

Problematizing the Metaphor of Travel: A Study of the Journeys of Humans and Texts from India to Tibet

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Abstract

Myths and legends travel just like humans to distant lands under different circumstances. One among the two most popular etiological myths of Tibet tells that the earliest settlers on the Tibetan plateau were refugees who escaped the conflicts described in the Indian epic *Mahabharata*. This serves as the first legend establishing the Indian connection with Tibet. Such journeys of humans, ideas and texts always stimulated imagination in human beings. The narratives of journeys woven with the author's imaginations and experiences, gave us travelogues. An ancient genre of literature, travelogues serve as the base for various fictional and non-fictional works. Travelogues inquired the unknown, making us aware of the existence of diversified cultural extremities present in this planet and thereby playing a crucial role in cultural exchanges. However, very interestingly texts also embark on journeys along with humans; and create neo-textual sites for future discourse. In this paper the focus is on the exchanges between India and Tibet. Beginning from the first Indian Scholar Santarakshita, followed by Padmasambhava, Atisha et al to 20th century Rahul Sanskritiyan, there has been continuous movement of scholars to and fro Tibet. Apart from documenting their journeys, they initiated huge influx of literary texts between these two ancient countries. As a result of which Tibet became the store-house of ancient Nalanda Tradition while it faced destruction in India. So, the paper firstly seeks out to discuss the influences of Indian scholars and texts in Tibetan culture from ancient times. Secondly, it tries to chart out the representation of Tibet in the writings of these scholars and trace the birth of Buddhist literature in Tibet. Thirdly, since travelogues also supported cartographic purposes, they portrayed both the cultural and geo-political zones, it looks into the interpretation and misinterpretation of culture channelized through these documents. Lastly, it attempts to problematize the various versions of documents written regarding such people and their journeys to understand the nature of perceptions and experiences.

Keywords: journey, texts, religion, tradition, culture, Tibet

Introduction

Stories travel from one mouth to another, from one country to another before getting assimilated into the host culture and life of its people. In the process of assimilation, they go through a series of metamorphosis becoming distant from their original roots; often these native roots are entirely forgotten. Gradually, over time these stories get subsumed into the cultural memory of the society and continue to exist through verbal and behavioural symbols. To quote Raymond Williams, the definition of language "is always, implicitly or explicitly, a definition of human beings in the world." (Williams, 1977, p.21) Thus, when a person embarks on a journey, it initiates a multitude of interactions with the place, people, culture, food, text, etc. These anthropo-cultural interactions express experiences of transgression. The transgressions play vital roles in their

writings about the journey, called travelogues, by making them unique. These interactive processes, further, establish links between culture and identity within human encounters, between their past and present experiences. These interactions are a symbiotic exchange of knowledge in various forms, where language plays a pivotal role. The core element of the existence of language relies on its effective transmission of knowledge into the memory of the mass. Therefore stories generated out of these interactions, objectified by human consciousness and subjectified by the socio-cultural environment, often have common prototypes imbibed in them. Through these types of channelizations, stories with common prototypes fabricate an intricate system of symbols; thereby becoming associated with myths and legends.

The ancient Silk Road was one of the most important avenues of cultural and material exchange between Central, East, South-East Asia, and Europe. Buddhism is perhaps the most significant philosophical idea transmitted from India to Asia through the Silk Road, which initiated the continuous exchange of travellers, students, scholars, etc. between India and Central Asia. Apart from their documents i.e., memoirs, entries, travelogues, etc., these travellers themselves also became sites of discourse at times. Their life, deeds, origin, influence, etc., became subjects of mythification, cult derivation, and scholarly scrutiny for coming generations. Therefore, apart from what was being documented in the form of travelogues, the undocumented aspects also initiated equal academic interest. Furthermore, along with humans, literary texts also embarked on journeys generating possibilities for scholarly dialogues.

