

Political Aggression of Manipur from Pamheiba to Bhagyachandra

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After forty days of Charairongba's death due to fever and diarrhoea, Pamheiba, popularly known as Garibnawaz succeeded the throne of Manipur on Wednesday, the 28th of August 1709 CE¹ at the age of twenty years. Pamheiba was one of the greatest kings of Manipur in terms of his polity, economy and society. During four decades of his reign, the political boundary of Manipur was extended towards north and south. The contemporary rulers of Burma during the reign of Pamheiba were Sane (1698-1714), Taninganwe (1714-1733) and Mahadhammaraja Dipati (1733-1752). Alaungpaya (1752-1760), Naungdawgyi (1760-1763), Hsingbyushin (1763-1776), Singu (1776-1782) and Bodawpaya (1782-1819) were the kings who ruled Burma in the 2nd half of the 18th century after Pamheiba. Showing the cruelty of Manipuris, Pamheiba attacked Burma as a revenge for the ill-treatment² of Manipuri princess, Chakpa Makhao Ngambi³, who was married to a Burmese prince in 1704 during the reign of Charairongba. Then the Burmese retaliation for the humiliation was also successfully defended by the Manipuri king. Such consecutive humiliations led to the encroachment of Kabaw valley. However the encroachment was also guarded by the Manipuris and attacked the disobedient inhabitants of the valley and the Burmese forces. The most important reason of the interest towards Burma during Pamheiba's rule was the coincidence of the conversion of Hinduism in Manipur. There was a religious obsession with Hinduism that they would be assured to preserve from all evil by drinking and bathing in the waters of the Irrawaddy River.⁴ Some of his prominent conquests were the subjugation of Pong, Burma, Tripura, and Cachar. Pamheiba took many other expeditions to Burma including Myedu and Sagaing and repelled the Burmese invasions of Manipur during the period 1718- 1723 A.D.

Pamheiba's plan for revenge:

In 1717, the Burmese king, Taninganwe sent Burmese emissaries consisting of one hundred fifty six men including six Samsoks⁵ at the court of Manipur seeking a Manipuri princess, Sicha Tampha Sana⁶ for marriage. This proposal was converted into an opportunity to Pamheiba to avenge them for the past ill-treatment of Makhao Ngambi. Without immediate rejection of the proposal, he used his wisdom to tackle the opportunity and accepted the request of matrimonial alliance with Burma pretending to give his daughter in marriage. As stated by the Manipuri king, the Burmese, consisting of three hundred nobles, women, soldiers and servants⁷, waited the Manipuri princess at the confluence of the Chindwin (Ningthee to the Manipuris) and the Ru Rivers. Instead of giving the Manipuri princess, the forces under the command of Usham Koren Keirungba attacked the Burmese and captured ninety Burmese males and eleven Burmese females.⁸ This attack broke the cordial relationship and started the beginning of the hostility between the two nations. In 1718, on hearing the incident of that insult, the Burmese king, Taninganwe retaliated by sending an expedition to invade Manipur. However, the Manipuri forces repulsed them at Wangjing, Manipur after a bloody battle. The successful defence was helped by the Manipuri cavalry under the direct command of Pamheiba.⁹ In the battle, Haopam Moyon Ngamba, the Pukhrampa died, however, Polipa Lamthok bravely defended the attack by riding a horse and dispersed the Burmese forces.¹⁰ He brought one hundred fifty seven Burmese captives as well as one hundred sixty guns and ten horses.¹¹ For his bravery duty of the nation, Polipa Lamthok was rewarded by Pamheiba exempting him from all the compulsory duties of the state.¹² After consecutive humiliation, the Burmese turned the weakly controlled area of the Kabaw valley.

