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The Costumes and Ornaments of the Tribes of Kameng District, Arunachal Pradesh

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Introduction :

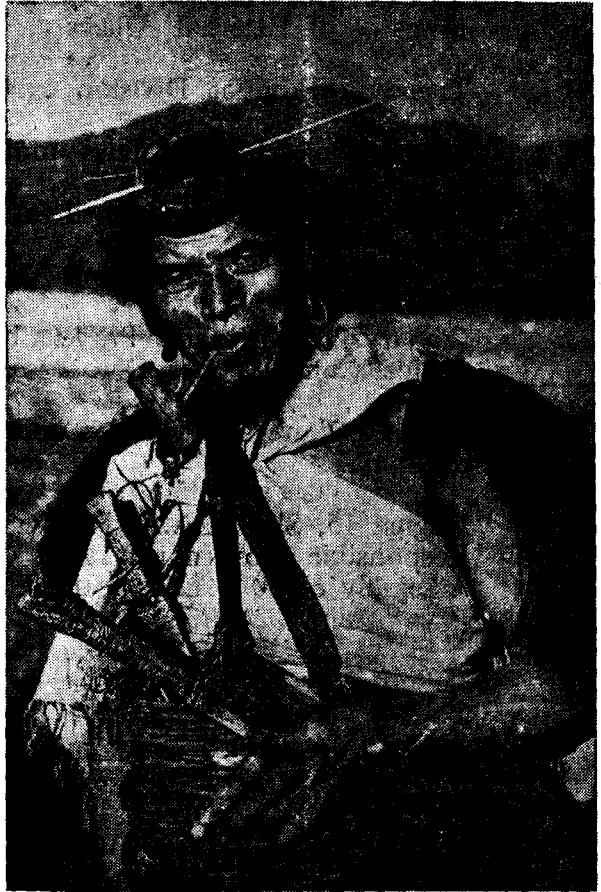
Arunachal Pradesh is the home of some twenty major tribes each having a number of sub-tribes and Kameng District is the home of the Bangnis, Sulungs, Mijis, Akas, Khowas, Monpas and Sherdukpens.

I. The Bangnis :

The Bangnis (pop. over 25,000 in 1971) are a major group of tribal people in Kameng District. They mostly occupy the north-eastern parts of the District and are mainly agriculturists.

Costume :

The costume of the Bangnis is very simple. The males keep their hair long after 12 or 13 years of age, while the females let their hair grow from the age of 5 or 6 years. Most of them make loose 'buns' at the back of their heads though some of them keep the pigtail (*dompiya*) hair-style generally plaited around their heads. The males, on the other hand, make a 'bun' on the forehead which is called *podum*. Combing by bamboo combs (*tafi*) is, however, done by all, but the use of hair-pins (*silak*) is only con-



A Bangni man in typical Costume

Important Dates

- 1914 North East Frontier Tract formed.
- 1943 Post of Adviser created.
- 1950 Great Earthquake (Aug. 15)
- 1954 Six Frontier Divisions became NEFA under the President of India with the Governor of Assam as Agent. Administered by the Ministry of External Affairs.
- 1957 Tuensang Frontier Division excluded to join Nagaland.
- 1965 Ministry of Home Affairs took over NEFA.
- 1969 December 3, Agency Council formed.
- 1972 November 7, North-Eastern Council formed.
- 1972 January 20, Arunachal Pradesh became a Union Territory under a Chief Commissioner. October 6, five Counsellors appointed.
- 1974 April 20, Itanagar, the new Capital, inaugurated by the President of India.
- 1975 August 15, Shri K.A.A. Raja appointed as first Lt. Governor. Responsible Government with Council of five Ministers and Assembly of 30 MLA's formed.
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fined to females. Though males traditionally keep long hair, now-a-days all school-going boys cut their hair short at intervals, combing it regularly and even using hair oils available in the markets.

Every grown-up Bangni male has the *podum*, a plaited hair bun which protrudes over the forehead. A piece of coloured thread (*domcho*) is wound round the *podum* in several coils. A wicker-work cane helmet (*biyopa*) is invariably worn by every grown-up male as a head-dress. This is surmounted by the beak of a hornbill (*paga-phibung*) or (*paga-palo*) as an ornament. Moreover, a few white and black-barred hornbill feathers (*paga-gang-lang*) or (*paga-lini*) are stuck at its posterior end for added decoration. Skewers (*domlo*) either of bamboo (*awey*) or metal are pierced across the *podum* horizontally. Metallic skewers are normally made of brass, iron, silver, and aluminium and such skewers are known as *nesing domlo*, *silo-domlo*, *tangka-domlo* and *hatu-domlo* respectively. The length and diameter of such a skewer would be about 9 inches and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch respectively. Besides the above, a narrow piece of aluminium is fitted over the helmet for decoration as well as to provide protection for the helmet. Moreover, a thin band of woven cane studded with small locally-made metal discs is worn around the head. This is called *damping*.

Tattooing (*sopa-pana*) for bodily decoration is uncommon among males though it is common with women who mostly make such tattoo marks on their cheeks and chins with a locally made pigment known as *ango-jilak*. The ink required for the purpose is prepared out of three ingredients—the gum of the pine tree, the leaves of the *angu* tree and the fruits of the *dambu-bambe* tree. For tattooing they do not observe any taboo, but it is to be done before the attainment of puberty. There are no professional tattooers and tattooing is done by any grown-up girl or woman of the village. Painting (*taru-pana*), on the other hand, is indulged in occasionally with a locally-made black viscid fluid by small boys and girls and women who daub it on their cheeks and chins at the time of their local festivals and marriages.

The traditional lower costume of a male Bangni is a locally made coarse loin-cloth (*haging*) which is tightly fastened at the waist with a finely woven cane belt (*hagi-gingfa*). However, some of them wear a rough skin belt (*hukhye*) or (*hukpa*) at their waists. The coarse cloth worn as a mantle for the body from the shoulders to the calves with its ends fastened with a bamboo pin is known as *longje* or *aje*. The term *longje* or *aje* varies according to locality. However, such a coarse cloth is replaced sometimes by mill-made black markin and coloured sheets and sometimes by Assamese endi silk cloth. Shirts, pants, vests, coats and footwear are worn normally by those who are Government employees or by the educated. A piece of coloured thread (*larom*) or a bead chain (*sangka-larom*) in several coils is invariably worn by males at the juncture of their calves and knees.