Travellers often carry manuscripts with them or bring back valuable texts from the foreign countries which s/he thinks important or popular, and thus begins the rendition of those texts in the new country with translation, retelling, adaptations, etc. Slowly these texts create a place for themselves in the host country literature. The transmission of Indian Epics, Jatakas, Sanskrit Sutras, *Natyashastra*, etc. to Central and South East Asia are few such examples. However, this phenomenon has received very little academic focus and therefore has not been explored appropriately. This paper attempts to study various such texts and neo textual sites associated with the journey of the individuals. The first section studies some popular Indian texts, their modes of the journey, and parameters of reception in Tibet; the second section deals with authors, scholars et al., who travelled to Tibet and with time themselves became a text of reference and interest. The final section discusses the return of Indian texts from Tibet along with the socio-cultural manoeuvring and hence the intersection of cultures. This section also deals with select travelogues of the Indian traveller Rahul Sankrityayan and his role in the retrieval of texts.

Travelling Texts

Among the various etiological myths of Tibet, one traces their origin to the Indian epic *Mahabharata*. According to this legend, after the battle of Kurukshetra, Rupati, a military commander of the Kaurava army, feared execution and led his soldiers Northwards. They became the first settlers of the Tibetan plateau This story only finds a place in the writing of Indian Buddhist writer Prajñāvarman (Tib. shes rab go cha), who visited Tibet during the 8th century. However, the story of Rupati cannot be found in any other Indian text; in Tibet, the only literary reference to this legend appears in painted scrolls. Interestingly, despite such an association, the text *Mahabharata* never experienced an overwhelming reception in Tibet. There are a very few commentaries available on the *Mahabharata* since its introduction in Tibet. However, the fate of the other Indian epic, *Ramayana* wasn't the same. This text, on the other hand, saw a plethora of adaptations, retellings, and commentaries of itself since its inculcation.

The first manuscripts of *Ramayana* were discovered, along with various other texts of diverse religious sects, from the catacombs in the Dunhuang Cave complexes. They were two recension fragments of the Rama story cycle probably written around the 7th or 8th century (Kapstein, 2003; Jong, 1972). Valmiki's text was in circulation from around 1st century BC, therefore scholars estimate the existence of "Indianite" (Kapstein, 2003, p. 747) Rama stories in Tibet much before these recensions were written. At least from 9th century, the *Ramayana* existed as a distinct oral tradition popularly called the story of Ramaṇa. The popularity of performative traditions like the epic of King Gesar of Ling and Jataka tales further strengthens this assumption. Second, a favourable point regarding this is the alterity found in the Tibetan version which ends happily. This is in confirmation with *Natyashastra*, a 5th century BCE Indian text on poetics highly popular in Tibet; which asserts that performances should leave the audience in a blissful state hence, they should have a happy conclusion. Interestingly, while comparing this epic with the epic of King Gesar, one can notice that Rama stories could never be fully domesticated nor absorbed into the Tibetan tradition, it continued to exist as the 'Indianite' rendition. Though some versions address Rama as the reincarnation of Buddha, the belief is not widespread and not Tibetan in origin. Rama stories could not achieve the popularity enjoyed by the epic of King Gesar among the masses. It was not even sanctified in the Buddhist tradition, unlike King Gesar who got propitiated into Tibetan Buddhist pantheon as Gesar Dorje Tseyal "the *Vajra* Lord of Life,"ⁱⁱ a major deity of the Vajrayana tradition.

The text, after getting adapted by the Tibetan performative tradition, also gained its appropriation in the literary scenario. Sakya Pandit Kunga Gyetsen (1182-1251) in his *Treasures of Elegant Sayings* (Tib. *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i*), a 13th century collection of aphoristic verses first mentioned of Ravana (Tib. *Bodrok*). This was followed by disciples who penned down several commentaries on the Rama cycle. Notable among them was Marton Chokyi Gyelp. His plot relied mainly on popular oral traditions of Indian, Khotanese, etc origin, as Ulrike Roesler suggested:

Marston's account is much closer to the Dunhuang version than to Valmiki's *Ramayana*... Obviously Marston did not derive his account from one single Indian version... we may point out some parallels between the early Tibetan versions... and several Indian versions... we may consider other Asian traditions of this highly popular story. The Khotanese, Chinese ... South Asian traditions show certain similarities with the Tibetan *Ramayan*." (Roesler, 2002, pp. 442- 444)

He eliminated the religious doctrines present in the text and celebrated the mythological aspect of it; for example, the adventures of Hanuman are narrated elaborately while Rama was not distinguished as a king or as the embodiment of Buddha or Vishnu.

