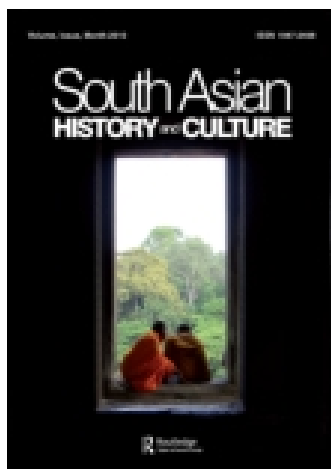


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Yigal Bronner^a

^a Department of Asian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

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South meets North: Banaras from the perspective of Appayya Dīkṣita

Yigal Bronner*

Department of Asian Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

During the last decades of the sixteenth century, Banaras began to assert itself as a powerful intellectual centre of a magnitude never seen before in South Asia. Scholars working in all disciplines and from every part of the subcontinent were drawn to this city, where they not only produced voluminous innovative scholarship but also created a deliberative body of scholars and jurists that began to assume all-India responsibilities. By the best estimates, the second half of the sixteenth century is also the time when the career of Appayya Dīkṣita (1520–1593), one of India's most important and influential scholars in early modernity, peaked far to the south of Banaras, in the Tamil country. This essay examines scholarly and social networks between Banaras and the Deep South through the perspective of this seminal scholar, his works and his successors. In particular, I ask what types of transsubcontinental ties between South and North existed during Appayya's life and how they changed after his time, both in practice and in memory. As the essay shows, it was only towards the very end of the nineteenth century that reports began to surface, suggesting that Appayya visited Banaras and interacted in person with its leading intellectuals. But even though these narratives are demonstrably fictional, Appayya's afterlife in Banaras is faithful to key aspects of his intellectual persona and to the actual lives of his texts and descendants in the northern city.

Keywords: Banaras; Appayya Dīkṣita; Sanskrit; intellectual history; South India

During the last decades of the sixteenth century, Banaras began to assert itself as a powerful transregional intellectual centre of a magnitude never seen before in South Asia. Scholars working in all disciplines and from every part of the subcontinent were drawn to this city, where they not only produced voluminous innovative scholarship but also created a collective body that began to assume all-India responsibilities, such as passing jointly signed judgements (*nirṇaya*) on matters brought to them from far and wide and negotiating with the Mughal court 'on behalf of the wider constituents of the Hindu pious'.¹ By the best estimates, the second half of the sixteenth century is also the time when the career of Appayya Dīkṣita (1520–1593),² one of India's most important and influential scholars in early modernity, peaked far to the south of Banaras, in the Tamil country. This essay examines scholarly and social networks between Banaras and the Deep South through the perspective of this seminal scholar, his works and his successors. In particular, I ask what types of transsubcontinental ties between South and North existed during Appayya's life and how they changed after his time, both in practice and in memory.

*Email: yigal.bronner@mail.huji.ac.il

This essay is dedicated to my father, Fred Bronner (1925–2013), who would have been amused, but not displeased, to see me try my hand at history.

Appayya Dīkṣita's sphere of activity

Appayya Dīkṣita was an extremely prolific writer. In the lines he inscribed on the walls of the Kālakaṅtheśvara temple in his home village of Adayapalam, as well as in the colophons of some of his texts, he claims to have composed over 100 works. Unfortunately, only a small part of this vast corpus has been carefully examined: many of Appayya's known compositions have not even been looked at, others are unpublished or untraceable, and the ascription to him of still others remains uncorroborated or doubtful. Thus, we lack even a reliable list of Appayya's works, let alone a good understanding of his overall methodology and agenda, a problem compounded by the scarcity of reliable external sources about his life. My following observations about his sphere of activity and his sense of his place in the world must therefore be taken as tentative.

That said, all signs indicate that Appayya's life and activities were strictly confined to the Tamil country. His patrons were all based in the Tamil-speaking region or in its immediate borders,³ contemporary written evidence about him comes solely from this area,⁴ the life events he reports all happened there,⁵ and his works that are tied to specific localities, such as hymns sung to deities housed in particular temples, all refer to Tamil places.⁶ Moreover, a significant part of his theoretical work has to be understood in the context of theological and political developments in his immediate vicinity or, in any case, in the domain of Vijayanagara's influence. Consider, in this context, his interventions in Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta that are meant as pointed rejoinders to Vyāsatīrtha,⁷ an important systematizer of the dualist position and a political power broker who in the sixteenth century carved out an important position for himself and for the community of Madhva's followers in and around Vijayanagara, very likely at the expense of Śaivas like Appayya.⁸ Another example is Appayya's attempt to reread the Sanskrit epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, at a time when his sectarian rivals in Vijayanagara were marshalling them as evidence for Viṣṇu's superiority.⁹ More examples can easily be supplied.

This is not to say that Appayya was or felt marginalized or isolated. Like many intellectuals of his day, he wrote not a letter in the vernacular, although he doubtless knew Tamil and quite possibly Telugu, and he composed strictly in the cosmopolitan idiom of Sanskrit.¹⁰ Indeed, he rightly anticipated readers 'as far as the slopes of Rāma's bridge [in the South] and up to the Himalaya [in the North]' (*āsetubandhataṭam ā ca tuṣāraśailād*), which was how he conceived of the renown of his grandfather, another prominent southern intellectual.¹¹ True, not all of Appayya's works were necessarily written with a translocal audience in mind and some were clearly more meaningful locally. But local sectarian politics often reverberated far and wide, and the distinction between local and translocal was never simple, so any single work could lend itself to different interpretations depending on its readers' context.

But even though Appayya often imagined a vast, subcontinental readership, Banaras was not much of a presence on his mental map. As far as I can tell, the scholars he engaged in direct conversation were mostly southern and, at any rate, not Banaras based. Banaras is rarely mentioned in his works, and when it does come up, it does so apropos of something else and not as a topic of discussion in its own right.¹² And there is no reason to think that Appayya, the pious Śaiva, ever travelled to Śiva's city: neither he nor his immediate descendants, who wrote a great deal about him, reported any such trip.¹³ In short, even if we bear in mind the caveats about evidence from silence and about our partial knowledge of his works, it seems that contemporary Banaras was simply not on Appayya's radar.

There are various ways to explain the gulf between the towering intellectual from the South and the emerging all-important academic centre in the North. First, Banaras rose to prominence only at the end of Appayya's career. For instance, the renovation of the Muktimaṇḍapam, the seat of the city's learned assembly, took place when Appayya was entering the last decade of his life, after he had already written much of his corpus. Second, Banaras initially attracted Brahmins from Maharashtra and the Deccan and only later drew literati from the Tamil-speaking South. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the earliest extant judgement from Banaras, dated 1583, mentions not a single signatory from the Tamil country, unlike a mid-seventeenth-century document discussed later.¹⁴ So it may well be that Appayya did not yet conceive of Banaras as a major power to contend with, whereas his southern adversaries, interlocutors and influences played a far more prominent role in the world as he envisioned it. Third, it is also possible that he felt some sort of southern patriotism, as is evident in his reverence for figures such as Daṇḍin and Vedānta Deśika.¹⁵ Finally, even beyond the local nature of his physical and perceived context, Appayya differs from most public intellectuals of his time in never tying himself to teachers, colleagues or institutions other than his own ancestors and the classes he held in his native village and the adjacent town of Vellore.¹⁶ As I have noted elsewhere, Appayya was a card-carrying member of only one party, his family,¹⁷ and it may well be that this approach, too, made him somewhat oblivious of developments in Banaras, even regardless of the possibly limited extent to which these were felt in the Tamil region during his time.