Whenever a male Bangni goes out anywhere he invariably takes a finely woven cane bag (*nara*) on his back for carrying food and other necessary things. Similarly, another cane bag (*acho-seke*) which is a bit smaller in size than the *nara* with similar workmanship is also hung from the shoulder to keep bamboo combs and other necessary things. Two skin bags, namely *seke* and *soku*, are taken invariably for keeping fire-making and smoking articles. Apart from the above, a small knife (*gessi*) and a medium-sized dao (*sege*) are taken by males. A *sege-sala*, which is a bigger type of dao, is taken occasionally. The bow (*ari*) and arrows (*apuk*) in a quiver (*agik*) are common equipments for males. A fine cane ring (*karak*) is worn over the right palm and a coil of hair string (*lawe*) is worn on the left wrist to protect the wrist while releasing arrows for game. For ceremonial occasions, an *endi* silk cloth is worn by the local priests and cowrie shells studded in rows are also suspended across the chest from the right shoulder.

Like the males, the females also cover their bodies from shoulders to calves with a piece of locally made coarse cloth. Such a cloth is generally without any designs and borders. As the knowledge of weaving is very limited amongst them, therefore, in lieu of such a coarse cloth, mill-made black markin and coloured sheets are also often worn by them. A piece of narrow cloth (*pusu*) is fastened tightly around the waist as a waist-band but if such cloth is purchased from markets in the plains then by preference it would be of red colour. Moreover, the waist is girded with a cane belt which is decorated with some locally-made brass disc (*hufi* or *hukpi*) with a concentric embossed design and having a loop on the top of each disc. The ankles are also bound tightly with finely woven cane garters (*hakhyang*). Like their menfolk, Bangni women also wear the *larom*.

Ornaments :

The Bangnis are very fond of ornaments because ornaments are worn not only as body decorations but also to indicate their wealth and prosperity in society. While gold ornaments are not used, ornaments of brass, nickel, silver and aluminium are common. Amongst various ornaments the following ornaments deserve mention :

Rongkhya or *rongbing* is a bamboo earbob which is worn by both males and females. Likewise, *Gage* and *raji* are silver and aluminium earrings. *Gage* is studded with two or three red and green stones and is worn by both males and females both but *raji* is worn by females only. Similarly, *jai* is a chain of brass and it is worn on the earlobes by both males and females.

Lassi, a nickel ring and *kori*, a solid brass bangle, are both worn by males and females. *Koji* is a solid brass bangle and *takbung* a solid nickel bangle, and both are worn by males and females. Another type of bangle, the *kopem* is of thick brass with an indentation at the middle and *haru*

is a solid brass bangle. Both are worn by males and females on all occasions. *Kobung*, a solid nickel bangle, is worn only by males. *Koli*, *rupukota* and *sandi* are flat brass bracelets which are worn by both sexes. However, out of the above ornaments *rongkhya*, *gage*, *gai*, *lassi*, *takbung* and *kobung* are purchased from outside markets but the rest are made by the Bangnis themselves at their own village smithies although raw materials are purchased from markets in the plains of Assam.

Apart from the above, a number of coloured bead necklaces are worn by males and females but out of these the cheapest and most easily available coloured bead necklaces are *nilong*, *nikhya*, *nije*, *niyer*, *tomung*, *broto toje* and *nibo*. *Tungra* and *garpung* are also coloured bead necklaces, *tungra* being worn by males and *garpung* by females.

The bead necklaces mentioned above are, however, purchased from markets in the plains of Assam.

The most valuable and very rarely used coloured bead necklaces are *tado*, *dole*, *sangte*, *sungre*, *dotak*, *songne*, *hatong* and *kheri*. Such bead necklaces are also given by some parents as marriage gifts to their daughters.

II. The Sulungs :

The Sulungs (pop. c 4500) are a small tribal group inhabiting the north-eastern hills of Kameng District.

Costume :

The costume of the Sulungs is very simple and similar to that of the Bangnis. They too keep their hair long and gather it into 'buns' (*kajuje*) at the forehead like the *podum* of the Bangnis. The women on the other hand adopt a pig-tail hair style (*kajakbrey*) at the back of the head. Combing with bamboos (*beyak*) is a regular habit with the Sulungs. Like the Bangnis, also use skewers (*dongko*) of bamboo, brass, aluminium, or iron. Such skewers



Bangni girls

are respectively known as *massa-dongko*, *nesing-dongko*, *hatau-dongko* and *seje-dongko*.

Damping, a thin band of woven cane studded with small metal discs, is worn around the head by the males. Unlike the Bangnis, all adult Sulung males do not wear the cane helmet (*kajak*). Whenever it is worn, however, the helmet is surmounted by the beak and feathers of a hornbill. Occasionally someone may decorate his hair-bun with a wig of bear's hair (*setom-roking*). The Sulungs do not use any fat or grease for dressing their hair.

Tattooing as a mark of body decoration is prevalent in Sulung society but there is no hard-and-fast rule that one is to have tattoo (*sek*). It is a monopolised fashion of the females and is done by the girls as soon as they attain puberty and the marks are confined to the forehead, cheeks, chin

and nose in perpendicular lines. The pigment required for the purpose is also prepared by themselves out of two ingredients namely *bebi*, a locally available shrub and charcoal dust (*baivo*). The pigment is known as *kuwahang*. However, apart from tattooing, painting on the chin and cheek with a locally made black viscid fluid is done by the girls and women at the time of marriage and on other festive occasions.

The lower costume of a male Sulung is very simple being only a locally made indigenous coarse loin cloth (*lovak*) which is tightly fastened at the waist with a finely woven cane belt (*ahuk*). Another coarse cloth (*kameyit*) woven in an indigenous design out of the fibre of a shrubby nettle plant (*hyek*) is woven like the Bangnis' *aje* or *longje*. However, in lieu of the *kameyit*, mill-made coloured sheets and markin cloth are also popular among the male



Sulung braves

and female Sulungs. Some male Sulungs wear a kind of rough skin belt (*hukhwa*) at the waist over the coarse cloth. Normally, the male Sulungs do not wear vests, shirts, coats, pants and footwear but, however, nowadays some may prefer the above garments if it is within their capacity to procure them from the market. Like the Bangnis, the Sulungs also wear a coil of hair-string (*paire*) on the left-hand wrist and a number of bangles on the right wrist. However, like the Bangnis' *larom*, the Sulungs also fasten a kind of thread (*jung*) at the juncture of knees and calves.

Whenever a Sulung goes out he invariably takes a finely cane bag (*kada*) on his back for carrying food and other articles of daily use and besides the *kada* he also takes two other pouches—one cane pouch (*jai*) for keeping cigarettes, smoking pipes (*kangsang*) and bamboo combs and the other, a skin pouch (*sakai*) for keeping indigenous fire-making implements. Moreover, a very finely woven cane pouch (*iaikuwa*) is put inside the *sakai* in which aconite that is required for arrows from time to time is kept as with the Bangnis. A medium-sized dao (*che-abua*) and a small multipurpose knife (*sedau*) are hung invariably below the armpit in separate bamboo scabbards. However, a sword which is more formidable than the other two is kept in a cane scabbard and is hung occasionally below the armpit.

