CHAPTER III
LIFE & WORK OF SAMBHAJI AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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3.1. Introduction:

The political profile of a ruler is based on available source material to describe his achievements to focus on positive sides of his career. Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s life and work is not exception to this. The rulers are evaluated and their performance has been reexamined to locate their positions in the annals of history. The name of Chhatrapati Sambhaji will shine ever for his dedication and devotion as well as his sacrifice for the betterment of Hindavi Swarajya was established by Chhatrapati Shivaji, the Great. Here different dimensions of the career of this ever shining ruler have been properly highlighted in this chapter.

The path of the political career of Chhatrapati Sambhaji was not easy. It was full of difficulties and full of obstacles. Sambhaji was able to overcome these difficulties by planning resources, man power as well as his management abilities to face all these difficulties. In order to evaluate his performance as an administrator, there is a need to throw light on various facets of his career. A graph of his achievements can be drawn by analyzing together all the important events and points of his career. While doing so efforts can be made to remove injustice made to him by the historians and scholars of the earlier period. The major important events can be reviewed and attempts can be made to rebrush and represent again his image on the basis of new sources. The new source material helps to bring to light new facts. After correlating these facts a totally new image of Chhatrapati Sambhaji can be presented for understanding his contribution to the building of Hindavi Swarajya in the 17th century history of Mafathas in the medieval history of India. Three points are very important for reunderstanding Chhatrapati Sambhaji’s career:

- The removal of bias and prejudices created by earlier sources like Chitnis Bakhar.
- A new approach towards the historical contribution of Chhatrapati Sambhaji in a positive and constructive angle.
• The study of neglected aspects of his administration as well as military career in the new angle.

All the efforts will be made to reexamine and rearrange the newly available historical sources to portray the role and performance of this enlightened ruler in the new sociological context. The spirit of Chhatrapati Shivaji which was truly embibed and continued by Chhatrapati Sambhaji can be rightly presented here in this chapter.

Heroes make history but sometimes history also makes heroes, but in case of Sambhaji the history has cursed him. The later Maratha sources have not only disturbed Sambhaji, but these sources have defamed him. Now in order to give justice to Sambhaji’s historical role, this research work has been conducted. A review of literature and evaluation of sources can help to arrive at a sharp focus. The present work has been planned to focus mainly struggle and sacrifice of Chhatrapati Sambhaji for the strengthening of Hindavi Swarajya. The active phase of a decade 1680 to 1689 witnessed a period of turbulence and conflict at every moment because Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb had attacked on Maharashtra. Sambhaji had to combat this attack with full strength. This Maratha hero was so powerful that he had attacked and created terror in Mogul administered region. Aurangabad which was sub capital of India was thrice attacked by Sambhaji and he had virtually established his edge over the rural area of the region. Sambhaji’s conflict with mogul, Portugal and Siddhies were so rigorous that he had established his abilities in a fullest manner. All these aspects have been unfolded in this research work. A new subaltern history approach along with sociological insight has been adopted in this work. On one way this study highlight Sambhaji’s career and on the other side it has tried to illustrate the struggle shared by common men in southern Deccan in general and Maharashtra in particular.

The study of Sambhaji’s life and work which was conducted by earlier historians like G.S.Sardesai, P.S.Joshi, and B.S.Bendre was reviewed by historians like Kamal Gokhale. Based on Portuguese sources and newly discovered Sanskrit sources, new light has been thrown on life and work of Sambhaji. Kamal Gokhale has rightly observed that Sambhaji’s earlier works were based on Chitnis Bakhar which was written by the orders of Rajaram and were having malafide intensions to defame him. (1) In the science of historical writings, the very basic phenomenon is related to source material and when sources are authentic, the historical facts can also be verified on the basis of the critical review of these sources. A.D. Pisurlekar who has edited Portuguese
papers on Sambhaji throws considerable light on many neglected aspects of Sambhaji’s career. These papers described him as a war like prince. (2) Sambhaji’s biographic graph is full of turmoil, ups and downs, conflicts and blood shade. Due to hectic political activities many a times his character remains shrouded with mystery which requires a new critical analysis. Historical sources require both review of approach and content. Gokhale has rightly viewed that due to bias of historians and non availability of sources, Sambhaji’s career has not been objectively examined. (3) On this background a fresh new outlook is highly essential to examine Sambhaji’s historical role in not only protecting but reestablishing the will power of the Maratha state based on high morals. G.S.Sardesai has rightly pointed that Sambhaji as a “Second Maratha Chhatrapati accomplished by his death, as the sequel will show, the task of destroying Aurangzeb’s hopes and conquest, which his own short life in vain tried to bring about. “(4) In a shortest period of a decade Sambhaji not only administered the said state, but also heroically fought for protection of values. It has been noted that “The fearless manner in which he met his end, united and steeled the hearts of the Maratha nation as nothing else would have done, and nerved them to avenge the death of their sovereign.” (5) Sambhaji’s death never went in vain, but he created high ideals for the next generation to follow his dreams. Sambhaji was able to inculcate values of freedom and selfless sacrifice through his heroic struggle against Moguls. The study of life and career of Sambhaji is a testimony of this fact. While examining his career, a new sociological outlook has been treated as a base in this chapter. Three things are very important when we adopt this approach. The first is review of sources, the second is the new insight to look at the problem and the third is cross examination of sources and adoption of new facts in the understanding of historical truth.

N.G.Ranade in his book the Rise of Maratha Power, has rightly pointed that “Aurangzeb’s dream, which he cherished throughout his life, had thus been accomplished before he had been six years in the Deccan. The whole country from the Narmada to the Tungabhadra lay at his feet. It seemed as if Shivaji and the men whom he had led to victory had lived and died in vain. The great deluge against which Shahji and Shivaji had struggled to protect the country for over sixty years, now swept over the land, carrying everything before it and there seemed no signs of any possible resistance.” (6) Aurangzeb’s efforts were put to dust by Marathas during their war of independence, which was raised by them after Sambhaji’s tragic end, because the atrocities
committed by Moguls against the Maratha prince were responsible for massive revolt which Maharashtra witnessed in the later period.

3.2: New sociological perspective:

The inter disciplinary approach is a new trend and it is growing trend in the social science. Especially in the post globalization period the study of social sciences has become more relevant and meaningful to solve socio economic problems of the contemporary society. The study of history in sociological angle can help to solve various complicated problems in a new angle. One can draw inspiration and lessons as well as to solve the various problems created after attack of enemy on the nation. The feeling of patriotism and nationalism was essence of Sambhaji’s career. The success of his career was based on his abilities and strategies which he had borrowed from his ancestors like Maloji, and Shivaji, the Great. The sociological phenomenon can be useful to benefit the young generations to pin point contributions of Sambhaji for nation building. A ruler who can fight different calamities and crises can be model for future generation to face such difficulties in the forthcoming period. The new spirit of the sociology can be rooted in the understanding of historical events properly. In the present research work sociological approach has been treated as basic. The social process is the basic phenomenon in sociological approach. In order to study the career of Chhatrapati Sambhaji in the construction of Hindavi Swarajya social factors have been correlated in this work as a basic. The involvement, persuasion and transformation of the masses under Sambhaji’s period revealed that the social awakening about cultural exploration in Mogul period under Auraangazeb. The micro aspects of the social dynamics of the period have been carefully studied in this chapter. This is a new approach focused here properly.