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The firmness of Kabaw valley

Besides, the Pong kingdom which was Kabaw Valley to the Manipuris was inhabited by the three Shan principalities viz. Samsok in the North, Khampat in the Centre and Kale in the South. In the valley, the Yu River which is popularly known as the Maglung River flows through Tamu area. The River is originated from the Ukhrul District of Manipur, India.¹³ As the Burmese forces aided the people of Kabaw valley, the rebels tried to break the authority of Manipur in the valley. However, thirteen successful expeditions in seven years (1718 to 1723) showed the firmness and ability of the Meitei soldiers as well as the demoralised assistance of the Burmese. Different commanders were used in the thirteen expeditions of Samsok to understand and know the skills used in the war. Over and above, it became one of the most important tributary provinces of Manipur because of rich resources of the valley. Kabaw Valley was formally annexed to Manipur during the reign of Kyamba in the 15th century A.D. onwards. So, Pamheiba was furious because the legacy of authority of the Valley was threatened by the disobedient people of the valley who were helped by the Burmese forces. As Burma and Manipur had regular contacts in terms of war and matrimonial alliance. The trans-Chindwin areas were very prominent to exercise more power and controlled over the area to keep safe and secure the tranquillity of Manipur. And the war captives were used as King's forces to expand his territory towards Burma. With the help of them, Pamheiba even reached Sagaing. The thirteen invasions of Samsok recorded in the Cheitharol Kumbaba, the royal chronicle of Manipur, were the following:

1. On Sunday, 20th of March, 1718, Pamheiba started the invasion of Samsok sending an expedition led by Ngangpamcha Keirungpa to invade Samsok. The Manipuri forces which were helped by all the Lairam Tangkhuns captured seven prisoners in the battle.
2. Returning the first expedition on 18th of April 1718, Haopamcha, the Ahanrup Rakpa made the second expedition of Samsok on 4th May, 1718 and captured nine persons.
3. Haopamcha the Sakonsenpa Hanchapa and Satpamcha Senlungpa left on 10th June, 1718 to besiege Samsok and returned to Manipur on 21st June, 1718 capturing four rebels.
4. The 5th August, 1718 was the date of Maipa Thiyam Senlungpa Pukchao and his men to besiege the paddy fields of Samsok and captured two persons in the battle.
5. The commanders of the 5th invasion of Samsok were Yumlempa, Ngangpam Keirungpa, Santhinpa

Keirungpa, Hitakphu Phanpa Kapo Kopeng and Satpam Senlungpa Lenlam. They went for the invasion on 22nd January, 1719 capturing fourteen persons and killing ten persons. Garibnawaz left for the battle on 25th January, 1719 and the battle was fought on 13th February, 1719. Twenty five persons were brought as captives.

6. On 5th June, 1720, Haopamcha, the Ahanrup Rakpa and Ngangpamcha Keirungpa went to attack Samsok.
7. Haopamcha, the Pukhrampa went to attack Samsok on 8th June, 1721. The expedition was accompanied by Kapos and Pangans and they attacked on 17th June capturing sixty seven persons in the battle.
8. On 19th September, 1721, Ngangpamcha Keirungpa again went to invade Samsok alongwith a force of Kabaw and killed five persons as well as captured five persons in the battle. The expedition was followed by the forces of Satpam Moirampa Senlungpa to collect the paddy at Samsok. Again the commander, Sicha Pa the Yaisakun Rakpa went to Samsok for threshing the paddy.
9. Usapa Senlungpa Kopeng went on 16th February, 1722 to attack Samsok. He attacked Samsok on 9th March, 1722 and captured 12 persons in the battle.
10. On 22nd March, 1722, Potsangpa Hitang, Thangchamcha Cheksa and their forces went for an expedition to besiege Samsok. It was followed by Wayenpa, the Naharup Sanglen Rakpa on 24th July, 1722. The combined forces attacked on 30th July 1722 and captured ten persons in the battle.
11. A force under the command of Ngangpam Maitak, the Hitak Phanpa Hanchapa went to attack Samsok on October, 1722.
12. The month of November, 1722 was the month of Sicha Mapa, the Yaisakun Hanchapa to besiege Samsok and returned in the month of Decmber, 1722.
13. On 12th May, 1723, Pamheiba himself went to Samsok after the conquest of it by the forces of Yumlempa Kopeng. The battle was occurred on 23rd February, 1723 and the captives were arrested for some days and released on 24th February, 1724.

