

## (On) The reimport of Veda traditions to Kashmir in the early 15th century

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The great Kashmiri Sultān Zayn al-Ābidīn (“Zain ul Abidin”), 1418-1470 CE, still had Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist ministers.<sup>1</sup> Even about a hundred years after the beginning of the Islamization of the Kashmir Valley, he favored these religions equally. Indeed, it is from his time that our earliest Kashmiri Veda mss. are preserved: the Paippalāda Atharvaveda (1419 CE)<sup>2</sup> and the oldest Kaṭha Yajurveda manual, the *Ṛcaka* (MaI 396, at Tübingen), c. 1400 CE.<sup>3</sup> Both these mss. still indicate the Vedic pitch accents,<sup>4</sup> which always is a perfect indicator of the health of a particular Vedic tradition.

However, Zayn’s reign followed on a dire period for Brahmins under the reign of his father Sikandar. For two decades at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century the Brahmins, their Veda study, their traditions, their livelihood,<sup>5</sup> their places of worship were systematically destroyed. The main actor in this drama was one of their own, the Brahmin Sūhabhaṭṭa who had converted to Islam and assumed the name Sayf ad-Dīn,

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1- JRT 823 sqq, cf. Slaje 2007.

2- Sent by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to R. v. Roth at Tübingen. -- For the background and detailed data see my forthcoming book, *The Veda in Kashmir*, planned for release in the Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 91, 2019.

3- Sent from Kashmir by the famous explorer Aurel Stein and editor/translator of the RT, to his teacher R. v. Roth.

4- Albeit only sporadically in the PS ms.

5- Apart from terminating their customary employment in government (that had continued under the early Muslim kings), the confiscation of their land holdings (*agrahāra*).

“the sword of religion.” He had gained considerable influence at the court of Sultān Sikandar, the infamous *Būtšikān*, the “destroyer of idols.”<sup>6</sup> In fact, most of the major temples, such as the famous, indeed impressive Mārtāṇḍa temple near Anantnāg (Islamabad), were blown up and remain only as ruins.

Sūhabhaṭṭa persecuted Brahmins of all stripes and tried to convert them by force. Many Brahmins fled the country -- if they could actually manage to do so in spite of strict border controls. Others were converted or they even killed themselves, as is reported in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.<sup>7</sup> Longstanding Kashmiri oral tradition has it that only 11 Brahmin families remained in the Valley. Importantly, Sūha Bhaṭṭa also destroyed many manuscripts of Hindu texts, burning them “like grass,”<sup>8</sup> so that the chroniclers lament that texts continued to exist only as pleasant memories (*manorama*). He forbade the transmission of Vedic learning to young students.

The fate of Hinduism, Brahmins and Vedic tradition would have been dire if Sikandar’s son Zayn al ‘Ābidīn (Jainollabdhena) had not totally reversed his father’s policy. He “renewed the laws of the country which had been destroyed” (JRT 755), and he participated in Hindu rituals,<sup>9</sup> festivals,<sup>10</sup> and pilgrimages.<sup>11</sup> Even his enthronization seems to have been a mix of Muslim and Hindu rituals (*rājño ‘bhiṣeka*, JRT 753).<sup>12</sup>

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja (up to 1459 CE) and his pupil Śrīvara report that he brought back Brahmins “to their own country (*nijamaṇḍala*),”<sup>13</sup> as well as their books and their learning.<sup>14</sup> He imported various kinds of Brahmins from northern, central and even from southern (Drāviḍa) India. These are called Malamāsi, such as the Kaul clan, who differ in their calendars, opposed to the local Brahmins, the Bhanamāsi. This large scale immigration resulted in the extra-ordinary high number of 199 Brahmanical lineages (*gotra*) in Kashmir.<sup>15</sup>

Some detailed information is given in an insertion into the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, B1046-1056. It reports that Śīrya Bhaṭṭa brought back, at the king’s request, Brahmins who had fled the country under Sūhabhaṭṭa.<sup>16</sup> He held

6- See JRT, ŚRT and some of the Muslim historians from Kashmir writing in Persian, such as Firishta, see below for details.

7- JRT, appendix B 747sq; ŚRT 1.5.75sq; importantly this is also reported by Muslim historians such as Firishta: those who refused Islam were banished (Ta’rikh, tr. J. Briggs 1908-10: 465). -- The Rājatarāṅgiṇī says that the borders were sealed and one needed passports. Still, a large number of Brahmins managed to flee through some smaller hill roads. Again, according to the 15<sup>th</sup> cent. writer Nizamuddin Ahmad: “most Hindus left the country and some killed themselves” (transl. Dey, Calcutta 1927-39, p. 648).

