

# The Economic and Technological Developments in Manipur during the Medieval and Colonial Periods

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## Introduction

The subject of economic and technological developments in Manipur during the medieval and colonial periods, particularly during the reign of king Khagemba (1597-1652 CE), has emerged as a new concept that should be recognized and made familiar across the generations. Many of the technological and socio-cultural tasks have been sharply shaped and brought out in his reign particularly after the arrival of some Pangals<sup>1</sup> and the Brahmans<sup>2</sup> in the state since the early period of the 17th century onwards. They introduced many historical changes in political, economic, socio-religious and cultural affairs of the state. There was a lot of assimilation and acclimatization observed in terms of culture and society after they settled peacefully and cordially with the local community since the seventeenth century onwards. Many of the historians and scholars, including Gangmumei Kamei, have made a strong argument that the king Khagemba implemented many dynamic changes in the politico-administrative affairs, economy, society and cultural traits in the state during the 17th century. Thereafter, the succeeding kings particularly Pamheiba (popularly known as Garib Nawaz – Benefactor of the Poor) in the 18th century made many socio-cultural changes in the state by introducing Vaishnavite Hinduism as a state religion after burning many local *puyas*.<sup>3</sup> Maharaj Bhagyachandra spearheaded the process later on.

This paper also explores the relationship between the state and agriculture while concerning the economic development of the state of Manipur in the medieval and colonial periods. It is largely based on some sources such as *Nongsamei Puya*<sup>4</sup>, *Pangal Thorakpa*<sup>5</sup>, *Cheitharon*

*Kumpapa*<sup>6</sup> (the royal chronicle of Manipur) and *Yaddasht Kursi-Nama*<sup>7</sup>. This research paper attempts to examine the critical analysis of technological developments related to paper manufacture, weaving technique, cloth making, pottery making, manufacturing of gun, introduction of horticulture and agricultural technology after the settlement of Pangals and other migrants in the state.

## State and Agriculture

It is pointed out that some of the kings of Manipur particularly king Khagemba and his successors mainly Pamheiba (1709-1748 CE) and Maharaj Bhagyachandra (1764-1798 CE) had a considerable role while concerning the production and stabilization of the wet rice cultivation in the state itself. How it helped to boost up the institution of the kingship is a matter that needs to be widely discussed. There is a fact that in medieval India, the king was supposed to be the owner of all land as revealed by one of the foreign travellers namely Francois Bernier.<sup>8</sup> This concept was widely discussed and debated among the historians and scholars of India and World. The king had control over the agricultural activity of the state. Encyclopedically, we have found that he was the owner of all land (*Leimapu*-owner of the land) whether cultivated or waste lands and even all the natural resources of the state.<sup>9</sup> The possession of wet rice lands was, by and large, based on the rendering of labour service to the state itself. It is manifested in the available sources that there was shortage and insufficiency of labour service in the kingdom during the medieval and colonial periods also.<sup>10</sup> One *pari* of agricultural land (2.5 acres) was usually given to the peasant. Many taxes were collected from the peasants particularly the *Lois*<sup>11</sup> and Yaithibis who were earlier despised by the local community though they were included in the Meitei groups through forcible conquest in the later centuries. Despite having the collection of tax in

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kind customarily, it was also paid off in cash. The tax was of different variations ranging from one pot to twelve pots with the exception of not imposing on the homestead land. It is a factual point that land (*lou*) for agriculture belonged to the state's property during that time. Moreover, it is to be noted that since 1892, the land revenue was paid in cash. The rate of tax was uniform throughout for all lands either by commoners or by various officials and the sepoy of the newly raised police, revenue and judicial officers.<sup>12</sup>

