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TAMIL MARATHA KINGS' INFRASTRUCTURAL, CULTURAL AND TRADE CONTRIBUTIONS AND ITS IMPACT ON GROWTH OF URBANISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY THANJĀVŪR

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Urbanization is a process by which large numbers of people become permanently concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities. It is a spatial concentration of people who are working in non-agricultural activities. A capital city is typically a center of population, commerce, government, and culture. Most of the capitals have grown along the important trade routes, along the shores of rivers or harbors, or in regions of special agricultural or trade significance. As capitals are often the primate cities of their countries, they draw in residents from rural areas or smaller towns at a significant rate. People move to the capitals in search of economic advantages, educational opportunities, cultural richness, and diversity of experiences that large cities provideⁱ. In the field of architecture, urbanism is the art of building cities. It translates into the development of city structures and a method for control of urban transformation either through the practice of architecture or the practice of urban planning. Patricia Mooney Melvin in *Urban History, Local History and Public History* argues that the Urban history focuses on the nation's urban experience, it explores how the city influences the broad political, economic, social, religious and cultural developments. In the 19th century when mode of transportation was rudimentary, the urban vision depended on the location of economic, religious, political and social activities and depended upon the length of time it took to walk from one place to anotherⁱⁱ.

According to Oxford Dictionary the word cosmopolitan refers to one who is familiar with and at ease with many different countries and culturesⁱⁱⁱ. It is defined in terms of social bonds that link people, communities, and societies. More broadly, it presents a political-moral philosophy that posits people as citizens of the world rather than of a nation-state. In this regard,

cosmopolitanism represents a spirited challenge to more traditional views that focus on age-old attachments of people to a place, customs, and culture^{iv}.

The historical context of the philosophical resurgence of cosmopolitanism during the early modern period is made up of many factors: The increasing rise of capitalism and world-wide trade and its theoretical reflections; the reality of ever expanding empires whose reach extended across the globe; the voyages around the world and the geographical discoveries facilitated through these; the renewed interest in Hellenistic philosophy; and the emergence of a notion of human rights and a philosophical focus on human reason. Many intellectuals of the time regarded their membership in the transnational republic of letters as more significant than their membership in the political states they found themselves in. This prepared them to think in terms other than those of states and peoples and adopt a cosmopolitan perspective^v. While, the British Colonial Cities in India were the first few modern urban spaces in the vast sub-continent, some of the Indian Princely States followed suit and created urban spaces with a cosmopolitan environment in the 19th century after the wars amongst the Indian kings ceased to exist due to the impact of the subsidiary alliance.

Though Thanjavur was a preferred capital since 9th century A.D., the details of its urban planning are not clearly documented before the 19th century. How was it planned, how and where did the heterogeneous communities live, how did each community create their social space and where did they interact with other communities without that infringing on their community social space is a matter of conjecture and not well recorded. Though the Marathas were by and large a well-documented community it is only since, the time of Sarfoji

II, detailed documentation of urban planning and the communities who lived are available. It could have been due to political uncertainty that prevailed in the kingdom in the 18th century.

Marathas who were the officers of the house of Bijapur came to power in Thanjavūr of Central Tamilnadu capturing the throne from the Nayaks, the chieftains of the Vijayanagar Empire towards the third quarter of the 17th century. Ekoji, the second son of Shāhji seized this kingdom in a bloodless coup in 1667 A.D. From this time, onwards this small kingdom gained the attention of Emperor Shivaji. The acrimony that existed between the mainline Marathas and the Thanjavur Marathas ended in an amicable settlement between the brothers and the Thanjavūr Marathas as the successors of Ekoji were called, were left alone to nurture the new kingdom.^{vi} After the demise of Shivaji and Ekoji the kingdom witnessed tough contest between the mainline Marathas and the Mughals for supremacy in Tamilnadu. The battles ended at the Mughal side with the passing away of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 but Marathas continued to exercise political influence in this region till about the middle of the 18th century.^{vii}

The demise of the Emperor Shivaji at first and later Emperor Aurangzeb dramatically opened political and business leadership opportunities in the region and it in turn led to the two overseas commercial bodies: the French and the English joining hands with the local powers to settle scores with enemies and expanding base in the region. The entire 18th century was a period of rapid transition of political power from one native dynasty to another with the British claiming ascendancy towards the close of the century.^{viii}

