

the reality of relation. 'Without them', J Smith writes, 'experience remains a bare that not 'taken' at all but left merely as an undifferentiated whole of feeling. 'Taking' means relating an item of pure experience to its associates and describing it in terms of 'whats' or contents . . .'²⁰

NOTES

1. McDermott, J. J. (ed.) (1969), *The Writings of William James*, New York: Random House, p. 170.
2. *Ibid.*, p.215.
3. *Ibid.*, p. xxxix (McDermott's Introduction)

4. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p.188.
8. *Ibid.*, p.127.
9. Bernstein, R. J. (ed.) (1971), *Essays in Radical Empiricism and a Pluralistic Universe*, New York: Dutton and Co. Inc., p. 113.
10. McDermott, J. J., op.cit., p. 272.
11. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. xxxix (McDermott's Introduction)
12. Husserl, E. (1960) *Cartesian Meditations*, tr., D. Cairns, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, p. 144.
13. Wilshire, B. (ed.) (1971), *William James: The Essential Writings*, New York: Harper and Row Publishers, p. xix (Wilshire's Introduction).

14. Wild, J. (1869), *The Radical Empiricism of William James*, New York: Doubleday and Company, p. 368.
15. James, William (1924), *Some Problems of Philosophy*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., p. 151.
16. McDermott, J. J., op.cit., pp. 184-185.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
18. Ayer, A. J. (1968), *The Origins of Pragmatism*, California: Freeman, Cooper and Company, p. 282.
19. Perry, R.B. (1936), *The Thought and Character of William James*, 2 vols, Boston: Little Brown and Company, p. 384.
20. Smith, J. "Radical Empiricism," *Aristotelian Society Proceedings*, 65 (1964-65), 211.

Khandesh and its Neighbours: Political Relations down to 1526 AD

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I

In 1398-99 AD, Taimur's invasion had totally shattered the Tughlaq empire. The collapse of the Tughlaq empire gave an opportunity to the provincial governors of Malwa, Gujarat and Khandesh to assert their independence. Among the Tughlaq governors, second to assert independence was Malik Nasir Faruqi, the son of Malik Raja Ahmad Faruqi, who declared himself an independent ruler in 1400 AD.¹ His realm at this time apparently comprised the territories of Thalner² and Karond, his original *iqta*, as well as other parts of Khandesh that he might have succeeded in bringing

under his control by 1399 AD. It seems that by this time Malik Nasir Faruqi's position *vis-à-vis* Asa Ahir (the local chief of the territory around Asirgarh) was already that of a superior chief. According to Ferishta, Asa Ahir had submitted to Nasir's father Malik Raja.³ The territories of Thalner and Karond as *iqta* were conferred on Malik Raja by Firoz Tughlaq in 1370-71 AD.⁴

Regarding the early life and career of Malik Raja Ahmad Faruqi, the founder of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh, various stories are recorded by the historians. According to Ferishta, Malik Raja's ancestors were in the service of the *Sultans* of Delhi since Alauddin

Khalji's time. His father's name is given as Khan-i-Jahan Faruqi. One might guess that this person could have been the descendant of one of the nobles of Khalji or Tughlaq period, enjoying the title Khan-i-Jahan.⁵ One such person was Malik Maqbul, who was entitled Khan-i-Jahan by Muhammad bin Tughlaq at the time of his appointment as the *Wazir* of Gujarat in 1324-25 AD.⁶ After the death of Khan-i-Jahan his son Malik Raja Ahmad, for sometime, could not find a suitable means of livelihood, and eventually he entered Firoz Tughlaq's central army as a private horseman. After sometime he became a *Ghulam-i-Khas* of the *Sultan* and began to accompany him on his hunting expeditions.⁷

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Haji-ud-Dabir's evidence regarding antecedents of Malik Raja's father is at variance from those given by Ferishta. According to him, Malik Raja's father, Khwaja Jahan, was a *Wazir* of Alauddin Bahman Shah in 1347-48 AD. After Khwaja Jahan's death, Bahmani *Sultan* nominated Malik Raja Ahmad as his *Wazir*. But soon differences arose between them and Malik Raja Ahmad left for Delhi where he entered Firoz Tughlaq's central army as an ordinary trooper.⁸

The story of Malik Raja's enrolling as a noble of Firoz Tughlaq and his getting the *iqta* of Thalner and Karond is narrated by both Ferishta as well as Haji-ud-Dabir. This story is as follows: 'On one occasion while hunting in Gujarat, Firoz Tughlaq wandered far away from his camp and lay down under the shade of a tree, hungry and exhausted. It was eventually Malik Raja who traced him in wilderness bringing to him food and cold water. Pleased by Malik Raja's efficiency and his devotion to duty, Firoz Tughlaq was prompted to ask him about his background. Firoz was very pleased to learn that he was a son of Khan-i-Jahan, a well-known *amir* of early years of his reign, with whom he was well acquainted. That a man of such background was serving as a *Ghulam-i-Khas* appeared shocking to Firoz. The *Sultan* decided to promote him to a higher position. On returning to Delhi, Firoz made Malik Raja a commander of 2000 and also gave him the *iqta* of Thalner and Krond.'⁹

On the strength of oral information conveyed to him by Mirza Ali Isfahani,¹⁰ Ferishta traces the genealogy of Malik Raja to *Hazrat Umar Faruq*, the second Caliph.¹¹ Hence the rulers of Khandesh prefixed surname 'Faruqi' to their names.

