

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SIND
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORICAL EPISTOLOGRAPHY
A Bio-Bibliographical Survey

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An able and proficient secretary was always looked upon as an asset and integral part of the court paraphernalia by Muslim rulers and over the centuries a good deal of scholarship and ingenuity were expended on the perfection of the rules, norms and standards regulating the conduct, the art, and the literary skills of the occupants of this coveted position, the *dabirs* and *munshis* as they were designated in official idiom.¹ Before the advent of the Mughuls into India this branch of literature had already reached its zenith² and some of the best works on the subject were already in wide circulation all over the Islamic lands.³

During the days of Humayun, his *munshi* Maulana Yusufi, of Harat, also compiled a work on epistolography, the *Badayi'al Insha'*⁴ by name, but it was during the reign of Akbar that one of the most exhaustive ever manuals on the subject in the subcontinent, the *Munsha'at-i Namakin*,⁵ was composed in 1006/1598 in Sind and was dedicated to that emperor.

The author of this work Mir Abu al-Qasim Khan Namakin⁶ was a Husayni Sayyid of Harat, who started his career under Akbar's half brother Muhammad Hakim Mirza, the Viceroy of Kabul (r. 963-993/1555-1585), but subsequently, emigrated to India and entered the imperial service. Akbar received him favourably and bestowed on him the *jagir* of Bhera and Khushab, in the Punjab. It was during his stay at this *jagir* which lay within the *Namaksar*, or the Salt Range, that Qasim Khan made a present of some utensils made of salt to the emperor and earned the epithet of *Namakin* (witty). Later he distinguished himself in various expeditions until in the 43rd regnal year (1006/1598), Akbar appointed him the governor of Bhakkar. In the early phase of Jahangir's reign, Namakin arrested the rebel prince Khusrau and endeared himself to the monarch beyond all measure. Jahangir entrusted to him several sensitive responsibilities from time to time, including his appointment in Bhakkar and subsequent despatch with the Tarkhan chief, Mirza Ghazi Beg, to Qandahar, when on his way back to Bhakkar, he died in 1018-19/1609-10 leaving behind two works, namely the *Munsha'at-i Namakin* and the *Jamawi' al-Jawahir*.⁷

The works on epistolography can be divided into three main categories. Firstly, those which emphasize the qualities of a good secretary and deal with the theoretical aspects of a good epistolary style. Secondly, the collections of original letters of various personages, or the compendiums of the deeds, diplomas and documents of a particular reign, region, or dynasty; and thirdly, the compilations of sample letters and documents which were designed to serve as prototypes and precedents for *munshis* and *dabirs* for use on different occasions. The line of demarcation separating these types is, however, too fine and far from being final.

Strictly speaking, the *Munsha'at-i Namakin* belongs to the third and final category; none the less, the attributes of the second category are also abundantly found in it. In the composition of his work, Namakin heavily drew upon the earlier works on the subject, such as the *Nama-i Nami* of Khwandmir (d. 942/1535) and the *Ta'rikh* of Hafiz Abru⁸ (d. 834/1431). His use of the official archives is also exceedingly vouchsafed by the contents of his work. His correspondence with his friends and contemporaries is yet another important source of the *Munsha'at*.

As far the plan of the book, it comprises eight chapters, which are further divided into sections (*fasl*) and an epilogue (*khatima*). Chapter one deals with the origin of the art of epistolary writings; chapter two contains the specimens of the royal mandates and diplomas; chapter three deals with the salutations, complimentary epithets, verses and the communications that are exchanged between members of privileged classes. Chapter four treats of the letters addressed by the inferiors to the superiors; chapter five consists of the samples of letters that are exchanged between the various classes of people such as the novices and spiritual preceptors and the pupils and teachers, etc. Chapter six includes the specimen letters of condolatory and congratulatory nature; chapter seven embodies models of various types of legal deeds, instruments and documents. Chapter eight comprises short letters (*ruqa'at*) on a variety of topics. The epilogue which is beyond the usual scope of similar works deals with religious matters and abounds in various types of prayers including the ones which, according to the author, were known for efficacious effects on the sufferers of different diseases. The sermons (*khutbat*) included in this part of the book especially merit a close attention.