8- ŚRT 1.5.75 sqq.: he burnt all books of learning.

9- ŚRT 1.5.46: «when the hermits of Śrī celebrated the worship of vessels (*pātra*), the King forgot his high rank and helped them in their worship.” (tr. Dutt, 1899).

10- Such as the Vitastā birthday and its lamp festival on the 13th day, ŚRT 1.3.53 sqq.

11- In the year 1463/4 CE the king went on a pilgrimage (*tīrthayātra*), along with Śrīvara and others, after listening to the Ādipurāṇa, ŚRT 1.5.91 sqq.

12- Even a *homa* ritual was included under his grandson Hassan, ŚRT 2.206.

13- RT appendix B1046-1056, on Śīrya Bhaṭṭa’s activities: at the King’s request he brought back Brahmins who had fled the country under Sūhabhaṭṭa. -- The “eternal customs” (*sadācāra*) of Kashmir were restored, JRT 773; and the “stream of learning (*vidyā*) was made to flow again,” JRT 772.

14- He brought Sanskrit books back from outside of Kashmir and distributed them to the Brahmins: *purāṇa-tarka-mīmāṃsa-pustakān aparān api dūrād ānaya, vittena vidvadbhyaḥ pratyapādayat*.

15- See Koul 1924. By comparison even the multilayered Brahmanical population of Gujarat has only about 100.

16- See Slaje 2007: 339.

a high post in government (JRT 823 sqq.).<sup>17</sup> Importantly, after facilitating the acceptance by the King of the newly re-imported (Paippalāda) AV, he opened a *pāṭhaśālā* to teach the Vedas, in c. 1420/50 CE.<sup>18</sup>

The historical accounts in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī about imported Veda traditions can now be substantiated by incidental, but increasingly cumulative observations in a number mss. of Vedic (and classical) texts. Though all of them were written in the local script, the medieval Śāradā, they contain hints, here and there, of influences from Northern India that will be detailed below.

First, however, some background on medieval Kashmiri Veda tradition is in order: in the absence of oral traditions during the past centuries, it mainly consists of the multitude of ritual handbooks and texts of the Kaṭha school (śākhā) of the Black Yajurveda; further a unique ms. of the Paippalāda Atharvaveda and a few of the Ṛgveda, but virtually none of the Sāmaveda.

The available written evidence for the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Atharvaveda traditions includes the mss. of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) of 1419 CE, some early Kaṭha Ṛcakas of c. 1400 CE, followed by a complete Ṛgveda ms. (RVK) of probably 1576 CE.

The oldest Kaṭha mss. (Tübingen Library, MaI 396) are written in an older type of Śāradā script; they go back, on palaeographical grounds, to c. 1400 CE, while their Saṃhitā (KS) of c. 1750 CE, is a ms. written in Northern India in the Kashmiri style Nāgarī script.<sup>19</sup>

The PS is present in just one ms., beautifully written on birchbark in 1419 CE, but unfortunately marred by having been written with Kashmiri pronunciation in mind, so that scholars could neither make head or tail of it.<sup>20</sup>

The RV exists in just one complete Śāradā ms. of (most probably) 1576 CE.<sup>21</sup> The Kashmir RV tradition includes the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,<sup>22</sup> the Aitareya Āraṇyaka<sup>23</sup> and a complete copy of the RV Khilas.<sup>24</sup> The tradition seems to be of a rather composite character.<sup>25</sup> As mentioned, the Sāmaveda is barely attested.<sup>26</sup>

Except for the Kaṭha school none of the other Vedas has maintained an oral tradition throughout the

17- See Slaje 2007: 335 sqq., also for his life; Śīrya Bhaṭṭa died (JRT 970), apparently just before Jonarāja's own death in 1459 CE. (Slaje 2007: 339).

18- RT appendix B 1267- B 1274, see Slaje 2014. -- He also built many large *mathas*, JRT 889.

19- Which incidentally is an indication of the (later) North Indian tradition of Kashmiri texts.

20- The situation has been ameliorated with the discovery of the Orissan mss. by D.M. Bhattacharyya and the subsequent editions based on them (1964 sqq.).

21- In Bühler's Kashmir collection, preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Pune, and a later partial ms. sent by Stein to Oxford's Bodleian Library, see P.E. Dumont (1982).

