

Chapter II

2. Origin of Bhutia in Sikkim:

2a (i) Sikkim is a Beyul (*sBas-yul*)

Sikkim is still regarded as sacred land or Beyul by its Buddhist inhabitants *Denjong Nye-Yig* [Source: The Pilgrims Guide to the Hidden Land of Sikkim by Lhatsun Jigmed Pawo revealed by Terton Sangay Lingpa (1340 – 1396)].

“The auspicious Hidden Land of Sikkim, having a square topographical appearance is situated in South-West of Samye monastery, Lhasa Tibet and is close to the S-W face of the Mt. *Kyin-thing*. Its Eastern border touches Mt. Sidhi of India, the Western border touches the mountain of Zar district of U – Tsang, Tibet and the Northern border touches Lake *Tsomo Dri – Chu*” (Acharya and Acharya, 1998)

The upper range of the country, the northeastern side, reaches up to Kangchendzonga [Gangchen Zod-nga] and the lower southwesterly range touches Banga (India). It is a fertile land, which grows a large variety of fruit, crops, and medicinal herbs etc. and its valleys are quite spacious. Hence, it is called *Demo-shong* (the original name of Sikkim i.e. Hidden Land).

The “History of Sikkim” (1908) tells us that this land was initially blessed by chenre-zig (Avalokiteswara) and Indra, followed by Guru Rimpoche in eighth century who exorcised the land from all evil spirits, and rid it of all obstacles that would tend to obstruct or disturb the course of devotional practices. Guru Rimpoche compiled books and treasures, which were hidden in one hundred and eight secret mines, so that they would render this land productive, healthy and harmonious and later their discovery would facilitate spread of Dharma. The following words of Terton Ratna Lingpa [*ster-sTonRatna-Lingpa*, (1403 – 1478)] quoted from “History of Sikkim” also describes

Sikkim as “the best of all the sacred places of pilgrimage as it will become to be resorted to in the end of the evil times everyone assembled to bless this sacred land that they look possession of it, blessed it and sowed all kinds of seed in it. Then they hid treasures, appointed keepers and uttered hundred prayers. Every cliff, peak, cave and hilltop has been consecrated for devotional purposes”.

Guru Rimpoche identified six countries and five valleys as Sacred Hidden lands of Buddhism and the “History of Sikkim” adds that of all beyul, Sikkim is most sacred and sanctified. Sikkim is described as a land of medicinal plants, golden trough where anything one sows grows. One who visits Sikkim will not suffer from incurable diseases and will not feel hungry as there are 105 different kinds of fruits and 360 types of edible plants.

Given below is the translation of another description found in Chogyal Trisong Deutsan’s Secret Hidden Prophecy (7th century).

“At the time where there is no peace in Tibet or it is facing a tense situation, all those Dharma practitioners can flee and take refuge in the Hidden Land, the glorious Hidden land of Sikkim, which is a blissful Heaven” (Acharya and Acharya, 1998).

Given all these Referencess, Sikkim’s special status as invaluable and sacrosanct Buddhist zone cannot be overemphasized. Further, the term “Hidden Land” is interpreted in the following way by various religious texts. Externally, Hidden land means, the land so encircled or locked by mountain chains and cliffs that keep the malevolent elements away. Internally, a Hidden Land signifies the people born on its soil who possess the virtue of kindness, are God fearing and generally refrain from indulging in negative activities which displeases the guardian deities of the land. (Acharya and Acharya, 1998).

The secret meaning of “Hidden land” is that Sikkim is accorded a place and importance similar to the heavenly abode of Guru Rimpoche’s Zandok Palri. The people of this land are treated as *Pawos* and *Pamos* meaning highly enlightened and pure being.