While concerning the land revenue in the medieval and colonial periods, it is pointed out that under the guidance of Assistant Political Officer A.A. Howell, a systematic and reliable record related to land revenue was planned. It was planned that the whole land belonged to the king and the natural resources belonged to him in the kingdom. He was the absolute authority that he could dispose it in any possible way that he liked. Such theoretical perception was prevailing in the state system of the South East Asia. It is true that the king was projected as the greatest landowner endowed with arbitrary power on its utilization which was a feudal ingredient in any state structure system. It was more invigorated through the understanding of ownership of land endowed by the king. It is categorically organized into four ways.<sup>13</sup>

1. The king and his immediate members of the royal household were the biggest landowners.
2. Officers of the state were given lands by the king for their services in lieu of salaries. The favourites of the king were also granted rent free lands.
3. Semi servile peasants tilled the land on payment of rent.
4. The landless slaves tilled the land on payment of rent to the state.

The given report was maintained through a British political agent and the land utilization was based on the privileges given by a king. To begin with, the nobles possessed one-third of land known as *Phamlou* who usually paid in kind. Next was that one-third of the land was given by the king to his royal relatives, the Brahmans, the soldiers (*lanmees*) and other favorites. Lastly, one-third was leased to the peasants. It was estimated that there were about 1200-1500 slaves employed in the state during the medieval period.<sup>14</sup>

There were two classes of land in the medieval and colonial periods. First, it was *ingkhhol*, occupied by houses and gardens. Secondly, it was *Lou*-rice land.<sup>15</sup> To begin with, there was no revenue from the *ingkhhol*. A *kotwal* was in-charge of all the *ingkhhol* land within the boundaries of the Imphal, or city that used to register the names of the owners, and the people who were on each side of him.<sup>16</sup> It is noted that the inheritance right was given "at a

man's death when his sons inherit in equal shares, to the exclusion of all others".<sup>17</sup> Further, it is clear that "in some cases, an *ingkhhol* may be sold to satisfy a man's creditors but possible only through the express permission of the Raja. These cases are very rare".<sup>18</sup>

While concerning the second one, it is found that there are several types of it some of which are given below.

1. *Tounarou*
2. *Phamlou*
3. *Sarkari (Ningthoulou)*
4. *Manalou*
5. *Pangallou*
6. *Brahmins (Lugun-lou)*
7. *Siphai lou (sepoy)*
8. *Lairou (deities)*<sup>19</sup>

The above-mentioned classification of lands was based on the Howell's conception of land in the medieval and colonial periods. To begin with, under the *Tounarou* system, the holder has a right to his land against all others and even the Raja can't reject him, without paying him land compensation under the same rules. He also has the right to let out or sell his land as he pleases. He is obliged to pay revenue at the rate of 6 *chengkoks* (three maunds) of rice (not *dhan*) per *pari*.<sup>20</sup> It was paid in cash sometimes. It can be obtained in two ways such as first, by purchase and secondly, by taking up jungle. Next one is *Phamlou* which is related with the land held in connection with some office, such as belonging to the *Cherap* Court, etc. The revenue payable on such land is one pot of *dhan* per *pari*.<sup>21</sup> The third one is *Sarkari* land which means that the Raja's entire private land is cultivated either by his own slaves or by free men, under a system which is, for want of a better name, called "*sarkari*".<sup>22</sup> The fourth one is *Manalou* land. In it, the rent-free lands were held only during the life time of a person to whom they were granted. If his heirs wished to continue the possession of these lands, they were obliged to pay revenue on them, at a rate of not more than 12 *pots* of *dhan* per *pari*.<sup>23</sup> The fifth one is *Pangallou* which was small grants of land which had been given from time to time as a reward for distinguished service, generally in war. These grants were inheritable and there were about 200 persons holding *Pangallou* land.<sup>24</sup> The others are Brahmin's land. This land was given to a Brahmins, on taking the thread, who received one *pari* of land from the Raja, as a right and might be given more lands also sometimes. But, he would not be able to sell it to satisfy the claims of his creditors.<sup>25</sup> There was *siphai lou* in the medieval period which was given to the sepoy around two *sangams* limitedly for maintenance.<sup>26</sup> Lastly, there was *Lairou* which was meant for the maintenance of some deities.<sup>27</sup> The garden in which the temple was built was not subject to taxation. It meant that the absolute

owner of the garden was the temple. It is illustrated from the stone inscriptions.<sup>28</sup> The Manipuri kings used to extract royalties for the sale of timber, bamboo and other forest products from Jiri region<sup>29</sup> and exercised their rights over them taking a crucial role in the formation of state revenue.<sup>30</sup>