Appayya's descendants in Banaras

If Appayya's life was basically a one-man show staged strictly in the local arena, this was not true of his descendants, many of whom carried the family's scholarly torch. Subsequent generations spread far and wide, tied themselves to many courts and maṭhas, and even made appearances on the grandstand of Banaras. Perhaps, the earliest known case is Sūryanārāyaṇa Dikṣita, a nephew of Appayya. We know about Sūryanārāyaṇa from a rare biography of him written by his younger brother, Samarapuṅgava Dikṣita, which was preserved in family circles. The biography tells of Sūryanārāyaṇa's youth and upbringing as Appayya's student and thus gives us a uniquely vivid glimpse into the scholarly and pedagogical activities of the great scholar and master teacher, whom the hero remembered with much nostalgia ('I forever heard his mesmerizing voice from the edge of the podium, emerging, as it were, from a magician's mouth' [*śībikāgrasīmani vaitālikavadananiḥṣṛtā sarasvatī śaśvad evam aśrauśam*]).¹⁸ Sūryanārāyaṇa was originally based in Viriñcipuram, a stone's throw from his uncle's native village, but once his student days were over, he began travelling, and his biography, *The Book of Travels (Yātrāprabandha)*, mainly describes the places he visited. Initially, these were all southern: Kanchipuram, the Kaveri delta, Rama Setu at the southern tip of the peninsula, and Madurai and the Pandya country. But later he also set out north, beginning with Tirupati, on the edge of the Tamil country, and then venturing to remote places such as Gokarna, Mathura, Gaya, Prayag and Ayodhya. Finally, Sūryanārāyaṇa arrived in Banaras, the subject of the final chapter of the book and the presumed location of the remainder of his life: the penultimate verse of the work, which brings the narrative to completion, ends by stating that 'he lived and prospered in Banaras' (*āvasad asau vārānasīm rddhimān*).¹⁹ Sūryanārāyaṇa was not a renunciant but a married Brahmin, and this line suggests that

despite the biography's great emphasis on his pilgrimaging, he had travelled to Banaras with the intention of settling there with his family.

Anyone who hopes to learn from the *Yātrāprabandha* about the city's scholarly scene, Brahmin diaspora, and lively politics is in for a disappointment. The Banaras described in the book is a complete utopia, a heaven on earth where the antelope fears not the hyena (verse 9.14), Śiva whispers the syllable 'om' in the ears of the faithful (9.51), Pārvaī lavishes endless amounts of food on the hungry (the subject of about a third of the chapter, beginning with 9.65), and both life and death are means for liberation from the world and union with God (e.g., 9.18–19, 35–37, 45). We hear nothing specific about the human inhabitants of Banaras or about the more mundane details of Sūryanārāyaṇa's life there. It would seem that the only residents worthy of mention in this long passage are the city's presiding deities, the only sites worth recording are their abodes, and the only events that merit reporting are darshans with them. This approach is in line with the rest of the work, which is rather niggardly in regard to personal information about its hero and prefers a hymnlike mode for the description of pilgrimage sites through his pious eyes.

Nonetheless, even in this utopian description of Banaras, we can detect a few faint echoes of its contemporary life. First, vast attention is given to the Viśveśvara temple, which was the focus of many of the scholarly and public activities of the period, especially after the renovation, in the 1580s, of its Liberation Hall (Muktimaṇḍapam), which housed the assembly of the learned. The lengthy description of this temple may thus also reflect, however indirectly, its intellectual and sociopolitical prominence.²⁰ Second, we find a long, detailed description of the ladle-holding goddess Annapūrṇā Annapūrṇa, giver of food, to whose shrine Sūryanārāyaṇa leisurely veers after visiting Viśveśvara (*dhānyo 'yaṃ tadanu śanaiḥ śanair ayāsīd āvāsa[m] tribhuvanamātur annadātryāḥ*; 9.61).²¹ I take this to mean that Sūryanārāyaṇa saw the goddess in the temple, that is, before she seems to have been acquired at great cost by Jai Singh and was moved to 'the pagoda of his house', as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier reports, likely sometime in the late 1650s or early 1660s.²² It thus seems that Sūryanārāyaṇa arrived in Banaras sometime between the closing decades of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth, exactly the time when the city reached the peak of its impact. Third, we hear in his account a strong echo of the theory of liberation through death in Banaras, which was, as we shall see, an important but controversial view of this period. Fourth, and most important from our perspective, there is a hint of scholarly activities at the very end of the work, where we are told that Sūryanārāyaṇa satisfied Śiva not only with good deeds and rites but also 'with his knowledge and grammar for the sake of the body of students' (*vidyāvākaraṇair śiṣyasādase viśveśam ārādhayan*; 9.112). The likely implication of this oblique comment is that Sūryanārāyaṇa taught (or supported the teaching of) grammar in Śiva's city, and it is thus reasonable to assume that he was tied to the dynamic scene of grammar in the Banaras of his days.

A more tangible indication that descendants of Appayya not only lived in Banaras in the seventeenth century but also became integrated into its intellectual circles is a 1657 judgement on the Brahmin status of the Maharashtra-based Devarṣis, signed by 77 Brahmin literati based in Banaras. The long and impressive list of signatories includes some of the day's leading authorities on law, logic, grammar and Mīmāṃsā from all of the city's major Brahmin families; it also includes one Appayya Dikṣita (Appayadīkṣita), likely Appayya III, a grandnephew of the great scholar, who was supported by a Cinna Bomma who was subservient to Cokkanātha Nāyak of Madurai (r. 1659–1682).²³ The fact that Appayya III, if this identification is correct, was included in this prestigious

group as an adjudicator on a Marathi legal matter that did not involve him directly is a clear sign that Brahmins from the Tamil South had become an integral part of the all-India intellectual assembly of Banaras and, perhaps, also of the growing fame there of his ancestor, Appayya Dīkṣita I.

Finally, consider some evidence concerning Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin (or Vājapeyayājin), the grandson of the aforementioned Samarapuṅgava (the author of the *Yātrāprabandha* and Sūryanārāyaṇa's younger brother). He received support from Śāhaji, the Maratha king of Tanjore (r. 1684–1710), and among his works is a survey of heterodox doctrines, the *Avaidikadarśanasamgraha*. A manuscript of this work held in Tanjore's Sarasvatī Mahal library records that its scribe, Bhāskararāya, whose friendship with the author was 'great and well known',²⁴ was a resident of Banaras (*likhitam etat kāśivāsibhāskararāyeṇa*).²⁵ This, of course, does not necessarily mean that Gaṅgādhara himself was in Banaras at the time his work was copied there, but additional information suggests that he was. First, a short biography of Bhāskararāya written by his student Jagannātha describes his youth in Banaras and mentions Gaṅgādhara as one of his teachers there.²⁶ Second, Gaṅgādhara's own teacher, whom he mentions in several of his works, one Viśvarūpa Yati, is identified by S. K. De as having been based in Banaras.²⁷ Thus, it seems that Gaṅgādhara, whose granduncle had settled in Banaras, had strong roots in the city: he studied, took students and likely composed works there. All these show that by the turn of the eighteenth century, Sanskrit scholars from the Tamil country, with connections in courts such as Vellore, Madurai, and, in this case, the Maratha court of Tanjore, were now active participants in the emerging India-wide intellectual network that about 100 years earlier had not fully embraced them.

Moreover, it should be clear even from these minimal data that during much of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, members of Appayya's extended family had at least a temporary presence in Banaras, if not a more permanent delegation, possibly based initially in Sūryanārāyaṇa's household and grammar school, to which visitors and newcomers from among the growing Appayya clan and other southerners would likely turn upon arrival.²⁸ Thus, there was surely an increasing flow of letters, texts and people between this northern Tamil diaspora and those back home, and it should be equally clear that one main mission of this delegation of Tamil Brahmins, many of whom were students and descendants of Appayya, was the circulation of their ancestor's works, the propagation of his ideas and the defence of his texts against criticism that they were already drawing.

Consider, in this context, the last two literati mentioned: Appayya III, the likely signatory of the 1657 judgement, and Gaṅgādhara, who was active several decades later, and whose work on nonorthodox religions was copied and perhaps composed in Banaras. Appayya III appended the following statement to several of his works: Appayya I was such a rare scholar and teacher that his corpus provides a simple test for anyone's erudition: whoever understood Appayya's works was a true scholar, and whoever did not, was not (*appayyadīkṣitendrān aśeṣavidyāgurūn aham vande | yatkr̥tibodhābodhau vidvadavidvadvibhājakopādhi ||*).²⁹ Appayya III was also most probably the author of the *Citramīmāṃsādoṣadhikkāra*,³⁰ whose title indicates that it was meant to refute those who found fault with Appayya's magnum opus on poetics (the *Citramīmāṃsā*), and one of his aims in the *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā* was 'to criticize the views of Navya Mīmāṃsakas who criticized the views of Appayya'.³¹ This was also the purpose of another of his works, *Durūhaśikṣā* (*Schooling the Obstinate*), which was intended to enlighten even the most pertinacious opponents

of Appayya's *Vidhirasāyana*. A similar approach is found in the work of Gaṅgādharma, who also hailed Appayya in no uncertain terms ('a speck of dust from his lotus feet makes even the guru of the gods paltry') while producing scholarship corroborating his works, such as his commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Rasikarañjana*.³²

Appayya's scholarship in Banaras

To better understand the activities of these descendants, we have to realize the impact of Appayya's corpus on the Banaras of their times. Although we can be certain that these descendants brought some of Appayya's texts with them when they travelled north, there is good reason to believe that his works had reached Banaras already during his lifetime and, indeed, within a very short time after their composition. At the very least, it is easily demonstrable that during the first decades of the seventeenth century and perhaps even slightly earlier, Appayya caused quite a stir in Śiva's city: his works in various disciplines were widely circulated and read, and they elicited a frenzy of reactions – some favourable, many others hostile – from members of the city's leading intellectual families.

