

Promotion of Persian literature in Kashmir (Shah Jahan Era)

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Abstract:

The cultural relation between Kashmir and central Asia are very old. The Advancement of Islam in Kashmir after the 14th century is related to the missionary activities of a group of accomplished mystics of Iran and central Asia. These missionaries not only propagated their religion but also introduced Persian arts, crafts, language and literature in Kashmir. These efforts made the Persian official language of Kashmir till 1907, when it was replaced by Urdu. With the coming of the Muslim preachers and scholars from Iran and central Asia, Islamic influence penetrated deep in to the valley. The cultural, political and religious relation among Kashmir, central Asia and Iran are very old. As a result of the establishment of all relations with Iran and central Asia, the Persian language and literature spread rapidly in Kashmir. The religious and official language during Hindu period in Kashmir was Sanskrit, but it was replaced by Persian from the times of Sultan Sikandar (1389 to 1413). Persian continued to remain the official language of Kashmir till 1907, When it was replaced by Urdu.

Key words: Shah Jahan, Literature, poetry, Persian, literature.

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Kashmir where the world ends and paradise begins is a land of lofty mountains, snow clad peaks, wonderful waterfalls, astonished lakes, capturing flowers and natural beauty .Historically, it was free and king ruled over large part of India and Afghanistan. It was ruled at least five thousand years under Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims Shahmiri Sultans, Mughal emperors, Afghan, Sikh and Dogra rulers. During Hindu period from (20180 BC to 1320AD), Kashmir remained the seat of Sanskrit learning and master pieces of history, poetry, romance, fable and philosophy issued from this paradiseⁱ. Sanskrit was also the official language of Kashmir during this era.

With the coming of the Muslim preachers and scholars from Iran and central Asia, Islamic influence pretended deep in to the valley. The cultural political and religious relations among Kashmir, central Asia, and Iran are very old. As a result of the establishment of all relations with Iran and central Asia, the Persian language and literature spread rapidly in Kashmir. The religious and official language during Hindu period in Kashmir was Sanskrit, but it was replaced by Persian from the times of Sultan Sikandar (1389to 1413)ⁱⁱ.Persian continued to remain the official language of Kashmir till1907, When it was replaced by Urdu.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin had a greater contribution towards the spread and development of Persian language and literature. The popular ruler of Kashmir made Persian, the state language. Though his mother tongue was Kashmiri, yet he specialized in Persian language. He was also well versed in Persian prose and poetry and versified under the pen name of Qutb. He himself wrote two books in Persian language entitled ‘Shikayat’ and ‘composition and preparation of explosives’.ⁱⁱⁱLearning and literature was greatly promoted by this famous king. Galaxy of poet, writers and scholars were among his centuries. Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri was a profound scholar, a distinguished poet and an excellent historian of Zain-ul-Abidin’s reign. He translated’ Mahabarta’ and Rajtrangni in to Persian language under the command of sultan.^{iv}The books in Persian language on medicine were also written under the personal care of Sultan Abidin. Mansur-bin-Ahmad wrote a book in Persian entitled ‘Kifayatul Mujahideh’ on medicine and dedicated

it to the sultan. Another book on medicine wrote in Persian entitled 'tasrib' and dedicated to the grand child of Amir Timur,^v The chak rulers, who succeeded the Shahmiri, also were great lover of Persian language and literature.

Sultan Hasan Shah Chak showed favors to the poets and himself also composed verses in Persian. He also wrote a book in Persian language in titled 'Persian and Zaban-a- Hindustani'.^{vi} The famous ruler of Chak dynasty, Yusuf Shah Chak had a talent and taste for Persian poetry besides music. After the decline of Chak rulers, the Moghal emperors remained in power in Kashmir. During Mughal dynasty, Persian language and literature were promoted on the large scale in the valley.

