CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1. Introduction

2.2. The problem of objectivity:

2.3. Historical research method

2.4. Descriptive design

2.5. Primary and secondary sources

2.6. Sources of data collection

2.7. Classification of sources

2.8. Internal and external criticism

2.9. Limitations

2.10. Subaltern approach

2.11 Summary
RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1. Introduction:

In the subject like history there is a need to explain properly the research strategy to look at the problem in a systematic manner. In this chapter a new research design has been explained to pinpoint different dimensions of this research work in a new angle. Due to providing a proper research method this approach will provide a new perspective to look at the problem. In this chapter right from selection of the topic to the writing of report all aspects have been unfolded together in a new angle.

In the medieval historical span there are many dimensions of authentic and objective facts finding about the research problem. The entire process can be newly framed and neatly provided by adopting a proper design of the problem. All these sources can be very well illustrated a new vision to look at these sources can be developed in the end of this chapter. The strategic role relevance and effectiveness of the source material can help to come out of the crises.

All the points covered in this chapter are related to research process. The most significant challenge about the present research problem is that the verification of earlier chronologogies can be more on the basis of the critical angle to look at these sources. The availability of the source material is ample, what is required is a critical examination of facts which have been referred in this chapter. All the dimensions are based on new sociological perspective which is a unique and new approach to look at the problem.

Historical research is based on fact finding. The authentic sources provide immense strength to these facts. The process of generating facts is based on scientific approach. It has been rightly observed that “There is no short cut to the truth. There is no way to gain knowledge of the universe except through the gateway of scientific method.”(1) The study of Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice must be conducted on these lines for objective examination of facts.
Scientific method is applied to all. It has been rightly observed that “It takes the knowledge universe for its subject.” (2) The science of traditional writings can also be used for the study of medieval history of India in general and Sambhaji in particular. The study of mass history of Sambhaji cannot be compiled without collecting historical facts. About scientific exploration it has been rightly stated that “Science is an objective, logical and systematic method of analysis of phenomena devised to permit the accumulation of reliable knowledge. It is a systematized form of analysis …not any particular body of knowledge.” (3) The study of Sambhaji is not an exception to this. Hence the entire exploration has been made on scientific lines. The historical sides are based on authentic sources. The sources are just like sun and moon of history.

The process of data collection must be scientific and based on fact finding process. It is true that “The scientific procedure consists in evolving, defining and manipulating concepts or symbols with a view to contributing variously to the established corpus of systematic knowledge and/or to establish some new bit of knowledge.” (4) In this study all these processes have been properly followed. Wilkinson and Bhandarkar have observed that “The man of science is firmly committed to the belief that truth can always be established on the basis of evidence that our sense organs can get at. Of course, science never expects us to reach the ultimate truths.” (5) The historical research also focuses on such type of tradition and also there is a systematic documentation of facts.

The study of medieval history is related to examination of facts and evidences. On one side these facts can be examined and on the other side they can be analyzed in the form of facts. The opinion generation and reevaluating earlier views can also be possible by conducting scientific research. Scholars like Jadhunath Sarkar, G.S.Sardesai, and V.K.Rajwade in the first generation of researchers not only collected sources but also critically examined these sources. A totally new approach has been adopted here in this research work to reveal authentic source material in a new perspective. Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj not only resisted mogul aggression on Marathas, but also he deeply rooted values of freedom and justice. The mogul state in India was not only feudal but also unjust. He was able to discriminate between good and bad in the political system. He tried to keep balance and justice in his reign. Right from accession to his assassination, all aspects will be reviewed and presented properly. The research will try to eradicate bias and prejudices in a systematic manner. In order to curb the older ideas and
opinions new source material will be used and interpreted in new angle. Data collection, documentation, corroboration, interpretation and fact finding are the important stages in the process of analysis.

The study of Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s contribution in strengthening of Hindvi Swaraj can be conducted by adopting scientific research strategy for data collection and analysis of facts. Historical science is based on the mercy of sources. As per availability of source material history must be rewritten and reexamined in the new context and new theoretical perspective. In the global age present historical science is mostly interdisciplinary and hence in this work historical sociology perspective has been adopted for analysis.

Ranjeet Guha has recently published five volumes based on new approach described as subaltern studies. He has pointed that when we focus on subaltern consciousness it is interesting to study who is exploiting whom, in which field and in which context. Here in the medieval period the Mogul dynasty which was ruling from Delhi was exploiting local communities. Based on religious and cultural exploitation we have to study Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s period 1680-1689 in the subaltern perspective. In the medieval period there was economic exploitation in the field of agriculture by landlords. The more serious exploitation was based on religion and culture. Hence Shivaji and Sambhaji had to fight against this kind of religious and cultural exploitation which was in the form of Jijiya tax and other taxes on Hindu fairs and festivals. There is a need to understand gap prevailing in the rulers and the rule. Hence in western Deccan there was massive resistance to Mogul operations leading towards establishment of their own state in 1674. Soon after the establishment of independent state, Shivaji’s sad demise in 1680 created many problems and there was division in the Maratha court. Sambhaji had to analyze all these problems and set his priorites based on urgency and effectivity.

Thus in this chapter apt and befitting research methodology has been evolved in a systematic manner to throw light on this complex research problem. To support this method descriptive research design has been applied for this subject and different devices, soruces of data collection and primary as well as secondary material has been denoted here properly.

