CHAPTER-II

MUSLIMS OF MANIPUR
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Genesis of Manipuri Muslims

After analysing a conceptual study of political participation, it is better to see how Manipuri Muslims participated in the polity of Manipur, monarchical system. Before that we should trace back the genesis of Manipuri Muslims in order to have full picture of their participation because they participated in the Lallup system of the king and relationship with kazi is really notable in the political history of Manipur. The Pangals, as known to the people of Manipur are the Muslims of Manipur. They are a unique social constituent of Manipur society not only do they share in the economy and politics, but also represented in the unique culture of Manipur. Though they form a minority group, they occupy a unique position. The Manipuri Muslims are scattered over the valley region of the state.

How the Term ‘Pangal’ Comes

There is a controversy over the nomenclature ‘Pangal’ some called them as Manipuri Muslims or simply Muslims, whereas other addressed them as “Meetei Pangal”. The word ‘Pangal’ is derived from the word ‘Bengal’. In the early period, Pangal were called Bengal because they came to Manipur from Bengal and gradually changed to Pangal.

After the Maharaj Khagamba (1597-1652), the word ‘Pangal’ was used exclusively as a nomenclature for the Muslims. Similarly in Assam the Mussalman were known as ‘Gour’ because they came from a place known as ‘Gour’ that was the capital of Bengal.¹

Yaad Dasht Kursee – E – Nama, published by Circules, King Khagembha used the first word ‘Pangal’. During his reign, there was a battle, ‘Senbi Kondom’ between the Meetei and Mussalman on one side and the Maring and Taraos on the other side. The Mussalman took a great and remarkable responsibilities in the battle. Being satisfied to the works of Mussalman sepoys, King Khagembha gave the title of ‘Panganba’ to the Mussalman sepoys. Later on the term ‘Panganba’ came into existence as ‘Pangal’.²

Abdur Rhaman wrote, “In other eastern countries also the Muslims are known by local names such as ‘Moro and Hui’, etc. The ‘Moros’ are the Muslims of Phillipines and ‘Huis’ are the Muslims of China. Likewise the ‘Pangal’ are the Muslims of Manipur.”³

The word ‘Pangal’ is used by T.C. Hudson in his book ‘Meitheis’.⁴ In Cheitharol Kumbaba also N. Khelchandra and L. Ibungohal Singh recorded that thirty elephants, one thousand guns, one thousand Pangals, blacksmiths, artisans, musicians, grooms, washerman, horse and elephants keepers, one thousand Muslims were also captured.⁵ Gangnume I Kamei wrote, “The first Muslim Settlement recorded in the chronicle was in the year 1606. They are known as ‘Pangal’ which is a derivation from Bengal. (Bengal = Pangal).⁶

E.W. Dun used the word ‘Mussalmans’ in Gazetteer of Manipur as “The Mussalmans are the descendents of Bengali immigrants; retain a knowledge of Hindustani and Bengali and are hardly distinguishable in appearance from the Bengalis, who have never left. Cachhar”⁷

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M.McCulloch used the word ‘Munniporee Mussalman’ in the book “Valley of Manipur” as “The Munniporee Mussalman population arose from Munniporee men having taken as wives Mussalman women before the regular introduction of Hinduism”.8

Robert Brown in ‘Statistical Account of Manipur’ used the first word ‘Meetei Pangal’.9

Moirangthem Chandra Singh also used the name ‘Meetei Pangal’. According to him the Pangal or the Manipuri Muslims are the children of Meetei females although their fathers were original Mussalmans.10

In short, the nomenclature ‘Meetei Pangal’ is well accepted in Manipur both the Meeteis and the Muslims of Manipur. So they are known as ‘Pangals’.

How the Muslim came to Manipur

B. Kulchandra and Dr. Badaruddin in their book “Meetei Pangal Haorakpham” said Mungyamba, the father of Khagemba had two wives. The first wife was Changpombi and she gave birth to Khagemba, Chingsomba and Sanongba and the second was Thokchom Chanu (a lady of Thokchom family) and she gave birth to a son named Khoma Pukharmba. The queen Changpombi loved Sanongba most, among her sons.

After Mungyamba, his son Khagemba ascended the throne in 1597. He had another name and it was Sana Hihohan Poirei Ningthouhan. When Khagemba became the king of Manipur. His second younger bothers Chingsomba and Sanongba were appointed Khurailakpa and Yaiskullakpa respectively. They discussed for performing a festival of a boat race in the year 1603.

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Chingsomba and Sanongba had two favourite servants namely, Madhu and Labanga respectively. They were all handsome youths. Chingsomba also had a beautiful daughter called Latasana, Madhu and Labanga desired Latasana to be their wives. But Chingsomba desired to offer his daughter Latasana to Madhu. But on the contrast, Sanongba desired to marry his daughter to Labanga. Being his real daughter, Chingsomba determined to marry his daughter Latasana to Madhu and Sanongba became anxious.

