The Sambuvarayas of the 14th Century

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Object of the article

In the beginning of the 14th century the Sambuvaraya chieftains of the North Arcot and Chengleput districts in Tamil Nadu were faithful to their overlords, the Pandya kings. Later they declared independence. Among them the most famous chieftain was Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya. Inscriptions which bear this name are many. They also supply astronomical data. Curiously some of them point out the accession in 1337 and some in 1338 Earlier researchers were aware of this oddity but they did not anticipate that two chiefs bearing the same name Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya could have come to the throne in the successive years. In the meantime certain records bearing the same name Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya indicating the accession in 1356 also appeared, The report referred to the existence of this junior chief who had the same name and said that that the confusions could be solved by futute research only.[1]

In the present paper the dates of the members of the Sambuvaraya family are discussed. Three Sambuvaraya chieftains who had the same royal name Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya are identified. They came to the throne in 1337, 1338 and 1356 respectively The events in the reigns of the Pandya kings of the 14th century are discussed. The campaign of the Vijayanagar prince Kampana and the information supplied by the Sanskrit and the Telugu poems are compared. The general results show the then political conditions in Tamil Nadu.

The Pandyas

The most celebrated Pandya king of the 13th century was Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I. He came to the throne in June / July 1268. He ruled till 1318. His elder son was Jatavarman Vira Pandya alias Kaliyugaraman. He came to the throne in May / June 1297. His rule extended upto 1342. The younger brother of Vira Pandya was Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. He came to the throne in March / April 1303 and ruled till 1325. During this period thers was another prince also called Jatavarman Sundara Pandya alias Kodandaraman of birth star Pushya. He was the grandson of Kulasekara by a daughter. He came to the throne in March / April 1304 and ruled till 1319. The family tree is given below.[2] (During this period there were some more Pandyan princes, I have not mentioned them here because their dates and doings are outside the scope of this article).

Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I
of birth star Mula 1268-1318

Jatavarman Vira Pandya alias Kaliyugaraman 1297—1342	Jatavarman Sundara Pandya 1303—1325	Daughter
		Jatavarman Sundara Pandya alias Kodandaraman of birth star Pushya 1304 - 1319

Kulasekara Sambuvaraya

The Sambuvarayas were the traditional chieftains of the North Arcot and Chengleput districts in Tamil Nadu. Till the end of the 13th century they were subordinates under the Cholas. When the Cholas disappeared the Sambuvarayas switched over their alliance to the then ruling monarchs the Imperial Pandyas. The most famous member of this family in the 14th century, was Kulasekara Sambuvaraya. He figures in the records[3] of Vira Pandya of accession 1297. The records are in the 12th, 14th, 21st, 23rd and 25th regnal years corresponding to 1309, 1311, 1318, 1320 and 1322 respectively. In one of them he is called Ekambaranathan Kulasekara Sambuvaraya.[4] It means that Kulasekara Sambuvaraya was the son of Ekambaranathan. This chief borrows the name of his overlord the Pandya king Kulasekara the father of Vira Pandya. Sambuvaraya means the servant of Lord Shiva. Records show that upto 1322 the chief was faithful to the Pandyas. Sometime later he declared independence. A record which comes from Vedal is an order issued by Kulasekara Sambuvaraya in his own name.[5] The data are year 25, Mesha Su tritiya mistake for triyodasi, Monday and Hasta which regularly correspond to 2nd April 1330 A. D. His initial year commences from the first quarter of 1306 and this date is confirmed by the course of events which we shall discuss somewhere below. From the Vedal record we can infer that Kulasekara Sambuvaraya who was a subordinate chief under the Pandyas declared independence sometime between 1322 and 1330. We should know the circumstances which encouraged the chief to declare his independence. In the year 1324 the Muhammadan army from Delhi occupied Madurai, the capital of the Pandyas who fled to the northern areas of Tamil Nadu. The Muhammadans ruled at Madurai from 1324 to 1371. The histoty of Madurai Sultanate is well known. During this period the Pandyas became weak. Probably this should have prompted Kulasekara Sambuvaraya to assert his independent authority. This surmise gets support from the record (discussed below) of his son Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya who in his second year corresponding to 1324 assumes the title " he who conquered and took the earth " and in the later records he calls himself " Sakalaloka Chakravartin " (emperor of all the worlds) a provocative high sounding title aimed against the Imperial Pandyas whose traditional title from the

beginning of the 12th century was " Tribhuvana Chakravartin " (emperor of the three worlds). The existence of Kulasekara Sambuvaraya beyond 1330 is not known. Probably that was his last date.

Help to the Pandyas

A record which comes from the Rishi gopura of the Kanchipuram Kamakshi Amman temple states that the Hoysala king Ballala (1287-1344) restored the Pallava king Ranganatha alias Rajaganda Gopala alias Vijayaganda Gopala to the throne at Kanchipuram, honoured two Pandya kings and defeated the Chola and a Pandya.[6] The record further states that Ballala married the daughter of the Pallava king The Pallava king Vijayaganda Gopala came to the throne in 1291 A. D.[7] His record in year 21 corresponding to 1311-12 is also found on the same wall.[8] Evidently he should have been restored to the throne sometime before 1311 and his daughter married Ballala, During this period Ballala honoured two Pandyas and defeated a third Pandya. The former two were Jatavarman Vira Pandya of accession 1297 and his younger brother Jatavarman Sundara of accession 1303. The latter Pandyan prince was Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya the opponent of Vira Pandya and he was defeated by Ballala.[9] The Chola who was defeated by Ballala was Probably a Telugu Chola chieftain.

