CHAPTER VI

SAMBHAJI AND STRENGTHENING OF HINDAVI SWARAJ

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6.1. Introduction:

Hindavi Swarajya means the own free state demanded by people. While taking oath at Rohideshwaar, Shivaji had stated that to develop state is the mind of “Shri” i.e. Ganesh. The spiritual base of Hindavi swarajya was truly embodied by the original designs and objectives envisaged by Chhatrapati Shivaji, the Great. Chhatrapati Sambhaji had continued the same spirit effectively. He had proceeded further to fulfil these objectives. In this chapter Sambhaji’s efforts to promote the Hindavi Swarajya have been pinpointed. The concept of Hindavi Swarajya was more broader. It included all communities Hindus and Muslims and other minorities who stayed on the land of India. The border free Swarajya was very basic and it had a wide range of canvas. Chhatrapai Sambhaji was able to come out of crisis and he rightly directed the Maratha state for getting strength and prosperity during the tenure of decade. His all efforts were leading towards the emancipation of masses from the exploitation of Moghuls rulers in Deccan. Sambhaji had a clear cut understanding of his role and responsibility in the contribution of Chharapati Shivaji’s heroic traditions. The moral and ethical base of the Hindavi Swarajya was very solid and the king had a full grasp of the political, social and economic and cultural life of the period. He was able to enlighten his ministers, officers and state diplomats to change the profile of the state. Many good services changes were brought by him in the administrative patterns were quite significant. In order to bring the positive changes, Chhatrapati Sambhaji had directed the state regularly for bringing through change in the system. The fusion of progressive ideas of the Chhatrapati Shivaji the founder of the state and his own thinking based on Sanskrit texts was made by him to evolve the state policies. He would have brought many more changes in the pattern of administration, if he had received more time to bring changes in the entire state craft. However, in the limited span of his rule Sambhaji was able infuse a new spirit in the Maratha polity at the end of the decade of the 17th century.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s role as a light liberator and protector of Handivi Swajaya was really very much significant because he was able to provide a new direction to the Maratha
Swarajya. His dedication and devotion towards the Maratha state was undoubtedly note worthy because on one side he made continuous struggle and on the hand he had set forth an ideal of a dedicated Hindu ruler as a cherished and projected by Kautiliya in his book Arthashastra. In the book Budhbhushanam Sambhaji has narrated all the basic questions of an able Hindu ruler. He was well aware about the Raj Dharma, the responsibility of the ruler.

In this chapter Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s efforts to protect Hindavi Swarajya have been studied in a systematic manner. His sole efforts were to put a strong resistance to the Moghul power. He further crushed Portugease as well as Englishmen who were trying to capture the coastal areas of Maharashtra. The entire system was revamped and strong public mens were reshuffled by the king. He thought that the entire process can carefully examined to develop will power of the common people. The holistic approach developed here is unique and all comprehensive.

The post Shivaji period was full of uncertainty and chaos. However, Sambhaji ably proved his abilities and set his ideas in an effective manner. He proved that to wipe out Maratha state was not an easy task, but it was a well built empire based on systematic values.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji shines among this and thousands of starts those shine on the horizon of Indian history on the basis of his bravery and sacrifice. He was able to set an inspiring ideal over number of Maratha followers on the basis of his strength and values. Sambhaji’s career as a warrior as a soldier and as an administrator is unique, unparallel and unequal. In a short span of decade he had effectively imprinted his foot prints on the pathway of medieval Indian history.

In the Maratha History Chhatrapati Sambhaji had played an important role in the period of uncertainty and turbulence. After the death of Shivaji the Great, the Maratha state had tough time full of darkness and full of adverse conditions. Sambhaji had to come out of this tempest with great courage and confidence. Sambhaji had once joined the enemy’s camp. Step mother Soyerabai’s negative attitude towards him was a major reason for this negative deal. (1) This has had created a feeling of suspicion about Sambhaji. After civil war Sambhaji successfully ascended the throne of Maratha king with the help of Hambirrao Mohite. Though he had severely punished his negative camp, yet he had forgiven them and appointed second generation as
ministers. Dr. Kamal Gokhale has rightly worded that he was never irresponsible and never irrational in his political decisions. (2) He has pushed back Portuguese down and expanded Maratha empires into the Karnataka. (3) This proved Sambhaji’s vision of strengthening Hinduri Sara with great abilities through his conquest and governance. In this chapter Sambhaji’s contribution to the strengthening of Hinduri Sara has been examined carefully on the basis of new sources.

In this chapter Sambhaji’s contribution for strengthening Hinduri Sara has been properly highlighted. A new interpretation of Sambhaji’s career, achievements and contribution has been made here in an interesting manner. Success of a ruler depends on various factors on which basis he tries to reshape circumstances in his favor. Sambhaji was able to mark on wheel of time by raising quality performance and securing abilities of his own strengths. In this chapter Sambhaji’s contribution to Hinduri Sara has been highlighted.

The critical study of Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s life and career is based on new historical understanding. The available sources have been neatly interpreted and a new light is thrown on overall and general performance of the Maratha Prince in a new perspective.

The subaltern approach of history thus proves a new angle to look at Sambhaji. The prince who fought against Portuguese, Siddhi, and Mogul was a brave soldier and effective general. The leadership of Chhatrapati Sambhaji has provided a great deal his capacities of a stern administrator. He continued his subjects like a father and he was taking every step to follow the progressive policies of his father Shivaji, the great. The subject was cared so much that a feeling of equity was brought properly. The approach of Maharashtra State was in favor of protecting culture i.e. Maharashtra dharma. The letter of Samarth Ramdas written to Sambhaji is a testimony of his policy. In this chapter different aspects of cultural life have been brought to new light on the basis of authentic sources.

Social and economic aspects of medieval period were closely integrated to each other. According to Dr. A.R. Kulkarni, the medieval village life was mostly prosperous and rich and had a peaceful way of life. (4) The socio economic aspects of medieval period must be studied on the background of Mogul invasions on Deccan. Aurangzeb was planning to devastate the social life of the period. In spite of foreign invasion, the social life during the period of Sambhaji
was having a close harmony to each other. The different castes and creeds were based on religious norms and rules of ancient Indian Sutras of Hindu social system.

The closely and well built social system was having social unity to face foreign attacks. The family as a whole was well untied and well organized. The people were helping to each other for meeting day to day problems. The state as a unit was controlling the economic life for better and smooth economic affairs in the region. This was helping people of all caste and creeds for leading smooth and peaceful of life.