On this background it would be interesting to study and high light the historical method which is used as a prime method in this research work
2.2. The problem of objectivity:

When the facts are scattered with mystery and related problem of objectivity rises in the social research arena like history. We have to develop many more facts and many more approaches to overcome this problem of objectivity in the subject like history. The entire process is based on systematic data collection at one hand and the critical examination of facts on the other hand. Take the example of Chitnis Bakhar which was written by Rajaram and after the sad demise of Sambhaji when he was no more, in order to please Rajaram the later Chhatrapati, many more legends and distorted facts were included with bias and prejudices. In order to overcome these prejudices the new strategies have been adopted here to look at the research problem. A more critical and more realistic approach can be adopted to oversee issues of contributing and to arrive at a sharp focus to look at the problem in a new angle. There were three major problems in the development of objectivity here:

- The earlier historical writings were based on fabricated evidences
- Prejudices, malice and hatred prevailed against Sambhaji at many levels.
- The earlier historians have not verified the wrong sources

Hence after verification of these sources a new objective approach was used to look at the problem and new line of action was developed. By connecting together all the points of controversy here new approach has been set forth to look at the problem. The objective assessment and evaluation of facts has been made here to pin point the new approach.

Sambhaji’s correspondence and his original letters have been published by Prof. Joshi of Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal. A.D.Pisurlekar has published two volumes on Sambhaji relations with contemporary rulers. All these papers throw new light on many critical issues. These facts can be useful to pin point many controversial issues. The attempt will be made to arrive at a sharp focus to go more closer towards truth. The study of Sambhaji’s history can be more faithful and more transparent based on new sources. Every effort has been made to reach the highest level of objectivity during this research process.
2.3. Historical research method:

History is a science based on sources which are authentic and accountable. In order to reach more closer to facts, historical method can be adopted to social and cultural relevance. Here the entire process can be more effectively described. The historical research method has more relevant to the present research topic because in the medieval history the source material is largely available but what required is a proper correlation of facts and verification of various resources which are available on large scale. The present method is more meaningful and relevant to the subject like Sambhaji because of the following three aspects:

- There is a conjecture of many events and different details are available through various sources.
- It is difficult to correlate these facts together in a systematic manner.
- Amongst many sources only authentic sources can be used here.

In order to throw light on various aspects of Sambhaji’s career such as political, social, economic, cultural as well as administrative and related to good governance, this method can benefit to complete this project on the following five grounds which can be described below:

- The historical facts can be described in a narrative manner
- Based on perfect evidences, verification by cross check new light can be thrown on earlier facts.
- The prejudices and bias of earlier writings can be removed on the basis of new ideologies and new sources.
- The study of newly described sources can bring to light new ideas and new facts.
- Both manuscripts and oral folk legends can be correlated to examine the fact finding process.

Thus the use of historical method can provide a new light to examine the earlier facts.

The study of past history can be conducted by using historical research methods. In order to peep in the past events critical examination of facts must be made in systematic manner.
B.L. Kothari has observed that “The society is a dynamic structure and its forms and functions undergo continuous changes. It is continual process. It becomes a matter of keen interest for the sociologists to study the social changes and to deduce conclusions. It is very well evident from the study of history that human society was never alike. It has always remained in a process of change. This change has affected the social organizations.” (6) The survey of medieval Maharashtra can be conducted on these lines. The famous logician A.N. Whitehead has categorically stated “Each emerging is perceived as containing within itself all its past and seeds of its future.” (7) The famous English Dramatist George Bernard Shaw also said that “This is to say that a proper study of past will provide key to the present. The present day social system, social institutions and its varying forms and rules could be easily explained by the study of the history. Although the present is all together different from what the past was put still the origin of the present is from the past.” (8) Pauline V. Young has said “Though today is different from yesterday, it was shaped by yesterday. To-day and yesterday will probably influence tomorrow.” (9) The historical method helps to probe into past in a systematic manner.

Even then a double may be raised about the utility of historical data in the study of social system. It may be asked “What is the use of wasting time in old records, documents and collections and in studying them. How can these be useful in studying the present day life particularly when those pertain to very old and undeveloped life.” (10)

Rajwade has rightly answered this question and said that the errors in the past make us to understand the problems in the present day. Shivaji had to strive hard for establishing Swarajya.” (11) Further Rajwade has recorded that concentration was given for construction of dams and water-shad for public welfare” (11) This was in tune with public welfare. Thus all these sources help a great deal to understand socio economic and cultural and environmental history of the past. (12) Hence the history of Sambhaji’s period has been conducted in this method. It has been rightly observed that “these major sources primary and secondary can be used by the researcher to the extent that there are relevant to his research work. For this purpose he will not be required to go in the deep study.” (13) Actually these sources are studied only when any cultural or social link is missing or there is need to connect any link. It has been further observed that “It is therefore usually suggested that the social researcher should consult the historian before making any use of history in his study. It should always be kept in mind that all historical details if they
are not authentic and these could not be fully relied upon.” (14) Hence every care will be taken here to examine authenticity of the sources on Sambhaji’s history.

