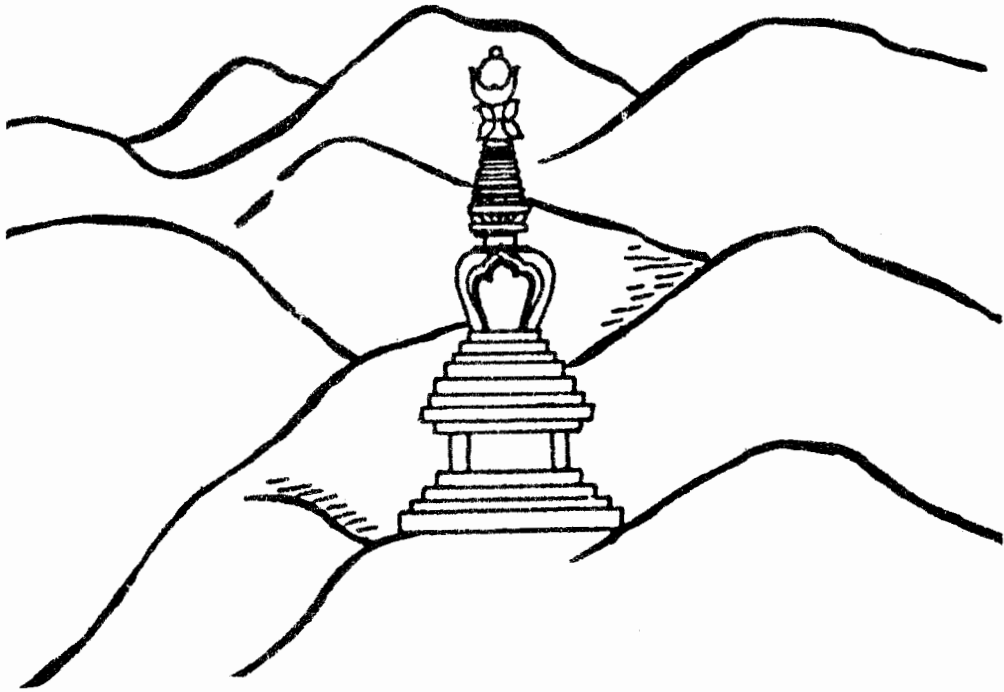


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GANGTOK - SIKKIM**

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# The Tibetan Literature And Its Development

- Suniti Kumar Pathak -

**A** literature communicated the socio cultural status of a group of human beings to describe its mind and face. The tibetan literature becomes thematically diverse. It maintains oral traditions as well as the written materials which developed through specific periods, such as:

- (i) Early period of tibetan literature (upto cent. 10 A.D.)
- (ii) Middle period of dimensional diversity (cent. 11-18 A.D. and, which may be sub divided in two epochs (a) Epochs of radical progress upto cent. 15 A.D. and (b) That of momentum of creative diversity (cent. 16-18 A.D.)
- (iii) Modern period (upto 1950 A.D.) of the literature.
- (iv) Contemporary Literature (1950 A.D. downwards ) in Tibetan.

The above periodic distribution is based on thematic relevance in the time context.

The perimeter of Tibetan literature happens to be somewhat distinct in its dimensional growth.

## EARLY PERIOD (UPTO CENT. 10 A.D.)

The heroic tales of Gesar Ling which had been popular in oral traditions, may claim to be the conspicuous evidence of the early phase of creative composition among the Tibetans and other Tibetan speaking peoples of Mongolia, China and those of the Indian Himalayas.

The tale regarding the falling the scriptures on the roof of the royal palace of Lha tho tho ri (c.4th century A.D.) probably was as symbolic myth. The script was not communicable to then seers and onlookers. In which language those scriptures were? Zhang-zhung? Urygan? Buruski?

The entrance of Bon, carried by the priests in the southwest Tibet, as the tradition speaks, during the early consolidation of Yar lungs leadership leaves meagre literary records to construct a seperate chapter. A chapter dealing with the tibetan literature regarding the ecclesiastic Bon precepts does not narrate its early period. The use of Zhang-Zhung scripts in the model of lanchana (ranjanalipi) or lancha, as claimed by the Bon po priests prior to the innovation of Tibetan scripts (cent.7th A.D.), may be hard to substantiate. Neither the Iranian source, nor the Chinese materials of the Wu dynasty records the detail about their neigh-

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bouring people of the Trans-Himalayas. The folklores and myths which have come down uptill now suggest the prevalence of verbal communication as they were then understandable to the listeners residing in the valleys and ravines of the high plateau.

The ecclesiastical hierarchy which developed subsequently, whether Bon or Buddhistic, did not appreciate such popular outlook. An emphasis was laid upon regulated vows of the human life towards the higher achievement where the mundane becomes secondary. A camera study of the Tibetan literature reveal those facts.

The Bon-po priests in 'Bru dza (zha) might claim their semblance with the speech Brukschi (or zhi) which might have been in vogue by cent. 2 A.D. in the western (praticya) country in between the down course of the Sind (hu) and the northeastern border of Iran. The specimens, as referred by Siddheswar Verma (1920), require further probing. Zhang Zhung and Brukschi or Puruski were probably in usage prior to the systematisation made by Thon mi Sambhota the 7th cent A.D. In course of systematisation Thon mi Sambhota probably took care of the then prevailing speech specimens used in popular tales, folk lores as Panini endeavoured in Western Himalayas by 400 B.C.

The Dun huang documents which refer to the Yar luns are silent about the Olmo lun/frin Bon tradition. The latter generated in the remote areas like 'Bru dza, (S)pu rans and Gu ge in the northwest Himalayas. It was admixed with the local rituals of nature-worship which subsequently became a kin to pre-Vedic Siva cult of Kashmir. Prior to the consolidated state formation in Tibet many sporadic groups of the Trans-Himalayas used to practise thier indigenous rituals. No systematisation of the faith was ventured. The Dun huang documents substantiate them. Nebesky- Wojkowitz (1956) and R.A. Stein (1957) refer to some Pre-Bon local faiths resembling to Mother Tantra which might be indigenous. Egon Von Eiekstedt (1926): the Man in India (Vol. VI pp. 237-74) traced them among some ethnic types of Western Himalayas. Moreover several edicts and inscriptions come in the purview.

Thon mi Sambhota (7th cent. A.D.) otherwise named Anu, is accredited with the authorship of Sum cu pa and Rtag 'jug pa as he endeavoured to systematise the Trans-Himalayan speeches spoken by the inhabitants of Stod bod. Its linguistic study may not be relevant in the present context. The Proto-Tibetan literature requires further researches in contrast to the speeches belonging to the neighbouring peoples of Tibet. Numerous oral traditions about 'dre, srin, khi, gdon, btsan mo, sgra gtsam, snam, a phyi lho khyun, 'bran etc. make one inquisitive regarding the nomenclature of the early Tibetan Literature prior to the growth of ecclesiastism in Tibet. Guiseppe Tucci (1980:165) aptly remarks : "In general it can be asserted that the religious practice of the layman is still strongly under the influence of the pre-Buddhist and folk heritage. he is familiar from his childhood with the epic deeds and marvellous happenings with which the literature and traditions deriving from this heritage are filled. The particular kind of religious feeling which gives life to them regulates all the relationship between



the Tibetan people and the immense, uncertain world of the demonic and the divine".

The advent of Buddhist literature in Central Tibet and its predominant role through the patronisation of the Btsan rulers was well documented. Also the support of the T'ang emperors of China, the assistance of the Buddhist teachers from Nepal with the source materials and the influx of the Buddhist erudition for centuries paved the path for the Early spread (sna dar) of Buddhism in Tibet. It was the glamorous period of the Tibetans when they could control over the Central Asian silk routes on the north and the Uigurs and the Arabs in the west. As a result of that the Tibetan language and literature obtained a wide scope to grow.

The Buddhist literature in Tibetan extends in three sections e.g. Yig bsgyur (translation work), Gter ma (revelations) and Bstan bcos (elucidatory compilations) by the Tibetan Buddhist scholars.

Pad ma 'byun gnas (Padmasambhava) is said to have been initiated by Thisong detsan (Khri sron lde btsan cent. 8 A.D.) to visit Tibet for facing the severe challenges from the Bon-po priests when the Tibetan chieftains adhered to the Pre-Buddhist Bon tradition prevalent then in 8th cent. A.D. Pad ma 'byun gnas succeeded in application of the Rnin rgyud to subdue his opponents. He therefore ensured the base of Buddhism in Tibet by installing the Bsam yas monastery in Tibet (750 A.D.).

Padmasambhava is said to have carried some Sanskrit Tantric texts from India. The Drag snags 'duspa rdo rje rtsa-ba'i rgyud (Vajramantra-bhiru-sandhimula-tantra) which was translated by Padmasambhava in collaboration with Vairocana, was one of those texts.

After the model of Odantapuri vihara of magadha, the Bsam-yas (Samya) monastery was built in 749 A.D. Padmasambhava and Santaraksita took active part in building the monastery and the latter was made the first abbot (mkhan po) there. He laboured thirteen years for the spread of the Indian thought, especially Buddhism. On account of his continuous efforts for good and welfare of beings he has been epitheted Bodhisattva.

Regarding the visit of Santaraksita in Tibet, the Pad ma'i bka' than refers to a story regarding the request made by Sba gsal snan, (also known as Ye shes dban po) to Santaraksita for preaching the Buddha's teaching in Tibet. Santaraksita is said to be present in Nepal then (c. 40 A.D.). They had taken a vow, saying : "We should establish the Doctrine of the Buddha in Tibet". And, thereafter, Santaraksita is said to have proceeded to Tibet for the cause of the Tibetan people.

The teachings of Sakyamuni the Buddha were carried to Tibet in Indian original since the introduction of Buddhism by the Indian Buddhist missionaries. The Tibetans also paid high regard to those sayings by preserving them in Tibetan translation and by codifying them as the sacred texts of the Indian. Those texts are generally known as the the kanjur (bka' 'gyur : Buddhavacana) and the Tanjur (bstan 'gyur : Sastra). The latter collections consists of the works composed by

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the Indian Buddhist exponents like Nagarjuna (1st - 2nd Cent. A.D.), Aryadeva (2nd Cent. A.D.) Asanga and his brother Vasubandhu (4th cent. A.D.), Padmasambhava and his contemporaneous Santaraksita (8th cent. A.D.) Kamalasila (8th cent. A.D.), Naropa (9th cent. A.D.) Birupa (10th cent. A.D.), Atisa Dipankara (11th cent. A.D.) and many other Indian teachers. Thus the bilateral relationship was established between the Indian and the Tibetan Buddhists.

The Kanjur (bka' 'gyur) collection includes the Vinaya texts belonging to the Mulasarvastivada nikaya of schismatic Buddhism which is partially available in Sanskrit from Central Asia and that from Gilgit in western India.

The Sutra and the Tantra texts as preserved in Tibetan translations have great importance in the Indological Studies. Actually speaking, the demarcation between the Sutra and the Tantra, as we understand now, did not prevail in olden time. The ideal of Bodhisattva who takes the vow to dedicate himself for the cause of redressing suffering of others has been elaborated in theory and in practice in the Sutra and the Tantra texts respectively. The latter has more acceptance among the common people through esoteric and spiritual achievements and their application through rituals and modalities in observances. Thus ritualistic prayers, songs and incantations of mystic Sanskrit and Dramil syllables mantra (arya and anarya respectively, invocations, physiological ritualistic dances with gesticulations (mudra), music, oracles, and mystic rites are preserved in the rgyu(d) Tantra, snag (mantra) and gzuns (dharani) texts translated from Sanskrit original.

The Tantra texts preserved in Tibetan comprised of four main traits, namely, rituals (Kriya), vowed livelihood (carya), esoteric (yoga) and higher esoteric (anuttarayoga) practices. The texts are arranged in the Kanjur in reverse order of the said four traits; while the arrangement in the Tanjur collection is occasionally based on deities with the ritualistic formulae and modalities of worship.

But what was the case of the lay people outside the Yar Luns valley ? In Mnaris 'khor gsum the Bon priests took care of them. They undertook a competitive task to provide ethno-cultural nourishment in the Tibetan literature of the Bon. Because they had no access into the Buddhist monastic environment for socio-economic background. They reproduced Gsen rab glorification at par with that of Sakyamuni the Buddha. The healthy competition lost its fervour after being loathed by potential powergame during Glan dar ma and subsequent Yum brtan regime in Central Tibet and in Western Tibet. The diversity of the Tibetan literary history become explicit herein.

The Tibetan zhang zhung (bsang sung) Dictionary published from New Delhi (1960) preserves an Old Tibetan map of the world with Pasargadae (byrus) city at the centre. In this regard David Stronach observes the following : "Turning to the details of the map at large we not only find Pasargadae at the centre of the composition-at the navel of the world to employ an expression more commonly used of Jerusalem-but we discover that the map is more or less confined to the geographical limits of the Achaemenian Empire, running from Egypt in the west

to possibly the Pamirs of Central Asia in the east. There can be little doubt therefore that the original map which the Tibetan cartographer copied or adapted was a 'world map' composed in Iran during the period of Achaemenian rule". (Tibetan Review XIII, No. 1 Jan. 1977 p 15).

Ervest Hetney, Director of Alexandar Csoma de Koros Institute, Budapest (Hungary) points out the following "From the fact that the centre of the map is occupied by Pasargadae, (the capital of Cyrus Empire) and other regions of Iran, we can obtain the result, that the map was created in Iran, and a Tibetan cartographer copied or adopted it. (But only after the 7 century A.D. since the Tibetan alphabets from the Lan-cha alphabet were adapted by Thon-mi-sambho-ta, Minister of the Tibetan King Sron-Bstan-sgam-po)". The above fact goes in favour of supporting the antiquity of Tibet during the Achaemenian rule.

### MIDDLE PERIOD OF DIMENSIONAL DIVERSITY

As usual the creative intellectual of Tibet were engaged to produce in multifarious directions, which had then been known to them. The patronage of the Sa skya hierarch enhanced the inquisitiveness of the Tibetan scholars when the Buddhist of Bharatavarsa got their asylum either in Nepal or in Tibet. The diverse literary production of the Bon teachers deserves a separate mention.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of Central Tibet had the occasion to be in torch of the Yuan emperors of China as well as the vast population of the Kokonor Mongols. Again, a fusion in the Tibetan culture could generate a new dimension of the Tibetan literature through patronage and hostility. the geography of Tibetan expanded in the north and northeast of China.

Besides the translation works from the Indian, the Chinese and the Central Asian sources, the Buddhist teachers and authors belonging to Tibet and Mongolia are accredited with the literary contribution in Tibetan about different aspects of the Buddhist thought. Those may be broadly divided into five heads.

(i) Annotations, elucidations and commentary works of the Tibetan translated works which led to further division in the Buddhist order of Tibet. Among them,

(a) Rnin ma School advocated by Padmasambhava in the 8th Cent. A.D.