During the period, i.e., in 1603, boat race was held at Leishang Hidel of Langthabal. Chingsomba had no boat of his own and borrowed the boat named "Kabonggamba Chaokhong Phaba" from Sanongba, the so called "Kabonggamba Chaokhong Phaba" boat was given to Sanongba by their father king Mungyamba.

Unfortunately during the course of boat race, the boat of Sanongba was broken due to collision of oar. Chingsongba informed the news to Sanongba and told that he was ready to give back the boat after properly making required accessories with resin, etc., or to give a new boat which was equal to its size and figure or to give its required price. The proposal of Chingsongba was totally rejected by Sanongba. It was for the reason for denying to give Chingsongba's daughter Latasana to his royal servant Labanga. Sanongba claimed that he should receive the boat at the same condition as remained before or Chingsomba should hand over Madhu who had borrowed the directly as advised by Chingsomba from Sanongba and also informed that the should kill him. The matter was then gradually reached king Khagemba and he also could not solve the matter due to Sanongba's utter argument. As a result of the judgement, Sanongba was driven out from Manipur.

Then Changpombi, the mother of Sanongba requested king Prathphinanda of Cachhar to invade upon Manipur and also to make her son Sanongba king of Manipur. The king of Cachhar invaded upon Manipur twice
in 1603 and 1604 and got defeated. Considering that he could not defeat Manipur, king of Cachhar requested Muhammed Najiri, king of Taraf to help him in invading Manipur. Taraf is situated on the north east of Pargana of Serail, at a distance of about 34 kms from it. It is in the south-west portion of the district of Sylhet, about 10 miles from Habiganj in the South – Eastern direction. The proposal of the king of Taraf sent Muhammed Shani, Nawab and sixteen group commanders including Murnon Khan, Monai, Akon, Aalup, Chuleiya, Namfa, Paitong, Tumiya, Khamya, Aman, Khenito, Akyya, Sapra Muhammed Khamba, Lannliyamba Punot Purrn along with 1007 soldiers so that they might help the king of Cachhar in invading Manipur in the year 1605.

Under the leadership of Vimbal and Yakhairok, Senapati of Cachhar king including six commandants namely, Faleitao, Maikatao, Sabudhi, Takkarja, Keikiyamlung, Tharakpa and several armies on the one group and on the other group under the leadership of Sanongba including four persons namely Shorasam Thangkhomba, Oinam Pukchao, Thockchom Muba and Labanga, joined with Taraf armies and invaded Manipur. The joined armies came towards Khoubum line by crossing the Guwai river and reached Lamangdong (Bishnupur) in the south western fringe valley of Manipur.

The news was reached to king Khagemba by two betel nut traders namely Okram Keyamba and Wairokpm Khungam of Manipur. The then King Khagemba was ready for “fire war” so he, immediately, arranged four groups of tengols (troops) and many leaders were as included like Chingsombam Nognsamei, Kiyam Lairamei, Setachabutabam Monbijasmba Haomu Yaraba, Akhom Moyon, Salamacha Kiyamba, Okramcha Kiyamba, Wairokpm Khungam, Ngangbam Koingamba, Yunnam Kiyamba, Haobam Aroi, Yellengbam Khungam, Pala Koirengam Khumukcham Koimgam, Wangkheimayum Kiyamba, Salam Chaksa, Nongthombam Moiremba, Takhen Atouba Kachom Koireng, Chiron Kaiiremnei, Salam Koimgam, Maibam Keisa, 180 horse army, two tops were also arranged. They dug a great ditch, and at.
night, they lighted up for showing that. They had many soldiers and at day the two tops were fired by changing the place from one to other places.

During the course of the war, the group of Cachhar led by Vimbal and Yakhairok ran away from Manipur as they felt afraid of the war. The group of army led by Muhmmed Shani of Taraf fought with Meeteis. Then, the Manipuris brought a negotiation policy through Nongsamei, Senapati of Khagemba Maharaj. The Muslim armies agreed the proposal. The two parties sat together for negotiation without arms. After the negotiation talk, the armies of Taraf were controlled by the Meeteis and became prisoners. Thus, all belongings brought by the Muslim armies were handed over to the king of Manipur. Thus the war exempt to an end after fighting for eight months in the year 1606. The king allowed them to settle in the country.\(^\text{11}\)

M. A. Janab Khan wrote, "The old Muslims settlers who settled in Manipur prior to the reign of king Khagemba were known as ‘Aribam’ because they were the first settlers among the Muslim Community. These first settlers of Aribam, stated that they were brought forcibly as captives by the Manipur Maharaj in order to manufacture guns.\(^\text{12}\)

As stated by Kheiruddin Khulakpam, "In 1562, Mungyarnba, father of Khagemba became the king of Manipur. During the reign of Mungyamba, three Muslims namely, Ashik Shah, Ruba Shaikh and Khatuawan Khan came from Sylhet from Manipur. They were the first settlers among the Muslim Community. Then a large band of the Muslims sepoys from Sylhet entered Manipur during the reign of king Khagemba who raised an army from Sylhet to take revenge his brother Khagemba on the issue of a boat. They were second settlers along the Muslim community.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{12}\) Ipahm M.A. Janab Khan, Manipur Muslim, Imphal, 1972, p.1.
T. Bokul severely criticised this view, "Muslim lived in Manipur before the reign of King Khagemba (1596-1652). To him, most of the forefathers of Pangals were sepoys.\textsuperscript{14}