Nakane (1966) has pointed out that according to Nyingma tradition, beyul has been “set aside by Guru Rimpoche as a refuge to be discovered at an appropriate time in a rather similar way to the discovery of the *terma* texts some of these beyul are quiet refuges set a side for meditation but others like Sikkim and Pemakod were places where people could settle to escape political turmoil. “People migrated to Sikkim to escape political turmoil” (Nakane, 1966). Indeed many Tibetans are thought to have taken refuge and migrated to Sikkim as a result of Tibet’s 17th century religious war.

During his 8th century visit to Sikkim Guru Rimpoche is said to have tamed all his supernatural beings including the mountain God and bound them¹ in an oath, that they would be protectors of the faith. By this act of hiding the spiritual treasurer Guru Rimpoche¹ brought Buddhism and a civilized way of life.

Although converted to Buddhism by Guru Rimpoche in the 8th century, it is only from 14th century that Kangchendzonga’s identity as a defender of the faith and keeper of treasurer was established and promoted by Tertön Rigzin Godem [*g Ter-sTonRig-dzin r God- Kyi Idem-phru-can* (1337 – 1407)].

Rigzin Godem is thought to have been the first Tibetan high lama to visit Sikkim, where he discovered powerful sacred sites. He built Sikkim’s first known 14th century monastery at Pawo Humri, a hilltop between Yuksum and Silnon in West Sikkim, however his visit did not result in establishing a political setup. It is however, Lhatsun

¹Guru Rimpoche established Buddhism in 7th century in Tibet but Lamaism became a vested interest, disrupting religious life and Tantric form of Buddhism came in, which propagated such activities such as no celibacy etc. As a result to save religious life the Gelugpa sect arose in 15th century founded by Tsonkapa, they differentiated themselves from members of older sect by wearing yellow hats (earlier sect wore red). In the 17th century, Gelugpa became very prominent in religious and political sphere because Mongols had become followers of Grand lama of Gelugpa sect and recognized him as 5th Dalailama. As a result there was large scale persecution of Lamas belonging to red hat sect, thus they moved to take refuge in Sikkim and Bhutan.

Namka Jigme [*Lha-bTsun Nam-Khah hJig-smed* (1597 – 1650)] referred to as Lhatsun Chenpo who is regarded as propagator of Buddhism in Sikkim. He opened the Hidden Land, created a sacred environment accordingly to Buddhist ideals of the universe, partly by redefining Lepcha sacred sites as Buddhist (History of Sikkim, 1908). Guru Rimpoche made Kanchengdzonga a Buddhist mountain God in 8th century, which was also revealed by Rinzin Godem in the 14th century. It was only in the 17th century after consecration of the first Chogyal it became a pilgrimage for the Buddhists of Sikkim².

2a (ii) Demojong (*'bras mo ljongs*, the country of different fruits and seeds)

An important text known as hidden land of rice guide book to sacred places [*sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs kyi gnas yig*]³ a more recent compilation based on some three earlier texts prepared by Jigme Pawo, the third incarnation of Lhatsun Chenpo and a contemporary lama of Chagdor Namgyal (1686 – 1717), the third Chogyal of Sikkim. Demojong describes it as a paradise on earth with an abundance of fruit, vegetables and self growing crops and clues are given in the text as to how to reach Beyul Demoshong [*sbas yul 'bras mo gshongs*]⁴

It is said that in the upper part of Demojong lives the mountain God Kangchendzonga who like a king sitting on a throne, is the owner and protector of the land, its people, its powerful sacred and spiritual treasures. Kangchendzonga's *Gangs-*

2. When Kangchendzonga was subdued by Guru Padmasambhava and appointed keeper of the land and its treasurers, Lhatsun Chenpo arrived from Tibet, It is said that the Kangchendzonga first tested him before appearing to him in the form of white goose and giving him permission to open gate of Beyul. In his welcoming discourse, the mountain God, usually simply referred to as Dzonga, revealed the various places of sacred nature and old people believe this to have been where the nasal ritual was composed ("History of Sikkim" Pg. 21).

