



**HAL**  
open science

# Use and Functions of the Coronation Name During the Somavamśin Dynasty

Amandine Wattelier-Bricout

► **To cite this version:**

Amandine Wattelier-Bricout. Use and Functions of the Coronation Name During the Somavamśin Dynasty. Dániel Balogh; Annette Schmiedchen. Self-Representation and Presentation of Others in Indic Epigraphical Writing, 63, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp.29-56, 2024, Asien- und Afrikastudien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 978-3-447-12230-6. 10.13173/9783447122306.029 . hal-04712675

**HAL Id: hal-04712675**

**<https://hal.science/hal-04712675v1>**

Submitted on 3 Oct 2024

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Self-Representation  
and Presentation of Others  
in Indic Epigraphical Writing

Edited by  
Dániel Balogh and Annette Schmiedchen

Asien- und Afrika-Studien 63  
der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

---

Harrassowitz Verlag

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

# Asien- und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Band 63

2024

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

# Self-Representation and Presentation of Others in Indic Epigraphical Writing

Edited by  
Dániel Balogh and Annette Schmiedchen

2024

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

The present publication is a result of the project DHARMA ‘The Domestication of “Hindu” Asceticism and the Religious Making of South and Southeast Asia.’ This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no 809994). The papers in this book reflect only the respective authors’ view. The funding body is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 (BY-SA) which means that the text may be used for commercial use, distribution and duplication in all media.

For details go to: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <https://www.dnb.de/>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our website  
<https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/>

© by the contributors.

Published by Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2024

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printing and binding: docupoint GmbH

Printed in Germany

ISSN 0948-9789

eISSN 2750-1388

DOI: 10.13173/0948-9789

ISBN 978-3-447-12230-6

eISBN 978-3-447-39546-5

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

# Table of Contents

## Introduction

*Annette Schmiedchen and Dániel Balogh with Natasja Bosma*

1. Preface.....	ix
2. Editorial conventions .....	xvi

## Portrayal of the Forest People: the “Other” in the Epigraphic Records of Early India

*Suchandra Ghosh and Soumya Porel*

1. Introduction.....	1
2. A few references in literary texts .....	2
3. Epigraphic mentions: changing positions of the forest people .....	5
4. Conclusion .....	9
Primary sources.....	10

## The Position of Tīvaradeva in the Light of Panegyric Passages in Inscriptions of Dakṣiṇa Kosala

*Natasja Bosma*

1. Introduction.....	13
2. Panegyric passages in the corpus of Dakṣiṇa Kosala .....	15
3. Statistical analysis.....	22
4. Discussion.....	25
Primary sources.....	28

## Use and Functions of the Coronation Name During the Somavaṃśin Dynasty

*Amandine Wattelier-Bricout*

1. Introduction.....	29
2. The corpus of the Somavaṃśin dynasty.....	30
3. Reassessing the identities of issuers .....	35
4. Use of the coronation name in grants issued by the Somavaṃśin kings .....	39
5. Use of the coronation names in non-royal grants.....	48
6. Conclusion.....	52
Primary sources.....	54

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306.V

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

**Struggle Over Kannauj and Beyond:  
the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas**

*Ryosuke Furui*

1. Introduction .....	57
2. Reconstruction of events .....	58
3. The Pālas: focus on one event .....	59
4. The Gurjara-Pratihāras: valour and achievement .....	62
5. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas: insignia and imperial vision.....	65
6. Concluding remarks .....	69
Primary Sources .....	70

**Claiming Sovereignty on the Edge of the Imperial Kingdom:  
the Pālas of Kāmarūpa and the Candras of Vaṅga**

*Jae-Eun Shin*

1. Introduction .....	71
2. Self-representation in the changing political contexts .....	72
3. Presentation of others in a changing religious landscape.....	83
4. Conclusion .....	90
Primary sources.....	91

**The Portrayal of Underlings  
in Eastern Cālukya Copper Plates**

*Dániel Balogh*

1. Introduction .....	93
2. Method .....	107
3. Discussion of results.....	120
4. Concluding thoughts .....	152
Primary sources.....	162

**Juxtaposed Genealogies  
of the Hoysaḷas and their Subordinates**

*Samana Gururaja*

1. Introduction .....	165
2. Standard expressions of loyalty in Kannada epigraphy .....	167
3. The Hoysaḷa genealogy .....	170
4. Subordinates with generational ties to the Hoysaḷas.....	175
5. The Huliyaṛ Family: Service to multiple royal families .....	180

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306.V

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor



6. Conclusion .....	184
Primary sources .....	185

**The Central Indian Yādava Dynasty:  
Epigraphic Self-Representation versus Hemādri's Account**

*Annette Schmiedchen*

1. Introduction .....	187
2. Epigraphic versus non-epigraphic <i>praśastis</i> .....	190
3. Eulogies of subordinate rulers under the late Yādavas .....	195
4. Post-Hemādri panegyrics .....	200
5. Conclusion .....	204
Primary sources .....	205

**On the Bilingual Inscriptions  
of the Fārūqī Sultans of Khandesh**

*Luther Obrock*

1. Introduction .....	207
2. The Fārūqī Sultanate .....	209
3. Contextualising the Fārūqī Sultan's bilingual inscriptions .....	212
4. The Arabic inscriptions .....	216
5. The Sanskrit inscriptions .....	217
6. Conclusion .....	224
Primary sources .....	227

**A Tale of Two Courts: Records of Kachavāhā mahārājas  
in Digambara Jaina memorials**

*Tillo Detige*

1. Introduction .....	229
2. <i>Bhaṭṭārakas</i> : Digambara renouncers .....	229
3. <i>Bhaṭṭārakas</i> : Digambara lords .....	231
4. Digambara memorial inscriptions .....	232
5. <i>Ḍhūṇḍhāḍaśākhā</i> memorial inscriptions attesting Kachavāhā rulers ...	234
6. Other Digambara memorials attesting rulers .....	253
7. Conclusions .....	255
8. Inscriptions .....	257

**Jaina Ideologies of Kingship:  
Perceptions from Early Medieval Śvetāmbara Narratives**

*Christine Chojnacki*

1. Introduction .....	261
2. The Jinasena model .....	263
3. Praising the path of royal renunciation .....	263
4. The conservatism of the Śvetāmbara sources .....	273
5. Conclusion .....	280
Primary sources .....	281

**Bibliography**

References .....	283
------------------	-----

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306.V

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs  
and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

# Use and Functions of the Coronation Name During the Somavaṁśin Dynasty

*Amandine Wattelier-Bricout*

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) Paris,  
Centre d'Études Sud-Asiatiques et Himalayennes (CESAH)

## 1. Introduction

Within the corpus of the Somavaṁśin dynasty from Odisha, consisting of forty-eight records, the ruling king is very often referred to by two distinct names to which honorific and sectarian titles are affixed. Indeed, he is generally called in the date section by his personal name and in the notification part by his coronation name,<sup>1</sup> the latter generally alternating between Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta. These coronation names ending in *-gupta* are almost never used alone, but are often found together in a long compound and are linked by the expression *pādānudhyāta*, whose meaning has been discussed by Ferrier and Törzsök (2008). From this meaning, one can argue that the issuer king uses the whole compound in order to legitimate his position by a direct succession from father to son. Although this practice seems to be attested in all the land donations made by the kings of this dynasty, the coronation name does not always appear in donations made by third parties, and seems to be absent from stone inscriptions. Also noteworthy is the fact that the coronation names are totally absent from Indraratha's record, even though a detailed genealogy has confirmed his legitimacy. Surprisingly, the same Indraratha is omitted in the genealogies of his successors. Is the coronation name only the result of a religious consecration ceremony? Does it contribute to a claim of legitimacy? Or is it simply reserved for direct succession from father to son? If this coronation name confers legitimacy, why is it not mentioned systematically? Does its presence indicate a political stability and its absence the opposite? This paper will

---

1 The term 'coronation name' will be used in this paper for the designations Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta because several scholars (J. K. Sahu 1979; Shastri 1995a) referred to them by a similar term.

seek to track the use and to determine the functions and the scope of the coronation name within the Somavaṁśin dynasty. It will be based on a diachronic and synchronic study of the different names used by the Somavaṁśin kings to designate themselves and of those used by their contemporaries, whether relatives or subordinates. For this survey, all the published sources available today have been consulted.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. The corpus of the Somavaṁśin dynasty

First, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant here by the Somavaṁśin dynasty. Indeed, more than one king claims to belong to the lunar lineage (*soma-vaṁśa*) and yet not all the kings from the Soma lineage are representatives of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. The origins of the latter are still a subject of discussion among historians today,<sup>3</sup> since the last known king of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin dynasty — Śivagupta Bālārjuna — describes himself as belonging to the Soma lineage in several of his grants.<sup>4</sup> However, while the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin and Somavaṁśin dynasties share some common features, and while it is still possible that the latter is descended from the former,<sup>5</sup> they differ radically in certain respects that

- 
- 2 In the framework of the ERC-DHARMA project, I have carried out a survey of all the inscriptions identified as belonging to the Somavaṁśin dynasty. These have been gathered from all the volumes of the *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, as well as the works of Shastri (1995a; 1995b), of Tripathy (2010), and of Acharya (2014). Inscriptions previously published in the journal *Epigraphia Indica* or in the volume dedicated to this period by Rajaguru (1966) have also been consulted. Of course, it is always possible that an inscription has escaped my vigilance. In addition, the as yet unpublished records unfortunately could not be taken into account in my survey. For the sake of brevity and ease of reference, I refer to each record by its DHARMA identifier rather than its title. A full list of all the inscriptions consulted, complete with titles and, where necessary, bibliographical references, can be found at the end of this paper.
- 3 On this topic, see Panigrahi (1981, 104–9) or the discussion in Shastri (1995b, 172–76).
- 4 *Bārdulā plates of Śivagupta, year 9*, l. 4, *Boṇḍā plates of Śivagupta, year 22*, ll. 4–5, *Lodhiā plates of Śivagupta, year 57*, l. 4, *Malhār plates of Śivagupta, undated (presumably year 6)*, l. 4, *Malhār plates of Śivagupta, undated*, ll. 4–5: *soma-vaṁśa-sambhavaḥ*.
- 5 The hypothesis of an affiliation comes from the strong similarities between the records coming from the last two representatives of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśin dynasty (Tivaradeva and Bālārjuna) and the first ones of the Somavaṁśin dynasty. Both claim to belong to the lunar lineage, and jointly use the prefix *mahā-* and the suffix *-gupta* in their (probably) coronation names, which they attach to their birth names. Some scholars, such as Hunter and Sahu (1956), have proposed to see a father-son relationship between Śivagupta Bālārjuna

make us distinguish between the two.<sup>6</sup> Thus the records of the Somavamśin dynasty discussed in this paper are those published, for the most part, by Rajaguru (1966) and by Shastri (1995a, 167–367). For a general idea of this dynasty and an overview of its members, the lineage tree of succession proposed by Shastri (1995a, 199), shown in Figure 1, is very useful, but it can only serve as a starting point, as it contains information on dates, succession order or familial relationships that still remains based on hypothesis.<sup>7</sup> As regards the dynastic period, the only chronological clue available can be deduced from two donations issued by a member of another dynasty, the Bhauma-Kara: the *Baud plates (A and B) of Tribhuvanamahādevī, year 158*. Lines 17–22 (plate A) and lines 16–22 (plate B) of these two grants mention Svabhāvatuṅga, who is certainly the same Svabhāvatuṅga mentioned in Somavamsin00002 as the father of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya.<sup>8</sup> Panigrahi (1981, 110) and Tripathy (2000, 53) date this plate to 894.

---

and Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. This hypothesis is nowadays inadmissible since the records never mention Bālārjuna as the birth name of Janamejaya's father, whom they call Svabhāvatuṅga.

- 6 There is a real split between the records from the last representative of the Pāṇḍuvamśin dynasty and the first ones from the Somavamśin dynasty. This split seems to be temporal, palaeographic, and geographical: the scripts differ but are said to be from one century (Shastri 1995b, 175); their areas of influence would not be the same; and lastly, the kings of these two dynasties did not decorate their seals in the same way.
- 7 For instance, in this lineage tree, the filial relationship between Śivagupta and Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya was just a hypothesis in 1995, which has now been confirmed thanks to the discovery of a set of copper plates from Gopalpur issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya in his first regnal year (see Shastri and Tripathy 2011–12). On the other hand, the dates given by Shastri (1995b, 199), those proposed by Panigrahi (1981, 106) or even those suggested by Shastri and Tripathy (2011–12) all differ and remain approximate and hypothetical. Indeed, the inscriptions of the Somavamśin dynasty are all dated in regnal years and do not refer to any particular era. I am currently working on a dynastic tree that better reflects the grey areas and doubts raised by the epigraphic evidence.
- 8 Since the discovery of Somavamsin00002, it is known that Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya was born from Svabhāvatuṅga (see Somavamsin00002, vv. 5–6). For further details, see Shastri and Tripathy (2011–12, 104–6).

