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## **THE *MIŠŪR* OF *PĪR KHATĪB PISĪ*: ITS STUDY AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS\***

### **Abstract**

The article provides an analysis of the Yezidi *mišŭrs*, written records composed in Arabic. Its primary function is to establish a connection between particular murid tribes and specific factions within the ecclesiastical caste system, notably the *pīrs*. As Yezidism places substantial reliance on oral transmissions, these *mišŭrs* assume a momentous role in facilitating a deeper comprehension of Yezidi religious beliefs and historical aspects. The focus of this article centers on the *Mišŭr* of the *Pīr Khatīb Pisī*, originally published in Iraq in 1994 and subsequently reprinted in its entirety in 2017. Moreover, an English translation of this work was made available. However, it's noteworthy that these publications contain numerous inaccuracies, particularly in the rendering of proper nouns, tribal designations, and geographical names. These errors are manifest in both the Arabic rendition and the English translation. This article serves the purpose of rectifying these discrepancies present in earlier versions of the *Mišŭr Khatīb Pisī*, while also enhancing the understanding of its content. Furthermore, through a comprehensive analysis of the tribes, certain appellations pertaining to the *pīrs* are refined and clarified.

**Keywords:** *Yezidis, Mišŭrs, Mišŭr of the Pīr Khatīb Pisī, Yezidi tribes*

*Mišŭrs* represent medieval written records of the Yezidis, composed in Arabic. These documents serve as the foundation for associating specific murid tribes with castes within the clerical hierarchy, the *pīrs*. Given the prevalence of the oral tradition within Yezidism, the exceptional significance of these documents for the exploration of Yezidi religious beliefs and historical narratives becomes readily apparent.

The study of *mišŭrs* began in the 90s of 20<sup>th</sup> century, although a *mišŭr* was already published by the well-known French orientalist R. Lescot much earlier (Lescot 1938, 225-234), although not under the very name *mišŭr*, unfortunately, the language and meaning of this document is quite unclear. A Yezidi, *Pīr Khidir Sileman*, became the first researcher of *mišŭrs* whose article on *Mišŭr Khatīb Pisī* was published in 1994 in the popular Yezidi

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magazine *Lalish* issued in Iraq (Sileman 1994). Sometime later, this article was included in his book (Sileman 2009).

In his work, Pīr Khidir provided an overview of the document, detailing its dimensions and presenting excerpts from the *mišūr's* text however, excluding Sheikh Adi's *qasida* appended to it. In 2017, Khanna Omarkhali included photocopies of the original *Khatīb Pisī* in her publication, replicating the Arabic version of the *mišūr*, previously presented by Pīr Khidir. Kh. Omarkhali further incorporated the *qasida* and provided an English translation (Omarkhali 2017, pp. 61-63, 377-398). Several other *mišūrs* have subsequently been published (Pirbari et al. 2020; Pirbari & Mossaki 2022a; Pirbari & Mossaki 2022b).

While Pīr Khidir Sileman's contribution to the understanding of *mišūrs* in general and the *Mišūr of Khatīb Pisī* in particular is invaluable, it is important to acknowledge that there were some errors and inaccuracies in his analysis and textual rendition. Similarly, Kh. Omarkhali, despite her efforts, replicated Pīr Khidir's mistakes by reproducing the Arabic text, even though over twenty-five years had passed since the initial publication of the *mišūr*. Given the advancements in Yezidi studies during this period, a more accurate rendition of the manuscript would have been feasible. Consequently, the *Mišūr of Khatīb Pisī* underwent a process of proofreading and rewriting, albeit not entirely accurately, even with a repeated dissemination of photocopies. The photocopies of the *mišūr* attached by Pīr Khidir Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali do not include the names of some saints and the names of the tribes, therefore, photocopies of the fragments of the *mišūr* they omitted are offered.

The significance of *mišūrs* in the exploration of Yezidi religion and the Yezidi people cannot be overstated. These manuscripts offer a religious vantage point, allowing for the documentation of key saints, their geographical associations, details about *mišūr* owners, and consequently, the pīrs. They also provide intricate insights into the primary figure within the Yezidi religion, namely Sheikh Adi, and facilitate the tracing of Yezidism's origins, interwoven with diverse Sufi facets. The compilation of tribes, beyond merely correlating them with the respective pīr lineages, provides the opportunity to construct an ethnic chronicle of the community, characterized by a pronounced tribal allegiance. Essentially, the history of the Yezidis is inseparable from the narrative of these tribes.

While scrutinizing the aforementioned *mišūr* and the work of Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali, discrepancies emerged concerning the representation of tribal names, including instances of distortions or even omissions. Certain tribes are no longer resident in Iraq since they moved to Georgia and Armenia, and subsequently parts of them migrated to Russia and European Union countries. For instance, the tribe "Bāravān" (Bāravī) was inaccurately transcribed as Bārkhān by Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali. Furthermore, they overlooked the presence of all four subdivisions of this tribe in the text: Čamān, Čilxancarī, Šāmī and Pīrpirīkī. Notably, Kh. Omarkhali published an image of a leaflet featuring these tribes, seemingly not fully and only vaguely providing the content. Remarkably, the pīrs of the Bāravān tribe in Armenia and Georgia belong to the Pīr Bū lineage. It is noteworthy that there are two separate branches under this name (Pīr Bū) that are unrelated. Our focus, however, lies on the Pīr Bū family, who represent the pīrs of the Bāravān tribe.

