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29 July 1987

SIKKIM RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY GANGTOK, INDIA

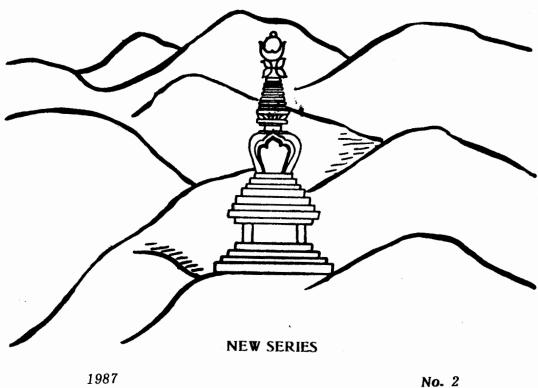
-The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field-

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NIRMAL C. SINHA

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THE SIMLA CONVENTION 1914: A CHINESE PUZZLE

-NIRMAL C. SINHA

Among the important events of 1914 is the Simla Convention dated the 3rd July 1914. Three parties participated in a conference in Simla which ended in a tripartite agreement in draft form in March-April 1914. The three parties were India, China and Tibet.

After the draft agreement was ready, disputes between China and Tibet cropped up on two points: (1) the borders between China and Tibet and (2) the degree and nature of Chinese suzerainty over the Dalai Lama's government. These disputes were not solved in protracted consultations through the summer months of 1914. The British and the Tibetan delegates even then wanted to sign and ratify the draft agreed previously. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, refused to sign and wanted further authorization from Peking for signature. Ivan Chen walked out of the conference on 3rd July 1914 and proceeded to Calcutta en route to China. The British and Tibetan delegates signed the agreement and by further affirmative documents ratified the Convention as binding between the British Government in India and the Dalai Lama's Government in Tibet. Though the original draft for the agreement describing the three parties and detailing the rights and privileges of the three parties was retained, a declaration was added that China would not be entitled to any rights and privileges as a suzerain power in Tibet if she failed to sign or ratify the tripartite agreement.

The war of 1914 followed the Simla Convention in a matter of weeks and since Great Britain and China were on the same side as allies, neither Great Britain nor China made any positive declarations about China's rights and privileges outside the Simla Convention. China, however, informally questioned the validity of the Simla Convention, but never pressed the point for clarification. The same position was continued later by KMT China. During the Second World War, China would more often refer to the provisions of the Simla Convention and put pressure on the Allies, particularly, Britain and America, for recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet. The question of borders between India and Tibet was not pressed so much. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was even persuaded to make a statement at the Pacific Council in Washington (May 1943) that "no one contests the Chinese suzerainty in Tibet". The British Foreign Office did not find this statement of the British P.M. to be wrong. But their subordinates in the Government of India, namely, the British officials in the Indian Civil Service, pointed out in secret communications to Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, that China had no rights in Tibet unless China signed or otherwise accepted the provisions about Sino-Tibetan relations in the Simla Convention. In short, according to the British Officers in India, China could not have

Reproduced from the *Presidency College Magazine: Diamond Jubilee Number* (Calcutta 1974). Founded in 1914, the Magazine celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1974.

unqualified control over Tibet without any proper treaty or agreement between Tibet and China. This point of view could not be altogether rejected by the British Foreign Office and shortly afterwards (July 1943) Anthony Eden made a statement in answer to Chinese request for clarification, that the Chinese suzerainty in Tibet was conditional and in no case unlimited. At the end of the war, KMT China again raised this question and was given hearing in the Press outside China simply because China had been admitted into the club of the Four Great Powers which destroyed the three Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). In 1947 March, an Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi. There were delegations from different Asian countries which included the Moslem republics of USSR and Tibet. In the conference hall was a big map of Asia which depicted Tibet as quite separate from China. The delegates from China protested against the presence of Tibetan delegates as a distinct group and the map of Asia as on the wall of the conference room. The map had to be removed though the Tibetan delegates continued. since that event, the Chinese point of view about Tibet and about the Simla Convention has been circulating wider and wider and; when the People's Republic of China took over from the corrupt KMT regime, the former also took over all the antique claims of China about neighbouring countries. An important claim was based on the Chinese objection to the Simla Convention.

The Government of India did not care to assess the implications of Chinese claims, and, on the other hand, were too friendly towards China as a country which was the victim of Western imperialism as much as India. 1954 when India made a fresh treaty about trade and pilgrimage in Tibet, the Government of India, deliberately or carelessly, ignored the Simla Convention as "a relic of British imperialism". The Simla Convention and the documents attached to this agreement not only provided for trade and pilgrimage but also laid down the frontiers between India and Tibet in the east. This frontier is the so-called McMahon Line named after Sir Arthur Henry Mc-Mahon who was the chief delegate of the British government and was also the Chairman of the Tripartite Conference. Years later, when China disputed India's northern borders both in the east and in the west and when the Government of India referred to the eastern border as finally settled in the Simla Conference, China simply refused to acknowledge the validity or legality of the Simla Convention. China indirectly demanded to know why India had not referred to the Simla Convention or the McMahon Line in the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954.

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The Simla Convention has been criticised on several grounds: (1) a tripartite agreement signed by two parties is invalid ab initio; (2) the Simla Convention was not signed by the Tibetan delegate; (3) the Simla Convention was merely initialled by the British and Tibetan delegates; and (4) Tibet had no right to sign the agreement when China had walked out.

We now reply to these arguments one by one.

(1) A tripartite agreement signed by two parties is not necessarily invalid ab initio. If there is nothing repugnant or contradictory in the text of a tripartite agreement, such agreement is fully enforceable between two signatory parties so far as the liabilities and rights of the two parties are

concerned. In the text of the Simla Convention the rights and liabilities of the two parties are very clearly stated: and the fact of third party having left the conference table could not and did not affect the position of the other two parties.

