



HAL
open science

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

Ryosuke Furui

► **To cite this version:**

Ryosuke Furui. Struggle Over Kannauj and Beyond: the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Dániel Balogh; Annette Schmiedchen. Self-Representation and Presentation of Others in Indic Epigraphical Writing, 63, Harrassowitz Verlag, pp.57-70, 2024, Asien- und Afrikastudien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 978-3-447-12230-6. 10.13173/9783447122306.029 . hal-04755812

HAL Id: hal-04755812

<https://hal.science/hal-04755812v1>

Submitted on 28 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

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

Ryosuke Furui

The University of Tokyo,
Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia¹

1. Introduction

The political arena of North India between the late eighth and early ninth centuries was dominated by the confrontations of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in connection with the succession war over the throne of Kannauj. The kings of these dynasties fought each other, supporting either of the two contenders, and their deeds are depicted in the eulogies (*praśasti*) in the inscriptions of themselves, their descendants, and subordinates. As representations of the same events from different perspectives, these eulogies provide not only building blocks for the reconstruction of political history, but also clues to their perceptions of self and other, which would reveal their views on power relations involving all the parties. In the present article, I will compare the mutual representations of those three dynasties — especially what and how the eulogies tell, or not tell, about the kings and their opponents — and discuss the conceptualisations of kingship and political order shared or not shared by them.

Before the main discussion, I would like to present a flow of events reconstructed on the basis of fragmentary information from the inscriptions, with some uncertainty in chronology and timeline, as a background of my discussion.

1 I sincerely thank Annette Schmiedchen and Dániel Balogh, our editors, for their valuable suggestions for the reading, translation, and interpretation of some inscriptions. The research culminating in the present article has been supported by the JSPS Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) (19K01014), in addition to the ERC DHARMA Project (ERC N° 809994).

2. Reconstruction of events

The kingdom of Kannauj or Kānyakubja, the centre stage of events, was ruled by the Āyudhas in the eighth century. Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha were the contenders for the throne. As Cakrāyudha is called a grandson (*napṭṛ*) of Yaśovarman in the *Mohipur plate of Gopāla II* (v. 5), the Āyudha kings seem to have ruled Kannauj as his descendants.

Indrāyudha first ascended to the throne, whereupon Cakrāyudha sought the help of Dharmapāla (r. c. 780–812),² the Pāla king of Bengal. Dharmapāla defeated Indrāyudha and installed Cakrāyudha as the king of Kannauj. Indrāyudha in his turn obtained the aid of Vatsarāja (r. c. 780–800), the Gurjara-Pratihāra king ruling western India, who defeated Dharmapāla and reinstalled Indrāyudha. Then Dhruva (r. c. 780–93), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king ruling the Deccan and Gujarat, in conflict with the Gurjara-Pratihāras, attacked and defeated Vatsarāja. In the area between the Ganga and Yamuna, he also defeated Dharmapāla, who seems to have renewed his attempt to install Cakrāyudha on seeing the weakness of Vatsarāja.

The return of Dhruva to the Deccan, his own territory, provoked another action of Dharmapāla, who again defeated Indrāyudha and his allies and re-installed Cakrāyudha. Then Govinda III (r. c. 793–814), Dhruva's son, who had defeated Nāgabhaṭa II (r. c. 800–833), the son of Vatsarāja, interfered and defeated Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha submitted to Govinda III, whose return to the Deccan incited Nāgabhaṭa II to attack Kannauj. Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Cakrāyudha, occupied Kannauj and invaded the Pāla territory as far as Munger. He shifted his capital to Kannauj, which would remain with the Gurjara-Pratihāras until their decline in the early eleventh century. The Gurjara-Pratihāra occupation of Kannauj concluded the struggle over the city, though the confrontations of the three powers continued for some more while.³

With this reconstruction of the flow of events, I will proceed to the analysis of eulogies in the inscriptions of each dynasty, which represent the same events in different ways.

2 The reigning periods and dates related to the Pāla kings given in this article are provisional ones based on my own calculation.

3 For an outline of the events, which needs some updates, see Sircar (1985, 11–16). For an updated description with input of new data, see Chowdhury (2018, 706–15).

