'Omar Khālā is father, and Ḥassan Čīnārī – son.

²³ Kaniya Spi (meaning: White source) – the holiest source for the Yezidis, which is located on the territory of Lalish. When Yezidis makes a pilgrimage to the Lalish for the first time, it is necessary for them to be sprinkled with the water of Kaniya Spi.

²⁴ Sunī – people of Sunat (tradition), in the given context – Yezidis. In the Yezidi Qawls *sunī* and *sunatkhāna* are the synonyms of the word “Yezidi” and “Yezidkhana”, i.e. the Yezidi community.

²⁵ One of the names Yezidis call themselves, which is now lost, “but is kept in the religious texts” (Arakelova, “K istorii formirovanija ezidskoj obščiny,” 64).

²⁶ *Surr* – it has various explanations in Yezidi theology: secret, divine power, divine magic, holy entity.

²⁷ There is another version, where it says that he was from the air of the sea – «hawa» (Kurmanji).

²⁸ Khalil Jindī in his book says (Rasho, *Parn ji adabê dîne êzdîyan*, vol. 1, 537) that word “alma” in this qawl has the same meaning as “Alim”, i.e. knowledgeable, scholar. Actually, in this case the text is about an apple, as an integral part of the tree, and because of this the Turkic word “alma” – apple is used in two places. In one of these places the word apple is used in Kurmanji – sēv. The use of Arabic, Persian and Turkic words in the Yezidi qawls is quite usual. The compilers of the Qawls used words in different languages for the purpose of rhyming, and also disguised in them their own secrets and riddles for those eager to learn the Yezidi wisdom.

It is apparent that these emphasize the seniority that is expressed towards 'Omarkhālān, despite the fact that Ḥassančīnārī is mentioned before him. It would not be superfluous to mention, that according to the tradition among Yezidis, 'Omarkhālān as well as Sheikh 'Adī wore *tāj ū hila*,²⁹ that must symbolize high rank that he has in the hierarchy of the Yezidi saints. It is also believed that the P'irs of 'Omar Khālān lineage deprived their relatives – descendants of Ḥassan Čīnārī the possibility of having their own Murids.

The Yezidi lore tells us, that the both saints were present at the time of Sheikh 'Adī's³⁰ ascension to heaven and stood by either side of his throne. Despite the fact that in Yezidism the event of birth of 'Omar Khālān is by the will of Sheikh 'Adī, we can say that the deeds of this saint and his brother to the greater extent are connected to his nephew Sheikh 'Adī II, and Sheikh Ḥassan. In this sense 'Omar Khālān and Ḥassan Čīnārī can be seen as the representatives of the second group of Yezidi saints, whose lives coincide with the period of the cast system formation in the Yezidi community (13th century). In the Yezidi history we can classify the saints in two timelines – those, who lived in the time of Sheikh 'Adī ibn Musafir and those who lived in the time of Sheikh 'Adī ibn Abu Al-Barakat and his son Sheikh Ḥassan. The first group consists of the famous saints Ḥasnmanan, Qadīb al-Ban Musilī, Īsebiyan ('Īsā ibn Ābī), P'ir Sīnī Bahrī, 'Amar Qubaysī, P'ir Daud Kharband, Mamshvan and others – those, who were the disciples of Sheikh 'Adī, many of whom are in the 40 companions of Sheikh 'Adī – unlike the next group of saints, that was formed half a century later and was included in the list of the companions of Sheikh Ḥassan.

It should also be noted, that it is not unusual in the Yezidi Qawls, that the saints regardless of when they lived, are mentioned as if they are in the same time period: As in the Qawl of 'Omarkhālā Īsebiyan is mentioned – the founder of the P'ir clan and contemporary of Sheikh 'Adī.

Šīkhādī wā dikir firwāra,
Har šav, ēvārēt īnīyā šībābaka āvā Kāniyā Sipī
bi zēwayī vā dihināra,
Qāsīd Īsebiya bi šahdayā Dāwidī bin
Darmāna.

Šīkhādī commanded,
Every night, Every friday's night water of
Kāniyā Sipī sent in Shbab³¹ to zawya,
Messenger Īsebiya and witness Dāwid bin
Darmān.³²

However, the line between religious and metaphysical concepts and historical facts should be emphasized. So we should bear in mind that the mention of the saints that founded the P'irs lineages in the religious texts is of practical importance for the Yezidi canons, on this basis various inter-caste relationships are formed between the P'irs' and the Sheikhs' lineages, and prohibitions are imposed on certain inter-lineages marriages within castes.