The major challenge before Chhatrapati Sambhaji was to reconstruct the disintegrated Hinduri Sara on new lines. A society which was divided in castes, creeds and languages need to be strengthened on the basis of spiritual values. He tried to unite Maratha society not only on spiritual basis but also on the base of solid military and administrative powers. Sambhaji’s history of decade was full of challenges created by his own kith and kin at one side and gigantic enemies like Moguls and Siddhi as well as Portuguese and English. He first set right internal forum and after setting law and order in the state, he was able to smoothen the base for further struggle.

6.2. Sambhaji’s efforts to strengthen Hinduri Sara

This chapter has mainly focused on contribution made by Chhatrapati Sambhaji for strengthening of Hinduri Sara. This chapter has also mainly focused on Sambhaji’s struggle with Portuguese and Moguls as well as Englishmen. Finally this analysis has turned in to Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice for the fostering of Hinduri Sara.

S.A.Bahekar after scrutinizing basic sources of Maratha papers, in the period of Sambhaji, had pointed that “He had followed principles of Raj dharma and looked after his subjects with love and affection, care and caution. (5) His administrative abilities proved very well his capacities and strengths as an administrator. Further it has been observed that in the state of Sambhaji there was a ciaos and uncertainty in the state, but original papers speak that he had properly set forth Maratha administration with efficiency and effectively, both in civil as well as judicial administration. (6) His judicial system was equally efficient and Sambhaji was just ruler. Sambhaji had banned trading of slaves in his state and he invited Muslim soldiers of
Mangalvedha to join his army of Sara. (7) By doing so Sambhaji tried to strengthen Shivaji’s policy of religious tolerance and equity to all. (8)

Charges against Sambhaji which referred to him as womanizer and liquor prone stand wrong because no single paper is available about his misbehavior after taking charge of the state. (9) During the span of 9 years of rule Sambhaji’s qualities such as creativity, accuracy, straightforwardness and vigilance in administration etc. are reflected through the documents. (10) Hence blames put forth against him in the later Bakhars written during the period of Rajaram cannot be accepted. The heroic struggle made by Sambhaji against the Mogul invasion has created a permanent place in the history of Marathas. (11)

The study of Sambhaji’s source material of Portuguese, Sanskrit, and Dutch as well as French papers revealed that Sambhaji was very balanced and rationale in his administrative decision making. When the fortune of Hinduri Sara was fluctuating Sambhaji not only strengthened it but nurtured it with very careful and cautious approach. Sambhaji’s contribution to Hindavi Swarajya stands on Hindu polity of governance.

Good governance was really a significant character of half a century brilliant career of Chhatrapati Shivaji the great. Sambhaji ably contributed the tradition and enriched it due to his sincere efforts. His civil, military administration, his strong army and his power was equally of height. Sambhaji’s abilities were highly proved by source material he had left behind in form of letters, biographies and his own contribution in Sanskrit literature.

Sambhaji was not cruel and scrupulous, but he was very wise and rationale in administration. (12) The critical study of source material has brought to light new facts which help us to reunderstand Sambhaji’s contribution to the Maratha history. There are two aspects of historiography, on one side mogul historian like Bhimsen Saxena, Ishwardas, and Kafikhan have made biased reflections and on the other side the later Maratha chronicle written during Rajaram’s period like Balaji Awaji Chitnis have also blemished Sambhaji’s personality was put up in exaggerated manner as well as in negative manner. (13) Hence review of source material is highly significant for rewriting the history of Sambhaji. (14) Sambhaji had accepted the challenge of time and adverse conditions, when Mogul, Siddhi and Portuguese had made a
massive attack on Maharashtra, Sambhaji withstand with great confidence due to his strong will power and abilities of a stern administrator. (15)

R.C. Majumdar and others have described Sambhaji as pleasure loving. (16), which has been disapproved by Maratha historians like Kamal Gokhale and Bendre. About Kavi Kalash it has been reported that Sambhaji’s chief advisor was a Brahman from Northern India named Kavi Kalash, whose morale was not above reproach.” (17) However this has not been accepted because no evidence against any immoral practices is available in the papers. He also suffered along with Sambhaji when he was captured by Moguls. Though Sambhaji and his minister Kalash were captured, yet “the spirit with which Shivaji had inspired his people could not die out so easily. The Marathas recovered quickly and again began a war of national resistance to the Moguls, which ultimately exhausted the resources of the latter. “(18) Thus reunderstanding Sambhaji has been possible by the use of new historical sources.

Medieval society was based on religious identities. Sociologists like Durkheim treat religion as a sacred system which creates unity among the followers, based on mutual trust and practices. (19) In the medieval period Moguls were propagating Islam as a state religion and Hindu rulers like Shivaji and Sambhaji resisted it because of their atrocities and imposition of religion. Though the Maratha rulers never committed any atrocities against Muslims, yet they wanted to protect interest of local cultures through their broad based policies. Max Weber tried to represent sociology of religion. He felt that though 63 scholars in 1958 tried to define religion but they could not resolve it. (20) Religion is also treated as a normative force to control social systems. (21) Sambhaji’s religious policies discussed earlier proved that he was equal to all religions and had a little soft corner for local Hindu religion which was discriminated by Moguls in other parts of India. Sambhaji followed Shivaji’s policy and protected Indian culture in the adverse conditions. Though he fought against his enemies with great pride and firm attitude, yet he had to suffer a great deal at the end of his life. His struggle not only entered in the history, as a champion of freedom and culture, yet he had imprinted his personality more vigorously and rigorously then his father by recording heroic struggle in the history and finally his sacrifice also marked a climax when he was imprisoned by Mukarab Khan, 2 kms near Sangameshwar in Ratnagiri district.
Thus Sambhaji had a lion’s share like his father Shivaji in the strengthening of Hindi Sara. He provided a strong base and expanded it in Karnataka and Goa, accepted the challenge of Portuguese, fought against moguls more bravely and ruled the state with courage and confidence imprinting his foot prints on the wheel of time as a sound administrator. Sambhaji’s administrative capacities were proved on the basis of his stern decisions and his guidelines to his staff. He had very well administered Maratha state on the basis of principles of responsibility and accountability to people. He had a clear-cut understanding of Maharashtra dharma. He had both a perfect vision and practice of good governance. He tried to attain welfare of his subjects through his every action and persuasion.