On taking over the charge of the territory of his *iqta* in 1370-71 AD, Malik Raja reduced Bharji, Raja of Baglana,¹² compelling him to pay an annual tribute and acknowledge the suzerainty of the *Sultan* of Delhi. Expressing his appreciation of Malik Raja's achievement in subduing the Raja of Baglana, Firoz Tughlaq is reported to have observed that, he fulfilled the task which was expected to have been performed by the *hakim* of Deccan. The *Sultan* rewarded Malik Raja by promoting him to the command of 3000 and also by appointing him *sipahsalar* of Khandesh.¹³

The context in which Ferishta mentions Malik Raja's appointment as the *sipahsalar* of Khandesh goes to suggest that at that time the territory of Khandesh given in his administrative charge was much larger than the territories of Thalner and Karond comprising his *iqta*. Apparently, in addition to Thalner and Karond, the Khandesh territory also included the regions which later came to comprise the *paraganas* of Adilabad, Asir, Burhanpur, Borgaon, Songhir etc., mentioned in *Aim-i-Akbari*.¹⁴ Ferishta also reports that after taking over the charge of Khandesh, Malik Raja increased his contingent from 3000 to 12000. As the resources of Khandesh were not sufficient for maintaining such a large body of troops, Malik Raja was induced to continuously raid Gondwana¹⁵ as well as the territories of other neighbouring *rajats* forcing them to pay *peshkash* to him.¹⁶ Such was his fame that the *Rai* of Jajnar, notwithstanding the distance, established friendly relationship with him.¹⁸

In the first ten years of his career as the *sipahasalar* of Khandesh, Malik Raja appears to have established his

firm control over the territory given under his charge. During this time he seems to have functioned in harmony with the neighbouring Tughlaq governors of Gujarat and Malwa. He also continued to remit tribute to the central authority in Delhi. But towards 1382 AD, taking advantage of ineffectiveness of the central authority, he stopped remitting annual tribute to Delhi, although he did not declare himself independent.¹⁹ But he, thus, seems to have given an idea to both the governors of Gujarat and Malwa, who later on declared themselves independent in 1396 AD and 1401 AD respectively.²⁰ Subsequently, Malik Raja undertook another daring adventure in attacking the territories of Sultanpur²¹ and Nandurbar²² in 1394-95 AD, which were at this time included in the province of Gujarat administered by its governor Zafar Khan (later entitled Muzaffar Shah). This attempt was, however, frustrated by Zafar Khan without much difficulty.²³ This episode may be treated as a starting point of the long drawn-out tussle between the rulers of Khandesh and Gujarat for the possession of the territories of Sultanpur and Nandurbar.²⁴

The rise of Gujarat as a semi-independent kingdom and growth of the Bahmani kingdom made Malik Raja anxious about the security of his small territory. He, consequently, tried to strengthen his position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Dilawar Khan Ghorī of Malwa. He married his daughter to Alp Khan, son and successor of Dilawar Khan, and took his daughter in marriage for his son Nasir.²⁵ It was through this kind of clever policy that Malik Raja seems to have warded away any intervention by the authorities of Gujarat as well as the

ruler of Bahmani kingdom in the internal affairs of Khandesh down to 1399 AD. He, thus, was able to concentrate on the consolidation of his rule in Khandesh during 1395-99 AD without having to face any outside interference.

II

Before his death in 1399 AD, Malik Raja handed over the sacred robe of Sheikh Zainuddin to his elder son Nasir,²⁶ thus indicating that he was to succeed him as the overall *hakim* of Khandesh. But at the same time Thalner and surrounding area, possibly his *iqta*, was given to Malik Iftikhar, the second son of Malik Raja.²⁷ As the successor of his father, Malik Nasir seems to have made Laling his headquarter.

