

Protection Language(s) in inscriptions of the Tamil South (4th–15th c.)



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Protection of Endowments

Permanent endowments (perpetuity clause)

- 1st layer of protection = form, format, support
 - document in due form (clauses)
 - authenticated (issuer, signatories, etc.)
 - durable support: stone or copper (besides palm-leaf)
- 2nd layer of protection = words = protection language(s)

Avenues of Research

- Sanskrit imprecatory stanzas (formulaic and idiosyncrasic) in CP
- Tamil formulae in CP and stone inscriptions
- Post-15th century CP
- Divine orders: *śāsana* formula (Sanskrit *anuṣṭubh*)
- Linguistic division of labour between Sanskrit and Tamil

Sanskrit Formulaic Imprecatory Stanzas

- Pallava royal CP charters (300-900 CE)
5 prakrit charters; 14 + 2 Sanskrit charters; 13 bilingual Sanskrit Tamil charters
- Pāṇḍya royal CP charters (675-950 CE)
7 bilingual Sanskrit Tamil charters
- Cōḷa royal CP charters (900-1100 CE)
13 bilingual Sanskrit Tamil charters
- Cōḷa non royal CP (975-1225 CE)
7 Tamil charters

Pallava Prakrit Charters (300-400)

Mayidavōlu CP (IP2=IR2=[INSPallava00002](#))

Prose comminatory statement

*jo Amha-sāsanam Atichitūna pīlā bādhā karejo {(vā ta)} kārāpejo vā
tasa Amho sārīram sāsanam*

“Who, transgressing our edict, shall give or shall cause to be given trouble <and> annoyance <to the donees>, on him we shall inflict bodily punishment.” [transl. Hultzsch, EI 6.8]

Pallava Prakrit Charters (300-400)

Hīrahaḍagaḷḷi (IP3=IR3=[INSPallava00003](#))

*Eva nātūṇaṃ Atha koci vallabhamadena pīlā bādhā kareyya kāravejo vā
tasa khu Amhe nigaha{ṃ}vāraṇa kareyyāma ti*

“Now [if] anybody, knowing this, proud of [being] a favourite [of the king], should cause or cause to be caused a small obstacle [to the donees] him, forsooth, we shall restrain by punishment.” [transl. Bühler, EI 1.1]

*bhūyo ca varisa-sata-sahassātireka-samakāle Amhaṃ pallava kalamahaṃtte
bhavissabhaḍe Anne ca no vasudhādhipataye Abhatthemī jo sakakāle Upari
likhita-majātāye Aṇuvaṭṭhāveti tasa vo sammo ti yo ca si vigghe vaṭṭeja sa ca
khu pañca-mahāpātaka-saṃjutto narādhamo hoja ti*

“And further I pray both the future great warriors of our Pallava race, [who may rule] within a period exceeding one hundred thousand years, as well as kings, differing from us [in descent], saying [unto them]: ‘To him among you blessings, who in his time makes [the people] act according to the rule, written above. But he who acts contrary to it shall be the lowest of men, loaded with [the guilt of] the five mortal sins.’” [transl., Bühler EI 1.1]

Pallava Prakrit Charters (300-400)

Guṇapadēya CP

(IP4=IR4=[INSPallava00004](#))

I. Anuṣṭubh

*bahubhi(r) vva(s)udhā dattā
bahubhi(ś cā)nu(pā)litā
yasya yasya yadā bhūmi(h)
tasya tasya tadā phalam*

II. Anuṣṭubh

*svadat ⟨ā⟩m paradatt ⟨ā⟩m vā
y ⟨o⟩ ha ⟨reta⟩ vasundharām
gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantuḥ pibati duṣkṛtam
Āṇatti rohaṇīgutthā tti*

Alavakoṇḍa CP

(IR5=[INSPallava00376](#))