A brief and very partial survey arranged along disciplinary lines can serve to illuminate the quickness and magnitude of this impact. Appayya's important and highly provocative work on Mīmāṃsā, the *Vidhirasāyana*, where he boldly replaces Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's age-old system for defining the different types of Vedic injunctions, was probably composed during the late 1580s or the early 1590s under the patronage of Veṅkaṭapati.³³ Already in the last decade of the sixteenth century or the early decades of the seventeenth, this work was the target of a direct hostile rejoinder, the *Vidhirasāyanadūṣaṇa*, by none other than Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, the chief paṇḍit of Banaras. Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa was the son of the acclaimed Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and a member of the famous Bhaṭṭa family, whose chronicle, the *Gādhivamśānucarita*, he also composed (he was also probably one of the teachers of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita).³⁴ Other extensive critiques of the *Vidhirasāyana* quickly followed. I mention four examples: the *Bhāṭṭālamkāra* of Anantadeva II (fl. ca. 1650), a member of the prestigious Deva family; Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, which was composed in Banaras at around the same time as Anantadeva's work; the encyclopaedic *Prabhāvalī* commentary on the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, written in Banaras by the great Mīmāṃsaka Śambhu Bhaṭṭa; and the *Vidhidarpaṇa* by Kolluri Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī.³⁵ All these works, written within a few years of one another, were dedicated to defending (but really also revising) Kumārila's fundamental set of definitions in a hugely important debate that Appayya had started.

Exactly at the same time at which Appayya's work on Mīmāṃsā was receiving such harsh responses, we also find a highly negative reaction to his Vedānta contributions in the *Vedāntakataka* of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the famous commentator on the *Mahābhārata* and a member of another extremely respected family, the Caturdharas. Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vedāntakataka*, or the soap-nut (*kataka*) for purifying the muddied waters of Vedānta, is really an extensive study of at least five of Appayya's works in the field – *Ānandalaharī*, *Śivādvaitanirṇaya*, *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, *Nyāyarakṣamaṇi* and *Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha* – in an attempt to show that they transgress the boundaries of proper nondualism and err on the side of a sort of Śaiva qualified dualism, among other faults.³⁶ At the same time, Appayya was clearly getting a more positive reception from Advaitins in Banaras; indeed, Appayya's prominence is recognized by Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara and is precisely why he targets him for systematic

condemnation.³⁷ Thus, Appayya's attack on the dualists (especially in his *Madhvatantramukhamardana*) is said to have inspired the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his own critique of them in the *Tattvakaustubha*.³⁸ Bhaṭṭoji seems to be an important nexus in the context of Appayya's works on Vedānta, although, as far as I can see, he never refers to him by name: Appayya's *Śivatattvaviveka* is favourably cited as an authority on the question of the authenticity of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* by Bhaṭṭoji's son Rāmāśrama,³⁹ while his just-mentioned *Madhvatantramukhamardana* was the subject of a direct attack by one of Bhaṭṭoji's students, Vanamālī Miśra, in his *Madhvamukhālamkāra*. All these are only the tip of the iceberg; Appayya was simply 'hugely prominent in the world of Advaita Vedānta in seventeenth-century Banaras'.⁴⁰

Finally, consider Appayya's contributions in the field of poetics. It is well known that the renowned Jagannātha, 'King of Pandits' at the imperial Mughal court in Delhi and another highly acclaimed resident of Banaras, criticized his views on literary theory in the *Citramīmāṃsā* so profusely (and so vehemently) that he was able to publish his tirades as a separate volume, the *Citramīmāṃsākhaṇḍana*. We know that the eminent logician Jayārāma Pañcānana and other Banaras-based literati also attacked the *Citramīmāṃsā*.⁴¹ Another work on poetics that attracted a great deal of attention was Appayya's primer, the *Kuvalayānanda*, which quickly became its discipline's number one best seller India-wide.⁴² It, too, elicited many responses in Banaras, where it was the subject of commentaries by scholars such as the great logician Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa and hostile rejoinders by authors such as Bhīmasena Dīkṣita in his *Kuvalayānandakhaṇḍana*.⁴³

Another perspective on the impact of Appayya's works in Banaras can be gained from the catalogue of Kavīndrācārya's personal library. Kavīndra was an acclaimed and well-connected public intellectual who famously negotiated with Shah Jahan to annul a pilgrimage tax levied on Banaras and Prayag (his success in this negotiation led to a festschrift in his honour, the *Kavīndracandrodaya*, to which the intellectual community of the city contributed en masse). He was also famous for his private manuscript collection, which he amassed during the seventeenth century and whose handwritten catalogue has survived (the collection itself has been mostly lost). This fascinating document can teach us a great deal about the breadth and depth of Sanskrit learning on the eve of colonialism; its items range from works on cookery to treatises on human and veterinary medicine, dictionaries, works on alchemy, and manuals on rites, vows and the expiation of sins, as well as Hindu scriptures along with Buddhist and Jain works.⁴⁴ A look at this list quickly reveals the pervasive influence of Appayya in the various knowledge systems, and again, a brief breakdown along disciplinary lines may be helpful. For Mīmāṃsā, Kavīndra had a rather 'poor collection',⁴⁵ totalling only 14 titles, mainly the most basic books in the tradition's long history. But even this small shelf already included Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa's aforementioned critique of Appayya's *Vidhiraśāyana*, as well as the *Bhaṭṭālamkāra* of Anantadeva II, with its extensive treatment of Appayya's work. It is as if no collection on Mīmāṃsā, no matter how tiny, could be complete unless it included discussion of Appayya's key interventions.⁴⁶ Under Vedānta, we find at least four major works by Appayya. The first item under 'Subcommentaries in Vedānta' (*vedāntaparibhāṣāṭīkā*) is 'the one written by Appayya Dīkṣita' (*appayyadīkṣitakṛta*), and I assume that this refers to his *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* (his commentary on *Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya*), for his other subcommentary, the *Parimala* (a commentary on Amalānanda's commentary on Vācaspati Miśra's commentary on Śaṅkara's commentary) must be the referent of the item '*Kalpataru* and its commentary' (*kalpataru saṭīka*). In addition, we find two other major works by him: the *Nyāyarakṣamaṇi* and the *Siddhāntaleśa[samgraha]* with commentary.⁴⁷ Still related to Vedānta, but listed in a separate section of secondary literature on Rāmānuja's

commentary (*Rāmānuja Bhāṣyaṭikā*), we find Appayya's *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, in a labeling that perhaps reflects the criticism of Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara; indeed, the work wherein Nīlakaṇṭha directly attacks Appayya, the *Vedāntakataka*, is listed shortly thereafter.⁴⁸ In poetics, Kavīndra's collection is again minimal: only seventeen items, some of which do not really belong in poetics proper. But even this tiny list includes three entries by Appayya: two copies of the *Citramīmāṃsā*, one of which already comes with the commentary of Gadādhara, and one of the *Kuvalayānanda*, also already commented on.⁴⁹ Then consider the grammar section, which includes a *Nakṣatramālā* that must be Appayya's *Pāṇinītantravādanakṣatramālā*. This is a collection of 27 essays on grammatical issues that has been totally unstudied, but its existence in Banaras, perhaps in connection with Sūryanārāyaṇa's grammar school, causes one to wonder whether Appayya was a source of inspiration for Bhaṭṭoji's innovations not only in Vedānta but also in the field in which he earned his greatest renown, as Madhav Deshpande believes.⁵⁰ Finally, it is worth noting that the list also includes works by some of Appayya's descendants in the South, most prominently his grandnephew Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, a famous poet and writer based most likely in the Madurai court. Kavīndra had a copy of Nīlakaṇṭha's popular *Kalividambana* and perhaps also of his *Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampū*, if this is the same as the *Nīlakaṇṭhacampū* in the list.⁵¹

Even this brief survey suffices to show that Appayya's scholarship was an extremely hot topic in Banaras already in the early decades of the seventeenth century and continued to be so well into the eighteenth. Every scholar in the city was busy reading Appayya, and everyone had a strong opinion about him, if not more than one. Interestingly, these opinions cut across family, tutelage, disciplinary and sectarian lines, so that he had both supporters and opponents among both Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas, and he earned the admiration of a teacher and then the scorn of his student (or vice versa), as is only appropriate given his bold independence, misleading and confusing claim of conservatism, and his unique scholarly versatility.⁵² In this context, the activities of Appayya's descendants – the one group that clearly did participate in this debate along family lines – can be seen as twofold. On the one hand, they engaged in disseminating his scholarship and countering the critiques it attracted. Thus, the works by Appayya III, the *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*, the *Durūhaśikṣā*, and the *Citramīmāṃsādoṣadhikkāra* were responding to the aforementioned attacks on the *Vidhiraśyana* and the *Citramīmāṃsā*. On the other hand, Appayya's scholarship was the ticket on which his descendants could enter cutting-age conversations in Banaras, and writing about his work was becoming something of a steady academic career, certainly in his family circles.