3. According to Khempo Lha Tshering, the *sbas yul 'bras mo ljongs kyi gnas yig* has been compiled from following main sources. 1) Terton Rigzin Godem's 14th century prophetic text (*bras ljongs lung bstan gsal baimelong*), 2) a text discovered by Terton Sangay Lingpo in the 14th century (*blama dgongs 'Dus lung bstan bkai brgya ma'*) and 3) a later guide book discovered by a lama who never came to Sikkim by the name of Terton Dorje Dechen Lingpa of Doma Gon (*mdo mang dgon*) monastery in Kham who has been the first incarnation of present Yangthang Rimpoche of West Sikkim.

4. *Gshongs* as in Demoshong means valley of rolling hills, while '*ljongs*' as a Demojong means land or country. While Demojong is the heart of historical Sikkim, located around and below Mount Kangchendzonga, Demoshong remains a true hidden land. Some people are said to have caught glimpses of it through an opening in the rock.

can mdzod-linga, five peaks are the repositories of five treasures. The first common salt, the second gold and turquoise, the third Dharma scriptures and other precious objects capable of increasing one's wealth, the fourth arms and fifth medicine and different types of seeds. The spiritual centre of Demojong in Drakar Tashiding (*brag dkar bTahis lding*) where Guru Rimpoche is said to have given many teachings.

2a (iii) Bhutias

The derivation of Bhutia is from Bhote or Bhot that is itself derived from Bod or Tibet. In a Sanskrit manuscript of 7th century, Tibet is called Bhote. People of Tibetan stock who migrated to the southern face of the Himalayas are known as Bhot or simply Bhutia. Communities of such people are found in a number of areas from as far west as Uttar Pradesh to Sikkim, even though their ethnic origin may differ (Lall, 1981).

The name of the Tibet is of Tatar origin. In the records of the Tarter Liaos in the 11th century the name is written *T'u-pote's* in which the latter syllable represents Bod'. The word Tibet is a European corruption of (Sherring, 1906).

The word first occurs about 950 AD in the works of an Arab writer "Istakhari" who calls the country "TOBBAT" which is Arabic rendering of the word "THO-BHYODH". The name suggests that BHOTIA called the great plateau with its plains bordering the frontiers of China, Mongolia and Kashmir as *THO-BHYODH* got its name Tibet in European accent.

The term Bhutia is itself confusing because it is used for an ethnic group of Sikkim and Darjeeling, as well as for the inhabitants of Bhutan. But the Bhutias of the UP hills have absolutely no connection with the communities in the Western Himalayas. They form an integrated part of local Hindu culture with a possible admixture of the Tibetan ethnic and culture elements due to long contact with them (Lall, 1981).

2a (iv) Origin and Migration of Bhutias

The name Bhutia, sometimes spelt and pronounced as Bhotia is an exclusive ethnic community different from both Hindu and Tibetans. It is a generic term used to designate several socially unrelated group of Indo-Tibetan borderland. However diverse they may be, they profess Buddhism in one form or another and speak a Language broadly intelligible to each other.

It has evidently been accepted that people from “*Kham*” province of eastern Tibet first started to come down and settle in Sikkim from about 10-11 centuries, due to various socio-political, economic and religious reasons (Bhattacharya, 1994). Shortly, Sikkim became the colony of the Tibetan Settlers. By the middle of the 17th century, three venerable Lamas of Tibet came to Sikkim and established the Namgyal Dynasty in 1642 just as the prototype of the Lamaist Tibet.

The Bhutias of Sikkim, as history says are of Tibetan origin, having same cultural pattern, language and scripts as the Tibetans. In Tibetan dialect, Tibet is called Bod which means land of snow and the people are called *Bod-pa*.

The ethnic origin of Sikkim Bhutias is very complex and includes Drukpas, people from Drukyul/Bhutan (Thunder, Dragon).The Chumbipas, people from Chumbi Valley (Southern Tibet) the Dhopthapas, inhabitants of Dhoptha, a place in South Tibet, the Tromopas or *Do-mu-pas*, inhabitants of *Du-mu*, the Lachenpas, the people of Lachen Valley in Sikkim, and the Lachungpas, the people of the Lachung Valley in North Sikkim (Singh, 1993).