- (2) The Simla Convention was signed by the Tibetan delegate even though the Chinese delegate advised the Tibetan delegate not to proceed further. The contention of the Tibetan delegate was that Tibet was represented at the Simla Conference on Tibet's own rights as a treaty-making state. Tibet did not come to the conference as a subordinate and subsidiary authority under the new Republic of China. Therefore Tibet had the right to sign or refuse to sign an agreement on Tibet's own jurisdiction. The full signature of Lonchen Shatra, the Tibetan delegate, is on the Simla Agreement for anybody's inspection even in 1974.
- (3) It is true that the British plenipotentiary, Sir Arthur Henry McMahon, put his initials—A.H.M.—and desired that the Tibetan plenipotentiary should also put his initials in Tibetan. But since initalling is not only difficult but also impolite in Tibetan usage, the Tibetan plenipotentiary Lonchen Shatra put his full signature describing his lineage even. After the signature, the British delegate put a note: initial and added at the bottom "owing to it not being possible to write initials in Tibetan, the mark of the Lonchen at this place is his signature". This was to ensure that the two signatories should follow one uniform practice. Why the British wanted initials in place of signature is a quite different matter which is discussed later. Here it is only noted that uniformity in the procedure of signature is very much obligatory in treaties and agreements between two or more countries.

Initials can very much be good substitute for signature if followed by the seal of the country concerned. And, in fact, in a rule regarding interpretation of conventions much later, the League of Nations had given its considered judgement that initials could be as much valid as full signatures in documents and treaties. [Geneva Convention on the Law of Treaties, Art. 12(2)]

The British delegate was asking for the initials for the simple reason that the Chinese delegate was also asked to put his initials and to report to Peking for ratification. The Chinese delegate, Ivan Chen, was perhaps in the earlier stage inclined to adopt this procedure, but later with the opening of the month of July, he could smell sulphur in the atmosphere and he very much anticipated that the British would be involved in a war with Germany before the month was out and, therefore, the British who happened to be patrons of the Chinese Republic, would not much bother about this. However, it became an obsession later on with the Chinese authorities during the KMT period when they could not re-establish their suzerainty over Tibet. After World War II, pro-Chinese scholars in Britain took over this obsession with initials. A brilliant young scholar, Alstair Lamb, straightway rejected the authority of initials and conveniently ignoring the Geneva Convention on the Law of Treaties wrote a number of research papers on the Simla Convention and later on produced the famous book called The McMahon Line (1966). In this book as well as in his earlier papers, he consistently spelt "initialed" for "initialled". His first publications were from England and the spelling with single 'I' was undoubtedly most un-English. Lamb insisted on spelling like this to condemn the whole affair of initialling. When his famous MaMahon Line in two volumes came out from North America there was justification for this American spelling. Meanwhile, much mischief has been caused to the claims of both India and Tibet by this argument about initials. The argument, unfortunately, was followed by many scholars in Indian universities.

(4) Thus we come to the only positive argument against the Simla Convention that Tibet had no right to sign independent of China or in the absence of China. In fact, this is the only argument which has been officially advanced by the People's Republic of China. It is a mark of Chinese diplomacy that in their non-official publications as also in the writings of sponsored scholars, the legality of the signature is not much discussed. There is a heavy and noisy propaganda in the non-official and demi-official writings that the treaty was not signed at all and that initials were not good enough to make these as strong as signatures. Some scholars, later on, had even made researches to prove that the Simla Convention being not properly signed and ratified between India and Tibet, was later on put into cold storage in the British Foreign Office and that a considerable section of opinion in the British Foreign Office considered the Simla Convention as dead and defunct. Interesting sidelights on this point can be found in Neville Maxwell's *India's China War* (1970).

In Chinese official statements, they admit that the Simla Convention was signed by the Tibetan delegate. But they reject the right of the Tibetan delegate to sign or ratify such an agreement without authority from Peking. The most important document is found in the Indian White Paper containing the Report of the Officials of the Governments of India and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question (New Delhi, 1961) and in the Chinese Red Paper containing Report of the Officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India on the Boundary Ouestion, (Peking n.d.—1962).

"Premier Chou En-lai and Chinese officials do not deny the fact that the then Tibet local representative signed the Simla Convention, but that they have always clearly pointed out at the same time that this is illegal and that Tibet has no right to conclude treaties separately." [Indian White Pape page CR 26; Chinese Red Paper, page 30.]

III

In the 1930s when the Government of India was revising and bringing up to date the official publication known as Aitchison's Treaties and Engagements, during the first stage of compilation the Simla Convention was dropped. This was because the British Government in India, under informal instructions of the Home Government, i.e., the British Foreign Office, was out to pamper China and fondly expected China to come to the conference table and sign the Simla Convention. The Republic of China was facing systematic invasions from Japan and it was in the interests of British Power in Asia to prop up the weak and corrupt Republic. The British were even willing to let China come back to Tibet as the suzerain Power and this could be possible only if China signed the Simla Convention.

While waiting for China's ratification or signature was no doubt good diplomacy, the fact of the Simla Convention between India and Tibet could not be ignored without serious consequences. The two signatory parties, India and Tibet, were carrying on trade and pilgrimage under the terms of the Simla Convention; and if the agreement was defunct, all transactions between India and Tibet would be illegal. Besides, one solid gain out of the

Simla conference, that is, the affirmation of the customary boundary between India dnd Tibet in the east, would be lost. Therefore, British officials in India, particularly, Olaf Caroe and Hugh Richardson, advised strongly for the inclusion of the Simla Convention in the forthcoming edition of Aitchison's Treaties. The relevant volume had, however, been printed off. The print was called back and a fresh print made in which the Simla Convention and the connected documents were included. There was nothing secret in this matter. Besides British officials, Indian and Tibetan officials on either side knew about it.

In the 1960's the pro-Chinese scholars of Britain and India made much out of the fact of the cancelled print of Aitchison's Treaties: relevant volume. In 1969-70, Neville Maxwell raised a hue and cry over this affair which, in the words of Maxwell and his Indian friends, came to be described variously as "mysterious", "conspiratorial", "afterthought", "fraudulent", "fake", and even "spurious". Now the whole matter boils down to a tempest in a teapot when we remember that the People's Republic of China and that Prime Minister Chou En-lai, have officially, on several occasions, admitted not only the existence of the Simla Convention as a signed document but also that Tibet had signed the agreement. It is therefore, not necessary to argue further whether the Simla Convention was a 'fraud', "fake" or "spurious".

