An Indian Ending

Rediscovering the Grandeur of Indian Heritage for a Sustainable Future

Essays in Honour of
Professor Dr. John Vattanky SJ
On Completing Eighty Years

Kuruvilla Pandikattu SJ
Binoy Pichalakkattu SJ

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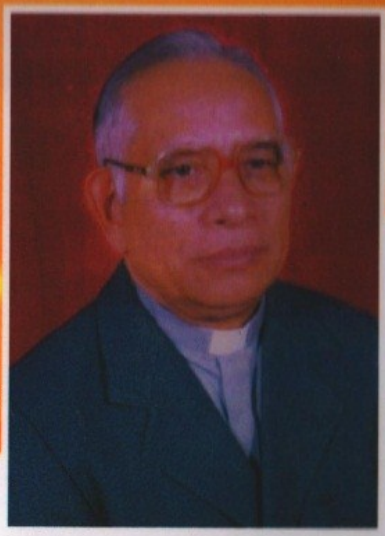

Professor John Vattanky is a Jesuit priest and a distinguished scholar in Indian Philosophy, the best known authority today on Navyanyāya, modern Indian logic. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday on July 3, 2011, this book is dedicated to him with gratitude, respect and affection.

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THE ARRIVAL OF NAVYANYĀYA TECHNIQUES IN VARANASI

Johannes Bronkhorst, Bogdan Diaconescu & Malhar Kulkarni

The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools of philosophy underwent a development in which much stress came to be laid on new analytical methods, accompanied by a characteristic new idiom.[1] This development was in part gradual, but with Gaṅgeśa (ca. 1300 CE) there was a sudden upswing that gave the development a new and forceful impetus. From Gaṅgeśa's time onward it is customary to speak of the *new* school of Nyāya: Navyanyāya. This new impetus did not stop at Nyāya itself. Some centuries after Gaṅgeśa, Navyanyāya techniques had come to be adopted in altogether different schools of thought, among them Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Pāṇinian grammar and poetics. The question that this paper wishes to explore is: did these techniques immediately spread into other disciplines, or did this process take time?

The following citation from Gopinath Kaviraj's *The History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature* (of which only the 1982 reprint was accessible to us) puts us right in the middle of the problem. It consists of two parts, which suggest two altogether different scenarios. The first part of the citation runs (Kaviraj 1982: 47): "From Gaṅgeśa down to Pakṣadhara, Navyanyāya had its sole home in Mithilā. The Paṇḍitas of that place, who had made it their monopoly and been so long its trusted guardians, took especial care to see that this privilege of teaching the Śāstra did not pass away from them into what they perhaps thought unworthy hands." A note (Kaviraj 1982: n. 197 pp. 137-138) elaborates this theme: "This

cautiousness was pushed to its utmost limit. Thus we are told that Mss. of Nyāya work which existed in Mithilā, having been left there by their authors, were not allowed to be copied, lest they should be taken away and the prestige of Mithila forever destroyed. Students had to commit the texts to memory, and, before returning home, had to be very carefully examined by their teachers."[2] This passage suggests that Navyanyāya techniques were largely confined to Mithilā during the first century or so.

However, Kaviraj then continues: "Students from various parts of India used to flock to Mithilā to draw inspiration from its far-famed scholars; and, when they completed their studies they returned home with the diploma which their Guru had conferred upon them. This diploma was very highly prized, since to secure such a certificate from Mithilā, the centre of the current philosophical thought and activity, was not quite an easy affair. And, if a man could once manage to win for himself a diploma of this kind, his scholarship was recognised all over the country without a note of grudging criticism." This passage suggests that Navyanyāya techniques were "recognised all over the country".

Kaviraj provides no evidence to support his second claim, and it is the purpose of this paper to subject it to a preliminary investigation. We will see that, at least for some time, there were pandits, among them Naiyāyikas, who ignored the new developments altogether. We will also see that the new techniques, where they spread, did not always completely take over, and that certain authors, though familiar with them, used them sparingly. However, it seems that the most important and most visible impact of these techniques took place in situations where authors were required to face a challenge. Kaviraj's claim that these techniques were "recognised all over the country" from the beginning seems exaggerated, and the "extraordinary rapidity" that some attribute to the spread across India of the innovation of Navyanyāya may have to be looked upon *cum grano salis*.[3]

The aim of this article is to trace the influence of Navyanyāya techniques, with special reference to their arrival in Varanasi.

However, being a mere preliminary exploration, it will skip a number of issues, and postpone others to a future occasion. This article will not, for example, consider what the new Navyanyāya techniques consisted in, and will start from the ultimately unsatisfactory assumption that these techniques are recognizable without further analysis. A closer inspection of the evidence will soon make clear that matters are not quite that simple. In spite of that, in this article we will take a naïve position and assume that the influence of Navyanyāya techniques can be identified just like that. In a number of cases this is indeed true, and these must suffice for the preliminary exploration proposed here.

In order to clarify what historical processes we are looking for, it will be useful to distinguish between passive absorption and active appropriation of the new techniques. This distinction may not in all cases be as clear as one might wish. Still it may yet help us to differentiate between distinct ways in which the new techniques spread. Broadly speaking, it looks as if the journey of Navyanyāya techniques from Mithilā to Varanasi through Vijayanagara was of the kind we call active appropriation, whereas the direct road from Mithilā to Varanasi was initially limited to what we call passive absorption.

Navyanyāya

For a brief, indeed sketchy, survey of the early post-Gaṅgeśa history of the Navyanyāya school of philosophy we can refer to the "Historical résumé" in volume 6 of the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (Potter & Bhattacharyya 1992). This volume covers about two centuries, from Gaṅgeśa (who is here dated ca. 1320 CE)[4] to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (ca. 1510 CE). In these two centuries – the "Historical résumé" (Potter & Bhattacharyya 1992: 3) points out – there were some 50 Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors whose names have come down to us; most of them used the new techniques of Navyanyāya. The list of these authors, given on pp. 10-13 of the volume, shows that from among those whose whereabouts are known, the vast majority lived in Mithilā, in the northern part of what is now the Indian state of Bihar. Indeed, "[Navyanyāya] was

largely a Maithila monopoly until the time of Raghunātha" (Potter & Bhattacharyya 1992: 4). About these authors we further read (p. 4): "Many of these authors are in various relationships to the family whose earliest member listed here was Vaṭeśvara (1340). And practically all of them were related to each other either by family or by the relationship which binds teacher and pupil and pupil's pupil."

This passage supports the view that Navyanyāya was initially largely confined to the region of Mithilā; a second centre was subsequently formed in Navadvīpa, in Bengal. The case of Cinnam Bhaṭṭa, also called Cennu Bhaṭṭa or Cinnabhaṭṭa and mentioned in the same list, appears to confirm this. The *Encyclopedia* says a number of things about him, among them the following (p. 368):

> A native of the Andhra country, this writer appears to have been patronized by the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, who ruled around 1400. Vidyabhusaṇa dates Cinnam Bhaṭṭa at 1390, which we accept here. Cinnam Bhaṭṭa was the son of Sahajasarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya, the *paṇḍita* in the court of King Harihara of Vijayanagar and an Advaita author referred to by the author of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*. Cinnam Bhaṭṭa taught … Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and … Rāmeśvara …, both of whom commented on their teacher's writings, or in Rāmeśvara's case actually completed one of them.
>
> …
>
> There are close connections between Cinnam Bhaṭṭa and the Vijayanagara Empire. Gopinath Kaviraj estimates that Cinnam Bhaṭṭa was probably a fellow pupil of Vidyāraṇya, the well-known Advaitin of Vijayanagara, as well as of Sāyaṇa, the Vedic commentator. Even more intriguing is the theory of Anantalal Thakur that the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, the best-known of the classical attempts to summarily expound all the relevant philosophical systems of the age under one cover, was in fact the work of our author Cinnam Bhaṭṭa.
>
> …

Cinnam Bhaṭṭa's connection to the Vijayanagara Empire is of great interest, because this empire will figure again in our reflections below.[5] Here we note that two surviving works (or three, if we include the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*) appear to have emanated from Cinnam Bhaṭṭa's pen: "A commentary, *Prakāśikā*, on Keśava Miśra's *Tarkabhāṣā*, and *Vivaraṇa* on Varadarāja's *Tārkikarakṣāsārasaṃgraha*. This last, incomplete at Cinnam Bhaṭṭa's death, was completed by Rāmeśvara." (p. 368). The *Encyclopedia* says very little about Cinnam Bhaṭṭa's students Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and Rāmeśvara, except that both must have flourished around 1420 and that the former composed a *Niruktivivṛtti* on Cinnam Bhaṭṭa's *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā* (p. 380).