But since Laling was very near to the borders of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat, and was exposed to their attacks, while the fort of Asirgarh²⁸ was very strong and strategically situated at a safe distance from the borders of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat. So, after establishing himself as the *hakim* of Khandesh, Malik Nasir was forced by the situation to decide upon to capture the fort of Asirgarh from Asa Ahir, a local chieftain. Although Asa Ahir had already accepted a subordinate position to the *sipahsalar* of Khandesh since Malik Raja's time,²⁹ therefore it was not proper for Malik Nasir to attack it. Moreover, Asirgarh fort was strong enough and almost impossible to take it by assault. So, Malik Nasir decided to take it through a stratagem. According to Ferishta, Malik Nasir wrote a letter to Asa Ahir that Thalner was in the possession of his brother Malik Iftikhar and Laling was too near to his enemies. Further, he requested him to

accommodate his family members within the fort, so that he (Nasir) could face the enemy at a difficult time. Nasir's plan succeeded, because the *dolis* that went inside the fort were occupied by armed soldiers who killed the men of Asa Ahir and captured the fort easily.³⁰ But at the same time, Ferishta further adds that the treasure of Asa Ahir, which fell into the hands of Malik Nasir was never appropriated by any Faruqi ruler and all the treasure came into the hands of Akbar when he occupied Asirgarh two centuries later.³¹

Thereafter, Malik Nasir laid the foundations of two new cities, Burhanpur on the northern bank of river Tapti and Zainabad on the southern bank. Having thus consolidated his position, Malik Nasir declared himself independent in 1400 AD and had the *khutba* recited in his own name. According to Ferishta, he thereby realized the wish which his father had carried with him to his grave.³² After assuming kingship, Malik Nasir conquered Pipaldol, Songhir and other places.³³ In 1417 AD, Malik Nasir also brought his brother Malik Iftikhar's *iqta* of Thalner under his control.³⁴ This he was able to achieve with the help of the ruler of Malwa, Hoshangh Shah. With this annexation, Malik Nasir was able to bring the entire Khandesh territory under his effective rule.

He then (i.e. in 1417 AD itself) decided to snatch Nandurbar and Sultanpur from *Sultan* of Gujarat. Hoshangh Shah of Malwa agreed to help Malik Nasir against Gujarat. On Malik Nasir's invasion of Nandurbar, Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat sent a force under Malik Mahmud Turk and other officers to oppose the invading armies of Khandesh and Malwa.

Malik Nasir was obliged to withdraw to the fortress of Thalner, where he was besieged by the Gujaratis. Meanwhile, Hoshang's son Ghazni Khan, who had come to Malik Nasir's help, fled towards Mandu. Eventually Malik Nasir was compelled to agree to pay *peshkash* to the ruler of Gujarat and also to release from prison his brother Malik Iftikhar, who took shelter in Gujarat.³⁵ After Malik Nasir had accepted these conditions, Ahmad Shah I gave a robe of honour to Malik Nasir and also conferred upon him the title of '*Khan*'³⁶ This conferment of title clearly amounted to reducing the status of Malik Nasir from that of an independent ruler to a protege of the ruler of Gujarat.

Malik Nasir was naturally unhappy at the humiliation inflicted on him by Ahmad Shah I. He was also greatly disappointed on the behaviour of Ghazni Khan, who had deserted him during the campaign against Nandurbar. He, therefore, broke his alliance with Malwa and decided to establish close relations with Ahmad Shah Bahmani. He married his daughter to Prince Alauddin, son of Ahmad Shah Bahmani in 1429 AD.³⁷ This was apparently aimed at getting Ahmad Shah Bahmani's help in Khandesh ruler's struggle to shake-off the Gujarat dominance which is borne out by the subsequent developments.

In 1429-30 AD, Kanha, Raja of Jhalawar, a tributary of Gujarat, fell out with Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat and fled towards Khandesh for protection. Malik Nasir and Ahmad Shah Bahmani came to his rescue. Raja Kanha led a Bahmani army and advanced into Nandurbar territory. Gujarat army under *Shazada* Muhammad Khan defeated the Bahmanis, forcing them to retreat towards Daulatabad. Ahmad Shah

Bahmani sent reinforcement under Prince Alauddin. Malik Nasir and Raja Kanha also joined him. But again the Gujarati army defeated them, forcing Bahmanis to retreat towards Daulatabad, while Malik Nasir and Kanha took shelter in the hill tract of Khandesh.³⁸

In 1436 AD, Malik Nasir's daughter Agha Zainab quarreled with her husband Alauddin Bahmani for his showing preference to another wife Zeba Chihra, whom he had married after his accession to the throne. Malik Nasir was, thus, provoked to break his alliance with the Bahmanis. He sought approval of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat,³⁹ and invaded Berar, where many of the discontented Bahmani *amirs* welcomed him, and caused the *khutba* to be recited in his name. Malik Nasir besieged Khan-i-Jahan, the Bahmani *sipahsalar* of Berar in the fortress of Narnala, prompting Alauddin Bahmani to send Khalaf Hasan Basri *Malik-ut-Tujjar* to oppose the invaders. Khalaf Hasan defeated Malik Nasir at Rohankhed and then pursued him into Khandesh upto Laling. On the way he destroyed public buildings at Burhanpur. Khalaf Hasan defeated Malik Nasir again at Laling.⁴⁰ This disaster shattered Malik Nasir leading to his death on Sept. 20, 1437 AD. He was succeeded by his son Adil Khan I.