Historical oral Yezidi records indicate that during the 19th century, the Bāravān tribe, having lost contact with their pīrs, turned to Lalish with a request for a spiritual guide. Subsequently, Pīr Khidr was dispatched from Lalish to assume this role and became their pīr<sup>1</sup>. It is no coincidence that Pīr Khidr Pīrē Bū became the pīr of the Bāravān tribe, as documented in the *Mišūr of Pīr Khatīb Pisī*, and appears to carry a significant meaning. This suggests that either the Bāravān tribe was mistakenly associated with these pīrs of the 19th century, or they were considered as their murids. Alternatively, it is possible that Pīr Khidr doesn't originate from the Pīr Bū clan but rather from the Pīr Būtār clan, with the "tār" suffix gradually vanishing over time, leaving only the syllabus "Bū." An encounter in 2003 with an elder from this lineage named Pīr Wazire H'iso, residing in Yerevan, shed light on this matter. He communicated that the classification as Pīrē Bū was erroneous and that they were actually Pīr Būtār pīrs. While corroborating Pīr Wazire H'iso's statement, becomes notable that the "true" Pīr Bū do not regard Pīr Wazire H'iso's family as kin. Moreover, these families are distinct with regard to their murids, spiritual leaders, and festivities. The murids of Pīr Wazire H'iso's pīr lineage correspond to the tribes specified in the *Mišūr of Khatīb Pisī*.

Access to the *mišūr* under examination was secured in 2008 during the author's visit to Iraq. The *mišūr* is kept by the Pīr Said family (belonging to Pīr Smail's lineage), originating from the Pīr Khatīb Pisī clan, natives to the Kalabadri village. Following the consolidation of Yezidi villages into collective settlements (Ar. *mujamaa'*), the residents of Kalabadri became part of the Sharia village. Historically, the ancestral territory of this clan encompassed the Būtāra village in the Siirt region of Turkey. Notably, the sanctuary of Pīr Būtār still exists there, attracting Yezidi and Muslim locals alike, particularly those experiencing infertility issues, who offer gifts as an expression of their devotion. Pīrs from the Khatīb Pisī clan are also present in Khatar (Al-Qush district) and in the village of Khanasor in Sinjar.

### ***Pīr Khatīb Pisī***

Due to the predominance of oral transmission in Yezidism, the life stories and accomplishments of Yezidi saints are transmitted through narratives known as *Sarhātī* or *Salfa*. Unfortunately, numerous such tales may have been lost in the course of the centuries past. A substantial portion of these legends is preserved among the *U'Imdars* (experts of religious lore) but remains relatively obscure to the broader public. Certain insights can be reconstructed using Arabic sources such as *Qalā'id al-Jawāhir fī minaqīb Abd al-Qadīr al-Jīlanī* (al-Tādifī 1956) and *Manaqīb Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir* (Badri 915/1509) which include accounts of miraculous feats and asceticism of Sheikh Adi and his companions. Additionally, information regarding Sheikh Adi's associates and his great-grandnephew Sheikh Hassan ibn Sheikh Adi Abu al-Barakat, is also embedded within the *mišūrs*. These documents, coupled with the historical chronology, enable the approximation of the timeframes of various saints' lives and endeavors. Furthermore,

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<sup>1</sup> As per the *Pīr Sīnī Bahrī Mišūr*, the Bāravān tribe was under the spiritual guidance of the Pīr Bahrī clan (Pīr Sīnī Bahrī). Presently, a faction of the Bāravān tribe's Šāmī subgroup continues to be disciples of Pīr Bahrī. In other words, with the passage of time, the Bāravāns lost their original spiritual leaders and adopted new ones.

these manuscripts aided in identifying numerous Yezidi saints and unveiling the original forms of their names. Over time, in the predominantly unwritten Yezidi environment, these names underwent significant transformations in both form and pronunciation due to the idiosyncrasies of the language.

For instance, the saint referred to as Īsēbiyān in the present *mišūr* is indeed Īsa ĩbn Abī; Marqabēs corresponds to A'mar Qubaysī; Hasnmamān translates to Hassan ĩbn Mam; and Muhammad ĩbn Raš is to be identified as Mahmarašān. All these saints subsequently became the progenitors of pīr families bearing the same names: Īsēbiyā, Marqabēs, Hasnmamān, and Mahmarašān, respectively. Furthermore, the *mišūr* allowed for the discernment of Pīr Khatīb Pisī's original name, which underwent alterations over time. This interpretation is not only supported by the semblance of names, as observed within the aforementioned instances, but also facilitated by a *sarhātī* – a legend associated with this saint, indicating his role as a *khatīb*, or preacher. Utilizing this information, we infer that *Khatīb Pisī* stands as one of the forty companions of Sheikh Hassan and is specified within "the List of the Forty Saints of Sheikh Hassan", under the name *Khatīb 'Īsa*. The narrative suggests that *Khatīb Pisī* was an associate of Sheikh Adi. When considering the chronological context, this likely pertains to Sheikh Adi Abu al-Barakat (Sheikh Adi II) – the father of Sheikh Hassan. This association is not unexpected, as the Yezidi tradition has seen the blending of the figures of Sheikh Adi ĩbn Musafir and his great-nephew Sheikh Adi Abu al-Barakat, presumably due to their shared name. The oral nature of the Yezidi history has contributed to this historical accuracy being somewhat obscured. Furthermore, in the Yezidi tradition, these figures are perceived as a singular essence (*surr*), which means that their distinct personalities are less emphasized. This is reflected in the Beyt about Shekh Shams<sup>2</sup> (*Beyta Şêşims*), where it is explicitly mentioned:

Şîxadî bin Misêfir, Mêr hatin û silav lê kir, Dar û bera sicûde pê kir.	Sheikh Adi ĩbn Musafir Upon his arrival, he was welcomed by men, And trees and stones would bow in reverence before him.
Şîxadî Şêx Berkate, Ji wê nûrê kir xelate, Ew zû bangîya dihate.	Sheikh Adi Abu al-Barakat Endowed with that radiant light, He promptly responds to the plea for help.

Frequently within the legends, Sheikh Adi II and Sheikh Hassan, father and son, are often conjoined when invoking one of them. This convergence likely arises from their shared mission, involving the continuation of the ancestral and pivotal role of the primary Yezidi saint, Sheikh Adi ĩbn Musafir. This practice is further extended in order to include associates encompassing Sheikh Adi II and Sheikh Hassan. Among the companions of Sheikh Hassan, as recorded in the aforementioned list of the Forty Saints of Sheikh Hassan, is *Pīr Khatīb Pisī*. Notably, *Pīr Būtār*, father to *Pīr Khatīb Pisī*, is also recognized as

<sup>2</sup> Sheikh Şams is the brother of Sheikh Fakhradīn, Sijādīn and Nāsirdīn. All four are the sons of Ēzdīn Emīr, whose descendants formed a separate endogamous branch of Shamsani Sheikhs.

an associate of Sheikh Adi – according to our perspective with Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir. Additionally, within the *Mišūr Pīr Sīnī Bahrī*, *Pīr Būtār* is denoted as *Pīr Abū Tahir*.