When the new generation of British scholars, like Alastair Lamb and Neville Maxwell, speak about the imperialistic designs of British officials in Asia and name Olaf Caroe and Hugh Richardson as imperialists there is a touch of the British sense of justice in the researches of the new generation. The Indian scholars are easily misled to accept the researches and conclusions of Lamb or Maxwell as innocent protests. The Indian scholars are yet to realize that Lamb and Maxwell are also Britons and they may also have their interests in creating further discord and disagreement between India and China.

The truth of the matter lies in the uncomfortable fact of Tibet's claims to independence. If Tibet could sign an agreement in July 1914, Tibet was no doubt an independent country on that day. The scholars as well as diplomats of the People's Republic of China very much want the agreement to be accepted as a document of history but a document with "illegal signature". It serves the cause of China as the suzerain Power if China's contention is admitted by India that Tibet signed the document without any authority or jurisdiction. Thus even if Sir Olaf Caroe from his retirement or the late Sir Arthur Henry McMahon from his grave would come to New Delhi or Peking and say that the Simla Convention was not a fact, the People's Republic of China will call it a fact of history. In short, if the Simla Convention is legal, it serves the cause of Tibet; if the Simla Convention is illegal, it serves the cause of China.

From this one can easily notice the great diplomatic blunder on the part of the Government of India, when in 1954 India surrendered all special rights and privileges in the Tibet Region of China without referring to the document under which the Republic of India was enjoying these special rights and privileges as the successor to the British empire in India. Indian scholars toeing the line of Lamb and Maxwell condone the crime by denying the historic fact of the Simla Convention. And our eastern Himalayan frontiers called the McMahon Line are disputed by the new generation of British scholars professing to atone for the sins of their forbears; a profession which no doubt deeply influences the fellow travellers all over the former British Empire in the East.

ADDENDA

This article (supra pp.5-9); written in 1974, was within prescribed space limits. Some facts about the Simla Convention 1914 as a lawful instrument of international relations may be added now for ready reference of the general reader.

The Convention along with the Trade Regulations, both signed on 3 July 1914 at Simla, entitled British Government of India to extra-territorial rights in Tibet. These rights may be summed as three: (i) atmed escorts (of British or British Indian troops) for the British Trade Agents in Tibet; (ii) the telegraph lines from Indian frontier to the Trade Agencies/Marts as also the carriage and transport of posts to and from the Indian frontier owned and operated by the Government of India; and (iii) all cases regarding property or person between British subjects within jurisdiction of British Trade Agents as also some cases involving British subjects as defendants.

These British rights in Tibet continued till 1947 when such rights passed to the succeeding state of independent India. Dominion of India and later Republic of India exercised these rights till 1954.

In the Notes exchanged on 29 April 1954 at Peking immediately after the India-China Agreement was signed it was "agreed between the two governments as follows."

- "(1) The Government of India will be pleased to withdraw completely within six (6) months from the date of exchange of the present notes the military escorts now stationed at Yatung and Gyantse in Tibet Region of China. The Government of China will render facilities and assistance in such withdrawal."
- "(2) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the postal, telegraph and public telephone services together with their equipment operated by the Government of India in Tibet Region of China. The concrete measures in this regard will be decided upon through further negotiations between the Indian Embassy in China and the Foreign Ministry of China, which shall start immediately after the exchange of the present notes."
- "(3) The Government of India will be pleased to hand over to the Government of China at a reasonable price the twelve (12) rest houses of the Government of India in Tibet Region of China. The concrete measures in this regard will be decided upon through further negotiations between the Indian Embassy in China and the Foreign Ministry of China, which shall start immediately after the exchange of the present notes. The Government of China agrees that they shall continue as rest houses."

- "(6) The Trade Agents of both parties may, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the local governments, have access to their nationals involved in civil or criminal cases."
- "(15) Disputes between traders of both countries over debts and claims shall be handled in accordance with local laws and regulations."

Paras (1), (2), (3), (6) and (15) of the Notes Exchanged on 29 April 1954 testify that India was in full enjoyment of extra-territorial rights in Tibet on the date. These rights were detailed and guaranteed in the Simla Convention 1914 (and the Trade Regulations dated same, i.e. Simla 3 July 1914).

In the following three decades, China on several occasions questioned the Convention's validity just to revive China's claims to suzerainty over Tibet. Britain was willing to admit Chinese suzerainty over Tibet if China would accept the Simla Convention provision relating to Sino-Tibetan borders as well as Tibetan Government's autonomy within Tibet. China would not agree and the Convention continued as valid between Britain and Tibet.

Though Britain was all out to pamper China as one of the Four Allies in the war against the Axis Powers, Tibet was in no mood to compromise its independence to suit China's war efforts. The advisers around the minor Dalai Lama (born 1935 consecrated 1940) refused to declare Tibet belligerent on the side of Britain and China; Tibet pursued strict neutrality not unlike Ireland. Even overland supply lines, from Anglo-American bases in India to Chinese bases in the mainland, were not permitted because Tibet was not a Chinese territory.

On 11 January 1943 at Chungking, Britain signed away all the extraterritorial riights in "all the territories of the Republic of China". The Chungking Treaty did not abrogate British extra-territorial rights in Tibet because Tibet was not a Chinese territory. Far from being an oversight, the exclusion of British right in Tibet from the purview of Chungking Treaty was deliberate and calculated. To placate China, Britian could have mentioned Tibet as a region of China and yet excluded British rights in Tibet from the operative clauses of the treaty. This was not done for the simple reason that Tibet's independence was defacto cum dejure.

The Simla Convention, guaranteeing India's extra-territorial rights in Tibet and confirming the frontier between India and Tibet in the east, was thus operative till the end of April 1954. The frontier so confirmed was the traditional frontier along the crest of the Himalayas from the northeast corner of Bhutan to the Isu Razi pass in the north of Burma. It came to be called Mc Mahon Line, because Arthur Henry Mc Mahon, the British Plenipotentiary and Chairman of the Simla Conference, had marked on the map the finally accepted line with his pencil.

Finalization of this Line was made on 24/25 March 1914 by the two concerned parties, British Plenipotentiary (A.H.Mc Mahon) and Tibetan Plenipotentiary (Lonchen Shatra). On being informed later Chinese Plenipotentiary (Ivan Chen) did not express any disagreement. All Chinese disagreements and their eventual withdrawal from the Simla Conference concerned the Sino-Tibetan borders and Tibetan autonomy.

