

Mughals In The Historical Narratives Of Manipur

Dr. Syed Ahmed

Assistant Professor Department of History
D.M. College of Arts, Imphal.

Abstract

This paper explores two broad aspects of the history of the spread of Muslims and their faith in the eastern frontier of South Asia. First, it traces the history of the Muslim conquest and spread of Islam in the Bengal frontier, particularly in Sylhet proper and its southern most part, known in medieval times as Taraf (now a part of Habiganj District, in Bangladesh), and further entry and settlement of Muslims from these regions to Manipur. Second, the paper examines the mention of Mughals in the royal chronicles of the rulers of Manipur and puyas, or old historical manuscripts, and the instances of the settlement of Mughals in Manipur during the course of Mughals' political expansion in the eastern frontier of South Asia in the 16th and 17th century.

Keywords: Mughals, Sylhet, Taraf, Boro-bhuiyas, puya, khunthoklon, qazi, yumnak-sagei.

Introduction

Manipur lies in the eastern-most corner of South Asia, bordering Myanmar (erstwhile Burma). In pre-modern times, Manipur was under the Meetei kingdom, with a recorded history of around 2000 years. The royal court chronicles maintained by the Pandit Loishang (Department of royal scribes), such as Cheitharol Kumbaba and Ningthourel Lambuba, provide us the history of 78 rulers starting from 33 A.D. to 1950. In the course of its history, Manipur attracted people and communities from far and wide. The rulers of Manipur welcomed these immigrants. Referring to the early instances of migrations into Manipur, noted research scholar, R.K. Jhalajit Singh writes how the Aryans, in small numbers, reached Manipur from northern parts of India by crossing Bengal to reach Surma valley, then to the valley of Manipur. The Aryans were followed much later, in the 15th century, by the Brahmins, who came from various parts of northern and eastern India. There are also records of the immigration and settlement of Khetriyas, Mayang Thongnangs (Cacharis), Mayang Tekhaos (Assamese), Muslims (Pangals/Meitei Pangals), among others; and Chakpas, Shans of Kabow valley, Burmese and Chinese from the east. They were settled in different parts of the kingdom. In course of time, they were integrated in the socio-cultural milieu of Manipur.

Literary traditions in Manipur

Manipur had rich literary tradition from early times. The court chroniclers and other literati generally referred to as maichous, meticulously maintained manuscripts on various topics, which are known as puyas. Besides the court chronicles of the monarchs of Manipur, the palace scribes also recorded the entry of immigrants, leaving behind immigration books, which are called khunthoklon. The immigrants who came from the west were known as Nongchup

Haram, while those from the east are referred to as Nongpok Haram. Some of the prominent immigrant books include Poireiton Khunthok Lon (advent of Poireiton and his group), Khetri Lon (arrival of Kshetriyas), Lairikyengbam Lon (immigration of Lairikyenbas or people who could read and write), Mayang Tekhao Lon (immigration of people from Assam), Bamon Khunthok Lon (advent of Brahmins), among others. These valuable texts help historians in the reconstruction of the history of various communities settled in Manipur as well as in writing a composite history, society and culture of Manipur.

Puyas or Khunthoklons of the Muslims

The history of the entry of Muslims in the valley of Manipur is recorded extensively in two puyas, Nongsamei Puya and Pangal Thorakpa. These two texts, or khunthoklon, which have almost similar contents and time period, chronicles the history of the Muslims in Manipur for almost three centuries starting from the reign of Khagemba (1597-1652 A.D.) up to Jai Singh or Maharaj Bhagyachandra (1759-1798 A.D.), covering the reigns of 11 kings. These texts are valuable sources for the reconstruction of the history of Muslim settlements in the valley of Manipur, their social formation, administrative, military and economic engagements in pre-modern Manipur. The authors (maichous) and the year of compilation of these texts are not given. It is believed that these were written after the advent of Hinduism as shown by the use of words and terms associated with Hinduism, the genealogical list of several Muslim clans given, etc. Nongsamei Puya was compiled dedicating to Jag Singh of Leirikyenbam clan (clan is referred to as yumnak/sagei), who was given the title "Nongsamei," meaning lion-like man. He played a crucial role in the Manipuri-Muslim battle of 1606 A.D. Jag Singh saved the king from being killed by a Muslim commander, named Munon Khan. He was a prominent courtier and advisor of Khagemba, who knew Bengali, so he negotiated with the invading Muslims for peace. Since the Manipuris did not have enough firearms, they were unable to defeat the Muslims who were fully armed. It was Jag Singh who initiated for a peace settlement with the Muslims. As per the terms of the deal, the Muslims laid down their arms. Taking the opportunity, the Manipuri soldiers physically overpowered and captured the Muslims. The two puyas narrates the circumstances which led to Muslim invasion in 1606 A.D., their settlement, social formation, further Muslim immigrations, administrative and military engagements, contributions to agricultural and industrial activities, etc.

Settlement of Muslims in Manipur

The history of the advent of the Muslims and their settlement in Manipur, as mentioned, is extensively chronicled in Nongsamei Puya and Pangal Thorakpa. However, brief references of the Muslims' settlement have also been made in the Cheitharol Kumbaba, Ningthourel Lambuba, Khagemba Lanpha, Khagemba Langjei and few other old texts, such as Pangal Panchayat Report. The advent of the Muslims in the valley of Manipur is traced from the reign of Khagemba (1597-1652 A.D.) in these texts.

However, few Muslims made their presence in the valley of Manipur before the reign of Khagemba. M.A. Janab Khan, who edited Nongsamei Puya, is of the opinion that few Muslims came during the reign of Chalamba (1545-1562 A.D.), or Mungyamba (1562-1597

A.D.), and they were employed for the manufacture of guns. Noted scholar, S.N. Parratt is of the opinion that Muslims were inhabitants of Manipur from mid 16th century. She writes that the first reference of Pangal is made in the Cheitharol Kumbaba in the entry of the year 1556 A.D., during the reign of Chalamba (1545-1562 A.D.). The cheithaba (the man, chosen by the king from his subjects, who gave his name to the year and bore all the misfortunes that might befall the king and his realm for that year) for the year was a man named Thingpaicham Pangan. She believes that Thingpaicham Pangan was a Muslim who was given a Meetei surname, indicating that the man had been integrated into the Meetei social structure. The Aribam clan (clan means yumnak-sagei) traces their descent from these Muslims. According to Janab Khan, Sheikh Ruba, Asim Shah and Kutuwan Khan Sadik were the progenitors of the clan.

The major settlement of Muslims in Manipur took place in the early part of the 17th century during the reign of King Khagemba, which is referred to as the Pangal khunthok achouba. According to Nongsamei Puya and Pangal Thorakpa, in 1606 A.D., Khagemba took one thousand Muslims as captives and they were subsequently settled in the valley. These Muslims came along with the Cachari troops led by Prince Sanongba (Yaiskullakpa, or officer in charge of Yaiskul division) to dethrone his brother, King Khagemba. The Muslim troops were engaged by the then ruler of Cachar, Dimasha Prataphil (Pratap Narayan, 1603-1610 A.D.), from the ruler of Taraf (now in the Habiganj District in Sylhet Division), Muhammad Naziri, to help Sanongba in his military campaign against the ruler of Manipur. The ruler of Taraf provided a troop of 1007 Muslim soldiers commanded by his brother, Muhammad Shani, who was a Nawab of a territory in the southern side of Taraf. The invading body of warriors was defeated. The Cachari forces had fled leaving behind the Muslims. The Muslim troops were overpowered and captured. Later, the king ordered the Muslims to reside in the valley. Accepting the offer, they resided by intermarrying with local women. The two puyas also record the subsequent entry of small batches of Muslims from different parts of India.

Muslim conquest of Sylhet

As majority of Muslims in Manipur came from Sylhet, let's first explore the history of Muslim conquest and spread of Islam among the natives in Sylhet. In 1203 A.D., the Afghan military general, Muhammad Bhaktiyar Khalji occupied Nadia and Gaur (Lakhnauti) after defeating Lakshman Sena (c.1178-1206 A.D.) and established Muslim rule in Bengal. The subsequent Muslim rulers expanded the area of Muslim control. Since then, several Muslim ethnic groups, namely Turk, Pathan (Afghan), Arab, Syed (Sayyid), Abyssinian, etc. came and settled in Bengal. Numerous sufi preachers also entered from Central Asia from time to time to spread Islam in the region.

Sylhet, originally Srihatta, lies in the northeastern part of East Bengal, situated along the right bank of the Surma River. The name Sylhet is the anglicized form of the ancient Indo-Aryan term "Srihatta." Today, Sylhet Division, or Greater Sylhet, consists of four sub-divisions: Sunamganj, Sylhet, Habiganj and Maulvi Bazar. It is bordered by the Indian States of Meghalaya, Assam and Tripura to the North, East and South respectively. In between Sylhet and Manipur lies the Barak valley, which is made up of Cachar, Karimganj and Hailakandi Districts. Karimganj and Hailakandi Districts were part of Sylhet till 1947.

Sylhet was under Hindu rulers. The region fell into the hands of the Muslims in the early part of the 14th century. The conquest of Sylhet took place during the reign of the Sultan of Bengal, Shamsuddin Firuz Shah (1301-22 A.D.). Renowned saint (pir), Shah Jalal (d. 1346) is also said to have taken part in the military campaign against the Hindu ruler of Sylhet. According to Suhail-i-Yaman (compiled in 1859 A.D. by Maulvi Muhammad Nasiruddin Haider), Shah Jalal was born in Yeman, but an inscription engraved in 1505 A.D. during the reign of the ruler of Bengal, Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.), mentioned that the saint was a native of Kuniya in Turkey. He was born during the turbulent 13th century, when Mongols created havoc in the region. He was a spiritual disciple of the great Central Asian sufi saint, Saiyid Ahmad Yasavi. According to tradition, the latter sent Shah Jalal to India with a party of 700 warrior disciples (ghazi) on a militant evangelizing mission. Shah Jalal reached Delhi during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.). He is said to have met renowned Chisti sufi saint, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. Thereafter, Shah Jalal and a band of 360 (according to others 313) companions moved to Sylhet with the aim of spreading their faith. They assisted the army of the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah (1301-22 A.D.) in the conquest of Sylhet in 1303 A.D, which was then the capital of the kingdom of Gaur/Gor, ruled by a Hindu king, Gaur Gobind.

The military campaign against the Hindu ruler of Sylhet was carried out against his policy of persecution towards the Muslim inhabitants. It is mentioned in the text, Suhail-i-Yaman that the campaign was launched by Shamsuddin Firuz Shah to punish Gour Govind, the ruler of Taraf, for the crimes done to a Muslim named Shaikh Burhanuddin. The king gave the task to his sister's son, Sikandar Ghazi. He occupied Sonargaon on the way to Sylhet, but failed thrice to occupy Sylhet. Ultimately, the sultan sent his Sipah Salar and Governor of Satgaon, Syed Nasiruddin, to reinforce Sikandar Ghazi. At Tribeni, in the vicinity of Satgaon, the force was joined by Shaikh Jalal and his 360 disciples. The combined army succeeded in conquering Sylhet. The event is confirmed from an inscription recovered at Sylhet, dated 1512 A.D.

After conquering the region, Shah Jalal and his disciples introduced Islam to the local population. The celebrated Moroccan traveler, Ibn Battuta (d.1377 A.D.) had visited Sylhet in 1345 A.D. to meet Shah Jalal. He stayed for three days as Shah Jalal's guest in his mountain cave. He noted that the saint settled among the natives of the mountainous region and successfully converted them to Islam.