The tale concerning *Khatīb Pisī* narrates that he was the progeny of *Pīr Būtār*, an individual who served Sheikh Adi as a *kharbanda*, dedicating himself to the collection of contributions ("*khērat*") for the communal welfare, primarily aimed at supporting the underprivileged. *Khatīb Pisī*, the offspring of *Pīr Būtār* subsequently embraced the role of a preacher ("*Khatīb*") and became an associate of Sheikh Adi. On one occasion, Sheikh Adi dispatched him to preach and gather donations from the murids. During this endeavor, *Pīr Khatīb Pisī* entertained the thought of appropriating a tithe, which he proceeded to do. Subsequently, he progressed to taking half, and eventually, the entirety of the amassed donations. *Pīr Khatīb Pisī* contemplated informing the mentor about the diminished contributions, attributing it to a poor harvest and the ensuing hardships faced by the community.

During his return journey, *Khatīb Pisī* encountered an agitated camel hurtling toward him. In a bid to evade the animal, the *Pīr* hastily sought refuge within a well. However, his shelter proved to be short-lived, as a snake emerged from the well. To elude the snake's threat, *Khatīb Pisī* seized hold of a protruding tree root embedded in the well's wall. As he was almost extricating himself, *Khatīb Pisī* noticed that the very root had been nibbled by a mouse, its impending collapse imminent. In this precarious situation, he beseeched Sheikh Adi for forgiveness, whereupon he found himself back in the exact spot where his ordeal had initially begun.

In Lalish there is a holy place (*aqid* or *nišangah*) of *Pīr Khatīb Pisī* on the slope of Mount Mishat adjacent to Lalish.

It's worth mentioning that the name of *Pīr Khatīb Pisī* does not appear in the Yezidi sacred hymns, *qawls*. However, there is a *Qasida* titled *Qesīda Pīr Mihemed, Xetīpī ū Pīr Afat*, though the content solely pertains to *Pīr Muhammad*.

The oral tradition of the *pīrs* of *Khatīb Pisī* family says that the murids of the *pīrs* of *Khatīb Pisī* were the *Kika* and *Milan* tribes, as well as many tribes of the Arabs of Baghdad, Basra, Tikrit.

To date, the murids of *Khatīb Pisī* *pīrs* in Iraq are the *Šarqiyān*, *Zēndīnān*, *Dāudān* - in Shingal, and in Walat Shekh (a territory of the principality of Sheikhan) the *Basan*, *Khatārān* (the latter are *Binšarafī*, *Binkālkī*, *Kirkiyānī*).

It must be said that usually the *mišūrs* were given to the *pīrs* as certificates for the receiving of a donation, which is mainly called *zakat* or *fto* (*fitr*), but in the *Khatīb Pisī Mišūr* as well as in the *mišūr* of Omarkhali, the word "*zakat*" does not occur.

The *Sheikhs* of the *Khatīb Pisī pīrs* are the *sheikhs* of *Khatuna Fakhrā*, and the *pīrs* are the *Hasnmamān pīrs*.

The *sheikhs* of the *Pīr Wazir H'iso* family are the *sheikhs* of the *Sheikh Alē Šamsā*, while in the present *mišūr* the *sheikhs* of the *Pīr Būtār pīrs* are the *sheikhs* of *Khatūna Fakhrā*, which is apparently due to a change of *sheikhs* for unknown reasons.

At the same time, the names of the saints - *Sheikh Šamsadīn* (*Sheikh Šams*), *Fakhradīn*, *Sijādīn*, *Nāsirdīn*, *Khatūna Fakhrā* - are mentioned for the first time in this *mišūr*s - they are absent in other *mišūr*s. It is possible that these names were added later, considering the already formed caste system and the role of these saints.

## Brief Description of *Mišūr of Pīr Khatīb Pisī*

The *mišūr* begins<sup>3</sup> with the *ayat al-Kursi* from the Quran, followed by the seals and the names of three Yezidi saints, including *Khatīb Pisī's*.

### *Mišūr of Pīr Khatīb Pisī*

*Ayat al-Kursi* text...

Seal on the right side with the name of Sheikh Šams

Seal in the middle with the name of Sheikh Adi

Seal on the left side with the name of Sheikh Hassa

Sheikh Hadī's name<sup>4</sup> on the top

Sheikh Šams's name on the right side

Sheikh Hassan's name on the left side

"Pīr Khatīb Pisī is sheikh of" written on the right side.

"Pīr Khatīb Pisī" on the left side

Then the main text:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا مشور بير ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار قدس الله روحه وكتبه شيخ حسن البصري قدس الله سره العزيز و  
نفعنا من بركاته وانه كتب في جلسة عين بيضا في مجلس شيخ عادي قدس الله سره العزيز و نفعنا من بركاته في  
حضور شيخ شمس قدس الله روحه و في حضور ملك فخردين و ناسردين وسجادين وغيرهم من المشايخ و الاوليا  
كتبه هل لمشور الى ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار هل المريدين يكونون له مطيعين ولا يخالفونه و يقبلونه و يقبلون هل  
المشور.

In the name of merciful and compassionate God!

This is the *manshur* of *Pīr Khatīb Pisī Ibn Pīr Būtār* (may the holiness of God be over his soul)<sup>5</sup>, written by Sheikh Hassan al-Basri<sup>6</sup>, may God bless his precious *surr* and may his blessing be upon us, at the meeting place of Kaniya Spi<sup>7</sup> on the advice of Sheikh Adi<sup>8</sup> (May God bless his precious *surr* and may his blessing be upon us) in the presence of

<sup>3</sup> See Fig. 1 – Beginnings of *Mišūr of Pīr Khatīb Pisī*.

