5

Far-away frontiers and spiritual sanctuaries: occidental escapism in the high Himalaya

Tim Chamberlain

> My mental picture of Tibet at that time was of the vaguest, rather like an ancient news-reel, in which a scene or two dance fitfully through a fog of dots. North of the Himalaya I knew, or thought I knew, was a cold bleak land where the wind blew unceasing; a country of grey horizons meeting the sky, and mile after mile of stony plain often deep in snow. Dirty people clad in felt, and yaks, like misshapen Highland cattle, trudged across those dreary barrens. The roof of the world. And somewhere near the centre lay Lhasa, the Forbidden City.[1]

These were British explorer and travel writer John Hanbury-Tracy's preconceptions of what Tibet might be like just before he went there in 1935. His engaging travelogue, *Black River of Tibet* (1938), begins like a novel, recounting how Hanbury-Tracy met his friend Ronald Kaulback for lunch at Hanbury-Tracy's club in London's Piccadilly, where Kaulback suggested the two men undertake an expedition to explore the headwaters of the River Salween in east Tibet, a scene which is perhaps somewhat deliberately reminiscent of the opening pages of James Hilton's famous novel *Lost Horizon* (1933). Indeed, when Kaulback and Hanbury-Tracy later departed for Tibet from London's Victoria Station, Hanbury-Tracy says that 'a copy of *Lost Horizon* was shoved into my hand'.[2] Hilton's novel has shaped many people's preconceptions in the West concerning Tibet – preconceptions which have endured, perpetuated through conscious and unconscious repetition and mimicry in an erroneous attempt to instil a sense of authenticity in both fictional and factual representations of Tibet, but which instead have resulted in an imagined geography of the Himalaya as a fabled, far-away frontier.[3]

Hilton's novel, however, was based on research that he is known to have pursued in the Reading Room of the British Museum, utilising a wide range of potential source material which may have helped to inform the story and the setting of *Lost Horizon*, along with his own experiences of mountaineering

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

in Europe.[4] The novel itself references several works relating to early Western encounters with Tibet, for example those written in the seventeenth century by Jesuit missionaries such as Antonio de Andrade and Athanasius Kircher.[5] However, contemporary source material abounded at the time Hilton was writing, particularly in the works of European explorer-adventurers such as Sven Hedin, Marc Aurel Stein, and Giuseppe Tucci.[6] Joseph Rock's lavishly illustrated articles for the *National Geographic Magazine* could possibly have provided Hilton with a vibrantly colourful source of inspiration.[7] The esoteric side of Hilton's novel very likely drew upon the religious and theosophical works of writers such as Helena Blavatsky, Alexandra David-Neel, and Nicholas Roerich.[8] The idea of 'Shangri-La' itself, as a hidden realm providing a spiritual retreat from the modern world, was first sourced by these writers from Hungarian Tibetologist Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, particularly his writings on the legend of the hidden land of Shambala.[9] However, Hilton was not the first Western fiction writer to be inspired by such material. In the 1920s, writers such as William Archer, Louise Jordan Miln, and Talbot Mundy created fantastical worlds similar to Shangri-La.[10] At this time too, actual explorers, such as Frederick Marshman Bailey (known as 'Eric') and Frank Kingdon Ward, were venturing into the deep river gorges of southeast Tibet, where they encountered stories of sacred mountains and hidden valleys known as *beyul* (*sbas yul*).[11]

In Tibetan Buddhist belief, *beyul* are sacred places of pilgrimage and refuge. Some are locatable in terms of actual physical geography while others exist in a visionary rather than a material dimension.[12] *Beyul* can be sought and revealed through spiritual practice and meditation by 'treasure finders' (*gter ston*), while others will be 'opened' only in times of great need.[13] Jacques Bacot was the first Western scholar to write about *beyul*, specifically the hidden land of Padma bkod, or 'Népémakö' in 1912.[14] Bacot encountered Tibetan refugees fleeing towards Pemako (*Padma bkod*) from brutalities committed under Chinese General Zhao Erfeng.[15] As a recognised *beyul* and as a semi-independent territory, Pemako (meaning 'hidden land arrayed like a lotus') was both a place of pilgrimage and a place of refuge which was sought out by people from neighbouring polities in times of manmade or natural calamity; hence it was viewed as a kind of paradise or promised land.[16]