Cinnam Bhaṭṭa is of particular interest in our present context, because it appears that his works are not affected by Navyanyāya techniques. This is true of his *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā*, the only work of his accessible to us at this moment, and we assume that it is true of his *Vivaraṇa* as well.[6] Did Viṣṇubhaṭṭa and Rāmeśvara use these techniques? Since we have no access to their works, we cannot answer this question with certainty. The fact that both of them continue the tradition of their teacher makes us suspect that they, even though Naiyāyikas, did not.

This provisional and tentative conclusion is interesting. It suggests that there were prominent Naiyāyikas in the Vijayanagara empire, some even at the royal court, who did *not* use Navyanyāya techniques, even though they lived not all that long before the time of another pandit at the Vijayanagara court who *did* use the new techniques extensively without being a Naiyāyika himself. This other pandit was Vyāsatīrtha – also known by the name Vyāsarāya – a follower of the Mādhva school of Vaiṣṇavism who "flourished in the period of the last part of the fifteenth and the first part of the sixteenth century CE, in Vijayanagara and was the preceptor of the royalty there" (Gupta, 2006: 11). About Vyāsatīrtha we read (Sharma 1981: 343): "He gives a completely 'scholastic' turn to his arguments, criticisms and exposition by adopting the technical and

dialectic terminology of the Gaṅgeśa school of Navyanyāya *cap a pie*".

It is not clear how Vyāsatīrtha acquired his familiarity with Navyanyāya techniques.[7] Sharma (1981: 287 ff.) supposes he did so during the many years he spent (according to his biography, Somanātha's *Vyāsayogicarita*) in Kāñcī, but does not seem to have any evidence to support this. Indeed, Sharma's supposition takes it for granted that Navyanyāya was already studied in different parts of India at that time, an assumption for which we have no proof and which we have no good reasons to accept. Mishra (1966: 464) similarly assumes that Vyāsatīrtha had good discussions on Navyanyāya with several scholars whom he met at the court of Sāluva Narasiṃha at Candragiri in about 1485-86, but provides no evidence either.

Somanātha's biography claims that the discussion of philosophers at the court of Vijayanagara, already in Vyāsatīrtha's early years, was "in agreement with the opinion of the author of *Tattvacintāmaṇi*",[8] which means, influenced by Gaṅgeśa. Caution is once again called for, because it is not impossible that Somanātha here projects backward in time a familiarity with Navyanyāya for which Vyāsatīrtha had become known and celebrated when he wrote his biography. Rao (1926: cxxi) goes one step further and surmises that Vyāsatīrtha may have met Pakṣadhara Miśra from Mithilā, but this surmise is not based on any evidence known to us.

If, then, we know next to nothing about the way in which Vyāsatīrtha acquired his familarity with Navyanyāya techniques, there are reasons to think that we know why he started using them intensively. Somanātha's *Vyāsayogicarita* describes an incident in the life of Vyāsatīrtha which, even if only partially correct, may explain why he decided to use those techniques in his own work. Sharma (1981: 291 ff.) presents it as follows:

> Soon after his return to the capital from the Kaliṅga war (1516) and his treaty with the Gajapati, Kṛṣṇadevarāya one day, rushed to the presence of Vyāsatīrtha with a work on Advaita Vedānta, sent for criticism, by the Kaliṅga ruler. He

> further says that the Kaliṅga King Vidyādhara Pātra, had sent the work to Kṛṣṇarāya, through his commander-in-chief at the instigation of certain self-conceited Pandits of his court with a haughty challenge that it might be shown to Vyāsatīrtha, inviting him to refute it, if he could. The challenge of the Kaliṅga ruler was, in effect, a challenge to the imperial dignity of the Rāya himself and to his Dualistic leanings in philosophy and the prestige of Karnatak in the domain of philosophy so ably upheld in the person and works of Vyāsatīrtha. … Unfortunately, Somanātha has not mentioned the name of the work thus despatched to Vyāsatīrtha. … From certain remarks of the celebrated logician Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma at the end of his commentry on the *Advaitamakaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara (of which a ms. is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra, in his catalogue) it appears that he lent his willing cooperation to the Gajapati Ruler Kūrma Vidyādhara in devising ways of humiliating Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar:
>
> *karṇāṭeśvarakṛṣṇarāyanṛpater garvāgninirvāpike*
> *atra nyastabharo 'bhavad gajapatiḥ śrīrudrabhūmīpatiḥ/*
> *tasya brahmavicāracārumanasaḥ śrīkūrmavidyādhara-*
> *syānaṃdo makarandaśuddhividhinā sāndro mayāyaṃ kṛtaḥ//*
>
> It was evidently some other work of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, if not his c. on the *Advaitamakaranda* that formed the subject of challenge referred to by Somanātha. … Apparently, the Kaliṅga King wanted to outshine Kṛṣṇadevarāya, not only in military prowess; but in literary glory too.

Whether or not the details are historically correct, this passage suggests that Vyāsatīrtha had to face a challenge that came from one or more authors of Advaita Vedānta in Kaliṅga.[9] Sharma mentions in this connection the name of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, who had composed one or more works on Advaita in that part of the subcontinent.

This is interesting. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (ca. 1480 CE) was initially a specialist of Navyanyāya in Mithilā, who subsequently turned elsewhere, both geographically and philosophically. The "Historical résumé" of the *Encyclopedia* says the following about him (p. 4):[10]

> Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was … a great teacher, with many illustrious pupils, the most famous of whom was Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava saint and the leader of the Acintyabhedābheda school of Bengali Vaiṣṇavism. It was Vāsudeva who was (though this is disputed) mainly responsible for the development of Navyanyāya into a Bengali tradition. Vāsudeva founded a *ṭol*, a traditional place for study, at Navadvīpa (in the present-day Nadia district). In his later years he is said to have become first an Advaitin and then, eventually, a follower of Caitanya's.

Kavirāj (1982: 67-68) provides the following explanation of his name, basing himself on a non-specified tradition:[11]

> Vāsudeva was the son of … Viśārada. Tradition affirms that on the completion of his study of *Smṛti* with his father at home he set out for Mithilā to get up the niceties of Nyāya Dialectics from the home of this learning. He read there for several years with Pakṣadhara Miśra, among many other books, the standard work of the school, viz., *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, and committed the whole of it to memory. It is said that while returning he was subjected by his tutor to a most severe form of ordeal, the so-called "pin-ordeal" or "Śalākā-Parīkṣā" as it is known in Mithilā through which he passed with great credit. As a result of his conspicuous success in this examination the title of Sārvabhauma was conferred upon him.

Vāsudeva may well have been the first Advaitin thoroughly trained in Navyanyāya. "Late in life he apparently left Bengal and moved to Purī, where he associated with Caitanya and is reputed to have abandoned Nyāya. It is at this time that he is reputed to have written a commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaitamakaranda*[12] as well

as various hymns (*stotra*). He is held to have died in Orissa" (Potter & Bhattacharya 1992: 489).[13]

Whatever the details, the facts considered so far suggest that Navyanyāya techniques had come to be adopted in Advaita Vedānta in Kaliṅga, primarily in the person of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, who had actually started off as a Navyanyāya master in Mithilā. From Kaliṅga the challenge to use these ideas reached the court of Vijayanagara. Vyāsatīrtha, the most important Dvaita scholar in the region with privileged access to the court, took up the challenge and used the new techniques in his work.

It is possible that Vyāsatīrtha, being close to the rulers of Vijayanagara and presumably in possession of considerable influence himself, was in a position to find either a teacher or sufficient textual material to enable him to familiarize himself with Navyanyāya. If so, he was the first to introduce these techniques in his region. However, it may not be necessary to go all the way to claiming that Vyāsatīrtha was the very first to introduce Navyanyāya techniques into the south. The distinction between passive absorption and active appropriation may here be helpful. Vyāsatīrtha actively, and aggressively, appropriated the new techniques. He may have done so for a specific reason, viz., to respond to the challenge coming from Kaliṅga. This does not force us to conclude that he had not yet passively absorbed these techniques before being faced with the challenge. The question how, when, and from whom he learned these techniques remains open.

