

## THE LAMA AND THE GENERAL.

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It is well-known to all who have read accounts of the earliest attempts to climb Mount Everest, that these British expeditions arrived at the mountain from the Northern, Tibetan side. Their approach route lay up the "Rongbuk Valley" where they visited in passing the "Rongbuk Monastery".<sup>1</sup> C. K. Howard-Bury described the valley and its monastery in 1921<sup>2</sup> in these terms:

"The valley was considered very sacred and was apparently a great place of pilgrimage. We found the base camp of the Alpine climbers pitched close to the Rongbuk Monastery, where there lived a very high re-incarnated Lama who was in meditation and not allowed to see anyone. This valley was called the Rongbuk, or inner valley—a name well suited to it<sup>3</sup>; the legend was that from this valley there used to be a pass over into the Khumbu Valley,<sup>4</sup> but the high Lama who lived here forbade the use of it, as it disturbed the meditation of the recluses and hermits of which there were several hundred here. At first these good people did not at all approve of our coming into this valley, as they thought we should be likely to disturb and distract their meditations.<sup>5</sup>

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1. *There exists a "Guide" to this region in Tibetan—entitled Rong-phu rdza-yi gangts kyi gnas-yig dad-pa'i mdongs-ldan dga'-skyed dbyar gyi rnga-sgra. My manuscript copy was made from a print which has fourteen pages. The guide was written when Ngag-dbang bstan 'dzin nor-bu, who lived from 1867 to 1940, was 67 (Tibetan) years of age. The name of the Rongbuk Monastery is, in fact, Mdo-sngags zung-'jug chos gling.*

2. *C.K. Howard-Bury, Mount Everest, The Reconnaissance, 1921, London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1922, p. 83, 84.*

3. *Phu in Tibetan designates the upper part of a valley as opposed to mda', the lower part. The word rong generally designates valleys populated by farmers as opposed to 'brog, pasture lands where nomads live. In particular cases rong means "gorge, defile" rather than "valley." So rong-phu means "the upper part of the gorge".*

4. *There is of course a pass further west over to Khumbu which has become well-known to Westerners since these lines were written. See for instance H. W. Tilman, Mount Everest 1938, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1948, p. 48, where the legend told to Tilman—"no animal is ever brought across it"—seems to have been vehicled by the Sherpas to increase their own carrying wages. I have seen plenty of "four-footed" animals going up and coming down from this pass.*

5. *Elsewhere Howard-Bury was clear-sighted enough to remark: "In these out-of-the way parts they had heard vaguely of the fighting in 1904, and they imagined that our visit might be on the same lines. They imagined, too, that all Europeans were cruel and seized what they wanted without payment. They were therefore much surprised when they found that we treated them fairly and paid for everything that we wanted at very good rates." Ibid., p. 175.*

The Rongbuk Monastery lies at a height of 16,500 feet, and is an unpleasantly cold spot. This monastery contains twenty permanent lamas who always live there together with the re-incarnated Lama. Besides these, there are three hundred other associated lamas who in come periodically, remaining there for periods of varying length. These associate lamas are mostly well-to do, and having sufficient money to support themselves are not a drain upon the villagers. They will often invest several thousand trangkas with some village, and in return for this money the village will supply them with food, barley, milk, eggs and fuel. Higher up the valley there was a smaller monastery, and dotted along the hillside were numerous cells and caves where monks or nuns had retired to meditate. Every animal that we saw in this valley was extraordinarily tame. In the mornings we watched the burhel coming to some hermits' cells, not a hundred yards away from the camp, to be fed, and from there they they went on to other cells. They seemed to have no fear whatever of human beings. On the way up the valley we passed within 40 to 50 yards of a fine flock of rams, but they barely moved away, and on the way back we passed some females that were so inquisitive that they actually came up to within 10 yards of us in order to have a look at us. The rock pigeons came and fed out of one's hand, and the ravens and all the other birds here were equally tame; it was most interesting to be able to watch all their habits and to see them at such close quarters. . ."<sup>6</sup>