Although opinions about Appayya were not formed along any clear party lines other than that of his descendants, an important triangle began to emerge during the seventeenth century, at the corners of which stood Appayya, Bhaṭṭoji and Jagannātha. The sides connecting Jagannātha to Appayya and Jagannātha to Bhaṭṭoji are clear: Jagannātha dedicated special works to criticizing both men and minced no words in doing so. His denouncement of Appayya, 'the bull of the Dravidians', as he calls him, not without sarcasm, is academic, although the attack is often personal in tone,⁵³ but his criticism of Bhaṭṭoji seems first personal and only then academic. In a work titled *Fondling the Breasts of [Bhaṭṭoji's] Lady Manoramā (Manoramākucamardana)*, he decries the fact that Bhaṭṭoji criticized his own guru, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, and then proceeds to attack Bhaṭṭoji's views on grammar per se. In fact, Jagannātha, himself the grand-student of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa (through Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's son Vīreśvara), goes as far as blaming Bhaṭṭoji for being deluded by hatred for his guru (*gurudveśadūṣitamati*).⁵⁴ We do not know whether Jagannātha and Bhaṭṭoji were contemporaries and, if so, whether

Bhaṭṭoji ever retaliated against these accusations, but it is also famously known that Jagannātha was closely associated with the Mughal court and may have even married a Muslim woman, an event that must have been an affront to some in the Brahmin community and figures prominently in later portrayals of this growing rivalry. The third line in this triangle is less clear. I have already suggested that Bhaṭṭoji may have been inspired by Appayya's works on Vedānta, speculated about a possible influence also in the field of grammar, and noted that many of Bhaṭṭoji's students (including his son Rāmāśrama) read and reacted to Appayya's works. But it is also possible that there was no direct link between the two great scholars and that what initially tied them together was the fact that Jagannātha attacked them both.

In later generations, I find an increasing emphasis on the personal and academic rivalries that constitute this triangle. For example, if Bhaṭṭoji's son Rāmāśrama cites Appayya favourably on the question of the *Bhāgavata*'s canonicity, a later rejoinder to Rāmāśrama attacks Bhaṭṭoji himself (for treating as canonical works that should not have been treated as such) as well as Appayya and notes that Jagannātha would have looked at the question with a much more 'pure and detached mind'.⁵⁵ In other words, the sometimes dotted lines connecting the corners of this triangle, which began to take shape in the seventeenth century, solidified over time, and it becomes increasingly clear that attacking Bhaṭṭoji meant both attacking Appayya and siding with Jagannātha. A result of this solidification is that Appayya, who died near the end of the sixteenth century in South India, gradually became integral to Banaras's personal rivalries, politics and scandals in the seventeenth. As we shall see, this process intensified during the transition to the colonial and modern eras.

Banaras goes South

So far I have primarily dealt with movements of people and texts from the South to Banaras and the ways in which they were drawn into its circles and made its concerns. Obviously, Banaras was becoming a magnet for scholars from all over the subcontinent, but there was ample movement in the opposite direction as well. Banaras literati were predominantly a diaspora of Deccani Brahmins who travelled back on occasion, and when they did, they often became involved in local affairs, both as individuals and as representatives of Śiva's city. A famous example is Shivaji's coronation, when 'Banaras came, as it were, to the Maratha country' to officiate at and witness the ceremony.⁵⁶ Here I discuss briefly the possible movements south of one corner of the aforementioned triangle, Bhaṭṭoji, and his involvement in southern matters that came close to Appayya's concerns.

Both Bhaṭṭoji and his brother Raṅgoji had ties in the Deccan, and we know that they received patronage from King Venkaṭa of Ikkeri in today's Karnataka. Moreover, various concrete accounts, including that of Raṅgoji's son, the famous grammarian Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, tell us that sometime in the first decades of the seventeenth century his father, Raṅgoji, a Śaiva nondualist, participated in a debate with Vidyādhīśa Tīrtha, a dualist follower of Madhva's teaching and a student of Vyāsa-tīrtha. As Madhav Deshpande shows, this debate led to a flurry of texts and documents wherein each side denounced the position of the other and claimed victory for its own. Interestingly, a major topic of debate was whether death in Banaras was a sufficient means for gaining liberation, as Raṅgoji claimed, or whether this was a bogus claim with no scriptural basis, as Vidyādhīśa maintained (since only knowledge of the Brahman could lead to this end). It must have been in the context of this debate that a series of texts by

dualist authors targeted Raṅgoji's brother, Bhaṭṭoji, all of which were titled *Bhaṭṭojikuṭṭana* (*Beating Bhaṭṭoji*).⁵⁷

This debate and the texts it occasioned are relevant to this discussion in several ways. For instance, it should be clear that local sectarian concerns quickly gained India-wide importance, so that the rise of the dvaita maṭhas in the Deccan merited the attention and action of Raṅgoji, a Śaiva expert on Vedānta from Banaras. It is likewise clear that the notion that dying in Banaras had emancipatory results (the *kāśīmarāṇamukti* doctrine) was spreading and becoming controversial, at least for some thinkers in the South.⁵⁸ It is interesting to think of Appayya in this context. On the one hand, both he and the pair of Banaras-based brothers, Raṅgoji and Bhaṭṭoji, were fighting against the dualists with a similar agenda, and Raṅgoji's debate with Vidyādhīśa took place in the Deccan, not far away from Appayya's sphere of activities several decades earlier. Moreover, some of the texts attacking the northern brothers were authored by Appayya's direct adversaries, especially Vijayīndra, who wrote rejoinders directed both at Appayya and at Bhaṭṭoji (he was apparently the author of one of the aforementioned *Bhaṭṭojikuṭṭanas*).⁵⁹ One can see the temptation to think of Appayya and the brothers as siding together in the same camp. On the other hand, I have so far seen no direct mention of Appayya's name in connection with this specific controversy. Moreover, it is not clear to me that Appayya, the southern patriot, would necessarily have been sympathetic to the position defended by Raṅgoji, namely that death in Banaras was a means for liberation. Although we do not know his opinion on this matter, it is interesting to note that even in the late nineteenth-century accounts according to which Appayya visited Banaras late in his life, he nonetheless is said to have returned South and to have departed from the world in Chidambaram, on his home turf.⁶⁰

Appayya goes to Banaras

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a plethora of accounts and anecdotes suddenly appeared that finally bring Appayya to Banaras. Probably, the first of these is a late-nineteenth-century Sanskrit work by Śivānanda Yogī (d. 1898) titled *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitendravijaya*. This work was published posthumously in 1921 but was circulated among scholars earlier (its exact date of composition is unknown). The author, whose given name was Śeṣa Dīkṣita, was a descendant of Appayya, and he too spent time in Banaras. In a marked departure from all earlier reports, he portrays Appayya less as a scholar and more as a saint and a full-fledged avatar of Śiva who dedicated his life to defeating his Vaiṣṇava enemies using various miracles and supernatural powers. As portrayed in the *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitendravijaya*, Appayya spends the bulk of his life in Cinna Bomma's court, where he is busy fending off the conspiracies of Tātācārya, the Śrīvaiṣṇava leader, until he finally brings down a lightning bolt on the head of his nemesis.⁶¹ Only once Tāta is dead and Appayya is in the last phase of his life does he engage in scholarship, and as a result he attracts the attention of several northern (*gauḍa*) scholars. A correspondence ensues, in the context of which he composes commentaries on his own works and is eventually invited to Banaras. Appayya initially declines since 'judging by where my practice is fruitful, home is a veritable Banaras' (*bhāvanā yadī bhavet phaladātrī māmakam bhavanam eva hi kāśī*). But realizing that he has passed his entire life in the business of entertaining kings and feeling that it is time he also enjoyed himself (*ātmasukhānubhūtyai*), he accepts the invitation.⁶² The report of Appayya's visit to Banaras is brief and devoid of detail, so we learn nothing about his hosts and activities in Śiva's city.⁶³

