

Hüseyin Şahin

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THE FATE OF DĀNIYĀL, PRINCE OF BENGAL,
IN THE LIGHT OF AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION

By SIMON DIGBY

(PLATES I-II)

The quantity of Oriental, and particularly Indian curiosities brought to the British Isles in two centuries of imperial rule has till very recently exceeded the interest of the educated British public in them. Many have lain unregarded for long periods in the attics and basements of the descendants of those who originally brought them back. Hence amid a mass of worthless or commonplace objects there are still pieces of historical or stylistic interest, in private ownership as well as in our great public collections, which have not yet attracted scholarly interest.

The first inscription here published was acquired by its present owner, Howard Hodgkin, Esq.,¹ about a decade ago from an antique shop in the King's Road, Chelsea. Nothing is firmly known about its antecedents but the same dealer sold another inscription of the same reign and presumably of the same original provenance, which is now in the possession of the Hon. Robert Erskine.² An oral tradition suggests that these pieces were once in the possession of the celebrated collector Thomas Hope of Deepdene (born c. 1770: died 1831).³ It is likely that the two inscriptions have been in the United Kingdom for over a century, as both closely resemble in epigraphy and content inscriptions of the metropolitan area of the Bengal sultanate (Gaur, Mālda) and had they been *in situ* there in the later nineteenth century they would probably have attracted the attention of H. Blochmann or J. H. Ravenshaw.⁴

Both inscriptions are upon rectangular slabs of the carboniferous shale commonly used for epigraphs as well as sculpture in medieval Bengal. The stone

¹ I am indebted to my friend Mr. Hodgkin for permission to publish this inscription, the gift of a photograph of it, and the assistance of himself and his son Louis in making the rubbing, besides hospitality while examining the inscription.

² I am indebted to Mr. Erskine for permission to publish this second inscription and similar hospitality; to Mr. Robert Skelton for drawing my attention to Mr. Erskine's inscription and discussing the composition of the stone with me; and to Mr. John Burton-Page for help in compiling this paper.

Although these two stone epigraphs passed through the hands of the same London dealer around the same time and are therefore probably of identical provenance (and though also executed within the same calligraphic tradition), in the second inscription here published the less symmetrical curves of the 'bows' of the upper register and the more angular rendering of such groups as المنظر in the lower register make it unlikely that they were laid out by the same calligrapher.

³ *Dictionary of national biography*, xxvii, s.v.

⁴ Numerous articles by H. Blochmann, Principal of the Calcutta Mādrasa, upon the history and epigraphs of the sultans of Bengal mostly appeared in *JASB* in the latter half of the nineteenth century: for J. H. Ravenshaw, B.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Malda, see the preface of J. H. and C. Ravenshaw, *Gaur: its ruins and inscriptions*, London, 1878.

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and African Studies, (1973)*

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۳ : ۲۷۰ : فرشتہ (مطبوعہ لکھنؤ، ۲ : ۵۸۵) کے اس بیان کی کسی اور ذریعے سے تائید نہیں ہوتی کہ مظفر شاہ نے قلعے سے باہر نکل کر حملہ کیا اور اس میں مارا گیا) - ۵۸۹۹/۱۳۹۳ء میں مظفر شاہ کی وفات کے بعد حسین شاہ بنگالہ کے تخت پر قابض ہو گیا۔ ملکی مصلحتوں کی بنا پر اس نے اپنا پامے تخت گور سے اُکدالا میں منتقل کر دیا، اور اپنا عہد حکومت سرکش سپاہیوں کو بڑی بے رحمی سے سزا دینے سے شروع کیا۔ کہا جاتا ہے کہ ان میں سے بارہ ہزار کو تہ تیغ کیا گیا (قب ریاض السلاطین، ص ۱۳۲)۔ اس کے بعد اس نے پیکوں، یعنی شاہی محل کے ہندو محافظوں، کو برطرف کر کے تتر بتر کر دیا۔ اس کی وجہ یہ تھی کہ وہ گستاخ اور ناقابل اعتماد ہو گئے تھے اور ان کے بارے میں شبہ تھا کہ وہ خفیہ طور پر سابق شاہی خاندان کے ہوا خواہ ہیں، جس کے وہ عرصے سے ملازم چلے آئے تھے۔ بعد ازاں وہ تخت و تاج کے لیے ایک اور ممکن خطرے، یعنی حبشیوں کی طرف متوجہ ہوا، جو گزشتہ حکومت کے دوران میں سرکش اور طاقتور ہو گئے تھے اور انہیں اپنی سلطنت سے نکال دیا۔ ۵۹۰۰/۱۳۹۵ء میں جب جونپور کے حسین شاہ شرقی [رک باں] کو، جو بہار میں چھپا ہوا تھا، سکندر لودی (۵۸۹۳/۱۳۸۸ء تا ۵۹۲۳/۱۵۱۷ء) کے ہاتھوں آخری ہزیمت ہوئی تو وہ بھاگ کر بنگال میں پناہ گزین ہوا، جہاں کا حکمران اس کا قرابت دار تھا۔ سلطان شرقی سے حسین شاہ نے اچھا سلوک کیا اور وہ ۵۹۰۰/۱۵۰۰ء میں اپنی وفات تک کہل گاؤں میں عزت و گوشہ نشینی کی زندگی بسر کرتا رہا۔ بنگالہ پر سکندر لودی کے حملے کی پیش بندی کے خیال سے حسین شاہ نے اس سے عدم جارحیت کا معاہدہ کر لیا۔ جب داخلی استحکام کا یہ کام ختم