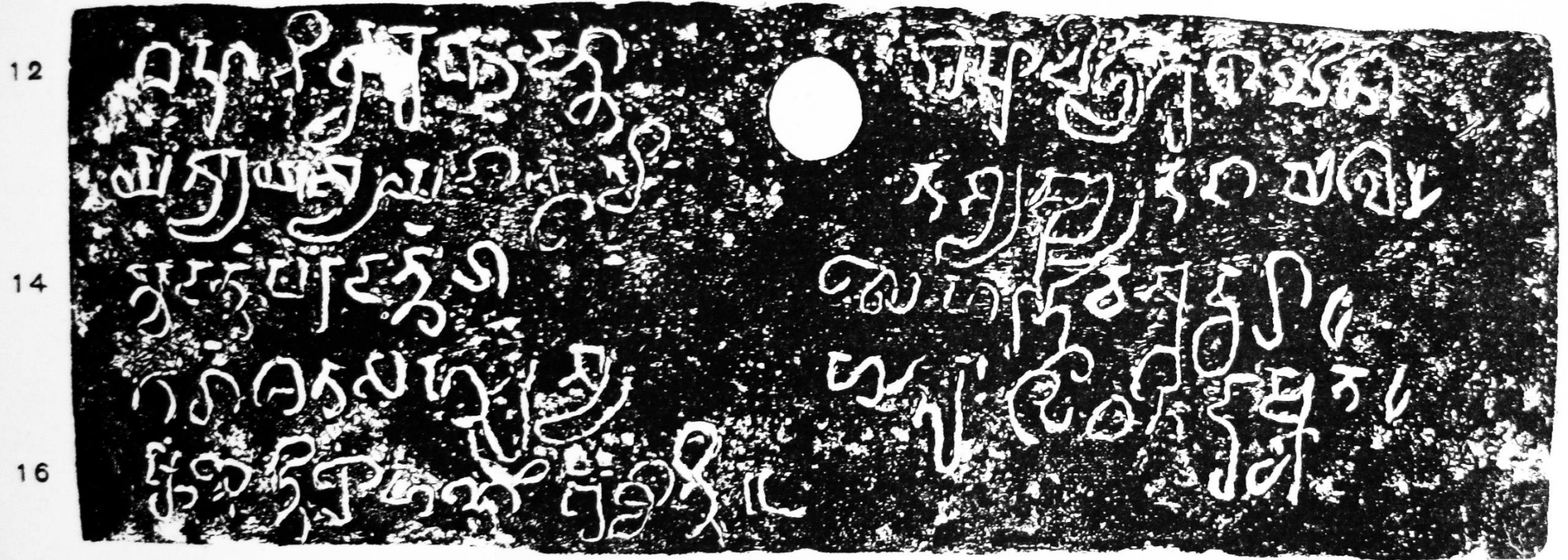
I. Anuṣṭubh

*bahubhir vvasudhā dattā
bah(u)bhiś cānupālitā
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis
tasya tasya tadā phalaM*

II. Anuṣṭubh

*svadattām paradattām vā
yo hareta vasundharām
gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantuḥ ⟨⟨p(i)⟩⟩bati duṣkṛtaM
Iti
svasti*

iii.



Guṇapadēya CP (IP4=IR4=[INSPallava00004](#)), plate 3r, facsimile EI 8.12

Pallava Prakrit Charters (300-400): Pāndūra Grant

*yaś cedam asma[c-chā]sanam atikramet sa pāpa(ś ś)ārīran daṇḍam arhaty
api cātrārṣā(h) (ś)l(o)kā bhavant[i]*

I. Anuṣṭubh

*bhūm(i)-dānāt para(n dānan na bhū(ta)n na bhaviṣyati
tasyaiva haraṇā[t] pāpa(n na) bhūtan na bhaviṣyati*

II. Anuṣṭubh

*bahubhi(r) vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś cānupālitā
(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalaM*

III. Anuṣṭubh

*svadattām paradattām vā yo hareta vasu ⟨n⟩dhar(ā)M
gāvā(ṃ) śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ pibati kilbiṣam*

iti (...) [ordered by the king and engraved by Nemi]

[INSPallava00396](#)

Pallava Sanskrit Charters (400-600)

- Formulaic stanzas in all complete charters, except IR 8, which, however, has the *daṇḍa* warning.

NB: IR 12 and IR 20 = orphan plate.

- Only formulaic stanzas.

- From 2 to 6 stanzas.

2 stanzas: IR 6, IR 7, IR 11

3 stanzas: IR 9, IR 15-17 (the same 3), IR 19

4 stanzas: IR 10, IR 13, IR 14

6 stanzas: IR 18

Pallava Sanskrit Charters (400-600)

Formulaic stanzas often preceded

by formulaic comminatory statement (*daṇḍa* warning) (IR 7-8, 11, 14-19):

yaś cedam asmac-cāsanam atikramet sa pāpas sarīran daṇḍam arhaty

by introductory phrase:

atra ca dvau ślokāv udāharanti (IR 6)

api cārṣa-ślokāḥ (IR 7)

atra ślokā bhavanti (IR 9)

api cātra brahma-gītāḥ ślokā bhavanti (IR 11)

api cātra ārṣāḥ ślokāḥ (IR 13)

api cātra brahma-gītāḥ ślokāḥ (IR 14)

api cātrārṣāḥ ślokā bhavanti (IR 15, 16, 18)

api cātrārṣāḥ ślokāḥ (IR 17)

[santy a]pi cātrārṣāḥ ślokāḥ (IR 19)

Pallava Sanskrit Charters (600-700): IR 34, IR 36

Two 7th-century Sanskrit charter from AP.

Collocation of *daṇḍa* warning + introductory phrase to stanzas + formulaic stanzas (2 in IR 34, 3 in IR 36).

But, along with each series of formulaic stanzas, one more stanza, mentioning the executor of the grant.

Pallava Bilingual Charters (600-900)

- 3 charters without protection formula (IR 21, IR 81, IR 92).
- Formulaic stanzas only in 5 of the 14 charters.
 - 1 at least 1 in IR 35 (lacunose); 3 in IR 82; 2 in IR 83; 1 in IR 87; 1 in IR 88
- Instead (occupying same slot at the charter's end):
idiosyncrasic stanza.
 - Usually 1
 - Up to 4 (in IR 84, where the first 2 are about the gift protection)
- 1 charter (IR 88) has both 1 formulaic stanza between 2
idiosyncrasic stanzas.