Failing the invasion of Manipur, Burma (Awa to the Manipuris) and Tripura (Takhel to the Manipuris), made an alliance and attacked Manipur simultaneously. In November, 1723, thirty thousand Burmese forces marched towards Manipur from the East and the Tripuris were from the south-western part of Manipur.¹⁴ At that time, Tripura was ruled by Dharma Manikya of Manikya dynasty and Burma was under king, Taininganwe of Toungoo dynasty. Pamheiba successfully defended and attacked both the rivals. Three Manipuri commanders viz. Kopeng Keirunghanba, Gaibhram Huidromba

and Brahmin Chakravartin Sidhanta faced the Burmese forces at Kakching near Pallel. And the Tripuris were defeated by Sanasapa Naharupa Rakpa and Hitakphu. On the other side, on hearing the defeat of Manipuris at Kakching, Pamheiba rode the royal elephant to Wangjing in December, 1723 along with a reinforcement of four thousand tribal soldiers, five thousand Meetei soldiers and three hundred well trained cavalry armed with *arambai*¹⁵. He divided the whole forces into three division in which Kopeng Keirunghanba led the northern division, the southern division was under Gaibhiram Huidromba and the other division of the front was under Brahmin Chakrabartin. The Manipuri cavalry and infantry of northern division attacked the Burmese infantry and the latter fled from the battlefield. Killing around two thousand Burmese soldiers, they were compelled to retreat from the battle. The Manipuri soldiers recovered one thousand shielded horse saddles, one thousand copper cooking vessels, thirty elephants, fifteen palanquins, fifteen spears and a number of soldier artisans.¹⁶ In commemoration of the victory, Pamheiba took the title of 'Lairen Meetingu Thongnang Mayampa Khoipu Chinglaipakta Tensingpa Loipi Thongnang Panta Thoutongpa Aawa Chaotao Lanchingpa Nanta Krathang Athoupa Kaina Hunpa'.¹⁷

Continuity of the invasion

The poorly equipped Burmese military could not defend the fast moving cavalry of Manipuri forces.¹⁸ Crossing the Chindwin River, in the month of November, 1735, Pamheiba attacked Myedoo on the bank of the Moo River, in the north-west of Mandalay, Sagaing, Burma. From the battle, the king captured one hundred thirty people¹⁹ including a brave Awa warrior named Chekai Mirongkham Ngasaram and four war elephants. The war captives from the Myedu region were allotted labours to their respective trades and they were married with Meetei wives.²⁰ Again in 1737, the Manipuri forces successfully defeated and killed two-third of the royal forces of Burma who came to oppose the invaders. In continuation of his invasion, the Manipuri king defeated the Burmese king, Mahadhammaraza Dipati in 1738. G. E. Harvey also mentions the unbeatable invasion of Pamheiba towards Burma and writes, "In 1738 when the king garrisoned these two places and Mingin in the Upper Chindwin district against them, they simply cantered past, camped at Thalunbyu west of Sagaing, burnt every house and monastery up to the walls of Ava, and stormed the stockade built to protect Kaunghmudaw pagoda slaughtering the garrison like cattle in a pen and killing the commandant, a minister of the Hluttaw Council; the old leaves of the pagoda's eastern gateway

show a gash made by the sword of Gharib Newaz when he was forcing an entrance." The name of his sword was called 'Yangkho Yekteiba Yellei Meiraba'.²¹ The attack of Sagaing was started with the crossing of the Chindwin River accompanied by a combined force of twenty thousand infantry and cavalry. The skilled and well trained Manipuri forces easily defeated the large number of encamped Burmese forces at Myedoo, Tabayin and Mingyin numbering eighty five thousand infantry, three thousand horses and thirty elephants.²²