Shah Jalal is said to have instructed his followers to reside in Bengal and in the interiors of north east India (parts of Assam and Tripura) and spread their faith to the indigenous population. Besides spreading Islam, these Muslim preachers helped in transforming the socio-economic landscape of eastern Bengal. They assisted the indigenous population in clearing the jungles and taught them wet rice cultivation. This aspect of Islamic proselytization accompanied by agrarian revolution in the eastern frontier of Bengal has been comprehensively studied by eminent historian, Richard Eaton. He observes, "Shah Jalal was but one of the pioneers in Bengal who took part in a movement that was not only religious in nature, but also social and economic. For between 12th and early 16th centuries, the entire river system of the Bengal delta underwent a profound change, the most important aspect of this being the gradual east-ward migration of the Ganges River from its old channel through the

Bhagirathi-Hoogly system in western Bengal, into ever eastward channels. Finally, by the early sixteenth century, the Ganges had linked up with the Padma...the active part of the Bengal delta shifted eastwards, and with it, the basis for an intensification of wet-rice agriculture...these changes in Bengal's ecological system coincided with the growth of Muslim power in north-western Bengal...Many early Bengali saints, whose shrines are located in a large arc extending from the 24 Paraganas and Khulna Districts in the south, through Noakhali, Comilla and Sylhet Districts in the east, are associated with the clearing of the jungles and the teaching of wet rice agriculture, along with, of course, the preaching of Islam." Eaton sums up that "peasantization and Islamization proceeded hand in hand." Notably, the Sylheti Muslims, who resided in Manipur valley, introduced the transplantation method of wet rice cultivation and brought large tracts of barren land into cultivation.

However, historians in the past believed that the Hindu masses in Bengal, lacked the religious guidance of Brahmans, and the latter also failed to challenge the Muslim proselytizers, which led to the conversion of majority of Hindus to Islam, thereby overlooking the role of the sufis in transforming the agrarian landscape of eastern Bengal. Jadunath Sarkar opines, "Despised and neglected by the educated Aryan priesthood, with no resident Brahman clergy to look after their religious instruction or conduct their rites properly, the Hindu masses of East Bengal remained as sheep without a spiritual shepherd, just like their Mongoloid Buddhistic brethren of Kamrup and Assam. Hence, when Shah Jalal (of Sylhet) and other missionaries of the Crescent arrived to preach Islam to them, no worthy priests of Hinduism came forth to accept the challenge, and the masses of East Bengal were easily converted to Islam en masse from spirit worship (call it later Buddhism or Tanktrik Hinduism as you please, these are only two names for the same thing). This is the underlying meaning of the legend still current about the early missionaries of Islam in Sylhet and Rajgir (south Bihar) and their success in defeating the local Hindu priests (called jogis) by superior miracle-working power."

The early conversion of the mass natives of eastern frontier of Bengal into Islam is credited to Shah Jalal and his numerous disciples by historians. Eaton writes that Shah Jalal is today widely revered as a saint, and his career is commonly understood, if only subconsciously, as a kind of metaphor for the Islamization of Bengal. Sylhet soon came to be known as Jalalabad, or land of (Shah) Jalal. The shrine of Shah Jalal is at Sylhet.

Muslim conquest of Taraf

Taraf, the homeland of the Muslims who were taken as captives by King Khagemba, was a part of Habiganj, to be exact Habibganj, named after its founder Syed Habib Ullah of Taraf kingdom. Between 13th and early 17th century, Habiganj was part of the State of Nasirabad (now Mymensingh). Taraf was called Tungachal before the Muslim conquest. It was part of the present day Habiganj District in Sylhet Division. Soon after the conquest of Sylhet in 1304 A.D., the Muslim invaders received the news of the execution of a local qazi (one who dealt with judicial matters) by the Hindu ruler of Tungachal, Achak Narayan, for sacrificing a cow for his son's marriage. The sultan of Bengal sent Syed Nasiruddin with a contingent of soldiers, including 12 of Shah Jalal's followers for a military campaign against Narayan. The Hindu ruler fled with his family when he got the news of Muslims' advance. Without much effort, Taraf was occupied. Syed Nasiruddin

was appointed as its governor. He is said to have consoled the family of the late qazi by marrying the qazi's daughter to his own son, Syed Sirajuddin. Syed Nasiruddin began to establish his rule over Taraf. Tungachal was renamed as Taraf. According to a popular tradition, he is said to be a warrior saint (ghazi), who is also credited with the spread of Islam in eastern Bengal in the 14th century. He is believed to be a follower of the sufi order, Suhrawardy silsila. There are several legends of his supernatural powers.

Tradition holds that he was born into the Syed family of Hasan al-Arabi (Hasan the Arab) in Baghdad. He came to Delhi following the Mongol attack in Baghdad. Syed Nasiruddin established hereditary rule in Taraf. He was succeeded by his direct descendants till 1581-82. Syed Sirajuddin, Syed Musafir, Syed Khudawand, Syed Mikhail and Syed Musa established their rule over Taraf in succession. Syed Musa, the last Syed ruler of Taraf, was defeated by the ruler of Tippera (modern day Tripura), Amar Manikya, and Taraf was annexed. The event is corroborated by the court chronicle of the rulers of Tippera, Rajmala. It records, "Amara Manik mounted the throne, he was the brother of Bijaya Manik...Amara Manik resolved on virtuous deeds by digging tanks, he ordered all the landlords of his kingdom to send coolies for this purpose, accordingly nine Zemindars sent 7300 coolies, The Zemindar of Taraf in Sylhet refused, an army of 22,000 men was sent against him, his son was taken prisoner, put into a cage, and brought to Udayapur. The Raja next (A.D. 1582) marched an army against the Mohammadan commander of Sylhet whom he defeated. The order of the troops in battle resembled in figure the sacred bird Gaduda, the two generals in the van represented the beak, the troops on the flanks the wing and the main army the body; during the fight both parties became fatigued when a suspension of arms took place by mutual agreement; they afterwards resumed the battle, when the Musalmans were defeated. Sylhet from this time became tributary to Tripura."

Mughals' expansion in the Eastern Frontier

Sher Shah Suri (1538-1545 A.D.), a Pashtun Afghan, established the Suri dynasty after overthrowing the Mughal Emperor, Humayun (1530-40/1555-56 A.D.). Bengal, including Sylhet, also came under Afghans when Sher Shah took over the region from Mahmud Shah (1533-1538 A.D.), the last ruler of the Hussain Shahi Dynasty (1494-1538 A.D.). Bengal was under the control of the Surs from 1539 to 1564 A.D. When the Mughals regained their power from the Suris in northern India, the Afghans were gradually pushed towards the eastern frontier.

Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) attempted to break the backbone of the Afghans in Bengal and extend their political control in the region, but it failed. Towards the end of his reign, Akbar recalled the Governor of Bengal, Raja Man Singh (1594-1606 A.D.). In his absence, Afghan chief led by Khwaja Usman and others rose in rebellion.

Soon after the accession, Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) posted Islam Khan Chisti, a young and capable general, as Governor of Bengal (1608-13 A.D.). Islam Khan handled the state of affairs in Bengal with vigour and foresight. Bengal was then parcelled out and controlled by several powerful and influential Bhuiyas (often referred to as Boro-bhuiyas or 12 bhuiyas) or powerful zamindars. They were Bir Hamir of Birbhum and Bankura, Shms Khan of Pachet, Salim Khan of Hijli, Pitambar of Puthea, Ananta of Chilajuwar, Ilah Baksh of Alipur, Mirza

Mumin of Catmohar, Madhu Ray of Kalsi, Majlis Qutab of Faridpur, Raja Pratapsditya of Jessore-Khulna, Raja Ramchandra of Bakerganj, Ananta Manikya of Bhulna, Musa Khan of Sonargaon, Bahadur Ghazi of Chaura, Suna Ghazi of Sarail, Bayazid of Sylhet, and Khwaja Usman of Bokainagar. During the time, the whole of modern Sylhet was the stronghold of the Afghans. The most important of them was Bayazid Karrani, who along with his brother, Yakub, held sway over the heart of Sylhet. Bayazid was in close association with Khwaja Usman, who controlled Mymensingh with the city of Bokainagar as his stronghold. The latter became the most formidable opponent of the Mughals in Bengal. Baniachang, part of the Habiganj division in the south-western portion of the Sylhet District was in the possession of Anwar Khan. These Afghan chiefs (or zamindars) strongly resisted the Mughals.

Islam Khan brought many of the zamindars to his support, shifted his headquarters from Rajmahal to Dacca to deal with the rebels. He conquered Sonargaon, which was under the control of Musa Khan and his confederates (the Boro-bhuiyas). Musa Khan was imprisoned. Khwaja Usman was chased out of Mymensingh towards the end of 1611 A.D. After the fall of Bokainagar, he became a fugitive for some time, but soon established his hold in Taraf, a hilly tract, in the southern extremity of Sylhet, with Uhar (today's Patanushar, 16 miles east of the northeast corner of Hail Haor in Maulvi Bazar District) as the fortified capital. He is also said to have defeated Raja Subid Narayan, the ruler of Ita kingdom (Rajnagar) and annexed the region. He placed his sons and brothers in control of the neighboring tracts of Taraf. Mirza Nathan's Baharistan-i-Ghaybi has given extensive details on the Mughal's military conflicts with Afghans, but the year in which Khwaja Usman was driven out of Bokainagar is not mentioned. Nathan notes, "Usman evacuated the fort of Bokainagar as a war measure and wandered about with his followers. When Nasir Khan and Dariya Khan Pani, two of the Afghan chiefs of Tajpur, left Usman and joined the imperialists and Usman came to know of it, he seized two hundred and fifty Afghans and took them with him to Sylhet via Laur hill. The imperialists, after performing two genuflections of the Id prayer in the morning, marched in his trial..."

The details of the flight of Khwaja Usman from Bokainagar to Taraf are given along with dates and years by Muazzam Hussain Khan. He notes, "After the fall of Musa Khan, Usman was the main target of Mughal subahdar Islam Khan. Towards the beginning of October 1611, Islam Khan gathered a large army for the campaign against Usman. The land force under Shaykh Kamal and Shaykh Abdul Wahid marched from Dhaka to Hasanpur (25 miles north of Bokainagar) and encamped there. Shaykh Kamal and Abdul Wahid marched from Hasanpur towards Bokainagar, making block houses all along the way with trenches around. The advance of the invaders with the help of small forts was opposed by Usman almost at every stage, and skirmishes occurred frequently. The triumphant march of the invaders, the strength of their numbers, the abundance of their equipments soon broke the back of the Afghan opposition and created confusion and dissension in the ranks of Usman. Nasir Khan and Dariya Khan, two Afghan chiefs of Tajpur, left Usman and joined the imperialists. Alarmed at this desertion and apprehensive of further defection of his ranks, Usman decided to evacuate Bokainagar and seek refuge in Sylhet with Bayezid Karrani. Usman seized 250 Afghan soldiers of Nasir Khan and Dariya Khan and finally retraced his steps towards Sylhet. The abandoned fort of Bokainagar was

occupied by the Mughal army (7 December 1611). Usman created a new centre of authority in the hilly tract in the southern part of Sylhet with Uhar as the fortified capital...He stationed his son Khwaja Mumriz and brother Khwaja Malhi in the neighbouring tract of Taraf."

Khwaja Usman is described by historians as the most romantic figure in the history of medieval Bengal. He was also the most formidable enemy of the Mughals. Khwaja Usman was referred by the contemporary chroniclers as the strongest Afghans to challenge the might of the Mughals. The forte of Khwaja Usman lay in the ungrudging support of his younger brothers, namely Khwaja Wali, Khwaja Malhi, and Khwaja Ibrahim, and his two sons, Khwaja Mumriz and Khwaja Yakub. Taraf, being a fortified place, made the Afghans possible to resist the Mughal attacks. The Afghan chiefs also had the support of many Hindu rulers of the region, such as the rulers of Jessore, Kamrup, Cachar, etc. Ultimately, Khwaja Usman met his end in the Battle of Daulambipur fought on 12th March 1612 A.D. The heroic fight by a mortally injured Khwaja Usman in the battlefield is immortalized by Dr. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya thus, "When the imperialists had thus been reduced to a perilous position, as the result of bitter fighting from early morning till mid-day, and the victory of the Afghans seemed certain, the tide of fortune rolled back owing to an unforeseen accident. This was the infliction of a mortal wound upon Khwaja Usman by a Mughal horseman, named Shaikh 'Abdul Jalil, a devoted follower of Iftikhar Khan. Determined to avenge the loss of his leader, Abdul Jalil rushed towards Usman, who was compelled to ride on an elephant owing to his corpulence and shot an arrow at him at so close a range that it passed through his left eye into the brain. Usman pierced his assailant through with his javelin, and then drew out the arrow with his own hand, but in so doing, he lost also his right eye (which came out of its socket) and became totally blind. Nothing daunted, the valiant Afghan covered his eyes with a handkerchief with his left hand, so as to conceal his fatal wound from the gaze of his followers, while, with his right hand, he beckoned his elephant-driver to proceed towards Shuj'at Khan. But he rapidly lost his speech and died. The news of the death of Usman was carefully concealed, and Mumriz, his son, promptly conveyed the body of the dead chieftain on the back of his elephant to the camp and himself returned to the field. But the life and soul of the struggle for independence was gone, and the Afghans, deprived of their great leader, continued desultory fighting till the end of the day, and then decided to flee to Uhar at night. Thus the battle of Daulambipur, which had begun so well for Khwaja Usman and the Afghans, finally ended in disaster to them, and the imperialists blundered into victory."