The tour de force rendition of this epic came through the hands of Zhangzhung Chownag Drakpa (1404-1469) who composed *The Song of Gandharva Maiden's Lute* (tib. *Dri za'i bu mo'i rgyud mang gi sgra dbyangs*). His version illustrates the influence of Dadin's *Mirror of Poetics* (San. Kavyadarshan, Tib. *snyan ngag me long*), a treatise on the theory of poetics; a prescribed text in monastic education. Therefore, while Marston used simple straight forward language, Drakpa's retelling has an elaborate use of metered verse and figures of speech (*Alankara*). This made the text "a formidable literary challenge, both to read and to emulate" (Lin, 2008, p. 90). According to, Tashi Tsering, Chöwang Drakpa's style was "a much sought after style of composition— among the Tibetan intellectuals . . . as it was beyond the grasp of the common people and gave an elitist touch." (Tsering, 1979, p. 48) Drakpa's coup de maître helped its fame to rest even in the 20th century post-liberation era.

The Ramayana continued to proliferate in Tibet through performances and poetic attributes; for example, Ju Mipam Gyatso (1846-1912) in his commentaries on the *Mirror of Poetics* extensively uses examples from the Rama cycle. It was re-visited in 1985 by Tibetan scholar Dondrup Gyel who insisted on a more nationalist approach towards this text. He argued that *Ramayana* was a masterpiece of world literature:

The Story of Rāmaṇa not only attained great value and status in the history of the development of Indian literary arts, it also attained great value and status in the history of the development of world literary arts . . . it spread around the world so that most national literature is influenced by it. For that reason, the Story of Rāmaṇa is a famous work of the literary arts of each people of the world. It is a precious intellectual treasure of each nationality of the world. (Gyel, 1997, p.119)

His rewriting of the Rama Cycle was a deliberate effort to decolonise the Tibetan *Ramayana* from its excessive dependency on *Mirror of Poetics* and translated the opaque verses of *The Song of Gandharva Maiden's Lute* into a much simple, straightforward language. He used vernaculars and retained only those Sanskrit words which were popular among contemporary Tibetan mass; thereby, attempting to get rid of the lofty rhetorics used by Drakpa. His translated version *Spring Song for Youthful Ears* rejected the unnecessary Indian references, poetic figures, and artificial meters, in favour of colloquial diction, which provides clarity of subject matter.

The political situation of the post-Liberation era was favourable for this kind of nationalist rendition. Perry Link asserts that the new regime of Deng Xiaopingⁱⁱⁱ made “political calculation” and relaxed the party’s control over the literary productions of minority literature; thus there came a renaissance in such publications. Such relaxation aimed to reach the common people in their language and emphasised on the glorification of the achievements of the Cultural Revolution while reminding them of the evilness of the old Tibetan society. Therefore, traditional folktales of “incorrect” and “suspicious political leanings” were replaced with socialist parables. (Shakya, 2008, p. 68). Gyel’s condemnation of Old Tibetan Society can’t be, however, looked at singularly. He acknowledges and insists the readers to scrutinize all powers and question all authorities. In this case, it is the power and hegemony of Indian poetics over Tibetan subjects. As Ian Watt argues “conformity to traditional practice [is] the major test of truth” in the 1980s where and “the merits of the author’s treatment were judged largely according to a view of literary decorum derived from the accepted models in the genre.” (Watt, 2000, p. 13) Gyel’s wanted to debunk this predisposition and attempted to write a retelling, which will be Tibetan in language, spirit, and style and not a shadow of its ‘Indianite’ versions.

This delineates the journey of this Indian literary tradition throughout Tibet and its consequent assimilation in the performative, oral or religious traditions. The journey of this text is a pertinent example of its spatial nature; of how a text just like humans absorbs the foreign culture. While tales like Jataka and Panchatantra became part of the religious mythos, the texts of Sanskrit poetics like *Natyashastra*, *Kavyadarshan*, Dandin’s Grammar got infiltrated into the monastic academic system. As for a literary text like the *Ramayana*, it witnessed the journey as a performative text to a poetic and then as a tool of reviving Tibetan nationalism and Tibetan poetics. It never gave up its Indian roots in the process of assimilation, yet adapted the various traits of Tibetan culture to sustain as parallel literature.