(b) Kargyu School reformed by Lama Marpa (Cent. 11 A.D.)

(c) Sa-skya School founded by Dkon merag gyal po (Cent. 11 A.D.)

(d) Ge lu School propounded by Tson Kha pa (Cent. 15 A.D.) are major. Other minor schools like Karmapa founded by Rin chen dorjee, Dikhung pa, Talung pa, Shije pa grew subsequently.

(ii) Esoteric experiences (sgrub thabs) with or without ritualistic formulae (cho/ga) prescribed in the Tantra as related to deities in singular or in multiple. Such as, lam rim, ra khrid, sgrub dkyil texts were composed by eminent Buddhist teachers in their collected works (gsun 'bum). Occasionally they preserve the exposition on the particular Tantra practice. For instance. Mi bskod dkyi 'khor gyi choga and Dban don rab gsal ascribed to Tson Kha pa (Toh. 5287) belong to the Guhyasamaja class. Similarly, Dbyans can dga' ba'i blo gros composed on the

Guhyasamaja practice in his work lam gzhag leg bsad.

In propitiation of multiple deities several works are also written by scholars according to their personal experience. Tson Kha pa's work entitled (i) Rin po che'i 'phren ba and (ii) Dpal gzhin rje gsed lha beu gsum ma rnam kyil khor du dban bskur ba sgrub pa'i thabs kyil cho ga (Toh. 5339) are followed by the Dge lugs pa practitioners.

(iii) Epistemological analysis and doctrinal interpretations for general understanding. Several Buddhist philosophers like Maitreynatha, Vasubandhu, Santraraksita and Kamalasila have comprehended in conformity of the logical ground of nonsubstantiality (nairatmya/sunyata) among the Abhidharmika, the Madhyamika and the Yogacara-Vijnaptimatratra standpoints. Resultantly, some philosophical texts basing on the Prajnāparamita-Sūtras were composed with a tendency of compromise in Madhyamika Sautrantika, Yogacara-Madhyaika (Svatāntrika) standpoints. For example, Abhisamayalankara (Toh 3786) ascribed to Maitreyanath lays emphasis on such assimilation of Yogacara-Madhyamika. Tattvasamgraha (Toh 4266) of Santaraksita (Cent. 8 A.D.) with its commentary Kamalasila (Toh 4267) a comprehensive attempt in this respect.

Similar endeavours are also observed among the Buddhist philosophers of Tibet like Sa Skya Pan chen (12th Cent. A.D.), Nag Lo tsa ba (13th Cent. A.D.) Tson kha pa (15th Cent.) Gyal-ba nga ba (16th cent A.D.) who followed the legacy of the Buddhist philosophers of India.

(iv) Historical annals (deb ther) including biographies (mam thar) didactic deliberations (man nag) spiritual correspondence ('phrin yig), those of pilgrimage account (lam yig) on Buddhist culture were composed. With reference to four major tenets of Buddhist thought which developed in Tibet since the 11th century A.D. the Tibetans showed their excellence in preservation of historical records carefully. Thus an awareness of historiography could grow among the Tibetans.

A momentum in the Tibetan popular writings may be traced in snan nag (poems), sgruns (tales), tshigs bcad (metrical verses), rtsom tshig (essays) and rnam thar (biography) in the Tibetan literature.

The triangular political struggles among the Chinese, the Mongols and the Tibetans in the mediaeval period could bring forth a new dimension of the Tibetan literature when ecclesiastical authorities like Gyalwa ngapa produced important political memoirs through epistles and correspondence.

It was a fact that orthodox fundamentalist of Mediaeval Tibet decried the sentimental songs of egoideal mind of the Sixth Dalai Lama by charging them as sensuous expressions of erotic love laden mind. Yu Dawchyan (1930) remarked that the structure was labelled as the preconditions in respect of a Yellow robed one. Presumably, the lucid expressions from such exalted high ecclesiastical dignity became instrumented. The monkish garment of the poet could not hide his poetic skill and aesthetic awareness.

Innumerable metrical compositions and devotional songs could provide the mental food of the monks and nuns with a vow of attaining the aesthetic value of impulsive sentiment of *santa-rasa* overwhelmed with the Bliss (rab tu dga 'ba).

The spontaneous songs of Milarepa become the classic in the Tibetan literature.

The history of literature in Tibetan has a wide scope to cover various aspects of literary contributions. In that respect the historical writings and philosophical texts of the Buddhists and the Bon po teachers enrich the literature during its Middle period. The grammatical compositions and lexicons in Tibetan provide the base in building up the elevated literary spread in Tibet. The erudition on the traditional scriptures of the Buddhists including the Tantra (authors) and those of the Bon priests surpassed in exquisiteness.

The teachings of Sakyaputra Gautama the Buddha flourished in Mongolia since the inhabitants accepted Buddhism from the Sa skya pa teacher Sakya panchen Kun Dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251 A.D.) and his nephew 'Phags pa (1235-86 A.D.).

Prior to that, the sayings of the Buddha are said to have reached Mongolia as early as in the 4th century A.D. when the Chinese monks used to cross the Mongol-Chinese boundary. In olden days the national boundaries were not so defined as they are now. The Chinese inscription located at Yenissei of Mongolia-Chinese border shows the evidence of prevailing Buddhist thought there. The silk route crossing over Central Asia was the source of inquisitiveness to know more about the world outside Mongolia. The archaeological evidence of the murals installed in the Uighar palace in Karakorum, the Mongol capital are believed to have been collected from a nearby Buddhist temple.

The Tibetan monks were the source of inspiration to the Mongols erudites who devoted to extensive translation of the Buddhist scriptures, especially those of the Kanjur (bka' 'gyur) and the Tanjur (bstan 'gyur). The royal family members preferred to hold the Buddhist faith avowedly at the early phase. In due course Buddhism became so popular as many authors in Mongolia composed indigenous Buddhist texts in Tibetan as well as in Mongolian.

As a result of that, the Buddhist literature in Tibetan focused in a new dimension for no less than seven hundred years upto the current century.

The lineages of ecclesiastical heirarches belonging to different monastic schools and sub-schools of Buddhists in Tibet have grown for about thousand years. The unique process of re-incarnation in succession becomes an important features in the Buddhist society of Tibet and Mongolia. The literary contributions of the eminent Mongolian teachers like Spyansha rinpoche (Blo gros rgyal mtshan 1390-1448 A.D.), Leon skya Hutuqtu (Nag dban blo bzan chos ldon) 1642-1714 A.D., 'Jam dbyans bzhad pa (Nag dban brtson grus) 1648-1721 A.D., Lcan Skya Hutuqtu (Rol po'i rdo rje) 1717-1786 A.D. achieved prominence.

In spite of shouldering the ecclesiastical responsibility of carrying out the task laid down by the predecessor teacher (dge rgyan) to the junior one (dge phrug) or successor devoted to elucidate the ideas inherited in spiritual generation. The expansion of creative outlook therefore continued with the tenets of thoughts to which an author subscribed. For instance Rgyal dban rje kun dga' dpal 'byor (1428-1476 A.D.) who is said to be tenth spiritual generation of Ye ses rdo rje (1161-1211 A.D.) belonging to the Rgya clan of 'brug pa Bka' brgyud. His incar-

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nation (sprul sku) 'Jam dbyans kyi grags pa (1478-1823) and his successor Pad ma dkar po Nag dban nor bu (b. 1527) became an eminent creative author in Tantric Buddhism. Similar instance may be the cases of the Dpal chos kyi grags pa 1110-1193) of the Zhwa nag Karmapa lineage and that of Bkra sis grags pa (d. 1282) of the Zhwa dmar Karma pa lineage succeeding to Situ of Lho Karmapa lineage succeeding to Situ of Ka' thog lineages. Subsequently, Rje ran 'byun rdo rje a prominent literary personage appeared among the Karma pa lineages in 1284-1339 A.D. Also Situ Panchen deserve a special mention here.

Among the Jo-nan pa lineage which was founded by Grub chen yo mo mi bskyod rdo rje (11th cent. A.D.) Taranatha (b. 1575 A.D.) became well known for his Gsun 'bum or Collected works.

In respect of the Dge lugs pa lineage Tson kha pa Blo bzan grags pa (1357-1419 A.D.) was the mastermind personality accredited with a large number of Buddhist works in different aspects. Among the successor of the lineage the collected works (gsun 'bum) of Rgyal ba Dge 'dun grub (Dalai Lama I, 1391-1474), Rgyal ba Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama II, 1475-1542 A.D.), Rgyal ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama III, A.D.) Rgyal ba Ina ba Nag dban rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama V, 1617-1682 A.D.), Rgyal ba bdun pa Blo bzan bskal bzan rgya mtsho (Dalai Lama VII) enrich the Tibetan Buddhist literature. H.H. the Dalai Lama XIV Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho manifests his literary excellence by his recent works in Tibetan on universal brotherhood among the human beings with the suggestions to achieve the peace in the world. His Sgrub mtha snin po is an attempt to integrate the differences in Buddhist tenets prevailing in Tibetan.

Miscellaneous writings (thor bu sna tshogs) cover manifold subjects of Buddhist Studies, such as, Sgra rig (grammar), tshigs bcad (rhetoric), tshig mdzod (lexicon), gso-rig i.e. texts on medicine and therapeutics and bzo rig i.e. treatises on the arts like Buddhistic visual art, sku thang or than ka painting, temple and monastic architectural design drawing, iconometry, decorative art for internal beautification and Buddhistic performing art like 'cham, du 'khor.

The Tibetan Literature also preserves important materials on the popular sciences like astronomy, mathematics, mensuration, calculus, accountancy, chemical knowledge of the organic and inorganic matters, animal husbandry and agricultural know-how etc. Moreover, the excellence of the Tibetan workmanship in masonic technique is unique. In the field of the applied arts like painting, leather work, carpet weaving, paper making, wooden block carving, litho printing, wool processing, mineral and herbal dye preparation, wood craft, metalware technique weaving designs the Tibetans manifest their basic knowledge of sciences behind the arts. Their artisan methodology in written form delineate the extensive perimeter of the Tibetan literature. The texts on performing arts deserve mention here. Thus rig gnas Ina could not exclude the therapeutical science, and craftsmanship howsoever improvised it might be from the monastic curriculum in Tibet.

It is to mention that the Tibetans came in touch of the Arabs since the 9th cent. A.D. and they faced threats from the Muslim Chiefs of Khasgar in Central Asia

since then. In due course the inhabitants of Central Asian-principalities embraced Islam while the Tibetans adhered to either Buddhism or Bon until Baltistan was invaded by Shihabuddin (1359-78) and Sultan Sikander (1394-1416) of Kashmir. In spite of repeated attempts by the Muslim rulers of Kashmir, Tibet and Central Asia to conquer Ladakh, the inhabitants of Ladakh maintained their separate identity. Meanwhile the sectarian conflicts between Rinpoche of Ladakh and Dge lugs followers of Guge worsened the situation. Deldon Nam gyal (1648-75) had to compromise lastly with the Mughal ruler of Kashmir and accepted Islam by assuming the name of Aqabal Khan. He ordered to build a mosque at Leh in 1665. The attempts for translation of the Qurran with other writings like Kha che pha lu could lead the Tibetan literature towards a new development.

### MODERN PERIOD UPTO 1950 A.D.

The proselytism of Christianity and Islam (Aminuddin 1989) leaves a room for diversion in the Tibetan literature. As a result of that the Buddhist and the Christian translation of literature in Tibetan from external sources tended to mutual tolerance and harmony. Such tendency makes the Tibetan literature not only comprehensive but also universal.

The Christian Missionaries in India took an active part by translating the Bible in Tibetan for the Tibetan speaking people in India. It may be mentioned that the first Tibetan Dictionary in European Languages in India was composed by an Indian Missionary from Serampur of Bengal in 1926. A Roman Catholic Indian Missionary while working in the frontiers of Bhutan, ventured to collect Tibetan vocabularies with brief grammatical notes for the use of the Europeans. The name of the said Indian missionary has been now lost but his papers were edited by Mr. Schroter, a missionary of Bengal. H.A. Jaschke, a member of the Moravian Missionary, who worked at Kyelang of British Lahoul published his Tibetan English Dictionary in 1881. And his Tibetan Grammar was printed later on in 1890. In this connection, the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta played an important role for printing the Tibetan materials in those days.

The Tibetan literature had a new turn when the Gospel of Mathew of the Holy Bible was translated in the first half of the 19th cent. A.D. by Rev. William. The Scandinavian Alliance Tibet Mission at Ghoom translated the New Testament in seventeen fascicules (1903). The contributions of Joseph Gergain, Eliyah Tsetan Phuntshog show the continuity of the trend.

Special characteristic of the translations of Bible shows the development of the literature in the following lines.

- (i) In many cases the translations use local words and expressions from the colloquial language in the Kanauri translation of the Bible.
- (ii) The Tibetan script in the case of dialects is modified to show peculiarities of the local pronunciation by exhibiting many phonetic changes in Tinan, Bunan, Manchand translations.
- (iii) Conscious attempts at creating written forms of the respective dialects

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which have otherwise been written in the Standard Literary Tibetan spelling and idioms in the case of Ladakhi, Zanskari, Dzongka translations.

(iv) A lot of materials for the study of different scripts for the same phonetic system as found in translating the Bible in (a) Balti (in Arabic script), (b) Kanauri (in Tinkari & Nari script), (c) Purigskad trend., (d) Balti in Romani script.

On the other hand, the Tibetan Scholars like Mi Pham, Phyogs las nam par rgyal ba (1846-1914 ?) of Khams, Dge 'dun chos 'phel, Gyalwa cusumpa (1876-1933 A.D.) start reformation against the orthodox outlook. Dge 'dun chos 'phel and Don grub rgyal (1953-1985) had to suffer for that.

Several Mongolian Buddhist authors however continued the tradition of earlier composition. Such as, Mkhan Chen rab bstan pa Chos 'Phel (1840-1908), Mkhyan brtse'i dban po 'Jam dbyans (1820-1892), Sgo man mkhan Chen Mkhyan rab bstan pa Chos 'phel followed the tradition. Such as, Lokesh Chandra has enumerated thier literary works in his Materials of the Tibetan History of Literature. The Dalai Lama XIII continued in the field of Dge lugs and the Rnin ma authors like Gter Ston Mchog gyur glin pa (1829-1908).

### CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (1950 DOWNWARDS)

The Contemporary Tibetan Literature bifurcates from the traditional trends by the change of human values as one Worldism expands with the halo of modernity. Economic disparity, tendency of equality in social strata and urge for socialisation have prompted the Tibetans to accept Marxian thoughts after sharing the political ideology of the People's Republic of China.

Ven. Tenzin Gyatso, the Dalai Lama XIV administration in exile and the traditionally learned Tibetans outside Tibet endeavour to maintain the standard literary trend by adapting some reformed style in composition as far as practicable, in their writings by compromise with the modernism. Obviously, that makes them aware how to adjust the literary style in the changed conditions. Thus a transitional phase goes in the Contemporary Tibetan literature for the last few decades. The diversity in approaches may bring forth a new horizon with tendency towards the adaption of modernity with tradition in the human values.