Though the author has generally expunged the names of persons from the communications still, in view of the richness of material on socio-economic, religio-political, agricultural and administrative aspects of life in India in general and in Sind in particular, the importance of the *Munsha'at* as a cornucopia of historical information cannot be denied.

Chronologically speaking, Namakin was followed by Abu al-Fath Qabil Khan. Born of a pious family of Lahiri Bandar, Abu al-Fath joined the imperial service as a petty official at a comparatively young age of 14 years.⁹ In 1059/1649 when in addition to Multan, the province of Sind also passed under the

governorship of Aurangzib,¹⁰ he sent for the revenue records of Badar Lahiri.¹¹ Among the officials who travelled to Multan with these records was Abu al-Fath¹² who was about 28 years old at that time.¹³ After the prince had examined the records and was satisfied with them, Abu al-Fath presented to him a petition wherein he asked for funds to enable him to undertake the journey back to his place of employment. His command of the Persian language and exquisite style of writing so deeply impressed Aurangzib that he decided to include the young writer among his own *munshis*.¹⁴ Abu al-Fath served in this capacity for well over a decade and followed the prince to different places in his entourage. On the accession of Aurangzib in 1069/1659,¹⁵ he was created Qabil Khan and appointed the *mir munshi* to the emperor. By this time he was already feeling prblind and afflicted with severe arthritis.¹⁶ After his repeated representations to his royal master and perhaps through the intercession of some influential nobles,¹⁷ ultimately he succeeded in securing retirement from service at the age of 40. Although an annual stipend of Rs. 5,000 was also sanctioned in his favour¹⁸ but his financial conditions seem to have been far from satisfactory. After his retirement, Qabil Khan first wanted to settle at Burhanpur¹⁹ but finally Lahore caught his imagination²⁰ where he led a secluded life until the emperor once again summoned him to Delhi where finally he died in 1072/1661-62.²¹

Except for a brief interregnum towards the end of his service, Qabil Khan throughout enjoyed the unalloyed confidence of his master and besides attending to all types of sensitive correspondence sometimes he was entrusted with other important duties as well which included conducting negotiations with various nobles and apprising the prince of the outcome along with his personal observations.²²

Qabil Khan is credited with the composition of the *Dastur-i Danish* and the *Qissa-i Kamrup* in prose.²³ The latter treated of the love romance of 'Kamrup and Kamlata' and was dedicated to Aurangzib.²⁴ The major work of Qabil Khan and upon which rests his fame, is, however, his epistolography embodied in the *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*.²⁵ This last collection of letters was compiled in 1115/1703-04²⁶ by Sadiq Muttalibi, of Anbala, a *munshi* of prince Akbar, son of Aurangzib,²⁷ for the benefit of his son, Muhammad Zaman.²⁸ Since the main purpose of the compiler was the instruction of the latter in the style and method of formal letter-writing, he did not pay any heed to the chronological order of these epistles.

As the court etiquette required that the princes and the nobles wrote the letters to the emperor, formally known as the '*Arad-dasht*', in their own hand,²⁹ given Aurangzib's erudition and excellent literary accomplishments there is hardly any doubt that the letters addressed to Shahjahan included in the *Adab-i 'Alamgiri* are almost invariably his own work. In other instances, he gave oral instructions to Abu al-Fath who couched them in suitable idiom and dispatched to the addressees. There are some personal letters of Qabil Khan also which form part of this collection.³⁰

The value of the *Adab-i 'Alamgiri* goes far beyond the example of the ornate and turgid prose in vogue in the court circles of those days. It is a veritable store-house of information on a vast variety of events which either skipped the attention of the contemporary chroniclers or were treated of rather cursorily in their works. Sadiq Muttalibi augmented the collection with some of his own letters drafted on behalf of prince Akbar during the latter's campaigns against Marwar which shed useful light on the happenings in those regions.³¹ He also appended to them a history of the war of succession³² but since most of his information on the subject was culled from other sources which are fortunately still extant in original, Sadiq's contribution in this area scarcely merits any serious consideration.