22- In the private collection of the late S.L. Jatoo of Srinagar: Aitareya-br. fol. 759-860. Another ms of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, said to have been written in the 18th century, is found in the National Museum, New Delhi, no. 57.106/213; in this ms., importantly, the end of sentences are marked by a small *daṇḍa* at the lower part of the Akṣaras, similar to the (oral) tradition of the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa of Kerala that marks the end of sentences by tremolo (*kampa*).

23- Included in the RVK copy, see Schefetelowitz 1906.

24- Included in the RVK copy as well, see Schefetelowitz 1906

25- The latter may be due to an import around 1420 CE of a RV tradition from outside of Kashmir, see below.

26- Apart from a few remarks by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (see VIK, ch. IV), and in some prescriptions in the Nīlamatapūrāṇa. However, the Kashmirian poet Rudraṭa (first half of the 9th century CE) was a Sāmavedin and the SV also appears in Maṅkha's Śrīkaṅṭhacarita (c.1144 CE): Lakṣmīdeva was a Trivedin (*trayī*), pāṭhabodhi, Sāmavedin, and Vedāntin (ch. 25, 89-91). There is a late Devanāgarī ms. in the private collection of the late Pt. Dīnanāth Śāstrī of Rājbaḡh, Śrinagar. It is written in regular North Indian Devanāgarī and consists of fragments of the first and second Prapāṭhakas of the Kauthuma Śākhā text of the Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā.

later Middle Ages, and even the Kaṭha one has increasingly become weaker over the past 300-odd years.

Against this background, a study of the available mss. brings up, surprisingly, several clues that point to Northern Indian influences, based on writing in Devanāgarī. I had first noticed some in my dissertation (1972)<sup>27</sup> dealing with the Kaṭha Āraṇyaka. There, a minor problem of Vedic accentuation has led me to suspect Northern Indian influence, many years ago, but a thorough, comprehensive investigation was not carried out then.

I had noticed that a few Kaṭha mss. have a symbol for the *svarita* which otherwise is found only in Devanāgarī manuscripts: a Nāgarī cipher 2, written below the line. This is quite different from the common Śāradā cipher 2. It appears without any motivation in a Śāradā Ṛcaka ms. of the Kaṭha Āraṇyaka, the Tübingen ms. MaI 396.

In the meantime I have gradually noticed several other cases. *A priori* such Northern Indian (Nāgarī) influence is *unexpected* as we tend to think the Kashmiri Veda tradition to have been strong ever since it had been copiously attested by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his Nyāyamañjarī (c.900 CE, under King Śaṅkaravarman), and that in spite of the persecution of Brahmins by Sūha Bhaṭṭa/Sayf ad-Dīn around 1400 CE.

The Devanāgarī cipher 2 is found in KaṭhĀ<sup>28</sup> 2.101: *pravargye<sub>2</sub> pravargya<sup>2</sup>m*, clearly indicating a *svarita* accent written after the syllable concerned. As the paleography of the KaṭhĀ ms. points to c. 1400 CE, this would be a timeframe corresponding to Zain ul Abidin's rule (1420-1470 CE).

The same Nāgarī cipher 2 has also been found by L. v. Schroeder "a few times" in his (much later) Ṛcaka<sup>29</sup> ms. W<sub>1</sub>; in all his reported cases, it again indicates *svarita* accent, for example: *kva2syā, hyu2gro*, again written after the syllable concerned.

Further, the only complete ms.<sup>30</sup> of the Kaṭha Saṃhitā<sup>31</sup> (KS), is written in Kashmirian style Devanāgarī. It had been bought by Col. Chambers in northern India in the last few decades preceding 1800 CE. However, about 100 chapters of KS also exist in various Ṛcakas written in Śāradā. As in the other cases reported here, an intrusion of the Nāgarī cipher 2 is found in some old Ṛcaka mss. of KS,<sup>32</sup> such as in KS 2.8, where a Nāgarī 2 has been inserted in the Śāradā originals: 14: 2 *sva2styòdṛcaméṣṭā*, with note 3: "thus in T<sub>1</sub>, *sva2styò dṛcaméṣṭā* T<sub>3</sub>, *sva2styò2dṛcaméṣṭā* BrI, *sva2styuzdṛcaméṣṭā* T<sub>6</sub>; *sva2styudṛcameṣṭā* Ch."