It has been observed that “Historical method not only demands special qualities in the research worker but also necessary precaution in selecting the material and only then useful and factual conclusions could be drawn.” (15) Attempt has been drawn in this work about struggle and sacrifice made by Chhatrapati Sambhaji for establishing Hindvi Swarajya on strong basis. Many a time poets exaggerated the facts. Sarkar has criticized Parmanand’s Shiv Bharat as an appeasing work. (16) In historical method we have to examine such works for critical examination of facts. Many Sanskrit sources convey roots of historical facts effectively. (17) The study of Sambhaji can be conducted on the basis of Sanskrit sources also.

K.N.Chitnis has observed that both internal and external criticism must be adopted to examine these sources. (18) The foreign accounts also help to describe sociological life of medieval period. The foreign travelers describe economic as well as trade commerce data correctly. The weight and measurement of different units is also accurately noted. (19)

The Dutch sources also help to establish historical chronology. Further English sources on Sambhaji’s history can also help to consolidate contemporary Indian historical events to a great deal. (20) This historical method can help to throw light on Sambhaji’s period. All these sources can be examined and evaluated in a systematic manner to describe Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice.

The historical research method not only tackles history but also presents new facts. The sources are ample. What is lacking is insight and perspective to correlate these sources. In use of historical research following five aspects are very much important:

- The grass root analysis of sources will be examined to understand the complex events and their intricate small and micro facts can be brought to light,
- There is a need to examine and assess the prevailing sources which have been used earlier. By doing so unused sources can be brought to light and their content can be reviewed.
- The bias can be removed by enlightening facts based on new sources.
Foreign sources which are available in Portuguese and English records can be highlighted for probing new facts to light.

Sanskrit sources have been newly available. They can be crystallized to throw light on some neglected areas of the theme.

All these aspects can be examined and rightly pinpointed while adopting new strategies. The historical method can be used by understanding these facts in a new sense. The subaltern approach totally is based on throwing light on masses – history, which can throw light on social history.

Historical method is mainly based on chronology of facts based on specific dates and events. It is also treated on the basis of source material primary and secondary. However, primary sources are more important than secondary sources. In order to correlate both these types there is a need to document all sources available and then proper synthesis can be made for systematic and neat fact finding. The newly available Sanskrit sources and recently compiled Portuguese sources have helped to unlock many complex and critical issues in the career of Sambhaji.

The science of history requires accurate, brief and correct analysis based on authentic source material, which has been recently made available by scholars and historians. The researcher has visited Bharat Itihas Sanshodan Mandal Pune, Shivaji University, Kolhapur and Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhule for examining and understanding of Modi papers on Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The paintings of his period are also available in Marathwada University History Museum, which have also helped for providing a new light on the subject.

2.4. **Descriptive design**

The present work is related to descriptive design. It has been rightly stated that “Descriptive studies are the ones that aim at describing accurately the characteristics of a group, community or a group of people. A researcher may be interested in studying the people of a community, their age composition, sex composition, caste wise distribution, occupational distribution and so on.” (21) The study of Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice can also be completed by adopting this design. The descriptive studies require authentic and valuable sources which can describe facts about the time, space and period of the bygone days.
It has been stated that “It is understandable that when one does not know anything at all about a problem, he must attempt to understand it in a general way before beginning to make specific the various aspects of the subject. Explorers and missionaries write such descriptions of many exotic lands. They chose to describe what they thought to be important and interesting unconcerned with any rigid rules of scientific proof. Even such reports had their importance, for anthropologists subsequently rushed to study these natives who were only hinted at in the explorer’s reports.” (22) Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice can be studied by adopting descriptive design.

Descriptive studies often provide a jumping pad for the study of new areas in social sciences. It is worthy of mention that Freud’s compilation of case histories of patients laid the foundation for clinical psychology. Freud remarked that “the true beginning of scientific activity consists in describing phenomenon and then in proceeding to group, clarify and correlate them.” (23) By adopting this method social life of Sambhaji’s period can be studied.

It is true that “It may not be very useful to conceive of descriptive research only a phase on the evolutionary continuum of researches. This is so, firstly because a piece of descriptive research may be of important scientific value in itself, although it cannot be generalized to apply to other situations. It can provide information which is of value in policy formulation and secondly, because the notion of stage assumes that we have knowledge about the various stages in the supposed continuum.”(24) Sambhaji’s freedom struggle can be well illustrated on the basis of these sources effectively.

There is a need to avoid bias. It is true that “The procedure to be used in descriptive study must be carefully planned since here the aim is to obtain complete and accurate information. The research design for these studies must make a much greater provision for protection against bias. Because of the amount of work involved in descriptive studies concerned with economy in the course of research is extremely important. Consideration of economy and protection against bias permeate every stage of the research process. “ (25)

The bias can be avoided by making serious efforts. It has been observed that history and society are related to each other. Sociological thinking of Max Weber and Durkham help to examine the conventional historiography. (26)
It has been further observed that “The first step in descriptive study is to define the question that is to be answered. Unless the questions are formulated with sufficient precision to ensure relevance of the data collected to the questions raised, the study will be fruitless. It is necessary to formally define the concepts entering into the question and also to indicate how the concept is to be measured. Considerations of economy would need to be entertained at the stage of specifying the research questions. This restricts the area of the study of bounds of manageability. “ (27)

Here the following questions have been set:

- Was Sambhaji’s historical contribution rightly proved by earlier historians?
- Is his evaluation has been made justifiably?
- Is it objective and balanced?