The map depicting Mc Mahon Line with the signatures of all Plenipotentiaries is found in An Atlas of the Northern Frontier of India (Government of India 1960). The Chinese concepts of 'suzerainty' or 'tribute' will be found in FAIRBANK(J.K.) and TENG (S.Y.): On the Ching Tributary System in Harvard Oriental Journal 1941 and SINHA (N.C.): Asian Law and Usage in European Expression in Man in India 1966.

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BODHIPATHA PRADIPA

DERGE TANJUR

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यम्द्रस्यद्वित्रस्य स्वर्षाम्य । मुस्क्रमः स्वर्धन्य स्वर्धाः । स्य स्वर्धनः स्वर्धन्य स्वर्धाः । सर्वेद्रस्य स्वर्धन्य स्वर्धाः । तर्वः श्रीत्रावय्यायय्यम् स्वात्यायम् । तर्वा श्रीत्रावय्यायय्यम् स्वात्यायम् । वर्षे स्वार्थियः वर्षे स्वात्यायम् स्वात्या । वर्षे स्वार्थियः वर्षे स्वात्यायम् स्वात्यायः । ।

इन्। १ ह्या मानवास्त्र स्था । इस्र स्वर्धिया स्वर्धिया स्था स्वर्धिया स्वर्धिय स्वर्धिया स्वर्धिया स्वर्धिया स्वर्धिय स्वर्धिय स्वर्ये स्वर्धिया

देववित्रमेर्यम्भावद्द्रम्याम्। । भ्रम्भावप्रद्रम्भावद्द्रम्याम्। । भ्रम्भावप्रद्रम्भावद्द्रम्याम्। ।

क्षान्त्रमान्यम् । । इत्रकृत्यमान्यमान्यम् । इत्रकृत्यमान्यमान्यम् । । इत्रकृत्यमान्यमान्यम् । । इत्रकृत्यमान्यमान्यमान्यम् । । क्ष्यान्त्रक्ष्याः क्ष्याः यात्रक्षाः । स्राचन्द्रस्यकाः क्ष्यान्यस्यः । । स्राचन्द्रस्यकाः क्ष्यान्यस्यः । । स्राचन्द्रस्यकाः क्ष्यान्यस्यः । ।

स्याप्त्र स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स्यापत स्थापत स

हासम्बन्धस्य स्था । देशक्ष्यक्षत्रस्य स्थान्य द्वाया । क्ष्मण्य स्थान्य द्वाया । देशक्ष्य स्थान्य द्वाया ।

र्नुत्वविद्यत्त्र्यं स्ट्यून्यम् व्याप्तः स्ट्या । मृत्यून्यात्त्रात्यात्त्र्यत्तः स्ट्यास्य स्ट्याः । प्रद्यात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रीत्यात्रात्त्रेत्। । इत्यात्त्रात्त्रात्त्रेत्यात्रात्त्रेत्। । द्रिनात्रेर्यसम्बद्धाः । द्रिनात्रेर्यसम्बद्धाः । द्रिनात्रेर्यसम्बद्धाः । द्रिनात्रेर्यसम्बद्धाः । । द्रिनात्रेर्यसम्बद्धाः । ।

मेर्ने क्रिस्स्य हिंदि ते क्रिस्स के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के मेर्स्स दिने स्था के दिने के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के नित्र के स्था के स् के स्था स्था के स्था के

शरमम्बद्धम् स्थानस्य स्थानस्य स्थानस्य । स्यान्त्रियमः स्याद्धारात्याद्वारात्या । स्याद्द्द्द्रास्त्रस्य स्वरस्य । स्द्रमाद्द्रस्य स्थानस्य स्ट्रिस्स्य स्वरस्य ।

स्रियद्रस्यस्य स्वर्मन्तर्यम्। । स्रम्यस्य स्वर्मन्त्रस्य स्वर्मन्त्रम् । स्वर्मन्द्रस्य स्वर्मन्त्रस्य स्वर्मान्त्रम् । स्वर्मान्द्रस्य स्वर्मन्त्रम् सुन्धन्न-पर्देर्चाः दिन्याः स्थान्य स्था । भट्यम्य-पर्वेटः प्रतिभात्तर्थः । ष्ट्रिट्चः इत्रात्तर्भित्यर्थः । क्षा ।श्र्यः स्थार्थः स्थान्यः स्थाः ।

सद्बान्यास्य सम्बद्धाः । सद्बान्यास्य प्रमान्यका । सद्बान्यास्य स्वर्मा । सद्बान्यास्य सम्बद्धाः ।

क्यान्त्रभवस्य स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रम् । क्ष्यान्त्रभवस्य स्वान्त्रम् स्वान्त्रस्य । व्ह्रम् त्रियात्रभे स्वान्त्रस्य स्वान्त्रस्य । व्ह्रम् त्रियात्रभे स्वान्त्रस्य स्वान्त्रस्य । व्ह्रम् त्रियात्रस्य स्वान्त्रस्य स्वान्त्रस्य ।

क्र्यमञ्जूरमञ्जूक्ष्यम् । प्रमान्यम् स्यानमञ्जूक्ष्या । म्रम्भद्रम् स्यान्यस्य । द्रमान्यस्य स्यान्यस्य । सर्वानेम्भ्रीत्याद्वी । कुन्नम्बर्धिस्याद्वी । कुन्नम्बर्धस्याद्वाद्वी । कुन्नम्बर्धस्याद्वाद्वी ।

स्तिःविश्वस्यद्यतिस्तिः सर्वेद्वस्य प्रद्याद्यत्यस्य । सर्वेद्वस्य प्रद्याद्यत्यस्य । स्रोत्यस्य स्याद्याद्यस्य स्था ।

पर्वेवःसरःपर्वेरःके:ज्ञाःस्याःस्याः । रुअत्रःपपर्विकाःभर्यःग्रेयः। मूर्यःश्रःह्यम्भित्रःस्यःस्यः। । सर्वेदःह्यम्भित्रःस्यःस्याः। । सर्थः वेशविश्वस्य स्थान्त्री । रेस्रिनं वेशविश्वस्य स्थान्त्री । भर्षे वेशविश्वस्य स्थान्त्री । क्रि विश्वविश्वस्य स्थान्त्र स्थान्य ।