‘According to Shri M. Irobat. Singh and Smt.. S. Ibenhal Devi, during the reign of king Khagemba, Muslims came to Mampur as sepoys in 1606.\textsuperscript{15}

Prof. J. Roy also wrote, “Ancestors of the Muslim families of Manipur came at different times from Sylhet. and Cachhar. They took Manipuri wives and settled in Manipur”.\textsuperscript{16}

R. Brown wrote, “The Mussalman population appears, before the devastation of the country by the Burmese, to have attained a very considerable amount; but as the case with all other sections of the Manipuri community, the greater portion of it was carried into capacity by these ruthless invaders, and the present Mussalmans are the descendants of the few that then escaped being captured”.\textsuperscript{17}

As per Kayamuddin Pukhrimayum, “In 1606, a large band of Muslim sepoys from Sylhet entered Manipur during the reign of Khagemba Maharaj and they came in service of Sanongba who raised an army from Sylhet to take revenge against his brother Khagemba Maharaj on an issue of a boat. The Muslims who were taken as prisoner of war settled in Manipur”\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} T. Bokul, Manipuri Muslim Kouba Lairikki Maramda, The Saraswati Printing Works, Imphal, January 1974, p.17.
\textsuperscript{16} Prof. J. Roy, History of Manipur, Calcutta, 1973, p.171.
\textsuperscript{17} Robert Brown, op.cit., p.15.
\textsuperscript{18} A. Samarendra, Op.cit., p.3.
L. Ibungohal Singh and N. Khelchandra Singh said "The advent of Muslims in Manipur was caused by the rivalry and war between Khagamba, the king of Manipur and his younger brother Sanongba. The incident was occurred in 1628 Saka era.\textsuperscript{20}

M. F. Quadir wrote, "Very few Muslims from the rest of India went and settled in Manipur state. The major portion of Manipur Muslims population is by conversion. Muslims never ruled in that territory. During British rule, only a few Muslims from other parts -of India settled in Manipur state.\textsuperscript{21}

N. Ibobi wrote, "When Sanongba, the Yaiskullakpa and younger brother of Khagamba rebelled against his royal brother with the help of the Muslim of Cachhhar, king Khagamba won a decisive battle against him. The Muslims who were taken as prisoners of war settled in Manipur.\textsuperscript{22}

In Manipur, subsequently many Muslims entered Manipur from neighbouring areas from time to time to settle in the state permanently. During the reign of Meidingu Khunjaoba in 1652, seven Muslims namely, Esak Ali Mullah, Marumbi, Bibi Fatimah, Mutaque Ali, Khetridasi Bamon Sitaram, Konok Takillag, Konok Basu Dev came from Takhen to Manipur.\textsuperscript{23}

Meidingu Paikhomba became the king of Manipur in 1666-1697, thirty seven Muslims including Lakhiyaful, Surnful, Mas Anou sons of king of Makak Laibak in Sylhet along with Zinatullah Sheikh, Leithou, Shekh Zalali, Kakching Ta.ba, Painam Chandra, Muhammed Shah, Akun Sheikh, Isman Khan, Pratab, Hameen, Daulat, Heiwan Sheikh, Uran Khan, came to Manipur and five muslims came to Manipur from Gujarat namely Putan Khan, Salim Khan, Minar Khan, Lukman Khan and Dela Khan.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{21} M.F. Quadir, "Muslim of North East India", Souvenir North East India 15 Century Hijri Era Celebration, Gauhati 7\textsuperscript{th}, 8\textsuperscript{th} November 1991, p.40
\textsuperscript{22} N. Ibobi Singh, The Manipur Administration (1709-1907), Imphal, 1976, p.31.
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p.38.
O. Bhogeshwar Singh & M.A. Janab Khan Ipham opined that there were many converts in to the fold of Islam from local people. For example, in Thoubal Moijing village, there is a clan, called ‘Monsam’ whose forefathers converted to Islam. Formerly they belonged to some tribes. Still now the people of Moijing Village, sometimes, called the members of this particular clan as Hillman. Muhammed who inherited the ‘Moijing’ clan also originally was Meetei Rajkumar.26

From the above discussions, we can conclude that the forefathers of Pamals belong to Cachhar, Sylhet and Bengal. But maternal side they belong to Manipur. Moreover, there were many converts into the fold of Islam from local people. The exact date of the arrival of the Muslims in Manipur is not certain. But it has been generally accepted that the Muslims settled in Manipur, first settled in Manipur after king Khagemba captured them, in war, in 1606.