The social history can be examined on the basis of mass participation and mass awakening raised by people at large. During the period of Sambhaji Moguls had waged a massive war against the Maratha Swarajya but the people’s resistance was so effective that the strength of Moguls faded and the Maratha Swarajya continued for more than three centuries. The historical base of this Swarajya lies in the spirit of sociology. It has been pointed that “Any intellectual activity derives excitement from the moment it becomes a trail of discovery. In some fields of learning this is the discovery of worlds previously unthought-of and unthinkable.” (7) Sambhaji’s career was not properly examined by earlier scholars. Hence this new social history
is a new discovery of facts. It has been rightly pointed that “The sociologist moves in the common world of men, close to what most of them would call real. The categories he employs in his analysis are only refinements of the categories by which other men live, power, class, status, race, & ethnicity.” (8) Here by using historical sources a new approach can be developed to understand old facts and ethnic history can be rebuilt on the basis of historical facts. It has further been observed that “Anthropologists use the term culture shock to describe the impact of a totally new culture upon a newcomer.” (9) The attack of Moguls on local society were just like a cultural shock and it was Shivaji the Great, the founder of Maratha empire first resisted this cultural shock and provided a new voice to Indian social system. Sambhaji continued this reaction and formed a new sociological answer to protect Indian culture in the form of Maharashtra dharma, which Ramdas described it in Dasbodh. Scholars like V.K.Rajwade also understand this Maharashtra dharma in cultural sense. A new sociological focus is a prime concern of this study which has provided a new outlook for this historical research.

Historical sociology as a science has many more dimensions such as social, economic and cultural. In this work mass participation in the protection of Swarajya will be examined in three sociological perspectives.

(a) Symbolic interactionism which Maratha’s developed through their cultural identity

(b) Functionalism which they catered for the protection of Maharashtra Dharma and

(c) The conflict perspective which up holds Sambhaji’s heroic sacrifice. This sociological approach is a key factor of this analysis.

The Moguls were imposing their super structure and Marathas were resisting this super structure. They not only resisted but rebuilt their own structure based on their own values. In the foregoing pages are examining Sambhaji’s life and work in a larger sociological spectrum, which he was able to brighten it effectively. On this background it would be interesting to different stages in the career of Sambhaji in order to understand these three dimensional conflicts which forms core of his career. Now right from the beginning he had to face conflicting situations from beginning to end. The struggle begins from accession itself because the Maratha house was divided but still Sambhaji emerged, triumphed and marked his victory on the annals of history.
The sociological approach can provide a new insight to look at social history. The new facts can be brought to light and a new analysis about social life can be presented here. E.C.H.Car in his work “What is history” has also highlighted the importance of sociological perspective. His opinion can be used testified and evolved in a new perspective. The sociological approach makes us to understand social responses of the period towards the polity.

3.3. Conditions prevailing during Sambhaji’s rise:

The rise of Chhatrapati Sambhaji was in a very adverse situation. The Maratha power center was divided and Sambhaji’s enemies were playing different strategies against him. It would be interesting to study how Sambhaji was able to rise and emerged successfully.

The political conditions prior to the rise of Sambhaji can be illustrated into following five points:

1. There was cold war prevailing at fort Raigadh among the two Maratha warring groups. One was in favor of Sambhaji and the other which was against him was favoring Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji. The Chitnis Bakhar which was written in the period of Rajaram has depicted Sambhaji’s image polluted because Chitnis was bias against Sambhaji and he was in the Rajaram’s camp. When Sambhaji was marching towards Raigadh, he imprisoned Moropant Pingale and Annaji Datto who were against him. Sambhaji had 20,000 army personnel with him. The military general of Marathas Hambirrao Mohite joined Sambhaji’s camp. (10)

2. Sambhaji imprisoned Rajaram and his mother Soyerabai. It was a political action. He felt that both of them can create a problem for his accession. (11)

3. Sambhaji appointed Nilopant, son of Moropant Pingale as a Peshwa after sudden death of Moropant, who was favoring Rajaram. (12) By doing so Sambhaji was able to strengthen his own side and Rajaram and Soyerabai’s camp was weakened by this strategy.

4. There was a bloody beginning of Sambhaji’s power. The factory records of English and French merchants are testimony of this."We are alarmed of Maratha forces being abroad. A party to horse and foot is reported to be marching towards Surat, another against Burhanpur and the third to keep Bahadur Khan in play.”
These records state that Sambhaji was vigilantly watching the situation and he was strategically going ahead.

5. Sambhaji coroneted himself on 20th July, 1680. Sardesai had pointed that according to factory records Sambhaji made a good start after having got possession of Raigadh without many efforts. A report of 20 August, 1680 says that Sambhaji Raja intends to give Bahadur Khan, the Mogul Subhedar, battle in the open field and has sent him word as such." (14)

Thus, Sambhaji was able to overcome adverse situation by making sound and serious efforts. The Factory Records illustrated that his ambitious actions against the warring group were very much shocking to the traders. However, they have recorded that his sovereign power was slowly accepted by all of them.

The above discussions revealed that the eriod of Chhatrapati Sambhaji were adverse. The Maratha court was divided in two wings one was favouring the side of Sambhaji and the other was in favour of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, the Great. Due to this division the atmosphere of suspicion prevailed in the court. After coming of Sambhaji on the power the Rajaram’s group was hurt.

On one side the Maratha court was divided and on the other side the Mogul power under king Aurangzeb felt that the Sambhaji’s earlier role was disturbed by chronocal writers like Balaji Chitnis and Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad who wrote history as per desire of King Rajaram. All the later scholars tried to please Rajaram. The period was most suitable for ending the Maratha power on the grass root levels. The dynamism of Maratha power was not based on personal loyalties, but it was baseed on values and ideas nurched by the great visionary like Chharapati Shivaji. These high ideas were base of the entire phenomenon of Hindvi Swarajya. Mogal king Aurangzeb felt that Sambhaji was the basic factor of the Maratha state. The philosophy of the Sambhaji’s freedom was based on highest ideals and values of freedom. Aurangzeb was never able to understand this fact. Hence he targeted Sambhaji and killed him in an inhuman manner. The Hindavi Swarajya could florish and prosper more on large scale afer Sambhaji because the ideals of freedom or Swarajya were permanent and immortal, which was strengthened by Chhatrapati Sambhaji. Sambhaji knew that house divided cannot be setright again. Hence he
tried to understand the other side also and he tried to seek cooperation from all corners of the Maratha state. The policy of social assimilation was rightly followed and continued by Chhatrapati Sambhaji for the betterment of mankind on the advanced tactics like a stern and tempest. The enemy Moghal power was on the head of the Maratha state. Aurangzeb was watching for every opportunity to cut Maratha power from the grassroot levels.