Some verses may be relevant to cite here from the Contemporary Tibetan Literature.

Rgya mtsho : Bkra sis dban rgyal  
rgya mtsho'i gru la brten nas su/  
phan tshun 'brel bzan brtan po 'gyur/  
so so'i skad dan ses rig la/  
yar rgyas ni ma sprin 'bral sar//  
den san tshan rig pa kun gyis/  
dpyad nas sa snum mtsho las rned/  
rig gnas rgya mtsho thugs rje can/  
khyed kyi bka' drin sus brjed thub//



gans ris bskor ba'i yul ljons 'dir/  
 yon tan bdud rtsi char babs nas/  
 gzhon nu pho mo'i sa gzhi la/  
 rig gnas lo tog smin par sog//

The translation work from the Indian works of Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru speak about the interaction of young generation with the modern Indian Literature.

Again, the Tibetans residing in TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region) have also been enthusiastic in creative composition with their latest political trend towards socialism and Marxism. Several Journals and news papers which have been published since 1950 from Lhasa and Beijing show their literary merits with creative excellence. Moreover, Tibetan translations of Marxian works from Chinese have been popularly distributed among the Tibetans minorities of PRC.

In fine, the propensity of a literature, as it is generally understood, is elaborated by Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in the following.

"Literature is a sacred instrument and through the proper use of it we can combat the forces of ignorance and prejudice and foster national unity and world communion. Literature must voice the past, reflect the present and mould the future, Inspired language, *tejomayi vak*, will help readers to develop a human and liberal outlook on life, to understand the world in which they live, to understand themselves and plan sensibly for their future.

In that respect the Tibetan literature may claim its distinction from that which a literature refers to. A contest between monkish rigourity and the commoners in expressing the human feelings and emotions tends to a broad bifurcation in the Mediaeval Tibetan literature.

As one of the prominent literatures of the world, the Tibetan literature has a multidimensional growth within the span of about one thousand five hundred years in East Asia. The Tibetan literature becomes a varied exposition of a culture-complex which has been contributed by diverse ethnic groups. The inhabitants of Tibet since the olden days in the highland of Trans-Himalayas preserve a tendency of cultural integration in spite of their ethnic plurality. Tibet (Bod Yul) which is now politically TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region) of China, has been strategically important for being surrounded by the countries like Li yul (Khotan), Khasgar, Karasar, Horyul of Central Asia, China, Mongolia, Iran (Persia), Arab, Nepal, Bhutan (Bhotanta) and India (Bharatavarsa).

The Tibetans also endeavoured to enrich their ways of life by assimilation and compromise with the neighbouring peoples. Those are varily presented in classical Tibetan literature.

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# A Review of Sources Of History Of Tibet

- Bhajagovinda Ghosh -

Tibetan literature from the time of introduction of Buddhism from India to Tibet in Seventh century naturally got inspiration from the Religion. Its purpose was to explain the tests translated from Sanskrit, to analyse experience, relate the lives of saints, eulogize convents or glorify events, which are an expression of religious feeling, such as the consecration of temples or building of Mchod-rten.

In Tibet culture was then, and has remained to this day, the monks' privilege all knowledge centered in Nang-rig, called in India adhyatma-vidya, that is exploration of self. (Dr. Lokesh Chandra : *Materials for History of Tibetan literature*, Pt.-I-(1963), New Delhi, Int P.II). The entire spiritual tradition which India has transmitted to Tibet was elaborated anew by Tibetan masters. If we exclude the two great collections of translation ( the Bka'gyur - Buddha's words - and Bstan - 'gyur - commentaries - Tibetan canons ) which are tolerably well known from Bibliographical stand point, we must confess that the great ocean of the original Tibetan literature, the literature of Tibet proper, remains almost entirely unknown (Ibid, P.12). Vast Tibetan literature in general available in manuscript and in Block print already existing in different institutions of India and abroad.

We shall strictly concentrate here on the source of Tibetan historical records. Tibet we mean purely history of Tibet and allied literature and refer to bibliographies of historical records from available data.

When we think to write on source of Tibetan history, our attention is first drawn to the young but distinguished Russian Orientalist, A.I. Vostrikov (1904-1937). All powerful and all devouring time had snatched him away at an immature age, depriving Russia and world at large of a budding brilliant scholar on oriental sciences. But our grateful thanks go to the organizer of "*Indian Studies Past and Present*" (Calcutta) for presenting a faithful and authentic English translation of the work, entitled "*Tibetan Historical literature*, in Soviet - Indological Series, No.4 in 1970. The work was published posthumously in 1962 and edited under Roerich's direction. It brings forth a contribution to research in the field of Tibetan historical literature.

The author who, during his life-time, published only a few articles, had become a great specialist of history and philosophy of India, Mongolia and Tibet when he died untimely in 1937. (Jean Perin, *Recent Russian studies in Tibetology* (*Bulletin of Tibetology*, Gangtok, Vol.I - 2 (1964).

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In 1934 was published his Article *Bibliografiya Tibetskai literatury* (Bibliography of Tibetan literature) in the Journal "*Bibliografiya Vostoka*" (No. 3-4). This article contains a critical analysis of the article of Dr. Johan Van Manen (Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet) and some new valuable information of Tibetan historical literature. In 1936, the article was published in English : Some correction and critical remarks on Dr. J. Van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet, '*Bulletin of School of Oriental Studies*', London, Vol. VIII (1935) PP. 51 - 76) and it draw most lively attention of the Tibetologists of the whole world. (*Tibetan Historical Literature* ; A.T. Vostrikov Introductory note P.V) mention must be made of the letopis', braguzinskik buryat (*Annals of the Barguzinsk Buryat*), and the Article of S.F. Ol'denbury i izuchenic Tibetan. (*S.F. Ol'denbury and the study of Tibet* which give the outline of the history of Tibetan study in Russia and of the history of the formation of the collection of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs (the largest of the world) in the Branch of the Institute of peoples Asia (Academy of Science, USSR) (Ibid, Int. note, p VI).

A.I. Vostrikov, has given a critical review of the historical studies undertaken up to his time by scholars, which include A. Cunningham, Grundwel, E. Schlagintweit, K. Mark, A. Franke, A. Csoma de Koros, S.C. Das, Prof. F. Thomas, L.A. Waddell, C. Bell, W. Rockhill and so on. Vostrikov's critical reference to S.C. Das's work is worth mentioning here. "though the works of Sarat Chandra Das, as we shall see later suffer from many errors and inaccuracies, we can not and must not forget that it is precisely to him that the world of Tibetology is indebted for its first familiarity with its contents of a number of important historical texts in which lies his great and indisputable service to scholarship even today, many texts used by S.C. Das (often without naming them) remain unpublished, untranslated and uninvestigated (Ibid. Foot note. Int. Note P.7).

It may be noted here, that, a great extent of Tibetan Bibliographical works has already been published since 18th Century recorded books on historical works. In the appendix we shall add an available Bibliographies which are generally available in French, German and English. Most of them are lists of books, but some Bibliographies no doubt give synopsis of the Tibetan texts in English, which are useful for the researchers and scholars who have working knowledge of Tibetan and also those who has no access to Tibetan language. These are immense source materials for the study of historical data. After the period of A.I. Vostrikov, great number of Tibetologists have produced Bibliographies and contributed to the study of history. Before we refer to some of the well known scholars, we think it would be proper to refer to Pioneer of Tibetan historical studies in India and abroad.

The Hungarian Bodhisattva, Alexander Csoma, de Koros (1784-1842), ranks among the worlds' first and foremost scholars of Tibetan language, Religion and Culture (Born on April 4, 1784, at Koros in Transylvania, educated in 1815-18 at the College of Novo Enyed : Doctor of Medicine at Gottengen). To ascertain the origin of Hungarian race, its primitive home he expected to discover in the heart of Central Asia, He left Bucharest on January 1, 1819 travelled to Constantino-

ple, Alexandria, Syria, Baghdad, Tehran, Mashad, Bukhara, Kabul, Lahore, Kashmir and Leh. He studied Tibetan in monasteries in Ladakh, chiefly at Yangla, in Zanskar, during 1823 - 1826, at Sabathu, 1824 - 1825, made a third Journey to Kanum in Kunawar, studying Tibetan in Buddhist monastery till 1830; reached Calcutta, April, 1831, made honorary members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1834, studied Sanskrit and was librarian of the Asiatic Society, 1837-42, started for Lhasa in 1842, died on the way at Darjeeling on April, 11. (Life sketch from S. Chaudhury). *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies* : The Asiatic Society (Calcutta 1971). For detail one may consult Theodore Duka; Life and works of A.C. De Koros (Bibliotheca Himalayica Series. Volume 2 (1st Published in 1885) Reprinted in 1972, Manjusri Publishing House, New-Delhi).

His works may be divided into two categories, first belongs to his Tibetan grammar and Dictionaries, and the essays which were published in various periodicals of Calcutta. To the second belong his manuscripts. His essays were published in "Bengal Asiatic Researches", "Bengal Asiatic Society Journal". Out of many essays we may specially mention here the essays, *Enumeration of Historical and grammatical works* which are to be found in Tibet B.A.S.J. Volume VII, P.147, For details of his works, consult T. Duka's book, mentioned above PP. 169 - 170 and Editor's note P.II.

In this connection we may mention here that, the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) pioneered Tibetan Studies in various aspects through the good offices of the Koros.

The study in this field was enthusiastically continued by various learned scholars. First among them to be mentioned after Koros is Sarat Chandra Das (1849 - 1917). He emerged in Darjeeling with his Sikkimese Lama scholar Urgen Gyatsho. Das studied Tibetan under Gyatsho at Darjeeling where he was the Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School (appointed in 1874) - In June, 1879 he started with his teacher to visit Lhasa, and returned from Tashi Lhunpo (The seat of the Panchen Lama), after six months. At Tashi Lhunpo Das had studied Tibetan language and religion with customary zeal. In November, 1881, they again went to Tashi Lhunpo and Lhasa. In 1884 he accompanied Colman Macaulay to the Lachen valley in Sikkim and in 1885 went with him to Peking.

He founded the Buddhist text society in 1887, and served the government of Bengal as Tibetan translator from 1881 to 1904, and was elected Associate members of the Asiatic Society on December 1, 1886. He died 5th June, 1917.

S.C. Das managed to collect and bring back to India, numerous Tibetan xylographs and MSS, on religions and secular subjects. And primarily on the basis of the materials he translated some Tibetan books and essays. Some of his essays appeared in the Journal of Buddhist Text Society and Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal and other Journals during 1881 - 1915.

Here we specially mention that the translation and essays on historical aspects, which appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in three instalments, Part I-III in vol. I (1881), pp. 187-251, and Parts IV - XI in vol. LI (1882) pp. 1-85 and 87 - 128; have been edited by H.K. Kuloy in a combined

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book form entitled, *Contribution on the religion and history of Tibet* by S.C. Das, Bibliotheca Himalayaica, Series, III, Vol - I (Manjusri Publishing House, New Delhi (1970); S.C. Das; *Indian Pundits in the land of Snows* (Reprint. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta (1965 Autobiography S.C. Das. A reprint of Articles appeared in Modern Review in 1908-09 (Reprint in book form Indian studies Past and Present, Calcutta (1969), S.C. Das. Tibetan- English Dictionary (Reprint : Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi (1970), and "*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*" (Reprint : Manjusri, New Delhi (1970).

In this short essay it is not possible to elaborate contribution to Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese studies by many celebrated scholars from India and abroad. One may consult Sibadas Chaudhuri : *Bibliography of Tibetan Studies* (The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (1971). This book is a mine of information for the scholar and researchers in this field. Also John Lust ; *Index Sinicus*, A catalogue of Articles relating mainly to China (and Manchuria, Mongol and Mongolia; Tibet, Sinkiang and Central Asian Connections, Hsi-Hsia, (Tangut), Hong kong and Macao) in periodicals and other collective Publications 1920-55, (W. Heffer and Son Limited, Cambridge England (1964), we are not aware whether the next vol. has already been published or not.

Without going into detail we think it is fair to mention the following authors in the field of historical studies in Tibet-Sir C. Bell, Nalinikanta Bhattasali, S. Commann, A David Neel, H. Hoffmann, M. Lalou P.L. Mehra, P. Pelliot and for modern scientific study, L. Petech, T. Wyllie, Hugh Richardson, A. Popov, R.R. Boneson, and G.N. Roerich. Specific mention may be made to the outstanding scholars for profound study in the field of Chinese Turkestan, Khotan and Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan to F.W. Thomas. His voluminous works on Tibetan documents concerning Chinese Turkestan were published in J.R. A.S. 1927-34 in seven parts. These papers have been published in a combined book form by Luzac and Company Ltd., London, (1951), in Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, volume XXXVII, for the Royal Asiatic Society, with a preface by F.W. Thomas in 1948, with the Title "*Tibetan literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan*" Pt-II documents (1951) pt.I Literary Texts, (1935). Another work by the same author is worth mentioning - *Ancient Folk Literature Form North-Eastern Tibet*" (Akadamie - verlag - Berlin Jahrgang 1952 No.3 (1957). The geographical and linguistic introductions and also chapter-wise introduction furnished valuable data about pre-historic Tibet.

Aurel Stein : Serindia, The classical works, *Detailed Report of Exploration in Central Asia and Western-Most China* in vols. I- V, (vol.IV- being plates and plans), (Oxford, The clarendon Press (1927) and Aurel Stein : Innermost Asia in Parts I-II. Detailed Report of Exploration in Central Asia, Kun-Su and Eastern Iran (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press (1928).

Here we may mention another antiquarian, A.H.Franche, for his work -*Antiquities of Indian Tibet* : the chronicles of Ladakh and minor Tibetan chronicles, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series Vol.-I (Calcutta Government Printing, India, 1926). Lastly we shall refer to the well-known explores in



Tibet for outstanding scientific researches in the wide field of South Asia, Inner Asia etc., professor Giuseppe Tucci; (his monumental work, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Pt.I., The historical cultural and religious background (12th-18th centuries) (La Libreria Dello stato Roma, MCMXLIX : It contains an artistic and Pl.231-symbolic illustrations of 172 Tibetan Paintings prefaced by a survey of the historical, Artistic, Literary and religious development of Tibetan culture with an article by P.Pelliot on *Mongol Edict*. The translation of historical documents and an Appendix on pre Buddhistic ideas of Tibet. Vol.II. Pt. 3. Description of Thankas (Tibetan Painted Scrolls); PT.4 Sources and documents dealing with original sources of Mongolia and mostly of Tibet. Following contents of this part are most essential for the study of Tibetan historical aspects :-

- (a) Un rescrit Mongol en acriture 'Phag-pa by Paul Pelliot;
- (b) The 5th Dalai Lama's Chronicle
- (c) Dam C'os Kyi 'byun ts'ul
- (d) dpag bsam ljon Bzan
- (e) The genealogies of Za Lu
- (f) The chronicles of Gyntse
- (g) Za Lu documents
- (h) Bu-ston's request to the Master Byan C'ub rgyal mts'an

His other works in serie Orientale Roma, *Like Minor Buddhist Text* in several Parts G. Tucci : The Tombs of Tibetan kings (1950), Turrell Wylie : *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal* (1970) etc. are important for being translation from the Tibetan sources.