Wiesbaden 'Fundamenta' ۱۹۶۵ء، ۲ : ۵۵۶ تا ۵۵۸ : مندرجہ ذیل چار مطالعات غیر مطبوعہ تحقیقی مقالات کی صورت میں تورکیات انستی تیوسی 'Türkiyat Enstitüsü' استانبول، میں محفوظ ہیں : (۱۲) Mustafa Gürses : 'Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, hayatı ve eserleri' ۱۹۳۹ء، عدد ۹۸ : (۱۳) Sudi Baybars : 'Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınarın yarattığı tipler' ۱۹۳۸ء، عدد ۳۲ : (۱۴) Aydın Köksal : 'Hüseyin Rahmi'nin II. Meşrutiyete kadar yazmış olduğu romanlarının kronolojik olarak tetkiki' ۱۹۵۳ء، عدد ۳۱۷ : (۱۵) Gökşin Yüzak : 'Hüseyin Rahmi'nin II. Meşrutiyetten Cumhuriyet devrine kadar yazmış olduğu romanlarının kronolojik olarak tetkiki' ۱۹۵۳ء، عدد ۳۵۱

(FAHIR İZ)

* حسین شاہ : سید السادات علاء الدین ابوالمظفر شاہ حسین سلطان (یہ سب اس کے القاب تھے) بن السید اشرف الحسینی المکی، بنگالہ کے حسین شاہی حکمران خاندان کا بانی، جو اشرف مکہ کی نسل سے ہونے کا مدعی تھا۔ اس کے والد نے ترمذ [رک باں] سے آ کر ضلع چاند پور کے ایک چھوٹے سے گاؤں رادھ میں اقامت اختیار کر لی تھی۔ یہاں حسین شاہ نے مقامی قاضی سے تعلیم حاصل کی اور آگے چل کر اس کی بیٹی سے شادی کر لی۔ تعلیم مکمل کرنے کے بعد وہ حبشی سلطان شمس الدین مظفر شاہ (۵۸۹۷/۱۳۹۱ء تا ۵۸۹۹/۱۳۹۳ء) کی ملازمت میں منسلک ہو گیا اور اپنی قابلیت اور ذاتی کردار کی بدولت وزیر کے منصب تک پہنچ گیا۔ اس نے اپنے ظالم آقا کے خلاف ایک بغاوت کی قیادت کی اور قلعہ گور کے چار ماہ کے محاصرے کے بعد اسے شکست دے کر قتل کر دیا (قب نظام الدین احمد : طبقات اکبری، Bibl. Ind.)

Husayn Rahmi's short stories (about 70) have been collected in eight volumes.

Husayn Rahmi occupies a unique place in the history of pre-Republican Turkish literature. Unlike most of his contemporaries he did not follow any earlier Turkish or French model; but assimilating very soon various influences he developed a powerful independent literary personality. As an admirer of the prolific popular writer Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912) he owes a great deal in his narrative technique, conversation, imitation of the minorities, handling of certain episodes, even for the preference of certain topics, to the traditions of the Turkish popular arts and literature (i.e. *karagöz, meddâh, şulû'ât* technique in *ortaoyunu* and folk tales of various kinds). Whereas in Ahmed Midhat these elements are used freely and loosely with a mixture of such French influences as Alexandre Dumas père, Husayn Rahmi polishes them and assimilates them for his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly Maupassant and Zola. This combination of the colourful Turkish popular tradition of story telling, the careful study of the naturalist technique, an accurate observation of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families, a penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time, an acute sense of humour and satire, made Husayn Rahmi the most original of all Turkish novelists until the 1930's.