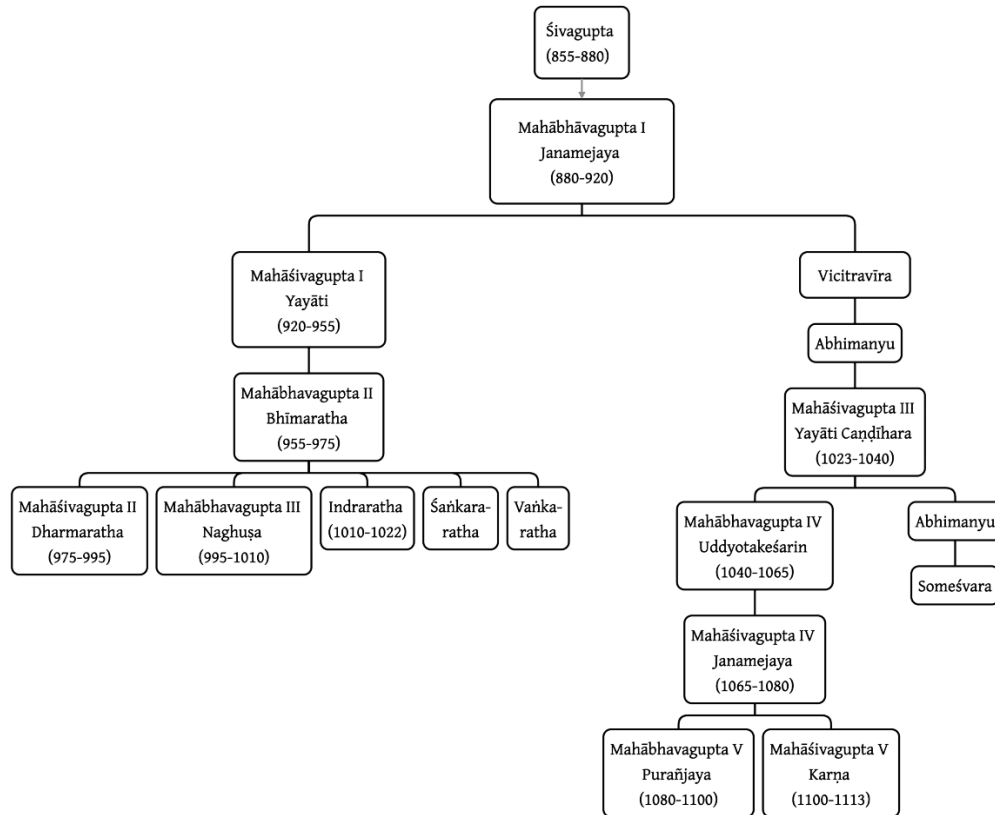


Figure 1. The Somavamśin dynasty according to Shastri (1995a, 199)

The lineage tree based on Shastri's hypothesis (1995a, 167–367) highlights two interesting features of the dynasty. First, it seems to be essential to designate the Somavamśin kings by two different names to dispel ambiguities, and even this double designation remains equivocal in one case, because there are two Mahāśivagupta Yayātis. The regular alternation of the coronation names between Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta and the redundancy of the birth names lead to several problems of correct identification when only one name is mentioned. I shall address this issue in section 3. Secondly, this lineage tree brings to light that some of the members of the Somavamśin royal house were ruling kings, while others were not. What is particularly striking is that Indraratha appears in this lineage tree as a king who did reign but did not have the typical name in Mahā...gupta, even though he seems to be the last direct and legitimate heir before the rise to power of a Somavamśin king born in a collateral line. The latter, Yayāti Caṇḍihara, bears the coronation name Mahāśivagupta, which alternates with the presumed predecessor of Indraratha, viz.,

Mahābhavagupta Naghuṣa. The Mahā...gupta names are understood by scholars to imply a coronation ceremony. For instance, Sahu (1979) speaks of “coronation sobriquets” which he defines as *abhiṣekanāman*, suggesting a name acquired during and used after a coronation ceremony. When he compares and lists the common features between the Pāṇḍuvamśin and Somavamśin dynasties, Shastri (1995a, 172) first shows that both dynasties use names beginning with *mahā*- and ending in *-gupta*, and then adds, “these names, which were perhaps assumed at the time of coronation and are thus indicative of regnal power, were different from the personal names, which are often met with in the *praśasti* portion or in connection with the specification of date (*sic*) in many inscriptions.” Thus, the absence of a coronation name for Indraratha may indicate that his coronation ceremony did not take place. But on the specific question of Indraratha’s non-use of this name, Shastri (1995a, 213) remains rather vague:

Indraratha assumed all the sectarian and regnal titles found employed for other Somakula monarchs but did not adopt the *gupta*-ending coronation name for reasons that cannot be ascertained at present.

Then, considering the meaning of the compound linking the two alternative coronation names by the word *pādānudhyāta*, one might believe that Indraratha’s rise to power was illegitimate, unlike that of his successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara. However, Indraratha’s grant issued in his fourth regnal year suggests the opposite: Indraratha appears here as the legitimate heir who saved the kingdom from Abhimanyu’s illegal seizure of power.<sup>9</sup> From these observations, it appears that resorting to the coronation name in a royal charter is the most common legitimation strategy, but not the only one. This leads to several questions about the particular use of the names in Mahā...gupta. What is their function? Why do they appear on copper plates and not on stone inscriptions? When, why, and by whom were they used? A brief look at the records reveals that some of the coronation names shown by Shastri are not attested. Thus, it is also necessary to check if the alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta really occurred (and if so, in which contexts), or if the alternation is rather a pure supposition. By doing so, it may be possible to find out the reason why Indraratha did not use it, whereas his successor did.

---

<sup>9</sup> From the information contained in the grant issued by Kolāvati (Somavamsin00030), it is known that Abhimanyu was the father of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara.

Like many other epigraphical corpora, the corpus attributed to the Somavāṁśin dynasty is sparse and incomplete;<sup>10</sup> its distribution among issuer kings and media is disproportionate, and many records are uncertainly attributed (see section 3 below). For instance, as Figure 2 shows,<sup>11</sup> almost half of the copper plates available today are dated to the reign of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, and nearly a fifth of them were issued by his successor Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. In the case of some kings, such as Indraratha and Dharmaratha, only one record is available. Hence, the analysis of the designations based on the records issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya may result in the identification of some usage trends, but this will not be the case when there is only a single inscription extant. Within the whole corpus, there are forty-three copperplate records and only five stone inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> Within the copperplate charters, thirty-one were issued by Somavāṁśin kings, while eight sets were commissioned by third parties (feudatories of the Somavāṁśin kings or members of the royal family). None of the five stone inscriptions were issued by a Somavāṁśin king. Consequently, the data coming from the third-party records will be more difficult to interpret. Thus, even though this survey takes all the available data into account, the features of the Somavāṁśin corpus limit the results, and one must always consider them with great caution, keeping in mind that what is not observable may nonetheless have existed or that a seemingly unique use could be a regular one.

---

10 The copperplate records are mostly sets of three plates recording land grants. Four of them are isolated or incomplete plates and could not be used in this study (Somavamsin00045, 00035), or could only be used in part (Somavamsin00044, 00033).

11 The figure also indicates the remaining doubts in identifying the issuers (see section 3 below).

12 Somavamsin00027, 00029, 00030, 00034, and 00048.



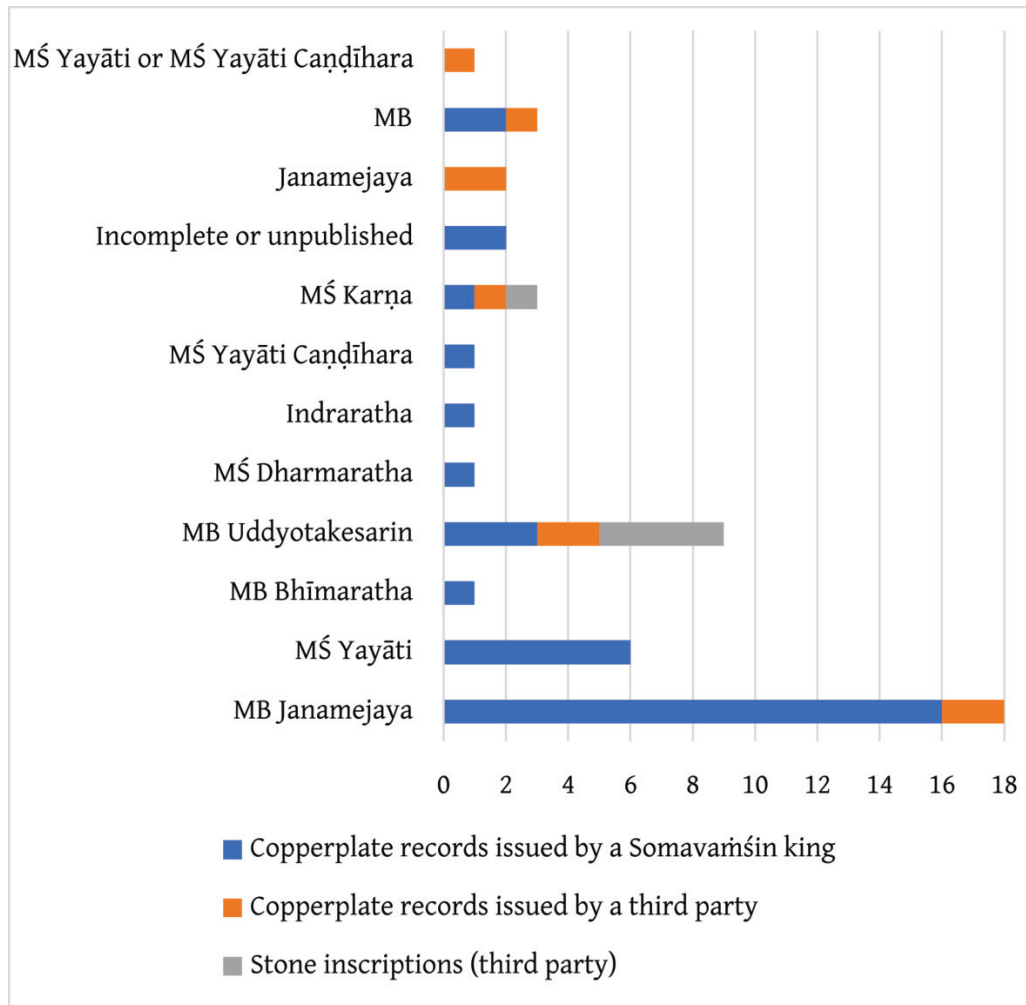


Figure 2. Distribution of copperplate and stone inscriptions. MB stands for Mahābhavagupta and MŚ for Mahāśivagupta.

### 3. Reassessing the identities of issuers

The systematic survey of coronation and birth names throughout the corpus has resulted in a reassessment of the attribution of some sets, and in new designations for some others, to reflect only what is found in the engraved text. Indeed, in order to offer the most reliable and accurate study of the use of the coronation name by one Somavamśin king or another, it was necessary first to ascertain the correct attribution of each set. Nonetheless, the identity of the king mentioned in a few of the copperplate sets (Somavamsin00021, 00026,

00028, 00039, 00040, and 00046) remains subject to doubt and debate, as I shall discuss below.

### 3.1. Scenario 1: Only a coronation name is mentioned

As explained above, when the birth and coronation names are not mentioned together, it is sometimes difficult to identify the king to whom the text refers. So, when only the coronation name is used, there are many possibilities, as in the case of three copperplate sets in which a king is referred to only by his coronation name Mahābhavagupta (Somavamsin00028, 00039, 00026). The striking similarity of the first two of these sets indicates that they were issued by the same king, whose identification, however, remains a matter of debate.<sup>13</sup> At the current state of my research, I cannot confirm any of the suggested attributions, so these two cases will be considered independently in the results presented below.<sup>14</sup>

Unlike these two sets issued by an unidentified Somavamsin king, the third one, Somavamsin00026, was issued by a third party. Kielhorn (1896–97b) suggested on the basis of palaeographical criteria that this set had been composed at the time of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha, which should be reassessed since we now have access to more charters from the Somavamsin dynasty than when this set was first published. Shastri (1995b, 263) and Tripathy (2010, 88) agree with Kielhorn without noting the disagreement of Rajaguru (1966, 241), who asserts that this set was composed at the time of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin. Consequently, we should remain cautious and think that the identification of this set remains to be confirmed by various clues.

### 3.2. Scenario 2: Only a birth name is mentioned

The identification of three other sets raises questions because they mention only the birth name of the ruling king, Janamejaya (Somavamsin00021, 00037, 00040). These sets may have been issued in time of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya or of Mahāśivagupta Janamejaya. Shastri (1995b, 358) dates Somavamsin00021 to the time of the latter, but he justifies this dating neither in his edition (Shastri 1995b, 358–61, esp. 360 n. 25), nor in his introductory volume (Shastri 1995a, 218–19). The issuer of this set is named Dharmaratha and designated as a

<sup>13</sup> The following identifications have been proposed: Naghuṣa (Tripathy 2010, 88), Uddyotakeśarin (Panigrahi 1981, 37; Shastri 1995a, 186), the immediate predecessor of Janamejaya (Panda, Chopdar, and Nayak 2002, 77; Acharya 2013), the grandfather of Janamejaya (J. K. Sahu 1979, 1120).

<sup>14</sup> The problem of identification arising from these inscriptions was the subject of a paper presented in January 2023 in Pondicherry (Wattelier-Bricout 2023).

*yuvarāja* (heir-apparent). We know from several Somavamśin records that the Somavamśin king Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha was the great-grandson of the first Janamejaya. Shastri argues that since Somavamsin00021 is dated in the fifth regnal year of Janamejaya, this Dharmaratha is not Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, and this Janamejaya is the second one. But once the former is accepted, then this Janamejaya could very well be the first one, or even a third Janamejaya otherwise unknown and belonging to a collateral line of the Somavamśin dynasty. A further clue in Somavamsin00021 is the name of the *mahāsandhivigrahin* Malladatta and his title *rāṇaka*. A *mahāsandhivigrahin* of the same name is mentioned in eight grants issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, without a title in the earlier ones, and with the title *rāṇaka* from the seventeenth year onward.<sup>15</sup> In several of these royal charters, Malladatta is described as the son of Dhāradatta, but given that his lineage is not recorded in Somavamsin00021 and that the repetition of names in a lineage is a common practice, the identification cannot be asserted. Other clues (such as the scribe's name, the wording, the script, the format of the set, etc.) deserve to be studied in greater depth, but this cannot be undertaken here. That said, even though the attribution of this set remains uncertain, the data collected in this set will be included in my study.

The set Somavamsin00037, although it was issued by a third party, can be probably attributed to the time of the first Janamejaya. Among the clues noted by Shastri (1995b, 348 n. 4, 353 n. 67), the most noteworthy is the name of its engraver, Saṅgrāma, and his lineage (son of Rāyaṇa Ojhā), which totally match with the name and the engraver's lineage indicated in four grants issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya.<sup>16</sup>

As for the set Somavamsin00040, its first editor Nayak (2012) attributes it to Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. Since then, to my knowledge, no study has addressed the question of whether it can be ascribed to the first or the second Janamejaya. However, the evidence for this attribution is pretty thin. Nayak (2012, 72) dates the script and language to the ninth century, but without further argument. Although he advances the dating of this set with caution, he attributes it to the first Janamejaya without even considering another possibility or arguing this claim. A more detailed study of the script and language, for example, could possibly help to date the set, but for now, it would be more prudent

15 Malladatta is mentioned without a title in Somavamsin00004, 00006, 00007, 00008 (of the years 12, 6, 6, and 8 respectively), and with the title *rāṇaka* in 00009 and 00010 (year 17); and in 00011, 00042, 00043 (year 31).

16 Somavamsin00001, 00002, 00003, 00008. Of these, 00002 and 00003 had not yet been discovered when Shastri (1995b, 348 n. 4, 353 n. 67) noticed that the engraver of 00037 also worked on 00001 and 00008.

to hold that the attribution to the first or the second Janamejaya has not yet been established.

### 3.3. Scenario 3: Doubt despite the presence of both names

Finally, in some cases doubt may remain despite the joint mention of the coronation and birth names, because there are two homonymous kings Mahāśivagupta Yayāti.<sup>17</sup> Of the eight sets presenting this scenario, six mention the immediate predecessor of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti by his birth name (Janamejaya), allowing for firm identifications. Therefore, only two sets remain problematic. One of these (Somavamsin00024) is a grant issued by the king himself in his fifteenth regnal year, which, while it does not mention the immediate predecessor, shares features with another record linked to the first Mahāśivagupta Yayāti dated in his eighth regnal year (Somavamsin00022), namely that these two sets come from the same place; they were written by the same person Utsavanāga or Uchchavanāga, son of Āllava or Āllavanāga;<sup>18</sup> they were approved by the same *mahāsandhivigrahin rāṇaka* Dhāradatta;<sup>19</sup> and finally, they share a concluding verse specific to these two donations alone. All together, these elements establish that this set (Somavamsin00024) was certainly issued by the same person, namely the first Mahāśivagupta Yayāti.