Sambhaji tried to unite, reorganize and strengthen Hinduri Sara, which he had received as a legacy from his father, Shivaji the Great. It was Saint Ramdas who wrote a long letter containing his political advice and guidelines. It contained principles based on Hindu polity and Dandasanhita. Sambhaji’s sole effort was to set new problems and to accept different challenges which he was facing. He fought with adverse circumstances with great courage and confidence and was able to create pressures on his enemies based on his military strength and leadership.

The study of Sambhaji’s efforts to strengthen Hindavi Swarajya can be conducted on the broader lines. After consolidating the entire historical dynamics the following aspects can be presented here in this work:

- Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s Swarajya was based on values of freedom and justice. He was able to correlate the system so effectively that the safety and security of common man was well maintained.
- The state administration was efficiently accelerated and the mechanism was smoothly generated up to serve the common man. The political mechanism, social system and economic organizations were properly tightened to reorient interests of common man.
- The success of Sambhaji was in infusing a new spirit in the system. He was able to bring consciousness in the system by enlightening men, ideas and institutions around him. By doing so he was able to maintain the identity of the state.
- A feeling of nationalism, patriotism and dedication and sacrifice towards the Hindu state was so well managed that the system was revamped in the new
spirit. Rightly pointed by M.G. Ranade, Chhatrapati Shivaji’s period witnessed what one may call as beginning of nation building. In this process, Chhatrapati Sambhaji further continued the tradition in the second phase. His approach was confident and positive to bring changes in the system, which he was able to accelerate the entire system on the new lines of reconstruction.

Chhatrapati Sambhaji was able to infuse a new spirit in the philosophy and action of Hindavi Swarajya philosophy. The role of Sambhaji was based on welfare of the community at large. The entire focus was on rebuilding the state on work culture distinct from Moguls or other contemporary issues and problems. The Hindavi Swarajya dimensions of Chhatrapati Sambhaji were based on good governance. B.S. Joshi has stated the administrative decisions, implementation of strategies as well as programs of action. He has arrived at the right point that every decision was taken with great care and caution. The entire process was rightly accelerated to involve people in decision making and implementation of them on the lines of peoples’ welfare.

Like Shivaji, Sambhaji also followed the principle of Maharashtra Dharma. In order to assimilate the Marathi speaking people on the basis of nationalism and cultural identity the concept of Maharashtra Dharma was evolved. The concept was a early base of Hindavi Swarajya. V.K. Rajwade, G.S. Sardesai and V.S. Bendre as well as G.H. Khare and A.R. Kulkarni have studied the concept of Maharashtra Dharma in a new angle. They feel that the concept of Maharashtra Dharma was unique in the contemporary India, which kept the Maratha state on the top. He was able to develop a new line of action. Shivaji followed Maharashtra Dharma effectively in the span of his entire career in both he phase pre and post coronation period. When Sambhaji came on power he had many serious problems but he sorted out them properly and was able to serve the state with great confidence. When the Maratha king Chhatrapati Sambhaji was in difficulties, Saint Ramdas who was a guiding force and mentor of the state, he was able streamline the state effectively by writing a long letter to the King. It was manifested by number of verses based on his own mature understanding. The same was carried out the King. The essence of Saint Ramdas’s long and meaningful content was Maharashtra Dharma. The original cuplets of this letter can be reproduced as given below:

“Maratha Tituka Melvawa
Maharashtra Dharma vadhavava”

It means the sole effort was based on aligning the Marathas all Marathi speaking members together. The concept Martha was not based on the caste but it was assigned to all Marathi speaking people. The Maharashtra Dharma was basically evolution of Hindutva in the local dimension. The same concept later on developed by Chhatrapati Shivaji on the broader lines of Hindavi Swarajya. The treatise written by Ramdas i.e. Dasbodh and other literary works also manifest this philosophy. In the most difficult and critical phase of fluctuations Ramdas made aware Sambhaji to remember the philosophy of Maharashtra Dharma.

Thus every effort was made by Sambhaji to inculcate the values of Maharashtra Dharma and to transform them on the larger dimensions of Hindavi Swarajya through the theory and actions which he had followed on right lines to bring a change in the system by good governance.

6.3. Grand alliance with Akbar.

Aurangzeb’s religious and political policies were so much controversial that many cross sections of Mogul convert members were also having a different opinion about the system, but they had no daring to protest against the state. It was Prince Akbar who was in right mood to revolt against the King. When Akbar thought about such revolt against the system he wanted to change in the political uprising. He thought Sambhaji was the only figure before him because he was able to understand his agony and reaction in a better way. The Mogul king was a common enemy and both of them thought that the subjects were suffering due to negative policies of the Mogul King. In order to reduce the burden of people both of them thought to replace the Mogul King by revolting against him. The entire process was properly streamlined and a new alliance was being designed by both the young princes. One was head of the Maratha state and the other was heir of the Mogul state. By joining hands of each other they were planning to capture the Delhi. This required a rapid action and conduct implementation urgently. The policy of Sambhaji was responsible for supporting the Mogul price, but Sambhaji was very much careful and critical in this dealing. He was inquiring seriously about the intentions of the Mogul price. He felt that this revolt if it fails would lead to difficulties. Further the genuine nature of the offer was also a serious matter. Hence Sambhaji had to spend time in arriving at right decision in a
short period. The question is often came to his mind about why Sambhaji spent this much time
to take right decision at the time of this grand alliance. He was eager to study all possible
implications of the alliance. He was judging the difficult problem of the Prince Akbar prevailing
at the time.

Akbar Sambhaji grand alliance is an important episode in the history of Sambhaji. It had
a shadow of past but it could not shade light on the future. It had a mystical history but it could
not change the course of history. It was a dream of capturing the power, but did not come into
reality. About the similarities of both the princes, Sambhaji and Akbar, Kamal Gokhale has
rightly observed that there are many similarities among these two rulers. Both of them born in
1657 with four months distance. Both of them were fourth issue of their parents. Both of them
lost their mothers in the early period. Akbar lost his mother when he was two months old and
Sambhaji lost his mother when he was 2 years old. Both of them were guided by able fathers.
However, both of them revolved against them and joined the camps of enemies to gain power.