The body of Khwaja Usman was immediately taken to Uhar and buried there in secret and the members of the harem were executed otherwise they would fall into the hands of the Mughals. The brothers and sons of Khwaja Usman continued to fight a losing battle. Soon dissensions cropped within the Afghan camp. Finally, they gave up to the Mughals. The domain of Khwaja Usman was annexed to the Mughal Empire, his army disbanded, while the brothers and sons were kept in close confinement. The report of the fall of Khwaja Usman and the annexation of his territory greatly delighted Emperor Jahangir.

On hearing the defeat and death of Khwaja Usman, other Afghan rebels too surrendered. Bayazid Karrani, the prominent

Afghan chief in Sylhet sued for peace with Mughals. Anwar Khan, the ruler of Baniachang, too surrendered. The Afghan resistance was finally crushed. Sylhet was annexed by the Mughals in 1612 A.D. Jahangir initiated conciliatory policy towards the rebellious Afghan aristocrats of Bengal. Liberal patronage was extended to them to bring them within the fold of the Mughals. As a result, Mughal power was firmly established in East Bengal. Further, the ruler of Cachar, bordering Sylhet, Shatrudaman alias Pratap Narayan (c.1605-28 A.D.) was also subjugated. Islam Khan carried successful campaigns towards Kamrup and incorporated it into the Bengal Subah in 1613 A.D. and Hajo was made the capital of Mughal Kamrup. The same year on 21st August, Islam Khan got ill while hunting in the forests of Bhawal, around 25 miles north of Dacca. He was rushed to Bhawal, but succumbed to the illness.

Islam Khan was the most successful Mughal viceroy in Bengal who managed to subjugate the numerous recalcitrant Afghans and Hindu Boro-bhuiyas and brought the whole of Bengal, except Chittagong, under the rule of the Great Mughals. Describing the achievements of Islam Khan, Dr. Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharya, states, "The death of Islam Khan meant the disappearance of a dynamic personality who for five years had dominated the area of Bengal politics, waging unrelenting warfare against the zamindars, reducing them to subjection, or suppressing them altogether and annexing their kingdoms. It was Islam Khan who really conquered Bengal, organized a unified administrative system, and established the Mughal peace in the country. From this standpoint, he should be regarded as one of the makers of the Mughal Empire, and greatest viceroy of the Bengal subah."

Islam Khan was succeeded by Qasim Khwaja Chisti (1613-1617 A.D.) as the Governor of Bengal. During his tenure, the Mughals tried to expand further east. In 1615 A.D. Mughal army made an attempt to subjugate Manipur by inviting the ruler Khagemba for a meeting across the Gwai River (Barak River). The details are given in subsequent paragraphs.

As mentioned in the beginning, according to Nongsamei Puya, the ruler of Taraf, Muhammad Naziri, dispatched his brother, Muhammad Shani, a ruler in the south of Taraf, in 1605 A.D. at the head of 1007 soldiers at the request of the Cachari king, Pratap Narayan, to invade Manipur and place prince Sanongba on the throne by overthrowing his brother, Khagemba. However, the name of Muhammad Naziri and Muhammad Shani are found nowhere in the general history of Bengal. Several scholars have over the years given their views and narratives about the ethnicity and lineage of Muhammad Shani, which are worth analyzing. Nongsamei Puya refers to Taraf as Pasa/Badshah leibak (land of Pasa/Badshah), its ruler as Badshah, and Manipur as Poirei Meetei leibak. Mughal rulers were referred to as Padshah (a Persian word, pad means master and shah means king) or Badshah. The puya gives a description of Taraf and its surroundings principalities and their rulers. A summary of the description says, "A Muslim, named Khamba, who desired to visit Taraf to bring back his brother and sister had requested Khagemba to give him permission. Initially, the king denied the request suspecting that he would not return. Later, he was given the permission after he promised that he would come back. Khamba along with six companions, which included Meeteis and Muslims, set out for Taraf, which took them 11 days, taking along a letter from the king. The region in the north of Taraf was ruled by Nawab Ali Ahmed,

his brother Nawab Sastraman controlled the east, Nawab Muhammad Sastri administered the south, Nawab Mahimulla in the west, and Nawab Muhammad Naziri, the ruler of Taraf, in the centre. The palace at Taraf was near the banks of the Surma River, and was encircled by water bodies (thanga-pat), covered with lotus. The Nawab of Taraf inquired about the well-being of his fellow Muslims settled in Manipur. Khamba informed that the Muslims were treated with love and care by the ruler. His team returned with his brother and sister along with gifts from the Nawab for the king of Manipur. They also brought seeds of mango and other fruits. In three years, the seeds grew into mango trees and bore fruits. The king visited the farm of Khamba and ate the mangoes in the presence of his subjects. The delighted king ordered Khamba and two other Muslims to raise an ingkhol (vegetable garden) at Khumidok Heinoukhongnemi.”

Strangely, in Pangal Panchayat Report (1932), the brief note on the origin of Khullakpam mentions that the lineage of the clan is traced from Muhammad Shani, the Senapati, who came from Delhi to Baniachung in Sylhet and served as soldier. In 1606 A.D., he led the campaign against Khagemba. He was given the clan name Khullakpam (literal meaning village chief) as an honor by the king. It's hard to explain why the descendants of the clan did not claim that Muhammad Shani was a brother of the ruler of Taraf, or he himself was a Nawab. In fact, most of the narratives of the origin of the clans are inconsistent to the history of Muslims given in Nongsamei Puya, or the accounts of the origins of Muslim clans given in Kullachandra Sharma and Badaruddin's Meitei Pangal Hourakpam and other books. Notably, according to the royal scribe, Thongam Madhab Singh, Maharaj Churachand Singh (1891-1941 A.D.) gave him the manuscript of Nongsamei Puya and instructed to read the text to the Muslims. The pandit went to Pangal Panchayat office at Lilong and informed the king's instruction to Sanajaoba Qazi, the head of the Panchayat. The latter gathered Muslims from far and wide to the court's complex and make them listen to the reading of the text. It took 10 days for the pandit to complete reading the text. It was a noble attempt of the king to make the Muslims aware of their origin. However, the pandit does not mention the year in which the session was held. Perhaps, it was held before the preparation of the report, that's why there are inconsistencies between the report and the narratives of Nongsamei Puya.

Kullachandra Sharma and Badruddin also write that Muhammad Shani was a Mughal ruler. Notably, in 1608 A.D. three Syeds, namely Syed Ambiya, Syed Abdullah and Syed Kalka, came to Manipur. They were mentioned in the puya as the brothers of the rajguru (religious advisor) of Muhammad Naziri, Syed Auliya. Khagemba settled them by offering local women in marriage.

According to a local historian, Kheiruddin Khullakpam, Muhammad Shani, whom he refers to as Mirza Muhammad Shani, was the son of Malik Muhammad Turrani, a ruler in Sylhet. Turrani married a Tripuri princess, Umabati. The two had five sons; the others were Mirza Malik Muhammad Majkur, Mirza Malik Muhammad Junaid, Mirza Malik Muhammad Korif and Mirza Malik Muhammad Kulsum. Muhammad Shani ruled at Pratapgarh, in Sylhet with Ilhail as the capital. The principality was bounded by Amoshi in the north, Surkhei (Dakhin Dacca) in the west, Badarpur in the east, Katsil (up to the Lushai Hills) in the south. Mundhomala pond in Ilhail, which adorned the capital, still exists today. Muhammad Shani commissioned the construction of the pond. He was not a Mughal,

but a Turk. He was a contemporary of Bayazid Karrani, who ruled in the central part of Sylhet.

Interestingly, a popular historical novel, *Labanglata*, authored by Khwairakpam Chaoba Singh (1895-1950), is based on Sanongba's attempt to overthrow Khagemba. While the prince was preparing an attack against his brother, he met one of Khwaja Usman's general, named Uzir Khan, who was hiding in and around Cachar. The prince sought the help of the general for the military campaign to Manipur. Uzir Khan accepted and raised an army for the campaign.

A Manipuri Muslim research scholar from Bangladesh, Abdus Samad, also writes that it was Khwaja Usman who sent the Muslim troops to assist the Cachari force for the campaign to Manipur. He writes, "The military commander of the Mussalmans, Muhammad Shani, who fought the battle (against the Manipuri king Khagemba) in 1606 A.D. is mentioned by the chroniclers of Manipur as the brother of the Nawab of Taraf. However, the historians of Bengal mentioned that Khaja Usman raised an army with the help of his brothers and sons. The ruler of Cachar sent Sanongba asking for military assistance. With the order of Khaja Usman an army of 1007 was commissioned for the military campaign (to Manipur) led by 16 commanders."

However, available information clearly indicates that Taraf and its neighboring areas were under the control of Khwaja Usman, his sons and brothers from 1611 A.D. In 1606 A.D., Khwaja Usman was in Bokainagar, Mymensingh, actively engaged in defending his realm from the attacks by the armies of Mughal Governor, Man Singh. A review of the views and narratives by several local historians shows that there are several inconsistencies. This led us to ask whether the author of *Nongsamei Puya* was referring Khwaja Usman and one of his brothers incorrectly as Muhammad Naziri and Muhammad Shani, or they were rulers in and around Taraf before Khwaja Usman took over the region, or this discrepancies emerges due to the fact that *Nongsamei Puya* and *Pangal Thorakpa* were written only in the 18th century through memory and the authors of the texts had, possibly, vague knowledge of the history of Bengal. We need further research to answer these queries.

Under the Mughals, Sylhet was governed by an Amil (a revenue official), who works for the Nawab of Dacca, but locally he was referred to as Nawab. These Amils were changed constantly and around 40 Amils discharged their duties in Sylhet in succession. Fasad Khan, who held the post towards the end of the 17th century, was the most prominent Amil. He constructed numerous roads and bridges. A bridge constructed in 1673 A.D. has an inscription bearing his name.

It is worth mentioning that Sylhet was the birthplace of many learned and religious reformers. The great Vaishnavite reformer of Bengal, Chaitanya (1486-1533/34 A.D.), Vaishnavite saint, Advaita, renowned logician, Raghunath Siromani, Grammarian, Vaninath Vidyasagar, and Vaishnavite preacher, Shanti Das, who came during the reign of Pamheiba, popular by the regnal title Garib Niwaz (1709-1847 A.D.) were from Sylhet. The Mughal administrators in Bengal did not engage in forceful conversion of the native Hindu population and did not intervene in their socio-religious life, even though the Muslim religious leaders and sufis in the region demanded the Mughal officials to favour and promote Islam over the local faiths. Instead the Mughals followed a liberal religious policy in Bengal. They allowed the various Hindu sects, including Vaishnavism,

to flourish. Richard Eaton observes in this regard, "Bengal's rulers maintained a strictly non-interventionist position in religious matters, despite pressure from local religious functionaries (mullas) and Sufis to support Islam over other religions. This point is seen most dramatically in the way local judges adjudicated disputes between Hindus and Muslims. In August 1640 A.D., a Bengali Muslim was brought before the judge (shiqdar) of Naraingarh in modern Midnapur District, having been accused of violating the religious sensibilities of nearby Hindu villagers by killing and eating a couple of peacocks. Turning to the accused the judge, himself a Bengali Muslim, asked, 'Art thou not, as it seems, a Bengal and a Musalman...? How then didn't thou dare in a Hindu district to kill a living thing? The judge then explained that sixty-six years earlier, when the Mughals conquered Bengal, Akbar had given his word 'that he and his successors would let [Bengalis] live under their own laws and customs: he [the judge] therefore allowed no breach of them.' With that, the judge ordered the accused to be whipped. The larger point, of course, is that the Mughals were determined not to allow religion to interfere with their administrations of Bengal. One of the consequences of this hands-off policy was that Mughal officials refused to promote the conversion of Bengalis to Islam. Islam Khan is known to have discouraged the conversion of Bengalis..."