The second set (Somavamsin00046) is more problematic as it is a grant issued by a third party. Rajaguru (2011, 101–2) suggests dating this charter to the time of the second Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. His argument is based on the following common features between this set and another one found in the same place

17 Somavamsin00016, 00017, 00018, 00022, 00023, 00024, 00025, 00046.

18 Pointed out by Shastri (1995b, 244 n. 61). Āllava being the *kāyastha* in a set issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (Somavamsin00008, ll. 43–44), it is possible to imagine that his son Utsavanāga / Uchchavanāga continues the profession of his father under the reign of the immediate successor of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, i.e. the first Yayāti.

19 This *mahāsandhivigrahin rāṇaka* Dhāradatta is also mentioned in two other grants. In Somavamsin00012, issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya in his thirty-fourth regnal year, the charter is said to be written at the permission of *mahāsandhivigrahin rāṇaka* Dhāradatta (ll. 51–52: *likhitam idam tāmra-śāsanam mahāsandhivigrahika-rāṇaka-śrī-dhāradattasyābhimatena*). In Somavamsin00025, issued by Mahāśivagupta Yayāti during his twenty-fourth year, it is said that the text was written with the knowledge of *mahāsandhivigrahin rāṇaka* Dhāradatta (ll. 63–64: *likhitam idam śāsanam mahāsandhivigrahi-rāṇaka-dhāradattāvagatena mahāsandhivigraha-kāyastha-tathāgatene*). So, it seems that *mahāsandhivigrahin rāṇaka* Dhāradatta was a person of influence from the end of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya's reign to the twenty-fourth year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti's reign.

(Somavamsin00026):<sup>20</sup> both issuers come from the Māṭhara lineage; they received the grace of the goddess Kāleśvarī; they both bear the title *māṇḍalika-rāṇaka*. While these are rightly pointed out and are rather useful for an attempt at dating, when Rajaguru (2011, 241) does so, he bases his argument on the palaeographical dating proposed by Kielhorn (1896–97b) — namely that the script would date from the twelfth century — but he omits the fact that Kielhorn himself considers Somavamsin00026 to have been composed at the time of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha, who reigned from 955 to 975 according to Shastri (1995a, 208). Thus, Rajaguru retains Kielhorn’s dating but not his attribution, and conjectures that Somavamsin00026 dates from the time of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin. Considering the script of Somavamsin00046 to be older, Rajaguru proposes dating it to the time of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin’s predecessor, i.e. the second Yayāti, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara. Without an in-depth palaeographic study of Somavamsin00046,<sup>21</sup> but assuming that its script is indeed older than Somavamsin00026 — given that Tripathy (2010, 86) and Shastri (1995a, 209; 1995b, 263) both suggest dating the script to the mid-tenth century and both attribute Somavamsin00026 to the time of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha — it would also be possible to infer that Somavamsin00046 was issued during the reign of the first Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. Therefore, the attribution of the set Somavamsin00046 remains doubtful.

#### 4. Use of the coronation name in grants issued by the Somavamśin kings

Now that the grant attributions have been ascertained as precisely as possible, it is possible to analyse the use and the functions of the coronation name within the royal grants. Indeed, while the dynastic tree proposed by Shastri gives the impression that the use of the coronation names, the alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta, and a double designation of kings (with birth and coronation names) are the specific features of the Somavamśin dynasty, the absence of a coronation name in the royal grant issued by Indraratha calls these statements into question and calls for a reassessment of the role that the coronation name can play in the royal grants. In order to observe the legitimating

20 As seen above (section 3.1), Somavamsin00026 presents only a duo of coronation names of the ruling king (Mahābhavagupta) and his predecessor (Mahāśivagupta), opening up numerous attribution possibilities.

21 For the time being, such a study is not possible, as Rajaguru (2011) gives no information on the current place of preservation of the set. As for the photos of the set, they are of very poor quality.

strategies deployed by the Somavamsin chancellery in the royal grants, I have carried out a precise survey of the kings' designations, keeping track of the person to whom they refer (the king, his immediate predecessor, his ancestors), the honorific titles by which they are accompanied, and the part of the text in which they appear. As each part of a royal grant bears a specific function, the presence of the coronation name in one particular part may contribute to its function, while its co-occurrence with titles or the immediate predecessor could shed light on the relationship of the ruling king with his predecessor and reveal how his position is legitimated by this relationship.

#### 4.1. *Praśasti* part

The grants issued by the Somavamsin kings do not systematically include a long sequence of glorifying or genealogical verses<sup>22</sup> and the *praśasti* part in the Somavamsin corpus does not have a fixed form: it sometimes includes a long genealogy, sometimes only a few lines of glorification, and sometimes these references are found at the end of the copper plates rather than at the beginning.<sup>23</sup> What distinguishes this “*praśasti* part” from the “notification part” is first that the former is in verse, whereas the notification part is in prose, and second, that the content of these two parts differs. The purpose of the eulogistic part is to emphasise the valour of the ruling king and his lineage by telling their heroic deeds, and to sanction the rise to power of the ruling king through his genealogical account. Consequently, the presence of the alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta in this part may reinforce the legitimation strategy deployed by indicating a continuous transmission of the coronation names.

The results of the survey show that eulogies, where present, typically use the birth name of the reigning king as well as his predecessors, and never mention any coronation name.<sup>24</sup> The records of the first four kings generally contain

---

22 For instance, there are no verses of glorification in the three grants commissioned by the first Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya (Somavamsin00001, 00003, 00006), in one amongst those issued by the first Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (Somavamsin00024), and in the unique record of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara (Somavamsin00016). Similarly, the two sets whose attribution is problematic (Somavamsin00028 and 00039) contain no genealogical details.

23 The various practices of the royal eulogy within the corpus deserve to be studied in greater detail, but this cannot be done here.

24 All the following sets contain a eulogistic section: Somavamsin00002, 00004, 00005, 00007, 00008, 00009, 00010, 00011, 00012, 00013, 00015, 00017, 00018, 00019, 00020, 00022, 00023, 00025, 00031, 00037, 00038, 00041, 00042, 00043, 00047. The birth names are found in all

just a few verses: they refer to the ruling king, his immediate predecessor and sometimes to his grandfather only by their birth names. One can observe a turn in the practice with Indraratha's grant (Somavamsin00013), in which fourteen verses are devoted to his genealogy and deeds. Next, there is no eulogistic part in the unique grant of Indraratha's successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara (Somavamsin00016). His rise to power is not explained by any genealogical details. From the time of his son and successor Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin, a kind of standard genealogical account seems to be created and reused.<sup>25</sup> This time, the eulogistic part retraces the history of the Somavamśin dynasty up to the first Janamejaya, but without ever mentioning the coronation names, which could have given cohesion to the whole.

#### 4.2. Notification part

The notification part of the royal grants consists of the administrative details of a donation (the place, the identities of the donor and of the recipient(s), the description of the gift, its purpose, the witnesses, etc.). The description of the king as the donor is the most relevant information for the present study. The data collection points out two major facts: first, all the royal grants introduce the king by using a specific compound linking the ruling king to his immediate predecessor or his parents by the word *pādānudhyāta*; second, as mentioned in the introduction, all the royal grants use the coronation name to designate the donor, except the one issued by Indraratha.

Of the thirty-one sets for which data can be studied,<sup>26</sup> twenty-seven use the following expression: *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-mahā-[X]-gupta-deva-pādānudhyāta-parama-māheśvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-soma-kula-tilaka-trikaliṅgādhīpati-śrī-mahā-[Y]-gupta-rāja-devaḥ*.<sup>27</sup> The formula is only absent in four sets. Of these, Somavamsin00028 and 00039 were certainly issued by the same person, but, as noted above (section 3.1), the identity of that king is still a subject under discussion. The formula is replaced

---

these records, except for 00011, 00012, 00042, and 00043, in which the reigning king is named Dharmakandarpa.

25 The three grants issued by Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin (Somavamsin00015, 00038, and 00047) contain the same eleven verses. The unique record of Mahāśivagupta Karṇa (Somavamsin00031) has the same eleven verses, adding eight more to complete the genealogical account up to Karṇa's rise to power.

26 Somavamsin00001, 00002, 00003, 00004, 00005, 00006, 00007, 00008, 00009, 00010, 00011, 00012, 00013, 00015, 00016, 00017, 00018, 00019, 00020, 00022, 00023, 00024, 00025, 00028, 00031, 00038, 00039, 00041, 00042, 00043, 00047.

27 I quote here one instance of the expression. The order of the titles is almost the same, but the number of the immediate predecessor's titles can be less than that of the ruling king.

by *mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta* in these. The latter formula also appears in Somavamsin00013, issued by Indraratha, Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha's brother or half-brother. Finally, the formula is altogether absent in Somavamsin00031, issued by Purañjaya's brother Mahāśivagupta Karṇa, who is referred to only with his coronation name and the usual honorific titles. From these observations, it can be deduced that the full-length *pādānudhyāta* compound is a kind of official formula that certifies the authority transmitted by a direct succession line, since it is always used in a father-son relationship. When the *pādānudhyāta* compound mentions only the two parents or is not present, this may indicate the accession to power of a new royal authority, either through the foundation of a new dynasty or following a discontinuity in the succession line.

It is remarkable that only two sets use birth names in the notification section of the text. One of these is Somavamsin00013, which, as discussed above, uses a compound linking Indraratha to his parents by the formula *pādānudhyāta*. The other is Somavamsin00016, which uses the coronation names of the donor king and his predecessor, but also mentions the birth name of the donor king in the following way: *śrī-mahābhavagupta-pādānudhyāta-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-praṇamita-rājanyopasevita-pādāravinda-yugalaḥ śrī-mahāśivagupta-śrī-yayāti-devaḥ*.<sup>28</sup> The way in which this king is presented in his own record differs from the other royal epigraphs in two particular respects in addition to the combined use of coronation and birth names: each name is preceded by *śrī* in a kind of emphasis, and the coronation name of the predecessor is not preceded by the usual honorific titles. These two sets are particularly noteworthy since Somavamsin00013 was issued by Indraratha who, according to the same set, came to power with the approbation of the best *dvijas* after killing Abhimanyu, who had acquired power without the authorisation of his predecessor,<sup>29</sup> while Somavamsin00016 was issued by Abhimanyu's son, who is said to have acquired the title *trikaṅgādhīpati* by his own arm and to have been chosen by the countries as in a *svayamvara*.<sup>30</sup> The version of the event told by his wife Kolāvati is slightly different, as in her stone inscription he is said to have been brought to power by the unanimous agreement of the ministers.<sup>31</sup> These two sets originate from

28 Somavamsin00016, ll. 17–18.

29 Somavamsin00013, v. 14: *yo vidvān abhimanyum apy anucitaṁ prāptādhīpatyam bhuvovamśasyānadhikāriṇaṁ raṇa-bhuvi vyāpādayad dveṣiṇaṁ | tal-lakṣmīṁ dvija-sattamair anumatām āsādyā senādhīpaiḥ traīrājyaṁ ca turaṅgakena jagṛhe yenātha rājyāntaraṁ ||*.

30 Somavamsin00016, l. 14: *kaliṅga-koṅgodotkala-kośala-svayamvara-prasiddhaḥ* and l. 15: *svabhujopārjita-trikaṅgādhīpatiḥ*.

31 Somavamsin00030, v. 7.



a period in Somavamśin history that was characterised by internecine struggles for power.

To explore the formula further, it is necessary to look in more detail at the context in which the coronation names Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta are used. It should be recalled that these names are never used alone but almost always in combination with various honorific titles. The titles usually used in compounds are as follows: *parama-māheśvara*, *parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājā-dhirāja*, *parameśvara*, *soma-kula-tilaka*, *trikaliṅgādhipati*, *rāja-deva* or *deva*. Considering the restricted and occasional use of the coronation name and its conjunction with honorific titles, it may be necessary to question that the epithets Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta are “coronation names” in the customary sense, implying that the person thus named has been consecrated as king by a ceremony. Given that this *pādānudhyāta* formula was used in its fixed form in case of a succession of power from father to son, and that some titles may have a religious connotation, we could see in them the affirmation of a divine transmission of power: the son presenting himself as authorised by his father, both being the *protégés* of Śiva and enthroned by him.<sup>32</sup> The fixed form and repetitive structure of the *pādānudhyāta* formula set a kind of solemn and official tone to the royal grants. Its function may be political by establishing legitimacy through filial transmission, and may be religious by asserting the divine protection of Śiva. That said, a more in-depth study of the exact composition of the honorific titles used for the ruling king and his immediate predecessor should be undertaken, as the initial survey shows that there are some divergences in practice: sometimes the honorific titles are exactly the same on either side of the term *pādānudhyāta*; sometimes the predecessor’s title is omitted, while in one case there is a striking imbalance (Somavamsin00016).

### 4.3. Date

Since dates in the Somavamśin corpus always refer to the regnal year of a particular king, a coronation name on its own would be impracticable due to the confusion caused by the alternation of these names, while birth names could identify kings more unequivocally. Indeed, of the thirty-four copperplate sets issued by the Somavamśin kings, the overwhelming majority mention the birth name alone without associating it with the coronation name, as Figure 3 clearly shows.<sup>33</sup> This means that the use of a coronation name in the date could be seen as a deviation from the regular pattern. For this reason, I analyse the cases of

32 On the possible divinisation of the Somavamśin kings, see Smith (1991, 92–94, 105).

33 There is no information available for Somavamsin00033, 00041, 00044, and 00045.

deviation hoping to gain a better understanding of the function of the coronation name. There are three scenarios of deviation: the date may be recorded without name; with the coronation name alone; or with both the coronation and birth names.

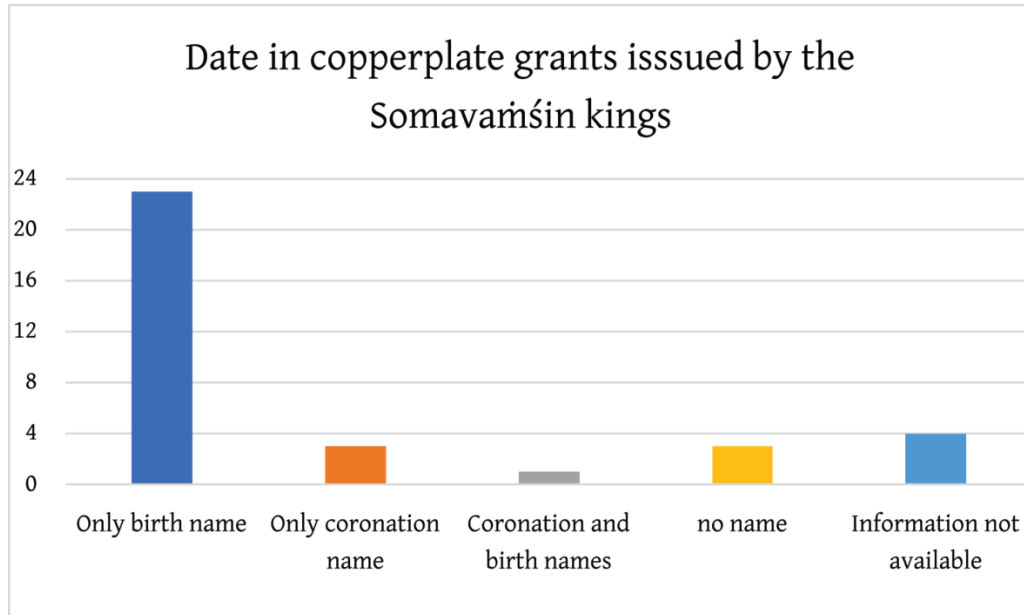


Figure 3. Use of coronation and birth names in the date section of Somavamśin copperplate sets

The three sets without a name in the date (Somavamsin00020, 00028, 00039) give no clue to the use of coronation or birth names in date. But it is noticeable that in the whole text of two of them, the king is only designated by his coronation name (see section 3.1 above).