(22) On 9th May, 1681, Akbar crossed Narmada River and wanted to meet Sambhaji with his
advisor Durgadas Rathod. (23) Akbar camped at Pali in Konkan. Sambhaji met Akbar on 13th
November, 1681 at Pali, and planned to invade north under the leadership of Durgadas Rathod.
He thought that Rajputs will revolt against Moguls and with the help of Rajput Akbar will be
instituted as a kind and Rajput will rule on his behalf. This grand plan was ideal but it lacked
practical realities. (24) In many borders of Maharashtra, Mogul army was miserably failing and
Sambhaji wanted to take this opportunity to imprison the emperor. (25)

Netaji Palkar and Hiroji Furson were the senior Maratha officers were asked to take care
of Prince Akbar (26) After four months of rainy season, Sambhaji met Akbar and tried to set
cordial relations but as Sambhaji was in difficulties, he could not plan the revolt in a short
period. (27) He promised to complete the campaign in the next six years, which he could not (28)
Kamal Gokhale has reported an important episode which created a gap between these two rulers.
The neck less or Kantha presented by Sambhaji was given by Akbar to his Hindu Kankubin
dancer. When Sambhaji came to know this he was felt annoyed. (29)

Sambhaji used Akbar diplomatically against Mogul King Aurangzeb. The effect was that
Aurangzeb annoyed and he intensified campaigns against Marathas. Had Sambhaji not passed
times, and had Rajputs supported him, the flow of history would have changed. Akbar was
helpless and sin frustration he had to escape to Iran and died there in the year 1687. (30) The episode of Akbar Sambhaji alliance ended in tragedy and instead of solving problems it further complicated Mogul Maratha relations.

Grand alliance with Akbar was a significant step in the early career of Sambhaji. He had a wider diplomatic perspective behind this plan. He had tried to divert attention of Mogul emperor Aurangzeb by setting political alliance with his revolting son. The political formulation behind this alliance reveals the intelligence and diplomacy of the Maratha Supremo Sambhaji. The significant strategy behind this plan was to change the central power of India from unjust to just, from autocratic rule to liberal rule of tolerance and sympathy to all.

A critical study of Akbar Sambhaji grand alliance shows that both of them wanted to use each others to protect their own interests which were divergent. Akbar wanted to become a Mogul king, and Sambhaji wanted to unite Rajput against moguls. Aurangzeb being very shroud and diplomat was watching every time the movements of his rebellious son and ambitious enemy’s power. The Aurangzeb’s spies system was very alert and was reporting to the king about the possible effect of alliance. Sambhaji on the contrary lacked vision and planning in the revolt against moguls. Dr. Kamal Gokhale has logically pointed out that Sambhaji was very watchful and he was suspecting the interest of the mogul prince. Gokhale has pointed that Sambhaji tried to use the presence of Mogul prince while attacking Portuguese in the battle of Santo Istevo fort and further Sambhaji also pressurized moguls during the battles of Sakharpe and Malkapur. (31) However, this diplomatic success was limited and larger success which was going to turn the history could not materialized but it further complicated mogul Maratha relations, leading towards catastrophe and turmoil.

The failure of grand alliance with Prince Akbar could not solve any problems but it complicated the relationship more strenuous. The shocked King Aurangzeb looking into ambitious Maratha design to overthrow him sharply rejected and planned to crush Maratha prince heavily by attacking the grass roots of the trunks and with his huge army he was always planning to attack & wage a war and capture the Maratha forts. If there was a failure Moguls aimed to devastate Maratha territory by their military movements. Marathas described these wars as Asmani Sultani calamities which have been described below.
Grand alliance between Akhbar – Sambhaji had a tremendous capacity to generate ideas for strengthening Hinduri Sara. His abilities were proved like precious metal and he could glitter it with greater fame.

Akhbar was a rebellious prince and he was not happy with his father’s policies. He came to Deccan to seek support from Southern rulers against his father. He wanted to repeat the history as per his father. The symbolic support given by Sambhaji was meaningful. Sambhaji was taking steps one after another with careful manner. His policy was suitable for limiting losses. Had Sambhaji taken some hasty decision, it would have been risky and difficult for him. What Sambhaji felt that it was not a right time to react against the Mogul power. Hence he followed principle of wait and see. Watchful and patient watch was a right policy of Sambhaji to avoid different complications. Thus the grand alliance with Akbar was both an opportunity and a problem. Sambhaji tackled it with great care and caution.

6.4. Struggle with Moguls

The Mogul dynasty was established in 1526 A.D. by Babar in New Delhi by defeating Lodi dynasty. He was replaced by Humayun. Later on Jahangir and Shahajahan ruled from this dynasty. The Shahajahan policy towards Deccan was liberal. He never closed to Indian dynasties but he adopted a policy of conflict and cooperation. His son Aurangazeb was appointed as Subhedar of Deccan after his failure as Subhedar of K--. When Aurangazeb came to Deccan he had many difficulties to face the so—rules of Bijapur, Golkonda and Marathas. Aurangzeb adoped a tough policy and he waged war against all dynasties. He wanted to expand the Mogul power in Deccan. On these lines the struggle was inevitable due to designs of Mogul king Aurangazeb. The Mogul King Aurangzeb after death of Shivaji and to wipe out Maratha from the Deccan, his policies were mostly responsible for closing the Mogul intensions with Marathas. Looking in to possible atrocities by King Aurangazeb, Sambhaji was ready to revolt against the Mogul attacks.

Like Shivaji, Sambhaji had challenged the Mogul power, to overcome their hurdles and barriers in the Maratha states of Hinduri Sara. The situation during Sambhaji’s reign was difficult because in addition to Moguls there were Portuguese, Englishman and Siddhi’s who
were challenging Maratha power and its existence. Sambhaji faced the challenge of Moguls on the basis of his sound and strong navy base.

After death of Shivaji, Mogul emperor Aurangzeb felt that it was the right time for conquering Marathas which was a freedom loving community. The Maratha community was divided and there was a group of diplomats which was against Sambhaji. Aurangzeb wanted to use this situation and he had planned a massive campaign against Marathas. He was conscious and alert about every movement of Sambhaji.

The movement on which Aurangzeb had received a news about Akbar’s plan to join hands with Sambhaji, he had approached Azamshaha his another son against Prince Akbar. He had also deputed experienced and senior offices to support the invader. Every care was taken to provide necessary financial as well as military resources in this significant campaign against Sambhaji and Marathas. (32)

King Aurangzeb himself had reached Barhampur on dated 13 November, 1681 and later on had camped himself in Aurangabad. (33) Many historians have felt that the arrival of Akbar was a golden opportunity but Sambhaji could not use it properly. Many senior diplomats in the court felt that Sambhaji would have diplomatically crushed Aurangzeb in this crucial state of affairs. (34) Prof. Kolarkar has stated many reasons regarding missing of this opportunity by Sambhaji. He has pointed that the atmosphere in the court was full of suspicious and Sambhaji was not able to trust in anybody. Further, Sambhaji was under full control of Kavi Kalash who was a scholar and poet. (35)

Dr. Kamal Gokhale has rightly pointed that the diplomat and advisor of Sambhaji was loyal to him and there is no single evidence against him. (36) The Akbar-Sambhaji alliance had many difficulties, it also created attitude of revenge in the minds of Mogul King Aurangzeb.