Sylhet was a source for eunuchs. Eunuchs were prepared by castrating young boys. They were sold to traders, who supplied them to different parts of India. These eunuchs were employed by numerous rulers, particularly as guards for the royal harems. To check the inhuman practice, Jahangir even issued an order forbidding the inhabitants to castrate boys. Sylhet came under the British administration along with the rest of Bengal in 1765 A.D. In 1878 A.D. it was included in the newly created Province of Assam. In 1947, it was incorporated to East Pakistan as per a referendum.

Reference of Mughals in the Puyas of Manipur

During the period under study, there was, to some extent, free flow of Mughals/Muslims and their culture towards Manipur. Gangmumei Kabui writes that civilization of the imperial Mughal was felt in Manipur. Trade routes were opened in the west which connected with the neighboring kingdoms. Muslim traders, artisans and laborers from the Mughal occupied Bengal entered Manipur bringing in their culture, including skills and technologies. Mughal cultures, like tobacco smoking, use of hookah, riding on palanquins and wearing costly and intricately designed cloths worn by kings and courtiers, court culture, Persian, Arabic and Urdu words, such as Badshah/Padshah, Nawab, Garib Niwaz, hookah, Mussalman, gaz (yard), qazi (judicial officer), etc. were introduced in Manipur.

For instance, tobacco was introduced in Manipur in 1610 A.D. Pipe was then used for smoking the tobacco, which was later substituted by hookahs to reduce the harmful effects of smoking. The Manipuris imported hookahs from the territories of the Mughals, hence it was called Mangal Phu (Mughal Pot). Hookah was first made locally in 1615 A.D. Hookah came along with tobacco plant.

Cheitharol Kumbaba records that in 1671 A.D. two Mughal brick-makers (chek-saba), drummer (tanyeiba), merchants in Mughal horses (mangal sagol) arrived in Manipur. Gangmumei Kabui also writes that Manipur had long distance trade with the neighboring kingdoms in elephants and horses. Elephant was caught from the forest of Jiri. Trade in elephant was monopolized by the kings, who

had his stable at Samurou, now in Imphal West District. The early British accounts also mentioned that the dealers of cattle and forest products in Manipur were Muslims from Surma valley.

Mughals have been referred quite often in the historical narratives of Manipur. It has been mentioned in the Cheitharol Kumbaba, Nongsamei Puya, Pangal Thorakpa, Khagemba Lanpha and other puyas as Mangal/Mogal. Muslims are generally referred to as Pangals or Musalman in these texts, however at times the term Mughal has also been used interchangeably as Muslims in general and also as the descendants of the Mughal ruling family, or one who came from the territory of the Mughals. For instance, the Nongsamei Puya opens with the prayer to the deity, Chingu Bidhi, which says, "Kanglei sana leibak asida Mogal Musalman jati leitri. Asigumba Musalman jatina youdriba leibak amani haina singthafaroi aduna Musalman Kangluppu younaba (leinaba) thourang toubiyu haina chingu bidhi kouba wayenbada haijari." The ruling class of Manipur acknowledged the might, grandeur and sophistication of the Mughals. Here, it would be of interest for readers to quote J.F. Richards' description of the political power and prestige of the Mughals. He writes, "The Mughal empire was one of the largest centralized states known in pre-modern world history. By the late 1600s the Mughal emperor held supreme political authority over a population numbering between 100 and 150 millions and lands covering most of the Indian subcontinent (3.2 million square kilometers). Timurid India far outstripped in sheer size and resources its two rival early modern Islamic empires – Safavid Persia and Ottoman Turkey. The Mughal emperor's lands and subjects were comparable only to those ruled by his contemporary, the Ming emperor in early modern China. The Great Mughal's wealth and grandeur was proverbial. His coffers housed the plundered treasure of dozens of conquered dynasties...Nearly all the observers were impressed by the opulence and sophistication of the Mughal Empire. The ceremonies, etiquette, music, poetry, and exquisitely executed paintings and objects of the imperial court fused together to create a distinctive aristocratic high culture. Mughal courtly culture retained its appeal and power long after the empire itself had declined to a shell."

Mughals' attempt to occupy Manipur

Manipur had from antiquity remained an independent kingdom. The geographical feature of Manipur had strongly shaped its unique history. The topography of Manipur, particularly the ranges of hills which encircled the valley kept a safe distance from the Mughals, who had from the late 16th to the early part of 18th century taken over Surma Valley, Brahmaputra valley and Tippera plains. However, in 1613 A.D. Mughals made an attempt to extend their boundaries towards Manipur.

In the Cheitharol Kumbaba, there is a brief entry of Khagemba's encounter with the Mughals on the Gwai River in 1615 A.D. The event is recorded in the puya, Khagemba Langjei. According to the puya, the Mughals living to the South West of Manipur made a plan to capture Khagemba, who was invited by a Mughal officer, probably named Sayidi as mentioned in the royal chronicle, to come to Gwai River for a meeting. Khagemba accepted the invitation against the advice of his officials. The invitation turned out to be a trap to capture Khagemba, resulting in a gun fight. Khagemba was saved. Manipuris captured three Muslim officials, while the Mughals took in their custody a Manipuri noble. The latter was released after

three years. However, there is no record of the release of the three Mughal nobles. They might have settled permanently in the valley.

A summary of the account of the Mughal attack, given in Khagemba Langjei, is translated by R.K. Jhaljit Singh thus "When Khagemba came to the throne, Sanamahi desired his greatness. So he made Khagemba neglect him. Neglect of Sanamahi brought its own consequences. The Moguls living to the south-west of Manipur hatched plans to capture Khagemba by treachery. The king of the Moguls engaged a Hillman to carry presents to the Manipuri king to request the latter to come to the river Gwai for a meeting with him. The Mogul king planned to capture him there and escape by boat. Khagemba's brothers advised him not to go to the meeting. Khagemba himself thought that it would be risky to go; but on second thought, he decided to meet the king of the Moguls on grounds of decorum. The so-called meeting turned out to be a trap, as anticipated. While Khagemba was waiting for the meeting on the river-bank, the king of the Moguls brought a boat and attempted to capture him. The Muslims opened fire from the other side of the river. In the ensuing fight, Khagemba not only saved himself but also captures three Muslim nobles alive. The Moguls fled away in shame but with a Manipuri noble in their boat. The noble had jumped into it in the attempt to save Khagemba. The Manipuri king too returned to his capital with a heavy heart. Three years the Manipuri noble was in the prison of the Moguls. Then they released him. Unable to find his way back to Manipur and being hungry, he went to a jungle to earn his livelihood, for the time being, as a grass-cutter. At night Sanamahi appeared in his dream and exhorted him to return to Manipur and promised him to show the way. The same dream appeared the next two nights too. Thus with the grace of Sanamahi, the noble returned to Manipur safely via the township of Hunai. Kagemba rewarded him suitably, and reigned in peace for some time."

Narratives of Shah Shuja in Manipur

Cheitharol Kumbaba makes an intriguing entry that in 1661 A.D., during the reign of Khunjaoba (1652-1666 A.D.), a Mughal, named Sangkushung entered Manipur. He was received by the king. The purpose of the visit and the details of the man are not given. The text further notes that the king dispatched three Manipuris to the Mughal territories and they came back after a year and two months. This entry raises few questions. Was this Mughal the brother of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.), Shah Shuja, the Governor of Bengal (1639-1660 A.D.), that some of our local scholars believe had entered Manipur? And were the three Manipuris sent by the ruler of Manipur to give a report on the matter to the Mughal authorities stationed at Bengal? Quite interestingly, the year of the entry of Sangkushung corresponds to period of Shah Shuja's presence in the eastern frontier given in some of the contemporary accounts. However, without authentic sources it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion.

It may be mentioned that it was British Surgeon, J.P. Wade, who wrote that Shah Shuja entered Manipur after being chased by Aurangzeb's General Mir Jumla. He notes, "The throne of Sajejan Padsah was disputed by his four sons but Aurrungshah proved the successful competitor. He dispatched Miramoola with an army to expel Booza (Sooja) who fled to Munnipoor the capital of the Muggloo Rajah. (sic)" Based on this statement, some of our local research scholars suggest that Shah Shuja must have entered Manipur to hide from the Mughal authorities before entering Arakan (now known as

Rakhine State). R.K. Sanahal, in his introduction to Pangal Thorakpa, writes, "After the demise of Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb became the Badshah of Delli. Mir Jumla was appointed as the Subehdar of Bengal and ordered him to attack Assam. As per the order, Mir Jumla proceeded with a large military force in 1661. The main objective of the campaign was to capture Shah Shuja, who was then reported to be hiding in Assam. In Dr. Wade's Account of Assam, edited by Benudhar Sharma, it is clearly written that Shah Shuja, unable to hide in Assam any longer, fled to Manipur. From Manipur, he reached Arakan where he gave his life to the enemies. It may be mentioned here that in Manipur there is a cliff by the name of Shuja Lok (in Heingang, Imphal East). What we need to discuss is did Shah Shuja and his men hide in the cliff? It is for the young researchers to investigate the matter."

Another prominent local historian, W. Yumjao Singh, opines that the Mughals who entered Manipur were perhaps commissioned by Aurangzeb to find out whether Shah Shuja entered Manipur or not, and the three Manipuris were sent to report the Mughal monarch or officials that the prince did not come to Manipur.

Research scholars, Janab Khan and Farooque Ahmed, believe that Shah Shuja, chased by Mir Jumla, entered Manipur and settled down. The full narratives of the settlement of the prince in Manipur as given by the two scholars are given in the subsequent paragraphs.

Shah Shuja in Arakan

In spite of these claims by our local researchers, mainland historians have accepted the narratives that Shah Shuja and his families met their end in Arakan. Shah Shuja along with his wife, two sons, three daughters and dependents moved from Tandah on boats, reached Dacca (Jahangirnagar) where his eldest son, Zainuddin, had already contacted the Mrauk-U king of Arakan, Sanda Thudamma (1652-1674 A.D.), requesting for asylum and a safe passage to Mecca from there. They started in the early months of May 1660 A.D. from Dacca on boats guarded by Arakanese. Shuja passed through Dhapa (4 kos from Dacca), Siripur (12 kos north of Dacca), Bhaluah (the southern limit of the Mughal's Bengal), and then to Arakan. They reached Arakan by the end of 1660 A.D. Shah Shuja and his family were warmly received and given proper treatment at the court of Arakan. The royal family was allotted a house in the outskirts of the city. The Arakan ruler did not make any arrangement for sending Shah Shuja and his family for Mecca. Instead he procured the rich treasures of Shah Shuja and asked for the hands of one of the daughters of Shah Shuja for marriage. The disheartened prince rejected the proposal, which infuriated the Arakan ruler. Shah Shuja then conspired to raise an insurrection against the Arakan king with the help of Muslim population in the region with the intention to occupy the throne. The king came to know about the conspiracy. Shah Shuja and his whole family were captured and exterminated presumably between 1661 and 1662.