Before we discuss about modern writers on Tibetan history, we think it will be unjust not to mention the famous Indian explorer to Tibet Mahapandita Rahula Sankrityayana. He visited Tibet in 1929, 1934, 1936 and 1938. Spending fifteen months in the first and six months in subsequent trips. He visited monasteries at famous centers like Saska, Shalu, Ngor, Rta-nag-thub sten, Kundeling and spo-Khang, and collected a large number of Photographs of Sanskrit manuscript, now kept in Bihar Research Society, Patna, many of them have been published from "Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute", Patna. Rahulji's first and foremost interest was on Buddhist logic like - another scholar Pandit Satish Chandra Vidya Bhushan. But he (Rahulji) has also contributed to historical development of literature and genealogy of the scholars and kings. We may mention a small but very informative book in Hindi - *Tibbat main Baudha dharma* (Buddhism in Tibet). He has given interesting description of different Tibetan Buddhist order.

His magnum opus, however, is *Madhya Asia Ka Itihasa* : in Hindi, in two Parts (Bihar Rastrabhasa Parishad, Patna (1956- 1958). Jolly Mohan Kaul's English translation is available. This book can be placed second to Henry H. Howarth's "History of Mongolia", (New York, Burt Franklin (Pt.-I, 1876) Pt.II (2 vols. 1880), Pt III (1888) Pt.IV (1927).

Recent studies in Tibetan history has entered a new phase with participation

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and collaboration of Lamas and modern educated Tibetan scholars. This actually started after the Red Chinese occupation of Tibet in early 1959 and Tibetan Refugee influx to India, Nepal and Bhutan led by his Holiness The Dalai Lama. Many Tibetans broke the ancient barrier in study of historical materials and took to study of history in scientific line. Tibetans are capable of presenting the world a genuine history of Tibet.

In this respect first to mention H.H. The Dalai Lama's book *'My Land and My People*, memories of the Dalai Lama. It is dignified testament by the spiritual and temporal head of Tibet. Although it is mainly an autobiography but occupies a large portion dealing with modern political development of Tibet and is appended by some documents. It is one of the heart breaking documents ever published. First Tibetan version came out under the title "Ngos Kyi Yul dang Ngor Kyi Mi" dmangs in 1962 (Dharamsala, H.P.). English version of the same edition by David Howarth, appeared in 1962. (Asia Publishing House, 1962). There are Hindi and Oriya translation of the work.

Next to this, an outstanding book on Tibet is Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa; *Tibet : A Political history* (New Haven and London, :Yale University Press, 1967). The author started compiling this book in Tibetan Language as early as 1951, after he finally came to India after the Agreement was signed in the spring of 1951 between Tibet and China in Peking.

The Tibetan version was published by him (Shakabpa House, Kalimpong in 1976 in 2 volumes). This is a most authentic political history of Tibet comprising the early, mediaval and modern periods. First volume deals with general history, empire of early kings, struggle for religious survival, formation of relationship of lama and Patron-priest relationship and emergence of the Dalai Lamas. This continued in 2nd vol.including the modern period beginning from the young Husband's military Expedition (1904), Chinese invasion and Tibet's struggle to maintain its independence and further rapid political development and turmoil in Tibet, Communist Chinese inversion, seventeen - Article agreement between China and Tibet. Tibetan Revolt and the flight of Dalai Lama and his people in India and Nepal. Author has used 57 original Tibetan sources and some rare government records. It is an extensive Bibliography of original Tibetan Genealogy of Kings. History of Religion, biographies, Archival materials including oral traditional data. Lastly in the Appendices, three agreements have been included,(a) The Lhasa Agreement of 1904 between Great Britain and Tibet, (b) The Urga Agreement of 1913 between Tibet and Mongolia (c) The Simla Agreement of 1914 between Great Britain, Tibet and China. It may be noted here that when a Tibetan source is cited in a footnote, no page number is given. Although contrary to Western Academic Methods, this practice is traditional in Tibetan Historiography. Beginning with the earliest known Tibetan Histories, only the title of a cited work was given - apparently on the assumption that a literate person would be able to locate the page concerned (Ibid. Foreword by Turrell Wylie P.IX).

The Tibetan works and Archives founded by H.H. the XIV Dalai Lama, at Dharamasla, Himachal Pradesh, 1971, has undertaken a monumental publica-

tion of *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* in Tibetan version only by Khetsun Sangpo (9 Volumes) of which Vol-I contain biographies of Arhat, Siddhas and Panditas of India(1973). Siddhas and Panditas of Nyingmapa School (ancient) Tibetan Buddhism (1973), Volume III, Pt.II - The same preparation, Vol.IV Pt. -I under preparation, Pt. II - rnying ma pa tradition (1973), Vol. V, School established by 'Atisha' Pt. I - The Bka'gdams pa traditions (1973). Vol. VI - Pt.I The Bka'gdams Pa (1975). Volume VII Pt. - I - The Bka'Brgyud pa tradition (1977) . When complete in 8 parts (9 physical Vol.) It will be one of the indispensable source materials for all interested in historical traditions in Tibet.

The compiler Lama has utilized a number of rnam ther (biographical texts), Rgya gar chos 'byuing (*history of Buddhism in India*) by Lama Taranatha (1575 A.D.) for Vol.I. Rnying ma tradition of Bka' ma and Gterma Oral tradition and Hidden treasure (these precepts go back to Mahaguru Padma Sambhava (from Udyana- swat valley) who visited Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan in 8th Century) and only Rnying ma chos ' byung, compiled by a great saint and scholar Bdud 'joms Rin po che of Kalimpong (1964) (For vols. III - IV). And Ka dampa and dge lugs pa Reformed sect) Amdo - chos 'Byung, the bka gdams portion of the Deb ther sngon po (blue Annals translated by G.N. Roerich) Asiatic Society, Calcutta), Lam Rim bla ma Brgyud pa'i.rnam thar, a History of Gelugpa, accounts of Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas, and Dga Ldan Khri (Abbots of Gaden Monastery of Lhasa). For Vols. I-VI. and for Vol. VII - the compiler utilized well known sources of history of Karma pa tradition and biographies of successive incarnations of the Blackhat and Red hat Karma pa, Tai si-tu of Dpal Spungs (Khams - eastern Tibet) the Rgyal tshabs of Mtshur phu (the seat in Tibet of Gyalwa Karma pa), the Dpa'bo of Gnas nang etc. And for all the volumes he utilised available sources in India and Japan's Toyo Bunkyo, where he worked for a number of years. Excepting Taranatha's history of Buddhism in India and go lotsawa's Blue Annals, rest of the source materials are in Tibetan only. For future project on history of the library of Tibetan works and Archives we shall discuss in the concluding portion of this article.

In 1976 the Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, which started functioning in 1958, proposed a major project of the phgotomechanic transfer of the voluminous work *Rinchen Terzod*, 61 Volumes and over 50,000 pages. Reprint of five volumes, including the Index volume, has already been done within the framework of the Atisa Publication programme, the principal Tibetan Biography of Jawa Atisa in original format (photo-machanic) with an introduction in English, *Kadam Phacho* by Domoton, Chief Tibetan disciple of Atisa has also been brought out in two parts. The last and concluding volume is yet to come out.

The Institute of Tibetology has been publishing a quarterly "Bulletin of Tibetology" since 1964, and the issues bear many Articles on Historical aspects. We mention a few, Jean M. Perrin : Recent Russian Studies on Tibetology - A Bibliographical survey (B.T. Vol. I-2.P.17, 1964; Turrell V. Wylie : *The Tibetan tradition of Geography* (B.T. Vol.II-1, P.17, (1965),. Founder Director of Tibetology, Gangtok, Prof. N.C. Sinha has contributed articles on Tibetan polity and inner

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Asian history, and a young Sikkimese scholar Tashi Densapa has contributed an Article, "A Short Biography of 'gro mgon chos Rgyal 'phags Pa". (B.T. New series No.3, 1977).

Modern period for study of Tibet started after the opening of Tibet by the then British Indian Government. It is popularly known as young Husband expedition to Tibet. For political involvement of China and Russia in the affairs of Tibet, one may consult Tieh- tseng li; '*Tibet : Today and Yesterday*'. (New York, Bookman Associates 1960) for young Husband expedition the following books are suggested : Sir Francis young Husband : *India and Tibet* (London 1910). 1903-4 expedition, is an event of the utmost significance in the recent history of India's political relationship with her neighbouring countries. Before we refer to some books on the subject we would mention one article by Parshotom Mehar : "*Beginning of the Lhasa Expedition : Young Husband's own words*" (Bulletin of Tibetology, Vol. - IV No.3, 1967. Best and exquisite account of the mission is found in 'Times' special correspondence, Percival Landon : *Lhasa : subtitle - An Account of the country and people of Central Tibet and of the progress of the Mission sent there by the English Government in the year 1903/4, Vols. I-II* (Hurst and Blackett Ltd. London, (1905) Reprint. For an account of the political issues and physical difficulties involved in the expedition, vide Edmund candler : *The unveiling of Lhasa*, 3rd impression, (London, Edward Arnold 1905). This book also deals with earlier mission of Bogle and Turner to Tibet. Papers relating to Tibet in 3 parts (Presented to both houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty), London. ed. 1920 (1004), cd 2370 (1905), cd. 540 (1910).

Following the period the great Sweedish explorer presented the world existing story of his adventure in the classic SVEN HEDIN : *Trans Himalaya - Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet. Vols. I-II* (Macmillan And Co. Ltd. London 1910 Vol. III, 1913). Among many other books by Hedin, we may mention books - *Central Asia and Tibet and Adventures in Tibet* (Hurst and Blackett Ltd., London, 1904). There are numerous writer old and new on descriptions of travel and exploration in Tibet but we shall name a few of them like Alexander David - *Neel's High politics in Tibet* (Asia 43, 1943), I. Wetch : *The Missions of Bogle and Turner according to the Tibetan Texts* (tougng Pao 39, 1950); *Notes on Ladakhi History* (Indian Historical Quarterly, (1948), *A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh*(Jhy, 13 (1937) Suppl. 15 (1939) : *Tibetan Ladakhi Mongol War* (IHQ 13 (1947), A. Popov : *TIBET (Russia and Tibet, (NOVY Vostok 18, 1927, pp 101-119; 20-21 (1928) p. 33.54). R.R. Boneson : The Role of Tibet in Asian Affairs, (Eastern World, 3, London, 1949).*

Hugh Richardson : *A Ninth Century Inscription from rKong po* (JRAS, 1955) Tibetan inscriptions at Zva hi lha khang (JRAS, 1955) and a book on modern political history of Tibet by the same author - *Tibet and its History*(London, Oxford University Pres (1962). Richardson, a leading English speaking specialist scholar on history and language of Tibet, spent more than two decades in Asia - China, India and Tibet. He held diplomatic posts at Lhasa and Chungking. William Woodville Rockhill, *Tibet : A geographical, Ethnological and Historical sketch,*

derived from Chinese sources, (extracts from the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1891, and *The Land of the Lamas* (Notes of a journey through China, Mongolia and Tibet).

After a long gap of many decades International Academy of Indian culture Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi, founded by celebrated orientalist Dr. Raghu Vira has undertaken a comprehensive work for publication of Satapitaka volume. Dr. R. Vira has edited and translated many Mongol and Tibetan texts. After his sad demise, his worthy son Dr. Lokesh Chandra continued the arduous job, so far more than 76 volumes of Satapitaka series have already been brought and by I.A.I.C. These include voluminous works on Tibetan - Sanskrit Dictionary, Mongol Dictionary and literary works. We shall now mention some Mongol-Tibetan historical works. Sata pitaka series are indispensable source material for the study of Mongol and Tibetan and allied civilization.

To begin with, Prof. Raghu Vira's "Expedition to China" (Hindi) Ed. by Dr. Lokesh Chandra and S.D. Singhal; printed 1955 and published 1969 by I.A.I.C., New Delhi, s.p. vol - 76 is an informative account of Dr. R. Vira's expedition to China, Inner Mongolia, Central Asia and Inner Tibet in search of material for his grand project of Indo-Asian literature to which he gave the collection of Satapitaka.

*Indo Asian Studies* Parts I, Ed. Dr. R. Vira Satapitaka Volume 31, 1963 New Delhi:- (Mongol text). There is an scholarly Article, outline of Thob Yig (Manual of What Way received) Gsal Bahi Melong by Alex Wayman. Ibid, Pt. II s.p. vol. 37, 1965, two interesting essays have been contributed (a) Blanche Christine Olschak : *A Archaic Tibeto-Indian Relations* an essay on Tibetan Pre-history, pp. 129-149). (b) Catalogue of the Bon Po Kanjur and Tanjur p.161 - Ed. by L. Chandra and Lopon Tenzing Namdak.

Catalogue Du Tanjur Mongol Impressions Ed. Dr. Rintchen, S.P. Vol. 33, (1964), New Delhi. In the Introduction Dr. L. Chandra gives an enlightening notes on history of Mongol Canon.

Dr. Lokesh Chandra : *The Golden Annals of Lamaism*- Tibetan version entitled *Ngor chos -hbyung* of Blo-bzang-rta-mgrin (Born 1867 at Kijung Gung at Gobi), S.P. Vol. 34, 1964, New Delhi. A rare History of Buddhism and Tantrism among the Mongols upto the present century with a forward by the editor.

*Four Mongolian Historical Records* (Mongol text) Ed. by Dr. Rintchen with a foreword by Dr. Raghu Vira, S.P. vol. II 1959, New Delhi : at the end is a history of Mongol tribes (in English).

*Four Mongolian Historical Records* (Mongol text) Ed. by Dr. Rintchen with a foreword by Dr. Raghu Vira, S.P. Vol.11, 1959, New Delhi , at the end is a history of Mongol tribes (in english).

In recent years many Tibetan individual lamas or monastic institutions have brought out voluminous reproductions of Tibetan literature, which include, religious history, biography, some encyclopadic works on revelation, contemplative and liturgical practices etc., mostly in photo-machanic reproduction with prefaces or scholarly foreword by modern experts. Here under we shall refer briefly to a few such publications. The forewords of some of these works furnishes upto

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date information on historical or biographical data, which are useful for comprehensive research of Tibetan civilization.