Abu al-Fath Qabil Khan's maternal uncle Muhammad Shafi'³³ and the former's two younger brothers Muhammad Sharif and Muhammad Shafi',³⁴ were also talented *munshis*. His uncle Muhammad Shafi' who was previously in the service of Ja'far Khan (d. 1081/1670)³⁵ and his younger brother of the same name were employed by the eldest son of Aurangzib, Prince Muhammad Sultan (d. 1676) on his recommendation.³⁶ Qabil Khan's brother Muhammad Shafi', however, attracted the attention of emperor and was promoted to a relatively high position.³⁷

His other brother, Muhammad Sharif was also in the imperial service. He made a spectacular progress but his rise proved quite meteoric in that he soon incurred the wrath of the emperor and fell into disgrace. He was already the *darogha* of *dak* and letter-office (*dar al-insha'*) when in 1085/1674 the Emperor bestowed upon him the title of *Qabil Khan* with an increase of one hundred in his rank.³⁸ During a short period of about two and a half years when he enjoyed proximity with the Emperor, Muhammad Sharif Qabil Khan amassed twelve lakhs of rupees in cash, besides articles and a newly-built house. In 1090/1680 he was dismissed from his office and was stripped of his rank of a *hazari* and seventy *sawar*. His son in law, 'Abd al-Wasi', also met the same fate and was removed from the *qanunguiship* of Thatta. The emperor ordered that Qabil Khan's house should be confiscated and he should be placed on a horse in the same state in which he came out of his house and be expelled from the city. In these disgraceful circumstances he went to Lahore where he died.³⁹

Henceforward, Fada'il Khan became the *darogha* of *dakchauki* and according to Saqi Musta'id Khan "his heart's desire was gratified."⁴⁰ Like his two predecessors, Fada'il Khan whose real name was Mulla 'Uthman,⁴¹ also belonged to Sind. He was an associate of Mulla 'Abd al-Hakim 'Ata and as late as 1070/1659-60 led a life of penury and indigence in his native town, Thatta.⁴² Subsequently, he entered the service of Prince A'zam, whence on the downfall of his rival,⁴³ he was appointed as the *munshi* of the emperor. He also received the rank of 5-*sadi* (300 tr.), a dagger, with sadahkar, 2,000 rupees in cash, and ten pieces each of cloth, foteh, jamawar, and kinkhab. Afterwards, he rose to be a 1½ *hazari* and got the title of Fazil Khan and the post of Sadr, which he

held till his death⁴⁴ in 1096/1684-85.⁴⁵ His grandson, Shaykh Muhammad Rafi was also well-known for his literary skills.⁴⁶

Miyan Nur al-Haq Mushtaqi and Miyan Muhammad Sa'id are yet another two important *munshis* who flourished during the 11th/17th century in Sind. Though generally hailed as a brilliant poet by his biographers,⁴⁷ Mushtaqi was an excellent prose-writer as well. His prose writings which are excessively interspersed with his own verses are generally known as the *Munsha'at-i Miyan Nur al-Haqq Mushtaqi*. A paltry collection of Muhammad Sa'id Munshi's letters styled the *Maktubat-i Muhammad Sa'id Munshi* have also come down to us. Both these works are rare and their only known manuscripts belonged to the private collection of the late Pir Sayyid Husam-al Din Rashidi, Karachi (1979).

During the early 12th/18th century Sind produced another important *munshi* in 'Abd al-Ra'uf Bhakkari⁴⁸ who by his unparalleled economy of words and inimitable simplicity of style carved out a new course in the Persian epistolary writings of this era. Though like Mushtaqi and Muhammad Sa'id Munshi, the details of his life are also shrouded in mystery, yet a huge corpus of the letters he composed for his patrons, Miyan Yar Muhammad and Miyan Nur Muhammad, the Kalhora chiefs of Sind, are extant and besides occasionally providing some information about the author, they shed a flood of light on his contemporary political scene. 'Abd al-Ra'uf died on 18 Rabi'1/1140⁴⁹ 23 October 1727. Shortly after his death, on the instance of Miyan Nur Muhammad, Ra'uf's son, Muhammad Wafa Siwastani who was a student of his father in epistolography, undertook to compile his writings posthumously. The miscellany he thus brought together is styled the *Guldasta-i Nauras Bahar* and comprises three sections, each known as a *latifa*.⁵⁰ The first section consists of the letters that were drafted by 'Abd al-Ra'uf and sent by Miyan Yar Muhammad and Miyan Nur Muhammad to the Mughul prince, Mu'izz al-Din at Multan. The second section, which is the most voluminous of all, comprises the miscellaneous letters of the Kalhoras addressed to a cross-section of state dignitaries. The third section embodies the communications sent by the Kalhora chiefs to their *wakils* at the Mughul court. The only manuscript of this work was also in the possession of the late Pir Sayyid Husam-al Din Rashidi (1979). The Rashidi Collection also contained another compendium of 'Abd al-Ra'uf's letters, which was styled *Guldasta-i Hamisha Bahar* (1979). This last also followed the pattern of the earlier work. These collections have some common letters but they are generally characterized by a vast variety of literary variants which leads one to conclude that one of the versions were originally the earlier drafts of the compositions of 'Abd al-Ra'uf.