Francois Bernier has given a detailed account of the fate of Shah Shuja and his family in Arakan. It would be of interest for readers to read the captivating account. The long historical narrative given by Bernier is reproduced here. He writes, "The Prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly for refuge, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the King of Rakan, or Magh, a Gentile or idolater, to ascertain if he would grant him a temporary asylum, and a passage to Moka, when the favourable

season arrive, and afterward take up his residence in Turkey or Persia. The King's answer was in the affirmative, and expressed in the kindest terms. Sultan Banque returned to Dake with a large number of galleasses manned by Franks, for so I would designate those fugitive Portuguese and other wandering Christians, who had entered into the King's service...On board these vessels, embarked with his family, consisting of his wife, his three sons and his daughters. The King (of Arakan) gave them a tolerable reception, and supplied them with every necessary of life. Month after month passed; the favourable season arrived, but no mention was made of vessels to convey them to Moka...his great wealth being probably the cause of, or at least very much contributing to, his ruin. These barbarous kings are devoid of true generosity, and little restrained by any promises which they have made...It was in vain that Sultan Sujah evinced the utmost solicitude to depart for Moka; the King turned a deaf ear to his entreaties; became cool and uncivil...I know not whether Sultan Sujah considered it beneath his dignity to associate with him, or whether he apprehended that his person would be seized, and his treasure plundered, if he ventured into the palace. Emir-Jemla had offered the King, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, large sums of money, and other considerable advantages, on condition of his delivering up the Prince. Though Sultan Sujah would not himself venture into the royal residence, yet he sent his son...when he came before the King, presented him with various rich brocades and rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value...the King, five or six days after this interview, made a formal demand of one of his daughters in marriage. Sultan Sujah's refusal to accede to this request exasperated him to such a degree that the Prince's situation became quite desperate...Although the King of Rakan be a Gentile, yet there are many Mahometans mixed with the people, who have either chosen to retire among them, or have been enslaved by the Portuguese...Sultan Sujah secretly gained over these Mahometans, who he joined with two or three hundred of his own people, the remnant of those who followed him from Bengale; and with this force resolved to surprise the house of the King, put his family to the sword, and make himself sovereign of the country...But the day before the blow was to be struck, a discovery was made of the design, which altogether ruined the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and involved in it the destruction of his family. The Prince endeavored to escape into Pegu; a purpose scarcely possible to be effected, by reason of the vast mountains and forests that lay in the route...he was pursued and overtaken, within twenty four hours after his flight: he defended himself with an obstinacy of courage such as might have been expected, and the number of barbarians that fell under his sword was incredible; but at length, overpowered by the increasing host of his assailants, he was compelled to give up that unequal combat. Sultan Banque, who had not advanced so far as his father, fought also like a lion, until covered with the blood of the wounds he received from the stones that had been showered upon him from all sides, he was seized, and carried away, with his two young brothers, his sisters, and his mother. No other particulars, on which much dependence may be placed, are known of Sultan Sujah. It is said that he reached the hills, accompanied by a eunuch, a woman and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the eunuch having bound up the Prince's head with his own turban he arose again, and escaped into the woods. I have

heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the Prince, from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognize his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of the factory which the Hollanders maintain in that region, mentioning the same thing. Great uncertainty prevails...which is the reason why we have had so many alarming rumors at Delhi...I attach great importance to the letter from the Dutch gentleman, which states that the Prince was killed in his attempt to escape; and one of the Sultan Sujah's eunuchs, with whom I traveled from Bengale to Massipatam, and his former commandant of artillery, now in the service of the king of Golkonda, both assured me that their master was dead...I can relate with confidence is, that the King felt so exasperated against the family of Sujah as to give orders for its total extermination. Even the Princess whom he had himself espoused, and who, it is said, was advanced in pregnancy, was sacrificed according to his brutal mandate. Sultan Banque and his brothers were decapitated with gruesome-looking axes, quite blunt, and the female members of this ill-fated family were closely confined in their apartments, and left to die of hunger."

The first Commissioner of British Burma, Arthur Phayre (1862-1867 A.D.), has also given an account of how Shah Shuja and his family perished in Arakan. He writes, "In 1652, Sanda Thudhamma succeeded to the throne. In his reign Shah Shuja fled into Arakan. The sad fate of this prince and of his wife and children has excited deep compassion. Appointed viceroy of Bengal in 1639, he made Rajmahal his capital. Engaged in war with his brothers, he was defeated by Mir Jumla, the general of Aurungzebe. Despairing of mercy from his brother, he sent his son to demand an asylum from the king of Arakan, and permission to embark for Mecca. The reply was satisfactory, and the prince with his retinue, together with his wife, sons, and three daughters, proceeded from Dacca to a port on the river Megna, where they embarked in galleys. As it was the season of the boisterous south-west monsoon, the galleys could not leave the river, and fearful of being taken prisoners, the whole party landed in what was then the territory of Tippera, and proceeded by land to Chittagaon. From thence they traveled through a difficult country to the Naaf River; crossing which, they entered Arakan, and arrived at the capital about the end of the year 1660. The prince was well received. He was anxious to leave for Mecca, but Mir Jumla sent emissaries, who offered large sums if the fugitive were delivered up. The king, desirous no doubt to have a specious cause of quarrel, basely required the prince to give him in marriage one of his daughters. This demand was indignantly refused, and the king openly showed his resentment. Shah Shuja, foreseeing that force would be used, endeavoured to excite a rising in his favour among the Muhammadan population of the country. He made an attempt with his followers to seize the palace, which failed. He was then attacked by the king's soldiers at his residence, and fled to the hills, but was taken prisoner, and forthwith put into a sack and drowned. His sons were put to death, and his wife and two of his daughters committed suicide. The remaining daughter was brought into the palace, where from grief she died an early death. Those of the prince's followers who escaped slaughter, were retained by the king of Arakan for the same service as that they had held under the prince; a bodyguard of archers. They became the nucleus of a foreign corps, which later was notorious in Arakan for turbulence and violence, disposing of the

throne according to their will. Later still, when by diminished numbers their influence was weakened, they were deported to Ramri, where their descendants still retain the name of Kumanchi. Though using only the Burmese language, they are Mussulmans in religion, and their physiognomy and fairness of complexion still tell of their descent from Turks, Afghans, or so-called Moguls."

Aurangzeb directed the Governor of Bengal, Shayista Khan (1664-1678 A.D.), to crush the Arakans, who then occupied Chittagong, and the Magh pirates and to bring back Shah Shuja's family. In 1666 A.D. Shayista Khan's force of 6500 men and 288 boats took Chittagong in 36 hours' siege. They sold 2000 Arakanese into slavery, and captured 1026 cannon, many ships were sunk in action, 135 captured, and two elephants were burnt in the sack. The Arakanese garrison escaped towards Arakan, who were then attacked by their former slaves, the kidnapped Muslims of Bengal. The fall of Chittagong brought great joy in Bengal and thus ended Arakan's century of political control in the region.

Makak Princes in Manipur

Nongsamei Puya and Pangal Thorakpa record that, during the reign of King Paikhomba (1666-1697 A.D.) in 1672 A.D., a group of 39 people led by the princes of Makak named Sunarphool and Lukyaphool and religious men Miliya Sheikh, Sandulla Sheikh and Sheikh Jali, along with their retinues visited Manipur. Muhammad Shani, the qazi, introduced them to the king as the brothers of the ruler of Makak. The king asked about the purpose of their visit. They told that they came to settle down in his kingdom. The princes made lavish presentation to the king which included elephants, gold, precious gems, golden jewelleries, colorfully designed palanquin, mirror, pigeons, etc. They were settled by offering local women. The puya also gives a long list of genealogy of Makakmayum clan. The descendants of Sunarphool were given the family title Makak Angouba (fair skinned) and those of Lukyaphool the family title Makak Amuba (dark skinned).

Over the years, several researchers have given divergent opinions and narratives about the origin of the princes and the location of Makak. It would be of interest for readers to delve into some of these views and narratives. According to the palace pandits, the princes were originally from Mogalpur (Makak), while the older generations of Muslims related that they came from either Sylhet or Dacca. Pangal Panchayat Report mentions that the Sunarphool and Lukyaphool were originally from Makanpur, in Farukkabad District (UP), hence the Manipuri king gave them the clan name Makakmayum. Surprisingly, the report did not record the two brothers as princes, and classified the two clans as Sheikhs. Kullachandra Sharma and Badruddin write that Makak is in Sylhet. However, Kullachandra Sharma, in another book, is of the opinion that the brothers were Mughal princes and dissenters. They stayed for some time at Makak, which is Makokchung in Nagaland.

According to an oral tradition narrated by the elders of the clan, recorded by Janab Khan, the two princes were from Makak, or Makanpur, an area in Farukabad. Makak was once ruled by a Mughal Tamraj Shah. After his death, the throne went to his eldest son Mitra Daulat Shah. After the demise of Daulat Shah, Dille Nazar Shah occupied the throne. He had three sons, namely Muhammad Lukyarphool Shah, Muhammad Sunarphool Shah and Muhammad Lukiyaphool Shah. There was a struggle for the throne, after which

Sunarphool and Lukyaphool left the kingdom and came to Manipur. Khagemba received them and gave permission to settle down in his realm. The two brothers married local women and settled first at Utlou, later moved to Heirok. Lukyaphool is said to have visited his native land and brought makak flowers of red and white colors. Sunarphool presented the white makak flower to the Khagemba. After this, the family name, Makak Angouba (white Makak) was given to Sunarphool. Lukyaphool presented the red makak flower to the king, and thus his family was given the name Makak Amuba (dark complexioned Makak). The available information indicates that these princes were, in all possibility, rebels, who fled from being caught and killed. Janab Khan categorized the two Makak clans as Sheikhs and not Mughals.

Research scholar, Farooque Ahmed, has given a fascinating version of the identity of Sunarphool and Lukyaphool. For him, Sunarphool was none other than Shah Shuja, the son of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666 A.D.), while Lukyaphool was Prince Baisanghar Mirza (b. 1604 A.D.), the grandson of Mughal Emperor, Jalaluddin Akbar, born to Prince Daniyal Mirza (1572-1605 A.D.). Ahmed further elaborates that Shah Shuja, Governor of Bengal, was persecuted by Mir Jumla, the military general of Aurangzeb after the latter had occupied the Mughal throne. Shah Shuja had entered Manipur in 1661 A.D. and was in hiding in the Ukhrul Hills. On the other hand, Prince Baisanghar (Lukyaphool) was sent to Makokchung in 1663 A.D. to administer region of Naga Hills. Assam and Naga Hills were incorporated to the Mughal Empire as per the treaty signed between Mir Jumla and the Ahom king in 1663 A.D. Prince Baisanghar and his entourage decided to join Shah Shuja. They entered Manipur in 1679 A.D. Relating how Prince Baisanghar came to the eastern frontier and got his new name, Lukyaphool, Ahmed writes that while in Lahore, he had helped Prince Shahryar in the latter's claim to the throne. He ruled for three months (1627-1628 A.D.), but was soon dethroned by his brother, Shah Jahan. Sharyar was executed in 1628 A.D. along with Prince Baisanghar's two brothers. Prince Baisanghar fled to Sylhet and then to Chittagong where he ruled over the Lakhayar Poi community (1630-1662 A.D.) and thus got his name Lukyaphool. After Aurangzeb takes over the Mughal throne, he came out of his hiding and was commissioned to take over the Makokchung out post.

However, Farooque Ahmed has given his narrative regarding the advent and identities of the Mughal princes without citing credible sources. Again, we find inconsistency in the claim as there is no reference in the general history of medieval India of Prince Baisanghar fleeing and settling in the remote part of the eastern frontier after Shahryar was dethroned. In fact, the prince was killed by the orders of Shah Jahan at Lahore fort in 1628 A.D. for joining hands with Shahryar.

Makak is mentioned in the Cheitharol Kumbaba, but the chronicle does not identify the location. It seems that Khagemba had good relations with the ruler of Makak. The chronicle mentions that in 1617 A.D., during the reign of Khagemba, a road was opened to Makak, and a Meetei, named Leirikyengbam Aton and others went to the territory. For M.A. Janab Khan, Makak was a small principality in the vicinity of Tripura or Taraf. Farooque Ahmed cites that the Mughal frontier of North East was known to the Meeties as Makak.

M.A. Hashim, who has done extensive research on the origin of Makakmayum, refutes the account mentioned by Janab Khan and

the claim made by Farooque Ahmed that Mughal princes Shah Shuja and Baisanghar were the progenitor of Makakmayum. Hashim, who belongs to the clan Makakmayum Angouba, says, "In 1679 A.D. a group of Muslims from Makak, led by two brothers, Sunarphool and Lukyaphool, came to Manipur. They were mentioned as princes of Makak in the Nongsamei Puya. The princes were introduced to Paikhomba by Muhammad Shani. They requested the ruler to allow them to settle in his realm. Permission was given to them to settle in the valley. They established their families by marrying local women. The families of the two brothers were given clan names on the basis of their complexions. Lukyaphool had fair complexion, so his family was given the clan name Makak Angouba, while the dark complexioned Sunarphool's family was named Makak Amuba. Lahong, Akinyo, Sadhu, Wangol and Rahmatullah were the early descendants of Lukyaphool. Rahmatullah's eldest son Nasirullah served as qazi in 1825 A.D. during the reign of King Gambhir Singh (1825-1834 A.D.). He died the same year. His descendants are now settled in Dhulugram, in Cachar District. The early descendants of Sunarphool included Chabek, Molliya Sheikh, Awalchullah and Pamsa. Makakmayum settled in Lilong. From there, they further spread to Yairipok and other parts of the valley. The story of the origin of Makakmayum and the allotment of clan names on the basis of the colours of the flower makak, which the two brothers had presented to the king, as recorded by Janab Khan in his work, is not correct. There is no flower called makak lei in Manipur, its mukak lei. Further, the two brothers were not Shah Shuja and Baisanghar as claimed by Farooque Ahmed. In fact, these princes were not Mughals. Makak is possibly Makanpur which was in eastern Bengal. The historical narrative that Shah Shuja entered Manipur is also questionable. There is no Shuja Lok in Heingang as claimed by some of the local historians. I had visited the place and inquired with the locals about the cliff. There is instead an area in Heingang called Surjya Log, which is probably a Sanskrit word."