In 1976, The Sikkim Research Institute proposed a major project of the photo-mechanic transfer of the voluminous work - *Rinchen gter mdzod-dpal spungs* edition (Khams-eastern Tibet), precious collection of Hidden treasure - Rnying ma pa (Ancient Buddhist Order in Tibet), canonical works - 61 volumes and over 50,000 pages (Folios). Reprint of five volumes, including (Karchag) has already been done with a preface in English, Within the framework of the Atisa publication programme the Principal Tibetan biography of Jowo-je Atisa Dipankara Shrijananav (C,980 - 1054) in original format with an introduction in English, *Kadam Pha Chos* has also been brought out in three parts.

Kadam Pacho : Life and Teachings of Atisa by his Chief Tibetan disciple Domtonpa (Part I, II & III) Tibetan Text with Introduction in English. Published by SRIT. 1977-81 (1990) and Kadam Bucho : Dialogue of Atisa with Domtonpa and other disciple (Part I - II) has been published in Tibetan original format Tibetan Text with Introduction in English in 1977-81 and 1990 respectively. The Institute has also brought out Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-Dbang-Blo-Bzang Rgya - Mtsho's (1617-1682) sungbum, collected works on external and internal teachings in 25 vols. in 1991-1994.

Another edition of Kong-sprul-Blo-gros-mtha'yas (1813-1899) a voluminous work *Rinchen Gter Mzod Chen Mo*, a reproduction of the "stod lung mtshur phu" redaction of 'Jam mgon kong sprul's great work on the unity of gter ma (Hidden treasure) tradition of Tibet, with supplementary texts from the Dpal-spung redaction and other manuscript. Paro (Bhutan) : Ngodrup and Sherab, so far 108 volumes already published under the order the Dingo Chhenche Rinpoche and under esteemed patronage of H.M. Ashe Kesang ; Queen mother of Bhutan, and H.R.H. Ashe Phuntsho Chosdron, senior Royal grandmother, Text is the Tibetan and preface in English. These are Encyclopedia of Rnying ma pa contemplative and liturgical practices. Library of Congress, Accessions List India. vol.18, No.12, New-Delhi., (December, 1979). The above stated volumes no doubt reflect much information about the development or orthodox Tantric Buddhist school of Tibet. The U.S. Library of Congress Accessions list vols systematically furnishes information concerning upto date Tibetan publications.

Here we shall mention two more important Tibetan Publications of historical value.

*Taranathas Life of the Buddha and Histories of the Kalachakra and Tara Tantra*, Edited and reproduced by Ngagwang Gelek Demo with a foreword by Professor D. Sagfart Ruegg (New Delhi, (1971), Gaden Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel series volume XX).

*The Secret Biography of the Sixth Dalai Lama, Tshangs Dbyangs Rgya Mtsho (1683-1706, A.D.)* by Dar Rgyas no mon han Lhun grub dar rgyas, together with a collection of Diographies of eminent Geluk pa master by Rong po grub chen-

skal Iden rgya mtsho reproduced by N.G. Demo (New-Delhi, 1970).

Like Professor D.S. Ruegg, another American Leading modern scholar on history of Tibetan kings and religion, E. Gene Smith has contributed many learned and informative forewords to modern Tibetan prints. He was associated with library of Congress, New Delhi.

Before the conclusion of the introductory remarks, we would like to mention a few modern historians on Tibet. It is to be noted here that we have already referred to some recent studies on Tibet. Notwithstanding we shall make some specific mention. But we shall deal with the modern studies on Himalayan Region like Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and the like.

We have already referred to the collections of Sata pitaka series of Dr. Raghu Vira and his son Dr. Lokesh Chandra. We think it will be fair to mention the modern pioneer workers on source materials for the study of Tibetan, Chinese, Inner Mongolian, people's Republic i.e., outer Mongolia, Buryat Mongolian Autonomous Republic of U.S.S.R. the Kalmukh and other related histories.

After A.I. Vostrikov, we think Dr L. Chandra is the first Indian scholar in the field to present extensive sources materials of Tibet and allied countries. In his work *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* in 3 parts (International Academy of Indian Cultures, New Delhi, 1963), he has mainly discussed in systematic chronological way, the non-cannonical Tibetan works a very extensive and important category of Sumbums (Spelt as gsung- 'bum) which are collected works of great saints and thinkers of Tibet. "These collections have been held in the highest veneration by the literates of various Mongolian and Tibetan peoples. They are of prime importance for evaluation the contributions of the Tibetan and Mongolians in every field of the five sciences of learningh ("Ibid, Pt.I P.15-16). He has elaborated history of collected and other literary works like Bibliographies (kar-chag), autochthone bibliography of book (Tho-yig) which cover from 14th to 19th centuries and included modern bibliographies from 1846 by I.J. Schmidt and D. Bohtlingk *Verzeicliniss der Tibetischen Hand- Schriften und Holzdrucke im Asiatischen Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bulletin Historico-Philologique de Lacademic Imperial des Sciences de St Petersburg*. Pt. IV; Nos. 6,7,8, 1962. This de la valles poussin; *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun Huang in India Office Library, Oxford*.

For modern historical works we would like to first mention histories of "Bon" (old animist - shamanist religion which at one time was widespread not only in Siberia but throughout the whole of Inner Asia). Sir Charles Bell : *The Religions of Tibet*, (Oxford, at Clarendon Pres, (First Publication, 1931). Reprint 1968, 1970 Oxford University Press.

Helmut Hoffmann : *The Religions of Tibet* - Translated from German by Edward Fitzgerald, (George Allen & Unwin LTD, London, 1961) (German version Karl Alber Verlag, 1956). The same author explains the phenomonon of ancient Bon in a Book - "Quellen Zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Bon-Religion, Pub. in the proceedings of the Academy of Sciences and Literature, Mainz (1950).

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David L. Snellgrove : *The Nine Ways of Bon*, excerpts from Tibetan texts *Gzi-Brijid* edited and translated, (London, Oxford University Press, 1967), This is the first attempt to give a coherent account of the whole ranges of "Bonpo" teaching.

Samten G. Karmay : *The Treasure of Good Sayings : A Tibetan History of Bon*, London Oriental Series, Vol. 25, (Oxford University Press ; 1972) In this book the author has edited and translated Tibetan work -*Legs Bshad- Mdzod*.

A critical article has been contributed by professor Per Kvaerne, *Who are the Bonpos* in the journal "*Tibetan Review*" vol. XI. No. 9, (1976, New-Delhi). He has critically examined the traditional Tibetan Buddhist mis-representation of Bonpo minorities.

There are many books on various Tibetan Buddhist order, we have referred to many works in the foregoing pages. One is however, suggested to consult L.A. Waddel's *Lamaism or Buddhism in Tibet* and books by H. Hoffmann, Sir C. Bell and R.A. Stein's, *Tibetan Civilization*, the French version Published (Dunod, 1962). This English translation by J.E. Stapleton Driver (Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1972).

OPedro carrasco : *Land Polity in Tibet*, (Seattle University of Washington Press, 1959).

Prof. Nirmal Chandra Sinha : *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity* (Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969). Prof. N.C. Sinha : *Tibet Consideration of Inner Asian History*, (Calcutta, Firma K.L.M. 1969) Professor N.C. Sinha : *A History and Religion of Tibet* published by Ambika Gharan Bosu, (Calcutta, 1975) Professor Ram Rahul *The Government and Politics of Tibet* (Delhi, Vikas Publications, 1969).

We have already referred to H. Richardson's important studies of Modern History of Tibet.

Very few books are written on eastern and north-eastern Tibet. No doubt there are narratives of journey of the region of Tibet. But no history of kings has been written. One of the best known books in this respect is Eric Teichman's : '*Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet* - together with a history of the relations between China, Tibet and India (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1922. At the end of the book Itinerary and tables of distances, Heights and temperature have been added. Andre Guibaut : *Tibetan Venture in the Country of the Gold Seats-* Second Guibaut-liotrad Expedition, translated from French by Lord Sudlay (Reders Union / John Murray, London, 1949). Marion H. Duncan's : *The Yangtze and the Yak* (Alaxandria, Virgnis, 1952) is a book on adventurous trails in and out of Tibet. The writer is a missionary, Geographers and explorer. He has added detailed maps and itineraries of the journey.

Alan Winnington is the first English journalist to have been allowed freedom of travel throughout Tibet since its merger with China, He was guest of the two grand Lamas (Dalai and Panchen Lamas and of Chinese Government). He has given an exhaustive narrative of a crucial stage, when silent but violent changes, were taking place in a Tibet region of China. A. Winnington : *TIBET - Record of a Journey* (London, Lawrence & Wishart Ltd. 1957). The author has added appendix No. 1 and 2. "*The Chinese-Tibetan Agreement of May 23, 1951*" and



"The British Treaty of September 1, 1904" respectively.

Hereunder we mention some important works on studies on Tibetan history, J. Bacot. F.W. Thomas and Ch. Toussaint : *Documents de Touen Houong relatifs a l'histoire du Tibet* (Paris, 1946), S.W. Bushell : *The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources* (JRAS, New Series, 12 (1880) pp. 435-441).

E. Brets Chneider : *On the Knowledge Passed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs*, (London, 1871)

Fillipo de Fillipi : Editor, *An account of Tibet* ; The travels of Ippolito Desideri, (London, 1923).

Sir Charles Aitchison : *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Stands Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*. Vols. 12 and 14, (Calcutta 1929 - 31); A.V. Rau, ed. *Dalai Lama and India*, (New-Delhi, 1959); Bunkyo Akoi ; *Study on Early Tibetan- Chinese Chronicles* (Tokyo, 1955); Tsung lien Shen and Shen Chi Liu : *Tibet and Tibetans* (Palo Alto, 1953) ; Erik Harrha : *The Identity of Tsu Chih Chien, The Tibetan "King" who died in 804 A.D.* *Acta orientalia* 25-7-2 (1953) 121 - 70, Zahiruddin Ahmed : *China and Tibet, 1708 - 1959* (Oxford, 1960).

The Signing in Peking on May 27, 1951, of the 17 - Point Agreement on measures for the so called peaceful liberation of Tibet marked the end of Tibet's latest forty year interlude of de- facto independence and the history of Tibet entered into ultra- modern period. Many books and articles have been published on modern political trend in Chinese - Tibetan - Indian relationship. We do not want to burden this paper by detailed discussion on those works. Hereunder we only mention a few of them.

Let us first mention the leading monthly - Tibetan Review, which seeks to provide a forum for a free and frank discussion of the question of Tibet and to present to the world the aspirations and just demands of the Tibetan people. This periodical is published from 16 Jor Bagh, New-Delhi - 3.

Among the contributors there are many young Tibetan scholars and authorities on Tibetan affairs, like H.E. Richardson, Prof. Nirmal Chandra Sinha and others.

Information and publicity of H.H. The Dalai Lama, Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala, District - Kangra, Himachal Pradesh, has published popular books on modern Tibetan affairs . (a) *Tibet under Communist rule*, The contributors are 27 escapees who left Tibet between 1958 and 1975, originally in Tibetan and translated into English, along with a number of interesting, relevant documents. (b) *Tibet : The Undying flame* : by Kunsang Paljor, The author defected into India in 1969. He wrote and published Tibetan version of the book in 1970. He is already listed as an authoritative source of information on present day Tibet in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (15th Edition, 1974). The information & publicity office also publishes a bi-monthly magazine, lastly we mention an authoritative account on the subject : George Ginsburg's and Michel Mathos : *Communist China and Tibet - The first dozen years*. (Martinus Nijhoff - The Hague, 1964).

First attempt has been made 213 pp. book to present a systematic examination of all the controversial issues of contemporary Sino - Tibetan relations. Se-

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lected Bibliography of books, Monographs and Articles attached to the book are very important for study on contemporary Tibet.

We have already referred to the periodicals exclusively devoted to publications of essays on various aspects of Tibetan civilization such as (a) *Bulletin of Tibetology* (a quarterly published by Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok & (b) *Tibetan Review* : (a monthly, Delhi). Besides these we mention hereunder some periodicals carrying profound study on Tibetan, Mongolian and other relevant regions. (a) *The Tibet Journal* : A quarterly - high quality international publication presents original and authoritative articles on all aspects of Tibet : (published by the Library of Tibetan works and Archives, Dharamsala, District Kangra, Himachal Pradesh).

(a) Tibetan Bulletin, on official journal of Tibetan administration in exile,

(b) India quarterly

(c) Journal of the (Royal) Central Asian Society,

(d) Institute for the study of the USSR Bulletin

(e) China Reconstructs,

(f) American Journal of International law,

(g) Acta Orientalia, a quarterly, publishing papers on oriental philosophy and cultures in English, German, French and Russian. Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Akademiai Kiado, Budapest.)

(h) Zentralasiatische Studien, Annual, Publishes papers in German, English. Des Seminars Fur sprach - und Kulturwissenschaft zentralasiens der universitatat Bonn Kommissionsverlag otto Harrassowitz Wiesbaden). This is at present a leading Journal devoted to the research in the field of Tibetan & Mongolian studies.

(i) Journal of the West Chinese Border Research Society.

(j) Indian Year Book of International Affairs (Madras University)

and many other journals in India and abroad publish papers on Tibetan affairs.

Lastly we should mention here that some books which were written on Tibet in the 18th Century and in the first two decades of 20th Century also dwell at length on adjacent region of Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal and even Assam, Frontier region : Scholar such as L. Austin Waddell : Wrote the *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (Cambridge, W. Haffer and Sons., 1958. reprinted at Manjusri publication, Delhi (19.....) and by the same author *Among the Himalaya* (New York, New Amsterdam Book Co.,.....).

Captain Samuel Turner : *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet*- containing a narrative of a Journey through a Bootan (Bhutan) and part of Tibet. (Printed by W. Bulmer and Co., Cleveland Row, London, 1800) Reprinted : Manjusri publishing House, New Delhi, 1971 by H.K Kuloy).

Dr. David Field Rennie : *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War* (London, John Murray, Albemari Street, 1966). (Reprinted : Manjusri, New Delhi 1970 by H.K. Kuloy).

H.H. Rishley : *The Gazetteers of Sikkim* edited by the Bengal Government Secretariat, Calcutta, 1894 (Reprint : Oriental publishers Delhi, 1973).

J. Claude white : *Sikkim and Bhutan* - Twenty one years on the North - East

Frontier 1887 - 1908 ; (First published in London 1909) Reprint : Vikas Publishing House, Delhi 1971.

Francis Buchanan Hamilton : *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and Territories annexed to this dominion by the House of Gorkha*, First published in 1819 - (Reprinted : Bibliotheca Himalayaica, Series 1 - vol. 10 Manjusri, New Delhi, 1971). There are many old and current books of which we have mentioned a few.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed different phases of Tibetan history and referred to the most authentic source materials, which will furnish immense data to the scholars in this field of research.