**Settlement of Muslims in Manipur**

The main villages inhabited by Muslims during the period of King Khagemba upto Gambhir Singh were, Moirangkhom, Singjamei, Bamon Leikai, Langthabal Keibung, Patsoi, Maklang, Lamsang Touthong, Pangaltabi, Khongjom Ngarian Laway, Wangjing Turel Wangma, Heirok, Malom, Changamdabi Kangla Ukok, Fundrei, Bishenpur Maning Khoubum Chingin, Malom Khomyan, Keinou, Moirang Taotong, Yairipok Ningthounai, Kiyamgei Leisangkhong, Uchiwa, Sugnu, Kajipat, Solai, Nongjai, Kamang, Kairang Khumidok Heinmou Khongnembi, Mapal Ingkhol, Senbi Kandong, Maibam Lokpa, Wangban, Singjamei Chingagi Awang, Bamon Kampa, Mayang Imphal, Kontha, Lilong, Khetrigao, etc.27

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26 O. Bhogeshwar Singh and M.A. Janab Khan Ipham, Nongsami, Appendix, Imphal. 1973, p.169
In the “Seven Years Devastation of Manipur”, many Muslims fled away from Manipur to other countries. The countries where they inhabited were Cachhar, Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Bangladesh, Burma, Saudi Arabia, etc.  

Today, out of nine administrative districts of Manipur, the Meetei Pangals are found to have settled in four districts of Manipur valley and two districts of the hills such as Chandel and Churachandpur. It was also found out that the Meetei Pangal inhabited villages/towns of Manipur fall in the following Assembly segments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Name of Manipur legislative Assembly Constituency</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Khundrakpam</td>
<td>Imphal East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Heingang</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kshetrigao</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Keirao</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Andro</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Wangkhei</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Jiribam</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sagolband</td>
<td>Imphal West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Naoriya Pakhanglakpa</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Wangoi</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Mayang Imphal</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Bishnupur</td>
<td>Bishnupur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Moirang</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Kumbi</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Lilong</td>
<td>Thoubal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Thoubal</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Wangkhem</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Heirok</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Khangabok</td>
<td>-do-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Population

According to Cheitharol Kumba, at the time of Muslim-first settlement in Manipur, they numbered about one thousand.29 In 1871, Robert Brown calculated that they were 900 families or 4,500 men, women and children in number.30 E.W. Dun, wrote “Muhammadans numbered, 4881 in 1881.31 In the Census of 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 were 37197, 48588, 70969, 99327, 133,535 and 190939 respectively.32

Muslim and Their Separate Lallup

The ‘Lallup System’ was an old practice of a system of feudal labour which was introduced from the very early period. According to this system every male members of the country oboe 16 years of age have to render to the state’s service for 10 days out of 40 days. So, no person was allowed to escape from this practice and if an individual failed to carry out this lallup duties, he must give a substitute in place of him or he must pay fine as a token of penalty. Indeed, the introduction of this system by the king was directly related with the developmental works of the state. In practice, this system gave a lot of contribution to an economically backward country like Manipur. With the help

of this unpaid labour system, the king was able to carry out a large number of developmental works such as construction of roads, canals, tanks, etc. Even the British official admitted the importance of this system yet they pointed out that the burden of this system fell on the head of the poor people. The rich and privileged groups of people were able to escape from this burden. Maxwell abolished 'lallup' system on the 29th April 1892 on the occasion of minor Raja's (Churachand Maharaj) installation.

During the reign of king Khagemba in 1606, the Muslim prisoners became to be a separate community and their identity was recognised by the king Khagemba as Pangal.33 As per Cheitharol Kumbaba king Khagemba opened a Department of the Muslims known as "Pangan Loishang".34

During his reign, Shyed Ambia, Shyed Abdullah and Khalka Hussain came to Manipur in the year 1609 and since then Pangal Loishang were bifurcated to three Sub-Departments as Religion Department, Social Department and Judicial Department.35

McCulloch opines that the Muslims had separate Lalups related to the administration affairs of the Pangals of the State and consisted of Pangal Sanglen, Pangal Ingkhol, Pangal Singa Loishang, Pangal Phundrei Loishang, Pangal Kumr, Pangal Mall and Pangal Likli which were all attached to the palace.36

Kazi Relationship with King

The head of the' Pangal Loishang' Kazi or Khulakpa or Kazi ul-kuzat who is appointed by the Raja,37 Kazi., Khulakpa. or Kazi-ul-kuzat have different meaning. They are all heads of the 'Pangal Loishang'. If the administrator is illiterate and have full knowledge of judgement and

controlling, he was termed as Khulakpa. The administrator who was quite illiterate was termed as Kazi. Sometimes, there were two administrators and one of the two administrators, a person who was more qualified was known as Kazi-ul-kuzat.  

