16. Another characteristic of this phase, especially in the eastern part of Uttarakhand, was the conflict between contractors and Chipko members became intensified when police interventions occured: e.g. the Nainital (1977) armed police proceeded against demonstrating people and during the following struggle violent actions took place in the name of Chipko. In Ghyari (1979) armed police were called to defend felling activities (Ghayatri 1979), but had to retreat when the felling was called off by the local administration. Arrests of leading activists became common events.

17. In the Hindu religious tradition a vow taken at the full moon in the month of Sravana; after the puja the worshipper gets a charm *(raksa)* around his/her wrist which should protect him/her against misfortune in the next year. In northern India an adult may tie a sacred ribbon around the wrist of a younger family member symbolizing that he or she will take special care of that person.

18. See "More Miles to Go for Chipko Women", in *Down to Earth* Vol.1 No.2, June 15, 1992, S.40-41.

19. Until 1977 Bahuguna was at one with C.P. Bhatt articulating that forests have to serve as resource basis for small-scale industries, but then he changed his mind and took the opposite stance.

20. The public profile of Chipko -"as one of the most celebrated environmental movements in the world" is opposed to the "private" face, "which is that of a quintessential peasant movement" (Guha 1991: 78).

21. It is remarkable that in the economic debate Shiva does not stress the specifically ecological responsibility of women.

22. See A. Agarwal & Sunita Narain, *Towards Green Villages: A Strategy for Environmentally-sound and Participatory Rural Development*, Delhi: CSE, 1989.

23. See, for example, M.L. Dewan, *People's Participation in Himalayan Eco-System Development: A Plan for Action*, New Delhi: Concept Publ. Co., 1990.

Decline of the Rong-folk: reflexions on A.R. Foning's "Lepcha, my vanishing tribe" (New Delhi: Sterling 1987)

R.K. Sprigg

The Lepcha, or Rong, tribe has been vanishing for more than a hundred years. Writing in 1875 Col. Mainwaring, in his *A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language*, traces the 'downfall' of the Lepchas to "the advent of the Europeans"(1). The decline in their fortunes began, he writes, in 1839, with the arrival of Dr Campbell as Superintendent of the East India Company's acquired settlement of Darjeeling; and its main cause was the influx of Nepalese and others whom Campbell had invited to settle in the Company's new and, in his opinion, underpopulated territory. The population of Darjeeling was reported as being only about a hundred in 1828-9, an abnormally low figure because many of its inhabitants had deserted the area on the outbreak of civil war in Sikkim two years earlier; but by 1850 Campbell had succeeded in increasing it to 10,000 (2). Immigration swelled the population even further after 1856, the year in which the tea industry in Darjeeling reached the stage of commercial production, to meet the needs of the tea-gardens for labour. By 1866 thirty-nine tea-gardens had been planted out, with 10,000 acres under cultivation; and by 1869 the population of the Darjeeling tract had more than doubled, to over 22,000 (3). No doubt the Lepcha population of the District had shared in the general increase during this time; for the 1872 census gives

it as 3,952; but by then the total for the Hills area of the District had reached 46,727, and reduced the proportion of Lepchas to hardly more than 8% of that total (4).

In Sikkim, the Lepcha heart-land, too the story was much the same; but the swamping process began about fifty years later than in Darjeeling. Campbell estimated the Lepcha population of Sikkim in 1840 as about 3,000, approximately 60% of the total population of that country (5); and it seems likely that the proportional figure must have remained much the same until the late '70s. The Sikkim Court's policy with regard to immigration from Nepal (and from Bhutan too, for that matter) was the reverse of Campbell's. The 7th and 8th Maharajahs, who occupied the *gaddi* during this period, had good reason to remember the Nepalese invasion of Sikkim in 1788, when General Jahar Singh had succeeded in occupying the greater part of Sikkim, all of the country, in fact, west of the river Teesta, including the Sikkim Terai and the capital, Rabdentse, and had very nearly captured the (6th) Maharajah and his family (6). The Nepalese military occupation of western and southern Sikkim continued until 1817, when the treaty of Titalia brought the Anglo-Nepalese War to an end, and, at the same time, restored to Sikkim a substantial part of the territory that it claimed (7). Such an impression had the Nepalese military occupation made on the Sikkim Durbar that Nepalese were, thereafter, strictly excluded from Sikkim; and in accordance with this policy, when Hooker, the botanist, entered Sikkim from Nepal in 1848 with an escort of "two Ghorka sepoys", he was required to send them back to Nepal at once (8). Sikkim continued to be exclusively inhabited by the three races Lepchas, Bhutiyas (or Sikkimese Tibetans), and Limbus, known in Tibetan as Lho-Mon-Tsong-sum, for the greater part of the last century (9). It was not until 1875 that, in defiance of the official policy, a number of Sikkimese noblemen began to introduce Nepalese into southern Sikkim, in collaboration with Newar merchants in Darjeeling, with some support from the British administration there (10). For a number of years there was resistance to these new colonies; indeed, in 1879 (or 1880) there was a clash at Rhenock, with some loss of life, between the Phodong Lama (patron of some of the immigrants) and his supporters and those who wished to preserve the status quo, especially the monks of Pemiongchi, the senior monastery (11).