Instability in Manipur after Pamheiba

Pamheiba abdicated the throne in 1748 in favour of her third son Menkhompa (popularly known as Chit Sai) due to the influence of his wife, Queen Gomti. Chitsai ascended the throne of Manipur the same year and the predecessor along with his queen Moirang Thapa stayed at Ramsala (Apong Yingkhon) in a royal house there.²³ And they shifted to Ram Nagar (Kontha). He moved to Angom Yumphan and then to Thanga. Mahadhammayaza Dipati sent emissaries in Manipur to request the hands of Manipuri princess Satyamala²⁴, a niece of Pamheiba and married with the former in 1749 at Sangku (Sugnu). This matrimonial alliance seemed to be the restoration of the cordial relationship between Burma and Manipur. Pamheiba was so clever to know that he has no excess power to expand his territory after his abdication of the throne. Then he was also aware that the Burmese would retaliate to Manipur as their revenge for the past cruelty of Manipuris and the loss the lands of Burma. At this juncture, he wanted to give Manipuri princess to keep safe the expanded territory and the state of Manipur in tranquillity. On his return of the marriage ceremony, Pamheiba received a request from Burmese king to wage war against the rebellious Koi. He defeated them and brought captives to Manipur. When he returned to Manipur, Chit Sai wrongly suspected that Pamheiba returned Manipur to the regain of his kingship. Then the former made a plan to expel him out forever from Manipur. At that time, Pamheiba went to Awa in 1751. He was met by the emissaries of Chitsai led by Nahakpam Tharoi, Keikranpa Hitang, Yumna Hongpa and Yirom Lanchingpa at the mouth of the Maglung River in January 1752. He was killed along with Shyamsai and Kishor Sai.²⁵ As Chitsai Sai's younger Brother Sangkoi Tapa (popularly known as Bharat Sai) was aware about the murder of Pamheiba, he ascended the throne of Manipur on 29th April, 1752 and the former was expelled to Mayang (Cachar) along with his son Dev Sai, Nanda Sai and his brother Senapati, Dhanka Sai. Taking advantage of the unpopularity rule of Bharat Sai in Manipur, Nongpok Leirikhompa, popularly known

as Ananta Sai fought the war of succession for the sake of his brothers and drove Bharat Sai out the throne. He led the forces on behalf of Gourashyam (also known as Marampa) and Bhagyachandra (also known as Chingthangkhempa, Karta Maharaj and Jai Singh). In 1753, Ananta Sai proclaimed Gourashyam, the eldest son of Shyam Sai²⁶, the King of Manipur and Bhagyachandra, the second son, heir successor. The two (Gourashyam and Bhagyachandra) accepted a deal to rule the state alternately for a period of five years.

Rise of Alaungpaya in Burma

During the reign of both kings, the eagerness of revenge by the Burmese and the spirit of declaring independence of the chief of Moirang²⁷ broke out and it turned into the Burmese invasion of Manipur by Alaungpaya. The rise of the power of Mons in Burma was successfully crushed on time by Alaungpaya, the king of Burma. He occupied the Upper Burma in 1754. Soon, he annexed Prome Dagon (where he founded the city of Rangoon) in 1755 and the chiefs of Pegu, Toungoo, Henzarda, Myaungmya, Bassein and the Arakan were taken by him.²⁸ The fusion of provinces and the principalities in Burma made Alaungpaya stronger his military strength and wealth. He had enough power to invade the small state, Manipur and to defend the Chinese invasion. The curiosity of the Burmese king was added by the new method of using fire arms in the war. In the same year, accompanying his musketeer captain Minhlahinhkaungkyaw, Alaungpaya invaded Manipur for the first time after Pamheiba's reign. In the devastation, fire arms used as their important weapons easily defeated the Manipuris who used primitive weapons like daos, spears, bows and arrows. Again in 1757, the chief of Moirang, Khelemba (popularly known as Wayenpam Khellei Nungngang Telheiba) took the help of Burmese army to invade Manipur. He made the plan of attacking Manipur because Bhagyachandra refused the demand of Chinga²⁹, the Thanga Karang Hill and all the lands to south of the Lokpa hill. In December 1758, king Alaungpaya defeated Manipur at the battle of Leisangkhong and entered the capital. Taking the advantage of the absence of Alaungpaya in Burma, the Peguers revolted in Burma. So, after nine days of invasion, the king of Burma returned to his capital carrying off thousands of people as captives. In Cheitharol Kumbaba, the second invasion of Manipur by Alaungpaya was known as '*Khuntak Ahanpa*' which means the first devastation.³⁰ In this regard, G.E. Harvey writes "In the cold weather 1758-9, Alaungpaya invaded Manipur..... After the murder of Gharib Newaz 1714-54, the Manipur durbar had relapsed into a series of the sanguinary plots, and one of the claimants took refuge with Alaungpaya, to

whom he presented some princesses. Alaungpaya now proceeded up the Chindwin, devastating the villages of the Kathe (Manipur) Shans on the west bank; he crossed the hills by the Khumbat route and entered the Manipur Valley."