Further, another faint trace of a North Indian origin can be detected in the archetype of the Kashmirian RV ms.,<sup>33</sup> in RV 10.85.22 *srjah z*, compared to RV (ed.) *srja ||*. Here RV(K) has the usual marker of a Pāda end, looking like a Roman *z*, but in addition a Visarga (*h*, written with the usual two dots :). There seems to be a confusion of the North Indian (etc.) *daṇḍa* stroke with a *visarga*, which is common in many old mss., also from Nepal. Thus RV 10.85.22 (N. Ind.) *srja ||* > RVK *srjah z*; and ditto, 9.101.5 *ójasah z* RVK < *ójasā ||* RV; further RV 9.97.6: *vāhi* RVK < *yāhi* RV (due to similarity of *v/y* in Nāgarī).<sup>34</sup>

27- Teildruck 1972/74, reprinted as HOS vol. in 2004: Witzel, Kaṭha Āraṇyaka.

28- See 1974/2004: XXV n. 66, referring to KaṭhĀ 2.101, (p.131, ann. 2).

29- Schroeder 1896: 29.

30- There is a complete KS ms. at VVRI, Hoshiarpur, (now re-incorporated at the D.A.V. College in Chandigarh).

31- State Library Berlin, ms. Chambers 40; ed. Schroeder, KS 1900-1910.

32- T<sub>1</sub> is MaI 396, of c. 1400 CE; T<sub>6</sub> (at Tübingen) likewise is an old birch bark ms.

33- Scheftelowitz 1907.

34- Incidentally, the diacritical triangle attached to retroflex *d* to indicate the "Ṛgvedic *ḍ* (ḷ)" as in *agnim ḷe...* is a Kashmiri invention: it speaks against a direct, one-to-one copying of Vedic mss. written in Nāgarī into Śāradā. Instead, one could have copied the "Marathi *ḷ*" used in printed Vedic texts.

Excursus: The Kashmiri RV Khila collection may be put together based on an underlying (Indian) Śākalya text. The one-*pāda* quotes of the beginnings/ends of some RV hymns (e.g., at RVKh 4.13) indicate that the Kashmir Khilāni have – at least partially-- been based on an “interpolated” Śākala RV (in Devanāgarī)<sup>35</sup> that had the Khilas interspersed with the regular RV hymns, at least by 1476 CE, as one of the oldest RV mss. indicates.<sup>36</sup> -- Conversely, a Khila Saṃhitā must still have existed in South India in (pseudo-)Sāyaṇa’s<sup>37</sup> time, around c.1350 CE.<sup>38</sup>

Further, it is well known that the Paippalāda Atharvaveda ms. of Kashmir (1419 CE) has been reimported from some part of India (allegedly, Karṇāṭaka).<sup>39</sup> However, its only extant ms. in Śāradā has certain North Indian characteristics, such as ṣ pronounced [kh],<sup>40</sup> as well as the occasional writing of vowel ṛ by (North Indian) ri and (West/Central Indian) ru, which is unusual as Kashmiri pronunciation has ra, (a)ra.<sup>41</sup>

All of this opens up the important question whether certain Vedic texts have been reimported to Kashmir in *written* form during Zain ul Abidin’s time, as Jonarāja’s *Jainarājatarāṅgiṇī* and Śrīvara’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* indeed attest, though in general terms.

In sum, the indications of various North Indian intrusions into medieval Kashmiri Veda tradition must be studied at greater length through minute investigations of even such small features as those mentioned, and also by a further study of typical Nāgarī > Śāradā writing mistakes, as well as pronunciation variations.<sup>42</sup> This investigation should be carried out in a variety of non-Vedic Kashmiri Vedic texts, as has already occurred in two cases...

Indeed, the same kind of Northern Indian influence as seen in some Veda mss. is found in other Kashmirian texts: Slaje (2014) points this out regarding some mss. of Jonarāja’s *Jaina-RT*.<sup>43</sup> For example, there is the common Nāgarī confusion of *o/i*, of *gh/dh*, *bh/m*, -- letters that are *not* confused in Śāradā script.

The same is found in the mss. of the Mokṣopāya, where the feature is continuously met with in its Śāradā mss.<sup>44</sup>

35- Note the oldest RV mss. in Nāgarī, mentioned above. One of the oldest, of 1476 CE (Chambers 44, Berlin State Library), has the interpolated text with the Khilas, see Aufrecht 1877: III and 672.

36- This interpolation is common in RV mss., see RV, ed. Aufrecht 1877: 672-688.