A record[10] which comes from Virinchipuram west of Kanchipuram throws light on the circumstances under which the Pallava could have lost his throne and later got it with the help of Ballala The record belongs to Vira Pandya year 12 month Aipasi corresponding to October 1308. It states that the chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya made grants to the temple for celebrating a festival called **Andalil venran tirunal** in his name. The chief claims to have been victorious at a place called Andalil which is located in the vicinity of Virinchipuram west of Kanchipuram.[11] He makes this claim in the record of Vira Pandya. Probably Vira Pandya assisted by his chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya should have defeated the Pallava king Ranganatha alias Vijayaganda Gopala. The Pallava lost his throne at Kanchi. Later in 1310, Ballala married the daughter of the Pallava chief. On this auspicious occasion Ballala honoured his friend Vira Pandya and the younger brother Sundara Pandya and with their influence and friendship helped his father-in-law to mount the throne at Kanchi.

In April 1311 Malik Kafur the general of Alaudeen Khilji of Delhi invaded Tamil Nadu, plundered the city Madurai and returned to Delhi in October of the same year. This was a severe shock to Kulasekara Pandya and his sons.[12] In the year 1313, the Travancore Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara (of accession 1310) invaded Tamil Nadu. He defeated the Pandyan brothers Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya, captured Kanchipuram and brought the northern portion of the Tamil country under his control.[13] Vira Pandya fled to Kongu Mandalam and Sundara Pandya took refuge in the southern

parts of the Cholamandalam. The nephew Sundara alias Kodandarama of accession 1304 somehow managed to get on smoothly with the invader Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara. The aged Pandyan emperor Maravarman Kulasekara stayed in the Tirunelveli district the southern most part of the peninsula.[14]

The Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara occupied the city Kannanur (north of Trichirappalli) and made it his capital. A record which comes from Sri Rangam states that Champaka Kerala and Marttanda were the sons of the sister of Ravivarman Kulasekara.[15] Another record[16] which comes from Keralapuram near Travancore belongs to Vira Udaya Marttandavarman Vira Pandya Deva. It quotes regnal year 4, Kollam 491, Kumba solar day 21. The data correspond to 14th February 1316. Evidently this prince was Marttanda the second son of the sister of Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara. Another record which comes from Perunagar, a village about twenty kilometers south of Kanchipuram belongs to the same prince.[17] In this record he bears the name Ko-Ravivarman Vira Pandya. (Ravivarman is a common family name of the Travancore Kerala kings). The regnal year is 5. The course of events which we shall discuss below indicates that the Perunagar record is to be assigned to a date prior to March 1316.

Help from the Kakatiyas

The brothers Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya sought help from the Kakatiyas. Ravivarman Kulasekara, probably anticipating danger from the north sent his nephew Kerala Vira Pandya to Kanchipuram. (The record of Kerala Vira Pandya year 5 is found at Perunagar about 20 Kilometers south of Kanchipuram).

The first blow came early 1316. A record[18] which comes from Kanchipuram is dated 11th June 1316. It states that Muppidi Nayaka the Kakatiya general – captured Kanchipuram and appointed Manavira the governor of the city. Evidently it was Kerala Vira Pandya who sustained defeat at the hands of Muppidi Nayaka.

Another record[19] which comes from Kanchipuram is dated 31st December 1316. It records the gift to the temple for the welfare of the swords and shoulders of Muppidi Nayaka – a clear indication of a major onslaught within a few days. A record[20] which comes from Sri Rangam is dated 28th March 1317. It states that while Virapratapadeva Maharaya was ruling from Orrangalur, his commander Devari Nayaka son of Machaya Nayaka marched with an army to the south He defeated Kerala Vira Pandya at Tiruvadikunram. Devari Nayaka defeated Malayala Tiruvadi Kulasekara and established Sundara Pandya on the Viradhavalam Tiruchirappalli, throne.

The course of events is very clear. The operation was carried out under the overall command of Muppidi Nayaka. Prior to June 1316 he captured Kanchipuram and drove out Kerala Vira Pandya who fled to the south. Around January or February 1317

the Kakatiya army headed by Devari Nayaka drove out Kerala Vira Pandya from Tiruvadi-kunram, a place near Senji in the Tindivanam Taluk. The Kakatiyas marched further south, reached Sri Rangam and defeated Ravivarman Kulasekara. The Kerala kings were driven out. Sundara Pandya, the younger brother of Vira Pandya, was installed on the Viradhavalam throne. The entire operation was completed before 28th March 1317.

