

A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišūr of Pʿīr Sīnī Bahrī/Pʿīr Sīnī Dārānī, Its Study and Critical Analysis

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A Yezidi Manuscript:—Mišūr of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī/P’ir Sīnī Dārānī, Its Study and Critical Analysis

Yezidi mišūrs are one of the rarest written sources on the history and religion of the Yezidis. The special value of mišūrs is that Yezidism is characterized mainly by the oral transmission of religious tradition. The article provides an overview and a description of the four versions of Mišūr of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī/P’ir Sīnī Dārānī (Mišūr of P’ir Sīnī Behrī/P’ir Sīnī Darānī), one of which is thought to be produced in 604/1207 or 1208, making it one of the earliest sources of Yezidi history and religion. A collaborative version of the document is presented based on these four versions. Yezidi mišūrs belong to certain lineages of P’irs and represent certificates of recognition of those lineages and those Yezidi tribes that were attributed to them as Murids. The manuscript that is examined here is rich in historical data related to the establishment of the Yezidi community. The document also lists the tribes that today are not Yezidi. Furthermore, the mišūr identifies a number of previously unknown followers and associates of Sheikh ‘Adi. This data will be instrumental in identifying various features of Yezidism in its formative age.

Keywords: Yezidis; *Mišūrs*; Mišūr of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī; Sufi; Sheikh ‘Adi

Introduction

Yezidism is characterized by oral transmission of religious tradition. Centuries of living in a hostile environment led to the minimization of written documentation, which, together with the ban on literacy, made the role of oral tradition fundamental.¹ The most important part of the oral tradition of the Yezidis² and a primary source of

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

²About the Yezidis sees Allison, “The Yazidis.”

knowledge about Yezidism are firstly *Qawls* or *Qewls* (religious hymns), *Beyts* and *Qasīdās* (performed by the *Qawals*)³.⁴

Sacred manuscripts called *mišūr*⁵ represent one of the rarest and the most important written sources for the study of Yezidi history and religion.

In historiography “granted certificates”—*manšūrs*—represent a rare and not widely distributed type of documents, namely for the study of the medieval history of Asia Minor in the period of Seljuk rule or Egypt in the same period. These were economic documents and gave their owners various privileges and tenure rights⁶ (German: *Lehen*). W. Björkman names *manšūr* “*Lehnsdiplom*,” and writes about *manāšīr* in Egypt for the military.⁷

It should be noted that until now researchers of Yezidism who published *mišūrs* did not draw an analogy with “*manšūrs*” or “*manāšīr*” among other societies or states of the region.⁸ Thus it is obvious that these terms match each other in their designation.

Yezidi *mišūrs* were written in the thirteenth century (although there is a possibility that they could have been written in the following century) in accordance with the Yezidi tradition with the will and blessing of Sheikh ‘Adi (other forms: Sheikh ‘Adī, Šīkhādī, Šēkhādī) and his followers, who are seen in Yezidism as saints, and were consequently copied on a regular basis.

These certificates were granted to certain lineages of P’irs and represented documents of recognition of those lineages and those Yezidi tribes that were attributed to them as *Murids* (*mirīds*, in Kurmanji⁹ *mirīds*). However, the issue of awarding the *mišūrs* exclusively to the P’irs remains somewhat unclear.

It is known that the = Yezidi community is based on the caste structure and consists of Sheikhs (šêx, şêx), P’irs, and *Murids*.¹⁰ Religious functions are distributed among Sheikhs and P’irs.¹¹ The Sheikhs are in charge of religious and administrative functions while P’irs are in charge of purely religious functions.

³Qawals—The separate group of preachers belonging to the cast of *Murids* within the Yezidi community. The traditional place of settlement of Yezidi Qawals is Bašīq and Bahzān (Iraq).

⁴Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism—its Background*; Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 79–109.

⁵About *mišūrs* see Silēmān, “Mišūrat al-yazīdiyāt”; Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 58–66, 377–98; Kreyenbroek and Rashow, *God and Sheikh Adi are Perfect*, 43; Omarkhali, “Jezidiskaja religioznaja piš’mennaja literatura,” 179–80; Omarkhali, “Current Changes in the Yezidi System,” 70; Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism in Europe*, 99; Allison, “Addressivity and the Monument: Memorials,” 180.

⁶Gordlevskij, *Izbrannije sočinenija*, 41, 42, 169.

⁷Bjorkman, *Beitrage Zur Geschichte*, 51.

⁸Roger Lescot, in the annex to his book, gives a copy of the manuscript, which very probably can be defined as *mišūr*; however he did not call this document a *mišūr*, but “*le diplôme d’initiation de Pīr ...*” (Lescot, *Les Yezidis de Syrie*, 225). P’ir Xidir Silēmān and Khanna Omarkhali, who published *Mišūr of P’ir Xatīb Pišī* (see further), also did not draw an analogy between Yezidi *mišūrs* and “*manšūrs*” or “*manāšīr*.”

⁹Kurmanji—Northern dialect of Kurdish language spoken by the vast majority of Yezidis.

¹⁰Omarkhali, “On the Structure of the Yezidi Clan.”

¹¹P’ir (Persian—“old man,” “elder”) in the context of the period under consideration—the widespread Persian title for the Sufi master. According to Armando Salvatore, it was P’irs who somewhat smoothed out the globalizing tendencies occurring through Sufism and they “were particularly determined, in tune

In both *Qawlê Qarafirqân* and *Qawlê Ômarxâlâ û Hasinçînârî* we can read:

<i>Padşê min bi hukmê xo xafûre</i>	My King is forgiving in his wisdom
<i>Ji ba wî hatibû destûre</i>	From him came the Command
<i>Da destê şêxa bisk û meqese</i>	To the Sheikhs he gave hair-locks and scissors,
<i>Da destê pîrâ zekat û mişûre.</i>	To the Pirs he gave <i>zikât</i> and the <i>mişûr</i> . ¹²

According to the tradition, a Pîr ought to visit families of his *Murids* on an annual basis to counsel them, attend to their religious life, bless their hearths, and recite a special prayer *Du'â zikâtê* over their bread and salt. On the other hand, the *Murids* have to give him offerings—*fitu* and *zikât*¹³ (alms, donation). *Zikât* is considered to be alms in the name of God (*xêrâ nâvê Xwadê*). At the same time, *Murids* offer their Pîrs some sacrificial animals, usually lambs.

It is necessary to mention that Yezidis of Iraq use the term *fitu*, while Yezidis of the former USSR prefer the term *zikât*. In contrast to Yezidis from other regions, they use the term *zikât* in a special ritual. According to the tradition, Pîrs must be given one-tenth of annual income. They, on the other hand, had to keep some of it for the needs of their families and distribute the rest among needy Yezidis. However, over time, a practice came into being that *Murids* would offer either a lamb or a calf to Pîrs and seek their forgiveness that they could not offer more than this. Pîrs would declare that they were forgiven and pronounce the “*halâl ba.*” At this ritual, a Pîr takes bread and salt and gives them to the head of the family. Both Pîr and the head of the family hold the bread and salt. Pîr says: “You gave me and I accepted it.” After this, they recite an obligatory prayer *Du'â zikâtê*. Usually Pîrs visit families of their *Murids* in the spring season. *Murids* kept their lambs at their places until Pîrs came to collect their donations in the autumn. With time, Pîrs were given money instead of lambs. This ritual is practiced among Yezidis of Armenia, Georgia, and Russia, wherever the connections between Pîrs and *Murids* are still maintained.

Mişûrs have been kept in the families of the Pîrs in special places designated for their safekeeping. In Kurmanji these places are called *stêr* (star). However V. Arakelova considers this term to describe stack of bedding and to be related to Old Iranian: *starya- (root *star-) and its Slavic equivalent can be seen in the word “*nocmелъ*” (*postel'*) (bed).¹⁴ There could also be another explanation: the word may derive from “*sitar*” (borrowed from Arabic) and “curtain,” “hiding behind the curtain.”¹⁵

with newly emerging regional courts, to set aside the use of scholastic Arabic to the advantage of the vernacular languages of the regions where they operated and traveled. The result was the production of a transregional and translatable core Sufi lexicon and set of memories, also reflecting more localized, oral traditions of storytelling and other popular genres.” See Salvatore, “Sufi Articulations of Civility,” 161.

¹²Kreyenbroek and Rashow, *God and Sheikh Adi Are Perfect*, 102.

¹³At one time *zikât* represented some sort of tithing system among Yezidis.

¹⁴See Arakelova, “Book Review: Kh. R. Omarkhali,” 199.

¹⁵On sacred places at Yezidi homes, especially at the places of representatives of Yezidi religious casts living far away from Lalish, see also Melkumyan, “Informal Shrines,” 178.

Yezidis of Armenia and Georgia also have such a place at their homes where they keep their beddings (blankets, mattresses, and cushions), meticulously folded and concealed with a covering. On top of it, they place *xūrj* or *jubōr*—a bag made of wool and decorated with ornaments (often with colorful stripes). In the bag they keep sacred items: *tās* (cup), *barāt* (sacred soil from Lalish in the shape of balls), *xādīm* (iron rings), and *čirā* (small candlesticks). As a rule, if the *mišūr* is in good condition it is kept as a scroll and is inserted into a scroll holder, which is made of gazelle (*xazāl*) leather. Every year on a designated day (*rožā nišanā*—it is the end of February for Iraqi Yezidis, but for Yezidis of Armenia and Georgia it is related to the feasts of *Āida Ēzīd* or *Xidir-Nabī*)—the head of the family which owns the *mišūr* needs to open the bag and observe a ritual of renewal (*sīyar kirin*). The family slaughters an animal (usually a lamb), they invite the *Qawlbej* (*Qawls* reciters), they wash *tās* and *xādīm*, they open the *mišūr* and recite the *Qawls*. After that those Yezidis who are present, especially *Murids* of this particular lineage of P'irs, approach sacred items and leave their offerings after venerating the sacred items. After this, they wrap everything in a new piece of cloth (*kirās*) and return everything to the *stēr*.

Due to the lack of temples, for the Yezidis of the former USSR the “*stēr*” played the role of sacred site,¹⁶ “object of pilgrimage,”¹⁷ and were movable shrines.¹⁸ The Yezidis call them “the family star.”

Each lineage of P'irs was granted a certificate, where the founder of this lineage was mentioned, his life and deeds were described, where Yezidi saints were praised, a list of tribes attributed to these particular lineages of P'irs was offered. As K. Omarkhali wrote, “according to Yezidi tradition, there were 40 *mišūrs*, which were given to the 40 lineages (*ōjākhs*) of P'irs.”¹⁹ However, it is also known that there were about ninety lineages of P'irs²⁰ (though now the number of lineages is significantly less), and *mišūrs* were granted to each lineage. Presumably understanding of the forty lineages (*ōjākhs*) of P'irs derives from a lineage of P'irs which is called *P'irē Čil P'irā*—P'irs of “forty P'irs.” The existence of this lineage presumes that there should be at least forty-one lineages of P'irs. At the same time, there are some other lineages of P'irs who are not *Murids* of P'irē Čil P'irā.

In this way, we may suggest that the number of *mišūrs* corresponded with the lineages of P'irs. However, for the time being only one *mišūr* has been published. This is *Mišūr of P'ir Xatīb Pisī, son of P'ir Būtār*. It was described and published for the first time (excluding Qasīdā of Sheikh 'Adi—Qasīdā Šixādī) by P'ir Xidir Silēman.²¹ Qasīdā Šikhādī had already been published more than once in the

¹⁶Omarkhali, *Jezidizm: Iz Glubiny Tysjačeletij*, 148–9.

¹⁷Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism in Europe*, 28.

¹⁸Allison, “Addressivity and the Monument: Memorials,” 161.

¹⁹Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 58, 60; Omarkhali, “Jezidiskaja religioznaja pis'mennaja literatura,” 179.

²⁰Even though this is widely known we would like to refer to her work. See Omarkhali, *Jezidizm: Iz Glubiny Tysjačeletij*, 164, 169–72.