Like the males, the females wear a very simple dress, usually only locally woven coarse cloth (*kameyit*) which covers the body from the shoulder to the calves. However, like the males, the females also seem to show a preference for mill-made coloured sheets and markin cloths. A piece of narrow cloth (*ahik*) or a woven cane belt (*ahuk*) is worn invariably by the females as a waist band. Meanwhile, they are gradually taking to mill-made blouses too. The Sulungs do not have any traditional ceremonial dresses for males or for females.

Ornaments :

Various ornaments are worn by both males and females as part of body decoration though ornaments of gold are totally absent in Sulung society. The ornaments that are usually worn are mostly made of brass, nickel, aluminium and copper. Of the various ornaments used, the following deserve mention :

- (a) *rongrung* - a silver ear-drop worn by both men and women;
- (b) *lanai* - a nickel chain worn by men and women as an ear-ring;
- (c) *gabung* - a brass chain worn by both as a necklace;
- (d) *raje* - a small piece of wire, either of aluminium or copper, worn by both as an ear-ring of medium size;
- (e) *takbung* - a bangle of nickel used by both sexes;
- (f) *tak* - a thick brass bangle. This is also worn by both;
- (g) *koli* - a flat brass bangle used by women only;

- (h) *kotak* - a brass bracelet having on its dorsal side three or four ridges. It is worn only by women ;
- (i) *kopium* - a solid brass bangle worn by women only;
- (j) *haraktang* - a bracelet for women, and
- (k) *lachi* - a nickel finger-ring worn by both men and women.

Apart from the above ornaments, a number of coloured bead necklaces are worn by both men and women. The most common bead necklaces are *naikhya*, *bioto*, *taje*, *nailong*, *sango*, *halong*, *naiwa*, *naije* and *topung*. These bead necklaces are worn by both sexes. The ornaments mentioned above are purchased either from their Bangni neighbours or from markets in the plains of Assam.



Sulung girls

III. The Mijis :

The Mijis live in the valleys of the Pakesa and the Bichom rivers. They are a small group of people (pop. 3549) who call themselves Dhammai. In appearance and in their ways of life, the Mijis and their neighbours the Akas are almost the same and even from times immemorial inter-marriages have been prevalent between the two tribes.

Costume : Like those of the Bangnis and the Sulungs, the dress of the Mijis is simple. Like the others, they keep their hair long and the men tie it in a knot at the crown of the head. This is called *hou-glangma* or *o-glangma*. The women make loose 'buns' at the back of the head or alternatively adopt a pig-tail hair style. The traditional hair style has been abandoned by school boys who prefer having their hair cropped short at regular intervals.

The use of cosmetics, previously unknown, is now gaining popularity among the younger sections of the people.

Traditionally, men wear a kind of bamboo-ringcap (*supho-sang*) decorated with poker-work designs and the leaf of a kind of bamboo (*wecholeura*) is stuck in it. The rich may wear a silver fillet (*rago*) over the cap. Such ring caps are often decorated with the tail feathers of the falcon (*gliang-demrai*). A priest on the other hand will in his professional capacity, as at festivals and on other ceremonial occasions, wear a bamboo-ring cap with poker-work designs and, in addition, wrapped round with tiger skin (*ting-angfre*) and decorated with the feathers of falcon and hornbill (*gejinemrai*) and some bamboo leaves (*chomoli*) are stuck in it. This special type of cap is known as *jang-hablong*.

Women wear a kind of silver fillet (*o-thau*) or (*hou-thau*) as head-gear. They also wear hair-tassels (*chili-nifrung* or *chili-dukbrung*) at the end of the pig-tail occasionally. In addition, small brass bells (*snameu*) may be attached to these tassels.

Tattooing (*takingthe*) is exclusively a fashion for women. It is normally done before the attainment of puberty, the tattooing being done on the forehead, nose and chin in perpendicular lines. The pigment required for the purpose is prepared either from the bluish soil (*nah-alo*) available near Chal-long village to which is added charcoal dust (*mebu*), or it may be prepared out of wheat leaf and charcoal dust. From the day the tattooing is done until she becomes a mother, a Miji maiden observes some taboo, abstaining from fish and meat.

Apart from tattooing, Mijis usually smear a kind of viscid fluid of a black colour (*bijang*) which is prepared out of the gum of the pine tree mixed with charcoal dust. Painting is done on the lips and the cheeks (*bijang-men* and *bijang-gung* respectively), particularly at the time of construction of new houses and at marriage ceremonies.

Weaving is an innovation among the Mijis and for this reason the occupation does not yield enough to meet their own requirements. For costumes they have had to depend mostly upon the plains of Assam whose markets supply them with the mill-made white markin cloth so much in demand among them.

The traditional costume of a male Miji consists of a number of articles that will be described here. One of these is the loin-cloth (*noba* or *dowang*) which is fastened at the waist with a cord (*nichido* or *dijithan*). Over this he wears a mill-made markin cloth which is fastened cross-wise in front of the body, the ends being brought round the back and over the arms and then pinned over the shoulders making a sleeveless attire for covering the body from the shoulders to the thighs. This is called *kobogi*. At the waist, another narrow piece of mill-made cloth, either white or red, is tied round over the *kobogi* like a waist-ban¹. This is known as *gechithansu* or *gubo-gechi-*

han respectively. Over the *kobogi* a full-sleeved shirt of markin cloth (*palo*), open in front, is worn. This covers the body from the shoulders to the knees. The *palo* is a common attire for males as well as females. If the *palo* is sew from *endi* silk cloth it is called *grija-palo* and if it is of white markin cloth then it is called *gubo-palo*. Moreover, another white markin cloth which is decorated with pretty patterns is tied round the shoulders to form a fold at the back for use as a bag. This is called *gridung*. A dao (*wachinfou*) in a sheath is tucked crosswise in the waist band and a small knife (*wachinju*) is carried by men. The big dao (*wai*) is taken occasionally. Whenever a male Miji goes out from home, he invariably takes a bow (*giri*) and arrows (*nu*) in a quiver (*gibiya*) with him. He also takes a cane bag (*sajang*) on his back and one small cloth bag (*deriyang*) or a small skin bag (*siphre-deriyang*) for keeping things of daily use. However, the left wrists of the males is wrapped invariably with a pad of hair (*panchi*) for protection of the wrist from the bow-string while arrow-shooting. The calves are encased in gaiters (*lailo*) of white markin cloth. The *lailo* is a common item of wear among the Mijis. It is fastened below the knees with a string (*laichini*) and just above the *lai chini* but below the knees are fastened chains of blue beads and such blue-bead chains are called *laidrang*. In fact, except for the priests, the Mijis do not have any special dress for festive or other ceremonial occasions. Apart from the colourful headdress, the local priest may also have in his possession the claw of the falcon (*gliang-laithen*), the casque and beak of the hornbill (*gijithu*), an axe-shaped metal supposed to be deposited by a thunder bolt (*sarium-phoblu*), the teeth of a tiger (*tingrangthu*), white stones (*piyungnu*) and teeth of a big fish (*saitu*). All the above articles are kept in a small wooden case known as *jithu* which is slung from the shoulders. *Khrik* or *logeu* is a body armour used to be worn at times of inter-village raids.