All resistance to immigration came to an end with the appointment of Claude White as Political Officer, Sikkim, in 1889. Like Campbell in the infant settlement of Darjeeling fifty years earlier, it was White's policy to enlarge the taxable population of Sikkim in order to finance his road-building, bridge-building, and school-building schemes: "...in about ten years the revenue was raised from Rs. 8000, or little over £500 per annum, to Rs. 2,200,00, or about £150,000. But the country was very sparsely populated, and in order to bring more land under cultivation, it was necessary to encourage immigration, and this was done by giving land on favourable terms to Nepalese, who, as soon as they knew it was to be had, came freely in."(12). His policy was so successful that by the time of the 1891 census 15,925 Nepalese had settled in Sikkim; the Lho-Mon-Tsong-sum, on the other hand, totalled 14,012; so, even before the end of the last century, they had become a minority in Sikkim (13). The proportion of Lepchas, with a population of 5,762, had now declined from an estimated 60% in 1840 to less than 19%.

The British administration had decided that the Lepchas were unsuited to the economic developments of the latter half of the 19th century: "The Lepchas ... claim to be the autochthones of Sikhim Proper ... . They are above all things woodmen of the woods, knowing the ways of birds and beasts, and possessing an extensive zoological and biological nomenclature of their own. Of late years, as the hills have been

stripped of their timber by the European tea-planter and the pushing Nepalese agriculturist, while the Forest Department has set its face against primitive methods of cultivation, the tribe is on the way to being pushed out. The cause of their decline is obscure. There is no lack of employment for them: labour is badly wanted and well paid; and the other races of the Darjeeling hills have flourished exceedingly since European enterprise and capital have made the cultivation of tea the leading industry of the district. The Lepchas alone seem to doubt whether life is worth living under the shadow of advancing civilisation, and there can, we fear, be little question that this interesting and attractive race will soon go the way of the forest which they believe to be their original home"; Risley, writing these words in 1894, clearly believed that the Lepchas had out-lived their time (14).

Very different was the view of Hooker, the botanist, later, as Sir Joseph Hooker, to become Director of Kew Gardens (1865-85); on his first visit to Sikkim, in 1848, before the Lepcha tribe had begun to vanish, he wrote: "it is always interesting to roam with an aboriginal, and especially a mountain people, through their thinly inhabited valleys, over their grand mountains, and to dwell alone with them in their gloomy and forbidding forests, and no thinking man can do so without learning much, however slender be the means at his command for communication. A more interesting and attractive companion than the Lepcha I never lived with: cheerful, kind, and patient with a master to whom he is attached, rude but not savage, ignorant and yet intelligent; with a simple resource of a plain knife he makes his house and furnishes yours, with a speed, alacrity, and ingenuity that wile away that well-known long hour, when the weary pilgrim frets for his couch. Except for drunkennesss and carelessness, I never had to complain of any of the merry troop; some of whom, bareheaded and barelegged, possessing little or nothing save a cotton garment and a long knife, followed me for many months on subsequent occasions, from the scorching plains to the everlasting snows. Ever foremost in the forest or on the bleak mountain, and ever ready to help, to carry, to encamp, collect, or cook, they cheer on the traveller by their unostentatious zeal in his service, and are spurs to his progress" (15).