As a part of the boost of economy in the state, the rulers of Manipuri kingdom strived hard in the production activities through organizing dredging ventures, building of dams and bunds to check inundations and clearing of drainages. They even established *lallup* (war organization) system for running the economic tasks profoundly that helped in bringing up the state under direct rule which has been continually in existence during the colonial period. Regarding the growth of production in the state of Manipur, it is found that it was basically based on the foundation of the wet rice cultivation that accomplished an extraordinary task in the economy of the state. The facility of water through rainfall was availed in abundance during the medieval and colonial periods. It proved to be a facilitative step for the growth of peasant community in the rural areas in such periods. Extensively, such process of the nature of the wet rice cultivation was heavily dependent on several ecological conditions principally on its elevation and in the capacity to retain moisture. There were many varieties of rice grown in Manipur such as *Sajikhong*, *Tumai*, *Kabaw Phou*, *Phourel Anganba*, *Phourel*, *Luining* and *Yenthik*.<sup>31</sup> It is clear that peasants used to attract on the earlier variety of rice for transplantation as it took lesser time and labour for work while comparing the other varieties of rice.<sup>32</sup> The rulers of Manipuri kingdom like Khagemba and Charairongba took many initiatives for the growth of irrigation facility of rice transplantation by constructing many river banks and embankments such as Marong Khong, Kyang Khong, Prasat Matompa Khong, etc.<sup>33</sup> The successful venture and operation of the development of agricultural activity was, by and large, massively dependent on the construction of riverbanks and canals. The rainfall in normal years was so bountiful that this might have affected and resulted in the vulnerability of cultivation as a result of floods rather than the shortfall of water. It is noted that the maximum source of income for the whole state in the concerned period was derived from the agriculture related activities. Accordingly, the task of agriculture was reinforced in the Manipuri kingdom during the medieval and colonial periods.

### Paper Manufacture

Considerable debate over the issue of introduction of paper-making by the Muslims has taken place among scholars and historians. The debate turns on the issue of

whether the art of paper-making was introduced by the Muslims coming from Sylhet or the system was already in existence before the arrival of the Muslims in Manipur. Moirangthem Chandra Singh<sup>34</sup> staunchly attested that the art of paper manufacture from jute as basic material was practiced by the local dominant community prior to the landing of Muslims in Manipur. This is firmly validated by the other *pandit achouba* namely Moirangthem Narendra and is clarified on the ground that the techniques used by the Meiteis for paper manufacture might have been diffused and penetrated into Manipur from China. In Manipur, there was a clan called *thoudam* which was derived from *thoutam*, meaning those who left work and entered into other occupation. Further, Chittreswar Sharma opined that it is difficult to trace the name of the *yek-salai* (clan) belonging to Meitei community which manufactured paper under the royal patronage.<sup>35</sup> Sharma argued that the art of paper making was not mentioned in any of the *puyas*<sup>36</sup> available in the archaic Manipuri language such as *Loiyumpa Silyel*,<sup>37</sup> *Masinlon*, *Keiroi Masil*, and *Phamlon*.<sup>38</sup> It is possible to argue that no substantial evidence relevant to the art of paper-making has been brought to light.