हरतह्त्यत्वीयःरात्रःस्यक्षेत्रः । मृत्यहूर्त्त्वार्याच्यक्ष्यरः। । रचःहत्वर्द्ध्वश्चेषक्ष्यत्वाच्यादः। । व्यविषात्त्रयाव्यक्ष्यस्य

स्रीर्वेद्रवीत्यानावनात्त्रत्य । रक्षमान्यत्यद्रद्रम्यानात्त्रत्या । मूर्वेद्रम्यात्त्रत्यत्त्रम्याः । र्द्रिर्द्रेद्रम्यात्त्रत्याः ।

चक्रान्यसम्बद्धाः स्थान्यस्य । रवेश्वारयस्यस्यास्यस्यस्यस्य स्थान्यस्य । सर्वरेषेश्वारयस्य स्थान्यस्य । । इत्यान्त्रस्य स्थान्यस्य स्थान्यस्य । । द्रम् श्वित्रक्षत्रक्षत्रस्य स्थान्त्र । । न्युक्षत्रम् स्थास्य स्थान्त्र स्थान्त्र । । स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थान्त्र । । द्रस्य रहेष्य स्थान्य स्थान् । ।

रेख्रिस्मद्रेममाझ्द्रस्याचा । म्द्रच्चित्रत्यक्ष्ट्रस्याचेस्यम्यद्रम्या । व्यमद्रस्याच्याच्यःवेस्यस्याच्या । व्यमद्रस्याच्यःवेस्यस्य

तर्र्यार्वेत्रम्यम्यस्य । । विस्त्रम्यस्य स्ट्रिक्स्य । । विस्त्रम्यस्य स्ट्रिक्स्य । ।

म्पातःक्षाम्योः व्यवस्थान् । । र्यात्तरः सूर्यम्य व्यवस्थान् । श्रीयः तप्तः सूर्याः श्रीयः प्राय्ये । । र्वमः यव्याः सूर्याः स्वितः श्रीत्याः यो चर्यास्ट्रियास्य स्थान्य स्था । रेब्रियर क्यस्य स्थान स्थान

न्त्रेक्षत्रसङ्ख्युः जूरक्षः क्षाःस्परी । रटन्त्र्युवः कूट्युरं जुक्षत्तः वी । क्षेत्रस्थिकक्षर्यः क्षेत्रस्थि। ।

म्रुमनार्गान्यम् । । क्रमन्त्रम् क्रमन्त्रम् । क्रमन्त्रम् क्रमन्त्रम् । क्रमन्त्रम् क्रमन्त्रम् । क्रमन्त्रम्

र्ट्सर्देन्द्रम्यास्य स्थित। । म्यान्य स्थान्य स्थान्य स्थित। । इस्त्रिट्या स्थान्य स्थान्य । । इस्त्रिट्या स्थान्य स्थान्य । म्यान्त्रकेषाम् सम्यान्यम् । म्यान्त्रकेषाम् सम्यान्यम् । देत्वेक्ष्रित्वेस्य सम्यान्यम् । म्यान्त्रकेषाम् सम्यान्यम् ।

कूर्त्रहर्वश्चित्रक्ता । र्मेन्द्रम्भ्यम्भ्यम्भ्यम् र्मेन्द्रम्भ्यम्भयम्भित्रः । ।

मर्स्स्यात्रस्थित्वे स्वास्थात्रस्थात् । स्वास्त्रस्थात्रस्थात्रस्थात् । स्वास्त्रस्थात्रस्थात्रस्थात् । स्वास्त्रस्थात्रस्थात्रस्थात् ।

देखर्जेस्यस्यस्यस्यस्य । मद्रम्भेद्रप्रस्थेस्स्यस्य । मद्रम्भेद्रप्रस्थेस्स्यस्य । देखर्जेस्यस्यस्यस्यस्य ।

क्ती निर्धात्रम्भित्र कृषात्रमात्रीय। म्राप्त्रियाम्याम्या न्वेशन्यन्दिक्षेत्र्तेवास्त्वत्वा इसहम्बद्धर्भर्भ्यम् । इसर्हेनायम्बद्धरः स्रेरस्यती स्यापन्द्रवाचित्रवर्वाकर्री र्ति र्यातिया हे चाया अर्थारा गुःद्वःयद्श्रद्यक्षक्ष्याः । देश्वर्यद्यदेशय्ववयद्याम्। १ इसर्ने स्यारेनाके वर्धेकी। वक्रियं के अक्रूर्स्ट्रियं वर्षेत्र हेंग्रेन्द्रियदेंव्यम्बन्या क्षासम्बद्धिक्षा । विस्तर्भिक्ष इसम्बर्भ हें न राया यह नाया ने नह साम संग्रहा र्मकेषायर्भाक्ष्मायर्भेश इसम्बर्धः हे ब नश्यक्षक्रीयः व ब्रम् हेबायबार र्याय ब्रम्म यर्ग है। न्याम्याद्रेगाचनत्रान्याच्या । वेस्यानुस्ययं।

इसस्य हें म्याद्य क्रियम्य । रत्य वेद्य सेत्य स्थाप्त स्थाप्त । क्रियम्बर्ग स्थाप्त स्थाप्त । स्थाप्त स्थाप्त स्थाप्त ।

सरम्भः मान्यः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त् द्रस्त्रित्रः द्रेष्ट्रस्त्रस्त्रस्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वस्त्रः स्वास्त्रः स्वास्त्

चीरःकुरंतक्रेट्शूच्याक्षंत्रक्राप्ताम्यारः। । वीक्षात्तवबर्धीयःज्ञास्च्याता । बुद्धिशञ्जूच्यात्त्रक्षयात्राम्। । क्षेच्यात्रविश्वेदःज्ञास्चित्ताता। ।

च्याकेम्बर्ध्वयक्ष्यम् । च्याक्षेत्रस्यम्बर्ध्वर्यस्य । व्याक्षेत्रस्यम्बर्ध्वर्यस्य । व्याक्षेत्रस्यम्बर्ध्वर्यस्य । यः सर्वात्त्र स्वेश्वात्त्र व्यात्त्र व्यात्त्र व्यात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र स्व त्यात्र श्रीतः त्यात्र स्वात्त्र स्वात्त्र