3. The Pālas: focus on one event

The earliest presentation of the struggle over Kannauj in the Pāla inscriptions appears in the copperplate charters of Dharmapāla himself. His *Indian Museum plate* dated year 26 of his reign (c. 806) depicts an event in the struggle as follows:

The one who was duly praised by the kings of Bhojas, Matsyas with Madras, Kurus, Yadus, Yavanas, Avantis, Gandhāras and Kīras, bowing [to him] by bending [their] shaking crowns, and whose golden water pot of his own *abhiṣeka* was raised by the thrilled elders of Pañcāla, the illustrious Kānyakubja king (Cakrāyudha) was installed by him (Dharmapāla), with a mark [put] on [his] charmingly moving eyebrow.⁴

The verse is repeated as stanza 12 of the *Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, year 32* (c. 812). Focus on the one event, the coronation of Cakrāyudha as the king of Kānyakubja, is clear in this description. The exalted position of Cakrāyudha is emphasised by the admission of him as a ruler by the elders of Pañcāla (the area around Kānyakubja), who participated in his coronation, and by the submission of the kings of the diverse regions of North India. The presence of Dharmapāla is kept rather low-key, but his superior position is suggested by the simple fact that he installed Cakrāyudha as a king. The exaltation of the latter indirectly expresses the supremacy of the former.

Focus on this particular event continues in the inscriptions of the descendants of Dharmapāla. The *Jagajjibanpur plate of Mahendrapāla*, his grandson, dated year 7 (c. 854), describes the same event in the following manner:

After defeating these irrepressible enemies beginning with Indrarāja in battle, after destroying the lord of Sindhu country, by this king who appeared rapidly, by him, his own earth with Mahodaya (Kānyakubja) was given to Cakrāyudha, the petitioner possessing valour, as if [the three worlds were given] by Bali to the Vāmana stooping without duplicity, who was entitled to [three] steps.⁵

4 *Indian Museum plate of Dharmapāla, year 26, v. 12: bhojair matsyaiḥ sa-madraiḥ kuru-yaduyavanāvanti-gandhāra-kīrair bhūpair vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇataiḥ sādhu saṅgīryamāṇaḥ| hṛṣyat-pañcāla-vṛddhodhṛta-kanakamaya-svābhiṣekoda-kumbho dattaḥ śrī-kanyakubjas salalita-calita-bhrū-latā-lakṣma yena||* The translations of all the verses cited in this article are my own, improved through valuable comments by Dániel Balogh and Annette Schmiedchen.

5 *Jagajjibanpur plate of Mahendrapāla, year 7, v. 4: durvvārām dviṣato vijitya samare tām indrarājādikān sindhūnām adhipam pramathya rabhasād unmilita-kṣmābhṛtā| dattā yena mahī mahodayavatī vikrānti-bhāje nijā nirvyājānati-vāmanāya valinā cakrāyudhāyārthine||*

The event in focus is the same, though the expression was changed to the bestowal of the earth with Kānyakubja. One motif added in this verse is the defeat of enemy kings, of whom Indrarāja or Indrāyudha, the contender for the throne of Kannauj, is clearly mentioned. In contrast, the presence of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the main enemy of the Pālas, is obscured. The lord of Sindhu country could denote a Gurjara-Pratihāra king, but the indication of his territory as Sindhu, which was then controlled by the Arabs, makes this identification invalid. Another addition is the Trivikrama motif, in which Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha are respectively compared to Bali and Vāmana. While it presents their mutual relation as a donor and a supplicant, the conclusion of the myth, namely that Viṣṇu as Vāmana stepped on Bali and banished him to the nether world, makes their power relation ambiguous.

The same event is represented in the *Mohipur plate of Gopāla II*, the nephew of Mahendrapāla, dated year 3 (c. 877):

By these villages beginning with Kuśasthala (Kānyakubja), Hari sought peace, and [because of these villages] the son of Gāndhārī (Duryodhana) abandoned his son, life, bowing brothers and names.⁶ After conquering [them], these villages were bestowed with a smile on the friend, the grandson of Yaśovarman (Cakrāyudha), by him (Dharmapāla), praiseworthy in war and voracious for enemies.⁷

This verse is also found in two other plates of the same king — the *Suvarnakarikadanda plate of Gopāla II, year 4 (no. 1)*, and the *Suvarnakarikadanda plate of Gopāla II, year 4 (no. 2)* — with a slight difference.⁸ The object of bestowal is changed to the villages including Kuśasthala, another name for Kānyakubja, for which a semi-historical episode from the *Mahābhārata*, the negotiation between Kṛṣṇa and Duryodhana, is provided. The appellation “the grandson of Yaśovarman” gives a clear identity to Cakrāyudha and his lineage.