The three sets which use only the coronation name (Somavamsin00011, 00042, and 00043) can be considered as a single case since they were issued by the same king, on the same day of the same year, to the same recipient, and contain almost the same text (except for the details of the villages granted). This triple grant to a single person, Sādhāraṇa, son of Śobhana, who is none other than the minister of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya and who was already the minister and the recipient of the king's grant issued in the first year of his reign (Somavamsin0002), confers an exceptional nature upon these three sets. They also have one feature in common: their text designates Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya with the sobriquet Dharmakandarpa, which is found only in one other

grant.<sup>34</sup> As the seal of one of these three sets attests to the mention of a coronation name (see 4.4), it should be noted that these three sets are atypical within the corpus in their use of the coronation name.

The single set that uses both coronation and birth names in the date (Somavamsin00016) is particularly interesting because it is the only one that can be attributed with certainty to Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara. The text of this donation mentions that Yayāti won his glory by his own arms and that he was appointed by the ministers. Given that there seems to have been some confusion in the succession when Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara ascended the throne, the joint use of the birth and coronation names in the date could be interpreted as a reaffirmation of the royal authority or legitimacy of the ruling king.

The birth name is generally accompanied in the date by honorific titles much the same as those in the notification part, although in half of all cases, the three titles indicating religious affiliation (*parama-māheśvara*), the lineage (*soma-kulatilaka*) and geographical dominion (*trikaliṅgādhipati*) are omitted from the date. There are also some exceptions, but their analysis does not lead to any straightforward explanation.

#### 4.4. Seals

As the seal is used in particular to authenticate a donation, the presence of a coronation name on it might have a stronger authentication value than the birth name. The authenticity of the seal is essentially based on the emblem of the dynasty emblazoned on the seal, but the accompanying legend also contributes to it. If the coronation name is used on these seals, we can deduce that this designation also plays a part in the seals' function as certificates of authenticity.

Although twenty-six royal seals have come down to us,<sup>35</sup> there are only two seals for which the editors explicitly mention that they do not bear a legend (Somavamsin00012, 00015), and only four that bear a known and legible legend (Somavamsin00001, 00028, 00039, and 00043), plus two that are illegible but

<sup>34</sup> This is Somavamsin00012, which is dated in the thirty-fourth regnal year. The sobriquet is used in two verses glorifying the king and his minister Sādhāraṇa. These two eulogistic verses can also be found in Somavamsin00009 and 00010 (both dated to the seventeenth regnal year), but without the sobriquet (see Shastri 1995b, 216 n. 35).

<sup>35</sup> Somavamsin00001, 00002, 00003, 00004, 00006, 00007, 00008, 00009, 00010, 00011, 00012, 00013, 00015, 00016, 00017, 00018, 00019, 00020, 00022, 00023, 00024, 00025, 00028, 00031, 00033, 00038, 00039, 00041, 00042, 00043, 00047.

conjecturally restorable (Somavamsin00011 and 00042).<sup>36</sup> Seven seals cannot be involved in the study because their legends have not been reported accurately,<sup>37</sup> while eleven are illegible due to corrosion.<sup>38</sup> Of the four seals with a known legend, only one mentions a Somavaṁśin king by his birth name (Somavamsin00001), while three use the coronation name (Somavamsin00028, 00039, and 00043), to which we could very hypothetically add Somavamsin00011 and 00042.

All the occurrences of the coronation name on a seal are attached to sets exhibiting some special features. The three similar sets Somavamsin00011, 00042, and 00043 issued by Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya in his thirsty-first regnal year name the king with his coronation name in the notification part, but in the eulogy part use a sobriquet (Dharmakandarpa) not found in any other of his grants issued before this date, and employ only the coronation name in the date (see 4.3 above). The other two seals bearing a coronation name (Somavamsin00028 and 00039) are attached to sets whose identification remains particularly problematic, especially as the royal symbol represented on these seals, a bull, diverges from all the other dynastic symbols on the Somavaṁśin seals, which represent a Gajalakṣmī. These grants are dated in a regnal year but without mentioning any names. The results of this survey are obviously difficult to interpret, but they seem to indicate that a coronation name on a seal is used in specific cases.

#### 4.5. Summary

From the whole systematic survey of the coronation name within the grants issued by the Somavaṁśin kings, several trends can be identified. First, the coronation name is never found in the eulogy part (where only birth names are used). Its absence and the preference for birth names could certainly be explained in various ways, but the most likely reason might be that birth names, often drawn from the epics, favour the elaboration of praise, making it easier to draw laudatory comparisons with mythological characters. Another reason

---

<sup>36</sup> Except only the details of the villages granted, the text inscribed on these two sets is similar to Somavamsin00043, for which Fleet (1894–95) reads the coronation name of the king in the seal legend. Obviously, it cannot be taken for granted that this applies likewise to Somavamsin00011 and 00042, but it is highly likely. The presence of an illegible legend is only mentioned for the seal attached to 00011, while the seal of 00042 is completely corroded.

<sup>37</sup> Somavamsin00005, 00013, 00016, 00022, 00025, 00038, 00041.

<sup>38</sup> Somavamsin00002, 00003, 00004, 00006, 00008, 00009, 00018, 00019, 00020, 00024, and 00047.

could be specific to the Somavamśin dynasty: a genealogical account requires a clear identification of the kings, which the alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta does not guarantee.

The notification part typically employs the *pādānudhyāta* formula linking the coronation name of the ruling king to that of his immediate predecessor. Thus, the use of the coronation names is rather confined to the administrative part of the grants and belongs to a formal protocol composed by the chancellery. The alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta along with a list of honorific titles certainly serves to establish the king's authority and legitimacy (as shown by the adaptations of the formula in case of contentious succession). All the deviations observed from this formula are from problematic cases of succession: Indraratha (Somavamsin00013); his successor Mahāśivagupta Yayāti Caṇḍihara (Somavamsin00016); Mahāśivagupta Karṇa, brother of Purañjaya (Somavamsin00031); and probably the issuer of Somavamsin00028 and 00039. Consequently, the functions of the coronation name are both political and juridical.

Coronation names are occasionally found in the date, but the custom seems rather to be the use of the birth name there. Given that coronation and birth names also occur in seal legends, either of these two designations seems to be suitable for authentication, although a pattern cannot be established due to the scarcity of preserved seal legends.

It should be noticed that the coronation name is hardly ever used alone and that, although the alternation of Mahāśivagupta and Mahābhavagupta is a well-attested practice among the Somavamśin kings in the royal grants, this alternation is not attested for all the kings of the dynasty. In fact, Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya always refers to his predecessor as Śivagupta, without the initial *mahā-*. In addition, there is no evidence of coronation names for four subsequent kings: Naghuṣa, Indraratha, the second Janamejaya, and Purañjaya. Considering that there is only one case where a Somavamśin king is designated by both his coronation and birth name (Somavamsin00016), one may wonder whether it is correct to speak of Mahābhavagupta III Naghuṣa, Mahāśivagupta IV Janamejaya and Mahābhavagupta V Purañjaya as Shastri (1995b) and Acharya (2014) do in all the titles they give to the records.<sup>39</sup>

---

39 Rajaguru (1966) and Tripathy (2010) are much more cautious in naming the grants and only use the names attested in them.

## 5. Use of the coronation names in non-royal grants

Among the forty-eight records available, nine copperplate grants<sup>40</sup> and five stone inscriptions<sup>41</sup> were issued by a royal relative or a third party. My objective is to observe how such grants adapt the *pādānudhyāta* formula and the patterns and trends detected within the royal grants, and whether they refer to the ruling king by his coronation name as well as by his birth name.

### 5.1. Issued by a family member

Three records were issued by a royal relative. Two of them are copperplate grants (Somavamsin00021 and 00032), both problematic. The first, issued by Dharmaratha born in the Soma family and designated as *yuvarāja* and *kumārādhirāja* (both meaning an heir-apparent or crown-prince), only mentions the birth name of the ruling king, leaving open two options for attribution.<sup>42</sup> The second was commissioned by Someśvaradeva, a member of the Somavamsin family styled *kumārādhirāja*, and is dated to the first year without specifying a king as point of reference. The third record is a stone inscription (Somavamsin00030) engraved on the wall of a temple recording its construction, issued by the queen Kolāvati during the reign of her son Uddyotakeśarin. Its content differs from the structure of the copperplate grants as it does not have a notification part and, consequently, does not include the *pādānudhyāta* formula. Nevertheless, this record can speak to how the Somavamsin kings are designated in the *praśasti* part and how the date is given.

Concerning the *praśasti* part, Somavamsin00030 is the only record to include a genealogical account. Its details are extremely valuable since the troubled period after Dharmaratha's death is explicitly mentioned, stating that the grandfather and father of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin were named Abhimanyu and Caṇḍihara. Here, as in the royal copperplate grants, the Somavamsin kings are all designated by their birth names. The coronation name is thus absent here, just as in the *praśasti* of royal inscriptions.

---

40 Somavamsin00014 (time of Karṇa), 00021 (uncertain dating), 00026 (uncertain date), 00032 (time of Uddyotakeśarin), 00035 (incomplete plate not used in my study but probably contemporary of 00032), 00036 (time of Janamejaya), 00037 (time of Janamejaya), 00040 (uncertain dating), 00046 (uncertain dating).

41 Somavamsin00027, 00029, 00030 (time of Uddyotakeśarin); 00048 (certainly from the time of Uddyotakeśarin) and 00034 (time of Karṇa).

42 See section 3.2 above.

The notification part can be observed only in the two copperplate sets issued by men designated *kumārādhirāja*.<sup>43</sup> As one can infer a filial relationship to the reigning king from this title, the presence of the *pādānudhyāta* formula could be expected within the notification part. In Somavamsin00021, Dharmaratha, the issuer, is described with several titles used by ruling kings as well as by a regional title (*paścima-kaliṅgādhipati*), but without the *pādānudhyāta* formula. Despite its absence, the honorific titles seem to give a royal touch to his grant. In Somavamsin00032, Someśvaradeva is designated with five honorific titles very close to those used by the Somavamśin ruling kings: *parama-māheśvara*, *parama-mahā-bhaṭṭāraka*, *kumārādhirāja*, *parameśvara*, and *paścima-laṅkādhīpati*. The exact identity of Someśvaradeva and his familial relationship to Uddyotakeśarin are not yet clarified (Sircar 1949–50, 324) and the text of this set is rather corrupted. It employs the *pādānudhyāta* formula and refers to Uddyotakeśarin by both his birth name and a coronation name, in addition to styling him *parama-māheśvara*, *parama-mahā-bhaṭṭāraka*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara*, and *trikaliṅgādhipati*. The coronation name is, however, anomalously Mahāśivagupta instead of Uddyotakeśarin's regular Mahābhavagupta. This anomaly is imputed to the scribe by both Shastri (1995b, 319 n. 8, 322 n. 56) and Tripathy (2010, 468 n. 1723). Given the corruption of the text, it is difficult to conclude whether the *pādānudhyāta* formula is used here to confer legitimacy to Someśvaradeva, but it seems that the text reflects more or less the chancellor's discourse found in the notification parts of the Somavamśin ruling kings.

Concerning the date part, the stone inscription (Somavamsin00030) includes it at the end and mentions the birth name of the ruling king as seems usual in the royal copperplate grants issued by the ruling kings. It is noticeable that the honorific titles associated with the birth name are those which are generally omitted in the date section of the royal grants (*parama-māheśvara*, *soma-kulatilaka* and *trikaliṅgādhipati*) but usually quoted in the *pādānudhyāta* formula. Hence, here the date is given with a kind of royal touch through the choice of specific honorific titles. In Somavamsin00021, the date is recorded at the beginning of the grant and the same use of the king's birth name accompanied by honorific titles is observed: here one can read all the honorific titles found in the *pādānudhyāta* formula, except *parameśvara*. The date of the third record (Somavamsin00032), as explained above, is quite problematic and does not feature any name or honorific title.

---

43 As Shastri (1995b, 322 n. 53, 361 n. 28) points out, these are the only occurrences of this title in the Somavamśin corpus.

## 5.2. Issued by a subordinate *rāṇaka*

Among the records available, there are four stone inscriptions and seven copperplate grants issued by subordinates during the time of a Somavamśin king, one of which has been excluded from the study.<sup>44</sup> The stone inscriptions, like that of Kolāvati in 5.1 above, do not include a notification part. As their content is very short, they also do not contain a *praśasti* part. Two of the three texts engraved on cave walls at Khaṇḍagiri (Somavamsin00027, 00029) use the king's birth name in order to indicate the date of the recorded pious acts.<sup>45</sup> Contrary to what was observed in the temple inscription issued by the queen mother, no honorific title accompanies the king's birth name here. Somavamsin00034 is a label incised on an image of Sūrya, and the surviving text consists only of two damaged lines referring to the reign of Karṇa, probably to date the installation of the image. Three honorific titles are wholly or partly preserved, but Shastri (1995b, 335) goes further and reconstructs the text by adding all the honorific titles found in the *pādānudhyāta* formula. This reconstruction, although possible, remains questionable, since my previous observations point out that the convention of giving a date fluctuates within the Somavamśin corpus. It thus appears that honorific titles are used only sporadically in stone inscriptions by third parties, while a preference for the birth name of the ruling king is universal.

Among the six copperplate grants issued by the third parties, there is only one record containing a *praśasti* part (Somavamsin00037). This eulogy is devoted to the donor and not to the ruling king, but it is interesting to notice that the relationship between the donor and the ruling king is mentioned in line 14 of this *praśasti* part by quoting the latter's birth name, Janamejaya. This grant is also quite exceptional because its notification part contains the expression *mātā-pitṛ-pādānudhyāta* applied to the issuing subordinate. Yet there is no instance of the *pādānudhyāta* formula in the notification parts of the five other sets, which consist only in a presentation of the donor with his own honorific titles. Consequently, no third-party grant alludes to the ruling king in its notification part, while the *pādānudhyāta* formula is present in one of them to refer to the donor.

Conversely, all grants except Somavamsin00037 refer to the ruling king in the date section. In Somavamsin00037, the date consists only of the day and the month, and is hence given without mentioning the name of the king. In Soma-

44 Somavamsin00035 seems to be issued by a third party but as its text is incomplete, this single plate is excluded from the study.