Nevertheless, most scholars agree that the *Cheshaba* clan is credited with the introduction of the art of paper making in Manipur during the medieval period.<sup>39</sup> Sheikh Chuned/Chunaid/Zunaid, the second younger brother of Muhammad Sani, the general of Muslim forces in 1606 CE, was the person who introduced the process of paper manufacture in Manipur through the use of bamboo.<sup>40</sup> Again, some *puyas* such as *Nongsamei Puya*, *Pangal Thorakpa*, etc., and the royal chronicle documented that Sheikh Chunaid made paper in Manipur whose family title or clan's name was given *Cheshaba* by king Khagemba (1597-1652 CE). Earlier, he belonged to the clan *Khullakpam Sagei* and later on, after his occupation, he got his clan designated as *Cheshaba*, and started residing in 1635-36 CE at Irong Cheshaba. Recently, one of the great grandsons of *Cheshaba* family, Noor Rahman, demonstrated paper making during the Meitei-Pangal Cultural Festival and Exhibition held on 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> December 1997 at Manipur State Museum, Imphal. King Churachand enthusiastically encouraged the production of paper fashioned by the Pangals specifically the skilled men of *Cheshaba* family, though there was import of fine paper in Manipur.<sup>41</sup>

The term *Cheshaba* means those who make paper (*che*=paper; *shaba*=to make). For this reason, the *sagei* or clan *Cheshaba sagei* was being called so. There is no such clan or *sagei* in Meitei or Tribal communities. The indigenous writing material in Manipur was agar-bark. The manufacture of paper in Bengal appeared in medieval period.<sup>42</sup>



### The Potting Wheel Technique

Manipuri potters possessed great skills and produced cooking and other utensils, using metals such as brass, copper, bell-metal, clay and even stone. During the reign of Khagemba, one of the sepoy, Nooriya Sheikh, presented an exquisite mud-pot to the king. For recognizing his potter's skill, his clan had been called *phusam*.<sup>43</sup> Even today, Pangals use to produce good quality stone pots, particularly at Thoubal, but these are no longer popular among the middle- and upper-class households. However, the wheel making techniques of the Pangals could be upgraded, and made to experiment with alternative mediums, other than stone, as for instance, ceramic. With the skill inherited through generations, Pangal potters, using the wheeling technique, can produce exquisite products, if had the training.<sup>44</sup> Pangals are credited with the introduction of style of *pot-punkanganbi*, which, later on, came to be known as the 'sanabun' (pot for storing clean water in a house). Its importance lies in the fact that it forms a part of the 'awonpot' (dowry) of the Manipuri bride.<sup>45</sup> Pottery was one of the principal trades of the Pangals of Manipur.<sup>46</sup>

### The Weaving Technique

The *Phisabam* clan made distinctive fabrics in the traditional (waist) loom, viz, *dolaiphi*,<sup>47</sup> *kangthol phi*, etc., exclusive to the Pangals. There was reference in the *Nongchup Haram*<sup>48</sup> and *Khagemba Lanpha* about the introduction or opening of *pang iyong* (loom), and it was not of the primitive type which means that a high level of weaving art was done by the Muslims. The Pangals produced good quality of silk at *Apong Ingkhol*.<sup>49</sup> Silk-spinning was a trade widely followed by the Muslims, descendants of the Muslims of Arracan, Manipur and perhaps of Cachar, who were forcibly deported by the Burmese during their inroads into Manipur.<sup>50</sup> During the *Chahi Taret Khuntakpa*<sup>51</sup> many Muslims and Meiteis were forcibly captured and carried to Burma.<sup>52</sup>

### Introduction of Transplantation Method of Sowing Paddy

It is firmly illustrated in the *puyas* such as *Nongsamei Puya*, *Pangal Thorakpa*, etc., that the Pangals played a significant role in the introduction of transplantation method of sowing paddy which was unknown to Manipur. It boosted up the economy of Manipur. The Pangals' chief occupation was agriculture and their incomes were based on rural agriculture and revenue. Different varieties of crops were grown like the early and late rice crops in the kingdom. Sometimes opium was cultivated on a

small scale. The concept of property right was not there during that time in the sense that Raja was the sole owner of land in the valley.<sup>53</sup> It has been pointed out that the Muslims coming from Sylhet introduced the method of rice transplantation system. A graphic description of this method is given in the *Nongsamei Puya*:

"The Meiteis were surprised to see the process of rice plantation and preparations made for it like the sowing of rice seeds in a small piece of land and taking out the nurseries from the tract of land and buying of eat-able things from the *Sanakeithel*<sup>54</sup> (the royal market) to be taken during the process of transplantation... For this act, Muhammad Sani along with his adherents specifically Monai, Aluph, Nampha, Phaitong, etc. and the other pausing Muslims were expatriated at *Kondong*, a place near Kabaw Valley. But, the king Khagemba gave instructions to *Nongsamei* to summon back all the Muslims and made an apology to them by saying that all these acts had been done on account of not knowing the practice fully".<sup>55</sup>

In this context, a process was used known as *lingthokpa* (the process of transplanting the seed for the plants which are destined to be transplanted) which was introduced by the Muslims coming from Sylhet.<sup>56</sup> Only two methods prevalent in the wider part of Manipur before the advent of the Pangals were 'punghul' (dry seed cast in dry ground) and 'pamphel' (a method of sowing paddy).<sup>57</sup>

Further, Gangmumei Kabui argued that agricultural technology was improved with the introduction of transplantation system of paddy field organized by the early Muslims who put in place also the plough drawn by bullock and buffalo.<sup>58</sup>

### Gun Technology

The Pangals in Manipur played a gigantic role in the gun factory of Manipur since the medieval times. There were some Pangals including Gora Sheikh, Ashique Shah, who got employed for gun making.<sup>59</sup> It is revealed from the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* that gun manufacturing began during the reign of king Khagemba.<sup>60</sup> The Ahoms were unacquainted with the use of fire arms and fought against the Muslims in 1532 CE. However, the Ahom king quickly initiated the use of guns and guns were used soon after.<sup>61</sup> In order to make guns, the Muslims would have to be conversant with the manufacture of iron ore. The iron ore was found in Manipur in the form of titaniferous oxydulated ore in the beds of small streams, south of *Thoubal* and hills near *Langatel*. Pemberton, in his report of 1839, stated that Manipur had developed indigenous technology to locate iron ore deposits in the hills and the river beds and to smelt iron from ore, and manufactured a number of tools and other instruments.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the Muslims used all these implements on account of being cultivators for defense too against the

marauding raids of tribes. It is certain that they were associated with its manufacture because of the fact that iron was chiefly available at Thoubal (a dominant area of Pangal habitation).

### The Role of Pangals in Industry and Horticulture

The Pangals were proficient in horticulture and a garden called Ningthem Ingkhol at Khomidok Heinou Khongnemi was allotted to them for the purpose of cultivation by king Khagemba.<sup>63</sup> In it, a wide variety of fruits, vegetables and crops were grown such as sugarcane, flowers, coriander, onion, mustard seed and garlic. The product of the first harvest was presented to the king. The Pangals introduced new fruits like Mango in Manipur.<sup>64</sup> Tobacco was also introduced by them in Manipur in 1609 CE.<sup>65</sup> It soon became an important commercial crop and its use was not confined to the Muslims alone but the indigenous people of Manipur also adopted it very soon and its use became widely prevalent among the men and women. R. K. Jhalajit Singh claimed that smoking of tobacco was introduced in 1610 and the crop was cultivated as a new luxury.<sup>66</sup> Further, *topo*, a machine for pressing sugarcane, was also introduced by the Muslims.<sup>67</sup> In the later part of the 19th and 20th centuries, they got involved in other economic activities such as fishing, trade and commerce. Hence, the Pangals contributed to the process of developing the economy of Manipur by unveiling many techniques and methods.