The brothers Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya were happy. In 1317 Sundara arranged a special festival in the Virdhachalam temple in honour of the Kakatiya general Muppidi Nayaka.[21] The elder brother Vira Pandya also made contributions to this festival In the same year Vira Pandya made grants to the Kanchipuram Arulala Perumal Vishnu temple for conducting a special service called Kaliyugaraman Sandhi in his surname.[22] The nephew Sundara Pandya (of accession 1304) also arranged a service called Kodandaraman Sandhi in the same temple in his surname and celebrated the victory of the Pandyas who defeated the Cheraman (Kerala king).[23] Records show that the Kakatiyas did not retain Kanchipuram city in their hands. They gave it back to the Pandyas. The Kerala kings Ravivarman Kulasekara and Ravivarman Vira Pandya disappear from the pages of history What happened to them we have no knowledge.

Help by Kulasekara Sambuvaraya

A record[24] which comes from Tiruvottur twenty kilometers south west of Kanchipuram belongs to Vira Pandya, year 23, month Adi corresponding to July 1319. It refers to the order of the chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya and mentions the newly formed Brahmin colony (agaram) in his name called **Cheyyarru Venran Chathur-vedhimangalam** separated from the village Anukkavur **Cheyyaru Venran** means **"he who was victorious at Cheyyar"**. The river Cheyyar flows near Tiruvottur and Anukkavur. Evidently Kulasekara Sambuvaraya should have been victorious somewhere here on the banks of river Cheyyar and he should have fought the battle for the success of his overlord Vira Pandya in whose record the chief mentions the victory. The battle should have been fought sometime before 1319. The new Brahmin colony was probably founded at the very site where the battle was fought

A record[25] which comes from Pallikonda (Vellore Taluk) quotes year 13 plus 1, day 97 of a Pandya king. It refers to the grants made in the tenth year of Kulasekara Sambuvaraya for conducting a service called **Cheyyarru Venran Sandhi** in the name of the chief. The tenth year of Kulasekara Sambuvaraya is prior to April 1316. Naturally the Cheyyar battle is to be placed in the first quarter of 1316. We must note here that the battle of Cheyyar is quoted in the record of a Pandya king dated year 13 plus 1 day 97. This date should be later than the first quarter of 1316. It is quite obvious that the record belongs to Jatavarman Sundara

of accession 1303. His later records usually quote the regnal years as 13 plus. The present record is dated August 1316 and it refers to the Cheyyarru battle of the first quarter of the same year. The battle was fought in favour of Sundara Pandya because in his record the success is referred to.

From the records one thing is clear. In the first quarter of 1316 Kulasekara Sambuvaraya fought a battle on behalf of his overlords the Pandyan brothers Vira Pandya and Sundara Pandya. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Cheyyar The chief brought victory for his overlords and fittingly he assumed the title **Cheyyarru Venran** (victor at Cheyyar). A new Brahmin colony called Cheyyaru Venran Chathurvedhimangalam was founded near Anukkavur on the banks of river Cheyyar, the very site of the battle.

We have to find the enemy of the Pandyas and the Sambuvaraya. The battle was fought near Anukkavur - twenty Kilometers south west of Kanchipuram – in the first quarter of 1316 The only battle of this period was the one in which Muppidi Nayaka defeated the Kerala king Ravivarman Vira Pandya and on 11th June 1316 he appointed his governor at Kanchipuram The course of events and the dates prompt us to surmise that the brothers Vira Pandya, Sundara Pandya and their chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya also participated in the campaign. The chief played a major role. He defeated Kerala Vira Pandya who fled to Tiruvadikundram in the south. Subsequently early 1317 the Kakatiyas drove out Kerala Vira Pandya from Tiruvadikundram, marched towards Trichirappalli where they drove out Kerala Kulasekara and Kerala Vira Pandya. Near Anukkavur on the banks of the river cheyyar Kulasekara Sambuvaraya was victorious in defeating Kerala Vira Pandya. Fittingly he adopted the title **Cheyyarru Venran.** At the very site of the battle, he founded a Brahmin colony in his name called **Cheyyarru Venran Chathurvedhimangalam**

For ought we know is this. Kulasekara Sambuvaraya was a faithful chief under the Pandyas. He helped them in two hot bettles which took place in 1308 and 1316 Till 1322 he figures as a loyal subordinate. Later he assumes independent authority.

Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya

A record[86] which comes from Melpadi belongs to Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya. In this record the chief mentions a palace called in the name of his father (Nayanar) Kulasekara Sambuvaraya. It is evident that Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya was the son of Kulasekara Sambuvaraya. The records, with astronomical data, assigned to Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya, are tabulated in Appendix ' A '. In the records he bears the title Sakalaloka Chakravartin. The dates confirm that he came to the throne between the 18th May and the 27th June 1322. Venrumankonda means " he who conquered and took the earth ". It is an

epithet or a title name. The earliest record[27] which bears this title name is found in his Kunnattur record year 2 corresponding to 1324. This date and his high sounding epithet prove that when the Muhammadans occupied Madurai In 1324 and when the Pandyas became weak, the chief asserted his independent authority.