What is perhaps less well-known is that the lama in question noted in his autobiography the passage of these strangers. One reads on p. 287a of the xylograph *dus-mthar chos smra-ba'i btsun-pa ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu'i rnam-thar 'chi-med bdud-rtsi'i rol-mtsho* as follows:<sup>7</sup>

"After that six British Sahebs with a group of thirty servants and a train of seventy baggage animals, and with a permit issued by the Tibetan Government,

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6. H. Rutledge, who passed by the same route in 1936, was more interested in the men than in the birds. He writes: "We think ourselves hardy when we approach these regions in the spring, with our tents and windproof clothing and swan-down sleeping bags and pressure cookers. What have these men in the depth of winter but perhaps an old woollen rug and a smouldering branch of juniper, with a pittance of food just sufficient to ward off starvation?" "Our religion," they would probably reply, and the answer must suffice". (Everest: the Unfinished Adventure, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937, p. 79.)

7. *de rjes dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb drug dang/ g-yog-po sum-cu skor/khal-ma bdun-cu skor/ gzhung rtsal lag khyer dang bcas 'di-ga'i gangs-ri glang-ma'i rtsar 'gro-tshul-gyis 'dir 'byor/ shar gyi lu-sgor gur-gra phub-nas gzhis-mal bcas/ dpon-khag rnam gangs rtsar song/ zhag nyi-shu rtsa grangs shig bsdad kyang gangs-rir 'dzeg ma-thub-pas 'di khul rdab-bsigs gang yang med-par gnod med du phyir log-ste mkhar-rta brgyud song/*

arrived here on their way to Mount Everest<sup>8</sup> in this area. They pitched their camp at the mouth of the Eastern valley, and prepared their beds. The group then left for the mountain. Although they remained there an estimated twenty days, since they could not climb the mountain, they returned without incident and without harm to this vale. They then crossed over to Mkharrta<sup>9</sup>

The following year there was another British expedition and its leader C. G. Bruce described its arrival at the same site in these words:

“We pitched our camp just below the monastery with considerable difficulty, as the wind was howling rather more than usual. Then we went to pay our respects to the Rongbuk Lama. This particular Lama was beyond question a remarkable individual. He was a large well-made man of about sixty, full of dignity, with a most intelligent and wise face and an extraordinarily attractive smile.<sup>10</sup> He was treated with the utmost respect by the whole of his people. We were received with full ceremony, and after compliments had been exchanged in the usual way by the almost

8. The text has simply *'di-ga'i gang-s-ri glang-ma'irtsar*; but this certainly designates Mount Everest, the usual Tibetan name for which is *Jo-mo glang-ma*. For instance the *rnam-thar* (p. 46 a) speaks of *la-stod lho'i cha pha-drug rgya-mo rong gi phu/bkra-shis tshe-ring-ma mched lnga'i ya-gyal mi-g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa spyod kyi rten gnas gangs kyi ri-bo | lhun stug jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa'i 'dab-tu* And practically the same words are employed in the *gnas-yig* (p. 3a) where, speaking of the time when the whole of Tibet was a prey to the *sha-za 'dre srin*, the writer affirms: *de-tshe bkra-shis tshe-ring mched-linga'i nang -tshan mi g-yo glang bzang-ma'i sa-spyod kyi gnas gangs-ri mtho zhing lhun du chags-pa'i gangs jo-mo glang-mar grags-pa di'i mdun du| o-rgyan rin-po-che byon-nas mi-g-yo glang-ma sogs bka' bsgos dam la btags...* In F. W. Funke, *Religiöses Leben der Sherpa Innsbruck-München*, 1969, p. 77, 78, 233-245, one finds the form *Mi g-yo blo bzang-ma* which is also cited by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S' Gravenhage*, 1956, p. 179, 180. The latter authority devoted some pages to the *Tshe-ring mched-linga* (*Ibid.* 177-181) but did not clearly situate them in the Everest area. The sacred geography of the Everest area has, in fact, been much less studied than its physical make-up. Bāburām Acārya has written in *Śārada*, 4th year, no 8, B.S. 1995, an article entitled *Sagarmāthā yā Jhyamolongmā* in which he argues that the Nepali compound *Sagarmāthā* signifies *asmān samma kapāl pugeko*, “the forehead of which reaches up to the sky”. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult J. Schubert, “Mount Everest Das Namens-Problem,” in *Sino-Japonica, Festschrift André Wedermeyer, Leipzig, Harrassowitz* 1956, p. 148-196.

