

Notes

PREFACE

1. George Bogle, The British Library, Add. Ms. 19283, p. 60. The lama first shows him a compass that Bogle surmises is of French origin. "He then made his people bring a Hand Organ which he had lately received from Chyte Sing, much out of Order, and a Camera Obscura with views of London, about which he asked me many pertinent questions. . . . After this he desired me to walk about the Room, which he understood was our Custom.—'As for me, says he, here I sit from Morning to Night thus;'—at the same time crossing his Hands before him, closing his Eyes, and primming himself up in the Figure of an Image."
2. The use of the term "English" here refers both to the self-identifications of the writers and to the language in which they write. Even the lone Scotsman in the group, George Bogle, was known to refer to himself as English. See Hugh Richardson, "George Bogle and his Children," *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture* (London: Serindia, 1999), p. 470.
3. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), p. 92.
4. See Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989); Vincanne Adam, "Karaoke in Modern Lhasa," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 4 (1996), pp. 510–546; Frank Korom, ed., *Constructing Tibetan Culture* (Quebec: World Heritage Press, 1997); and Oliver Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La From the Himalayas to Hollywood* (New York: Metropolitan, 2000).
5. See Laurie Hovell, "Horizons Lost and Found: Travel, Writing and Tibet in the Age of Imperialism," Syracuse University Ph.D. dissertation, 1993.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

1. See also James Hilton, *Lost Horizon* (New York: Pocket Books, 1960 [1933]), Jean-Jacques Annaud, *Seven Years in Tibet* (Columbia, 1997), Frank Capra, *Lost*

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- Horizon* (Columbia, 1937), and Frederick Lenz, *Surfing the Himalayas* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
2. James Joyce has been largely attributed with developing a literary notion of epiphany. See Harry Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1960 [1941]), pp. 28–29.
 3. Peter Matthiessen, *The Snow Leopard* (New York: Penguin, 1978), p. 212, emphasis in original. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
 4. Charlotte Watson, “The Search For Shangri-La,” *Great Destinations* (Supplement to the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*), October 1987, p. 6.
 5. These include Patrick French, *Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London: Harper Collins, 1994), pp. 204–5 and Pico Iyer “Lost Horizons,” *New York Review of Books*, January 15, 1998, p. 14.

CHAPTER 2

1. Thomas Holdich, *Tibet, The Mysterious* (New York: F. A. Stokes, 1906), p. 92.
2. Schuyler Camman, *Trade through the Himalayas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 35.
3. Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), p. 36.
4. See Clements R. Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]). Others who have used Bogle's manuscripts include Woodcock, Hugh Richardson, and Alistair Lamb.
5. All of the manuscripts to which I refer are those held at the British Library. Others are held at the Mitchell Library in Glasgow.
6. George Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/67. The numbers here and below refer to the catalog number of the manuscripts held at the British Library. I have included the dates of the original manuscripts when they were available. In all excerpts from Bogle's papers I have opted not to clutter the quotations by marking misspellings, grammar errors, or inconsistencies with “sic.”
7. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/77c, 25 August 1774.
8. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18. See also E226/80.
9. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/80, undated, though probably November 1774.
10. This Alexander Hamilton is to be confused neither with the Orientalist scholar nor with the American revolutionary.
11. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/80, 27 November 1774.
12. David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson state that Bogle married a Tibetan lady who was a relation of the Panchen Lama; see Snellgrove and Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 226. Woodcock notes that Bogle is reported to have had two daughters with an Asian woman who were raised in Scotland by his sister Martha. Bogle's will also provided support

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- for a “Beebe Bogle,” and Woodcock surmises that this is probably his mistress (p. 169). See George Woodcock, *Into Tibet: The Early British Explorers* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971), p. 167. I could find no evidence of this relationship in the documents at the British Library, though one letter from Alexander Hamilton to Bogle notes that “GB has a son and heir appt.” in Dinagephore [probably Patna], 9 December 1775 (Mss. Eur. E226/86e).
13. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengali Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California, 1969), p. 21.
 14. In many British accounts of this period, the Panchen Lama is frequently referred to as Teshoo or Teshu Lama—“Tashi” Lama of Tashilhunpo monastery.
 15. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/80.
 16. The common transliteration of this name is “Pema.” Markham has Paima.
 17. Qtd. in Woodcock, *Into Tibet: The Early British Explorers* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971), p. 41.
 18. Born on November 26, 1746, the youngest son in an upper middle-class family in Glasgow, George Bogle was educated at Haddington and Glasgow, and attended the University of Edinburgh. After making the prescribed Grand Tour through France, he joined his brother’s business in London, a counting house called Bogle and Scott. When this business failed, George, age 23, entered the East India Company as a writer, the lowest civil position. On a tour to assess revenue rates in Bengal, Bogle impressed Hastings and was shortly made envoy to Tibet.
 19. Warren Hastings, Mss. Eur. E226/6. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 8.
 20. These texts were probably donated by Markham himself in 1874–75; they are catalogued as Mss. Eur. E226.
 21. These are catalogued as Additional Manuscripts: the report is 19283; a letter to Hastings is included in 29233, and his letters to D. Anderson are collected in 45421 and 45432, f112.
 22. Markham, *Narratives*, pp. v–vi.
 23. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/19.
 24. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 121.
 25. For example, sections from Bogle’s letter to his father (Mss. Eur. E226/77c) are included in the account of Bhutan, Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 14–17.
 26. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/86b, 17 May 1775. Another letter from an English friend named Mustapha written to Bogle on 22 December 1772, before his journey to Tibet, supports this idea (Mss. Eur. E226/75).
 27. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 27 December 1774. Bogle writes that his life at Tashilhunpo “was monastick to the greatest degree.”
 28. Markham, *Narratives*, p. clv.
 29. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283.
 30. Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La*, p. 36.
 31. Woodcock, *Into Tibet*, p. 22.
 32. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/77c, 25 August 1775, from Tassisudon. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 15.