²¹Silēman, “Mišūrat al-yazīdiyāt,” 95–113; Silēman, *Sifr al-izidiya*, 5–24.

Arabic language²² and in the English language.²³ Afterwards, a Kurdish scholar from Iraq, Abd al-Raqīb Yusif, published an article about this *mišūr*.²⁴ In English, the *mišūr* was published along with Qasidā Šixādī by Khanna Omarkhali.²⁵

In this article we concentrate on four different versions of *Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī*, which were copied by Dimitri Pirbari in February 2009 in the family of Šukrī son of P'ir Khalilē Namr from the lineage of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī in the city of Soltau in Lower Saxony, Germany.²⁶

It is worth noting that with the blessing of the Yezidi Supreme Spiritual Council in Lalish (SSC), Dimitri Pirbari and Sheikh Mīrza Silēman²⁷ produced a new version of the *mišūr* following all the rules and traditions that were previously followed by the Yezidi clergy. However, small changes have been made to the new copy. Text about the origin of Sheikh 'Adi—which states his genealogy goes back to Yazid ibn Mu'awiya—is moved to the end of the text of *mišūr* in the form of a footnote, explaining that according to Arab sources, Sheikh 'Adi is not a direct descendant of Yazid ibn Mu'awiya, but is a representative of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty.

However, in this article, we present the text we have restored based on one of the *mišūrs* (see below) without changing its structure and do not change the fragment about the origin of Sheikh 'Adi. We also attach photocopies of the four versions of the *mišūrs*.

Review, Comparison, and Analysis of Four Versions of Mišūrs of the P'ir Sīnī Bahrī/P'ir Sīnī Dārānī

In this manuscript, P'ir Sīn is mentioned as P'ir Sīnī Dārānī/Dārāyn/Dērayn (in three versions). However, in Yezidism and among his descendants he has been known as P'ir

²²Joseph, "Yezidi Texts," 147–9; al-Damluji, *Al-yazidiya*, 89–95. al-Damluji reports that he copied this Qasidā from a manuscript kept in the family of a Yezidi Sheikh of the lineage of Sheikh Hassan (Šēx H'asan, Šikhšin, Šēxisin) in Sinjar. He also maintains that this Qasidā was earlier published in English by Badger (al-Damluji, *Al-yazidiya*, 89–95).

²³Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals*, 113–15; Joseph, *Devil Worship*, 70–72; Guest, *The Yezidis*, 204–6; Guest, *Survival Among the Kurds*, 212–14; Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 74–6; Joseph, "Yezidi Texts (Continued)," 241–2; Frayha, "New Yezidi Texts from Beled Sinjār, Iraq," (partly). Moreover, in 1853–54 an Arabic text of the Qasidā was published with its German translation: Ewald, "Die erste schriftliche Urkunde der Jezidäer," 1853, 212–18; 1854, 149–50 (this work by H. Ewald was given to us by a reviewer).

²⁴Yusif, "Dīrasat bī xisūs."

²⁵Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 61–3, 377–98.

²⁶This family emigrated from the settlement of Hamduna of the Bisherī region (Kurtalan) in Turkey. Below we will offer some notes about the P'ir Sīnī Bahrī family.

²⁷Sheikh Mīrza Silēman is from the lineages of Šēxisin of the village of Srēčka in Alqosh (Nineveh Plains). The lineage of Šēxisin was the leader of the Yezidis and their members were in charge of carrying out office work for the Yezidi community, they were responsible for a kind of notarial work. For example, only they are entitled to register marriages. This lineage is called *Šēxē qalamē*, which means "sheikhs of the pen," i.e. letters. Representatives of this lineage are Peshimams (Pēšimam). Peshimam of Margah plays a major role in liturgy and worship. He is a member of the SSC. On Peshimam see also Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism—Its Background*, 127–8. Representative of the lineage of Šēxisin, the direct ancestors of Sheikh Mīrza Silēman produced two previous copies of the considered *mišūr*.

Sīnī Bahrī, P'irē Bahrī. This is how he has been mentioned in Yezidi *Qawls* and prayers: *Qawlē Xarqa*, *Qawlē P'ir Sīnī Bahrī* and in the *Dirōzga*.²⁸ Consequently, this *mišūr* should most likely be considered as being the first historical source with his *nīsba*²⁹—Dārānī. At the same time, in this *mišūr* the name of the saint is mentioned without the word Bahrī (Behrī)—“nautical” both in Arabic and Kurmanji. In Yezidi legends P'ir Sīn is represented as the Lord of the sea and son of a sea maiden (see below).

The text of the specified versions of this *mišūr* is written in Arabic, like all the *mišūrs* known to us. Khanna Omarkhali writes that, according to her information, a lineage of P'ir Ōmarxālā has a *mišūr* in Shingal which is written in the Kurdish language without indicating which of the dialects the manuscript is written in.³⁰ This seems to be unlikely and must be a fiction created by her informants since it is widely known in the Yezidi tradition that *mišūrs* are written exclusively in Arabic.³¹

Out of all four versions of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī's *mišūr* the least well-preserved copy has been conditionally identified by us as the earliest version (*MŠI*, Figure 1). Its text is written on thin paper, which is 28 cm in length and 16 cm in width. Due to the decay of the paper, in 2000 the document was assembled from separate pieces by P'ir Khēro, son of Faqīr Osman P'ir of Omarkhala from the village Ēsya (near Sheikhan). However, if we compare it with the content of the remaining versions, it could be assumed that in some places parts of the text have been connected in the wrong sequence. The beginning and certain parts of the document are completely missing. Some small shabby pieces of paper could not be assembled. There are also some fragments in which only the name of Sheikh 'Adi can be read. P'ir Khēro recorded pieces of the *mišūr* that could not be glued together: at the beginning of the *mišūr* “Greetings and peace to our Lord Sheikh 'Adi b. Musafir al-Āmāwī.” We assume that these fragments ought to be related to the beginning of *mišūr* since it is a custom to begin *mišūrs* with offering greetings and good wishes to Sheikh 'Adi.³² It should also be noted that to this version of the *mišūr* two seals have been affixed upon which the inscriptions are illegible.³³ The date of its creation (604/1207 or 1208) is indicated in the *mišūr*; however, unlike other versions, there is no mention of rewriting the text (at least in the surviving parts of the text). Consequently, here we must be dealing either with the original *mišūr* manuscript or with a copy of the original manuscript, re-certified by seals. This version of the *mišūr* is also distinct from others in its refined writing

²⁸Dirōzga (more correctly—dirōza)—liturgical text containing a list of Yezidi saints. J'alil and J'alil, *Zargotina kurda*, 394.

²⁹*Nīsba*—Arab. *attribution*. An adjective indicating the person's place of origin. Tribal affiliation or ancestry, used at the end of the name.

³⁰Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 63; Omarkhali, “Jezidiskaja religioznaja pis'men-naja literatura,” 180.

³¹This view was confirmed by members of the SSC in conversation with the authors of this article.

³²Peshimam of *Margab*, Sheikh Faruq Khalil of Bašiq confirmed this to us.

³³As a rule inscriptions on *mišūr* seals identify names of saints from whom originate lineages of the copyist and the witnesses, since they are considered to be their vicars (*wak'īl*). For example, the name of Sheikh Hassan could have been identified on the seal of the Peshimam.

techniques. The document has preserved on either side two strips in the form of fields intended for notes, but the text of the notes, except for individual words and a few sentences, has not been preserved.

Despite this, based on the analyses of legible fragments, it could be concluded that the margins contain the Yezidi sacred text *Qasīdā Safā Waqtī*. Considering that fragments of this text were also in the margins of the *mišūr*, rewritten in 1083/1672 or 1673, we can assume with great confidence that the content of this text coincides with *Qasīdā Safā Waqtī*, in which the narration is offered on behalf of Sheikh ‘Adī. This *Qasīdā* is verbally preserved among the Qawal and the Peshimam family in Bašīq and Bahzān. The text is created in the Yezidi Arabic dialect of Bašīq and Bahzān (Iraq). This *Qasīdā* was published by Rudolf Frank.³⁴ There are minor differences between the *Qasīdā*, published by R. Frank and *Qasīdā*, which is performed by the Qawals, but this is unlikely to have special historical significance. However, not so much for comparison, but rather for publication of the full information related to this *mišūr*, and since the text of the Qawals has never been published before, we considered it pertinent to include in this article both versions of the *Qasīdā*.

It should be noted that the text of one of the four *mišūrs*, written on paper of 45 cm by 16 cm (defined by us as *Mš2*, Figure 2), so far as we can judge, in its remaining parts almost completely repeats the content of the *Mš1*, except that the scribe missed the word “Zahid” in the name of Sheikh Shamsan Zahid. The document is decorated on the margins with a simple ornament, on its back, it has an inscription:

A perfect greeting to Avdal-gha Qalandar-gha. If you wish to offer a *zikāt* and a *fitu*, give them to the owner of this *mišūr*. Whoever gives a *zikāt* and a *fitu*, P’ir Sīn will be cross with him. After all this, this *mišūr*, belongs to P’ir Jamal and P’ir Omar.

Unlike other options, this version contains information about the birthplace of P’ir Sīn—in Sham (Syria) in the village of Ilil (Alil, اللیل). It also contains his life span—ninety years. We have failed to find anything about this village. Moreover, the date of death of the saint (604/1207–8) is mentioned as the date of the creation of the *mišūr*, which confirms its dating. However, it is indicated that after this it was rewritten in 1083/1672 or 1673; the copyist did not leave his name. We have restored the surviving text,³⁵ with the help of the remaining copies, and included its translation in this article.

Another copy of the *mišūr* (*Mš3*, Figure 3), consists of six separate sheets, with text on either side. Each sheet is 29 cm in length, and 15.5 cm in width. However, this document does not contain the date of rewriting or the name of the copyist. It has neither margins nor *Qasīdā*. It begins with a text which is similar to the prayers of ailments. This is immediately followed by the *mišūr*, which is preserved fairly well.

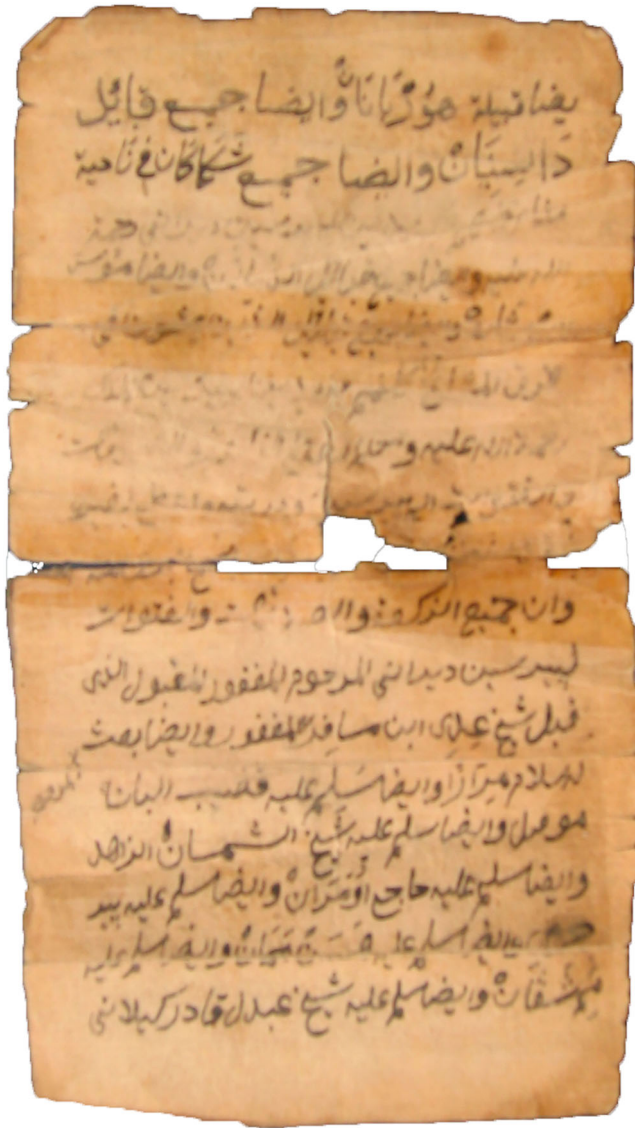
³⁴Frank, *Scheich ‘Adī*, 124.