Dress for women : A long full-sleeved apparel (*geide*) is worn by women. This is sewn out of white markin cloth and it covers the body from the shoulders to the calves. Over the *geide*, a narrow piece of white or red markin cloth is worn as a waist band which is known as *chita* or *gechithan*. Over the *geide*, a *palo* (see above) is also worn by women. Nowadays new styles of dresses are noticeable among the females among which are the Sherdukpen *jidik* and *mukhak* and the Monpa *alung-todung* and *alung-khichen*.

Ornaments : Ornaments indicate the wealth and prosperity of an individual and as such they are greatly favoured by the Mijis. The ornaments which are worn by them are purchased from the Sherdukpens, Monpas and from markets in the plains of Assam. The Mijis do not have gold ornaments their ornaments mostly made of silver, nickel, aluminium and vari-coloured beads. The most common ornaments are the following :—

- (a) *Niungbin* — a big silver earbob. That made of bamboo is called *jyache* or *jogji*;

- (b) *gilan* — a silver ring worn on the fingers;
- (c) *bachibani* — a silver locket;
- (d) *jobonomo* or *jobodemen* — a small nickel rod twisted into several coils and worn on the ears.
- (e) *nemui* — a silver chest ornament;
- (f) *hou-thau* or *o-thau* — a fillet of silver;
- (g) *sakba* and *sampangau* — silver lockets, the *sakba* being worn at the chest and *sampangau* round the neck;
- (h) *niri* — a flat aluminium bangle. One called *nomuniri* is a simple silver bangle studded with red and green beads;
- (i) *norai-bieu* — a nickel bangle;
- (j) Bead chains of four-anna, eight-anna and one-rupee coins are common and such chains are known as *adoli*, *singki* and *buloo* respectively.



A Miji woman in her finery

- (k) *Techu* or *thasu* is a necklace of stone beads and
 - (l) *siphimomo* is a necklace of red and black beads worn by females.
- Ornaments (a) and (b) are worn by both men and women but the rest are worn by women only.

Apart from the above, a variety of bead necklaces are worn by the Mijis of which *fungpo*, *nichan*, *chempi* and *dumuji* are worn by men and *traka*, *chang-angsho*, *jangbenchempi*, *woli* and *mushu* are worn by both males and females.

The Akas :

The term 'Aka' is obviously an Assamese word which means 'painted' and this particular word might have been applied to this people who call

themselves 'Hrussos' from their custom of painting their faces with a black viscid fluid like their Miji neighbours.

The Akas (pop. 2345) live in 15 villages including *pams* and their country is bounded on the west by the land of the Sherdupkens, on the east by that of the Bangnis, on the north by the area inhabited by the Mijis and on the south by the Darrang District of Assam. They are mainly concentrated in the valley of the Bichom River.

Costume :

Like the Mijis, the Akas keep long hair and the men make a knot at the crown of the head while their women make either loose 'buns' at the back of the head or else do their hair in a pig-tail hair style. In fact, the hair style of the Akas and the Mijis is the same. While social custom demands that they keep their hair long, nowadays school-going boys crop their hair short at regular intervals. Like Miji women, Aka women also wear a fillet of silver chain-work (*lenchi*) and hair tassels (*khachijoh*). For head-dress, males usually wear a kind of ring-cap of bamboo (*musarga*). The local priest (*mugou*) ordinarily wears the same type of ring-cap but on ceremonial occasions this is covered with tiger skin and feathers of the horn-bill (*gudurim*) are stuck in it as with the Mijis' *jang-hablong*. This special type of cap is known as *sichikhepsi*. Ordinary ring-caps of normal use are generally decorated with poker-work designs and plumes of cock-tail feathers or bamboo leaves are very often stuck in them for added decoration.

Tattooing (*chatsofieu*) is quite common among Aka women. It is normally done before the attainment of puberty. There are no professional tattooers in their society but the work is done by any woman of the village. The pigment is prepared locally out of green leaves, particularly those of barley (*fu*). The blue-black permanent marks are seen on the forehead, nose and chin in perpendicular lines. From the day that the tattooing is done, Aka girls have to observe the same food restrictions as Miji girls. Besides the permanent tattoo marks, girls and women as well as boys very often paint their faces with resin (*muffori*) from pin (*muffohu*) which is blackened with charcoal dust, the preparation being known as *muffochie*. This is usually smeared on the cheeks and lips but at times of marriages this restraint is disregarded and boys and girls take the opportunity to smear each other's faces exuberantly.

The knowledge of weaving is very limited among the Akas and, therefore, they have to depend upon the the markets of Assam for supply of cloth. From their own looms they can barely produce enough cloth for their colourful bags.

The dress of the Akas, like that of the Mijis, is simple, not excepting the dress of local priests. They do not have any special dress for festive or ceremonial occasions though at marriage and important festivals they prefer garments of *endi* silk.

The traditional dress of the male Aka includes a loin-cloth (*woffu*) which is fastened at the waist with a cord (*sirbya*). Like the Mijis, the Akas wear a long piece of white mill-made markin cloth which looks like a sleeveless garment. This is called *gechu*. The lower part of the *gechu* has the appearance of a short skirt reaching down to below the knees. A full-sleeved jacket sewn out of white markin is next worn over it. The front of this jacket is kept open. This garment which reaches down to the hips or thighs is called *polu*. However, over the *gechu* but under the *polu* a narrow piece of either red or white markin cloth is tied round the waist like a sash (*sphieu*). Sashes of *endi* silk cloth are known as *gemso-sphieu*. The legs are encased in gaiters of white mill-made markin as protection against the bites of damdim flies (*simulium indicum*). These gaiters (*gudu*) are fastened below the knees with strings of blue beads (*fouchin*). The Akas also wrap pads of hair round their wrists.