9. This is the “*Kharta*” of Howard-Bury, *op. cit.*, Ch.V.

10. There is a photo of the “chief lama” in Bruce as quoted in the following note, facing p. 78.

grovelling interpreter, Karma Paul (who was very much of a Buddhist here), the Lama began to ask us questions with regard to the objects of the Expedition. He was very anxious also that we should treat his people kindly. His inquiries about the object of the Expedition were intelligent, although at the same time they were very difficult to answer. Indeed, this is not strange when one comes to think how many times in England one has been asked, "What is the good of an exploration of Everest? What can you get out of it? And in fact, what is the object generally of wandering in the mountains?" As a matter of fact, it was very much easier to answer the Lama than it is to answer inquiries in England. The Tibetan Lama, especially of the better class, is certainly not a materialist. I was fortunately inspired to say that we regarded the whole Expedition, and especially our attempt to reach the summit of Everest as a pilgrimage. I am afraid, also, I rather enlarged on the importance of the vows taken by the members of the Expedition. I told the Lama, through Paul, who fortunately enough was able to repress his smiles (an actual record for Paul, which must have strained him to his last ounce of strength) that I had sworn never to touch butter until I had arrived at the summit of Everest. Even this was well received. After that time I drank tea with sugar or milk which was made specially for me... The Lama finally blessed us and blessed our men, and gave us his best wishes for success. He was very anxious that no animals of any sort should be interfered with, which we promised, for we had already given our word not to shoot during our Expedition in Tibet. He did not seem to have the least fear that our exploring the mountain would upset the demons who live there, but he told me that it was perfectly true that the Upper Rongbuk and its glaciers held no less than five wild men. There is at any rate, a local tradition of the existence of such beings, just as there is a tradition of the wild men existing right through the Himalaya. As a matter of fact, I really think that the Rongbuk Lama had a friendly feeling for me personally, as he told the interpreter, Karma Paul, that in a previous incarnation I had been a Tibetan Lama. I do not know exactly how to take this... The following morning, in cold weather, as usual, we left to try and push our camp as far as possible..."<sup>11</sup>

The Lama's account of these happenings <sup>12</sup> is as follows: "In the third month (of the Tibetan year) once again a group of thirteen Britishers with a hundred coolies

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11. *C. G. Bruce and other members of the Expedition, The Assault on Mount Everest 1922, New York: Longmanns, & Co.; London: Edward Arnold & Co. 1923, p. 45-48.*

12. *Rnam-thar: p 289 b zla-ba gsum-pa nang slar yang dbyin-ji'i dpon-khag sa-heb bcu-gsum dang/ku-li brgya skor | dos-khal sum-brgya skor bcas 'byor-nas mdun du gur-grar zhag-gcig bsdad/lam sna sa rgyus shel rdzong sku-tshab ding-ri gra sgrigs-pa'ang sleb/ lha rab ngo g-yog thams-cad dang/ ma-thar spyi-saheb der mjal-kha ma-btang thu-med yin tshul zer-bas lta-log mi-gcig dang 'phrad-na gzhan-kun bkag don mi 'dug*