The Tibetan who came down to Sikkim from upper region of Tibet were devout Buddhists and brought with them Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism, known as ‘Vajrayana’. The result is that the Bhutias who came to Sikkim from Tibet developed a social and

cultural pattern different from Tibetans, so that they are classified as Sikkimese Bhutia. The Sikkimese Bhutia is one of the many tribes belonging to the corpus Bhotia. Who call themselves as Sikkimese or Denzongpa and speak Sikkimese, which is a dialect of Tibetan.

Tibetan settlers came to Sikkim from neighboring valleys of Chumbi and Ha, and regions even beyond this from the 13th century. Their descendants call themselves Lhopo (*lho pa*, people of Denjong or Demojong (*'bras mo ljongs*, the country of rice). It has been argued that, since the term Bhutia can be used for any person of Tibetan origin and because they are present in a minority in Sikkim, therefore the term 'Sikkimese' cannot be used for them. Hence, they are called Lhopo (Balicki 2002). However in the present work the word 'Bhutia' has been used to refer the community under study.

The "History of Sikkim" (1908) and other surviving documents have not been able to give exact date about time and migration of Sikkimese Bhutia. The oral history presented in "History of Sikkim" (1908) and later published by Rock (1953) relate the possible antecedents of Namgyal Dynasty and related clans but mention little about common Lhopo.

Two descent group of twelve clans, the *tong du ru zi* [*stong 'du rus bzhi*] or the four clans of thousand each (History of Sikkim, 1908) and a slightly inferior group of eight clans referred to as *beb tsen gyed* [*'bebs mtshan brgyad*] or the eight tribes (names) of Settlers (History of Sikkim, 1908) are considered to descend from first Tibetan families to have migrated from Kham Minyak. The ancestors of these twelve clans descending from Khye Bumsa and his followers first settled in Chumbi and eventually in the Central Valley of Sikkim before the founding of the Kingdom in 1642. The twelve clans and their sub-clans are strictly exogamous but still form a preferential endogamous

unit as a group, with the four superior *tong du ru zi* [*sTong du rus bzhi*] forming a preferential subgroup within the twelve. Those who arrived later at Chumbi, Ha and Paro and settled in Sikkim are considered inferior. Lhopo who do not belong to twelve families believe all Lhopos as equal, with the exception of the Namgyal and Kajis. According to Risley (1894) Guru Tashi the Minyak prince was from the principality of Kham Minyak Adong, on the eastern border of Tibet which is situated on the west of Ta-Tsien – Loo, between Litang and Dirge.

2a (v) Minyak

It has come to refer to a number of different areas and tribes of eastern and north-eastern Tibet. Although Guru Tashi came from Kham Minyaks but there are indications that his ancestors may have come from an area known as Tibetan Minyak or Si-Hai. These different Minyaks are discussed by Stein in his article *Mi-Nag and Si-Hai* (1951). The ancient Si-Hai Kingdom (1032-1226) was a Tangut state located to the north east of Lake Kokonor in what later became the Tibetan province of Amdo.

According to Stein (1951 – 225), the throne of China was lost to the profit of Minyak after the Five Dynasties (10th century) but the kingdom was eventually destroyed by Genghis Khan where he died in 1227. The kingdom was populated by a number of Tibeto-Burman, Turco-Mongol and even Indo-European tribes. Quoting other authors, Stein mentions that the existence of Minyak (Si-Hai) in the north and many others farther South in Kham is probably due to population movement and migration following the destruction of Si-Hai in 1227 (BaliKci, 2002). Stein has indeed demonstrated that the genealogies given in a Tibetan text under the name of Mi-Nag corresponds to the Si-Hai Kings (1951-236) and that these genealogies not only pre-date the Si-Hai Kingdom, they also continue after its destruction for an additional eight generation. These descendants