³⁵The authors of this article express their profound gratitude to Peshimam of *Margab*, Sheikh Faruq Khalil of Bašīq, the member of the SSC for consultations in the process of restoring of the *mišūr* text. *Margab* is the traditional name for the territory where Lalish is located.

Figure 2. Preserved part of the second version of *Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Dārānī*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
وَلَمَّا دَلَّ اللَّهُ رَجَبَ الْعَالَمِينَ وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَةَ
بَعْدَ اعْتِمَادِ بَيْرُ سِينِ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ كَمَا كَانَ
مَنْ كَرَّمَ مَا شَاءَ أَنْ يَكْرِمَ لِيُحْيِيَ سُنْبُلِيكَ وَوَجْهًا
مَنْهُ الرِّبِيرُ هَسَنٌ وَمِنْهُ الرِّبِيرُ أَوْ رُؤُوسُ مَنْهُ الرِّبِيرُ كَرِيمٌ وَوَصَلَتْ
بِالْبَيْرِ كَرِيمًا وَوَصَلَتْ بِالْبَيْرِ رَحِيمًا رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَجَبًا
وَالرَّشَادَ وَمَنْ تَمَتَّكَ بِسُلُوكِهِ وَطَرِيقِهِ فَقَدْ هَدَى وَمَلُوهَا
الْبُحُورَ وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَةَ وَالزَّكَاةَ وَإِنْ لَمْ يَعْطِ الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَأْتِ
بِالْحَجِّ وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالصُّوْمِ فَقَدْ هَلَكَ مَعَ الْكَلْبِ وَالضَّالِّينَ
رَسْمَاتُ كَلْبِي وَرَسْمَاتُ بَيْرِ سِينِ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ
نِصَانُ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ اقْوَسِيَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ شَتُورِكَانِ وَإِيضًا
جَمِيعُ قَبَائِلِ شَتَاكَانِ وَإِيضًا جَمِيعُ قَبَائِلِ حَمْدَانَ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ بَهْلِ
قَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ حَمُورَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ رَجَبِيَانِ وَإِيضًا جَمِيعُ قَبِيلَةِ
قَانِيَانِ وَإِيضًا حَمَاكَانِ وَإِيضًا بَيْدِيَانِ وَإِيضًا بَسِيَانِ كَلْبِي مِنْ بَيْدِيَانِ
قَبِيلَةُ بَيْشْكَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ بَيْشْكَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ بَقِي تَهْرَانِ وَإِيضًا
قَبِيلَةُ دَنْفَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ رَسْمَاتِ كَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ كَيْشْكَانِ وَإِيضًا
قَبِيلَةُ لَمْفَنْدَانِ وَإِيضًا حَمُورِ سِيَانِ وَإِيضًا قَبِيلَةُ حَمُورِ بَانِ وَإِيضًا
جَمِيعُ قَبَائِلِ دَاسِنَانِ وَإِيضًا جَمِيعُ شَتَاكَانِ فِي رَاجِعَةِ الشَّامِ كَلْبِي
مِنْ بَيْدِيَانِ بَيْرِ سِينِ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ
وَإِيضًا حَمُورِ سِيَانِ وَرَسْمَاتِ كَلْبِي رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَجَبًا
وَإِيضًا جَمِيعُ قَبَائِلِ بَشْتُونَ فِي تَهْرَانِ
مِنْ بَيْدِيَانِ بَيْرِ سِينِ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَمَنْ لَمْ يَد

Figure 3. Fragment of the third version of *Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Dārānī*.



Moreover, while in the *Mš1* version the genealogy of the descendants of P'ir Sīn is missing or perhaps has not been preserved, and in the version *Mš2* there is a mention of the name of Hasn in the genealogy of the Yezidi saint, right before the name of the *mišūr* owner (P'ir Sīnī Bahri/Dārānī), in this version (*Mš3*) the name

of Hasn is mentioned in the genealogy of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī P'ir after two links—after P'ir Al, being listed as the son of P'ir Sīn, and P'ir Bakr.

The next and, presumably, the latest version of *mišūr* (*Mš4*, Figure 4) composed of sheets glued together on yellowed paper in the form of a tape, being 86 cm long and 7.5 cm wide. It is preserved in a very tolerable condition. At the end of the document, it is indicated: “This *mišūr* was written by Sheikh Mūslīm³⁶ b. Sheikh Afandī b. Sheikh Mūslīm b. Sheikh Omar. May God grant them rest! It is written in 1161 [1748].” Along the margins on both sides of the document a very simple ornament is drawn in the form of two lines, between which are zigzags. In the document, *Qasīdā Safā Waqtī* is missed. At the end of the left side of the margins there are lines from the Quranic surah “āl-Īkhlās.” However, with regard to spiritual relations, this is the most concise text. In addition to several standard *Mišūr* expressions (for example, “it was ordered to give *zikāt* to descendants of P'ir Sīn ...”) it only lists several generations of descendants of P'ir Sīn and also some information regarding Yezidi tribes belonging to this lineage. It is noteworthy to mention that in this version appears the T'ōrinan tribe, which is not found in previous copies.

At the same time, in this *mišūr* in the list of Yezidi tribes assigned to the lineage of P'ir Sīnī Dārānī/Bahrī there are mentions of those tribes which currently live only in Armenia, Georgia, and Russia and are *Murids* of a completely different lineage of P'irs. It is difficult to suppose whether it implies that *Murids* changed their Pirs due to some historical circumstances associated with their emigration to other regions. The *mišūr* also mentions some tribes which today are completely Muslim³⁷ (like the *Shikakis*, *Šikākī*—one of the largest Kurdish-Muslim tribes). In general, the information about the existing Yezidi tribes of that time deriving both from the *mišūr* under the consideration and from the previously published *mišūr*, brings certain correction to our understanding of the area settled by the Yezidi community, although the *mišūrs* do not indicate the places where Yezidi tribes lived when *mišūrs* were being drafted. However, we can see that at some time the Yezidis were living far beyond the borders of the Lalish—on the territory of modern Syria and Iran.³⁸

It should be noted that all the other *mišūrs* we have studied have a similar style. Martin van Bruinessen in his review on K. Omarkhali's book writes that *mišūr* of P'ir Xatīb Pisī is Islamic in both style and content.³⁹ He makes this presumption on the bases of Arabic Muslim terminology. Such an observation can also be

³⁶According to Sheikh Mīrza Silēman, the real name of their ancestor is Sheikh Sālīm, was not Muslim, but because of the hostile environment they also used the form Muslim.

³⁷It should be noted that, although many Yezidi tribes became Kurdish-Muslim through the conversion to Islam, there were also some Yezidi tribes which adopted Arabic and Turkoman identities. For instance, in Sinjar there is a large Yezidi tribe of *Habābān*. In the neighborhood of Tal Afar there are Turkic-speaking representatives of the same tribe. Also in the Baaj region, there is a branch of the Arab tribe of *ofjāhēš*, who are considered to be split off from a Yezidi tribe, and in Sinjar, there is a large Yezidi tribe of Mandikī, some members of which converted to Islam in the nineteenth century and became Kurdish-Muslim.

³⁸Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 72.

³⁹Van Bruinessen, “Book Review: Khanna Omarkhali,” 157.

proved from the example of another *mišūr*, by applying the evidence based on the vocabulary. However, with some clarification, we can maintain that the *mišūrs* contain rather easily recognizable features of Sufism. Most likely this should also be true for other *mišūrs* in varying degrees.

Each of *mišūrs* begins with a phrase “Bismillāhī ār-rāhmān ār-rāhīm” (Arabic: “In the name of God the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful”), then it is followed by the praise of Sheikh ‘Adi and Sheikh Hassan and lists of the names of forty holy supporters of Sheikh ‘Adi and forty companions of Sheikh Hassan. Further, it also mentions to which saint this *mišūr* belongs and offers the list of Yezidi tribes assigned to this *mišūr*. That is, to the owner of the *mišūr*, to be more precise. At the very end of the *mišūr*, the names of representatives of this lineage from generation to generation are listed and seals with the names of saints are affixed. In conclusion, as a rule (although not in all cases), the name of the copyist is written and the date when the copy was made is added. The copyist sometimes leaves an inscription begging the reader of the *mišūr* to pray for his soul and assures the readership that he did not change a single letter while copying the text.

However, the structure of *mišūr* of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī/Dārānī is somewhat different. It is noteworthy that there is no list of forty companions of Sheikh ‘Adi and forty companions of Sheikh Hassan, except for a few names. It mentions Qadīb Bilbān al-Mūsili⁴⁰ (Qadībilbān), Hasn Mamān (Hasmamān),⁴¹ and Mamē-Šivān.⁴² At the same time, in this *mišūr* there are names that are not found among the forty companions of Sheikh ‘Adi and Sheikh Hassan, which are mentioned in other *mišūrs*, and with respect to a few of them we have made some cautious

⁴⁰Qadībilbān or Qadīb al-Bān al-Mūsili is one of the famous Yezidi saints, a companion of Sheikh ‘Adi. A native of the city of Mosul, where there was a shrine, “mazar,” in his honor. Eventually, the shrine was turned into a mosque (however, the architectural style of Yezidi temples was preserved), and in 2014 this mosque was destroyed by ISIL militants. Representatives of this lineage still live in Georgia and Armenia. One family lived in Derabun (Zakho). The full name of the saint is Ābu Abdāllāh ibn Hussāin ibn’sa ibn Jāhja ibn Abdāllāh (471–573/1078–1195). He was one of the famous saints and died in Mosul (al-Damlūji, *Al-yazidiya*, 45; Nibhani, *Jamīah’ karamat al-aūliā*, 19–26). Silēmān, referring to Said al-Diwājī, cites another version of the name—Ābu Abdāllāh ibn’sa ibn al-Xidr al-Hassanī al-Mūsili (Silēmān, *Sifr al-izidiya*, 14). For more information about the lineage of Qadībilbān on the territory of the former USSR, see (Pirbari, *Yezidy Sarhada*, 87).

⁴¹Hasn Mamān (Hasn ibn Mam) was one of the close associates of Sheikh ‘Adi, who was the P’ir of forty P’irs and the head of P’irs. According to the Yezidi tradition, he was the ruler of Harir (not far from Erbil), who left worldly life and became a disciple of Sheikh ‘Adi. In the list of forty companions he is mentioned second after Mahmařāšān (Muhammad ibn Raš).

⁴²Mamē-Šivān (Mamšivān)—one of the Yezidi saints, the founder of the Mamšivān lineage of P’irs. According to Yezidi sources, there were two brothers—Mamšivān and Ābd ār-Rāhmān. There is speculation that the P’irs of Mamē-Šivān are in fact descendants of Abd ār-Rāhmān, whose son was adopted by Mamšivān, who was childless. Not far from Dohuk, there was the village of Mamē-Šivān, where representatives of this clan lived. There is also a shrine in honor of Mamšivān. Representatives of this lineage of P’ir s can be found in Iraq, Georgia, and Armenia.

assumptions—P’ir Abū Tahr,⁴³ Dod Harūnan,⁴⁴ Sīn Laxr,⁴⁵ Daūd Xandaqī,⁴⁶ Hassan Kōmardī,⁴⁷ Sheikh Sahānī, Sheikh al-Īs, Haġī Ōmaran, Sheikh Shamsān az-Zahd, P’ir J’arī,⁴⁸ Sheikh Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī (Sheikh ‘Adī’s closest friend, a famous Sufi who is respected among the Yezidis),⁴⁹ Sayīd Ahmad al-Kabīr,⁵⁰ and Sayīd Abūlwafā.⁵¹ Based on the date of writing of the *mišūr*, it is obvious that its creation falls at the early stage of the formation of the Yezidi community when the caste system had not yet been formed. The presence of names unknown to Yezidism in the *mišūr* indirectly confirms the date of its creation. We can talk about the time, if not contemporary then very close to the era of Sheikh ‘Adī. This is the early stage of the formation of the Yezidi community when the representatives of the first generation of Yezidi saints lived. They were disciples and companions of Sheikh ‘Adī, some of whom, for unclear reasons, did not receive proper recognition in Yezidism, at least under the names indicated in the *mišūrs*. The final formation of the Yezidi community takes place after the death of Sheikh Hassan (from the middle of the thirteenth century), although a significant number of the founders of the P’ir and Sheikh lineages were contemporaries of Sheikh Hassan and his father, Sheikh ‘Adī Abu al-Barakat. In this respect, the *mišūr* contains the most interesting pieces of information concerning Sheikh ‘Adī. For instance, *mišūr* uses the epithets of “deceased and forgiven” about him, which is not used in Yezidi religious practice since Sheikh ‘Adī is seen in

⁴³P’ir Abū Tahir—it can be assumed that this is P’ir Būtar, the father of the Yezidi saint Xatīb Pisī (Xatīb), from which the lineage of Xatīb Pisī originated.