At the beginning of the 18th century the Arcot Nawabs, who began their line with Zulfikhar Ali Khan, the Mughal Governor of Carnatic appointed by Aurangzeb, tried to expand and to capture internal and overseas revenue by attacking the king of Thanjavūr with the help of the French. From then on, the Thanjavūr Marathas got sucked into the whirlpool of Deccan politics and had to enlist the support of the English army as against the Arcot Nawabs. The necessities of time made them lease

out Tarangampādi to the Danish and later to the English, Kāraikkāl to the French in 1736 and Devikottai to the English in 1749.^{ix} During the time of Pratapasimha (1739-1763), a general of the Arcot Nawabs occupied Tiruvayāru, a town five km away from Thanjavur and ruled it for two years. To oust him Pratapasimha had to seek the help of Emperor Sahu of the mainline Marathas who in turn sent Raghoji Bhonsle of Nagpur. This led to more battles.

When the French Governor Lally attacked Madras, Pratapasimha sent troops in support of the English. In turn, when the ruler got into crisis when Arcot Nawab attacked Thanjavūr, the English came forward to mediate peace. During the time of Tulaja II (1764-1787) the English Governor restored Tulaja to the throne, which was forcibly occupied by Muhammad Ali.

Political exigencies forced Thanjavūr Marathas to open up and they were exposed to many western influences. The personal experiences of Sarfoji made him accept British administration and concentrate more on the urbanization of the capital. It led to many changes and the most conspicuous one was the usherance of cosmopolitanism in the city. The ports under their control were opened for maritime trade and commerce. As the city became secure under the British, the ruler could concentrate on improving fields such as education, art, fine art and culture.

The paper attempts to show how the policies and the governing style of Sarfoji II was transformative and led to Thanjavūr becoming a cosmopolitan city and made its people urbane. How political stability, benign administration, encouragement to the learning of various languages including English, development of trade, fine arts and western and Indian systems of education blended with traditional practices led to the creation of a modern native state and its people taking to education and cultural pursuits and how this became the identity of its people.

In his later years, since Tulaja did not have an heir, he adopted young Sarfoji and at his deathbed left him at the care of a Danish missionary Schwartz^x. As Thanjavūr was taken over by Amarsingh (1787-1798), brother of

late Tulaja, Father Schwartz had to arrange for Sarfoji's (1798-1833) stay and education in Madras. Sarfoji spent his formidable years under the tutelage of the Danish missionary. These extraordinary circumstances had a lasting impression on the young prince, who was in Madras city for some time to pursue education. Even there, his education and his life in general was monitored by Schwartz. His stay in Madras and his close association with English manners, customs and culture had such a deep transformative effect on him that when he later became the king of Thanjavur, he introduced features of British administration and educational practices there. The British noting on Sarfoji and his son, the last ruler Shivaji II describe them as gentlemen king. Their fluency over queen's language and their manners impressed one and all.

The paper in the first part gives a brief historical introduction of the Thanjavur Maratha Kings and explains the historical settings in which the Maratha Kings functioned. In the second part, it does a detailed empirical study of various factors that aided the growth of urbanism and analyses how it impacted the lives of the people. It is based on the Tamil translations of the Modi records available in the Thanjavur Saraswathi Mahal, the British records on the Thanjavur royalty, and the secondary sources published by the same library.

In 1799, Sarfoji II ceded the administrative powers to the English East India Company for an annual political pension. From then on, an English resident took over the administration of the kingdom. This pact had an unexpected fall out. Thanjavūr experienced stability after very long years of turbulence. The king was free to concentrate on the city of Thanjavūr, which he tried to develop on the lines of a city-state. His exposure with British systems of administration and he being the scion of the orthodox Maratha royal family gave him the rare opportunity to blend both the experiences and the result was a cosmopolitan Thanjavur in the 19th century which had exposure to many western ways while essentially remaining a traditional native capital. The richness of the capital happened through the surrounding fertile agricultural tract, which was irrigated by the river Cauvery

and its canals. It had many commercial towns such as Kumbakonam, Thiruvayaru, Pattukottai, which surrounded it, the seaport of Nagapattinam, the temple town of Rameshwaram etc., which is closer to sea. Out of these Kumbakonam had locational advantage as it is at the centre of the highway connecting north to south. Many ministers had their residence there it also had several mutts within it.

The layout of the city of Thanjavur shows that many must have tried to fit into a small area, especially so in the old parts of the present city. At the centre of the old city is the palace and the fort area along with the famous Saraswati Mahal library, though not founded by the Marathas, its present collection of manuscripts and books in so many languages and a variety of subjects certainly owes their existence to the Sarfoji II.