45 Somavamsin00048 is undated.



vamsin00040, the year is linked to the king's birth name, Janamejaya. The absence of honorific titles in the date has been interpreted by the first editor of this set as a clue to a distant relationship between the issuer and the ruling king. But by taking into account that there are two other examples of a date without titles among the third-party records, it is difficult to ascertain that the issuer of this grant "enjoyed greater liberty than other chiefs and that his subordination to Janamejaya was nominal" (Nayak 2012, 73). The sets Somavamsin00014 and Somavamsin00046 start with the date, which is a little more elaborate, since it includes some honorific titles linked to the ruling king. In the royal grants, it has been observed that in half of all cases, the honorific titles *parama-māheśvara*, *soma-kula-tilaka*, and *trikalingādhpati* are omitted in the date. Here, this is not the case. Somavamsin00046 mentions all the honorific titles usually found in the notification part of a royal grant. It also designates the king by both his coronation and birth names. All of this gives the grant a kind of royal touch and a somewhat pompous tone. The date in Somavamsin00014 also displays an accumulation of honorific titles slightly different from the usual titles: *parama-māheśvara-mahābhṭṭāraka-somavamśa-kula-kamala-tilaka-bhāskara-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-karṇa-deva* (ll. 1–4). Here again, the whole seems to give to the grant an official tone.

The two remaining sets are particularly striking because both of them include the *pādānudhyāta* formula in the date. In Somavamsin00026, the ruling king and his predecessor are both designated by their coronation names and qualified by the same honorific titles on both sides of the word *pādānudhyāta*. In Somavamsin00036, the scenario is somewhat different: the date is given twice, at the beginning and at the end of the record. The first instance includes an unbalanced *pādānudhyāta* formula where the ruling king, the first Janamejaya, is qualified by more honorific titles than his predecessor. Thus, this instance reproduces the *pādānudhyāta* formula found in all the royal grants of this king. The second mention of the date is given with the birth name of the king accompanied by the two honorific titles usually observed in the date section of royal grants (*parama-bhṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*). Hence, in these two sets, the *pādānudhyāta* formula used at the beginning of the grant seems to reflect some knowledge of the chancellor's discourse used in the royal grants.

### 5.3. Summary

From the survey of the coronation name within the records issued by the royal relatives, the trend to designate the kings with their birth names within the eulogy part is confirmed by the unique record available. In contrast, two different trends are noticeable: first, the *pādānudhyāta* formula is not used in the case of

an heir-apparent without royal investiture,<sup>46</sup> but a royal touch is given to his grant by the accumulation and the similarity of his honorific titles to the ones of the ruling king; second, the honorific titles usually attached to the ruling king in the *pādānudhyāta* formula seem to be transferred to the date. Hence, the deference of the royal relatives to the ruling king is expressed by means of the honorific titles. None of these records use the birth and coronation names of the ruling king together.

Even if it is not possible to identify a regular manner of naming the ruling king in the third-party grants, it is noticeable that the joint use of the coronation and birth names is exceptional, and that the ruling king is generally designated by his birth name. Nevertheless, it is also observed that the honorific titles and the *pādānudhyāta* formula are sometimes used, conferring to the subordinates' grants an official tone.

## 6. Conclusion

Through the mapping of the coronation names in the different textual parts of the available records, it appears that the mention of the coronation name belongs to the chancellery's discourse and is almost always a part of an official formula, viz., the *pādānudhyāta* compound, which is found in the notification part of the royal grants. This formula seems to reflect a claim of legitimacy: in a case of regular power transmission from father to son, the compound contains the coronation names of the ruling king and his immediate predecessor, both qualified by more or less the same honorific titles; in a case of irregular transmission from an elder brother to a younger (Indraratha and Karṇa), the *pādānudhyāta* formula is slightly modified; while it is strongly altered when there is a break in the line of transmission (Somavamsin00016). Thus, the *pādānudhyāta* formula may also have a political function. When it is quoted in full with alternating coronation names and similar honorific titles associated with both names, it seems to indicate a political stability. On the other hand, when the formula is shorter or unbalanced, it conveys some prevailing instability.

The presence of a religious title within the *pādānudhyāta* formula and the meaning of the coronation names (*protégé* of Śiva and *protégé* of Bhava) seems to indicate a religious value of the whole compound, raising the question of the

---

46 Although the content of Somavamsin00032 is very corrupted, lines 4–5 seem to indicate that Someśvara has been appointed at the head of a territory and invested to a kingly role.

involvement of Śaiva gurus within the political sphere. Indeed, two sets issued by two Somavaṁśin kings (Somavamsin00004, 00020) indicate that the grant was made at the request of the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*). To go further, it will be necessary to carry out an in-depth comparison of the honorific titles mentioned to better understand their political, religious, and administrative implications.

The distinct study of the third-party grants points out that members of the royal family or subordinates could designate Somavaṁśin kings by their coronation name in their donations to give them a kind of royal and official touch. Finally, the whole survey points out that the association of both the birth and coronation names to designate the Somavaṁśin kings does not reflect the convention used by the chancellery or the third party: there is only one instance of a compound joining the birth and coronation names (Somavamsin00016) among the royal grants, and another one among the third-party grants (Somavamsin00046). Both refer to Mahāśivagupta Yayāti. Hence, except for this king, it would be more appropriate to designate the Somavaṁśin kings by their birth names. Table 1<sup>47</sup> gives an updated account of the Somavaṁśin kings as they are named in the royal grants as well as in the third-party grants.

ruler	associated inscriptions
Svabhāvatuṅga Śivagupta	
Janamejaya (Mahābhavagupta)	Somavamsin00001, 00002, 00003, 00004, 00005, 00006, 00007, 00008, 00009, 00010, 00011, 00012, 00041, 00042, 00043, 00044, 00045
Yayāti (Mahāśivagupta)	Somavamsin00017, 00018, 00022, 00023, 00024, 00025
Bhīmaratha (Mahābhavagupta)	Somavamsin00019
Dharmaratha (Mahāśivagupta)	Somavamsin00020
Naghuṣa and/or Abhimanyu	
Indraratha	Somavamsin00013
Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (Caṇḍīhara)	Somavamsin00016
Uddyotakeśarin (Mahābhavagupta)	Somavamsin00015, 00033, 00038, 00047
Janamejaya	
Purañjaya	
Karṇa (Mahāśivagupta)	Somavamsin00031

Table 1. List of Somavaṁśin kings as named in inscriptions

47 The table follows a chronological order. The designations in brackets are alternative designations which are not usual in the whole corpus. In the current state of knowledge, it is impossible to assert whether Naghuṣa and Abhimanyu both reigned, and in what order if both did. The genealogical accounts found in Somavamsin00013, 00030, 00015, 00037 and 00047 tell different versions of events.

The absence of a coronation name in the case of Indraratha is unsurprising and could be explained in several ways: if the coronation name is really an *abhiṣekanāman*, its absence may simply mean that Indraratha was not yet consecrated even if he received the permission of the best *dvijas* (Somavamsin00013, v. 14); while if not, it could also be the result of a radical change of the chancellery members or an intent to present the ruling king in a new way. Indeed, the genealogical account found in Indraratha's grant asserts his Śaiva faith and his belonging to the lunar lineage, but also states that Indraratha's father, Bhīma, is an *avatāra* of Vivasvat (the Sun) on the earth. To go further, a better understanding of the history of the succession is required through an analysis and a comparison of the different genealogical accounts given by the different members of the Somavamsin family.

### Primary sources

See page xvi about references to primary sources in general, and page xvii about DHARMA digital editions with a corpus ID and a number.

#### *List of Somavamsin inscriptions*

Somavamsin inscriptions are listed here by their DHARMA identifiers matched to titles. For items in parentheses, a digital edition is not yet available, so bibliographic references follow the title. Primary sources other than Somavamsin inscriptions are listed below.

Somavamsin00001: *Vakratentali grant of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 3.*

Somavamsin00002: *Gopalpur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 1.*

Somavamsin00003: *Gopalpur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 10.*

Somavamsin00004: *Gopalpur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 12.*

Somavamsin00005: *Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Āṣāḍha month, year 6.*

Somavamsin00006: *Patna plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, Kārttika month, year 6.*

(Somavamsin00007): *Kālibhanā plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 6.* Shastri (1995b, 184–88).

(Somavamsin00008): *Satalma plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 8.* Hultzsch (1905–06).

(Somavamsin00009): *Sonpur plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 17.* Chhabra (1935–36).

(Somavamsin00010): *Gaintala plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 17.* Rajaguru (1966, N° 21).

(Somavamsin00011): *Chaudwār plates #1 of Mahābhavagupta Dharmakandarpa, year 31.* Fleet (1894–95, N° B).

- (Somavamsin00012): *Kālibhanā plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 34. Rajaguru (1966, N° 25).*
- Somavamsin00013: *Banpur plates of Indraratha, year 6.*
- Somavamsin00014: *Kamalpur plates of the time of Karṇa, year 4.*
- Somavamsin00015: *Bālijhari plates of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin, year 4.*
- Somavamsin00016: *Jatesinga-Dungri plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 3.*
- (Somavamsin00017): *Orissa State Museum plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 4. Srinivasan (1969–70).*
- (Somavamsin00018): *Pāṭṇā plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 28. Laskar (1905, N° J).*
- Somavamsin00019: *Cuttack plates of Mahābhavagupta Bhīmaratha, year 3.*
- (Somavamsin00020): *Mahulpara plates of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, year 11. Srinivasan (1967–68).*
- Somavamsin00021: *Nuapatna plates of the time of Janamejaya, year 5.*
- Somavamsin00022: *Pāṭṇā plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 8.*
- (Somavamsin00023): *Cuttack plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 9. Fleet (1894–95, N° E).*
- (Somavamsin00024): *Nibinna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 15. Mazumdar (1911–12, N° B).*
- (Somavamsin00025): *Pāṭṇā plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 24. Laskar (1905, N° I).*
- Somavamsin00026: *Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta, year 13. Kielhorn (1896–97b).*
- Somavamsin00027: *Lalāṭendukesari cave inscription of the time of Uddyotakeśarin, year 5.*
- Somavamsin00028: *Pāṭṇā grant of Mahābhavagupta, year 11.*
- Somavamsin00029: *Navamuni cave inscription of the time of Uddyotakeśarin, year 18.*
- Somavamsin00030: *Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Uddyotakeśarin, year 18.*
- Somavamsin00031: *Ratnagiri plates of Mahāśivagupta Karṇa, year 6.*
- Somavamsin00032: *Kelga plates of Someśvaradeva, year 1.*
- Somavamsin00033: *Stray plate of Uddyotakeśarin from Mahada.*
- Somavamsin00034: *Gandhibedha Sūrya image inscription of the time of Karṇa.*
- Somavamsin00035: *Stray plate of a Somavamśin or Telugu-Coḍa grant from Kelga.*
- (Somavamsin00036): *Sambalpur University Museum plates of the time of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 23. Shastri (1995b, Supplement I, 343–47).*
- (Somavamsin00037): *Degaon plates of the time of Janamejaya. Shastri (1995b, Supplement II).*
- Somavamsin00038: *Sankhameri plates of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin, year 4.*
- Somavamsin00039: *Ruchida plates of Mahābhavagupta, year 8.*
- Somavamsin00040: *Baragaon plates of the time of Janamejaya, year 13.*
- (Somavamsin00041): *Ranipur-Jharial plates of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya, year 16. Unpublished, mentioned by Acharya (2014, N° 12).*
- (Somavamsin00042): *Chaudwār plates #2 of Mahābhavagupta Dharmakandarpa, year 31. Fleet (1894–95, N° D).*
- (Somavamsin00043): *Chaudwār plates #3 of Mahābhavagupta Dharmakandarpa, year 31. Fleet (1894–95, N° C).*

(Somavamsin00044): *Stray plate of Janamejaya, year 3*. Unpublished,<sup>48</sup> mentioned by Acharya (2014, N° 21) and Tripathy (2010, N° 6).

(Somavamsin00045): *Stray plate of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya*. Unpublished, mentioned by Acharya (2014, N° 22) and Tripathy (2010, N° 7).

Somavamsin00046: *Khandahata plates of the time of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, year 3*.

Somavamsin00047: *Kāṇḍavindhā plates of Mahābhavagupta Uddyotakeśarin, year 3*.

Somavamsin00048: *Navamuni cave inscription, undated, maybe of the time of Uddyotakeśarin*.

#### *Other primary sources*

*Bārdulā plates of Śivagupta, year 9*: DaksinaKosala00033.

*Baud plates A and B of Tribhuvanamahādevī, year 158*: Tripathy (2000, N° 13, 14).

*Boṇḍā plates of Śivagupta, year 22*: DaksinaKosala00036.

*Lodhiā plates of Śivagupta, year 57*: DaksinaKosala00046.

*Malhār plates of Śivagupta, undated*: DaksinaKosala00050.

*Malhār plates of Śivagupta, undated (presumably year 6)*: DaksinaKosala00032.

---

48 The field trip carried out in January 2023 enabled me to photograph and read the five legible lines. This plate, cut in half, is the third one of a set and the five legible lines include the quotation of a usual benedictive and imprecatory stanza and the mention of the date.

# Bibliography

## References

- Acharya, Subrata Kumar. 2013. 'Ruchida Plates of Mahābhavagupta, Year 8'. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* 39: 26–42.
- . 2014. *Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Odisha: A Descriptive Catalogue (circa Fourth Century to Sixteenth Century CE)*. New Delhi: D. K. Printworld.
- Agresti, Alan. 2018. *Statistical Methods for the Social Sciences*. Fifth edition. Harlow: Pearson.
- Ahmad, S. Maqbul. 1989. *Arabic Classical Accounts of India and China*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study in association with Rddhi-India, Calcutta.
- Ali, Daud. 2000. 'Royal Eulogy as World History: Rethinking Copper-Plate Inscriptions in Cōḷa India'. In *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, by Ronald B. Inden, Jonathan S. Walters, and Daud Ali, 165–229. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Ali, Daud, and Diana Shuheng Zhang. 2022. 'A New Inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṃśins of Dakṣiṇa Kosala: Philadelphia Museum of Art Copper-Plates of Nannarāja I, Year 7'. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 65: 305–39.
- Altekar, Anant Sadashiv. 1960. 'The Yādavas of Seunadeśa'. In *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by Ghulam Yazdani, 513–74. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bakker, Hans T. 2014. *The World of the Skandapurāṇa: Northern India in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*. Supplement to Groningen Oriental Studies. Leiden: Brill.
- Balogh, Dániel. 2023a. 'A háborús borzalmak gyönyöre? Saiva és buddhista retorika kelet-dekkáni földadományozó táblákon (Delighting in the Horrors of Warfare? Śaiva and Buddhist Rhetoric in Copperplate Land Grants of the Eastern Deccan)'. *Keletkutatás* 2022: 21–49.
- . 2023b. 'The Portrayal of Underlings in Eastern Cālukya Copper Plates: Textual Analysis Data'. Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7900312>.
- . forthcoming a. 'Can We Discern a Śaiva and a Buddhist Rhetoric in Royal Eulogies?' In *Śaiva-Buddhist Encounters in Early Medieval East India*, edited by Lucas den Boer and Florinda De Simini. Studies on the History of Śaivism. Naples: UniorPress.
- . forthcoming b. 'Textual Analysis Methodology and Royal Representation in Copperplate Grants'. In *Bhūtārthakathane ... Sarasvatī: Reading Poetry as a History*

DOI: 10.13173/9783447122306.283

This is an open access file distributed under the terms of the CC BY-SA 4.0 license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>  
The terms of the CC licence apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources such as charts, illustrations, photographs and text extracts may require further permission for use from the respective rights holder.