Sanskrit Formulaic Stanzas in Pallava Charters

svadattām paradattām vā (3 + 10+1 + 2 = 16) [best 132]

bahubhir vasudhā dattā (2 + 9+2 + 2 = 15) [best 23]

bhūmidānāt paran dānam (11+1 + 3 = 15) [best 28]

brahmasvam tu viṣaṃ ghoram (4+1 = 5) [best 98]

Prakrit^[300-400] = 5 charters

Sanskrit^[400-600+600-700] = 14+2 charters

Bilingual^[600-900] = 13 charters

Sanskrit Formulaic Stanzas in Pallava Charters

3 stanzas attested only once, in Sanskrit charters:

pūrvvaiḥ pūrvvataraiś caiva [IR14-S3/4 = best 113]

yathā nirohanty uptāni [IR18-S4/6 = best 157]

sāmānyo 'yaṁ dharmā-setur nṛpāṇām [IR88-S1/1 = best 117]

Pallava Charters: *sva-dattām para-dattām vā* (17)

variants (noted by Sircar) of best 132 for *padas cd*

best 132.0

sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yo hareta vasundharām
sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir bhūtvā
piṭṛbhiḥ saha pacyate

best 132.2

sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yo hareta vasundharām
gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantur pibati duṣkṛtam

5 occurrences:

IR4-S2/2, IR5-S2/2, IR6-S1/2,
IR7-S2/2, IR9-S2/3

best 132.1

sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yo hareta vasundharām
gavām śata-sahasrasya
hantuḥ pibati kilbiṣam

9 occurrences:

Pallava396-S3/3, IR10-S2/4,
IR11-S2/2, IR13-S3/4, IR14-
S2/4, IR15-S2/3, IR16-S3/3,
IR17-S3/3, IR18-S3/6

best 132.3

sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yo hareta vasundharām
ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi
viṣṭhāyām jāyate kṛmiḥ

3 occurrences:

IR36-S2/3, IR82-S3/3, IR83-
S2/2

Pallava Charters: *bahubhir vasudhā dattā* (16)

variants (noted by Sircar) of best 23

best 23

bahubhir vasudhā bhuktā
rājabhiḥ sagarādibhiḥ
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis
tasya tasya tadā phalam

bahubhir vasudhā dattā
bahubhiś cānupālita
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis
tasya tasya tadā phalam

13 occurrences:

IR4-S1/2, IR5-S1/1, Pallava396-S2/3, IR9-S1/3, IR10-S4/4, IR13-S2/4, IR14-S4/4, IR15-S3/3, IR16-S2/3, IR17-S2/3, IR18-S5/6, IR19-S3/3 + IR34-S1/2

The usual one in Prakrit and Sanskrit charters

bahubhir vasudhā dattā
bahubhiś cānupālita
yasya yasya yathā bhūmis
tasya tasya tathā phalam

2 occurrences:

IR36-S3/3, IR82-S2/3

In bilingual charters

vasubhir vasudhā dattā
rājābhiḥ savirājabhi[ḥ]
yāsyā yasya yadhā bhūmi
tasya tasya śatā phalam

1 occurrence:

IR87, S1/1

Much corrupted

Collateral branch charter

Pallava Charters: *bhūmidānāt paran dānam* (16) variants (noted by Sircar) of best 28, 26

best 28

*bhūmi-dānāt param dānam
na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati
tasyaiva haraṇāt pāpam
na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati*

12 occurrences:

Pallava396-S1/3, IR7-S1/2,
IR10-S1/4, IR11-S1/2, IR13-
S1/4, IR14-S1/4, IR17-S1/3,
IR19-S1/3, IR34-S2/2, IR35-
S1/1, IR82-S1/3, IR83-S1/2

The usual one in Sanskrit
and bilingual charters

*bhūmi-dāna-saman dānam
na(ṃ) bhūtaṃ na bha-(vi)viṣyati
tasyaiva haraṇāt pāpa[ṃ*]
na bhūtaṃ na bhaviṣyati*

1 occurrence:

IR15-S1/3
pada a of best 26

best 26

*bhūmi-dāna-samam dānam
iha-loke na vidyate yaḥ
prayacchati bhūmiṃ hi
sarva-kāmān dadāti saḥ*

1 occurrence:

IR16-S1/3

*bhūmi-dānāt paran dānam
iha-loke na vidyate yaḥ
prayacchati bhūmi[ṃ*] hi
sarvva-kāmān dadāti saḥ*

2 occurrences:

IR18-S1/6, IR19-S2/3

pada a of best 28

Pallava Charters: *bhūmidānāt paran dānam*

IR 19 (Sanskrit charter)

IR19-S1/3 = the usual Pallava one
= best 28

*bhūmi-dānāt paran [dā]nan
na bhūtan na bhaviṣyati
tasyaiva haraṇāt pāpan
na bhūtan na bhaviṣyati*

IR19-S2/3 = best 26, with *pada* a of
best 28 instead of *bhūmi-dāna-*
samaṁ dānam

*bhūmi-dānāt para[n dā]nam
iha loke na vidyate
yaḥ prayacchati [bhū]miṁ hi
sarvvān kāmān dad[ā*]ti saḥ*

Pallava Charters: *brahma-svaṃ tu viṣaṃ ghoraṃ* (5) variant (noted by Sircar) of best 98

best 98

na viṣaṃ viṣaṃ ity āhur

brahma-svaṃ viṣaṃ ucyate

viṣaṃ ekākinam hanti

brahma-svaṃ putra-pautrikam

brahma-svaṃ tu viṣaṃ ghoraṃ

na viṣaṃ viṣaṃ ucyate

viṣaṃ ekākinam hanti

brahma-svaṃ putra-pautrikam

5 occurrences:

IR6-S2/2, IR9-S3/3, IR13-S4/4, IR18-S2/6,
IR36-S1/3

Pallava Sanskrit Charters (400-600)

Two variants of best 123:

*saṣṭim varṣa-sahasrāṇi
svarge modati bhūmidah
ācchettā cānumantā ca
tāny eva narake vaset*

IR 10, S3/4

varṣa-koṭi-sahasrāṇi [not in best]
svargge *krīḍati* bhūmi-dah
ākṣeptā cānumantā ca
tāvanti narake vaset

IR 18, S6/6

*asaṃkhyeyāni varṣāṇi
svargge *modanti* bhūmi-dāḥ
ākṣeptā cānumantā ca
tany eva narake vaset*

Pallava Bilingual Charters (600-900) Idiosyncrasic Stanzas

Topic = Protection of the gift (often the donor king addressing the future kings):

IR 84:11, 84:12, 88:29 = 89:7, 91:31.