The most distinguish thinker of the Mughal period who personified the spirit of Kashmiri culture in Persian literature was Mullh Mohsin Fani, who wrote an important book, 'Daabistan-i-Mzahib' in 1645. It consisted on twelve parts.^{vii} He had left behind collections of poems in Persian language. A manuscript copy of the Divan-i-Mohsin Fani is also available in Punjab university library. Some biographies have written during the Mughal period in Persian language. Among them Tazkra-i- Murshadin by Miram Bazaz in 1575, Asrar-Abrarby Baba Daud Mushakani in 1653 and Shaura-i-Kashmir by Mullah Zahni in 1655.^{viii} The emperor Akbar in 1596 ordered Jamal-ud-din Anju to compile the Persian Lexicon afterwards known as the Farhang-i-Jahangiri. This work took twelve years for compilation in Jahangir's reign. The daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, Zibun Nisa Begum, translated the gigantic Arabic Tafsir-i- Kabeir in to Persian language and named it after her patroness, the Zib-ul- Tafsir.^{ix} The Mughal period in Kashmir was favorable for the promotion of the Persian literature.

One of the most important figures of the Mughal period was Mirza Akmal-ud-din, Kamil whose prodigious work 'Bahar-ul-Urfan' was written in reply to that of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi. This work was in four volumes and comprised 80, 000 verses.^x The best Persian poetry was produced in Kashmir During Mughal era. A good number of Persian poets who came to prominence during this age were Zafar Khan Ahsan, Mullah Mohsin Fani, Nazir Nishepuri, Ashraf, Tayib, Mazhari, Sarfi, Salim, Fitrati, Najmi,

Sati, Yakta and Ghani etc. The greatest poet who composed in Persian language during Mughals period was Mullah Muhammad Tahir Ghani .In the whole history of Persian literature; probably he was alone in not having composed a Qasida in Praise of any human being.^{xi} He composed no less than 20,000verses.persian poetry found another home in Kashmir during his time.

The chain of knowledge and literature in Kashmir dates back to the Hindu period. But the rise and evolution of language and literature achieved during the monarchy of Shah Mir dynasty, especially in the reign of Zain-ul - Abidin. In this period, poets and scholars came from other countries and played a significant role in the promotion of knowledge and literature. Sanskrit remained an official language of Kashmir during Hindu era. Persian language replaced Sanskrit in Kashmir in Shamiri period. Persian remained an official language of Kashmir for five hundred years.

The Mughals are great patronesses of Persian. They awarded land and cash grants to the scholars, and poets. The Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. The famous Sanskrit history, Kalhan's Rajtrangini was translated into Persian by Mulla Abdul Qadir badauni. Besides the royal patronage, the presence of Persian speaking officials, saints and Sufis gave a fillip to the spread of Persian literature. Poets and scholars like Talib isfahani, Khawaja Moinu-ud-Din Naqshbandi, Hajji Mohammad Jan Qudsi Mulla Tugra, Muhammad Quli Salim, Mir Ilahi, Inayat khan, son of Zafar Khan, and many others settled in Kashmir permanently. They had a large number of associates. As such Kashmir turned out to be Miniature Persia.^{xii}

The Mughals promoted Persian language and literature in the valley. The tradition of writing poetry and prose were on track. During the reign of Akbar (1586-1605) the Persian language and literature was fully promoted. The first translation from Sanskrit to Persian was made by Mullah Shah Muhammad in 1589 AD.^{xiii}

Emperor Jahangir and Shah Jahan were fond of literature and Architecture. The governors of Shah Jahan and Jahangir were also interested in poetry and many of them were poets. Among them are Zafar Khan Ahsan, Inayat Khan Ashna, Islam Khan, Ali Mardan Khan and Ibrahim Khan. Under the

patronize of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Kashmir shone with a galaxy of famous poets like Kalim, Qudsi, Auji, Tughra, Mir llahi, Nadim, Fasihi, Fahmi and Khwaja Mumin got fame in Kashmir. Their verses are often quoted by lexicographers. Some poets belong to Iran but they loved Kashmir more than their own native land. Zafar Khan, in the preface of his Divan, particularly mentions the names of Maulana Haider Muhammad, Muhammad Muqim Jauhari, Qazi Muhammad Qasim better known as Qazi zadah as distinguish poets of his time in Kashmir. These well-known Persian literary figures not only influenced Kashmiri literature but also Kashmiri culture.^{xiv}

The Valley practiced the rule of great rulers of the Mughal dynasty like Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Especially in Shah Jahan's reign, the poet Kalim Hamadan in 1651, along with a dozen of other poets visited Kashmir and composed topographical poems using the Masnavi form, introducing a literary whim that lasted for over two decades. Although most poems modified the model of the city poem for this purpose, using the same descriptions praising metropolitan cosmoses that included descriptions of idealized Persian gardens, others produced poems in the pastoral or bucolic mode with realistic descriptions of actual places.