Besides these specific collections of his letters, 'Abd al-Ra'uf's letters also make a significant part of yet another work, the *Khulasat al-Maktubat*. The compiler of this last collection is unknown, but it comprises the letters drafted by 'Abd al-Ra'uf and by his contemporary Miyan Harun Munshi. Until a few years ago this work also formed part of the Rashidi Collection.

Among the works compiled towards the later half of the 18th century the *Minhaj al-Shu'ur* (1199/1784-85), *Insha-i Abri* (1204/1789-90), and *Rasa'il-i Abri* (1207/1792-93), all by Ibrahim bin Nasr Allah bin 'Abd al-Karim Ahmadiani Siwistani Ansari⁵¹ stand out prominently. These works were followed by *Guldasta-i Baghban*, a collection of letters by Makhdum Qadi Muhammad Rahim, Makhdum Muhammad Panah and Makhdum 'Abd al-Jalil, of Nasrpur, compiled by Miyan Qadi Muhammad Hafiz bin Qadi Miyan Khamisa Nasr-puri. The frequent references to the extension of the British influence towards Sind and Afghanistan found in these letters endow this volume with a special significance.⁵²

Another important miscellany of letters which deserves a brief mention here is the *Maktubat-i-Jalil*⁵³ of Mir 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami. Starting from the days of the Mir's stay in Sind, it comes down to the year 1134/1719-20. These letters bring to light many events of historical importance in Sind in particular and in India in general and shed considerable sidelight on the writer's own life as well.

It may also be mentioned here in passing that among the collections of letters written outside Sind but having a bearing on the history of this region, the *Ruqa'at-i Anand Ram Mukhlis*⁵⁴ (d. 1164/1750-51), are especially very important. Written by a leading literary figure, prolific writer, disciple of Bidil,⁵⁵ close associate of Siraj-al-Din Khan Arzu⁵⁶ and *wakil* of Nawwab Qamar al-Din Khan,⁵⁷ the prime minister of India, although it cover a variety of subjects, four of them⁵⁸ have direct relevance to the history of Sind. One of them is addressed to Miyan Nur Muhammad Kalhora while the other three are to the address of Mir Lutf Allah alias Mir Matara. The latter served for some time as the *wakil* of Miyan Nur Muhammad at the court of the Mughul emperor Muhammad Shah.

The Hindu Kayasths of Thatta too played no insignificant role in advancing the tradition of epistolary writings in Sind. One of their outstanding numbers was Chatar Bhoj Munshi⁵⁹ (d. 1171/1757-58), but his *Munsha'at* are no longer traceable. Another distinguished Kayasth who flourished during the 12th/18th century was Munshi Shivak Ram 'Utarid.⁶⁰ He served under Miyan Ghulam Shah 'Abbasi (r. 1170-1186/1756-1772), Miyan Sarfaraz Kalhora (r. 1186-1189/1772-76) and Mir Bajar Talpur whose untimely assassination in 1194/1780 once again plunged the region into anarchy and internecine warfare for a long time to come. Eighty five of the letters written by 'Utarid for and on behalf of the aforementioned dignitaries have survived in the shape of *Insha-i 'Utarid* which was compiled after his death, by some Amalra'i in Rabi'l 1212⁶¹ / August-September 1797.

The discussion about epistolary writings in Sind would remain inconclusive without a mention of two other important collections of letters preserved in the Sind University Library. Both these voluminous works, the *Maktubat-i Mashahir-i Sindh*⁶² compiled by Qadi 'Abd al-Rasul and Jan Muhammad

Siwistani, and the *Ruqa'at*⁶³ collected by some anonymous writer, abound in letters exchanged between a wide spectrum of political and social personages.