The reigns of Malik Nasir's successors Adil Khan I (1437-41 AD) and Mubarak Khan I (1441-57 AD) remained incident free, so far as Khandesh's relations with the neighbouring states were concerned. Mubarak Khan I was succeeded in 1457 AD by his son Ain Khan alias Adil Khan II, who turned out to be an energetic and powerful ruler of Khandesh. Under him the Khandesh kingdom attained considerable

prosperity. He expanded its boundaries extensively, compelling the rulers of Gondwana and Garh Mandla to acknowledge his suzerainty. He is reported to have led his forces as far as Jharkhand, and thus earned for himself the title of *Shah-i-Jharkhand*.⁴¹

In the early years of his reign, on two difficult occasions, Adil Khan II averted conflict with Malwa kingdom. The situation threatening to escalate into conflicts on both these occasions were created by Adil Khan II's reluctance to get involved in a conflict with the Bahmanis at a time when Malwa ruler had become eager to annex the Bahmani territory of Berar for which he had no option but to march his army through Khandesh. First, Mahmud Khalji marched upon Khandesh in 1461 AD allegedly for avenging the death of Saiyid Kamaluddin and Saiyid Sultan, two respectable and holy persons of Khandesh. Apparently, the real aim of Mahmud Khalji's advance upon Khandesh on this occasion was to neutralize Adil Khan II in the military operations that he had planned against the Bahmanis. Upon Mahmud Khalji's approach, Adil Khan II sent to him a certain Qutb-i-Alam, a descendant of Sheikh Fariduddin *Ganj-i-Shakar* and prayed for forgiveness. Adil Khan II's ready submission pleased Mahmud Khalji. He spared Khandesh and proceeded towards Berar and Ellichpur.⁴² Adil Khan II made a similar overture of submission by giving a safe passage to the Malwa army through his territory in 1462 AD also. It is however, worth noting that on both these occasions Mahmud Begadah of Gujarat came to help Ahmad Shah Bahmani.⁴³ His contribution to failing Mahmud Khalji's plan to annex Berar during these

campaigns, was not insignificant.

Khandesh's relations with Malwa were far from cordial since Ghazni Khan's desertion during Malik Nasir's campaign against Nandurbar in 1417 AD. Khandesh's relations with the Bahmanis had also become strained in the wake of Khalaf Hasan *Malik-ut-Tujjar's* invasion in 1436-37 AD. It is therefore understandable that after 1437 AD, the Faruqi rulers of Khandesh came to regard the Sultanate of Gujarat, the only other powerful neighbour, as their protectors. This is borne out by the approval⁴⁴ given by Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat to Malik Nasir's invasion of the territory of Berar in 1436-37 AD. It might be conjectured that from this time onwards the rulers of Khandesh were perhaps paying an annual *peshkash* to the *Sultans* of Gujarat for sometime. According to Nizamuddin Ahmad, Mahmud Begadah was provoked to invade Khandesh in 1499 AD as Adil Khan II had not paid the *peshkash* for sometime past.⁴⁵ This would imply that Adil Khan II was paying an annual *peshkash* to the *Sultan* of Gujarat for sometime. One may imagine that Adil Khan II inherited this situation from his predecessor Malik Nasir, who might have resumed paying *peshkash* to the *Sultan* of Gujarat in 1417 AD, when his relations with the Sultanate of Gujarat had become cordial once again to the point that Ahmad Shah I was persuaded to extend moral support to Malik Nasir's invasion of Berar.

Mahmud Begadah's invasion of Khandesh in 1499 AD resulted in the conclusion of a new understanding between Khandesh and Gujarat under which Adil Khan II agreed to pay the arrears of *peshkash* of the preceding several years. Two years

later, in 1501 AD, Adil Khan II visited Gujarat to meet *Sultan* Mahmud Begadah. He was perhaps invited to Gujarat by Mahmud Begadah himself. Adil Khan II underlined his closeness to Mahmud Begadah on this occasion by declaring Khandesh prince Alam Khan,⁴⁶ a descendant of Malik Iftikhar, who had taken shelter in Gujarat (1417 AD), as his heir-apparent.⁴⁷ On his return to Khandesh, Adil Khan II died in 1501 AD. His nomination of Alam Khan as his successor was, however, set aside by his younger brother Dawud Khan, who occupied the throne of Khandesh⁴⁸ possibly with the help of some of the *amirs* friendly towards him. At this juncture, Mahmud Begadah did not make any move to press the claim of his protege Alam Khan to the throne of Khandesh. He apparently decided to wait for a suitable opportunity for taking any step towards that end. Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, on the otherhand, came forward on the invitation of some Khandeshi nobles, to oppose Dawud's accession by putting up a pretender, another Alam Khan, as a claimant for the throne, who was advertised as a prince of Faruqi dynasty. To install Alam Khan on the throne, Ahmad Nizam Shah invaded Khandesh in 1503-04 AD.⁴⁹ In the given situation, Dawud Khan was not in a position to seek Mahmud Begadah's protection as he was supporting the candidature of another Alam Khan. He therefore, was obliged to turn to *Sultan* Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa. The Malwa *Sultan* promptly sent a force under Iqbal Khan and Khwaja Jahan to help Dawud Khan. These two officers succeeded in repulsing Nizam Shah's advance into Khandesh forcing him to withdraw to Daulatabad without achieving his