As we shall see below, the chief had two sons namely Mallinathan and Ponnin Thambiran. His Ganganur record (Appendix A) mentions the village Mallinatha Chaturvedhi Mangalam evidently called in the name of his elder son,[28] His Kilminnal record year 17 mentions a newly formed colony called Ponnin Perumalur - in the name of his second son Ponnin Tambiran.[29]

In all the records the chief is called by the epithet name Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya only. His actual name was Ekambaranatha. This is evident from the Kuttiyam record of his son Ponnin Tambiran alias Raja Narayana II. The record states that lands were gifted for worship and offerings to the image of Ekambaranatha consecrated by an officer in the name of Ekambaranatha Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya, the father of Ponnin Tambiran [30] It is to be noted here that Ekambarantaha was also the name of the grandfather of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya. The records of this chief running upto 1339 are available. Probably that was his last date.

Two records which come from Kuttiyam, Walajapet Taluk, North Arcot district, supply some important information, The former[31] introduces the chief as Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya. It states that an officer of the king who had been commissioned to carry the bones of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya to Benares for consigning them to the Ganges and who had returned after performing the Srarda at Gaya was granted the village Kuttiyam alias Raja Narayana Nallur as Gangagamana Virti for his services The other record[32] belongs to Sakalaloka Chakravartin Ponnin Tambiran Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya year 3 month Karkataka corresponding to July 1340. He states that the above grant was made by his elder brother Mallinathan Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya.

Thus it is clear that the elder brother was Mallinathan and the younger brother was Ponnin Tambiran and both had the royal name Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya. Records bearing this name and the title Sakalaloka Chakravartin with astronomical data are available. Some of them quote saka and cyclic years. They point out the accession in 1337 and also in 1338. Evidently Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I alias Mallinathan came to the throne in 1337 and his younger brother Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II alias Ponnin Tambiran came to the throne in 1338. The records assigned to the two chiefs are tabulated in Appendices 'B' and 'C'.

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I alias Mallinathan

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I came to the throne between the 3rd February and the 4th March 1337 (vide Appendix B). Records which bear the same name Raja Narayana

Sambuvaraya with or without the title Sakalaloka Chakravartin create serious difficulty in identifying the chiefs. Internal evidence and the astronomical data alone can help us in assigning the record to any one of them Nevertheless let us see some records which help us in identifying the brothers who had the same royal name.

A record which comes from Tiruvanai Koil (Chengleput district) belongs to Raja Narayana II, year 3 and it mentions the gift made by Mallinathan Raja Narayana Sambuvarayar evidently the elder brother.[33] Another record which comes from Tirukkalukundram also belongs to Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II, year 3, and it refers to the grants made by Mallinathan Sambuvaraya evidently the elder brother.[34]

A record which comes from Pillaipalayam a hamlet of Kanchipuram introduces the chief as Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Mallinathan Sambuvaraya.[35] The regnal year is 16. Another record which comes from Tiruttalur is in the 18th year of Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya and it refers to the grants made in the 5th year of Ponnayan Udaragunaraman Sambuvaraya evidently the younger brother.[36] Three records which come from Gudimallur, Kuvam, and Kodungalur introduce the chief as Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Tiru Mallinathan Sambuvaraya and they are in his 9th, 16th, and 19th years respectively.[37] All these records are to be assigned to the elder brother Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I. Tiru is an adjective in Tamil and its Sanskrit equivalent is Sri. Tiru Mallinathan means Sri Mallinathan.

Records of Raja Narayana I running upto 1362 are available. A record which comes from Kaveripakkam[38] belongs to Vijayanagara prince Kampana Udaiyar son of Bukkana Udaiyar. It is dated Saka 1295, cyclic year Ananda corresponding to 1373 A. D. The record mentions certain grants made by Mallinathan Sambuvaraya evidently Raja Narayana I. From the available sources we can surmise that Raja Narayana I alias Mallinatha Sambuvaraya ruled from 1337 to 1373. Incidentally his records from 1362 to 1373 are not found. In 1373 he figures in the record of Vijayanagara prince Kampana. This requires some explanation which we shall see later.

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II alias Ponnin Tambiran

The younger brother Raja Narayana II came to the throne between the 30th March and the 10th April 1338 His records are tabulated in Appendix 'C'. He was called Ponnin Tambiran, Ponnin Perumal, Ponnayan and Udaragunaraman.[39] His records running upto 1356 are available. He was alive in 1359, This is evident from the Puliyanur record of Raja Narayanan III dated 6th November 1359 vide Appendix 'D'. The record rerers to the grant made by Ponnayan Sambuvaraya, evidently Raja Narayana II Historical events which we shall discuss below prompt us to surmise that Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II alias Ponnin Tambiran could have ruled till 1362.

Raja Narayana III alias Tirunirru Champan

Records of Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya III of accession 1356 are tabulated in Appendix 'D'. The data of the records do not produce dates in the reigns of Raja Narayana I or II. They produce the dates in the reign of Raja Narayana III only.

The most important phenomenon which we should note here is that in all the records of Appendices B, C and D the name of the king is quoted as Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya only with or without the title Sakalaloka Chakravartin. The Saka and the Cyclic years quoted in the records help us in identifying the three identities who had the same name. The records confirm their accession in 1337, 1338 and 1356 respectively. The equivalent dates for the astronomical data quoted in other records are tried in the reigns of all the three kings. Strangely some agree with Raja Narayana I, some with Raja Narayana II and the rest with Raja Narayana III only. The Indian calendar system and the internal evidence help us in assigning the records to the proper persons Wherever necessary corrections are suggested in thithi or star justifying the law of astronomy. The regnal year is not at all corrected.

