



KAŠMIRI, BADR-AL-DIN

KAŠMIRI, BADR-AL-DIN, a prolific writer active in Central Asia during the second half of the 16th century; he was closely linked with the eminent Juybāri shaikhs of Bokārā, K̲vāja Moḥammad Eslām (d. 1563) and his son K̲vāja Saʿd (d. 1589), and with their patron, ʿAbd-Allāh Khan b. Eskandar (r. 1583-98). His extant works, in prose and verse, are important sources on the political, social, cultural, and especially religious history of Central Asia.

Most of what is known of Kašmiri's life comes from his own comments in his extant works; outside these he is mentioned in just two 17th-century sources, one a poetic *taḍkera* by Moṭrebi Samarqandi, the *Nosḵa-ye zibā-ye Jahāngir*, completed in 1035/1625-26, and the other, a hagiography about the Juybāri lineage, the *Maṭlab al-ṭālebin*, completed in 1074/1663-64. The latter work names him among the disciples of Moḥammad Eslām Juybāri, referring to him as Mir Kašmiri, listing several of his works, and affirming, in connection with his poetic *divān*, that he used the pen name (*taḵalloṣ*) "Badri." Moṭrebi likewise calls him "Mir Kašmiri," but mentions only two verse works, and stresses his devotion to K̲vāja Saʿd, affirming that he lived into old age and dwelled until the end of his life at K̲vāja Saʿd's burial place.

From Kašmiri's own works we learn the fuller version of his name, Badr-al-Din al-Kašmiri b. ʿAbd-al-Salām al-Ḥosayni b. Sayyed Ebrāhim, and a rough chronology of his move to Central Asia. He left Kashmir in 959/1552, intending to perform the *ḥajj*, but in Qandahār he met a native of K̲ojand who, though previously a disciple of the contentious Naqšbandi shaikh, Mawlānā Loṭf-Allāh Čusti (d. 979/1571), had been deeply affected by a meeting with Shaikh Yunos



Moḥammad, one of the lieutenants (*kolaḥā*) of “Ḳvāja Moḥammad Eslām Bokāri,” and who urged Kašmiri to go directly to Marv in order to meet this master. Kašmiri followed this advice, arriving in Marv in 960/1553 and entering the service of Yunos Moḥammad; the latter, he writes, turned him away from his previous affiliation with the Kobrawiya (no doubt within a lineage stemming from Sayyed ‘Ali Hamadāni in Kashmir) and induced him to attach himself to the Naqšbandiya (Kašmiri, *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin*, ed. Serāj al-Din, p. 268). Kašmiri remained with Yunos Moḥammad in Marv until the shaikh’s death in 961/1554, whereupon he moved to Bokārā and joined the Sufi community led by Yunos Moḥammad’s master, Ḳvāja Moḥammad Eslām Juybāri; he specifies in one work that Moḥammad Eslām first directed him to perform “the silent *dekr* involving the retention of the breath” (*dekr-e kaḥfiya be-ṭariq-e ḥabs-e nafas*) on a Friday morning in 963/1555-56 (Ms. British Library, Or. 10,893, folios. 198a). After Moḥammad Eslām’s death in 971/1563, Kašmiri attached himself to his son, Ḳvāja Sa’d; Kašmiri notes that the death of Ḳvāja Sa’d, in 997/1589, prompted him to postpone the completion of one of his works and undertake another, and his latest known work was completed in 1001/1593, but otherwise we know nothing about his subsequent life or the date of his death. Most of the other information Kašmiri gives about himself in his works has to do with his literary production and consists of lists of the writings he had completed, or planned to complete, with dates and sizes (in terms of the number of couplets or of quires) assigned to most works (these do not always correspond exactly to what is known from his surviving works).

Kašmiri’s extant works are preserved in, altogether, seven known manuscripts; all of them, incidentally, include dedications to ‘Abd-Allāh Khan b. Eskandar as well as substantial praise of both Moḥammad Eslām and Ḳvāja Sa’d. Two of these are substantial narrative works in verse: one, a version of the legend of Alexander referred to as *Eskandar-nāma* and *Qeṣṣa-ye Du’l-Qarnayn*, is preserved in Paris (Ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément Persan 501, in 264 folios); the other, a valuable verse history of ‘Abd-Allāh Khan’s reign known by the title *Zafarnāma*, was completed in 1001/1593 (it is his latest known work) and survives in two copies (one in Dushanbe, at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, Inv. No. 779, in 597 folios, and one in the British Library, Ms. Or. 14,244, in 625 folios). Kašmiri’s other extant works are hagiographies, chiefly in prose, honoring his three Naqšbandi shaikhs. Best known among them is the *Rawzat al-reżwān wa ḥadiqat al-ḡelmān*, completed in 997/1589 following the death of Ḳvāja Sa’d and preserved in a single manuscript at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the



Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan in Tashkent (Inv. No. 2094, in 552 folios); it covers the lineage and lives of Moḥammad Eslām and K̲vāja Sa'd, and its inclusion of the texts of letters and documents relating to their activities has drawn considerable attention to the work by historians of 16th-century Central Asia.