<sup>4</sup> Same as Sheikh Adi. Apparently, due to the specific pronunciation among some Yezidi villages in Iraq.

<sup>5</sup> Meaning: may his soul rest in peace.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to Sheikh Hassan, who is identified with Hassan al-Basri. According to the Yezidi view, Hassan al-Basri is the *surr* (incarnation) of Sheikh Hassan.

<sup>7</sup> Kaniya Spi (White Spring) is a holy spring in Lalish.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to Sheikh Adi's advice to the saints of.

Sheikh Šams (May the holiness of God be with his soul), and in the presence of Malak Fakhrādīn and Nāsirdīn and Sijādīn and other sheikhs and saints (*awliya*)<sup>9</sup>.

This *mišūr* is written for *Khatīb Pisī Ibn Pīr Būtār*, so that his murids listen and do not violate its content and recognize this *mišūr*, since the content of this *mišūr* is so sacred if it was said by Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir aš-Šāmī himself. Therefore, whoever breaks this *mišūr* will break the word of Sheikh Adi and whoever breaks this *mišūr* is a hypocrite<sup>10</sup> and heretic<sup>11</sup> and he has no intercession.

And he (Sheikh Adi) says [the following] poetry<sup>12</sup>:

Further the *mišūr* contains the Qasida of Sheikh Adi (in Arabic), which was omitted and not published by Kh. Sileman (Sileman 1994; 2009) while Kh Omarkhali correctly included it and translated it into English (Omarkhali 2017, 385-388).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

و هذا تذکرت اربعين سيدنا شيخ عدي ابن شيخ مسافر نور الله ضريحه، اولهم محمد ابن رش و حسن ابن مم و عيسى ابن ابي و بير جروان و عمر القبيسي و حسن الحصري و جندي الباخوز و قضيب بلبان الموصلي و محمد شنبكي و ابو بكر الحمصي و سعيد البدوي و ابراهيم الرملي و قايد البوزي و حاجي رجب البيروستي و امير محمود القلانسي و خضر الهكاري و علي توکلي و اسحاق الكردي و علي درديالي و خشف الدنيسري و حماد البوازجييه و عبدالعزيز الثرثري و داود تخومي و ابراهيم قونسي و محمد الرنبوسي و سعيد الباهي و عمرالمزري و مبارك ابن اخي و شيخ نعمان و شيخ فتیان و مطراين فيض و بشيرابن غنيمه و جمال ابن سلام و شيخ رسلان المهرساني و حسين البرخواركي و ابو بكر القرقوري و محمد ابن شمس و ریحان عبدالشيخ عدي و داود خربندا و محمد ابن رين و هو خاتم اربعين رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين.

In the name of the merciful God!

This is a list of the names of the forty [companions] of our Lord Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir (let there be light on his grave), and they are Muḥammad ibn Raš, Ḥasan ibn Mam, 'Isā ibn Ābī,<sup>13</sup> P'ir Jarwān, 'Umār al-Qabīsī, Ḥasan Al-Ḥasrī, Ĵundī al-Bākhūz, Qadīb Bilbān al-Musilī<sup>14</sup>, Muhammad Shanbakī, Ābū Bakr al-Ḥims, Sa'īd al-Badawī,<sup>15</sup> Ībrahīm al-Ramlī, Qā'id al-Būzī, Ḥajī Raḡab al-Beristakī, Amīr Maḥmud al-Qilānsī, Khidir al-Hakārī, Alī

<sup>9</sup> *Awliya*, i.e. the Saints. Also, in the Yezidi tradition they are called *khas*.

<sup>10</sup> Munafiq.

<sup>11</sup> Zandīq.

<sup>12</sup> Beyts.

<sup>13</sup> 'Isā ibn Ābī - Īsēbiyan, who was the *khazindar* (treasurer) of Sheikh Adi. In the manuscript, Kh. Sileman did not read his name correctly and wrote *Isa al-Zabi*; Kh. Omarkhali repeated the same mistake.

<sup>14</sup> *Qadib al-Ban* is the form which is found in Arabic sources.

<sup>15</sup> A Sufi, who founded the *Badawiya tariqa*, is known under this name. He lived from 1199 to 1276 – a timespan which does not coincide with Sheikh Adi's life (the 70s of the 11th century to the early 60s of the 12th century)..His biography contains information about his visit to Lalish and the tomb of Sheikh Adi ibn Musafir. At present we cannot provide an explanation for the inclusion of Ahmad ibn Ali al-Badawi (Sayyid al-Badawi) in the list of the forty companions of Sheikh Adi; this issue must remain a subject of further research (Mayeur-Jaouen 1994; al-Miṣrī 1277/1860–1).

Tokilī, Ishāq al-Kurdī, 'Alī Dardyalī,<sup>16</sup> Khishif al-Dinīsrī,<sup>17</sup> Hāmad al-Buwazjīh,<sup>18</sup> 'Abd al-Azīz al-Thārtharī,<sup>19</sup> Dawūd Tikhūmī, Ibrāhīm Qūnsī, Muhammad al-Ranbūsī, Sa'īd al-Bāhī, 'Umār al-Mazra'ī, Mubārak ibn Ukhtī, Šeikh Nu'mān, Sheikh Fityān, Matar ibn Fayḍ, Bašīr ibn Ghanīma, Jamāl ibn Salām, Sheikh Raslān al-Mihrsānī, Ḥusayn al-Barkhwarkī, Abū Bakr Qarqūrī, Muhammad ibn Šams, Raīhān 'Abd al-Šeikh 'Adī, Dawūd Kharband, Muhammad ibn Raban and he is the seal of the forty and God rest them all.