### Conclusion

In the light of the above-mentioned facts, it can be safely concluded that during the reigns of king Khagemba and his successors, there was a lot of progress in the polity and economy of the state. The above-mentioned historical facts witness that the Pangals and other migrants along with the *Lois*, *Yaithibis*, etc. in Manipur played an active role in the economic activities of the state and brought many technological innovations in the medieval and colonial periods. The state took an active role in the agricultural productions and developments in medieval period which were continued in the later centuries also. They also took responsible roles in the state in the medieval and colonial periods by participating in the political affairs of the kingdom through the establishment of many institutions such as *mangkanshang*,<sup>68</sup> *pangalshanglen*,<sup>69</sup> etc. They became an inseparable part for the defense of the territorial integrity of the kingdom like the other communities particularly the Meitei community. The changes which they brought politically also got manifested in the economic activities of the state. If we consider the economic expertise, it is pointed out that technologically,

there were many illustrious developments in the state in the medieval and colonial periods related to weaving technique, gun manufacture, pottery making, paper manufacture, transplantation of sowing paddy, cloth making, etc. All the Manipuris, especially the Pangals and other immigrants along with the *Lois*, *Yaithibis*, etc., played a pivotal role in such economic activities primarily the economic and technological developments which they brought during the medieval and colonial periods.

### Notes

1. The word 'pangal' seems to have been derived from the word 'Bangal' meaning men of East Bengal. The word 'Bangal' was corrupted into 'Pangal' because most Manipuris in the 17th century pronounced 'b' as 'p'. In the medieval period, any man from East Bengal, regardless of his religion, was called 'Pangal'. There were Pathans, Sheikhs, Syeds and Mughals among the Manipuri Muslims. Another account was also given in the Persian text *Yaddasht Kursi-Nama* by Rafayattullah pertaining to the word 'Pangal' that the word was designated by king Khagemba to the Muslims particularly their commander-in-chief, Muhammad Sani. On account of his fortitude and intrepidity in the battle fought between Manipuri forces and Muslims at Toubul (near Bishnupur District) in 1606 CE, Muhammad Sani was called by king Khagemba as 'Panganba' and his Muslim troops were referred to as 'Pangal'. For details, see in Khairuddin Choudhury's monograph, *The Manipuri Mohammedan*, Cachar, Assam, 2003, pp. 1-20; R. K. Jhalajit Singh, *A Short History of Manipur*, Imphal, 1965, p. 13; Rafayattullah, *Yaddasht Kursi-Nama*, Lahore, 1929, trs. Maulana Muhammad Jalaluddin, *et.al.*, Circles, Imphal, 1997, pp. 15, 24.
2. The Brahmans acted as the priests and priestess and have been appointed by the ruler of Manipur in different periods as the head of the religious rituals of different states occasions. For details, see in Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, pp. 118-166; Gangmumei Kabui, *History of Manipur: Pre-Colonial Period*, vol. 1, National Publishing House, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 251-259.
3. Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, Original Text, Translation and Notes, Routledge, London, 2005, pp. 118-166.
4. *Nongsamei Puya* is said to have been written during the reign of king Khagemba (1597-1652 CE), though some historians claim this work to be of 19th century. It communicated the arrival of the Muslims, the course of the war, the settlement of the Muslims, large scale migration, offering of Meitei women to the notable Muslim men and funding of land grants by king Khagemba, the clan system existed on the Pangals, migration of Brahmans, economic and technological contributions by Muslims in Manipur during the 17th and 18th centuries.