Historians of Tibet and Tibetan speaking countries while writing history of religion or biographies, legends etc., were generally or rather naturally conscious of and concerned themselves with "Chos" Dharma/ethic, religion. They were not so much concerned with modern historiography and history as a science, in modern sense. Although Tibetan "rnam thar" or "Itihasa is a constituent part of five sciences of learning (*Rig-gnas/vidya- sthana*). In the older vedic lieterature the word "*Purana/Sngon byung*" usually occurs in connection with 'Itihasa' and originally it meant simply "Old narrative" without any special significance as to the character of the narrative. According to classical definition, however, a *Purana* is supposed to deal with five topics (*Panca - laksana vis.*, (i) *Sarga* or creation of the universe; (ii) *Pratisarga* or re-creation after destruction; (iii) *Vamsa* or genealogy; (iv) *Manvantara* as the great period of time with Manu as the primal ancestor; and (v) *Vamsanucarita* or the history of the dynasties both solar and lunar. The classical age - the history and culture of the Indian people, Vol-III, Ed. R.C. Mazumder (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954 - pp. 291-92).

The definition of *Purana* is almost entirely applicable to the religious and legendary histories of Tibet.

Although we do not find the word Manvantara in the famous Sanskrit - Tibetan lexicon *Mahavyutpatti* - (Tib: Byed brag tu rtog pa) which was compiled in Tibet in eighth century A.D. during Dharamaraja Khri - srong - Ide'u tsan reign in Tibet, but we find the word Manu-ja (progeney of Manu) the Tibetan equivalent of which is Ced(shed) - las skyes - (serial No. 4675) Ced-bu (Serial No. 4675). Japanese edition), also C'ed-bu-las-skyes, S.C. Das. Tibetan, English, Dictionary, In the same lexicon we find Tibetan equivalents for Purana (i) Sngon - gyi rabs MV. Serial No. 4970) (ii) Gnas- rabs, (iii) Gna'i-rabs M.V. Sr. No.-7129.

Buddhist legends or Canons have generally adopted the concept of *Kalpa* (Tib. equivalent or adaption - Bskal-pa) for fabulous period of time, the various ages of the world, each of which has been presided over by its Human Buddha respectivaly, even there is a Sutra in the Buddhist canon known as Bhadra-Kalpa-sutra, (mdo- sde-bskal-bzang,) the happy or glorious period in which the Buddhas appear, so we find in Buddhism that Manu have been replaced by the Buddhas.

The concepts of solar or lunar dynasties have also been accepted by the Buddhists for instance, Bhagiratha (Tib. Skal-Idan-shing- rta) name of a king, of

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the solar race who is said to have brought the river Ganga to Jambudivipa (India) from heaven, is regarded as one of the ancestors of the Buddha Sakyamuni (S.C. Das : A Tibetan-English Dictionary P.87). It will not be relevant to illustrate the theme further. So we may go back to the principal point of discussion.

In history in modern times, Since eighteenth century, various western political, Social and Ethnological ideas have been accepted by the scholars of orient as authentic mode of study for their source materials.

In Tibetan historical records of the early propagation school (Rnying ma pa - ancient followers of Buddhism of Tibet and Bka'- Brgyud pa-oral traditional sect of seventh to eleventh centuries we observe "something" doctrinal Tug of war between Indian and Chinese teachers. The glories of the holy land Phaga - yul which had already produced such famous figures like Padmasambhava, Santarakshita and Kamalasila, rose, not much later, beyond all challenge through the influence of famous Buddhist universities of North India, such as Nalanda and Vikramasila and were crowned by the visit to Tibet in the middle of eleventh century, of the great Indian Pandit Atisa, H.E. Richardson : foreward to the book Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity by Prof. Nirmal Chandra Sinha. Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay (Calcutta, 1969).

In the 12th century, Tibetan scholars and saints came into contact with the Chinese, Mongol and other Mongoloid people, and a result we see fusion of a new turbulent and mighty civilization from inner Asia with Tibetan culture. The cultural and religious face of Tibet even till recent years has been shaped by two main forces :- The Indian missionary religion of Buddhism on the one hand which dominated the scenes outwardly and determined the fate of the land of Snows for over a thousand years, and the autochthonous Tibetan outlook and way of life; which, though outwardly defeated, has nevertheless filled all the spiritual and psychological channels of the country's national life, Helmut Hoffmann : *The Religions of Tibet* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London 1951, p. 14).

It should be noted here that Tibet had matrimonial and cultural contact with China in early seventh century A.D. during the reign of Historical Tibetan king Srong-Btsan-sgampo (born 600-617 A.D.), 33rd Tibetan King in succession according to S.C. Das; *Contribution on the Religion and History of Tibet*, Manjusri, New Delhi, 1970 (Reprint). The first monarch of Tibet was enthroned (Nyakhri-btsan po) in 417 B.C. And during the reign of Dharmaraja Khri-srong-Ideu-btsan (38th succession, 730-33 A.D. to 666 A.D.), Chinese sage, Hashang Mahayana arrived in Tibet and Indian Pundit Kamalasila held long controversies with Hasang and at the end defeated him. The king put down the Bon and heretic religion or unbelivers in Buddhism. This showed 8th-9th century Tibet had some cultural link with China.

Before the final victory of Dharma (Buddhism) in Tibet in early nineteenth century A.D., Buddhism had several encounters with Bon. Firm evidence of Buddhism as state religion in Tibet can be traced from about 820 A.D. for the good reason that the Three Jewels were invoked as witness in the famous treaty (821/22) between Tibet and China (N.C. Sinha : *Prolegomena of Lamaist Polity Firma*

K. L. Mukhopadhyay, *Calcutta* (1969) P.8.

In 1360 the Mongol (Yuan Dynasty) in China was overthrown and succeeded by Ming dynasty. In the beginning of 1369, emperor TaiTsu, founder of the Ming dynasty, ordered the court to complete the official history (shih) of the Yuan. Sixteen Yuan scholars worked on the Yuan documents and completed the work in a year, the work was supervised by the emperor himself. The YuanShih preserved valuable records of Tibet and Tibetan Governments during the Mongol (Yuan) period (Ibid P.71).

Tibetan historians after this period while compiling legend history of Tibet also recorded the events of Chinese and Mongol dynasties and chronology of the kings. Historians of the above stated period no more concerned themselves with only history of Tibet proper.

Tibetan literature, in its vastness, abounds in historical works and chronicle of which the first examples so far known are those discovered in Tun-Huang. We have already referred to the fact in the foregoing pages. These chronicles register with great accuracy, the year in which events took place and leave no doubt that the Tibetan accepted this habit of chronography from the Chinese. In later works, the introduction and the spread of Buddhism substituted the interest in religious history and in political events. In other words, the *Rgyal-rabs*, "royal chronicles", became *Chos Byung* "records of the way in which religion spread".

For the period we mention above, we may refer to here, the outstanding historical works of Sum-pa a province and that of a monastery in Amdo abbot of (Sum pa - mkhan po) ye ses dpal 'byor (1704-1776). Dpag Bsam Ljon Bzang ('Phags yul rgya nag chen po Bod dang Sog Yul du dam pa'i chos Byung Tshul dpag bsam ljon bzang - a history of Buddhism in India ('phag yul), China mahacina (rgya-nag Chempo), Tibet (Bod) Mongolia (Sog-Yul), preceded by the rehu mig as chronological tables - chronology in Tibet, is a part of rtsis (such as bstan rtsis - chronological events of spread of doctrine). This was derived from China and India. It should be noted here that in Tibetan chronicles dates are reckoned according to Chinese sexagesimal system, which results from the combination of the twelve cyclic animals and five elements, each of them corresponding to two of the so called "stems". Each cycle therefore composed of 60 years, is called Rab-'byung/Prabhava, csoma de koros in A grammar of the Tibetan language states; Sanskrit and Tibetan names of the years in the Cycle of Sixty years, as they are reckoned South of the river Nermade, in India, and in Tibet P.150 and the calculation starts from the year 1027 A.D. : When a cyclic is completed, another one takes its start. 1027 A.D. is the year of arrival of Atisa in Tibet, dpag bsam lgon bzang was compiled in 1748 A.D. S.C. Das edited the Tibetan version only with contents of chapters in Tibetan and English (Calcutta, 1908), S.C. Das had presented a summarised translation of a biography of Sumpa (rnam-thar) in JASB 1880 pp. 37-39). The same book has been translated and ed. by Dr. A Chattopadhyya and Dr. Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan entitled Tibetan Chronological Tables of Jam-Dbyans-Bzad Pa and Sum-Pa Mkhan-Po, pub. Central Institute of High, Tib, Studies, Sarnath, 1993.

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In a critical edition in Tibetan of *pggsam jonzang* the introduction by G. Tucci and scholarly preface by a noted modern writer on historical relation between Tibet, China and Mongolia, Luciano Petech, survey of Sumpa's Life can be seen. Dr. Lokesh Chandra (International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi, 1959)

One point about the authenticity of the Sum-pa's "rshu mig" or chronological tables is worth mentioning from G. Tucci's forward, "that all the dates given by Sumpa mknan-po should be accepted without examination, this is another question which invests the problem of his accuracy : he used no doubt the materials available to him but there are some cases in which his sources do not agree and he was compelled to make a choice : whether this was a happy one or not, must be decided after a careful examination and a critical appraisal of the sources. As we gather from what he tells us at the end of the *Reu mig*, he himself was not always sure to have guessed properly and in order to prevent his accuracy from being censured, he quotes many discrepancies and even contradictions in the very work of his predecessors, from *Gzon nu dpal* to *gangs rgyas grya mtsho* (Bid p. XI) lastly it is interesting to note for the benefit of the student of Tibetan history that Sumpa/khanpo, has recorded the principle events of Tibetan history from first *Rab jung*/ Tibetan 60 years cycle corresponding to 1027 A.D. to the Twelveth *Rabjung* 1687-1746 A.D. The editor has given a critical survey of life and works of Sumpa in the introduction.

For the genuine study of political religions and social history of Tibet, one has to draw upon scriptures and canonical literature, as necessary data for the study of Lamaist Church/lamaist state and lamaist Polity that is origin and development of institution and characteristics of Lamaist state, besides original histories and biographies of eminent Tibetans. Another edition of the Tibetan text with English translation by Dr. Alaka Chattopadhyay and Sanjit Kumar Sadhukhan, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi 1993.

Lamaist polity is clearly connected with the practice of Vinaya rule and gradual development of Sangha.

The same author rightly observes "Political events in Tibet, as elsewhere, were no doubt the reflex of socio-economic forces, the fall of ancient regime and rise of new order was a historical norm. The new order being a monastic regime would naturally seek sanction in scriptures : N.C. Sinha, *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity* (Calcutta , 1969 P.3).

In the Yuan (Mongol) period in 13th century, Manchu empire became paramount power of central and eastern Asia, after having crushed the long and valiant resistance of Dsungars of the Ili valley, Contemporary events in Tibet may seem to be rather in the nature of a by-play in this tenacious struggle. But Tibet, because of its unparalleled religions influence, played a role much more important than it seems warranted by its strategical and economic factors; (Luciano Petech : *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century*, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1950).

Many scholars in Europe and America based their study of political relations of Tibet's Dalai Lama and Manchu emperors of China on the Chinese sources

and the materials left by the catholic missionaries in Tibet. The Jessuit Desideri and Capuchins, decided the future of Tibet for nearly two centuries, the political condition then created, lasted till 1912. Rockhill : *The Dalai Lama of Lhasa and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors of china*, in T.P. XI (1910) pp. 1-104 based on the Sheng-Wu-Chi of Wei Yuan in 1842 (A translation of the 5th chapter of Sheng Wu Chi), concerning the Chinese relations with Tibet, was undertaken by Jametel, *Histoire de la pacification du Tibet*, in *Revue de l'Extreme Orient* 1(1882),pp.572-592 : It was never finished, and the account stops with the year 1718, Another translation of the same text was by Ivanovskij, *De La conquete du Tibet Par Les Chinois*, in *museon - III* (1884), pp. 165-181; but this version never went beyond the first pages and the last one of several works called *Tung Hue Lu* of Wang Hsien Chien, published conrant, *L'Asie Centrale an XVII est XVIII e Sisclars*, *Annales de l'universite de Ljon*, *Nouv. Serie fasc. 26*, 1912.

*Huenish, Bruchstück Aus Des Geschichte Chinas Unter der Gegenwertigen Dynastie*, I : *Die Eroberung von Tibet* T.P. XII(1811), pp. 197-235 and 375-424, translation of 37 official documents concerning the Tibetan campaign of 1718-1720, from the Manchu version of the *Chun-ko-erch-fang-lueh* (Ibid.P.1).

Four chief Tibetan works relating to the period were for the first time utilised by G. Tucci in *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Pt. 3;1949) and details of the works can be seen from L. Petech's above mentioned work. For the information of scholars hereunder we make a brief reference to them.

1. The life of the seventh Dalai Lama Blo-Bzang Bskal Bzang Rgya Mtsho (1708-1757 A.D.) : (Short tibetan title - *Dpag Bsam Rin Po Che'i Snye ma*, ff. 558. Woodprint in the private library of Professor G. Tucci, Rome.

Author of this work in Tibetan is Ichang-skya Rol Pa'i rdo rje Ichang The editor of Mongolian *Bstan- 'Gyur* (Buddhist canon) died in 1786.

Petech observes "But upon closer scrutiny it reveals itself as rather disappointing. It is concerned strictly with religion and its ceremonials. Even very important events of political history are ignored" (Ibid P.3).

2. The second work - *Autobiography of the second Tashi Lama* (Penchen Lama) Blo Bzang Ye shes Dpal Bzang Po (1663-1737) (Short Tibetan title - *Ngor Dkar Can Gyi Phreng Ba*. ff. 400, woodprint in Prof. G. Tucci's private library, Rome. It is unfinished and its arrangement is analistic, with one of the most painstaking exact chronologies ever found in Tibetan literature, the day and month of every event being given. But it has the same drawback as the first one (Ibid P.3).

3. The third work is the Autobiography of the third Tashi Lama - *Blo-Bzang Dpal - Ldan - Ye shes Dpal Bzang Po* (1738-1780 A.D.) (short Tibetan title - *Blo Bzang Dpal Bzang ye shes dpal Bzang po'i zhal snga nas nam par thar pa*, ff.375) complete woodprint in Prof. G. Tucci's private Library, Rome. It is built much on the same lines as the preceeded work, of which it shares all the merits and defects.

4. The fourth source, and by far the most important, is the *mi dbang* which is

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the biography of Bsod - Nams Stobs - Rgyas, of pho lha, ruler of Tibet (King for the missionaries) from 1728 to his death in 1747. Its author is Tshe - Ring Dbang - Rgyal of Mdo-mkhar. He wrote during the lifetime of his hero, and high position gave him every chance of a good inside knowledge of the events of which he was a witness. Thus this work is marked by a high degree of trustworthiness. There is of course the drawback of a strong bias in favour of Pho Lha Nas, of whom the author is an enthusiastic apologist. Another defect is the vagueness of the chronology : only seldom date is given. Woodprint of the complete work is in the private library of Prof. G. Tucci, Rome (Ibid. P.4).

Some minor works have been utilised as complement of the four works mentioned above. There are two chronological tracts by Klon Rdol Bla ma Ngang Dbang Blo Bzang. They were written about 1990.