It is true that “After the problem has been formulated specifically enough to indicate what data would be required, the methods by which data can be obtained must be selected. Tools for collecting the information must be devised if no suitable ones already exist. Each of the various methods of data collection – observation, interview, questionnaire etc. has its peculiar advantages and limitations. The researcher would have to consider the nature of the problem, the scope of the study, the nature of respondents, type of information needed, the degree of accuracy needed etc. and in view of these balancing the gains and losses should select one or more methods of data collection.” (28) In this work both primary and secondary sources as well as Portuguese, English and Sanskrit sources will be used to highlight Sambhaji’s role. It has been observed that “In many descriptive studies, the researcher wants to make statements about some specific subjects. However, it is rarely necessary to study all the people.” (29) In this work objective based study has been conducted. To reexamine Sambhaji’s role and contribution is the major objective. It is true that “Checks must be set up to ensure the authentic data unbiased.” (30) Consistency, competence and comprehensibility, reliability are the four major characters of data required in this problem. (31)

The history is a source of past events and earlier episodes which need to be described on the basis of authentic sources. The sources are just like torch bearers and they can help to come out from darkness to light.
The Bakhars, Karina and other archival sources can be described and narrated properly. The socio economic and cultural life can be recorded by using the neglected sources of mass history. A total review of earlier sources can help to describe old facts in new angle. In the process of description these facts are very basic i.e. accuracy, briefness and correctness. The analytical approach to the narration can bring history more closer to facts, while recasting sources history there are many problems like non availability of sources, overlapping of facts and exaggeration of events. We can be more balanced and objective by examining these facts properly. These problems can be overridden and new light can be thrown on events by judging the facts together while describing them. The continuity and change are two important facts which can be highlighted here properly. Literary sources like Dasboth of Samarth Ramdas, Gatha written by Tukaram and Sanskrit manuscripts written by Budhbshanam written by Sambhaji himself have been described properly by adopting methods of descriptive design. S.N.Joshi has edited Sambhaji’s letters and they have also been analyzed and evaluated by using this new method of content analysis.

In the science of historical writing a fine blending of objectivity and lucidity is required. In order to avoid dull and dry details more authentic facts can be described effectively. This process can be very well processed by adopting descriptive research design.

The description of facts can be correlated to find out new facts. The descriptive research design is useful and beneficial for conducting this research work. In the field like history, literature and many social sciences this design is mostly suitable when ample resources are available, the description of facts can be possible. The networking of facts can be brought to light by adopting this design. The facts described in the chronicals, manuscripts as well as Sanskit verses can be crystalized and sorted out for throwing the light on the various aspects of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The new dimensions of describing facts depend on the evaluation of source material as well as their effectivity can also be verified and justified. All the new dimensions of facts can be described and correlated together for presenting Sambhaji in a new angle. The utility of descriptive design is immense for this work because the hidden facts in Sankrit work can be crystalized and new light can be thrown on facts. The socio cultural and other facts can be justified together for throwing light on different aspects which have been unexplored by earlier scholars.
2.5. Primary and secondary sources:

There are two types of sources Primary and secondary. Kothari has noted that difference between primary and secondary sources must be made to bring more useful approach. (32)

Record is a primary source and in this category letters, contracts, content records, census of population, diary, autobiography etc. are included. (33) In the secondary sources based on primary sources, reports, written on these events also include in secondary sources. (34)

The history is a source of post events and earlier episodes which needs to be described on the basis of authentic sources. The sources are just like torch bearers and they can help to come out from darkness to light. The background sources and other archival sources can be described and narrated properly. The socio economic and rural life can be recorded by using the neglected sources of mass history. A total review of earlier sources can help to describe old facts on new angle. In the process of description these facts are very basic to accuracy, briefness and correctness. The analytical approach to the narration can bring history more closer to the facts. While recasting social history there are many problems like non availability of sources, overlapping of facts and exaggeration of events. We can be more balanced and objective by examining these facts properly.

There are two types of sources in research in general and history in particular. Especially in historical research primary sources are very much significant. There is a basic formula in medieval history “No document, no history” which bespeaks about the value of primary sources. These primary sources are based on original facts revealing genuine events. The availability of some manual is related to original sources. The correspondence of Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s period has been published by Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal, Pune. These Modi papers are more significant than Persian sources, because they are not biased and one sided. They throw full light on events and facts occurred at the time. The socio economic and cultural history depicted in these sources can be reviewed here. All these sources are basic and original. The authentic sources and their availability is a major favor which can support to strengthen mass history of the period. In comparison to secondary sources, primary sources are more significant because they are very much useful for drawing information and findings in a systematic manner. All these
sources are available on large scale but they require new insight and new view point to analyze the history of the turbulent decade 1680 to 1689

Critical analysis of source material has been made by setting new priorities and new methods of understanding here. Here both methods of qualitative content analysis as well as method of discourse analysis have also been used to arrive at a correct focus by using basic sources, Sanskrit and Portuguese. Many false charges and allegations made on Sambhaji can be refuted in a systematic manner. Here both primary and secondary sources have immense value for rewriting and reexamining history of Sambhaji which was earlier based on only one document Chitnis Bakhar, which was biased and negative about Sambhaji’s performance in all respects. The historical dialectic materialism in the histriotgraphy can be used to pin point both theory and practice of the historical writings.