Also devoted to these two Juybāri shaikhs is a hagiographical work preserved in an incomplete manuscript in the British Library (Ms. Or. 10,893, in 480 folios), which indicates the date of its completion as 983/1575-76, and bears the title *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin wa me'rāj al-kāmelin*. This title in fact combines two titles mentioned by Kašmiri in his lists of his works, and this date matches neither of the dates assigned in his lists to those two titles; in a further complication, the manuscript elsewhere includes other comments that appear to refer to the work by only the second 'half' of the title. These discrepancies appear to signal shifts in Kašmiri's own understanding of, and plans for, his works, and even though the first 'half' of the title in the London manuscript, *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin*, is semantically linked with specific imagery evoked in the text leading up to the announcement of the title, there is some reason to suppose that the bulk of this manuscript represents a work that Kašmiri intended (at some point) to entitle *Me'rāj al-kāmelin*. What is evidently a more complete copy of the work represented in the London manuscript was recently identified in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan, in Tashkent (Inv. No. 4816, comprising 537 folios bound in two volumes); in this manuscript, *Me'rāj al-kāmelin* indeed appears to be the most common element among a still wider range of 'titles' (I am grateful to Dr. Nuryoghdi Toshev, Senior Researcher at this institute, for personal communication of his discovery).

The third hagiographical work by Kašmiri is preserved in a single manuscript in Islamabad and was published in 1997; it, too, bears the title *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin* (and includes an allusion to the title *Me'rāj al-kāmelin*), but in this case both the date of its completion (986/1578-79) and its subject—it deals with the life of Badr-al-Din's first Naqšbandi shaikh, Yunus Moḥammad Ṣufi of Marv—correspond to Badr-al-Din's description of the *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin* in his lists of his writings. Those lists appear in three of his extant works, the *Eskandar-nāma* (evidently the earliest list), from 989/1581, the *Rawzat al-reẓwān*, from 997/1589, and the *Ẓafar-nāma*, from 1001/1593 (see *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin*, ed. Serāj-al-Din, pp. 29-30; *Rawzat al-reẓwān*, Ms. Tashkent, fols. 10b-11b; *Eskandar-nāma*, Ms. Paris, fols. 7a-11); they consistently date the *Serāj*



al-ṣāleḥin to 986/1578-79 and describe it as a hagiography devoted to Yunos Moḥammad, and with equal consistency they date the *Me'rāj al-kāmelin* to 981/1573-74, describing it as a much larger hagiography (more than three times as long as the *Serāj al-ṣāleḥin*) devoted to Moḥammad Eslām and Ḳvāja Sa'd.

In addition to these two hagiographies (and the *Rawzat al-reẓwān*, listed only in the *Ẓafar-nāma*), Kašmiri's lists mention three verse works, two of which are assigned specific dates, suggesting that they had indeed been written; none of them is known to have survived. One of these verse works, a *maṭnawī* entitled *Šam'-e delafruz*, is said to have been completed in 976/1568-69 and would thus be the earliest of Kašmiri's compositions; another, entitled *Rawzat al-jamāl* and said to have been completed in 983/1575-76, was evidently a larger compilation including, Kašmiri writes, *enšā'āt*, *qaṣidas*, *ḡazals*, and *maṭnawīs*. The third verse collection is not assigned a specific title, and its description varies from list to list: in the *Eskandarnāma*, Kašmiri simply refers to a *majmu'a*, in 8,000 *bayts*, in praise of the prophets and the Naqšbandi masters (*ḳvājas*), completed in 988/1580; in the *Rawzat al-reẓwān*, he gives the same subject and number of verses but mentions no date; and in the *Ẓafar-nāma*, he specifies 7,000 *bayts*, in *qaṣidas* and *ḡazals*, in praise of the Prophet, his family, and unspecified "*ḳvājas*" which he says he completed "at various times" (the shifts suggest that he might have withdrawn material from this collection to include elsewhere). It is also clear from these lists that his two surviving verse works, the historical *Ẓafar-nāma* and the *Eskandar-nāma*, were conceived by Kašmiri as merely parts of a much larger poetic collection, the structure of which he envisioned differently during the course of his life; in his latest list, he identified the *Eskandar-nāma* and the *Ẓafar-nāma* as the second and fourth parts, respectively, of a large 'historical' *maṭnawī* entitled *Rosol-nāma*, which was itself envisioned as the final component of a set of seven *maṭnawīs*, each modeled on a work by a famous poet, bearing the collective title *Baḥr al-awzān*. The three lists are entirely consistent in their descriptions of the first six components of the *Baḥr al-awzān*, for which only their poetic models—and not their dates or lengths—are indicated. The first six parts are: (1) *Manba' al-aš'ār*, on the model of Neẓāmī's *Maḳzan al-asrār*; (2) *Mātam-sarāy*, on the model of 'Aṭṭār's *Manteq al-ṭayr*; (3) *Zohra wa koršid*, on the model of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqa*; (4) *Šam'-e delafruz*, on the model of Amir Ẓosrow Dehlavi's *Ẓosrow wa Širin*; (5) *Maṭla' al-fajr*, modeled on Jāmi's *Sobḥat al-abrār*; and (6) *Laylā wa Majnun*, modeled on Mawlānā Hātefi's work of the same title and subject. The fourth of these appears earlier in the three lists, as