A man occasionally takes a big dao (*wetzfi*) either stuck in his waist-band or slung from one shoulder. He also takes a finely-woven cane-bag (*sichir*) on his back for carrying food and other things of daily use. When he goes on a visit to another village or attends a festival, he may take a highly-prized sword (*kherpani*) with artistic designs upon it. The haft and scabbard of such a sword is made of silver. In addition, an ordinary dao (*wetz*) is stuck into his waist-band. Occasionally, he may take a bow (*kheri*) and arrows (*moo*) in his hands and a quiver (*thouvou*) on his back. The wearing of footwear, previously unknown, is now gradually gaining popularity.

When inter-village raids were common, a sturdy cane cap (*nilu*) and hard leather jacket (*fukra*) were worn by the participants. The leather jacket could cover the body from neck to waist.

Women wear a full-sleeved attire (*ge*) which covers the body from shoulder to ankle. This is sewn of mill-made white markin, its lower border bearing embroidery (*agi*) of red, blue and green yarn. Like their men-folk, women wear gaiters and sash. Sashes of *endi* silk are only worn occasionally. Over the *ge*, women wear a white cotton jacket (*polu-su*) with an open front. The border of this jacket is also designed with embroidery-work. It covers the body from shoulder to thigh. The demand for the Monpa *alung-todung* in preference to their *polu-su* and for the Sherdukpen *mukhak* and the Monpa *chudang* or *khichen* in preference to the indigenous *sphieu* is gradually increasing.

Ornaments : Like people of other tribes, the Akas are fond of ornaments which indicate wealth and prosperity in their society. All the ornaments they possess are purchased from the Sherdukpens and Monpas or from markets in the plains of Assam, as they themselves do not know the art of manufacturing them. As with the Mijis, Bangnis and Sulungs, ornaments used are

confined to those made of silver, nickel or aluminium an coloured bead necklaces.

Aka women wear a number of silver ornaments as well as necklaces of various colours. The most common silver ornament is the *melu* which is worn at the chest. *Rombing* is a large vase-shaped silver wear-bob worn by both men and women. *fusva* is a bamboo substitute for the *rombing*. *Lenchi* is a silver fillet worn only by women of well-to-do families. *Gejui* is a wristlet of silver and aluminium that is worn by women only. *Raga*, a flat silver fillet, is worn by well-to-do men round their bamboo ring-caps. *Bochibom*, *medele* and *chikbou* are silver chest ornaments worn by females only. *Limifou* another silver chest ornament used by women, looks like a locket.

Apart from the above, women wear a small solid nickel rod shaped into an earring.



An influential Aka youth with his Miji wife

A number of coloured bead necklaces are worn by both men and women. These are invariably purchased from markets in the plains of Assam. The men wear some large bead and stone necklaces which of called *dole*, *som* and *tithibo*. Women wear a number of necklaces of blue beads (*fufou*). Apart from the above, women wear bead necklaees interspersed with four-anna, eight-anna and one-rupee coins. These are respectively called *sikifiu*, *adhalifou* and *takafou*.

When a man or a woman dies, his or her wearing apparels are placed in the grave along with the dead body. On the other hand, all good ornaments are removed from the dead body at home and washed, for the first time after five days and again after ten days. After that the ornaments may be worn by any member of the family or preserved at home.

V. The Khowas :

The Khowas, who call themselves Buguns, are numerically a very small group of tribal people (pop. 703). They live in seven villages only, mainly concentrated in the Tenga Valley and in the neighbourhood of the area occupied by the Akas and Sherdukpens. They are primarily agriculturists and practise spirit worship.

Costume :

The costume of the Khowas is simple and similar to that of the Akas and the Mijis of this same district. Like the others, they also keep long hair which the males tie into a knot (*karjeb*) at the crown of the head and females similarly adopt a loose 'bun' (*korbune*) or a pigtail hair style (*kurukbai* or *kajong*) at the back of the head. The females of well-to-do families often wear a fillet (*bothong*) of silver chain work and the males wear a bamb o ring-cap (*muwai-raguwai*) as head-dress. As in other areas school-going boys no longer observe the custom of keeping long hair. Here, too, the use of cosmetics is prevalent although this was quite unknown to them.

Tattooing, a mark of body decoration is totally absent in Khowa society, but on the other hand, blackened pine-tree gum is often applied by the females to their faces for decoration.

The Khowas do not know the art of weaving and, therefore, they have to depend upon mill-made cloth like the Akas and Mijis. The costumes worn by the Khowas are usually sewn out of mill-made white markin cloth as well as the *endi* silk cloth of Assam. So far as dress is concerned mention



A Khowa woman of means. The various ornaments may be noted

may be made that in Khowa society there is no specific costume for dancing, marriage and other ceremonial occasions even for local priests (*phabi*). The normal under-garment for males is a loin cloth (*lawang*) fastened tightly at the waist with a string (*langtang*). The males cover their bodies from shoulder to knees either with a mill-made white markin cloth (*sorai-phatap*) or with *endi* silk cloth (*recheu-phatap*) and over it a piece of either mill-made markin cloth or *endi* silk cloth is worn around the waist as waist-band (*ratung*). A well-to-do man often sticks a silver sword (*loman-maduwajau*) into his waist-band. A full-sleeved jacket (*shabe*) which is sewn out of white mill made markin cloth is worn by the males over the *phatap*. The legs are covered from ankle to knee with gaiters (*ranak*) of white mill-made markin cloth sewn into a cylindrical shape.



A Khowa man

It is worn as a protection for the calves against the bites of dam-dim flies. The males wear a chain of beads (*rayan*) at the juncture of the calves and knees for decoration.

Females wear a kind of sleeveless garment that reaches from the shoulders to the ankles and is known as *bimi-singkhau*. The lower border of the *bimi-singkhau* is embroidered with red and blue yarn. The *bimi-singkhau* is sewn out of mill-made white markin cloth or *endi* silk cloth. It serves as the upper as well as lower garment of a female and, over it, a piece of narrow cloth is fastened around the waist as waist-band. It may be of either *endi* silk cloth or mill-made white markin cloth. Like that used by males, it is also called *rathong*. Over the *bimi-singkhau*, a full-sleeved jacket is worn by the females which is called *bimi-phatap*. The front of the *bimi-phatap* is kept open and it hangs down to the thighs. Like the *bimi-singkhau*, its lower border is also embroidered with red and blue yarn.

It is increasingly noticed that the costume of the males is undergoing some change. Mill-made and machine-sewn long pants, shirts, coats with foot and with modern wear are gradually replacing traditional hand-sewn costumes.