⁴⁴Dod Harūnan—possibly the same Dod that is mentioned in *Qawlē P’ir Daūd* (Kreyenbroek and Rashow, *God and Sheikh Adī are Perfect*, 127–30; Pirbari and Šcedrovitskij, *Tajna žemčužiny*, 207–11).

⁴⁵Sīn Laxr—we assume that he is a Yezidi saint, the founder of the lineage of P’irē Sīnaxālī, which survived only in Georgia. It is a very rare lineage of P’irs with only three families.

⁴⁶Daūd Xandaqī—there is no information about this person. However, along with *nisba*, Xandaqī was later one of the forty associates of Sheikh Hassan, known as Mahmūd Xandaqī.

⁴⁷Hereinafter, explanations are not given about people for whom there is no information.

⁴⁸P’ir J’ara—it is possible that this is the name of the famous P’ir Jarwa, who is considered a P’ir of Sheikh ‘Adī. It is written incorrectly in the *mišūr*.

⁴⁹Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī (al-Jilānī) (1077–1166)—a famous preacher and theologian, a Sufi sheikh. According to the Yezidi tradition, ‘Abd al-Qādir visited Sheikh ‘Adī to see the *Karamat*—that is wonders performed by him (Aloian, *Religious and Philosophical Ideas of Shaikh Adī*, 53, 78). In one of the main Arabic sources about the life of Gīlānī, which contains information about him and his friends, a separate chapter is devoted to Sheikh ‘Adī. The chapter provides information about Sheikh ‘Adī told by his students (Sheikh Umar Qūbaysī, Muhammad ben Raš, who became the founder of the P’ir lineages of Ismail al-Tunīsī, etc.). Sheikh ‘Adī was one of the most respected dervishes and ‘Abd al-Qādir greatly appreciated and respected him (al-Hanbalī, *Qalā’id al-Jawābir*, 85). The Yezidi tradition says that Sheikh ‘Adī and ‘Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī met at the place where the Yezidi town of Sheikhan—the center of the Yezidi principality—is located and the town takes its name from this encounter. In Arabic Sheikhan means “two sheikhs,” i.e. place of two sheikhs.

⁵⁰Ahmad ibn ‘Alī ar-Rifā’ī—the founder of one of the famous Sufi tariqats.

⁵¹One of the Sufi sheikhs, referred to in the Yezidi holy text “*Qawlē Šixādī ū mērā*” (“The Legend of Sheikh Adī and Holy Men”). He is also mentioned among the forty Baghdad sheikhs who came to Lalish to find evidence of his holiness and *karamat*. Roger Lescot writes that Abū ‘l-Wafā al-Hulwanī and Uqail al-Manbijī lived together in the Hakkari mountains before the arrival of Sheikh ‘Adī (Lescot, *Les Yezidis de Syrie*, 32, 231; Aloian, *Religious and Philosophical Ideas of Shaikh Adī*, 53, 78).

Yezidism as being an incarnate creator. It should be noted that in the sacred oral texts of the Yezidis—in *Qawls*—Sheikh ‘Adi is declared to be the earthly incarnation of God. A *Qawl* says that he is God, who raised his throne to heaven:

Qasidā “Haj jānā” (“Oh, soul”):⁵²

İroka a’rafēja

Dangē qōsa wē tēja

Şixādī bi xō Xwadēja

Today is a feast evening

The sound of bells [tambourine] is heard

Şixādī is God himself.

Qawl “Şixādī and Holy men”:

Ji Qawlē Şex Şa’bāna

Ćākīya Şixādī bo mērā dānā

*Sad ū had*⁵³ *ū micida ū ĉilaxana*⁵⁴

Şixādī taxtē ji ardā gubāst ū çū azmānā

From the *Qawl* said by Sheikh Shaban,

Good is given to men from Şixādī—

Sad and *Had*, worship and *Ćlaxānā*,

Şixādī ascended to heaven on his throne.

However in all the *mişûrs* known to us, he is represented as a saint and a miracle worker and is mentioned as the Master. For example, in the *mişûr* of P’ir Xatib Pişî the term “Our Master” is used concerning Sheikh ‘Adi. In one of the *mişûrs* studied by us which is rewritten in the nineteenth century, signed and certified by the highest Yezidi Spiritual hierarchs, the term “grave” or “tomb” of Sheikh ‘Adi is mentioned. This is in contrast with the oral tradition where the term “*sindruk*” has been established. This term comes from the Arabic “*sndook*” (box). In the Yezidi understanding, this term signifies a place where relics of a saint is kept, although the Yezidis believe that saints have left this world and their relics are also gone.⁵⁵

We have no intention to assert that in the considered *mişûr* we are confronted with a certain exceptional practice of mentioning Sheikh ‘Adi’s name. If we take the time of writing of the *mişûr* into consideration, in spite of all its religious significance, bearing in mind how little time had passed after Sheikh ‘Adî, we could say that his image as the main Yezidi saint, as well as Yezidi religious tradition, had not yet been formed around him, and in the *mişûr* he is represented as a historical figure. However, the Yezidi religion, which is mainly based on the oral tradition, by the time of the rewriting of the *mişûr*, had already formed a religious terminology in *Qawls*. It is quite possible that, whenever there was a need, as in the case of rewriting *mişûrs*, the tradition only repeated the Arabic formulas and terms as they had been used from the earlier period, bearing in mind the nature of the document as we shall see it later.

Besides, the deification of Sheikh ‘Adi in *Qawls*, but not in *mişûr*, is explained according to the Yezidi clerics by living in a hostile environment; therefore, it did not try to create a religious script with clearly defined terminology. That is, Yezidis did not record in written sources that which this environment could perceive

⁵²*Qasidā “Haj jānā”* is performed only during the Yezidi holidays, immediately after *Qawlē Mākē* and is an integral part of this *Qawl*.

⁵³*Sad* and *Had*—laws, restrictions, and regulations.

⁵⁴*Ćlaxāna*—in general, a place of Yezidi solitude during the forty-day fasting.

⁵⁵From this perspective, it would be interesting to get acquainted with earlier versions of *mişûrs*, which we have not yet been able to do.

extremely negatively. It is not by chance that in *mišûrs* written and rewritten later, a similar formula with respect to Sheikh ‘Adi is repeated.

At the same time, in this *mišûr*, unlike others, even though it contains some Islamic terminology, we do not find any names of Prophet Mohammed’s companions. Trying to avoid unresolved issues, we would like to note that the development of Yezidism, especially in its early period of formation, must be studied in the context of surrounding religious and socio-political reality of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries in northern Iraq.⁵⁶ Because of this context, some elements introduced into Yezidism, especially from the Sufi environment, should be seen as natural.⁵⁷

However, the religious doctrine of the Yezidis was formed gradually, in the process of interaction with a hostile Muslim environment, which directly affected its character. It is not by chance that those traits that are very similar to the Islamic ones⁵⁸ ultimately had, at best, a secondary influence on the development of the Yezidi worldview, and in general were considered traditionally both by the Yezidis and researchers themselves as being no more than just one of the elements of the Yezidi creed. In this case, it becomes obvious that the drafters, using Islamic terminology and including the names of the companions of the Prophet Mohammed in the subsequent *mišûrs*, were guided by the political connotations. Since *mišûrs* served as a kind of document—a pass to the *Murids*—and were presented to local authorities with the development of Yezidi society, giving the document acceptable form for the Muslim authorities was a matter of political expedience. It is noteworthy that in the fourth copy of the

⁵⁶Arakelova, “K istorii formirovanija ezidskoj občiny,” 63. We would like to add that, as the reviewer noted to us, the most important work on the subject is a PhD dissertation by Khalid Faraj Al-Jabiri (“Stability and Social Change in Yezidi Society,” University of Oxford, 1981). However, this work is not available to us. In addition, we would like to mention a very important new work on this subject, and also on Yezidism in general. We could only read the introduction and table of contents; however, it is obvious that this work makes a significant contribution to the study of Yezidism (Shihata, “Al-yazidiya”).

⁵⁷Without devoting too much attention to it, we would like to tackle this issue. On the whole the influence of Sufism on early Yezidism is quite obvious and we can trace it even through the biography of Sheikh ‘Adi. We are not inclined to exaggerate the extent of this influence, because, as Ilia Petruševskij writes: “The mystical movements that appeared in different religions give the impression of being very similar to each other,” which “is explained not so much by borrowings as by the general paths of internal development of religious ideologies and conditions of feudal societies” (Petruševskij, *Islam v Irane*, 310). At the same time, while studying the issues related to borrowings from Sufism, we should also keep in mind that “mystics very often did not pay much attention to the external forms of religion (whether it was Muslim, Christian, etc.) and rituals, because of this they sometimes caused suspicious and even hostile attitude on the part of official religious authorities” (ibid., 310–11). This is a rather important proposition. It suggests that when analyzing various elements of mysticism in the Yezidi religion it is not always necessary to reduce the question to the search for a source of direct origin, which is about mechanical borrowing. Even if such elements continue to exist in the Sufi tradition, it is necessary to keep in mind that we are talking about the period when Sufism as a mystical movement was not definitively institutionalized in Islam.

⁵⁸Taking into account the topic under consideration, we will limit ourselves only to mentioning some Islamic (Arabic) vocabulary and Sufi concepts that have become firmly established in the Yezidi religious tradition.

considered *mišūr*, apparently for similar purposes, the margins contain several words from *surah* Al-ikhhlās.⁵⁹

It is most interesting that the *mišūr* speaks about the spiritual genealogy of Sheikh ‘Adi, whose genealogy after nine links is taken up to Sālmān Dārānī. It should be noted that in the Yezidi sources, as well as in the Yezidi religious tradition, there is no such information about the spiritual ancestry (*silsila*) of Sheikh ‘Adi.⁶⁰ This refers to the Sufi past of the Yezidi saint. Perhaps here we are talking about the famous Syrian Sufi—Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (died in 220/835⁶¹ or 215/830).⁶²

He was a student of ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd (died 133/750),⁶³ who founded the first Sufi communities in Basra. Dārānī was one of those who gave a mystical interpretation of the paradise Hourī. It is noteworthy that if we turn to Yezidi hagiography, then P’ir Sīnī Bahrī appears as the ruler of the sea and the son of a sea maiden (*Hūr*). In one of the Yezidi legends, it is said that once the holy men quarreled, and P’ir Sīnī Bahrī began plowing the sea and sowing with one hand. By this he showed that he sows love, thereby reconciling the saints. After that, he was called the Man of Love—*Mērē Muhubetē*.

Also, according to the Yezidi tradition, when Adam was created, his body, molded of four elements (water, earth, fire, air), lay on the seashore. A horse came out of the sea and trampled Adam’s body with its hooves. Then Tāwūsī Malak created two greyhounds from Adam’s heels and told P’ir Sīnī Bahrī to look after them so that they would not let the horse get to the body of Adam.