Pemako was also associated with a great waterfall on the River Tsangpo which was first reported in the late nineteenth century by Kinthup, a Lepcha pundit from Sikkim working covertly for the Indian Trigonometrical Survey. Kinthup provided the inspiration and impetus for British army officer Eric Bailey to explore the region first in 1911 and again in 1913. He did so the

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

second time with fellow army officer Henry Morshead, who was later better known as a member of the first British expeditions which set out to survey and climb Everest in 1921 and 1922.[17] However, Bailey's own travel account of this journey, specifically written for a popular audience, was not published until 1957; hence it was probably the British botanist Frank Kingdon Ward who first brought Pemako to public notice in his book *The Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges* (1926).[18] The inaccessibility of the region again meant it became a place of refuge during the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, after which Tibet was once more a closed land, and so the Tsangpo was not fully explored by outsiders until the last years of the twentieth century.[19]

Superficially, it is easy to draw a parallel between Tibetan religious beliefs concerning *beyul*, as places of sanctuary in times of trouble or as transcendental paradises to be sought out, and the Western notion of a spiritual/materialistic utopia which has become associated with Hilton's eponymous conception of 'Shangri-La', a leitmotif which has entered the lexicon of Western culture. Hilton's novel (1933) and Frank Capra's film adaptation (1937) both appeared during the interwar period; hence their immense popularity may well have been a response to global uncertainties following on from the upheaval of the First World War and the financial 'Wall Street Crash' of 1929.[20] As the novelist Graham Greene observed of the film version: 'Nothing reveals men's characters more than their Utopias … This Utopia closely resembles a film star's luxurious estate on Beverley Hills: flirtatious pursuits through grape arbours, splashings and divings in blossomy pools under improbable waterfalls, and rich and enormous meals … a kind of aerated idealism.'[21] Capra's *Lost Horizon* was re-released during the Second World War, suggesting it continued to provide a convivial touchstone of escapism for contemporary audiences from the everyday hardships and material scarcities of wartime.[22]

There are notable differences between the cast of characters in the book and the film, but the story is essentially the same in both iterations. An aeroplane fleeing a tumultuous revolution in Central Asia is hijacked by an unknown pilot who flies to Tibet with a group of unsuspecting Westerners on board. Soon after the plane runs out of fuel and crashes in the mountains, the pilot dies. The passengers are rescued by a group of Tibetan monks who have been expecting their arrival. They are taken to the monastery of Shangri-La, which to their surprise they find is equipped with all the modern hotel-like conveniences of Western plumbing, a vast library, music salon, dining room, and everything they could possibly desire for a comfortable life. The only condition, as they slowly come to realise, is that they should not leave the valley of Shangri-La. The novel

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

narrates how most of the characters reconcile themselves to their situation, except for the protagonist, a British Consul named Conway, and his assistant, Mallinson.[23] Mallinson is determined to leave Shangri-La and 'return to civilization'.[24] Conway is torn between his sense of duty to accompany Mallinson and the fact that the elderly and reclusive Head Lama of the monastery has asked Conway to succeed him as the chief preceptor of Shangri-La.

