

The Moravian mission and its research on the language and culture of Western Tibet¹

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The Moravians, or *Evangelische Brüderunität*, as they are called in German, became an independant Christian group in 1727. Bohemian Brothers had fled the persecutions in their homeland and had settled down at Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia at the invitation of Count Zinzendorf, a pietist who later became a bishop of the Moravians himself. Already in 1732 the Moravians started their missionary activities which soon spread over the whole globe. The centre used to be Herrnhut which still is the major deposit of archival material, but owing to two world wars other centres of the Brethren like London and the Unites States (Bethlehem) gained importance.

At first the Moravians had no intention at all to evangelize Tibet or the adjoining mountainous areas. After the opening of China by Western powers (1842) a German missionary, Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff, had started a campaign to christianize China. Before his death in 1851 he travelled all over Europe to interest people in supporting the China missions and had a tremendous publicity. The Moravians also took part in the general enthusiasm but they did not want to compete with Gützlaff; so they decided to go to China from the other side by christianizing the Mongols. The Russian government, however, was not interested in foreign missionaries on their territory, which forced Wilhelm Heyde and Louis Pagell who had been selected to work among the Mongols in 1853, to try to reach their destination via India. But again they met with obstacles – they were not allowed to go farther than Lahoul, and so they stayed in Kyelang for a while and waited for an opportunity to go on.

This opportunity, however, never came, and so they settled down in Lahoul and took it as a command of heaven to evangelize the local population.

So far the story seems only to be an anecdote in the history of missions. The remarkable thing about the Moravian enterprise is, however, that several of the earlier missionaries turned out to become outstanding researchers:

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— August Wilhelm Heyde (1825–1907) was trained as a plumber; he learned some Kalmuk from H.A. Zwick in order to prepare for his future missionary work. He left for India in 1853, and only returned to Germany in 1903, after having revised the Tibetan translation of the New Testament. Among his further achievements are the revision of Sarat Chandra Das' *Tibetan-English dictionary* (Calcutta 1902) and the attempt to draw up a Bunan grammar. He was the first to write Bunan with Tibetan letters, and he contributed sections on Manchâti and Bunan to vol. III of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (Calcutta 1909).

— Heinrich August Jäschke (1817–1883) only stayed in Lahoul and India from 1856 to 1868. He was a gifted linguist: He wrote his diary in German, English, French, Latin, Greek, Danish, Polish and Swedish. He also had a command of Hebrew, Czech, and Hungarian, and some knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. In 1856 he was called to Kyelang to become the superintendent of the little mission. Jäschke learned the Tibetan language and was soon fascinated by it. He got in contact with scholars like Richard Lepsius in Berlin and Anton Schiefner in St. Petersburg on Tibetan questions. In 1865 he published his Tibetan grammar (*A short practical grammar of the Tibetan language*) which is still in use among students of today. He published a sample translation from the 100,000 songs of Mi-la ras-pa, described the flora of Lahoul in the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, explained the Tibetan words in several travel accounts on Tibet, and finally published his famous *Handwörterbuch der tibetischen Sprache*². While this was in German and reproduced from the author's manuscript it attracted the attention of the British Indian Government, and in 1881 an English translation was prepared "at the charge of the Secretary of State for India in Council". This *Tibetan-English Dictionary* became the favourite reference tool for Tibetan studies, and several generations of students. There were at least 8 reprints, the latest one done by Motilal Banarsidass in Delhi in 1978. The Tibetan grammar was also edited several times: the third edition (1929) was prepared by A.H. Francke and W. Simon of the University of Berlin, the fourth (1954) by John L. Mish, a gifted orientalist who spent the 1930s in India.

Jäschke was truly a pioneer in Tibetan studies; a brief account of his life and activities is given in the *Tibet Journal* (8.1983:1, p. 50–55).

Not the meanest among Jäschke's achievements was his creation of a Tibetan font. It has harmonious proportions, is easy to read and is used worldwide.³

— August Hermann Francke (1870–1930) was probably the most versatile of the Moravian Tibetologists. He was born in Gnadenfrei in Silesia where he also stud-

² Gnadau 1871–1876. 6,XX,671 pp. Review by E. Schlagintweit in *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-philolog. u. hist. Kl.* 1875,II, 67–88.