A special category of Persian topographical poetry flourished in the seventeenth century. Mughal court under the emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan that was exclusively devoted to the beauties of the landscape of the Kashmir valley, the northernmost province of the empire and a veritable paradise in popular imagination.^{xv}

Shah Jahan visited Kashmir four times i.e. trips to Kashmir, in 1634, 1640, 1645 and 1651 respectively. He visited Kashmir in 1634 after the death of Mumtaz Mahal. Many of the courtiers accompanied him, including the two poets, Kalim and Qudsi, who probably visited the Kashmir first time.

During Shah Jahan era Kashmir soon declared the favorite subject of Persian poets because it came closest to the idealized Persian garden and paradise that appeared as a metaphor in classical poetry. Even more than the imperial family, it was a man who provided the patronage and created a hospitable atmosphere for poets. In 1662 Zafar Khan Ahsan became

governor of Kashmir .He was a goods poet and great administrator. He remained governor of Kashmir twice .He congregated famous poet of his time in royal court.^{xvi}

Claiming a rural space as urban as some of our poets do in their poems may seem contrary to the basic definition of pastoral poetry, but this is precisely the distinctive way in which this genre developed during the reign of Shah Jahan, as an extension of poems about cities. These literary works should not be taken merely as indicative of a nascent regional identity or pride, but as a sophisticated development in a literary tradition that was nurtured by certain ritual journeys of the Mughal court that were orchestrated in poetry by the best poets of the court – such as the frequent trips to Kashmir or travelling down the Ganga or Yamuna by boat – and the complex patronage and administrative system that facilitated this mobility, especially in the case of Kashmir. Nature in an idealized form had always been paramount in Persian literature, and in Mughal Persian poetry it was particularly idealized by a group of innovative poets as the ‘true’ paradise of which the urban world was a pale reflection.^{xvii}

After Jahangir, when Shah Jahan came to the throne, there was progress in literature during his reign. Shah Jahan's reign was very important in terms of knowledge, culture and especially literature. Not only did he stay in the subcontinent but he made Kashmir his home and buried there. During Shah Jahan era, most important books of Persian literature were written. Among them were Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Israr-ul-ibrar, Daood-i-Mishkati, Tabqat-i-ShahJahani, Sakina-tul-oliya,Risala-i-Haqmama.^{xviii}

The literary fad of writing poetry about Kashmir, and to some extent about other provinces, in the pastoral mode peaked in Shah Jahan's early years and then faded away like the memory of the imperial court's visits to the valley. Although many of the poems on the praise of provinces, starting from Faizi's qasida on Kashmir and all the way to Kalim and Munir, were composed under courtly patronage to celebrate the expansion of the empire, the personal investment and attachment of individual poets to certain places redefined the literary geography of Mughal Persian literature.^{xix}

During the reign of Shah Jahan, poetry and speech became very popular. Saeeb Tabrizi came from Iran and stayed in his court. Shah Jahan went to Kashmir in 1043 AH. The poets, scholars, Huffaz, and Naat reciters got gifts from Shah Jahan and some were given Jagirs and Rs. 12,000 for Mehfil Milad.

Jan Muhammad Qudsi, originally from Quds, came to India to perform certain duties and became famous there. Nature had great potential and that is why it was far ahead of its contemporaries. He completed Zafar Namah Shah jahani. A man gifted a white elephant full of crown jewels to the King, Qudsi was also there and immediately said these verses.

بر فیل سفیدش که مبنیاد گزند
شد شیفته ہر کس کے نگابی افگند
چون شاہجهان برو بر آمد گوئی
خورشید شد از سفیدہ صبح بلند

Shah Jahan bestowed rewards and honors on Qudsi for his unprepared poems. Qudsi also wrote a Masnavi about the complicated routes of Kashmir and its travel.