Ornaments :

No noteworthy feature like the wearing of flowers, feathers or any object of natural beauty is seen among the Khowas. On the other hand, ornaments are greatly in demand among both males and females. A number of ornaments valuable and common are given below :

- (a) *Mahen* is a silver ear-bulb and is worn by males and females.
- (b) *Babo* and *dorje* are necklaces of red and black beads worn only by males.
- (c) *Bamo-buji*, *bojibomo* and *gafit* are silver lockets. *Bamo-buji* is worn by males but *bojibomo* and *gafit* are worn by females.

- (d) *Khatnelek* is a locket of large size, its front side being made of silver and the reverse is of copper. The ornament is worn by females only.

- (e) *Jaruk* is also a silver locket but it is studded with coloured stones and is worn by females only.

- (f) *Thaumeyek* is a silver bangle but for decoration it is studded with some coloured stones. The ornament is worn by women.

- (g) *Chichorang* is a necklace of coloured beads, and *adiliang* is a necklace of eight-anna coins and both are worn by females only.

- (h) *Fungthawong* is a decorated silver ring and is worn on the fingers by both males and females.



A gafit

The Khowas do not know smithery and as such they have to depend upon others for the above ornaments which are mainly purchased from the Sherdukpens, Monpas or from markets of the plains of Assam. In conformity with the social norm, all have to put off their ornaments while attending interment of a dead body.

VI. The Sherdukpens :

The Sherdukpens are also a small group of tribal people (pop. 1639) who dwell in the Tenga valley south of the Bomdi La Range. They are mainly concentrated in three important villages—Rupa, Jigaon & Shergaon—beside a number of hamlets locally called *pam* or *lurek*, in the south-western part of Kameng District.

The Sherdukpens are agriculturists as well as traders¹. Their religion is more or less polytheism thinly veiled as Buddhist pantheism. As such, in practice, they may be said to be both Buddhist and animist because they observe the rituals of both cults simultaneously².

Costume :

Unlike that of the tribes so far described, the costume of the Sherdukpens is more elaborate and consists of more items. They also have special costumes for festivals and ceremonial occasions.

The Sherdukpens do not keep long hair as a rule. Up to the age of twelve, even girls have their hair cropped. On a festival day, after a girl comes of age, village girls come to her house and smear either grease, ghee or mustard oil on her head, meanwhile adjuring her to let her hair grow. This hair is allowed to hang down over her face like a veil and, after one year, the girls visit her again and help to tie her hair in a loose bun at the back of her head just above the nape of her neck. Women, both young and old, never cover their heads with cloth. Nowadays, the use of market hair oils is gradually replacing the earlier practice of smearing mustard oil (*jumuthou*) and yak fat (*jijimo*) on the head. From childhood, males cut their hair short at intervals and a skull cap made of yak hair is invariably put on. The cap is called *gurdam* by the people of Rupa and *chitpa-guthung* by those of Shergaon. This cap has short tassels projecting over the face of the wearer. For added decoration, a colourful band is fitted around the brim with a white cockade on one side. Females, as already stated, do not have any head-dress.

Tattooing is never done but like some of the tribes already mentioned

1. During the winter months, the Sherdukpens migrate to the foot-hills around Doimara where they engage in trade with people of adjoining areas.
2. The Sherdukpens were animists before conversion to Buddhism.

girls often smear their cheeks and lips with pine resin blackened with charcoal dust, for beauty and as a protection for the lips from dryness.

For dress, the males wear a piece of cloth called *sape* which may be either of white markin (*shrara*) or *endi* silk (*alung-eyo*). The two ends of cloth are pinned together at the shoulders to form a sleeveless garment which reaches down to the thighs. Over it, a full-sleeved jacket made of *endi* silk is worn. This jacket is called *ringa*. It comes in two sizes a shorter one that reaches down just to the hips and is made of *endi* (*alung-ringa*) and a long one (*gyak-ringa*) reaching to below the hips. That may be made of any cloth. The front of the jacket is kept open. A pair of pants (*dornak*) made of *endi* cloth is worn by men. It reaches down to the calves. A sash (*mukhak*) made of *endi* silk or coloured hand-loom

cloth is worn by men. Into this a 'dao' (*handu*) is invariably stuck. Occasionally a man may wear a highly-prized sword with a haft and scabbard of silver. This type of sword comes in two sizes, the larger one being called *songtho* and the smaller one *sapso*. Men usually carry a coloured cotton bag called *daung*. In addition, a piece of cloth decorated with pretty patterns may be tied round the shoulders to form a fold at the back to serve as a bag for carrying things of daily use. This is woven of the fibre of locally available plants known as *hongchong* and *hongche* and is called *bogre*. In the past, Sherdukpens did not use footwear though on festival days they might wear Monpa shoes. Gradually, the Sherdukpens are giving up the use of their traditional dresses and adopting modern clothes and footwear.



A Sherdukpen boy wearing a Monpa fur cap

The dresses of the Sherdukpens are many and varied. Their women-

folk possess considerable skill in weaving. Their looms are portable and they obtain their yarn from the plains of Assam.

Women wear a loose sleeveless garment reaching from shoulder to ankle which is called *singko*. This garment may be made of either *endi* silk or mill-made white cloth. Over the *singko*, a jacket (*lidik*) is worn whose lower border is embroidered with coloured yarn. The *lidik* is made of either *endi* or *muga* silk cloth obtained from the markets of Assam. Like the men, the women also wear a sash over the *singko*. A piece of either *endi* silk cloth or mill-made cloth with two ends pinned together at one shoulder and reaching down to the hips may also be worn. This is called *snap*. Gaiters of mill-made cloth (*liffi*) are worn as protection against the bites of damdim flies.

When a person dies, his or her dresses are removed from the body and immediately replaced by new ones. The old ones are given to Buddhist lamas to be ultimately given to needy people. The members of the deceased's family do not wear any caps up to seven days in honour of the dead and use no oil or water for their hair. Women also take off their ornaments. After seven days rites are performed at the village monastery (*lagang*) after which men are allowed to resume wearing of caps though the women have to observe taboo on the use of ornaments up to one year.

The Sherdukpens have special costumes for their dances during the *Chhekar* and *Khiksaba* festivals. The *Ajilamu* dance is performed during the *Chhekar* festival.

Dancing costumes :

For the popular *Ajilamu* dance, the dancers are five in number and arranged in three groups—*blangdok*, *sher-blangpa* and *tongpa-blangpa*. All the dancers are males though two of them dress as women. Of the five persons, one dressed as a king is called *Jali*, two others represent the demons *Nyapo* and *Nyaro* and the last two represent two sisters, *Lamukhau* and *Lamujan*.