Lineage of P'ir 'Omarkhālī: Their internal and external caste relations

This lineage of P'irs is quite numerous, the members of the lineage live in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey as well as in Georgia, Armenia and Europe, where they emigrated to in last 2-3 decades.

The P'irs of the P'ir 'Omarkhālī's lineage are the P'irs of Haji Muhammad, and Sheikhs – Sheikh Sharfadin (Sheikh Adani). The members of the 'Omarkhālī lineage are not allowed to be married to the P'irs of Jarwan,³³

²⁹ *Tāj* and *hila* – *Tāj* and *hila* – the garments for the Yezidi saints, who have reached high level of sainthood. *Tāj* (meaning “crown”) – is a cone-shaped wool-made headdress with the piece hanging over the face. *Hila* is a wool-made cape with sleeves. Both pieces of clothing are used only at times of the Yezidi celebration and the Sama' dance. Both are black. In addition *tāj ū hila* may be kept as sacred items in the families of Šēkhūbakr, Šēxisin and 'Omarkhālā.

³⁰ Most probably in this case it is about Sheikh Adi II.

³¹ Šībāb – flute.

³² Dāwid bin Darmān – Yezidi saint, whose descendants bear his name of P'ir Dāwid bin Darmān.

³³ Ph. Kreyenbroek writes that P'irs of 'Omarkhālā are the “subgroup of the Pirs of Cerwan” (Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism—its Background*, 111), although this statement appears to be wrong.

since the members of this clan are the descendants of Haji Muhammed's brother. Also, 'Omarkhālī P'irs do not wed Hasnmaman P'irs, because the latter are P'irs of the forty P'irs and thus are the heads of all P'irs.

The Structure of the Mišūr of 'Omar Khālā

The earlier published *mišūrs* give certain ground to define what is common between these documents. Even though the *mišūrs* in some cases differ, due to the fact that as a rule they were constantly rewritten, the survived evidences give the possibility to define the characteristics of the structure *mišūr* text and its components. As a rule, the *mišūrs* begin with the phrase «Bīsmillāhī ā-rāhīmān ā-rāhīm» (In Arabic: In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful), then follows the praise of Sheikh 'Adī and Sheikh Ḥassan, the list of forty companions of Sheikh 'Adī and the list of companions of Sheikh Ḥassan. After this the Yezidi tribes (Murids) are listed, who are assigned to the owner of the *mišūr*. Next, follows the list of the names of the ancestors of the owner of this *mišūr*. The document ends with the praise of Sheikh 'Adī, the date of its compilation or rewriting and also the compilers or the rewriters are mentioned along with those present (witnesses). Almost always the *mišūrs* are supplied with, for example, lines from suras, poetry or the citations from Quran, that were often included by the Yezidi scribes in the later copies because of the practical reasons – to ensure that the document looked acceptable for the Muslim society, for the documents might have been given to the authorities. If the one rewriting was a Yezidi Sheikh, the manuscript could be sealed. All the *mišūrs* are originally written in Arabic. However, later, when rewriting and creating new copies, they could include some non-Arabic phrases in the manuscript. As, for example, the *mišūr* of 'Omarkhālī contains a sentence written in Ottoman language, but this kind of additions to the texts are rare novelty.

Structure of the text of the analyzed *mišūr* in general follows the structure described by us, however there are some components that are missing from it. The document starts according to the standard – with the phrase “In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.” Then follows the praise of Sheikh 'Adī, while in the *mišūrs* of P'ir 'Amar Qubaysī and P'ir Khatīb Pisī his name is shortened to “Sheikh 'Adī ben Musafir”, in this document this name is even more modified with additions “b. Sākhr b. Musafir aš-Šāmī.” It should be noted that in Yezidi tradition *nīsba* āš-Šāmī (Syrian) was not used in connection to Sheikh 'Adī in any *mišūrs* known to us, however, in qawls and Qasidas it is clearly stated that he is “Šāmī” i.e. Syrian. After this there is written the list of forty companions of Sheikh 'Adī and 'Omar Khālān is mentioned in that list, even though in other *mišūrs* he is mentioned as the companion of Sheikh Ḥassan which, as noted before, is more chronologically consistent with the historical facts. Moreover, the list of forty companions of Shaikh Ḥassan is not included in this *mišūr*. Next, Sheikh 'Adī is called as a witness, as well as Biblical and Quranic prophets, which is apparently due to the desire to give greater sacralization to the document. After this the owner of the *mišūr* mentioned along with his ancestors, with identification of five generations, which is reinforced by the phrase “the witness of this P'ir Būb al-Barzani.”³⁴ It is possible, that this phrase might indicate even earlier time of creation of the copy of *Mišūr* of 'Omarkhālā. P'ir Būb (P'ir Bū) is quite well known personality in Yezidism, he is the son of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī.³⁵ His name is listed in the forty of the companion of Sheikh Ḥassan.³⁶ Although, in the given *mišūr* he is also mentioned as the companion of Sheikh 'Adī.