5. Pangal Thorakpa (Muslims' Immigration) specifically describes the various facets of the wars including the war between the Manipuri forces and the combined Muslim and Cachari forces in 1606 CE, its mode of conduct, the Muslims and Brahmans settlers through migration, etc.
6. *The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, which is believed to have been composed in the 15th century (Kiyamba's reign), does say much about the commencement and trajectory of the war of different battles taking place between different kingdoms particularly Tripura, Burma and Cachar. It does not provide much information for the Pangals but the Meiteis, Brahmans, different Tribes, etc., although it does mention migration in passing.
7. The lone surviving Persian text, *Yaddasht Kursi-Nama*, was originally composed by Muhammad Sani and completed by Rafayattullah in 1893. It talks of the battle of Toubul (Bishnupur District) that took place between the joint Cachari and Muslim and Manipuri forces in 1606 CE, introduction of paddy transplantation in Manipur by the Muslims, the migration issue, settlement of different communities at Andro, Heirok, Khangbok, etc.
8. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, 1656-1658 AD, Second Edition Revised by VA Smith, Oxford University Press, London, 1916.
9. John Parratt, ed., *Notes on Meithei (Manipuri) Beliefs and Customs*, compiled by J. C. Higgins (Vice President, Manipur State Darbar), Manipur State Archives, Imphal, 1998, pp. 140-147.
10. AA Howell, *A Short Account of the Land Revenue in Manipur*, Imphal, 1907.
11. The term *Loi* is categorically used in different connotations in various historical accounts. Many scholars are of the opinion that it meant those sections or groups who were vanquished or have to be vanquished one who used to give tributes quarterly or yearly to the chief or sovereign state or kingdom. For details, please see in Robert Brown, *A Statistical Account of Manipur*, Sankar Prakashak, Delhi, 1975; M. Kirti Singh, *Recent Researches in Oriental and Indological Studies*, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p. 1.
12. W. Yumjao Singh, *Report on the Archaeological Studies in Manipur*, Bulletin I, Chapter II, Appendix IV, Imphal, 1935, p. 1
13. [http://www.asthabharati.org/Dia\\_Jan%20011/gang.htm](http://www.asthabharati.org/Dia_Jan%20011/gang.htm)
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Notes on Meithei (Manipuri) Beliefs and Customs*, ed. Parratt, p. 140.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-144.
20. *Ibid.*, 144.
21. *Ibid.*, 144.
22. *Ibid.*, 144.
23. *Ibid.*, 144.
24. *Ibid.*, 142.
25. *Ibid.*, 141.
26. *Ibid.*, 142.
27. N. Iboi Singh, *The Manipur Administration (1709-1907)*, Horizon Printers, New Delhi, 2003 (Reprint), p. 175.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 175; Singh, *Report on the Archaeological Studies in Manipur*, p. 1.
29. Nongthombam Brajamani Singh, *Jiribam Meihourol*, Kunja Press, Jiribam, 1988, pp. 1-53.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-53.
31. Sir James Johnstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills*, London, 1896, pp. 114-115.
32. Brown, *A Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur*, pp. 83-84.
33. Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, p. 109.
34. Moirangthem Chandra Singh, *Manipuri Muslimda*, Imphal, 1973, p. 14.
35. *Manipur and Meitei-Pangal*, ed. Arambam Samarendra, P. S. Printing, Imphal, 1998, p. 36.
36. The term, *puyas/puwari*, means stories of the forefathers which explains the traditional knowledge of recording the past or the written records handed down from generation to generation, which was brought out by *Pandits* (locally known as *maichous*) who were the royal scribes in the *loishang* (institution of scribes). It contains full of myths, legends, folklore, genealogies, etc., which need to be used with cautious manner.
37. Kongsam Manikchand Singh, *Loiyumpa Silyel: The Ancient Constitution of Manipur*, Digital Printers, Imphal, 2012, pp. 1-135.
38. Phamlon, ed. N. Khelchandra Singh, Imphal, 1987.
39. O. Bhogeshwar Singh and MA Janab Khan, ed., *Nongsamei Puya*, Manipur Stationery and Printing Industries, Imphal, 1973, p. 169; B. Kullachandra Sharma, *Typology and Technology of Meitei Writing Materials*, Imphal, 1988, pp. 19-20.
40. Rafayattullah, *Yaddasht Kursi-Nama*, p. 16.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
42. Irfan Habib, *Technology in Medieval India, c.650-1750*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 63-66.
43. *Nongsamei Puya*, ed. Singh and Khan, pp. 34-35.
44. Salam Irene, *The Muslims of Manipur*, Kalpaz Publications, New Delhi, 2010, p. 128
45. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
46. W. McCulloch, *An Account of the Valley of Munnipore*, Gian Publication, Delhi, 1980, p. 15.
47. Singh, *Loiyumpa Silyel: The Ancient Constitution of Manipur*, pp. 7, 8, 69.
48. Nongchup Haram (Migration from the West), MSS in Manipuri language.
49. *Nongsamei Puya*, ed. Singh and Khan, p. 96.
50. Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the court of Ava in 1855, with notices of the country, government, and people (1858)*, London, 1858, p. 156.
51. Some of the historians and scholars considered it as the most traumatic incident in the history of Manipur. One of the foremost internal factors that led to the plague of the Burmese invasion was the succession of weak rulers after the reign of Pamheiba besides other factors like conspiracy and revolts, implications of the roles of conversion from