For comparison with Hooker's commendation of the Lepchas I give the practical view of the administrator towards the typical Lepcha method of cultivation: "When the District was first taken over by the British administration, the hill portion was almost entirely under forest. The only cultivation was that of *jhuming* or burning down the forests, in the interior of the hills by Bhutias and Lepchas and on the foothills by Meches and other aboriginal tribes...

Jhum cultivation has now entirely disappeared owing to forest reservation, appropriation of land for tea cultivation and extension of plough cultivation to the remaining land. This last is a far more efficient method of cultivation than *jhuming* but requires the application of considerable hard labour both to render the land suitable for this kind of cultivation (i.e. by terracing, revetting and irrigating it) and in the performance of the various operations of agriculture. The Nepalis were far more assiduous and skilful in this superior method and consequently displaced or speedily outnumbererd the original inhabitants" (16).

Since, in its *jhuming* operations, a large section of Sikkim's population was more or less constantly on the move, it is not surprising that the *Gazetteer of Sikhim* should note that "there are no towns or even villages in Sikhim; the nearest approach to the latter is to be found in the collection of houses near the Rajah's palaces at Tumlong and Gantok, round some of the larger monasteries, such as Pemiongchi, Tashiding, Phensung, and a few others at the copper mines of Pache near Dikkeling and the bazaars at Rhenock, Pakhyong, the Rungeet and Rumman" (17). Jungles, in which to pursue their semi-nomadic manner

of life, were to the Lepchas as essential as Highland cattle were to the Highlanders of Scotland before the "Forty-five Rebellion", or the buffalo to the Plains Indians of North America; once they had been deprived of these, the bases of their economy, each of these three peoples was doomed.

My purpose in giving this introductory historical sketch has been to set the stage for the appearance of the principal actor, as it were, the author of this "quasi-autobiography". My brief survey covers roughly the period from 1839 to the year of Mr Arthur Foning's birth, 1913, during which time the status of the Lepcha people changed dramatically. At its beginning they were the most numerous of the three races of Sikkim, with a sizable share in government, having, as members of their own race, the former Prime Minister (*chóng-zât*, Tib. *phyag-mdzod*) Bho-lod, whose assassination, in 1826, led to the Sikkim civil war (and, indirectly, to the Darjeeling grant), his brother Prime Minister Chothup, alias Satrajeet (from his seventeen victories), the hero of Sikkim's resistance to the Nepalese invasion, and their sister Anyo Gyelyum, married to the 6th Rajah (18); by the end of that period they had been reduced to a minority position among a largely immigrant population in a country where deforestation was making the appearance of their homeland increasingly unfamiliar to them. It was at that time, when the decline of the Lepchas had become abundantly clear, that Mr Foning was born; in *Lepcha, my Vanishing Tribe* his has been the melancholy task of chronicling the reaction of the Lepchas to their diminishing political and social importance and to the threat to their tribal identity. This task his university education, in Calcutta, four hundred miles away from his home and people, has enabled him to do dispassionately and without rancour.

There are two counts on which the author is exceptionally well qualified to give an account of the changing fortunes of his tribe during the 20th century: language and religion. The number of Lepchas who can speak fluently in their mother tongue is continually decreasing as Nepali, the *lingua franca* of Sikkim and the Darjeeling District of West Bengal, continues to spread. Even smaller is the number of Lepchas who can read and write it in its own script; and they are largely confined to the older generation. The importance of the author's three chapters "Our Rong literature", "Characteristics of our mother-tongue, the Lepcha language", and "Lepcha Buddhist scriptures" is, accordingly, so much the greater.

The second of these chapters for the most part deals with stylistic features of the language, especially ' "Tung-bor" or innuendo', the peculiarly Lepcha use of allegorical language; the first and the third deal with the earlier literature, Buddhist, and therefore translated from Tibetan, and the Christian literature that followed it, translations of parts of the Bible together with the Bible stories of Father Stolke, and grammars, dictionaries, and school primers (19).

The author discusses three theories that claim to account for the mysterious origin of the Lepcha script; but I find it difficult to resist the conclusion that it was devised to help in promoting the work of missionaries: Buddhist missionaries representing three different sub-sects of the Nying-ma sect entered Sikkim from Tibet in the middle of the 17th century, and made sure of political support by enthroning Phuntshok Namgyal, a fellow-Tibetan, as *'Chö-gyal* (Skt. *Dharma-raja*) or "religious king"'(20); and his grandson Chador, one of the candidates for the honour of having devised the script, came under strong Buddhist influence during the years that he spent in Lhasa as a refugee from the Bhutanese invasion and occupation of Sikkim (around 1700-1707) (21).