र्ट्याचीयक्षेत्रत्यक्षेत्रक्ष्यः क्षेत्रत्यः क्षेत्रः । क्षेत्राचीयक्ष्यः द्वाद्यं द्वाद्यं द्वाद्यं व्याद्यं । स्ट्यः क्ष्यं व्याक्षेत्रद्वाद्यं द्वाद्यं क्षेत्रः वया । भिष्यः कष्यं क्षाद्यः क्षेत्रः व्याद्यं ।

क्रमानःक्र्रित्सक्षःभिन्त्री । मक्षर्यानेश्वरम्प्रमान्त्रियः । स्त्रित्स्मर्थक्षःस्यानान्त्रियः । र्ट्याक्षरक्षक्षेत्रकृत्तियः ।

र्यायक्षेयक्ष्यस्यक्ष्यस्यः । स्यान्त्रक्षिर्त्यक्ष्यस्यः । स्ट्यक्ष्यं र्त्याक्ष्यस्य । स्यान्त्रक्ष्यस्य देश्वर्यम्याद्यस्य स्थात्येत्। । स्वर्यस्य स्वर्यस्य स्थात्यः स्थाः । स्वर्यस्य स्वर्यस्य स्थाः स्थाः ।

चरक्षेत्रसम्बन्धः सहर्त्त्यक्ष्यः । चरक्ष्यक्ष्यः स्थान्यक्ष्यः । सर्वेष्ट्रस्य स्थान्यक्ष्यः । सर्वेष्ट्रस्य स्थान्यक्ष्यः । स्थान्यक्ष्यः स्थान्यक्ष्यः ।



DIPANKARA ATISA

BUDDHA DIPANKARA TWENTYFOURTH PREDECESSOR OF GAUTAMA

-B. GHOSH

Buddhism in all its forms goes back to the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. While the austerities practised by Buddha till he attained enlightenment appeal to the Pali or Southern school called Hinayana, his life of service and compassion for 45 years after the attainment of Enlightenment is the authority to Sanskrit or Northern school called Mahayana (S. Radhakrishnan, preface, Pali Tripitaka, Ed. Kashyap).

The Buddhavamsa, in Khuddakanikaya or "the collection of smaller pieces", gives an account of the Previous Buddhas with whom Bodhisattva Gautama had come in contact and who had made prediction that Bodhisattva Gautama would attain perfect Enlightenment. It is interesting to note that the Jain mythology also gives a similar account of the previous Tirthankaras, it is all the more interesting that even the number of the previous Buddhas and that of Tirthankaras are not very different (Kashyap, Khud. Nik. vol. VII). Dipankara Buddha is remembered specially and held in high esteem for the reason that according to legend it was while Dipankara was the Buddha that Gautama Buddha was an ascetic named Sumedha and had made his vow to become Buddha.

Buddhavamsa (edited by Morris in P.T.S 1882), contains poetical legend of the 24 Buddhas who are supposed to have preceded Gautama Buddha in the last twelve ages of the world (Kalpa). After the introductory, one chapter is dedicated to each of the 24 Buddhas. It is related in case of each single Buddha, how he sets the Wheel of Law in motion and how -- with but trifling differences -- the principal events in the life of Gautama Buddha were enacted in the life of each of the former Buddhas. It is Gautama Buddha himself who narrates the life story and speaking in first person, he recounts who he himself was in each of the preceding lives, how he worshipped the Buddha, and how his own Buddhahood had been foretold by the Buddha of that time. "The only part which is a little more imaginative and poetical is the second chapter" (Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, vol. II; Buddhist literature p 161), which deals with Dipankara, the first Buddha. Maurice Winternitz noted here that usually the Buddha was Sakka (skt. Śakra), the king of the Gods, another time a lion, the king of beasts, twice a king of the Nagas, once a yaksa and several times an ascetic.

We quote an account of Dipankara Buddha as briefly narrated by Winternitz. "Gautama Buddha was at that time a rich Brahman named Sumedha, and he relates in verse (7-27) which are reminiscent of Theragathas, how one day he felt disgusted with the world, how he cast off the wretched body, as though it were dirt, and withdrew to a hermitage in the Himalaya. This was precisely his campaign of conquest throughout the world, and men and gods worshipped him. Sumedha, the hermit, comes too, and at a marshy spot loosens his plaited hair, spreads it out on the dirty ground, with his hampen garment and his cloak of skins, and lies face downwards, (This scene has often been depicted on Buddhist monuments, probably it already appeared on the stupa of Bharhut) inspired with the wish that the exalted Buddha Dipankara, with his host of disciples, may step over him without having their feet soiled by mud. Prostrate on the ground, he resolves to become a Buddha one day and bring salvation to the world. Dipankara approaches and prophesies the future greatness of Sumedha. The inhabitants of the ten thousand worlds make a joyful noise and signs and miracles happen, as it always the case when future Buddha is foretold. But Sumedha determines to realise in himself all the ten perfections (Paramitas), in order to fulfil the preliminary conditions of Buddhahood." (A History of Indian Literature, vol. II pp. 160-161).

DĪPANKARA LEGENDS

Buddhavamsa describes the splendours of the first Tathagata Buddha that is, Dipankara in magnificent terms. The verses (15,27,28 and 31) are reproduced at end of the article. We give in short the details thus: Dipankara was 80 cubit tall, shining like big tree of lamps, he was always attended by 84,000 Arhats, he lived for 100,000 years and the Stupa in which his remains were enshrined was 36 yojanas high.

Gautama Buddha, it is said, came down to this world from the Tusita heaven where he was the presiding god. He had reached that heavenly state by acquiring immeasurable merits in his several previous existences. There are two stories, one in the Mahavastu: Dipankaravastu and the other in the Nidana-Katha, about his past life, in which he was assured by Dipankara Buddha that he would ultimately attain Bodhi, the Supreme knowledge. The two stories are as follows:

I. Mahāvastu: Gautama Buddha was once born as a Brāhmaṇa's son known as Megha Mānava. He completed his Brāhmaṇic education and came down to the plains of the Himavanta to procure the fee to be given to his Guru on the termination of his studies. He collected 500 coins (Purāṇas). He then went to see the capital Dīpavatī and found the city in a festive mood. On enquiring he learnt from a beautiful young maiden with seven lotuses in her hand that the city had been decorated to welcome Buddha Dīpañkara. He thereupon

offered to purchase her five lotuses by paying 500 puranas. He was told that he could have them if only he would promise to take her as his wife. After remonstrating a little, he agreed to her proposal on her assurance that she would not stand in the way of his spiritual career. On seeing the glorious appearance of Buddha Dipankara, he became deeply reverential and attained the notion of non-duality (advayasamiña). He became a devotee of Buddha by seeing the miraculous powers and expressed his devotion and admiration by wiping the lotus-like feet of Buddha by his long hair, and while doing so he developed the aspiration to attain Bodhi.