³ Cf. Johannes Schubert: *Typographia Tibetana. Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1950,280–298.

ied. Later on he became a teacher at the mission school for boys at Kleinwelka. In 1895 he went to England to prepare for missionary work. In April 1896 he departed for India and arrived at Leh at the beginning of June. In 1897 he married Anna Theodora Weiz, daughter of a Moravian missionary, who participated in her husband's Tibetan studies. In 1899 he was transferred to Khalatse where he stayed until 1904. The years 1904–1905 and 1908–1909 he spent in Germany owing to the poor health of his wife who could not get accustomed to the rough mountain climate. 1905 he returned to Khalatse from where he was transferred to Khyelang in 1906. In this year he was appointed honorary member of the British & Foreign Bible Society. 1909–1910 he went on a research trip to the Western Tibetan border on invitation of the British-Indian Government, which resulted in two large volumes entitled *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*⁴. He returned to Germany in 1910 where he was commissioned to continue with the translation of the Bible into Tibetan.

In 1911 he was awarded an honorary Ph.D. by the University of Breslau. In 1914 the Bible Society sent Francke to Ladakh. The trip led him through Russia and Eastern Turkestan where he made archaeological collections commissioned by the Munich Museum of Ethnology⁵. Francke arrived at Leh on Sept. 10th, and was taken prisoner by the British on Oct. 4th. Until March, 1916 he was kept in a POW camp at Ahmedagar where he learnt some more Sanskrit and Chinese from academic colleagues while he himself taught Tibetan. He was released in 1916 to Germany where he was drafted immediately and sent to Romania as an interpreter for Indian POWs. He himself became a Serbian POW in 1918 and was again released in July, 1919. He was then awarded a research grant by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences to edit, translate and publish a Bon manuscript, *gZer-myig*, of the Prussian State Library in Berlin. Altogether one third of this voluminous work was printed in original text and translation in the journal *Asia Major* before Francke passed away in 1930. In 1922 he took his "Habilitation" in Berlin, which permitted him to teach at this university. During the following years as professor extraordinary he continued his work on the Tibetan Bible translation in cooperation with the Tibetan minister Yoseb Gergan. He also turned to the Turfan finds which made Berlin one of the major centres of Central Asian studies at the time and deciphered and published some of the Tibetan texts⁶. Among his colleagues were F.W.K. Müller and Albert von Lecoq. Among his students were Ernst Waldschmidt, Walter Simon (†1981) with whom he co-edited Jäschke's

⁴ Vol. 1: Calcutta 1914. XIV,133,IV pp. – Vol. 2: Calcutta 1926. VIII,310 pp. 4°

⁵ See his report *Durch Zentralasien in die indische Gefangenschaft*. Herrnhut 1921. 172 pp.

⁶ *Tibetische Handschriftenfunde aus Turfan. Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1924, 5–20, 110–118, etc.

Tibetan grammar (3rd ed.), and Johannes Schubert (1896–1976), later Professor of Tibetan and Mongolian at the University of Leipzig.

Francke was a scholar of many talents. He played violin and cello, he drew sketches (some of which are to be found in his book *Durch Zentralasien*), collected plants and animals, he wrote poetry and made musical compositions. He got along with children very well as is proved by the recollection of his former pupils, and also by his own descriptions of his life as a teacher at the mission school (published under a pseudonym). He led a very simple life and did not need much for himself. When he travelled he usually walked; was there a need to take the railway, he chose the cheapest fare. He must have had a very impressive personality; one of his colleagues, an indologist, once said: "In his presence one automatically tried to be a proper and honest person."

Before we turn to Francke's contributions to Tibetan studies, a few words about his wife, Anna Theodora who was born in South Africa in 1875. In 1896 she was sent to Amritsar to improve her English, and in 1897 she married A.H. Francke. As she suffered under the alpine climate of Ladakh she had to return to Germany soon. Another attempt to adjust to life in Ladakh failed. So she took care of the education of the three children in Germany. She died in 1945, just before the end of the war. Of the three children Hilde Deskyid [Tib. bde-skyid – "happiness and blessing"], born in 1903, is still alive and stays with her son Martin Klingner (himself a minister of the Moravian community) in Neuwied, Germany. In spite of Theodora Francke's brief stay in Ladakh, she was extraordinarily interested in the history and culture of the region. She translated a description of the Doghra War and the Lower Ladakhi version of the Gesar saga that was edited by her husband in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (No. 168. – Calcutta 1905–1941. XXXII, 493 pp.).