But also:

- invocation (IR 84:13)
- poet (IR 84:14)
- engraver (IR 88:31, 91:31)
- perpetuity wish for donation (IR 85:11, 90:18)

Pallava Bilingual Charters (600-900)

Protection Idiosyncrasic Stanzas

IR 84:11 = blessing/carrot/commendatory/reward and curse/stick/warning/comminatory/punishment.

IR 84:12 = donor king addressing the future kings (... *[i]ti avocan nṛpaḥ*).

IR 88:29 = IR 89:7 = donor king named (Nandivarman), bows to king asking them to protect his donation (... *rakṣateti ... vandate nandivarmmā*).

IR 91:31 = donor king named (Nṛpatuṅgavarman) bows to king asking them to protect his donation (... *rakṣateti ... nṛpatūṅgavarmmā ... praṇamaty*).

Pallava Bilingual Charters: IR 84:11 (789 CE)

*yo goṣ-padāvadhim api pradadāti bhūmiṃ
yo vā haraty agaṇayan paripākam ugraM.
Ā candra-tāram adhiṣṭata Eva tau dvau
nākaukasāñ ca sadanan narakañ ca ghoraM.*

“He that grants land even though it be (*in extent*) as big as the hoof of a cow and he that robs (*it*) without caring for the disastrous end, shall both of them dwell, indeed, till the moon and the stars last, (*the first, however,*) in the home of the gods and (*the second*) in dreadful hell.”
[transl. H. Krishna Sastri, SII 2.99]

Pallava Bilingual Charters: IR 84:12 (789 CE)

*dharmmaṃ śarma-kṛtam mayā kṛtam imaṃ sāmṛājya-dīkṣāvratō
ra[t>k]ṣaty a[t>k]ṣata-la[t>k]ṣaṇaṃ [t>k]ṣiti-tale yaḥ [t>k]ṣātra-cūlā-maṇiḥ
mūrddhany atra mukunda-vandya-caraṇa-dvandvaṃ viḥāyāpāreṣv
ajñāta-praṇato vasen pada-yugan tasyety avocan nṛpaḥ*

“The king says—I have sought shelter in religious merit. *(Every)* head-jewel among kings who has taken the vow to maintain sovereignty on the surface of the earth, shall protect this deed *(of mine)* without disturbing *(its)* scheme. May his pair of feet dwell on this *(my)* head, which never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (Viṣṇu).” [trad. H. Krishna Sastri, SII 2.99]

Early Pāṇḍya Charters

Iḷaiyān_uttūr CP (676 CE)

3 stanzas:

2 so far found only in Pāṇḍya charters

1 formulaic

brahmadeya-paripālanād ṛte

brahmasva-rakṣaṇād anyat

bahubhir vasudhā dattā

Early Pāṇḍya Charters

Vēlvikkuṭi CP (770 CE)

5 formulaic stanzas (all in Sircar's list), the last four attributed to Vaiṣṇava Dharma (*catvāraḥ ime vaiṣṇave dharmē ślokāḥ*):

*rakṣāṃ naraḥ parakṛtau vidadhīta vidvān
na hi bhūmipradanād vai
dātā daśānugṛṇāti yo
svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā
bahubhir vasudhā dattā*

Early Pāṇḍya Charters

Śrīvaramaṅgalam CP = 785 CE

4 stanzas:

2 so far found only in Pāṇḍya charters

2 formulaic stanzas

brahmadeya-paripālanād ṛte

bahubhir vasudhā dattā

na viṣa(m) viṣam ity āhūr

brahmasva-rakṣaṇād anyat

Early Pāṇḍya Charters

Ciṅṅamaṅūr CP smaller = 771-811 CE

2 stanzas:

1 formulaic

1 so far found only in Pāṇḍya charters

svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā

brahmasva-ra[t>k]ṣaṅād anyat

Early Pāṇḍya Charters

Taḷavāypuram CP = 910 CE (IEP) = 905 CE (S2009)

Cinṇamaṇūr CP larger = 926-927 CE (IEP) = 921 CE (S2009)

1 single Sanskrit stanza, idiosyncrasic, in:

Taḷavāypuram = blessing and reward for protectors

Cinṇamaṇūr CP larger = donor king named
(Abhimāmeru) bows to king asking them to protect
his donation (... [i]ti ... praṇamaty ... abhimāmeruḥ).

No protection formula in Civakāci CP = 940-941 CE.

Early Pāṇḍya Charters (675-950) Sanskrit Stanzas

Formulaic Stanzas:

bahubhir vasudhā dattā (3 occurrences)

svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā (2 occurrences)

+ 4 others (each with 1 occurrence in Vēļvikkuṭi CP)

Dynastic formulaic stanzas?

brahmadeya-paripālanād (2 occurrences)

brahmasva-rakṣaṇād anyat (3 occurrences)

10th-century charters:

2 grants, each with an idiosyncrasic Sanskrit stanza = blessing of protector.