Sambhaji was vigilant about the enemies activities and he wanted to counter every move of the enemy. The wait and watch policy of Maratha diplomacy was changed by Sambhahi and he was able to face every attack of enemy, Mogal, Portuguese, English or Siddhi the prominent opponents of the Maratha power. Like Shivaji there were no other powers like Bijapur, Ahemednagar or Golkonda for seeking cooperation from them against Mogul. Sambhaji had to fought Mogals alone only. Hence the struggle was much difficult and also more challenging.

Thus Maratha King Chhatrapati Sambhaji or a supremo of the Mratha state has to fight Moguls, Portuguese, and Englishmen together one after another. All these aspects can be properly highlighted in this chapter. The following five aspects can be properly highlighted here:

- The Maratha court was divided due to internal differences
- Sambhaji had to sort out internal differences for bringing peace and glory.
- The Mogul king was watching for opportunities to over throw Maratha power
- Sambhaji was able to sort out problems of the time in a proper manner
- All the aspects of Maratha power was carefully studied. The strong points, weaknesses and limitations were carefully examined by Chhatrapati Sambhaji.

Thus all these aspects carefully recorded here. Sambhaji was able to highlight the success of Hindivi Swarajya

Thus on the basis of above discussions it is clear that the political life was instable – the Maratha caste was divided. The social life was insecure because there was a threat of Mogul invasion on Maratha states. The economic condition was not favorable because the drought, scarcity was a routine matter. The crops were suffering because the monsoon rains were not regular and timely. On the religion front the non-Islamic subject was discriminated and had to suffer a great deal due to negative policies of the states. Thus there was lot of scope for the rise of the able Maratha prince.
3.4. Review of literature:

Chhatrapati Sambhaji as a shining star in the Maratha history had a bright performance of a decade, but his work was not carefully evaluated by Maratha historians.

(a) G.S.Sardesai: Maratha historian Govind Sakharam Sardesai has written special volume on Sambhaji. The Vol. II in Marathi Riyasat, titled “Ugra Prakarti Sambhaji i.e. high blooded character has thrown light on various aspects of Sambhaji’s career. In this book Sardesai pointed that “Sambhaji was brave warrior but he lacked planning in his movements. (15) Further Sardesai has devoted a full chapter on Sambhaji in his book The New History of Marathas. The chapter has 11 points ranging from accession to tragic death. Sardesai has observed that “Aurangzeb lacked the magnanimity of the Greek monarch Alexander. He had not the heart to tolerate the open insult he had received from his worst enemy, who in his eyes had sinned beyond hope of pardon.” (16) Thus comments made by Sardesai are very much useful for this research work.

(b) Jadhunath Sarkar: has made yeoman contribution to Maratha history. His book “Shivaji and his Times” is a classic work which provides background to the Maratha history. Sarkar has also written “History of Aurangzeb” in five volumes. In volume IV he has illustrated Sambhaji’s struggle against moguls which is also useful for this study. Further his book “The House of Shivaji” has documented number of foreign sources, English and French. In House of Shivaji he has illustrated the grand plot of Akbar and Sambhaji. The letters in the Factory records of dated 13th November, 1681 state that Akbar and Sambhaji had first meeting at village Pali in Ratnagiri district. The paper has described King Akbar as “white man of middle stature of about 25 years of age.” (17) Such information is very much useful for reconstructing history of Sambhaji.

(c) G.H.Khare and A.R.Kulkarni have written “History of Marathas” in three volumes. In the 1st volume G.H.Khare has contributed a chapter on Sambhaji. This chapter has given a graphic account of movements and achievements of Sambhaji. In this article it has been pointed that Sambhaji was genius administrator and a very successful military general. His victories against
Portuguese and English men amply testify this. (18) This volume has different articles regarding 17th Century Maharashtra and has helped a great deal to understand Sambhaji and his times. A.R. Kulkarni has written a book on “Maharashtra under the age of Shivaji”. This book has different aspects such as political, social and economic life. This book has been very much useful for conducting this research work. Kulkarni has observed that “Swarajya of Shivaji was of 1 cores homes.” (19) Such details have been found useful for this study.

(d) Dr. Kamal Gokhale has written a book “Shiv Putra Sambhaji” This book has been very much useful for this study. The book contained more than 30 chapters and is based on original source, especially the Modi sources and Portuguese sources. Kamal Gokahle has tried to present unbiased and balanced portrait of Sambhaji’s career. She has noted that Sambhaji was having all the abilities of able ruler and he had a foresight to achieve public welfare of the people. He not only understood philosophy of Shivajibut also implemented the same on progressive lines. (20) The ideas and comments made by Kamal Gokhale are very judicious and balanced. They have helped the author to develop new insight.

(e) V.S.Bendre’s book “Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj” a critical biography was published in the year 1960. The book contained 24 chapters. The book has also useful details in three appendixes. The book covers Maharashtra under Shivaji, the structure of Hindavi swaraj, Akbar-Sambhaji alliance, conflict with Portuguese, relations with English, Siddis Addilshahi and Kutubshahi relations and sacrifice of Sambhaji. Bendre has pointed that Sambhaji was a scholar and genius and he had an effective vision of literature. He was genius in poetry, music, archery etc. He was ahead of morality and ethics. (21) This book has helped to conduct this research work.

(f) P.S.Joshi has written a completed research work on Chhatrapati Sambhaji. The book contains 8 chapters. The first chapter is introduction. He has also covered early life, Sambhaji’s desertion to the moguls, tramp over the opponents, war with the moguls in two phases 1680 to 1683 first phase, and 1683 to 1687 the second phase and the third phase 1687 to 1689, administration of Sambhaji has
been examined by the scholar in the last chapter. Thus Joshi’s work has helped the researcher to arrive at a new focus. Joshi has pointed that “Sambhaji was a good administrator and a skilled general, who gave impartial justice to the subjects his reign ended in a tragic manner.” (22) These views have remained useful for conducting this research work.