The followings are the Khulakpas, Kazis and Kazi-ul-kuzats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fuhammed Shani</td>
<td>Kazi-ul-kuzat</td>
<td>1606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikh Juned</td>
<td>Khulakpa</td>
<td>1627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed Ambia</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed Hussain</td>
<td>Kazi-ul-kuzat.</td>
<td>1658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonba</td>
<td>Khulakpa</td>
<td>1676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed Suleiman</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barkattullah</td>
<td>Khulakpa</td>
<td>1686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melei Nganba</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shib Muhammed</td>
<td>Kazi-ul-kuzat.</td>
<td>1713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nir Kazi Khun Puba</td>
<td>Khulakpa</td>
<td>1735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismail</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Mullah</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulsum</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasirullah</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar kat.tullah</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hera Kazi</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39 Ibid., Pp.52-54.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Surba</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Ali Mia</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Ira</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Abdur Ra'nan</td>
<td>Kazi</td>
<td>1929-31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Muhammadan Panchayat Court**

When Manipur was under the British rule in the year 1891, there was a separate Panchayat Court of the Muslims in Manipur. As for the Manipuri Muhammadans Panchayat Court consist of five Muhammadans of Manipuri. A member of a Panchayet would retire by rotation each year but might be appointed. Each member of the Panchayet would receive a Pari of land rent free during his time of office.

The Muhammadans Panchayet Courts assembled at. Least twice a week for the disposal of business. All the dispute of a civil nature were settled amicably between the contending parties. If an amicable settlement was declined and the subject matter in dispute was valued in the case of Town Panchayet at Rs. 50 or less, the Court proceeded to try it. No other kind of punishment except fine was inflicted by the Panchayet Court. The Panchayet Court tried the cases of minor offences. In case which the accused and dependant were mixed Hindu and Muhammadans, the matter in dispute would be referred or trial to the “Cheirap Court”.

**Darbar**

After taking over Manipur by the British, a. special Panchayet. Court was established for the "Muslims particularly and they took part in the Darbar as Member. Muhammed Wali Ullah was one of the Darbar Members among Seven Members during the reign of Maharaj Churachand and also he was

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nominated as a member of Constitution Drafting Committee out of 16 members nominated by the Maharaj Bodhachandra. And then after the dissolution of state Darbar on 1-7-1947 he was again included in the State Council of Ministers as Care-Taker Government under the Chief Ministership of Major F.F. Person. I.P.S.\textsuperscript{41}

After Completion of the State Council, Muhammed Basiruddin was also inducted as Minister in charge of Medical, P.W.D. and Jail as Interim Council under the Chief Ministership of Captain M.K. Priyobratta Singh.\textsuperscript{42} After independence of Manipur in 1948, there were three seats reserved for Muslim in the Legislative Assembly. Out of 53 seats of Legislative Assembly, 30 seats were general, 18 for hills, 3 for Muslims, 1 for education and for business. Thus, the Muslims (Meetei Pangal) in Manipur have been associating to the administration of Manipur since many years ago.\textsuperscript{43}

**Pangals Participated in the War**

B. Kulchandra and D.R. Baderuddin opined that the Pangals were divided into two groups as 1) Khunja and 2) Inkhol shangba. The former were the warriors and the later were homogenous class of Muslim, following diverse professional who occupied a lower status in the social and official hierarchy.\textsuperscript{44}

McCulloch in his valley of Manipur says, the Muslims and potters, they are under a Kazi and have a number if other officers quite disproportioned to their numerical amount. The kazi is not appointed an account of his knowledge of the law which ought to govern Mussalmans but an account of the service he may have done to the Raja as partisan or a menial servant.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} B. Kulachandra Sharma & Dr. Baderuddin, Op.cit., p.3.
In collusion with the Maring, the Tarao, the Mongsha, the Kondong, Tamu and Khari, groups tried to kill Khagemba Maharaj and 1000 Muslims (soldier) fought the war and rescued the king. Some of the soldiers were Mohammed Shani, Lanmi Yamba Kulsum, Akhong Athoubas, Munan. Arup Akanba. Faitong Athoubas. Narnpha, Akanba, Khamyaa Athoubas, Aman Lanchingba. Khento Akanba. Akong Athoubas. etc.

When Meidingu Loyumba revolted against King Charairongba, the King was helpless and stood without having any arms. Melei Ngamba, a Manipuri Muslim, who was in the group of Meidingu Loyumba freed the King safely though he was enemy of his group. Then he was killed by the King for participating in the revolt against the king.

Meidingu Pamheiba who reigned from 1709-1748, the Manipuri fought with Awas in Wangjing. During that serious war, Manipuri fought against Awas including Manipuri Muslim. Some of leaders were Khungam, Muba, Ngouba, Makarok, Khungam, Lamyang, Tomba Magol, Chabrulla Pathan, Kiyangmaklong, etc.

At the regime of the king, eleven Muslim soldiers were killed in the battle when the king revolted at Ukhrul and many muslims were also lost. They were Liklai, Khungam, Mota, Khoina, Tangum, Thongkhong Khabong, Changba, Takpa, Tonba, Komol, Tenba, Bala.

During the reign of Meidingu Moramba, many muslims soldiers were killed in the battle of Awa at Tamu Keithel. They were Pangal Kala, Heimutron, Khomba, Chaiba, Maimi Talongba, Khanba, Pukchao Talungba, Khanba, Tonba, Tolungba Khanba, etc.