© by contributor

- Book, edited by Marco Franceschini, Chiara Livio, and Lidia Wojtczak. Studies on the History of Śaivism. Naples: UniorPress.
- . *in preparation*. ‘Textual Analysis of Sanskrit Copperplate Grants: A Preliminary Implementation’.
- Balogh, Dániel, and Arlo Griffiths. 2020. *DHARMA Transliteration Guide*. Project documentation. Paris; Berlin: Centre d’Études de l’Inde et de l’Asie du Sud; École française d’Extrême-Orient; Humboldt-Universität. <https://hal.science/halshs-02272407v3>.
- Banerji, Rakhal Das. 1911–12. ‘Parikud Plates of Madhyamarajadeva’. *Epigraphia Indica* 11: 281–87.
- . 1915. *The Pālas of Bengal*. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5.3. Calcutta: Asiatic Society.
- . 1917–18. ‘The Bangarh Grant of Mahi-Pala I: The 9th Year’. *Epigraphia Indica* 14: 324–30.
- . 1919–20. ‘The Amgachhi Grant of Vighraha-Pala III: The 12th Year’. *Epigraphia Indica* 15: 293–301.
- Barnett, Lionel David. 1915–16. ‘Thana Plates of the Time of the Yadava King Ramacandra: Saka 1194’. *Epigraphia Indica* 13: 198–206.
- Basak, Radhagovinda. 1913–14a. ‘Belava Copper-Plate of Bhojavarmadeva: The Fifth Year’. *Epigraphia Indica* 12: 37–43.
- . 1913–14b. ‘Rampal Copper-Plate Grant of Srichandradeva’. *Epigraphia Indica* 12: 136–42.
- . 1949–50. ‘Madanapur Plate of Srichandra, Year 44’. *Epigraphia Indica* 28: 51–58.
- . 1959. *Aśokan Inscriptions*. Calcutta: Progressive Publishers.
- Belli Bose, Melia. 2015. *Royal Umbrellas of Stone: Memory, Politics, and Public Identity in Rajput Funerary Art*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bhandarkar, Devadatta Ramakrishna. 1913–14. ‘Chatsu Inscription of Baladitya’. *Epigraphia Indica* 12: 10–17.
- . 1925–26. ‘Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I: Saka-Samvat 793’. *Epigraphia Indica* 18: 235–57.
- Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal. 1927 (Reprint 1983). *Early History of the Dekkan and Miscellaneous Historical Essays*. Government Oriental Series 3. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Bhattacharya, A. K. 1964. ‘Bilingual Coins of Mahmud of Ghazni’. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* 26: 53–56.
- Bhattacharya, Gourishwar, and M. Sivayya. 1961–62. ‘Mallar Plates of Jayaraja, Year 9’. *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 28–31.
- Bhattacharya, Suresh Chandra. 1983. ‘Mainamati Copper Plate of Vīradharadeva’. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 14: 17–28.
- . 2005–06. ‘The Jagjibanpur Plate of Mahendrapāla Comprehensively Re-Edited’. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 23: 61–125.



- Bhattachali, Nalinikanta. 1923–24. ‘Kedarpur Copper Plate of Sri-Chandra-Deva’. *Epigraphia Indica* 17: 188–92.
- Bhoir, Ramakant R. 2002. ‘Latest Inscription of Ramchandra Yadava’. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 63: 247–50.
- Bhojak, Amritlal Mohanlal. 1961. *Cauppanamahāpurisacariyam by Ācārya Śri Śīlāṅka*. Prakrit Text Society Series 3. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society.
- Bodard, Gabriel. 2010. ‘EpiDoc: Epigraphic Documents in XML for Publication and Interchange’. In *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, edited by Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais, 101–18. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Bosma, Natasja. 2013. ‘The Bāleśvara Temple Complex of Śivagupta: Epigraphical Evidence for the Śaiva Siddhānta and Soma Siddhānta Traditions in Dakṣiṇa Kosala’. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56 (3–4): 245–61.
- . 2018. *Dakṣiṇa Kosala: A Rich Centre of Early Śaivism*. Groningen: Barkhuis.
- Briggs, John. 1829 (Reprint 1977). *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the Year A.D. 1612*. Lahore: Sang-e Meel Publications.
- Bruhn, Klaus. 1954. *Śīlāṅka’s Caupaṇṇamahāpurisacariya: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina-Universalgeschichte*. Hamburg: De Gruyter.
- Bryant, Antony. 2017. *Grounded Theory and Grounded Theorizing: Pragmatism in Research Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Butterworth, Alan, and V. Venugopaul Chetty. 1905. *A Collection of the Inscriptions on Copper-Plates and Stones in the Nellore District: Part II*. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press.
- Chakravarti, Ranabir. 2014. ‘From the Araṇyacaras to the Antyavasāyins: Inequality, Marginalization and the Lower Social Order in the Arthaśāstra’. In *Papers from the Aligarh Historians’ Society*, edited by Irfan Habib, 180–85. Aligarh: Indian History Congress.
- . 2022. ‘Trade and the Making of State Society in Early India (600–1300CE)’. In *The Routledge Handbook of the State in Premodern India*, edited by Hermann Kulke and Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, 127–55. Abingdon; New York: Routledge.
- Chanda, Rama Prasad. 1911. ‘Dinājpur Pillar Inscription’. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal New Series* 7: 615–19.
- Charmaz, Kathy. 2014. *Constructing Grounded Theory*. Second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal. 1994. *The Making of Early Medieval India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1998. *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims (Eighth to Fourteenth Century)*. New Delhi.
- . 2017. ‘The State’s Perception of the “Forest” and the “Forest” as State in Early India’. In *The Concept of Bharatavarsha and Other Essays*, 56–74. Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
- Chhabra, Bahadur Chand. 1935–36. ‘Sonepur Plates of Maha-bhavagupta(II)-Janamejaya; the year 17’. *Epigraphia Indica* 23: 248–55.

- . 1962. *Diplomatic of Sanskrit Copper-Plate Grants*. Delhi: National Archives of India.
- Chojnacki, Christine. 2008. *Kuvalayamālā: Roman jaina de 779 composé par Uddyotanasūri*. 2 vols. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- . 2011. 'Shifting Communities in Early Jain Prabandha Literature: Sectarian Attitudes and Emergent Identities'. *Studies in History* 27: 197–219.
- Choudhury, Pratap Chandra. 1988. *Assam-Bengal Relations: From the Earliest Times to the Twelfth Century A. D.* Delhi: Spectrum Publications.
- Chowdhury, Abdul Momin. 1967. *Dynastic History of Bengal (c. 750-1200 A. D.)*. Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan.
- . 1978. 'Vaṅga-Kāmarūpa Relationship during the Rule of the Chandras'. *Bangladesh Historical Studies* 3: 33–39.
- . 2018. 'Pāla Realm: Making of a Regional Political Power'. In *History of Bangladesh: Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (up to c. 1200 CE)*, edited by Abdul Momin Chowdhury and Ranabir Chakravarti, 1: 691–832. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.
- Coelho, William. 1950. *The Hoysaḷa Varṅśa*. Bombay: Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College.
- Colebrooke, Henry Thomas. 1891. *Kośha or Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language by Umura Singha with an English Interpretation and Annotations*. Calcutta: Nundo Mohon Banerjee.
- Cort, John E. 1998. 'Who Is a King? Jain Narratives of Kingship in Medieval Western India'. In *Open Boundaries: Jain Communities and Culture in Indian History*, edited by John E. Cort, 85–110. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- . 2002. 'A Tale of Two Cities: On the Origins of Digambara Sectarianism in North India'. In *Multiple Histories: Culture and Society in the Study of Rajasthan*, edited by Lawrence A. Babb, Varsha Joshi, and Michael W. Meister, 39–83. Jaipur & New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Cowell, Edward Byles. 1897. *The Jātaka, or, Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowell, Edward Byles, and Frederick William Thomas. 1897. *The Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. 1960. 'Chandras of East Bengal: In the Light of the Newly-Discovered Inscriptions'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 23: 36–44.
- . 1966. 'Mainamati Plates of the Chandras'. *Pakistan Archaeology* 3: 22–55.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2002. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- De Simini, Florinda. 2016. *Of Gods and Books: Ritual and Knowledge Transmission in the Manuscript Cultures of Premodern India*. *Of Gods and Books*. Studies in Manuscript Cultures 8. Berlin: De Gruyter.

- De, Sushil Kumar. 1940. *The Mahābhārata. Volume 6: The Udyogaparvan, Being the Fifth Book of the Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of India*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Deleu, Josef. 1981. 'A Note on the Jain Prabandhas'. In *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus: Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf*, edited by Klaus Bruhn and Albrecht Wezler, 61–73. Alt- und Neuindische Studien 23. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Derrett, J. Duncan M. 1957. *The Hoysālas: A Medieval Indian Royal Family*. Madras: Oxford University Press.
- Desai, P. B. 1949–50. 'Methi Inscription of Yadava Krishna; Saka 1176'. *Epigraphia Indica* 28: 312–20.
- Detige, Tillo. 2018. 'Satpātrāya Samarpittam: Manuscript Copies and the Early Modern Digambara Saṅgha'. In *The Gift of Knowledge: Patterns of Patronage in Jainism*, edited by Christine Chojnacki and Basile Leclère, 274–370. Bengaluru: Sapna Book House.
- . 2019a. "'Guṇa Kahūṃ Śrī Guru": Bhaṭṭāraka Gītas and the Early Modern Digambara Jaina Saṅgha'. In *Early Modern India: Literature and Images, Texts and Languages*, edited by Maya Burger and Nadia Cattoni, 271–85. Heidelberg; Berlin: CrossAsia-eBooks.
- . 2019b. "'Tataḥ Śrī-Gurus Tasmai Sūrīmantram Dadyāt", "Then the Venerable Guru Ought to Give Him the Sūrīmantra": Early Modern Digambara Jaina Bhaṭṭāraka Consecrations'. *Religions* 10, 369: 1–31.
- . 2020. 'Digambara Renouncers in Western and Central India, c. 1100–1800'. In *Encyclopedia of Jainism*, edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, and Kristi L. Wiley, 182–215. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2023. 'Digambara Memorials from Western India Pre-20th Century CE'. In *Pure Soul: The Jaina Spiritual Traditions*, edited by Renate Söhnen-Thieme, Peter Flügel, and Heleen De Jonckheere, 70–79. London: Centre of Jaina Studies.
- . 2024. 'The Ritual Veneration of Living Digambara Jaina Renouncers'. In *Contemplative Studies and Jainism: Meditation, Prayer, and Veneration*, edited by Purushottama Bilimoria, Cogen Bohanec, and Rita D. Sherma, 107–20. Abingdon; New York: Routledge.
- . *forthcoming*. *Eternal Salutations: Monuments of Digambara Jaina Ascetic Lineages from Western India*. Doctoral dissertation, Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Center for Religious Studies.
- Devadhar, C. R. 1985. *Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Dikshit, Kashinath. 1931–32. 'Navagrama Grant of the Maharaja Hastin (G.E. [1]98)'. *Epigraphia Indica* 21: 124–26.
- Dikshit, Moreshwar G. 1947. महाराष्ट्रातील कांहीं प्राचीन ताम्रपट व शिलालेख (इ० स० पांचव्या ते बाराव्या शतकांतले) (*Selected Inscriptions from Maharashtra [5th to 12th Century A.D.]*). Pune.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. 1976. 'Political Authority and Structural Change in Early South Indian History'. *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 13: 125–57.

- Dundas, Paul. 1991. 'The Digambara Jain Warrior'. In *The Assembly of Listeners: Jains in Society*, edited by Michael Carrithers and Caroline Humphrey, 169–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eaton, Richard Maxwell, and Phillip B. Wagoner. 2014. *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Estienne-Monod, Perrine. 2008. *Les inscriptions sanskrites des Calukya orientaux: caractéristiques et fonctions d'une littérature épigraphique*. PhD thesis, Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I. <http://www.theses.fr/2008AIX10038>.
- Ferguson, Yale, and Richard W. Mansbach. 1996. *Politics: Authority, Identities, and Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Ferrier, Cédric, and Judit Törzsök. 2008. 'Meditating on the King's Feet? Some Remarks on the Expression *Pādānudhyāta*'. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 51: 93–113.
- Fleet, John Faithfull. 1878. 'Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions: No. XLIX'. *Indian Antiquary* 7: 303–8.
- . 1882. *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency from the Earliest Historical Times to the Muhammadan Conquests of A.D. 1318*. Bombay: Government Central Press.
- . 1883a. 'Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions: No. CXXVII'. *Indian Antiquary* 12: 156–65.
- . 1883b. 'Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions: No. CXXVIII'. *Indian Antiquary* 12: 215–20.
- . 1885. 'Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions: No. CLIX. Paithan Plates of Ramacandra. - Saka 1193'. *Indian Antiquary* 14: 314–19.
- . 1888. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*. First edition. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum 3. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.
- . 1891a. 'Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions: No. 193. Chipurupalle Copper-Plate Grant of Vishnuvardhana I. — Dated in His Eighteenth Year'. *Indian Antiquary* 20: 15–18.
- . 1891b. 'The Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings'. *Indian Antiquary* 20: 1–15, 93–104, 266–85.
- . 1894–95. 'Records of the Somavamsi Kings of Katak'. *Epigraphia Indica* 3: 323–59.
- . 1900–01. 'Nilgund Inscription of the Time of Amoghavarsha I.; A.D. 866'. *Epigraphia Indica* 6: 98–108.
- Fleming, Benjamin. 2010. 'New Copperplate Grant of Śricandra (No. 8) from Bangladesh'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 73: 223–44.
- Flood, Finbarr Barry. 2018. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Francis, Emmanuel. 2018. 'Indian Copper-Plate Grants: Inscriptions or Documents?' In *Manuscripts and Archives*, edited by Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich, and Sabine Kienitz, 387–418. Berlin: De Gruyter.