We next consider Appayya (or Appaya, or Appa) Dīkṣita, another scholar from the south, author of numerous works on a variety of topics, but essentially an adherent of Advaita Vedānta.[14] Volume 5 of the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (Coward & Raja 1990: 239; Gerow 2001 arrives at a slightly later date) says the following about him:

> A good deal is known about Appayya's life and time. Y. Mahalinga Sastri gives Appayya's dates as 1520-1593. That he died in his seventy-second year is declared by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. He is known to have had several royal patrons, of

> whom the first was Chinna Timma of the Vijayanagara empire, who ruled until around 1550, and whom Appayya himself credits with having commissioned Appayya's commentary on Vedānta Deśika's *Yādavābhyudaya*. A second patron, Chinna Bomma, ruled at Vellore from 1549 to 1578, and Appayya mentions him more than once. Finally Veṅkaṭapati of Pennugonda, whose rule began in 1585, is mentioned in Appayya Dīkṣita's *Vidhirasāyana* and *Kuvalayānanda*. There is an inscription at Adayapalam dated 1582 that refers to him as an author of a hundred works, as well as having been bathed in gold by Chinna Bomma. He is associated most closely with the town of Chidambara, where he is held to have passed away.

A record of Śevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore dated 1580 CE states that "like the three sacred fires, the Lord of ascetics, Vijayīndra Tīrtha, the leader of the Vaiṣṇavas, proficient in all Śāstras, Tātācārya and the sole emperor of Śaiva and Advaita thought, Appayya Dīkṣita used to meet at the court of Śevappa Nāyaka and hold discourses on the doctrines and relative merits of their respective schools of philosophy" (Devi, 1990: 140). Since Vijayīndratīrtha was originally a disciple of Vyāsatīrtha, it is not surprising that Appayya Dīkṣita, too, was acquainted with Navyanyāya techniques.

We learn from Madhav Deshpande's article "Will the winner please stand up: conflicting narratives of a 17th century philosophical debate from Karnataka" (2011: 367; also forthcoming a) that the discourses between Appayya and Vijayīndra took the form of virulent disputes:

> The virulent disputes between Advaitins and Dvaitins seem to have begun with Appayya Dīkṣita's critique of the Mādhva Vedānta in his works *Mādhva-Tantra-Mukha-Mardana* "Smacking the face of the Mādhva system" and *Mādhva-Mata-Vidhvaṃsana* "Demolishing the Views of Mādhva" … Appayya's criticisms were answered by his contemporary Mādhva scholar Vijayīndra in his work: *Mādhva-adhva-*

> *kaṇṭakoddhāra* "Removing Thorns from the Path of Mādhva". Vijayīndra is also said to have composed another work critical of Appayya Dīkṣita, namely *Appayya-kapola-capeṭikā* "Slap on the Cheek of Appayya." Similarly, Vijayīndra's *Bhedavidyāvilāsa* "Beauty of the Doctrine of Difference" is a critique of Nṛsiṃhāśrama's *Bhedadhikkāra* "Denunciation of the Doctrine of Difference."[15]

Our general impression is that Appayya uses the Navyanyāya techniques sparingly in works that do not, or only marginally, engage in debates. Yigal Bronner (2003) has shown, for example, that in at least one passage of Appayya's unfinished magnum opus, the *Citramīmāṃsā* "The Investigation of the Colourful", Appayya enters into a discussion with an interlocutor who "appears to be a logician, as his *navyanyāya* jargon reveals" (p. 446). This interlocutor proposes a refinement in the definition of simile (*upamāna*), and apparently Appayya Dīkṣita feels obliged to take this position into consideration, and to respond using the new techniques.

Appayya uses these techniques more frequently in treatises that actively engage in debates. The following examples are taken from his *Pūrvottara-mīmāṃsā-vāda-nakṣatramālā*:

> p. 94 *ataḥ tayoḥ nīlatvādijātiviśiṣṭadravyaviṣayatvapakṣam apahāya/*
>
> *nīlādiguṇaviśiṣṭadravyaviṣayatvapakṣam āśrayatā tīre gaṅgāpadasya/*
>
> *prayogapratītyoḥ tasmin pravāhatvavaiśiṣṭyaviṣayatvam apahāya/*
>
> *pravāhasaṃbandhitīratvaviṣayatvam icchatā gaṅgāśabdasya tīra iva/*
>
> *nīlādiśabdānāṃ dravyeṣu lakṣaṇaivābhyupetavyā evaṃ nyāyataḥ/*
>
> *sthitau kvacil lakṣyatāvacchedake 'pi prayogānusāreṇa bhāvapratyayo bhaviṣyati prayogamūlatvād vyākaraṇasya/*

p. 37: ... *tathaiva sākṣātkṛtyasādhyasyāpi niyogasya kṛtisādhyatāsaṃghaṭakayāgāditadavac chedakarūpaviṣayapratītīṃ*

vināpi pratītisaṃbhavena yāgādirūpaviṣayāvacchinnatayaiva kāryapratītir iti prakriyāyā anāśrayaṇīyatvāt/ tadāśrayaṇāvaśyaṃbhāve 'pi svarūpeṇaiva yāgāder viṣayatayā kāryāvacchedakatvasaṃbhavena viṣayatāpratīteḥ pūrvaṃ yāge svargakaraṇatvaparāmarśasyānapekṣaṇāt/

Appayya's selective use of Navyanyāya techniques strengthens the hypothesis that their active appropriation by scholars of the Vijayanagara cultural area was initially limited to situations where an author felt obliged to respond to a challenge. Elsewhere he may more or less accidentally betray his familiarity with these techniques, without using them systematically.

A few words about the wrong dates that have frequently been assigned to Appayya, and that have given rise to misconceptions. Kaviraj initially assigned the following dates to him: 1587-1658.[16] He later changed his mind, and, following Y. Mahalinga Sastri, accepted the no doubt correct dates 1520-1593.[17] The wrong dates allowed scholars to speculate that Appayya Dīkṣita met a number of Varanasi pandits in person, in Varanasi.[18] The new dates reduce the need to postulate that Appayya visited Varanasi. This is yet claimed by various scholars.[19]

The series Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma – Vyāsatīrtha – Appayya Dīkṣita can be continued with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Madhusūdana knew and respected Appayya (Kaviraj, 1987: 154; Upādhyāya, 1994: 36) and was also well acquainted with the work of Vyāsatīrtha. As a matter of fact, his most famous work, the *Advaitasiddhi*, is a refutation of Vyāsatīrtha's *Nyāyāmṛta*. Like the *Nyāyāmṛta*, the *Advaitasiddhi* uses Navyanyāya techniques with great skill. Indeed, "Madhusūdana rose to his eminent position because of his perfection in the Neo-logical style of disputation" (Gupta, 2006: 3). However, Madhusūdana was not associated with the court of Vijayanagara, whose capital city was destroyed and flattened by Moslim forces in 1565 (Asher & Talbot, 2006: 59), nor with its successor kingdoms.

Madhusūdana rather worked in Varanasi, and appears to have been one of the first there to use Navyanyāya techniques.[20] Indeed, around the year 1600 CE we find a sudden explosion of these techniques in Varanasi. McCrea (2003: 481) describes the phenomenon as follows:

> The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed a great flowering of Sanskrit intellectual production in many areas. During this period, key scholars working in the fields of grammar, poetics, and hermeneutics (Mīmāṃsā), at virtually the same moment, began for the first time to explicitly refer to themselves and their views as "new" (*navya*), in contrast to their predecessors in their respective fields, now labeled as "old" (*prācīna*, *jīrṇa*, etc.). The grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, the poetician Jagannātha, and the Mīmāṃsaka Khaṇḍadeva, all active in Varanasi in the latter decades of the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth, are the first in their respective fields to systematically deploy doxographical distinctions between "new" and "old" in developing their own views. As these scholars began to talk and think of a "New Grammar", "New Poetics", and "New Mīmāṃsā", the model of scholastic "newness" that was certainly foremost in their minds was that of "New Logic" (*Navyanyāya*).

We will see that McCrea's description may have to be refined. To see how, let us first concentrate on the other pandits enumerated in this passage, beside Madhusūdana.

