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K. S. Singh



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INTRODUCTION

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Sikkim extends from 27 to 28 degrees north latitude and 88 to 89 degrees east longitude and is situated in the Eastern Himalayas. Sikkim is bounded on the north and north-east by Tibet, on the east by Bhutan, on the west by Nepal and on the south by the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. It has an area of 7096 sq. km. The whole state is divided into four administrative zones, North, South, East and West Districts with their headquarters at Mangan, Namchi, Gangtok and Gyalshing respectively. As a part of the inner ranges of the Himalayan Mountains, it is wholly a hilly state with varied elevations. The land area can be grouped as

1. Lower hills : altitude from 300 to 1500 m above mean sea level.
2. Mid hills : altitude from 1500 m to 2000 m above M.S.L.
3. Higher hills : altitude from 2000 m to 3000 m above M.S.L.
4. Alpine zone : altitude above 3000 m above M.S.L. and with vegetation.
5. Snow land : very high hills without vegetation.

Owing to such variations in elevation, the climate of Sikkim varies from sub-tropical to alpine. Accordingly the vegetation can be classified into three major types, viz. tropical, temperate and alpine.

The two most important rivers of Sikkim are Teesta and Rangit which flow from the north to the south. About two-thirds of the state consists of very lofty mountains which remain perpetually snow-covered. Mountain Khanchendzonga lies on the north-western side of Sikkim bordering Nepal. Among the mountain ranges on the eastern flank lie the strategic passes of Nathula and Jalepla.

HISTORY

The history of the emergence of the kingdom of Sikkim can be traced back to 1642, when Phuntshog Namgyal was consecrated as the first king of Sikkim by three monks at Yoksom in Western

Sikkim. These three monks Lhatsun Chhenpo, Nga-Dag Lama and Kathog Lama conferred on him the title of Dharam-Raja (Chogyal). The Dalai Lama recognized the new king as the ruler of Sikkim and sent him a silk scarf, the mitre of Guru Rimpochey and the most precious sand image of the Guru as a 'present'.

Sikkim's boundary, at that time, extended as far as Limbuwan in the west, Chumbi valley and parts of western Bhutan; westward it extended up to Titaliya and included the whole of Darjeeling district. However, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the country had to face numerous invasions from its neighbouring countries, Bhutan and Nepal. Consequently, a large portion of its land was annexed by these countries. The Nepalese conquered the lower Teesta Basin, Bhutan annexed the entire region on the east of the river Teesta including the present day Kalimpong sub-division and Tibet took over Chumbi valley; and thus made the Chola and Jalepla ranges its northern and eastern boundary.

The Anglo-Gorkha war and the signing of the Treaty of Sugauli (1815) between Nepal and the East India Company and signing of the Treaty of Titaliya (1816) between the East India Company and Sikkim introduced a new phase in the history of Sikkim.

By the Treaty of Sugauli (Art. VI) the Raja of Nepal agreed never to molest or disturb the Raja of Sikkim, and in case of any difference between the state of Nepal and the Raja of Sikkim, the difference would be referred to the arbitration of the British Government. Under this treaty, Nepal surrendered to the Company, all the hilly regions situated to the east of the Mechi river and to the westward of Teesta river, which was originally a part of Sikkim but had been annexed by Nepal in 1788-90. By the Treaty of Titaliya (Art. I) the East India Company restored to Sikkim the above. Besides, the British secured the right of arbitration in case of dispute between Sikkim and Nepal or any other neighbouring state.

The Treaty of Titaliya marked the beginning of the British influence in Sikkim. By the Treaty of Tumlong (1861), the British could gain a foothold in Sikkim. The British activities in Sikkim gained momentum with the establishment of its Residency at Gangtok and the appointment of the first political officer, J C White, in 1889. The British protectorateship over Sikkim was recognized by China in 1890.

Under the British protectorateship the power of the Maharaja of Sikkim was considerably reduced and he had no role in the admin-

istration of the country. It was during the reign of the Maharaja Tashi Namgyal (1914-68) that full power was restored.

The period following the departure of the British from India was marked with a radical change in the political scene of Sikkim. On the one hand independent India signed a standstill agreement with Sikkim in 1948, in order to retain their respective rights and obligations evolved through earlier treaties and conventions; on the other, the educated elites of the state, while drawing inspiration from the freedom movement in India, started various political parties. The main political parties formed in the late forties were Sikkim Praja Sammelan, Praja Mandal, Praja Sudharak Samiti. In December 1947, these parties merged to form a new political party, namely the Sikkim State Congress. The Sikkim State Congress made a three-fold demand on the Government: (1) abolition of landlordism, (2) establishment of a responsible government and (3) accession of Sikkim to India. To press its demands for reforms the Sikkim State Congress, besides organizing mass demonstrations, started a 'No Rent' campaign, leading on to a political impasse. Consequently, the Indian Government took over the administration and appointed J S Lall as the Dewan of Sikkim. During his term as the Dewan, house tax and forced labour were abolished in order to facilitate the withdrawal of the 'No Rent' campaign.

