

THE ARMCHAIR TRAVELLER:HPB IN TIBET

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"What I have said, and repeat now, is, that I have stopped in Lamaistic convents; that I have visited Tzi-gadze, the Tda-shoo Hlum-pro territory and its neighbourhood, and that I have been further in, and in such places of Tibet as have never been visited by any other European, and than he can ever hope to visit." (1)

Thus, in 1884, H.P. Blavatsky emphatically stated her case in the course of a long letter to the spiritualist journal ~Light~; a detailed reply to the public jeers of the skeptical Arthur Lillie. But were her statements true? Had she, in very fact, been to Tibet, and, if so, did she have proof of her visits? Her contemporaries in the Theosophical Society certainly thought that she had, and thought too, that there was proof in abundance. In this confident belief her biographers - those favourably disposed towards her that is - have shared. That they were, and are, all quite wrong in so thinking it is my intention to prove.

The story of H.P.B.'s travels to and within Tibet - as maintained by her supporters - is, in outline, this: early in the year 1856 she attempted to enter Tibet by way of Sikkim and Nepal, but was turned back at Darjeeling by the acting British Superintendent. Later in the same year; in the company of a small group of other European travelers and a single Kazak Tartar Shaman, she journeyed from Kashmir to Ladakh, and thence across the frontier into Tibet. After spending an indeterminate time at unidentified places in central Tibet she was conveyed safely back to India by a 'Kutchi of Lha-Ssa' (a Kashmiri Moslem living in Tibet). Some twelve years later she again entered Tibet, where she remained for almost two years, much of the time in the company of her Masters; when she finally left, late in 1870, she traveled west to the Suez Canal, but her points of entry into and exit from Tibet remain unknown. Her third, and final, visit was made in 1882, when she detoured whilst en route to Darjeeling and stayed, for a few days only, in Sikkim, in the company of the Masters Morya and Koot Hoomi. During this last visit she made a brief excursion to the Chumbi valley in Tibet.

There may have been -indeed, there must have been, for by her own account she passed a total of seven years in Tibet (2) - other visits, but there is no precise record as to when these took place, although A.P. Sinnett placed them tentatively in the early 1850s and in the mid-1860s. This, then, is the received history of H.P.B.'s Tibetan adventures. Let us now examine them in detail.

The First Attempt: Darjeeling and Ladakh.

The first claim that H.P.B. had entered Tibet in the 1850s was made by Sinnett in his

~Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky~ (1886), in which he says that she was "bent on an attempt of her own to get into Tibet, through Nepal. For the time her attempt failed,

chiefly, she believes, through the opposition of the British Resident then in Nepal." (P.49,

1913 edition). Sinnett dates this attempt In the early months of 1853, although she herself had told him that she went to India in 1856 - just because I was longing for Master." (3)

Apparent corroboration of this story comes from Col. Olcott, who records how,

"... on the 3rd of March, 1893, S.V. Edge and I met in the train between Nalhati and

Calcutta, Major-General C. Murray (retired), late of the 70th Bengal Infantry, now Chairman of the Monghyr Municipality, who met H.P.B. in 1854 or '55, at Punkabaree, at the feet of the Darjeeling Hills. He was then a Captain, commanding the Sebundy Sappers and Miners. She was trying to get into Tibet via Nepal 'to write a book'; and to do it, she wished to cross the Rungit river. Captain Murray had it reported to him by the guard that a European lady had passed that way, so he went after and brought her back. She was very angry, but in vain. She stopped with Captain and Mrs. Murray for about a month when, finding her plan defeated, she left, and Captain Murray heard of her as far as Dinajpore. She was then apparently about thirty years of age.

The above facts were so interesting that I wrote them out in the railway carriage and got

General Murray to append his certificate, as follows: 'The above memo. is correct. C. Murray, Major-General.' The British Resident probably did have something to do indirectly with her detention, for strict orders had been given by Captain Murray, in military command of that Frontier District, to permit no European to cross the Rungit, as they would be almost sure of being murdered by the wild tribes in that country." (4)

On the surface this seems to be solid evidence - but on closer inspection it begins to evaporate.