Since all the collections of letters mentioned above were primarily designed to serve as models to the *munshi* aspirants, the compilers not only paid little heed to their chronological order but also did an irreparable damage to them by expunging the names of many of the correspondents and, in some cases, even deleted the dates and the names of places of their origin and destination.

These letters are presently an ill-arranged and disorderly medley of information on almost all conceivable aspects of the Mughul administration in Sind as well as the social and political life of the region. They also yield an uncomparable wealth of information on the political situation obtaining in the territories bordering on the then province of Sind and now forming part of Iran and Afghanistan. In view of the fact that there is no surviving contemporary work on the history of Sind covering this period, and the general histories of India devoted scant attention to this far-flung province of the vast and varied Mughul empire, the value of these letters both as corroborative pieces of evidence as well as the primary source-material can hardly be over-emphasized. For the writing of any reliable, comprehensive history of Sind, Multan and the Punjab in Pakistan, Qandahar in Afghanistan and the later Safawids and early Afghans during the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries the study of these letters is of paramount importance and the sooner their scientific and critical editions are prepared and published the better it would be.

These miscellanies apart, many of like ilk may well be lying unknown in far too insecure conditions threatened with a constant danger of extinction. No words can be emphatic enough to stress the need, importance and urgency of their retrieval, collection and preservation at an appropriate provincial or Central level for their use by historians and those scholars who are interested in tracing the evolution of Persian language and literature in the Subcontinent.

NOTES

1. For example, see Nizami 'Arudi Samarqandi, *Chahar Maqala*, ed. Muhammad Mu'in, Tehran, 1333 Shamsi.

2. See Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. Karl Jahn, Dordrecht-Holland, 1968, pp. 433-34.

3. See H.R. Roemer, 'Insha', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, et. al., Leiden, 1971.

4. Lithographed in Delhi in 1870. Also see Momin Mohiuddin, *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography* (Ph.D. thesis serialized), *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (June 1966), pp. 29-32.

5. The work is still unpublished and its manuscripts are preserved in the India Office (Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 2 volumes, Oxford, 1930-37, MS 1535 and the Lytton Collection of the Aligarh

Muslim University Library (MS. 3/26-27). Also see Momin Mohiuddin, 'Munsha'at al-Namakin: A Unique Collection of Historical Documents', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, Part II (April 1960), pp. 90-96; *Chancellery and Persian Epistolography, op.cit.*, pp. 40-45.

6. See M. Saleem Akhtar, 'Mir Abu al-Qasim Namakin: A Critique of His Career and Achievements', *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 15-28.

7. Bodleian Library, MS. 1783.

8. *The Chancellery, op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

9. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Ghafur Chaudhary, Lahore, 1971, Vol. II, p. 964.

10. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 5.

11. According to 'Ali Shir Qani' (*Maqalat al-Shu'ara*) ed. Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, Karachi, 1957, p. 43), Bandar Lahiri was in the *jaqir* of Aurangzib, 'the coolness of the eye of sultanate', from the days of his princehood. The translator of the *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, another work of Qani', however, seems to have misunderstood the somewhat similar remark of Qani' in the Persian text and rendered it as "Bandar Lahiri lay in the *jaqir* of his (Aurangzib's) mother". See *Tuhfat al-Kiram*. Urdu tr., *op.cit.*, p. 674.

12. Mir 'Ali Shir Qani Thathawi, *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., Akhtar Ridwi, annotations by Makhdum Amir Ahmad and Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baluch, Karachi, 1959, p. 674.

13. This age of his has been calculated on the basis of the fact that according to his own statement at or around the time of his retirement he had served Aurangzib for about twelve years (Cf. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, Calcutta, 1933, p. 290) and then his age was about 40.

14. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara*, *op. cit.*, p. 43; *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., *op. cit.*, p. 675.

15. Muhammad Kazim, *The 'Alamgir-Nama*, ed. Maulawi Khadim Husayn, and 'Abd al-Ha'i, Calcutta, 1868, p. 158. A reward of Rs. 4,000 was also bestowed upon him simultaneously.

16. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri, op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 964.

17. See his letter to Mir Jumla, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 959-61.

18. Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri*, tr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947, p. 15.

19. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri, op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 842-44

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 846-48.

21. *'Alamgir Nama, op.cit.*, pp. 751-52.

22. See *Adab-i 'Alamgiri, op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 836-40.

23. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara, op.cit.*, p. 43.