تحقیق نتوان رسید از راه باطل	بود قطح ره کشمیر مشکل
که گوئی کوه راموی کمر نیست	مگر زین راه باریکت خیر نیست
که گام اول او ترک دنیا است	ره فقراء از ره کشمیر پیداست
که گام اولست از جان گذشتن ^{xx}	ازین ره چون تو ان آسان گذشتن

Mirza Muhammad Qali Saleem came to the subcontinent during the reign of Shah Jahan and made Kashmir Valley his home. At that time Islam Khan was performing the duties of Subedari. Later he stayed with Zafar Khan Ahsan. The famous verse of his poetry is.

دل چو رسد گرم زمی جلوه معشوق کند
ماہی موم با شش چو رسد آب شود^{xxi}

The real name of Istighna was Abdul Rasool. He lived with patience and contentment from the very beginning of his life. When the worries of livelihood bothered him, he came to the court of Shah Shuja and got a job. He was a armaments man to Shah Shuja, but when Alamgir invaded, Shah Shuja was defeated and he too was helpless.^{xxii} Mullah Foroughi was a poet who came to the emperor's court on the strength of his ability and got a job

in Shah Jahan's government for 12 rupees a day in 1060 AH. When Shah jahan came to Kashmir in 1061, he presented two Masnavis, first one about the Shah Jahan Abad and second one about admiration of garden Hayat Baksh and was rewarded Rs1000. He always lived with humility and submission. He died in 1077 AH and was buried in Delhi.

بازیان حال سنگره می گوید بلند
 می خورد پا بر که بر افتادگان پامی زند^{xxiii}

Furughi was the poet of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb Alamgir time. Furughi's two Masnavis on Shah Jahan and Baghi Hayat Bakhsh of that city of Shah Jahan, reward of twelve thousand rupees and employment on twelve rupees a day under that emperor. After the death of Shah jahan, Furughi entered the service of Aurangzeb Alamgir and won many reward. Furughi died in 1077AH=1616AC. ^{xxiv}Mullah Subhi was a high-ranking poet and he was in the time of Shah Jahan and was an employee of Shah Shuja who was the son of Shah Jahan. He was very fond of poetry and died at the end of 11th century.

چه رنگین گریه ها از سوز دل آورده ام صبحی
 کنون از چشم تر دارم تمنای چکینهبا^{xxv}

His name was Talib and was born in Hamdan. When he was young, he left for Shiraz and after completing his education he came to India. Initially, he stayed in Deccan. But soon Shah Jahan sent him to Kashmir to write Badshah Namah. He was still in Kashmir when he passed away.^{xxvi}

With eloquence, delicate thoughts, and thoughtfulness, he composed very high subjects. Due to his eloquent speech and serious eloquence, the poems were pleasing, the texts were smooth and the subjects were colorful. He kept writing bad shah mama while living in Kashmir.^{xxvii}

His real name was Mohsin and his surname was Fani. He was from the family of Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi. But when Prince Murad Bakhsh conquered Balkh in 1056 AH, he found the Diwan of Mohsin Fani in his library which contained poems about Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh. It was praised that when the king found out, he removed him from the presidency. However, he fixed the annual stipend and then he remained attached to teaching in Kashmir till his death.^{xxviii}

گاہ سخن آب، گھی آتش است
گاہ جگر سوز و گھی دلکش است

Persian language and poetic parameters, while for Fani it was a refuge from the wickedness of the material world. Whereas in Western pastoral poetry the simple life of the shepherd or country dweller is often idealized, in Fani's poem, a humble tradesman, a pan-seller, assumes this role, and praise is reserved for the poet's Sufi master rather than for the emperor.^{xxix}

Fani was originally from Kashmir but fondly recalled his time in Allahabad, meditating on his checkered career in the Mughal administrative network. Nature was liberating for these poets, whether in a courtly and mystical setting.