No protection formula in the 3rd and latest.

Early Pāṇḍya Charters (675-950)

Tamil prose formula

In 5 of the 7 charters, right before or right after the Sanskrit protective stanzas, royal speech:

mar·r' itaṇaik· kāt·tār((aṇ·)) malar-aṭi Eṇ· muṭi mēlaṇa Eṇ·ru kor·raṇē-y· paṇitt-aruli-t· terr' eṇa tāmra-śāsanañ· cey·vit·tāṇ· [Śrīvaramaṅgalam CP = 785 CE]

“Furthermore, having said ‘the lotus-feet of he who protects this are on my head’, having graciously ordered [so], the king (*korraṇ*) had this copper order made, as ... (*terru/tērru*).’

terru (“certainty, ascertainment, assurance, persuasion, confidence”) or *tērru* (“making clear; becoming clear”)?

Same phrase in Sanskrit idiosyncrasic stanzas (Pallava IR 84:12 : *mūrddhany ... vasen pada-yugan tasy[a]*, “May his pair of feet dwell on this (*my*) head”).

Cōḷa Royal Charters (13 items, 900-1100)

- Format similar to that of bilingual Pallava charters.
- Some without protection formula.
- Only one with formulaic stanzas (Cārāla CP).
- Majority have no Sanskrit formulaic stanza, but 1 idiosyncrasic Sanskrit stanza (blessing of protector OR donor addressing the future kings to future) and no Tamil statement.

Cōḷa Royal Charters

Tiruvintaḷūr CP #9 = 1053 CE, Rājādhirāja I + 1056 CE, Rājendra II + 1065 CE, Vīrarājendra:

No Sanskrit words for protection, but exceptionally long Tamil prose statement, full of Sanskrit words in Grantha (plate 86rv).

Royal speech (*vyavasthā, samaya*) when seated in court in his palace: reward (merit of donation in various holy places, of *kṣatriya* sacrificing in battle) and punishment (sin of killing cows, Brahmins, unarmed *kṣatriyas*; 5 great sins; treachery against master [*svāmi-droha*]) + address to future kings.

Cārāla = Cōḷa CP #10 = 1070 CE, Vīrarājendra:

2 Sanskrit formulaic stanzas and, in between, an idiosyncrasic stanza (same, updated, as in 2 Pallava CP)

Cōḷa Royal Charters (900-1100)

Idiosyncrasic Sanskrit stanzas

Utayēntiram CP, st. 25

~ Pallava IR 91:31

Aṅpil CP, st. 45.

Karantai CP, st. 73

~ Ecālam CP, st. 33

Leiden Larger CP, st. 38

Cārāla, st. 85

~ Pallava IR 88:29 ~ IR 89:7

Cōḷa Non Royal CP (975-1225)

- #15 Tirukkaḷar II (SII 3.208), RY 31 of Rājādhirājadevar = 1049 CE, Rājādhirāja I:

Itu Aḷipp[a>ā]r tiruvāṇai ||-

“Those who destroy this (*shall incur the sin of acting against*) the sacred (*or royal*) order.” [transl. H. Krishna Sastri, SII 3.208]

- #20 Tirucceṅkōṭu II (SII 3.212A), RY 10 year of Rājakēcaripanmar = 966 CE, Sundara Cōḷa Parāntaka II (?) = 995 CE, Rājarāja I (?):

It' anr' enrān sukita-cantānam tuppaṇa v-aruvān

Itu Ira(kṣi)ttān aṭi Eṇ talai mēlatu

“The merit and progeny of him who contradicts this shall be entirely cut off. The feet of him who protects this shall (rest) on my head.” [transl. H. Krishna Sastri, SII 3.212]

Sanskrit Idiosyncrasic Stanzas

In Pallava, Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa bilingual Sanskrit Tamil charters.
Mostly about protection of donation.

Clear intertextuality (inside same dynastic corpus).
Even up to borrowing (between dynastic corpora).

Pallava IR 88:29 ~ Pallava IR 89:7 ~ Cōḷa Cārāla, st. 85.

Pallava IR 91:31 ~ Cōḷa Utayēntiram CP, st. 25

Cōḷa Karantai CP, st. 73 ~ Cōḷa Ecālam, st. 33

Tamil Protection Formulae

- As early as the 7th century onwards in Tamil stone inscriptions.
- Explicit protection vocabulary: *rakṣai*, *rakṣi-ttal*, *kāttal*.
- Pair of formulae: blessing/carrot/commendatory/reward + curse/stick/warning/comminatory/punishment.
- Caveat: unlike Sanskrit formulaic stanzas (stanzas on *bhūmi-dāna*), some formulae originated or are used for transactions other than donation (compact, local agreement, ...)

... *eṇ talai mēl* Formula (8th c. onwards)

Donation + protector + feet + on my head

Iddha(r)mmaM rakṣittār aṭi Eṇ ralai mēlaṇa (731 CE, [INSPallava00071](#))

Id-dharmam rakṣittār tiruvaṭi En talai mē(l ā)ka ([INSPallava00163](#))

It-taṇmam nōkkiṇavaṇ tiruvaṭi Iraṇṭu{m}m eṇ talai{m} mēlē ([INSSII0400152](#))

y-itu kāttāṇ aṭi Eṇ ralai mēlaṇa ([INSSII0400148](#))

etc.

rakṣai Formula (9th c. onwards)

X-rakṣai

Itu pa[ṇmā](h)[e]c(u)va[ra-rakṣai]

[INSPallava00122](#) (856 CE)

Xr rakṣai

Itu paṇmāheśvarar irakṣai

[INSPallava00146](#) (9th c.)