The fantastical element of the storyline is heightened by Conway's discovery that the monastery is a unique repository of the world's knowledge, including lost works by composers such as Chopin, and that most of the occupants of the monastery, which includes women as well as men, are all extremely long-lived. The Head Lama, Conway discovers, was originally a Capuchin missionary, named Father Perrault, who arrived in the valley and founded the monastery in the early eighteenth century.[25] There is also a love interest, a beautiful young woman named Lo-Tsen. She was a Manchu princess, who perhaps somewhat predictably comes between Conway and Mallinson. An allusion to Lo-Tsen's dramatic ageing when they eventually leave the valley of Shangri-La at the close of the novel suggests that the esoteric secrets which Conway has learnt, and which Mallinson has disbelieved, are in fact true. The novel ends as it began, with secondary characters in conversation, recounting the hearsay of this incredible story. The last that is ever heard of Conway is his second disappearance in the foothills of the Himalaya, when he set out attempting to return to the hidden valley of Shangri-La. Whether or not Conway has been successful is left open to the reader to decide.

Tibet's mystique was derived from its characterisation as 'a forbidden land'.[26] The Tibetan government had long maintained an isolationist policy which was backed up by a nominal suzerainty under successive dynasties of Chinese emperors; this along with its geographical location on a mountainous plateau to the north of the Himalaya made it difficult for outsiders to access.[27] Since the time of Warren Hastings as Governor General, the British in neighbouring India had sought to open diplomatic relations with Tibet, seeking alternative trade routes to China; attempts which had always been unsuccessful until the British military invasion of Tibet led by Francis Younghusband in 1904.[28]

The British later obtained permission from the Tibetan government to launch a series of expeditions specifically aimed at climbing Mount Everest – then seen as 'the third pole' – during the 1920s–1930s.[29] These expeditions were the most publicised and well known of a number of military-scientific expeditions which worked to map and survey Tibet, thereby 'opening up' this unknown land to the knowledge of the wider world.[30] Several of the expedition

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

members published their own travel accounts,[31] and two films made by John Noel, *Climbing Mount Everest* (1922) and *The Epic of Everest* (1924), gave a firsthand visual-ethnographic insight into the lives of ordinary Tibetans as well as the religious institutions of Tibetan Buddhism.[32] Noel's films showed the British climbing expeditions visiting the monastery at Rongbuk, where the climbers paid their respects to Dzatrul Rinpoche, the Head Lama, while travelling en route to Everest.[33] These films depicted Tibetan Buddhism as an archaic and notably superstitious religion.[34] This was mirrored in Hilton's conception of Shangri-La as a remote and isolated citadel of ancient learning and mystical reflection.

The mountaineer and Tibetologist Marco Pallis later wrote that: 'Sheltered behind the rampart of the Himalaya, Tibet has looked on, almost unscathed, while some of the greatest Traditions of the world have reeled under the attacks of the all-devouring monster of modernism.'[35] Similarly, many contemporary descriptions echoed the intertitle cards of Noel's films, portraying Tibet as a fossilised throwback to the feudalism of medieval Europe. It was a common cliché among Western explorers who ventured into Tibet at this time, such as the climber George Mallory, to speak of themselves walking 'off the map' and venturing 'beyond the bounds of civilization'.[36] Thomas Richards has described this phenomenon whereby Tibet became part of a fantasy of empire in which 'the British image of Tibet has preserved in the amber of myth something of Kant's basic conviction that there is a universal and essential form of knowledge' embodied in the cultural otherness which Tibet quintessentially represents.[37] Richards calls this 'a process of semioticization', exemplified by Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901), in which the 'smooth and undifferentiated space of the old blank map became the striated and specialized space peculiar to the discipline of geography'.[38] Prefiguring Edward Said's use of the term, the French poet Victor Segalen quite literally refers to Tibet as 'l'Autre' (the Other) when describing his idealisation of Tibet as a land which represents three symbolic stages or regions: the region already travelled through, the region that will be explored, and the region which will never be reached; the third region specifically referencing Tibetan Buddhist conceptions of hidden lands, such as Poyul (*sPo yul*) and Padma bkod.[39]

There was a strong element of exoticisation from the start in depictions of Tibet, both real and fictional.[40] The early Everest expedition films of John Noel caused a diplomatic controversy when the Tibetan government raised objections to the way certain aspects of Tibetan culture as shown on celluloid might be misconstrued by outsiders.[41] However, as representations of Tibet began to proliferate during the 1930s, particularly in the form of documentary