Like Madhusūdana, also Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (end of 16th and beginning of 17th century) respected Appayya a great deal (Bronkhorst, 2005: 26 n. 40). In fact, at the beginning of his *Tantra-siddhānta-dīpikā*, Bhaṭṭoji states in so many words that Appayya Dīkṣita was his guru.[21] And his *Tattvakaustubha*, at least in one version, begins with Appayya's *Mādhva-tantra-mukha-mardana*.[22] Deshpande (forthcoming a) states: "It is not entirely clear from the available information when Bhaṭṭoji met Appayya or how extensive and intensive their contact was. But Appayya Dīkṣita's *Mādhvatantramukhamardana* seems to have provided inspiration to

Bhaṭṭoji in composing not only his Advaitic work *Tattvakaustubha*, but I would argue on the basis of circumstantial evidence, that it provided inspiration to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita even in his grammatical works."

It appears that Vijayīndra, Appayya's Dvaita opponent whom we met earlier, lived long enough to read Bhaṭṭoji's *Tattvakaustubha* and write a rejoinder, called *Bhaṭṭojikuṭṭana*.[23] This confirms that Bhaṭṭoji's link with Vijayanagara culture was strong and mutual. Perhaps this is not surprising, for there are other indications that show that Bhaṭṭoji and his family had strong southern connections.[24] Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's brother, Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa, is recorded to have defeated the Dvaita scholar Vidyādhīśa Yati in debate at the court of the Keladi ruler Veṅkaṭappa, where Raṅgoji was something like a (or the) court-pandit (*svakīyavidvas*).[25] Bhaṭṭoji appears to have written his *Tattvakaustubha* at the instance of that same ruler.[26] In point of fact, Bhaṭṭoji, Raṅgoji and the latter's son Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa appear to have received patronage from this ruler and from his grandson, both of whom ruled over the Ikkeri kingdom, one of the fragmented heirs of the Vijayanagara state (Bronkhorst, 2005).[27] For Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his family, then, the intellectual link with Vijayanagara culture is beyond question.[28]

This does not, however, mean that Vijayanagara was Bhaṭṭoji's only source for the new techniques. Navyanyāya techniques were also known to and to some extent used by Bhaṭṭoji's main teacher of grammar in Varanasi, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa belonged to the important Śeṣa family of Varanasi, about which we know the following:

> Narasimha Śeṣa left the Śeṣa family home on the eastern Godavari, spent time at the Bijapur court, and then settled in Banaras, where his son, Kṛṇṣa Śeṣa, emerged as a prominent scholar in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[29]

A perusal of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's surviving *Prakriyāprakāśa* shows his acquaintance with Navyanyāya techniques, as will be clear from the following quotations:

> Vol. I p. 93: *atrāhuḥ dvitvāvacchinnaṃ kāryaṃ prati nimittatāśravaṇād ekasya caivātra kāryitvanimittatvayor virodhāt prakaraṇavihite sarvatra dvitve kāryitvaṃ bādhyata iti*
>
> Vol. I p. 27-28: *upadeśatvaṃ yāvati paryāptaṃ tatropadeśatā-prayojaka-dhātutvādirūpopādhy-avacchinna-samudāyāntyaṃ hal ity arthaḥ*
>
> Vol. II p. 80: *ādheyanirūpitasamavāyitvena pratīyamāno vyāptaḥ*

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa uses these techniques sparingly, but the fact that he uses them at all shows that no special link with Vijayanagara was required to become acquainted with them. It may make sense to speak here of passive absorption rather than active appropriation. With regard to the manner in which Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa acquired his knowledge of Navyanyāya techniques, we cannot but surmise that this knowledge had found its way directly from Mithilā to Varanasi.

What about the other authors listed by McCrea? With regard to the poet Jagannātha we can be brief. Jagannātha was a generation younger than Bhaṭṭoji (whom he virulently attacks in one of his writings), and his father was a student of Khaṇḍadeva.[30] Jagannātha was acquainted with Appayya's work: he relentlessly criticized the latter's *Citramīmāṃsā* in his *Citramīmāṃsākhaṇḍana* (Gerow, 2001: i). His familiarity with Navyanyāya techniques is therefore not something that should surprise us. Indeed, we may assume that he started using these techniques because they were used ever more widely in the Varanasi of his time.

Let us turn to Khaṇḍadeva, the next in line. McCrea says the following about him (2003: 482):

> Judging from my own survey of Khaṇḍadeva's major works, there would appear to be two quite distinct sorts of discussion in which he typically resorts to the use of Navyanyāya style. The most immediately apparent and most readily explicable occasion for such use is in the conduct of interscholastic debate, either with the New Logicians themselves, or with others who make heavy use of Navyanyāya in their own arguments – most notably the "New Grammarians".

The second sort of discussion that uses the Navyanyāya style concerns *śābdabodha*. Strictly speaking, this second "sort of discussion" is not different from the first, for McCrea points out that Khaṇḍadeva, even in the context of *śābdabodha*, "[o]nly when directly confronting recent criticisms of the New Logicians and Grammarians does he adopt their idiom" (p. 484). In other words, Khaṇḍadeva primarily uses the new idiom when challenged by others who use it. On top of this, he also applies Navyanyāya terminology where he wishes to challenge the established doctrines of his own school, earlier Mīmāṃsā.

Was Khaṇḍadeva the first in his field to introduce Navyanyāya techniques to Varanasi? This is what McCrea suggests; the Mīmāṃsaka Khaṇḍadeva, he says, was the first in his field "to systematically deploy doxographical distinctions between 'new' and 'old'" in developing his views, and as he began "to talk and think of a … 'New Mīmāṃsā', the model of scholastic 'newness' that was certainly foremost in [his mind] was that of 'New Logic' (*Navyanyāya*)." Upādhyāya is even more explicit in stating that Khaṇḍadeva was the first Mīmāṃsaka in Varanasi to introduce Navyanyāya techniques.[31] Upādhyāya (1994: 36) also claims that Khaṇḍadeva showed much respect in his writings to Appayya Dīkṣita, whom he referred to as the most excellent among the Mīmāṃsakas (*mīmāṃsāmūrdhanya*).[32]

When did Khaṇḍadeva live? O'Hanlon (2010: 232) suggests that he was one of the signatories of a document drawn up in 1657.[33] Kaviraj (1987: 242), moreover, points out that Khaṇḍadeva's pupil Śambhu Bhaṭṭa wrote a commentary called *Prabhāvalī* on his teacher's *Bhāṭṭadīpikā*, in which he states that Khaṇḍadeva died in Varanasi in Saṃvat 1722, i.e., 1665 CE. It appears, then, that Khaṇḍadeva must be dated considerably later than Bhaṭṭoji. His acquaintance with Navyanyāya techniques as such is therefore less than remarkable. But was he at least the first in his field to use these techniques? In order to find out, two other Mīmāṃsā specialists from Varanasi must first be considered, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa (better known as Gāgā Bhaṭṭa).

About Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (or Dādu Bhaṭṭa) we know that he was already a mature scholar by 1611, the date of his great compendium the *Nirṇayasindhu*, and that he was still active in 1631, when he is recorded as attending an assembly in the Muktimaṇḍapa of the Viśvanātha temple in Varanasi.[34] Gāgā Bhaṭṭa was his nephew. Gāgā Bhaṭṭa was still alive in 1674,[35] when he participated in the royal consecration of Śivāji in Mahārāṣṭra; he was presumably much younger than his uncle. Both Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa and Gāgā Bhaṭṭa wrote on Mīmāṃsā. Do their writings betray Navyanyāya features?[36]

The use of Navyanyāya techniques in the work of Gāgā Bhaṭṭa is clear and obvious.[37] This should not surprise us, for Gāgā Bhaṭṭa was a contemporary of Khaṇḍadeva, perhaps even younger than him.[38] But what about Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa?

A perusal of some of the latter's works shows that Kamalākara was certainly familiar with the new techniques, but only used them sparingly. Consider the following passages from his *Mīmāṃsākutūhala*:

> p. 22: *kiṃ ca tṛṇāraṇimaṇīnām ekaśaktimattvena kāraṇatvāc chaktisiddhiḥ kāryatāvacchedaka-kāraṇatāvacchedaka-tatsambandhagatānekajātikalpanayā tasyā eva laghutvāt.*
>
> p. 32: *evaṃ kāraṇatva-kāryatva-pratiyogitvānuyogitvādhāratvādheyatva-viśeṣaṇatva-viśeṣyatvānuyogitvādhāratvāvacchedakatvādayo 'py arthāntarāṇīti śiromaṇyādayo 'py evam āhuḥ.*

The second of these two passages no doubt refers to Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, one of the great masters of Navyanyāya. The following passage mentions the new logicians, *navyatārkika*, synonym of *navyanaiyāyika*:

> p. 90: *tatra saṃkhyāśāstrābhāvād iti bhāṭṭāḥ navyatārkikāś ca*.