This is followed by a standard phrase praising God, and suras from the Quran (Surah an-Nas— “People” and Surah al-Ikhlās— “Declaration of God's Unity”). The inclusion of these suras from the Quran in this *mišūr*'s text can be evidently explained by the Yezidis living in a hostile Muslim environment that labeled the Yezidis “devil-worshippers.” Apparently, the creators of this *mišūr* wanted to refute this kind of perception of the Yezidis.

The text is continued by the list of eight *ashirats* (tribes), where in regard of the *qāzānān* tribe is shown, that only a part of it are Murids of 'Omarkhālī. This is quite strange, as the division of the tribes is not common for the *mišūr* texts, this might be explained by writers being guided by the circumstances of relationship between 'Omarkhālī and the Murids that was real at the time of the creation (copying, rewriting) of the document. In the

³⁴ In the *mišūrs* there are two ways this name is written—al- Bahzānī and al-Barzānī. We think, that the correct form is al-Bahzānī, as the names of two of the Arabic-speaking Yezidi settlements Bašīq and Bahzān have their own Arabic etymology. Bašīqa—comes from Arabic “Bayt al-Ashq”, i.e. Home of joy, and Bahzān—from Arabic “Bayt al-Hazn, i.e. house of sorrow.

³⁵ P'irbari et al., “A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī.”

³⁶ See *Mišūr* of Khatīb Pisī: Silēmān, “Mišūrat al-yazīdiyāt”.

manuscript there is also a phrase that states, that the *mišūr* exists “since the time of Bayazid Bastami.”³⁷ At the end the text the group of scribes and witnesses is plainly recounted, one of which appears to be Hussein-beg (who died in 1879)—Emir (Mīr) of Sheikhan.³⁸ Based on this we can at least deduce the years of creation of this document with closer proximity. The text of the *mišūr* also gives reason for the creation of the document. Based on what is written we can make an assumption that this text was created to resolve the controversial issue of affiliation of the Murids. This is indirectly indicated by the address in the upper corner, that says “Let it be known to Abdulla Saro and Muhammad.” Thus, judging by the written text, it can be concluded that the information about the Murids given in this *mišūr* was rewritten from the words in the Qawals and not from the previous copy of the text. The document bears the seal of Chato-agma.

Mišūr is written in the Arabic language of the Yezidis of the Bashik and Bakhzan, which is close to the Syrian dialect of the Arabic language, which is explained by the fact that the compilers of these *mišūrs* were Peshimams – residents of these townships. The Arabic text is reproduced according to the text of the original, except for the suras from the Quran, which were given in the *mišūr* without diacritics.

Text of mišūr

We divided the *Mišūr* of 'Omar Khālān into ten parts based on the content:³⁹

1. The beginning of the manuscript;
2. The list of the forty of Sheikh 'Adī b. Musāfir;
3. Witnesses of the *mišūr* (Sheikh 'Adī, prophets and other saints);
4. The owner of the manuscript;
5. Witness of the *mišūr* (P'ir Bub);
6. Suras from the Quran;
7. The Murids of this *mišūr*;
8. The scribe of the *mišūr* and the witnesses;
9. Appendix of the *mišūr*.⁴⁰

Mišūr of P'ir 'Omar Khālān: Arabic Text and English Translation

1. The beginning of the manuscript.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

2. The list of the forty of Sheikh 'Adī b. Musāfir.

هاذي تذكرت اربعين سيدنا شيخ عادي ابن شيخ مسافراين شيخ صحراين شيخ مسافر الشامي نورالله على ظريحه.
امين.