Breaking down in Burma and building up in Manipur

In the mid-seventeenth century, some small branch offices were established by the British East India Company at Syriam, Awa and Bhamo for the first time. This was the beginning of the emergence of the relationship between the British and the Burmese. Again in the 1750s, the place of Negrais was fortified and re-established the relationship³¹. In July, 1757, Anglo-Burmese Treaty³² was signed between Alaungpaya and the British East India Company³³.

However, the cordial relationship between the Burmese and the British was doomed by the Massacre of Negrais³⁴ which occurred on 6th October, 1759.³⁵ In September 1760, the East India Company's envoy under Captain Alves reached Sagaing to demand the compensation for the massacre of Negrais. Naungdawgyi, the successor of Alaungpaya bore the compensation³⁶ of the massacre and gave permission to reopen the trade under the condition of denying to go to Negrais because the king of Burma could not protect Negrais against the French.³⁷ Looting the kit and preventing all business until Alves had paid eight of them a tip of Rs. 300 each, the ministers and princess of Burma humiliated and pounced on him. This led to the breaking down of the relationship of the two nations. Therefore, the English could not return to Negrais and Bassein.³⁸

Besides, Manipur was ready to sign a political alliance with the British. Understanding the military strength and standard of the weapons used by the Burmese invaders, King Bhagyachandra sent Vakil, Haridas Gossain to meet Henry Verelst, the chief of the Chittagong factory at Chittagong and signed the Anglo-Manipuri Treaty³⁹ on 14th September 1762. The King of Manipur wanted military aid from the British to defend the threat of Burmese invasion in Manipur and to reduce the internal conflict among his brothers for the throne. At the same time, Chit Sai made complain to the British at Chittagong that he was dethroned and expelled from the country. So he requested the help of the British to restore his power⁴⁰. After a deep examination in the case of Manipur, the British rejected the case of Chitsai. And they decided to consider and support the claim of Bhagyachandra of Manipur to the throne. The British expressed willingness to help him in the war against Burma.⁴¹ According to the treaty, a body of six companies of British forces under Henry Verelst was dispatched in January, 1763. The fate

of British help in Manipur was doomed in April, 1763 because they faced excessive rainfall and epidemic on the way to Manipur at Khaspur, the capital of Cachar. Moreover, the confrontation between the East India Company and Mir Qasim in Bengal compelled to halt the continuation of the Manipur expedition and they were recalled from there.⁴²

Successor of Alaungpaya and Bhagyachandra in Manipur

In Burma, Hsingbyushin succeeded Naungdawgyi in 1763 and the former regained the superiority of his father Alaungpaya. The chief of Moirang, Khelemba gave his daughter, Ton-Taw Wadi⁴³ to the Burmese king, Hsingbyushin to help in his revenge against the king of Manipur. The Burmese king started keeping his eyes on Manipur in which the state was ascended the throne permanently by Bhagyachandra (Jai Singh/Chingthangkomba) in the same year after the death of his brother, Gourshyam (Marampa). In December, 1764, the Burmese king fought the battle of Tammu. The Manipuri forces were defeated and two Manipuri soldiers, Naharup Hachari and Kshetri Chatyana were killed. At the defeat of the battle at Tammu, Bhagyachandra himself left the capital to defend the Burmese invaders in January 1765 and they encamped at Kakching. The king of Manipur was again defeated and fled to the hills seeking asylum in a tribal village of Assam. As the chief did not grant the permission, he went to Cachar. Then, Hsingbyushin made Khelemba the king of Manipur and returned to his country carrying away the people of Manipur as captives to increase the population of his new capital, Awa.⁴⁴