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33. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226:77c, emphasis in original.
34. From a letter to his father, Mss. Eur. E226/77c. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 24.
35. Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978), p. 73.
36. This appears in Bogle's journal, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 11 November 1774. E226/18 seems to be a finished account in Bogle's hand. E226/18 bears Markham's pencil notes for his edition. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 85.
37. Ibid.
38. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 12 December 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 94–5.
39. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283. This note is omitted from Markham's text.
40. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16. This appears in his journal, dated 24 October 1774. See Markham, pp. 67–8.
41. Matthew Kapstein, "A Pilgrimage of Rebirth Reborn: The 1992 Celebration of the Drigung Powa Chenmo," *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet*, ed. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 107.
42. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16.
43. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16, from his journal, 27 October 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 69–70.
44. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16.
45. Markham has "Chumalhari" (*Narratives*, p. 70).
46. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16.
47. Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La*, p. 36.
48. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16, from his journal, 28 October 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 72.
49. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, from Bogle's journal, 18 December 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 99.
50. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/39.
51. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/39 is the only folio that bears such editorial marks in Bogle's hand.
52. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/39, 2 February, 1775. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 107.
53. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/19.
54. Bogle, Mss. Eur. 226/18, from his journal, dated 5 January 1775. Their father was Chanzo Coosho [Chanzo Kushog], brother of the Panchen Lama.
55. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, from his journal, dated 27 December 1774.
56. Bogle, Mss. Eur. 226/18, from his journal, dated 12 December 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 96.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/76, 8 January 1775.
60. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 28 February 1775. In Mss. Eur. E226/39, the phrase "which showed his Sagacity" is crossed out, again bearing out the general tendency in this journal to minimize ironic comments. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 111.

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61. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/77c, from a letter to his father, dated 25 August 1774.
62. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/16, 28 October 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 72.
63. John Bell, *Travels from St. Petersburg, in Russia, to diverse parts of Asia* (Glasgow: Printed for the author by R. and A. Foulis, 1763).
64. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/77l, 8 January 1775.
65. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 27 December 1774.
66. The two spoke Hindustani.
67. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/77L, 8 January 1775.
68. Ibid.
69. Bogle, Mss. Eur. 226/18, 23 November 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 83–4.
70. Bogle, Mss. Eur. 226/18, 23 November 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 84.
71. Ibid.
72. See Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/80, for example.
73. Ibid.
74. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 23 November 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 87.
75. See Philip Almond on Victorian interpretations of nirvana, in *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 102–110.
76. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/27 undated, emphasis added. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 180.
77. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 25 February 1775. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 110. This account was translated into Tibetan with the help of an interpreter. Fragments of this account are contained in E226/65.
78. Bogle, Add. Mss. 19283. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 143.
79. Ibid.
80. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283.
81. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/80, 30 November 1774.
82. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 17 January 1775. See Markham, *Narratives*, pp. 106–7.
83. For a discussion of *Lo-sar* rituals, see Norbu Chopel, *Folk Culture of Tibet* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1983), p. 40; for similar Sherpa rituals, see Sherry Ortner, *Sherpas Through Their Rituals* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 128–156.
84. Bogle seems to be combining two King James Bible passages on Satan in what he presents as quotation. The first part of the phrase paraphrases Satan’s reply to God as to his whereabouts in Job 1:7 and 2:2. Satan says he has come “from going to and fro in the earth and from walking up and down in it.” The second part echoes 1 Peter 5:8: “Be sober, be vigilant: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.”
85. Markham, *Narratives*, p. cxliii.
86. Qtd. in Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), p. 64.
87. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 18 February 1775. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 109.
88. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 23 November 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 88.
89. See Victor Turner, “Pilgrimages as Social Processes,” *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors*:

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- Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), pp. 166–230.
90. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 163.
 91. Hastings arranged for a Tibetan Buddhist temple to be built on the banks of the Hooghly, opposite Calcutta.
 92. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 167.
 93. *Ibid.*
 94. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 170.
 95. See Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Routledge, 1980), pp. 8–10.
 96. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 197.
 97. Bogle, Add. Ms. 19283, emphasis added. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 171.
 98. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 8 April 1775.
 99. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 11 March 1775.
 100. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 28 March 75, emphasis added. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 118. Markham notes that the Pyn Cooshos both died in the spring of 1776.
 101. Markham, *Narratives*, p. 177, emphasis added.
 102. *Ibid.*, cxliii.
 103. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 17 January 1775.
 104. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/25, 10 March 1775, Markham, *Narratives*, p. 177.
 105. Bogle, Add. Ms. 45421, 26 October 1775.
 106. The references are to Thomas Hervey's *Meditations Among the Tombs* (Paisley [Scotland]: Weir, Tate, and Brown, 1744), Edward Young's *The Complaint: or, Night-thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (London: R. Dodsley, 1742), and to the work of John Bunyan.
 107. Hamilton refers to Bogle's recitation of the poem while at Tashilhunpo. See Add. Ms. 19283 and Markham, *Narratives*, p. 168 and Bogle, Mss. E226/77c. Hamilton has misquoted Gray's poem. The pertinent stanza is this: "Beneath those rugged elms, that yew tree's shade,/ Where heaves the turf in many a moldering heap,/ Each in his narrow cell forever laid,/ The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep." *The Poetical Works of Thomas Gray*, ed. John Mitford (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1853), p. 96.
 108. Hamilton, Mss. Eur. E226/86f, 26 December 1775.
 109. Bogle uses a Muslim term for a religious ascetic (Mss. Eur. E226/77c.).
 110. Bogle, Add. Ms. 45421, 4 November 1776.
 111. Qtd. in Woodcock, *Into Tibet*, p. 180.
 112. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/14, 15 October 1774. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 64.

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CHAPTER 3

1. The phrase is Edward Said's. See *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), p. 143.
2. Charles Long, "The Study of Religion: Its Nature and its Discourse," *Significations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), p. 25.
3. Marlon B. Ross, "Romantic Quest and Conquest: Troping Masculine Power in the Crisis of Poetic Identity," *Romanticism and Feminism*, ed. Anne K. Mellor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 26–7.
4. Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet* (New Delhi: Manjushri, 1971 [1800]), p. 80. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
5. See Marjorie Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom, Mountain Glory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957).
6. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, December 1774. See Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]) p. 98.
7. Charles Long, "Towards a Post-colonial Method in the Study of Religion," *Religious Studies News*, "Spotlight on Teaching," vol. 3., no. 2 (May 1995), p. 5.
8. Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 2 and p. xv.
9. Graham Sandberg, *The Exploration of Tibet* (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1987 [1904]), p. 110.

CHAPTER 4

1. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton, 1971), p. 13.
2. Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), p. 46.
3. Qtd. in Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]), p. clx.
4. Qtd. in Markham, *Narratives*, p. 228.
5. George Woodcock, *Into Tibet: The Early British Explorers* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971) p. 208.
6. Thomas Manning, "Journey of Mr. Thomas Manning to Lhasa," in Markham, *Narratives*, p. 217. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
7. Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 250.
8. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/25, 10 March 1775. See Markham, *Narratives*, p. 177.
9. Manning uses the Chinese term for the regent, who is Demo Rinpoche II.

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10. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., "New Age Orientalism: The Case of Tibet," *Tricycle* (Spring 1994), p. 40.
11. These include both Europeans (missionaries, scientists, adventurers) and Indians in the employ of the Raj. For an exhaustive discussion of these travelers, see Bishop (1989), as well as Peter Hopkirk, *Trepassers on the Roof of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), and Derek Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1990).
12. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 5–6.

CHAPTER 5

1. Philip Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
3. The Fourth Panchen Lama gave Hodgson a complete set of the Tibetan religious corpus known as the *Kagyur* and *Tengyur*.
4. Brian Houghton Hodgson, *Essays in the Languages, Literatures, Religion of Nepal and Tibet Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of these Countries* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1972 [1874]), p. 99.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 41, emphasis in original. Subsequent citations appear in the text.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 65 and p. 66. See Theodore Duka's biography *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Körös* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1885]) and Donald S. Lopez, Jr.'s discussion of Csoma de Körös in "Foreigner at the Lama's Feet," *Curators of the Buddha* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 256–259.
7. Almond, *The British Discovery*, p. 37.
8. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978), p. 93.
9. Almond, *The British Discovery*, p. 13.
10. For more on the term "Lamaism," see "The Name" in Lopez's *Prisoners of Shangri-La* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998), pp. 15–45.
11. L. Austine Waddell, *The Buddhism and Lamaism of Tibet* (New Delhi: Heritage, 1979 [1895]), p. viii. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
12. Bogle qtd. in Waddell, *The Buddhism and Lamaism*, p. 237.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
14. Turner qtd. in Waddell, *The Buddhism and Lamaism*, p. 239.
15. Bruce Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 49.
16. L. Austine Waddell, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* (New York: Dover, 1988 [1904]), pp. 409–410.
17. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 35.