The Indo-Sikkim Treaty (1950) was signed to give definite shape to Indo-Sikkimese relations. The 1950 treaty was an important landmark in the political development of Sikkim, for with this the Government of India revoked all the previous treaties (Art. 1) and affirmed the protectorate status of the state under independent India (Art. II). Defence, external affairs, customs and communications of Sikkim became India's responsibility. The 1950 treaty affirmed India's authority over Sikkim.

The period between 1950 and 1973 was marked by several important events in Sikkim, like the emergence of various political parties, formation of the State Assembly, introduction of franchise on the basis of party formula. The tension that developed between the Durbar and the various political parties led to the agitation of 1973, the signing of the May Agreement of 1973, formation of a popular ministry in 1974, and finally its merger with the Indian Union in 1975. Sikkim became the twenty-second state of the Indian Union on 26 April, 1975.

PEOPLE

Demography

Sikkim has three main ethnic groups: the Lepchas who were the original inhabitants of the state; the Bhutias who migrated from Tibet in the seventeenth century; and the Nepalese whose migration from Nepal started in the nineteenth century.

The first official census of Sikkim, taken in 1891, presents the following figures for different groups of population:

<i>Race/Caste</i>	<i>Total</i>
Lepcha	5,762
Bhutia	4,894
Limbu	3,356
Gurung	2,921
Murmi	2,867
Rai/Jimdar etc.	2,020
Khambu	1,963
Kami	1,670
Brahman	1,414
Mangar	901
Chhettri	829
Newar	727
Darzi	287

After 1891 only Lepchas, Bhutias and Limbus are taken as distinct ethnic groups while all other groups mentioned above come to be regarded as different castes of the Nepali society.

Writing in 1909, J C White gave the number of Lepchas inhabiting Sikkim as about 6,000, Bhutias as a little over 6,000 and Nepalese as nearly 50,000.

According to the 1931 Census Report, out of a total population of 109,808 there were 13,060 Lepchas, 11,955 Bhutias and the rest were mainly Nepalese. The 1971 Census Report gave the percentage of population by language, according to which speakers of the Nepali language constituted 63.97 per cent, the Lepcha and Bhutia languages were spoken by 10.63 per cent and 11.23 per cent of the total population respectively.

Within a decade, there was a significant rise in the population of Sikkim. This was mainly due to the influx of population from other

parts of the country after the merger of Sikkim with India. Thus, in 1971 the total population of Sikkim was 2,09,843 and in 1981 it rose to 3,16,385. The 1981 Census Report provided the categorization of population on the basis of 'language mainly spoken in the household'; with Bhutia spoken by 6.8 per cent, Lepcha by 7 per cent, Limbu by 5 per cent, Sherpa by 3.4 per cent, Tibetan by 1.34 per cent and Nepali by 61 per cent of the total population.

In terms of density of population the East District is the most populated, with 43.86 per cent of the population residing in this district, followed by the South District (24.01 per cent), the West District (23.77 per cent) and the North District (8.36 per cent). Although the North District represents 59.56 per cent of the total area of Sikkim, two-third of the region is covered either with perpetual snow or thick forests. It is the most thinly populated district of the state, with only six persons per sq. km as against 145 persons per sq.km in the East District.

Dress

The traditional dress of the Lepcha men is called *gada*. It consists of a long, beautiful striped cloth loosely worn down to the knee leaving one or both arms free. The trousers which reaches up to the calf only is called the *phomu*. Women wear the *dumdyan*, a full length robe, held at the shoulders by a pair of brooches and fastened at the waist by a girdle of silver chains or simple hand-woven strip of cloth, known as the *namrek*. Over the *dumdyan* a loose coat called the *pagu* is worn. A scarf (*thorough*) is tied round the head. Shoes for both men and women are called *hlom* (pronounced *lhom*).

The Bhutia costume for both sexes is called the *kho*. The *kho* worn by the male is called the *po-kho*, whereas that worn by a woman is called the *mo-kho*. Underneath the *kho*, a man wears a double-breasted, high-necked shirt, the *tson-ta-ti*, and pants (*gya-ton*). A woman wears a long, loose-sleeved blouse (*honju*) underneath the *kho*. A married woman ties a striped apron (*pangden*) over the *kho* at the waist. The quality of the clothes worn both by men and women vary according to the economic status of the person ranging from simple cotton to Chinese brocade and silk. The *kho* is held at the waist by a long piece of cloth (*kera*).