kyang| rang nyid nad babs thu-bas de'i sang-nyin sngags-khang mdun gyi g-yab chen  
 du ja-nan zer-ba sogs sa-heb gsum dang skad bsgyur bcas la mjal-kha btang | dpon-po  
 gtso-ba des gong-sa yas-phyin gyi sku-par gcig dang/skyin-khab yug-gcig kha-btags  
 bcas phul| der gsol-ja dang| zho 'bras (290 a) btang | gar'gro dris-pas 'dzam-bu gling nas  
 gangs-ri di mtho-bas 'di'i rtser sleb-na dbyin-zhung nas phogs dang | go-sa chen-po  
 yong zer | bdag gis nged kyi lung-pa 'di ha-cang grang-ngar che zhing chos-byed las gzhan  
 tshugs-par dka' zhing| gnas-bdag gnyan-pas zab-lcag gang che mdzad-dgos mol-bas/  
 thugs-rje che| bla-ma nas kyang skyabs 'jug dang | nged rnam la me-shing spen-ma  
 phran-bu sgrugs chog-pa mkhyen| gzhan gnas-nang gi bya ri-dvags la gnod-pa mi-byed/  
 gri-chung ltab-gri cam las tshon-cha'i rigs gtan nas yod ri kan zer-nas song rjes 'di nas  
 yul babs sna len sha-khog gcig dang| ja-sbag gcig gro-phye ka-to-ra gang bcas bskyal-bar  
 btang| de nas song-bar gangs rtsar sgar-chen phogs-nas| de nas yar gur-gra rim-pa bdun  
 rgyab-nas yod tshul gleng | zla-ba phyed gnyis tsam bsdad-de gangs-rir 'dzeg-pa'i rtsol-ba  
 lcags-phur | lcags-thag| lcags-sder sogs thabs-'phrul la brten nas shin-tu dka' ngal chen-pos  
 'dzegs-pas sa-heb gnyis rkang-lag gangs-chib theb-te sngon la song rjes lag-mgo  
 chad (290 b) skad 'dug | da-dung gzhan-rnams kyi dbu btsugs kyis 'dzegs-te gangs kyi  
 gsum-gcig tsam sleb-pa na nyin-gcig 'ur-sgra dang bcas gangs nyir-te mi 'ga' zhig g-yang  
 la zags| sa-heb che-ba gnyis shi-ba yin-nam grangs mi tshes| g-yog ku-li bdun brgyad  
 cig shi-bas 'di gar ngo-sar bsngo-ba byed-dgos zer spyi-kkyab sa-heb des dngul srang  
 bco-lnga btang-ba 'byor-bas dgos-med kyi las la de-lta-bu'i sdug-bsngal myong  
 dgos las bskos la shin-tu snying-rje zhin bsngo-smon gnad-smin byas | sa zla'i sgrub-  
 mchod skabs sa-heb lnga dang ku-li mang zhig yong | gar-cham sogs par btab | de rjes  
 dpon 'khor tshang-ma phyir log gi skyas bstegs-nas 'dir dgong sdod byas | sang-nyin  
 sde-yangs du sa-heb brgyad dang| g-yog gang yod la mjal-kha btang | spyi-khyab des  
 kha sngon ku-li bdun shi-ba'i bsngo zhu tam-brgya dang | da lam shel-rdzong sku-tshab la  
 'bras dang| 'khrul gyi me-thabs sgam bcas 'bul-rgyu btang-yod byung-ngam zer-ba byung  
 zhes mol| khyed sku snyel ma-byung-ngam byas-pas | nga-rang kham bzang| mi kha-shas  
 shi-song zer cung-ngo mnong-pa 'dug| kha-zas | (291a) shing-bkrol gang dang| gser zangs  
 gsar-pa'i sgröl-ma'i sku-zhig byin-nas ma 'ong-pa na rgyal-ba'i bstän-pa rin-po-che'i  
 gdul-byar gyur-pa'i smon-lam gyi mtshams-sbyor byas| de nas phyir log 'gro-ba na bod-srol  
 lta-bus zhva phud-nas bzhugs bzhugs zer song | de'i rjes gangs rtsar dbyin-ji'i bsdad  
 shul-rnams su tsampa dang| 'bras| zhun-mar sogs phon-che lus yod-tshul go thos kyis  
 chos-sbug-pa'i bzhon-pa mi grangs nyi-shu skor 'di-ga'i dgon yas mas kyis ma-tshor-bar  
 mtshan-gung gsang-stabs su phyin-nas nam langs-te gangs-ri'i rtsar 'byor nyer rdza  
 gseng nas dred-bdun thon-pa thog-mar mi-gcig gis mthong| de rjes kun-gyis mthong-bas  
 dngos chas kyi re-ba lta ci 'jigs skrag chen-pos phyir bro-s-nas 'di-gar ngos-sar yong-te  
 mi-shes-pa'i lta ngan-pa dang| gla tshes nyams-pa sogs med-dam zer-bar| dengs skabs  
 sbas-yul gnas-bdag zu-ra-ba dang| gzhis-bdag shar-lung sogs ma-dga'-ba'i 'khrul  
 yin 'dug rim-gro skang-bshags sogs byas-na skyon mi 'dug ces mol|