The Travellers to Tibet

Buddhism also travelled through the Silk Road initially in the form of scriptures. The first scriptures of Buddhist philosophy reached Tibet in around the 5th century, during the reign of 28th King of Tibetan legendary tradition, Thothori Nyantsen (Tib. *Lha Thothori gNyan bTsan*) belonging to the Yarlung Dynasty. However, it was during the rule of the 33rd King Songtsen Gampo (Tib. *srong btsan sgam*) that Buddhism started spreading with the building of temples. He is regarded as the first of the three 'Dharma kings' who established Buddhism in Tibet. His successor King Trisong Detsen, the second 'Dharma king' invited various scholars from India to preach Buddhism notable among them were Santarakshita, Padmasambhava, and his disciples like Vairotsana, Vimalamrita, et al, and later Atisha. This section will try to study the influence of Padmasambhava, widely referred to as Guru Rinpoche, in Tibet and other adjacent Himalayan kingdoms as a human text. His journeys into these far-reaching lands and role in spreading and perseverance of Buddhist heritage in the roof of the world is a chronicle interwoven by facts and myths. While there is little dubiety regarding his role as a Buddhist scholar of distinction, one may investigate the construction of the Padmasambhava cult by creating and decorating the biographical facts with myths and legends.

The earliest references of Padmasambhava are found in the manuscripts of Old Tibetan Chronicle and Tibetan Annals, both excavated from the of Dunhuang cave complex in the early decades of the 20th century. Since these manuscripts and fragments are from various periods, they depict different approaches to one subject. Thereby it is important to study the steady progression of this process of myth-making. One manuscript, *Pelliot tibétain 44* narrates Padmasambhava's life before his arrival to Tibet, i.e., in India and Nepal. (Dalton, 2004). The two extant manuscripts of *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, *Pelliot tibétain 1286*, and *Pelliot tibétain 1287* in the section of Trisong Detsen mentions Padmasambhava as the Indian teacher who delivered various Buddhist sutras and took up the translation of various other Indian texts into Tibetan under the patronage of the king. However, some other manuscripts reflect him teaching even in the 10th century; thus making him alive for more than 300 yrs. This shows that the process of mythicization of the character of Padmasambhava had already started before these texts were buried in the 11th century.

The mythification further continued in the 12th and 13th centuries when scholars started portraying Padmashambha in a different light. He was no more one of the scholars invited by Detsen; rather, now he was the great Dharma scholar, the Lotus Buddha who came to enlighten the land of Tibet, to tame the wild spirits with the Buddhist sutras. In Sam Van Schaik's words:

According to earlier histories, Padmasambhava had given some tantric teachings to Tibetans before being forced to leave due to the suspicions of the Tibetan court. But from the twelfth century an alternative story, itself a *terma* discovery, gave Padmasambhava a much greater role in the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet, and in particular credited him with travelling all over the country to convert the local spirits to Buddhism. (Schaik, 2011, p. 96)

According to scholar Janet Gyatso, Nyangrel Nyima Ozer (Tib. *mnga' bdag nyang/myang ral nyi ma 'od zer*) (1124/1136?-1192/1204?)^{iv} is the main architect behind the creation of the Padmasambhava cult. He was the first to write a complete biography of Padmasambhava, *The Copper Palace* (Tib. *bka' thang zangs gling ma*). This hagiography became the "foundational narrative of Tibet's eighth-century conversion, greatly expanding the role of Padmasambhava and transforming him into a buddha responsible for the establishment of Buddhism in

Tibet.”(Hirshberg, 2013) It is important to point here that neither old Tibetan chronicles nor Tibetan annals mention anything of Buddhist conversion of the land during Gampo. The wide acceptance of this text made its feature to get incorporated into the history of Buddhism through another text by Nyangrel, *Flower Nectar: The Essence of Honey* (tib. *chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*). While carefully developing the already existing myths, he consciously ignored and excluded any other contradicting narrative.