وهذا تذكرت اربعين سيدنا شيخ حسن الصالح الزاهد العابد الورع التقى النقي العالم العامل العابد العارف امام الموحدين ومذهب سنت الدين ابا محمد شيخ حسن رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين. اولهم حاجي محمد الكفرزماي واسماعيل ابن قابله وشمس محمد الدومشقي وخذر كوردي وحماد البواجي ويبر بوب البارزاني و ابو بكر الدوش و بير بوب ابن حميد شيخ مطر و حاجي علي السيراني وشيخ جميل وشيخ زريب و علي موكاني وشيخ علي الكافي عبدالحميد و حاجي حسن المارداني وشيخ عرفات الهكاري و محمد نيري و محمد الدرجني وشيخ عيسى ابن سعيد البدوي و حسن الكان و علي بوبكران و بير بوال سيدري و بير دلي بيبادي و علي موكاني و عمر الخوي و حاجي مكي و حاجي اسراييل و عيسى البودي وشيخ حسن الجناري و عمر خالان و غريب حكاك اربيلي وبوب الخواني و خطيب عيسى و غريب و بير خل الصهركي و محمد البيبوني و بوب اليساني و موسى السرير و محمد الشهدي ومحمود الخندقي و سليمان البابكر تمام الاربعين الذي سيدنا الشيخ حسن رحمة الله عليه و عليهم اجمعين والحمد لله رب العلمين.

This is a mention of the forty (companions) of our Lord Sheikh Hassan (who is) - the righteous, the ascetic, worshiper, pious,<sup>20</sup> virtuous, pure, wise, hardworking,<sup>21</sup> devotee, knowledgeable, leader of the believers in monotheism and the practices of the Sunat ("traditional") faith, and the father of<sup>22</sup> Mohammad Sheikh Hassan - may God give rest to them all. And the first of them Hajī Muhammad al-Kifirzamānī, Ismā'īl ibn Qābilah, Šams Muḥammad al-Dūmašqī, Khidir Kūrdī, Hamād al-Biwājī, P'ir Būb al-Bārzānī,<sup>23</sup> Abū Bakr al-

<sup>16</sup> Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali erroneously spelled *Dardbali*.

<sup>17</sup> The name *Khshf al-Dnisri* is omitted by Kh. Sileman in the text reproduced by him and Kh. Omarkhali repeated the same mistake by.

<sup>18</sup> Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali also omitted this name.

<sup>19</sup> In the manuscript, after the word *Abdulaziz*, the scribe of the *mišūr* wrote the word and crossed it out, which indicates his mistake. Kh. Omarkhali, despite the crossed-out word, reproduces it in the text as الثامن (al-thamin) and translates it as "eighth", although, obviously, this word could not be written there. The scribe of the document, making mistakes several times, crosses them out, as in the case of the crossed-out name of Ali Mukani.

<sup>20</sup> Refraining.

<sup>21</sup> I.e. diligent in faith.

<sup>22</sup> The word *abā* means father in Arabic and in the Arabic tradition *kunya*, is used inter alia as a respectful address to a person, although Kh. Omarkhali considered it as a proper name. In fact, the Muhammad mentioned here is the son of Sheikh Hassan. This refers to Aba Muhammad Sheikh Hassan, i.e., Muhammad's father Sheikh Hassan.

<sup>23</sup> 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 Bašīqa and Bahzān have their own Arabic etymology. Bašīqa comes from the Arabic *Bayt al-Ashq* (Home of Joy) and Bahzān from Arabic *Bayt al-Ḥazn* (Home of Sorrow).



Dūš, P'ir Būb b. Ḥamīd,<sup>24</sup> Šeikh Maṭar, Ḥājī Alī al-Sīrānī,<sup>25</sup> Šeikh Jamīl, Šeikh Zarīb,<sup>26</sup> ~~Alī Mūkānī~~<sup>27</sup> Šeikh 'Alī al-Kāfī,<sup>28</sup> Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ḥājī Ḥasan al-Mārdānī, Šeikh 'Arafāt al-Hakārī, Muhammad Nīrnī, Muhammad al-Daraḡanī, Šeikh 'Tsa b. Sa'id al-Badawī, Ḥasan al-Kān, 'Alī Būbakrān,<sup>29</sup> P'ir Buwal Sīdarī,<sup>30</sup> P'ir Dalī Bībādī<sup>31</sup>, 'Alī Mūkānī<sup>32</sup>, 'Umār al-Khūbī,<sup>33</sup> Ḥājī Makkī, Ḥājī Isrā'īl, 'Tsa al-Būdī,<sup>34</sup> Šeikh Ḥasan al-Činārī,<sup>35</sup> 'Umar Khālān, Gharīb<sup>36</sup> Hakak<sup>37</sup> Arbīlī, Būb al-Khwānī, Khātīb 'Tsa, ~~Gharīb~~<sup>38</sup>, P'ir Khal al-Sahirkī,<sup>39</sup> Muhammad al-Bayībūnī,<sup>40</sup> Būb al-Īsānī, Mūsā al-Sarīr, Muhammad Šahdī,<sup>41</sup> Mahmūd al-Khandaqī, Sulayman al-Bābakr completion of all who are our Lord Sheikh Hassan, may God give all of them rest and praise be to the Lord of both worlds!

و شهود على هذا المشور بوب البارزاني وهل المشايخين والاوليا على هل مشور ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار شيخه خاتونا فخران هذا المريدين والاملاك و جملة الباسان معاشر من كل ما لهم وما البارفان هم مريديه و هم معاشر من غنمهم و دويهم وبيادرهم و بستانهم و زرعهم اش ما يملكون معاشر و ستوركان و بندوري مريدي هل مشور من قبيلة القايدى ستري زرك (مريدهم) و دكان (مريدهم) و جملة حطاري (مريد) هل مشور و قبيلة بلد سنجار قيراني (مريد) و رشكان. رشان (مريد) و قبيلة من الشرقيان (مريد) و جملة شككان و مهرنيا (مريد) و دوستكيان (مريد) و

<sup>24</sup> P'ir Khidir and Kh. Omarkhali did not put a comma here, apparently considering that *P'ir Būb b. Ḥamīd Šeikh Maṭar* is one name, while *P'ir Būb b. Ḥamīd* is one saint and *Šeikh Maṭar* is another. Although in the original text, as is customary in Arabic, the letter *vav* is used instead of commas and it is not there; nevertheless, when analyzing the text, it could be understood that these are actually two different names.