The old part of Thanjavur has broad roads on all four sides. The narrow alleyways bordering these roads contained within it temples, mutts and residential areas competing for space. One important drawback of the architecture is the open sewerage system, which exists till date. To the ruler's defense, one can say that the British in India did not pay much attention to introducing closed sewerage and solid waste disposal system. Hygiene in public places was a recent concept to the 19th century British authorities and perhaps they had not internalized it so much that they selectively introduced it in India in the places they lived and otherwise ignored the holistic development of the cities and the native states were not very dissimilar in their attitude towards sanitation in public spaces.

The foremost European citizen of Thanjavūr was the resident who lived there. Though it is not possible to say where he lived, records say that he lived near Cobbler's street. The palace took care of most of the needs of the officials who stayed in the city. So much so that when Lieutenant Colonel William Black Burn fell ill in 1801 the Sarfoji government did special poojas to Lord Jwaraharēswara of the Brihadhiswara temple^{xi} praying for his good health. European missionaries could live and preach Christianity. Churches were built in and around

the city. The most notable being the St. Peter's Church built by Sarfoji in memory of his mentor Schwartz.

Sarfoji pursued maritime trade from Sāluvanāyakan pattinam, the port from where the Marathas exported goods to Ceylon (Sri Lanka)^{xii}, China and to distant cities such as London. They developed contacts with several foreign agents through whom they regularly got goods imported from France and England.

Delegations from Russia^{xiii} and Iran^{xiv} visited Thanjāvūr and many foreigners sought job opportunities here under the patronage of the Maratha rulers. The Maratha government received many missions from abroad. There was an Iranian delegation comprising of 44 Iranians who visited Sarfoji in 1829 A. D.^{xv}.

Professionals such as Doctors^{xvi}, Teachers, Musicians, Civil Engineers etc. from western countries worked in the local hospitals, schools etc. Missionaries from various countries flocked the city. A few of them ran English schools here, which were patronized by the kings^{xvii}.

Whenever English officials visited Thanjāvūr they were welcomed with a traditional reception at the borders of the kingdom to the accompaniment of Nadhaswaram band and Barathanāyam dance recital. Their stay was arranged at the first floor of Mukdhāmbal chatram^{xviii} in Orathanādu^{xix} or at the first floor of Navanidhi Vidhya Kalāsāla in Thanjavur. The government had a few guesthouses fit for European stay^{xx}. Whenever they passed through the kingdom of Thanjāvūr they were given food articles such as dough for bread, fruits, meat and alcohol^{xxi}.

During Christmas and New Year, the high officials were wished with suitable presents. In the same way, the European employees were given festival bonuses^{xxii}. Christian missionaries from China frequently visited Thanjāvūr^{xxiii}. Missions from Ceylon visited the city during the time of Sarfoji in 1830. The major fascination for them, apart from touring the city, was visiting the temple of Brihadhiswara to see the colossal Nandi.

Postal services existed since the late 18th century and from 1782 manuscripts talk about two kinds of services: Government Postal Service which delivered the

post within the country and the Company Postal Service which delivered posts abroad^{xxiv}.

South India had always maintained maritime contacts with other countries, especially South East Asia. The Marathas continued this tradition. The coming of Europeans and their trade practices made Marathas adapt themselves to new ways of trading and maintenance of their shipping vessels. Nāgapattinam was a busy port and private participation in overseas trading always existed in the ports. Private trading ships from the port of Nagoor went to Malacca and the nearby islands^{xxv}. Sarfoji II in 1821 appointed a European at a salary of Rs. 180/- and deputed him to build small ships^{xxvi}. The ships were built at the port of Sāluvanāyakan Pattinam^{xxvii} and painted at the port of Nāgapattinam^{xxviii}. The king had two ships: one was Brihadishwara and the other, a sail ship by name Prasād. These ships were leased out to private parties who had to bear the unforeseen expenses and this sometimes-created difference of opinion between the Maratha government and the lessees^{xxix}.

The available records show that articles of trade were exchanged among places such as Ceylon, Solomon Islands near Australia, England and China, though the details have not been given about exports; the information about imports are available in plenty. Pigs and mirror paintings were imported from China^{xxx} while every article of luxury and the books for Saraswathi Mahāl were imported from England and France^{xxxi}. English newspapers were mailed from Madras and were delivered by postmen^{xxxii}.