Another important architect of the Padmasambhava mythos was Chokyi Wangchuk (Tib. *chos kyi dbang phyug*). He was delivered through the Nyangrel's treasures by Nyangrel's son and successor Ngadak Drogon (Tib. *mnga' bdag 'gro mgon*). Chowang was a *terma* practitioner, the Tibet tradition of treasure revealing, i.e, the discovery of secret or hidden treasure believed to be placed by saints for future revelation. He claimed to invent various such secret places throughout Tibet and adjacent places including the routes Padmasambhava travelled and associated them with him. The most important being the Lama Sangdu (Tib. *bla ma gsang 'dus*) cycle, a sadhna practice of Padmasambhava and one of the sacred treasure cycle of Nyingma tantra. This extensively sacred dance ceremony is performed in the Nyingma monasteries on the birth anniversary of Padmasambhava. The process of further mythification continued with legends of Padmasambhava's presence and actions in various parts of Tibet, Mongolia, China, and the Himalayan states of Sikkim, Bhutan, etc. These identity constructions of Padmasambhava catechize what Foucault asked in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) “... what is the specific existence of that emerges from what is said and nowhere else?” (Foucault, 2006, p. 31). Firstly, because throughout the Dunhuang Manuscript the name 'Padmasambhava' appeared only four-times in references. The name never appeared in the colophon, if present, of the documents. These references were first noticed by Eastman in 1898 and later developed by Dalton and Sam van Schaik. Secondly, about Chowang's claims of finding Padmasambhava *terma* some legends say that Padmasambhava himself was present with him during some of such revelations.

In India, Tibetan references were the only source of resurrecting Padmasambhava. Indian texts which mentioned Padmasambhava were either lost in time or destroyed in invasions; therefore, not a single text existing in Sanskrit mentions his name. Some early scholars believed Padmasambhava to be a teacher at Nalanda but his absence from the Sanskrit canon has rejected this claim. The major narratives concerning this scholar came from Tibet, where he was celebrated as Guru Rinpoche; his entire treatise was preserved with the utmost respect. Therefore, the identification of Padmasambhava's birthplace as Oddiyān^v, India triggered diverse missions to historically contextualize Padmasambhava and to create the Indian heritage of this scholar. Since there have been various works dealing with the biographical traces of Padmasambhava in India, this essay is not further mentioning them. These aspects further intrigue the study of such human travellers, these investigations based on mainly myths with few literal commentaries make it complex to label such studies of human texts into specific genres.

Padmasambhava travelled through the genres of biography and hagiography, to finally rest in history. This Indian scholar was not only mythicized but at the same time was historicized as well; reflecting that mythical age is neither singular nor specific. It is more of a continuous interaction of myth and reality where the past and present free interplay, which Zumthor describes as “a perpetually recreated song of truth.” (Zumthor, 1990, p.84) The process of textualization of Padmasambhava as the incarnation of Buddha altered his identity from being a human traveller to a vibrant human text open for interpretation. Bauman and Briggs argues that these “models of textualization appear to be productive, when their conventions, basic contents, and networks of interpretation are related to the emerging trends of thought or dominant

ideological concepts.” (Bauman and Briggs, 1990, p. 76) Therefore, the study of hegemonizing Padmasambhava very well surfaces the monastic power struggle in medieval Tibet.

Representation of Culture and Retrieval of Texts

Travellers have an integral bond between their discourse of experiences and their ethos of interpretations. By the dawn of the 20th century, Tibet had already been much orientalized by Western travellers. As Edward Said defined, “The Orient is...one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experiences.” (Said, 2003, p. 1) The early representations of Tibet were the forerunners of future European “tibetophilia” which Huges Didier summarized as having two dimensions “...on the one hand, Tibet is the least accessible, most mysterious and most foreign country of Asia; on the other hand, Tibet is paradoxically the only Asian culture with whom Europeans can identify so much that they seem surprisingly intimate and related.” (Kaschewsky, 2001, p. 6) This made any portrayal of Tibet by non-Western travellers more crucial, to investigate whether they intensify this exoticism or break the prisons of Shangri La (Lopez, 2018). The 20th century India traveller Rahul Sankrityayan in his travelogues of Tibet locates the geo-political Tibet. He delineates the archaeological heritage of Tibet, the Tibetan language, life, culture, traditions, etc. His narratives do not politicize the Tibetan religion rather treats it as the preserver of ancient knowledge, mainly lost in India. He describes his journeys to, and in Tibet as an observer; he visited Tibet four times in 1929, 1934, 1936, and 1938. *Meri Tibbat Yatra* (1937) (Eng. My Visit to Tibet) and *Yatra ke Panne*, (1952) (Eng. Pages from Journey) summarise the hardships of entering Tibet and reaching Lhasa, which was susceptible towards foreigners. These journey-oriented texts narrate everything he saw and learned in and about the land; the dilapidated condition of temples, the marvels in the monastic libraries, the monastic life, the riches of tradition, etc. As a knowledge gatherer, he retrieved various ancient manuscripts and brought them back to India; discovered the hidden treasure of Sanskrit knowledge preserved in the roof of the world. Many texts which travelled from Indian to Tibet came back to their native land along with the hands of Sankrityayan.