Thus all these primary and secondary sources have been used here in this work, letters written by Chhatrapati Sambhaji to his colleagues and offices have been treared as primary source material. Further his book Budhhushananam is treated as primary source. The Bakhars as well as other biographies written by later sources are treated as secondary source. The secondary works by G.S.Sardesai, W.S.Bendre, Kamal Gokhale and Bahekar have been treated as secondary sources. The East India Company papers and Portuguese records are treated as primary sources and Bakhars or chronicals written by K.A.Sabhasad, B.A.Chitnis are treated as secondary sources. The primary and secondary sources have helped a great deal to arrive at the right point of analysis and exploration. Thus it seems that the sources of the period under review are ample and what is required is to examine these facts in a new perspective. The mass participation in the building of Hindavi Swarajya can not be studied without examination and assessment of all these sources which are available here for ;the correct understanding of the historical dynasties of the end of 17th century Maharatra in a more objective and realistic manner.

2.6. Sources of data collection:

When the source material is available on large scale it becomes difficult to understand its value and importance. These sources can be classified in different categories and typology. Then only they can be described properly and used neatly. Their role, relevance and effectivity of the source material during the Maratha period has been first initiated by V.K.Rajwade. In his
painstaking collection of sources of Maratha history, he has not only collected these sources but he has critically examined them in a scientific manner. In another book Shodhan Chiktsa criticism of source material, W.S. Bahekar has examined both positive aspects as well as limitations of these sources. According to his opinion what is more important is critical inquiry about these sources. When these sources are critically examined then only their utility and application can be possible. The study of the source material in the period of Sambhaji becomes more challenging on the following grounds:

- There are many unpublished and unexplored Modi papers which must be sorted out and published urgently
- There are many foreign papers, Portuguese as well as English which are unknown. These can be urgently explored
- The Sanskrit sources are made available recently but they are found more in Arabic and Persian language sources and are still untouched.
- Beyond the efforts made by Bhartiya Itihas Shanshodhan Mandal, Pune stil more Modi papers can be published.

The sources of data collection are wide and well spread. Wilkinson and Bhandarakr have classified data on the following types:

- Stimulus to datum sequence:
  These are systematic and unsystematic. (35) Researcher has used these sources by discussing with scholars.
- Paper sources of data:
  Library data is known as paper data and interview data is based on people. (36) Paper sources help to reconstruct history by conducting survey of literature
- Documentary sources of data:
  The social scientist has to use this data for understanding events. Facts and figures can be drawn from documents. (37) In Sambhaji’s history, documentary sources are very important.
- The public or official documents:
Public records are most satisfactory and reliable sources. (38) During Sambhaji’s period official papers were received and they are available. Sambhaji’s letters have been edited by S.N.Joshi. These letters are more than 100. (39). There are authentic sources which throw light on decade. The collection is very much useful for throwing light on Sambhaji’s career. Joshi has observed that Sambhaji’s period was very much turbulent and significant in the annuals of Maratha history. (40)

Historical research is based on availability of data. The data is well spread, varied and divergent. It would be interesting to enlighten and define these sources with special reference to the period of Sambhaji.

The Portuguese biographer of Shivaji Cosmo De Garda threw light on the earlier period of Chhatrapati Shivaji (1630-1680). For reconstructing of social history such foreign sources can be very well used. Dr. A. D. Pisurlekar has edited papers of the period of Sambhaji. The ample Portuguese sources are available at Lisben achieves in Portugal, which can be used for this study. The scholar will not only study these sources, but can study these sources for critical analysis of facts. The East India Company’s factory records also can support these facts. The co-relation of sources is a challenging task here. Further the original works of Chhatrapati Sambhaji are also available in Sanskrit language. These sources can be useful to understand Sambhaji and Kan Kasha relations also. The reconstruction of socio economic history can be useful for highlighting new facts. It would be interesting to set priorities of selecting, co-relating and analyzing these sources. The Marathi saints and prophets like Ramdas have contributed a great deal of the period of Shivaji. His book “dasbodha” has revealed many facts of social problems at the time. Ramdasa’s letter to Sambhaji is also a significant document and this has been very much useful for understanding socio economic and cultural disparities of the period.

The data available can be crystallized and reviewed here in order to high light new facts and new ideas to support subalternal history. The sole effort of the present work is to ignite Sambhaji’s character in a new sense at one side and Sambhaji’s period on the other side. The available data can be useful to reconstruct mass response of the Indian Hindu Policy of Sambhaji in an effective manner. A new outlook of data collection and data authentification can help to unfold many facts together in an interesting manner here to throw light on the crucial period.
Thus in the period of Sambhaji both primary and secondary sources are available on large scale. Being the most turbulent period of hectic activities, these sources speak about many facts but some facts remained salient and thus there is need to correlate both these types of sources for better understanding of historical cycle of events. Hence the study of achievements of Sambhaji becomes more varied, difficult at one hand and complex on the other hand. If we take the example of Akabar and Sambhaji alliance due to lack of authentic day to day sources it becomes difficult to decide who was responsible for the delay in the action against the Mogul king. At many invasions against Portuguese it become difficult to understand how few of the Marathas in the Konkan were intensely opposing the King when Sambjaji had captured Sangameshwar in Konkan area, this information was leaked by some of the Marathas in the opposite camp of Sambhaji. All these facts can be correlated by proper sorting, scrutiny and correlating both Indian and foreign sources being made available recently by scholars like A.D.Pisurlekar and Ramdas.