aim of placing his nominee on the Khandesh throne. Dawud Khan showed his gratitude to the Malwa ruler for his timely help by agreeing to the recitation of *khutba* in Khandesh in the name of Nasiruddin Khalji.⁵⁰ This amounted to Khandesh's accepting suzerainty of the Malwa ruler. This seems to have ensured military protection for Khandesh, particularly against possible hostile designs of Mahmud Begadah and Ahmad Nizam Shah. This policy of alliance with Malwa served Dawud Khan well down to the end of his reign. It is worth noting that henceforth, both Ahmadnagar as well as Gujarat rulers did not give any trouble to Dawud down to the time of his death in 1508 AD.

After the death of Dawud Khan some of the *amirs* of Khandesh had placed his son Ghazni Khan on the throne but soon the young king fell prey to the intrigues of the nobles. He was poisoned within ten days of his being proclaimed as the king.⁵¹ Subsequently there began a civil strife in Khandesh between the partisans of two Alam Khans. The two parties, one led by Malik Hisamuddin and another by Malik Laddan Khalji, supported the candidatures of the proteges of Ahmadnagar and Gujarat respectively.⁵² However, in this civil strife, the party supporting the candidature of Alam Khan of Gujarat emerged victorious and Mahmud Begadah succeeded in establishing his protege Alam Khan on the throne of Khandesh with the title of Adil Khan III. He also conferred on him the title of *Azam-i-Humayun*⁵³ as if he was an *amir* of Gujarat Sultanate, indicating thereby the subordinate status of Khandesh ruler *vis-à-vis* the *Sultan* of Gujarat.

On Adil Khan III's accession,

Malik Hisamuddin, who was forgiven by Mahmud Begadah for his cooperation with Ahmad Nizam Shah and was given the title *Shahryar*, once again started plotting to place Alam Khan, the Ahmadnagar protege, on the throne of Khandesh. For this purpose, he once again sought Ahmad Nizam Shah's help. Getting alarmed over this development, Adil Khan III put Malik Hisamuddin to death.⁵⁴ Subsequently, Ahmad Nizam Shah made an appeal to Mahmud Begadah to bestow some territory in the region around Asir and Burhanpur to his protege as he was also a prince of the Faruqi family. But Mahmud Begadah turned down his appeal.⁵⁵ The Khandesh nobles, Sher Khan and Saif Khan, who were still supporting the claims of Ahmad Nizam Shah's protege, were forced to seek shelter at Gawilgarh in Berar.⁵⁶

Mahmud Begadah helped his grandson Adil Khan III with men and money assuring him protection against his adversaries. It was this assurance of support that encouraged Adil Khan III to march against the chieftain of Galna, who had accepted the overlordship of Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He proceeded there with the Gujarat contingent in 1510-11 AD and succeeded in forcing the chief to pay *peshkash* to him.⁵⁷

The close relationship established between Khandesh and Gujarat in the first decade of the sixteenth century continued unaltered after the death of Mahmud Begadah (1511 AD). *Sultan* Muzaffar Shah II, who succeeded to the throne of Gujarat Sultanate in 1511 AD, was both the uncle and father-in-law of Adil Khan III. Adil Khan III accompanied Muzaffar Shah II,

when he came to Malwa in 1517-18 AD for helping Mahmud Khalji against Medini Rai of Chanderi. He also accompanied him against Rana Sanga of Chittor, who had made a common cause with Medini Rai.⁵⁸

In August 1520 AD, Adil Khan III passed away and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Khan I, whose mother was a sister of *Sultan* Bahadur Shah, who had ascended the throne of Gujarat. Under Muhammad Khan I, from 1526 AD onward, Khandesh got involved in a conflict between Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Imad Shah of Berar, which forced him to seek help from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