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

films and photographs (for example, by Frederick Spencer Chapman and Ernst Schäfer), which aimed to record the realities of life in the country, such depictions were no longer wholly unmediated by Tibetans themselves.[42] Peter Hansen describes these representations as 'examples of the intercultural construction of Tibet by Westerners and Tibetans in conversation with one another … the product of a double vision'.[43] There were other voices too, which sought to ground fantasies of Tibet and Himalayan cultures as a kind of counterweight to the *Lost Horizon* effect.

One example is a long-forgotten novel written by a genuine British Consul named Louis Magrath King, who lived in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands between 1913 and 1922. King's novel was titled *By Tophet Flare* (1937) in the UK, and *The Warden of the Marches* (1938) in the USA. It tells a story loosely based upon incidents from King's own career. King's alter ego, Consul Brundish, is called upon by the local Chinese warlord to mediate when 'the Gate of Tibet' – the frontier town of Luchengdo (based upon Tachienlu/Dartsendo; now Kangding, Sichuan) – is threatened, first by renegade Chinese soldiers and later by the forces of a Tibetan bandit. The story is a vehicle for exploring the personality traits of different characters, something which King had already examined in a series of nonfiction articles which first appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* before being published as a book in 1927.[44] Despite the novel's basis in reality, the style and method of storytelling used by King is reminiscent of the patriarchal language found in the King James Bible, thereby lending King's story an archaic atmosphere which helps to accentuate his rendering of Chinese and Tibetan characters as people steeped in Oriental wisdom and superstition. There are frequent references to Chinese and Tibetan proverbs, aphorisms, and Chinese philosophy; subjects in which Consul Brundish appears to be well-versed, much to the surprise and admiration of his Chinese and Tibetan associates. Aside from Brundish, there are two other European characters who have secondary but substantive roles. Both are missionaries: an English Protestant named Walter Baines, and Jean Desmoulins, a French Catholic. It seems likely these two characters were based upon real missionaries whom King knew, primarily Theodor Sørensen and Francis Goré, but also partly upon James Huston Edgar and François Doublet.

While it is my contention that King's novel was written as a counterbalance to the fantastical elements of Hilton's *Lost Horizon*, that is not to say King wholly avoids utilising such tropes in his own storytelling. In writing about Tibetan people, it is impossible for King to avoid commenting upon their religious beliefs and social customs. At one point, while fleeing from trouble, Baines finds

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

sanctuary with a Tibetan holy man living in solitary retreat on a remote hillside. Later, Baines again comes across a group of Tibetan pilgrims making their way to Shambala. The meeting is eerily timed given that another local hermit has recently prophesied 'the end of the world' at a moment which coincides with a threat to the region posed by a Tibetan 'outlaw' named Losengdawa, which has prompted Baines to preach and circulate religious tracts in Tibetan regarding the second coming of Christ. The pilgrims invite Baines to join them on their journey to the promised land:

> Mr Baines was sorely tempted to ask where it was, this Shambala the pilgrims were going to. But he had an abhorrence of anything connected with the occult, of which there was always so much around him, amongst the Chinese as well as the Tibetans. Strange things, he was aware, happened on occasion, stranger still were believed and even, attempted. The whole thing was unhealthy even where it was not definitely uncanny, in other words – Satanic. And he had always kept himself rigidly and uncompromisingly aloof from it. It was the only way.
>
> But was not this matter of Shambala rather a question of geographical knowledge? He decided reluctantly that it was both; and the one aspect of it precluded for him the consideration of the other.[45]

At face value, this episode from King's novel appears to neatly play upon the *Lost Horizon* element of most readers' expectations, but it seems very likely that this scene was actually grounded in reality, being based upon genuine instances when Tibetans living in the Sino-Tibetan borderlands fled from the periodic uprisings and internecine conflicts between Tibetan and Chinese military forces, thereby making their way to Padma bkod, as previously noted by Bacot, Bailey, and Kingdon Ward.