48 Ibid., p.43.
49 Ibid., p.46.
50 Ibid., p.46.
After "Chahi Taret Khuntakpa" (Seven Years Devastation) under Burmese five hundred soldiers were formed to the Mayang Leibak (Cachhar), to drive out Awa from Manipur. Out of them, seventeen Muslim soldiers participated in the war. Their names were Shaik Salenah, Shugush Soobul, Refy Muhammed, Lool Muhammed, Barkattullah, Lool Muhammed, Muhammed Nazer, Shaik Shubah, Shik Seba, Shaik Brow, Shaikh Lobah, Shaik Chybah, Shaik Sayja, Sheikh Khamba (On command), Shaikh Prem (on command).  

During the Khongjom war of 1891, 46 muslims participated in the war among them Chebbando was killed in the war and his graveyard is still remaining at Pallel. They were Tonjao (Habildar), Abunston, Amuba, Angouna, Ngairanga, Sabir Ali, Babu, Nijasmutullah, Moni Miya, Hamum Miya, Yusuf, Ajjjur Rahman, Khabba, Khalilur Rahman, Abhduallah, Dewan Mia, Malei Mia, Tullando, Haji Sanaulla, Khelakut, Keigojing, Kibando, Yusuf, Tonjao Mia, Feija (Jamandar), Abdul Karim, Askar Ali, Rahamatullah, Umor Ali, Sadhu Mia, Yusuf Ali, Chongtham Mia, Talim, Rarahim, Shaik Babachou, Shaik Abdur Rahman, Shaikh Musabir Ali, Ranjan Ali, Shaikh Kmran, Noor Rahim Mia, Hedayatullah, Umadullah and Lamboiba (Habildar), etc.  

Thus, Manipuri Muslims also fought against the state enemies in order to protect the territory and sovereignty of the state. Basically, in the broad meaning, participation of people either subject or citizen should be heeding to make military capability, economic strength and stable government. Within that framework, one should sustain the state for the brighter future of their people. Keeping the views, the Manipuri Muslims are at stake in all fronts of Manipur state. Even not only in the war but the Muslims were also playing an important role for the economic development of Manipur also. In the past war

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period, the Muslim leaders launched “grow more food” campaign in order to face food scarcity in Manipur. So it is desirable to see Muslim community in economic field.

**Pangals in Economic Field**

The economic conditions of the Meetei Panghal during the years following their initial settlement in Manipur was believed to be good. The community enjoyed respects from the state ruler and subjects alike because they are brave, honest and hard working. Their ways of living were more or less similar to that of the Meetei Society. During the reign of King Khagemba there was a great revolution in the society mainly in trade and commerce and production of new products, which were not in the past. These were all done by Muslim in Manipur. So Robert Brown in his Statistical Account of Manipur says “They chiefly follow the trades of regarding, turning, carpentry, pottery and drummers attached to the Raja’s Army are Mussalmans. They have under the Kazi appointed by Raja.”

Making of luxurious things, ornament works, etc, were introduced completely during his time and became developed. By producing bricks, walls of the palace were made by the Muslims. They introduced the making of guns (New Model) and started to develop the art of war. When the construction and other designation, the Muslims made many ornamental articles for the pillars, doors, windows, etc., by painting or making bunch of flowers etc. The Muslims helped the country by producing papers to write.

According to R.K. Jhaljit Singh in “A Short History of Manipur’ wrote “Tobacco smoking was introduced into Manipur 1610 very soon the Manipuris discarded the pipe and used the hookh to minimise ill effects of tobacco smoking. The first hookahs were imported from Mughal Empire. They were

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therefore called Mangal Phoo or ‘Mughal Pot’ soon hookahs were made in Manipur. The first hookahs made here came into use in 1615’. 56

They produced Dodlai (Palanquin), during the reign of King Khagemba. In ‘Pangan Thorakpa’ written by R.K. Sanahal Singh, it is written, “Phundreicha KutanKhan, Jaman Khan Khutheiyamacha Sakchari, Ayekpamacha” Muhammed and Niyamtullah together made a Sanadolai(Planquin), a Sekpin (Umbrella) and on the top of the Sekpin leaves of lotus which was made of ivory was presented to the king through Muhammed Lanjingden and the king, having pleased, offered Sinayaimbam Chanu Tombi to Sakchari as his wife’. 57

Further, they produced pots, “Nuria Sheikh, a potter, presented a pot to the King which was made by grinding with Tareng (Spinning Wheel) through Parasena and the King was very pleased with him’. 58

According to Dr. Baderuddin and B. Kulchandra in “Meetei Pangal Hourakpham” Shaik Umron made “Food Stuff” from milk for presenting to the king” and “Nurea and Syed Shaik Salim loomed many kind of cloth”. He is the first man loomer among the Manipuri Muslim. 59

It is also written in the ‘History of Manipur” written by Prof. Gangmumei Kabui, “Agricultural technology was improved with the introducing of transplanting system of paddy cultivation introduced by Muslim peasants who were captives. These Muslim peasants introduced the plough drawn by the bullock and buffalo”. 60 The mode of cultivation, the planting and transplanting the rice, is the same as that followed in Eastern Bengal. 61

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58 Ibid.
60 Gangmumei Kamei, History of Manipur, volume one, Pre-colonial Period, New Delhi, p.219.
During the reign of Chandrakriti Maharaj the Mussalmans after getting permission of the King, dug a river in Lilong in 1880. This river is diverted from Imphal river just from Lilong proper and fell again to Imphal river to the South Iransiphai. Its length is about 7km., breath 50 metre and depth of about 15 metre. This river has water at all. The river, not only to divert excess water from Imphal river, but also gives water for agricultural purpose to its both sides.  