When in 1527 AD, Burhan Nizam Shah I and Ali Barid of Bidar jointly attacked Berar, Alauddin Imad Shah of Berar, finding his position not strong enough to face them, fled from Berar and sought refuge in Khandesh. Muhammad Khan I decided to help Imad Shah. He accompanied him and marched out towards Berar to oppose the invading forces of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. But eventually they were obliged to retreat to Burhanpur after having lost many elephants and pieces of artillery to the enemy. At this stage Muhammad Khan I wrote a letter to his uncle, Bahadur Shah, requesting him for help. Bahadur Shah promptly came forward to the rescue of Khandesh ruler, forcing Burhan Nizam Shah to retire to Daulatabad. On the advance of the combined forces of Khandesh, Gujarat and Berar to the confines of Ahmadnagar, Burhan Nizam Shah I was forced to agree to acknowledge the overlordship of Bahadur Shah by allowing the inclusion of his name in the *khutba* within Ahmadnagar territory.⁵⁹

III

Since its very inception as an independent state, Khandesh was involved in a complex pattern of relationship with the Sultanate of Gujarat. This relationship was largely shaped, firstly, by a continuous dispute over the territories of Nandurbar and Sultanpur, and secondly, by a conscious policy on the part of the *Sultans* of Gujarat to reduce the ruler of Khandesh to the position of a tributary chief. Occasionally the Khandesh rulers did try to ward-off the Gujarati pressure by cultivating closer ties with either the Khalji rulers of Malwa or the Bahmanis (and after their decline the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar). But the failure of Hoshang Shah of Malwa to protect the Khandesh rulers against Gujarat in 1417 AD and that of Ahmad Shah Bahmani in 1429 AD, left the Khandesh rulers with no alternative but to reconcile themselves to the domination of Sultanate of Gujarat. The experience of hostile relationship with Malwa in 1462 AD over Adil Khan II's refusal to give passage to the Malwa army for attack on Berar seems to have convinced the Khandesh ruler (Adil Khan II) that there was no guarantee of strengthening Khandesh's independent position *vis-à-vis* Gujarat through an alliance with either Malwa or the Bahmanis. Mahmud Begadah's successful invasion of Khandesh in 1499 AD clinched this issue. At this occasion, Adil Khan II was forced to agree to pay or rather renew the payment of *peshkash* to the *Sultan* of Gujarat. This amounted to implicitly recognizing the *Sultan* of Gujarat as his successor. From 1499 AD onwards down to the time of Mahmud Begadah's death, by and

large, the Khandesh state continued to be dominated by the Sultanate of Gujarat. Installation of Alam Khan on the throne of Khandesh with the title Adil Khan III with support of Mahmud Begadah, was a reassertion of Gujarati hegemony over Khandesh. This special relationship was further reinforced after the accession of Muzaffar Shah II to the throne of Gujarat as he was both an uncle and father-in-law of the Khandesh ruler, Adil Khan III. This special relationship was further strengthened during Bahadur Shah's reign. Adil Khan III always sought Bahadur Shah's help in his endeavours and cooperated with him whenever required. Similarly, his successor Muhammad Khan I, acted in the same manner of being an active ally of the Gujarat ruler. In the campaigns against the Deccani rulers, he received military and moral support from Bahadur Shah as well as actively cooperated with him in his campaigns against Malwa and Mewar during the later years, particularly during 1531-35 AD.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Abul Qasim Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (hereafter referred as *Ferishta*) Nawal Kishore Edition, Lucknow, 1864, Vol. II, pp. 277-78. The first Tughlaq governor, to assume independence in 1396 AD, was Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat.
2. Thalner situated on 21°N, 74°E, was a fort of great strength (in Khandesh). Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, (hereafter referred as *Ain*) Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882, Vol. II, pp. 107-108.
3. *Ferishta*, II, p. 278.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 277-78.
5. T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 113, says that there was no noble by the name of Khan-i-Jahan, neither under the Khaljis nor under the Tughlaqs. But he is wrong to conclude this since there was a *wazir* under Firoz Tughlaq whose name was Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul, who