Far more detail emerges in the closing decade of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth, when print culture was beginning to catch up with Appayya's corpus, and a number of his works were being published for the first time. These publications are typically accompanied by introductions, as well as by a crop of journal articles and entries in encyclopaedias and manuscript catalogues concerning his life and legacy. Written mostly in Sanskrit or English, these short pieces follow a rather stable format: they record Appayya's ancestors, teachers, patrons and contemporaries, discuss his dates, and list his works in an attempt to come as close as possible to 100 (or 104 or 108). Under contemporaries, we hear for the first time of personal interactions that involve both Bhaṭṭoji and Jagannātha, and Appayya's dates are calculated in a way that takes into account what was known about the dates of the two other scholars.⁶⁴ In general, the method of these short pieces is uncritical, and citations from reliable sources such as Appayya's, Jagannātha's and Nīlakaṇṭha's known works are combined with quotes and references from less reliable or even unidentifiable sources, just as data based on research are combined with those rooted in legend.

A particularly influential intervention is Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana's introduction to the 1894 edition of Appayya's *Siddhāntaleśasamgraha*, which states not only that Appayya and Bhaṭṭoji met in person, but also that there is more than one version of their meeting's whereabouts. Northerners maintain that it happened in Banaras, while southerners report that Bhaṭṭoji visited Appayya in the South. Although the two traditions are not mutually exclusive, Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana is more certain about the encounter in Banaras, where, he maintains, Appayya taught Vedānta to Bhaṭṭoji and influenced his work in this field and perhaps more generally. Moreover, it appears that Banaras was the site of a direct, live encounter among all three members of the above-mentioned triangle. It was thus the location of a fierce personal confrontation between Jagannātha and Bhaṭṭoji in which the latter, at the direct instigation of Appayya, called the former an outcaste (*mleccha*) in public,⁶⁵ an insult that led to Jagannātha's 'crusade against the two professors who made common cause with each other'.⁶⁶ Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana bases his knowledge of this dramatic public event on a rather detailed passage from Nageśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, but that passage is not found in the printed edition of the commentary and, to the best of my knowledge, has never been identified.⁶⁷ He also marshals support from two other works presumably penned by Jagannātha, the *Śabdakaustubhasāṅgotejana* and the *Śaśisenā*. In the first, Jagannātha announces his intention to quell the pride of Bhaṭṭoji, who acted mindlessly because he was possessed by Appayya (*appayyadurgrahavicetitacetanānām āryadruhām ahaṃ śamaye 'valepān*); in the second, he tries to revive literature after it was razed in toto by the forest fire of Appayya (*appayyadīkṣitadavānaladagdhāśeṣaṃ sāhityam aṅkurayate sarasair nibandhaiḥ*).⁶⁸ As far as I can tell, no other scholar has ever seen these works, and other than these brief citations, nothing else is known about them. These strong statements are cited alongside a far tamer utterance from a well-known work, Jagannātha's *Citramīmāṃsākhaṇḍana*, where he states his agenda of exposing Appayya's faults and appeals for the approval of objective (*nirmatsaraḥ*) readers.⁶⁹ Finally, we hear of a late life encounter between Appayya and Jagannātha that took place on the banks of the Ganges. Here Appayya, acting compassionately but also slightly condescendingly, recites a short poem to his adversary: 'How can you lie so carefree / when your time is running out / and Death is approaching? / But go ahead, lie as you please, / Mother Ganges will stay awake / right by your side' (*kiṃ niḥśaṅkaṃ śeṣe śeṣe vayasi tvām āgate mṛtyau | athavā sukhaṃ śayīthā nikāte jāgarti jāhnavī bhavataḥ* ||).⁷⁰ This verse

appears, with a few variant readings, in the *Bhāminīvilāsa* of Jagannātha himself, but Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana takes its true author to be Appayya, who uttered it spontaneously upon meeting his adversary. He finds further corroboration for this incident in a verse he ascribes to Bālakavi, presumably the same author who is reported by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita to have praised Appayya during his lifetime, that lauds Appayya for defeating Jagannātha, although, again, the citation in which this triumph is recorded cannot be verified.⁷¹

The account given by Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana and the sources he cites have been recapitulated in many publications up to the present,⁷² and along the way they have been considerably elaborated. Consider, for example, Appayya's encounter with Jagannātha on the banks of the Ganges. It is said that Appayya recited the first half of his verse ('How can you lie so carefree') upon seeing a man lying on the riverbank with a woman by his side and before realizing that it was the famous Jagannātha (accompanied, in some versions, by his Muslim beloved), and the more conciliatory second half ('But go ahead, lie as you please') only once he recognized him.⁷³ This already elaborate anecdote was then tied to another cycle of stories about Jagannātha's death. According to this version, after hearing Appayya's verse, a repentant Jagannātha went on to compose his *Gaṅgālaharī*, a hymn to the Ganges, and with each verse, the water of the river rose one step higher until he disappeared in it.⁷⁴

Bhaṭṭoji comes to Appayya

The view that Bhaṭṭoji met Appayya on the latter's own turf is also fleshed out. As we have seen, Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana noted in passing that this is what the southerners believe, but from later publications we hear a great deal more about this encounter and, in fact, two different versions of it. First, Bhaṭṭoji ventured south primarily for the sake of pilgrimage, and it was only in course of travelling that he approached (or, in some accounts, stumbled on) Appayya. Here is a brief summary of one account of their meeting as described in a twentieth-century Sanskrit work by Harinārāyaṇa Dīkṣita:

One day Bhaṭṭoji set out on a pilgrimage to the Setu. When he was near Chidambaram, he was eager to set his eyes on Appayya. Bearing fruits and flowers, he arrived at Appayya's place. Just then Appayya was teaching Bhaṭṭoji's treatises on grammar, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and the *Prauḍhamanoramā*, to his students. Bhaṭṭoji respectfully placed his gift, bowed humbly, and joined the class. He was gratified to see his books being taught, but then he was troubled when Appayya concluded the session by pointing out a contradiction between Bhaṭṭoji's work and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Bhaṭṭoji politely maintained that the position of the author of the text was in complete harmony with that of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Appayya refuted this claim and reiterated his position, which Bhaṭṭoji resisted with increasing urgency. Finally, Appayya asked smilingly: 'Might you be that very Bhaṭṭoji?' The guest cupped his hands in reverence and said: 'sir, I am that dull-witted [*alpamati*] Bhaṭṭoji'. Appayya was extremely pleased and showed him much affection, at which point Bhaṭṭoji asked to be accepted as a student. Appayya agreed and taught him his *Madhvatāntramukhamardana*. Upon completing his pilgrimage to the Setu, Bhaṭṭoji again joined Appayya, stayed with him for a long period, and studied with him his philosophical and doctrinal works, including the *Nyāyarakṣamaṇi* and the *Parimala*. At Appayya's instigation, Bhaṭṭoji then composed the *Tattvakaustubha* and the *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*.⁷⁵

Harinārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, the author of this account, bases it on no known sources, but the mention of the *Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā* is revealing. This work, as I mentioned earlier, is a Mīmāṃsā treatise by Appayya III that defends Appayya's position against its critics. In

several publications from the closing years of the nineteenth century, it is mistakenly attributed to Bhaṭṭoji.⁷⁶ Aiyaswami Sastri exposed this as a misattribution already in 1929,⁷⁷ but this did not prevent the text from being referred to as Bhaṭṭoji's in many subsequent publications, and the work's explicit homage to Appayya was then taken to prove that Bhaṭṭoji was indeed his direct student.