Husayn Rahmi's novels and short stories are almost of documentary value. The everyday life of families and individuals and their development within the disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of western ideas and customs are meticulously studied, with the addition of humorous, satirical and grotesque elements. The tendency to imitate blindly everything Western, the inferiority complex vis-à-vis Europe, the demoralizing influence of Levantine Beyoğlu (Pera), and social problems of every type are all treated many times in his works.

Husayn Rahmi's technique is unequal. Most of his novels consist of a series of powerful sketches loosely connected by (mostly irrelevant) passages of philosophical or didactic remarks and observations which rather spoil the unity of the narrative. This is the only important weakness in the manner of Ahmed Midhat which he has not been able to cast out. His style, too, although much more polished than that of Ahmed Midhat, suffers from the same defect: when he reproduces direct speech he is masterly. He uses the most natural, fluent spoken Turkish, but when he begins to argue or elaborates some social or philosophical theory he falls back to the type of flowery style which he himself condemned in his various writings. However, he noticed this shortcoming in the 1920's, after the triumph of the 'New Language' movement and, like most of his contemporaries, began to simplify the style of his novels and short stories in their later editions. His complete works are being edited with some alterations in the language, in the light of recent changes, and there are signs that a revival of Husayn Rahmi's popularity is possible in spite of the radical change in theme and scope in the Turkish novel since the 1930's.

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X **HUSAYN SHĀH** (I), Sayyid al-Sādāt 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN Abu 'l-Muzaffar Shāh Husayn Sultān (to quote his full titles) B. AL-SAYYID ASHRĀF AL-HUSAYNĪ AL-MAKKĪ, the founder of the Husayn-Shāhī dynasty of Bengal, claimed descent from the *Sharīfs* of Mecca. His father migrated from Tirmidh [q.v.] and settled in Rādh, a small village in the district of Čāndpūr, where he received his education from the local *khādī*, whose daughter he later married. After completing his education he entered the service of the *Ĥabshī* Sultan Shams al-Dīn Muzaffar Shāh (reg. 897/1491-899/1493) and by dint of his ability and personal character rose to the rank of minister. Leading a revolt against his tyrannical master, he succeeded in defeating and killing him after a four-month siege of the fortress of Gaur (cf. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind., iii, 270; Firīshṭa's statement (Lucknow ed., ii, 585) that Muzaffar Shāh perished in a sortie from the citadel is not supported by other authorities). On Muzaffar's death in 899/1493 he succeeded to the throne of Bengal. For reasons of state he transferred his capital from Gaur to Ikdālā, and commenced his reign by ruthlessly punishing refractory soldiers, 12,000 of whom were said to have been put to the sword (cf. *Riyād al-salāṭin*, 132). Next he disbanded and dispersed the *payks*, i.e., the Hindu palace-guards, who had grown insolent and unreliable and were suspected of having secret loyalties to the fallen royal family whom they had long served. He then turned to the next possible danger to the throne, the *ḥabshīs*, who had grown unruly and powerful during the previous régime, and banished them from his kingdom. In 900/1495 Husayn Shāh Sharkī [q.v.] of Dĵawnpūr, on his final defeat by Sikandar Lōdī (reg. 894-923/1517), fled from his retreat in Bihār and sought refuge in Bengal, whose ruler was his kinsman. The Sharkī Sultan was hospitably received by Husayn Shāh and lived at Kahlgāōn (Colgong) in retirement till his death in 905/1500. Husayn Shāh shrewdly forestalled a possible invasion of Bengal by Sikandar Lōdī by entering into a non-aggression pact with the invader. The work of internal consolidation over, he embarked on a campaign of conquest in 904/1498 against the neighbouring kingdoms of Kāmṛūp and Assam, which were both soon overwhelmed. He then extended his dominions as far as Orissa (the exact

reoccupation of the cis-Karatoya region, lately overrun by the Kamrup forces. A tough battle was fought near (Mahi) Santosh in Dinajpur, at the end of which the Raja of Kamrup, Kameswar, surrendered and accepted Islam, and the Kamrup forces withdrew. But the warrior-saint, at the instigation of the commandant of the frontier-fort of Ghoraghat on the Karatoya, was executed by the orders of Barbek in 1474.