The first people to write the Lepcha script were Buddhists; but the first people to print it were Christians: the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, had cast Lepcha fount by 1849 (22). The Christian missionaries were especially attracted to the Lepchas by their docile demeanour; and, besides, their

animism, with a veneer of Buddhism, made them less resistant to conversion than Buddhist Tibetans and Hindu Nepalese. The Christian missionaries were also struck by what they took to be parallels with the Old Testament: "Many of their legends were markedly similar to the Old Testament; they had, for example, their Adam and Eve (Fudong Thing and Nazong Nyu); they too were banished from their mountain home; the Tower of Babel (Tallom Parton) and the Deluge (Tendong Chyu) were familiar to them" (23).

The author's account of these three myths is in his chapter "Lungten Sung". Wisely, in my opinion, he does not try to relate them to the narratives contained in *Genesis* chapters 1-4, 11, and 6-8; for the similarity of the Lepcha myths to the Judaeo-Christian turns out to be fairly superficial. Itbu-mu, in the Lepcha Creation myth, is female, the Great Mother Creator; and her male and female creations inhabited the country of the gods until they were relegated to the earth because they had taken to co-habiting, and were breeding demon offspring (24).

The separation of a single human language into a great diversity of languages that is essential to the *Genesis* legend ("7. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech") has no place in the Lepcha myth: in their legend it is a particular, and foolish, tribe of Lepchas, the Naongs, who attempt to build a tower, and hook it to the sky-ceiling, but fail because the instructions of those on the top were misheard by those far below, with the result, in this case, that the tower was brought crashing to the ground (25).

Similarly, Noah's ark is essential to the Biblical legend of the Flood, with the simultaneous preservation of specimens of the animal kingdom; "and every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven"; but there is no Noah's ark in Foning's account of the flood suffered by the Lepchas. On the contrary, when the rivers Rong-it and Rong-nyu (Rungeet and Teesta) were blocked, giving rise to a great flood, it was a partridge that saved those Lepchas who had managed to take refuge on Mount Tendong, between those two rivers, by making an offering of brewed millet seeds (26).

In his chapter "Ancestors" the author gives an account of the major influence that Christianity has had not only on his family directly but also on his tribe, beginning with the arrival in Kalimpong, in his grandfather's time, of the Rev. Mr W. Macfarlane, in 1880. Macfarlane died there seven years later leaving the work of the Mission to the Rev. Mr Sutherland and the Rev. Mr (later Dr) Graham, who arrived in Kalimpong in 1880 and 1889 respectively (27). In those early days of the Church of Scotland in Kalimpong and Darjeeling the new religion had the effect of maintaining the tribal identity of the Lepchas; this was because there were few converts to Christianity other than Lepchas; so that it was possible to write: "... Graham rarely differentiated between Nepalese and Lepchas. Yet in his early days the word Christian was synonymous with the word Lepcha, and doing anything good for a Christian meant doing good for a Lepcha" (28). Some of the parts of the Bible that the Baptist Mission Press had printed in 1849, *St John* and *The Book of Genesis and part of Exodus in Lepshá*, were re-printed in 1872 and 1874; *The Gospel of Luke in Lepcha*, translated by the Rev. Mr Dyongshi Sada with the help of Graham himself and Mr David Macdonald, was printed in 1908; and a catechism was printed in 1903 (29).

Later, however, as more Nepalis and Tibetans became converts, Christianity had the reverse effect; for marriage partners were now chosen largely for their compatibility in religion; Christians tended to marry Christians regardless of difference in race. Even leaders of the Lepcha community like Anyu Babuni Sahiba (Mrs David Mohan), prominent in the author's list of acknowledgements, and Mr J. Rongong married outside their tribe (30). It was seldom that the children of these mixed marriages learnt to speak Lepcha; and, apart from a re-print of *St Luke* in 1953, translations of the Bible ceased to be printed (31).