(g) S.A.Bahekar’s book “Martiyar Chhatrapati Sambhaji Raje His times and achievements, contained 16 chapters. The book is based on his research work. The topics covered different aspects ranging from his childhood to the review of achievements and evaluation. He has covered topics such as his education, internal struggle, Dilarkhan episode, war of succession, struggle with moguls, conflict with Siddhi, English and Portuguese, struggle with moguls, aggressive policies, war in Konkan, relations with southern states, Sambhaji’s relations with King Akbar and poet Kalash, administrative abilities and tragic end. Bahekar has finally pointed that Sambhaji was just ruler and he followed principles of Rajdharma i.e. traditional Indian polity guidelines. He was treating his subjects like his own family members and assisted them at critical situation. (23) This work has provided new dimensions for the researcher.

(h) Sadashiv Shivde’s work “Sambhaji Raje” is based on new Portuguese and Sanskrit sources. The book contained 13 chapters such as Birth and childhood, early politics, rise of price, challenges before second Chhatrapati, struggle, attack on Goa, Janjira, and Ramshej, Struggle with Aurangzeb, relations with Golkonda and Bijapur, Grand alliance with Akbar, Tragic end religious and administrative policies. Finally Shivde has pointed that Sambhaji has not been judged properly. He has all the qualities of general, but he had no wing of advisors like father. (24) Such insights have benefitted for completing this research work.

(i) Dr. Jaisingh Pawar has edited “Sambhaji Memorial Volume” This volume contained more than 35 articles contributed by different scholars on various aspects of Sambhaji’s life. In this volume there are some interesting aspects such as agriculture, trade, commerce and religious policy of Sambhaji. His administrative policies have also been studied in his preface. He has pointed that Sambhaji was ahead of his times. He was genius administrator but luck was not
in his favor. Further it has been pointed that “Britishers cannot purchase our citizens for making them slave or Christian.” (25)

(j) Other works: Ashok Shinde Sarkar has written a book “Brave Chhatrapati Sambhaji Maharaj” The book has contained useful photographs and documents. He has pointed that Sambaji even in the adverse situation was able to follow judicial system effectively. His contemporary archives also support this fact. (26) Anant Darvatkar has edited five volumes entitled as “Adhitya Sambhaji Maharaj” in five volumes. These volumes throw light from different angles on Sambhaji’s career. These volumes have provided some new facts for the researcher. (27)

On the basis of the review of literature following five points can be noted:

- Sambhaji’s image had been tarnished due to Madhavraoji Chitni’s Bakhar which was written by the orders of Rajaram.
- Scholars like G.S.Sardesai were not able to re-examine the life of Sambhaji. His Vol. II of Maratha Riyasat describes him as “Ugraprat Sambhaji” i.e. hot tempered character, which can be reviewed.
- Dr. Kamal Gokhale of Pune was first to review these sources and he could present Sambhaji in a new angle.
- The Portuguese and Sankrit sources can help to reset Sambhaji’s image as a just and brave ruler.
- Many biographies of Sambhaji have not highlighted socio economic, religious and cultural life of the period.

On the basis of above ideas, a new fair and balanced analysis of Sambhaji can be conducted in this work. By understanding methods of earlier scholars a new attempt has been made in this work to examine the history and career of this ever shining Maratha prince.

The study of the prevailing literature reveals that the entire theme can be highlighted on the basis of the strong points of the theme the subject matter of the research problem. The new angle has helped to correlate the sources and their utility for revsuling the history of the Maratha King Chhatrapati Sambhaji. All these dimensions will explain properly in a systematic manner.
The new dimensions of the Hindavi Swarajya of a turbulent decade have been explained here in the present research work.

The coordination gap prevailing between the masses and the rulers can be explained and these can be bridged properly here. The entire process of fact-finding is based on new dimensions of the process. The grassroots analysis made by different scholars effectively revealed that these works were conducted by scholars at the time. They were writing all resources available for them in the time frame. G.S. Sardesai’s book Vol. II of Maratha Riyasat Ugraprakarti Sambhaji had limitations of sources. He used the available sources and he was not able to question about the authenticity of these sources but Dr. Kamal Gokhale after a century was able to throw light on Chhatrapati Sambhaji in the light of new sources and new documents made available by the scholars. All these sources when they are reviewed in a new angle they can throw new light on the life and work of Sambhaji to understand his contribution for Maratha state. The role played by the King for resting the Hindivi Swarajya. Hence all the major works were briefly reviewed and the positive strong points were properly highlighted here.

The limitations of earlier scholars can be briefly noted below:

- The earlier scholars have not questioned the authenticity and credibility of source material.
- No new approach was adopted and these scholars went on treating the subject in a traditional manner.
- Dr. Kamal Gokhale was a prominent scholar who was able to question the problem.

Thus in this research work review of literature has been given a prime focus. This approach has helped to come out with new findings and new approaches. The review of literature has thus helped to look at the entire problem in a new perspective. In the subject domain review of literature has thus helped to reach the point of agreement. We are on the cross roads to look at the problem on new perspective.

3.5. Literary sources of Sambhaji:

The political and social history of Sambhaji is of a decade 1680-89. The historical facts are based on following four sources:
• Modi papers: The correspondence and letters of Sambhaji’s office to different political diplomats as well as administrative office have been collected and published by S.N. Joshi by Bharat Itihas Sanshodan Mandal, Pune. This book contained more than 120 letters, and these can be classified and studied for understanding Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice as a mass history. (28)

• Portuguese papers: A.D. Pisurlekar had edited two volumes containing Portuguese papers. These are records of Portuguese offices in Goa about Sambhaji’s times. These are faithful reports and they are unbiased and hence they provide objective details about Sambhaji’s career. (29)

In addition to Bakhars there are many other literary sources like letters, hymens etc. written by saints and prophets. The content in library sources cannot be accepted as it is. This content must be examined by using other sources. Similarly co relation of library and archeological sources is needed to draw some new inferences. The foreign archives are faithful and objective. They can also support to authentic library sources.

Literature is the mirror of society and it reveals the fact effectively. In the period of Sambhaji the sources were mostly in the Modi, Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit as well as Portuguese language.

The Sanskrit work written by Sambhaji titled as Budhbhushanam ahss been studied by Prof. N. Kakade in a recent work. After careful interpretations of these text she has brogut to light the following points:

• Keshav Pnadit Guru of Sambhaji was an enlightened scholar and after a very critical approach the said work ahss been rightly studied.

• The Budhbhushanam was a serious research work based on enw angle of understanding of political economy.

• Sambhaji was able to seek inspiration from Sanskrit texts to activate the administrative policy on Indian theories of good governance.

• The scholarly works conducted by Sambhaji revealed the cultural identity which aimed to develop in a systematic manner.
• The literary fusion of quality pamphlets of governance have been compiled and perfectly reflected in this work.