The traditional costume of Nepali men consists of the *daura* and the *suruwal*. The *daura* is a knee-length double-breasted shirt, fas-

tened at four points across the body by a string of cloth called the *tuna*; the trousers is called the *suruwal*. A sleeveless coat over the *daura* and a cap called the *birkhe topi* complete a Nepali man's dress. Nepali women wear the *choubandi*, a double-breasted blouse held at four points across the body by the *tuna* and the *phariya* or the *gunui*, which is worn at the waist and reaches down to the ankle with tiny pleats in front. It is held at the waist by a long strip of cotton cloth (*patuka*). They cover the head with a triangular or rectangular piece of cloth (*majetro*) and tie a cloth around the bust down to the hips (*hembari*).

Jewellery

Lepcha men do not wear any jewellery except amulets given by the monks. The women are very fond of wearing colourful necklaces made of turquoise, coral, amber or simple glass beads (*lyak*), ear rings (*nay-kong*), bangles (*kaghu*) or rings (*kakyup*).

Bhutia women wear necklaces of various designs called the *khou*, the *ka-chung*, the *zuri*. The *chyap-chyap* is worn with the *khou* as a brooch. The Bhutia names for different items of ornaments are the *ten-dab* (ear ring), the *zuku* (ring), the *deu* (bracelet). All the ornaments are made of gold studded with various precious stones like *yeu*, *dhow* and *zi*. The *zi* is considered to be the most sacred and precious stone.

Nepali women wear mostly gold and silver ornaments. The traditional ornaments are ear rings (*chyaptesun*, *godavari*), necklaces (*tilhari kantha*), and bracelets (*chura*), nose rings (*mundri*, *dungri*, *bulaki*) and anklets (*kalli*). *Kallis* are made of silver. The different names for the ornaments represent the different designs of the items. At the time of marriage the bridegroom ties around the neck of the bride strings of green tiny beads (*potey*), that serve for a sign for the married Nepali woman. Nepali men do not wear any jewellery except the ring (*aunthi*).

Agricultural implements

In Sikkim, people are yet to make use of improved and mechanized implements in agriculture mainly because of the nature of the terrain. All the three communities use identical implements like the wooden plough, commonly known as the *halo*, which is widely used. The *kanta*, a spade-like tool with sharp teeth, is used for digging the

soil. Other tools widely used include the sickle, called the *hasiyan* by the Nepalis and the *nga-tso* by the Bhutias; the sickle with a row of sharp teeth called the *kachiyān* by the Nepalis and the *nga-ra-tso* by the Bhutias, the bullock-driven ground-leveller, called the *dante* by the Nepalis and *chhyi-ri* by the Bhutias. For cutting wood and splitting bamboos or for such other work, Nepalis use the *khukri*, whereas the Bhutias and the Lepchas use the *bentok* and the *bamphok* respectively.

Food

The staple food of the Lepchas is rice. These days they sometimes take *chapatis* too. They also take roasted or boiled maize. They are non-vegetarian and eat all kinds of meat, fish and birds. It is said that earlier they would take the meat of monkeys and snakes. The present generation tends to keep away from these. They eat various types of tubers and vegetables. One of the most important items in the Lepcha diet is *chi*, home-brewed millet alcohol. A Lepcha who does not drink the *chi* is hard to find.

The traditional staple food of the Bhutias includes the *tsampa*, the *thukpa* and the *momo*. These days they also take rice and sometimes *chapatis*. They are non-vegetarian and eat egg, fish, chicken, mutton, pork and beef and sometimes buffalo meat. Dried beef is a delicacy for them. They also eat various types of tubers and vegetables. During festivals they make several kinds of sweets and salted refreshments called the *khapse* and the *fongui amcho*. They are very fond of drinking the home-brewed alcohol called *chhang* (called *chi* by the Lepchas and *janr* by the Nepalese).

The staple diet of the Nepalis is rice and pulses and sometimes *chapatis*, or the oil-fried small *chapatis* (*puri*). The various groups of Nepalis have different dietary patterns with regard to meat and drinking alcohol. The Bahuns or Brahmans are vegetarian and do not drink alcohol; instead they eat different types of tubers, vegetables and are very fond of drinking milk and curd. People of the Chhettri, Thakuri and Majhi groups are non-vegetarian but eat only egg, fish, chicken and mutton, and do not eat pork and beef. The Yakhas, Damais, Mangars, Gurungs, Kamis, Sarkis and Bhujels take egg, fish, chicken, mutton and pork food, but do not take beef and buffalo. The Newars eat egg, fish, chicken, mutton and buffalo but do not eat pork and beef whereas the Kagates, Limbus, Sherpas,

Tamangs take egg, fish, chicken, mutton, pork, beef and sometimes buffalo. Some of the sub-castes among the Tamangs and Gurungs do not eat pork or beef. All the communities mentioned above take tubers and vegetables which are either locally grown or bought at the market. Except the Brahmans, all other groups among the Nepalese take home-brewed millet or rice alcohol (*janr, rakshi*). Among the Nepali Hindus, there are followers of various sects like Kabir Panthis, Pranamis, Raidas. These people are strictly vegetarian and some do not take even garlic and onion.