General Murray's story contains some extremely odd features. There were, for example, no 'wild tribes' in Sikkim (although far to the east the Mishmi and Abor in S.E. Tibet and the Assam borderland were extremely dangerous - they had just, in 1854, murdered two French missionaries), and the risk to travelers came from the war then in progress between Nepal and Tibet. This had broken out early in 1855 and did not come to an end until March 1856; it led to the closing of passes between Nepal and Tibet as noticed by Major Ramsay, the British Resident in Nepal, who, in April 1855, advised the authorities in Calcutta that 'every pass is now guarded' (5). The passes from Sikkim into Tibet were also blocked, for much of the year, by snow; in May 1855, Dr. Campbell - the British Superintendent at Darjeeling - reported that 'all the passes from Sikkim into Tibet and the Wallungchoong one from Eastern Nepal are closed up to this date in consequence of recent very heavy falls of snow' (6). There would have been little opportunity to enter Tibet even if the frontier could have been crossed.

There is also a problem over Murray's dates. When he was appointed Commandant of the

Sebundy Sappers and Miners in July 1854, Murray held the rank of Lieutenant. He was not promoted to the rank of Captain until 28 December 1857 - seven months after H.P.B. had left India for Java. He may, of course, have inadvertently backdated his promotion, but it would have made little difference to his activities: in political matters, such as control of frontier crossings, he was subordinate to Mr. Campbell, who sent regular reports to the Indian Government throughout 1855 and 1856, even when he was unwell (on 15 December 1855 he commenced an official letter in this rather peevish manner: "I was brought into the station on the 8th inst. from the interior of my district where I had been on duty in a very precarious state with jungle fever. I have got over the pressure of the disease but cannot write much.") (7). Contrary to recent suggestions Dr. Campbell did not take sick leave in 1855, Murray did not take over his duties, and reports on European travelers remained the concern of his superior. There were, in fact, no such reports - but if anyone had tried to cross the frontier the fact would certainly have been recorded, as evidenced by the extensive series of letters from Major Ramsay (the British Resident in Nepal) relating to the scientific expedition of the brothers Schlagintweit in Nepal and the Tibetan borderlands during the years 1854 to 1858 (8).

Two other small but significant points remain to be considered. It seems curious - and

somewhat ungallant - for a young officer to perceive a striking young woman of twenty-four

as 'about thirty years of age,' and it is difficult to understand why she remained with the Murrays for about a month' when- if she was Madame Blavatsky - she neither spoke nor wrote in English ("When I came to America in 1873," she said I

had not spoken English - which I had learned in my childhood colloquially - for over thirty years. I could understand when I read it, but could hardly speak the language."; and "Until 1874 I had never written one word in English" (9). She may, of course, have spoken in French but she would not have lapsed into Russian, lest she become an object of much greater suspicion - for Britain and Russia were still technically at war in 1856 until the signing of the Peace Treaty on 30 March. Given these curious features in his story, I am quite certain that whoever was the European lady whom Captain Murray stopped at the frontier, and whenever it was that he stopped her, she was not H.P.B.

Even so, her biographers carry her off from Dinajpore to Bareilly (where a Hindu gentleman recognized her, many years later, as his guest at that time (10) and on "to try and enter Tibet via Kashmir." What language she spoke on her travels is not recorded (save that she "never said I was Russian") but at Lahore she met a Mr. Kulwein and his friend and started out for Ladakh. (11) Her subsequent adventures are recounted at length in ~Isis Unveiled.~ While journeying to Leh (the principal town of Ladakh) the four travelers (Kulwein's friend had turned into 'the brothers N----') met a 'Tartar Shaman' whom they thought would be able to help them enter Tibet, for none of the party could speak Tibetan.

But even with the Shaman's help H.P.B.'s companions signally failed in their "unwise plan of penetrating into Thibet under various disguises." (12): Kulwein fell ill and could not even

attempt to leave his miserable village near Leh as from the first days he found himself

prostrated with fever, and had to return to Lahore via Kashmere," while the two Brothers

N----, "were very politely brought back to the frontier before they had walked sixteen miles

into the weird land of Eastern Bod." Nonetheless, the party did travel about the mountains of Kashmir and witnessed the phenomenon of 'incarnation' , in which the spirit of an entranced Bikshu entered the body of a four-month-old infant and caused it to walk and to converse with Mr. Kulwein. This miraculous event took place at an 'old cave-temple' near an 'insignificant mud village', 'about four days journey from Islamabad, whose only redeeming feature was its magnificent lake'. Assuming that this is not a slighting reference to the city of Srinagar, the lake can only have been Shisha Nag, which is thirty miles north of Islamabad and relatively close (eleven miles) to a famous place of pilgrimage, the Amarnath Cave. And here the problems begin to take shape.