6 Kuśasthala was one of the five villages (the others are Vṛkasthala, Māsandī, Vāraṇāvata and any village to be chosen by Duryodhana), of which the bestowal was stated by Yudhiṣṭhira as a condition for peace with the Kauravas in his message to be conveyed by Kṛṣṇa, who was despatched as envoy (*Mahābhārata* 5. 70. 15–16). As a result of the war which he could have avoided by conceding these villages to the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana lost his son Lakṣmaṇa Kumāra, his Kaurava brothers, and his reputation.

7 *Mohipur plate of Gopāla II, year 3, v. 5: yair grāmaiḥ sa-kuśasthala-prabhṛtibhiḥ sandhiṃ yayāce harir gāndhāryās tanayo jahau sutam asūn bhrātṛṇ natān nāmakān| nirjityāhava-śālinā praṇayino naptur yaśovarmmaṇas te grāmā ripu-ghasmareṇa hasatā yena prasādi-kṛtāḥ||.*

8 In these plates, *sutam* in the second *pāda* is presented as *sukham*, which functions as an adverb, ‘comfortably,’ for the verb ‘to abandon.’

After Gopāla II, the Pāla kingship shifted to the collateral line of Vākpāla, the younger brother of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla continues to figure in the later Pāla grants, due to the importance of his relationship with his brother Vākpāla, who had served him as a military commander. The event related to Kannauj is also described in the *Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, year 17* (c. 895):

After defeating the enemies beginning with Indrarāja, the acquired Goddess Fortune of Mahodaya (Kānyakubja) was given again by him, the strong one {Bali}, to the petitioner Cakrāyudha {the one holding a discus as his weapon (Viṣṇu)}, bent {becoming Vāmana} by bowing.⁹

The focus continues to be on the installation of Cakrāyudha by Dharmapāla. In this verse, the object of bestowal is abstracted to the personified royal fortune or kingship of Kānyakubja. The defeat of enemy kings beginning with Indrarāja and the comparison of Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha to Bali and Vāmana — motifs added in the *Jagjibbanpur plate of Mahendrapāla* — are repeated. Together with the choice of Mahodaya as a name denoting Kānyakubja, they suggest that the eulogy used in the latter plate was consulted in drafting the present one.¹⁰ This verse also appears in the *Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Rājyapāla*, Nārāyaṇapāla's son, dated year 2 (c. 934), but it is not reproduced in the grants of the kings following him, though they continue to mention Dharmapāla.

The representation of the struggle over Kannauj in the Pāla grants is characterised by a single focus on one event, the installation of Cakrāyudha by Dharmapāla. While the event is embellished by associating it with mythical and epic motifs, the conflicts surrounding the event are barely depicted, except the defeat of Indrāyudha. The Pālas seem to have chosen their single moment of success as the theme, keeping their adversaries, and also their crushing defeats at the hands of the latter, out of sight.

9 *Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, year 17, v. 3: jitvendra-rāja-prabhṛtīn arātīn upārjīṭā yena mahodaya-śrīḥ| dattā punaḥ sāvālinārthayitre cakrāyudhāyānati-vāmanāya||*.

10 The consultation of eulogies used in the earlier charters is presumable from the adoption of the first two stanzas of the *Mohipur plate of Gopāla II, year 3*, to the first two stanzas of the *Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, year 17*, with a slight modification. The Pāla chancellery seems to have kept drafts of eulogies used in the earlier royal charters. They were reproduced in the later grants and gave some consistency to the eulogies of the Pāla charters, especially the later ones.

4. The Gurjara-Pratihāras: valour and achievement

On the side of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the earliest inscription mentioning the struggle over Kannauj is the *Stone inscription of Gallaka*, a subordinate ruler of Vatsarāja, dated ŚS 717 (795 CE). It contains the eulogy of the Gurjara-Pratihāra overlords, and one of the verses dedicated to Vatsarāja describes his victory over Dharmapāla in the following manner:

The royal fortune of the lord of Gauḍa, the master of the four oceans, which was like a village belle in battles and staying within a narrow space among an assembly of huge elephants, was obtained by him (Vatsarāja) who had unlimited forces, after killing a multitude of warriors in a combat, in his two arms hardened by blows of the string [attached to] the limbs of the bow whose tips made a sound destroying the pride of irresistible enemies.¹¹

The exaltation of the lord of Gauḍa, Dharmapāla, as the master of the four oceans heightens the status of Vatsarāja, the winner. On the other hand, an overtone of the military achievement and personal valour of Vatsarāja is recognisable in the expression.