Mullah Mohsin Fani the scholar and teacher of that time was very famous in Persian. He traveled to different countries in search of knowledge. When he reached Balkh, Nazar Mohammad Zaman, respecting his knowledge and grace, hired him. Fani wrote poems in honor of Nazar and from there came to India. When he attended the service of Shah Jahan, he was awarded the post of President. Fani Shah Mohibullah Allahabadi was intent on. When he came back to Kashmir he opened a religious school. Dr Ameer Husan Abadi Published the compilation of your Masnaveis in the name of 'Masniveyat Fani Kashmir'. The Masnavis which included in this collection are Naz-o-Niaz, Masdar-ul-Asar, Mekhana-e-Raz, Mah-o-Mehr and Haft-e-Akhtar. Because of guidance and education of Fani three great poets found in Kashmir Mullah Tahir Ghani, Mullah Mohammad Zaman Qai and Haji Aslam Salem.^{xxx} The eloquent poet who has made Kashmir his hometown presents the subjects and meanings with great affection. Mullah Tahir Ghani was his student.^{xxxii} Mullah Tahir Ghani was born in 1630. Ghani was educated by Mullah Mohsin Fani. It was his education and teaching he got fame in the poets of contemporary. Ghani used to live inside the hut. When he was in that hut, he locked it from inside. When he went out, his door left opened. When asked him why you do this act he replied the expensive thing of this hut is me. When I go outside then what leave in this hut?

More than two and a half hundred Persian-speaking poets have passed away in Kashmir. Ghani was the head of all of them. The real name of Ghani was

Muhammed Tahir and title was Ghani. He also mentioned his title in his poetry.

غنى روز سیاہ پیر کنعت را تماشا کن
 که نور دیده اش روشن کند چشم زلیخارا

xxxii

Some says Ghani was born about 1040AH=1630AC; the third year of the accession of Shah Jahn. But this date is not acceptable to those who assume that Ghani died at an advanced age and not at 39 and, as proof; cite Ghani's own couplet like the following Ghani lived during the governorship of Zafar Khan Hasan. Nawaab Wahid Zaman Tahir Wahid was a great admirer of him.

Mulla Tahir Ghani throughout his life never waited on a prime, nor wrote a single qasida (eulogy) in praise of any nobleman or king. His Divan, consist of ghazals and ruba'iyyas and qasidas (not in praise of any nobleman, etc). It is said that he wrote about 100,000 verses. His Divan, copied in 1690AC, and was printed in Lucknow, in 1845AC. It was arranged by Muhammad Ali Mahir originally Hindu brought up by Mirza Jafar Muhammad and probably seedited by Ghani's pupil, Muslim Mujrim with the help of another pupil named Lala Malik Shahid, senior to Mujrim. It is a fragment of about 2000 of what ghani actually composed. And hence the Riyaz ushara of Ali 'Quli Valih Daghistani of Isfahan, composed in 1161AH=1748AC, in Muhammad Shah's reign, 82 years after Ghani's death and the Majma un Nafa is of Siraj- ud- Din Ali Khan Arzu, completed in 1164AH= 1750AC, says that Ghani left about twenty thousand verses.^{xxxiii} Another poet of Shah Jahan's times who was known as Fasihi and had a great taste in poetry. He was one of the companions of Maulana Nadeem. He also wrote a Diwan. Averse from his poetry like as.

حسن پیرانه دکان بوس نتوان کرد
 شعله طور چراغ دل خس نتوان کرد
 چه طلسیست فصیحی که ز مندان وفا
 پیش نتوان شد رو باز به پش نتوان کرد

xxxiv

Fahmi was poet of Shah jahan times and called Fahmi because he was second to none in understanding. That is why everyone called him Fahmi. He has same status of Feshi and Zahni. He was the companion of Nadeem.

فہمی نتوان رست ز اندیشه خوبان
 زین گونه که در دل غم این طایفه عجا کرد^{xxxv}

Thoughts about Fahmi Hussain cannot get rid of because the grief of this group took place in the heart in a strange way.

Fitriti a great poet of Kashmir was contemporary of Nadeem ,Fasi and zahni. His poetry was high standard, because Mirza Fitrat admired his poetry when he came to Kashmir.^{xxxvi}

Akmal-ud-Din Mirza Muhammad Kamil was born in 1644. He was brought up during the reign of Shah Jahan and also spent some time in Delhi. He was awarded by Shah Jahan. He was impressed by Mulana Romi. He wrote a Masnavi Behr-ul-irfan, which consists of 60 thousand verses. The manuscript of the Masnavi available in library of Srinagar. So he turned away from worldliness and started following the path of behavior and Sufism. The research is available in the library of Kashmir Srinagar. A volume was published in Kashmir in 1381. He also wrote an ode which was entitled Mukhbar-ul-Asrar. Akmal also translated the tale of Kashmir in Persian language and title them “akh- nund”. Dost Muhammad was another poet of Kashmir in era of Shah Jahan. Who was a court servant of Shah Jahan. The verses of his poetry are as under.