اولهم محمد ابن رش و حسن ابن مم و عيسى ابن ابي و پير جروان و عمر قبسي و حسن الحصري و جند باخوذي وقضيب البان الموصلي
ومحمد الشنبيكي وابوبكر الحمسي و اومر خالان وسعيد البدوي و ابراهيم الرملي وقايد البوزي حاجي رجب البيروستي و پير سعيدان و امير محمود
القونسي وخضر الهكاري وعلي التوكلي و اسحاق الكردي و بوب البارزاني و علي درديالي و خشف الدنيسري
وحماد البوزي و پير درديري و عبدالعزيز الثرثاري و داود التخومي ابراهيم القونسي و محمد الرنبوسي و سعيد البهاي و عمر المزراعي و بركات
ابن اختي و شيخ نعمان و شيخ فتبان و مطر ابن فيطى و بشيراين غنيمه و جمال ابن سلام و شيخ رسلان المهرساني و حسين البرخوركي و ابوبكر

³⁷ Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. 'Īsā b. Surūshān al-Biṣṭāmī (al-Baṣṭāmī) (804-874)—the famous Persian dervish. It should be noted that some of the famous early Sufis are highly revered in Yezidism and are often mentioned in Qawls. In addition to this according to the Yezidi tradition they are considered without identifying them with Islam.

³⁸ Austen Henry Layard (Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, 92-96) wrote about him. See also Guest, *Survival Among the Kurds*, 95, 98-99, 108-123), Silēmān & Shekhani, *Shekhan and Shekhanbagi*, 39).

³⁹ Here we used the method that Kh. Omarkhali applied when publishing the manuscript of the *Mišūr* of KhP (Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 377-98).

⁴⁰ Considering different handwriting and separate placement of the text, this part was most probably added to the *mišūr* later.

قرقوري و احمد ابن شمس و ريحان عبد شيخ عادي و داود خربند و محمد ابن ربن وهو خاتم الاربعين رحمت الله عليهم اجمعين.

This is the enumeration of the forty of our Lord Sheikh 'Adī b. Musāfir b. Sakhr b. Musāfir āš-Šāmī.⁴¹ God illuminate his grave! Amin!

The first of them is Muḥammad ībn Raš and [the others] are Ḥasn ībn Mam, Īsā ībn Ābī, P'ir Jarwān, 'Amar Qubaysī,⁴² Ḥassan Ḥasrī, Jūnāid al-Bākhūzī, Qadīb al-Bān al-Musilī, Muḥammad al-Šanbakī, Ābū Bakr al-Ḥimsī, 'Omar Khālān,⁴³ Sa'īd al-Badawī, Ībrahīm al-Ramlī, Qā'id al-Būzī, Ḥajī Raġab al-Baristakī, P'ir Sā'dān,⁴⁴ Amīr Maḥmud al-Qalānsī,⁴⁵ Khidir al-Hakārī, Alī Tokilī, Ishāq al-Kurdī, Būb al-Barzānī,⁴⁶ 'Alī Dardālī,⁴⁷ Khisif⁴⁸ al-Dinēsī, Ḥamad al-Būzī, P'ir Dardīrī,⁴⁹ 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Sārsārī, Dawūd al-Tikhūmī, Ibrahīm al-Qūnsī, Muhammad al-Ranbūsī, Sa'īd al-Bāḥī,⁵⁰ 'Umār al-Mazra'ī, Barakāt⁵¹ ībn Ukhtī, Sheikh Nu'mān, Sheikh Fityān, Matar ībn Fayzī,⁵² Bašīr⁵³ ībn Ghanīma, Jamāl ībn Salām, Sheikh Raslān al-Mīhrsānī, Ḥusayn Barkhwarkī, Abū Bakr Qarqūrī, Ahmad ībn Šams, Raīhān 'Abd al-Sheikh 'Adī, Dawūd Kharband, Muhammad ībn Raban⁵⁴ and he is the seal (i.e. last) of the forty. May God have mercy on all of them!

3. The Witnesses of the Mišūr (Sheikh 'Adī, prophets and other saints)

وهذا سلمان بيخمبر و علي و ابابكر و يونس و عمر و عثمان امين اجمعين. و موسى كلامه و اسحاق الكردي و شيخ حسن البصري و شيخ عادي ابن مسافر شهود على هاذ المشور

⁴¹ The direct ancestors of Sheikh 'Adī that are given here do not match other existing versions of his genealogy.