During the same reign, in 1688 A.D., Nongsamei Puya records the entry of a group of Muslims and Brahmans, Puton Khan, his brother Salim Khan, Min Khan, Lukman Khan and Tilen Khan, Khetridas Bamon Ramnarain and Haricharan. They were from Gujarat, which was then a part of Mughal territory. Janab Khan opines that they were Pathans. The king asked the reason for their visit. Salim Khan replied that they came to reside in the kingdom. They were given special treatment by the king, who constructed a building in the Kangla (royal palace), which came to be known as Mangal Sanglen (Mughal Office), where they were kept as guests. Later, they were settled by giving them local women in marriage. Potan Khan and Salim Khan assisted the king in the military encounter with the Tripuris (Takhel). Potan Khan and Salim Khan knew the language of the Tripuris, suggesting that they had a sojourn at Tripura before entering Manipur.

The authors of the book, Meitei Pangal Hourakpham, which traces the history of the Muslim clans, associates these Muslims to Muhammad Akbar (1657-1706 A.D.), the son of Emperor Aurangzeb and his men. Akbar, who had revolted against his father in 1681 A.D., fled and entered Manipur. However, the narrative is not corroborated to the mainstream history. Akbar revolted against his father, Aurangzeb, but having failed in the attempt, set out for Persia, where he died in 1704 A.D.

It is mentioned in the Nongsamei Puya that, in the same reign, another four Mughal princes visited Manipur accompanied by 10 generals. The king settled them down by offering women, land and servants. It is mentioned in Nongsamei Puya that the king received two of the Mughal princes at the Mangal/Mughal Shang, by holding their hands, and for this act the Mughal Shang also came to be known as Mangal Khutsam Shang. It was located near the Sanglangmei, a house where the king wore his royal dress. It is not clear from the contemporary sources whether this Mughal Shang was a new office instituted to receive the Mughals, or another name given to Pangal Loishang, the office opened for the Muslims, mentioned in the court chronicle Cheitharol Kumbaba. However, it seems Pangal Loishang and Mughal Shang were the names of the same department which looked after the affairs of the Muslims. The department was headed by a qazi.

Janab Khan is of the opinion that these Mughals were led by Shah Shuja. That's why their names were not revealed in the text. Based on local narratives gathered from elders, he writes that the forefathers of Ephem clan came as a part of the retinue of Shuja and settled in Heingang. He writes, "In the early times, Ephem clan settled at Heingnang. It is said that the grave of their ancestor is within the homestead of one Pangngambam Chaoba. In the old days, the descendants of Ephem clan visit there for jiyarat (prayer for the deceased). People in the locality informed that an old lady, named Laishram Kalama, told them that before 1748 A.D, one Pangal (Muslim) prince lived at Heingang. Further research needs to be done in this regard." Notably, Ephem clan title was given by Khagemba as these Muslims looked after the royal ee (a strong grass used for roofing houses) farm. However, without reliable written sources to supplement the narrative it is difficult to come to a conclusion on the basis of these oral traditions. The year of the entry of the Mughal princes also does not correspond to the year of Shah Shuja's presence in the eastern frontier. Moreover, the brief history of the clan given in Pangal Panchayat Report also disagrees with Janab Khan's narrative. As per the report, the progenitor of the clan was Munon Khan, who came to Baniachung from Delhi in 1558 A.D. and served as a soldier. He joined the military campaign that invaded Manipur in 1606 A.D. After his settlement, Khagemba assigned him to look after the royal ee farm; hence he was given the clan name Ephem. However, as mentioned in the beginning, Munon Khan was killed in the battle of 1606 A.D.

Mughal clan

There are several instances in the Nongsamei Puya where Muslim names are mentioned with their clan surnames. Interestingly, Mangan/Mughalmayum, Pathanmayum and Gazmayum are also recorded as Muslim clans, but these clans are no more in existence in Manipur. For instance, the text gives a list of Muslim names who took part in the battle fought between king Pamheiba and the Burmese (Awa) in 1723-24 A.D. as Mughal macha Tonba Athouba, Mongdram (Minam) macha Khungam and Aroi, Pathan macha Zabrualla Athouba, Phundrei macha Kiyang, etc. Cheitharol Kumbaba makes an entry in 1797 A.D. of a rich Muslim of Manganmayum who presented various farm products in large quantities to Maharaj Bhagyachandra. The king, delighted with the offerings, appointed him an officer in-charge of a department. The event is noted in the Cheitharol Kumbaba thus, "...on Friday, the 23rd on that day Pangan

(Muslim) Manganmayum Tomba came and presented various eatables 5 baskets of yelnam (a kind of edible shrub), 30 pots of molasses, 20 bundles of tobacco, 10 pots of peas, 5 baskets of sagol hawai (horse beans) to the Maharaja who being pleased with the Pangan's gratitude and presents, ordered his uncle Anantashai Nongthonba to record it in the Cheitharol (the royal chronicle) as he might not be able to reciprocate it and the Pangan was appointed as Shanglakpa (officer in charge)..." This reference clearly shows that Mughalmayum was a clan name given to those who were of Mughal lineage. It may also be mentioned that Ayekpam Tomba Meetei's historical account, Meetei Yek Salai, gives a list of 64 Muslim clans. The list included several obscure Muslim clans. Mughalmayum is also in the list. How these clans have lost their existence overtime is hard to explain. Pangal Panchayat Report did not mention these clans. Probably, by the first half of the 20th century, the Mughalmayum merged with other clans, or changed the name of their clan. For example, the clan name Gazmayum, derived perhaps from the Urdu word, gaz (yard), was given to a Muslim named Muhammad, who was an artist, but it changed to Ayekpam (ayek-akhhet). Interestingly, in Tripura there are around 50 Manipuri Muslim households whose clan is Pathanmayum.

In the Pangal Panchayat Report, 40 Muslim clans are categorized into four groups based on their ethnic origin, namely Shaikh, Sayyid, Mughal and Athouba (probably referring to Pathan). Janab Khan has used this classification. As per the classification, Epham, Menjormayum, Panjaimayum, Kazi khut, Labuktongbam are Mughals. Kazi Khut, a sub-group of Epham clan, was given to the descendants of Tolel Qazi, who held the post of qazi during the reign of Gambhir Singh. Phundreimayum, Yumkheibam, Yumkham, Urupmayum, Kamalmayum, Thangjammayum are Pathans. Surprisingly, Muhammad Shani's clan, Khullakpam (meaning village chief), belongs to Sheikh. If we consider that Muhammad Shani was the brother of Khwaja Usman, a pure Pathan, and it was the latter who commissioned the campaign to Manipur, then Muhammad Shani's clan should be categorized as a Pathan.

Notably, the royal chronicle also records that in 1858 A.D. a Muslim prince, who was the son of the Muslim ruler of Sylhet, arrived in Manipur. He came along with his retinue riding an elephant. However, the text does not give the details of his visit, so it is not clear whether he came for a short stay, or he settled permanently in Manipur.

Conclusion

In 1203 A.D., Muhammad Bhaktiyar Khalji, the Afghan military general, established Muslim rule in the northern parts of Bengal. His Muslim successors expanded the the dominion of Muslim rule. In the beginning of the 14th century, the Muslim rulers of Bengal began to extent their political control over the eastern frontier of Bengal. Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz Shah's military general, Sikandar Shah and Sipah Salar, Syed Nasiruddin, occupied Sylhet by deposing the Hindu ruler in 1303 A.D. The military operation was assisted by the celebrated mystic, Shah Jalal and his 360 adherents. These Muslim proselitizers engaged in spreading Islam in the region. They also played crucial role in transforming the economic landscape of eastern Bengal by teaching the native population wet-rice cultivation. In the words of Richard Eaton, peasantization and Islamization progressed together. The Muslim conquest of Sylhet was followed subsequently,

in 1304 A.D., by the occupation of Taraf. Syed Nasiruddin took control of Taraf, the southern most region of Sylhet, from its Hindu ruler, and established his rule. His regime was succeeded by his descendants till the late 16th century. Towards the second half of 16th and early part of the 17th century, Sylhet and its adjoining areas became the stronghold of the Afghans. The area came under the control of several Afghan and Hindu chiefs, who are referred to as Borobhuiyas. The Mughal Emperor, Akbar, made efforts to crush the recalcitrant Afghans by appointing Man Singh as the Governor of Bengal, but the attempt failed. It was only under the regime of Jahangir that the Afghans and Hindu chiefs in eastern Bengal were overpowered after a series of military operations by his Governor, Islam Khan. Khwaja Usman, the most formidable enemy of the Mughals, was defeated and killed in March 1612 A.D. in the battle. Subsequently, Bengal came under Mughal rule. Mughals further extended their political control in upper Assam, Cachar and Tripura. They even made an unsuccessful attempt to incorporate Manipur to the Mughal Empire.

Nongsamei Puya and Pangal Thorakpa, the two puyas or khunthoklons, chronicle the history of the origin, migration, settlement, social formation and contribution of Muslims in Manipur. As per these accounts, the history of Muslim settlement is traced from 1606 A.D. when Prince Sanongba engaged Cachari and Muslim troops to overthrow the reigning king, Khagemba. These Muslims, numbering a thousand, were offered for the campaign by the ruler of Taraf, Muhammad Naziri. The force was commanded by Muhammad Shani, who is recorded in the puyas as the brother of the ruler of Taraf, established his rule in the southern vicinity of Taraf. Surprisingly, these two Muslim rulers are not found mentioned in the historical writings of Bengal. Over the decades, local research scholars have developed several conflicting and confusing views and opinions on the origin and ethnicity of these rulers. For some, they were Afghans, and the military campaign was commissioned by Khwaja Usman, while others claimed that they were Mughals. Further research and investigations are required to identify these rulers mentioned in the two puyas.

The above mentioned texts further record the entry of Muslims after 1606 A.D. and some of these immigrants are identified as Mughals and their entourage. Unfortunately, these puyas do not give adequate information of the Mughals, e.g. their names, place of origin, or cause of their migration. This led the local research scholars to advance various contradictory narratives. For instance, the immigration of few Mughal princes, mentioned in the two puyas, led some scholars to believe that Aurangzeb's brother and Governor of Bengal, Shah Shuja and his family, entered Manipur. Few researchers consider that Makakmayum clan descended from Shah Shuja, while a Muslim clan claimed that they came as part of the entourage of the Mughal Prince. However, it is confirmed from the puyas that a handful of Mughals from royal families settled in Manipur after marrying local women, besides several other Muslims who came from Mughal territory. It will not be wrong to assume that these Mughal princes were forced to migrate to Manipur either due to the development of political crisis or their involvement in revolts in their kingdoms or principalities. Even Pangal Sanglen, the department which looked after the affairs of the Muslims, instituted by Khagemba, was later renamed as Mughal Sanglen with the arrival of prominent Mughals, mentioned in the puyas as princes. The

department existed in Kangla, which housed the royal palaces and several other important state departments. These Mughals from royal families, or high ranking officials from Mughal territories, were received with due honor in the Mughal Sanglen. Mughalmayum and Pathanmayum existed as Muslim clans before the 20th century. Over the centuries some of the Muslim clans either merged to some other clans, or changed their clan names.