Jali wears a bamboo ring-cap (*jaliguthung*) which is covered with red and blue cloth. To enhance the beauty of the cap, four cowrie shells adorn it. A precious bead (*khik*) and a locket (*gau*) are worn by *Jali* round his neck. From waist to ankles he wears a loose mill-made black cloth (*samsuma*). He also ties a sash round his waist over the *samsuma* and a pair of calf-length black trousers. Both *Nyapo* and *Nyaro* wear a jacket (*lidik*) each. They also wear yak-hair tassels (*samsunga*) at the waist; a pair of pants (*dornak*) of *endi* silk and bangles called *thasathring* and *ning-thring*. The two dancers wear turbans (*flongsa*) and into their silver belts (*korki*) they stick a *sapso* or a *songtho* (q.v.) While dancing, each takes a bamboo flag. *Lamukhau* and *Lamujan* wear coloured paper crowns (*renga*) that can be folded. All other dresses they wear are the same as those worn by *Jali*.

For the *Khiksaba* festival which is a non-Buddhist festival, the ministrations of six local priests (*khikjiji*) are required. Each priest wears a bamboo cap (*guthung*) which is shaped like the horns of a mithun and is wrapped round with white mill-made cloth. Six boys attend them as dancers. These boys also wear bamboo caps decorated with cock-tail feathers and each has a spear in his right-hand and a shield in his left.

Ornaments:

Like other tribal people of Kameng District, the Sherdukpens are also fond of ornaments not only as ornament but also as symbols of wealth and prosperity. The more common ornaments used by them are listed below :

- a. *Zazau* and *champang-gau* are both silver ornaments worn by women round their necks;
- b. *khikri* and *khik* are coloured bead necklaces worn by women;
- c. *thasa-thring* is a silver bangle beautifully studded with green and red stones; *ning-thring* is a flat silver bangle. Both of these are worn by women.
- d. *Phrok-pa* is a silver chest ornament and *pempling-jarok* is a silver locket normally studded with one red stone and four green stones;
- e. *Cho* is a silver bracelet studded with green stones and worn by women; *gau* is a silver locket studded with red and green stones and also worn only by women;
- f. *Zaruk* is a flat silver ornament studded with coloured stones. This is also worn by women;
- g. *Madoli* is a silver neck ornament worn by women but *soldop* is a silver ring worn on the fingers by both men and women.
- h. *Gamkharu* is a silver bracelet similar to that worn by women of Assam



A Sherdukpen youth in full dress

and normally purchased from markets in the plains of Assam. Women also wear a pin on the chest. This is studded with coloured beads.

The Sherdukpens do not have wide perforations on their ear-lobes as do the other tribes though a silver ornament called *singsung* is worn by women.

VII. The Monpas :

The Monpas of Kameng district (pop. c 27,500) are a simple, gentle and courteous people. They profess Mahayana Buddhism with perhaps an admixture of their original animistic beliefs. The cultural and religious life of the Monpas centres around the Tawang monastery (*Gom-pa*). The Monpas occupy the valleys to the north of Bomdi La lying at the foot of mountain ranges three thousand feet to eleven thousand feet high or more and their main concentration is around Tawang, and in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas. There is dialectical variation as between the Monpas of Tawang and those of the Dirang and Kalaktang areas of the district. The Monpas are agriculturists as well as traders.

Costume :

Like those of the Sherdukpens, the costumes of the Monpas are many and varied. Apart from the usual costumes they have special dresses for some festivals, religious dances and other ceremonial occasions. The dress of the Buddhist monks and nuns is also different from those of lay people.

From childhood, the people of either sex cut their hair short at intervals, though the females keep their hair long after seven years of age or so and adopt a pigtail hair style (*khrama*). On the other hand, the nuns (*anes*) and monks (*lamas*) keep their hair short.

The Monpas do not have any tattoo marks on any parts of their bodies as body decoration or any marks of paint. They, however, use a kind of oil on the hair and body which is known as *syangmar*. Apart from *syangmar* they use grease (*mar* or *moh*) & occasionally mustard oil (*yungkar-boimu*) or the oil of sesamum (*thau*) on their heads though nowadays they are using patented hair oils regularly. For hair dressing they use a bamboo comb (*rhui-sep*).

The art of weaving is known to Monpa women and their essential garments are normally woven by themselves except the *endi* silk cloth which is usually purchased from markets in the plains of Assam. Like the *chitpa-guthung* or *gurdam* of the Sherdukpens, the Monpas also wear a skull cap as head-dress which is made out of yak hair. This skull cap, worn by both men and women among Tawang Monpas, is called *ngam-jhum*.

This cap is worn only by males among Dirang Monpas who call it *chitpa-jamu*. However, another hat worn occasionally is called *tsering-kingkor-jomu* or *pakcha-jombu* by the Monpas of Tawang area but the Monpas of Dirang area who also occasionally use it call it simply *tsering-kingkor*. This hat is made of woollen cloth but it is decorated with the skin of wild cat (*nyaram-pheh*) and coloured embroidered cloth known as *gochen*. It is worn by both men and women in the Tawang area but it is worn only by the males in the Dirang and Kalaktang areas. Here, however, the women wear a kind of hat known as *gochen-jamo* which is made of smooth woollen cloth but is covered with coloured *gochen* cloth. The workmanship of this hat which has an opening at one side is of a high standard.

The men of Dirang and Kalaktang areas wear pants or short trousers (*dorna*) made of *endi* silk cloth. A similar article worn in the Tawang area and called by them *dorma* is made of yak pelt. The latter is red in colour.

Over the *dorna* or *dorma* a shirt and a jacket are worn by the males which are made out of woollen cloth or *endi* silk cloth. The Monpas of Dirang area call them *nambu-khanjar* and *alung-khanjar* respectively. The *nambu-khanjar* is called *alipudung* or *gochen-khanjar* by the Monpas of Tawang area. The *alung-khanjar* may be made of plain *endi* silk cloth or of red *endi* silk cloth but the collar is of white *gochen* cloth and similarly, white *gochen* cloth is used for the collar of *nambu-khanjar* also, whether it be of black woollen cloth or of red woollen cloth. A full-sleeved coat (called *chupa* by Tawang Monpas and *chupha* by Dirang Monpas) is worn by the males. The front of this coat is kept open. If the coat is made of black woollen cloth it is called *chupa-napu* or *chupha-napu* and if it is made of red woollen cloth it is called *chupa-chalu* or *chupha-chalu*. Over it a sash (called *chudan* by Dirang Monpas or *khichen* by Tawang Monpas) is wound tightly around the waist-band. The waist band so worn by them is made of red *endi* silk cloth with designs and a 'dao' (called *chawang* by Dirang Monpas or *chobu* by Tawang Monpas) is stuck into the waist-band. Occasionally, a silver sword (*apchar*) may be worn.