- the Meiteism to hard core Vaishnavite Hinduism, military defects, treacherous act of the war of succession after the reign of Pamheiba, etc. They were so cruel that they used to torture the Manipuri people irrespective of religion using thin canes piercing through their palms and by drawing them by means of fast riding horses. A treaty was signed in between the Anglo-Burmese for the sake of Manipur where Manipur was in favor of British in this treaty known as *Treaty of Yandabo* in 1826. Along with the British, the Manipuri Raja Gambhir Singh expelled the Burmese from the soil of Manipur. For details, see in Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 2, pp. 82-84; A. C. Banerjee, *Eastern Frontier of British India*, A. Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1964, pp. 347-49.
52. Brown, *A Statistical Account of Manipur*, p. 15.
  53. E. W. Dun, *Gazetteer of Manipur*, Manas Publication, Delhi, 1992, p. 60.
  54. Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, 70.
  55. Nongsamei Puya, ed. Singh and Khan, pp. 46-53.
  56. Abdul Hakim Shah Khullakpam, *The Manipur Governance to the Meetei-Pangal (Manipuri Muslim)*, Pearl Publication, Imphal, 2008, pp. 137-138.
  57. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.
  58. Kamei, *History of Manipur: Pre-Colonial Period*, vol. 1, p. 29.
  59. N. Sanajaoba, *Manipur (Past and Present)*, vol. 4, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 459-463.
  60. R. K. Sanahal Singh, *Pangal Thorakpa*, Liberty Publication Association, Imphal, 1985, p. 68; Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, p. 74.
  61. E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Thacker Spink and Co. P. Ltd, Calcutta, 1933, p. 29.
  62. R. B. Pemberton, *A Report on the North-Eastern Frontier of British India*, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1835, pp. 27-28.
  63. Nongsamei Puya, ed. Singh and Khan, p. 45.
  64. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
  65. Quazi Hamid Ali, *The Manipuri Muslim*, Silchar, Assam, 1979, p. 14.
  66. Singh, *A Short History of Manipur*, pp. 117-118. The *Cheitharon Kumpapa* further explains that it is being called as *manganphu*.
  67. Irene, *The Muslims of Manipur*, p. 129.
  68. It was the department set up by king Khagemba (1597-1652 CE) in 1606 CE for the Pangal community. The word *mangkan* or *mangan* is a corrupt form of 'Mughal' or 'Magul' and the term *shang* means 'office,' which became, later on, the Mughal office or *Mangkanshang* and was found in different places in some colonial works by denoting the community in one sense and the Muslims of Bengal and the rest of India in other sense. For details, see in Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, vol. 1, pp. 47-48, 67, 94.
  69. The *mangkanshang* had its functions from 1606 CE to 1791 CE and became the *pangalshanglen* during the reign of Maharaj Bhagyachandra Singh whose office was at the same site where the *mangkanshang* was located. Some colonial works like Mc Culloch *The Account of the Valley of Manipur and the Hill Tribes* and the royal chronicles like the *Cheitharon Kumbaba*, categorized it significantly as the administrative office of Pangals. The details can be seen in Irene's work, *The Muslims of Manipur*, pp. 210-11.