In the 2001 population census, the percentages share of the muslim workers to the total state workers was found to be 7.42% only. Further, the number of muslim workers to the total muslim population was recorded at 36.75% while out of the total population of Manipur, the percentage of workers was 43.75% while out of the total population of Manipur, the percentage of workers jaws 43.62% at the state level. According to the present survey, 71.17% of the total population are found to be out of the labour force while 28.83% are in the labour force of which 24.14% are employed and 4.69% are unemployed.

grow more food campaign in 1950

In the latter part of the Manipur’s history one could not discard the importance of ‘grow more food’ campaign, launched by the muslims when the state was facing food scarcity in the post war period. To day’s political scientists emphasis more and more on the importance of economic condition in relevance with politics. So the question of political economy is in the inevitable task of political discourse. The same case was happened during the Japanese War at Imphal. Even the King of Manipur could not supply sufficient amount of food to his soldiers. Here no one could forget the role played by Qazi, secretary of the State Paddy Collection Committee. He launched “Grow More Food Campaign” in 1950. Being a member of this campaign, he distributed

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different types of seeds in order to produce different and more high breed varieties of crops to increase the product of each harvest in absolute terms.

The Grow More Food Campaign brought about a revolutionary change in Rabi crop production in Manipur. In order to make the newly organised campaign success, the officers made extensive tours and conducted group meetings in the villages, explaining the improvement methods of cultivating rabi crops and the measures to be adopted against pests that destroyed crops. Qazi began a scheme to collect paddy on a loan-basis to provide necessary rations for the army in Manipur who were hard pressed for man-power because of the Japanese occupation of Imphal, Manipur.

Pangals on Religion

The Mussalmans have been practicing the rules and regulation of Islam. Since then they inhabited in Manipur up till now. Then, the King appointed the Kazis from the Mussalmans so that they can be judge and ruled among themselves. The judgement and ruling to be done by the Kazis was to the newly inhabited Muslims but not to the original Manipuries. The rules and regulation to be followed by Mussalmans were taught by the ‘Munsis’ of that time. Regarding the attention to the Islam by Mussalmans, mention may be made and quote a story that “the Senapati (General) Dhananjoy of King Khagema along with his large troops rushed to the troops of Mussalman armies while they were worshiping and caught red handed a sepoy from their troops”.63 From this, we come to know that the Mussalmans had practiced their worshiping even though they are in war fields. Here, we may recall the saying of E.W. Dun “the Muhammadans of their country are very ignorant of their religion”.64 From the Gazetteer of Manipur, it seems that E.W. Dun did not

know the different atmosphere of an Islamic Country and non Islamic Country. There might have been some difference between Islamic country in the tradition, culture, etc.

Mussalmans had ‘Masjids and Panjaganas’, since they came to Manipur. During the period of Khagema Maharaj to ‘Seven Years Devastation’, there were good number of Masjids and Panjaganas. The names of Masjids and Panjaganas were,\textsuperscript{65} Muhammed Shani Masjid, Moirangkhom Masjid, Kangla Ukok Masjid, Ningthounai Masjid, Irong Chesaba Masjid, Mayang Imphal Masjid, Sangaiyumpham Masjid, Lilong Awang Leikai Masjid, Lilong Masjid, Lilong Makha Leikai Masjid, Keirao Masjid, Kairang Masjid, Porompat Masjid, Fundrei Panjagana, Heirok Panjagana, Ukongsang Panjagana, Molom Khongband Panjagana, Thoubal Moijing Panjagana, Urup Panjagana, Khetre Bengoon Panjagana, Lamsang Taothong Panjagana, Khomyan Panjagana, Moirang Taothong Panjagana, and Pangaltabi Panjagana.

Robert Brown severely criticized this view “they have no Masjid, and are for the most part, very ignorant of the religion they profess”.\textsuperscript{66} The quotation made by Robert Brown cannot be agreed. It seems that the present type or structure which consist of meenar might have not remained to the mosques of that time and hence he might have thought that there were no mosque.

Now-a-day, according to survey of 2005, organised by Rabata Madaris Arabia Manipur, there is at least 440 masjids to different muslims inhabited area of Manipur.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{67} Mufti Siraj Ahmed, Sader, The Rabata Madaris Arabia Manipur, 2005, interview on 1\textsuperscript{st} August, 2005.
Even before the devastation of Manipur, there were no Moulvis in Manipur except Munshis. The first Moulvi after the devastation of Manipur was Moulaana Abadullah Shaheb of Irong Chesaba. He was born in January 1840. He left Manipur for Sylhet in the year 1859 for studying ‘Moulvi Course’. From 1871 to 1903, there were 27 Moulvis in Manipur. They formed an association called “Jametul Ulema” and looked after the affairs of the muslim.