X rakṣai Formula: Whose Protection?

- Paṅmāheśvaras, “the many great devotees of Śiva”
- Śrīvaiṣṇavas, “the glorious devotees of Viṣṇu”
= Imagined community of devotees
- The members of the local Brahmin assembly (*sabhaiyār, mahāsabhaiyār, mūlaparuṭaiyār*).
- The members of village committees (*vāriya-p-peru-makka!*).
- The members of the local village assembly (*ūrar*).
- Temple officials (*tēvakaṇmi, cātta-kaṇattār*).
- Royal officers (*rājapuruṣarka!*)
- etc.

X rakṣai Formula: Whose Protection?

- *āyiran-tiruvaṭi rakṣai*. Several instances in inscriptions (10th c.) in the Nākeśvara in Kumpakōṇam. “He who has one thousand feet”. Cf. *sahasrapād* = Puruṣa in the *Puruṣasūkta* of *Ṛgveda*. SII 3.200: Viṣṇu.

Variant phrases:

- *Itu ra (kṣi)p·pār·lvv-ūr mū-v-(āyi)ratt’ elu-nūrruvarum·*, “The three-thousand and seven hundred of this village” (Tiruveḷḷarai, IP 98, 800 CE).
- *āḷuṭaiya-piḷḷaiyār pātamē kāvalai* (Cīrkāḷi, CEC 15, Śaka 1300), where *Āḷuṭaiya-piḷḷaiyār* is earlier named as recipient in the inscription.

blessing/carrot/reward curse/stick/warning/punishment

- Cf. Sanskrit stanzas (formulaic and idiosyncrasic) in charters.
- 8th-century Pallava inscriptions: mostly blessing/reward only (IP 71, IP 80, IP 83, IP 92, IP 97).

IP 91 (793 CE, [INSPallava00091](#))

Itu kāttā(r A)ṭi [y-eṇ muṭi mē]laṇa

Itu Alittāṇ kaṭikai (E)lāru(va)raiyum ko(ṇra pāvattu pa)ṭuvāṇ

[INSSII0400148](#) (RY 6 of Parakesarivarman)

Itu Irakkiṇāṇ valivā[⟨ṇ⟩]

y-itu kāttāṇ aṭi Eṇ ralai mēlaṇa

Itu paṇmāheśvara-ra[kṣai] [||]

Rewards	Punishments
Heaven (<i>svargam</i> , as long as moon and sun)	Hell (<i>narakam</i> , as long as moon and sun; lower than seventh hell)
<p>Fruit of founding temples, installing <i>liṅgas</i>, etc.</p> <p>Fruit of <i>aśvamedha</i> performance</p> <p>Fruit of <i>darśana</i> in specific places</p> <p>Fruit of Mārkaṇḍeya</p>	<p>Plain sin</p> <p>Sins (5 <i>mahāpātakas</i>)</p> <p>Sin committed between Ganges and Kumari [Kumari later skipped], on the Ganges, in Vāraṇāci, on the bank of Kāvēri, in Kaccipēṭu (Kāñcīpuram), ...</p> <p>Specified sin: killing tawny cow, <i>guru</i>, father and mother; destroying Kāmakkōṭṭam (IP 74); killing <i>ghaṭikā</i> members (IP 91); ...</p>
	<p>Defiling practice / status (12th c. onwards):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Becoming hermaphrodite (growing beard and breasts) - Becoming traitor (<i>drohin/turōkin</i>) (ostracisation) - Attending vile or polluted (by death) persons - Obtaining low rebirth, eating beef, etc.

Karashima 2009 “New Imprecations”

12th-13th c. New type of imprecations. Context: weakening of Cōla state, rise of supra-local organizations (merchant guilds, tribal population integrated through military service):

- traitor (*drohin*) against locality (*nāṭṭu*), etc.
- “sin between Ganges and Kumari” replaced by “killing a tawny cow on the bank of Ganges”.
- “coarse expressions”.

See also P.R. Srinivasan, Appendix I (“Imprecatory Passages in Inscriptions”) in *Tiruvannamalai Inscriptions* vol. 2.

Daṇḍa / Fine

Between formal layer of protection (optional clause) and protection language.

Provision of fine (*daṇḍa*):

for external obstructor

for defaulting overseeing body

itaṅ tirampu-tal formula (“failing this”) (Pallava inscriptions)

fine to be paid to the *dharmāsana* (Pallava inscriptions)

fine to be collected by the *śraddhāmantas* (Uttiramērūr) [“those who take deep interest (in the temple)” acc. to Krishna Sastri, SII 3: 370, fn. 2]

Vijayanagara Royal CP Charters (16th c.)

Small sample (2 charters).