<sup>25</sup> Can also be read as *Sīsanī*.

<sup>26</sup> Kh. Omarkhali erroneously transcribes *Zurayb*.

<sup>27</sup> Here the name is crossed-out, by which the scribe indicated his mistake but neither Kh. Sileman nor Kh. Omarkhali noted this.

<sup>28</sup> Kh. Omarkhali did not put a comma there, and hence, convoluted the two names into one.

<sup>29</sup> This is probably the ancestor of the *Alūbakr* family of whom pīrs. Kh. Sileman erroneously wrote *Ali Bubkilan* and Kh. Omarkhali repeated the mistake after him.

<sup>30</sup> Kh. Omarkhali indicated not quite correctly *Sīdarī*. The correctness of *Sīdarī* is due to the corresponding name of one of the formerly Yezidi inhabited villages of Sedar in Iraqi Kurdistan.

<sup>31</sup> At present, only one extended family of this clan remains in Syria.

<sup>32</sup> This is where the previously crossed-out *'Alī Mūkānī* should be placed, while Kh. Omarkhali erroneously provides this name twice.

<sup>33</sup> Kh. Omarkhali writes *'Umār al-Khawbī*. Both options are possible here.

<sup>34</sup> Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali erroneously spelled *'Tsa al-Badawī*. The correctness of *'Tsa al-Būdī* is also confirmed by other *mišūrs*, in particular, in the *Mišūr of Amar Qubaisi*.

<sup>35</sup> Written as *al-Jinari* since there is no letter "Ch" in Arabic.

<sup>36</sup> The name *Gharīb* is erroneously translated by Kh. Omarkhali as *foreigner*. However, in this case it is nothing else than a proper name.

<sup>37</sup> Here it could be read as *Mikakil*, but when compared with other *mišūrs*, in particular, with the *Mišūr of Amar Qubaisi*, it should be read as Hakak.

<sup>38</sup> This name is crossed-out, by which the scribe gives us to understand that he misspelled it. But Kh. Sileman reproduces this name in his text, and Kh. Omarkhali repeats the same mistake following him.

<sup>39</sup> Kh. Omarkhali erroneously reads it as *Šarqī*.

<sup>40</sup> Kh. Omarkhali erroneously reads it as *Bībwanī*.

<sup>41</sup> Can be read as *Šahrī*, however, given that in the *Mišūr of Amar Qubaisi* this name is written as *al-Bašhadī*, we read it as *Šahdī*. Kh. Omarkhali erroneously has *Shihirī*.

نصف روباري عمادية (عشر) و قبيلة ماموسان (مربهم) و قبيلة خيسكان (مربهم) و قبيلة مسقوران (مربهم) قبيلة من شهرمان (مربهم) و قبيلة من اقونسيان (مربهم) و قبيلة من الرشكان (مربهم) و نصف المبول (عشر) و نصف الشام (عشر) و ربع من بغداد (معاشر) و ساقات ما شرق جروان من شاه ميران (معاشر) و ساقى ما من ولايات الكيكي (معاشر) و اغاوات القايدى (مربهم) و ربع من كار ملح و كل هوج و بصرا نصف ربع (معاشر) و من الهوريان قبيلة (مربهم) و قبيلة ه.... (مريد).

Witnesses of this mišūr are Pīr Būb al-Bārzānī, also these sheikhs and saints - over this mišūr of the Khatīb Pīsī ibn Pīr Būtār, and his sheikh is Khatūna Fakhrā. These are the murids and the property of the entire Bāsān tribe<sup>42</sup> and a tenth of all their wealth, Bāravān<sup>43</sup> this murids, and a tenth of the sheep and cattle, threshing floor, gardens and crops and a tenth of the property of Stūrkā and Bandūrī are also murids of this mišūr, and from the tribe al-Qāidī Strīzarkī (also) his murids (he is their marabī)<sup>44</sup> and Dākān (he is their marabī). And all Hatāri are also murids of this mišūr. And the Balad Sinjār Qīrānī tribe is also the murids of this mišūr and Raškan. Both the Rašan<sup>45</sup> murids and the Šarqiyān tribe,<sup>46</sup> all Šikākān (murids), the Mhīrnīyā murids,<sup>47</sup> the Dūstkyān murids,<sup>48</sup> the murids of half of the Rūbar Imadīya (tithe), the Māmūsān tribe<sup>49</sup> (marabī), the Khīskān tribe<sup>50</sup> (marabī), the al-Msqoran tribe(?)<sup>51</sup> (marabī), the Šahmarān tribe (marabī), the Āqonsiyān tribe (marabī), the Raškān tribe (marabī), half of the al-Mabūl<sup>52</sup> (tithe), half of the Šām (tithe), and a quarter from the Baghdad (tithe), the waters and streams east of the arwānā (tithe), from the Šāhmīrān<sup>53</sup> (tithe), the waters and streams of the al-Kīkī (tithe) and the Agha al-Qaidī (marabī), a quarter from the Kār milih,<sup>54</sup> the Kul huj (?)<sup>55</sup> (tithe), half of a quarter from the Basrā (tithe), the Al-Hawerīyan tribe (marabī), the tribe of h....n<sup>56</sup> (?) (murids).

<sup>42</sup> The Basan are a Yezidi tribe that once lived in the Jezire region of Turkey.

<sup>43</sup> It is reproduced by Kh. Sileman (and Kh. Omarkhali) as "*Barkhan*", but in a footnote he explains that this word is borrowed from Persian. In the English translation [provided by Omarkhali??] this word, as an ethnonym, is completely absent.

<sup>44</sup> Tutor.

<sup>45</sup> Kh. Sileman omitted this tribe, while Kh. Omarkhali mistakenly reads *Rašīdan*.

<sup>46</sup> Kh. Sileman omitted this tribe, while Kh. Omarkhali erroneously reads *Māmratibān*

<sup>47</sup> Kh. Omarkhali reads *Sihriya*.

<sup>48</sup> Kh. Omarkhali reads *Darstikan*.

<sup>49</sup> Kh. Omarkhali reads *Māmīrashān*.