In the sacred hymn “The *Qawl* of Hair shirt” (*Qawlē Xarqa*):⁶⁴

<i>Čil qizē bahrī būn</i>	There were forty sea maidens
<i>Har čil hōrī būn</i>	All forty were Hourī
<i>Har čil nadrēd Kānīya Sipī būn.</i>	And all the forty were a gift of Kanīya Sipī (White Source).

<i>Yaka dīn žī li wē mābū</i>	And there was another one
<i>P’ir Sīnī Bahrī žē paydā bū</i>	Sīnī Bahrī appeared from it
<i>Ew žī nadrā Pādšā bū.</i>	And she, too, was a gift of the Padishah (King).

⁵⁹It is also known that some other verses from the Koran are used in Yezidism, for example Ajat al-K’ūrsī. At the same time, it is remarkable that the Yezidi clergy perceives these verses as pre-Islamic.

⁶⁰So, Sheikh ‘Adi is mentioned directly as the *Murid*-disciple of Sheikh Aqil. According to the Yezidi tradition regarding the miraculous appearance of Sheikh ‘Adi, both Sheikh Aqil and Sheikh Muslim came to worship him when he was still in the womb. They were waiting for the appearance of *surr*, the mystical power of God. And when he turned seven, they came once again to honor him (al-Hanbalī, *Qalā’id al-Jawāhīr*, 89).

⁶¹Gramlich, “Abū Sulaymān ad-Dārānī,” 22 (we found this work thanks to the reviewer).

⁶²Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 36–39.

⁶³One of the early Sufis and one of the first to use the image of the *Houri* in his stories (Bertel’s, *Izbrannie Trudy*, 100). He was a follower and disciple of the very important person for the Yezidi tradition—al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī. See also Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 16–18; Knysh, “‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Zayd.”

⁶⁴Hecī, *Bawerī ū mitologiya ēzdiyan*, 333.

In the cited *Qawl* it is said that there existed forty sea-girls “*Hürs*” (*hōrī*) and they were donations, i.e. gifts for *Kanīya Sipi* (in Kurmanji “White Spring,” Holy Spring). Besides these forty, there was one more, from which P’ir Sīnī Bahrī appeared, assuming that Sālmān Dārānī of this text is a famous Sufi dervish Abu Sulayman al-Dārānī—among others, on the basis of *nisba*.⁶⁵ It is quite possible that the P’ir Sīnī Bahrī is somehow connected with it, perhaps through a Sufi school. Nevertheless, this assumption, of course, requires further study, given that the penetration of elements of Sufism into Yezidism⁶⁶ is quite understandable in this case, without the direct introduction of them by the personality of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī, bearing in mind the degree and nature of the influence of Sufism, especially in Yezidism’s formative period. At the same time, the presence of the name Sālmān Dārānī, which, although it appears only in the spiritual genealogy of Sheikh ‘Adi, in itself suggests that the task of compilers of *mišūr* was to demonstrate the spiritual connection between the Yezidi saint P’ir Sīnī Bahrī and Sālmān Dārānī.

P’ir Sīnī Bahrī

P’ir Sīnī Bahrī, who lived in the twelfth century, occupies a very prominent place in the Yezidi religion. He was a follower of Sheikh ‘Adi and was among his confidants. This saint is mentioned in sacred texts (hymns)—*Qawls* and *Beyts*. In one case, he is represented as a real person, one of the dervishes close to Sheikh ‘Adi; in the other, his image corresponds to the Yezidi dogma, in which God and the angels can manifest themselves in the form of a man. For example, Sheikh Hassan (thirteenth century) is considered to be the earthly incarnation of the Angel Malak Šēxisin, and Sheikh Šams to be the earthly incarnation of the Angel of the Sun—Malak Šamsadīn. In turn, P’ir Sīnī Bahrī, as noted, appears in the image of the spirit, the son of a paradise maiden (*Hūr*), who existed before the creation of the first man, Adam.

According to the Yezidi tradition regarding the P’ir Sīnī Bahrī, once a Turkic ruler (perhaps referring to the Seljuks) found a mysterious inscription on a tablet that no one could read. He convened all the wise men of his state and consulted with them. One of the wise men declared to him that only one dervish—a companion of Sheikh ‘Adi—could read this inscription. At the request of the ruler, Sheikh ‘Adi sent him P’ir Sīnī Bahrī, who, according to legend, astounded the ruler with his knowledge. There is also the hymn of P’ir Sīnī Bahrī (*Qewlê P’ir Sīnī Bahrī*), which was created partly in Kurmanji and partly in Turkic (most closely related to modern Turkish and Azeri languages).

⁶⁵In view of the fact that Sham is indicated as the place of origin in the manuscript, it is likely that the *nisba* may be associated with Darayya in the Damascus region. At the same time, our assumption of its connection with the mystical movement of the students of Abu Sulayman al-Dārānī, who acted in Damascus (Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 36–8) should be quite acceptable.

⁶⁶Arakelova, “Notes on the Yezidi Religious Syncretism,” 24, 28.

In this text, P'ir Sīnī Bahrī talks about his knowledge of languages, his devotion to Sheikh 'Adi and his faith in Sultan Ezid, his life as a *Qalandar*, i.e. dervish. In this *Qawl*, his name is listed along with the famous dervishes and Sufis, that is to say that P'ir Sīnī Bahrī identified himself with those people.

<i>Azim ū har az im</i>	It's I and again I
<i>Li maydānē dibaz im</i>	I walk around the square
<i>Kuštīnā xwa bi laz im</i>	Rushing to die
<i>Yē sarē xwa li harfā Siltān Ēzīd</i>	I am the one who gave his head for the faith
<i>dāyī har az im.</i>	(letter) of Sultan Ezid.

<i>Danūnī Misrī az im,</i>	Danūnī al Misri is me, ⁶⁷
<i>Marūfē Karkhī az im,</i>	Maruf Karkhi is me, ⁶⁸
<i>Dāwūdē T'ikhūmī az im,</i>	Dawude Tikhumi is me, ⁶⁹
<i>Bālūlī Dīwānā az im,</i>	Baluli Divan is me, ⁷⁰
<i>Bāzīdē Bāstāmī az im,</i>	Bazid Bastami is me, ⁷¹

<i>P'ir Sīnī Bahrī az im,</i>	P'ir Sīnī Bahrī is me,
<i>Azim ū har az im.</i>	Me and me again.

In Iraq, there are places commemorating his stay. Thus, in Lalish some buildings bear the names of Yezidi saints who initiated the lineages of Sheikhs and P'irs; one of these is dedicated to P'ir Sīnī Bahrī, located next to the shrine of Qadīlbān.

In addition to the Lalish, there are two other sacred places related to the P'ir Sīnī Bahrī. One of them is located in the village of Bozan near Alqosh; because of the many holy places for Yezidis, this area is called Kiçik Laliş ("Little Lalish"). Another sacred place related to P'ir Bahrī is located in the village of Dokhata, also near Alqosh, and it has its minister (*mijēwr*).

The word "Sīn" is recorded with the name of the Yezidi saint. It is quite possible that it is a letter of the Arabic alphabet, which could have become a proper name, considering that in the epoch of the formation of the Yezidi religion (starting from the thirteenth century), the Arabic language was dominant in the Middle Eastern region and was used by the Yezidi clergy along with Kurmanji. At the same time, all the official documents of Yezidism of that period were written in Arabic, as evidenced by rare manuscripts—*mişūrs*.

⁶⁷Dhul-Nun al Misri (796–859) is one of the earliest representatives of Egyptian ascetics and mystics.

⁶⁸Maruf Karkhi (750/760–815/820)—Abu Mahfuz Maruf Ibn Firuz al-Karkhi is one of the great sheikhs in Sufism.

⁶⁹The name Daoud Tikhumi is found in the list of forty companions of Sheikh 'Adi. However, we suspect that here Daud Thumi may be understood as Dawud Tai (Abu Solaiman Dawud ibn Nosair al-Ta'i) (died between 777 and 782)—one of the famous dervishes, considered a teacher of Maruf Karkhi.

⁷⁰Bahlul Majnun (died 809)—one of the characters of Yezidi *Qawls* and parables, an Arabic holy fool, a dervish, who glorified himself with courage and wit.

⁷¹Abū Yazid Ṭayfūr b. 'Īsā b. Surūshān al-Biṣṭāmī (al-Baṣṭāmī) (804–74)—a famous Persian dervish.

P'ir Lineages deriving from P'ir Sīnī Bahrī and their Murids

It is known that P'ir Sīnī Bahrī had several sons: P'ir Sadiq, Haḡjāl, P'ir Būb, P'ir Fadil, and P'ir Al. There is speculation that P'ir Mand and P'ir Būwal were also his sons. According to the legend, P'ir Sīnī Bahrī bequeathed to P'ir Al his staff, and to Haḡjāl the shackles with which he could heal the spirit possessed. It is difficult to determine from which of his sons derive the present representatives of the P'ir Bahrī's lineage. However, some descendants believe that P'ir Sadiq should be considered the founder of their lineage. Later, three more clans emerged from the P'ir Bahrī's lineage—Haḡjālī,⁷² P'ir Būb and P'ir Al.

Turkey's branch of the P'ir Bahrī lineage is represented by the family of the already mentioned P'ir Khalil—the owner of the *mišūr*. Some representatives of the P'ir Bahrī lineage reside in Armenia, Georgia, where they migrated during World War I (and one family during the Russian Empire), and from there, after the collapse of the USSR, some families of this lineage emigrated to the Russian Federation and various countries of the European Union.

Until recently, representatives of the P'ir Bahrī lineage lived in Syria — one family in the village of Qizlaçox (Al-Hasakah Governorate) and several families in the village of Kefer Zeyd (Kefir Zet, Afrin), mentioned by Roger Lescot, reporting that in Kefer Zeyd 20 families reside and they are all from the P'ir Bahrī family of P'irs.⁷³

The lineage of P'ir Haḡjālī. According to legend, Haḡjāl inherited the shackles from his father. Through those shackles, he received the power to heal the spirit possessed. In Iraq, patients with mental illness or epilepsy approach them. P'irs of Haḡjāl lineage have them stay at home, read a prayer and carry out some appropriate rituals for healing the sick. According to the legend, Haḡjāl had no heir and adopted his grand-nephew P'ir Sadiq. From him derive P'irs of Haḡjāl lineage, who originally inhabited the village of Fāzliya (not far from Bašiq), which they inherited from P'ir Sadiq. P'irs of the Haḡjālī lineage live only in Iraq. In his book published in 1949, Al-Damlūji, writes that P'irs from the Haḡjālī lineage live in Baadra and are known as descendants of P'ir Sīn.⁷⁴

The lineage of P'ir Būb. P'ir Būb (P'ir Bū) is a prominent figure among the holy men of Yezidism. His name is on the list of forty confidants of Sheikh Hassan, son of Sheikh 'Adi II (thirteenth century). According to legend, he was considered a protégé and representative (*wak'īl*) of Sheikh 'Adi in the village of Bahzān.⁷⁵

The *Mišūr of P'ir Xatīb Pišī, the son of P'ir Būtar* lists the Yezidi saints close to Sheikh 'Adi and Sheikh Hassan. Among the companions of Sheikh Hassan is P'ir Būb al-Bahzānī,⁷⁶ that is, from the village of Bahzān. In the village of Bahzān, there

⁷²Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism*, 111, 112, 132.

⁷³Lescot, *Les Yezidis de Syrie*, 267.

⁷⁴al-Damlūji, *Al-yazidiya*, 45.

⁷⁵An important center of Yezidism. Located in *nahiya* Bašīqa of *qaza* Mosul (Nineveh Governorate)

⁷⁶In some *mišūrs*, it is listed as P'ir Būb Barzanī. The question of the twofold writing of the *nisba* (Bahzanī, Barzanī), indicating his place of residence or origin, requires further study.

is a shrine, Qūba P'ir Būb, with an inscription above the door: “This is the shrine of P'ir Būb al-Bahzānī ibn P'ir Sīnī Bahrī.”⁷⁷ The minister (*mijēwr*) of the shrine, Kochak Khalat, told us that behind the shrine is the tomb of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī.