There was possibility of Sambhaji Akbar attack on North India via Konkan. In view of this Aurangzeb had approached to restrain them. In April 1682 Shahabuddin Khan had besieged the fort of Ramsej. (37) In this campaign mogul had to receive serious setback. Dalpat Bundela was also injured. This was the right time to invade Aurangzeb, but Sambhaji was not able to materialize the opportunity. (38) However, King Aurangzeb was able to consult the senior generals about the conditions to overcome them. He was frustrated. However, he was able to take
review of the adverse conditions by planning and tackling the issues in a right manner. He had entrusted duties to his generals at strategic points. (39)

Portuguese had helped Akbar and King Aurangzeb was not happy on this stand. Aurangzeb rightly planned to attack them. The two factions of Bahamani dynasty, Adilshahi of Bijapur and Kutubshahi of Golkonda belong to Shiya cult in Islam. They were helping Sambhaji against Mogul. Hence Aurangzeb had decided to wipe out their existence. He had attached Bijapur on 27th March 1685 and after their strong resistance they had to surrender before on 12 September 1686. In the same way the fort Golkonda was also captured by Aurangzeb and on 12th January, 1687, the Kutubshahi dynasty of Golkonda in Deccan had ended. Thus two southern Shiya rules in Deccan were playing politics against Moguls. Aurangzeb defeated them in a diplomatic way as well as by waging war against them.

The Mogul king Aurangzeb was a mood to attack on very existence of Hinduri Sara. He thought that the untimely death of Shivaji was an opportunity for Moguls to wide out very existence of Maratha power. He rightly rearranged his spy system, generals and military force against the Maratha power. His line of action was based on reality. The divided Maratha court and malice as well as hatred among top level of officers were a positive side for Aurangzeb’s plans and actions. Accordingly he planned his military strength. He felt that it was difficult to fight against Sambhaji a face to face war. Hence he adopted strategic fights. He spread network of spies in the Maratha state and received secret information about the movements of Sambhaji and finally he could catch the Maratha tiger in Sangamner in Konkan area.

Sambhaji’s grand alliance with Akbar was not materialized successfully and the end of both Akbar and Sambhaji was tragic. The reasons for the failure of this grand alliance can be noted as following:

- It was not a timely uprising
- There was no proper coordination between both the parties.
- The information about the revolt was leaked and the Moghal Emperor sent his secret services to watch the rebels.
- The internal enemies of Sambhaji and Akbar were updating details to the opposite group and the adverse results created problems.
All these above factors were responsible for the failure of grand alliance between Sam, bhaji and Akbar which ruined into a failure. Had Akbar and Sambhaji were planned their strategies they would not have been failed. Lack of planning and lack of timely action were two major factors responsible for their failure in action.

Sambhaji’s struggle with Moghals was inevitable and critical. Mogul emperor felt that Sambhaji can be defeated after death of Shivaji but Sambhaji will defend from moghal attack. The three major factors for the success of Sambhaji as under:

- The Maratha army was well prepared and alert against the enemy.
- The Maratha were having both guerilla tactics of warfare and face to face war. Sambhaji had a brilliant experience in the face to face war. In the personal bravery, Sambhaji was more successful than Shivaji.
- The Maratha army was well acquainted with weapons. The mountains and forts situations were not known to Moghals.

Hence all these basic factors were responsible for Sambhaji having superior edge than that of Moguls.

6.5. Conflict with Portuguese

Portuguese power had emerged in 16th century as a powerful naval power. K.M. Pannikar, a prominent historian has described 16th century as a Portuguese century because they were designing to expand their power both vertically and horizontally all over the world. After arrival of Wago-De-Gama in Calicut, their enthusiasm to conquer Indian coastal areas had developed. They had captured Goa in 14th century and retained it up to 1962, till military operations were conducted against them.

In the period of both Shivaji and Sambhaji, the Maratha naval power was well organized and they had established naval bases in coastal area of Maharashtra. The Maratha navy was strong, well built and they had their own mechanism of building naval base. Like Shivaji the Great, Sambhaji also continued the policy of strengthening the naval power. The Portuguese were strong in Goa and they were expanding their influence in the Konkan area of Maharashtra. The claim of interest was inevitable because the Portuguese power arrived to enlarge their trade and commerce by capturing many naval ports. They had an eye on raw material and related
trades. Sambhaji’s strict regulations on foreign trade and commerce were annoying the Portuguese and they were looking for any reason for conflict. Sambhaji was always watching to turn the wheel of the time in his favor by controlling the evil dreams of Portuguese power. Sambhaji was always alert and aware of the Mogul as well as Portuguese designs of aggrogance and attack. The study of Portuguese papers recorded by their political agents reveal that the Maratha king was always watchful and alert about the expansion of Maratha power. The entire naval system was revamped and new spirit was infused to face any calamity by Portuguese power. Along with their trade expansion, their religious conversion and atrocities against the local Hindu community were major factors responsible for Portuguese and Maratha conflict in the period of Sambhaji. In comparison to Shivaji’s policies, Sambhaji was more successful against the Portuguese power, because he was well planned. Sambhaji’s efforts to curb Portuguese expansion was based on alert and conscious efforts made by the ruler.

All these efforts have been studied in this part to examine the Maratha Portuguese conflicts. The study of the Portuguese designs and Maratha counteraction has been conducted in this work. The entire happening in the period have been studied in this part to examine as to how Sambhaji was able to face different problems in a systematic manner. In the period under discussion Sambhaji had to counter against Portuguese three or four times. The study of the Maratha Portuguese relations has been conducted here to face the challenges of Portuguese. The Maratha power was enhancing due to their naval power. Kanhoji Agre was chief of Maratha navy and he was responsible for the foundation of the naval strength. Sambhaji had continued and strengthened the Maratha navy during his period. Hence he could put strong resistance against the Portuguese power.