ای خوی کجت نماز جان را محراب
 ابروی تو مسجد جہان را محراب
 کرند بگرد ما فلک خم یعنی
 بر سوست نماز عارفان را محراب^{xxxvii}

The circumstances described by Muhammad Tahir with reference to Natiq did not describe the life of Natiq and only stated that they were four brothers and three were poets. Natiq was a Kashmiri. He had written a Diwan. The Divan of Natiq is available in library of Punjab University. The title is not mentioned in this Divan. This Divan was compiled by his son Faiq. Faiq himself was a poet. It was completed by Faiq in 1078 AH. Natiq was a disciple of Mullah Shah and besides that Darashkoh was also a disciple of Mullah Shah. Natiq was addicted to opium. Natiq's speech was excellent.^{xxxviii}

Ahsan ullah was the real name and Zafar was addressed. His father was Khawaja Abul Hassan. In 1041 AH, his father was appointed Subedar of Kashmir. So he was with him to act the duties of consequent Subedar of Kashmir. His father passed away and he was appointed Subedar of Kashmir, and he got the position of 3000 caste and 2000 cavalry. Even after that he became the subedar of Kashmir several times. During the Aurangzeb period he was awarded 40 thousand annually. If he was less in height but he was matchless in intellectuality. He appreciates poets so that's why Mirza Saib Tebrizi associated with him long period. Ghulam Ali Azad has seen eight poems of Saeed in which he praised Zafar Khan

خانخان را بیزم و رزم صائب دیدم ام
در سخاو در شجاعت چون ظفر خان تو نیست

xxxix

Zafar Khan had a very good taste for poetry. Apart from this he has also written Masnaviyas in which Haft Manzil, Jalwa Naz, Mekhana are worth mentioning. The manuscript of Bankipur Library was compiled by Zafar Khan himself in 1053 AH. He passed away in 1073 and buried in Lahore. The manuscript of his dewan presented in Asiatic society of Bengal, India office library, Ali G

arh Muslim university and oriental research library Srinagar.

Mir Elahi was one of the Iranian Sadat. During the reign of Jahangir, he gained lasting fame and was rewarded by the king. But when Shah Jahan took the throne, Mir Elahi turned towards Kashmir and made this place his home.

یا الہی زالہی تو چہ پرسی در حشر
آچہ او کرد تو دیدی و چہ گفتن بردارد^{xl}

His real name was Mirza Muhammad Tahir. His surname was Ashna and his address was Inayat Khan. His father's name was Ahsan who held the post of Subedari during the reign of Shah Jahan. He was appointed the servant of king but after that he paid duty as librarian. In the Aurangzeb time he was appointed to verify the manners of Sermad.^{xli} Ashna's two Masnavi Sahib and Hamesh Bihar are especially noteworthy which he wrote about the Shish Mahal built by Darashkoh. Ashna wrote a Dewan which manuscript presented in India office library. There is also a copy in

Raza Library Rampur. In the sixth year of Alamgiri era, Rs. 24,000 per month was fixed for him. He stayed in Kashmir and passed away in 1031. He was the brother of Mullah Tahir-ul-Ghani. Benefiting from his elder brother's service of forgiveness, he continued to teach collections of poetry till the end of his life and was engaged in eloquence.

It is said that Allah Almighty changed the heart of Sadiq Kashmir in his childhood. He stayed in Delhi and then in Lahore and eventually became a recluse in Kashmir. His speech was published in 1960 under the name of "Kalam Sadiq". In addition, the poets of Shah Jahan's time include Jupiter, Mehri, Gulshni, Fitrat, Tughra, and Atai Kashmiri. He is a very charming calligrapher. The great calligraphers are convinced of his magical writing. His memorable writings are spread all over the world.

Munir was from Lahore and took great pride in following in the footsteps of the great Indo-Persian poets from his city and those of Delhi; he found similarities between the wild idyllic landscape of Kashmir and natural wilderness of Bengal, indicating that there was a more personal investment and individual programmed of representation behind his poems.

The Persian remained at least five centuries the official language of Kashmir. During these centuries, Persian language not only transformed the Kashmiri culture but also the Kashmiri literature to the pattern of Iranian culture and literature.

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