Thus all these works rightly illustrate true vision of Sambhaji for the development of the Maratha Swarajya. Dr. N.Kakde’s work reflects some of Maratha attempt which was responsible for the improvement of the Maratha state. His serious approach towards the administration can be strengthened on the basis of this work.

3.6. Archeological sources

When the literary sources cannot speak, then there begins the significance of the archeological sources. The construction, repairs of forts, palaces and irrigation dams amply illustrate the patronage of Sambhaji towards art and architecture. His appreciation of art and his aesthetic sense can be studied on the basis of available evidences of his period. The study of Maratha architecture conducted by M.S.Mate has further illustrated many neglected aspects of art and architecture of the period of Sambhaji. Further, the significant aspects of art and architecture have been studied by my scholars like Prof. Sardesai in a new angle. We have to understand these aspects in a new angle. These archeological evidences are widely available and they can be neatly documented and properly studied on the basis of survey works conducted by Dr. Mate M.S., Kamal Gokhale, Dr. Bahekar etc. There is lot of scope for documentation and analysis of archeological sources of the period of Sambhaji.

The list of important works and reports made by Sambhaji can be made together to throw new light. The positive aspect of Sambhaji’s art and aesthetic sense can be reviewed and new approach towards arts and architecture can be studied. Important temples and mosques constructed by the help of the king can be enlisted and studied here. Whatever is record on the literary sources that can be further justified and documented properly on the basis of the archeological lacunas. These sources can be further useful for understanding of socio economic life and religious as well as cultural life of the medieval period. The study of folk life can be further authenticated on the basis of literary as well as archeological evidences. The study of medieval archeological sources become difficult due to overlapping of evidences, authentic facts of the construction process and the verification of the art work. The medieval archeological sources can be further critically studied to understand the defense strategies adopted by the rulers
to verify their earlier work. Thus all these facts can be verified and rightly evaluated for the totally new understanding of the cultural life of the period. The oral folk tradition can be also recorded and the literary sources can be supported on the basis of archaeological sources. The Maratha art and architecture, coins and paper currency can also be studied to highlight their economic life.

3.7. Life sketch of Chhatrapati Sambhaji:

G.S. Sardesai has observed that “Maratha history is no longer the cherished treasure of a single community or province it should prove a source of inspiration, wisdom and warning to all India.” (30) The study of Sambhaji’s struggle and sacrifice cannot be exception to this.

(a) Early life:

The rise of King depends on surroundings in which he takes birth. Sambhaji was born at Purandar fort. (31) He was 17 years old when his father Shivaji was crowned in 1674. He lost his mother Saibai who was Shivaji’s favorite wife at the age of 2. Since then he was under the care of his grandmother. His grandmother and mentor Jijabai died in the same year of the coronation of Shivaji. Sambhaji was taken as security by Mogul Sardar Mirza Raja Jayasingh until he receives all forts of agreement which Shivaji Maharaj did with him to stop his attack on Maratha kingdom under his control. Sambhaji was 9 years old at that time.

In a marriage of political alliance, Sambhaji was married to a minor Jivubai, renamed (as per Maratha custom) Yesubai, daughter of Pilajirao Shirke who came to service of Shivaji Maharaj after defeat of a powerful Deshmukh he was serving, which gave Shivaji access to the Konkan coastal belt. (32)

This matrimonial alliance strengthened Maratha power in the coastal area. On one side it provided access to coastal area and the other side it strengthened the naval power of Marathas. Ragunath Pandit and Moreshwar Pandit were belonging to Sringarpur, Shirke’s home town and they became influential in the Maratha court in the later period. Further Yesubai wife of Sambhaji was in the company of Jijau, mother of Shivaji could get lesions from her about polity and diplomacy.

Sambhaji was well educated and highly sophisticated. Keshav Bhatt and Umajio Pandit who were ancestral teachers of Bhosala family were assigned the work of schooling of Sambhaji.
Both of them not only initiated alphabets learning but nurtured him the traditional Indian epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata and Keshav Bhatt was donated 1600 lary land in the Sangmeshwar Tahsil of Rajapur province in Konkan area. (33) Further Sambhaji was also imparted basic military education such as horse riding, military campaigns, guerilla warfare, etc. (34) By this time when Sambhaji was eight years old he was physically fit and mentally alert due to these proper guidelines. After attack of Mogul general Mirza Raje Jaisingh, Sambhaji had to enter in politics and he was asked to shoulder some responsibilities in the Swaraj. (35)

(b) Coronation:

The Maratha house was divided at the time of Sambhaji’s accession to power. Annaji Datto, Somaji Datto, Sambhaji Maharaj’s stepmother Soyarabai and some others in Shivaji’s court wanted to oust Sambhaji to enhance their own positions and power in the affairs of the state and use it to their advantage. They poisoned Sambhaji’s food but Sambhaji was fortunately saved as the plot was uncovered. Sambhaji forgave them. Still, they conspired again and wanted to arrest Sambhaji at the Panhala Fort, where Sambhaji was authorized to look after Panhala forte are. They wanted to crown his minor stepbrother, Rajaram as Maratha king and wanted take full control over Maratha Kingdom. Rajaram's mother, Soyarabai, was involved in the plan. However the Supreme Commander of Maratha forces, Hambirrao Mohite, who was Soyarbai's brother, supported Sambhaji as the rightful heir to the throne. It was chiefly because of Hambirrao Mohite's support that Sambhaji was able to ascend to the throne in 1681. At the time of coronation, Yesubai became Maharani of Swaraj and her brother Ganoji Shirke was also present at the time. (36) Sambhaji pardoned all involved in plan and reappointed Moropant Pingale Peshwa. After his death of Moropant his son Nilopant was appointed by Sambhaji to strengthen his side. (37)

(c ) Attack on Burhanpur:

Bahadurkhan Kokaltash, a relative of Aurangzeb was in charge of Burhanpur, a Mughal stronghold. He left Burhanpur to attend a wedding, giving the charge of Burhanpur to Kakarkhan. Bahadurkhan also took with him a territorial army to showoff at the wedding. Sambhaji tricked Mughals into thinking that Marathas were going to attack Surat that had been
twice plundered by Shivaji. However, Hambirrao Mohite, the commander of the Maratha army surrounded Burhanpur. Sambhaji also reached Burhanpur in a short time. Thus, within a fortnight of his coronation, Sambhaji along with Hambirrao attacked Burhanpur. In face of sudden surprise attack the Mughals could not save Burhanpur. The Marathas plundered all the Mughal treasure in Burhanpur, about twenty million rupees. Sambhaji purchased horses from an Arab trader although the utterly frightened trader was ready to give the horses for free. The people of Burhanpur, especially women and children, were not harmed, because Sambhaji was tolerant and following war ethics carefully. (38) The Marathas safely reached Raigad with all the loot. The victory against Burhanpur was beginning of tramp in the career of Sambhaji.