A victory over Dharmapāla, along with the earlier victory over the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king depicted in the previous verse (5), is incorporated in the motif of the conquest of quarters (*digvijaya*), claiming universal lordship for Vatsarāja, in the next verse:

He (Vatsarāja) gained the kingship of the entire earth, after violently conquering the lord of Gauḍa, the king of kings who was the master of the southern region, and the Mlecchas and Kīras of the western and northern country.¹²

The eulogy of Vatsarāja is followed by that of Śrīvarmaka, a subordinate ruler, and his son Gallaka. Verses 17 to 19 depict Gallaka's contribution to the victory over the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas:

11 *Stone inscription of Gallaka*, ŚS 717, v. 6: *durvvārārāti-garvvoddharaṇa-raṇa-raṇat-koṭi-kodaṇḍa-daṇḍa-jyā-ghāta-krūra-doṣṇor vikaṭa-kari-ghaṭā-saṅkaṭāntar-niviṣṭā| hatvājau yodha-vṛndān aparimīta-balenārjjitā rāja-lakṣmīḥ saṅgrāma-grāma-rāmā catur-udadhi-pater yena gauḍādhipasya||*.

12 *Stone inscription of Gallaka*, ŚS 717, v. 7: *gauḍa-nātham avajitya balād yo dakṣiṇāpatha-patiṁ ca nṛpeśam| mleccha-kīram aparottara-deśam sārvaabhauma-nṛpatitvam avāpa||*. In the third *pāda*, the original reading *aparottarandiśam* has been emended on the suggestion of Dániel Balogh, which makes the metre of this verse *svāgatā*, not an unidentified *mātrāsamaka* as proposed by Ramesh and Tewari (1975–76, 55).

In the war, there was the hero of Gauḍa, who had a sharp blade causing deadly wounds to enemies and burning splendour of the rays of the sun. After seeing the unharnessed elephants [of the Gauḍa hero] running away, the blade of his (Gallaka's) sword was like a laughter let loose {the unsheathed [sword] Aṭṭahāsa}.

He, a lion in the real sense, destroyed his enemies as if they were elephants, who had the wealth of haughtiness due to their beauty and the stream of tears of Vallabha broad and white at the front of the battle.

Out of regard, he (Gallaka) made illustrious Indrabhaṭa (Indrāyudha), the warrior, virtuous and knowing the truth of what should be done, all-pervasive in his own kingdom.¹³

Verses 17 and 18 claim his contribution to the victory over the strong Gauḍa hero Dharmapāla, and over Vallabha, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, with emphasis on his personal valour. Verse 19, in contrast, extends his contribution to the political domain, namely the re-installation of Indrāyudha, which could have been credited to Vatsarāja, his overlord.

A contribution to the victory over Dharmapāla is also claimed for Kakka II, a subordinate ruler of Nāgabhaṭa II, belonging to another Gurjara clan, in the *Jodhpur stone inscription of Bāuka*, his son, dated VS 894 (837 CE):

From him in turn was born the son Kakka (II) with great mind, united with fortune. By him was obtained fame in the battle with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri.¹⁴

A concrete reference to Mudgagiri — present Munger — as the place of battle makes the claim credible, as his son and the composer of the eulogy intended.

One inscription of the Gurjara-Pratihāras themselves, the *Gwalior stone inscription of Bhoja I* (r. c. 836–885), describes the struggle over Kannauj in verses 9 and 10 eulogising Bhoja I's father Nāgabhaṭa II, while not mentioning any

13 *Stone inscription of Gallaka*, ŚS 717, vv. 17–19: *āsīd dviṣad-viśasana-kṣata-tikṣṇa-dhāro bhāsvat-karojvala-rucir yudhi gauḍa-vīraḥ| dṛṣṭvā vimukta-kariṇaḥ| prapalāyamānān muktāṭṭahāsa iva yasya kṛpāṇa-paṭṭaḥ|| mūrṭtyātimāna-dhanāḥ| samara-mukhoru-sita-vallabhāśru-dhārāḥ| yasya ripavo gajā iva naṣṭāḥ| paramārttha-kesariṇaḥ|| yaś cakāra nīje rājye sarvva-vyāpinam ādarāt| guṇinaṁ kārya-tattva-jñāṁ śrīmad-indrabhaṭam bhaṭam||*. The reading of verse 18 is uncertain and its metre, supposedly āryā, is broken. The estampage attached to the volume of *Epigraphia Indica* is not good enough to allow any improvement on the transcription by Ramesh and Tewari except correcting their reading of *-dhanah* to *-dhanāḥ*. Accordingly, the translation presented here is provisional.