The reign of Barbek witnessed an all-round expansion. North of the Ganges his empire extended at least up to Barur (a pargana in the Purnia district) while the newly conquered Jessore-Khulna region formed his southern frontier.

Barbek was a great patron of Bengali literature. The celebrated poet, Maladhar Basu, compiler of *Sri Krishna Bijay*, was patronized by him and was granted the title of Gunaraj Khan. His son was honoured with the title of Satyaraj Khan.⁷¹

SHAMSUDDIN YUSUF SHAH (1474-81)

Ruknuddin Barbek was succeeded by his talented and learned son, Shamsuddin Yusuf, who was a capable administrator and had a deep regard for justice. He introduced prohibitionary measures. The Baisdarwaza mosque built by him contains an inscription which indicates that he had acquired some territory in the south-west at the expense of Orissa. He constructed several other buildings also. He died about 886/1481, and was succeeded by Sikandar, probably his son. Sikandar was, however, deposed after three days when it was discovered that he was a lunatic.⁷²

JALALUDDIN FATH SHAH (1481-87)

The next ruler was Husain, son of Nasiruddin Mahmud,⁷³ who styled himself as Jalaluddin Fath Shah. He was an intelligent and enlightened ruler. As the Abyssinian slaves had become turbulent, he tried to curb their power but fell a victim to their dagger. The chief eunuch, Sultan Shahzada, in league with the discontented Abyssinian slaves, assassinated the Sultan in 892/1486. Thus came to an end the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, which had produced several talented and liberal monarchs, who were great builders and were very popular in Bengal.⁷⁴

After the murder of Fath Shah, Shahzada with the title of Barbek

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 132-36.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 136; also *The Delhi Sultanate*, 213.

⁷³ The *Ritazus Salatin* (121) calls him the son of Yusuf Shah, but this is contradicted by numismatic evidence and by inscriptions in which he is described as the son of Nasiruddin Mahmud. (Sarkar, 137.)

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

Shah assumed the crown but was assassinated within a few months by Malik Andil, a loyal Abyssinian commander. Andil offered the crown to Fath's infant son, but the mother of the child did not agree to it. Consequently the nobles persuaded Andil to accept the crown.

SAIFUDDIN FIRUZ (1487-90)

Malik Andil then ascended the throne with the title of Saifuddin Firuz. He was loyal to the house of Ilyas Shah and was a just and efficient ruler. After a peaceful rule of three years, he was killed by the *paiks*, who had now assumed the role of king-makers.⁷⁵

NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD (1490-91)

The next ruler was Nasiruddin Mahmud, either the son of Firuz or of Fath Shah. Being a boy-king, he was dominated by his tutor, an Abyssinian noble, Habsh Khan, who himself aspired for the throne. But before he could usurp the throne, another Abyssinian noble, Sidi Badr, killed him. He then assassinated Nasiruddin Mahmud and ascended the throne without much opposition. Nasiruddin reigned for about a year.⁷⁶

SHAMSUDDIN MUZAFFAR (1491-93)

The Abyssinian assassin, nick-named Diwana, ascended the throne as Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah and inaugurated a reign of terror. He mercilessly put down all Hindu and Muslim nobles suspected of opposition to his authority. He did not spare even the soldiers and the common people. Heavy revenue demands and the reduction in the salaries of the soldiers hastened his fall. His talented wazir, Saiyyid Husain, noticed the tide of opposition and made a common cause with the discontented people. Leading the opposition, the wazir besieged Muzaffar in his fort. The siege continued for four months with heavy casualties on both sides. Subsequently the wazir got Muzaffar killed secretly with the help of the *paiks* about the end of 1493.⁷⁷

ALAUDDIN HUSAIN (1493-1519)

Saiyyid Husain, who assumed the crown in 1493, inaugurated a brilliant epoch in the history of Bengal. A year after his accession he adopted the title of *Khalifatullah*.⁷⁸ Under his peaceful and enlightened rule, the creative genius of the people of medieval Bengal reached

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-39.

⁷⁶ *Tabaqat*, III, 440-41; Sarkar, II, 139-40.