⁴² The word "Qubaysī" is written incorrectly in the *mišūr*, the letter "ي" is missing.

⁴³ In the *Mišūr* of P'ir Khatīb Pisī and *Mišūr* of P'ir 'Amar Qubaysī 'Omar Khālān indicated in 'list of the forty' of Sheikh Ḥassan. Here he is included in the 'list of the forty' of Sheikh 'Adī, apparently to emphasize his importance, since the *mišūr* belongs to his lineage.

⁴⁴ We do not see this name in any other *mišūrs* known to us.

⁴⁵ In the *mišūr*—Qūnsī. Should be Qalānsī.

⁴⁶ Alī Tokilī is followed by Ishāq al-Kurdī, however between Ishāq and al-Kurdī, at the top with small letters is written Būb al-Barzānī. It seems like that this name was later addition to the text. Note, that Būb al-Barzānī (P'ir Būb al-Bahzānī) is included in the list of Sheikh Ḥassan in other *mišūrs*.

⁴⁷ In other *mišūrs* he also occurs as 'Alī Dardabālī.

⁴⁸ In other *mišūrs*—Khišf.

⁴⁹ This name is not found in any *mišūrs* known to us.

⁵⁰ There is a mistake in this *mišūrs*—Bḥāī.

⁵¹ In other *mišūrs*—Mubārak.

⁵² In the *mišūr*—Fazī. Should be Fayzī. In other *mišūrs*—Fayḍ.

⁵³ Letter "š" is missing.

⁵⁴ So in the "list of the forty" of Sheikh 'Adī here forty-four of his companions are listed, meaning four of them should not be included in this list. 'Omar Khālān and P'ir Bub, as it is known, belong to the list of companions of Sheikh Ḥassan, the other two—P'ir Sā'dān and P'ir Dardīrī, as already noted, are unknown to us and are not found in the other *mišūrs*. It is highly likely that they were added to the list by the creator of this version of the *mišūr*.

And Salmān Pekhambar,⁵⁵ Alī,⁵⁶ Abūbakr,⁵⁷ Yūnūs,⁵⁸ Omar,⁵⁹ Osman,⁶⁰ Amen to all of them! Musa⁶¹ and his words, Ishāq al-Kurdī,⁶² Sheikh Ḥassan al-Basrī,⁶³ Sheikh 'Adī ibn Musafīr—The witnesses of this *mišūr*.

4. The owner of the manuscript

مال پير شمسي الي هاذ اسل پير عفال سل صاحب و مالكهو هل مشور من دور او مرخالان پير شمسي ابن پير ملك ابن پير عفال ابن پير مصطفى ابن ملك ابن پير سيد ابن بشان.

This *mišūr* belongs to P'ir Šamsī, who is descendant of P'ir Āvdal, who is the possessor and owner of this *mišūr* from the house 'Omar Khālān. P'ir Šamsī ibn P'ir Malak ibn P'ir Āvdal ibn P'ir Mustafa ibn P'ir Malak ibn P'ir Sayīd ibn Bšān.

5. The witness of the *mišūr* (P'ir Būb)

في شهادت بوب البارزاني.

The witness of this is Būb al-Barzānī.

6. Suras from the Quran

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ. مَلِكِ النَّاسِ. إِلَهِ النَّاسِ. مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ الْخَنَّاسِ. الَّذِي يُوَسْوِسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ. مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ. اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ. لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ. وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ.

In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful⁶⁴

114:1 Say: I seek refuge with the Lord and Cherisher of Mankind,

114:2 The King (or Ruler) of Mankind,

114:3 The god (or judge) of Mankind,—

114:4 From the mischief of the Whisperer (of Evil), who withdraws (after his whisper),—

114:5 (The same) who whispers into the hearts of Mankind,—

⁵⁵ Salman—modified version of the name Suleiman. This refers to the prophet Suleiman, who is also Biblical Solomon.

⁵⁶ This refers to Alī ibn Abū Talīb (599-661), the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad.

⁵⁷ This refers to Abūbakr as-Siddiq (573-634). First caliph, companion and one of the father-in-laws of Muḥammad.

⁵⁸ This refers to prophet Yunus, the Biblical Jonah.

⁵⁹ Omar ibn al-Khattab (586-644)—second Muslim caliph.