- died in 1370 AD. See, Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, ed. by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1888-91, p. 426; Yahya bin Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, ed. by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1931, p. 131., See also James Bird, (tr.), *Medieval Gujarat: The Political and Statistical History*, London, 1835, Delhi, Reprint, 1980, p. 169; R.C. Jauhri, *Firoz Tughlaq*, Agra, 1968, pp. 19-20.
6. *Ferishta*, I, pp. 133-34. See also H.K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, Hyderabad; 1953, Delhi, Reprint, 1985, p. 25
 7. *Ferishta*, II, p.276.
 8. Haji-ud-Dabir, *Zafar-ul-Walih Bi Muzaffar wa Alihi*, (hereafter referred as *Zafar-ul-Walih*), Translation by M.F. Lokhandwala, Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1970, Vol. I, p. 48.
 9. *Ferishta*, II, p. 276; *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 48.
 10. *Ferishta* mentions Mirza Ali Isfahani as one of the persons who accompanied him in 1604 AD from Bijapur to Burhanpur in the party of the troops escorting one of the princesses of the Adil Shahi family married to Prince Daniyal. See, *Ferishta*, II, p. 277.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. Baglana (21°N, 74°E). Situated between Surat and Nandurbar, a *wilayat* called Baglana possesses seven forts. Cf. *Ain*, II, p. 120. Later this principality was attached to *suba* Gujarat under Akbar. See, Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, Reprint, 1986, Sheet 7 - A, p. 23.
 13. *Ferishta*, II, pp. 276-77; T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', *op.cit.*, p. 113.
 14. It is assumed that the territory of Khandesh at that time (i.e. 1372 AD) was almost the same as described by Abul Fazl in 1601 AD for *Suba* Dandesh with its 32 *mahals* in *Ain*, II, p. 107.
 15. Gondwana territory (20°-25°N, 78° - 83° E). During 16th century, the bulk of the *Sarkar* Garha consisted of the regions known as Gondwana. The chief principality of the Gondwana region was that of Garha, or as designated in Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama*, Garha Katanga. See Irfan Habib's *Atlas*, *op.cit.*, Sheet 9-A, p. 35.
 16. *Ferishta*, II, p. 277.
 17. Jajnagar or Jajpur (20°N, 96°E), former capital of Orissa.
 18. *Ferishta*, II, p. 277.
 19. T.W. Haig has said that by this time i.e. 1382 AD, Malik Raja declared himself independent. See 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh' *op.cit.*, p. 115. But this fact has not been corroborated by any contemporary account.
 20. Zafar Khan of Gujarat assumed independence in 1396 AD and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah. See, *Ferishta*, II, p. 180. Dilawar Khan Ghorī of Malwa assumed independence in 1401. Cf. *Ferishta*, II, p. 234.
 21. Sultanpur (situated in 21°N, 74°E), a *pargana* in *sarkar* Nandurbar in 16th century. Cf. *Ain*, II, 101. It is situated 12 *kurohs* north of Nandurbar. Irfan Habib's *Atlas*, *op.cit.*, sheet 7-A, p. 23.
 22. Nandurbar (situated in 21°N, 74°E) is a *sarkar*. During Akbar's time included into *suba* Malwa. Cf. *Ain*, II, p. 95; Irfan Habib's *Atlas*, *op.cit.*, sheet 7-A, p. 23.
 23. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, ed. by B. De and Muhammad Hidayat Husain, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1935, Vol. III, p. 86; *Ferishta*, II, p. 277; Sikandar bin Manjhu, the author of *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (hereafter referred as *Sikandari*) Ed. by Satish Chandra Misra and Muhammad Lutfur Rahman, M.S. Rao University, Baroda, 1961, in this context mentions wrongly the name of Malik Nasir, which is obviously a slip, p. 17.
 24. Previous to 1347-48 AD, Nandurbar and Sultanpur were governed by the Tughlaq governors of Daulatabad. When the Deccanis revolted against the Tughlaqs and took control of Daulatabad in that year, the administration of Nandurbar and Sultanpur came under the control of Tughlaq governor of Gujarat. Cf. *Ferishta*, I, p. 275. The Tughlaq governors of Gujarat down to 1396 AD and then independent *Sultans* of Gujarat, subsequently down to 1536 AD, continued to control these territories almost without interruption. But it is also true that the Khandesh rulers continued to covet Nandurbar and Sultanpur throughout this time. It was only in 1536 AD that the Khandesh ruler was able to gain these places from Gujarat in a friendly deal. The Gujaratis tried to snatch back these places from Khandesh in 1566 AD, but were not successful. The Khandesh ruler seems to have lost Nandurbar and Sultanpur only to the Mughals in 1572 AD. For this inference, see my paper entitled "Khandesh State in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century: A Study of its Shifting Boundaries (AD 1562-1601)", included in the *Volume of Indian History Congress*, Centre of Advanced Study in History, A.M.U., Aligarh and presented at the 49th session of Indian History Congress, Dharwad, 1988.
 25. *Ferishta*, II, p. 277; Also see T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', *op.cit.*, p. 115.
 26. *Ferishta*, II, p. 277.
 27. *Ibid.* Also see T.W. Haig, 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', *op.cit.* p. 116.
 28. Asirgarh (21°N, 76°E), a celebrated fortress in Khandesh. 'The Seat of the Local Dynastic Ruler'. Cf. *Ain*, II, p. 107; Irfan Habib's *Atlas*, *op.cit.*, Sheet 9-A, p. 36.
 29. *Ferishta*, II, p. 278.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78. *Ferishta*'s statement in this passage needs elaboration. Here he mentions Malik Nasir's entitlement by Ahmad Shah I prior to his declaring himself an independent ruler in 1400 AD. This seems to be a slip as we know that Ahmad Shah I came to the throne of Gujarat only in 1411 AD. See *Ferishta*, II, p.182. Apparently here *Ferishta* is actually referring to the conferment of the semi-title 'Khan' by Ahmad Shah I on Malik Nasir in 1417. See *Ferishta*, II, 280; *Sikandari*, 47-48.
 33. *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p.49.
 34. *Ferishta*, II, p. 279; *Sikandari*, pp. 47-48; T.W. Haig 'The Faruqi Dynasty of Khandesh', *op.cit.* p.116; Habib and Nizami (ed.), *A Comprehensive History of India*, New, Delhi, 1982, Vol. V, p. 854; Woolseley Haig, (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Delhi, 1958. Vol. III, p. 297.
 35. Malik Iftikhar went to Gujarat and married into the Gujarat royal family, and when the direct line of Malik Nasir became extinct in 1508-09 AD, it was a descendant of Malik Iftikhar, who succeeded to the throne of Khandesh as Adil Khan III. See *Ferishta*, II, p. 282; *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 49.
 36. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 104; *Ferishta*, II, p. 280; *Sikandari*, pp. 47-48; *Zafar-ul-Walih*, I, p. 49.
 37. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, 21; *Ferishta*, I, 327; Saiyid Ali Tabataba, *Burhan-i- Ma'asir*, Delhi, 1936, p. 56.
 38. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 115-17; *Ferishta*, II, p. 280.