On this background we can understand how difficult is the collection and classification of the source material of the period of Chhatrapati Sambhaji (1680-89). The following can be the classification of source material.

**2.7: Classification of sources:**

There are two types of sources library and archeological. Further foreign accounts and local legends also support in different ways. They strengthen facts and help us to arrive at the conclusion.

The source material of the Maratha period is ample. The Persian and Arabic sources are biased and one sided. Hence they must be supported by local Modi sources to bring some more facts to light and help us to develop new theories. Modi language was described by Hemadri, the Prime Minister of Yadava King Ramdevrao Yadava. Now these sources are available in Pune, Satara and Kolhapur. Many of the Bakhars and memoirs as well as letters have been written in this language. The letters of the period of Sambhaji have been collected and edited by Bharat Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal and they speak a great deal about the turbulent decade 1680 to 1689. These papers can bring some more facts to light and help us to develop new theories. Dr. Kamal Gokhale and Dr. Bahekar and Dr. Shinde have used these papers and tried to interpret them in
favor of Sambhaji. The efforts of Sarkar, Sardesai had many limitations. The major difficulty was regarding the non-availability of sources. These facts now can help us to crystallize facts in a systematic manner. Hence the classification of sources is an important procedure in this study.

There are three stages in data processing, which have been followed here:

(a) Editing: Editing of data is a process of examining the collected raw data in a survey. Editing has been done to ensure that data are accurate, consistent with the other facts gathered, uniformly entered etc. The collected data will be edited accurately, briefly and correctly for shaping the report.

(b) Coding: Coding is an important stage in a survey report. Coding is necessary for efficient analysis and through it the several replies may be reduced to a small number of classes, which contain the critical information required for analysis. The data has been collected in the form of scheduled questionnaire as well as oral clippings. Hence instead of computerized coding, manual coding has been preferred here.

(c) Tabulation: The collected data must be presented in the form of tables and graphs. Tabulation is essential because it conserves space and reduces explanatory and descriptive statement, it facilitates the process of comparison, and it provides the basis for various statistical computations. The present study being wide and varied in nature, tabulation has been used in a systematic manner and the statistical data has been converted in the form of graphs.

2.8: Internal and external criticism

The originality of sources can be examined by following tools and techniques of criticism. The important method for this assessment is internal and external criticism of sources.

In this connection the ample material sources of the period of Sambhaji can be examined. The letters, grants, donations and religious “danpatras” are available on large scale. They can be classified as political correspondence, social events, economic sources, religious and cultural sources. At present more than 200 original papers of the period of Sambhaji are available and they have been published by scholars in different journals and books. The language, style and
method of Sambhaji’s letters is more closer to the period of Shivaji in form and diction. Every care has been taken to avoid Persian influence. The original Maratha culture and characters of Hindu polity can be observed through these letters.

The internal and external criticism is aimed to judge the authenticity and originality of papers. The archeological material can be examined and evaluated by adopting this method.

The chronology of these papers can be judged on the basis of Saka era noted in these letters. Further the royal seal and signature and place name also appears. The totally new approach has been adopted here. For making content analysis of these papers this method can help to judge both quantitative as well as quantitative criticism of sources.

In this study the qualitative method has been used for examination and evaluation of the material content reflected in these papers. The dates in these letters are not only useful for judging political episodes but they help to illustrate socio economic and cultural as well as religious conditions. These roots can be tried and examined systematically while depicting mass history of the decade.

- To study original character of sources
- To examine internal content
- To highlight socio cultural content
- To evaluate the authenticity of papers
- To co-relate different sources from one type to another.

All these functions can be fulfilled by adopting the tools of internal and external criticism. V.K.Rajwade, Jadunath Sarkar both in Modi and Persian sources were first to adopt these techniques. A.R.Kulkarni used this method for examining Maharashtra life under Shivaji period. G.H.Khare, A.D. Pisurlekar and P.C.Joshi have tried to examine these facts together. The criticism of sources helps to be more effective. The criticism of sources help to come closer to the maximum truth which can be derived from sources .

In the medieval history this method is mainly used because in this period many a times there is a confusion or overlapping of events. The Chronicle writers had conducted many mistakes but the original sources can help to correct these mistakes from the grass root level. All these aspects have been carefully considered while conducting this research work.
K.N.Chitnis has rightly observed that the sources of medieval India are based on their authenticity and credibility. Techniques of internal and external criticism help a great deal for establishing authenticity and credibility of sources. (41)

According to E. Sreedharan “Subaltern studies are Marxian in tone premise and analysis.” (42) It has been further observed that “The subaltern studies have introduced and almost new genre of 20th century historiography of protest.” (43) It is true that “English method, alternative discourses based on the recognition of subaltern domains of politics. That is the raison d’ être of subaltern historiography.” (44) If we classify both the types it would be useful to examine these facts.

This is the only well accepted scientific method of judging authenticity of sources. The criticism on available sources can be made on these lines. V.K.Rajwade rightly pointed that one original document can destroy thousand pages of history. In the period of Sambhaji there are ample sources of history. All these efforts must be made on scientific lines. The available source material can be documented. The science of historical writings has been developed by using internal and external methods of criticism. M.B.Chitnis has classified these methods suitably for using them in the Maratha history. We have to testify these methods for judging the value of the various sources of the period of Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The fake and wrong sources can be examined by adopting this scientific method.