⁶⁰ Uthman (Osman) ibn Affan (574-656)—one of the closest companions of Muḥammad, the third Muslim caliph.

⁶¹ This refers to Musa ibn Amr, the Biblical Moses.

⁶² Ishāq al-Kurdī (Ishāq al-Sārdūlī al-Kurdī)—native of the village Sārdūlī, one of the companions of Sheikh 'Adī. His sayings about Sheikh Adi have been preserved, where Ishāq al-Sārdūlī tells about his participation in the battles of Muslims against Franks and about being taken captive in Tripoli along with his forty companions. According to medieval source, he addressed Sheikh Adi in his prayers and miracle happened – they managed to escape and get to Nisibin (Nusaybin) (Badri, *Manaqib Sheikh 'Adī*, 27.)

⁶³ Hassan al-Basri (642-728)—one of the early *Zahids*, predecessor of Sufis. It is sometimes believed that him and Sheikh Ḥassan (Šikhisin) have one essence—“Surrī”, i.e. are the reincarnations of one of the seven angels—Malak Šikhisin.

⁶⁴ Surah An-Nas (114) (Mankind). The translation into English from: The Holy Qur'an. Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

114:6 Among Jinns and among men.

In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful⁶⁵

112:1 Say: He is Allah, the One and Only;

112:2 Allah, the Eternal, Absolute;

112:3 He begetteth not, nor is He begotten;

112:4 And there is none like unto Him.

7. The Murids of this *mišūr*

من مریدین هاذا المنشور عشیرت ملوان عشیرت قسمی قازان عشیرت قونطر عشیرت داراچک عشیرت خلشنا عشیرت رموشی عشیرت سلوان عشیرت قاران کل یاهل هاذی العشیرات یكون معلمکم هاذا منشور دور بازید بسطام. یاهل العشیرکل من کان فی بیتلهو هاذا المنشور یبقی منهم بنت عمیا یصل خیرکم وخیرتکم الی ذالک الوجاغ والذی یمنع الوجاغ مالهو شفاعة قدام شیخ عادی و شیخ حسن و امرخالان . هاذا النسب الاجداد من وقت دور شیخ عادی ابن شیخ مسافر الشامي نفعا الله تعالی من برکاته والعزیزو کلامه القدیوم رحمت الله علیهم امین. یاهل عشیرت المذكورین و هاذا منشور و امرخالان و ید پیر شا یكون معلومکم و لا تخلفون المنشور من شیخ عادی و نقلهون من جدید و رفعا الخبر صحیح کلام شیخ عادی شیخ المشیخ ابن مسافر الشامي نفعا الله من

Murids of this *mišūr* are the *ashirat* Malwān,⁶⁶ part of *ashirat* Qāzān,⁶⁷ *ashirat* Quntir, *ashirat* Dārāchik, *ashirat* Khilsna, *ashirat* Ramoshī,⁶⁸ *ashirat* Salwān,⁶⁹ *ashirat* Qārān. All the people of these *ashirats*, know, that this *mišūr* is from the time of Bayāzid Bastāmī. Oh, People of the *ashirats*, you should give this *ojakh*⁷⁰ *kheir* and *kherat*,⁷¹ to the family where this *mišūr* is kept, even if the only remaining member of that family is one blind woman. And whoever does not give to this *ojakh* shall not have intercession before Sheikh 'Adī and Sheikh Ḥassan and 'Omarkhālā. And the ancestors from the time of Sheikh 'Adī b. Musafir aš-Šāmī. May we benefit from his Blessing! From him sweet/dear blessing and his ancient words. May God rest them all in peace!

Oh, people of the mentioned *ashirats*, this *manšūr* of 'Omarkhālān in the hands of P'ir, know, that it is forbidden to oppose this *manšūr*, which is from Sheikh 'Adī, which we have renewed.

This information has been revealed to us from the true words from Sheikh 'Adī – the Sheikh of Sheikhs – ibn Musafir aš-Šāmī. May we have a share from His blessings!

8. The scribe of the *mišūr* and the witnesses

برکاتهو تمت الكتاب بعبون الملك الوهاب على يد ظعف العباد المرجي الى رحمت من هو كاتب الحروف شيخ ناصر ابن المرحوم شيخ ندير من بيت شيخ حسن البصري.