The festival delicacies of the Nepalis include *chel roti, phuraulo*. On the Maghe Sankranti day, various kinds of boiled tubers and roots and *phuraulo* are taken, and *chel roti* is made especially during Tihar or for a marriage or any other ceremony except the death ceremony.

RELIGION

Religious Groups

Two important religions professed by the people of Sikkim are Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism.

The introduction of Buddhism in Sikkim coincides with the establishment of a political institution in Sikkim in the seventeenth century. The three monks who had come to Sikkim from Tibet started propagating the religion and constructing monasteries. Mahayana Buddhism was the state religion till the abolition of the system of hereditary monarchy in 1975.

The two sects of Mahayana Buddhism in which the majority of the Buddhists in Sikkim are organized are the Nyingmapa and the Karma-Kadgupa.

A majority of the Bhutias and the Lepchas are Buddhists. There are some Buddhists among the Nepalese like the Tamangs, but the majority of them are Hindus, worshipping various Hindu gods and goddesses. One of the striking features of the religious practices of the Nepalese is the worship of the family deity (*Kul-Devata*). Those who worship the *Kul-Devata* have a separate altar to which only close family relations have access. Generally the rites and rituals are performed by priests of the same caste.

Besides the Buddhists and Hindus, there are a few Christians,

Muslims, Sikhs and Jains. The classification of population on the basis of religion (1981 Census) is as follows:

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Percentage to Total Population</i>
Buddhist	28.71
Hindu	67.25
Christian	2.22
Muslim	1.03
Sikh	0.10
Jain	0.03

Religious Institutions

Monasteries. There are about seventy-five monasteries in Sikkim. The oldest monastery at Dubdi in Western Sikkim was constructed soon after the consecration of Phuntshog Namgyal. The monasteries of Tashiding, Rinchangpong, Sangacholling and Pemayangtse were constructed in the latter half of the seventeenth century or in the early eighteenth century. A few important monasteries of the Nyingmapa sect in Sikkim are Pemayangtse, Tashiding, Sangacholling, Enchey and Tsuk-la-Khang.

The first monastery of Karma-Kadgupa was constructed in 1730 at Ralang by the fourth Chogyal of Sikkim, Gyurmed Namgyal, in pursuance of a promise given by him to the twelfth incarnation of Gyalwa Karmapa at Tsurphung monastery in Tibet. Other important monasteries of this sect are at Phodong and Rumtek.

Temple. The Thakurbari at Gangtok was established in 1935. Besides this there are about fifty temples scattered all over the state. There are four churches at Gangtok and six others in other parts of Sikkim. The lone mosque in Sikkim is located at Gangtok.

LANGUAGES

The three major languages spoken in Sikkim are Nepali, Bhutia and Lepcha. Due to the overwhelming presence of the Nepalese, Nepali has since long become the lingua franca of the state.

The Bhutia and Lepcha languages belong to the Tibeto-Burman group, while Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language.

There are four official languages of the state, viz. Lepcha, Bhutia,

Nepali and Limbu, which are taught in the schools also.

The 1981 Census gave the following figures on the basis of language spoken in the household:

<i>Bhutia</i>	<i>Lepcha</i>	<i>Limbu</i>	<i>Nepali</i>	<i>Sherpa</i>
21,548	22,391	17,922	192,891	10,726

Besides these languages, the several dialects prevalent within the different Nepali castes include Rai, Tamang, Gurung, Mangar, Newar etc. However, these dialects are very rarely spoken even within the same community. Speakers of these dialects usually speak the standard Nepali.

There are also speakers of many other languages like Hindi, English, Punjabi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Manipuri and Urdu.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

Ever since Sikkim was exposed to outside influence it has been the meeting place of two diverse cultures brought in by the two immigrant communities, viz. the Bhutias and the Nepalese. While the Bhutias brought with them a part of Tibetan cultural life including the language, religion and an economic system which was a combination of pastoralism and semi-settled agriculture, the Nepalese brought with them a part of Nepal's cultural life including the Nepali language, Hinduism and settled cultivation especially terraced cultivation.

While the cultural influence of the Bhutias on the Lepchas, especially the conversion of the Lepchas into the fold of Buddhism, prevailed, the Nepalese retained a distinct identity. Initially, the Bhutias coming from the cold and dry climate of Tibet were resistant to the warmer regions. As a result, their habitation came to be concentrated in the higher regions. Consequently the Lepchas retreated to the remote valleys and forest-clad mountains. The Nepalese began to occupy the warmer regions. The Limbus were mostly scattered in the western part of Sikkim. In course of time, however, the settlement pattern became more dispersed. At present, all communities are scattered over all parts of Sikkim. The two pockets of Sikkim where one can find the dominance of one ethnic group are Dzongu

and the two valleys of Lachen and Lachung in north Sikkim.