There are many records which bear the name Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya. They do not contain astronomical data. The highest regnal year quoted in such records is 23 only.[40] In the absence of internal evidence and astronomical data it is extremely difficult to assign these records to any particular Raja Narayana. The full texts of many records are not published. This is also a serious handicap in assigning the records to the proper persons.

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya III ruled from 1356 to 1375. His Puliyanur record which quotes the cyclic year Vikari corresponding to 1359 mentions the grant made by Ponnayan Sambuvaraya evidently Raja Narayana II. A record which comes from Vasur[41] (Polur Taluk) is in the 16th year of Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayanan Tiru Mallinathan Tirunirru Champan. It means that Tirunirru Champan was the son of Tirumallinathan. Evidently he was the son of Raja Narayana I The dates of Raja Narayana III prompt us to surmise that he should be the son of Raja Narayana I and he was called Tirunirru Champan. (Tirunirru means **Vibuti,** the sacred ash; **Champan** means devotee of Lord Shiva).

Ekambaranathan Sambuvaraya

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Kulasekara Sambuvaraya 1306-1330

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Ekambaranatha alias Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya
1322-1339

|

Raja Narayana I
alias Tiru Mallinathan 1337-1373

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Raja Narayana III
alias Tirunirru Champan
1356-1375

Raja Narayana II
alias Ponnin Tambiran
1338-1362

History

In April 1311, Malik Kafur the general of Alaudin Khilji of Delhi invaded Tamil Nadu, plundered the cities Tirichirappalli and Madurai and returned to Delhi in October of the same year[43] Two years larer, Kerala king Ravivarman Kulasekara invaded Tamil Nadu, defeated the Pandyas and occupied the northern areas of the Tamil country for four years. He was ably assisted by his nephew Kerala Ravivarman Vira Pandya. The Madurai Pandyas appealed to the Kakatiyas who drove out the Kerala kings in 1317. During this period the chief Kulasekara Sambuvaraya was much helpful to the Pandyas.

In the year 1319, Khusru Khan the general of the Delhi Sultan attacked Tirichirappalli. The Pandya king, Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya of accession 1315 defeated Khusru Khan.[43] Again in 1324 there was another invasion from Delhi. The Muhammadan army defeated the Pandyas, captured their capital Madurai and established the Madurai Sultanate[44] The Pandyas became weak and fled to the northern areas of the Tamil country. The Sambuvarayas fished in the troubled waters. Circumstances tempted them to seek political gains and they became opportunists (treachery?). In the year 1324 Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya son of Kulasekara Sambuvaraya declared independence (betraying trust?) and started asserting his authority in the North Arcot and Chengleput districts of Tamil Nadu. Venrumankonda and his descendants the three Raja Narayanas became all the more powerful. During this period there were many Pandya kings. The records of Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya II (1314—1362), Maravarman Vira Pandya I (1334–1367), Maravarman Parakrama Pandya I (1335—1362), Maravarman Vikrama Pandya (1337—1343)

Maravarman Vira Pandya II, (1341—1388) and Jatavarman Vikrama Pandya (1344—1352) are also found in the same area.[45] The records prove that the Pandyas did not lose their grip even though the Sambuvarayas declared independence. A record which comes from Vikravandi belongs to Maravarman Vikama Pandya of accession 1337. It introduces the king as Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Vikrama Pandya.[46] This shows that probably Vikrama Pandya defeated the two Raja Narayana Sambuvarayas of accession 1337 and 1338 and adopted their royal name.

The Pandyas had to face and tackle two serious problems. In the south, the Madurai Sultanate was threatening. In the extreme north of the Tamil country the Sambuvarayas grew in strength. At this stage the Pandyas sought the help of their friend the Hoysala king Ballala whose records[47] dated 1334 are available at Kanchipuram and his Tiruvannamalai record is dated Thursday the 4th January 1341. Ballala really wanted to help the Pandyas. His presence in the North Arcot area should have subdued the activities of the Sambuvarayas to some extent. Ballala took up the cause of the Tamil country. He fought with the Madurai Sultanate at Kannanur, in 1344, but lost his life. The Sambuvaraya became all the more powerful. This time the Pandyas sought the help of the Vijayanagar empire. The Vijayanagar Prince Kampana saw the confused and troublesome political situations as Tamil Nadu. First he subdued the Sambuvarayas. Later in 1371, he marched towards Madurai, wiped out the Sultans and established orderly government.[48] Vijayanagar brought the Tamil country under their control. Yet, they gave full freedom to the Pandyas who retired to Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. The Pandyas existed till the middle of the 17th century.