noted, as a separate work said to have been completed in 976/1568-69; in the list given in the *Rawzat al-reżwān*, Kašmiri affirms that the *Šam‘e delafruz* was intended (at least at that point, if not originally) to be one of the “seven-fold” poems (*yaki az maṭnawiyāt-e haftgāna*) of the larger *Baḥr al-awzān*.

With regard to the seventh component of the *Baḥr al-awzān*, the *Rosol-nāma* (modeled, says Kašmiri, on the *Bustān* of Sa‘di), he gives more specific information, but gives it differently in the three lists:

(1) In the *Eskandar-nāma*, he says that he began the *Rosol-nāma*, which was to include 150,000 verses, in 989/1581, completing it in the same year; despite listing it as the seventh part of the *Baḥr al-awzān*, he says that he began it after completing the *Baḥr al-awzān* (which he had begun in 988/1580).

(2) In the *Rawzat al-reżwān* (997/1589), he says that he began the *Baḥr al-awzān* in 989/1581-82, completed it (in 10,000 verses) and presented it to Ḳvāja Sa‘d, and then began the *Rosol-nāma* in 991/1583 (even though, again, he refers to the *Rosol-nāma* as the seventh component of the full *Baḥr al-awzān*). Here too he describes the *Rosol-nāma* as a work in 150,000 verses and as divided into four sections, but he assigns no titles to the four sections (and he makes no mention of the inclusion of *Eskandar* among the topics covered, even though the *Eskandar-nāma* had evidently already been completed); his description of the subjects and lengths of each section differs from the presentation in the *Ẓafar-nāma*, as reviewed below. Finally, he refers to the *Rosol-nāma* as a work he had completed and presented to Ḳvāja Sa‘d (who gave him 2,500 silver tangas and several fine robes as a reward), but then says that he ceased work on the *Rosol-nāma* after Ḳvāja Sa‘d’s death, in order to write the *Rawzat al-reżwān*. Both this list and that in the *Eskandar-nāma* thus refer to the *Baḥr al-awzān*—presumably including all its components except the *Rosol-nāma*, which Kašmiri treats differently—as a completed work.

(3) In the *Ẓafar-nāma* (1001/1593), Kašmiri writes that he began the *Baḥr al-awzān* in 991 Š./1583 (he does not refer to its completion), and that its seventh component, the *Rosol-nāma*, comprised 160,000 verses and covered the entire history of the sons of Adam, in four parts bearing independent titles:

A. *Šafi-nāma*, in 33,000 *bayts*, on the pre-Islamic prophets (vs. 40,000 *bayts* on the pre-Islamic prophets, mentioned in the *Rawzat al-reżwān*);

B. *Eskandar-nāma*, in 7,000 *bayts*, on ʿDu‘l-Qarnayn (not mentioned in the



Rawzat al-reżwān, where, however, the higher figure given for part A no doubt reflects coverage of Eskandar among the pre- Islamic prophets);

C. *Moştafā-nāma*, in 104,000 *bayts*, including accounts of the Prophet Moḥammad (40,000 *bayts*, the same figure given in the *Rawzat al-reżwān* for the life of Moḥammad, which is counted in that earlier work, however, as the second part of the *Rosolnāma*), of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs (30,000 *bayts*, again the same figure assigned in the *Rawzat al-reżwān* to the account of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, counted there as the third constituent of the *Rosol-nāma*), and of subsequent Islamic history, “from the time of the caliphate of Mo‘āwia b. Sofyān down to the time of the emergence of Šībāni Khan” (34,000 *bayts*, vs. 40,000 *bayts* on Islamic history “from the time of Mo‘āwia down to the present” mentioned in the *Rawzat al-reżwān* and counted there as the fourth and final component of the *Rosol-nāma*);

D. *Ẓafar-nāma*, in 16,000 *bayts*, devoted to the history of ‘Abd-Allāh Khan (not mentioned separately in the *Rawzat al-reżwān*).