and three hundred pack-charges pitched their camp in front (of the *Sngags Khang*) and stayed one day. The Ding-ri representative from Shel-rdzong<sup>13</sup> also came as guide and assistant.

He said to me, 'The best thing would be to meet the leaders and all their servants or at least the principal Saheb. There is no means of avoiding it.'

I said, 'If one meets one heretic, there is no point in keeping all the others back;' but I was feeling very sick.

The next day I greeted the General, <sup>14</sup> three other Sahebs and their interpreter in the big shelter in front of the *sngags-khang*. The leader gave me a photo of the Dalai Lama <sup>15</sup> and a length of gold brocade <sup>16</sup> with a ceremonial scarf. I had tea and rice-with-curd served.

'Where are you going?' I asked. <sup>17</sup>

'As this snow peak is the biggest in the world, if we arrive on the summit we will get from the British Government a recompense and high rank,' he said.

I replied, 'As our country is bitterly cold and frosty, it is difficult for others than those who are devoted to religion not to come to harm. As the local spirits are furies, you must act with great firmness.'

'Thank you. As we shall also come under the lama's protection, we trust you will allow us to collect a little brushwood for firewood. Moreover we won't harm the birds and the wild animals in this area. I swear we have no kinds of weapons apart from this little knife, the size of a side-knife.'

After saying this, they took their leave. Then from here, according the custom of the country, I had conveyed to them a carcass of meat, a brick of tea, and a platterful of roasted wheat flour. After they had left, they established a big camp near the mountain. It is said that they next pitched seven successive camps. They stayed about a month and a half. Making use of instruments such as iron pegs, wire-ropes and crampons they strove to ascend the mountain. They climbed with the most extreme

13. *On Shel-dkar rdo-rje'i rdzong, see, for instance, T. V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas-bshad, Roma, 1962, p. 66,133.*

14. *The Tibetan ja nan renders the English word "general".*

15. *It is just conceivable that gong-sa yas-phyin could signify the Panchen Lama; but the Dalai Lama seems much more probable in this context.*

16. *See H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, Delhi, 1968, 2nd edition, s.v. kincob.*

17. *The lama of course knew perfectly well where they were going. This is just the usual Tibetan formula for breaking the ice.*

difficulty. Two Sahebs got frost-bitten feet. After their passage down<sup>18</sup> it was said that they lost the first joints of their fingers. Meanwhile the others climbed on ahead. When they had reached about a third of the way up the mountain<sup>19</sup>, one day, with a roar, an avalanche occurred and some men were projected over the cliff face. It was not known whether two big Sahebs died. Seven or eight coolies died.<sup>20</sup> The leader of the expedition sent to where I am, fifteen silver *srang* with a request to perform a *bsn go-ba*<sup>21</sup>. I was filled with great compassion for their lot who underwent such suffering on unnecessary work. I organised very important *bsngo-smon*<sup>22</sup>

At the time of the *sgrub-mchod*<sup>23</sup> in the fourth (Tibetan) month, five Sahebs and many coolies arrived back. They took photos of the *gar-cham*, etc. After that the group changed their quarters for the return journey. I asked them to stay the night. The following day I met eight Sahebs and all the servants present on the balcony.