A small booklet - Long Ba'i Dmigs Bu (Guide of the Blind), is a kind of manual, intended for the official class, describing the seals of the Dalai Lamas and the regents. It is arranged in a chronological table, the year being always given as heading.

There is a collection of the biographies of the Khri-Rin po che or abbots dG'a-IDan Monastery. These abbots, who rank third in dignity and influence after the Dalai Lama and the Tashi Lama (Panchen Lama) comprises the livers of Khri Rin po che, beginning with 47th of the series (on the see 1699-1700) and ending in the 77th (on the see 1828-1829). The single biographies were compiled by various authors between 1810 and 1831, also in the private library of Prof. G. Tucci, (Ibid, pp. 4-5).

Another very important Tibetan Manuscript in Tucci's possession is dpal-stag lung ga zhi'i gdung Rabs, ff. 448, concerning the history of chiefs of Stag-lung (a place north-east of Lhasa According to S.C. Das a district north of Gtsang). It is a valuable local chronicle rich in interesting side lights on Tibetan history of particular interest to us is its 36th and last chapter. (ff.387-442), containing biography of Tshe Ring dBang rgyal (Ibid, Addendum, P.263).

More Chinese, Manchu and Mongol records are still available only original which are valuable source materials for intensive study and research on relationship of Tibetan Religio-political system and Tibet's relation with Yuan (Mongol), Ming and Manchu dynasties. While discussing nature of Tibetan history we have purposely chosen this period of varied political interest for the shadowy form of suzerainty of Menchu over Tibet till 1705, which they inherited from the Yuan and Ming dynasties.

Chinese policy towards Tibet during the reigns of K'ang hsi, yung ching, Ch'ien lung (1661-1796 A.D.). One can see the conclusive chapter 16 for systematic analysis of the period by L. Petch of the above mentioned book.

Even some records in Tibetan give interesting insight into Chinese, Nepalese, Tibetan relationship. It would appear that some times the Nepalese ruler sent his present through the envoys despatched by the 'Bri-Gung Pa abbots (of Kajyutpa sect) L.Petech : Mediaeval history of Nepal (C 750-1480), series



Orientalis, Rome. (1958), P. 205. How-Hsien's biography is found in the ming-shin (history of Ming dynasty) Ch. 304 ff. 4b-5b. He first went to 'Bri-Gung (Digung), and in 1427 again to the phagmo gru pa (Phagmodupa) rulers at central Tibet and to Nepal. (see the text translated by Tucci., Tibetan Painted Scrolls, pp. 682, 689, 693) His other field of activities lay on the Hoeres of Southern Asia. He accompanied the admiral Cheng Ho in some famous voyages and in 1415 he himself was placed in-charge of Chinese embassy to Bengal. P. Pellilot : *Les Grand Voyages Maritime chinsir, in T'oung Pao, XXX (1933), PP. 314-320*: J.J.L. - *Duyvandak : The true Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expedition in T'oung Pao, XXXIV (1936), PP. 303-304 (Ibid, note P. 205).*

Yang San Pao was an eunuch whom the Ming Emperors often employed in delicate missions abroad. He was repeatedly sent to Tibet to carry presents to the Sa-Skya Pa abbots and rulers, and was despatched on the same errand also to the 'Bri Gung Pa abbot 1411 A.D., He was in Central Tibet, whence he came back in 1413, only to be sent again on this mission. He went to Tibet once more in 1419. See also, Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls. pp. 686, 689, 693 (Ibid. P. 205).

We have referred to the events of Sino-Tibetan history to show the existence of such Chinese materials which throw light on the political relationship of the two neighbouring countries.

It is evident from history of India, Nepal and Tibet, that Tibetan Buddhism descended from trans-himalayan regions. Nepal was the route through which Brahmanism alongside Buddhism penetrated into Tibet. Some places in Nepal carry great weight in the history of relations between Tibet and Nepal. Kuti and Kirong, for instance, are too such places. Some of information found in certain Nepalese documents sheds occasional light on the vicissitudes through which Kirong passed. To give an example, from an inscription of Pratapamalla in Kathamandu, Which gives the genealogy of the Malla family, We find the record of the campaigns of the king against the Tibetans, and the conquest of Kuti and Kirong (G. Tucci : Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal), Rome, Series Orientale Rome. Instituto Italiano Par it medio Ed estremo Oriente, 1956, P.2).

During the time of Tibetan geographical work, 'Dsam Bu gling rgyas Bshad (Geographical narrative of the world. 1820 A.D.) the division is no doubt adopted in between man-yul (Mar.Yul) of Ladakh and Man-Yul of Kirong (Ibid P. 74).

The above stated work of which full title is 'Dzam-gling-chen-po'i-rgyas-Bshad-snod Bcud Kun gsal me long zhes bya ba ("The mirror which illuminates all the inanimate and animate things and explains fully the great world") ff. 1(a). 146(b). This book occupies important position in Tibetan literature. According to the editor of the Tibetan section of the text, Turrell V. Wylie, writes the work deals with the geography of the world in general, but its chief value lies in the section of Tibetan work dealing with the geography of Tibet in toto.

The author of this text was an incarnate Lama called Bla-ma-Btsan-po also known Smin-grol-no-mon han, whose seat is Dga Ldan Dam Chos gling monastery in Amdo (north Tibet). Unfortunately, no biographical data on this lama has

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been found to date the Tibetan sources. It appears, however, that Vasilev, had access to some information on him. Since he only states in introduction of his *Geographia Tibeta* that this lama the Assistant of the Consistorial Administration of the lama and their Monasteries in Peking in the twenties and thirties of the last century and the lama dies in 1839 (Turrell V. Wylie : *The Geography of Tibet* according to 'Dzam gling, rgyas bsad. Text and English translation, Rome. (Series Orientals Rome, Vol-XXV, 1962 P. XIX). We are not going into detail of the book ; our only purpose is to show here that, a subject of geographical interest narrated by a Tibetan official in early 19th Century and his wide (although not always accurate) knowledge of the countries of the world - Mythical and modern. He narrates geography of Nepal (Bal-po), India ('Rgya gar), Tibet (Bod), Africa (A-Phi-ri-Ka), The middle east : Arabia (Arbi-ya), Persia (par-sig), etc. Tartary (hor), Europe (yo-ro-pa), Arctic Ocean ('Khyag-pa'i-rgya-mtsho), North America (A.mi-ri-ka-byang ma), South America (A-mi-ri-ka-lho-ma), Caribbean : Cuba (ku pa), Puerto Rico (Phar-thu-ri-ko) Etc. Shambhala (Sham-Bha-la). Shambhala was originally the name of actual country, lying north of Sita river (TPS, PP-599-617) S.C. Das says it may have been the capital of Bactrica (Das : *Tibetan-English Dictionary* P. 1231) more can be seen in the note (G. Tucci, T.P.S. P.XVIII).

In compiling Tibetan section of geography, it is obvious that Bla-ma Btsan Po used Tibetan works, such as chronicle (lo-rgyus), histories (chos-'byung), Biography (nam-thar), guides (lam-yig), and indexes (dkar-chag), (Ibid, P.XVII) - For further study of Tibetan geography one is suggested to consult important modern works : referred to by T.V. Wylie in P. XXXVI, besides bibliography or Tibetan Chinese and Western sources in PP. 235-238).

The same author edited and Nepalese section Dzamling Gyashad entitled *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal* in series *Oriente* Rome, XLII, (1970).

Partial translation of Indian section of geography, with notes and glossary of rivers, Fruit, vegetables, flowers, Animals, gems, clothings, birds, Insects and Fish by Dr. Lama Sherab Rhalzhi, Reader in Tibetan Lucknow University U.P. Department of Sanskrit, has been published in *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Gangtok, N.S. No. 2-1984, N.S. No.3-1985.

Although we are not concerned here to discuss the nature of Tibetan literature, yet we have already made reference to general type of Tibetan literature and canonical literature which are generally philosophic and religious in nature, and naturally, is not compared with profane literature, which embrace thousands of original production that have been written in Tibetan by authors known or anonymous, popular works in Tibet which although are impregnated with religious sentiments constitute what may be termed "profane literature" of the Tibetan.

This includes production of different kinds : history, legend, poetry, geography, travelogue, chronological data etc. as well as technical books dealing with medicine, astronomical and astrological calculations, etc.

One such profane literature includes some very famous works and the most celebrated of all is the "Gesar of Ling Epic" (Gesar/Kesar-new-born). The Tibetan

national poem. There exist several versions of the fabulous history of Gesar. The Gesar of ling epic of the Iliad of Central Asia, The Hero who has given it his name is as well known and popular with the Tibetan as with the Manchus : his adventures are recited round lake Baikal as in the Altai Mountains. Temples that are dedicated to Gesar have been found in China. (vide - forward by Sylvain Levi to Alexandra David - Neel and the Lama Yongden : The Superhuman life of Gesar of Ling, Rider and company, (London. Revised edition 1959 - First published in English 1933). In this article we do not intend to go into various scholastic and controversial points - whether he (Gesar) is not to be recognised as Kuan - ti, the War God adopted by the Manchu Emperors; or whether in the name of "Gesar" there is not to be found a distant echo of "Caesar" which undoubtedly penetrated into Mysterious depths of Asia. It has been recognised that certain of episodes in the Epic have been borrowed from those romantic tales of Alexander the Great. The romantic tales of Alexander the Great, had no less charm in the east than in the west.

The original nature of the work has been much discussed; some declare it to be Buddhist; others anti-Buddhist; others again see in it a Solar Myth that symbolizes winter and spring.

Mongolian version of the work has been accessible to the Europeans readers for nearly a century; J.J. Schmidt made a German translation of it as early as 1839. For detailed study of historical, religious and other aspects of the various Tibetan version of the Epic, one may consult the work stated above, and the introduction by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Preface to Moravian Missionary A.H. Francke's work - *A Lower Version of the Kesar Saga*, Tibetan with English translation, (Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905-1941). Both A.H. Francka and A. David - Neel opine that the Gesar Epic holds some position in Tibet as the Ramayana in India.

For the review of publications of various versions of the Epic in different western languages one may consult the above stated two works.

R.A. Stein has critically edited with Tibetan text along with French translation *L'Epopée Tibétaine de Gesar* (Presses University De France - in the *Annuaire Du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque D'études - Rome LXI, Paris, 1956*). This is Gesar (Kesar) version of Lha-gling, ff. 1-III(a).

Dr. S.K. Chatterjee in his introduction elaborated various aspects of the Epic. Here under we quote the relevant portion to show the nature of the epic.

"From the seventh century on wards, right down to recent times, attempts were frequently made to strengthen Buddhism in Tibet and at the same time to suppress entirely the Bon religion. But Bon faith never died out, Tibetan life retains a good deal of its Bon bases. And the Bon religion too, in the form in which it survives in Tibet. From the Epic stories about the Tibetan Hero-king Kesar and from popular songs collected in Ladakh by Dr. A.H. Francke, himself attempted to deduce and describe a Bon Pantheon, which as he suggested, represented the Bon god-world in its Primitive form unmixed with the notions of Lamaistic Buddhism (Tantricism and Mahayana). Because this pre-Buddhistic

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religion and pantheon as deduced from the Ladakhi poems and the Kesar tales different in certain important respects from the later, systematised Bon religion and Pantheon - that of the B-sgyur-Bon" (Introduction to Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga by Francke, PP XIII-XV).

Like the great epics of India, VIZ, Mahabharata and Ramayana Gesar epic also impressed the Tibetan artists, Dr. S.K. Chatterjee has referred to the existence of Thankas, (Painted scrolls) Bon and Buddhistic deities in musee Guimet (Ibid : Int. P.XXI).

While discussing literary and cultural importance of the Kesar Saga, Dr Chatterjee remarks "the story must be admitted to be great, quite Epic in its conception, and at par with that of the Iliad and of the odyssey, of the Ramayana, of the Niblung Saga, and with some Irish tales" (Ibid. Int. P.XXIV). The great epics of India appealed to the people of greater India like Southeast Asia, Central Asia, In the like manner Kesar story had its appeal for people other than Tibetan who came to know it. "The Mongols and the Manchus have made it their own. And it penetrated from Ladakh into the state of Hunza Nagyr, in Kashmir, and among the Burushaski people, from whom a folk tale has been recovered (The Burushaska Language by Lt. Col. Larimer. Institute for summenlignende Kulturforskinning, Oslo, 1935. Vol II, Text and translations, No. IV, pp 100-179)(Ibid : Int. P. XXVI).

Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, possesses a 14th century Tibetan Ms. entitled Tagzig - Norzang (Stag-gzig Nor Bzang) Kesar's exploits in Persia.

A less known but versatile scholar in the field of Chinese- Tibetan - Mongolian history and literature L. Ligeti contributed a paper entitled Un episode d'original chineise du "Gesar quan" in Acta Orientalia Hungarica, 1,2-3, Budepest (1951) pp. 354- No.24.

Dr. Siegbert Hummel former Professor at Eastern Asian history in several universities of Germany. A well-known scholar of cultural history and ethonology of Northern Buddhist countries has contributed a very interesting article on Gesar Three Tibetan studies in the Ge-sar epic Bulletin of Tibetology, Gangtok Vol XI - 2, P.5 (1974). Very recently Nicholas Poppe a leading authority on Mongol dialects and history has critically reviewed a book by Mr. M.P. Xomonov in the Journal Zentralasiatische Studien, des seminars fur sprach - und Kultur-Wissenschaft Zentralasiens der universitat Bonn, No. 13 (1979).

The book entitled, The Buirat hero epic "Gesar", the Ekhirit - Bulagat version, Academy of sciences of the USSR. The Siberian division, the Buirat Branch, The Institute of Social Sciences. The Buirat book publishing house, Ulan Ude, (1976), 186 pages.

The book deals with problem revolving around the Buirat oral Gesar epic to speak precisely, the version spread among the Ekhirit and Bulagat, two Buirat tribes inhabiting the area north-west of lake Baikal.

Many Tibetan Monastic Institutions now flourishing in India, have several recensions of the Kesar epic. When all the different version will be translated

and comparative study is made, these will bring many ancient historical episodes and geographical data into lime light and will ascertain many so far unsolved problems of the people of Tibet, China, Manchu, Mongolia and adjacent countries.

We have already discussed the marked characteristics of Tibetan historiography. The historical literature predominantly history of Buddhist order and legend of the kings. The Tibetan historians are interested not so much in political history of Tibet. Political histories of Tibet were actually studied and books were written on them by mostly western scholars. As in the case of every country of the world, the process of historical development followed distinct social structure of the Tibetan society, and to find out real nature of the history through the Tibetan view points. Whether the process of historical development is feudalistic or whether Tibetan historical literature belongs to the dominant feudal class we are not entering into these debatable points.