- Entirely in Sanskrit.
- The same series of 5 formulaic stanzas:

*dānapālayanor maddhye
svadattād dviguṇam puṇyam
svadattām paradattaṃ vā
ekaiva bhaginī loke
sāmanyō 'yaṃ dharmasetur*

Tirumalai Nāyak CP (1623-1659)

25 Tamil Plates edited by TNSDA.

Carrots:

- obtaining 8 *aiśvaryas* (superpowers)
- fruit of service to various deities (localised, e.g. from Paḷaṇi)
- obtaining *cālōkam*, *cāmīpam*, *cārūpam*, *cāyucciyam* (final states of bliss)

Sticks:

- punishing god (*X kē!kkum/kē!ppār*)
- sin of interrupting lamp service in temple

Also new type of perpetuity clause: *kalluñ kāvēri pullum pūmi cantirātittar U!a varaikkum*

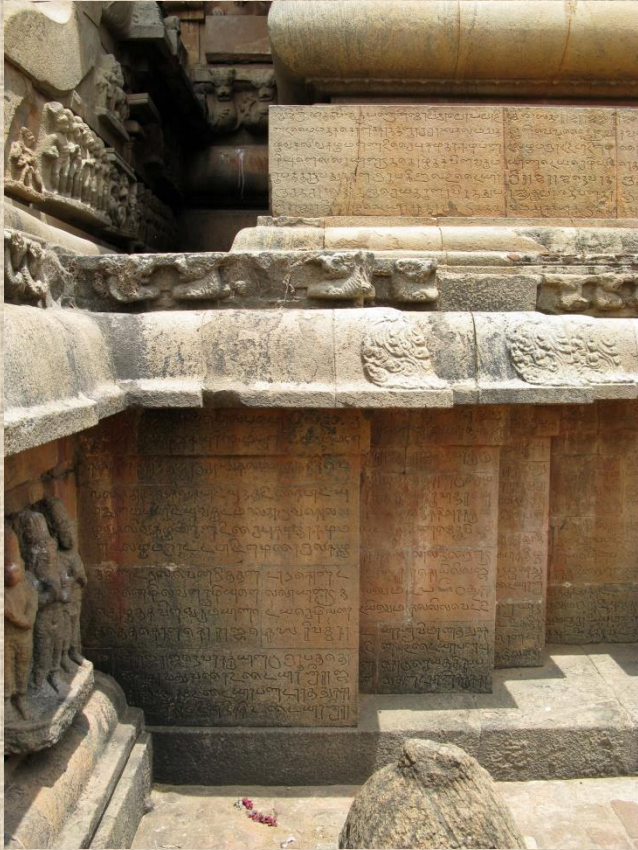
Royal Orders



Vēlañcēri plates seal, Pallava, ca, 825-850 CE



Tiruvintaḷūr plates seal, Cōla, 1065 CE.



Royal Orders: Tanjore

svasti śrī ḥ

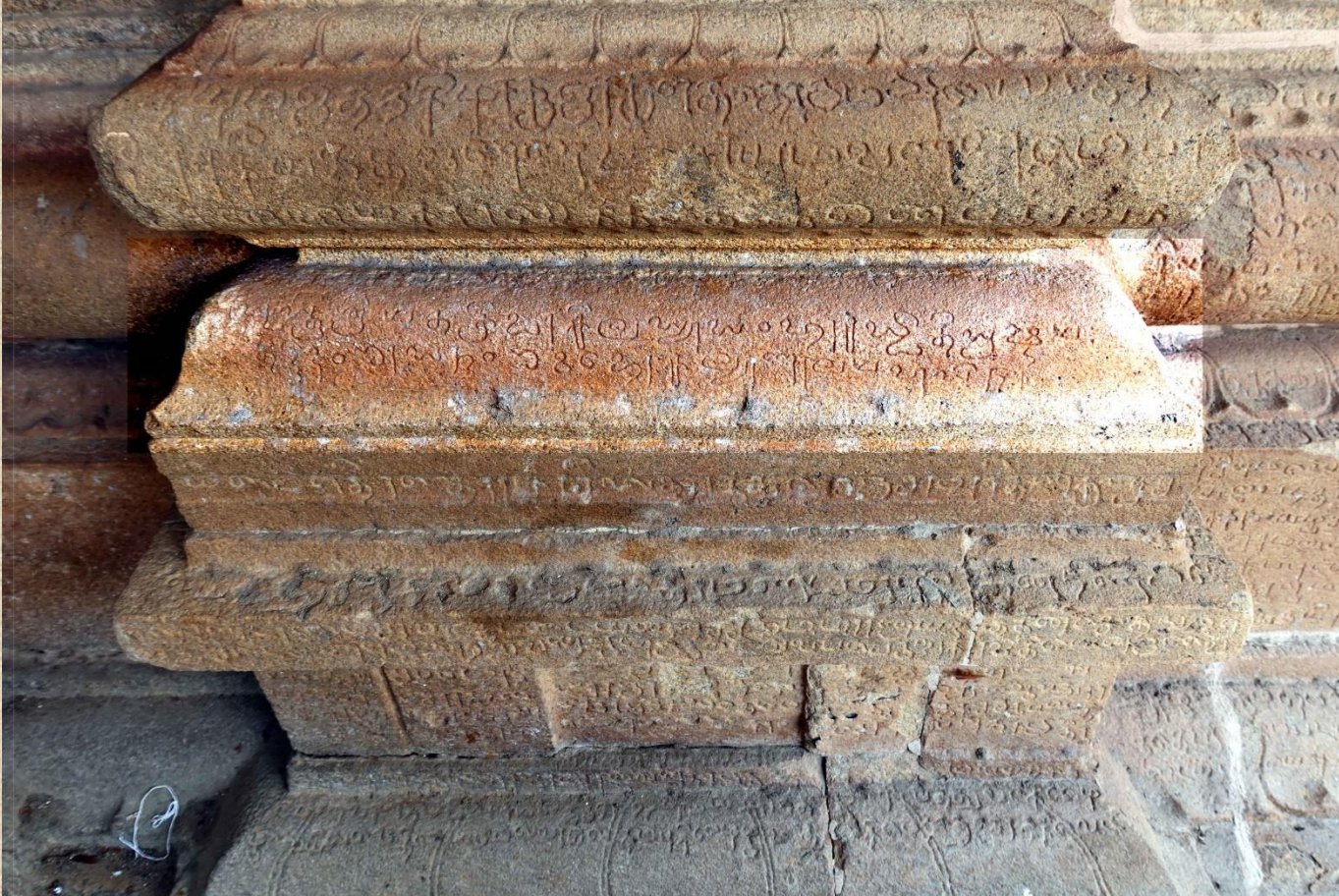
*Etat viśva-nṛpa-śreṇi-
mauli-mālopalāḷitam(-)*