From H.P.B.'s account they must have come very close to Leh, if not to the town itself, and their only conceivable route to this goal would have been via the Zoji-La - the pass leading from Kashmir to Ladakh. This is normally approached from Srinagar, but as the party turned south-east to Islamabad and then north to Shisha-Nag, they may have tried to reach the pass by way of the Amarnath Cave. But this route is difficult: 'the path is not easy and should be attempted by experienced mountaineers only' (and that merely to get to the Cave) according to one standard Handbook (13), and well-nigh impossible if attempted in the Summer when the snow bridges between Amarnath and the Zoji-La have melted. However, H.P.B. ~may~ have made haste on her 1,100 mile journey from Darjeeling to Kashmir; she ~may~ have adapted sufficiently to high altitudes (the Zoji-La is 11,500 ft. above sea-level, and Shisha Nag some 1,500 feet higher) to engage in arduous mountain travel; and she ~ may~ have been sufficiently accomplished a mountaineer to take the difficult route via Amaranth to the still snow-bound Zoji-La. Against this, the Shisha Nag is covered with ice until June and yet there is no mention in the ~Isis Unveiled~ account of the 'Magnificent lake' being frozen, so the party may have returned to Srinagar before starting out for Ladakh. But whatever the route by which they traveled the story ends at Leh; nothing further is recorded of H.P.B.'s second attempt on Tibet - at least, nothing direct and unequivocal.

In the same chapter of ~Isis Unveiled~ (14) in which she relates the story of the expedition to Ladakh, H.P.B. also describes the psychic powers of a Shaman in Mongolia. The references to this Shaman are ambiguous and it is not at all clear that he was the same person as the Tartar guide in Ladakh, although successive biographers of H.P.B. have tended to assume that he was. Certainly the setting for this second episode is Mongolian rather than, Tibetan - H.P.B. speaks of living with Tartars for 'over two months', and refers to 'the sandy deserts of Mongolia' - even though the Shaman's astral traveling was directed towards seeking help from her friend 'the Kutchi of Lha-Ssa, who travels constantly to British India and back'. "We know," said H.P.B., that he was apprised of our critical situation in the desert," for in a matter of hours help came in 'the personal friend of the Kutchi," who presumably, escorted Madame Blavatsky to safety. If this timely rescue took place during the same expedition, then the Shaman had managed to lead H.P.B. in one of two directions: either around the Kuen-Lun Mountains and across the Takla-Makan desert, or across Tibet from south-west to North-east and then, over the mountains. In either case it would have been a perilous journey through "far-off lands, where neither civilization is known, nor security can be guaranteed for one hour."

Which brings us to the question of just how a young woman, alone save for her Tartar guide, could have traveled more than two thousand miles over difficult and dangerous terrain. Hostile biographers have claimed that such a journey would have been impossible without porters, an interpreter and a baggage train of supplies, but Miss Fuller has recently argued that large quantities of supplies

need not have been carried as "there are markets in Tibet."(15) She also claims that the journey need not have involved crossing mountain passes as all H.P.B. wanted "was to get into Tibet by the easiest route," and goes on to cite the example of her mother and grandfather who traveled 'up the Jhelum and Indus rivers' and "from the Indus to Gilgit and Lake Gangabal, at the foot of the Mount Haramouk glacier."(16) This interesting but somewhat unusual route would not have helped H.P.B. From Gilgit one ~could~ travel with some difficulty S.E. to Leh, but Mt. Haramouk - which can be visited by excursion from Srinagar - is on the wrong side of the Great Himalayas; proceeding thence to Islamabad and beyond would have brought the travelers ultimately back (to Lahore. From H.P.B.'s description, crossing the Zoji-La would have been her ~only~ possible route.

But could she have made her journey without bearers and supplies ? In the 1850s the Tibetans were becoming increasingly suspicious of and alarmed by unofficial travelers; they were at war with Nepal and all foreign intruders were treated with hostility. In later years their attitudes had hardened: Captain Bower, who entered Tibet in 1891, was told that 'Tibet was forbidden ground to all strangers.' (~Across Tibet~, 1894, p 94); six years later Henry Savage Landor - on an admittedly unofficial visit - was tortured and all but killed by Tibetan officials.