(d) War against the Mughal Empire

Sambhaji’s war against Moghal empire can be divided into three stages: September 1680-83 AD was the first phase and the second phase can be marked as September 1683-87. The third phase was from 1687 to March 1689. P.S.Joshi has divided his struggle in three phases. About third phase he has noted that the war against moguls seems to have produced adverse effects on the finances of the Svarajya. As a result, Sambhaji could not pay his officers and the troops properly. (39) In an act of political acumen, Sambhaji gave shelter to Sultan Muhammad Akbar, the fourth son of Aurangzeb, to cause revolt against Aurangzeb. Within a year or so of Sambhaji’s coronation, Sultan Muhammad Akbar took shelter with him and sought Sambhaji’s aid in winning the Mughal throne from his father Aurangzeb.

Upon the death of Shivaji, Aurangzeb had come to Dakkhaan in 1680 CE with about half a million troops and 400,000 animals, which at that time was perhaps the largest army in the world. With the help of such a massive army, he defeated the Adilshah (Vijapur) and Qutubshah (Golconda) empires. Aurangzeb acquired two generals, Mukarrabkhan and Sarjakhan, from Qutubshahi and Adilshahi empires respectively. However, he was not able to bring an end to the Maratha empire. It was a disproportionate battle in all senses. Aurangzeb's army was about ten times the Maratha army. Sambhaji did not let Aurangzeb win major victories. Aurangzeb's commanders claimed that they would win the Ramshej fort near Nashik within hours but the fight for the fort lasted seven years.

Aurangzeb’s army had attacked the Maratha Kingdom. And his commanders claimed that they would win the Ramshej fort within hours. But Chhatrapati Sambhajiraje & his army
gave them a tough fight and the fight for the fort lasted for seven years. The Ramshej battle was a success of Sambhaji’s strategy. About the Ramshej struggle it has been observed that “the Ramshej battle was bravely fought by Marathas and Sambhaji honored the officer by donating him golden ring with precious jewellery and cash prize (40) However, Moguls finally got the fort Ramshej by bribing the officer there. But Marathas had recorded high struggle under Sambhaji against Moguls. Ramshej struggle can be recoded as important phase in the career of Sambhaji.

(e) War with Siddis of Janjira

The island of Janjira was under the control of the Siddis. Janjira was strategically a very important and impregnable fort in the Arabian Sea, with cannons embedded all around. It also had high economic importance as the traders had to pay large amounts to pass by this fort. The Marathas had earlier tried conquering Janjira but failed. Sambhaji wanted to capture Janjira. The Marathas attacked the fort from all sides. Siddis also retaliated with their cannons and ships and did not give up. Sambhaji ordered a break in the attack. Other Maratha chiefs did not know that Sambhaji had planted spies in the Janjira fort and he was waiting for them to blow up the gunpowder store in the fort. Unfortunately the spies were caught as a female servant came to know about this and informed the Siddis. One of them managed to escape but the others were killed. When Sambhaji got this news, he decided to build a bridge of stones from the shore to the island fort. The construction was very risky, difficult and consumed time. When about half of the bridge had been built, news came that Aurangzeb had sent about 100,000 troops to ravage the Maratha kingdom. Sambhaji had to leave Janjira to counter the Mogul army. Sambhaji was constantly alert about Siddi’s activities and he has written a letter to his officers to watch his movements carefully. His royal envoys were constantly meeting English officers and Siddies to resolve the crisis. (41)

(f) War with the Portuguese of Goa

Sambhaji fought with Portuguese bravely and conquered important strategic locations with his heroic struggle. There were chances of Portuguese providing supplies to Moguls and allowing unloading of Mughal ships at the Portuguese ports in Goa. Thus, Sambhaji undertook a campaign against the Portuguese in Goa. Portuguese like Chikka Dev Rai, were driven by arrogance. Marathas stormed Goa and started conquering Portuguese territory and forts. Portuguese weren’t able to overcome the Marathas. Common people in Goa rose in rebellion and
started thrashing the priests, whom they accused of carrying out forced conversions. Sambhaji controlled the irate people of Goa. Seeing the inevitable, Portuguese ruler Count De Alwore and his ministers even took out the body of St. Xavier and started praying for their safety. Sambhaji’s fight against Portuguese was well planned and he bravely established edge over them. He not only wrote letters to Portuguese rulers but also subdued them to avoid forced conversation. (42) Ashok Sarkar has observed that Sambhaji by using his sword had controlled Portuguese ambitions and made them to surrender against Maratha. (43) It is true that if Sambhaji would have been alive for one decade more, he would have ousted Portogue power from, Goa, Div Daman and Thana. (44) Like Portuguese Sambhaji was also able to crush British intruders who were indulging in the Maratha politics. Englishmen were not following earlier promises; they were supporting Siddi against Maratha. Sambhaji had cornered Britishers and banned the trading of slaves during his reign. (45)

And, to their astonishment, Sambhaji had to depart from Goa, as Aurangzeb had again sent about 100,000 (a lakh) troops to run wild in the Maratha kingdom. G.S.Sardesai has rightly explained the triangle of Mogul, Portuguese and Siddi. He has pointed that “The Portuguese were called upon by the Emperor to wage war against Sambhaji. They dared not remain friends with the Marathas in the presence of Mughal might, now directed particularly against Sambhaji’s dominions in the Konkan.” (46) But Marathas were very much persistent and they ably countered the Portuguese aspirations in Konkan.

Sambhaji warned Siddis, Chikkadev Rai and Portuguese from crossing the path of the Marathas and ordered them to refrain from helping Aurangzeb in any way. In this way, Sambhaji nullified any threat that the Maratha kingdom had from these three powers. Sambhaji also beat back the two Mughal armies of 100,000 (a lakh) troops each, which were sent by Aurangzeb to wreak havoc in the Maratha kingdom. In fact, the second army was so badly thrashed that only a few troops could return to the Mogul camp. Thus, Aurangzeb wanted to somehow arrest Sambhaji by deceit, as he concluded that it wouldn’t be possible for him to annex the Maratha kingdom by force.

(g) War with Chikka Devraja of Mysore

When he learnt of intrusion into Maratha territory by Chikka Devaraja, Sambhaji had sent his emissary to Chikka Devaraja. The emissary was insulted in the Mysore court. Furious at
this, Sambhaji decided to attack Chikka Devaraja. The Marathas marched but Chikka Devaraja prepared to fight and decided to stop the Marathas before they could reach Mysore’s territory. Both the armies were poised for a battle. The Mysore bowmen started striking and the Maratha army was greeted with a heavy shower of arrows. The long-ranged metallic arrows from the Mysore bowmen started inflicting fatal wounds on the Marathas. Thus, realizing the increasing Maratha casualties, Sambhaji retreated for the time being and camped nearby. Sambhaji then ordered all the local cobblers to prepare leather clothing. These garments were ordered to be laden with oil. Marathas then started making bows and arrows using a locally available wood. These bows and arrows were ordinary and crude. However a piece of cloth bound to the arrowhead made it deadly when lit with fire using oil as fuel. Thus, Sambhaji transformed ordinary arrows into fiery arrows.