37- See Slaje 2010 for the confusion between Mādhava and Sāyaṇa.

38- In his commentary of AB 6.32.1, “Sāyaṇa” (correctly: Mādhava) mentions a *Khilagrāntha*; this is also attested in the RVK Khila-Anukramaṇī (arranged in Adhyāyas), see Scheftelowitz 1906: 1sq. However, Mādhava/Sāyaṇa regards certain RVKh Kuntāpa hymns as belonging to another Śākhā (Scheftelowitz 1906: 31 sq. thinks of AV 20, clearly a very late addition to the Śaunaka texts). Uvaṭa, the commentator of the RV Prātiśākhya (at Bhoja’s court in Malwa, c. 1000/50 CE) does not mention a certain Khila hymn, see Scheftelowitz 1906: 30.

39- For a detailed discussion in see VIK Ch. XI-XIII.

40- Which had occurred earlier in the chain of transmission from a late Gupta ms. to PS(K), preceding the actual ms. PSK, see Witzel 1985 and VIK III.

41- Such unusual pronunciations have to be isolated from the general trends in Kashmirian Veda mss., see VIK, ch. III and XIII.

42- See VIK, ch. XI, XII.

43- Slaje, JRT-mss., 2014: introduction, p. 44.

44- In his letter of July 31, 2017 W. Slaje writes: “dieselbe Beobachtung habe auch ich für JRT-Mss festgehalten (s. S. 44 der Einleitung in den Jonarāja), und bei der Editionsarbeit sehen wir dieses Muster auch ständig bei den Ś-Mss des Mokṣopāya.” Cf. also Krause-Stinner, S. *Anonymus Casmitriensis Mokṣopāya. Textedition Teil 1*: Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011: XXV.

W. Slaje, in his letter of July 31, 2017 adds that many texts that were reimported in post-Sūhabhaṭṭa times must have spent a period of time in N. India (in Nāgarī garb) before they were brought back and then recopied into Śāradā.<sup>45</sup>

Perhaps one can go as far as his suggestions that the Kashmirian texts (perhaps even their majority) must have been brought to India, where they have been transcribed into Nāgarī, and after having been re-introduced to Kashmir, were re-copied in Śāradā (including the mistakes that had occurred in the meantime).<sup>46</sup>

He then voices the opinion that this kind of background has not sufficiently been observed in the study of Kashmiri texts.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, this is another task for future research concerning the traditions of Kashmir during Zayn's time (1420-1470 CE).

The observations made so far throw an important light on the post-1400 CE Vedic tradition in Kashmir. The earlier Vedic tradition of Kashmir is quoted in great detail in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjarī.<sup>48</sup> He mentions the four Vedas and quotes from: RV, Suparṇika (Adhyāya); SV Saṃhitā, Chāndogya Upaniṣad; KS, KaṭhB (Śatādhyāya-Brāhmaṇa), Kathopaniṣad, Kāṭhaka-Smṛti; Paippalāda Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (also called Pūrvottara-Br.), the (lost) Paiṭhīnasi GS and the Atharvaśiropaniṣad. He prefers the Paipp. AV, to which śākhā he most probably belonged.

Whether *all* of these traditions had disappeared by 1420, caused by Sūhabhaṭṭa's persecutions is open to debate.<sup>49</sup> For, it is remarkable that it was precisely the texts expressively mentioned by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa centuries earlier in his Nyāyamañjarī that continued to be studied, in some form, and re-copied by the reimports delineated above.<sup>50</sup>

Upon reimport, one did not, for example, substitute the PS by the Vulgate AV (Śāunaka), or KS by the Maitrāyaṇī/Taittirīya/Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā – a natural choice we might expect in Indian imports.<sup>51</sup> Obviously, there still existed clear awareness of the lost local traditions that needed to be reimported. In doing so, one kept as closely as possible to the śākhā tradition that had been prominent in the country before the persecutions.<sup>52</sup>

45- The Kashmiris like their Śāradā script. As late as the 1970s, the older Pandits preferred it to Nāgarī.

46- For example in the copying process (*u/tad*, etc. see VIK, ch. XI. Writes Slaje: "Die kaschmirischen Texte müssen demnach in großer Zahl, vielleicht sogar mehrheitlich, außer Landes in Nāgarī-Zonen verbracht, dort teilweise umgeschrieben und nach ihrem Reimport ins Tal unter Zayn dann mit den zwischenzeitlich hinzugekommenen Nāgarī-Fehlern wieder sekundär in die Śāradā umgeschrieben worden sein. Es betrifft ganz klar nicht nur vedische Texte" (that I had mentioned to him).