While A.I. Vostrikov is critical in ascertaining true character of Tibetan historiography, he says, "All this however, does not deprive Tibetan historiography of its scientific value, though its marked weakness for the history of Buddhism and often inadequate attention to "Civil" history make it inferior to Arabic and Chinese historiography for instance. This nonetheless does not prevent it from being a very important and authoritative source in its field.

Tibetan historical literature is a basic and most important source for the history of Tibet, for we have no real historical acts, inscriptions and archival documents at our disposal". (A.I. Vostrikov : Tibetan Historical literature, Soviet Indological Series, No. 4. Indian Studies Past and Present 1970, P.60) one can also see the very important note No.174, on comparative studies on Tibetan Inscriptions by A. Francke - Prof. F. Thomas (Ibid. P.60).

It is no doubt worth mentioning here that before the introduction of Buddhism from India to Tibet in seventh century A.D., Bon religion was predominantly prevalent in Tibet, although its history and characteristics are still subject to considerable uncertainty. In early documents we find text on purely Bon faith. But from twelfth century onwards there are allusions to Buddhist concepts one can see in the interesting book by David Snellgrove : *Nine Ways of Bon* and R.A. Stein : *Tibetan Civilization*, Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1962 (English Trans. 1972).

We have referred to the work of A.I. Vostrikov, and its immense and unparalleled contribution to research in the field of Tibetan historical works. The writer points in the first chapter of this book to the most ancient historical literature of Tibet. Then he analyses the contents of apocryphal book (Gter-Chos) or hidden treasure such as :-

- (a) bka' chem ka khol ma
- (b) Padma bka' thang
- (c) Thang yig gser Phreng
- (d) bka' thang sde Inga
- (e) mani bka' 'bum

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Here in this connection of apocryphal work we may mention a latter Russian historian V.A. Bogoslovsky, who occupied a prominent place in the field of analysis of structure of the Tibetan Society since ancient times. In his article, "Two extracts of the Tibetan apocryphal book". The five tales, he translates and analyses the contents of the bka'thang sde lnga and especially two texts : rgyal po'i bka'thang legend of the kings, and blon Po'i bka' thang : legend of the ministers, the first of these was allegedly written by order of the king Thi-de-songtsan. His main work is "Outline of History of the Tibetan People, published in 1962. He gives a comprehensive picture of the social structure of ancient Tibetan society from the seventh to the ninth century. At the same time he analyses sources made available by such Hungarian scholars as Uray Gaza and A. Rona Tas (Acta Orientalia Hungaricae, Budapest Vol. 5, 1955 and Vol.I).

A.I. Vostrikov in the third chapter above - stated book endeavours to establish a distinction between the various genres in historical work which he classified as follows :

- (a) Historical works on genealogy- (dynastic and family chronicle)
- (b) rgyal - rabs - Genealogy of Kings
- (c) Jo-rabs - Dynastic Chronicles
- (d) gdung rabs - Family chronicles
- (e) gdan rabs - Monastery chronicles
- (f) 'Khrungs - rabs - Histories of incarnations
- (g) bstan rtsis - Chronological treatises
- (h) Chos 'byung' - Histories of religion or doctrine.
- (i) rnam thar - Biographical literature
- (j) Thob yig or gsang yig - Autochthone bibliography which are or already rare or of extraordinary value in Tibetan world.

### (10) Reference works :

- (a) Ming gi grangs - List of names
- (b) mtshan gi grangs - List of titles

- (11) Lo rgyus - Historical tales
- or - or
- gtam rgyus - Legend

The last two chapters of the book are devoted to the :

(12) dkar chag - Catalogues of bka'-'gyur and bstan - 'gyur Tibetan canonical literature and particulars from the historical - geographical literature which describes monasteries, temples, icons, stupas etc. We may add here some other categories closely related to historical studies such as :

- (13) Bc'a yig - Achival Materials
- (14) bka', 'bum or gsung'bum - Collected works.

Now we propose to give references for study of Category of historical works.

For "gter-ma" books on books from buried treasures" one is requested to see the chapter two for critical discussion of Tibetan Historical literature of A.I. Vastrikov and V.A. Bogoslvsky's article noted above. For unique discussion of Tibetan historical works (Nos. 1-11, Gyal rabs to logyu) chapter three is to be read "Main Types of Tibetan historical literature of the above book. And for (No. 12 Karchag) - i.e. Historico - Biographical Survey of - Tibetan Buddhist canon, chapter Four and Five of the said book are to be perused.

Vostrikov, devoted himself exclusively to development of study of historical materials; before him Sarat Chandra Das had also made considerable contribution on religion and history of Tibet. We have already discussed concerning his work on history. Out of many works to his credit special reference again may be made to Contribution on the Religion and history of Tibet, reprints, (Manjusri, New Delhi, 1970) . In recent times enormous contributions have been made in the field of Tibetan literature by Dr. Lokesh Chandra, Reference to his voluminous work in three parts Materials for a history of Tibetan literature, (New Delhi 1963) has already been made. In the introduction to three volumes upto date review has been made by the author of literature in general and of various Sect-wise historical materials from Tibetan as well as Mongol sources. For Bibliographical survey vide - article by Jean M. Perrin : *Recent russian Studies on Tibetology* (Bulletin of Tibetology, Vol.No.2. M.34, Gangtok 1964). For authentic discussion on religions and political geography of Tibet vide Turrel V-Wyllie's article "*The Tibetan Tradition of Geography*" (Bulletin of Tibetology, Vol.II, No.1 PP. 17-25. 1965), and Josef Kolmas article "*Prague Collection of Tibetan of Tibetan Printe from Derge*" Derge a province in Eastern Tibet is worth mentioning for the information of collective Tibetan works (gsung 'bum) (Bulletin of Tibetology Vol.VIII - No.2, PP. 13-19, 1971). Lastly we refer to here an interesting catalogue edited by the Japanese scholar Zuino Yumaguchi : Catalogue of the Toyo Bunko collection of Tibetan works on history, A classified catalogue of the Toyo Bunko collection of Tibetan works. Vol. 1 (The Toyo Bunko the oriental library) Tokyo, 1970. The edition has given a short account of each work in English.

We may also refer to the Tibetan catalogues by E. Gene Smith : *University of Washington Tibetan Catalogue* (Pts. I-II), Seattle, 1969. And P. Denwood : *Catalogue of Tibetan MSS and Block - Prints outside the Stein Collection in the India Office Library*, London, 1975. These are very useful to the scholars interested in the study of Tibetan historical materials because like Toyo Bunko catalogue, these two have a brief account of each work in English.

Besides above mentioned books and articles, many contribution have been made in a number of periodicals around the world. These are useful source materials for the study of history of Tibet and neighbouring countries.

We have discussed source of Tibetan history on the available source materials. The scholars who evoke keen interest in the study of Tibetan historical records face various problems due to non existence of subject-wise classified catalogues with an account of every work in English. Very few catalogues have given syn-

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opsis in English - like Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library) Classified catalogue of Tibetan history (Japan), a catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism Ed. Prof. Yensho Kanakura and three others, (Japan); India Office Library - Catalogue of Tibetan MSS and Block Prints outside Stein Collection : and University of Washington Tibetan Catalogue.

So far no attempt has been made for a catalogus catalogorum of available Tibetan MSS., and Xylographs in India and abroad. At present, excepting a few, all the universities and Institutions have brought out full catalogue of Tibetan works of their collection. The catalogues of the two important comprehensive collection of LTWA - (Library of Tibetan works and Archives) Dharamsala and SRIT (Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology), Gangtok are progressing. A landable endeavour has been made by Tibetan scholar in preparing classified catalogue of Xylographs and modern works on Tibet, preserved in Library of Tibetan works and archives, Dharamsala; entitled Catalogue of the LTWA. Reference, Department by Gokey Dekhang (1981) Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, has also undertaken comprehensive publication of Tibetan work in Xylograph/MSS, *Sakya Kabum Catalogue* (Sakya Pa catalogue series; compiled by Lama Kunga Yonten Hochotshong, Deputy Director/SRIT is out in 1990. The Kabum was collected works of five founder Lama of Sakyapa order; will shade much light on Tibet-mongol period of 12-13 cent. Another in the series, Kagyu-pa catalogue series Vol.I *Gdams-Ngag-Mdzod* catalogue collected works of Jamgon Kongtrul; be compiled by Lama Karjam Atsen and Published by SRIT in 1990. The work for compiling C.C. on the basis of available catalogues of Tibetan works is quite possible to carry on.

We know from the available report that outside Tibet, Russia has largest collection - about 90,000 Tibetan works and a large number Tibetan MSS. and Xylograph are preserved in the libraries Research Institutes and Universities in India and abroad. In USA about seventeen Universities have basic or comprehensive collection of various editions of Tibetan works. Universities in Germany, France, Prague and Budapest have also collection of Tibetan works. In India comprehensive collections of Tibetan MSS and Xylograph are preserved in Asiatic Society, Calcutta; University of Calcutta; Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Bihar Research Society, Patna; Nava Naland Mahavihara, Patna; International Academy of Indian culture, New Delhi; Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok, (SRIT has largest representative collection - over 30,000 Tibetan works); Library of Tibetan works and Archives, Dharamsala, Besides these, Nepal and Bhutan have also large collection of Tibetan works.

Various institutions and private scholars in India and abroad are bringing out Tibetan works in Photo mechanical process or otherwise, with introduction in the English. We have mentioned some of them in the foregoing pages.

But we have no systematic process - by way of Catalogue like Index Sinicus by John Lust about books and periodicals on China and her occupied countries. However, although not complete U.S. Library of congress office, New Delhi is doing commendable job by publishing upto date list of Tibetan works published



by individual and institutions, in monthly publication of Accessions List, South Asia. This organisation has systematic method of collecting information of Tibetan and other language works in Nepal and Bhutan. There were separate Accessions list on Nepal and Bangla Desh. But now for a few years all these included in South Asia.

In 1986 the National Library in collaboration with Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts and Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has planned to compile a Union Catalogue of manuscripts/Xylographs in Tibetan Buddhist studies in India. This programme also include Catalogue of MSS in Khamti and Assamese.

A list of the Indian repositories of Xylographs/Manuscripts in Tibetan, Khamti and Assamese, and some Buddhist monasteries and Temples libraries Preserving Xylographs/manuscripts in Tibetan. It is encouraging that some Indian scholars and researches have been making sustained efforts to make the monumental programme a success.

For genuine and systematic study of Tibetan literature in general and historical materials in all their categories, a programme for compiling catalogus-catalogum of Tibetan works may be undertaken, with active collaboration of following to four leading institutions in India, Vis.,

- (i) Department of Indo-Tibetan Studies, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, (W.B.)
- (ii) Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok. (Sikkim)
- (iii) Library of Tibetan works and Archives, Dharamsala (H.P.)
- (iv) Central Institute for higher Tibetan studies, Sarnath, (U.P.)

Institutions have comprehensive collection of Tibetan works and also have world wide contacts with the centres specializing Tibetan and Mongolian studies. The above stated institutions have associated lama scholars who are trained in Modern line of research and elderly lamas profound in all categories of Tibetan literature who belong to all the four Tibetan Buddhist order.

Another advantage these institutions have is, they possess upto date, and comprehensive collection of catalogues of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs. If in any by these institutions lag behind others in collection of catalogues, each other may collaborate on the availability of catalogues etc.

Next to this programme, preference should be given for classified catalogue of historical materials along side literature in general. The classified catalogue should have account of each and every work in English.

The Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology and library of Tibetan works and Archives have already undertaken classification job only in Tibetan and if a brief account in English is added to this it will be very much useful to the interested scholars.

Collective Tibetan works belonging to every sect (Sungbum) include works ranging from Tantra, rituals to history, biography etc. For modern research scholars having working knowledge in Tibetan can utilise the classified catalogue effectively with the help of Lama scholars.

The catalogues catalogorum is a must. References to a particular Tibetan

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work for the availability in different institutions around the world.

This can be compiled along the line of catalogue catalogorum of Sanskrit MSS by Aufrecht and Dr V.Raghavan.

Classified tabular catalogue, Tibetan literature has already undertaken by the institutions of Tibetology, No institution for Tibetan studies in India was compiling descriptive catalogue of Tibetan works. This is essential for tracing out the authorship, places and fixation of the date of the works.

Only a fraction of Tibetan historical records have been translated in modern languages. For faithful and systematic translation of them, the above mentioned leading institutions can collaborate and take some programmes. Owing to want of such collaboration, it is very difficult to trace out what particular work has been translated or edited by one of the four leading institutions.

We can mention here the LTWA (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives), has been making commendable work to promote overall Tibetan studies. A team of learned Lamas and trained young tibetian scholars is quietly working under the above able guidance of H.H. the Dalai Lama and the guidance and the advice of the Government of India. LTWA has already chalked out and exhaustive plan for cataloguing Tibetan works. Exchange of scholars between India and Russia and Mongolia, development of museum, collection of Tibetan and modern books, promote research, translation and publication.

Publication department of LTWA, has produced a few original works a number of translations, besides reprint of old publication. Hereunder we propose to stick ourselves to mentioning historical materials, which have already been brought out or which are in the future plan project.

(a) Deb ther dkar po (the white annals) by Gedun Chopel, translated by Samten Norboo.

(b) Reprint of an account of the life of the famed Situ rab rtan kun bzang-'phge (1398-14..) by Jigmed Dragpo Chogles Namgyal.

And forthcoming history series are:-

(a) Compilation of Tibetan calendar and its dating system with their western calendar equivalents.

(b) Modern History of Tibet ( 1930-1959 ) based on primary sources.

(c) Biographies of Gar-Tong-Tsan, minister of Srong Tsan, Gar Tsen Nyadong, son of Gar Tong Tsen and Shang Jetsul, military commander of Srong Tsen.

These three works are being compiled by the research and cultural officer Kirti Tulku Lobsang Tenzing at LTWA.

The future programme includes publication and translation in Culture, Languages, Medicine Society, Tibetan Economy, Education, Monasticism, Politics, Music, Literature, Astrology, History, and Religion.

Here we mention only the plan of research compilation on History only:

(a) Cultural History of Tibet.

(b) Tibetan Theory of History.

- (c) Buddhist Interpretation of the Origin of Tibetans.
- (d) Problems of Dating the Tibetan History.
- (e) Records and Sources of Tibetan History.
- (f) Formation of World, Different Interpretations according to Abhidharmakosa, Kalachakra and western sciences.
- (g) Critical Anotations of Pillar Edicts.
- (h) Military System.
- (i) Indo-Tibet Relations with China, Nepal, Mongolia, and Russia etc.

In conclusion we may say that Tibetology like Indology has been accepted by the scholars in the field as an independent science and its day to day attracting researches and evoking intense interest among the present day historians all over the world. But as the apparatus for conducting study and research on Indology is sufficiently available. The systematic and scientific representation of source materials for Tibetology is still a desideratum. For remedy of the problems and for materializing the scheme effectively, the Institute for Historical Studies, Calcutta, or other such institutions may take initiative with their commendable knowledge in the field of historical research and may extend a helping hand to specialised institutions in the field of Tibetology.



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