. Literature review:

The following books and journals will be reviewed for this study:

Maratha historian **Sardesai Govind Sakharam** 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.” 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.” Thus comments made by Sardesai are very much useful for this research work.

**Sarkar Jadunath**: 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.” Such information is very much useful for reconstructing history of Sambhaji.

**Khare G.H. and Kulkarni A.R.** 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. 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.” Such details have been found useful for this study.

Gokhale Kamal has written a book “Shiv Putra Sambhaji” This books 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 Shivaji but also implemented the same on progressive lines. The ideas and comments made by Kamal Gokhale are very judicious and balanced. They have helped the author to develop new insight.

Bendre V.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. This book has helped to conduct this research work.

Joshi P.S. 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.” These views have remained useful for conducting this research work.
Bahekar S.A. 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. This work has provided new dimensions for the researcher.

Shivde Sadashiv 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. Such insights have benefitted for completing this research work.

Pawar Jaisingh 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.”

Shinde Ashok 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.
Darvatkar Anant 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.

Sardesai B.N. has written a book on Social Economics and cultural history of Marathas.” In this book there are 8 chapters covering source material social life, agriculture and other professions, public finance, industries and commerce, Maratha polity and art. This book is useful for the study of social and economic life of Marathas. About Maratha paintings he has pointed that “there was a rich tradition of music, as well as art, architecture and paintings. Though Marathas were not able to make rich contribution in their paintings, but paintings on the palaces and manuscripts were rich.

Patil Subhash: The History of Drought during Marathas and Peshwas is a book written by Patil Subhash, and Anil Baisane. This book contained six chapters covering geographical conditions, Causes of droughts, effects of draught and remedies as well as permanent arrangements. In the last chapter the authors have concluded that there were some wells containing hot water, but they were used for medicinal purposes. There were step wells and well constructed wells. This book is useful to throw light on draught conditions during Sambhaji.

Kalbande Anand and Hanwate Uttam: Educational policy during Shivaji Era is a article written by Anand Kalbande and Uttam Hanwate. In this article they have argued that due expenditure was spent on education, the Maths and temples where education was imparted they were assisted properly. There was a minister known as Panditrao to look after education. The intellectual of the period ably guided Maratha rulers. Sardesai has mentioned role played by Ramdas and Ashtapradhan of Shivaji.

Majumdar R.C., Roy Choudhary and Dutta have written a book advanced history of India in which they have pointed that “the flight of the rebellious Prince Akbar to the Maratha King Sambhaji and the alliance between the disturber of India and the internal son of the infernal father as Aurangzeb called them two, brought a complete change in his policy towards the Deccan.” This analysis has been useful to understand Sambhaji Akbar alliance and its implications.
Aatre Trimbak Narayan has written a book Gaongada, which describes administration of Indian village in Maharashtra. This book has covered 12 chapters covering different aspects of village administration. The book is very useful to understand the profile of Maratha village in the medieval period. In this book it has been pointed that “The goangada has interesting stories of inside village and outside village. The illiterate villagers are struggling for existence and livelihood from the bygone ages. Though illiterate they have their own life style and culture. This book is useful for understanding social and economic life during Sambhaji’s period.

Sen S.N. has written a book on Administrative system of the Marathas. The book is useful to understand patterns of administration during the period of Shivaji and Sambhaji. Sen has pointed that in the late medieval period, Maratha administrative system was still in existence. In 1818 Maratha achieves were captured by Britishers. Elphinston appointed J. Mcliod as a manager of Peshwa achieves.

Bendre V.S. has written a book Sadhan Chikchcha It is a arguementary history of Maratha. He has explained authenticity of sources in critical angle. This book is very much useful for understanding sources of Maratha history. The book is very much useful for critical understanding of Maratha sources. It has been observed that evidence means clear understanding of facts based on critical understanding.

Kulkarni A.R. has written a book Maharashtra in the age of Shivaji which was his research work submitted to Marathwada University. The book is a first class research work based on original sources. The book is very much useful for understanding of Sambhaji’s period. Kulkarni has observed that “Shivaji’s administrative system provided efficient and well organized welfare approach. The book is also available in Marathi language and has been useful for the present research work.

Edwardes S.M. Grant Duff wrote a book History of Marathas which was edited by was the first basic work published in 1921. The book has a impact of colonial historiography but still useful for undersigning of basics in Marathas history. He pointed that the rise of Maratha power was conflagration in the hills of Sayadri
Ranade N.G. work Rise of Maratha power proved a nationalist view point for the Maratha history. He pointed that the rise of Maratha power exemplified what one may call the beginning of nation making.

Pagadi Setu Madhavrao wrote a book on “Maratha Mogul relations.” Various facets of the relations have been unfolded by the author and the same information is most useful for the instant study. 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.”

Pawar Jaising has explained the strength of Moguls rightly. He has pointed that Aurangjeb was not a simple enemy, his empire spread from Kabul to Bengal and from Kashmir to Bhima River in South India. His vast empire was so big that the revenue was more than 33 Crores. The Maratha state was just like a small Subha of their empire. Abe Carrye, a foreign traveler has given the strength of Mugal army as 60,000 Cavalery, 1 lakh standing army and 50,000 camels, 3000 elephants. Pagadi has calculated that Maratha army was not more than 40,000.

Brockhamption: Dictionary of World History” has described the concept of social history, according to which “Social history is the history of the people. It deals with thought and the work the daily life, the belief and needs, the habits of our ancestors.”

Gaikwad, Hanumane and Sardesai has explained the concept of social history in a wider spectrum. According to them the “social history includes the study of human life, social customs and traditions, as well as working methods, capital accumulation, faiths, food, dress and entertainment methods as well. Further private life, festivals, social institutions are also studied.”

Lele V.G. has translated P.H. Car’s book “What is history” in Marathi language. He has opined that “if history has to be made relevant to sociology, it should study relationship between important events and common events. We have to study important changes and development in social life.”
Divekar Sadashiv Mahadeo has translated Parmananda’s “Shiv Bharat” from Sanskrit to Marathi language. He has pointed that Sambhaji was brave and was taking decisions at his own and ministers were not able to bear his decisions.”

According to Biradar T.K there is no evidence to highlight the story that Sambhaji killed Soyarabai by pressing her in a wall, which is described in Chitnis Bakhar.

Kolharkar S.G. has noted that Sambhaji had to accept the challenge of adverse conditions after death of Shivaji. We have to understand these conditions.

Joshi Tarkatirth Laxman shastri has explained the roots of word Maharashtra. By quoting P.V.Kane, he has opined that the word Maharashtra is not related to any caste or community, it is related to a great land because Aryans after clearing huge forests (Mahakantar) made human settlements and name it Maharashtra.”

Kulkarni A.R. in his book “Shivkalin Maharashtra” has pointed that “During 17th century Maharashtra’s life was related to agriculture. Industries, trade and commerce were having secondary position in the life. There was a proverb of best farming, medium trading, and lowest is the service which was in practice.” Agriculture being the basic profession, Balutekar, and Alutedars, and Mirasdars (aristocracy) and nomadic people were also depended on agriculture. Hence agriculture was described as black mother.

Other sources:

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.
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.

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.