Theodora's elder sister married the physician Dr. Karl Marx (1857–1891) who worked until his untimely death as an ophthalmologist and Moravian missionary at Leh. He became one of the pioneers of Ladakhi historiography by publishing one of the main chronicles⁷.

August Hermann Francke's contributions to the study of Ladakh, Lahoul, and Tibet were manifold. He studied the history, religion and mythology of Western Tibet, dealt with the Tibetan and other languages, especially Bunan, Tinan, and Ladakhi, worked as a translator (of the Bible and a number of educational and scholarly texts) and explained the Tibetan musical system. He is also credited with the publication of the first Tibetan newspaper. All this was done beside his

⁷ Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh: Tibetan text, translation and notes. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 60.1891, 97–135; 63.1894, 94–107; 71.1902, 21–34. – His mss. were acquired by Berthold Laufer and are today in the possession of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

missionary duties. As a scholar, he is in the tradition of his predecessors within the Moravian community, Isaak Jakob Schmidt⁸ who was connected with the community of Sarepta on the Volga, Heinrich August Jäschke, and August Wilhelm Heyde. He may not have been such an outstanding linguist as Jäschke but he compensated this by making important contributions to other fields of study.

Before reviewing Francke's scholarly achievements it should be pointed out that Tibetan studies in Europe developed rather late. The beginnings are connected with the names of Kőrösi Csoma Sandor⁹ (1784–1842), Isaak Jakob Schmidt and Anton Schiefner who promoted this new Oriental discipline. Only by the end of the nineteenth century there was a small number of Indologists and Buddhologists who had a sufficient command of Tibetan. Among the German scholars Emil Schlagintweit (1835–1904), Albert Grünwedel (†1935) and Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) should be named. On Ladakh very little was known, and this was derived from British sources. Francke had never received proper scholarly training, and it is therefore so much more surprising that he did so remarkably well. Also, he was able to look at things critically, and not only judge from the point of a missionary.

Francke's contributions to the exploration of the history of Western Tibet

The most important source of Ladakh history is the relatively recent *Chronicle of the Kings of Ladakh* (La-dvags rgyal-rabs) which was published by E. Schlagintweit in 1866. Karl Marx, Francke's brother-in-law, had revised the texts on account of other manuscripts. This research stimulated Francke to write a history of Ladakh: *A history of Western Tibet, one of the unknown empires* (London 1907) which replaced the dated pioneer work by general Alexander Cunningham: *Ladak, physical, statistical, historical*¹⁰. Francke managed to give a convincing chronology of Western Tibetan history, based upon rock inscriptions that he and his fellow-missionaries collected¹¹, the Kashmiri *Rājatarāṅginī* and Chinese sources. Particular attention was given to the Doghra war (1834–1841) and the annexation of Ladakh by the Kashmir-Jammu state as this was still alive as part of the oral tradition¹². As to the early history of West Tibet, Francke's interest was drawn to

⁸ See Franz Babinger: Isaak Jakob Schmidt, 1779–1847. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Tibetforschung. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. 8. 1919/20, 7–21.

⁹ See the introduction by J. Terjék to *Tibetan-English dictionary* by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. [Reprint.] Budapest 1984.

¹⁰ London 1854.

¹¹ *Collections of Tibetan historical inscriptions on rock and stone from West Tibet*. 1. Kyelang 1906. 26 pp.; 2. Kyelang 1907. 32 pp. 40 copies only.

¹² *Kha-la-tse-pa me-me Thse-bstan-gyis bsad-pa'i Thā-dmag-gi lo-rgyus bzugs-so*. Leh 1903. 16

the motif of gold-digging ants which existed according to Herodot and Megasthenes in a country which scholars believed to be Dardistan¹³. Francke investigated and actually found two Ladakhi versions of this tale, proving the reliability of these oral traditions¹⁴. By checking the 18 hymns of the Bononâ festival¹⁵ which was celebrated by the Dards every three years Francke proved that the Dards were originally aryan and immigrated from Gilgit. This and other evidence enabled Francke to draw a language map of Western Tibet¹⁶.