of Se Hu, the first Si-Hai king, are said to have migrated to Tsang in Central Tibet and to have settled in place called Namring where they became the nobles Byan (North). Interestingly, as Stein points out, Namring is not far from Sikkim where the Kings also claim descent from Minyak King (Balikci, 2002). We have to rely upon the Sakya history to trace the origin of Chogyals of Sikkim. Genghis Khan during his reign needed a spiritual Guru so he sent his followers to Tibet. They came back with a report that there was a competent Lama by the name of Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen or Sakya Pandit. Sakya Panchen, when he went to Mongol he took his nephew, Drongon Choegyul Phagpa with him. Sakya Panchen travelled to northeastern Tibet to meet Godem the grand son of Genghis Khan at Kokonor. The Sakya Panchen gave Godem religious initiation and Godem conferred on him the relationship of Tibetan provinces of U and Tsang.

It is mentioned in the book "History of Sikkim" that the last King of Kham Minyak's three sons left the Kingdom on a pilgrimage in search of the hidden land of Demojong at around the same time.

After Godem, Kublai Khan became patron of the Sakyapas and gave donation to Phagpa of the thirteen myriarchies of western and central Tibet. When Kublia Khan became emperor he sent Phagpa back to central Tibet to recognize the administration. It is mentioned by Riskey (1894) that when Phagpa journeyed back to central Tibet through Kham, he might have encouraged Guru Tashi the Minyak Prince to follow him.

When Guru Tashi, the middle of the three brothers with his five sons arrived in Sakya, the monastery was being built. Guru Tashi's eldest son helped in its construction and erected the four central columns. This must have been the Lhakang Chenmo monastery. The eldest son for having erected the pillars was given the name Khye Bumsa (*Gyad's bum gsags*), or equalling 1,000,000 men. He married a lady of the Sakya

Hierarchs and after that left in direction of Sikkim. On the way, they built a monastery for hundred monks at Phari, north of Khampojong, and left one of the brothers in charge. Once in Phari, they built the Samdub Lhakang monastery where their father Guru Tashi died. Khye Bumsa eventually settled lower down in Chumbi and his three remaining brothers went towards the valley of Ha and Paro in present day Bhutan (History of Sikkim, 1908). Khye Bumsa gained authority in the Chumbi Valley, which eventually came to include Sikkim where one of his descendants Phuntsog Namgyal became Sikkim's first Chogyal in 1642.

Some Bhutias who did not belong to twelve clans, in order to assert their Sikkimese status, reject the migrant status imposed by twelve families and suggested that they might have already settled in the southern valleys before the arrival of Khye Bumsa from Kham Minyak in 13th century.

This argument however reverses the situation by transforming the twelve clans into the foreigners from Kham Minyak of the Southern Valley. Considering the cultural affinities between these three valleys and that of Ha and Chumbi that appeared to have been populated by people of Tibetan origin long before Sikkim, this claim may not be baseless (Balicki, 2002).

Whether the twelve families or later migrants from Ha or Chumbi came from Kham Minyak or they were already settled before cannot be answered because of absence of historical records.

2b. Khye bumsa and chief clans of Sikkim:

Khye Bumsa first came with his wife to Sikkim in search of the Lepcha patriarch⁵ Thekong Tek. The couple was childless and came for the blessings of a Lepcha patriarch. A lot of rituals were performed so that the couple may be blessed with a male descendant. After their return to Chumbi the couple had three sons. When these boys were growing up, Khye Bumsa asked them that what they wished to be. The eldest replied he would like to trade with his fellowmen, the third said that he should be content to get his living from the fruit of the soil, while second said nothing less than the leadership of his men could satisfy his ambition (Gazetteer 1908-9). According to their answers Khye Bumsa called the first one Khabo-Rab (Kya-bo-rabs) or the swindler, the third son Lang-morab (Glang –mo-rabs) or the ploughman, the second Mipo Rab (Mipon-rabs) or the leader of men. Khye Bumsa remained and died at Chumbi; however the three sons crossed the mountains and settled at Libing, Gangtok and Phodong.