It is clear that we have to correct the idea that Khaṇḍadeva was the first Mīmāṃsaka in Varanasi to use Navyanyāya techniques. And yet, there is reason to believe that at least certain Mīmāṃsā authors in the century preceding Khaṇḍadeva did not yet use these techniques. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, according to Mishra (1942: 50),

composed his *Siddhāntacandrikā* (or rather, *Yuktisnehaprapūraṇī Siddhāntacandrikā*), a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā*, in Varanasi in 1543 CE. This work is available (see References, below), was indeed composed in Kāśī according to the introductory verses, but does not use Navyanyāya techniques.[39] Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, on the other hand, may have used Navyanyāya techniques in his work toward the end of the 16th century (see below).

Our reflections about Mīmāṃsā in Varanasi leave us with the impression that this school of thought did not yet use Navyanyāya techniques around the middle of the 16th century, but began using them soon after 1600, primarily in the works of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa.[40]

The material considered so far suggests that there was an important Vijayanagara component in the Navyanyāya influence reaching Varanasi. The picture arising from this material can be presented as follows. A number of authors inititated the active use of Navyanyāya techniques and idiom in fields or regions that had not so far used them in this manner: Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Vyāsatīrtha, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. The first one, Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, presumably introduced these techniques into Advaita Vedānta for the simple reason that he had been one of the masters of Navyanyāya in Mithilā and Navadvīpa. Vyāsatīrtha in his turn actively used these techniques in Dvaita Vedānta, presumably because he was challenged by the work(s) of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī defended Advaita against the challenge of Vyāsatīrtha; he appears to have been one of the first to introduce these techniques in Varanasi. Around the same time, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, who had close links with Vijayanagara culture, actively introduced the new techniques in his field of specialisation, grammar, having initially participated in the Vedānta debate that opposed Advaitins to followers of Mādhva. In the case of Bhaṭṭoji we must however add that he was not the first grammarian in Varanasi to use these techniques: his teacher Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa had done so before him, though more sparingly.

Navyanyāya techniques, then, were actively used in Vijayanagara before they were in Varanasi, and at least in part they

reached Varanasi from Vijayanagara. But clearly this is not the whole story. It is worth our while to consider what further evidence we have for direct scholarly contacts between Mithilā and Varanasi.

We have already seen that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa are possible candidates for such direct influence. But there are others, among them the following.

Consider Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the father of Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa the author of the *Gādhivaṃśavarṇana* and teacher of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.[41] About Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa we learn (Salomon, 1985: xxv; cp. Benson, 2001: 111 ff.):

> [Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa] …, we are told in the [*Gādhivaṃśānucarita*], was born during the course of Rāmeśvara's pilgrimage to Dvārakā (at the tip of the Kathiawar peninsula) in the month of Caitra of the Śaka year 1435, that is, in March-April of 1514 A.D.[42] …
>
> [Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa] must have still been a child when he went with his father to Benares, where he spent the rest of his life. All his religious and secular education came from his father, as he tells us in the sixth introductory verse of the [*Tristhalīsetu*] (… *pitur eva yaḥ śrutīḥ smṛtīḥ samālocya ca deśarītīḥ* …). At Benares he won renown as a great scholar and collector of manuscripts, and he established the status of the southern pandits there. He is also said to have defeated the Mithilā and Gauḍa pandits in debate at the court of Ṭoḍar Mal in Delhi.

The confrontation between Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and "the Mithilā pandits" in particular might suggest that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa discussed with those pandits on a topic related to Navyanyāya. However, this impression may not be correct. In fact, Mithilā was also known as a centre of studies in Dharmaśāstra,[43] and even some of the Nyāya specialists were also active in that other domain.[44] The discussion between Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and the Mithilā pandits is more likely to have been about topics in Dharmaśāstra. Benson (2001: 113), referring to the event and basing himself on new material, states the following:

> In an assembly called by Toḍaramala [Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa] defeated all the Maithila and Gauḍa scholars, starting with Vidyāvāsa. Shastri writes: "At a *śrāddha* ceremony at Delhi in the house of Toḍar Mal, he worsted in disputation all the Paṇḍits of Gauda and Mithilā with Vidyāvāsa at their head … the point at dispute was one of vital importance to modern Brāhmaṇism. The ancient Rishis declare that at the performance of *śrāddha*, live Brāhmaṇs are to be fed with the cooked food offered to the manes. Bengal holds that this is impossible in the Kaliyuga as there are no Brāhmaṇs worthy to feed. And so they feed symbolical Brāhmaṇs (Brāhmaṇs made of *kuśa* grass). The southern people hold that the injunctions of the Śāstras should be respected, and live Brāhmaṇs are to be fed." (Shastri 1912: 9-10)

In his book *Raja Todar Mal*, Kumudranjan Das similarly says, with reference to the Benares manuscript of the *Gādhivaṃśavarṇana*, that "during a *śrāddha* ceremony Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa subdued the paṇḍits of Mithilā and Gaur who had assembled at the Rāja's house" (Das 1979: 214). Not having seen Shastri's copy of the *Gādhivaṃśānucarita*, it is impossible to judge this interpretation. Although effigies of *kuśa* grass are certainly specified for *śrāddhas* in the event that *brāhmaṇas* are not available, I have not yet seen any references to the dispute mentioned by Shastri. The Oxford and the Benares manuscripts suggest a different issue: "this argument was about the prohibition of meat (offering) at a *śrāddha* in the Kali age" (6.14.d: *śrāddhe kalau palaniṣedhavivāda eṣaḥ*). Among the various texts attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* lists a Calcutta manuscript of the *Kaliśrāddhemāṃsadānavicāraḥ* …, in which, judging from the published extract, Nārāyaṇa opposed those "whose tongues are eager for the juice of meat" (*māṃsarasaloluparasana*). Could *pala*, which means meat or straw, have been taken by Shastri somehow to refer to straw *brāhmaṇas*?

It is not certain, then, that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa argued with the Brahmins of Mithilā using the latters' Navyanyāya techniques.

There is, on the other hand, a tradition recorded by Kaviraj (1987: 153), according to which Nārāyaṇa is said to have defeated Madhusūdana in a public debate. This, if true, would suggest that already Nārāyaṇa used Navyanyāya techniques.[45]

About Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa himself, we know that he wrote a work called *Vidhirasāyana-dūṣaṇa*, in which he criticized Appayya's *Vidhirasāyana*. We have not been able to inspect this work, but it seems reasonable to suppose that Śaṅkara used Navyanyāya techniques in this work.[46]

In this connection it may be useful to recall that Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, Raṅgoji's son, respectfully mentions a certain Rāmakṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭācārya. If it is true, as maintained elsewhere,[47] that this was the Naiyāyika who wrote several works on Nyāya, including a commentary on Raghunātha's *Ākhyāta-śakti-vāda*, and if, moreover, this Rāmakṛṣṇa was the person to whom Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa refers as "our teacher" (*asmadguru*), Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa had a teacher who was a Naiyāyika and an adept of Navyanyāya. Is it possible that Rāmakṛṣṇa was a pandit from Bengal who had come to Varanasi?[48]

What early scholars of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika are known to have lived in Varanasi? Some modern authors record traditions according to which Bhavanātha Miśra and his famous son Śaṅkara Miśra settled in Varanasi, coming from Mithilā already during the first half of the fifteenth century.[49] Kaviraj (1982: 56 and 141 n. 220) quotes the line *dṛśyate ceha vārāṇasyām* (on sūtra 7.1.22) from the latter's *Upaskāra*, to show that this work was composed in Varanasi.