It is clear from these lists that Kašmiri’s vision of the structure, content, and length of some of his works changed, whether because of his own shifting plans or because of the interests of patrons, and that he sometimes revisited works he had completed, either for revision or for major reformulation in the context of his work as a whole. What is left unclear is which of the works he mentions, beyond those that survive, were actually written, and which were merely proposed, conceived, or envisioned, but not actually completed. It might seem reasonable to suppose that the dated works, at least, had indeed been written, but this is in fact not always clear, and the cases of the *Serāj al-şāleḥin* and the *Me‘rāj al-kāmelin* suggest that even the dates and titles of Kašmiri’s extant works might not correspond to what he describes in his lists; it is, moreover, precisely in connection with the section of the *Baḥr al-awzān* of which we know, from their survival, that parts were actually written, that is, the *Rosol-nāma*, that we find the most glaring shifts in the dates and structure assigned to the work. In any case, Kašmiri’s attention to the structure and ‘volume’ of his works offers an interesting example of a 16th-century writer’s vision of his approach to his literary endeavors; and his surviving works stand as essential, though still largely untapped, sources on the reign of ‘Abd-Allāh Khan, on the activities of the Juybāri shaikhs, and on the history, doctrine, and practice of Naqšbandi Sufi communities in Central Asia.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Badr-al-Din Badri Kašmiri, *Serāj-al- šāleḥin*, ed. Sayyed Serāj-al-Din, Islamabad, 1376 Š./1997.

Two external sources mention Kašmiri: Moḥammad Ṭāleb, *Maṭlab al-ṭālebin*, MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Or. oct. 1540 (described in *Verzeichniss der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XIV/1*, no. 158), fol. 49b.

Moṭrebi Samarqandi, *Nosḡa-ye zibā-ye Jahāngir*, Qom, 1377/1998, pp. 143, 144.

Studies focused on Badr-al-Din and his works. Devin DeWeese, “The Problem of the *Sirāj al-šāliḥin*: Notes on Two Hagiographies by Badr-al-Dīn Kashmīrī,” in *Écrit et culture en Asie centrale et dans le monde turcoiranien, Xe XIXe siècles/Writing and Culture in Central Asia and the Turko-Iranian World, 10th-19th Centuries*, Studia Iranica, Cahier 40, ed. Francis Richard and Maria Szuppe, Paris, 2009, pp. 43-92 (with references to catalogue descriptions of Badr-al-Din’s extant works).

Paul E. Losensky, “Badrī Kashmīrī,” in *EI*³ IV, 2009, pp. 97-99.

‘Āref Nawšāhi, “Aḥwāl wa ātār-e Badr-al-Din Kašmiri” (in Urdu), *ḡodā Bakš Lā’ibreri Jarnal*, nos. 75-77, 1992, pp. 300-308; Persian tr. Najm-al-Rašid in *Nāma-ye pārsi* 3, 1377 Š./1998, pp. 19-27.

‘Abd-al-Ġani Mirzāyif [A. M. Mirzoev], “Badr-al-Din Kašmiri wa eškebāhāti dar ta’yin-e ta’lifāt-e u,” *Waḥid* 12, 1353 Š./1974, pp. 700-713.

See also the brief discussions in the following. Ch. A. Storey, *Persidskaya literatura: bio-bibliografičeskii obzor*, tr. Yu. È. Bregel, Moscow, 1972, II, pp. 1133-35.

Ḍabiḥ-Allāh Šafā, *Tāriḡ-e adabiyāt dar Irān*, 2nd ed., V, pt. 2, Tehran, 1364 Š./1985, pp. 713-17; Sayyed Ḥosāmāl- Din Rāšedi, *Taḍkera-ye šo’arā-ye Kašmir (Takmelaye Taḍkera-ye šo’arā-ye Kašmir-e Moḥammad Ašlaḥ Mirzā)*, 4 vols., Karachi, 1967-69, I, pp. 132-33.

Sa’id Nafisi, *Tāriḡ-e naẓm va naṣr dar Irān va dar zabān-e fārsi tā pāyān-e qarn-*



e dahom-e hejri I, Tehran, 1344 Š./1965, p. 444.

Discussions of the *Rawzat al-reżwān*. M. Abduraimov, “O maloizvestnom istochnike po istorii agrarnykh otnoshenii v Sredneĭ Azii XVI veka,” *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 1968, no. 3, pp. 121-28.

B. A. Akhmedov and I. Saidakhmedov, “Agiograficheskaya literatura kak istoricheskiĭ istochnik (“Rauzat ar-rizvan” Badr ad- Dina Kashmiri),” in *Bartol’dovskie chteniya* VIII, Moscow, 1987, pp. 15-16.

B. A. Akhmedov, *Istoriogeograficheskaya literatura Sredneĭ Azii XVI-XVIII vv. (Pis’mennye pamyatniki)*, Tashkent, 1985, pp. 182-87.