The descendants of Khye Bumsa's first son kept changing their residence and kept moving eastward and were named Ethenpa (Yul-thon-pa). The descendants of Langmorab are known as Linzerpa (gLing-zer-pa). Mipon Rab had four sons, the first was called Shandarpa (Zhang –dar –pa) as he was born in maternal uncle house, the second Tshechu darpa (Tshes-bcu dar-pa), because he was born on 10th day of lunar calendar, the third Nyima Gyalpo (NyiMa-rgyal-po) from astrological point of view a

⁵ An external friendship was made between Gyad- Bumsgags and The-Kong-Tek. They agreed by this that all the males should be considered to be related to the sons and all the females to the daughter. The friendship was cemented by a ceremony at which several animals, both domestic and wild, were sacrificed and all the local deities invoked to bear witness to this solemn contract of friendship, binding the Lepchas and Bhotes in an inseparable bond. They sat together on the raw hides of the animals, entwined the entrails around their persons, and put their feet together in a vessel filled with blood, thus swearing the blood oath to each other. The-Kong involving all the Sikkim local spirits asked them to stand witness to this solemn contract, invoking blessings on those who observed these faithfully, and curses on those who broke this eternal hereditary and national contract between the two races. Therefore, the Lepchas gradually came under the influence of the strangers (History of Sikkim, 1908).

The 13th century ritual of blood brotherhood performed between Lhopas and the Lepcha is considered to have been the first Pang Lhabsol, Lamas, who dislike animal sacrifice, usually prefer mentioning that the first Pang Lhabsol had been performed as thanks giving ritual for his safe journey across the Himalayas as related by Nebesky – Wojkowitz (1993).

child born on Sunday will become the king and the fourth Guru Tashi (Gu-ru-bkra-shis) which means saintly one because he was born on the day parents were worshipping Guru Padmadsambhava. These four grand sons of Khye Bumsa are the apical ancestors of the chief clans of Sikkim who together from a superior descent groups are referred to as the tong du ruzi (sTrong du- rus -bzhi) or the four clans of thousand each (History of Sikkim Pg. 19).

The Chogyals of Sikkim are descendants of the fourth son and belong to Guru Tashi's descent group. Khye Bumsa had four younger brothers, when the family moved north-west to a place called Pa-shi and constructed a monastery there, one of the brothers stayed there to become a monk. The other three Se-Shing (gSer-shing), Tsendong (Tsanldong) and Kar tshogs (sKar-tshogs), migrated towards Ha present day Bhutan. From these three are the descendants of bebsen gyad (Bebs mTshan- brGyad) or eight tribes of all the clans. The origin and the apical ancestors of the group of eight are least clear. The eight families of bebsengyed (Beb mtshan – brgyad) are as follows 1. Bonpu (Bonpo) 2. Gensarpa (dGon-gsar-pa) 3. Namtsan gkerp (Nam-gtsang skor-pa) 4. Tag chug darpa (sTag-cung dar-pa) 5. Kar tsho kpa pa (dKar-tshogs-pas) 6. Gyang todpa (Gyong – stod-pa) 7. Tsungyepa (bTsun-rgyas-pa) 8. Dokangbo (rDo-khang-po). Thus, there are technically fourteen clans if we include the Ethenpa and Lingzerpa but this group of original clans are usually referred to as the twelve clans. The Bon pa are again divided into five sub-classes i) Bonpo Nadig (Bon-po nag-sdig) ii) Bonpo Lhasung (Bon-po lhasrung) iii) Woecha Bonpa (Yos-bcag bon-po) iv) No bon Bonpo (Na-'bod bon-po) v) Bonchungpa (Bon-chung/Phan-chung Pa). These fourteen families have the right to be admitted to Pemayangste monastery on payment of entrance fees.