The *History of Western Tibet* makes easy reading and is well illustrated. There are translations from the Ladakhi chronicle and also folk-songs. While the book does not have scholarly pretensions, it is considered a fundamental work even today, owing to the many new sources. Francke himself did much work to improve the knowledge of Ladakh history. The 2nd volume of his *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* provides the carefully edited texts and translations of *The chronicles of Ladakh and minor chronicles*, altogether 23. Francke's annotations and maps are of great importance. In the meantime only little research has been done in this field.

A series of papers on archeological topics testifies to Francke's interest in this field of study.¹⁷

Francke and the non-Buddhist literature of Tibet

The religious and mythological beliefs and ideas of the pre-Buddhist era are usually referred to as Bon religion. But we are still in a difficult position to state what it really is as so many traditions are interwoven and the later Buddhist dominance also affected the extant texts.

Francke started with research on the Kesar saga¹⁸. He did not use one of the current manuscripts of the saga but collected the versions orally transmitted by

pp.; translation by Dora Francke: 21 pp. 50 copies only.

¹³ B. Laufer in *T'oung Pao*.9.1908,429-452.

¹⁴ Two ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet. *Asia Major*.1. 1924,67-75.

¹⁵ *Indian Antiquary*.34.1905,93-110.

¹⁶ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.73.1904,362-367.

¹⁷ Rock-carvings from Lower Ladakh. [1] *Indian Antiquary*.31.1902,398-401; [2] *Indian Antiquary*.32. 1903,361-363; [3] Leh 1902. 10 pp.; Archaeological notes on Balu-mkhar in Western Tibet. *Indian Antiquary*.34.1905,203-210. - Kleine archäologische Erträge einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar in Westtibet. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.60.1906,645-661; 61.1907,645-647. - Archaeology in Western Tibet. *Indian Antiquary*.35.1906,237-241; 36.1907,85-98; 148. -Archäologische Expedition an der indisch-tibetischen Grenze. *Umschau*.14.1910,666-668.

¹⁸ *Der Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsage*. Helsingfors 1900. VI,34,31 pp.

the Bhedas (caste of musicians). The most explicit version was published by him in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Francke claimed that the oral version of the saga contained pure elements of the original Bon religion while the versions in literary Tibetan were much later. Francke generalised some of his interpretations very early after he had published and analysed only 22 pages of text. This led to a controversy with Berthold Laufer who criticized Francke's premature interpretations¹⁹. As a matter of fact, Francke later on found more material to support his views²⁰ but also followed the good advice not to apply one's theories to a text instead of building a theory on the facts provided by the text. Francke's publication of the Tibetan text of the Lower Ladakhi version is accompanied by an English resumé, and this year Theodora and A.H. Francke's German translation of the whole text was published for the first time²¹.

The other important source was the *gZer-myig*, edited by Francke on the basis of the illustrated manuscript of the Prussian State Library. He managed to publish 7 (out of 21) chapters²². It is a pity that Francke just edited the text and gave a translation. There are neither introduction nor notes. Nevertheless it is a pioneer work. The contents of this biography of gShen-rab, the mythical founder of the Bon religion, is given by Francke in his *Geistesleben in Tibet*²³.

Another source Francke found in the traditional wedding-songs of which he collected a large amount²⁴. Part of them were published by him in translation, and with an introduction²⁵. Still another source were the hymns of the spring festival (*glin-glu*) which Francke published under the title of *Ladakhi songs*²⁶ and which contain information on the traditional mythical and cosmological ideas of the Tibetans. While Francke's interpretations are still controversially discussed it was certainly his merit to make all this source material available to the scholarly world.

¹⁹ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. 15.1901, 77–98.

²⁰ *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage*. Helsingfors 1902. VII, 77 pp.