Taking the shelter in the court of Ram Chandra Narayan, the king of Cachar, Bhagyachandra took the help of Ahom king, Swargadeva Rajeshwar Simha and agreed to help in the restoration of the power of Manipur. The first Manipur expedition which was helped by the forty thousand Ahom armies under the command of Majindar Phukan was failed to reach Manipur as they could not find a favourable and correct route to Manipur. Then, the second expedition was sent by the Ahom king in 1767 under the command of Khangia Phukan. Using ten thousand forces from eighty thousand given by Rajeshwar Simha, Bhagyachandra successfully regained the power of Manipur by destroying Moirang. In 1768, the king of Moirang was killed on his way to Awa.⁴⁵ For the immense help of the Ahom king, Bhagyachandra showed gratitude by sending tributes as well as princess Kuranganayani⁴⁶ to Rajeshwar Simha.

On the other side, the Chinese invaded Burma in 1769. Under a peace treaty, the war was ended between Burma and China. The both states agreed not to fight each other

further. In January 1770, the Burmese forces defeated Manipur. In the invasion of Manipur, two Manipuri officials, Ghanasham and Moirangjam Togindra was accompanied by the Burmese army.⁴⁷ The two Manipuris may be the brothers of Khelemba as R. Brown states that the brothers of Khelemba invaded Manipur in 1770⁴⁸. The Burmese took the prince, Babananda⁴⁹ as hostage. Bhagyachandra (Jai Singh/Chingthangkomba) was again compelled to flee to Cachar. Then, the throne of Manipur was given to Keibiram who was a commander of the Manipur army. In the same year, Babananda was sent back to Manipur from Burma to be a puppet king along with a detachment of the Burmese army. However, at the battle of Tusarok, Keibiram was killed who resisted Babananda to come Manipur. In spite of killing Keibiram, the Manipuri forces under the command of Yuvaraj Kokilananda⁵⁰ showed the bravery and defeated the Burmese forces killing seven hundred Burmese soldiers in the battle. The Burmese soldiers retreated to Ningthee. Then, Kokilananda ruled Manipur for two years from 1770 to 1772. In 1772, Bhagyachandra returned to Manipur to regain his throne of Manipur. The forces of Kokilananda and Bhagyachandra was fought at Sangaitel. Meitan Keisangpam Aviram and Soipam Samram who were the commander of the forces of Kokilananda were killed by Bhagyachandra. Then, he surrendered to Bhagyachandra and the latter became the king of Manipur. In January, 1773, the Manipuri forces under the command of Senapati Santhipa Gopal was again defeated by the Burmese and Bhagyachandra fled to Cachar. The Burmese nominated Prince Yipungo Bhagabanta the king of Manipur and returned to their country after five months. In November, 1773, Bhagyachandra came back from Cachar and resumed his rule of Manipur as an independent king. He sent Wakhongthempa Murari to Burma to restore the cordial diplomatic relationship between the two states. Denying the proposal of the Manipuri king, Bhagyachandra was defeated again in 1774 by the Burmese forces and fled to Tripura. The Burmese sent Chandraklya as the governor of Manipur to look after the state. Then he left the state, after two months, giving the task of him to Wangkhei Pukhrampa Cha Khuling (also known as Binod Shyam). In March 1776, Bhagyachandra returned to Manipur to restore his throne after deporting Binod Shyam to Cachar. Then, Bhagyachandra ruled Manipur peacefully till 1798 as he compromised the Burmese. In January 1798, he intentionally abdicated the throne and it was succeeded by Labnyachandra (also known as Loiren Khompa), the eldest son of Bhagyachandra in 1799. He went to Nabadwip for a pilgrimage along with his sons Madhuchandra and Chourjit; and his daughters Bheigyabati and Hariseshori. In October, 1799, he died near Bhagovangola, on the banks of the Ganga River.⁵¹