Adverting to the campaigns of Kampana let us see how he could have achieved success in his attempts. Records[49] of Kampana ranging from 1352 to 1374 are available in the traditional areas of the Sambuvarayas whose records are also found there. (Appendices B, C, and D) A record which comes from Madam is dated 1362 in the reign of Kampana. It states that his generals overcame the resistance put up by the Sambuvarayas and captured their kingdom[50]. Saluva Mangu the Pradhani of Kampana and Sayana Udaiyar son of Kampana adopted the title "establisher of the Sambuvarayas". According to the contemporary Sanskirit poem Mathura Vijayam or Kamparaya Charitam composed by Gangadevi the queen of Kampana, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Rajagambira, Sambuvaraya was captured and killed. It also mentions the success of Kampana at Madurai where he wiped out the Sultans (in 1371). The poem has soft corner for the Pandyas and describes in touching verses the pathetic conditions of the then Pandyan rulers. Incidentally a record which comes from Tirukkalakudi near Madura, dated Friday the 12th September 1371, in the reign of Maravarman Vira Pandya II states that Kampana Udaiyar destroyed the Muhammadans and established orderly government in the Tamil country.[51]

The episode of the Sambuvarayas receives corroboration in the main from other literary works such as the Telugu poem Jaimini Bharatam of Pillalamarri Pinavirabhadra and the Sanskrit poems Saluvabhyudayam of Rajanatha Dindima, and Ramabhyudayam

of Saluva Narasimha. It must be noted here that Mathura Vijayam explicitly states that the Sambuvaraya was **killed** and it does not allude to the restoration of Sambuvaraya. Whereas Jaimini Bharatham refers to his **establishment in the kingdom** by Saluva Mangu the general of Kampana. Saluvabhyudayam states that Saluva Mangu **first subjugated** the **Sambuvaraya and then restored him to the kingdom.**[52] We have constructed the genealogy and the chronology of the Sambuvaraya chiefs. The records of the Pandyas and those of Kampana and the literary works discused above prompt us to surmise as follows.

1) As early as 1352 the Vijayanagar prince Kampana at the request of the Pandyas, established himself in the territory of the Sambuvarayas and in course of time extented his authority after subjugating the Sambuvaraya chiefs. The worst affected was probably Raja Narayana II whose records upto 1356 are available. Yet, his existence in 1359 is confirmed by the junior Raja Narayana III.

2) Around 1362 there was a hot battle in which the younger brother Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II was probably killed. (His existence upto 1359 is known whereas the records of his elder brother Raja Narayana I running upto 1362 are available. The latter also figures in the Taiyur record[53] of Kampana dated 28th July 1362 three months after the date of the **Ukkal** record vide Appendix B).

3) Raja Narayana II surrendered to Kampana who was kind enough to restore him to the throne. The records of Raja Narayana I are found upto 1362 only. Later he figures as a donor in the record of Kampana dated 1373. Probably he should have retired from active politics and entrusted the affairs of the kingdom with his son Raja Narayana III whose records upto 1375 are identified.

TO SUM UP

In the year 1352, at the request of the Pandyas, Kampana entered the Sambuvaraya territory and established his authority there. He grew in strength and in the hot battle of 1362 he killed the younger brother Ponnin Tambiran alias Raja Narayana II. The elder brother Mallinathan alias Raja Narayana I surrendered and Kampana was kind enough to establish him on the throne. However Raja Narayana I entrusted the management of the kingdom with his son Tirunirru Champan alias Raja Narayana III. He retired from politics and spent the evening of his life peacefully till 1373. Raja Narayana III ruled till 1375. The fate of the Sambuvarayas of this family after 1375 is not known.

APPENDIX A

Sakalaloka Chakravartin Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya Alias Ekambaranatha

Record / Village	Regnal year and data	date
26 of 1934 Valayathur	Saka 1260, year 17, Kanni ba 8, Tuesday and Tiruvadirai	8th Sept. 1338
24 of 1887 Ganganur	17, Cyclic year Pramati, Rishaba Su 1, Monday and Rohini	10th May 1339
202 of 1921 Kangayanallur	-Do-	10th May 1339
46 of 1900 Sevallimedu	18, Mithuna, Su 13, Sunday, Hasta mistake for Jeyshta	20th June 1339
43 of 1921 Kanchipuram	-Do-	20th June 1339

On the basis of Ganganur record Rohini in Rishaba in 1322 belongs to the 0th year. The star was current on 17th May. On the basis of the Sevallimedu record Jeyshta in Mithuna in 1322 belongs to the first year. The star was current on 27th June

17th May 1322 = 0th year

27th June 1322 = 1st year

Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya alias Ekambaranatha came to the throne betveen the 18th May and the 27th June 1322.

APPENDIX B

Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I Alias Tiru Mallinathan of accession 1337

Record / Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
196 of 1940 Virinchipuram	3, Mina, ba, dasami wrong reading for Panchadasi, Uttirattati Wednesday	10th March 1339

Record / Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
96 of 1900 Tiruvottur	7, Makara ba 12, Mula, Monday	12th January 1344
140 of 1923 Arpakkam	16, Cyclic year Nandana Tula, (Su 8, Uttiradam and Sunday are irregular)	October 1352
103 of 1933 Sadras	16, Kumba 12th Solar day, Su Tuesday	5th February 1353
82 of 1936 Marangiur	17, Rishaba, ba 1, mistake for 2, Mula, Monday	20th May 1353
436 of 1925 Tiruttalur	18, Kanya mistake for Simha, Su 13, Uttiradam and Friday	1st August 1354
162 of 1940 Ukkal	26, Saka 1284, Subakrit, Mesha, Su 4, Rohini and Wednesday	30th March 1362

Sadras record is dated 5th February 1353. On that day star Sadayam was current in Kumba. Accordingly Sadayam in Kumba of 1337 belongs to 0th year. It was current on 2nd February. On the basis of Virinchipuram record, Uttirattati in Mina of 1337 falls in the first year. The star was current on 4th March.