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CHAPTER 6

1. For more on the ways in which texts can be “consumed,” see T. S. McMillin’s “The Consumption of Emerson,” in *Our Preposterous Use of Literature* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 2000).
2. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (New York: Penguin, 1989 [1901]), p. 281. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
3. George Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/19.
4. Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]), p. 177.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
6. Barry V. Quall’s *The Secular Pilgrims of Victorian Fiction* explores how pilgrimage and conversion are re-shaped for secular use in the Victorian novels of Carlyle, Dickens, Charlotte Bronte, and George Eliot (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
7. Kipling, *Something of Myself* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1937]), pp. 39–40, emphasis in original.
8. Qtd. in Quall’s, *The Secular Pilgrims*, p. 1.
9. Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 64. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
10. For more on Kim’s healing, see J. M. S. Tompkins’ “Kipling’s Later Tales: The Theme of Healing,” *Modern Language Review* 45 (1950), pp. 18–32.
11. The cog and wheel machinery is vaguely reminiscent of the chakras, or centers, associated with Hatha Yoga and Tantrism. See Mircea Eliade, *Yōga, Immortality and Freedom* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958).
12. Francis Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).
13. Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy*, pp. 33–4.

CHAPTER 7

1. Patrick French, *Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London: Harper Collins, 1994), pp. 89–90.
2. Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. vii. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
3. French, *Younghusband*, p. 277.
4. For example, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 6.
5. French, *Younghusband*, p. 137.
6. L. Austine Waddell, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries* (New York: Dover, 1988 [1904]), p. 2.
7. Qtd. in Younghusband, *India and Tibet*, p. 24.

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8. French, *Younghusband*, pp. 213–214.
9. French, *Younghusband*, pp. 214–215.
10. Walt Whitman, Stanza 1, “Song of Myself,” in *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, NY: [s.n.], 1855). The first edition of this poem was untitled; the title “Song of Myself” was added in 1881.
11. French, *Younghusband*, p. 24.
12. George Seaver, *Francis Younghusband: Explorer and Mystic* (London: John Murray, 1952), p. 113. Seaver was Younghusband’s first biographer.
13. Qtd. in French, *Younghusband*, p. 109.
14. French, *Younghusband*, p. 160.
15. Qtd. in Charles Long, “The Study of Religion: Its Nature and its Discourse,” *Significations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), p. 16.
16. Monier Monier-Williams, *Buddhism, In Its Connexion with Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London: John Murray, 1889), pp. 4–5.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 263, p. 281. This notion is echoed by June Campbell in *Traveller in Space* (New York: Braziller, 1996).
18. Waddell, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, p. 573.
19. Bogle in Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]), p. 84.
20. Victor Turner, “Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*,” *The Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), pp. 4–20.
21. Perceval Landon, *The Opening of Tibet: An Account of Lhasa and 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* (New York: Doubleday, 1905).
22. Seaver, *Francis Younghusband*, p. 374; French, *Younghusband*, p. 281.
23. Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (New York: Penguin, 1989 [1901]), p. 337. Said suggests that the lama’s “encyclopedic vision of freedom strikingly resembles Colonel Creighton’s Indian Survey, in which every camp and village is duly noted.” *Culture and Imperialism*, pp. 142–3.
24. Phillip Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 104. See also Guy Richard Welbon, *The Buddhist Nirvana and its Western Interpreters* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).
25. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 35.
26. Waddell, *The Buddhism and Lamaism*, p. 110.
27. Waddell, *The Buddhism and Lamaism*, p. 6.
28. Almond, *The British Discovery*, p. 1.
29. Edwin Arnold, *Light of Asia* (Adyar: Theosophical Society, 1980 [1879]), p. 112.
30. Qtd. in Younghusband, *The Heart of a Continent* (New York: Scribner’s, 1896), p. 387; this passage is from William Wordsworth, “Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1798,” (lines 93–102), in *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth: together with a description of the country of the lakes in the north of England*, ed. Henry Reed (Philadelphia: J. Kay, 1837).

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31. French, *Younghusband*, pp. 204–5.
32. Qtd. in Seaver, *Francis Younghusband*, p. 249.
33. Bogle, Mss. Eur. E226/18, 27 December 1774.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 1