14 *Jodhpur stone inscription of Bāuka*, year 894 *Vikrama Era*, v. 24: *tato 'pi śrī-yutaḥ kakkah puttro jāto mahā-matiḥ| yaśo mudgagirau lavdham yena gauḍai samam rane||*.

achievement of Vatsarāja related to this struggle in the verses 6 and 7 dedicated to the latter:

After defeating Cakrāyudha {gaining the upper hand over Viṣṇu}, whose inferior character {dwarfish appearance} was made evident by his dependence on another {in taking refuge with an enemy}, he (Nāgabhaṭa II {Bali}) – the one wishing for the success of meritorious deeds founded on the three Vedas {craving the increase of benefits in the business of the three worlds}, who had a succession of taxes imposed (in a manner) fixed by the (proper) conduct of Kṣatriya estate {a collection of stories of Bali narrated (in a manner) connected with the rules of the condition of his power} – reigned with an attitude reverential to discipline {shone with a form humble because of modesty}.

Having subdued the master of Vaṅga, who was a terrible thick darkness consisting of the best elephants, a multitude of horses and a flock of vehicles of the irresistible enemy, he (Nāgabhaṭa II), came forth illuminating the three worlds on his own like the rising sun.¹⁵

Verse 9 emphasises his victory over Cakrāyudha, while referring to Dharmapāla indirectly as “another” on whom the former was dependent. Calling Dharmapāla the master of Vaṅga in verse 10 is rather a misnomer in view of the sub-regions under his control,¹⁶ but understandable as the cognition of outsiders. The emphasis on the greatness of Dharmapāla and his army in this verse accentuates the power of Nāgabhaṭa II who defeated him, while verse 9 extols his virtues by contrasting them with the lowly nature of Cakrāyudha.

The contribution to the victory over the Pālas is still mentioned in the later inscription of a subordinate ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. In the *Chatsu stone inscription of Bālāditya* (r. c. 900–920), the Guhila king of Chatsu, Kṛṣṇarāja, Bālāditya’s great-great-grandfather, is credited with the victory over a Gauḍa king, presumably Dharmapāla.

Having previously made an oath, on the battlefield filled with a troop of excellent elephants, after defeating the warrior (*bhaṭa*), the king of Gauḍa, he

15 *Gwalior inscription of Bhoja I*, vv. 9–10: *ttrayy-āspadasya sukṛtasya samṛddhim icchur yaḥ kṣattra-dhāma-vidhi-vaddha-vali-pravandhaḥ| jītvā parāśraya-kṛta-sphuṭa-nīca-bhāvaṃ cakrāyudhaṃ vinaya-namra-vapur vvyarājat|| durvvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-vāji-vāra-yānaughasamghaṭana-ghora-ghanāndhakāraṃ| nirjitya vaṅga-patim āvirabhūd vivasvān udyann iva ttri-jagad-eka-vikāsako yaḥ||*

16 For the location and character of Vaṅga, the southern sub-region of Bengal, see Furui (2020, 28–29).

(Kṛṣṇarāja) forcibly made the earth, seized in combat, an affectionate female servant of the two feet of his master (Nāgabhaṭa II). From him was born he, the king Śaṅkaragaṇa, who won many battles.¹⁷

In this expression too, the personal valour and military achievement of the protagonist loom large.

The eulogies of the Gurjara-Pratihāras tend to emphasise the valour and military achievement of the kings in the struggle over Kannauj. This may be due to the fact that most of them appear in the inscriptions of their subordinate rulers, who also claim their own contributions to the victories with emphasis on personal valour exhibited in the battlefields. This tendency is shared by the eulogy of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings themselves in the Gwalior inscription, though it also tries to present Nāgabhaṭa II as a virtuous king superior to his opponents, Cakrāyudha and Dharmapāla.

5. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas: insignia and imperial vision

The earliest securely dated Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription mentioning the struggle over Kannauj is the *Nesarikā grant of Govinda III, ŚS 727* (805 CE). Its verse 8, which is reproduced in all the charters of the same king and his brother Kambha, and the *Javakheda plates of Amoghavarṣa I* following the same *praśasti* template,¹⁸ extols the deed of Dhruva, the father of Govinda III, in the struggle as follows:

Speedily driving Vatsarāja, who was intoxicated by the royal fortune (*rājya-kamalā*) of Gauḍa appropriated easily, to the trackless centre of desert by his matchless army, he (Dhruva) took away from him not only a pair of umbrellas of the Gauḍa king, white like beams of the autumnal moon, but also at the same moment his fame standing at the end of the quarters of heaven.¹⁹

Dhruva's victory over Vatsarāja, who had defeated Dharmapāla, established his position superior to both. At the same time, it is remarkable that his superiority

17 *Chatsu stone inscription of Bālāditya*, v. 14: *pratijñāṃ prāk kṛtvodbhaṭa-kari-ghaṭā-saṅkata-raṇe bhaṭam jivā gauḍa-kṣitipam avaniṃ saṅgara-hṛtāṃ | valād dāsīm cakre prabhu-caraṇayor yaḥ praṇayinīm tato bhūpaḥ so 'bhūj jita-vahu-raṇaḥ śaṅkaragaṇaḥ ||*

18 For a list of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions containing the same verse, labelled as stanza 8 of the genealogy '2' by Annette Schmiedchen, and the classified data of them, see Schmiedchen (2014, 33 Table 2, 468-471, 473, and 475, Nos 25-34, 40, and 46).

19 *Nesarikā grant of Govinda III, ŚS 727*, v. 8: *helā-svikṛta-gauḍa-rājya-kamalā-mattam praveśyācirāt durmmārgaṃ maru-madhyam aprativalair yo vatsarājaṃ valaiḥ | gauḍīyaṃ śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalam cchatra-dvayaṃ kevalam tasmān nāhṛta tad-yaśo 'pi kakubhām prāṃte sthitam tat-kaṣṇāt ||*

is expressed as his acquisition of two white umbrellas, the symbol of the kingship of Gauḍa.

The motif of the acquisition of royal insignia is repeated in a refined manner in verses 21 to 24 of the same charter, which eulogise Govinda III:

A fish from the lord of Pāṇḍya country, a bull from the master of the Pallavas, a tiger from the Cola, an elephant from the Gaṅga and a bow from the Kerala [king], a boar from the Andhra, Cālukya and Maurya [kings], a gentleman associated with a [door] panel (a doorkeeper) from the master of the Gūrjaras, a bull from the master of the Pallavas, the names (of each) from both the kings of Kosala and Avanti, and also from the Sīmhala [king], the renowned goddess Tārā from Dharma, the king of Vaṅgāla — thus having taken away these and other insignia of kings, Jagattuṅga {the one at the peak of the world} (Govinda III) bestowed the seal of Garuḍa on the entire world.²⁰

As many as thirteen kings, including the Pallava king mentioned twice, are listed as those from whom Govinda III took away their royal insignia. Among them, Dharmapāla, the Pāla king, receives a special treatment. He is explicitly mentioned by name, and his royal emblem, the Goddess Tārā, is described as “renowned,” though calling him the king of Vaṅgāla is a bit of misnomer, another case of the misconception of outsiders.²¹ Still, he is depicted as one of the kings over whom the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king wielded suzerainty represented by the Garuḍa seal. The same can be said of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king, presumably Nāgabhaṭa II, whose royal insignia were also taken away. Thus, the motif of royal insignia merges with the imperial vision, and both rivals in the struggle over Kannauj are incorporated in the order headed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.

The motif of the acquisition of symbols of kingship is also worked out in the *Baroda plates of Karka II*, a ruler of the collateral Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage of Gujarat serving Govinda III, dated ŚS 734 (812 CE), in describing the deed of Dhruva:

20 *Nesarikā grant of Govinda III*, ŚS 727, vv. 21–24: *pāṇḍya-deśādhipān matsyaṁ vṛṣabham pallaveśvarāc| colād vyāghraṁ gajaṁ gaṅgāc cāpa-yaṣṭim ca keralāt|| andhra-cālukya-mauryebhyo varāhaṁ gūryareśvarāt| phalaka-prativaddhāryaṁ vṛṣabham pallaveśvarāt|| kosalāvanti-nāthābhyāṁ sīmhālād api nāmakam| tāraṁ bhagavatīm khyātām dharmād vaṅgāla-bhūmipāt|| ittham etāny athānyāni cihnāny ādāya bhū-bhujām| garuḍāṅkaṁ jagattuṅgo vyadhatta sakalaṁ jagat||*. Annette Schmiechen (2014, 85) points out the fact that only the *Nesarikā grant* contains these stanzas.