The Mysore bowmen had longer, stronger and better quality bows and arrows than the Marathas. Marathas started attacking the forts in Mysore. The bowmen from atop the forts commenced striking. But, their arrows proved futile, as the oil-laden leather clothing neutralized the effects of the arrows. To counter them, Maratha bowmen began responding with lit arrows. Some of them struck the explosives (gunpowder) store and caused explosions. This led to high casualties in the Mysore army. The Marathas pressed on attacking and the forts of Chikka Devraja fell into Maratha hands. Thus, Chikka Devraja realizing the situation he was in, and sued for peace and agreed to abide by the terms of the Marathas.

This victory was a success point in the military intelligence of Sambhaji. Chikka Devraja accepted Marathi supremacy and became a subsidiary ruler of Maratha.(47)

(h) Capture and Attempts to rescue

In early 1689 CE, Sambhaji called his commanders for a strategic meeting at Sangameshwar in Konkan to decide on the final blow to oust Aurangzeb from Dakkhan. He wanted to settle revenue matter in the house of Desai, where Sambhaji and Poet Kalash were staying. (48) In order to execute the plans soon, Sambhaji sent ahead most of his comrades and stayed back with a few of his trustworthy men. Ganoji Shirke, one of Sambhaji's brother-in-laws, turned a traitor and helped Aurangzeb's commander Muqarrab Khan to locate, reach and attack Sangameshwar when Sambhaji was in the garden of Sangameshwar, resolving some issues and was about to leave the town. Sambhaji, Kavi Kalash (a Brahmin) and his men were surrounded from all sides.
Marathas took out their swords, roared ‘Har Har Mahadev’ and pounced upon the far too numerous Mughals. A bloody skirmish took place and Sambhaji was captured on 1 February 1689. Maratha soldiers and other faithful unsuccessfully tried to rescue Sambhaji but were killed by Moguls on 3 February 1689. At Vadu near Koregaon on Bhima River of Pune district, Sambhaji and Kalash were assassinated. (49) According to Pagadi S. “Sambhaji could not have spurned at the offer of life. Aurangzeb was determined to kill him. He had no desire to spare Sambhaji’s life. “(50)

Sambhaji’s sacrifice:

Immediately after Sambhaji’s death, Maratha confederacy was thrown in a disarray. He was succeeded by his younger brother Rajaram. The Commander-in-Chief of Maratha army, Mhaloji Ghorpade, who succeeded Hambirrao Mohite, died in the ambush at Sangameshwar. A few days after Sambhaji’s death, the capital Raigad fell to the Mughals and Sambhaji’s wife and son were captured. However, Rajaram shifted the Maratha capital to Jinji in deep South. Marathas under Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav harassed the Mughal army.

After Sambhaji’s torture and death, Aurangzeb continued his grim war against the Marathas for another 14 years, but couldn't win and died in Maharashtra. Aurangzeb ended up wasting resources and also lacked a good successor which hastened the end of the Mughal Empire. G.S.Sardesai has noted that “The Emperor’s last three years in the Deccan were the darkest in his long reign. The Marathas constantly hovered round the Mogul camp and carried away everything they could lay their hands on.” (51) But Sambhaji’s sacrifice was not in vain but it inspired the Maratha to fight war of independence more bravely.

Thus, the decades 1680-1689 can be described as a period of Sambhaji’s domination. He had rightly influenced the historical processes of the decade effectively because of three facts:

Sambhaji’s early career was full of difficulties from accession to war with Moguls. Stability was accorded by him after hard work. Sambhaji’s peak period of success can be noted as plan of his struggle with Portuguese.

He was captured by Moguls at Sangram tahsil because Moguls’ were watching his movements carefully. Had Maratha espionage system worked effectively, Sambhaji would never have been captured. Thus all the three aspects were highlighted in this part. Thus the life of
Sambhaji was full of ups and downs and he had to fight with enemies, which was always encircling him.

The important landmarks and events in the life of Chhatrapati Sambhaji illustrate about his achievements and struggle made by him in the foundation of the Maratha Swarajya. The study of these milestone events and turning points revealed that Sambhaji was able to overcome many difficulties he faced during the life time right from his accession to assassination.

The focal point of Sambhaji’s career was his struggle against Mogul and Portuguese. A careful and critical study of major events bring us to agreement of common understanding as following:

- Sambhaji had to face many difficulties in the early phase of the time
- He strengthened his position by persuading the diplomats in his favour
- The story of Sambhaji-Akbar grand alliance shows that they could not materialize the plan due to adverse conditions.
- Sambhaji was always watchful against Moguls and their supporters
- Sambhaji was able to fight against Siddi and Portuguese bravely. He had conducted dialogue with East India Company. Both of them were against of each other.
- Sambhaji had virtually captured the entire Aurangabad district and had attacked the Mogul capital of south India twice or thrice. Aurangazeb had ordered to capture the city and the threat of Maratha prince
- Sambhaji had fought against the Portuguese. Their power was subdivided by him by compelling them for a treaty in the favour of Maratha.
- At the end of his career Sambhaji was arrested by Moguls when he was at Sangamner to resolve the revenue crisis in the house of Desai, a Maratha officer of high rank.

The study of all these turning points in the political career of Sambhaji reveals that he had tough time at every point and he was able to curb the conditions due to his intelligence and his abilities of diplomacy and wisdom. In the last phase of his life he was not able to escape him the adverse conditions due to the tight policy of Moguls against the Maratha prince. The internal differences and the weak espionage systeme were the major reasons behind the failure of king.
Prince Sambhaji. The entire process can be studied in a minute way to reveal the dynamics of various events in the life of the Maratha Prince. Thus the glimpses of the turbulent decade bespeak about his time and span. The uncertain, shaky and turbulent decade of the prince Sambhaji’s rule revealed that he had tough time. The nature was against the state. There was a drought situation. Due to scarcity of food and water the state was in difficulties. Due to following of a positive policy Sambhaji was able to face these adverse conditions by strict adherence towards the policy and plan to eradicate drought conditions.