²¹ Walravens/Taube (see below), 347–511. Francke's text and interpretation of the Kesar saga are discussed by R.A. Stein: *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet*. Paris 1951, and by Karl Jettmar: *Das westtibetische Zentrum der Kesarsage – zur Rechtfertigung der These A.H. Franckes*. *Wissenschaftsgeschichte und gegenwärtige Forschungen in Nordindien*. 1990, 259–265.

²² *Asia Major* 1.1924; 3.1926; 4.1927; 5.1930; 6.1930; NS 1.1949/50.

²³ Gütersloh 1925. 80 pp.

²⁴ Manuscripts in the Berlin State Library, Dept. of Manuscripts.

²⁵ *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*. Hagen, Darmstadt 1923. 71 pp. 4°

²⁶ 5 parts: Leh 1899–1903.

Francke and Tibetan music

While Francke was not impressed by the performance of a drama at the famous Hemis monastery, he became quite interested in the folksongs²⁷ of Ladakh. There are two kinds of songs, the improvised *thon-skad* (plough song), and the *glu*, popular songs in formal style. While the former is interesting because of its contents but lacks an aesthetic form, the latter exaggerates formal aspects and learned contents. Francke discussed the texts and instruments, and above all, published several of the melodies²⁸.

Francke and the Tibetan Bible

As a missionary Francke paid of course particular attention to the Bible. While parts of the scriptures were available already in translations by his colleagues, Francke worked on the revision and improvement of these portions and also translated a number of the missing parts. The complete Bible translation was published in Lahore in 1948, and is the result of a close cooperation between Francke and the Tibetan pastor Yoseb Gergan. If we look at Francke's publications and the records of the British & Foreign Bible Society we find that he played an important role in the process of the Bible translation. In 1904 he had the psalms printed in Calcutta. In 1906 I Samuel was printed in Bombay in a lithographic edition of 300 copies. The printing was paid for by Francke's honorarium of the *Bibliotheca Indica* publication. Francke translated St. Mark into Ladakhi; his Tibetan assistant Zodpa helped with the translation into Bunan and Manchâtî. He started a translation into Brogskad (East Dardic). The records give an account of Francke's numerous further revisions and publications. It may be more important here to point out that Francke followed his predecessors in the view that the Bible should be translated into a classical Tibetan style that would be read anywhere in Tibet. David Macdonald who revised part of Francke's manuscripts was in favour of a more colloquial style. Francke preferred to have further translations into the individual dialects if necessary, and he therefore translated St. Mark into Ladakhi, Bunan and Manchâtî. Gergan followed Francke's line, and so the current Bible translation may be considered as no mean achievement also from the linguistic and literary point of view.

²⁷ Musikalische Studien in Westtibet. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 59.1905,91-104.

²⁸ Tibetische Lieder aus dem Gebiet des ehemaligen westtibetischen Königreiches. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*. 1. Abt. 34.1931,93-136.

Francke's published and unpublished works

When Francke died in 1930, part of his manuscripts and books were acquired by the Prussian State Library and another part, apparently through the good offices of Francke's disciple Johannes Schubert, by the University of Leipzig. The difficult economic and political situation in Germany in those years, the forthcoming Nazi regime, and the outbreak of World War II prevented any further work on or with Francke's materials. It was only a few years ago when I was transferred to the Berlin State Library and went through some Francke manuscripts that I became curious and started tracking down the rest. I had the good fortune of meeting Dr. Manfred Taube, of the University of Leipzig, who tried to do the same thing. We cooperated on a bibliography and an inventory of Francke's and other Moravian missionaries' materials on Western Tibet which was published earlier this year²⁹. Francke's publications cover no less than 221 numbers. The manuscripts in Berlin comprise about 30 numbers (units), those in Leipzig 101. Two folders containing Francke material are to be found in Herrnhut at the archives of the Moravian missions. This material consists of Tibetan texts, like inscriptions, wedding songs, notes for lectures, translations, a description of the Turkestan collections in the Munich Museum of Ethnology etc.

Among the many publications by Francke is a collection of Tibetan fox stories.³⁰ As in most countries of the world the fox is also considered a smart trickster in Western Tibet. Recently Erika Taube analysed some of these stories in the context of similar Central Asian and Western stories and came to the conclusion that the well-known tale of Puss in Boots probably goes back to a Tibetan (and Central Asian) tradition, and the actual hero should be a fox³¹.