Notes

1. Sana, Raj Kumar Somorjit. *The Chronology of Meetei Monarchs (from 1666 CE to 1850 CE)*. 2010. English. p. 59.
2. Ill-treatment was the demotion from the status of head queen. She was demoted after the birth of her son Mangtra Kentu Ngampa.
3. Chakpa Makhao Ngambi was a sister of Charairongba and a daughter of Prince Tonsen Ngampa and Meetei Reima Ngangpam Chanu Ngaikhom Ngampi. Besides, the narratives of other sources mention that Chakpa Makhao Ngambi was a daughter of Charairongba and Satpam Chanu Nungthi Chaibi.
4. Pemberton, Capt. R. Boileau. *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, 1835. English. p. 38.
5. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 77.
6. Sana, Raj Kumar Somorjit. *The Chronology of Meetei Monarchs (from 1666 CE to 1850 CE)*. 2010. English. p. 98.
7. Jhaljit, R. K. *A Short History of Manipur*. Imphal, 1965. English. p. 129.
8. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 67.
9. Kamei, Gangmumei. *History of Manipur (Pre-Colonial Period)*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2019. English. p. 287.
10. Sana, Raj Kumar Somorjit. *The Chronology of Meetei Monarchs (from 1666 CE to 1850 CE)*. 2010. English. p. 100.
11. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 79.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
13. Singh, Dr. Th Suresh. *Loiba Naidraba Kabaw Valley (British na Semlamba Manipur, Burma amasung India gi chakkrabihu)*. Imphal: Patriotic Writers Forum Manipur, 2021. Manipuri (Bengali script). p. 109.
14. Kamei, Gangmumei. *History of Manipur (Pre-Colonial Period)*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2019. English. p. 288.
15. T. C. Hudson writes, "Arambai is a weapon used by cavalryman having the features of a total length around 24–26 inches in two parts. The outer part is formed a narrow hollow cylinder by ten to twelve quills of peacock feathers. At the top, the outer part is fastened by a heavy pointed piece of iron. A bamboo rod is placed into the sheath, projecting outwards about five inches, and forming a handle. A piece of cord is attached to the handle to hold properly. This weapon was mostly used by cavalrymen of the Manipuri forces."
16. Kamei, Gangmumei. *History of Manipur (Pre-Colonial Period)*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2019. English. p. 289.
17. Sana, Raj Kumar Somorjit. *The Chronology of Meetei Monarchs (from 1666 CE to 1850 CE)*. 2010. English. p. 108.
18. Breemer, Bryce. *The Creole City in Mainland Southeast Asia: Slave Gathering Warfare and Cultural Exchange in Burma, Thailand and Manipur, 18th-19th Century*. 2013. English. p. 288.
19. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 96.
20. Sana, Raj Kumar Somorjit. *The Chronology of Meetei Monarchs (from 1666 CE to 1850 CE)*. 2010. English. p. 112.
21. Bheigyga, Shri Sapam. *A Brief History of Manipur (Pre-History to 1972 A.D.)*. Imphal: Sapam Hera Foundation, Tera Keithel, Sayang Leirak Machin, 2021. English.
22. Kamei, Gangmumei. *History of Manipur (Pre-Colonial Period)*. New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2019. English. p. 290.
23. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 119.
24. She was also known as Sicha Seityamala Ampra Keithen Thanpi and Tampha Ponghal Thouchao Lokpi. She was the daughter of Khamlang Pamshaba who was Wangkhei Rakpa and Senapati as well as the younger (Step) brother of Garibnawaz. She became one of the queens of Mahadhammayaza Dipati and got the title 'Maha Devi'. She got her son Khura Lepta titled Minye Sithu.
25. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 120.
26. Shyam Sai was the eldest son of Garibnawaz
27. The chief of Moirang during the reign of Gourashyam was Wahengbam Khelemba, the maternal uncle of the Gourshyam and Bhagyachandra.
28. Leider, Jacques P. *King Alaungmintaya's Golden Letter to King George II (7 May 1756)*. Hannover: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, 2009. English. p. 15.
29. The demand of Chinga was refused to grant to Khelemba because of the strategic position of the place in a short distance south to the Palace.
30. Khelchandra, L. Ibungohal Singh and N. *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. Imphal: Manipur Sahitya Parishad, 1967. English. p. 122.
31. Myint-U, Thant. *The Making of Modern Burma*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001. English. p. 17.
32. The provisions of the treaty which lasted only two years were: (a) Cession to the British of the island of Negrais in perpetuity. (b) Cession of four thousand cubits of ground in Bassein in perpetuity. (c) Free trade (d) The East India Company to give the Burmese one 12-pounder and 730 pounds of powder. (e) The Company to defend the King of Burma against all enemies, His Majesty paying the expenses of the troops. (f) The Company not to assist the King of Tavoy.
33. Stuart, John. *Burma (Through the Centuries)*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1909. English. pp. 87-88.
34. Due to the allegation of Armenian merchants against the monopoly of British East India Company and the misdeeds of his brother, Alaungpaya sent 2000 men against the British at Negrais to check the steps of the British. At that time, the company withdraw thirty Europeans and seventy