1. This baseball-watching situation recalls the excitement at a Tibetan monastery in Bhutan during the World Cup soccer finals depicted in *The Cup*, a film directed by the Tibetan Buddhist lama, Khyentse Norbu (New Line, 1999).
2. The first Tibetan autobiography written in English appears to be Tsewang Y. Pemba's *Young Days in Tibet* (London: J. Cape, 1957).
3. I adapt this term from Vincanne Adams's discussion of the authentic Sherpa in *Tigers of the Snow and other Virtual Sherpas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996). Hereafter I will drop the scare quotes.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
5. For collections of several Tibetan life histories in one volume, see Sandy Johnson, *The Book of Tibetan Elders: The Life Stories and Wisdom of the Great Spiritual Masters of Tibet* (New York: Riverhead, 1996) and Vyvyan Cayley, *Children of Tibet: An Oral History of the First Tibetans to Grow Up in Exile* (Balmain, Australia: Pearlfisher, 1994).
6. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 111.
7. For English versions of these namtars, see Lobsang P. Lhalunpa's *The Life of Milarepa* (New York: Arkana, 1979), Keith Dowman's *The Divine Madman: The Sublime Life and Songs of Drupka Kunley* (Dawn Horse: Middletown, Calif., 1980), Dowman's *Sky Dancer: The Secret Life and Songs of the Lady Yeshe Tsogyel* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), and Janice Willis's *Enlightened Beings: Life Stories from the Ganden Oral Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom, 1994). The phrase "full liberation" is from Willis.
8. Willis, *Enlightened Beings*, p. 3.
9. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, p. 103.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
12. Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," trans. and ed. James Olney, in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 30.
13. Philippe Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact," *On Autobiography*, ed. Paul John Eakin, trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1989), p. 4.
14. Palden Gyatso, "Prologue," *Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), no page number.
15. At least two Tibetan autobiographies in English were first published in Tibetan:

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- Tsering Dorje Gashi's *New Tibet: Memoirs of a Graduate of the Peking Institute of National Minorities* (Dharamsala: Information Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 1980) and Jamyang Norbu's *Warriors of Tibet: The Story of Aten and the Khampas' Fight for the Freedom of their Country* (London: Wisdom, 1979).
16. Dawa Norbu, *Red Star over Tibet* (New York: Ebony, 1987).
 17. Jamyang Sakyā and Julie Emery, *Princess in the Land of Snows: The Life of Jamyang Sakyā in Tibet* (Boston: Shambala), p. xi.
 18. Heinrich Harrer, "Preface," *Tibet is My Country: Autobiography of Thubten Jigme Norbu, Brother of the Dalai Lama as told to Heinrich Harrer* (London: Wisdom, 1986), p. 18.
 19. Dorje Yudon Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof*, trans. and ed. Michael Harlin (Ithaca, Snow Lion, 1990, [revised 1995]), p. 16.
 20. Exceptions to this include Dawa Norbu's *Red Star Over Tibet* in which he presents himself as a secular intellectual (New York: Envoy, 1987) and Melvyn Goldstein, William Siebenschuh, and Tashi Tsering, *The Struggle for a Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering*, (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1997).
 21. This phrase was first suggested to me by a Tibetan exile in Switzerland.
 22. This is also suggested by the career of Gongkar Gyatso, a Tibetan artist trained in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China, as described in Clare Harris's *In the Image of Tibet: Tibetan Painting after 1959* (London: Reaktion, 2000).
 23. Jetsun Pema with Gilles van Grasdorff, *Tibet: My Story, An Autobiography* (Boston: Element, 1997), p. 217.
 24. A 27-year-old male, interview by author in English, tape recording, Horgen, Switzerland, June 1996.
 25. Ibid.
 26. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 200.
 27. Ibid., p. 201.
 28. George Bogle, Ms. Eur. E226/18. See Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]), p. 95.
 29. In an interview in the September 1999 issue of *Vanity Fair*, Rupert Murdoch said of the Dalai Lama, "I have heard cynics who say he's a very political old monk shuffling around in Gucci shoes" (no. 470, p. 321).
 30. See Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
 31. Orville Schell, *Virtual Tibet: Searching for Shangri-La From the Himalayas to Hollywood* (New York: Metropolitan, 2000), p. 78.
 32. Sandy Johnson, *The Book of Tibetan Elders: Life Stories and Wisdom from the Great Spiritual Masters of Tibet* (New York: Riverhead, 1996), p. 5. See also Peter Gold's *Navajo and Tibetan Sacred Wisdom: The Circle of Spirit* (Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions, 1994).
 33. Johnson, *The Book of Tibetan Elders*, p. 20.
 34. Adams, "Karaoke in Modern Tibet, Lhasa," pp. 510–546.