This is an important indication that P'ir Būb is the son of P'ir Sīn. Under the dome, there is the tomb of this saint. It is noteworthy that, according to the Yezidi tradition, not a single family of P'ir has the right to reside in Bahzān. Residents of Bahzān believe that P'ir Būb does not permit any P'ir to settle in their village.

On the road from Sheikhan to Erbil there is a village called P'ir Būb, where Kurdish-Muslim now live. In many Yezidi villages there are holy places (*nīšangeh*) of P'ir Būb.

The descendants of the P'ir Būb lineage are very few and live mainly in Armenia, Georgia, where they came from the Van district, and also in Iraq, in the village of Sīnūn in Sinjar (some emigrated to Germany).

P'ir Alī. His descendants live in Iraq, Turkey, as well as in Armenia and Georgia, where they moved from the Van district and the Kars region in 1918. In Iraq, they live in Sheikhan and in the Sinjar mountains and are the most numerous P'irs in Sinjar. In Turkey, they lived mainly in the Mardin area among the Chelki tribe, partly in the Vilayet of Van. Their sanctuary is in Lalish.

The P'irs of the P'ir Bahrī lineage are the *Murids* to the P'irs of Mahmaṛašān, while members of lineage of P'ir Alī are *Murids* of P'ir Hasn Mamān, and members of the lineage of P'ir Būb are *Murids* of P'irs Īsēbīya.⁷⁸

The *Murids* assigned to P'ir Sīn in the *mišūr*, which are still Yezidi, are now distributed between different lineages of P'irs. Sometime after writing the *mišūr* (presumably at the final stage of the formation of the P'ir lineages), the redistribution of the *Murids* indicated in this *mišūr* had taken place. Some of the tribes of the *Murids* of this *mišūr* now belong to completely different lineages of P'irs. For example, Xāltān and Raḡabān are now *Murids* of Hasnmamān P'irs, Āqōnsī (Ānqōsī) are now *Murids* of P'irs Īsēbīyā. Some of the *Murids* remained *Murids* of the descendants of P'ir Sīn: Dīvinān—*Murids* of P'ir Alī, Rašikān, and Bahravān—*Murids* of Pir Bub.

The Dāsinān lost their P'irs and subsequently, members of the Ālūbakir lineage became their P'irs. The P'irs of Bahrī tribes, mentioned in the *mišūr*, now are left without *Murids*. Only representatives of one branch of the Bahravān tribe (the Šāmī lineage on the territory of the former USSR) are remaining *Murids* of P'ir Bahrī. Now, the following tribes are assigned as

⁷⁷In 2014, ISIS blew up this shrine, but D. Pirbari has a photo with this inscription. After the liberation of Bahzān, Yezidis restored it.

⁷⁸Pirbari, *Yezidy Sarhada*, 79–82.

Murids of P'ir Bahrī lineage: Mandkān, Butkān, Čoxrašān, Bandūrān (from Sar-iblakh village in Armenia), and the already mentioned Šāmī lineage of Bahravān tribe.

Text of the Mišūr

We divided the *Mišūr* of P'ir Sīnī Dārānī into seven parts based on the content:⁷⁹

1. The beginning of the manuscript (praise of Sheikh 'Adi, the miracles of P'ir Sīn, about the owner of the manuscript and his descendants).
2. The *Murids* of P'ir Sīn.
3. Greetings to P'ir Sīn from holy men.
4. *Zikāt* and *sādāqā* for P'ir Sīn and his descendants.
5. Date of the *mišūr*.
6. Genealogy and *silsila* of Sheikh 'Adi.
7. Place of birth and length of life of P'ir Sīn. End of *mišūr*.

Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Dārānī: Arabic Text and English Translation

The beginning of the manuscript.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

و الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام [على سيدنا شيخ عدي بن مسافر الاموي⁸⁰] بعد اعلموا ان بير سين دير اين رحمة الله عليه كان من كراماته ان يركب على الخشب من الجبال و توصل الى موضعه هذا منشورة في بيان نسله وصل من بير سين الى بيرال ابن بير سين و وصل من بير ال ابن بير سين الى بير بكر ابن بير ال و منه الى بير هسن و منه الى بير اوامر و وصل منه الى بير بكر و وصل منه الى بير مهمد و وصل منه الى بير زيددين رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين.

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

Praise be to the Lord of both worlds! Greetings and peace [to our Lord Sheikh 'Adi b. Musafir al-Āmāwī⁸¹]. Further be aware that P'ir Sīn Dēraynī—may God be merciful upon him—was miraculous and, sitting on a log in the mountains, he was reaching his place. This *mišūr* reveals the names of his descendants, and that *mišūr* was passed on from P'ir Sīn to P'ir Al ibn P'ir Sīn, from P'ir Al ibn

⁷⁹Here we used the method that Omarkhali applied when publishing the manuscript of the *Mišūr of P'ir Xatīb Pīsī* (Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 377–98).

⁸⁰As we noted earlier, some small shabby pieces of paper could not be assembled and P'ir Khēro recorded the pieces of the *mišūr* that could not be glued together. He recorded this text separately. al-Āmāwī (Arabic. الاموي) is a *nisba* that indicates belonging to the Umayyad family.

⁸¹See footnote 80.

P'ir Sīn passed to P'ir Bakr ibn P'ir Al, and from him it passed to P'ir Omar, and from him it was passed on to P'ir Bakr, and from him it was passed on to P'ir Mahmād, and from it was passed to P'ir Zeidin. May God grant rest to all of them!

The Murids of P'ir Sīn.

صاحب الكرامات و التسبيح و الاوراد و الذكر و الطريق و الهداية و الارشاد و من تمسك سلوكه و طريقه فقد هدى وهو الصوم و الصلاة و الحج و الزكاة و ان لم يعطى الزكوت و لم يأتى بالحج و الصلاة و الصوم فقد هلك مع الهالكين . و اعلموا ان قبيلة رشان كلهم مريدين بير سين الديراين و ايضا قبيلة جوانكان و ايضا قبيلة اقونسيان و ايضا قبيلة ستوركان و ايضا جميع قبائل شكاكان و ايضا جميع قبائل مهمدان و ايضا قبيلة بهراقان و ايضا قبيلة ممصوران و ايضا قبيلة رجبان و ايضا جميع قبيلة خالتان و ايضا مكان و ايضا بيديان و ايضا يسيان كلهم مريدين بير سين المذكور رحمة الله عليه و ايضا قبيلة بوتهران و ايضا قبيلة ببيكان و ايضا قبيلة بلان و ايضا قبيلة پيفان و ايضا قبيلة پلاشوان و ايضا قبيلة دفنان و ايضا قبيلة رشكان و ايضا قبيلة كيشكان و ايضا قبيلة هفندكان و ايضا هورسيان و ايضا قبيلة هوربانان و ايضا جميع قبائل داسنان و ايضا جميع شكاكان في ناحية الشام كلهم مريدين بير سين داراين رحمة الله عليه و ايضا جميع قبائل الدملان و ايضا موسرشان و ايضا جميع قبائل الذين يمشون في طرق المشايخ و جميع ملتهم مريدين بير سين المذكور رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين . و من لم يعطى الزكوت و الصدقات و الفتوة الى بير سين و ذريته و اعطى لغيره فقد اخطا و لا يقبل و لا يسقط عنه الشيخ برئ منه و ان جميع الزكوت و الصدقات و الفتوة بير سين داراين المرحوم و المغفور المقبول و الذي قبل شيخ عدي بن مسافر المرحوم و مغفور و ايضا بعث له السلام مرارا.

The owner of miracles and *tāsbih*,⁸² *āwrād*,⁸³ *zīkr*,⁸⁴ *tārīqā*,⁸⁵ *hīdāya*,⁸⁶ and *īrṣād*,⁸⁷ and those who embark on his path will be rewarded. And this is *sāwm*,⁸⁸ *salāt*,⁸⁹ *hajj*,⁹⁰ and *zikāt*.⁹¹

And the one who does not give *zikāt* and does not perform the hajj, prayer, and fasting, he will disappear like others.

⁸²*Tāsbih* (Arabic تسبيح)—pronouncing the praise of God.

⁸³*Āwrād* (wyrd, from Arabic. ورد)—reciting prayers at a certain time and regularly praising the names of God.

⁸⁴*Zīkr* (from Arabic ذكر)—meditative praise and utterance of God's name by Dervishes.

⁸⁵*Tārīqā* (from Arabic طريقة) is the path, the method of mystical knowledge of God.

⁸⁶*Hīdāya* (from Arabic. هداية) means to lead someone to a specific goal.

⁸⁷*īrṣād* (from Arabic. ارشاد)—the task in the form of prayers and praise God, which gives the teacher (sheikh or feast) to his *Murīd*.

⁸⁸*Sāwm* (from Arabic. صوم)—fasting.

⁸⁹*Salāt* (from Arabic. صلاة)—daily obligatory prayers.

⁹⁰*Hajj* (from the Arabic)—hajj, an order to make a pilgrimage.

⁹¹*Zikāt* (from Arabic. زكاة) is a duty to give a donation, alms every year.

Be aware that all the Rašan⁹² tribe⁹³ are the *Murids* of the P'ir Sinī Dārānī, also the J'wānkān,⁹⁴ also Aqonsīyān,⁹⁵ also the Stürkān⁹⁶ tribe, all Šikākān⁹⁷ tribes, and all the Mahmādān tribe, the Bahrāvān⁹⁸ tribe, the Mamsōran tribe, Raġabān⁹⁹ tribe, Xāltān¹⁰⁰

⁹²Numerous tribes, found in Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Armenia, and Georgia. Part of this tribe remained adherent to the Yezidi religion, the other part converted to Islam. Today, the P'irs of one part of the Rašī tribe are P'irs from the lineage of P'ir Īsebiā, and the Sheikhs are the Sheikhs of Šexūbakr, while for the other part of this tribe there is the P'irs of P'ir Dawūdē bin Dārmān, and the Sheikhs are Xatūnā Faxrā. It should be noted that part of the Rašī tribe is also known by the name of its village Daūdi (in the Diyarbakır region), which has almost turned into an ethnonym.

⁹³The word “tribe” in the text is referred to as *qabil*.

⁹⁴Tribes about which we have no information have no explanation.

⁹⁵Aqonisi or Anqosi is a tribe belonging to the tribal union of Xāltān. Now their P'irs are P'irē Īsebiā, and the Sheikhs are Šexūbakr. Only for one kind of Anqosi—immigrants from the Van region and living in Tbilisi—the P'irs are P'ir Bū.

⁹⁶Included in the union of the tribes of Sīpkī and are now living in Armenia, Georgia, and Russia. In Iraq, there is also a part of the Stürkī tribe, but since they are fakirs (monks), the word fakir eclipsed their tribal name. Stürkī is also mentioned in the *Mišūr* of P'ir Xatīb Pisī. It must be said that for Stürkān in Armenia and Georgia, P'ir Bad represents their P'irs.

⁹⁷Interestingly, in Syria, in the Afrin region, Yezidi villages are concentrated in three districts—in the Shikak region, Guma region, and Sherew region (Maisel, *Yezidis in Syria*, 19). It is clear that in the Shikak region the main population is the Šhikaks tribe (now all Muslims). Not far from Shikak region in the village Kefer Zeyd (Guma Region) live the representatives of the P'ir Bahrī lineage, in their Mišūr Šhikaks are inscribed. However, Šhikaks are also included in the *Mišūr* of P'ir Xatīb Pisī (Silēmān, *Sif'al-izidiya*, 22; Omarkhali, *The Yezidi Religious Textual Tradition*, 62, 383). This circumstance can be explained by historical changes, or later corrections.

Thus, now a very large tribe of Muslim Kurds Šikak in northwestern Iran comes from the said Yezidi tribe Šikak. It is noteworthy that the dialect of Yazidis of Sarhad (a region that included Kars, Van, Bayazid, and Alashkert), now living in the territory of the former USSR, is most similar to the dialect spoken by Afrin in Syria and the Maku region in Iran. The fact that many Kurdish tribes in northern Syria and adjacent parts of Turkey were Yezidis was also written by Martin van Bruinessen (“Religion in Kurdistan,” 11). Not by chance, there are still dozens of sacred places for Yezidis (ziyaret) (“Serdana ziyaretên Kurdên Êzidi li Efrînê hatiye qedexekirin” [In Afrin banned visiting Kurdish Yezidis’s shrines], <http://www.rudaw.net/kurmanci/kurdistan/100820181>).