- Indians in May 1759. In October, they sent back a small staff to retain a lien on the island. The secret plan of attacking the British killed eight Englishmen including one hundred Indians at the fort and the Burmese forces burnt the fort and took away the cannons. This incident was known as the Massacre of Negrais which was occurred on 6th October, 1759. A midshipman and 64 Indians escaped on board.
35. Singh, Yumnam Mohendra. "Burma and Manipur Relations (1714-1826)." Hanjabam, Aheibam Koireng Singh and Shukhdeba Sharma. *Manipur Myanmar Historical Connections*. New Dehli: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., 2022. 70-94. English. p. 77.
 36. The king of Burma gave the compensation by releasing a half dozen of English captives, giving full liberty to trade, and granting sites anywhere in return for arms and ammunition. A male and female camel and a horse and mare each for cubits high were also given to him.
 37. Harvey, G.E. *A History of Burma*. Calcutta: Asian Educational Services, 1926. English. p. 136.
 38. Ibid. p. 246.
 39. A copy of the alliance was sent to H. Vanittart, President of Board for the approval and also requested him for a force for the expedition against Burma. The provisions of the Anglo Manipuri Treaty, 1762 were found comfortable and favourable to the Board members when it was discussed on 4th October, 1762. As per decision on that day, the Board discussed the proposed alliance with Manipur against Burma on 14th October, 1762 after taking opinion of Col. Coote and Major Carna.
 40. Pemberton, Capt. R. Boileau. *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, 1835. English. p. 40.
 41. Ibid. p. 40.
 42. Dena, Lal. *History of Modern Manipur (1762-1949)*. Imphal: Jain Book Shop Publication, 2019. English.
 43. Hlaing, Nwe Ni. "The Meetei (Kathe) Crown Service groups in Myanmar from the Earliest Times to the End of Monarchical Rule." *Journal of Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science (Vol. XIII, No.9)* (June, 2015). English.
 44. Harvey, G. E. *A History of Burma*. Calcutta: Asian Educational Services, 1926. English. p. 248.
 45. Singh, Yumnam Mohendra. "Burma and Manipur Relations (1714-1826)." Singh, Aheibam Koireng and Hanjabam Shukhdev Sharma. *Manipur Myanmar Historical Connections*. New Dehli: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., 2022. 70-94. English.
 46. Kurangnayani (also known as Sicha Phongta Lokpi and Tarabati to king Rajeshwar) was a daughter of Gourshyam, brother of Bhayachandra. She was escorted to the Ahom king accompanying Manmath Bara along with dowry. She was given Barkuari, chief queen of Ahom kingdom.
 47. Singh, Yumnam Mohendra. "Burma and Manipur Relations (1714-1826)." Singh, Aheibam Koireng and Hanjabam Shukhdev Sharma. *Manipur Myanmar Historical Connections*. New Dehli: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd., 2022. 70-94. English.
 48. Brown, R. *Statistical Account of Manipur*. Delhi: Sanskaran Prakashak, 1975. English. p. 61.
 49. Prince Babananda was a younger brother of King Bhagyachandra.
 50. Prince Kokilananda was a son of Prince Ananta Sai.
 51. Pemberton, Capt. R. Boileau. *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, Circular Road, 1835. English. p. 44.

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