The Moravian missionaries' publications in Tibetan

When I looked at the Tibetan collections of the Berlin State Library (at that time still divided into an East and a West Berlin State Library that were not allowed to cooperate officially) I came across a small number of Christian tracts and portions of the Bible in Tibetan. Most of them seemed to be printed in Kyelang or Leh about the turn of the century. This aroused my curiosity, and I found some more

²⁹ August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine. Stuttgart 1992. 531 pp., 281 ill.

³⁰ Reynard the fox in Ladakh. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 76.1902, 76-79. - *Kha-la-tse-pa rGya-mthso-pa dkon-mchog-bkra-śis-kyis bsad-pa'i wa-tse'i sgruṅs yod*. Leh 1903. 16 pp. - Wa-tsei-sgruṅs. Fuchsgeschichten [...]. *Asia Major*. 2.1925, 408-431.

³¹ War das Urbild des gestiefelten Katers ein Fuchs? *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium 1976*. Budapest 1978, 473-485. - A.H. Franckes Fuchsgeschichten im Kontext der zentralasiatischen mündlichen Überlieferung. *WGF* 1990, 266-272.

at the British Library and at the Munich State Library. Dr. Taube had searched the Herrnhut archives and the Halle library of the German Oriental Society for similar reasons, and we came up with more than 150 of such Tibetan titles, several of them in different editions. Some copies have notes in the hand of A.H. Francke who donated many of these texts. They were printed by the missionaries and their assistants on an old lithographic press in small editions, sometimes not even 40 copies. A particular curious item is the *La-dvags-kyi ag-bâr*, "Ladakh Newspaper", written and published by Francke. This monthly paper, published between 1904-1907, is credited to be the first Tibetan newspaper.³²

Some notes on the Moravian missionaries' reports as ethnological source

While the number of Moravian missionaries in Western Tibet has always been small, and the World Wars made work in that area difficult, not to say impossible, an analysis of the work done shows impressive results. As the number of converts was very small the missionaries gave vivid reports on the area, the people and their culture to stimulate their superiors' and the community's interest in the support of the Himalaya mission. The reports were condensed or summarized and then partly published in the *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine* and other journals of the Moravian mission. Leafing through the numerous volumes yields hundreds of printed pages on Ladakh. In the meantime a Vienna dissertation proved the ethnological value of these reports³³. Many of the original letters and reports are still to be found in the Herrnhut archives. Besides these official communications on their activities some missionaries published in other journals. Walter Asboe who started working in Kyelang in 1925 published a new series of the Tibetan newspaper (*Kye-lan ag-bar*; 1926, title changed in 1935 to *La-dvags pho-ña*) and contributed to ethnological papers. Friedrich Redslob (1838-1891) published a few articles on geographical topics while Samuel Ribbach (1863-1943) dealt with portraits of Padmasambhava and Tibetan life³⁴.

A first attempt has been made to compile information on the work of the Tibetan assistants and friends of the Moravian missionaries, without whose help much of their work would have been impossible. While Yoseb Gergan (1878?-1946) is the most outstanding of them³⁵, Samuel Joldan ('Byor-ldan), Eliyah Thsetan

³² Cf. Johannes Schubert: *Tibetische Literatur im modernen Gewande. Artibus Asiae*. 5.1935, 94-98; John Bray: A.H. Francke's *La dvags kyi akh bar*: The first Tibetan newspaper. *The Tibet Journal*. 13.1988, 58-63.

³³ Wolfgang Friedl: *Die Kultur Ladakhs erstellt anhand der Berichte und Publikationen der Herrnhuter Missionare aus der Zeit von 1853-1914*. Wien 1984. 698 pp.

³⁴ *Drogpa namgyal. Ein Tibeterleben*. München 1940. 263 pp.

³⁵ John Bray is going to present a paper on him shortly.

Phunthsog (Tshe-brtan Phun-tshogs, 1908–1973; Gergan's son-in-law), Tharchin (mThar-phyin) and Zodpa should also be mentioned.

This brief account of the life and work of some Moravian missionaries in Ladakh shows that there are still hidden treasures in some of our libraries which deserve to be studied.