The Dzongu area is situated on the western side of the river Teesta in north Sikkim. It consists of thirteen revenue blocks. In order to preserve and protect the Lepcha culture, it was declared a Lepcha reserve. There is a legal restriction on other communities trying to settle in Dzongu. Still, barring the Sakyong and Pentung blocks, all the other blocks have some proportion of households belonging to other communities. The total population of Dzongu is 7745, of which 56 per cent are Lepchas. The Lepchas are primarily cultivators, with 95 per cent of the households engaged in agriculture.

The two valleys of Lachen and Lachung in northern Sikkim are inhabited by Bhutias, who call themselves People of Lachen (*Lachenpa*) and People of Lachung (*Lachungpa*). According to the 1981 Census, there are 234 households with a population of 919 in Lachen; while Lachung has 328 households with a population of 1508.

The people of these valleys are essentially herdsmen and traders. Till the closure of the border with Tibet, they had been mainly engaged in trans-border trade. The people are now mostly engaged in agriculture including horticulture.

HOUSE PATTERN

Most of the houses of the Bhutias and the Lepchas are two-storeyed rectangular structures. The ground floor is partially enclosed where domestic animals especially cattle are kept. The houses are made of bamboo splits plastered with mud. The roof is thatched with reed, straw and bamboo. The Nepalese usually build their houses right on the ground as they keep their domestic animals in a different shelter. They also use bamboo splits and mud. Some of the houses are also made of wooden planks. Presently corrugated tin roofs are replacing the thatched roofs of the Bhutia, Lepcha and Nepali houses. In most of the urban and semi-urban areas, R.C.C. buildings are a common sight. Most of the houses consist of two or more than two rooms depending upon the economic condition of the family. In every traditional house there is a separate room for an altar which also serves as a store room for the grains.

MAJOR FESTIVALS OF SIKKIM

The festivals of Sikkim can be said to belong to two cultural streams based on religion, the Nepali culture and the Bhutia-Lepcha culture.

Two important festivals of the Nepalese, the Dasain and the Tihar, are known as the Dussehra and Diwali respectively in other parts of India.

Dasain is celebrated during the months of September-October (*Ashwin* in the Nepali calendar). During Dasain, the goddess Durga is worshipped, whereas Vijaya Dashami is celebrated with much merry-making. On this day, elders of the family, i.e. the grand-parents, parents and others, put *tika* (a mixture of curd and rice, known as *achata*, and vermilion) on the foreheads of the younger people with their blessings. Coloured *tika* is not put on the forehead of a widow, instead it should be of white colour. The *tika* celebration continues for five more days, and comes to an end on the full-moon day. Tihar falls in the month of *Kartik* by the Nepali calendar. It is celebrated for five days. On the first day is the *Kag Tihar* which literally means 'the festival of the crow' (*kag*). On this day delicacies are prepared and given to the crow. The second day is the *Kukoor Tihar*. On this day, special attention is given to the dogs. Flower garlands are put around the necks of dogs who are given special food, consisting of meat and cooked rice. The third day is the *Gai Tihar*. On this day, cows are worshipped and given special food. In the evening each household worships the goddess Lakshmi. The houses are decorated with marigold garlands and rows of lights are lit in the evening. After this, groups of girls visit the houses and sing the special song known as the *bhailo*. Such singing groups are called the *bhailinis*. The next day is the celebration of *Goru (ox) Tihar*, and on the following day is the *Bhai-tika*. On this day, a sister (*cheli*) puts a multicoloured *tika*, usually of three or four colours, on the forehead of her brother (*maiti*). On the two days of *Goru Tihar* and *Bhai-tika* groups of boys visit houses singing traditional songs (*dewsi*) normally accompanied on the drum (*madal*).

Another important festival of the Nepalese is the Maghe Sankranti which falls usually in the middle of January. On this occasion prayers are offered at the confluence of rivers and people take a dip in the river. The special food items taken on this day comprise various types of boiled roots and tubers and *phuraulo*.

All the Hindu Nepalese irrespective of caste observe these festivals. Interestingly, the Tamangs, who are Buddhist Nepalese, observe these festivals with equal fervour.

The important festivals of the Buddhists of Sikkim are the Tibetan New Year, the Sagadawa, the Pang-Lhabsol, the Losoong, and the Lhabab-Duchen.

The Tibetan New Year which is known as the Lossar marks the preaching of Dharma by Lord Buddha to the devil, and is usually celebrated in the months of February-March for seven days with much merry-making.

Sagadawa is an auspicious month for the Sikkimese Buddhists. Prayers are held throughout the month in various monasteries. On the full moon of the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar is the main celebration. This religious festival is considered the most sacred, because it signifies the birth of Lord Buddha, his enlightenment and attainment of *Nirvana*. A colourful procession of monks with geylings and rabdungs go around the major thoroughfares of the town carrying the Kangyur texts on their heads.