- Furui, Ryosuke. 2008. 'A New Copper Plate Inscription of Gopala II'. *South Asian Studies* 24: 67–75.
- . 2009. 'Re-Reading Two Copper Plate Inscriptions of Gopāla II, Year 4'. In *Prajñādhara: Essays on Asian Art History, Epigraphy and Culture in Honour of Gouriswar Bhattacharya*, edited by Gerd J.R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, 319–30. New Delhi: Kaveri Books.
- . 2010. 'Biyala Copperplate Inscription of Mahīpāla I'. *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology New Series* 1: 99–106.
- . 2011a. 'Rangpur Copper Plate Inscription of Mahīpāla I, Year 5'. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 27: 232–45.
- . 2011b. 'Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapala, Year 26: Tentative Reading and Study'. *South Asian Studies* 27: 145–56.
- . 2013. 'Merchant Groups in Early Medieval Bengal: With Special Reference to the Rajbhita Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahīpāla I, Year 33'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76: 391–412.
- . 2016. 'Bharat Kala Bhavan Copper Plate Inscription of Rājyapāla, Year 2: Re-Edition and Reinterpretation'. *Puravritta (Journal of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of West Bengal)* 1: 41–56.
- . 2017. 'Subordinate Rulers under the Pālas: Their Diverse Origins and Shifting Power Relation with the King'. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 54: 339–59.
- . 2020. *Land and Society in Early South Asia: Eastern India 400-1250*. Abingdon; New York: Routledge.
- Gaur, Albertine. 1975. *Indian Charters on Copper Plates in the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Ghosh, Suchandra. 2010–11. 'Kamarupa and Early Bengal: Understanding Their Political Relationship'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 71: 110–18.
- Gius, Evelyn, Jan Christoph Meister, Malte Meister, Marco Petris, Christian Bruck, Janina Jacke, Mareike Schumacher, Dominik Gerstorfer, Marie Flüh, and Jan Horstmann. 2022. 'CATMA'. Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6419805>.
- Glasesnapp, Helmuth von. 1942. *The Doctrine of Karman in Jain Philosophy*. Translated by G. Barry Gifford. Bombay: Bai Vijibai Jivanlal Panalal Charity Fund.
- . 1984. *Der Jainismus: Eine indische Erlösungsreligion*. Kultur und Weltanschauung 1. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Gopal, K. K. 1964. 'The Assembly of Samantas in Early Mediaeval India'. *Journal of Indian History* 42: 241–50.
- Gopal, Lallanji. 1963. 'Sāmanta - Its Varying Significance in Ancient India'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society New Series* 95: 21–37.
- Goron, Stan, and J. P. Goenka. 2001. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates: Covering the Area of Present-Day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Guest, Greg, Kathleen M. MacQueen, and Emily E. Namey. 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Gupta, P. L. 1961–62. ‘Nesarika Grant of Govinda III, Saka 727’. *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 123–34.
- Gupte, Y. R. 1926. ‘Yādavas Mentioned in the Religious Books of the Mahānubhāvas’. *Journal of Indian History* 5: 198–203.
- Hahn, Michael. 2007. *Kapphiṇābhyudaya, or, King Kapphiṇa’s Triumph: A Ninth Century Kashmiri Buddhist Poem*. Ryukoku University Studies in Buddhist Culture 18. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.
- . 2013. *Śivasvāmin’s Kapphiṇābhyudaya*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
- . 2019. ‘War Council in Śivasvāmin’s Kapphiṇābhyudaya: The Justification for an Expansionist War as Given in Śivasvāmin’s Kapphiṇābhyudaya’. In *War and Peace in Indian Literature and Culture*, edited by Danuta Stasik and Anna Trynkowska, 115–25. Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa.
- Hatcher, Brian A. 2020. *Hinduism before Reform*. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.
- Haug, Martin. 1863. *The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda, Containing the Earliest Speculations of the Brahmans on the Meaning of the Sacrificial Prayers, and on the Origin, Performance and Sense of the Rites of the Vedic Religion. Volume II. Translation, with Notes*. Bombay; London: Government Central Book Depôt; Trübner & Co.
- Hawkes, Jason, and Riza Abbas. 2016. ‘Copperplates in Context: A Preliminary Investigation of the Study and Archaeological Settings of Land Grant Inscriptions’. *Pratnatattva* 22: 41–71.
- Heitzman, James. 1997. *Gifts of Power: Lordship in an Early Indian State*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Henige, David P. 1975. ‘Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India: Epigraphic Evidence and the Abhorrence of a Vacuum’. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38: 525–49.
- Hira Lal. 1905–06. ‘Betul Plates of Samkshobha, the Gupta Year 199’. *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 284–90.
- . 1907–08. ‘Burhanpur Sanskrit Inscription of Adil Shah. Samvat 1646’. *Epigraphia Indica* 9: 306–10.
- Hoernle, Augustus Frederic Rudolf. 1891. ‘Two Pattavalis of the Sarasvati Gachchha of the Digambara Jains’. *Indian Antiquary* 20: 341–61.
- . 1892. ‘Three Further Pattavalis of the Digambaras’. *Indian Antiquary* 21: 57–84.
- Horstmann, Jan. 2020. ‘Undogmatic Literary Annotation with CATMA’. In *Annotations in Scholarly Editions and Research: Functions, Differentiation, Systematization*, edited by Julia Nantke and Frederik Schlupkothen, 157–76. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Horstmann, Monika. 2009. *Der Zusammenhalt der Welt: religiöse Herrschaftslegitimation und Religionspolitik Maharaja Savai Jaisinghs (1700–1743)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2013. *Jaipur 1778: The Making of a King*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hultzsch, Eugen Julius Theodor. 1894–95. ‘Chicacole Plates of Gunarnava’s son Devendravarman’. *Epigraphia Indica* 3: 130–34.

- . 1895. *South-Indian Inscriptions: Tamil Inscriptions of Rajaraja, Rajendra-Chola, and Others in the Rajarajesvara Temple at Tanjavur. Volume II, Part III: Supplement to the First and Second Volumes.* South Indian Inscriptions, 2.3. Madras: Government Press.
- . 1905–06. ‘Nagpur Museum plates of Mahabhavagupta I. Janamejaya’. *Epigraphia Indica* 8: 138–42.
- Hunter, William Wilson, and Nabin K. Sahu. 1956. *A History of Orissa.* First edition. Vol. 2. Calcutta: Susil Gupta.
- Inden, Ronald B. 1990 (2000 second impression). *Imagining India.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- . 2000a. ‘Introduction: From Philological to Dialogical Texts’. In *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, by Ronald B. Inden, Jonathan S. Walters, and Daud Ali, 3–28. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2000b. ‘Imperial Purāṇas: Kashmir as Vaiṣṇava Center of the World’. In *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practice in South India*, edited by Daud Ali, Ronald B. Inden, and Jonathan S. Walters, 29–98. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Inden, Ronald, Jonathan Walters, and Daud Ali, eds. 2000. *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Insoll, Timothy. 1999. *The Archaeology of Islam.* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Islam, Shariful. 2018. ‘Emerging Political Entities in Southeast Bengal (Vaṅga-Samataṭa-Harikela)’. In *History of Bangladesh: Early Bengal in Regional Perspectives (up to c. 1200 CE)*, edited by Abdul Momin Chowdhury and Ranabir Chakravarti, 1: 551–690. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.
- ISO. 2001. *International Standard ISO 15919: Information and Documentation, Transliteration of Devanagari and Related Indic Scripts into Latin Characters = Information et documentation, translittération du Devanagari et des écritures indiennes liées en caractères latins.* Geneva: International Organization for Standardization.
- Jain, Ramesh Chandra. 1963. *Samaraichchakaha of Acharya Haribhadra Suri: Prakrit Text with Sanskrit Chhaya and Hindi Translation.* 2 vols. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith.
- Jaina, Balabhadra. 1978. भारत के दिगम्बर जैन तीर्थ. चतुर्थ भाग: राजस्थान-गुजरात-महाराष्ट्र (*Bhārata ke Digambara Jaina tīrtha. Caturtha bhāga: Rājasthāna-Gujarāta-Mahārāṣṭra*). Bambaī: Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Tīrthakṣetra Kameṭī.
- Jarrett, H. S., and Jadu-nath Sarkar. 1949 (Reprint 1993). ‘Ain-i-Ākbari of Abul Fazl-i-Āllami. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Joharāpurakara, Vidyādhara. 1958. भट्टारक सम्प्रदाय (*Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya*). Solāpura: Jaina Saṁskṛiti Saṁrakṣaka Saṅgha.
- Joharāpurakara, Vidyādhara, and Kastūracanda Kāsalīvāla. 1975. वीर शासन के प्रभावक आचार्य (*Vīra śāsana ke prabhāvaka ācārya*). Nayī Dillī: Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha.
- Joshi, B. R. 1946. ‘A Study of the Dynastic Name Hoysala’. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 22: 172–79.
- Joshi, P. M. 1966. ‘Ala-Ud-Din Khalji’s First Campaign against Devagiri’. In *Studies in Indian Culture. Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, edited by Haroon Khan

- Sherwani, 203–11. Hyderabad: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute.
- Kane, Pandurang Vaman. 1930. *History of Dharmasāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law)*. Volume 1. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Kangle, R. P. 1960. *The Kautīliya Arthasāstra. Part I, A Critical Edition with Glossary*. University of Bombay Studies, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali 1. Bombay: University of Bombay.
- Kāsalivāla, Kastūracanda. 1989. खण्डेलवाल जैन समाज का वृहद् इतिहास (*Khaṇḍelavāla Jaina samāja kā vṛhad itihāsa*). Jayapura: Jaina Itihāsa Prakāśana Samsthāna.
- Khattab, Nasiruddin. 2007. *English Translation of Sunan Ibn Mājah*. Edited by Huda Khattab. Vol. 1. Riyadh: Darussalam.
- Kielhorn, Lorenz Franz. 1892a. 'Inscriptions from Khajuraho'. *Epigraphia Indica* 1: 121–53.
- . 1892b. 'Patna Inscription of the Time of the Yadava Simghana and His Feudatories Soideva and Hemadideva'. *Epigraphia Indica* 1: 338–46.
- . 1892c. 'The Dinājpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Mahīpāla'. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 61: 77–87.
- . 1894. 'Badal Pillar Inscription of the Time of Narayanapala'. *Epigraphia Indica* 2: 160–67.
- . 1896–97a. 'Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva'. *Epigraphia Indica* 4: 243–54.
- . 1896–97b. 'Kudopali Plates of the Time of Mahabhavagupta II'. *Epigraphia Indica* 4: 254–59.
- . 1902–03. 'A List of Inscriptions of Southern India from about A.D. 500'. *Epigraphia Indica* 7, Appendix.
- Koparkar, D. G. 1957–58. 'Kalegaon Plates of Yadava Mahadeva'. *Epigraphia Indica* 32: 31–44.
- Kraska-Miller, Marie. 2014. *Nonparametric Statistics for Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Krishna Rao, Bhavaraju Venkata. 1934–35. 'Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chalukya Kings'. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* 9: 1–32.
- . 1973. *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. 610–1210 A.D.* Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi.
- Kulke, Hermann. 1996. 'Periodization of Pre-Modern Historical Processes in India and Europe. Some Reflections'. *The Indian Historical Review* 19: 21–36.
- . 1997. 'Some Observations on the Political Functions of Copper-Plate Grants in Early Medieval India'. In *Recht, Staat und Verwaltung im klassischen Indien / The State, the Law, and Administration in Classical India*, edited by Bernhard Kölver, 237–44. Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag.



- Kumar, Ashish. 2015. *Kings, Merchants and Forest Societies in the Mālava-Ḍāhala Region (c. AD 400-800)*. Doctoral Thesis, New Delhi: Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- Ḳuraishī, Muḥammad Ḥamid. 1926. 'Some Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit Inscriptions from Asirgarh in Nimār District, Central Provinces'. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1925-26: 1-9.
- Lakshmana Rao, Komarraju Venkata. 1927-28. 'The Addanki Stone Inscription of Pandaranga'. *Epigraphia Indica* 19: 271-75.
- Lal, Kishori Saran. 1967. *History of the Khaljis. A.D. 1290-1320*. London: Asia Publishing House.
- Laskar, Ganga Mohan. 1905. 'Four New Copper-Plate Charters of the Somavaṃśī Kings of Kośala (and Kaṭaka?)'. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1: 1-26.
- Leclère, Basile. 2013. *Le théâtre de l'Inde médiévale entre tradition et innovation: le Moharājaparājaya de Yaśaḥpāla*. Marburg: Indica et Tibetica.
- Lienhard, Siegfried. 1984. *A History of Classical Poetry: Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit*. History of Indian Literature 3.1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Mahalingam, T. V. 1992. 'The Sēuṇas of Devagiri'. In *A Comprehensive History of India*, edited by Ram Sharan Sharma and Krishna Mohan Shrimali, 4.1: 137-55. New Delhi: People's Publishing House.
- Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. 1925-26a. 'Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka; V. S. 894'. *Epigraphia Indica* 18: 87-99.
- . 1925-26b. 'The Gwalior Prasasti of the Gurjara-Pratihara King Bhoja'. *Epigraphia Indica* 18: 99-114.
- Malamoud, Charles. 1998. *Cooking the World: Ritual and Thought in Ancient India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Mazumdar, B. C. 1911-12. 'Three Copper-Plate Records of Sonpur'. *Epigraphia Indica* 11: 93-104.
- Mette, Adelheid. 2010. *Die Erlösungslehre der Jaina. Legenden, Parabeln, Erzählungen*. Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen.
- Mills, E. M. 1993. 'A Copper Plate from the Reign of Śrīcandra (Bangladesh National Museum Accession Number 77.1478)'. *South Asian Studies* 9: 77-86.
- Mirashi, Vasudev Vishnu. 1939-40. 'Purshottampuri Plates of Ramachandra: Saka 1232'. *Epigraphia Indica* 25: 199-225.
- . 1959. 'An Odd Copper-Plate Grant of the Yādava King Rāmacandra'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 22: 196-200.
- Misra, Pramatha Nath, and Ramesh Chandra Majumdar. 1951. 'The Jājilpārā Grant of Gopāla II, Year 6'. *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters)* 17: 137-44.
- Moore, David S., George P. McCabe, and Bruce A. Craig. 2021. *Introduction to the Practice of Statistics*. Tenth edition. New York: Macmillan.
- Nayak, P. K. 2012. 'A Vighraha Grant Discovered from Baragaon'. In *Pratnakirti: Recent Studies in Indian Epigraphy History Archaeology and Art. Essays in Honour of Prof. Shrinivas Ritti*, edited by Shrinivas V. Padigar and V. Shivananda, 1: 72-78. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.

- Nilakanta Sastri, K. A., and N. Venkataramanayya. 1960. 'The Eastern Chālukyas'. In *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by Ghulam Yazdani, 471–503. London: Oxford University Press.
- Novetzke, Christian Lee. 2020. 'The Political Field of Bhakti at the Emergence of Marathi Literature in Premodern India'. In *Regional Communities of Devotion in South Asia: Insiders, Outsiders, and Interlopers*, edited by Gil Ben-Herut, Jon Keune, and Anne E. Monius, 122–36. Routledge South Asian Religion Series 13. London: Routledge.
- Nyāyatīrtha, Anūpacanda. 1985. 'आमेर गद्दी के भट्टारक महेन्द्रकीर्ति का दिल्ली में पट्टाभिषेक (Āmera gaddī ke Bhaṭṭāraka Mahendrakīrti kā Dillī meṁ paṭṭābhiṣeka)'. *Vīra-vāṇī* 37 (15): 421–23.
- , ed. 1997. *दिगम्बर जैन मन्दिर परिचय जिला जयपुर (ग्रामीण अञ्चल) (Digambara Jaina mandira paricaya jilā jayapura [grāmīṇa añcala])*. Jayapura: Digambara Jaina Mandira Mahāsaṅgha.
- Nyāyatīrtha, Bham̐valāla. 1986. 'जयपुर में भट्टारक परंपरा के संस्थान नहीं रहे (Jayapura meṁ bhaṭṭāraka paraṁparā ke saṁsthāna nahīṁ rahe)'. *Vīra-vāṇī* 38 (9): 357–58.
- Obrock, Luther. 2022. 'Uddhara's World: Geographies of Piety and Trade in Sultanate South Asia'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32: 59–81.
- Olivelle, Patrick. 2013. *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra. A New Annotated Translation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Pal, Sayantani. 2008. 'Matsyanyaya of Khalimpur Inscription: Revisiting Its Geo-Historical Significance'. *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 50: 21–36.
- Panda, S. C., D. Chopdar, and P. K. Nayak. 2002. 'Ruchida Copperplate Grant of Mahābhavaguptarājadeva'. *Journal of New Aspects of History of Orissa* 11: 72–76.
- Panigrahi, Krishna Chandra. 1981. *History of Orissa: Hindu Period*. Cuttack: Kitab Mahal.
- Parabrahma Sastry, P. V. 1978. *The Kakatiyas of Warangal*. Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh.
- Parasher-Sen, Aloka. 1991. *Mlecchas in Early India: A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders Upto AD 600*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- . 2006. 'Naming and Social Exclusion: The Outcaste and the Outsider'. In *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 BCE to 400 CE*, edited by Patrick Olivelle, 425–55. South Asia Research. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 2019. 'Habitation, Woods and the Wild: Differentiating Forest in Early India'. In *Questioning Paradigms Constructing Histories: A Festschrift for Romila Thapar*, edited by Kumkum Roy and Naina Dayal, 124–41. New Delhi: Aleph.
- Patel, Alka. 2008. 'Transcending Religion: Socio-Linguistic Evidence from the Somanātha-Verāval Inscription'. In *Ancient India in Its Wider World*, edited by Grant Parker and Carla Sinopoli, 143–64. Ann Arbor: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan.
- Pathak, Kashinath Babu. 1885. 'A Copper-Plate Grant of the Yadava King Krishna'. *Indian Antiquary* 14: 68–75.