Endnotes

- ¹ On immigration of Indo-Aryans towards eastern India, see R.K. Jhalajit, *A Short History of Manipur*, pp. 16-19
- ² For details on immigration books, see R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *A History of Manipuri Literature*, pp. 167-170
- ³ According to Pandit Achouba, Moirangthem Chandrasingh, words related to Hinduism, such as pran, dakshina, rajshri, tirth, etc. are used in the text. For the argument, see Moirangthem Chandrasingh, *Manipuri Muslim*, 1973, pp. 13
- ⁴ For details, see O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds., 2014), *Nongsamei Puya*, pp. xvii-xviii, 19-21
- ⁵ M.A. Janab Khan, *Manipuri Muslims*, p. 1
- ⁶ S.N. Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur*, pp. 56-57
- ⁷ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 169
- ⁸ Gangumei Kamei, *History of Manipur*, p. 214
- ⁹ For details of the campaign, see O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 1-31
- ¹⁰ Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 102
- ¹¹ For details of the conquest of Sylhet, see E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 328-329
- ¹² H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, pp. 268-269
- ¹³ Richard M. Eaton, 'Islam in Bengal,' in George Michill, *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Belgium, 1984
- ¹⁴ Richard M. Eaton, *Rise of Islam in the Eastern Frontier*, p. 252
- ¹⁵ Jadunath Sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, pp. 227-228
- ¹⁶ Richard M. Eaton, *op.cit.*, p. 25
- ¹⁷ Today, it is the most prominent sufi shrine of Bangladesh. It is an also an important spiritual and cultural centre of Bangladesh. It is visited by people irrespective of religion, caste, creed and sex. The Government of Bangladesh pays tribute to the great saint, who introduced Islam in Sylhet and its adjoining areas, by naming an educational institute, Shah Jalal University of Science and Technology, established in 1987, after him. Sylhet has also numerous other shrines of Muslim saints. Sylhet is also known for its high quality cane and agar-wood, tea, fertilizer, and liquefied petroleum (propane) gas. The first commercial tea plantation in British India was opened in the Mulnicherra Estate in Sylhet in 1857.
- ¹⁸ The mazar (graveyard) of Syed Nasiruddin is in Morarband in Habiganj District. The place has several mazars of Syed mystics, including his son, Syed Sirajuddin. The mazars are still looked after by his descendants. Annual Urs (a religious gathering to commemorate the death anniversary of a sufi saint) of Syed Nasiruudin is held every year.
- ¹⁹ 'Taraf,' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taraf_\(Bengal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taraf_(Bengal))
- ²⁰ Rev. James Long, *Analysis of the Raj-Mala*, p. 20. As per a popular legend, Syed Adam was later released. He managed to free his father with the help of the ruler of Mrauk U dynasty in Arakan,

which existed between 1429 and 1785. Syed Musa and Syed Adam took shelter in the court of the ruler. Syed Musa was made a minister, while his son was later appointed as governor of a province.

²¹ It is worth noting that Islam Khan was the son of Sheikh Badruddin Chisti and grandson of the famous Chisti mystic, Sheikh Salim Chisti of Fatehpur Sikri, in Agra,. It is said that prince Salim was born to Emperor Akbar after getting the blessings of the Sheikh; hence the prince was named Salim. Islam Khan was a playmate of prince Salim.

²² Atul Chandra Roy, *History of Bengal*, p. 54

²³ Khwaja Usman Lohani was the son of Khwaja Khan Lohani of Mian Khel tribe and nephew of Qutlu Khan Lohani, the ruler of North Orissa. After the death of Qutlu Khan in 1590, his brother and minister, Isa Khan, placed Qutlu's minor son, Nasir Lohani, on the throne and declared allegiance to the Mughal authority. After the death of Isa Khan Lohani, the Afghans in Orissa rose in rebellion. Raja Man Singh, the Mughal subahdar of Orissa, sternly suppressed the rebellion in 1593. With an aim to disperse the Afghans, Man Singh allotted fiefs to the prominent Afghan chieftains in various regions outside Orissa. Khwaja Usman was offered a fief in Fatehabad Pargana (modern Faridpur) in Bengal. Khwaja Usman along with his brothers moved to claim the region, but Man Singh changed his mind and cancelled the grants as he did not want to settle Khwaja Usman close to the other Afghan chieftains in Bengal. The act of betrayal by the Mughal General provoked Khwaja Usman to raise in rebellion. Afterwards, Khwaja Usman established his rule in the area east of the Brahmaputra River in Mymensingh District with the city of Bokainagar as his capital. He raised fortified posts at Hasanpur and Egarasindur on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, which was the dividing line between the territories of Khwaja Usman and the Mughals. For details, see Muazzam Hussain Khan, 'Khwaja Usman,' https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Khwaja_Usman

²⁴ For details, see Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 240-241

²⁵ Atul Chandra Roy, *op.cit.*, pp. 87-88, 92. Today, Uhar is known as Patanushar. It is located 16 miles east of the northeast corner of Hail Haor in Maulvi Bazar District in Sylhet.

²⁶ M.I. Borah, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, p. 110

²⁷ Muazzam Hussain Khan, *op.cit.*

²⁸ For details of the battle, see Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 277-279

²⁹ Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 277-278

³⁰ On 17th May 2017, Khwaja Usman's tomb, which was untraceable so far, was finally located in the village of Usmangarh, named after Khwaja Usman, in Patanushar.

³¹ For the complete details of the Battle of Daulambipur, see M.I. Borah, *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, pp. 173-197. On 4th March 1612, Khwaja Wali, Khwaja Malhi, Khwaja Ibrahim, the brothers of Khwaja Usman, Khwaja Daud (nephew), and Khwaja Mumriz and Khwaja Yaqub, sons of Khwaja Usman, and other Afghan nobilities, in all 400 men, offered their submission to the Mughal Commander Shujat Khan. The latter gave them robes of honour and entertained lavishly. They were all produced before Emperor Jahangir on September 13, 1612 A.D.

³² As a reward, Islam Khan was promoted to the rank of 6000 personnel, Shujat Khan was honored with the title of "Rustom of

- the Age” and an increase of his rank by 1000 personnel and horse. Other Mughal officials were also rewarded. For details, see Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 279-280
- ³³ Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 240-241
- ³⁴ Satrudaman is described as an ambitious and powerful ruler, who had invaded Jaintia and later defeated the Ahom king. He assumed the title Pratap Narayan and changed the name of his capital from Maibung to Kirtipur. See Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, 242
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 288. Islam Khan was buried at Badshah Bagh (Old High Court premises) in Dhaka, but later his body was transported to Fatehpur Sikri and interned by the side of his celebrated grandfather.
- ³⁶ Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, p. 288
- ³⁷ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, (Reprint 2014), pp. 2, 8, 10, 78
- ³⁸ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 38-45
- ³⁹ Pangal Panchayat Report (MSS). Pangal Panchayat (or Muhammadan Panchayat) was instituted in 1902 by the British authorities as a judicial court for the Muslims. The court was tasked by the Manipur State Durbar to prepare a report of the list of Muslim clans and their origins. The Panchayat, in its report, gave a list of 40 Muslim clans along with brief history of each of the clans, including the progenitors, and their ethnicity. This report can be considered as the first documented history of the Muslims. It was submitted to the Durbar in 1932, possibly to the then President of the Durbar, Captain C.W.L. Harvey, M.C.I.A. (1930-1933) by the Qazi Sanajaoba Miya.
- ⁴⁰ One could compare the histories of Muslim clans given in B. Kullachandra & Badruddin’s Meitei Pangal Hourakpham with that of Pangal Panchayat Report.
- ⁴¹ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds., 2014), *op.cit.*, p. xii. Around 1925, Maharaj Churachand commissioned Thongam Madhab to prepare a transliteration of the Cheitharol Kumbaba, written in Meitei Mayek, into Bengali script. The transliteration was published by the Visvabharati Mandir in Imphal in the 1940s. This text was published just after the war, possibly around 1945-1946. It is believed that the text did not include the account of the reign of the Maharaj Bodhchandra (1941–1955). The copy of this edition is unavailable now. See S.N. Parratt (ed.), *The Cheitharol Kumpapa*, p. 9
- ⁴² B. Kullachandra & Badruddin, *Meitei Pangal Hourakpham*, p. 2
- ⁴³ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, pp. 75-77
- ⁴⁴ For details, see Kheiruddin Khullakpam, *Turko Afghangi Chada Nouda*, pp. 4-6
- ⁴⁵ Haji Muhammad Abdul Samad, ‘Manipuri Musalmanga mari leinaba Taraf leibakki Wari,’ in Humayun Reza Sohail (ed.), *Thong*, p. 20
- ⁴⁶ E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 329-330
- ⁴⁷ E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 328, 330. Shanti Das, the Hindu preacher of the Ramandi sect, was an inhabitant of Narsingh Tilla of Shylet. He arrived in Manipur in 1716.
- ⁴⁸ Richard M. Eaton, *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, 2000, p. 256
- ⁴⁹ Abu Fazl (trans. by H.S. Jarret), *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 136; E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 330.
- ⁵⁰ Gangmumei Kabui, *op.cit.*, pp. 215, 217, 221
- ⁵¹ Jyotirmoy Roy, *History of Manipur*, p. 48

- ⁵² R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *A History of Manipuri Literature*, p. 133
- ⁵³ L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p. 47
- ⁵⁴ Gangumei Kabui, *op.cit.*, p. 229
- ⁵⁵ B.C. Allen, E.A. Gait, et.al. *Gazetteer of Bengal & NE India*, p. 622. In the early 19th century, cotton cloths and Manipuri buffaloes were in great demand in the neighboring states, while betel nut and leaf, yarns, brass and other metals, hookahs were some of the items which were imported from outside. See the details in R. Brown, *Annual Administrative Report of Manipur, 1868-69*, pp. 46-47
- ⁵⁶ Mughal, spelled Mogul (in Arabic, Mongol), was a dynasty of Turkic-Mongol origin that ruled most of northern India from the 16th to the mid-19th century. The dynasty was established by Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1526-1530 A.D.), a Chagtai Turkic from Farghana, who descended from the Turkic conqueror Timur, or Timurlane on his father's side and from Chagatai, second son of the Mongol ruler, Genghis Khan, on his mother's side.
- ⁵⁷ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 1. Similar prayer is also found in Pangal Thorakpa, p. 1
- ⁵⁸ John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, p. 1
- ⁵⁹ In 1660 A.D., Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.) appointed Mir Jumla, the most trusted General as the Governor of Bengal, replacing Shah Shuja. Mir Jumla was entrusted to punish the rebel rulers of the eastern India and to attack Arakan to bring Shah Shuja and his family, who were taking refuge in Arakan. Mir Jumla commence to execute the royal orders by making an attempt to take over Kamrup. He launched an expedition on November 1, 1661 A.D. from Dacca with an army of 12,000 horses and 30,000 foot soldiers and a flotilla of 323 vassals. He occupied Koch Behar and renamed its capital Jahangirnagar. It was followed by an offensive against the Ahoms. He occupied numerous forts and won many battles and even occupied the capital on March 17, 1662 A.D. Mir Jumla collected immense wealth. By then, the Ahom king, Jayadhvaj Singha (1648-1663 A.D.), fled. As the Mughal army waited, rainy season set in bringing massive flood. Thousands of soldiers died of epidemic, possibly cholera and lack of provisions. They were forced to eat the flesh of horses and camels and anything they could find. Horses and draught cattle too perished due to pestilence. Mughal force was stranded in upper Assam for about eleven months. The campaign, which was dubbed as one of the most disastrous Mughal military operations, ended with a treaty concluded on January 9, 1663 A.D. Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca on March 30, 1663 A.D. For the full story of the campaign, see E.A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, pp. 131-143
- ⁶⁰ Tripura (Tippera) plain was annexed to Bengal during the reign of Nawab of Bengal, Shujauddin Muhammad Khan (1727-1739 A.D.) in 1733 A.D. by defeating the ruler of Tripura, Dharma Manikya (1713-1729/30 A.D.). It was named Roshnabad (Country of Light). Afterwards, the Nawab granted the ruler of Tripura the zamindari right of the district of Chakle Roshnabad on an annual rent of 50,000 rupees. The hilly tracts were left for the ruler of Tripura. For details, see Syed Ahmed, *Islam in North- East India – 17th to the 19th century*, pp. 79-80
- ⁶¹ Gangmumei Kabui, *op.cit.*, p. 215

⁶² A brief summary of Khagemba Langjei is given in R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-161. Also see B. Kullachandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11; L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 35

⁶³ R.K. Jhalajit Singh, *op.cit.*, pp.160-161

⁶⁴ L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 45

⁶⁵ The war of succession between the sons of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan is one of the most significant chapters in the Mughal history. It would be of interest for readers to delve briefly on this event. As soon as the news of the critical illness of Shah Jahan reached the four princes, namely Dara Shikoh (43), Shah Shuja (41), Aurangzeb (39) and Murad (33), they immediately made military preparations to capture the throne. Dara, known for his secular ideas and scholarship, held the viceroyalty of north-western India, including the provinces of Lahore, Multan and Kabul. Shah Shuja, a Shia by faith and given to a life of luxury and ease, was the Governor of Bengal. Aurangzeb, known for his orthodoxy, was the viceroy of the four Mughal provinces of the Deccan, while Murad, addicted to sensual pleasures, was the Governor of Gujarat. The two daughters of the monarch, Jahan Ara Begum and Roshan Ara Begum were also involved in the fratricidal war. Jahan Ara supported Dara, while Roshan Ara championed the cause of Aurangzeb. The princes met with their forces at the Battle of Dharmat, in Ujjain, in 1658 A.D. In the battle Aurangzeb and Murad fought against the army of Dara and Shuja. Aurangzeb and Murad merged victorious. It was soon followed by the Battle of Samugarh, near Agra. In this battle too the forces of Aurangzeb and Murad crushed the army of Dara. The battle ultimately decided the war of succession. After the defeat, Dara became a fugitive. He and his family moved to Gujarat from where he planned to escape to Persia via Sind and Kandahar. In the flight, he was given shelter by a Baluchi chief, whom the prince had once rescued from the wrath of the emperor. However, he betrayed the prince and handed him to Aurangzeb. Dara was brought to Delhi. A court gave a trial which declared him as an apostate of Islam and given the verdict of capital punishment. Dara was beheaded and his body was once again paraded in the streets of Delhi. The body was buried at the complex of Humayun tomb.