The case of Śaṅkara Miśra's approximate contemporary Pragalbha Miśra, also known as Śubhaṅkara, is less certain. Upādhyāya (1994: 33) claims a link with Varanasi, where he presumably began teaching Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, but the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (VI p. 486) knows nothing about all this.[50]

The list of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors in the "Historical résumé" claims that Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭācārya Cakravartin lived in Varanasi. The

article dedicated to him elsewhere in that volume is very short, and can be quoted *in toto* (Potter & Bhattacharyya, 1992: 489):

> Śrīnātha was the younger brother of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma's father Narahari, which makes it relatively easy to estimate his date as around 1470. He appears to have written a commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, at least the first two parts of it. Tarasankar Bhattacarya reports "three definitions of Cakraborti" that are discussed by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi among the 14 definitions in his section on such definitions.

It seems beyond doubt that Śrīnātha belonged to the Navyanyāya current of thought. His link with Varanasi, on the other hand, is not substantiated in this passage. There is yet reason to believe that his brother Narahari, also known as Viśārada, moved to Varanasi later in life. We cannot therefore exclude that Śrīnātha accompanied his brother, moving with him to Varanasi.

About Viśārada's move from Bengal to Varanasi, Kaviraj (1982: 70) provides the following information:

> About [Vāsudeva's] retirement from Bengal Jayānanda in his Caitanya Maṅgala records the tradition that it was in consequence of a general panic in Navadvīpa caused by the rumour of an order from the Mahomedan ruler of the province for a wholesale devastation of the Brāhmaṇa families of the place. It is said that this order for devastation had its origin in the alarm excited by a widely current prophecy about the overthrow of the Moslem power by the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Navadvīpa. However, on account of the panic Vāsudeva's family left Nadiā and migrated to different parts of the country. Thus, we read:
>
> *viśārada suta sārvabhauma bhaṭṭācārya/*
> *svayaṃ utkale gela chāḍi gauḍa rājya//*
> *utkale pratāparudra dhanurmaya rājā/*
> *ratnasiṃhāsane sārvabhaume kaila pūjā//*
> *tāra bhrātā vidyāvācaspati gauḍavāsī/*
> *viśārada nivāsa karilā vārāṇasī//*

> "Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, son of Viśārada, removed to Orissa, leaving Bengal. The King of Orissa was then the illustrious Pratāparudra, famous for his valour in war. He worshipped the great scholar of Navadvīpa, presenting him with a golden throne. The brother of Sārvabhauma was Vidyāvācaspati, who remained in Gauḍa, and their father Viśārada proceeded to Benares, where he settled."

Only the last line of the quoted verse concerns Viśārada, but it is clear and straightforward. There is also some reason to think that Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma himself moved to Varanasi at the end of his life.[51] It appears, furthermore, that Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma's nephew, Vidyānivāsa, participated in the Varanasi assembly of 1583 (see below).[52]

Maheśa Ṭhakkura's (middle of the sixteenth century) link with Mithilā is beyond doubt and culminates in his obtaining "the kingdom of Darbhanga as a free gift from the then reigning ruler of Mithilā", according to Kaviraj (1982: 52), who refers in this connection to "the well-known inscription on [a] well at Dhanukhā in Mithilā". In spite of this, Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa's *Gādhivaṃśavarṇana* (which we met earlier) claims that Maheśa studied in Varanasi with Śaṅkara's grandfather Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa.[53]

Annambhaṭṭa, author of the widely used *Tarkasaṃgraha* and of a sub-commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, may have lived in Varanasi. If it is correct to think that he is the same Annambhaṭṭa who wrote a subcommentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, he (as well as Jagannātha's father Peru Bhaṭṭa) studied grammar with Śeṣa Vīreśvara son of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa; Annambhaṭṭa was therefore a younger contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.[54]

Having considered the links between scholars and the roles they played in the transmission of a new feature of Indian philosophy (viz. the Navyanyāya techniques), it is time to take the political and economic circumstances of the time into consideration.[55] The important role that Vijayanagara played in this transmission is not unrelated to the fact that this empire and its successor states provided

ample support to traditional scholarship. It would no doubt be incorrect to state that the Vijayanagara empire was created in order to ward off the Muslim threat, it is nonetheless true that successive rulers had Brahmanical court pandits, and supported Brahmanical traditions in various other ways. This, as we have seen, continued for a while even after the destruction of the capital city of Vijayanagara in 1565, in the so-called successor states.

Varanasi, during most of this period, was hardly the place where a traditional Sanskrit pandit would easily find material (and moral) support. Varanasi suffered under the rule of a succession of Muslim rulers.[56] This changed with the Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), who associated Rajput chieftains with his government (Eraly, 2000: 144 ff.), and introduced a measure of tolerance unknown thus far. Rotation of office and resumption of property at death had the effect that Mughal nobles were inclined to ostentation and public spending. Occasions for receiving patronage multiplied as a result.[57] "Not until the Mughal emperor Akbar ascended the throne did Hindu patrons again begin to build religious edifices. Man Singh and Raja Todarmal, the two senior Rajput ministers in the court of Akbar, participated actively in repairing the temples and ghats of Banaras" (Singh 2009: 90). Something comparable appears to have happened in the field of support and patronage for traditional Sanskrit scholars.[58]

These changes took no doubt time to become effective. The year 1587 may yet be thought of as a watershed for Varanasi, because it was in this year that the Rajput Man Singh of Amber (Jaipur) was put in charge of Varanasi.[59] But pandits from other regions had already begun to settle in Varanasi before this date, as we have seen. And from as early a date as 1583 a detailed record exists of an assembly of southern Brahmins living in Varanasi who pronounced on a problem submitted to them; one of the participating Brahmins was Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa.[60] The number of prominent pandits increases exponentially in subsequent years.[61]

Pollock (2002: 435) wrote the following about intellectual activity, esp. Mīmāṃsā, during the period from about 1550 to 1750:

"Varanasi was crowded with masters of a stature the discipline had not seen since Someśvara some four or five centuries earlier, men like Khaṇḍadeva, Āpadeva (the grandson of the great Marathi religious reformer Eknāth), and the various members of the distinguished Bhaṭṭa family (Śaṅkara, Dinakara, Kamalākara, Gāgā, Śambhu, and others). And the south was hardly less well endowed, with Appayya himself at the beginning of our period, and, at its end, the remarkable Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (fl. Thanjavur c. 1700, author also of the *Bālamanoramā* commentary on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*). Works like Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Śāstradīpikā* (c. 1000) were reread seriously for the first time in centuries, once again the revival being marked by Appayya, who wrote a still-unpublished commentary on the text. This new vitality is everywhere evident, but it has hardly been recognized in the scholarship, let alone explained." [62] Deshpande (forthcoming b) cites this passage in a footnote, and adds: "Much of this description would also apply to the tradition of Vyākaraṇa and its interactions with other systems like Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya during this period."

At the end of our preliminary exploration, it may be possible to add some further observations to this statement. The material we have considered suggests that the mysterious upsurge of intellectual activity referred to by Pollock was less mysterious than it may appear at first sight, especially if we grant that the primary focus of interest may have varied over time and space. The upsurge of intellectual activity seen as a whole was clearly related to social and political developments in the subcontinent that can be reliably traced and described. After a very active period in and largely confined to Mithilā, facilitated by political support,[63] intellectual activity found a new centre in the Vijayanagara empire, well before 1550, for the straightforward reason, once again, that this empire supported traditional Sanskrit scholarship in various ways. Varanasi's heyday began later, once again because the reorganized structure of the Mughal Empire under Akbar made large-scale patronage in Varanasi possible. The year 1550 does not represent anything in particular, except that it is situated somewhere in the middle between the revival of Sanskrit scholarship in the Vijayanagara area and its later revival

in Varanasi. Both phenomena can be explained – to the extent that intellectual phenomena can ever be explained – by taking into consideration the social, economic and political circumstances, which became favourable to Sanskrit scholarship. Having said this, it is true that "Varanasi in the seventeenth century witnessed a confluence of more or less free intellectuals – stipendiaries like Kavīndrācārya, clients of distant courts like Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, and no doubt rentiers – of a sort it had almost certainly never seen before" (Pollock 2001: 21). Indeed, one may wonder whether any centre of learning in India, including Vijayanagara, had seen anything of the kind.