Nor was friendship extended to those on spiritual quests. In 1918, Edwin Schary, a young American who dreamed of finding Mahatmas in Tibet, entered the country in disguise, suffered appalling hardships and lived to tell of them only because he was eventually rescued by the British agent at Gyantse. So distressed was he by the behaviour of the Tibetans that when asked for a letter of recommendation at Sakar (a village in Central Tibet) he gave vent to his feelings - knowing that the official could not read what he wrote. Describing himself (much as H.P.B. might have done) as 'a lone white wanderer crossing the Tibetan Highland' he wrote of the Tibetans:

"They are the most heartless race of people in the world and more indifferent than I ever believed possible. In this manner I warn any other white man who may read this, against entering Tibet unless he is equipped with all the food and camp necessities and plenty of Tibetan money which will keep him from the necessity of depending upon the bounty of these people." (17)

Even William McGovern, traveled to Lhasa as one of a well-equipped party of five (albeit in disguise himself), emphasized the difficulties:

"He who would seek to penetrate into Lhasa must first overcome the tremendous physical

difficulties which bar the way to the threshold of Tibet, and even if he rise victorious over ice and snow, gnarled crag and precipitous cliffs, he finds upon arrival on the plateau an angry populace which bars the way and insists on an immediate return. (18)

Kulwein's companions were turned back promptly, as H.P.B. noted, and I have not the slightest doubt that even had she crossed the border into Tibet she would - at best - have been treated in like manner.

Of course, H.P.B. did not claim to have visited Lhasa; but she did claim to have been at the monastery of Tashi-Lhumpo.

The Second Attempt: At Home with the Mahatmas

There is enough apparent circumstantial evidence for H.P.B.'s travels in 1856 for an objective analysis of her claims to be made, but for her supposed visit to Tibet twelve years later such an analysis is impossible - even the date is unclear and can be taken only as somewhere between 1868 and 1870. From the letter in ~Light~ (1884) it appears that she first met the Mahatma Koot Hoomi in 1868 - presumably at his home in Tibet - while the Mahatma letter of 1870 to Nadyejda Fadeev was thought, by its recipient, to have come 'probably from Tibet'. Against these dates is the chronology of H.P.B.'s career. In an unidentified hand, found by Annie Besant at Adyar, according to which she 'crossed Central Asia to Tibet' in 1864; paid a flying visit to Italy in 1866, and then returned to 'India and the North. To the Kuenlun Mts., Lake Palti and Tibet', (19) Even if the inconsistent dates are altered, this itinerary yet implies a great extension of her travels: the Kuen-Lun Mountains form the northern boundary of Tibet, while Lake Palti (the Yamdrok Tso) is only fifty miles west of Lhasa. H.P.B. herself did not endorse these claims; she refers only to being at Tashilhunpo and at the Masters' home - and there is no independent evidence of her having been anywhere in Tibet at this time (the story told by 'Major Cross' in 1927 is a pure fabrication; he claimed to have managed 'tea and other estates of the Dalai Lama' earlier in the century, but the Dalai Lama, who fled from the advancing British in 1904, had no European estate managers, and it would be instructive to learn just where in Tibet were his tea plantations).

What then, did H.P.B. say of her travels, and what should we make of her statements? In a letter of 1886 to Sinnett she describes how, in 1870, she began to improve her English at the home of the Mahatma Koot Hoomi, which home was, by implication, in Tibet, for Koot Hoomi had referred to himself (Letter XL to Sinnett) as 'your Trans-Himalayan

correspondent'. Not that the Mahatmas lived close to Tashilhunpo, for in the detailed account of the monastery that she gave to Franz Hartmann in 1886 (in

reply to his account of "the psychometrizing of an 'occult letter' by a German peasant woman") (20) she says, "a lake is there, surely, and mountains plenty - if where Master is; if near Tchigadze - only little hillocks." The Mahatmas, too, were evasive about the location of their homes: Koot Hoomi told Sinnett (letter C, of 1681 (7)) that A.J. Hume could not find them - "Does he really think that ~unless we allow it~, he, or an army of Pelings will be enabled to hunt us out ... (they) would not find us were they to go to L'hassa with an army." (21)

Tashilhunpo, however, was another matter. Referring to the psychometrist's vision H.P.B. commented. "This looks like the temple of the Teschu Lama, near Tchiadze - made of the 'Madras cement'-like material; it does shine like marble and is called the snowy 'Shakang' (Temple) - as far as I remember. It has no 'sun or cross' on the top, but a kind of algiorno dagoba, triangular, on three pillars, with a dragon of gold and a globe. But the dragon has a swastika on it ..." (22) She goes on to say that she was never allowed inside, but the interior was described to her.