Though his upbringing was Christian, Mr Foning has retained his respect for the traditional priesthood of his tribe, *bongthing* and *mun*. He devotes a fairly lengthy chapter, "Keepers and custodians", to a sympathetic study of this characteristic aspect of Lepcha life, which had managed to co-exist with Buddhism. The chapter begins: "We know our gods, we revere and respect them; we also know and are afraid of the malignant spirits and devils that roam and pester our world; yet, being humans, we are unable to do anything to protect ourselves directly. This handicap we mind least, because we know, and are certain, that from the very first days of creation our Itbu Debu Rum, 'the Great Creator', has made necessary arrangements for us to face these difficulties and obstacles. The institution of the Muns and Bongthings is devised and directed to this end. They, as had been originally ordained, have the power to communicate with the gods, as well as with the Mungs or the devils and the demons. On our behalf, they intercede with the gods, and also exhort or appease the different mungs or devils; so that we humans may be left unharmed" (32).

It would appear, from this account of the functions of the *bongthing*, that the Lepchas whom Macfarlane, Sutherland, and Graham set out to convert to Christianity towards the end of the last century would have had little difficulty in accepting Jesus the miracle-worker into their existing scheme of religious concepts, as an exceptionally powerful *bongthing*.

It is not difficult to find parallels, even in the Mediterranean world of the Gospels, for the activities of demons and devils that harass and beset the Lepchas far away in the Himalayas: "When the even was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his words, and healed all that were sick" (*Matthew*, 8, 16). Foning has described one of the functions of the *bonghting* as being "to appease the different mungs or devils"; a remarkable example from the Gospels of negotiation with devils is that undertaken by Jesus on behalf of "two men possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass that way" (*Matthew*, 8, 28); the devils prevailed on Jesus to permit them to enter a herd of swine, whereupon the unfortunate creatures, unwilling participants in a miracle, rushed to their destruction in the sea (a congregation of Lepchas, a people remarkable for pig-breeding and pork-eating, would, I suspect, have been too distressed by the thought of so much good meat going to waste to appreciate the curing of the two lunatics).

The author recounts a successful feat of exorcism attributed to his grandmother; she got rid of a devil from an unapproachable cave in Parvong village, near Kalimpong, that was suspected of being responsible for a number of infant deaths. A huge boulder hurtling down the rock face was hailed as proof of his *mun* grandmother's success in exorcising the demon.

Similarities between faith-healing and exorcism in Christianity, on the one hand, and the ministrations of *bongthings* and *muns* in the religious life of the Lepchas, on the other, make it difficult for me to sympathize with the attitude of some Christian Lepchas towards the activities of tribal priests whom their ancestors in the recent past looked up to with respect and awe (33). Fortunately for those of his readers who are anxious to learn something of the formerly influential but now waning role of the tribal priest-hood the author is not one of these: he freely admits to having sought the services of *bongthings* and *muns*; he is aware of degrees of expertise among them in the fields of exorcism and prediction; but even the less effective among them he accepts as worthy of respect. In other words he finds it possible to be a Christian without sacrificing his cultural heritage as a Lepcha; similarly,

in earlier times, when Lepchas first encountered Tibetan Buddhist missionaries, many of them were able to accommodate their traditional religious attitudes and practices to the requirements of the new faith from the north and east.

Nineteenth-century Christian missionaries seem to have been less accommodating in their attitude towards Lepcha animism than their seventeenth-century Buddhist predecessors: "Another powerful obstacle to the missionary is the gross superstition of the heathen. As the preachers move about they find the entrance for the Gospel message hermetically sealed by many customs antagonistic to its spirit, and strong because hoary and respected from ancestral usage. Demonolatry prevails in these mountains among all the races, irrespective of the religious system with which they claim connection. To the aboriginal Lepcha, the rites of religion are chiefly valuable in averting the anger or malice of an evil spirit as shown in the illness of a dear one, and all sickness is caused by such possession" (34). Minto describes Graham's attitude in those days as: "To many he was like a crusading knight, fighting for 'the cause' against the forces of ignorance, evil, and superstition. It was a role that Graham liked and fostered by seeing that his supporters were well fed with statistics which at that time were the concrete signs of a missionary's successful impact on the enemy's ranks" (35).

It would be unfair to Graham to treat the above passage as typical: "Even in his early days of district work it appears that he did not convert by preaching a non-compromising faith, but rather tried to fit the Christian message subtly into the traditions and beliefs of the Lepchas in particular. In other words, on paper for the outside world he conformed to the pattern of the missionary of his day - the pattern expected by the Guild in Scotland - but in fact, perhaps even unknown to himself, there was a broadening of his views through his love of his fellow-men and his sympathy with their creeds regardless of their race" (36).