Pang-Lhabsol is a festival to worship Mt. Khanchendzonga, the guardian deity of Sikkim. It is held on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the Tibetan calendar.

Losoong, called Namsoong by the Lepchas, is also known as Sonam Losoong. It is essentially the festival of the harvest. On this day, newly harvested paddy and fruits are offered to the gods. It is celebrated on the first four days of the eleventh month of the Tibetan calendar.

Lhabab-Duchen is another important festival of the Buddhists of Sikkim, celebrating the descent of Lord Buddha from the thirty-third heaven.

SOCIO-POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Social Organization

The social organization of the Lepchas, Bhutias and Nepalese present three distinct patterns. While the kinship and clan association give a Lepcha a sense of social and territorial belonging, this is absolutely absent in the case of the Bhutia. A Bhutia seldom uses his

clan name as he does not possess a strict social organization of clan. Many Bhutia clan names are associated with a locality but there is no sense of a genealogical identity involved. They do not regard the clan members as descendants from a common ancestor as in the case of the Lepcha.

In the Nepali society the caste names do not provide any sense of territorial belonging. It is also characterized by caste hierarchy and the practice of untouchability, which however is now on the wane. The chief function of caste is in the regulation of marriage. The Lepchas did not have any social organization. In the past, the *mandal* who was the collector of revenue used to function as the advisor to the villagers in case of any necessity. The post of *mandal* was hereditary and still continues to be so. However, of late, the constitution of statutory panchayats has considerably minimized the social function of a *mandal*.

The *Kyi-dug* constitutes the social organization of the Bhutias. Generally the *Kyi-dug* is identified with one territorial clan, like Thomorva, the Ardowa or the Khampa. The main function of the *Kyi-dug* is to help its clan members at times of need; for instance, if any death occurs, every family is expected to send a member to help in cremation; if a family fails to do so, the *Kyi-dug* would impose a fine on the erring member. Its office-bearers are elected by the members from amongst themselves.

The Lachenpa and Lachungpa of north Sikkim have the *Zumsha* organization in existence from very early times. J C White described the *Zumsha* as being 'very unusual and almost a communistic government', where everything from carrying of load for visiting government officers to allotment of land to different members was decided upon by the whole population of the village. The village headman (*pipon*) was elected by adult members drawn from each of the family for a term of two years. Besides the *Zumsha*, there was another body of village elders called the *Gyemmi*, for aiding and advising the *pipon* in functions involving the community as a whole. The functioning of the *Zumsha* in these two villages proved to be so useful that the Government of Sikkim allowed it to function as a rural self-government unit when the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1965, and later the Sikkim Panchayat Act, 1982 were enacted.

Among the Nepalese there are various caste organisations generally known as *Samaj*, like the *Tamang Samaj*, the *Rai Samaj*, the *Kami Samaj* etc. These councils function as agencies of social control.

Political Institutions

Sikkim was under a system of hereditary monarchy till 1975. It was brought under the British protectorateship after the Tumlong Treaty of 1861. The country was administered by the British political officer with the help of a council consisting of influential *Kazis* and representatives of the monastery. The full authority of the Maharaja was restored in 1917.

State Council. The first state council was constituted in 1953. It consisted of a president nominated and appointed by the Maharaja, twelve elected members of whom six belonged to the Lepcha-Bhutia and six to the Nepali communities, and five members nominated by the Maharaja. In 1958, the number of council members was raised to twenty with the introduction of one general and one reserved (*sangha*) seats, and addition of one more nominated member. In 1966 the number was raised to twenty-four with an addition to the number of Bhutia-Lepcha and Nepali seats and the introduction of a scheduled caste seat and a Tsong seat.

Executive Council. According to the Maharaja's proclamation of 23 March 1953 the Executive Council was constituted consisting of the *Dewan* 'by virtue of the office which he holds under the Maharaja' and 'such numbers of elected members of the state council as may be appointed by the Maharaja from time to time'. The members of the Executive Council were to hold office 'during the Maharaja's pleasure', and were to be 'responsible to him for the executive and administrative functions of the Government'.

The departments placed under the Executive Council were education, public health, excise, press and publicity, transport, bazars, forests, public works.

State Legislative Assembly. Following the agitation of 1973 there was some change in the structure of the political institutions of Sikkim. Under the May Agreement (1973) election to the Assembly was to be held under the aegis of the Chief Election Commissioner of India. The new Legislative Assembly consisted of 32 seats including two reserved seats, one each for the scheduled castes and the *sangha*. This maintained the parity between the two communities.