<sup>50</sup> Kh. Omarkhali reads *Haskaya*.

<sup>51</sup> The text is difficult to read. Kh. Sileman incorrectly states *masakan*.

<sup>52</sup> Kh. Sileman reads: Istanbul, but again it is difficult to decipher. In the original text, above this word, another word is crossed out, which reads *Athul*. However, as this manuscript contains errors in the spelling of toponyms, it is quite possible that this could indeed be read as Istanbul.

<sup>53</sup> Can be read: waters of Šāhmīrlān.

<sup>54</sup> Difficult to read.

<sup>55</sup> Difficult to read.

<sup>56</sup> Difficult to read. Kh. Omarkhali has *Pismīran*.

وهذا نصب اجداد بير حسو ابن بير شرو ابن بير سماعيل ابن بير ناسر ابن بير حاجي ابن بير يوسف ابن بير اوصمان ابن علي ابن بير حاجي ابن اوسف ابن بير زيندين ابن بير ختو ابن حاجي سماعيل ابن بير زيندين ابن بير جامو ابن خلات ابنبير خيرو ابن بير خالد ابن بير عبدال ابن ابن بير ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار رحمة الله عليهم و عليهم اجمعين.

This represents the genealogy: Pīr Hiso ībn Pīr Šaro ībn Pīr Smāil ībn Pīr Nāsir ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Pīr Yusif ībn Pīr Nāsir ībn Pīr Osman ībn Ali ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Yusif ībn Pīr Zandin ībn Pīr Khato ībn Hājī Smāil ībn Pīr Zandin ībn Pīr Jamo ībn Khalāt ībn Pīr Khero ībn Pīr Khālīd ībn Pīr Abdāl ībn Pīr Khatīb Pisī ībn Pīr Būtār, may God [allow] them all to rest in peace.

هذا نصب اجداد بير عيسى ابن بير اوسو ابن بير ناسر ابن بير حاجي ابن بير يوسف ابن بير ناسر ابن بير اوصمان ابن بير علي ابن بير حاجي ابن حاجي ابن بير يوسف ابن بير زيندين ابن بير ختو ابن بير حاجي ابن بير سماعيل ابن بير زيندين ابن بير جامو ابن بير خلات ابن بير خيرو ابن بير خالد ابن بير عبدال ابن بير ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين.

This represents the genealogy: Pīr Isā ībn Pīr Isā ībn Pīr Uso ībn Pīr Nāsir ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Pīr Yusif ībn Pīr Nāsir ībn Pīr Osman ībn Pīr Alī ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Hājī ībn Pīr Yusif ībn Pīr Zandin ībn Pīr Khato ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Pīr Smail ībn Pīr Zandin (several names crossed out below) ībn Pīr Jamo ībn Pīr Khalāt ībn Pīr Khero ībn Pīr Khālīd ībn Pīr Abdāl ībn Pīr Jamo ībn Khalāt ībn Pīr Khero ībn Khālīd ībn Abdāl ībn Pīr Khatīb Pisī ībn Pīr Būtār, may God rest them all in peace.

هذا نصب اجداد بيرعلو ابن بير عمر ابن بير علي ابن خالد ابن بير عبدال ابن حاخي ابن يوسف ابن ناسر ابن بير اوصمان ابن بير علي ابن بير حاجي ابن بير يوسف ابن بير زيندين ابن بير ختو ابن حاجي ابن بير سماعيل ابن بير زيندين ابن بير جامو ابن بير خلات ابن بير خيرو ابن بير خالد ابن بير عبدال ابن بير ختيب بسي ابن بير بوتار رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين يا رب العالمين.

This represents the genealogy: Pīr Alo ībn Pīr Amar ībn Pīr Ali ībn Pīr Khālīd ībn Pīr Abdāl ībn Hajī ībn Yusif ībn Nāsir ībn Pīr Osman ībn Pīr Alī ībn Pīr Hājī ībn Pīr Yusif ībn Pīr Zandin ībn Pīr Khato ībn Hājī ībn Pīr Smāil ībn Pīr Zandin ībn Pīr Jamo ībn Pīr Khalāt ībn Pīr Khero ībn Pīr Khālīd ībn Pīr Abdal ībn Pīr Khatīb Pisī ībn Pīr Būtār. May the god [allow] them all to rest in peace. O Lord of both worlds!

و انتقل هذا مشور في سنة الاف مائتين و سمانية و سبعين ايام 9 من رمضان. نقله شيخ ميرزه ابن شيخ علي ايمام المركه كل من يقرأ بعده من هذا المشور الله يغفر عزابه ويدعيلي من عزاي.

This mišūr was copied on one of the days of the month of Ramadan 1278.<sup>57</sup> Transcribed by Sheikh Mirza, the son of Sheikh Ali the imam of Margah. To all who peruse this mišūr, may God spare them from suffering, and may they pray for my deliverance from suffering as well.

<sup>57</sup> March 1862 according to the Gregorian calendar.

*This is followed by three seals bearing the name of Mirza ĩbn Āli*

A reasonably well-preserved separate leaflet, accompanying the *mišūr*, was found. This leaflet reiterated the genealogy of the *Khatīb Pisī* lineages and the list of Yazidi tribes. Some tribes were omitted in the main manuscript but included in the supplementary sheet which seems to have served as a draft or a later addition to the *mišūr*. It is noteworthy that Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali incorporated some tribe names from this sheet into the *mišūr*'s tribal list, most probably struggling to decipher all the listed names and neglecting some. This list reinforces the theory about the justification for linking the *Pir Wazire H'iso* family, previously considered as *Pir Bū pirs*, to the *Pir Būtār* clan due to the alignment of their murids with those documented in this list.

**The contents of this document must be reproduced independently from the *mišūr*. It is important to note that these ethnonyms and toponyms are arranged in a non-systematic manner, without any specific order.**

#### Additional Information Provided by the Leaflet

بیرحسو ابن بیر شرو ابن بیر سماعیل ابن بیر ناسر ابن بیر حاجی ابن بیر زیندین ابن بیر علی ابن بیر حاجی ابن بیر  
ختیب بسی ابن بیر بوتار.