The imports included animals such as horses, dogs and camels, rare birds from Europe, picturebooks, candles, Atlases and Maps of various countries, medicines such as Epsom salt, carbon of ammonia, Vinegar, clocks, musical instruments, furniture, alcoholic drinks, and sundries such as pistols, glares, binoculars, sundial, compass, knives, lashes, Lottery tickets, Gregorian Calendar, Atlas etc.^{xxxiii}.

In fact, cabbage was first introduced in Thanjavur in the year 1829 as a gift to king Sarfoji II. He was so happy about it that he tipped Rs.100/- to the person who carried

it^{xxxiv}. Running water connection in the palace was established though the date is uncertain^{xxxv}.

There was a French man by name John Shuttler who had a shop near Sivaganga gardens in which he sold European articles of trade^{xxxvi}. Mrs. Jills & Co in Madras supplied horses and dogs to the king. Apart from regular traders, the residents' wives and other European women brought goods from abroad and sold them in the city to the interested people^{xxxvii}. Maratha kings being collectors of rare items and even birds, they were major purchasers of articles of trade from abroad^{xxxviii}. Even commoners who could afford purchased from these sources.

Several Europeans worked in Thanjāvūr. Long time European employees received state pension^{xxxix}. In the palace, Abyssinian boys were employed on special terms^{xl}. The schools in Thanjāvūr taught six languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Sanskrit, Persian and English^{xli}. Europeans were employed there^{xlii}. Europeans had separate schools administered exclusively for them by the king^{xliii}. A college was established for the benefit of all those who wished to pursue higher education. Up to fifty Christian children were admitted though the munificence of the king^{xliv}.

There were Teachers who taught English at Navanidhi Vidhya Kalāsāla, where people from other provinces learnt English. It was a famous school, and the local government patronized it. Faisaneir was one such Englishman who taught English at Mukdāmbāl Chatram, one of the educational and religious centers maintained by the government^{xlv}.

Four types of courts prevailed in Thanjavur: *Mutirta Sabha*, *Dharma Sabha*, *Pradhishtida Sabha* and *Kārbar Prasangam*. Many British judges served as judges. The litigant should file the suit in a stamp paper. If people were not satisfied with the judgment they could either appeal to the king or to the resident^{xlvi}.

From the time of Shahji I Marathas remained music composers, lovers and patrons. Carnatic music flourished during their times and the stalwarts of Carnatic music lived and composed music in their kingdom. There were many other musicians who practiced in Thanjavur. There

was an English band that was maintained by the palace and musical instruments were periodically purchased^{xlvii}. There was even a rock band that performed before the king and western dance troops visited Thanjāvūr to perform and earn. Rich and elite who could afford the services of the English band availed their services during marriage ceremony. These practices were widely prevalent during the times of Sarfoji II and Sivaji II. It was so common that in temples during festival seasons; apart from Carnatic music and Bharatanātyamdance recital, western music and western dance concerts were arranged for the entertainment of the people and of the royalty^{xlviii}.

The cuisine of Thanjavur had a heavy Telugu influence due to Naik rule and a predominant Telugu population living there. With the arrival of the Marathas it further changed and adapted to include many of their specialties. Items such as Dāngar, Pittlai, Usili, Poli, and many other sweetmeats have a strong Marathi influence. These gave rise to what is now called Thanjavur style of cooking. The Modi records give a detailed description of various food items prepared in the palace. The Saraswati Mahal library has published a book called *Sarabendra Pāga Sāstram* which is a compilation of Marathi and English cuisine prepared in the royal kitchen during Sarfoji's times.

Sarfoji II had established a medical research centre and a hospital named Dhanvanthri Mahal. Here the alternative systems of medicines such as Siddha, Unani and Ayurveda were practiced. The doctors not only treated the patients but recorded their findings. This led to the compilation of medicinal treatise called *Sarabendra Vaidya Muraigal*. English ophthalmologist Dr. McBean worked in the eye hospital of the Dhanvantri Mahal. The king himself was much interested in the subject and he commissioned artists to draw patients' eyes and note down the defects. There are many charts in the Saraswati Mahal that details the patients' personal information as well as their medical issues, the treatment and the post-surgery care given^{xlix}. Many European Doctors served Thanjāvūr hospitals: Samuel Brooks was a surgeon who oversaw the local hospital. He continued

to be in charge even after the demise of Sivaji II. If the patients required special treatment they were sent to Madras at the expense of the palace. Apart from salary and the quarters they were given a bullock cart for travel but it was redesigned like a coach to suit European requirementⁱ.