و في شهادت حسين بك ميري شيخان

و في شهادت شيخ ناصر اختيار مرکه

و في شهادت شيخ ناصر ولد شيخ حيدر ايمام مرکه

و في شهادت جملة القوالين شيخ عادي

⁶⁵ Al-Ikhlās (112) (The Unity) The translation into English from: The Holy Qur'an. Abdullah Yusuf Ali.

⁶⁶ Malwān—today this tribe is not known among Yezidis. They either merged with the other tribes, or departed from Yezidism. There are no further explanations given regarding tribes unknown to us.

⁶⁷ This tribe belonging to the tribal union of Hasinī (“*Ēlā* Hasinī”). Sometimes they are called Ortī, by the name of the village where they come from. Divided into Ozmānsoyī, Waloyī and Hayoyī. Sometimes they attribute Salwānī to them as well, however they are clearly a separate tribe. They mainly live in Zovuni, Armenia.

⁶⁸ This tribe in Armenia was a part of the tribal union of Hasinī (Bayazid). Part of Ramošī are in Syria and some families are in Turkey. The Ramošī are division of Marwānī tribe, who themselves belong to the tribal union of Šarqī, fact that the Ramošī in Armenia do not remember and they believe themselves to be a separate tribe.

⁶⁹ Some of the scholars of Yezidi history believe Salwānī *ashirat* to be a branch of the tribe Qāzānī, Others – do not. This *mišūr* shows that Salwānī and Qāzānī are separate tribes.

⁷⁰ Family, lineage.

⁷¹ It is interesting, that the term *zikāt* (alms, donation) that is prescribed to the P'irs is not used here. Possibly they used word *kherat* here as synonym of *zikāt*. Or, in the given *mišūr* was clearly indicated that these tribes are the Murids of this *mišūr*, and the P'irs that owners of the *mišūr* not as their original P'irs, but as the ones who perform service.

و في شهادت متبخچي شيخ عادي

The completion of this script is with the help of the giving King (Malik Wahab), with the hands of the weak slaves, who pray for his mercy. Sheikh Nasr, the son of the late Sheikh Nadir from the Ḥassan al-Basrī⁷² house wrote this letters. With the witness of Hussein-Beg the *Mir* of Sheikhan.⁷³ With the witness of Sheikh Nasr the *Akhtiar of Margah*,⁷⁴ with the witness of Sheikh Nasr son of Sheikh Haidar the *Imam of Margah*.⁷⁵ And with the witness of the group of Qawals of Sheikh 'Adī. With the witness of Matbakhchi⁷⁶ of Sheikh 'Adī.

The Seal of Hussein-Beg the Mir of Sheikhan.
The Seal of Sheikh Nasr the Akhtiar of Margah.
The Seal of Sheikh Haidar the Imam of Margah.
The Seal of Matbakhchi (?)

9. Appendix of the *mišūr*

عشیرت: سلوانه، قازانه، رموشه، قاخلکه، شرقی، جکمه، خلسنه، الکون.

المعلوم الى عبدالله صارو و محمد

المنتظر لهذا الاعلام هو انه قد قرينا المنشور نحن قوالين و جطو اغا بان هل عشائر المریدین هم مریدی اوامر ابن بیر حسن موسی منسور و لهذا نحن قد حررنا له هذا الاعلام و مهرنا له الورقة يكون احد لا يعاضه في مریده.

كلام قوال محمد
الشهاد على ذلك جطو اغا
قوال خليل

Ashirat Salwān, Qāzān, Ramosha, Qakhlka, Sharqī, Djkma, Khilsna, Alkon.

On the upper corner of the document is written: “Let it be known to Abdulla Saro and Muḥammad.”

The reason for creating this document is, that we read this *mišūr*, we – Qawals together with Chato-aga; that the *ashirats* discovered by us are the Murids of Omar P’ir Ḥassan Musī Mansur and so wrote this document and put on it a seal, so no one claims his Murids.⁷⁷

From the words of Qawal of Muḥammad⁷⁸.

Qawal Khalil

The witness of this Chato-aga.

The Seal of Chato-aga.

⁷² He from the lineage of Shekhsin. Here the creators of the text identify Shekhsin with Ḥassan al-Basrī—something that was often pointed out by the researchers in the nineteenth century (Kartsov, *Zametki o turetskikh yezidakh*, p. 4).