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35. Robert Thurman, *Essential Tibetan Buddhism* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1995), p. 10; Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-La*, p. 200.
36. Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact," *On Autobiography*, p. 11, emphasis in original.
37. One exception to this is a reader's comments on Jetsun Pema's autobiography, which is described as a "poorly written, scattered story lacking depth and clarity. . . . Her story lacks the glue that makes anecdotal material into a book, a public figure into a writer" (Amazon.com: A Glance: An autobiography, July 3, 1999).
38. Janet Gyatso suggests that within the Tibetan tradition, editing by a second person often poses no threat to their status as *rangnam*, noting that "works that are considered autobiography are often completed and sometimes edited by the subject's disciple" (*Apparitions of the Self*, p. 103).
39. Two exceptions to this are *Princess in the Land of Snows* and *The Struggle for Modern Tibet*, which list two or more authors.
40. Lejeune, "The Autobiography of Those Who Do Not Write," *On Autobiography*, ed. by Paul John Eakin, trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 194.
41. When I tested the system by offering my own comments, they appeared unedited and almost instantly on the website.
42. Amazon.com: Customer comments: Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama, July 3, 1999.
43. Ibid.
44. Amazon.com: Customer comments: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk, July 3, 1999.
45. Ibid.
46. Amazon.com: Customer comments: Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama, July 3, 1999.
47. Ibid.
48. Harrer, "Preface," *Tibet is My Country*, p. 15.
49. Pema, *Tibet: My Story*, p. xii.
50. Goldstein, et al., *The Struggle for Modern Tibet*, pp. 56–7.
51. P. Christiaan Klieger, *Tibetan Nationalism: The Role of Patronage in the Accomplishment of a National Identity* (Meerut [India]: Archana, 1992), p. 19.
52. Lopez, *Prisoners*, p. 206.
53. Klieger, *Tibetan Nationalism*, p. 16. See also Adams, *Tigers of the Snow*, pp. 164–5.
54. For more on this chapter in Tibetan-U.S. relations, see John Knaus, *Orphans of the Cold War: America and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999) and Tsering Shakya, *Dragon in the Land of Snows* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).
55. Donald Lopez told me that when he appeared on National Public Radio's "Talk of the Nation" to discuss *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*, he was told that he would be paired with someone "from the other side." Lopez imagined someone who spoke the party line of the Chinese govern-

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- ment; instead, he was matched with a Tibetan spokesman from the International Campaign for Tibet, an organization devoted to keeping the Tibet issue alive in the United States. The scenario suggests that to critique Western representations of Tibet is equivalent, for some, to criticizing the entire Tibetan struggle for self-determination. (Cited with permission.)
56. Amazon.com: Customer comments: Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama, July 3, 1999.
 57. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions*, p. 189.
 58. Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact (Bis)," p. 131.
 59. Lopez, "New Age Orientalism: The Case of Tibet," *Tricycle*, Spring 1994, p. 42.
 60. Lopez, *Prisoners*, p. 7.

CHAPTER 2

1. Jetsun Pema with Gilles van Grasdorff, *Tibet: My Story, an Autobiography* (Boston: Element, 1997), p. xi.
2. Pema, *Tibet: My Story*, p. 213. Pema also notes that when as a teenager she corresponded with her brother, Lobsang Samten, he wrote to her in an English transcription of Tibetan because she had forgotten the Tibetan script (p. 59).
3. "Traveling Cultures," *Cultural Studies*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg, et al. (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 108.
4. Matthew Kapstein, "A Pilgrimage of Rebirth Reborn: The 1992 Celebration of the Drigung Powa Chenmo," *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet*, ed. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 117.
5. Jamyang Sakya and Julie Emery, *Princess in the Land of Snows: The Life of Jamyang Sakya in Tibet* (Boston: Shambala), p. 50.
6. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 121.
7. Pema, *Tibet: My Story*, p. 217.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 219.
9. Orville Schell, "Virtual Tibet: Where the mountains rise from the sea of our yearning," *Harper's*, April 1998, p. 39. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
10. James Hilton, *Lost Horizon* (New York: Pocket Books, 1960 [1933]), p. 72.
11. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p. 86.
12. Heinrich Harrer, "Preface," *Tibet is My Country: Autobiography of Thubten Jigme Norbu, Brother of the Dalai Lama as told to Heinrich Harrer* (London: Wisdom, 1986), p. 18.
13. Lopez, *Prisoners*, pp. 93–94.
14. Lobsang Gyatso, *Memoirs of a Tibetan Lama*, ed. Gareth Sparham (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1998), p. 95.

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15. Geshe Rabten, *The Life and Teaching of Geshe Rabten: A Tibetan Lama's Search for Truth*, trans. and ed. B. Alan Wallace (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980), pp. 73–74.
16. Norbu, *Tibet is My Country: Autobiography of Thubten Jigme Norbu, Brother of the Dalai Lama as told to Heinrich Harrer* (London: Wisdom, 1986), p. 233.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
18. Tenzin Gyatso, *Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), p. 54.
19. Norbu's connection to the C.I.A. is also suppressed in his text. See John Kenneth Knaus's *Orphans of the Cold War: American and the Tibetan Struggle for Survival* (New York: Public Affairs, 1999).
20. Norbu, *Tibet is My Country*, p. 255.
21. Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," p. 97.
22. Norbu, *Tibet is My Country*, p. 241.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
24. Levi-Strauss quoted in Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," p. 96.
25. Norbu, *Tibet is My Country*, p. 235. The foreigner in question is Robert Ekvall, son of former Christian missionaries in Amdo and a noted anthropologist of Tibet.
26. Harrer, "Preface," p. 13.
27. Norbu, *Tibet is My Country*, p. 241.