There were Civil Engineers who built bridges during the time of Sarfoji II and Sivaji II. Western Engineers such as Montgomery and F. Bishop built four bridges across the rivers in Thiruvayaru in 1846-47.ⁱⁱ

Many foreigners including women, received pension from the Marthta government after a long period of employment though the nature of work that they did for the government is not clearⁱⁱⁱ.

Shivaji II, the last ruler of the dynasty continued to govern the city in the same style preserving the cosmopolitan nature of the city despite facing odds. The British government frequently increased its annual charges and the ruler had to borrow heavily to meet with the demands of the district collector. Towards the close of the reign of the last ruler, the British resorted to warning and threat of the ruler against mismanagement of finance and the loans he had taken. They left enough hints to state that they might in near future takeover the kingdom. When the last ruler died the local collectorate seized the palace and later in 1856 announced officially that the Thanjavur Raj had ceased to exist.

Modernity has often been viewed as being in opposition to and representing a break from tradition. If tradition looked to the past, modernity presumably turned its eye to the future. Modern culture was frequently associated with progress, advance, development, emancipation, liberation, growth, accumulation, enlightenment, em-betterment. Modernism is often depicted as an expansive, and thus global, phenomenon. Modern culture possesses an optimistic orientation about human ability to collectively resolve problems, to remedy human sufferings, and to enrich social life. It presupposes people's ability to acquire knowledge of both the natural and the social worlds and to use this knowledge to beneficially control and mold these worlds. Until recently, modernity was associated with the open

horizon of the future, with unending progress towards a better human condition brought about by a radically novel and unique institutional arrangement.

In the 19th century, Thanjavūr was a cosmopolitan city; not because it divorced itself completely from the past, but because it could bring in a fine balance between the past and the future. Tradition and modernity existed in one place simultaneously and fused comfortably due to the efforts of the king who himself was traditional and urbane at the same time. Factors that fueled urban growth in Thanjavur were the stability of the kingdom, the city's exposure to it being the capital for many centuries, it being in close proximity to trading centres and port cities, the mixed population that prevailed there, urbanity of the ruler and his enthusiasm in introducing modernity to the citizens, his receptiveness in accepting changes, he having ensured a certain cultural continuity while introducing modernity, introducing people to multicultural practices, Education, modern health facilities, a well-established judiciary, system of criminal justice, currency, creating a well-endowed library, multi-linguistic educational institutions and above all a significant population of foreigners who felt comfortable living and earning their livelihood in the city was proof of the urbane quality of the people, at least a sizeable number of them in the city. This urbaneness prepared them for life outside the city once the dynasty was abolished in 1856 at one stroke by the British Government of Madras. Many could seek opportunity in other kingdoms and in presidencies. It accounted for large scale migration of educated population to various cities of India. The third generation of which are now migrating globally.

ⁱ Definition of Urbanization,

<http://water.tkk.fi/wr/tutkimus/glob/publications/Haapala/pdf-files/URBANIZATION.pdf>, referred on 16/05/2014

ⁱⁱ Patricia Mooney-Melvin, (1996), "Urban History, Local History and Public History" *History News*, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 18-23, American Association for State and Local History, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42655612>, last accessed on 16th October 2017