- Peterson, Indira Viswanathan. 2003. *Design and Rhetoric in a Sanskrit Court Epic: The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Pollock, Sheldon. 1996. 'The Sanskrit Cosmopolis, 300-1300: Transculturation, Vernacularization, and the Question of Ideology'. In *Ideology and Status of Sanskrit: Contributions to the History of the Sanskrit Language*, edited by Jan E. M. Houben, 197-247. Brill's Indological Library 13. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2006. *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press.
- Rahim, S. A. 1961. 'Inscriptions of the Faruqi Kings from Burhanpur'. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1961: 49-58.
- . 1962. 'Some More Inscriptions from Khandesh'. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* 1962: 72-76.
- Rajaguru, Satyanarayan. 1966. *Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. 4*. Bhubaneswar: Sri Sarada Press.
- Rajaguru, Satyanarayana. 2011. 'Appendix 1: A New Copperplate of the Time of Mahasivagupta Yayati-II'. In *Inscriptions of Orissa: With Special Reference to Subarnapur*, edited by Pabitra Mohana Nayak, 98-105. New Delhi: Readworthy Publications.
- Ramesh, K. V., and S. P. Tewari. 1975-76. 'An Inscription of Pratihāra Vatsarāja, Śaka 717'. *Epigraphia Indica* 41: 49-57.
- Ramsay, W., and John Pollen. 1880. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Volume XII: Khandesh*. Edited by James M. Campbell. Bombay: Government Central Press.
- Rao, Ajay K. 2016. 'From Fear to Hostility: Responses to the Conquests of Madurai'. *South Asian Studies* 32: 68-79.
- Ravishankar, T. S., ed. 2011. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1997-98*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Rice, Benjamin Lewis. 1894. *Inscriptions in the Mysore District (Part I)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 3. Bangalore: Mysore Government Press.
- . 1898. *Inscriptions in the Mysore District (Part II)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 4. Bangalore: Mysore Government Press.
- . 1901. *Inscriptions in the Kadur District*. Epigraphia Carnatica 6. Bangalore: Mysore Government Press.
- . 1902a. *Inscriptions in the Hassan District*. Epigraphia Carnatica, 5.1. Mangalore: Basel Mission Press.
- . 1902b. *Inscriptions in the Shimoga District (Part I)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 7. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press.
- . 1904a. *Inscriptions in the Shimoga District (Part II)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 8. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press.
- . 1904b. *Inscriptions in the Tumkur District*. Epigraphia Carnatica 12. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press.
- . 1914. *Coorg Inscriptions (Revised Edition)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 1. Madras: Superintendent, Government Press.

- Rice, Benjamin Lewis, and R. Narasimhachar. 1923. *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola (Revised Edition)*. Epigraphia Carnatica 2. Bangalore: Mysore Government Central Press.
- Ridding, Caroline Mary. 1896. *The Kādambarī of Bāna*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Sahu, B. P. 1985. 'Ancient Orissa, the Dynamics of Internal Transformation of the Tribal Society'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 54: 148–60.
- Sahu, J. K. 1979. 'Identification of Mahabhavagupta of Mahakosala Historical Society Plates'. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 40: 1117–21.
- Saldaña, Johnny. 2016. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Third edition. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Salomon, Richard. 1998. *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sanderson, Alexis. 2009. 'The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period'. In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, edited by Shingo Einoo, 41–349. Special Series, 23. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Sankaranarayanan, S. 1977. *The Vishṇukunḍis and Their Times: An Epigraphical Study*. Delhi: Agam Prakashan.
- Sanyal, Rajat. 2014. 'The Pala-Sena and Others'. In *Political History and Administration (c. AD 750–1300)*, edited by Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Makkhan Lal, 165–213. History of Ancient India 5. New Delhi: Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan Books International.
- Schmiedchen, Annette. 2014. *Herrschergenealogie und religiöses Patronat: die Inschriftenkultur der Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Śīlāhāras und Yādavas (8. bis 13. Jahrhundert)*. Gonda Indological Studies 17. Leiden: Brill.
- Schreier, Margrit. 2012. *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Shafi, Muḥammad. 2012. 'Burhān Al-Dīn Gharīb'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Brill. [https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_1544](https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1544).
- Sharma, Mukunda Madhava. 1978. *Inscriptions of Ancient Assam*. Gauhati: Gauhati University.
- Sharma, Ram Sharan. 1961. 'Land Grants to Vassals and Officials in Northern India (c. A. D. 1000–1200)'. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 4: 70–105.
- . 2001. *Early Medieval Indian Society. A Study in Feudalisation*. Kolkata: Orient Longman.
- Shastri, Ajay Mitra. 1972. *Yādava Inscriptions from Ambe Jogai*. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 56. Hoshiarpur.
- . 1995a. *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvamśins, and Somavamśins, Part I: Introduction*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research; Motilal Banarsidass.

- . 1995b. *Inscriptions of the Śarabhapurīyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśins and Somavaṁśins, Part II: Inscriptions*. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research; Motilal Banarsidass.
- Shastri, Ajay Mitra, and Snigdha Tripathy. 2011–12. ‘Charters of Mahabhavagupta I Janamejaya from Gopalpur, Year 1, 10 and 12’. *Epigraphia Indica* 43: 91–137.
- Shastri, Biswanarayan. 1991–92. *The Kālikāpurāṇa: Text, Introduction & English Translation with Shloka Index*. Delhi: Nag Publishers.
- Shin, Jae-Eun. 2022a. ‘From Bhauma to Vārāha: The Shifting Lineage Identity of the Kāmarūpa Rulers in Northeast India, 7th–12th Century’. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 65: 583–617.
- . 2022b. ‘The Moon with Two Stories: Reconsidering the “Buddhist” Candras in East India, 10th–11th Centuries’. *India Humanities Focus* 11: 1–8.
- Sircar, Dines Chandra. 1949–50. ‘Two Inscriptions from Kelga’. *Epigraphia Indica* 28: 321–28.
- . 1951–52. ‘Two Pala Plates from Belwa’. *Epigraphia Indica* 29: 1–13.
- . 1955. ‘The Deccan’. In *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, edited by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, 132–49. *The History and Culture of the Indian People* 4. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- . 1955–56. ‘Note on Kurud Plates of Narendra, Year 24’. *Epigraphia Indica* 31: 267–68.
- . 1959–60a. ‘Bhaturiya Inscription of Rajyapala’. *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 150–54.
- . 1959–60b. ‘Dhulla Plate of Sricandra’. *Epigraphia Indica* 33: 134–40.
- . 1961–62a. ‘Note on Nesarika Grant of Govinda III, Saka 727’. *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 135–40.
- . 1961–62b. ‘Pandiapathar Plates of Bhimasena, Year 89’. *Epigraphia Indica* 34: 233–38.
- . 1963–64. ‘Three Pala Inscriptions’. *Epigraphia Indica* 35: 225–38.
- . 1965. *Indian Epigraphy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1966. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1967–68. ‘Paschimbhag Plate of Srichandra, Year 5’. *Epigraphia Indica* 37: 289–304.
- . 1969–70. ‘Mainamati Plates of the Candra Kings (3 Plates)’. *Epigraphia Indica* 38: 197–214.
- . 1973. *Epigraphic Discoveries In East Pakistan*. Calcutta: Sanskrit College.
- . 1973–74. ‘Three Copper-Plate Grants from Assam’. *Epigraphia India* 40: 55–76.
- . 1983. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization. Volume II: From the Sixth to the Eighteenth Century A.D.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 1985. *The Kānyakubja-Gauḍa Struggle, from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century A.D.* Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar Memorial Lecture. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society.
- . 2007. ‘Political History’. In *Comprehensive History of Assam*, edited by H. K. Barpujari, 1: 140–71. Guwahati: Publication Board Assam.

- Sitapati, G. V. 1926. 'The Korni Copper Plate Grants of Anantavarma Chodaganga: Second Set, Saka Samvat 1034'. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* 1: 106–24.
- Slaje, Walter. 2019. 'Buddhism and Islam in Kashmir as Represented by Rājatarāṅgiṇī Authors'. In *Encountering Buddhism and Islam in Premodern Central and South Asia*, edited by Blain Auer and Ingo Strauch, 128–60. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Smith, David. 1985. *Ratnākara's Haravijaya: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Court Epic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Walter. 1991. 'Images of Divine Kings from the Mukteśvara Temple, Bhubaneswar'. *Artibus Asiae* 51: 90–106.
- Sontheimer, Günther-Dietz. 1994. 'The Vana and the Kṣetra: Tribal Background of Some Famous Cults'. In *Religion and Society in Eastern India: Eschmann Memorial Lectures*, edited by Hermann Kulke and Gaya Charan Tripathi, 117–64. Delhi: Manohar.
- Spencer, George W. 1984. 'Heirs Apparent: Fiction and Function in Chola Mythical Genealogies'. *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 21: 415–32.
- Srinivasan, P. R. 1967–68. 'Mahulpara Plates of Mahasivagupta-Dharmaratha, Year 11'. *Epigraphia Indica* 37: 225–32.
- . 1969–70. 'A Grant of Mahasivagupta I-Yayati, Year 4'. *Epigraphia Indica* 38: 186–91.
- Stein, Burton. 1977. 'The Segmentary State in South Indian History'. In *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, edited by Richard Gabriel Fox, 3–51. Monograph and Occasional Papers Series 14. Durham: Duke University.
- . 1980. *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 1998. 'All the King's Mana: Perspectives on Kingship in Medieval India'. In *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, edited by J. F. Richards, 133–88. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Strauch, Ingo. 2002. *Die Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāsikā: Briefe und Urkunden im mittelalterlichen Gujarat*. Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 16. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Strong, John S. 2017. 'The Legends of King Aśoka and the Many Faces of Buddhist Kingship'. Unpublished paper; references are given to the pages of the manuscript. *Lee & Won Foundation Lecture Series on New Horizons in the Study of Buddhism and Buddhist Art*, No. 2. Seoul: National Museum of Korea.
- Sūri, P. 1961. *Mahāmātya-Vastupāla-kīrtikīrtana-svarūpa-kāvyadvaya*. Singhi Jaina Series 32. Bombay.
- Suryanarayana, Kolluru. 1987. *Feudatories under Eastern Chālukyas (History and Culture of Andhras)*. Delhi: Gian.
- Tagare, Ganesh Vasudeo. 1950 (Reprint 1999). *The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. Edited by J. L. Shastri. 5 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Talbot, Cynthia. 1995. 'Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37: 692–722.
- . 2001. *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Region, and Identity in Medieval Andhra*. Oxford.
- Tawney, Charles Henry. 1880. *The Ocean of Story, Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or Ocean of Streams of Story)*. Volume 1. Edited by Norman Mosley Penzer. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- . 1884. *The Ocean of Story, Being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or Ocean of Streams of Story)*. Volume 2. Edited by Norman Mosley Penzer. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.
- Taylor, Sarah Pierce. 2020. 'Jains, Kings, and Kingship in Medieval India'. In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Jainism*, edited by John E. Cort, Paul Dundas, Knut A. Jacobsen, and Kristi L. Wiley, 486–98. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2021. 'The King Never Dies: Royal Renunciation and the Fiction of Jain Sovereignty'. *Religions* 12: 1–19.
- Thapar, Romila. 2001. 'Perceiving the Forest: Early India'. *Studies in History* 17: 1–16.
- Tieken, Herman. 2023. *The Aśoka Inscriptions: Analysing a Corpus*. Delhi: Primus Books.
- Tripathy, Snigdha. 2000. *Inscriptions of Orissa, Vol. 2: Inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas*. Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.
- . 2010. *Descriptive Topographical Catalogue of Orissan Inscriptions*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors.
- Upadhye, Adinath Neminath. 1959. *Uddyotana-Sūri's Kuvalayamālā (a Unique Campū in Prākṛit) Critically Edited from Rare Mss. Material for the First Time with Various Readings, Notes Etc. and Ratnaprabhā-Sūri's Kuvalayamālā-Kathā (a Stylistic Digest of the above in Sanskrit) Critically Edited with Various Readings Etc. Part I: Kuvalayamālā, Prākṛit-Text & Various Readings*. First edition. Singhi Jain Series 45. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Varmā, Gopīcandra. 1998. दिगम्बर जैन अतिशय क्षेत्र श्री महावीरजी का संक्षिप्त इतिहास एवं कारय-विवरण (*Diḡambara Jaina Atiśaya Kṣetra Śrī Mahāvīrajī kā saṅkṣipta itihāsa evaṁ kārya-vivaraṇa*). Jayapura: Rāmā Prakāśana.
- Vasu, N. N. 1900. 'Copper-Plate Inscription of Madanapala'. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 69: 66–73.
- Verma, Onkar Prasad. 1970. *The Yadavas and Their Times*. Nagpur: Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal.
- Vijayaśīlacandrasūri. 2000. *Siri Bhuyaṇasumdarīkahā*. 2 vols. Prakrit Text Series 39. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society.
- Vose, Steven M. 2022. 'Jain Memory of the Tughluq Sultans: Alternative Sources for the Historiography of Sultanate India'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32: 115–39.
- Wathen, W. H. 1839. 'Mr. Wathen's Translation of Ancient Inscriptions'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5: 173–188.

- Wattelier-Bricout, Amandine. 2023. 'Scribes', Engravers' and Ministers' Lineages, an Indication (among Others) of the Royal Donor's Identity'. Paper presented in Pondicherry, January 30. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-04032553>.
- Yadava, B. N. S. 1966. 'Secular Landgrants of the Post-Gupta Period and Some Aspects of the Growth of Feudal Complex in North India'. In *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India*, edited by Ram Sharan Sharma, 72–94. Calcutta.