This letter has been seized on by her champions as giving proof that she had not merely plagiarized Hue and Gabet's ~Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China~ (1853), for the two Lazarist missionaries did not reach Tashilhunpo. But there is another source, with which she was certainly familiar, for she quotes it in ~Isis Unveiled~ (Vol. 2, p598); this is Samuel Turner's ~An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet.~ (1800).

Turner's description of the monastic buildings is quite different from that of H.P.B., just as her description cannot be reconciled with either modern photographs or Sarat Chandra Das's stylized sketch (which was published in 1902) - but there is no small similarity between H.P.B.'s word sketch of 1886 and Turner's very amateur drawing of 'The Mausoleum of Teshoo Lama'. I do not say that H.P.B. consciously copied Turner but it does seem probable that a visual memory of his sketch coupled with a vivid imagination colored her description.

In like manner, much of the information that she gives about Tibet in ~Isis Unveiled~ is clearly derived from Hue and Gabet and is not the work of an informed first-hand observer.

She could, for example, have drawn upon Emil Schlagintweit's ~Buddhism in Tibet~ (1863) -which she utilized in ~The Secret Doctrine~ - for details of Tibetan Buddhist doctrine and for a more accurate transliteration of Tibetan words than is found in Hue and Gabet. If she had not relied so heavily upon Hue's misunderstandings she would not have stated that the Potala at Lhasa was known as "Buddha-lla, or rather Foht-lla (Buddha's Mount)" - it derives its name from Mount Potala in southern India, one of the holy mountains of Shiva - nor followed him in referring to the Lamasery at Wu-ta in Shensi as 'Ou-tay'. And she would certainly not have claimed that the Tibetans call Buddha 'Fho or Fo', when

she could easily have found the correct name royal-bai-sku -by looking at the 'glossaries of the Moravian Brothers' to which she referred Lillie in 1884. Admittedly, she was probably then using Jaschke's~Tibetan-English Dictionary~ of 1881, but this had first appeared from 1871 onwards - four years before ~Isis Unveiled~ was published. Hue was far from competent in Tibetan - as is made clear by Paul Pelliot in his Introduction to the definitive edition of the ~Travels~ (1928)- and it is H.P.B.'s reliance upon his authority that betrays her ignorance of the people, and their culture, among whom she is supposed to have lived so long.

The last attempt: Detour from Darjeeling

During the thirteen years that separate ~Isis Unveiled~ and ~The Secret Doctrine~ H.P.B.'s knowledge of Tibet and its religion deepened to an extraordinary degree. This may have been due to more extensive and more appropriate reading, but she had also paid a third and last visit to the borderlands of Tibet to stay with her Masters.

In October 1882 she wrote from Darjeeling to Sinnett at Simla, explaining how she had come to be there. (23) She had traveled from Bombay but had left the train en route to enter native Sikkim, there to see again the masters Morya and Koot Hoomi. Shortly afterwards they, too, wrote to Sinnett to tell him or "the poor old creature's ecstatic rapture" on meeting them. (24) In her own letter she described the 'wooden hut' (probably a Dak Bungalow) in which they were staying; it was a brief visit, although "after all, I ~did~ go twenty or thirty miles beyond Sikkim territory and remained there two days."

Two years later her memories of the excursion were somewhat different. The readers of ~Light~ learned that she had been traveling from Chandernagore (which is near Calcutta) to Darjeeling, when "... instead of proceeding to it direct, I left the train half way, was met by friends with a conveyance, and passed with them into the territory of Sikkhim, where I found my Master and Mahatma, Koot Hoomi. Thence five miles across the old borderland of Tibet." (25)

She returned to Darjeeling after five days.

Now, of all her suppositious Himalayan journeys this is the most credible. She ~could~ have broken her journey - probably at Siliguri from where a track leads to the Teesta bridge into native Sikkim; the train would pass through Siliguri whether she came from Bombay or from Chandernagore - and she could have entered Sikkim territory with little difficulty. And it did contain Dak bungalows of the type she described. But five days after leaving the train she was in Darjeeling ('upon my return~ five days later') and it must be considered just how far her

detour could have taken her in so short a time.