Pir Hiso ĩbn Pir Šaro ĩbn Pir Smāil ĩbn Pir Nāsr Nāsir ĩbn Pir Hājī ĩbn Pir Zandin ĩbn Pir  
Ālī ĩbn Pir Hājī ĩbn Pir Khatīb ĩbn Pir Būtār.

بیر علو ابن بیر عمر ابن بیر علی ابن بیر خالد ابن بیر عبدال ابن بیر حاجی ابن بیر یوسف ابن بیر علی ابن بیر حاجی  
ابن بیر ختیب ابن بیر بوتار.

Pir Alo ĩbn Pir Amar ĩbn Pir Ālī ĩbn Pir Khālīd ĩbn Pir Abdāl ĩbn Pir Hājī ĩbn Pir Yūsuf ĩbn  
Pir Āli ĩbn Hājī ĩbn Pir Khatīb ĩbn Pir Būtār.

بیر ماجو ابن بیر مراد ابن بیر ماخو ابن بیر...

Pir Mājo ĩbn Pir Mirād ĩbn Pir Mājo ĩbn Pir...

اغوات من القايدى (مربهم) و ربع بغداد و اقونسيان (مربهم) و ربع بصرا و كل من كار ملح و كل هوج و رشكان  
(مربهم) و مرید من البارفان چمان و جلعنجر و شامي و بربركي و ستوركان و بندوري و من القايدى ستري زركي  
(مربهم) و جملة حطاري (مربهم) و هارونكا (مربهم) و داکان (مربهم) و جملة باسان و مندموسكان و سموقي و جملة  
رشان و شرقيان و جملة شككان و مهنريا و دوستكيان و روبرار عمادية و ماموسان (مربهم) و قبيلة الخيسكان و بحر  
خاتوني و دولي و الهوري و كوزدركان و ربع و نصف من رندوز و نصف نوران و نصف ربع من سليمانية و جملة  
بازيد و ربع من اصهان و لحفة دهوك و ربع و نصف من ولايات روان و نصف ربع من مراد صو و نصف الجزير  
(معاشر) و كل عجوز (معاشر).

All aghas<sup>58</sup> from the al-Qaidi (marabi), a quarter of Baghdad, the Aqonisiyān (marabī), a quarter of Basra, all from the Kār milih, the Kul hūj, the Raškān (marabī), the Al-Bāravān (the Čamān, the Čilxancarī, the Šāmī, the Pirpirīkī); the Stürkī, the Bandūrī, the Strīzarkī from the Al-Qāidī (marabī), all Hatarī, the Hārūnkā (marabī), the Dakan (marabi), all Bāsān, the Mandamūskān, the Smoqī and all Rašan, the Šarqiyān, all Šikākān, the Mhīrnyā, the Dūstkyān, the Rūbar Imādiyā, the Māmūsān (marabī), the tribe of Al-Khīskān, the Bahr Khātūnī, the Dumlī, the Al-Hawerī, and the Kuzderkan(?), a quarter of Istanbūl, the Šahmīran tribe (marabi), the water and the river of the Wilayet Kīkī<sup>59</sup> (tithe).

Quarter and a half of Randūz,<sup>60</sup> half of Nawrān<sup>61</sup>, half of a quarter from Suleimanīyā, Bayāzīd as a whole, quarter from Īsmhān,<sup>62</sup> lihfa (district) Duhok, a quarter and a half from the Vilayet Rawān<sup>63</sup>, half of a quarter from Mūrād-su,<sup>64</sup> Al-Jazīr<sup>65</sup> (tithe), all A'jūz<sup>66</sup> (tithe).

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<sup>58</sup> Head of tribe.

<sup>59</sup> This paragraph was omitted by Pīr Khidir and Kh. Omarkhali, apparently considering that these names are repeated, although the names not indicated in the above passage do not completely coincide with the text.

<sup>60</sup> Although it is written *Randūz*, it is obviously *Rawanduz*.

<sup>61</sup> *Nawrān* is an area north of Mosul, once inhabited by the Yezidis. It is now considered the border between the Arab and Kurdish populations of Iraq. Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali erroneously have *Turan*.

<sup>62</sup> Kh. Omarkhali writes *Isbhan*, although there is no dot that would indicate the letter *b*. It is quite possible that *Isfahan* was meant.

<sup>63</sup> Yerevan.

<sup>64</sup> A tributary of the Euphrates in the region of Van.

<sup>65</sup> Jazira ibn Omar, a district of the city of Jazira in modern Turkey.

<sup>66</sup> Kh. Omarkhali translates as "old", but we assume that this is a toponym, since it is doubtful that after the listing of ethnonyms and toponyms there would be the word "old men". Kh. Omarkhali is translated as "old", but we assume that it is a toponym, since it is doubtful that after the list of ethnonyms and toponyms there will be the word "old people". It is noteworthy that during the Ottoman period, there was a region (nahiya) of A'juz on the territory of Iraq. This is mentioned in the book by Khalil Ali Murad and Abd al-Fatah Ali al-Botani. *Emirate of Dasin and Sheikhan in the Ottoman era 1515-1750*. P.11.

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ابليسكي و امير محمد القلاسي و قدس سره  
 و علي نقدي و اسحاق الكردي و علي دردياني  
 و خشفه الدينيري و حماد البزازي  
 و عبد العزيز الشافعي الثناري و داود قندي  
 و ابراهيم قونسي و محمد الرنبوگسي  
 و سعيد الباهي و عمر المزرعي و مبارز الابا  
 اختي و شيخ نعمان و شيخ فتيدان و ملاهنا  
 فيضي و بشير ابا غنيم و جمال ابا سلام  
 رسلان المهر ساني و حسين البرخواركي  
 و ابو بكر القنوري و محمد ابا شمس و ريجان  
 عبد الشيخ عدي و داود فرندي و محمد ابا ربنا  
 و هو خاتم اربعين رمة الله عليهم اجمعين

Fig. 2 – Omitted names of saints by Kh. Sileman and Kh. Omarkhali (fragment)