21 For Vaṅgāla denoting the coastal area of southeastern Bengal constituting a part of Vaṅga, see Furui (2020, 29).

To him (Dhruva) was born the son, Govindarāja, a Puruṣa of fame. He (Dhruva), taking both Gaṅgā and Yamunā, beautiful with waves, from the enemies, at the same time acquired the lordship of the highest position in person as well as on the pretext of symbols, as if the quarters were pervaded by his roaming virtues whose profusion was not measurable by [his own] body.²²

Here, obtaining Gaṅgā and Yamunā, in images or as jars of their water,²³ is equated with the acquisition of the territory between the two rivers. Both symbolise universal kingship.

The deeds of Dhruva and Govinda III in the struggle over Kannauj are also described in the inscriptions of the time of Amoghavarṣa I (r. c. 814–878), the latter's son. The first case to mention is verse 5 of the *Nilgund stone inscription* eulogising Govinda III, dated year ŚS 788 (866 CE), which is also found in the *Sirur stone inscription* of the same year:

Having bound the Keralas, Mālavas and Gauḍas, along with the Gurjaras, those staying at the fort of Citrakūṭa mountain and the masters of Kāñcī, he (Govinda III) became a Nārāyaṇa of fame (Kīrtinārāyaṇa).²⁴

In this description, the Pālas are incorporated in the scheme of the conquest of the quarters as the rulers of the east, while the Keralas, Mālavas and the Pallavas of Kāñcī constitute the kings of other three directions. The Gurjara-Pratihāras are given a secondary treatment alongside the three kings, together with some anonymous kings staying at the Citrakūṭa fort, which may include the Guhilas subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

The *Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I*, dated ŚS 793 (871 CE), on the other hand, give descriptions with more specificity, depicting a deed of Dhruva in the following manner:

He (Dhruva) took away the white umbrellas, which were lotuses for the play of Lakṣmī, of the king of Gauḍa running away in the middle of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.²⁵

22 *Baroda plates of Karka II*, ŚS 734, v. 17: *yo gaṅgā-yamune taraṅga-subhage gṛhṇan parebhyaḥ samarṇ| sākṣāc cihna-nibhena cottama-padaṁ tat prāptavān aiśvaram| dehāsammīta-vaibhavair iva guṇair yyasya bhramadbhir ddiśo| vyāptās tasya babhūva kīrtti-puruṣo govinda-rājaḥ sutah||*

23 For the interpretation that Gaṅgā and Yamunā denote jars of their water, the acquisition of which symbolises universal sovereignty, see Inden (1990, 259).

24 *Nilgund stone inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I*, ŚS 788, v. 5: *keṛaḷa-māḷava-gauḍān sa-gurjarāṁś citrakūṭa-giri-durgga-sthān| baddhvā kāñcīśān atha sa kīrttinārāyaṇo jātaḥ||*

25 *Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I*, ŚS 793, v. 14: *gaṅgā-yamunayor mmadhye rājño gauḍasya naśyataḥ| lakṣmī-līlāravindāni śveta-cchattraṇi yo harat||*

The motif of the acquisition of royal insignia reappears here with the addition of a specific incident, the defeat of Dharmapāla at the area between the two rivers.

The tendency towards specificity is also found in the verses describing the deeds of Govinda III, which refer to the names of the kings.

After snatching away the irremovable true fame of the two kings Nāgabhaṭa [II] and Candragupta in battles, then he (Govinda III), devoted to the acquisition of fame, uprooted kings deficient in fortitude on [their] own land and planted others in [their] position, like paddy seedlings.

The water of springs at the mountains of Himavat was drunk by [his] horses, and that of the Gaṅgā by [his] elephants. And the roar of its (Gaṅgā's) thundering in its ravine was doubled again by musical instruments (*tūrya*) accompanying [his ritual] immersion. Those Dharma and Cakrāyudha surrendered themselves to him (Govinda III), the great one. He was (like) Himavat, as he attained resemblance [to it] in terms of fame, so that he was [called] Nārāyaṇa of fame (Kīrtinārāyaṇa).²⁶

The defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta, the Pāṇḍuvamśin king of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, and the voluntary submission of Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha are embedded in the lofty claim of uprooting and implanting kings, and conquest reaching the Himalayan Mountains.

The eulogies in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions referring to the struggle over Kannauj show their peculiarity in a recurrent rhetoric of the acquisition of royal insignia equated with kingship. This rhetoric is combined with the specificity of the involved persons, locations, and events. Remarkably, both rhetoric and specificity are played out in reference to the imperial vision, in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings reign over all the other kings on the earth, including the Pālas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the main adversaries in the struggle over Kannauj.