In 1978, a presidential ordinance laid down a new formula for the distribution of seats in the Assembly, abolishing the parity formula; seats were now reserved for the Bhutia, Lepcha, *sangha* and

scheduled castes. The distribution of seats in the Assembly is now as follows:

<i>Community</i>	<i>Number of Seats</i>
Bhutia-Lepcha	12
Scheduled Castes	2
Sangha	1
General	17
Total	32

Election. Elections to the first state council was held in mid-1953. Candidates for the council had to be at least 30 years of age and the eligible age for voting was 21. The two important participants in the election were the Sikkim State Congress and the National Party. The voters' list showed 50,000 eligible voters. Less than 30 per cent of the electorate cast their vote. All the Bhutia and Lepcha seats were won by the National Party, while the Sikkim State Congress won all the six Nepali seats.

The second election to the state council was held in 1958. Some changes were then made in the election procedure. The system of primary election was modified and the winning candidate of one community was required to obtain a minimum of 15 per cent of votes of some other community in order to be elected.

Of the total electorate of 55,000 about 35 per cent participated in the election. The Sikkim State Congress won all the six Nepali seats and one Bhutia-Lepcha seat, the National Party won five Lepcha-Bhutia and one *sangha* seat.

The next election for the state council was postponed as a state of emergency had been declared to cope with the Chinese attack on India. The third election was held in March 1967. The main political parties contesting the election were the Sikkim State Congress, the National Party, and the Sikkim National Party. The last political party was formed in 1960, after the merger of the Swatantra Dal, the Praja Sammelan, the dissident wing of the Sikkim State Congress and a faction of the National Party. In this election the Sikkim National Congress won eight seats including one general seat, the Sikkim National Party five seats and the Sikkim State Congress two seats. Candidates from the Tsong, Scheduled Caste and *sangha* constituencies joined the National Party in Council.

The fourth election was held in April 1970 in which the Sikkim National Party won eight seats, the Sikkim State Congress four and

the Sikkim National Congress three.

Before the fifth election in 1973, a new political party, the Sikkim Janata Congress, was formed with the merger of the Sikkim State Congress and the Janata Party. The election of 1973 proved to be a turning point in Sikkim's history. The leaders of the Sikkim National Congress and Sikkim Janata Congress alleged that polling at one constituency had been rigged and demanded the arrest of the officials involved in the rigging. The failure of the *Durbar* to meet the demands of the agitating leaders resulted in the agitation of 1973 which had far-reaching repercussions on the political set-up of the state.

The 1974 election was held under the aegis of the Chief Election Commissioner of India. The members were elected on the 'basis of one man, one vote and universal adult suffrage,' doing away with the earlier 'communal voting system'. The election was held in April 1974. The Sikkim Congress contested all the thirty-two seats, the National Party contested five seats. The Sikkim Congress won thirty-one seats, and one seat went to a candidate of the National Party. After the merger of the state with the Indian Union, the same members continued in office till 1979.

The 1979 election was the first election held under the Constitution of India. This time, the party formula was not followed in the distribution of seats. The Sikkim Janata Parishad led by N B Bhandari formed the government.

The third election to the State Legislative Assembly was held in March 1985, in which Sikkim Sangram Parishad led by N B Bhandari won thirty-one seats.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Five-Year Plans

By the provisions of the Indo-Sikkim Treaty (1950) the Government of India had taken special responsibility in initiating planned economic development in the state. Accordingly, with financial assistance from India, a Seven-Year plan (1954-1961) was undertaken with a total outlay of Rs 324.00 lakhs, followed by three Five-Year Plans from 1961 to 1976. The total outlay for these plans were Rs 641.00 lakhs for 1961-66, Rs 972.00 lakhs for 1966-71 and Rs 1875.00

lakhs for 1971-76 plan periods. In these plans special emphasis was laid on the development of infrastructures like road and communications for which about 48 per cent of the total outlay was allocated. Agricultural development did not receive much attention for which only 16 per cent was allocated during the second and fourth plans. In the third plan (1966-71) 44 per cent of the total outlay was allocated to the agriculture sector.

In the post-merger period there was a shift in the thrust of the plan, and agricultural development was given priority in the state development plans. During the fifth plan period the agriculture department was able to 'develop a basic infrastructure including establishment of Regional Centres, Regional Sub-Centres, V.L.W. Circles and specialized farms. Attention was also given to the development of a cadre of technically qualified personnel with a view to create the necessary environment for implementing plan programmes in the agricultural sector.'

The 1980-85 plan corresponding to the country's Sixth Five-Year Plan had an outlay of Rs 160 crores, out of which Rs 4,540.00 lakhs were earmarked for agriculture and allied sectors and Rs 3,900.00 for road and communication.

The seventh Five-Year Plan has an outlay of Rs 230 crores. Planners have now focused on (1) improvement of agriculture and (2) development of the infrastructure particularly power, road and bridges. Accordingly 21.08 per cent of the total outlay has been allocated for agriculture and allied activities, 19.43 per cent for transport and 15.1 per cent for the energy sector.