On the resettlement of the Yezidis in the Aleppo area and Afrin before the beginning of the Syrian crisis in 2011 and the occupation of Afrin by the pro-Turkish forces in 2018, see informative reports of Rûdaw: “Nasnameya Kurdên Êzidi di metirsiyê de ye” [Yezidi Kurds identity under threat], August 7, 2018, <http://www.rudaw.net/kurmanci/kurdistan/0708201811>; “Rewşa Kurdên Êzidi yê li Efrînê di çi halê de ye?” [What is the situation of the Yezidi Kurds in Afrin?], April 29, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/kurmancirudaw/videos/1734925546561716/>

⁹⁸Bahrāvān—this tribe can be found in Armenia, Georgia, and Russia. It is divided into four branches: Čilxanġarī, Pīrpīrīkī, Čamī, and Šamī. For the first three P'irs are P'ir Bū, and Sheikhs are Xatūnā Faxrā, while for Šamīyān, respectively, they are P'ir Bahrī and Šexūbakr. Part of this tribe can be found in Turkey in the Mardin region, in the village of Avgewr. They have all become Muslims.

⁹⁹They live in Armenia and Georgia and belong to the Xāltān tribal union. Today, their P'irs are the P'irs of the Hassan Mamān family.

¹⁰⁰A large tribal union of Yezidi tribes, whose habitat was the land between Diyarbakır, Batman, Hasankeyf, and Siirt (Bidlisi, *Šaraf-name*, 83, 248, 261, 262, 317). This tribe is divided into many smaller tribes.

tribe, Mamkân¹⁰¹ tribe, Pēdayān¹⁰² tribe, Īsiyān¹⁰³ tribe—all are *Murids* of the Pʿir Sīnā as mentioned above—may the mercy of God be upon him. Also the tribe Būthārān, the tribe Pīpikān, the tribe Balān,¹⁰⁴ the tribe Pīvān, Plašwān tribe, Divnān¹⁰⁵ tribe, Rašikān¹⁰⁶ tribe, Kīšikān tribe, Havindkān tribe, Hursiyān tribe, Hurbanān tribe, all Dāsinān¹⁰⁷ tribes, and all Šikākān tribes in the edge (nahiya) of Sham (Syria)—all the *Murids* of Pʿir Sīnī Dārānī. May the mercy of God be upon him! Also, all the Dumlān¹⁰⁸ tribes, also the Mūsarašān,¹⁰⁹ also, all the tribes and communities that follow the Sheikhs’ path are all *Murids* of Pʿir Sīn. May God grant them rest! And those who will not give *zikāt* and *sādāqā*¹¹⁰ and *fūtūvat*¹¹¹ to Pʿir Sīn and his descendants, but will give to someone else, will make a mistake and will not be accepted and will not be forgiven. And the Sheikh will turn away from him. And all the *zikāts*, *sādāqās* and *fūtūva* rely on the late, forgiven and recognized Pʿir Sīn Dārāin, who was recognized by the forgiven and deceased Sheikh ‘Adī bin Musafir, and who also sent him greetings many times.

Greetings to Pʿir Sīn from holy men.

و ایضا سلم علیه قضیب البان موصلی و ایضا سلم علیه حاجی او مران و ایضا سلم علیه شیخ شمسان الزاهد و ایضا سلم علیه بیر جری و ایضا سلم علیه هسن ممان و ایضا سلم علیه مم شفان و ایضا سلم علیه شیخ عبدالقادر گیلانی و ایضا سلم علیه سید احمد کبیر و ایضا سلم علیه سید بلوفا و ایضا سلم علیه بیر ابوطاهر و

¹⁰¹Mamkan—a large tribe, in the Beshiri Region (Batman) of Turkey, which has been completely converted to Islam.

¹⁰²Pēdayān—Pēdāi or Bēdāi, now live in Iraq in the village of Dokhata. Now their Pʿir is Pʿir Afāt.

¹⁰³Īsiyān (Ēsiyān)—this tribe is now unknown. There is a settlement Ēsiyān in Sheikhan, it is possible that once this tribe inhabited that settlement.

¹⁰⁴Large Yezidi tribe in Armenia and Georgia. Now the Pʿirs of this tribe are Pʿirs of Īsebiya and, for another part, Qadībilbān.

¹⁰⁵Currently one of the smallest Yezidi tribes. They live only in Armenia, Georgia, and Russia.

¹⁰⁶This tribe can be found in Iraq, Syria, Armenia, Georgia, and Russia.

¹⁰⁷Dāsinān (dāsinī) was once a powerful Yezidi tribe. The place of origin is considered the neighborhood of the city of Duhok, in the Dāsinī district. The ethnonym dāsni was used to designate the Yezidis in general. In “Šaraf-name,” the Yezidi emir is referred to as Husayn-bēg dāsinī, and by dāsinī is meant Yezidis (Bidlisi, *Šaraf-name*, 325–7).

¹⁰⁸Dumlān (dūmlī, dūmbūlī)—Šaraf-khan Bidlisi, describing this large tribe, indicates that the emirs and ashirats (tribes) were formerly Yezidis, who “followed the despicable Yezidi faith.” At the same time, as Š. Bidlisi writes, the emirs were leading their ancestry from a certain Arab from Syria named Īsa, and he thought that a part of the ashirats “abandoned this heresy” and became Muslim, while “the rest persisted” in holding on to “their unholy beliefs” (Bidlisi, *Šaraf-name*, 357). Nowadays, the Yezidi Dumlī tribe lives in Sheikhan district. In addition, a part of the Yezidi tribe Dūmlī are Qawals and live in the village of Bahzān. They are Arabic-speaking Yezidis. The Pʿirs of the Qawals of dumlī of Bakhzan is the Pirs of the leage of Haǰǰālī, the son of Pʿir Sīnī Bahrī.

¹⁰⁹Mūsarašān is a tribe belonging to nomadic tribe Jēzireh Bohtan. Today it is a large Kurdish-Muslim tribe in Iraq and Syria on the banks of the Fishkhabur River. However, as we found out, representatives of this tribe remain among the Yezidis in Sinjar.

¹¹⁰*Sādāqā* (from Arabic صدقة) is voluntary alms.

¹¹¹*Ftūvāt* (فتوه)—for the Yezidis, alms, donations, which are either given to a priest or left in the temple in the name of a saint.

ايضا سلم عليه دود هارونان و ايضا سلم عليه سين لاغر و ايضا سلم عليه داود خندقي ايضا سلم عليه هسن كومردي و ايضا سلم عليه شيخ صهاني و ايضا شيخ اليس و ايضا سلم عليه مشايخ شيئا لم يذكر في الرقعة لطول و كانوا المذكورين كلهم يسمون و يتضرعون لبيير سين داراني المغفور المرحوم

He was also welcomed by Qadīb al-Bān al-Musilī, and was greeted by Hajī Ōmarān, and was greeted by Sheikh Šamsān az-Zahd, and was welcomed by Pʿir Jʿara, and also was welcomed by Hasn Mamān, and was greeted by Mam-Šivān, and was welcomed by Sheikh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Gilānī, also greeted him with Sayīd Ahmad al-Kabīr, and greeted him with Sayīd Abūlwafa, and welcomed him Pʿir Abū Tahr, and welcomed him to Dōd Harūnan, and welcomed him to Sīn Laxr, and welcomed him to Sheikh Dawūd al-Xandakī, and welcomed him to Sheikh Hassan Kōmardī, and welcomed him to Sheikh Sahānī, and welcomed him to Sheikh al-Īs.¹¹² And many sheikhs who are not mentioned here welcomed him. And all those who were mentioned welcomed him and blessed Pʿir Sīn Dārānī, the deceased and forgiven.

Zikāt and *sādāqā* for Pʿir Sīn and his descendants.

و زكوتهم و صدقاتهم لبيير سين و لم يأمرُوا بالااعطاء غير بيير سين و ذريته و من اعطى لغيره فشيخ عدي و جميع شيوخ المذكورة برئ منه و غضبوا عليه بغضب شديد لان بيير سين رئيس كل رؤساء و شيخ المشايخ.

Both *zikāt* and *sādāqā* should go to Pʿir Sīn and his descendants, and who will not give them, Sheikh ʿAdi and all the sheikhs mentioned will turn away from them and become angry, because Pʿir Sīn is the head¹¹³ of all the heads and the sheikhs of the sheikhs.¹¹⁴

Date of the mišūr.

تمت المنشور بعون الله و حسن توفيق وكان وفات بيير سين في سنة اربع و ستمئة و كان وفاته بيير سين حينئذ.

¹¹²May be Perhaps Pʿir Īsēbiā (Īsā ibn Ābī)—one of the followers of the Sheikh ʿAdi and his *xazindar* (treasurer).

¹¹³The head of all heads is a respectful way of addressing a dervish who has attained a high degree of holiness. In Arabic: *rāis ar-rūāsā*.

¹¹⁴“Sheikh” in Arabic has the same meaning as the “Pʿir” in Persian and Kurmanji. The sheikh of the sheikhs is a title used concerning Pʿir Sīn, which once again confirms that he was a significant figure among dervishes. The title “Sheikh of the Sheikhs” or “Elder of the Elders” or “Sage of the Sages” in the era of writing *mišūr* had a different meaning than later when the structure of the Yezidi community was finally defined. The title “Sheikh of Sheikhs” in the Yezidi caste structure has been used only about Sheikh Hassan (lineage of Šēxisin).

This *mišūr* has been completed with God's help. It was written in 604,¹¹⁵ when P'ir Sīn passed away.

Genealogy and silsila of Sheikh 'Adi.

تمت المنشور بعون الله و حسن توفيق وكان وفات پير سين في سنة اربع و ستمئة و كان وفاته پير سين حينئذ . في بيان نسب شيخ عدي بن مسافر بن زين الدين ابن اسماعيل ابن مالك ابن اطويا ابن امية ابن يزيد ابن معاوية ابن ابي سفيان . شيخ عدي مرید شيخ عقيل و هو مرید شيخ سلمن و هو شيخ محمد قلني و هو مرید شيخ نصر و هو مرید شيخ يوسف فاني و هو مرید شيخ عمر سعیدی و هو مرید شيخ علي زرباوي و هو مرید شيخ علمين و هو مرید شيخ يعقوب و هو مرید سلمان الدراين و هو مرید شيخ براهيم شباني و هو مرید ...¹¹⁶

And this is the genealogy of Sheikh 'Adi b. Musafir b. Zayn ad-din b. Ismail b. Utuba b. Umayya b. Yazid b. Mu'awiya b. Abu Sufyan.

Sheikh 'Adi bin Musafir the *Murid* of Sheikh Aqil, and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Salman, and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Muhammad Qalansi and, and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Nasr, and he is the *Murid* Sheikh Yūsūf Fānī, and they are *Murids* of Sheikh Omar Sāidī, and he is the *Murid* Sheikh Ali Zārbāwī, and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Alāmāin, and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Jā'qūb, and he is the *Murid* of Salman Dārānī,¹¹⁷ and he is the *Murid* of Sheikh Ibrahim Shābānī, and he is the *Murid* of ...¹¹⁸

Place of birth and length of life of P'ir Sīn: end of mišūr.

و مولده فشم فقرية يسمى الليل و عاش تسعين سنة و احمد الله على تمام.

And P'ir Sīn was born in Syria in the village of Alīl (Īlīl) and lived ninety years. Praise be to God! We have completed (this is the case).

¹¹⁵1207 or 1208. In the united version of the *mišūr*, we indicated only the date (year) of the first version (*MšI*), and do not mention the dates noted in the subsequent versions.

¹¹⁶Here the fragment of the *mišūr* is lost.