⁷⁷ *Tabaqat*, III, 441-42; Sarkar, II, 140-41.

⁷⁸ In an inscription found in Malda he styles himself as such.

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HISTORY OF ISLAM

(Classical Period 1206–1900 C.E.)

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The Sayyids
1440-1451 C.E.

Khizr Khan

After the overthrowing of the Tughluks, Khizr Khan became the ruler at Delhi. He ascended the throne, but did not take up the title of the Sultan. He contented himself with the title of "Rayat-i Ala", and regarded himself as a Viceroy of Shah Rukh, the successor of Amir Temur. Khizr Khan claimed to be a Sayyid. Some historians regard this claim as dubious. Nevertheless the dynasty whose rule he founded is known to history as the Sayyid dynasty.

When Khizr came to power, a state of anarchy prevailed in the country. There was a lot of trouble in the Doab next door to Delhi, and the Zamindars were in a rebellious mood. The country was fragmented into numerous principalities each under a petty Raja committed to pay tribute to the sultanate of Delhi, but which was withheld on one pretext or the other, and a force had to be sent from Delhi to collect the revenue. In Mewat the Meos a warlike people were in a rebellious mood. The kingdoms of Jaunpur, Gujarat, and Malwa had become independent and had severed ties with the Sultanate. In the Punjab, the Khokhars caused a good deal of trouble, and had become a menace to the State. The "Turk Buchas" of Sirhind had become notorious for their conspiracies. The Governors of various provinces behaved as independent rulers, and did not care for the central authority. The country was at the mercy of military adventurers, and self-seeking politicians.

Khizr Khan appointed Malik-us-Sharq Malik Tuhfa as his Chief Minister, who was given the title of "Taj-ul-Mulk". Taj-ul-

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7. *Twilight of the Sultanate* : K. S. Lal.

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طالوت، سلیمان پیامبر، آصف بن برخیا، افضة بن ارمیا، استیلای بخت النصر بر بیت المقدس و هجرت اخلاف افضة بن ارمیا به کوهستان غور و کوه سلیمان؛ ۲- ذکر خالد بن ولید و دیگران؛ ۳- احوال پادشاهان افغان لودی؛ ۴- پادشاهی خاندان افغان سوری؛ ۵- شرح احوال خان جهان لودی؛ ۶- خاندانهای محلی افغان؛ ۷- رویدادهای نخستین دهه پادشاهی جهانگیر گورکانی (۱۰۱۴-۱۰۲۴). خاتمه آن درباره مشایخ و اولیایی است که از میان افغانان برخاسته اند. سبک انشای این کتاب، میانه سبک ساده و متکلفانه و روی هم رفته پخته و استوار و دلپذیر است. چون نویسنده به خاطر مقامی که در دربار گورکانی و نزد سرداران بلند پایه آن داشته، از دسترسی به اسناد و مدارک دست اول برخوردار بوده و نیز خود شاهد بسیاری از رویدادها بوده است، کتاب او از مهم ترین منابع در تاریخ خاندانهای افغان و نیز رویدادهای دهه نخست پادشاهی جهانگیر به شمار می آید. وی در تألیف این کتاب از منابعی چون تاریخ طبری، تاریخ گزیده، تاریخ جهانگشای جوینی، حیب السیر، مجمع الانساب، تاریخ نظامی، تاریخ نظام شاهی، جهانگیر نامه و اکبرنامه بهره جسته است. تاریخ خانجهانی به کوشش سید محمد امام الدین با پیشگفتاری به انگلیسی در دو جلد در ۱۹۶۰ و ۱۹۶۲ م در داکا به چاپ رسیده است. این کتاب به قلم محمد بشیر به اردو برگردانده و در ۱۹۷۸ در لاهور منتشر شده است. گزیده ای از تاریخ خانجهانی را برنارد دورن به انگلیسی برگردانده و در لندن منتشر کرده است. ترجمه ای از آن به پشتو از افضل خان نیز در دست است.