A mysterious character, named Mr Mao, subsequently appears and hints that Brundish (similarly to Conway) has some sort of intuitive spiritual connection to the East. Mao states that, although Brundish is unconscious of it, he is 'on the Path'. Brundish, however, dismisses this in favour of Western pragmatism.[46] And yet the character of Brundish was based upon King, who did possess an undisclosed form of insight into the local life and culture of the peoples of the frontier among whom he was stationed. In real life, King married a Tibetan woman named Rinchen Lhamo.[47] Together they worked on a book, written by Lhamo expressly to counter misconceptions regarding Tibet which she felt the newspapers of the West were encouraging, noting that: 'It is so much easier to say what is expected than what is true, but contrary to established views.'[48]

Tibet was habitually portrayed as a static or fossilised culture, but in lived reality it was mobile and highly dynamic. Documentary films, academic articles,

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

and popular travelogues by Western travellers were largely framed through the partiality of their own personal views as outsiders, and yet such endeavours were only made possible by the assistance of local peoples. If we look beneath the surface of texts such as King's novel and Hanbury-Tracy's travelogue, we find glimpses of Indigenous agency and the largely unseen mobilities of Himalayan cultures. What Westerners portrayed as remote and inaccessible terrain was in fact an interconnected landscape which was already well known and consciously mapped out by the polities who lived there. Hence Western outsiders actually relied, almost symbiotically, upon a network of knowledgeable and experienced Indigenes for support in fulfilling their aspirations to step 'off the map' and escape 'modern civilisation' in order to realise their search for a notionally 'unexplored' Shangri-La. These networks can be seen, albeit sometimes only fleetingly, embodied in the displaced persons seeking refuge in Padma bkod, and in brief biographical snapshots of Himalayan guides, such as those who were employed by Kaulback and Hanbury-Tracy:

> Lewa, he of the square jowl and barking voice, is a Sherpa from Nepal. He has not seen his village since he was fourteen, when he came to Darjeeling to work for Englishmen who like to climb hills, the great hills he has always lived among. A rugged character and great powers of endurance set him much in demand as a porter. He was one of the 'Tigers' of Everest. He has travelled the Himalaya from Sikkim to Kashmir, and has hauled more than one famous mountaineer up the last steps of a climb. He has been sirdar on several trips, and helped to save the remnants of the disastrous German expedition to Nanga Parbat in 1934 … Nyima Töndrup … [a Tibetan] encountered the first Everest expedition coming up from Darjeeling. Someone told him that coolie wages were three rupees a day, and he promptly signed on. He has been on one expedition or another ever since, winning high praise for dogged service. He is Lewa's shadow, and has known him for years.[49]

Men such as Lewa and Nyima Tondrup – highly skilled, knowledgeable, versatile, adaptable fixers and facilitators – were vital to European travellers. Tenzing Norgay, who famously was first to summit Everest with Edmund Hillary in 1953, and whose homeland near Everest was itself a *beyul*, was employed by Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci on one of Tucci's Tibetan manuscript-collecting expeditions in 1948.[50] Unlike many itinerant Indigenous members of such expeditions, Tenzing's later fame enabled him to have a voice.[51] Tenzing tells us that Tucci was a difficult and exacting man: 'The other Sherpas thought I was mad to take the job, and for a while I thought so too. But in time I grew to like Professor Tucci as well as any man I have ever known.'[52] Such counterpoint views at this time, sadly, are very rare.[53] Consequently, when reading

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

the accounts of Westerners exploring Himalayan regions – whether fictional or rooted in fact – we must aways remember that what we are seeing is only half the picture, and that picture itself was always a mutable one.