¹¹⁷Our assumption about it, see above.

¹¹⁸See footnote 115. In this *mišūr*, we find for the first time in the Yezidi source a reference to *Silsila* of Sheikh 'Adi (*Silsila*—Arabic word meaning chain, link, and connection. Often used in various senses lineage, or spiritual genealogy.) *Silsila* of Sheikh 'Adi, as it is known in Arabic sources, is different from the *Silsila* specified in this *Mišūr*. The sequence and absence of some names are the things that make it different. Thus, according to al-Diwaǧi, Sheikh 'Adi received *kharqa* (*khirqā*) from Sheikh Aqil, and he received it from Sheikh Muslim al-Sruji, and he received it from Sheikh Abi Said al-Harzawi, and he received it from Sheikh Muhammad Qalansi, and he received it from Sheikh U'lian Al-Ramli, and he received it from Sheikh Umar Saidi, and he received it from Sheikh Yusuf Fani, and he received it from Sheikh Jā'kūb (al-Diwaǧi, *Al-yazidiya*, 62).

[There are two round seals affixed to the document. The text on the seals is not legible.]

Instead of conclusion It is clear that, based on this *mišūr*, as well as the previously published *Mišūr of P'ir Xatīb Pisī son of P'ir Būtar*, we cannot directly speak about the nature of Yezidism during its formation. If we proceed from the mentioned date of writing, we can assert that so far we are dealing with the earliest written source on Yezidi history and religion. On its basis, we see that only after the time of Sheikh 'Adi can we talk about the formation of the Yezidi community: its caste structure, main features of the relations among interdependent classes, the religious elite, and the *Murids*. At the same time, in the situation of the intertwining of various religious-mystical elements in Yezidism, we can also note that the main source of writing for *mišūr* was a variety of terms from Sufi practices.

It should be noted that the Yezidi sacred texts and legends often mention individuals considered the forerunners of Sufism or great teachers in Sufism.¹¹⁹ At that time it was difficult to draw clear boundaries between Yezidis and Sufis. However, as noted, the worldview and doctrine of the Yezidi religion with its *Qawls*, dogmas, and rituals gradually developed under the influence of historical and socio-political processes, largely acquiring their nuances in the context of the evolving relationship with the surrounding, primarily Islamic, environment.¹²⁰

There was a natural discrepancy between the Yezidis and the "Islamized" Sufism, the Sufis (*sofī*), which began to be viewed as purely Muslim mystics. In this case, the study of *mišūrs* as primary sources makes it possible to reflect on the early development of the religious system of Yezidism. It allows us to examine to what extent the characteristic features, traditions, and worldview of mature Yezidism have been the product of ideas introduced by Sheikh 'Adi and what was the contribution of "Sufism" to Yezidi theology at its initial stage of development.

*Qasidā of Sheikh 'Adi: Qasidā Safā Waqtī (The Time of Mine has Been Purified)*¹²¹

The *Qasidā* tells us of the divine nature of Sheikh 'Adi and his miraculous birth,¹²² and that forty men came to try him.

¹¹⁹See also J'alil, "Ezidskie legendy"; Arakelova, "Sufi Saints in the Yezidi Tradition"; Asatrian and Arakelova, *The Religion of the Peacock Angel*, 128–9.

¹²⁰This is evident from the example of *mišūrs*. For instance, the *Mišūr of P'ir Xatīb Pisī*, written presumably about a hundred years after *Mišūr of P'ir Sīnī Bahrī*, no longer contain Sheikh 'Adi's spiritual lineage ("*silsila*"). Nevertheless, it is difficult now to guess what was the motivation of the omission that guided the copyist.

¹²¹*Safā Waqtī* (the time of mine is purified)—this is about mystical purification which means that it is beyond time, beyond past, present, and future.

¹²²An Arabic source, *Qalā'id al-Jawābir*, states "Sheikh Takiyya ad-Din Muhammad al-Vaaz al-Banani (God forgive him!) said the following about the birth of Sheikh 'Adi:

His father Musafir ibn Ismail remained in the forest for forty years. And in the dream, someone said to him: Musafir, go home to your wife. God will give you a saint and he will become famous from the

Qasidā Safa Waqtī 1 (Frank)

My time has been purified, and I
reached the highest level
Happiness came to me from the
Lord of the Lord.

صفا وقتي وقد نلت المعالي

و جاني السعد من مولا موالي

I was raised in kindness in my mother's
womb.
My sheikh showed me the truth.

و كنت مؤدبا¹²³ في بطن امي

و شيخي بالحقيقة قد مشالي

And he called me by name: Oh, 'Adi!
My mother did not know what I told
him.

ينادينني باسمي عدي

وامي ليس تسمع له مقالي

When I was born—
All forty men came to me.

و في وقت الولادة كان عندي

رجال الاربعين على الكمالي

And the house was filled with a
blessing from my *surr*,¹²⁴
(And also) the land of Sham—its
plains and mountains.

و فاض البيت من بركات سري

و ارض شام سهلا و الجبالي

East to the West ... When the mother became pregnant, Sheikh Muslim and Sheikh Aqil passed by her. She was near a source. Sheikh Muslim said to Sheikh Aqil: Do you see the same thing as I do?

Sheikh Aqil: what is it?

Sheikh Muslim: A shining light comes from the belly of this woman and reaches heaven.

Sheikh Aqil: this is our son 'Adi! Let us greet him!

They came up and said:

Greetings to you, oh 'Adi! Greetings, O holy God!

They left and returned seven years later and saw 'Adi playing a ball with the children. They called him and greeted him, and he answered them three times.

They asked him: why did you answer our greetings three times?

'Adi: because you greeted me twice when I was in the womb. And if I was not ashamed in front of Isa ibn Maryam (peace be upon him from God), I would answer your greetings twice from the womb of my mother.

When he grew up and became a man in a dream at night, he heard a voice:

Get up. 'Adi, go to the Lalish, that is your place. And God will revive many dead hearts with your hands!" (al-Hanbalī, *Qalā'id al-Jawābir*, 89).

¹²³ هيدبا (*hāydābān*)—this word is used in the version of R. Frank instead of the word مؤدبا (*mūād-dābān*) (couth). We did not find the word used by Frank in the dictionaries of the Arabic language, whereas the original word is preserved in the Qawal version.

¹²⁴The word "surr" in Arabic means "mystery," but in the Yezidi religion, depending on the context, has received a broader meaning, namely "power of God," "divine magic," "secret thought." About "surr" see also Rodziewicz, "The Nation of the *Sur*."

And all the men came to me,
They wanted to visit me and
discover (see) my state (essence).

اتوني رجال كلهم جميعا
يريدوا زورتي¹²⁵ في كشف حالي

They came to me sitting on lions
And the rock drove me.

اتوني راكبين على سباع
و انا الصخر من تحتي مشالي

And among them was Qādir and
Ibn Rifai,
Also, Abu al-Wafa¹²⁶ was among
(these) men.

و فيهم قادري و ابن رفاعي
و كان ابو الوفا بين الرجال

I invited them all and, we were alone,
We became friends and my time had
been purified.

عزمتهم الى الخلو جميعا
تتادمننا و وقتي قد صفالي

They tried to shame me
Through a huge snake, which let me
down.

و هموا القوم ان يستحيوني¹²⁷
بثعبان عظيم قد سعالي

I had a spear in my hands, which I
threw at it,
And then water flowed from her
mouth.

واليدي حربة القيت فيها
وفاض الماء من فيها و سالي

I am the son of Musafir and my
name is 'Adi
And my drums were beaten
everywhere (my fame was carried
everywhere).

انا ابن مسافر و اسمي عدي
و قد دقت طبولي في المحالي

¹²⁵ زورتي (*zūrti*)—a form of the word زيارتي (*ziyārātī*) which is used in colloquial dialect.

¹²⁶It is noteworthy that the sequence of mentioning the names 'Abd al-Qādir Gilānī, Ahmad ar-Rifā'ī, and Abūlwafā in the *mišūr* is also preserved in Qasidā, which generally corresponds to the Sufi tradition. In two legends and tales collected by Vladimir Gordlevsky in Istanbul, Turkey in 1926–28 (No. 55 and No. 56 in Gordlevskij, *Izbrannije sočinenija*, 413–15), it tells of 'Abd al-Qādir Gilānī and Ahmad ar-Rifā'ī and their proximity. "For forty years, Abdul Kadir ascended on *mimber* (the dervish chapel—notes by authors), and when he addressed all four sides, everywhere—in the Caucasus and in Bukhara—scholars bowed down before him, uttering the formula of obedience: "We serve and obey"—and only two Ahmeds were freed from expressing words of submission: Ahmad ar-Rifā'ī and Ahmed Bedevi. But even they voluntarily recognized the superiority of Abdul Kadir" (ibid., 414). V. Gordlevsky notes the similarity of the symbols of the Kadir and Rifā'ī (ibid.).

¹²⁷ يستحيوني (*yāstāhīyūnī*)—apparently, this is a distorted form of the word يستحيوني (*yāstāhīyūnī*) which means "to shame," "shame."

And my drums beat in the sky and on
the ground,
And I saw Chavish Sadati (Lords of
happiness) before me.

طبولي في السما و الارض دقت
و چاويش سعادة قد بدا لي

I am chaste and my name is 'Adi
Oh my *Murid*, hold on to me and do
not worry about anything.

انا الاعزب انا اسمي عدي
تمسك في مريدي و لا تبالي

*Qasidā Safa Waqtī 2 (Qawal)*¹²⁸

When my time was purified, I reached the highest level
This happiness I received from the Lord of the Lord.

صفا وقتي فقد نلت معالي
جتلي سعدي من مول الموالي

Even in the womb, I was brought up,
My true Sheikh came to my rescue.

كنت مؤدبا في بطن أمي
شيخي في الحقيق فقد سعالي

In this house I am blessing and *surr*
And in the land of Sham—I am rocky mountains.

انا في هذا البيت بركات و السر
و الارض الشامى صخر
الجبالي

When I was a child
Forty men of perfect men were with me.

وقت الاولاد كانوا عندي
رجال الاربعين اهل الكمالي

I studied knowledge and became a *qutb* (axis),
I got up at night and at midnight.

حفظت العلم و صرت قطبا
قمت الليل و نصف الليلي

For me, in the morning—sunrise and sunset—became
one,
My drink is from the power of the Great (*surr*).

صبحت شرقتهم شرقا و غربا
و كانت شربتي من سور
الجلالي

The saints came to me
They wanted to visit me and discover my condition.¹²⁹

جاين الاوليا الى مقامي
يردون زيارتي يكشفون حالي

The people of Qādir and Ibn Rifai came to me,
And among these men was Sheikh Abu al-Wafa.

جولنا القادرين و ابن الرفاعي
و كان شيخ ابو الوفا بين
الرجالي

¹²⁸Recorded from Qawal Husseïn's son, Qawal Ilyas in 2017 by Dimitri Pirbari and translated by authors.

¹²⁹Learn about my essence.

Riders on lions came to us
Below them are blocks and they galloped.

جولنا الراكبين على السباع
تحتهم الصخر فقد مشاني

At the sight of me they dismounted.
O people, come have a look at my deeds.

لاقيت قدموهم في نزولا
حال القوم تركي وفعالي

I am the son of Musafir and my name is 'Adi
In my time I a drum was beaten for me (the fame of him
was spread everywhere).

انا ابن مسافر و اسمي عديا
دقت الطبول هم في مجالي

The sound of the drum beat for me in heaven and earth,
Chavish Sadati came to me.

طبولي في السماء في الارض
دقت
جاويش سعدي فقد سعالي

I have a sword in my hands and I hit them
Water flowed down from the far north.

كانت بيدي حربا ريست بها
خر الماء من شمل الشمالي

I hit the staff and, it struck it,
I exclaimed loudly: Land, come!

ضربت الوكاز و استوطنت
صحت صيحة العزيم زمزم
تعالى

I am a Syrian and my name is 'Adi
Oh, *Murid*, hold on to me without regret!

أنا الشامي و اسمي عديا
يتمسك بي مرید بلا ندامى .

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