Possibly, even in their decline, the Lepchas' influence on Graham was as great as his influence on them, replacing certitude by humility.

Notes and References

(1) Mainwaring, Col. G.B., 1876, *A Grammar of the Róng (Lepcha) Language* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press), especially pp. xii-xv.
(2) *Darjeeling, Bengal District Gazetteers*, 1947, A.J. Dash (Ed.) (Alipore: Bengal Government Press), 49.
(3) *Darjeeling*, 1949, 113, 49.
(4) *Darjeeling*, 1947, 77, 49, 52.
(5) *Sikhim, The Gazetteer of*, 1894 (Calcutta: The Bengal Government Secretariat, 259; cf. also Hamilton, F.B., 1819. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (reprinted New Delhi: Manjusri, 1971): "my informant thinks that of the whole population [of Sikim] three-tenths were Bhotiyas, five-tenth Lepchas, and two-tenth Limbus" (118).
(6) *Sikhim*, 1894, 18; cf. also Maharajah (Thutob Namgyal) and Maharani of Sikkim, 1908, *History of Sikkim* (typescript), 49.
(7) Maharajah, 1908: "But now if the treaty is actually agreed to by your [East India Company] Government, I pray that the boundary between Sikkim and Gurkha territories be laid at Timar Choten if possible. Next best, the Arun river, and least of all Milighu, Dhankote [Dhankuta] as middle, Shangdi-jo[n]g, down to the Kanika [Kankai] Terai rivers" (p. 57); but "the Raja had to be content to see his western boundary thrown back from the Kankayi to the Phalut range and the Mechi river" (*Sikhim*, 1894, 19).
(8) Hooker, Sir J.D., 1854/1905. *Himalayan Journals* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co.), 204.
(9) (i) Lho (Tib. *lho*) 'south' distinguishes the Tibetans of Sikkim and Bhutan as southerners (*lho-pa*); (ii) Mon (Tib. *mon*), the general name given to the lower slopes of the Himalaya, whence *mon-pa*, the Kiranti tribes of eastern Nepal, the Lepchas, and the non-Tibetan tribes of Bhutan, as inhabitants of *mon*; (iii) Tsong: members of the Limbu tribe, possibly from the Tibetan *gtsang*, 'Tsang', one of the central provinces of Tibet, on the supposition that it was from Tsang that the Limbus originated, or, more likely, from the Tibetan *tshong* 'trade', 'commerce', on account of their having been the main cattle merchants and butchers of Sikkim (*Sikhim*, 1894, 37); (iv) sum (Tib. *gsum*) 'three' (cf. Jäschke, H.A., 1881/1934. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner), 602, 420, 432, 589; cf. also Grünwedel, A., 1898. *A Dictionary of the Lepcha-language* compiled by the late General G.B. Mainwaring, revised and completed by Albert Grünwedel, Berlin (Berlin: Unger Brothers), 381, 312-3.
(10) Maharajah, 1908: "But in the year 1875 (Sing-phag, Wood-boar year) Cheebu Aden Lama acted in direct defiance of the above orders, by allowing Paharias (Gurkhas) to settle in the lands of Chakoong, Rishi, and Ramam rivers" (p. 74).
(11) Maharajah, 1908, 81-2; but *Sikhim*, 1894, gives the year as 1880 for "the disturbances and fight at Rhenock"(p. 25).
(12) White, J.C., 1909. *Sikhim and Bhutan* (London, [re-printed Delhi: Vivek Publishing House, 1971]), 27.
(13) *Sikhim*, 1894, 27.
(14) *Sikhim*, 1894, i-ii.
(15) Hooker, 1854/1905, 123.
(16) *Darjeeling*, 1947, 102.
(17) *Sikhim*, 1894, 4.
(18) *Sikhim*, 1894, 17-19.
(19) Stolke, Fr B., 1977. *sóng-gyó nám-thár sa sung* (*Old Testament Bible history*) (Kalimpong: Mani Printing Works); another contribution to literature on Lepcha by this remarkable German-Lepcha family is a manuscript Lepcha-English dictionary, undated, and possibly earlier than Grünwedel, 1898: School of Oriental and African Studies Library, ms. 173492, attributed to William Stölke (1849-c. 1910), son of Lutz Stölke, a Moravian missionary, from Gläven, Brandenburg, Prussia, and one of the earliest settlers in Darjeeling (1841), who later planted out Steinthal tea estate.
(20) *Sikhim*, 1894, 249.
(21) Maharajah, 1908, 26-30. One of the most common, and possibly the oldest, of the Lepcha Buddhist texts, *ta-she sung*, legends of Padma Sambhava, has been published in part, in roman script, by A. Grünwedel: *Ein Kapitel des Ta-she-sung*, (Berlin 1896); "Drei Leptscha Texte, mit Auszügen aus dem Padma-than-yig und Glossar" [sic; *thang*],*T'oung-pao*, 7, (1896), 526-61 (cf. R. Shafer, ed., 1957. *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan languages* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 152); and "Excurs: Das Suppâradschâtaka in Padmasambhava's Legendenbuch", *Veröffentlichungen aus dem Königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde*, 5 (1987), (Berlin: Geographische Verlagshandlung Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 105-26.