śāsanam rājarājasya

rāja-kesari-varmmaṇaḥ [early 11th c., SII 2.1]



Divine Orders: Kuttālam (SII 23.488, 10th c.?)



⟨1⟩ *svasti śrī ḥ*

yat (·)-kr (ī)ḍākila (-loka) sy (a)

saṃhāra-sthiti-sṛṣṭayaḥ

⟨2⟩ *tad idaṃ śāsanam śaṃbhoḥ*

kalyāṇālaya-vāsinah |||



Divine Orders: Pirāṇmalai

7 inscriptions (Śaka 1449, 1450, 1452, 1463, 1500, 1565, 1610)
start with

*Etat trailokya-nirmmāṇa-
trāṇa-saṃhāra-kāraṇam
śāsanam cāśvataṃ śambhoḥ
kaṭhoragiri-vāsinaḥ*

Kaṭhoragiri = Pirāṇmalai

Śiva = cause of creation, preservation and destruction.



Pirāṇmalai inscriptions 54 and 64.
Photos by Babu N. Ramaswamy (EFE0).

Divine Orders

- Śiva (Śambhu)
- Viṣṇu (Raṅganātha, Śrīnivāsa, Śrivēṅkaṭeśa/Śrivēṅkaṭanāṭha)
- Āṅṭāl (Godā)

Examples from Karnataka: orders of Lakuṭīśa, Vāsudeva, Jina.

15th-16th c., in the Pāṇḍya region: gods speaking in the first person and ordering donations; donations solemnised in the presence of deities.

Raṅganātha love letter to Āṅṭāl: “in the lengthy preface to his order, the god describes Āṅṭāl’s suffering for the sake of her love for him, using phrases from her poem *Nācciyar Tirumoli*.”

See Leslie C. Orr, “Making Place in a Small Space: The Sacred Worlds of the Tenkasi Pandyas”, paper presented at AAS Annual Meeting, Chicago, March 2015.

Linguistic division of labour

CP

- Pallavas: protection language = Prakrit prose, then Sanskrit exclusively, mostly in verse.
- Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas: protection language = Sanskrit mostly, but also Tamil formulae.
Cosmopolitan Sanskrit + Tamil for the king's speech (blessing of protector).
- Vijayanagara royal Sanskrit charters: Sanskrit formulaic stanzas. Standard set?
- Tirumalai Nāyak (1623-1659) monolingual Tamil plates: Tamil prose formulae.

Linguistic division of labour Tamil stone Inscriptions

Usually Tamil formulae, imbued with Sanskrit loanwords in Grantha.

But also examples with both languages of protection: Tamil prose formulae and Sanskrit formulaic stanza(s):

- IP 91 Tiruvallam (793 CE, [INSPallava00091](#)): blessing, curse, *daṇḍa* warning in Tamil + *bahubhir vasudhā dattā*.
- Tiruvaṇṇāmalai 361-361 (1482 and 1486 CE): Tamil curse (killing a cow on the Ganges banks), Tamil *rakṣai* formula + *dāna-pālanayor madhye*.
- Pirāṇmalai SII 8.441 ([TamilNadu00450](#), 1500 Śaka): starts with god's *śāsana* and ends with Tamil blessing and curse.

Conclusions

- Sanskrit as protection language.

Mostly (but not exclusively) in CP.

Verse (formulaic or idiosyncrasic) almost exclusively.

Land donations.

- Idiosyncrasic stanzas that become dynastic formulaic stanzas, and then regional formulaic stanzas.

Intertextuality between early Pāṇḍya bilingual charters.

Intertextuality between Pallava and Cōḷa bilingual charters.

- *śāsana anuṣṭubh* = divine orders inspired by royal orders. Parallel king and god.

- Tamil as protection language.

First in stone inscriptions, from 8th c. onwards; in early royal Pāṇḍya charters (end of 8th c.), but not at all in royal Pallava charters and in one royal Cōḷa charter only. Usual in later Tamil CP (royal and non-royal).

Prose formulae.

Land donations, but also for other various transactions (compact, agreement, ...).

- Sanskritic background.

In vocabulary (*raḡṣai*), reflected in script (Grantha).

In contents: blessing/curse + reward/punishment; feet of protector on head.

- Vernacularisation (from the beginning and increasingly).

X *raḡṣai* formula seems specific to Tamil inscriptions (cf. *svasti śrī*, *tirumukam*)

Specific, localised rewards/punishments (cf. also specific perpetuity clause).