2.9. Limitations:

Understanding limitations is a significant factor in social research. The scope of the subject can be decided by drawing a specific line around it. Such process is vitally needed because in this way time, space as well as energy can be saved. By clear cut linking the subject one can really draw a well defined line of action. The specifications of such clear cut distinction are required to limit or delimit the subject matter. In this research work following aspects can be noted as limitations of the present research work. These can be noted as under:

- The present study is limited to the span of 9 years – a period of decade from accession to the assassination of Chhatrapati Sambhaji from 1680-89 AD.
- In the present work the focus is not much on political aspects but it is on socio economic religious and cultural life of common man.
• The present work has been conducted by making qualitative content analysis of primary sources and not on quantitative methods.

• The literary sources have been mainly used and archeological sources and foreign accounts have been used to support the literary sources.

• Whenever Persian sources do not speak, Modi and Sanskrit sources will be used to bring gaps in a systematic manner.

The researcher is well aware of all these limitations and while conducting this research work he has visited important places in the life and career of Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj. However it is not virtually possible to visit all the places in Maharashtra and India wherever Chhatrapati Sambhaji had stayed and raised his leadership while fighting against Moguls and Portuguese. The field study has thus necessary limitations of time, space and expenditure also.

Thus all these limitations which have been explained here help to rebuild and reshape history for the period under discussion. All these aspects have been clearly defined to unlock the problem here.

In this work understanding limitations of study is a significant phenomenon. About the limitations of the study Wilkinson and Bhandarkar have observed that “Limitations are there in every research work. There is danger of unexpected problems because it is based on available literature. (45) It is true that research related to problem has to find solutions. Set of suggestions may have difficulties. (46) It is true that “In social sciences as elsewhere, habits of thought may interfere with the discovery of the new or the expected, unless the preliminary observations, reading sad discussions are conducted in a constantly critical, curious and imaginative frame of mind.” (47)

Thus all these limitations have been carefully examined and sorted out to correlate facts. By explaining these limitations, there are two advantages in this subject.

• The exagaration of facts can be avoid.

• A new approach based on limited span of resources can be developed

• It becomes easy to touch the problem in an objective manner.
2.10: Subaltern approach:

In the science of historiography colonial, nationalism, Marxism, sociological, behavioral and cultural approaches play a significant role. The colonial approach was biased and it was favoring western imperialist rulers. The nationalist approach tries to describe history as a connecting force for national building. As described by M.G.Ranade Maratha history under able leadership of Chhatrapati Shivaji can be described as what one may call as a process of nation making. The sociological approach is traditional as dilute Marxism approach. The subaltern approach is a sub branch of Marxism study of historical processes. Prof. Ranjeet Guha of Asian Studies Center of Canberra University Australia has developed this school. The subaltern approach is based on study of exploration or its consciousness which emerges as a part of this phenomenon. In a political or social system the super structure exploits common people for building history and in this process they are exploited. The Mogul King Shahajahan during his period established Tajmahal at the cost of the exploitation of poor. Even in the period of Aurangzeb Bibi Ka Maqbara was established by his son to respect his mother Rubia Durani. The masses were exploited and the state enjoyed name and fame. On the contrary during the period the Sambhaji, the Indian people fought against the Mogual approach of socio religious exploitation. There was a disparity in Indian society on the grounds of religion and culture. Forced conversion of religion was a common phenomenon. Local people were imposed heavy taxes for religious fairs and meets. The taxes like Jijiya amply testify the sad phenomenon. It is interesting to observe that the people at large during period of Sambhaji were able to understand that they were exploited by Moguls. This feeling of exploitation can be described as ‘subaltern consciousness’.

- The negative policy of Mogul against people at large
- Religious and economic exploitation of poor people.
- The liberal Maratha policy towards Swarajya.

The subaltern approach can be testified to the period 1680 to 1689 in order to cover various aspects of public life of the period. The masses were exploited and harassed by Moguls. Hence their response to the state was negative. People supported Chhatrapati Shivaji and Sambhaji because they were shaping peoples feelings hopes and aspirations towards the common man’s will and pleasure. On these grounds the present work will be conducted in subaltern approach of historical research.
Ranjeet Guha has edited 10 volumes on subaltern history. In the first volume it has been pointed that subaltern consciousness is the base of entire process. The exploited class must feel that they are exploited”. (48) Guha has pointed that “Elitist historiography cannot explain such instances of popular initiative asserting itself.” (49) The themes of subaltern studies began from Mogul period. They are descriptive as well as conceptual. (50)

In Sambhaji’s period the entire Maratha community was felt exploited and it reacted against it.

- The entire Maratha was exploited by Moguls and it turned in favor of freedom movement.
- Sambhaji was able to react against Moguls atrocities imposed on Masses.
- The social base of Maratha war of independence was created on large scale.