16th century was known as Portuguese because their naval power was well organized. They had stepped in Goa and they wanted to capture Indian coast. By this time, the Maratha’s under Shivaji the great had established their own naval power. Hence the clash between Sambhaji and Portuguese was both novel. Due to their superior arrangement and actions of Portuguese wanted to march ahead. The Portuguese power fought to setback Sambhaji. On the contrary in more than 3 wars against Portuguese, Sambhaji was successful. The victory against Portuguese was based on following grounds:

- The Maratha navy was well prepared and always ready to fight any naval attack.
- Sambhaji used to plan every war in a strategic manner.
- The Maratha power was strong in naval warfare and it had established an edge over the Portuguese naval plans.

On this background, Sambhaji was able to capture strategic centers like Wasco from the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were known for their coastal habitation and they had a constant eye on Indian coastal areas after their entry in Goa. They were expanding their power through trade and commerce at one hand and on the other hand, they were also indulging in local power politics by taking advantage of conflict between Moguls and Marathas, rifts in Siddhis.

Portuguese power was one of the significant foreign powers who were having sway over the coastal area of Goa, Div, and Daman. Chhatrapati Shivaji had put a strong resistance to the Portuguese power. Sambhaji continued the same policy and in 1682 he had planned to construct a fort on the island Anajadiv near Karwar. Shivaji had attacked the Portuguese by establishing a fort at Khanderi. Portuguese felt that history should not repeat and they captured Anjadiv island and constructed a fort there, which annoyed Sambhaji and brought bitterness in the relations. Portuguese used Narba Desai against the Marathas. (40) As a counterpart, Sambhaji had established ammunition factories at Kudal and Dicholi. (41) Sambhaji informed the Viceroy about this and requested them not to cut the supply of raw material for these factories.

Aurangzeb had sent Shaik Mohamed his envoy and requested the Portuguese to work against the Marathas. Though the Viceroy agreed to support food grains facility to the Mogul army, but had not agreed to attack the Marathas in favor of the Moguls. (42) Aurangzeb’s efforts to persuade the Portuguese against the Marathas has partially succeeded.

In favor of the Moguls, the Viceroy requested the Marathas to return the naval fleet captured by them and pressured to pay compensation for burning wheat fields. Viceroy also wrote to the Moguls informing them that he had closed the doors to the Marathas to enter through Kalyan and Biwandi and in the place of this help, the Portuguese demanded the coastal area of Konkan under their influence.

The movement Sambhaji received this information of Mogul Portuguese alliance, Sambhaji decided to adopt an aggressive policy and attacked Cehul, Basin, and Daman. (43) After capturing Ramnagar area, Sambhaji demanded Chouthai tax from Postages.
Bahadurkhan the mogul general was planning to attack Surat and recently captured two Maratha forts could have created difficulties in his way, and hence Sydi Ykutkhan was entrusted to fight against Marathas. He captured one fort and destroyed it. Subsequently he also captured the second fort and this was a blow to the Marathas. Sambhaji had aggressively contested the Portuguese area. Marathas virtually plundered Portuguese sheep in the area of Dahanu, Aserim, and Saibana to Basin and Maratha also captured two Portuguese missionary who were active in the region. Portuguese also captured Maratha envy. Yesaji Gambhirrao and later on freed him. (44) Few Maratha sheep’s containing rice was also captured by Portuguese.

On the Maratha side Peshwa Nilopant waged aggressive war and captured Portuguese area of 40 miles and devastated it. This area included Chembur, Talode, Kolwe, Mahim, Dantore, Sargaon, and Supari. Fonda was a strong fort on Portuguese Maratha borders. Viceroy of Portuguese has besieged Fonda fort. Marathas fought against him at Durbhat but by defeating Maratha he attacked Fonda. Yesaji Kank resisted strongly and finally Sambhaji with his selected army came to rescue him after a fierce battle Portuguese were defeated by Sambhaji. This was a landmark victory in the career of Sambhaji which proved his ability as a general. (45) This diplomatic victory of Sambhaji has been praised by Portuguese in their papers and they described Sambhaji as war like prince. (46) Sambhaji had demoralized Portuguese army and viceroy. Finally Viceroy prayed Saint Zeviers to rescue from Marathas attack. Due to threat of Shah Alam, Mogul Prince’s attack, Sambhaji withdraw his army and Portuguese were saved. (47)

Due to Mogul conspiracy, Sawant of Wadi also troubled Sambhaji at the time of his retreat. (48) Then Sambhaji had to concentrate on Konkan area. Sambhaji had capered island Juwe from Portuguese.

So in 1683 Sambhaji had also captured Sastha and Bardesh region. He plundered this area and captured resources from Portuguese. (49) Sambhaji had constructed fresh fort known as Mandargad to fight against Portuguese. This strategy strengthened his strategic position. Desai of Konkan was helping Portuguese against Marathas and provided them military information. Sambhaji had fought both internal and external enemies bravely.

Thus the different phases and events of Sambhaji Portuguese struggle form a significant golden chapter in the career of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. He ably fought with Portuguese and
always established edge over them. The success of Sambhaji not only proved his abilities but a feeling of fear and terror was created in their minds.

**6.6. Relations with Siddhi and English**

East India Company was established in 1600 AD in India during the period of King Jahangir. The trade and commerce recorded by Sir Toun Row were basic and the company began to expand. Indian rulers during the later Mogul period in more larger areas. The English East India Company from 1600 to 1757 adopted the policy of collection of raw material like cotton. They were included in collection of cotton and other food grains as well. The period of Sambhaji 1680-1689 was mostly in the phase of economic expansion of the company. During this period company had established its power in Mumbai and it was trying to expand their factories in the central areas of Maharashtra. During the period of Shivaji the English company was aware of the expansion of Maratha. Their clash was mainly the coastal areas. Shivaji in his papers often describes Englishmen as “Topikar Engraja” because they were using caps. Shivaji often warn the army to be aware from the tactics of Topikar. The English rulers were using the favourable tactics for their expansion of power.

Like Shivaji, Sambhaji was also well aware of the strategies of the English diplomats who were using the divide and rule policies. Sambhaji’s policies against English were based on wait and watch. He used to counter the divide and rule policy against the Portuguese and English as well. He was adopting the strategy of cooperation and conflict with English against the Portuguese designs which were more ambitious than Englishmen. Hence Sambhaji not only crushed and fought against them with bravery and valour. Sambhaji’s policy against Englishmen was based on benefit of the state. He was able to discriminate the vitality of these relations. He tried to favor one foreign power against the other power to protect the trade and commerce benefits for the Maratha state. The study of policies and decisions taken by Sambhaji have been recorded both by Portuguese and Englishmen in their factory records. All these aspects can be rightly reviewed and critically studied to examine the different dimensions of Maratha foreign policy. Like Shivaji the great, Sambhaji was able to crystallize the right policy based on right decisions. Thus all these aspects have been carefully examined to focus the Maratha relations effectively with the English East India Company. The area of conflict and cooperation was mainly related to Bombay and costal Maharashtra up to Karwar. The different dimensions of
Maratha English conflict can be studied on the basis of source material available in the form of factory records which can be documented here in the systematic manner.