According to a different version of the southern encounter between Appayya and Bhaṭṭoji, the purpose of Bhaṭṭoji's venturing south was not pilgrimage but his desire to study with Appayya. Here is a summary of their meeting based on the account given in Ramesan's English monograph, *Sri Appayya Dikshita*:

Bhaṭṭoji came from Banaras to study Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā with Appayya. He arrived in Adayapalam and went to Appayya's house. He saw an elderly man clad in ordinary clothes sitting on the veranda, and not expecting him to be the famous teacher whom he sought, he asked about Appayya's whereabouts. The man identified himself as Appayya, but Bhaṭṭoji replied that many people carry that name, and that he was looking for the famous author of the *Parimala*. Appayya replied with a verse advising Bhaṭṭoji not to judge a book by its cover; after all, the omniscient god Śiva himself often goes around naked (*akṣarāṇi parīkṣyantām ambarāḍambarair alam | śambhur ambarahīno 'pi sarvajñaḥ kiṃ na kathyate* ||). Bhaṭṭoji realized his mistake, apologized, and became Appayya's disciple. Appayya introduced him to his patron, King Veṅkaṭapati, and encouraged him to compose the *Tatvakaustubha*, a work that attacks the dualists and that was written with the support of this patron. After some years in the South, Bhaṭṭoji returned north, where he spread Appayya's fame.⁷⁸

This account, too, refers to no source and is based on a misidentification: the Veṅkaṭapati who supported Appayya was based in Chandragiri and Penukonda and is a different person from the Veṅkaṭa of Ikkeri who supported Bhaṭṭoji and Raṅgoji (and who hosted the aforementioned debate involving the latter).⁷⁹

New stories, old lessons

As should be clear from the preceding discussion, the accounts that bring Appayya to Banaras and Bhaṭṭoji to Appayya are based on floating traditions, unreliable sources and crucial misidentifications. Indeed, key components of these accounts contradict what we know or can deduce about the lives of the personas involved: there is no reason to think that Appayya ever travelled north; even had he reached Banaras, he could not have met Jagannātha, who was not even born during his lifetime; Bhaṭṭoji does not praise Appayya as his teacher in any of his known works; it is highly improbable that he came to study with him in the Tamil country, for had this been true, both Appayya and his immediate descendants would have been happy to mention this fact with pride; and it is even unclear whether Bhaṭṭoji's career, which seems confined to the first half of the seventeenth century, could have overlapped with Appayya's. Nonetheless, these fascinating stories are valuable if they are taken not as documenting history but as useful commentary on it, and precisely on some of the themes I have been discussing.

To begin with, these accounts enable Appayya to catch up with the spread of his scholarship and therefore should be taken as a direct comment on their all-India renown (it is no wonder that many of them appear in introductions to the first printed editions of Appayya's works). This is actually made explicit in some of the versions, such as that in Śivānanda Yogī's biography, where Appayya is invited to Banaras as a result of the success of his books, or in the last story about Bhaṭṭoji's arrival in the South, which is rooted in his wish to meet the famous author of the *Parimala*. It should also be noted that

similar stories are recounted about other authors as well. For example, there is a tradition that Lakṣmīdāsa, the Kerala-based author of the *Śukasandēsa* (*Parrot Messenger*), once ventured on a trip outside Kerala. One night, when he was lying hungry on the veranda of the home of a less-than-hospitable family, he heard his *Śukasandēsa* being recited and explained inside. When the discussants could not figure out the meaning of one stanza, Lakṣmīdāsa intervened from the veranda, thereby revealing his identity.⁸⁰ One of the things such a story tells us is that one's works travel in unexpected routes and serve, as in the case of this *Parrot Messenger*, as the poet's ambassadors to all kinds of readers, some quite receptive, others less welcoming.

Indeed, as in the case of Lakṣmīdāsa's travelling messenger poem, there is often an affinity between the anecdotal account and the contents of the relevant work and its reception. In the stories about Appayya, the personal confrontations can surely be seen as dramatizations of the bitter scholarly disagreements found in the texts, and sometimes these comments are quite specific. For example, Gary Tubb and I have argued that the encounter between Jagannātha and Appayya on the banks of the Ganges does more than merely bring alive the differences between the two literati, and that the verse attributed to Appayya can be taken as a direct reflection on one specific stanza, whose very sounds and themes it echoes, and on which the two scholars famously locked horns.⁸¹ Likewise, the fact that Appayya accuses Bhaṭṭoji of contradicting Patañjali and the vehement denial of this by Bhaṭṭoji in Harinārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's story seem directly related to similar accusations about his work made by none other than Jagannātha himself, if not more generally to the tension between innovation and conservatism in Bhaṭṭoji's, Appayya's and Jagannātha's scholarship.⁸² Finally, all versions of the meeting between Appayya and Bhaṭṭoji emphasize Appayya's influence on Bhaṭṭoji's Vedānta writings and his attacks on the dualists. It remains to be proved whether Appayya was in fact an inspiration for Bhaṭṭoji in this regard, but it seems quite clear that the stories are right in identifying an affinity between their agendas.⁸³ What remains undecided in these accounts is the question of intellectual exchange in the field where Bhaṭṭoji made his biggest impact, grammar, and in which Appayya's work and students did reach Banaras. Most accounts seem to ignore this question, but some insist that there was a grammatical connection between the two as well. For example, T. S. Kuppusvāmiśāstrī maintains that it was Appayya's interaction with Bhaṭṭoji that eventually led him to compose his own aforementioned *Pāṇinītantravādanakṣatramālā*.⁸⁴ By contrast, another account says that Bhaṭṭoji composed his *Śabdakaustubha* – a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* where he develops his thoughts on the philosophy of language and the question of *sphoṭa* – as a result of his studying with Appayya.⁸⁵ In short, the sources entertain a connection here but are not entirely sure about its nature and direction.

A second set of issues on which these accounts reflect and comment is the power relations between the Tamil South and Banaras. The versions that have Appayya travel north clearly envision Banaras as a powerful academic centre towards which the truly learned gravitate. Within this cluster of traditions, there is a difference between two versions. In one, as we have seen, Appayya reaches Banaras as an accomplished scholar in order to deliver teachings, but in a different version, Appayya comes to Banaras already at a young age to receive his education and studies with the great Vedāntin Narasiṃhāśrama.⁸⁶ The latter version seems to assume that influential, India-wide scholarship must originate from a centre like Banaras, whereas the former implies only that once such scholarship is produced, its author will find his way there. The accounts that take Bhaṭṭoji to the South, on the other hand, allot the Tamil country a more independent position in the Indian network, and it is no wonder that Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana attributes this

account to ‘southerners’. Here too, there is a difference between two versions. In the first, Bhaṭṭoji goes south purely for pilgrimage’s sake, and only because he is already in the neighbourhood does he visit Appayya, whereas in the second, the very purpose of his trip is to study with the renowned southern scholar.

In a broader view, it can be said that the question of recognition is key to many of the accounts I have mentioned. Appayya initially fails to identify Jagannātha in the story of the encounter on the Ganges, and he realizes who the man lying on its bank is only in the middle of the verse; he likewise does not recognize the famous Bhaṭṭoji who joins his class while he is in the act of teaching his texts until Bhaṭṭoji defends them; and Bhaṭṭoji does not recognize the famous author of the *Parimala* who simply sits on his veranda dressed in plain clothes. It can be said that all these cases of failed identification posit a hierarchy between the metropolitan and the provincial and between the academic celebrity and someone ranked lower, who does not recognize him. The first two accounts clearly imagine Banaras as the centre and the South as periphery, while the third is conscious of this hierarchy and tries to invert it, both by reversing the misidentification and by mocking the fixation of Banaras-based types on meaningless status symbols.

Concluding thoughts

To conclude, it may be useful to summarize the plot of our evolving story. Appayya Dīkṣita worked in the Tamil country during the sixteenth century, at a time when sectarian politics in the South was becoming polarized and the boundaries between the communities were hardening. Resisting the restrictive boundaries and the local controversies in which he was embroiled, Appayya often saw himself addressing a translocal readership, even if he never travelled widely, and although Banaras, which for the bulk of his lifetime had not yet risen to prominence, was not really on his radar. Nonetheless, already during his last years and with increasing urgency after his death, Appayya’s works swept over Banaras and left none indifferent, and Appayya’s relatives, who were present in Banaras from at least as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, joined its academic scene and influential assembly, and were busy defending Appayya from criticisms, were key agents in the process. It was during the seventeenth century that a focal triangle began to take shape, thanks primarily to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja’s attack on the works of Bhaṭṭoji and Appayya, the scholarly affinities between whom may or may not have already been apparent. Jagannātha’s attack is often harsh and sometimes quite personal, especially in the case of Bhaṭṭoji, but it is only at the end of the nineteenth century that this triangle fully comes alive in person: Appayya catches up with his works and his relatives, makes it to Śiva’s city (and also hosts Bhaṭṭoji at his home), incites Bhaṭṭoji to insult Jagannātha, confronts the latter on the banks of the Ganges, and finally gets enmeshed in the major scandals in the seventeenth-century Banaras.