II Nidanakathลี: Gautama Buddha was once born as Sumedha Brahmana at Amaravati in a very rich Brahmana family of pure lineage. He lost his parents at an early age. He learnt the Brahmanic sciences and was sick of the wealth left by his parents. He gave them away in charity and became an ascetic seeking immortality (amatamahanibbana) a state free from origin and decay, pleasure and pain, disease or suffering. He realised that as everything in this world had two aspects, positive and negative so as an antithesis to origin (birth) there must be something unoriginated, and he was to realise it. He went to the Himalayas and took up an abode at Dhammaka mountain living only on fruits falling from trees. He soon attained perfection in meditation and six higher powers (abhiññás: The six abhiññás are: Iddhi (miraculous power), dibbasota-dhatu (hevenly ear), paracittaññana (other's thoughtreading), pubbanivāsaññāna (knowledge of previous births), dibbacakkhu (heveanly eyes) and asavanam Khayannan (knowledge of extinction of one's own impurities) occasionally he paid visits to the villages for salt and verjuice and one day came down to Rammaka, a city in a paccantadesavisaya (border country).

At that time Buddha Dipańkara reached the city and stopped at Sudassanamahavihara. Sumedha tapasa found all the people busy in making the place neat and tidy for welcoming Dipankara Buddha, and so he also came forward to take a share in the work. He was charmed by the glory of Buddha's appearance and wanted to lay down his life for him. Lest Dipankara Buddha should soil his feet in a miry place he lay flat on it like a birdge made of jewels (Maniphalakasetu) in order that he and his disciples, who were all arhats (perfects) might tread on his body. While so lying, he wished that he would not merely attain his own salvation by putting an end to the impurities which he could have easily done, but he would also become a Buddha in order that he might rescue endless beings from the stream of existence. At that time, Dipankara standing justbefore his head, made the forecast that the great Jatila ascetic would become a Buddha after numberless aeons, and related in detail where he would be born, how he would attain the supreme knowledge (bodhi), and who would become his chief disciple. The prediction was confirmed by many miraculous events including an earthquake, and there was no doubt left that Sumedha was a "Buddha-bijankura".

Since his existence as Megha Manava or Sumedha Brahmana, the Bodhisattva (i.e. one destined to be the Buddha) was born several times to acquire the ten supreme perfections (paramitas) preparatory to Buddhahood, which he attained in his last mortal existence as prince Siddhartha. In his penultimate existence, he was born as the lord of the gods the Tusita heaven. (N. Dutt: Early Monastic Buddhism, p.p. 77-79).

We find in Nidana Katha, Lalitavistara and Mahavastu Abhiniskramana Sutra (extant in chinese only) Buddha legends giving the story of Buddha down to the events after enlightenment, but also records of the previous lives from the oldest time cycles when at the feet of Dipankara, the Bodhisattva first made the resolution to attain Bodhi.

Six previous Buddhas are mentioned in the Suttas. Longer lists vary, though all agree on Dipankara as the leading previous Buddha.

Sir Charles Eliot observing on actual historicity of some human Buddhas says "In the olden books of the Pitakas six Buddha are mentioned on preceeding Gautama (Dik. Nik. 14/Mahapadanasutta; therag, 499: Sam. Nik XII 4-10) namely vipassi, sikhi, vissabhu, kakusanda. konagama and kassapa. The last three at least may have some historical character. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hsien, who visited India from 405-411 A.D., saw their reputed birth places and says that there still existed followers of Devadatta (apparently in Kosala) who recognised these three Buddhas but not Gotama. Asoka erected a monument in honour of Konagamana in Nepal with a dedicatory inscription which has been preserved. In the Majjhima Nikaya (Maj. Nik. 50 Maratajini-yasutta) we find a story about Kakusanda and his disciples and Gotama once gave (Dig. Nik. 14) an extended account of vipassi whose teaching and carrer are represented as almost identical with his own" (Hinduism and Buddhism vol. 1 p. 342.)

The Cariyapitaka in the series of metrical narration, put in the mouth of the Buddha himself giving accounts of his previous lives, taken from the Jatakas, showing how he had fulfilled the ten paramitas for the attainment of Buddhahood.

Extension of the legend went on in other schools also in different ways. The Lalitavistara has a list of fifty four Buddhas and Mahavasta more than hundred, but both include Dipankara. We conclude our account with the comments of E.J. Thomas on the topic.

"In the doctrine of nature of Buddha we can see the development of new conceptions, the most important of these, are the belief in previous Buddhas, the theory of a great man (Mahapurusa), who is to become either as universal ruler as a Buddha, the thirty two bodily marks of such a being and theory of Bodhisattva.

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"It has been held that the belief in previous Buddha points to the actual existence of at least some of them, we know that Asoka enlarged stupa of Konagama, the fifth of six preceding Buddhas, and the Chinese pilgrims visited the stupa of the last three of them. This only proves that the legend concerning them, then existed, but it does not prove these Buddhas to be historical, and more than the foot print of Buddha on Adam's Peak prove that he visited Ceylon" (The Life of Buddha, p. 218).

II

Whether the Preceeding Buddhas were real or legendary the tradition about Dipankara as the Buddha of the past was as strong in the Theravada as in the Mahayana School. The enumeration of 24 predecesors of Gautama Sākyamuni found in Buddhavamsa begins with Dipankara Buddha. This lineage may be presented as follows: 1. Dipankara Buddha, 2. Kondanna Buddha, 3. Mangala Buddha, 4. Sumana Buddha, 5. Revata Buddha, 6. Sobhita Buddha, 7. Anomadassi Buddha, 8. Paduma Buddha, 9. Nārada Buddha, 10. Padumuttara Buddha, 11. Sumedha Buddha, 12. Sujāta Buddha, 13. Piyadassi Buddha, 14. Atthadassi Buddha, 15. Dhammadassi Buddha, 16. Vipassi Buddha, 20. Sikhi Buddha, 21. Vessabhū Buddha, 22. Kakusandha Buddha, 23. Konāgamana Buddha, 24. Kassapa Buddha.