ⁱⁱⁱ Definition of Cosmopolitan,

<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cosmopolitan>,

- ^{iv} Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1921047/cosmopolitanism> referred on 16/05/2014
- ^v Kleingeld, Pauline et al, "Cosmopolitanism", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/>, 2014, Stanford University
- ^{vi} Sardesai H.S., (2003), "The Great Maratha", The Historic Expedition: South India, New Delhi: Cosmo, Vol III: 675-694
- ^{vii} Dodwell H, (1917), " A Calendar of Madras Records-1740" Madras, Government Press, Pp 38-39, 42, &141-142
- ^{viii} Chand Tara, (2005), "History of the Freedom Movement in India", Volume IV; The British Conquest of India, Pp. 186-191
- ^{ix} Venkataramaiah K.M., (ed), "History of the Maratha Rulers of Thanjavur" (Tamil), Tamil University, Thanjavur, P-255
- ^x "History of the Maratha Rulers of Thanjavur" Pp 134-151
- ^{xi} Venkataramaiah K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", P-349, Modi Manuscripts bundle no. Saraswathi Mahal Modi Tamil Translation (S.M.M. T.T). 9-38
- ^{xii} Venkatramayya K.M., (1984), "Administration and Social Life Under the Maratha Rulers of Thanjavur" (Tamil), Pp 95-96, Tamil University, Thanjavur. The book is a collection and compilation of social and administrative aspects under Maratha rulers of Thanjavur as found in the manuscripts. The information is given as it is found in the manuscripts with some explanatory note about each topic.
- ^{xiii} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life..." Pp-95-96, Modi manuscripts Tamil Translation Volume XLVI sheet no: 15, dated 1815
- ^{xiv} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation No: sheet no. 1-300, dated 1829
- ^{xv} Modi Manuscript 291-1-300
- ^{xvi} "Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", Pp. 111-112
- ^{xvii} "Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", P- 211
- ^{xviii} Chatram is a guesthouse where designated guests and in general travellers could stay. It was maintained by the Maratha rulers. They had built over eighteen such chatrams in their kingdom for travellers' comfort
- ^{xix} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No. IV, sheet no. 1-150, dated: 1828 A.D., Volume IV: sheet no. 1-100, dated: 1809 A.D.
- ^{xx} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No: I, sheet no: 1-72, dated 1844 A.D.
- ^{xxi} Modi Manuscript 420-1-140, 774-1-100
- ^{xxii} Modi Manuscript 231-150, 422-1-150, 555-1-119, Sheet no: 13 dated 1811 & Volume I- sheet no. 1-119, 1854 A.D.
- ^{xxiii} Modi Manuscript 242-1-152, 450-1-190, Modi Tamil Translations, Volume no. IV, sheet no. 1-190, dated 1853 A.D.
- ^{xxiv} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life..." Pp. 465-466, Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume I-54, 1812 A.D.
- ^{xxv} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life..." Pp. 391-394
- ^{xxvi} Chokkalingam, (1962), Modi Palagani, Kappal Seidhigal (Tamil), Volume V,
- ^{xxvii} Modi Manuscript 10-74
- ^{xxviii} Modi Manuscript 270-350
- ^{xxix} Chokkalingam, (1962), Modi Palagani, Kappal Seidhigal
- ^{xxx} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No. III, sheet no. 1-152, dated 1841
- ^{xxxi} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translations: Volume III, 1-270, dated 1841, sheet no. 1-300, 1829 A.D.
- ^{xxxii} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translations: Volume I, sheet no: 1-109, dated 1854 A.D.
- ^{xxxiii} Modi Manuscript sheet no. 90, Modi Tamil Translation, Book No.3, Thanjai Saraswati Mahal Manuscript Library, (TSMML), Dated 1824, Modi manuscript Translations Volume I, sheet no. 1-255, dated 1843, Volume III, sheet no. 1-270, dated 1823, Volume VI: sheet no. 150, dated: 1820 A.D.
- ^{xxxiv} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume IV, sheet no 1-250, dated 1829 A.D.
- ^{xxxv} Modi Manuscript 55-32 (1)
- ^{xxxvi} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No: II, sheet 1-140, dated 1842
- ^{xxxvii} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume no. VII, sheet no. 300, 1784 A.D.
- ^{xxxviii} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", P-369
- ^{xxxix} Modi Manuscript: TSMML Volume 37, sheet no: 90, Page 33, AD 1824
- ^{xl} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", P-355
- ^{xli} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", Pp. 241-242
- ^{xlii} Modi Manuscript Volume 27, Page no 19, sheet number 27
- ^{xliiii} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life..." Pp. 244-245
- ^{xliiv} Hickey Williams (1872), "Tanjore Maratha Principality in South India", Pp. 107, Madras
- ^{xli v} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translations Volume no. IV, sheet no 1-400, dated: 1831 A.D.
- ^{xli vi} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life..." Pp-167-186
- ^{xli vii} Venkatramayya K.M., "Administration and Social Life...", Pp. 231-232
- ^{xli viii} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No III, 1-350, dated 1835
- ^{xli ix} The Hindu, "The Prince of Ophthalmology", online edition, Sunday, 10th October 2004, <http://www.thehindu.com/thehindu/mag/2004/10/10/stories/2004101000410200.html>, accessed on 15th July 2017
- ^l Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume No. XLI: sheet no-31, date 1856 A.D.
- ^{li} Venkataramayya K.M., (ed), 1989, "Thanjavur Maratha Kings Modi Manuscripts: Tamil Translation and Edited notes", Vol. I, P-XV, Tamil University, Thanjavur
- ^{lii} Modi Manuscript Tamil Translation Volume no. volume VII, sheet no. 300, dated 1831 A. D., Volume XXXIX: sheet no. 38, 1856 A.D., sheet no: 30, dated 1856