The women on the other hand wear a sleeveless garment which is known as *singka*. The *singka* is of two varieties: one is made out of plain *endi* silk cloth and the other is made out of *endi* silk cloth having longitudinal red stripes. The *singka* is kept open at the nape for about ten inches and the two ends of this opening are pinned together by means of a silver locket known as *kakpu*. A coloured and designed *endi* silk sash (*chudang* or *khichen*) is then fastened tightly around the waist as is done by men. A piece of black woollen cloth with longitudinal or horizontal stripes is worn invariably at the back from the waist to the hollow of the knees. This is known as *tengekima*. Over the *singka*, a full-sleeved jacket (*norna*) which is made of

coloured *endi* silk cloth with embroidery work is also worn and over it again either a full sleeved red *endi* silk cloth jacket or a full-sleeved plain *endi* silk cloth jacket or a full-sleeved black woollen jacket is also worn. This is known as *todung* and sometimes such *endi* silk *todungs* are beautifully embroidered from the shoulder or the waist to the haunch and such *todungs* are known as *todung-momdang*. The black woollen *todung* worn by women is called *bai-todung* by the Monpas of Tawang area. The females also wear a piece of red or black woollen cloak behind. This cloak, reaching from the shoulder to the waist, is known as *hlemba*. Well-to-do women often wear a piece of decorated cloth known as *dhenga* as a substitute.

As foot-wear the people invariably wear local made boots called *mon-hlam* by the Monpas of Tawang area and *bidar* or simply *hlam* by the Monpas of Dirang area. The height of such boots would be about 16 to 18 inches. The sole is made of leather and the rest of was made of cloth. These kinds of boots are worn by both males and females in the Tawang area but only by the males of Dirang Monpas. *Sangjom* is the name of another type of boots which are worn only by females. These are made of woollen material but the workmanship is of a high standard; the upper portion is beautifully decorated with embroidery work. The height of the *hlam* and the *sangjom* is the same. These boots are firmly fastened just below the knee with a fine strong lace (*hlam-sing*).

Ornaments :

The Monpas are also fond of ornaments. The ornaments which are commonly worn by them are listed below:

- (a) *Nyandup* is a silver bangle worn by the males. Another variety of *nyandup* which is made of silver but is studded with red and green stones is worn by the females.



A Monpa damsel

- (b) *Along* is a silver earring that is worn by the females.
- (c) *Nayu* is a green stone which is worn by both men and women at the neck as well as on the ears.
- (d) *Gruffjima-gau* is a silver locket which is studded with four green stones and is worn by both males and females among Tawang Monpas.
- (e) *Jih* or *jik* is a coloured stone that is worn by both males and females.
- (f) *Dorji-grokha* is a silver ornament worn on the front of the right arm by the females. The ornament is studded with red and green stones.
- (g) *Grokha* is a silver ornament that is studded with red and green stones at the centre. The ornament is worn by females like the *dorji-grokha*.
- (h) *Yu-gau* is a locket studded with a number of green stones and is worn by women only. The locket is square-shaped.
- (i) *Champang-gau* is a silver locket that is oblong in shape. It is worn by both males and females in the Tawang area. The ornament is worn only by females in the Dirang area.
- (j) *Ni-gau* is just like the *melu* of the Akas. It is a silver locket and is worn by both males and females of Tawang area but only by the females of Dirang area.
- (k) *Groga* is a silver breast pin. It has a silver chain (*thekpa*). The ornament is studded with red and green stones and is worn by females only.
- (l) *Soldup* is a silver finger ring worn by males and females. The ring is studded at the top with a coloured stone.
- (m) *Tekkar* is a flat ivory ring worn by men on the right thumb.
- (n) *Juru* is a coloured bead worn at the neck.

So far as social taboos among the Monpas are concerned, it has been observed that when a person dies in a family then all members remove good clothings and ornaments from their bodies and taboo is observed for twenty-one days. Another form of taboo that is observed necessitates removal of all ornaments from their bodies by those who attend a funeral.

The costumes used at dances and on other ceremonial occasions are the same as those of the Sherdukpens. However, the costumes of their Buddhist monks and nuns need to be mentioned as these differ from the ordinary dress of other Monpas.

There are four categories of monks (*Lamas*) in Monpa society - *Rimpoche*, *Gellong*, *Drapa* and *Sospa* and in accordance with their ranks, their costumes are different. Amongst them the *Rimpoche* is given of the highest rank. At the other end of the scale is the *Sospa*. A *Drapa* is a beginner in monkhood with the *Gellong* just above him. *Sospas* include those who have been demoted from the rank of *Drapa* because of marriage. After marriage the *Sospas* are not even allowed to sleep in the monastery at night unlike monks of the other three categories. The Monpas have their institution of nuns (*anes*) also.

As footwear, the *Rimpoches* wear red leather shoes (*sem-hlam*) and as lower garment they wear a *sendup* from waist to ankle which is a red woollen cloth sewn almost like the *mekhela*, the lower garment of Assamese women.

The *sendup* is tightly fastened around the waist with a piece of red *endi* silk cloth (*chudang* or *khichen*). Over the *sendup*, a red sleeveless double-breasted robe (*senju*) is worn which reaches down to the ankles, and over it again another full-sleeved jacket (*alipudung*) made out of *endi* silk cloth is worn. Moreover, a sleeveless red woollen jacket (*tonga*) is also worn which reaches down to the waist. Like the *alipudung*, this jacket has its collar stitched with *gochen* cloth. A piece of saffron-coloured cloth known as *sherguisirpu* and another piece of red woollen cloth known as *thanga* are worn loosely over other garments.

The dresses of the *Rimpoche* and the *Gellong* are the same. Only they are allowed to wear garments of red and saffron colours. On the other hand the dress of the *Drapa* consists of red woollen or *endi* silk *alipudung-tonga*, trousers and indigenous shoes. They wear a hat (*seija*) which is made of brown woollen cloth, *gochen* cloth and yellow yarn. This hat is worn by the *Gellong* also. While dancing at the time of the *Torgya* festival at Tawang monastery they, however, wear large decorated hats.

The *Sospas* wear the *alipudung*, *chupha* or *chupa*, *dorma* or *dorna* and the *hlam* (q.v).

Buddhist monks never wear any garment of a black colour but only such as are of red or saffron colour.

The dresses of the nuns are the same as those worn by the *Drapas*.