Besides the above, there are other families of Tibetan origin called Ru-Chung (minor clans) or little families; their descent may be traceable to maternal side of Khye Bumsa 1. Bhu-tshopa (Bu-tsho-bo). 2. Landingpa (Lag-idings -pa). 3. Gyoe rongpa (rGod-rong-pa). 4. Ghyengpo (Gengs-po). 5. Toepo (sTod-po); 6. Shahipo (Shar-po). 7. Bar fung pa ('Bar-phung-pa). 8. Aden Phutso (A-Idan phu-tsho). The above families are admitted to Pemayangste monastery after payment of heavy entrance fees. The Toepo are again sub-divided into i) Toelhagyopa (sTod lha rgod-pa) ii) Toe jamytenpo (sTod 'jam-dbyangs-pa) iii) Toe chukhaba (sTod chu-kha-ba).

There are other clans which include the direct descendants of high incarnate lamas or celebrated saints. These clans identify themselves by the title of their ancestors they are Dorjilingpa⁶ (rDo- rje-gling po) (2), Hozerlingpa ('od-zer-gling po), Chagthagpa (lCags-thag-pa), Serdubpa (gSer-sgrub-pa), Tsenkarpa (Tsen-khar-po) .

Apart from the compilation made by H.H. Risley in 1800 century there are numerous other clans under Bhutia category which have not been recorded till date. They are I) Musepa which has sub clans like Yangtop, Phung, Phensa, II) Phoe Gyarakpa, Phoe Nyen neypa, Phoe Lharipa, III) Phalong Tharpa.