⁷³ *Mir* of Sheikhan—title of Yezidi ruler, which they received from the principality of the same name with the center in Baadra.

⁷⁴ Sheikh Nasr *Akhtiar of Margah*—Spiritual leader of Yezidis, of whom spoke Austen H. Layard (*Nineveh, and its remains*, p. 91-104) and George Percy Badger (*The Nestorians and Their Rituals*). He was contemporary of *Mir* Hussein-beg.

⁷⁵ This is one of the Peshimams from Bahzān.

⁷⁶ Matbakhchi (meaning: kitchen workers) —the servers of the temple Lalish. Mainly they come from lineage of *Faqirs*, who host pilgrims, feed them and prepare holy food at the times of celebrations.

⁷⁷ Here as noted above, we might presume that the purpose of creation (update) of the studied document might be a claim on Murids of this family by the other P’irs lineages, or by other families representing the lineage of ‘Omarkhālī.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that today the name Muḥammad is quite rare among the Yezidis of Iraq, despite the fact that a lot of Yezidi saints carried this same name. Apparently, at the time of the writing of this *mišūr* this name was still common among the Iraqi Yezidis. In contrast with the Iraqi Yezidis, name Muḥammad (in different versions – Mhe, Mahmud, Mamad, etc.) is widespread among the Yezidis of the former Soviet Union, Turkey and Syria.

Below there is a text in Ottoman⁷⁹ addressed to:

برادرم عبود و برادرم جور (؟) اغا حضرتدلرينه
بعد سلام و افره ابلاغندصكره نموده محبانه مز اولدركه بوندن اقدم سيزك بو طرفه مشورى اوقدق معلوممز اولمش جنابلريكز خبرى مشوره
دكه جكه قوانلرك شهما ئيله البت سيزك خبركز بو مشيرلره يتشه جك ساقك كمسنه يه ويرميه سيز بو وجهيله معلوملركز بيورلدقه بر كمسنه يه
بر شئى ويرمه يه سيز طرفكزه كلان مشيرك معلومكز بيورلسون عزيزم بوندن بويله طرفمكز خاطرلريكزدان فراموش بيورمه يه سن
عزيزم

ا...م (؟)
چتو اغا
م

Birâderim Abdo ve birâderim Câvâr (?) Ağa hazretlerine

Ba'de selâm-ı vâfire iblâğından sonra nümûde-i muhibbânemiz oldur ki; bundan akdem sizin bu tarafa meşûru okuduk, ma'lûmumuz olmuş Cenâblarınız haberi meşûra değeceğe kuvvâların şehmâyıyla elbette sizin haberiniz bu müşîrlere yetiŕecek. Sakin kimseye vermeyesiz, bu vechile ma'lûmlarınız buyuruldukda bir kimesneye bir ŕey vermeyesiz. Tarafınıza gelen müşîrin fakrından ma'lûmunuz buyurulsun azîzim. Bundan böyle tarafınızın hâtırlarınızdan ferâmûŕ buyurmayasız azîzim.

..... (?)
Çeto Ağa
M

To my esteemed brothers Abdo and Jawar(?) Aga!

After receiving many greetings, we saw your great love. We recently read the *mišûr* you sent and got to know about you. If someone has access to this *mišûr*, information about you will reach the spiers. Be careful not to give it to anyone. Therefore, if news reaches you, do not say anything to anyone. Give meager information to the person who came to you, dear ones. From now on, don't forget about us.

..... (?)
Chato Aga
M⁸⁰

Conclusion

These documents that are dated back to the thirteenth century are in fact the only written evidences of the early stage of Yezidism. As this analyzed *mišûr*, that was written later in time shows, when the canons in Yezidism were finally formed, the basic principles of the *mišûr* have not changed. It should also be noted, that the compilers who edited the document, took into consideration the Muslim environment that was hostile towards the Yezidi religious worldview. Moreover, despite the sacred status of the manuscript, even after such a long time since the creation of the first *mišûr*, the most important aspect is the practical meaning of this diploma, designed to show and recognize how the certain lineage of P'irs have assigned to them Yezidi tribes (Murids).

⁷⁹ The authors thank Professor Zaza Shashikadze for reading this text in Ottoman, transliterating it into Turkish and translating it into Georgian, Georgian, from which the text was translated into English.

⁸⁰ In Ottoman documents the stand-alone letter م (M - mim) means the aforementioned.

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