Notes

1 John Hanbury-Tracy, *Black River of Tibet* (London: Frederick Muller, 1938), p. 1.
2 Ibid., p. 7; see also Ronald Kaulback, *Salween* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938).
3 Tim Chamberlain, 'Mountains and mysticism: escapism and authenticity in the cinematic exploration of the Himalaya' (forthcoming); Jim Rheingans, 'De-imagining Tibet: beyond Orientalism, reverse orientalism and other traps in the study of Himalayan histories', *Journal of the Society of Asian Humanities*, 52 (2021), 126–34, https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.036105030734709
4 Charles Allen, *The Search for Shangri-La: A Journey into Tibetan History* (London: Abacus, 2001), pp. 39–41.
5 James Hilton, *Lost Horizon* (New York: Pocket Books, 1939 [1933]), p. 94.
6 Peter Bishop, *The Myth of Shangri-La: Tibet, Travel Writing and the Western Creation of Sacred Landscape* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).
7 For example: Joseph F. Rock, 'The land of the yellow lama', *National Geographic Magazine*, 47:4 (April 1925), 447–91; 'Seeking the mountains of mystery', *National Geographic Magazine*, 57:2 (February 1930), 131–85.
8 Mark Bevir, 'The west turns eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the transformation of the occult tradition', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 62:3 (1994), 747–67, https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/LXII.3.747; Samuel Thévoz, 'On the threshold of the "Land of Marvels": Alexandra David-Neel in Sikkim and the making of global Buddhism', *Transcultural Studies*, 1 (2016), 149–86, https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.ts.23541; James Boyd, 'In search of Shambhala? Nicholas Roerich's 1934–5 Inner Mongolian Expedition', *Inner Asia*, 14:2 (2012), 257–77, www.jstor.org/stable/24572064
9 Bernard Le Calloc'h, 'Alexander Csoma De Koros, the heroic philologist, founder of Tibetan studies in Europe', *The Tibet Journal*, 10:3 (1985), 30–41, www.jstor.org/stable/43300177; Edwin Bernbaum, *The Way to Shambala: A Search for the Mythical Kingdom Beyond the Himalayas* (New York: Anchor Books, 1980).
10 William Archer, *The Green Goddess: A Play in Four Acts* (New York: Knopf, 1921); Louise Jordan Miln, *The Green Goddess* (New York: A.L. Burt, 1922); Talbot Mundy, *Om: The Secret of Ahbor Valley* (New York: A.L. Burt, 1924).
11 F.M. Bailey, 'Exploration on the Tsangpo or Upper Brahmaputra', *Geographical Journal*, 44:4 (October 1914), 341–64, https://doi.org/10.2307/1778591; F. Kingdon Ward, 'The sacred mountain: a picturesque Tibetan pilgrimage', *The Wider World Magazine* (1911), 251–8. The sacred mountains Bailey and Kingdon Ward encountered at this time were respectively 'Kondü Putrang'/Kundu Dorsempotrang (Kun 'dus rdor sems pho brang) and 'K'a-gur-po/Ka-Kar-Po' (Kha ba dkar po).
12 Frances Garrett, Elizabeth McDougal, and Geoffrey Samuel (eds), *Hidden Lands in Himalayan Myth and History: Transformations of 'sbas yul' through Time* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004437685; Toni Huber (ed.), *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places in Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999).