Another observation seems justified. Brahmins from different regions may traditionally be inclined to focus on different branches of learning. We have seen that the pandits of Mithilā focused primarily on Nyāya. More generally, O'Hanlon remarks in a recent article (2010: 214-215), "the 'southern' schools of Brahmans seem to have constituted in some ways a recognised set of intellectual positions, particularly when juxtaposed to those of 'eastern' India. 'Easterners' had their strong base in the discipline of *nyāya* or logic, pursued in the scholarly communities of Mithila and then of Navadvipa and in the literary and poetic style identified with the Gauda region, also known as *prācya* or 'eastern'. The strengths of the southern pandits lay in mīmāṃsā, grammar and in dharmaśāstra."[64] To this intellectual division we must add that the intellectual activity in the Vijayanagara cultural area had as primary focus different forms of Vedānta. Vijayanagara, we have seen, played an important role as transmitter of intellectual skills (we have concentrated on the techniques of Navyanyāya) between different parts of India. This role would risk going unrecognized if we were, wantonly, to decide to leave all forms of Vedānta out of consideration. Our preliminary exploration suggests that Vijayanagara, and with it Vedānta, played a key role in the transmission of an intellectual current that affected different "knowledge systems". By concentrating on any one of those knowledge systems to the exclusion of others, the resulting impression of strong and sudden surges of intellectual vitality may be

exaggerated, and may not do full justice to Brahmanical intellectual history. Further research is required to bring more clarity.

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1. This paper has greatly profited from the as yet unpublished articles which Madhav M. Deshpande and Lawrence McCrea put at our disposition. Financial assistance has been received from the Indo Swiss Joint Research Programme and from the Swiss National Science Foundation.

2. Cited in Mishra, 1966: 340. Pakṣadhara is dated in the middle or second half of the fifteenth century in Potter & Bhattacharya, 1992: 470 f., 486 f.; cp. Ingalls, 1951: 6-9.

3. "With a grain of salt." See, e.g., Pollock, 2001: 6.

4. For a discussion of Gaṅgeśa's date, see Mishra, 1966: 241 ff. Conclusion: "about 1300 or a few years earlier, but in no case … earlier than 1275 A.D." See also Ingalls, 1951: 4.

5. On the religious orientations of the Vijayanagara rulers, see Clark, 2006: 193 ff.

6. Mishra (1966: 463) states: "Cennu Bhaṭṭa has referred to Udayana, Kandalīkāra, Maṇḍana Miśra, Vācaspati Miśra I, Varadarāja (most probably the author of the *Tārkikarakṣā*), Vādīndra and Śālikanātha". The great absence is of Gaṅgeśa.

7. It is clear that Vyāsatīrtha acquainted himself with a number of texts from Mithilā: "besides Gaṅgeśa, almost all the scholars from Pakṣadhara down to his disciples have met good reception … in the south as is clear from the *Tarkatāṇḍava* of Vyāsatīrtha" (Mishra, 1966: 348).

8. Rao, 1926: cxxi; with a reference to the edition p. 52: *maṇikāramatam anūdya*.

9. On the on-going competition between the Gajapatis of Orissa and the rulers of Vijayanagara, see Panda, 1985.

10. See further Bhattacharya, 1940.

11. Here, as elsewhere, it is useful to recall Ingalls's remark (1951: 2): "I have given considerable attention to local traditions, not because I credit them with any high degree of veracity, but because there are so few other sources of information."

12. Kaviraj, 1982: 71: "There exists in the Śaṅkara Maṭha, Purī, a Ms. (copied in Śaka 1551 = 1629 A.D.) of a Commentary by him on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaitamakaranda* where in the colophon the author calls himself *gauḍācārya sārvabhaumabhaṭṭācārya* …"

13. For further details, see the chapter on Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma in Kaviraj, 1982: 67-72.

14. McCrea (forthcoming) shows how Appayya, though commenting at length on Śrīkaṇṭha, imposes his own Advaita views on this author.

15. Deshpande's article continues as follows: 'The anti-Appayya trend continues in the Mādhva tradition with works like Nārāyaṇācārya's *Advaitakālānala* "Deadly

Fire for Advaita" and Satyanātha Yati's *Abhinavagadā* "New Mace [to crush Advaita]." Describing this last work, B. N. K. Sharma (1961: 233 [= 1981: 447]) says: "The work has five chapters designated 'yuddhas' (battles) with an obvious allusion to the *Gadā-yuddha* between Bhīma and Suyodhana. The intensely bellicose attitude of the author is reflected even in the opening verse."'

16. In an article "The Mīmāṃsā manuscripts in the Government Sanskrit Library [Benares]", reprinted in Kaviraj, 1987: 236.
17. "The date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī"; reprinted Kaviraj, 1987, p. 153, further pp. 154, 338.
18. See note 33, below.
19. So, e.g., Mishra, 1942: 51-52; Ramaswami Sastri, 1936/1991: 101.
20. On Madhusūdana's date (16th century), see Kaviraj, 1987: 153 ff.; Gupta, 2006: 5 ff.; Bhattacharya, 1937: 32.
21. Deshpande (2011: 367; forthcoming a): *appayyadīkṣitendrān aśeṣavidyāgurūn ahaṃ vande/ yatkṛtibodhābodhau vidvadavidvadbhājakopādhī//* 'I salute the great Appayya Dīkṣita, my Guru in all the branches of learning. Knowledge and ignorance of his works determines who is learned and who is ignorant.'"
22. Deshpande (2011: 368 *Mādhvatantramukhamardanam*) writes: "I have consulted the *Tattvakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in manuscript form … as well as the partial print edition of 1954 from Srirangam. The Bhandarkar Institute manuscript labeled as *Tattvakaustubha* actually begins with Appayya's *Mādhvatantra-mukhama[rd]ana*: *mādhvatantramukhamardanam mayā yatkṛtaṃ prakaraṇaṃ mitākṣaram/ padyarūpam anatisphiṭāśayam tat sukhāvagataye vivicyate//* 'I composed the text *Mādhvatantramukhamardana* as a short treatise in verse. The significance of that text was not self-evident, and hence I am clarifying its meaning in the present work *Mādhvamatavidhvaṃsana*.'" Deshpande further observes: "It is clear that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Tattvakaustubha* follows the lead of Appayya Dīkṣita's critique of the Madhva doctrines." In another article (forthcoming b, note 9), however, Deshpande states that Bhaṭṭoji himself had composed a work titled *Mādhvatantramukhamardana*, to which he refers in his *Tattvakaustubha*.
23. Deshpande, 2011: 370 & forthcoming a, with a reference to R. Nagaraja Sarma's introduction to his edition of Raghūttamayati's *Bhāvabodha*. In fact, three distinct Mādhva works called *Bhaṭṭojikuṭṭana* appear to have been written.
24. See Gode, 1955.
25. In fact, different accounts present opposing claims as to who won the debate; see Deshpande, forthcoming. Deshpande further points out that Vidyādhīśa composed a *Raṅgojibhaṭṭadhikkāra*, in which he presents himself as a disciple of Veda-Vyāsatīrtha, presumably the same Vyāsatīrtha whom we met earlier. Interestingly, "Raṅgojibhaṭṭa claimed that dying in Banaras was sufficient in

itself to lead to Mokṣa for a person (*kāśīmaraṇamātreṇa mokṣaḥ*)", whereas "Vidyādhīśa … rejects Raṅgojibhaṭṭa's view, and asserts that only true knowledge leads to Mokṣa (*jñānasya eva mokṣasādhanatā*)." This was a major topic of debate, especially among the pandits living in Varanasi at that time; see Minkowski, 2002: 336 ff.; O'Hanlon, 2010: 203. Note, incidentally, that the territory included in what is technically called Vārāṇasī is considerably smaller than that of Kāśī (Eck, 1982: 350 ff., esp. p. 353).

26. Deshpande, forthcoming b, with a reference to K. D. Swaminathan's *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*. According to Swaminathan, "Venkaṭappa bestowed on Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita the title of *Viśiṣṭa-vaidika-advaita-siddhānta-sthāpanācārya*, besides extending to him other usual marks of honour and court presents".