There are many aspects of this story that I have not discussed. For example, the colonial and postindependence accounts that bring Appayya to Banaras and Bhaṭṭoji to Appayya may partly reflect the need to imagine India’s history as more tightly interconnected, and they surely give voice to other modern anxieties and concerns. I also have barely touched on what was so provocative about Appayya’s scholarship that it spread so extensively and so quickly, received such criticism and kept him so busy in the centuries to come. Some scholars, myself included, have begun to write about this topic in recent years, and I cannot address it here in any detail. It will suffice to identify some important hints in the accounts from the previous two sections: the uneasiness they express about too much innovation and the undermining of authority, the sectarian conflicts and tensions

they evoke, the way they hint at a South–North tension in an increasingly interlinked India, the perceived danger of outside influences (embodied here by Jagannātha and his Muslim woman), and a general insecurity about the place of old knowledge systems and literary tradition in a rapidly changing new world.

Indeed, on further reflection, it is only right that Appayya finally reached Banaras and met his interlocutors in person, so that he and they could iron out their differences and each be given the final word in what, we can say in hindsight, was the last great moment of their immensely long and immensely rich intellectual tradition. Banaras in the seventeenth century saw a unique creative efflorescence in a variety of traditional disciplines – Vedānta and its schools, Mīmāṃsā, poetics, grammar, and logic, to mention but a few; it was host to an unprecedented concentration of extremely erudite and sophisticated academics from all over India, who read and responded to one another’s works with speed and often with tenacity; and it was also the scene of unforgettable scandals that betrayed the anxieties of those inheritors of traditional thinking in a world that was no longer the same. Appayya was the person who set many of these discussions in motion and brought many of these anxieties to the surface. One can see why he should have arrived in Banaras in person. One can also see why, in the eyes of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scholars, writing in new media and languages but nonetheless seeing themselves as the direct successors of that earlier great moment, it was a shame to let the story simply end.

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Notes

1. See Pollock, “New Intellectuals”; O’Hanlon, “Letters Home.” The quote is from O’Hanlon, “Speaking from Śiva’s Temple,” 257.
2. For the best discussions of Appayya’s dates, see Mahalinga Sastri, “Appayya Dikṣita’s Age”; Mahalinga Sastri, “More about the Age and Life.”
3. The three patrons whose help Appayya credits are, in chronological order, Cinna Timma, who in the 1540s was a Vijayanagara general and envoy in the South (under his patronage Appayya composed his commentary on the *Yādavābhyudaya*); Cinna Bomma of Vellore (r. ca. 1549–1582), who supported many of Appayya’s Śaiva works (most famously, the *Śivārkaṇḍīpikā*); and Veṅkaṭapati, who came to the throne in Penukonda in 1585 and who is mentioned in the *Kuvalayānanda* and the *Vidhirasāyana*. See Mahalinga Sastri, “Appayya Dikṣita’s Age.”
4. I know of three inscriptions that mention Appayya explicitly. The first is a 1580 plate in which Cevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore hails him as one of the three leading theologians working in his court, in addition to the dualist Vijayīndra and the Śrīvaiṣṇava Tātācārya, his main rivals (*Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department*, 55–56; see also Krishnamurti Sarma, “Truth about Vijayīndra Tīrtha,” 661; Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory”). The second is the aforementioned 1582 Adayapalam inscription signed by Appayya himself (Government of Madras Public Department, *Epigraphy* [1912], 89, item no. 71 of 1911; cf. Mahalinga Sastri, “More about the Age and Life,” 148–149). Finally, a donative inscription of Acyutappa Nāyaka, son of the above-mentioned Cevappa, dated 1595, documents a gift for the merit of

- Dīkṣitar Ayyan, likely in honour of the recently deceased Appayya (Government of Madras Public Department, *Epigraphy* [1905], 29, item no. 710 of 1904; Heras, *South India*, 522).
5. The most prominent of these events are the teaching of his texts in Vellore and Adayapalam to a body of 500 students and his bathing in gold by Cinna Bomma of Vellore, all mentioned in the Kālakaṅtheśvara inscription.
 6. Of such works, the most notable is his *Varadarājastava*, addressed to Viṣṇu in Kanchipuram and containing a description of the temple site (see Bronner, “Singing to God,” 7–11; Rao, “Vaiṣṇava Writings”). The ascription to Appayya of other hymns, such as the *Apītakucāmbāstava* and the *Mārgasahāyaliṅgastuti* (published in Ramesan, *Sri Appayya Dīkṣita*, 150–3), also addressed to local deities, requires further corroboration, as noted in Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory.”
 7. See, for example, Appayya Dīkṣita, *Upakramaparākrama*, a work dedicated in its entirety to a thorough denouncement of Vyāsaśrītha’s opinions, as expressed in several of his works.
 8. For Vyāsaśrītha’s activities in Vijayanagara, see Stoker, “Polemics and Patronage”; Stoker, “Durbar, Maṭha, Devasthānam,” in this issue. For Vyāsaśrītha as a thinker, see McCrea, “Freed by the Weight of History,” in this issue.
 9. Bronner, “Text with a Thesis.”
 10. In writing strictly in Sanskrit he resembled the Devas of Banaras, as noted in Venkatkrishnan, “Ritual, Reflection, and Religion,” in this issue. For Appayya’s familiarity with Telugu proverbs, see Bronner, “Back to the Future,” 74.
 11. Appayya Dīkṣita, *Śivārkaṇḍīpikā* 1, verse 4.
 12. For example, in the *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* Banaras comes up in the context of a passage Appayya cites from the *Skāndapurāṇa*. Here Viṣṇu sends the southern king Prabhākara to Kāśī in order to take on the life of a *pāsupata*, perform the *āsvamedha* rite and worship Śiva Viśveśvara in his *dakṣiṇāmūrti* form. But all that interests Appayya in this passage is the implied identity between the two divinities, since Viṣṇu directs the king ‘to see me there as God Śiva’ (*tatra drakṣyasi mām devaṃ viśvātmānaṃ pinākinam*). Once this identity (*nārāyaṇasya śivābhedenaiiva*) is established, Appayya immediately moves on to a different topic (Appayya Dīkṣita, *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā*, 16, ad verse 4).
 13. For a misreading of a comment by Nīlakaṅṭha Dīkṣita to the opposite effect, see Mahalinga Sastrī, “More about the Age and Life,” 147. For more on this question, see Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory.”
 14. Pollock, “New Intellectuals,” 21; O’Hanlon, “Letters Home,” 220–224.
 15. On Daṇḍin, see Bronner, “What Is New,” 449–450; on Vedānta Deśika, see Rao, “Vaiṣṇava Writings”.
 16. On the centrality of maṭhas in this period, see Clark, *Daśanāmī-Saṃnyāsīs*, 177–226; Stoker, “Durbar, Maṭha, Devasthānam,” in this issue. For Appayya’s lack of ties to maṭhas and teachers outside the family, see Minkowski, “Advaita Vedānta,” 218.
 17. See Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory.”
 18. Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita, *Yātrāprabandha*, 31. For more on the text’s depiction of Appayya, see Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory.”
 19. Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita, *Yātrāprabandha*, 176.
 20. O’Hanlon, “Letters Home,” 218. As far as I can see, however, the Muktimaṇḍapam itself is not mentioned, although it is possible that a reader with a better knowledge of the temple’s layout and iconography during Sūryanārāyaṇa’s time could make more of this lengthy passage (Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita, *Yātrāprabandha*, 168–171). Note, by the way, that there is a description of the Sivarātri holiday, which is celebrated just when Sūryanārāyaṇa arrives in the city (*ibid.*, 163–5).
 21. See also, for example, Samarapuṅgava Dīkṣita, *Yātrāprabandha*, 9.72, 9.98.
 22. The identification of the deity Jai Singh acquired as Annapūrṇā is suggested in O’Hanlon, “Speaking from Śiva’s Temple,” 265, where Tavernier is quoted. Tavernier visited Jai Singh’s pagoda in December 1665, and the goddess was already there, probably since the late 1650s or early 1660s. At any rate, Sūryanārāyaṇa visited the temple before its destruction by Aurangzeb in 1669. I am much indebted to O’Hanlon for conversations on this topic.
 23. Pollock, “New Intellectuals,” 21; O’Hanlon, “Letters Home,” 230–3. On Appayya III, see Raghavan, “Some Appayya Dīkṣitas.”
 24. Raghavan, “Introduction,” 19, 36–7 (where Bhāskararāya is identified as his student).