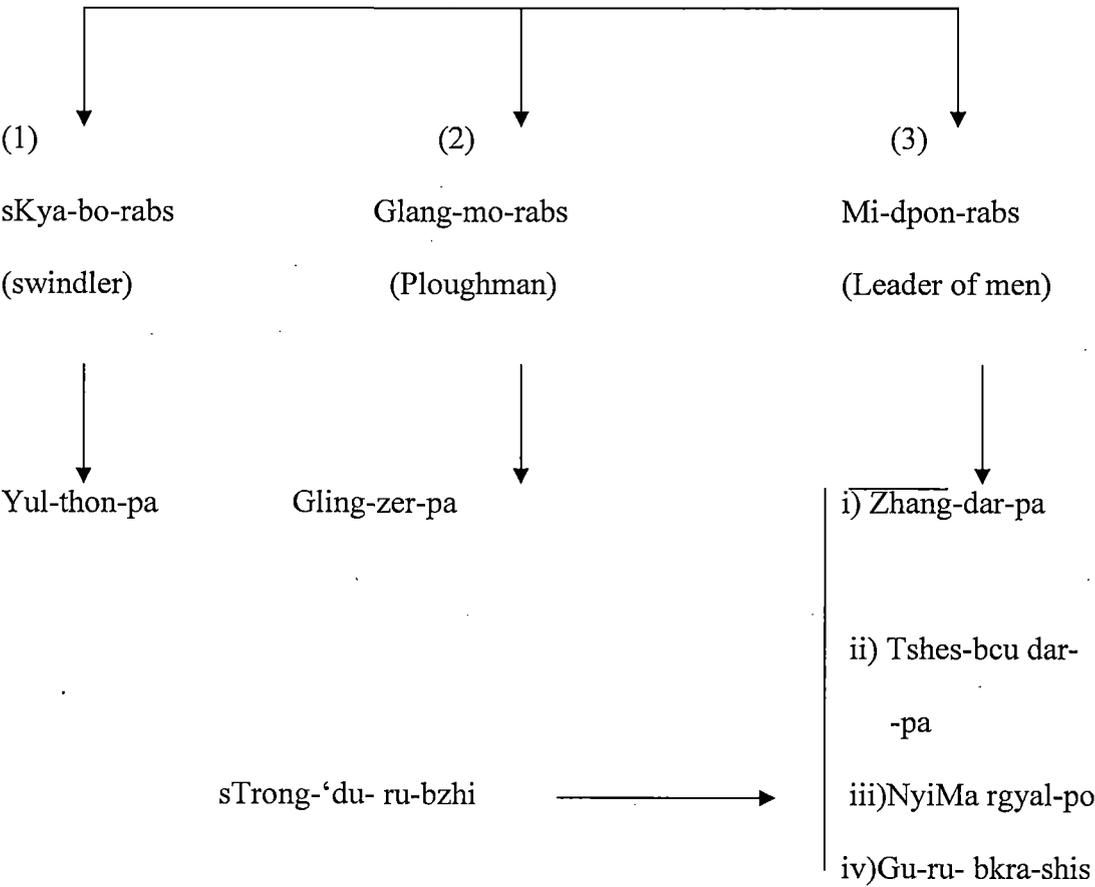
SHA-RU

Bhutia people believe that the person inherits his bones from his patri-lineage and his flesh from his matri-lineage. People of same patri-lineage sharing the same bone can never intermarry as result patri-lineage is exogamous while it is possible to marry

⁶ Dorjilingpa – the descendants of Terton Dorjilingpa or present lama families of Dorjing monastery (South Sikkim).
 Hozerlingpa- the descendants of Terton Hozerlingpa or present living Yarpo families of Gangtok.
 Ghangthagpa – the descendants of saint Changthang Rinpoche or present lama family of Silnon monastery (West Sikkim)
 Serdubpa – The descendants of Serdub lineage or lama family of Tsenkar Gumpa (West Sikkim)
 Tsenkarpa – The descendants of lama Tsenkar lineage or present lama families of Lingdok, East Sikkim

someone with whom they share certain level of flesh. Which means marriage within the mothers lineage is permitted under certain conditions. A man may only marry his parallel cousin on his mother's side on the condition that a gap of at least three generation should exist. The actual rule is seven generations, but these days a three generation gap is tolerated which means a closet possible relation would be if a couple's great grand mothers were sister.

Gyad-'Bum-bSags



'Bebs mTshan -brGyad (Tribes of 8 respectable names)

1. Bon-po
2. dGon-gsar-pa
3. Nam-gtsang- skor-pa —————> (a) Nam-dkar (b) Nam-nag
4. sTag-cung dar-pa
5. dKar-tshogs-pa
6. Gyong-stod-pa
7. bTsun-rgyas-pa
8. rDo-khang-po

SUBDIVISION OF BON-PO CLANS

1. Bon-po nag-sdig
2. Bon-po lha srung
3. Yos-bcag bon-po
4. Bon-chung/Phan-Chung Pa
5. Na- 'bod bon-po

Rus-Chung (Minor Clans)

1. Bu-tsho-bo
2. Lag-ldings-pa
3. rGod-rong-pa
4. 'Gengs-po
5. sTod-po
6. Shar-po
7. 'Bar-pung-pa
8. A-ldan phu-tsho

Subdivisions of sTod-Po Clans.

1. sTod lha rgod pa
2. sTod 'Jam-dbyangs-pa
3. sTod chu-kha-ba
4. **SUB CLANS OF CHUM-BI-PA**
1. Lham-dar-pa
2. dGye-bsnyen bu-tsho
3. A-mgon phu-tsho
4. A-thub phu-tsho/A-thub-pa
5. rDo-bzo-pa
6. Khyim – 'bar-pa

Other clans

1. A-som-pa
2. Mang-'bad-pa
3. Na-mang-pa
4. bShags-tshang-pa
5. rDo-hrob-pa
6. sGang-rgyab-pa
7. La-'og-pa
8. Ma-tshang-pa
9. dPa'-thing-pa
10. Phe-ri-pa
11. bKe'-gye-pa
12. rDo-brag-pa

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