27. "At its greatest, the Ikkeri rajas controlled a territory nearly as large as the Vijayanagara heartland, some 20,000 square miles, extending about 180 miles south from Goa along the trade-rich Kanara coast." (Stein, 1989: 84). Further Stein, 1989: 123: "in 1614, Venkatappa Nayaka (reign 1586-1629) opportunistically extended his power over neighbouring chiefs, bringing the Ikkeri kingdom to its apogee, with control over all of the Kanara coast … and a great part of the adjacent upland … His successor Virabhadra Nayaka (reign 1629-45) had little choice about fishing the waters stirred by the second Vijayanagara succession war of the 1630s, for he was preoccupied with recalcitrant chiefs whose powers his father had sought to expunge, but who now strove to wrest back lost authority and lands. In addition, Virabhadra had to fend off a usurpation of his throne by a royal kinsman, Virappa Nayaka. During the course of this second epoch of wars, Ikkeri and other Karnatak lords also faced two invasions by Bijapur …"

28. Note in passing the link, if ever so tenuous, with Vijayanagara of one of Bhaṭṭoji's other teachers: Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa claims to have been Bhaṭṭoji's teacher in his *Gādhivaṃśavarṇana*, also called *Gādhivaṃśānucarita*. This is the family chronicle of the Bhaṭṭa family, famous in Varanasi for having produced a number of learned pandits. The *Gādhivaṃśavarṇana* deals extensively with Śaṅkara's grandfather, Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, who came to Varanasi after receiving various honours in the south. The family chronicle mentions King Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara, i.e. Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in particular, the same king whom we met before and who supposedly transmitted an Advaita text from Kaliṅga to Vyāsatīrtha. Vijayanagara is characterized in the chronicle as the city which is distinguished by knowledge and rich with countless scholars. Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa's stay in Vijayanagara, according to the chronicle, had been short, too short to justify the claim that Rāmeśvara had been profoundly influenced by its intellectual culture. It is yet interesting to note that Vijayanagara pops up even here, in the background of an illustrious family of pandits in Varanasi. (See Benson, 2001, esp. pp. 111, 116.)

29. O'Hanlon, 2010: 204, with a reference to Ranganathasvami, 1912.

30. Mishra, 1964: 56; Upādhyāya, 1994: 67; and note 36, below.
31. Upādhyāya, 1994: 36: *yahīṃ ke prakhyāta mīmāṃsaka Khaṇḍadeva Miśra ne mīmāṃsā ko eka navīna diśā vikāsa ke lie pradāna kī/ inhoṃne hī sarvapratha tattvacintāmaṇi dvārā udbhāsita navyanyāya kī śailī kā prayoga mīmāṃsā ke vyākhyāna meṃ kiyā …*
32. See already Ramaswami Sastri, 1936/1991: 116.
33. So already Subrahmanya Sastri in the Sanskrit introduction to Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya* (pp. 70-71). It follows that the following tradition recorded by Mishra (1942: 51) cannot be correct: "It is said that after coming to Benares from his native place in the South when Appayya Dīkṣita showed his *Vidhirasāyana* to Khaṇḍadeva Mishra, the great Mīmāṃsaka, then living, the latter praised his scholarship very much." About the Appaya Dīkṣita who figures in the list of signatories of that same document, O'Hanlon (2010: 232) observes: "Appaya Diksita here is likely to be Appaya Diksita III, grandson of the great philosopher and defender of Saiva Hinduism Appaya Diksita." Subrahmaṇya Śāstrī's (1982: [1]-[2]) claim that it follows from this document that Nṛsiṃhāśrama, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, Appayya Dīkṣita and Khaṇḍadeva were contemporaries has to take this into consideration. The Nṛsiṃhāśrama (or Narasiṃhāśrama) here mentioned, too, must be distinguished from the author of the *Bhedadhikkāra* mentioned earlier, and of the *Advaitadīpikā*.
34. O'Hanlon & Minkowski, 2008: 393; O'Hanlon, 2010: 224 f.
35. See Deshpande, 2010a.
36. Pollock (2001: 18 n. 24) states: "[Khaṇḍadeva] is thought to have been a pupil of Gāgā Bhaṭṭa (see Surya Narayana Sukla, ed., *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*, Varanasi, 1934, Bhūmikā, p. 2), but this seems dubious if he was, as he certainly was, the teacher of Perubhaṭṭa, Jagannātha's father (*Rasagaṅgādhara*, vs. 2)."
37. Cp. Ramaswami Sastri (1936/1991): "Gāgābhaṭṭa also known as Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, is the son of Dinakarabhaṭṭa. He is known as the author of a commentary on the 12 chapters of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, called *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* … He adopts every now and then the navya-nyāya terminology and his elucidation of many topics in the Tarkapāda and other sections of his commentary is very precise."
38. The claim that Gāgā Bhaṭṭa was Khaṇḍadeva's teacher (e.g., Subrahmanya Sastri in his Sanskrit introduction to the edition of Khaṇḍadeva's *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, pp. 62-63; further note 36, above) cannot detain us here.
39. The *Mānameyodaya*, another work on Mīmāṃsā, was in part composed by a Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, but presumably not the one who was born in 1514 (see below). It does not use Navya-Nyāya techniques.
40. See also Diaconescu, forthcoming.
41. See note 28, above.

42. Benson (2001: 111) gives "5 April to 5 May, 1513".
43. Mithilā was also a centre for Mīmāṃsā studies; see Mishra, 1942.
44. Kane, HistDh vol. I part II p. 759 ff. See esp. pp. 844 ff. for the contributions to Dharmaśāstra by Vācaspati Miśra II.
45. The (first half of the) *Mānameyodaya* was presumably composed by a different Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who did not live in Varanasi; the fact that it does not use Navya-Nyāya techniques is therefore without interest in the present context.
46. Since the *Vidhirasāyana* was composed after 1585 at the very earliest (see above), the *Vidhirasāyana-dūṣaṇa* must be quite a bit more recent than this date.
47. Bronkhorst, forthcoming.
48. Questions about the dates and whereabouts of the Rāmakṛṣṇa who commented upon Raghunātha's *Ākhyāta-śakti-vāda* are complex, and need a more detailed investigation.
49. Jha, 1998: 15-16.
50. Cp. Mishra, 1966: 326: "Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was the first Bengali scholar to go to Pakṣadhara Miśra in Mithilā to study Navyanyāya and bring the thoughts to Bengal. Prior to him there is no trace of any scholar to have done so. Nor is there any tradition of Pragalbha's being a non-Maithila amongst the Sanskrit scholars."
51. Bhattacharya, 1940: 66.
52. Bhattacharya, 1937: 35.
53. Bhattacharya, 1958: 173-175; Benson, 2001: 112.
54. P. S. Filliozat in Narasimhacharya, 1973: xii; further Narasimhacharya, 1973: xvii, 2; Mullapudi Vishwanatha Sastry, 2006: xiv.
55. For the pre-Muslim history of Varanasi, see Bakker & Isaacson, 2004: 19-82.
56. Cf. Altekar, 1937: 33-34: "The period, 1200-1550 A.D. was a dark one for the Hindu religion in India and of Benares in particular. Unfortunately we have no Hindu sources of history to enable us to get a first-hand information of the feelings and activities of the Hindus of Benares, as a consequence of the systematic persecution to which they were subjected by a number of rulers during this period. … With the advent of Akbar, however, the imperial policy changed. This emperor decided to follow a policy of toleration towards all his non-Muslim subjects, and as a result, Benares again began to prosper as a centre of Hindu religion and learning."
57. Bronkhorst, 2005: 21-22, with a reference to Spear, 1973: 41 and some examples of patronage received by pandits. Some further names of notables who provided patronage are given by Upādhyāya, 1994: 24.
58. Eck's following remark (1982: 85) – "What kind of scholarly activity took place in Kāshī during [the Muslim centuries]? As always there were great masters of philosophy here, especially of the schools of Nyāya (Logic) and Advaita (Non-

Dualism)" – may therefore be somewhat off the mark, and merely serve to perpetuate the mistaken notion of Varanasi as an eternal, unchanging city.

59. Gutschow & Michaels, 1993: 29. This publication associates Man Singh with the Sultan of Delhi, no doubt by mistake.
60. O'Hanlon, 2010: 220 f.
61. And yet, "nowhere in the writings of the seventeenth-century Varanasi intellectuals do we hear the faintest resonance of the incorporation of the region into the Mughal empire" (Pollock, 2001: 19).
62. Deshpande specifies (forthcoming b): "In [a] personal communication, Pollock now revises this remark by stating that Śambhubhaṭṭa was not from this Bhaṭṭa family and that Āpadeva was Eknāth's great grandson, and not grandson."
63. See, e.g., Preisendanz, 1994: 1 ff. for details of the patronage received by Vācaspati Miśra II.
64. This observation must be read with care, given the prominence of Mithilā also in the realms of Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra.

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