CHAPTER 3

1. Gareth Sparham, "Introduction," *Memoirs of a Tibetan Lama* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1998), p. 7.
2. Geshe Rabten, *The Life and Teaching of Geshe Rabten: A Tibetan Lama's Search for Truth* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), p. 54. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
3. In 2001 Wallace was a lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California at Santa Barbara.
4. In a kind of endorsement of authenticity, the Dalai Lama has written prefaces for three other autobiographies discussed here: Blakeslee's autobiography of Ama Adhe, as well as those of Palden Gyatso and Jamyang Sakya.
5. The Dalai Lama, "Foreword," *The Life and Teaching of Geshe Rabten: A Tibetan Lama's Search for Truth* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), no page number.
6. B. Alan Wallace, "Preface," *The Life and Teaching of Geshe Rabten: A Tibetan Lama's Search for Truth* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1980), no page number. "Geshe" is a title that denotes an advanced degree within the Geluk tradition.
7. Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact (Bis)," *On Autobiography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1989), p. 128.
8. See Part Two, chapter 4.
9. Sparham in Gyatso, "Introduction," p. 7. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.

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10. James Olney, "Autobiography and the Cultural Moment," *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 25.
11. See Stephen Batchelor, "Letting Daylight into Magic: The Life and Times of Dorje Shugden," and Donald S. Lopez, Jr., "Two Sides of the Same God," *Tricycle*, Spring 1998, pp. 60–66 and 67–82 respectively, and Georges Dreyfus, "The Shuk-den Affair: History and Nature of a Quarrel," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21:2 (1998), pp. 227–270.
12. Lobsang Gyatso, *Memoirs of a Lama* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1998), p. 11. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
13. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 105.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
15. Bogle, Ms. Eur. E226/18, 27 December 1774.
16. Kipling, *Something of Myself* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990 [1937]), pp. 39–40.
17. Tenzin Gyatso, *Ethics for a New Millennium* (New York: Riverhead, 1999), p. 188.
18. See Richard Gombrich and Gananath Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).
19. Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1978), p. 8.
20. Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 19.
21. See Lopez, "The Prison," *Prisoners*, pp. 181–207.
22. Ritu Sarin and Tenzin Sonam, "The Reincarnation of Khensur Rinpoche," White Crane Films, 1991.

CHAPTER 4

1. The term Dalai is Mongolian for "ocean" and is a translation of "Gyatso," part of this monk's name.
2. A 27-year-old woman, interview by author in English, tape recording, Rikon, Switzerland, June 1996.
3. A 46-year-old layman, interview by author in English, tape recording, Winterthur, Switzerland, June 1996.
4. Tenzin Gyatso (Dalai Lama XIV), *My Land and My People: The Original Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet* (New York: Warner, 1997 [1962]), p. v.
5. Tenzin Gyatso (Dalai Lama XIV), *Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), p. xiii. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
6. He notes in *Freedom in Exile* that he was assisted by David Howarth, an English writer, p. 169.
7. Daniel Goleman, "We Must Change Our Lives," *New York Times Book Review*, September 30, 1990, Sunday, Late Edition-Final Section 7, p. 3.

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8. Philippe Lejeune, "The Autobiography of Those Who Do Not Write," *On Autobiography*, ed. by Paul John Eakin, trans. Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 195.
9. Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 107.
10. This phrase is Janet Gyatso's, *Apparitions*, p. 265.
11. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 110–111.
12. Alexandra David-Neel, *Magic and Mystery in Tibet* (New York: Kendall, 1932).
13. See Donald S. Lopez, Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 181–207.

CHAPTER 5

1. Chagdud Tulku, *Lord of the Dance* (Junction City, Calif.: Padma, 1992), p. 10. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
2. Chögyam Trungpa, *Born in Tibet* (London: Unwin, 1979 [1966]), p. 67. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
3. Wilber, "Introduction," *Lord of the Dance* (Junction City, Calif.: Padma, 1992), p. xiii.
4. See Campbell, *Traveller in Space* (New York: Braziller), 1996.
5. See Chögyam Trungpa's *Cutting Through Spiritual Materialism* (Berkeley: Shambala, 1973), *The Myth of Freedom* (Berkeley: Shambala, 1976), and *Crazy Wisdom* (Boston: Shambala, 1991).
6. David Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. ix.
7. See David Germano, "Remembering the Dismembered Body of Tibet," in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet*, ed. Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), pp. 53–94.
8. Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. and ed. Sir Henry Yule (New York: Scribner's, 1903), p. 301.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
10. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," *Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 112.
11. See Bhabha's classic "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," "Race," *Writing, and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1985), pp. 163–184.
12. Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, *The Life of Milarepa* (New York: Arkana, 1977), p. 139.
13. Keith Dowman, *The Divine Madman: The Sublime Songs and Drukpa Kunley* (Middletown, Calif.: Dawn Horse Press, 1980), pp. 8–9.
14. Lhalungpa, *The Life of Milarepa*, pp. 154–5.