In the contemporary power play of the decade Siddhi and English East India Company were major players. They were also creating problems and tensions for Marathas by complicating certain issues. Sambhaji had a close understanding of facts and conditions around him and he treated both of them in a strategic and diplomatic manner.

Like Shivaji Sambhaji had to fight against Siddhis of Janjira. Shivaji constructed Khanderi fort while Sambhaji constructed Underi and Dandarajpuri. In order to control Siddhi, Sambhaji planned to attack Bombay. (50) In order to combat Siddhi English alliance, Sambhaji set friendship with Arabs and was able to seek help from them. (51) Sambhaji tried to capture Janjira fort by creating a road to the fort by filling peninsula to approach Janjira. But the rising sea waves could not help Sambhaji to capture the fort. (52) The company office of Surat and Bombay was following duel game. Surat office was helping Moguls, and also conducting dialogue with Sambhaji. When Siddhi and Moguls attached Bombay, Englishmen had no way to set friendship with Sambhaji, which paved a way for coming out of the crisis. (53) The English Maratha treaty which was signed after 1683, can be described as Sambhaji wisdom about trade, commerce and military cooperation. (54) Sambhaji had further developed Maratha navy and the rise of Kanhoji Angre as a chief of Maratha navy was possible due to Sambhaji’s strong support. (55)

Sambhaji had set friendly relations with French and he received arms, ammunitions from them. But when they were constructing a citadel, Sambhaji warned against them. However, at certain height the citadel was allowed after getting compensation in 1689. The Dutch were not happy and they started to attack Portuguese. (56)

In Karnataka Sambhaji’s general Harji Raje had safely protected the Karnataka region from Mogul attack and hence after Sambhaji, Rajaram could take asylum at Jinji after Mogul attack.

The Maratha English relations were based on conflict of interests. The English East India Company had entered in western area during the period and the period of Aurangzeb was also used by them by adopting the divide and rule policy. Sambhaji was very careful while dealing
with Englishmen like his father. The Englishmen were very shrewd and diplomatic and Marathas must be careful while dealing with them. Sambhaji also followed the same policy.

Like Shivaji, Sambhaji was always conscious while dealing with English East India Company. The English power was very conscious and always alert while dealing with Maratha state and Sambhaji was very much aware about their strategies and he was using English and Portuguese against each others to protect the interests of the Muslims in the areas of defeat. His policy of wait and watch benefitted both.

6.7. Reunderstanding Sambhaji in the light of new sources

In the light of all these new sources there is a need to reexamine Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s rule in the new perspective. The role, relevance and effectivity of these sources present the new image of Sambhaji. He has been proved as benevolent ruler who was highly sensible about the welfare of his subjects. The study of Sambhaji’s effective role as a ruler and as an administrator has been presented here in new perspective. The Sambhaji’s significant role as a sensitive ruler has been presented herein a new angle. All these new approaches revealed that Sambhaji was able to grasp all the problems carefully.

- Sambhaji was able to understand peoples problems in nutshell
- He reduced revenue rates during drought situation
- He was able to provide tax concessions to traders
- The burden of taxes was reduced to feel them happy during difficulties
- Welfare measures were adopted to support peoples religious and cultural aspirations.
- The educational institutions were donated agrahar lands for their maintenance.
- The religious cultural centers were given regular assistance.

Thus all these welfare measures ably revealed the cultural support to those who were exploited and neglected in the Islamic rule under Moguls but he also supported to Islamic faithfully by supporting their mosques and other centers

Thus all these policies of Chhatrapati Sambhaji were responsible for bringing stability and peace to the Hindavi Swarajya. The most of the dynamic rulers earlier were against Hindus.
Bothe Shivaji and Sambhaji turned these policies and the wheel was turned back in favour of the local communities who were largely fallen victim to the colonial powers.

The availability of new sources provide a new angle to understand the role of the ruler. In the light of new sources the role played by Sambhaji can be reunderstand the following important factors can be reexamined here in this context. On the basis of new Sanskrit and Portuguese sources following five important facts can be brought to light here in this chapter.

- Sambhaji was not drug addict as described by earlier sources. He was having moral strength and he was always thinking about public welfare.
- Sambhaji was very much diplomatic at every movement. He treated Akbar’s visit strategically and was very alert about his movement.
- Sambhaji faced portuguese and English diplomatically and he was able to protect Maratha states from their wring power effectively.
- Sambhaji attached importance to the welfare of the common public. He treated Hindus and Muslims equally.
- Sambhaji’s steps against drought situation in the state reveal that he was able to face the critical situation

Thus all these new points have been brought to light in this chapter for the first time in this research work.

Reunderstanding of a King and his is possible as new sources came to light and they throw substantial light on the historical process. The study of Sambhaji has been reframed and reexamined by analyzing and making synthesis of old and new source material. The corroboration, documentation and new understanding of source material can help a great deal to arrive at a sharp focus.

While reunderstanding Sambhaji in the light of new sources, following five points are very important.

- Sambhaji was a learned administrator who had written Budbhushan the only medieval book on Hindi polity, which he had developed by his own ideas.
  Dr. Nabha Kakade in her book Budbhushan a study (57) has reflected that
Sambhaji was highly intelligent and he had acquired basic lessons of politics under his Guru Raghunath Pandit. The couplets in Budbhushan amply testify Sambhaji’s good governance and right knowledge of administration.