The leader started by saying, 'Previously I sent one hundred *ṭamka* with a request for a *bsngo* for the seven coolies who died. Just now I sent rice and a cook-box for the Shel-rdzong representative. Did they arrive?'

I asked, 'Are you not weary?'

'Me? I'm alright. A few men died,' he replied and was a little ashamed.

I gave him a wooden tub-full of breads<sup>24</sup> and a new gold and copper image of

18. *I think this must be a reference to Geoffrey Bruce and Norton (Bruce, op. cit. p. 78; but see also p. 75).*

19. *This is not so absurd as it sounds if the lama was calculating the height of the mountain above the monastery.*

20. *The avalanche and its consequences are described in Bruce, Ibid., p. 280-285.*

21. *'After the news of the accident had been received we immediately got in touch with the great lama of Rongbuk who was intensely sympathetic and kind over the whole matter. It is very strange to have to deal with these curious people; they are an extraordinary mixture of superstition and nice feelings.'* (Bruce, *Ibid.*, p. 75).

22. *"Buddhist services were held in the monasteries for the men who had been lost and for the families; and also the porters, and especially the relations of the men who were killed, were received and specially blessed by the Rongbuk Lama himself"* (*Ibid.*) *bsngo-smon* are prayers the merits of which are supposedly beneficial to those who have accumulated bad karma.

23. *See F. W. Funke, Religiöses Leben der Sherpa, Khumbu Himal 9, Innsbruck-München, 1969, p. 115—138.*

24. *Kha-zas is not an easy term to translate. One hesitates between "biscuit" and "bread". See G. Tucci, Les Religions du Tibet et de la Mongolie, trad. de l'allemand, Paris, 1973. p. 188, n. 1.*

Tārā;<sup>25</sup> I resolved to pray for his conversion to Buddhism in the future. Then, as he left, as is the custom in Tibet, he took off his hat and said: 'Be seated, be seated,' and so saying went away.

After that, getting to know that there remained much roasted barley flour and rice and oil, etc., in the places where the Britishers had stayed near the mountain, some youngsters from Chos-sbug,<sup>26</sup> about twenty of them, be unknown to the monasteries—the upper and the lower one in this area—passed by secretly at midnight and, at dawn, arrived at the base of the mountain. From a cleft in the nearby scree, seven bears came out. At first one man caught sight of them; after that they all saw them. Whatever their hope when they saw the supplies, in a great panic, they all ran away. When they came back here, they asked, 'Is not this inauspicious sight terrible and will not our lives be harmed?'

I said, 'It is a sign that at the moment Zu-ra-ba, the *gnas-bdag*<sup>27</sup> of the *Sbas-yul*<sup>28</sup> and Shar-lung<sup>29</sup> the *gzhis-bdag*, are not pleased. If we do the *skang-bshags* rituals in order, no harm will come.'

25. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.* p. 78: 'The Lama made special inquiries after the expedition, and then began the blessing. He offered us his very best wishes and presented me, through Paul, with a special mark of his goodwill, a little image of one of the Taras or queens, of Tibetan mythology. My special one was the Green Tara, who takes precedence among all ladies. This was a mark of very great favour.' It would have been a greater favour if he had received on old image.

26. This is the place called Chobu by Howard-Bury, *op. cit.* p. 82, 95, 190, 191, 312, 317.

27. On *gnas-bdag* and *gzhis-bdag* generally, see von Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet, S' Gravenhage*, 1956. *Bdud-po zu-ra* is mentioned along with the twelve *Bstan-ma* in the shorter of the two "guides" quoted in the note which follows.