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

13 Franz-Karl Ehrhard, 'The role of "Treasure Discoverers" and their writings in the search for Himalayan sacred lands', *The Tibet Journal*, 19:3 (1994), 3–20, www.jstor.org/stable/43300512
14 Jacques Bacot, *Le Tibet révolté: vers Népémakö: la terre promise des tibétains* (Paris: Hachette, 1912).
15 Abdol-Hamid Sardar-Afkhami, 'The Buddha's secret gardens: end times and hidden-lands in Tibetan imagination' (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2001), pp. 1–2.
16 Santiago Lazcano, 'Ethnohistoric notes on the ancient Tibetan Kingdom of sPo bo and its influence on the eastern Himalayas', *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, 7 (April 2005), 41–63, himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/ret/pdf/ret_07_03.pdf
17 H.T. Morshead and F.M. Bailey, *Report on the Exploration of the North East Frontier, 1913* (Dehra Dun: The Survey of India Trigonometrical Office, 1914).
18 F.M. Bailey, *No Passport to Tibet* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957); F. Kingdon Ward, *The Riddle of the Tsangpo Gorges* (London: Edward Arnold, 1926).
19 Ian Baker, *The Heart of the World: A Journey to the Last Sacred Place* (New York: Penguin, 2004); Zhang Jimin, *The Yarlung Tsangpo Great Canyon: The Last Secret World* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2006).
20 Douwe Fokkema, *Perfect Worlds: Utopian Fiction in China and the West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), pp. 156–62.
21 Graham Greene, '"Lost Horizon" at the Tivoli', *The Spectator*, 158:5679 (30 April 1937), 805.
22 Frank Capra (dir.), *Lost Horizon* (USA: Columbia Pictures, 1937); '"Shangri-La" brings back "Lost Horizon"', *The Hollywood Reporter*, 68:43 (29 June 1942), 3; 'Columbia's "Lost Horizon," now back in release, is clicking merrily at box offices all over the country', *The Daily Film Renter*, 17:4986 (27 September 1943), 10.
23 Names reminiscent of famous Himalayan mountaineers, Sir Martin Conway and George Mallory.
24 Hilton, *Lost Horizon*, p. 58.
25 Morshead refers to two Capuchin missionaries travelling through the Yarlung-Tsangpo valley ca. 1708, and of a mission being established in the Takpo region in 1718; see Morshead and Bailey, *Report on the Exploration*, p. 9.
26 A. Henry Savage Landor, *In The Forbidden Land: An Account of A Journey in Tibet, Capture by the Tibetan Authorities, Imprisonment, Torture, And Ultimate Release* (London: William Heinemann, 1905); Vicomte Henri D'Ollone, *In Forbidden China: The D'Ollone Mission, 1906–1909, China-Tibet-Mongolia* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912); Harrison Forman, *Through Forbidden Tibet: An Adventure into the Unknown* (New York & Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1935).
27 Sam Van Schiak, *Tibet: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), pp. 143–5, 160.
28 Gordon T. Stewart, *Journeys to Empire: Enlightenment, Imperialism, and the British Encounter with Tibet, 1774–1904* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
29 Alex McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj: The Frontier Cadre, 1904–1947* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2009 [1997]), pp. 77–8, 136.
30 Gordon T. Stewart, 'The British reaction to the conquest of Everest', *Journal of Sport History*, 7:1 (Spring 1980), 21–39; Lachlan Fleetwood, *Science on the Roof of the World: Empire and the Remaking of the Himalaya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).
31 C.G. Bruce, *The Assault on Mount Everest, 1922* (London: Edward Arnold, 1923); George Ingle Finch, *Climbing Mount Everest* (London: George Philip, 1932); Charles Howard-Bury,

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Mount Everest: The Reconnaissance, 1921 (London: Edward Arnold, 1922); E.F. Norton, *The Fight for Everest: 1924* (London: Edward Arnold, 1925); Hugh Ruttledge, *Everest: The Unfinished Adventure* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1937); H.W. Tilman, *Mount Everest, 1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948).

32 John Noel (dir.), *Climbing Mount Everest* (UK: Royal Geographical Society, 1922); John Noel (dir.), *The Epic of Everest* (UK: BFI, 2013 [orig. 1924]).