39. *Ferishta*, I, p. 331; II, p. 280. Seeking of approval from the *Sultan* of Gujarat indicates that by this time the relations between Khandesh and Gujarat had again become cordial. Also see T.W. Haig, *op.cit.*, p. 117; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1973, Vol. I, p. 499.
40. *Ferishta*, I, p. 332; II, p. 280; Woolseley Haig (ed.) *Cambridge History*, III, *op.cit.*, p. 300; Habib and Nizami (ed.) *op.cit.*, p. 862; J.D.B. Gribble's *History of Deccan*, I, London, 1895, pp. 99-100.
41. *Ferishta*, II, p. 281.
42. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 341-42; *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, pp. 50; Radhey Shyam says that after accepting presents from Adil Khan II, Mahmud Khalji withdrew to his own country. See Radhey Shyam, *Kingdom of Khandesh*, Delhi, 1981, p. 22.
43. *Ferishta*, II, p. 195; *Sikandari*, pp. 111-12, *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, p. 148.
44. "basawabdid Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati", Cf. *Ferishta*, II, p. 280. *Ferishta's* statement suggests that Ahmad Shah I gave only moral support to Malik Nasir and not military support.
45. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 165; Woolseley Haig (ed.), *Cambridge History*, *op.cit.*, p. 313; Habib and Nizami, *op.cit.*, p. 872.
46. Alam Khan was a direct descendant of Malik Ifukhar, who had sought refuge in Gujarat after he was defeated by his brother Malik Nasir in a struggle for political authority in Khandesh in 1417 AD.
47. *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, p. 49.
48. *Ferishta*, II, p. 281; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 503. Also see Stanley Lane-Pool, *The Mohammadan Dynasties*, Westminster, 1893, Delhi, Reprint, 1977, p. 316.
49. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 372; *Ferishta*, II p. 282.
50. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 372.
51. *Ferishta*, II, p. 282; *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, p. 51.
52. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 166; *Sikandari*, pp. 222-23.
53. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 166; *Ferishta*, II, p. 282; *Sikandari*, p. 149.
54. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 168-69.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-71.
56. *Ibid.*, *Ferishta*, II, p. 283.
57. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 170-71; *Ferishta*, II, p. 283; *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, p. 55.
58. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 180-82; *Ferishta*, II, p. 207; *Zafar-ul-Walikh*, I, pp. 94-95.
59. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, p. 212; *Ferishta*, II, p. 284; *Sikandari*, pp. 268-69.

An 'Old' Solution of a 'New' Problem

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In this paper we look briefly at the so-called new riddle of induction introduced by Goodman.¹ Carvaka and Hume tried to show that past and present observed confirmation of a hypothesis does not provide any rational ground for upholding the hypothesis in the future.² The main argument for this is the following. Past and present confirmation of a hypothesis does not entail logically that the hypothesis will hold in the future as well. At the same time inductive support for the claim that the hypothesis will hold in the future is inevitably circular, for it must then

be assumed that the future will resemble the past that is itself an induction.³ Goodman's new riddle highlights the problematic nature of the relation between observed evidence and future prediction in a different way. Suppose that all emeralds observed so far are green. This seems to confirm that all emeralds are green and permit the prediction that the next emerald to be seen will be green. But now consider the concocted predicate 'grue'. Something is grue iff it has been found to be green whenever it has been observed so far or it is not

yet observed and will be observed to be blue. Clearly, the observed evidence that seems to confirm that all emeralds are green also seems to confirm that all emeralds are grue. But then we seem to have two conflicting predictions equally confirmed by the same inductive evidence. If all emeralds are green, the next one should be green; but if all emeralds are grue, the next one should be blue. It can be easily seen that we can concoct an indefinite number of grue-like predicates and the same difficulty will arise in each case. That is, if we want to, we can

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