47- "Ich glaube, daß dieser Hintergrund bei der Überlieferungskritik kaschmirischer Texte von der Forschung bislang viel zu wenig bzw. gar nicht beachtet wurde."

48- Ed. Śukla 1936, transl. Bhattacharya 1978 (see VIK, ch. IV); it was written in c.900 CE, under King Śaṅkaravarman (883-09 CE).

49- Note that there were intermittent later persecutions, e.g. under Zayn's son Haydar Shah, Hassan (ŚRT 3.433 sqq), Fateh (ŚuRT 23 sqq.) Muhammad IV (1517-1528) ŚuRT 155, but especially under the Afghans (1752-1819).

50- Note that this includes even the rather fragmentary KaṭhB., with precisely those sections quoted by Jayanta!

51- Cf. for example, the change in Black YV tradition from the disappearing Caraka śākhā to the Maitrāyaṇī śākhā, carried out at Nagpur as late in 1916 CE.

52- Conversely, Sanderson 2009 assumes also other Vedic texts as imports, as local tradition of various immigrating Brahmins. But, there is no trace of them.

Actually, due to the constant ebb and flow seen in the Vedic traditions in other parts of India, the 20 year gap under Sayf ad Dīn may not have been as extra-ordinary as the Rājatarāṅgiṇī may indicate. There are many records of smaller or larger scale imports by early kings and those contemporary with Zayn at 1400 CE, such as the massive import of --often distant-- Vedic traditions by the Cōlas.<sup>53</sup> Yet Zayn's effort seems to have been quite extra-ordinary, involving Brahmins from virtually all parts of the subcontinent.

The end effect of this was that, like the Malamāsi and Banamāsi Kashmiri Brahmins themselves, their medieval Veda traditions seem to have been an amalgam of older and newly (re)introduced traditions.

Importantly, we can *no longer* speak of a completely unbroken tradition of Vedic Śākhās in the Kashmir Valley – as may have been our initial impression when observing the comparatively old Vedic mss. (of 1419 CE, etc.) in the Valley, after they had been discovered by Roth (PS, 1875)<sup>54</sup> and Bühler (RV, KS, etc.; 1875-77)<sup>55</sup>

This does not mean that *all* Vedic traditions have been re-imported during Zayn's time (1420-1470 CE). Yet, there is enough cumulative evidence by now to indicate that some of our currently preserved mss., often the oldest, have been re-transcribed from Nāgarī mss.

Veda tradition thus is, here as elsewhere,<sup>56</sup> more complex than Indologists have generally assumed, -- if they were interested in the transmission at all-- : 19<sup>th</sup>/20 cent. scholars usually took the mss. tradition for granted (due to the underlying exact oral tradition,<sup>57</sup> and based their editions on just a few available mss. They merely entered a few conjectures in their editions, based on such (late) mss.

Luckily there is a counter-move now by some Indologists, notably by those who study Buddhist traditions, who finally pay attention to the pedigree (stemma) of mss.

In sum, the Kashmiri case offers a fascinating facet of, and a varied glimpse into the tradition of Veda transmissions based on mss., and it should serve as warning post not to take the superficial appearance of mss. for granted. Instead, (micro-)philology still has to contribute much to the understanding of ancient and medieval India.

53- See Witzel 1986.

54- Roth 1975.

55- Bühler 1877.

56- For example in Kerala, where the older Bāṣkala RV was substituted by the common Śākala one, while keeping in its tradition the Brāhmaṇa of the previous school, the Kauṣītaki (and not the Aitareya) Brāhmaṇa, see T.P. Mahadevan 2016.

57- The Vedic tradition is vastly superior to the Iranian one of Avesta texts that was severed, especially between 650 and c. 900 CE.)

### Abbreviations

JRT	Jaina-Rājataranḡiṇī
RT	Kalhaṇa's Rājataranḡiṇī
ŚRT	Śrīvara's Rājataranḡiṇī
ŚuRT	Śuka's Rājataranḡiṇī
AB	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AV	Atharvaveda Saṃhitā
KS	Kaṭha Saṃhitā
PS	Paippalāda Saṃhitā
RV	Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
RVk	Kashmir text of Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
RVKh	Ṛgveda Khila
VIK	Witzel, <i>The Veda in Kashmir</i>
YV	Yajurveda Saṃhitā

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