تاریخ حسین شاهی (tä.rix-e.ho.sein.sā.hi)، کتابی در تاریخ افغانستان نوشته امام الدین حسین چشتی لکهنوی (تاریخ نگار سده سیزدهم هجری). مؤلف بخشی از این کتاب را در تاریخ شاه زمان درانی (۱۲۰۷-۱۲۱۷ق) و خاندانش (تا وقایع ۱۲۱۲ق) به هنگام فراغت، در اردوی شاه زمان در پیشاور نوشت. سپس آن را در لکهنو، با نگارش مرشد خود، خواجه ابوالحسن حسینی مودودی، در تاریخ احمدشاه درانی (۱۱۶۰-۱۱۸۶ق) و پسرش تیمورشاه درهم آمیخت و در ۱۲۱۳ق آن را به احترام مرشدش تاریخ حسین شاهی نامید. این کتاب به نامهای درانی نامه، تاریخ حسینی، تواریخ احمدشاهی نیز نامیده شده است. بخشی از این کتاب درباره مکاتبات شاه زمان با شاه عالم گورکانی و پسران و امیران رجال و وزیران شاه زمان، اوضاع جغرافیایی پنجاب، راههای پیشاور به کابل، قندهار و هرات، مزارات بزرگان چشتی، بستگان و نیاکان خواجه ابوالحسن مودودی و شرحی درباره دو گروه کافر و ازبک است. نسخه های خطی این کتاب، در بیشتر کتابخانه های مهم جهان، مانند دیوان هند، لندن، موزه بریتانیایی، خدابخش در پته، انجمن آسیایی بنگال و انجمن آسیایی کلکته نگهداری می شود.

منابع: راهنمای تاریخ افغانستان، ۳۰؛ فهرست مشترک نسخه های خطی فارسی پاکستان، ۱۱/۱۴۶۵؛ فهرست مشروح فارسی مخطوطات در سالار جنگ میوزیم و کتابخانه، ۱/۲۵۵-۲۵۶؛ فهرست نسخه های خطی موزه بریتانیایی، ۳/۹۰۴-۹۰۵؛ فهرستواره کتابهای فارسی، ۱۲/۸۶۱؛ نزهة الخواطر، ۷/۱۷۷-۱۷۶

Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature, 255; Mughals in India, 202.

حجتی

تاریخ خانجهانی و مخزن افغانی (tä.rix-e.xān.ja.hā. /ni.va.max.zan-e.af.qā.ni)، مرآت الافاغنه، کتابی در تاریخ عمومی افغانان تألیف نعمت الله هروی*، این کتاب در ۱۰۲۱ق به نام خان جهان لودی (۹۸۸-۱۰۴۰ق) سپه سالار افغانی تبار دولت گورکانی هند به انجام رسیده، ولی نویسنده تا ۱۰۲۴ مطالبی به آن می افزوده است. این اثر را رساله تاریخ افغانیان و تاریخ افغانی نیز خوانده اند. کتاب شامل یک پیشگفتار در سبب تألیف کتاب، منابع، روش تدوین و جز آن، یک مقدمه در خلاصه تاریخ پیامبران از آدم تا یعقوب که افغانان تبار خود را به او می رسانند، وهفت باب به این ترتیب است: ۱- احوال ملک

منابع: تاریخ ادبیات در ایران، ۱۷۱۳-۱۷۱۲، ۱۵۷۸/۵؛ تاریخ نویسی فارسی در هند و پاکستان، ۲۳۵-۲۴۰؛ تذکره نویسی فارسی در هند و پاکستان، ۸۸۳؛ تاریخ خانجهانی، داکا، ۱۹۶۰، ۱۹۶۲ م؛ دایرة المعارف شوروی تاجیک، ۲۹۷/۷؛ فهرست کتابهای چاپی فارسی، ۱۰۷۴/۱؛ فهرست مشترک نسخه های خطی فارسی پاکستان، ۱۰/۶۲۴-۶۲۳/۱۲؛ ۱۸۶۴-۱۸۶۳/۱۲؛ فهرست نسخه های خطی فارسی کتابخانه موزه بریتانیایی، ۱/۲۱۱-۲۱۰؛ فهرست نسخه های خطی کتابخانه بادلیان، ۱۱۴۲-۱۱۴۱؛ فهرست نسخه های خطی موزه سالار جنگ، ۱/۲۱۵-۲۱۴؛ «مأخذ ادبی دری تاریخ سلطنت افغانها در هند»، ترجمه علی رضوی، آریانا، سال بیست و سوم، شماره ۱ و ۲ صص ۵۴-۵۶؛ محمد عبدالرحیم، «ارزیابی منابع افغانها در هندوستان در قرون ۱۶-۱۷»، ترجمه محمدحسن ضمیر، ادب،