24. Bodleian MS No. 1326. Another manuscript of this work is preserved in the Aligarh Muslim University Library in India, Mir Qani' Thathawi versified this romance in 1169/1755-56 in approximately 3,000 couplets. See his *Maqalat al-Shu'ara*, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 43, 572.

25. V.J.A. Flynn, *The English Translation of the Adab-i 'Alamgiri* (The Australian National University unpublished Ph.D. thesis) embodies only the English translation of the letters of Aurangzib addressed to his father, Shahjahan, written before the war of succession and is extremely deficient in annotations and footnotes.

26. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri, op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 20.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

29. See Najib Ashraf Nadwi, *Ruqa'at-i 'Alamgiri*, Azamgarh, n.d., p. 171.

30. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri, op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 833-978.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 1152-1287.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 981-1131.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 877.

34. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., pp. 674-75.
35. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 877. For Ja'far Khan, see Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'athir al-Umara'*, ed. Maulawi 'Abd al-Rahim and Maulawi Mirza Ashraf 'Ali, Calcutta, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 530-34; Urdu tr. Muhammad Ayyub Qadiri, Lahore, 1968, Vol. I, pp. 528-33.
36. *Adab-i 'Alamgiri*, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 877, 878, 881.
37. *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., *op.cit.*, p. 675.
38. *Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri*, Eng. tr., *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 118; Urdu tr. Muhammad Fida Ali Talib, Karachi, Second ed., 1967, pp. 173-4.
40. *Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri*, Eng. tr., *op.cit.*, p. 118.
41. Mulla 'Abd al-Hakim 'Ata, *Diwan*, ed. Sayyid Muhammad Muti' Allah Rashid Burhanpuri, Karachi, n.d., p. 328; *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, *op.cit.*, p. 480; *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr. *op.cit.*, p. 722.
42. *Diwan-i 'Ata*, *op.cit.*, pp. 328-29.
43. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, p. 481. Qani' has confounded Muhammad Sharif with Muhammad Shafi' here.
44. *Ma'athir-i 'Alamgiri*, Eng. tr. *op.cit.*, pp. 118, 153.
45. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, *op.cit.*, p. 482. According to *Ma'athir al-Umara'*, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 32 (he died of plague in 1099/1688).
46. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, *op.cit.*, p. 257.
47. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, p. 759; *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., p. 439.
48. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, p. 421; *Tuhfat al-Kiram*, Urdu tr., p. 416.
49. *Guldasta-i Nauras Bahar*, transcript in Rashidi Collection (1979), Preface.
50. *Ibid.*
51. See Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi, '*Sindh Ke Tarikhi aur Siyasi Maktubat*', in *Proceedings of the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture*, ed. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad, Vol. I, pp. 339-40; Ahmad Manzavi, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts in Kitabkhane-i-Ganjbaksh*, Islamabad, 1980, Vol. II, pp. 1146, 1179-80.
52. Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi, *op.cit.*, p. 338.
53. MS. dated 1249/1833-34 in Rashidi Collection (1979); Also included in the *Oriental Miscellany*, Calcutta, Vol. I.
54. MS. in Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi Private Collection, Karachi, (1979). Another manuscript of this work is preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Public Library, Bankipur, Patna. See Ra'i Anand Ram Mukhlis, *Muraqqa'-i-Mukhlis*, ed. 'Ibadat Barelvi, *Oriental College Magazine*, Vol. L, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1975), p. 21.
55. Bindraban Das Khwushgu, *Safina-i Khwushgu*, ed. S. Shah Muhammad 'Ata al-Rahman, Patna, 1959, p. 149.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
58. For text, see Miyan Nur Muhammad Khudadad Khan, *Manshur al-Wasiyyat wa Dastur al-Hukumat*, ed. Sayyid Husam al-Din Rashidi, Hyderabad, 1964, pp. 49-61.
59. *Maqalat al-Shu'ara'*, *op.cit.*, p. 163.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 446-48.
61. Photocopy of Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi MS. in writer's possession, colophon.
62. Typescript dated 1956 presented to the late Pir Husam al-Din Rashidi by Mr. Badar 'Alam Durrani, Rashidi Collection, 1979.
63. Transcribed copy preserved in the Library of the Sindhi Adabi Board, Jamshoro (1979).