25. Tanjore ms. 8244; see Sastri, *Descriptive Catalog*, 6410. None of the printed editions of the work mention the scribe's colophon. I am grateful to Lawrence McCrea for pointing out this colophon to me.
26. Jagannātha, *Śrībhāskaravilāsakāvya*, verse 20.
27. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1:226; cf. Krishnaswami Sastri, "Introduction," xxii.
28. For these and similar Brahmin household practices in Banaras, see O'Hanlon, "Speaking from Śiva's Temple."
29. See Aiyaswami Sastri, "*Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*," 247; Raghavan, "Some Appayya Dīkṣitas," 2.
30. Raghavan, "Some Appayya Dīkṣitas," 2.
31. Aiyaswami Sastri, "*Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*," 249.
32. See Gopalachariar, "Life of Sri Appayya Dīkṣita," x; Raghavan, "Introduction," 36. The quote is from Appayya Dīkṣita, *Kuvalayānanda*, 1.
33. Appayya Dīkṣita, *Vidhirasāyana*, 10, verse 4 of the introduction to the commentary, which ends with 'veṅkaṭakṣoṇipālam.' Note, however, that other printed editions of this text do not include this verse. If the verse is authentic, the work must have been written after 1585, that is, in the last decade of Appayya's life.
34. See H. Shastri, "Dakshini Pandits at Banaras," 11.
35. All but the last work were certainly composed in Banaras. I do not know where to locate Kolluri Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī.
36. Minkowski, "Appayya's Vedānta."
37. Ibid.
38. Deshpande, "Appayya Dīkṣita." Deshpande primarily refers to the fact that Appayya's attack on the authenticity of Madhva's sources and his reverence for Śaṅkara's views inspired Bhaṭṭoji's 'fundamentalist' approach to Vedānta and grammar, as well as that of Bhaṭṭoji's younger brother Raṅgoji, and of later descendants in his and his brother's lines. Note that in the *Tattvakaustubha*, Bhaṭṭoji, like Appayya, does not begin by attacking the dualists' theology; instead, he impugns their social practices on textual grounds, in a move that can be seen as analogous to Appayya's accusations that Madhva invented scriptural passages. I am grateful to Anand Venkatkrishnan for this suggestion.
39. Minkowski, "I'll Wash Out Your Mouth," 124.
40. Ibid., 124–5.
41. This is clear from the citations of Jayārāma Pañcānana's commentary on Mammaṭa in Viśveśvara, *Alaṅkāraustubha*, e.g., 11, 23, 106. Viśveśvara, too, was highly critical of Appayya as well as of Jagannātha; see Bronner, "What Is New," 454–5.
42. Bronner, "Back to the Future," 47–8.
43. This last work was composed in Jodhpur according to De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1:171.
44. For a discussion of Kavīndra and his list, see Sharma and Patkar, "Introduction." I am grateful to Audrey Truschke for sharing with me portions of her forthcoming work on Kavīndra.
45. A. K. Shastri, "Introduction," xi.
46. *Kavīndrācāryasūcipatram*, items 361–2. The *Vidhirasāyana* itself is not listed.
47. Ibid., items 231, 245, 237 and 242, respectively.
48. Ibid., item 273.
49. Ibid., items 1946–1947, 1951. The Gadādhara in question is perhaps the logician who also commented on Mammaṭa (De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1:173). Also listed is a copy of Jagannātha's *Rasaganādhara*, which deals extensively with the *Citramīmāṃsā*.
50. *Kavīndrācāryasūcipatram*, item 122. The work as we have it today has only the first 5 of the 27 essays promised by the title, and we do not know whether it was completed. I am grateful to Lawrence McCrea for conversations on this topic. Deshpande believes that Bhaṭṭoji's preference for the 'three sages' of grammar is another form of 'fundamentalism' (see note 38), and that here, too, he was inspired by Appayya, who in Vedānta showed full reverence to Śaṅkara over his commentators (Deshpande, "Appayya Dīkṣita"). It would be interesting to see whether a similar approach is promoted in the *Pāṇīnitantravādanakṣatramālā*.
51. Ibid., items 1915, 2010 (the latter could be a different *campū*, however). Kavīndra also owned other southern works of the period, such as the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* (with a commentary) by Veṅkaṭādhvarin, a classmate of Nīlakaṇṭha's (item 1942).
52. On Appayya's independence and versatility, see Bronner, "Renaissance Man in Memory."
53. On this rivalry, see Bronner and Tubb, "Blaming the Messenger," 83–88; Tubb and Bronner, "Vastutas tu," 627–32.

54. This rivalry and its possible circumstances are meticulously studied in Bronkhorst, “Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita on Sphoṭa,” 11–23; the quote is from Jagannātha’s *Kucamardīnī*, 3.
55. Minkowski, “I’ll Wash Out Your Mouth,” 126.
56. O’Hanlon and Minkowski, “What Makes People Who They Are,” 393.
57. Deshpande, “Will the Winner Please Stand Up.”
58. On this theory, see O’Hanlon, “Letters Home,” 203, 218; Minkowski, “Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara’s Mantrakāśikhaṇḍa,” 332, 336–339.
59. Deshpande, “Will the Winner Please Stand Up.”
60. E.g., Śivānanda Yogī, *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitendravijaya*, 28.267.
61. For a discussion of this work, see Bronner, “Renaissance Man in Memory.”
62. Śivānanda Yogī, *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitendravijaya*, 26.247–8.
63. The visit is dwarfed by a lengthier description of his tour of Vellore, Chidambaram, Aruṇācala, Tirupati, Kaveri and other pilgrimage sites in the Tamil country. Compare 26.249–50, which merely state that he reached, performed rituals in and was respected by the learned in Banaras.
64. Thus Appayya’s year of birth is said to have been in the second half of the sixteenth century (1550, 1553, 1564 and 1587 have been suggested), and his time of death around the mid-seventeenth (estimated between 1626 and 1660); all these also roughly fit calculations based on a dubious horoscope given in the *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitendravijaya*.
65. Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana, “Appayyadīkṣita,” 4.
66. This quote is from Venkataraman, “Appaya Dikshita,” 264, whose account is almost entirely based on that of Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana.
67. Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana, “Appayyadīkṣita,” 3–4.
68. *Ibid.*, 4.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, 5. The verse appears in Jagannātha, *Bhāminīvilāsa*, verse 19. The translation, based on a slightly variant reading, is from Bronner and Tubb, “Blaming the Messenger,” 87.
71. Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana, “Appayyadīkṣita,” 5.
72. See, for example, Thangaswami, *Advaita-Vedānta Literature*, 271–8.
73. Ramesan, *Sri Appayya Dikshita*, 131–2; Sri Ramachandrudu, *Panditaraja Jagannatha*, 8–11.
74. Ramesan, *Sri Appayya Dikshita*, 131.
75. Harinārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, *Śrīmadappayyadīkṣitacaritam*, 31–2.
76. E.g., Kuppusvāmiśāstrī, “Introduction,” 4.
77. Aiyaswami Sastri, “*Tantrasiddhāntadīpikā*”; Raghavan, “Some Appayya Dīkṣitas,” 1–2.
78. Ramesan, *Sri Appayya Dikshita*, 130.
79. On Bhaṭṭoji’s ties in Ikkeri, see Gode, “Contact of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.”
80. Unni, “Introduction,” 2–3.
81. Bronner and Tubb, “Blaming the Messenger,” 87–8.
82. Hueckstedt, “Some Later Arguments,” 62–70.
83. Deshpande, “Appayya Dīkṣita.”
84. Kuppusvāmiśāstrī, “Introduction,” 4.
85. Coward and Kunjunnī Raja, *Philosophy of the Grammarians*, 240.
86. For a discussion of the possible ties between Appayya and Nṛsiṃha, see Minkowski, “Advaita Vedānta,” 224. Alternatively, we are told that Appayya studied Mīmāṃsā under Khaṇḍadeva and wrote his *Vidhirasāyana* for him. See Nārāyaṇa Sudarśana, “Appayyadīkṣita,” 3.

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