Sikkim is not an easy country in which to travel. It is made up of "deep gorges and precipitous mountains, clothed with forest and verdure to their very summits" (26) and while the mountain heights are cold, "heat in the narrow gorges is most oppressive" (27) Thus, although October was an ideal month for traveling (the Monsoon had passed) it was a slow process. To reach the border between British and native Sikkim would have taken one day, as would the return to Darjeeling from the border; on the basis of marches described in Macdonald's ~Touring in Sikkim and Tibet~, she would probably have managed to reach the village of Gnatong if she was aiming for the Tibetan border. To have returned to Darjeeling in the time she states she could have gone no further - Tibet itself remained forever out of reach.

But Sikkim is culturally Tibetan~ and if one examines the curious sketch of the Mahatma Morya riding up to his hillside house (supposedly drawn for H.P.B. by Djual Kul) it could just conceivably be a fanciful view in Sikkim. Central Tibet it cannot be, for there are no such tree-clad ravines on the plateau although they are to be found in the Chumbi valley, into which the passes from Sikkim lead. The anomalous architecture of Morya's house - impossible in Tibet -could be found in Sikkim where Nepali influence does occur. Perhaps H.P.B. ~did~ meet her religious teachers in this curious little land where religious syncretism is more common than in Tibet, and perhaps she had been there before 1882. but why did she claim to have traveled in Tibet - where she clearly had never been - and why did she place her Masters there, when they were to be found (if at all) on the edge of British India ?

I believe she combined her own dreams with sound common-sense. She passionately ~wished~ to have been in Tibet and she knew that numberless others shared her passion - and shared, too, her conviction that hidden wisdom lay in that forbidden land. Knowing this she offered the fruits of her own genius - for there never was a more remarkable synthesizer of speculative metaphysics and spiritual philosophy - as the work of superhumans who lived out of reach 'beyond the ranges.' And as those who read her work came to believe the truth of her dreams, so did she come to see her own dreams as a reality. On a spiritual level there may be such a reality, but on this cold, hard, physical planet, the great Himalayan mountains proved a barrier that she could not pass.

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References in the text: [there is a discrepancy in the numbering which I have not had time to correct - A.B., ed., 1997].

1 'Mr. A. Lillie's Delusions', letter in ~Light~, No. 188, Vol. IV, August 9 1884, pp 323 - 324

2 ibid. p 324

3 Barker, A.T.(Ed.), ~The Letters or H.P. Blavatsky to A.P. Sinnett~, (1925) p 151

4 ~The Theosophist~, April 1893 (Quoted in Mary K. Neff, ~Personal Memoirs of H.P.

Blavatsky, 1937, p 58

5 See India Office Library and Records, file L/P&S/5/223, 7 April 1855, 'Enclosures to Secret Letters from India'

6 ibid. under date 7 May 1855

7 IOL&R File L/P&S/5/226, 22 March 1856, 'Enclosures to Secret Letters from India'. The

letter itself is dated 15 December 1855

8 IOL&R, Nepal Residency Records, R/5, covering the years in question

9 'My Books', in ~Lucifer~ Vol. VIII No. 45 May 1891 p 244

10 Neff, op. cit. p 58

11 Sinnett, A. P., ~Incidents in the life of Madame Blavatsky~ (1886) p 50

12 ~Isis Unveiled~ 1875, Vol. 2 p 599. Quotations in this paragraph are from the same page

13 Buckland, C.E. (Ed.), (Murray's) ~Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon,~

1919 10th ed. p 347

14 op. cit., pp 626 - 628

15 Fuller, Jean Overton, ~Blavatsky and her Teachers,~ 1988, p 14

16 ibid. p 14

17 Schary, Edwin G., ~In Search of the Mahatmas of, Tibet,~ (1937) p 224

18 McGovern, William Montgomery, ~To Lhasa in Disguise,~ 1924, p 14

19 Quoted in Neff, op. cit., p 301

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20 Neff, op. cit., p 142

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23 Barker, ~Letters to A.P Sinnett~ p 36

24 Barker, Mahatma Letters, p 314

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26 Temple, Sir Richard, ~Travels in Nepal and Sikkim,~ 1977 (Resetting of two works of

1881 and 1667) p 5

27 Macdonald, David, Touring in Sikkim and Tibet 1943, p 21