28. The *Sbas-yul* in question is surely *Mkhan-pa lung*. F. W. Thomas, in his translation of the "booklet" for E G H Kempson, as published in H. Ruttledge, *op. cit.* p. 286, identified *Mkhan-pa lung* as 'Abbot's Ravine, evidently the valley where is the Rongbuk Monastery'. This localisation is quite wrong. *Mkhan-pa lung* is mentioned, for instance, in the *Sbas-yul 'bras-mo ljongs kyi gnas-yig phan-yon dang bcas-pa ngo-mtshar gter-mdzod* which (p. 4b-5a) divides up the *sbas-yul* into four big, four small and others. The four big are:

East: *Tsa-ri gangs kyi ra-ba*

South: *Bar-yul gangs kyi ra-ba*

West: *La-phyi gangs kyi ra-ba*

North: *Gnod-sbyin gangs kyi ra-ba*.

The four small are:

South-East: *Rgyal gyi mkhan-pa lung*



One can of course speculate as to what degree of objectivity was sought for and achieved in the respective writings of the lama and the general. Certainly in the circumstances Karma Paul's position was unenviable. Caught between his loyalty to his religion and his fidelity to his British employers, the role he had to play was no easy one. Moreover Bruce sometimes clearly misunderstood what Paul said. It is most improbable, for instance, that Karma Paul ever told him that "this Lama has the distinction of being actually the incarnation of a god, the god Chongraysay (read: *Spyan ras gzigs*=Avalokiteshvara), who is depicted with nine heads."<sup>31</sup>

Years later, the same Karma Paul was asked by Tilman at Rongbuk to "disabuse the minds of our hosts that expeditions to climb Mount Everest are undertaken at the instigation of and assisted by the British Government for the sake of national prestige."<sup>32</sup> Tilman continues: "We assured them that this was not so and explained that Mount Everest, supreme though it was, was not the only mountain we tried to climb: that we belonged to a small but select cult who regarded a Himalayan expedition as a means of acquiring merit beneficial to soul and body, and equivalent to entering a monastery except that the period of renunciation was short and that such admirable macaroni stew as was served in monasteries was seldom available." Certainly Karma Paul does not seem to have got this message across in 1922.

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*South-West: Dpal gyi gra-phu lung*

*North-West: Dpal gyi 'jag-ma lung*

*North-East: Skyid kyi gro-ma lung.*

*The others (gzhan yang) are, according to this source: Spar-phug gangs kyi ra-ba; Gsal-rje gangs kyi ra-ba; G-yu lung gangs kyi ra-ba; 'Brong-rdza gangs kyi ra-ba; Jo-mo gangs kyi ra-ba; Snye'o gangs kyi ra-ba; Sna-nam gangs kyi ra-ba; Shel-bzang gangs kyi ra-ba; Rong-btsan gangs kyi ra-ba; Shar sgam-po gangs kyi ra-ba; Lho-rong gangs kyi ra-ba, etc. I possess two manuscript "guides" to Mkhan-pa lung. 1) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas kyi lam-yig dang-po, 9 pages, Rig 'dzin rgod ldem gyi gter-ma. 2) Sbas-yul mkhan-pa lung gi gnas-yig dang lam-yig bcas, 37 pages, Padma gling-pa'i gter-ma. I hope to return shortly to the problem of Mkhan-pa lung. However, in the present context one can note here that Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu's rnam-thar speaks of "the country called Mkhar-rta in the district of Pha-drug, on the Northern side of Mkhan-pa lung the place of the hidings of the Guru, which is to the South-East of Rong-phu rdza, in the Southern part of La-stod" (p. 48 a: la-stod lho yi sa'i tsha | rong phu rdza yi shar-lho | gu-ru'i sbas-gnas mkhan-pa lung gi byang ngos-su pha-drug mkhar rta zhes-pa'i yul. .)*

29. *The gnas-srung/gnas-bdag Sha-lung | Shar-lung is mentioned in the Rong-phu gnas-yig, p. 9 a, 9 b.*

30 *See F. W. Funke. op. cit. p. 82-85, 115, 247-255; bskang-gso are propitiatory rituals addressed to the protective deities.*

31. *Bruce, op. cit. p. 45.*

32. *Tilman, op. cit. p. 98.*