Sreedharaan has observed that “The characteristic which makes history out from other social sciences is a specific concern with the element of change through time.” (51)

The subaltern approach there are many issues in the subject which can be explained here. In the period of Aurangzeb there was cultural exploitation. The Marathas were first to protect against this cultural exploitation. The period of Shivaji witnessed the beginning of this process and Sambhaji continued the same policy. He also fought against the religious and cultural exploitation by Moguls. Sambhaji’s period was by providing identity to local people. The fairs and festivals as well as Yatras were protected and new support system was developed. The religious freedom was given to people. Saint Ramdas in his letter to Sambhaji had called on him to protect the freedom and culture of the people. Ramdas finally appealed him to continue the support of Chhatrapati Shivaji. The immense freedom was provided for people. The Maharashtra Dharma policy of Shivaji and Sambhaji was responsible for ample freedom and liberty for peoples rights. Ramdas described it as “Udand Jahale Pani Snan-Sandhya Karavaya”, which means ample water was made available for performing rituals freely. This was a positive sign.

Thus subaltern approach can help to understand the cultural exploitation made by Moghuls and Maratha’s approach to fight against the said policy in the period 1680-89. The grasp of the problem has been well illustrated here in this research work.

2.11. Evaluation of Contribution:
In this work the study of struggle and sacrifice made by Chhatrapati Sambhaji has been a focal point of study. As attempt has been made here to examine and evaluate the contribution made by Sambhaji wasd strengthening Hindvi Swarajya, which was established by Shivaji, the Great. A new sociological approach has been adopted here to reexamine the performance of the brave Maratha King. The study of the King was earlier conducted in varied angle but now the research work has been conducted in mass history view point. The king rules subjects and reflects the hopes and aspirations of people. He not only looks in to problems of the pe3ople, but solves them in a systematic manner. Sambhaji was caring peoples’ problems by administering their revenue system, agricultural reforms, water supply and solving of their minute problems in a systematic manner. The following contributions can be noted:

- Sambhaji conducted these subjects by solving their problems related to agriculture, famine, and drought.
- He was in the company of learned scholars like poet Kalasha and he himself contributed a book on astrology.
- Sambhaji;s ‘astra pradhan’ mandal was learned and it was constituted of elite and scholarly persons. He had proper guidance and blessings by Saint Ramdas and other saints.
- Keshav Pandit who was his Guru was his mentor was responsible for creating interest in book writing, scholarly contributions and new additions in the knowledge.
- Sambhaji was patron of art, architecture and literature. He also constructed small dams on rivers for the eradiction of drought in the period.

2.12: Summary

Thus in this chapter it has been observed that the scientific method can be very well developed and used. In this work historical method, descriptive research design and sources of data collection were illustrated. Thus adequate light has been thrown on research methods aptly used here. The explorations in this chapter are based on research process adopted in this work. The problem was defined and the entire methodology was described. The tools and techniques of data collections were also explained. Both primary and secondary sources were explained in nutshell. The entire chapter has focused on research design. The historical method and
descriptive design were the backbone of this chapter. The following new subaltern approach was adopted here and testified to the problem.

Historical research is treated as most scientific and well defined research. Here in this chapter different steps have been explained step by step. The scientific approach as developed by Karl Pearson was explained in the beginning. Later on historical research method was properly defined and explained.

Hence life and conditions of the period of Sambhaji will be stated by using descriptive research design because:

- The study is based on literary sources which are ample and available on large scale.
- The Modi and Sanskrit sources are large and they can help to overcome many difficulties in data connection and contributed
- These sources can be authenticated by using archeological sources and foreign accounts. The foreign travelers’ accounts are available on large scale.

Thus descriptive design is the most suitable and appropriate design for conducting this research work. Here this design was illustrated and explained properly. Both the primary and secondary sources will be used for documentation of facts. The various sources of data collection have been explained. The difficult and challenging task of data collection will be completed systematically. The method of internal and external criticism has been used in this chapter. Correlation of sources has been possible due to this systematic approach. On this background the limitations of study have been explained which can help to outline the subject. The core of this work is based on subaltern approach and this approach has been useful for explaining the complex problem. Thus in this chapter the descriptive research design is used and all important stages in this design were explained in this work. The proper methodology has been evolved to solve the research problem.

Thus, in this chapter new research methodology has been evolved and adopted. Every care and caution has been taken to avoid duplication and repetition of details. Every fact and opinion has been authentically corroborated by using other sources. Due to internal and external criticism, the sources have been authenticated and reexamined at every movement. There is a theory no
document, no history and as per this theory Sambhaji’s new history has been rewritten. V.K.Rajwade used to state that one original paper can distory thousands of pages of exhagarated Bakhars that is chronical history. In this work the entire prejudices against Sambhaji were based on small chronical or Bakhar written by Balaji Awaji Chitnis, who belonged to the period of Rajaram, the later predecessor of Sambhaji. As he belonged to opposite camp, he tried to damage Sambhaji’s personality and performance, as much as he can but the role and relevance of new application of sources in the light of historical method and descriptive design has helped us to arrive at a ;correct focus in the new angle. It is true that history must be rewritten often as new sources come to light and new facts which were buried earlier are exposed after a certain period. Hence on the background of efforts made by Dr. Kamal Gokhale and Dr. Shivde this work has further tried to put a bold step ahead by highlighting Sambhaji’s contribution in the new angle.

All the explorations made in this chapter have illustsrated the research design and treid to provide different dimensions of research design. Here various sources of data collections were illustrated and their effective use has been studied. The problem of objectivity was tackled properly and the subaltern approach ahas been rightly highlighted. The descriptive design developed here has immense value both theoretical and practical. Hence in this chaptgser a new approach has been developed to tackle the present research problem.

In the next chapter Sambhaji’s life and work has been highlighted.

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