In Sanskrit sources, list of previous Buddhas differs very widely in enumeration and nomenclature. The predecessors count anything from 6 (six) to more than 100 (hundred). In all these list, Dipankara features as the foremost, even though not as the first as in Buddhavamsa. The importance of Dipankara lies in the fact that he (Dipankara) had blessed the future Buddha (Gautama Sakyamuni) and prophesied Gautama's realization of full enlightenment in a future life. The story of the meeting presented here is gathered from the accounts of Sukhavativyuhah, Bodhisattvavadana-Kalpalata and Kapisa-avadanam.

In Sukhavativyuha, "when Lord was at Gridhakuta near the town Rajagriha, Ananda asked the Lord for an account of the great Tathagata, who had, in former ages, acquired the most perfect Body, The Lord in reply said, one of the earliest was Dipankara (R.L. Mitra: The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, p. 231).

We give below brief legendary account of Dipankara Dharmaruchi/Timingila Avadana from Bodhisattvavadana-Kalpalata of Ksemendra (11th century A.D.). We find the Dipankara legend in a somewhat different form. We extract the relevant portion of the story: "In another Kalpa two Brahmana brother, Mati and Sumati appeared at the sacrifice of Vasava, king of Benares. They obtained whatever they sought from the king. The king's daughter, named

Sundari became enamoured of sumati; but her suit was rejected by the stern Brāhmaṇa. Thus deeply mortified, she resigned the world, and became Bhikshuni. Sumati dreamt a strange dream, for the explanation of which he, inspired by the advice of rishi Pranada, went to Lord Dvipankara, who lived at Dvipavati. There he met Sundari and asked flowers from her. When offering him the flowers Sundari prayed that he be her husband in the next existence. Sumati fell prostrate before the lord with his clotted hair scattered all over the ground, Lord Dvipankara trod them down, exclaiming 'you shall become a great Buddha, Sakyamuni by name; Mati, who was standing by, felt his Brāhmaṇic pride scandalised by the unbrāhmaṇic conduct of his brother but Sumati induced him to revere the Lord. I am that Sumati, Yasodharā is Sundari and Mati is Dhamaruchi", (R.L. Mitra: The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, p. 71).

In kapiśa-avadānam, the following story said to have been told by (one of the former human Buddhas) Vipasyi, long before the Lord's advent. Here we find episode of Moneky named Jñānākara and Dipankara. Dipankara promised him transformation into man and gave him instruction in the philosophy of Buddha, the monkey was born a merchant's son named Dharmasri. Dipankara granted him boon, saying "for good conduct, you are to become Sarvānanda, the king of Dipavati (Ibid. p. 98).

दीप द्वरबुद्धवंसो



चत्रारि सतसहस्सानि, छलभिज्ञा महिद्धिका।
दीपङ्करं लो हिंवदुं परिवारेन्ति सब्बदा ॥१५
असीतिहत्थमुब्बेधो, दीपङ्करो महामुनि ।
सोभिति दीपरूक्षो व, सालराजा व फुल्लितो ॥२७
सतसहस्सवस्सानि, अथु तस्स महेसिनो ।
तावता तिटुमानो सो तारेसि जनतं बहुं ॥२२ द्विपङ्करो जिनो सत्था नन्दारामिह निब्बुतो ।
तत्थेवस्स जिनथूपो छत्तिसुब्बेध योजनो ति ॥३१

NOTES & TOPICS

SIMLA CONVENTION 1914

In 1950 autumn People's Republic of China invaded Tibet and completed its occupation by 1951 spring. Since Tibet was not then a region of China, this occupation was an annexation of a small country by a big country. To legalise this conquest China called the Tibetan leaders to Peking and made them surrender Tibet's independence. The treaty signed at Peking on 23rd May 1951 was called "Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet". Tibetans ever since have called this "Agreement for Violent Destruction of Tibet's Identity and Independence".

Tibetans point out the bilateral treaty with British signed at Simla on 3rd July 1914 as sufficient proof of Tibet's independence. People's Republic of China was in the beginning silent and broke their silence sometime after India agreed to accept Tibet as Tibet Region of China (Sino-Indian Agreement, Peking 29 April 1954). Chinese leaders sometimes challenged the signatures on Simla Convention, sometimes denied Tibet's right to sign such agreement. This "heads I win or tails you loose" was Chinese progaganda till a few years ago. The current propaganda is that Tibet was never independent in the past— and not in 1914.

In summer this year Beijing has come out with enormous and flamboyant handouts to challenge Tibet's independence. To answer this we could locate a brief and precise statement by an Indian scholar published in 1974. The facts and arguments in this article of 1974 stand equally good in 1987. The author, N.C. Sinha, has kindly added some notes for the general readers.

We acknowledge with compliments that the article was first published in Presidency College Magazine (Calcutta 1974)

BODHIPATHA PRADIPA

Bodhipatha Pradipa composed by Srijnana Dipankara Atisa during his residence in Tholing Gompa (Western Tibet) and available in authorised and authenticated Tibetan translation by the author himself is rightly celebrated in Tibet and Mongolia as the most important book of the great saint scholar.

As an exposition of the central philosophy of the Dharma Bodhisattvayana -- it is prized for its presentation of deepest thoughts. The book is reproduced in this issue of the Bulletin and shortly a detailed critique (in English) will be published.

We now refer to a controversy raised by a lama that Atisa did not preach Kalachakra Tantra as recorded in Kadampa and Gelugpa works (vide Bulletin 1985 Nos. 1 & 2 and 1986 No. 2).

A Tibetan scholar from Dharamsala has drawn our notice to verse 63 of Bodhipatha Pradipa where the Kalachakra work Adi-buddha-maha-tantra is cited with great respect. This work will be reproduced from KANJUR in our next issue, with full comments. We thank the Dharamsala scholar for drawing our notice to this reference.

J.K. RECHUNG

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