R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz has listed 23 copies of the *ta-she sung* in his catalogue of the van Manen collection (cf. also Richardus, P., 1989. *The Dutch Orientalist Johan van Manen* (Leiden: Kern Institute), 34.
(22) The first work to be printed in the newly devised fount was the Gospel according to *St Matthew* (Bible Society Library, London, no. (6323) 1031, 1849); the translators, W. Start, formerly an Anglican clergyman, and Carl Gottlieb Niebel, a German Baptist, had earlier (1845) produced a lithographed version, at Takvar, near Darjeeling (Rennie, D.F., 1866. *Bhutan and the story of the Dooar War* (London: Murray [reprinted New Delhi: Bibliotheca Himalayica, 1970]), 367-9, 373-6.
(23) Minto, J.R., 1974. *Graham of Kalimpong* (Edinburgh: Blackwood), 29.
(24) Several rather different accounts are given in Siiger, H., 1967. *The Lepchas*, I (Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark), 112-14; cf. also Hermanns, M., 1954. *The Indo-Tibetans* (Bombay: K.L. Fernandes), 33-7.

(25) Cf. also Mainwaring, 1876, xx, and Hermanns, 1954, 42-4.
(26) A version closer to the Bible narrative appears in Mainwaring, 1876, xx; four different versions appear in Hermanns, 1954, 42-4.
(27) Manuel, D.G., 1914. *A Gladdening River* (London: A. and C. Black; Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark), 16, 32.
(28) Minto, 1974, 29-30.
(29) *The Gospel according to Luke* (Calcutta: Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society) (Lepcha text); *Lepcha catechism* (Calcutta: Church of Scotland Eastern Himalayan Mission) Lepcha text; cf. also Klafkowski, P., 1980. "Rong (Lepcha), the vanishing language and culture of eastern Himalaya", *Lingua Posnaniensis*, XXIII, 105-18, but especially 114-16.
(30) Klafkowski, 1980, 106, 113-14.
(31) *The Gospel according to Luke*, 1953. (Bangalore: The Bible Society of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon) [Lepcha text]; another religious book, *Lepcha hymn book*, was printed in 1958 (Calcutta: E.H. Church Board of the Eastern Himalayan Church Council) [Lepcha text].
(32) cf. Siiger, 1967, I, 143-7.
(33) Darjeeling, 1947 gives the number of Christian Lepchas in Darjeeling District as 2,559, a proportion of 35% of a total of 7,269 (1941 census).
(34) Graham, Rev. J.A., 1897. *On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands* (Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark; London: A. and C. Black) 76.
(35) Minto, 1974, 27.
(36) Minto, 1974, 193-4.

ARCHIVES

Himalayan Archives in Paris
Part two

Lucette Boulnois

THE COLLECTIONS ON NEPAL IN BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE

The Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library) in Paris, rightful heir to the Royal Library of French kings, has as its first duty to keep copies of anything published in France (the Dépôt Légal system, founded in XVIth century by the French king François Ier); consequently all French books and periodicals are automatically available there; it is also rich with manuscripts, from the Middle Ages to nowadays, French and foreign; but the Library may also be considered as a good international library, having bought the best foreign books, covering a vast range of topics in various languages. Among others: it has a collection, not insignificant, on Nepal and a rich collection on Tibet.

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