2nd February 1337 = 0th year
4th March 1337 = 1st year

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya I alias Tirumallinathan came to the throne between the 3rd February and the 4th March 1337.

APPENDIX C

Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II Alias Ponnin Tambiran of accession 1338

Record / Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
377 of 1929 Tiruppalaivanam	3, Mesha Su 10 mistake for ba 4, Mula, Sunday	16th April 1340

Record / Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
176 of 1942 Sadupperi	4, cyclic year Chitrabanu, Mesha, Su 7, Punarvasu, Friday	12th April 1342
102 of 1933 Puduppattanam	5, Virchika, ba 11, Chittirai Sunday	24th November 1342
49 of 1922 Tiruvamattur	5, Kumba, Su 10 mistake for 12, Pushya, Friday	7th Fubruary 1343
195 of 1930 Kunnattur	6, Tula, Su 3, Mula, Wednesday	22nd October 1343
213 of 1923 Tiruppulivanam	6, Dhanus, Su 10, wrong for 14, Rohini Monday	1st December 1343
46 of 1900 49 of 1921 Sevallimedu	7, Simha, Revati, Friday	30th July 1344
203 of 1912 Tiruvorriyur	7, Simha, ba 2, mistake for 12, Punarvasu, Thursday (mentions Muhammadan invasion in the earlier days)	5th August 1344
30 of 1890 Kanchipuram	9, Saka 1268, Viya, Virchika ba 5, Punarvasu, Saturday	4th November 1346
42 of 1900 Sevallimedu	-Do-	4th November 1346
268 of 1909 Tirukkachur	13, Tula, ba 2, Kirtika, Sunday	17th October 1350
302 of 1921 Arasarkoil	14, Simha, ba 12, Pushya Friday	19th August 1351
260 of 1901 Acharapakkam	19, Karkataka, Su 5, Uttiram, Sunday	3rd July 1356
494 of 1926 Veppur	19, Kartikai, ba 10, Hasta Friday	18th November 1356

On the basis of 176 of 1942 star Punarvasu in Mesha of 1338 falls in the 0th year. It was current on 29th March. On the basis of 377 of 1929 star Mula in Mesha of 1338 belongs to the first year. It was current on 10th April.

29th March 1338 = 0th year

10th April 1338 = 1st year

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya II alias Ponnin Tambiran came to the throne between the 30th March and the 10th April 1338.

APPENDIX D

Sakalaloka Chakravartin Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya III Alias Tirunirru Champan

Record / Village	Regnal Year and data	Date
48 of 1922 Tiruvamattur	4, Kanni, Su 4, mistake for 6, Anusha, Friday	30th August 1359
386 of 1925 Puliyanur	4, Cyclic year Vikari, Virchika, ba 1, Rohini, Wednesday (Records the order of Ponnayan Sambuvaraya)	6th November 1359
55 of 1922 Tiruvamattur	5, Kumba, ba 8, Anusham Saturday	30th January 1361
114 of 1940 Tiruvattiyur	6, Simha, ba 14, Pushya Saturday	31st July 1361
245 of 1919 Madam	6, Simha, Su 1, Maka, Sunday	1st August 1361
233 of 1919 Madam	7, Mesha, Su 13, Uttiram, Wednesday	6th April 1362
498 of 1926 Veppur	7, Mithuna, Su 3, mistake for 11, Swati, Friday	3rd June 1362
200 of 1923 Tiruppulivanam	7, Tula, Su 6, Monday.	24th October 1362
187 of 1930 Kunnattur	8, Kanni, Su 5, Avittam wrong for Anusham, Wednesday	13th September 1363
218 of 1935 Nerkunam	18, Mithuna, ba 12, Rohini, Saturday	18th June 1373
131 of 1935 Aragandanallur	19, Tula, Su 9, Mistake for 4, Anusham, Monday	9th October 1374
396 of 1909 Siddalingamadam	20, Makara, Su 2 (?), Tiruvonam Wednesday	3rd January 1375

On the basis of 386 of 1925 star Rohini in Virchika of 1355 belongs to 0th year. The star was current on 20th November. On the basis of 396 of 1909, Tiruvonam in Makara of 1356 falls in the first year. The star was current on 4th January.

20th November 1355 = 0th year

4th January 1356 = 1st year

Raja Narayana Sambuvaraya III alias Tirunirru Champan eame to the throne between the 21st November 1355 and the 4th January 1356. The months November and December corresponding to Virchika and Dhanus are not auspicious for accession. Makara is an auspicious month which began on 27th December 1355. We can surmise that Raja Narayana III came to the throne between the 27th December 1355 and the 4th January 1356.

FOOT NOTES

1 A. R. S. E. 1924–25 part II para 41 ; For the earlier chief of same name A. R S. E. 1922–23 page 90 suggests Saka 1259 the accession date. The same report part II para 93 suggests Saka 1260.