By the 12th century Buddhism started declining in India as a result of the revival of Hinduism and continuous Muslim invasions. Subsequently, great centres of knowledge like Nalanda, Takshila, Vikramshila, etc. were destroyed and many scholars ran away northwards; and Tibet witnessed a large influx of university-educated scholars. Tibetans who were once refused by Vikramshila abbots when they invited the Bengali scholar Atisha Dipankara to Tibet to revive Buddhism, (though he finally went to Tibet in 1042), became the only safe refuge for these Buddhist scholars. Around 5000 Sanskrit texts were preserved through translation in Tibet including Kanjur and Tanjur traditions. Many of these texts ultimately lost their original Sanskrit versions and were preserved only in Tibetan. Prajñāvarman’s *Viśeṣastavaṅikā*, Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin’ *Viśeṣastava*, *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* *Aryanaagarjuna-bhasita-bhesajakalpa*, *Sarvevarara sayana sarvaro gaharasarlrapusti sāstra*, *Adhyayanapustakarpāthana-kriyāvidhi*, *Ourukriyākarma*, etc are to name a few. These texts confronted a similar fate in their native country as did Padmasambhava; both were lost in time and history. Some texts were also recovered under the occupation of foreign scholars like Dr. Tucci, Levi et al. Another wave of texts was brought by the Tibetan refugee monks when they left Tibet during the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

Conclusion

The 20th-century impetus to the study of travel writings owes much to ‘theory’; the critical methodologies developed by the Neo-Marxists of the Frankfurt School, French Structuralists, Feminists, etc. They took a keen interest to study the wide range of travel writings to understand the interconnectedness of otherwise wide apart cultures. The hybridity showcased by these texts was unparalleled to any genre of literature. ‘Theory’ helped to get away with many romantic and modernist metaphors like “exploration”, “exile” and “transcendental homelessness” with discourses of migration, diaspora, and asylum (Bhabha 1994; Kaplan 1996; Nyman 2017). Such hybridities associated with travels, travellers, and texts, which are entwined together in a complex metaphor of the journey, are neo-textual sites. They are often ignored, by the canonical ‘Travel literature’ or ‘travel writings’, but are potential dimensions of reclaiming narratives of travel as ‘new ethics of travel’ (Stavans and Ellison, 2015, p. 108) in a broader genre of ‘travel studies’.

Notes

ⁱ Refer to Solomon George FitzHerbert (2017). *Tibetan Buddhism and the Gesar Epic*, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion, 2017 (Sept)

ⁱⁱ Refer to Samuel, Geoffrey (1991) ‘Some Tibetan Ritual Texts about King Gesar.’ Paper for the 2nd International Conference on Gesar Epic Studies, Lhasa, Tibet, August 1991.

ⁱⁱⁱ The 1976 death of Mao Zedong marked the official end of Cultural Revolution. Deng Xiaoping took the leadership of the Party leader in 1978 and continued to hold the chair until his retirement in 1992.

^{iv} There is confusion regarding his year of birth and death. He is believed to have lived 68 years, so both the dates according to Tibetan scholars and Western scholars have been mentioned here. Refer to Daniel Hirshberg. (2013.) Nyangrel Nyima Ozer. *Treasury of Lives*.

^v Oddiyan was initially located in Swat Valley, Pakistan by early scholars. However, later scholars argue Oddiyan as a kingdom in present day Orissa. For debate on geographical location refer to Nava Kishor Das (2016) *Social Anthropology of Orissa: A Critique* and Trungpa (2001) *Crazy Wisdom*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.

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