33 J.B.L. Noel, *Through Tibet to Everest* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927), pp. 138–47.

34 Donald S. Lopez Jr, *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), ch. 1.

35 Marco Pallis, *Peaks and Lamas* (London: Cassell, 1946 [1939]), p. 381.

36 George Mallory to Geoffrey Winthrop Young (1921), quoted in Ed Douglas, *Himalaya: A Human History* (London: Vintage, 2021), p. 211; Ronald Kaulback, *Tibetan Trek* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934), p. 270; André Guibaut, *Tibetan Venture: In the Country of the Ngolo-Setas (Second Guibaut-Liotard Expedition)* (London: Readers Union, 1949), p. 60.

37 Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), p. 13.

38 Ibid., p. 14.

39 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978); John C. Stout, 'Metapoetic explorations of Tibet in Victor Segalen's Thibet and André Velter's Le Haut-Pays', *Sites*, 5:1 (2001), 63–78, https://doi.org/10.1080/10260210108456056

40 Dibyesh Anand, *Geopolitical Exotica: Tibet in Western Imagination* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

41 Peter H. Hansen, 'The dancing lamas of Everest: cinema, Orientalism, and Anglo-Tibetan Relations in the 1920s', *The American Historical Review*, 101:3 (1996), 712–47, https://doi.org/10.2307/2169420

42 Clare Harris and Tsering Shakya, *Seeing Lhasa: British Depictions of the Tibetan Capital, 1936–1947* (London: Serindia, 2003); Isrun Engelhardt (ed.), *Tibet in 1938–1939: Photographs from Ernst Schäfer's Expedition to Tibet* (Chicago, IL: Serindia, 2007).

43 Peter H. Hansen, 'Tibetan horizon: Tibet and the cinema in the early twentieth century', in Thierry Dodin and Heinz Rather (eds), *Imagining Tibet: Perception, Projections and Fantasies* (Boston MA: Wisdom Publications, 2001), pp. 105–6; see also, Samuel Thévoz, 'Visions of Tibet (1840–1910)', *Tibet Journal*, 45:1 (2020), 101–33, www.jstor.org/stable/27031092

44 Louis Magrath King, *China in Turmoil: Studies in Personality* (London: Heath Cranton, 1927).

45 Louis Magrath King, *The Warden of the Marches: A Tale of Adventure on the Chinese Frontier of Tibet* (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1938), p. 171.

46 Ibid., p. 196.

47 Tim Chamberlain, 'Books of change: a western family's writings on China, 1855–1949', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society China*, 75:1 (2013), 55–76, ras-china.org/ras-journal

48 Rinchen Lhamo, *We Tibetans* (London: Seeley Service, 1926), p. 95, see also pp. 6–9; another Tibetan writer similarly assisted by King's consular colleague, George Combe: Paul Sherap, *A Tibetan on Tibet: Being the Observations of Mr P. Sherap Dorje Zodba of Tachienlu* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1926).

49 Hanbury-Tracy, *Black River of Tibet*, pp. 9–10.

50 Jeremy Spoon and Lhakpa Norbu Sherpa, 'Beyul Khumbu: the Sherpa and Sagarmatha (Mount Everest) National Park and buffer zone, Nepal', in Josep-Maria Mallarach (ed.),

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Protected Landscapes and Cultural and Spiritual Values: Volume 2 (Heidelberg: Kasparek Verlag, 2008), pp. 68–79.

51 Sherry B. Ortner, 'The making and self-making of "the Sherpas" in early Himalayan mountaineering', *Studies in Nepali History and Society*, 3:1 (1998), 1–34; Felix Driver, 'Hidden histories made visible? Reflections on a geographical exhibition', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38:3 (2013), 420–35, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00529.x

52 Tenzing Norgay and James Ramsey Ullman, *Man of Everest: The Autobiography of Tenzing* (London: Reprint Society, 1956), p. 111.

53 See also Ang Tharkay with Basil P. Norton, *Sherpa: The Memoir of Ang Tharkay* (Seattle, WA: Mountaineers Books, 2016 [1954]).

Tim Chamberlain - 9781526179173
Downloaded from manchesterhive.com at 12/04/2024 11:44:02AM
via Open Access. CC BY-NC-ND
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/