2 N. SETHURAMAN "Two Jatavarman Sundara Pandyas of accseion 1303 and 1304"- Volume Ten of the Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India editlon 1983; Also see N. Sethuraman " Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya (1310-32) " - paper presented in the annual conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Dharwad in January 1985.

3 A. R. S. E. 180 of 1940; 178 of 1940; 177 of 1940; S. I. I. VII 101; 156 of 1939; 195 of 1923 A. R. S. E. 1939-43 part II para 55. The surmise made in para 61 is wrong and contradictory to para 55.

4 A. R. S. E. 177 of 1940

5 Madras State Epigraphical Collections 77 of 1908; The data are given in A. R. S. E. 1925-26 page 110 ; The report points out the difficullty in finding the correct date.

6 A. R. I. E. 312 of 1954-55 ; A. R. I. E 1954-55 page 16

7 A. R. I. E. 1954-55 page 16 ; Nellore records 60 and 71 ; S. I. I. V 493 ;

8 A. R. I. E. 310 of 1954-55

9 N. Sethuraman " Jatavarman Raja Rajan Sundara Pandya 1310-32 " paper presented in the annual congress of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Dharwad in January 1985.

10 A. R. S. E. 180 of 1940 read with the same temple record 178 of 1940 of Vira Pandya year 14. A R. S. E. 1939–43 page 250 para 55.

11 Andalil is near Virinchipuram - See A. R. S. E. 105 of 1940

12 N. Sethuraman " The Imperial Pandyas " page 176. Also see the paper mentioned in note 9 above.

13 N. Sethuraman " The Imperial Pandyas " page 136

14 A. R. S. E. 600 of 1915 - Maravarman Kulasekara Pandya I year 47

15 S. I I. XXIV 282

16 T. A, S. volume IV part I page 89 record number 16.

17 47 of 1898 the text of which is puplised in S. I. I. VI 330 and A. R. S. E 344 of 1923. Both are same. In 47 of 1898 the name of the village is wrongly printed as Pennagaram. The actual name is Perunagar which name is correctly mentioned in A. R. S. E. 1923.

18 43 of 1893 ; E I. VII page 128.

19 A. R. S. E. 323 of 1954-55

20 S. I. I. XXIV 283 and S I. I. IV 430 - " Tiruvadikunramu Vira Keralaranannu Vira Pandi ninni Malayala Tiruvadi Kulasekara ninni " - Venkata Subba Iyer reads " Tiruvadikunramu Virakshetranannu " - E. I XXVII 48. There is no chance for such a reading. The heroic title Vira is to be attributed to the Kerala prince Vira Pandya and not to a hill station.

21 A. R S. E. 72 of 1918

22 S. I. I. IV 855

23 S. I. I. IV 853

24 S. I. I. VII 101

25 A. R. S. E. 456 of 1925 – The Pallikonda records 456 to 463 of 1925 quote the regnal years only. It is extremely difficult to identify the kings. I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh who was kind enough to send the transcripts of the records. Internal evidence helps us in identifying the Pandya kings and the chief. For example 459 belongs to Sundara year 15 corresponding to 1318 and it mentions the grants made in the chief's 11th year corresponding to 1317. Record No. 460 belongs to Vira Pandya year 23 and it mentions the transactions made in the 11th year of the chief.

26 S. I. I. IV. 319 year 16 of Venrumankonda Sambuvaraya

27 A. R. S. E. 206 of 1929-30

28 S. I. I. I. No. 52

29 A. R. S. E. 35 of 1934 ; See part II page 36 para 22

30 A. R. S. E. 33 of 1934 ; See part II page 36 para 23

31 A. R. S. E. 32 of 1934

32 As in note 30 above

33 Madras State Epigraphical Collections 354 of 1911

34 S. I. I. V. 471

35 A. R. S. E. 86 of 1921

36 A. R. S. E. 434 of 1924

37 Madras State Epigraphical Collections 424 of 1905 ; 344 of 1909 and 139 of 1924

38 Ibid 390 of 1905

39 A. R. S. E. 1933-34 page 36 paragraphs 22 and 23

40 Avur A. R. S. E. 306 of 1919 ; Vide E. I. XXVIII page 158, Venkatasubba Iyer states that the highest regnal year is 24 and substantiates his statement by quoting 307 of 1919 which belongs to Raja Raja I year 24 corresponding to 1009 A. D. His statement needs revision

41 A. R. S. E. 83 of 1941-42

42 As in note 12 above

43 N. Sethuraman – " The Imperial Pandyas " – page 154

44 N. Sethuraman – " Five Pandya kings of the 14th century " – see page 61 – Volume Eleven of The Journal of Tha Epigraphical Society of India 1984.

45 N. Sethuraman " The Imperial Pandyas " – edition 1978 ; Also see the article mentioned in note 44 above.

46 A. R. S. E. 288 of 1915 regnal year is lost

47 Kanchipuram 391 and 401 of 1919 ; Tiruvannamalai S. I. I. VIII 99.

48 As in note 44 above

49 E. I. XXVIII page 158

50 E. I. XXVIII page 154

51 64 of 1916 - Also see note 44 above

52 E. I. XXVIII page 157

53 A. R. S. E. 226 of 1916.