Aurangzeb occupied the Agra fort; kept his father as prisoner in the fort. He was crowned as the emperor on July 21, 1658 A.D. He further dealt with his brothers. He betrayed Murad by making him a prisoner; executed in 1661 A.D. Aurangzeb tried to win over Shah Shuja by promising him the viceroyalty of Bihar, besides Bengal, but when he did not respond positively, Aurangzeb sent Mir Jumla and his eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, to pursue him. Shah Shuja was defeated by the imperial troops at Khajwaha in modern UP. He fled towards Bengal. Frustrated by his father's actions, Muhammad Sultan defected to Shah Shuja. The latter gave his daughter in marriage to the prince. When Shah Shuja fled from Bengal the prince returned to Mir Jumla. Shah Shuja finally fled to Arakan where he and his family met their ends at the hands of the Arakan king. Shah Jahan was confined in the Agra Fort for about 7 and half years. He died on January 22, 1662 A.D. at the age of 74.

⁶⁶ J.P. Wade, *An Account of Assam*, p. 297. J.P. Wade was in Assam from 1792 to 1794 A.D.

⁶⁷ R.K. Sanahal writes that there is a cliff called Shuja Lok in Heingang, Imphal East, which possibly is a place where Shah Shuja and his men hide for some time, before entering Arakan. See R.K. Sanahal

- Singh (ed.), Pangal Thorakpa, pp. iii-iv; O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds., 2014), op.cit., pp. 134-135
- ⁶⁸ W. Yumjao Singh, Manipur Itihas, pp. 30-31
- ⁶⁹ Ghulam Hussain Salim, Riyaz-us-Salatin, p. 222. 1 kos is equal to around 1.8 km.
- ⁷⁰ Bernier (1620-1688 A.D.) was a physician and traveller from France. He stayed in India for 12 years, from 1658 A.D. to 1669 A.D. He initially served as a personal physician to Dara Shikoh and later worked for Danishman Khan, a nobleman in Aurangzeb's court. He witnessed the war of succession of 1656-59 A.D. He wrote on numerous long letters to correspondents in France describing in details the socio-religious customs and economic conditions of India. He published Travels in Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656-1668. It was through Bernier's writings that Europeans knew about India in the late 17th and early 18th century.
- ⁷¹ Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, pp. 109-115
- ⁷² Arthur P. Phayre, History of Burma, pp. 178-179
- ⁷³ Richard Burn (ed.), The Cambridge History of India, p. 481
- ⁷⁴ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., pp. 92-95. Also see R.K. Sanahal (ed.), op.cit., pp. 43-44
- ⁷⁵ For details, see Kullachandra and Badruddin, Meitei Pangal Hourakpham, pp. 64-68
- ⁷⁶ As quoted in Pangal Thorakpa, pp. viii, ix, xiii
- ⁷⁷ Pangal Panchayat Report (MSS)
- ⁷⁸ B. Kullachandra and Badruddin, op.cit., p. 65
- ⁷⁹ B. Kullachandra, 1891gi Mamangda Leiramba Meitei Pangalgi Fibam, p. 3
- ⁸⁰ M.A. Janab Khan, op.cit., pp. 69-70
- ⁸¹ Farooque Ahmed, Manipuri Muslims, pp. 156-157
- ⁸² L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), op.cit., p. 36
- ⁸³ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., (reprint, 2014), p. 70
- ⁸⁴ Farooque Ahmed, op.cit., p. 157
- ⁸⁵ This narrative was given to the author in an interview with M.A. Hashim, a resident of Kairang Makha Leikai, Imphal East, recently.
- ⁸⁶ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., pp. 100-102
- ⁸⁷ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., pp. 100. Also see O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., (reprint 2014), pp. 76-77
- ⁸⁸ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., p. 102. The kingdom of the Tripuris was then spread over Cachar and Northern Mizoram. They invaded the south many times between 1603 A.D. and 1634 A.D., but they were failed. Tripuris maintained commercial relations with Manipur. See Gangumei Kabui, op. cit., p. 215
- ⁸⁹ Kullachandra Sharma & Badaruddin, op.cit., p. 4
- ⁹⁰ R.C. Majumdar, et.al., An Advanced History of India, pp. 496-497
- ⁹¹ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., p. 104. Also see the same book (Reprint 2014), p. 76. It is not clear from the contemporary sources whether this Mughal Shang was a new office instituted to receive the Mughals, or another name given to Pangal Sanglen mentioned in the Cheitharol Kumbaba and Khagemba Lanpha.
- ⁹² L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), op.cit., p. 36
- ⁹³ For details, see O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), op.cit., (reprint 2014), pp. 134-135

- ⁹⁴ Pangal Panchayat Report (MSS)
- ⁹⁵ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, (Reprint 2014), p. 104
- ⁹⁶ Nepram Bihari, *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p. 148
- ⁹⁷ For example, Leirikyengbam mayum, Thangcham, Kakchingmayum, Karpursungbam, Loitong mayum, etc. For the complete list see, Ayekpam Tomba Meetei, Meetei Yek Salai, pp. 101-114. Kullachandra Sharma & Badaruddin's Meitei Pangal Hourakpham traces history of 63 Muslim clans in Manipur in details.
- ⁹⁸ O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *op.cit.*, p. 37
- ⁹⁹ Manipuri Muslims migrated along with Meeteis en-mass to Barak Valley, Tripura and Surma Valley during the Burmese occupation of the valley of Manipur from 1819 to 1826 A.D. Majority of the migrated population returned, but a large population settled there permanently. They still maintain their Manipuri identity and practice age-old socio-cultural traditions, including clan system.
- ¹⁰⁰ Pangal Panchayat Report (MSS)
- ¹⁰¹ Tolel Qazi was a trusted general who was engaged in many of the campaigns of Gambhir Singh. As a soldier of Manipur Levy, he took part in the clearing the Burmese from the valley of Manipur in 1825-26 A.D. He also accompanied Gambhir Singh in the campaign to suppress Khasi revolt.
- ¹⁰² For details, see O. Bhogeswar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds. *Reprint 2014*), *op.cit.*, pp. 129-131
- ¹⁰³ Nepram Bihari, *op.cit.*, p. 249

References

1. Ghulam Hussain, *Riyas-us-Salatin*, Trans. by Abdus Salam, *Idarah-i adabiya-i Delli*, Delhi, (1903) 1975
2. Saroj Nalini Parratt (ed.), *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, Vol. I, Routledge, London & New York, 2005
3. Nepram Bihari, *The Cheitharol Kumbaba*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati, 2012
4. R. Brown, *Statistical Account of the Native State of Manipur and the Hill Territory under its rule*, K.M. Mittal, Delhi, (1874), 1975
5. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Bengal – Muslim Period (1200-1757)*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 2003
6. R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, Spectrum Publications, New Delhi, 2011
7. Atul Chandra Roy, *History of Bengal, Mughal Period (1526-1765)*, Nababharat Publishers, Calcutta, 1968
8. Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1959
9. Rev. James Long, *Analysis of Raj-Mala, or the Chronicles of Tripura*, Tripura State Tribal Cultural Research Institute and Museum. Govt. of Agartala, Tripura, 2008
10. H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, Goodword Books, New Delhi, 2012
11. Vincent A. Smith (tr.), *Travels in Mughal Empire, 1656-1668*, Goodword Books, New Delhi, 2012
12. E.A. Gait, *History of Assam*, Surjeet Publications, Delhi, 2008
13. Richard Burn (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge University Press, 1937

14. Satish Chandra, *History of Medieval India (800-1700)*, Orient Blackswan, N. Delhi, 2011
15. John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2018
16. Richard M. Eaton, 'Islam in Bengal,' in George Michill, *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, UNESCO, Belgium, 1984
17. _____, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, OUP, Calcutta, 1997
18. _____, *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, OUP, New Delhi, 2000
19. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, AD 1656-1668*, Low Price Publications, New Delhi, 1997
20. Arthur P. Phayre, *History of Burma*, Susil Gupta, London, 1967
21. Farooque Ahmed, *Manipuri Muslims: Historical Perspectives 615-2000 CE*, Pharos Media & Publishing Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2011
22. Syed Ahmed, *Islam in North- East India – 17th to the 19th century*, Ph.D Thesis, JNU, 2003
23. _____, 'Situating Muslims in the History of Manipur,' in *Spectrum*, Jan-Jun 2019
24. R. Brown, *Annual Administrative Report of Manipur, 1868-69*
25. J.L. Mehta, *An Advanced Study in the History of Medieval India, Vol. II*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1984
26. R.K. Jhaljit, *A History of Manipuri Literature, Vol. I*, Public Book Store, Imphal, 1987
27. L. Iboongohal Singh & N. Khelchandra Singh (eds.), *Cheitharol Kumbaba, Manipur Sahitya Parishad, Manipur, 1989*
28. O. Bhogeswor Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *Nongsamei Puya, Manipur Stationary and Printing Industries, Imphal, 1973*
29. O. Bhogeswor Singh & M.A. Janab Khan (eds.), *Nongsamei Puya, M. Aga Khan Ephem, Imphal, 2014*
30. R.K. Sanahal Singh (ed.), *Pangal Thorakpa*, Liberty Publication Association, Imphal, 1990
31. Erom Amubi, et.al., compilation. Sagei Salairol, Imphal: Manipur State Kala Academy, 1994
32. M.A. Janab Khan, *Manipuri Muslims*, The Santi Press, Imphal, 1972
33. Kullachandra Sharma & Badruddin, *Meitei Pangal Hourakpham*, Chingtam Press, Imphal, 1991
34. Kheiruddin Khullakpam, *Turko Afghangi Chada Nouda*, CIRCLES, Lilong, 1997
35. B. Kullachandra Sharma, *1891gi Mamangda Leiramba Meitei Pangal (Manipuri Muslim)gi Fibam*, Writers' Union, Manipur, 2010
36. Moirangthem Chandrasingh, *Manipuri Muslim*, Imphal, 1973
37. Humayun Reza Sohail (ed.), *Thong*, published by Manipuri Muslim Community of Bangladesh, Adampur, 2019
38. 'Taraf,' [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taraf_\(Bengal\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taraf_(Bengal))
39. Dewan Nurul Anwar Hussain Choudhury, 'Syed Nasiruddin,' https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Shah_Syed_Nasirudin

40. 'Habiganj District,'
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habiganj_District
41. Abdul Karim, 'Islam Khan Chisti,'
https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Islam_Khan_Chisti
42. Muazzam Hussain Khan, 'Khwaja Usman,'
https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Khwaja_Usman
43. Abdul Karim, 'Shah Shuja,'
https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Shah_Shuja