26 *Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, ŚS 793, vv. 22–23: sa nāgabhaṭa-candragupta-nṛpayor yaśo 'ryam raṇeṣv ahāryam apahārya dhairya-vikalān athonmūlayat| yaśorjjana-paro nṛpān sva-bhuvi śāli-sasyān iva punaḥ punar atiṣṭhipat sva-pada eva cānyān api|| himavat-parvata-nirjharāmvu turagaiḥ pītañ ca gāṃgañ gajair ddhvanitañ majjana-tūryakair dviguṇitañ bhūyo 'pi tat-kandare| svayam evopanatau ca yasya mahatas tau dharmā-cakrāyudhau himavān kīrtti-sarūpatām upagatas tat kīrtti-nārāyaṇaḥ||.*

6. Concluding remarks

In depicting the same events in the struggle over Kannauj, the eulogies in the inscriptions of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas show differences in their emphases and perspectives. The Pāla eulogies are devoted to a single event, the coronation of Cakrāyudha by Dharmapāla, obscuring the presence of adversaries other than Indrāyudha. The Gurjara-Pratihāras emphasise the personal valour and military achievements of the kings and their subordinate rulers. In the eulogies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, the acquisition of the royal insignia of other kings, who are incorporated into their imperial order, looms large.

This difference, on the one hand, could come from the different degrees and forms of involvement in the struggle, and the outcomes from them. The Pālas, on the losing side despite being a main participant, have to concentrate on the one moment of their glory. The Gurjara-Pratihāras, another active participant and the ultimate winner, boast their victory achieved by valour. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for whom the struggle over Kannauj was just one of the military campaigns they fought in all the directions, locate their victories within the imperial vision.

On the other hand, the difference could be connected with the power structures reflected in the inscriptions. The Pālas, who kept their subordinate rulers under check, consistently narrate the single story of royal success in the grants they issued monopolistically. In case of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, both the kings and autonomous subordinate rulers under them present diverse moments of valour and achievement as shared memories in their respective inscriptions. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, competing with other imperial contenders for supremacy, put more emphasis on the capture of royal insignia, which symbolically demonstrates their superiority over other kings in their own inscriptions.

All the participants, even the Pālas, shared a particular notion of power and order of their period, represented by concepts of *digvijaya* and universal kingship over all the others. How it could be, or could not be, substantiated in eulogies depended on the actuality of political events and power structures, as the depictions analysed above show.

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.

- Baroda plates of Karka II, ŚS 734*: Fleet (1883a); Salomon (1998, 284–96).
Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, year 17: BengalCharters00091; Sircar (1983, 80–86).
Bharat Kala Bhavan plate of Rājyapāla, year 2: BengalCharters00108; Furui (2016).
Chatsu stone inscription of Bālāditya: Bhandarkar (1913–14); Sircar (1983, 363–71).
Gwalior stone inscription of Bhoja I: Majumdar (1925–26b); Sircar (1983, 242–46).
Indian Museum plate of Dharmapāla, year 26: BengalCharters00099; Furui (2011b).
Jagajjibanpur plate of Mahendrapāla, year 7: BengalCharters00073; S. C. Bhattacharya (2005–06).
Jodhpur stone inscription of Bāuka, year 894 Vikrama Era: Majumdar (1925–26a); Sircar (1983, 236–41).
Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, year 32: BengalCharters00088.
Mohipur plate of Gopāla II, year 3: BengalCharters00109; Furui (2008).
Mahābhārata: De (1940).
Nesarikā grant of Govinda III, ŚS 727: Gupta (1961–62); Sircar (1961–62a).
Nilgund stone inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I, ŚS 788: Fleet (1900–01).
Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, ŚS 793: Bhandarkar (1925–26); Sircar (1983, 478–94).
Sirur stone inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I, ŚS 788: Fleet (1883b).
Stone inscription of Gallaka, ŚS 717: Ramesh and Tewari (1975–76).
Suvarnakarikadanda plate of Gopāla II, year 4 (no. 1): BengalCharters00111; Furui (2009).
Suvarnakarikadanda plate of Gopāla II, year 4 (no. 2): BengalCharters00112; Furui (2009).

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 Śrī 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 Shrivastava, 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, Bham̐varalāla. 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 Kirātarjuniya 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.
- 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. ‘Pandiathar 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 Candras 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-Lekhapañcāśikā: 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.