Development Activities

Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry was established in 1954 with the initiation of the Seven-Year Plan. The activities of the department increased considerably after 1975, with notable developments like the establishment of the nine regional centres, five regional sub-centres and establishment of one hundred V.L.W. circles in order to help the farmers adopt developed farming techniques.

Although 80 per cent of the total population are dependent on agriculture, only 13.54 per cent of the total geographical area is put to agricultural use. 36.15 per cent of the area is covered with forest and 10.28 per cent of the area constitutes permanent pastures and

grazing land.

With this acute shortage of cultivable land in Sikkim, the aim of the agriculture department has been to increase the productivity of land, rather than bringing more land under cultivation. Its strategy has been to replace traditional farming with improved techniques like the use of improved seeds, fertilizers, effective plant protection and proper storage of farm produce. Efforts are being made to introduce multiple cropping so that the farmers make best use of their resources like land, manpower and natural sources.

The main crops grown in Sikkim are maize, rice, millet, wheat, barley, buckwheat etc. The most important cash crop is cardamom and the cash fruit is orange. The department is giving special attention to promote the cultivation of these two items.

Industry. Before 1975 there were only a few industries in Sikkim, the most notable ones being the Food Preservation Factory, the Sikkim Distilleries, the Sikkim Jewels. Before 1974 the industrial activities were looked after by the Trade, Industries and Commerce Department.

Soon after 1975 all the four districts were declared industrially backward and a Directorate of Industry was established in 1976 to take the overall responsibility of promotion and development of industries in the state.

Most of the the industries that exist in Sikkim are either small scale or medium scale. About seventy-two registered units are functioning in the small scale sector. Special attention has been given to promote this sector of industry.

Industrial development is mainly state-sponsored and an emerging class of entrepreneurs are being given assistance by the government. The establishment of the Sikkim Industrial Development and Investment Corporation in 1977 was a step towards this direction.

One important industry that has been drawing the attention of the government is the tea industry, established in 1965. Recently around 3.70 acres of land have been converted to tea plantation. In order to give a boost to this industry a programme for decentralized cultivation of tea in private lands has been taken up for implementation. Other newly established industries include the Sikkim Flour Mill, Yoksom Breweries, Soap Industry and Denzong Rubber.

Education. There are at present 831 schools in Sikkim and 82631 school-going children. The literacy rate among the males stands at

44 per cent while 22.10 per cent of the women are literate.

Health. Health facilities have been expanded to cover the entire population. There are five hospitals, 18 primary health centres, 82 primary health sub-centres. The rate of infant mortality is rapidly declining, which stands at 114 per thousand births at present.

Social welfare and Nutrition programmes cover a large segment of the population. A massive programme to ensure availability of drinking water in the rural areas has been implemented and out of 440 villages 168 are fully covered while another 200 villages are partially covered.

Ecology. In order to preserve the ecological balance, programmes like conservation of forests, increase of forest cover and preservation of the natural splendour of the state are being implemented.

METHODOLOGY

The information on the various communities was collected by the investigators of the Anthropological Survey of India, Eastern Region, Calcutta, and two lecturers and one Research Scholar at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, North Bengal University, through an interview schedule prepared by the ASI. These investigators visited the areas, both urban and rural, where there were conglomerations of particular communities, and prepared reports on them. These were further checked by a group of experts on each respective community in a workshop held at the Centre for Himalayan Studies, North Bengal University, and at Gangtok. A list of villages along with the districts where the communities were studied is furnished below.

List of villages where communities were studied

	<i>Community</i>	<i>Village</i>	<i>District</i>
1	Lepcha	Gangtok	East
		Singhik	North
		Naga	North
		Lingdong	North
		Mangan	North
		Namchi	South

2	Brahman	Duga	East
		Rangpo	East
		Sajong	West
		Rhenok	East
3	Chhettri	Gangtok	East
		Jorethang	South
		Rhenok	East
		Namchi	South
4	Thakuri	Kopche	East
		Rhenok	East
5	Majhi	Majhigaon	South
6	Bhujel	Deythang	West
		Ravangla	West
		Gangtok	East
		Sichey	East
7	Gurung	Gangtok	East
		Namchi	South
		Gorthang	West
8	Mangar	Asangthang	South
		Kamrang	South
		Namchi	South
		Gangtok	East
9	Damai	Sichey	East
		Gangtok	East
		Timi Tarku	South
		Namchi	South
10	Thami	Thamigaon	East
		West Pendam	East
11	Yakha	Tadong	East
		Gangtok	East
		Pelling	West
12	Bihari	Gangtok	East
13	Sarki	Sukrobare	West
		Namchi	South
		Sadam	South
		Gangtok	East
14	Kagate	Gangtok	East
		Mangan	North