3.8. Some issues of debate:

In the life and career of Sambhaji there are some issues of debate which require scholarly authentication. These issues can be described below:

(A) Sambhaji’s accession to throne is a matter of controversy because Chitnis Bakhar has described him as violent and reactionary to the opposite power group. The sources of the contemporary period reveal that Sambhaji was never in a mood to revenge and he had not any bias against other group. His approach was fair and balanced. On the contrary he had developed a more cool, balanced and policy of equilibrium or equity. His able qualities of a diplomatic ruler can be observed during his early period of power.

(B) Most of historians like G.S. Sardesai have blamed Sambhaji for wasting time; in the grand alliance with Prince Akbar against Mogul king Aurangzeb. Sambhaji was very right in his slow movements because he thought that his early actions would have created some new complications. Haste in action would have brought Mogul army in Deccan and Sambhaji’s efforts would have been more complicated. His policy was based on “wait and satch”. The diplomatic movement of Sambhaji reveals his intelligence and foresight in a true sense. Sambhaji’s efforts to take help of Akbar and marching towards Delhi would have created new problems and mogul king would have supported Rajaram camp against him. In his early phase he was not in a mood to add more problems by taking help from immature Akbar, who had not sizable support at his side in mogul camp.
Sambhaji’s campaign against Portuguese was mostly successful but at some occasions he would have been more successful if he had properly balanced his campaigns. His sole effects were to curb Portuguese influence in coastal area and in which he was marching successful. Sambhaji’s diplomacy has been proved in his intelligence in dismantling Portuguese and English plans.

The battle of Ramsej and success of Marathas in it is an evidence of Sambhaji’s bravery. He had besieged the fort with great care. The charge leveled against Sambhaji about wastage of time is not far because he was watching for favorable environment for waging Guerilla warfare technique. Here he cannot be blamed for time pass or waste of time. It would be Sambhaji’s religious policy was balanced and he tried to rescuer local people from the fanatic policies of King Aurangzeb. Sambhaji helped one Kulkarni from compulsory conversion of Islamic religion. He not only purified him but added him towards his own Hindu religion. Sambhaji had tried to evolve a fair religion policy in a systematic manner. The Kasbe Harsul Dist Aurangabad case is a good example of this fair deal. Sambhaji’s efforts to settle critical issues were thus very much balanced. He uses to study the complex problems in a systematic manner and he had all the abilities to face these problems.

Thus his critical period of accession, his grand alliance with Akbar, his march against Portuguese, Ramsej battle and his stern action at the time of religion conversion amply prove that Sambhaji was never emotional and sensitive. He was examining all facts carefully and uses to operate these problems very carefully. The critical study of issues of debate proves that Sambhaji was able to sort out all problems very carefully and his approach to all these problems was very much balanced. Thus the entire analysis of all these facts clearly show that in all these areas Sambhaji was rightly following the policy of his father Shivaji, the Great.

The fortune never supported Sambhaji like Shivaji. The grand alliance with Akbar failed because Akbar was not having daring and he was always trying to avoid action. Had Akbar taken lead Sambhaji had certainly supported him and the history would have been turned. Sambhaji’s approach to Moguls and Portuguese was very much cautious and careful. He was always watching favorable situation. Sambhaji’s efforts were to lead the nation efficiently. His sole effort was to deal conditions carefully.
Thus in the career of Sambhaji there are some issues of debate which throw light on many areas of the career of Sambhah. Few of them have been brought to light here. These can be summarized below:

- Sambhaji killed few of the top diplomats when he came to power. Balaji A. Chitnis have wrongly referred these events.
- Sambhaji was not against Muslims. He continued the policy of Shivaji to support the peaceful muslim saints and prophets.
- Sambhaji was ready to support prince Akbar against Mogul king but Akbar himself was fickle minded and he was not aggressive. Sambhaji carefully studied prevailing conditions and took right decision.
- When Mogul kind was following him Sambhaji adopted liberal views. He had a plan of counter attack on Moguls.
- Instead of Guerilla tactics, Sambhaji preferred to face to face war for victory effectively and he had received success against the Portuguese naval powar.
- Sambhaji attacked Aurangabad the southern capital of Moghuls three times and once he had virtually capitured the city.
- Sambhaji was very careful in his movements, but due to internal differences some of his own men had leaked about his stay at Sangamner.

Thus there is a need to come to consensus about these issues of debate of the period of Sambhaji. A careful and critical aspect has been adopted here to throw light on the various issues of controversy or debate. A point of agreement has been evinced here in a balanced manner.

3.9. Summary:

Thus in this chapter the life and work of Sambhaji was briefly highlighted first. Historical background was provide, new sociological perspective was discussed. Further review of literature was undertaken. 10 major works were described as they were found insufficient to evaluate Sambhaji’s contribution. This work was undertaken further briefly important high lights in the career of Chhatarapati Sambhaji were examined.

The essence of this chapter illustrates that struggle and sacrifice is the essence of Sambhaji’s career. He had to make a crusade for the sake of freedom of Marathi Swarajya. It is
true that Sambhaji is considered as a capable ruler and true legacy of Chatrapati Shivaji. Sambhaji Maharaj built the huge and massive Samadhi Temple All built in stone of RAMDAS SWAMI on SAJJANGAD in a short period of less than 2 months. Ramdas Swami was Guru of Sambhaji Maharaj's father Chhatrapati Shivaji and had written a famous historic letter to Sambhaji after death of Shivaji. The legacy of Sambhaji was continued by Rajaram and Tarabai which maintained the spirit of Maratha empire.

Thus in this chapter life and work of Sambhaji was highlighted properly along with a deep and careful insight. The review of literature was also undertaken to provide new perspective. Any period of turbulence requires a critical review of facts. Hence at one side review of literature was undertaken and on the other side some issues of debate were also handled carefully. All the discussions have prove that there is further scope for conducting research on Sambhaji’s life.

Thus in this chapter the life and work of Sambhaji has been carefully studied. Theliterary sources and archeiological sources have helped a great deal to throw light on the neglected aspects in the career of Sambhaji. In the present chapter an attempt was made to cover all major steps in the career of Sambhaji as a ruler, administrator and asa a military general have been studied. A totally new approach to look at the problem has been devleoped hee by throwing new light on life sketch of Sambhaji the war like pricne.

All these aspects revealed that he was a brave soilger and able general and sound administrator. His achievements as Maratha ruler revealed that he not only put strong wall against the Portuguese invaders but limited them to few areas. They suffered serious defeat by Maratha and had stopped their activities of political extension and religious conversion. His right policy of tolerance and cohesion had brought peace to the state. A new understanding of Sambhaji has been provided in this chapter. Historical facts in a time span can be reviewed on the basis of new sources and new material

The study of the present chapter has thus tried to present Sambhaji in the wake of new frame work of new references.

Thus in this chapter a brief life sketch of Sambhaji has been rightly presented. The entire theme is well planned well arranged to web facts in the span of history.
In the next chapter social and economic conditions have been highlighted.

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