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CHAPTER 6

1. Lopez, "Introduction," *Religions of Tibet in Practice* (Princeton: University of Princeton, 1997), p. 21.
2. The Dalai Lama has said that he would like to see such a lineage established in the Tibetan tradition. See "Opening Speech of His Holiness the Dalai Lama," *Daughters of the Buddha*, ed. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1988), p. 44.
3. See for example Karma Lekshe Tsomo's "Change in Consciousness: Women's Religious Identity in Himalayan Buddhist Cultures," in *Buddhist Women Across Cultures: Realizations*, ed. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), p. 175.
4. Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism After Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), p. 3. For a discussion of the divergent ways in which women were constructed in early Buddhism, see Alan Sponberg, "Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism," in *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992) pp. 3–36.
5. Willis, "Tibetan Buddhist Women Practitioners, Past and Present: A Garland to Delight Those Wishing Inspiration," *Buddhist Women Across Cultures: Realizations*, ed. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 146–7.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
7. Hugh Richardson, "Foreword," *Daughter of Tibet* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1970), p. xiv.
8. *Ibid.*, p. xv.
9. Rinchen Dolma Taring, *Daughter of Tibet* (New Delhi: Allied, 1970), p. 50. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
10. Bogle, Ms. Eur. E226/18.
11. Anne Klein, *Meeting the Great Bliss Queen: Buddhists, Feminists, and the Art of the Self* (Boston: Beacon, 1995), p. 31.
12. For more on Tibetan systems of marriage, see Nancy Levine, *The Dynamics of Polyandry: Kinship, Domesticity, and Population on the Tibetan Border* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
13. A favored and controversial member of the court of the 13th Dalai Lama, Chen-sal Namgang took the surname Tsarong when he married into Taring's family.
14. "'On the Road': A Maharashtrian Pilgrimage," trans. D. D. Karve and Franklin Southworth, in *The Experience of Hinduism: Essays on Religion in Maharashtra*, ed. Maxine Berntsen and Eleanor Zelliot (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 163.
15. Francis Younghusband, *India and Tibet* (London: John Murray, 1910), p. 326.
16. Tenzin N. Tethong, "Preface," *House of the Turquoise Roof* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1990), p. 9.
17. Dorje Yudon Yuthok, *House of the Turquoise Roof* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1990), p. 128.

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18. Karma Lekshe Tsomo, "Change in Consciousness," *Buddhist Women Across Cultures: Realizations*, p. 174.
19. Klein, *Meeting the Great Bliss Queen*, p. xvii.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
21. Tsomo, "Change in Consciousness," p. 175.
22. For a feminist analysis of Tibetan women and gender relations, see Charlene E. Makley's "Meaning of Liberation: Representations of Tibetan Women," *The Tibet Journal*, vol. xxii, no. 2 (Summer 1997), pp. 4–29.

CHAPTER 7

1. James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 24.
2. Saul Friedlander, "Introduction," *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the Final Solution*, ed. Saul Friedlander (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 3.
3. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 1964).
4. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust*, p. 25.
5. The quotation is Friedlander's; he argues that despite their interest in formal and abstract questions, the contributors to *Probing the Limits of Representation* have not "forgotten the horror behind the words" (p. 1).
6. Palden Gyatso, "Prologue," *Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), no page number.
7. "Preface," Tsering Shakya, *Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), no page number.
8. Palden Gyatso, "Prologue."
9. Shakya, "Preface," no page number.
10. Palden Gyatso, *Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk*, p. 3. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
11. Palden Gyatso, "Prologue," no page number.
12. See Bogle, Ms. Eur. E226/25, 10 March 1775, and Clements Markham, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971 [1876]), p. 177.
13. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust*, p. 25.
14. Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).
15. Samphel, "Translator's Note," in Tsering Dorje Gashi, *New Tibet: Memoirs of a Graduate of the Peking Institute of National Minorities* (Dharamsala: Information Office of HHDL, 1980), p. 1.
16. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust*, p. 25.
17. David Patt, *Strange Liberation: Tibetan Lives in Chinese Hands* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1992), p. 33.

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18. Personal correspondence, August 1999. Cited with permission.
19. Mickey Lemle, "Compassion in Exile," Betacam, 1992.
20. Dalai Lama, "Foreword," *The Voice that Remembers: A Tibetan Woman's Inspiring Story of Survival* (Boston: Wisdom, 1997), p. vii.
21. Adhe Tapontsang, "Prologue," *The Voice that Remembers: A Tibetan Woman's Inspiring Story of Survival* (Boston: Wisdom, 1997), p. 3.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
23. Adams, "Karaoke in Modern Tibet, Lhasa," in *Cultural Anthropology* (Vol. 11, no. 4, 1996), pp. 510–546.

CHAPTER 8

1. Melvyn Goldstein, "Preface," *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. viii.
2. Melvyn Goldstein, William Siebenschuh, Tashi Tsering, *The Struggle for Modern Tibet: The Autobiography of Tashi Tsering* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 79. Subsequent citations are noted by page number in the text.
3. Palden Gyatso, *Autobiography of a Tibetan Monk* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), p. 3.
4. Goldstein, et al., p. 4.
5. Goldstein, "Preface," pp. viii–ix.

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1. With a few exceptions, I have not included the spellings of proper names.

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