- The Portuguese sources have appreciated Sambhaji as a fighter and as a general. The papers described that Sambhaji was war loving prince. His bravely in the face to face war has been recorded by Portuguese sources. A.D. Pisorlekar’s book Maratha Portuguese relations amply testify this fact.(58)

- Sambhaji was a stern administrator and he has written letters to his fellowmen instructing them about their rights and duties. He was very just and judicious in his revenue settlements. In order to control Slavery, he increased the tax on slaves from 2-3 hones to 12 hones. (59) The letters of the period of Sambhaji strongly endorsed this fact. (60)

- Thought historians like Sen, Ranade, and Sardesai have criticized Sambhaji, yet recent papers proved that Sambhaji was highly alert and conscious while taking any decision. The blame given on him on spending time in Konkan, while attack on moguls, it is argued that Sambhaji was not ready to make any premature attack. He was calculating all the difficulties he was facing both internally and externally. Desai of Goa and Sawants of Wadi were helping Portuguese, but Sambhaji showed them right place. (61)

- Sambhaji bravely fought against Portuguese and dashed up to Fonda and Wasco. This was the high water mark of the Marathas success against Portuguese. It is wrong to state that Sambhaji had spent time while fighting against Portuguese and he neglected the danger of Moguls. There is no logic behind this because Sambhaji resisted Portuguese and did not allow both Portuguese and moguls to step in Konkan. He safely protected Konkan and costal Karnataka which later on helped Marathas to wage war of independence.(62)

- Sambhaji was seeking spiritual inspirations from saints and prophets like his father Shivaji. He had a continuous dialogue with Baba Yakub a Muslim Awaliya and saint Ramdas, a champion of Maharashtra dharma.
• Sambhaji tried to solve problems of farmers and cultivators. He had made planned efforts to face drought situation in Maharashtra and proved as a benevolent ruler. His efforts of watershed development were unique.

• Sambhaji tried to develop a balanced religious and cultural policy. His religious policy was equally tolerant and cohesive towards all castes and creeds, all religions and Panthas.

• Sambhaji being a scholar of Sanskrit language he had also patronized Sanskrit scholars and genius writers. He had great respect and regard towards his Guru Keshav Pandit

• He had the perfect administrative abilities and a strong will power to serve community members. His approach towards people was just. He believed in Kautiliya’s organic theory of state and tried to strengthen Maratha state on the basis of that theory.

Thus all these points throw a new light on Sambhaji’s role and contribution to the strengthening of Hinduri Sara in the post Shivaji decade 1680 to 1689.

Thus there is a need to reunderstand Sambhaji based on new source material. These sources are both western and Indian sources. These sources were in darkness for a long time. A.D.Pisurlekar has published two volumes based on Maratha Portuguese rules. Ashok Shined, Starker have brought to light new Sanskrit sources and this has been possible due to publishing and interpreting of Sanskrit sources. Both these sources have helped to throw new light on Sambhaji’s contribution to Maratha state.

6.8: Summary

The study of Sambhaji as a strong Maratha warrior was conducted in this research work and he has been rightly recorded and neatly evaluated in the light of new Portuguese and Sanskrit sources. Thus source material which is brought to light has been used for the first time here in this work

Sambhaji’s efforts and his final sacrifice led to the solid foundation of Hinduri Sara even after his death for next two centuries up to 1818.
There was a stern discipline in the administration. Army and Navy were rightly trained. Sambhaji put seek help from the French men to update his army. Sambhaji’s administrative skill and vision is reflected through Mode as well as Portuguese papers. The other sources throw more light factually than that of the earlier one. Hence all the criticism against Sambhaji in the Chitnis Bokhara stands illogical, prejudiced and unjust. The Maratha legal and judicial system was very much developed and had a clear understanding of Hindu polity.

In this chapter Sambhaji’s struggle against Portuguese and Moguls will be mainly highlighted on the basis of new Portuguese sources. Sambhaji’s correspondence edited by S.N.Joshi throws ample light on efforts made by Sambhaji for the strengthening of Hinduri Sara. P.S.Pisurlekar has edited two volumes on Maratha Portuguese relations. These papers throw light on Sambhaji’s bravery and heroic struggle in a short span of time. All these aspects illustrate that Sambhaji had captured major part of Goa and had established superiority over Portuguese power. His pact with Prince Akbar was having a foresight but which was not brought into practice. Had luck favored the flow of history would have changed. However, all these efforts show that Sambhaji tried to strengthen Hinduri Sara both by his conquest as well as sound administration. His judicial capacities, administrative vigilance and diplomatic watchfulness were of high magnitude. This chapter will be based on new historical sources.

Thus the strengthening of Hinduri Sara was possible due to hectic struggle Sambhaji made from beginning to end. His triangular fight with Mogul, Portuguese and Siddhi was really hectic and brave. The entire new phase of explorations has proved that Sambhaji was able to overcome many difficulties and he was able to come out of troubled water in a systematic manner. This lead to the rise of new age of success. Sambhaji’s efforts were based on new and cultural upliftment of the period. In spite of Mogul invasions Sambhaji was able to infuse a new spirit in the Maratha community, institutions and his fellowmen. The feeling of value abased sacrifice as expected by Saint Ramdas was fulfilled by Sambhaji in the entire decade. The overall awareness of Maratha prince regarding the rebuilding of Hindavi Swarajya was created by Sambhaji in a systematic manner. His abilities as a soldier, general and king were mostly exposed to society. The Portuguese papers have described Sambhaji as warlike prince, which means he had faced wars and fought with adverse conditions, which lead to the rise of shining star in the historical course of time.
Thus all these aspects reveal that Sambhaji’s contribution to rebuilding of Hindavi Swarajya which has not been critically examined in the earlier works. Thus this study was conducted and a new light was thrown on the problem. The sources speak about historical facts loudly, when new sources come on the forefront. There is a need to highlight different issues in a neat manner. The role played by Sambhaji in protecting Hindavi Swarajya was significant in the following three areas:

- He included people at large in the process of nation building.
- He protected the value and goals of Swarajya.
- He transformed the state for galvanining the larger values of nation building.

Thus in this chapter the basic contribution of Chhatrapati Sambhaji to Hindavi Swarajya has been described properly. His relations with Mogul, Portuguese and English were mainly studied. Attempt was made to reunderstand and reexamine the role played by Sambhaji in the light of new sources. The entire phenomenon was based on the availability of new sources. The different dimensions explained here hare closely related to each other and they have a distinct role to understand the performance of Maratha King Sambhaji who has been described as warlike Prince. During lat century many more sources were made available in Sanskrit as well as Persian languages. Further English and Portuguese factory records have been made available. All these sources are providing new dimensions in the wake of current source material. The socio cultural and religious sources revealed new age of the brenvolent approach of the Maraha ruler who was ahead of his times. Thus all these sources revealed a new approach to understand therole played by the progressive Maratha ruler whose performance was excellent both on the fronts of wr and administration as well. Thus Sambhaji had tried to strengthen the Hindavai Swarajya in all respect.

Thus in this chapter the role of Chhatrapati Sambhaji has been neatly examined and properly interpreated here in an intresting manner.

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