The main function of Jametul Ulema was to teach Quran Sarif to all the muslims, to wear Burkha for the sake of purdha, to obstruct dance (Thabal Chongba) and wearing Gomin. To let the Muslim pray five times’ Namaj and the most important task was establish the Madrassa. Majharululoom, Mayang Imphal in 1940. This is the first Madrassa for teaching Islamic law in Sariyat. After this, there are having 23 Madrassas. Out of these are 15 for boys, 8 for girls and also there are 160 maktab. For boys, there are many number of Madrassas in Manipur. They are Madrassa Majherululoom, Mayang Imphal, Madrassa Alia Lilong, Madrassa Hussainia, Sora, Madrassa Darul Ulom, Lilong Haoreibi, Madrassa Imdadul Islam, Khelakhong, Madrassa Majahiruloom, Irong, Madrassa Madintutuloom, Kwakta, Madrassa Jamia Rahamiania, Sora, Madrassa Usmania, Moirang, Madrassa Madinatululoom, Tulehal, Madrassa Darul Yatamah, Lilong Atoukhong, Madrassa Jamia Muhammadi, Singa, Madrassa Islamia Muhammadi, Sangaiyumpham, Madrassa Islamiia, Heikru Makhong Kairang, Madrassa Islamia, Changmdabi.

For girls, Madrassa Jamia, Khomidok, Madrassa Jameatul Tahirat, Irong, Madrassa Rouzatus salihat, Bengoon Mayang Imphal, Madrassa Jamiatas salihat, Kwakta Moirang, Madrassa Kulliytul banat, Borayangbi, Madrassa Kullyte Awsha, Sangaiyumpham, Madrassa Darul Yatama Lil Banat,

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Tolenkhun Lilong, Madrassa Rahamania, Keirang Awang Leikai,\textsuperscript{70} have already been constructed.

After the year 1903, there were numbers of Hafiz, Mufti, Quaree, etc., other than Moulus. As per survey of the Rabata Madaris Aribia Manipur at present there are 1360 Moulus, 75 Hafizs, 15 Mufties, and Quarees are almost from the Moulus and Hafizs. The first Mufti was Mufti Manowar Ali, Sora in 1975 because of the communication system and financial condition become better. Since the year 1903, the Mussalman started to go to Mecca for the sake of Haji. The first Haji of Manipur was Haji Barkattullah from Keirao.\textsuperscript{71} Now-a-day, there are at least 200 Hajis become up/Hajj in ever calendar year.

In the year 1973, Haji Sultan of Bengalis came to Manipur with a Jamat under the Amirship of himself and reached at Lilong Purana Masjid to eradicate and explain the rules and regulation of perfect Muslims. Since then Moulana Abdul Aziz formed a ‘Jamat’ and organized the Tablique jamaat to the Muslim inhabited area of Manipur.\textsuperscript{72}

In short, Kalema, Namaj, Hajj and Jakat are the most important pillars of Islam. Sometimes tradition of Islam in Manipur might be neglected a little but the principles of the Bunyiat Islam never be neglected at any cost. No one can disturb when Mussalmons preach Islam as Mussalman till today. It indicates that Manipuri Muslims could enjoy the real test of secularism in Manipur.

\textbf{Pangals on Education}

Since the Muslims inhabited in Manipur, they had been studying and teaching to the Muslim to their respective homes by respective fathers and

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\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{71} Nurjaman, Islam Amasung Prithibi, Noorie Book House, Masjid Road, Lilong, June 1998, p.70.
\textsuperscript{72} Alhaj Moulana Abdul Aziz, Amir, Tablique Jamaat, Maniur, interview on 15 August, 2005.
Parsi scholars. At that time, the present system of teaching in school or college was not performed. For teaching scriptures, the pupils had to go to the house of the scholars.\textsuperscript{73}

At Kangla, the palace of Manipur, all kind of education was provided and being educated. So the Muslims were never disappointed. The teachers shared all their knowledge with their students. Education was quite liberal. Students were provided with free boarding, lodging, clothing and fooding. Knowledge was transmitted orally and practically.\textsuperscript{74}

The education of women was too neglected since the inhabitation of the Muslims in Manipur. Parents were mostly responsible for imparting education to their daughters. Mothers imparted training to their daughters in embroidery, weaving and domestic masters.\textsuperscript{75}

During the reign of Chandrakriti, Captain Gordon who was the Political Agent, proposed opening a school on the identity of Western education in Manipur. After obtaining permission from the Maharaj, he opened a school in 1837 at his own expenditure and tried his best to popularise the school. But his enthusiasm and sincere efforts to establish the school were rendered futile, as the fact that people had a false belief that they would become Sahibs in due course, eat even beef, mutton, etc, and loose their caste if they availed themselves of an English education. After this no attempt to open a school was made by the Government or any individual officer or by the public.\textsuperscript{76}

At the suggestion of Major General W.P. Nathal, the then Political Agent of Manipur, a school was established in 1872 at Imphal. The Government of Bengal presented books, maps, and other requisites to the value

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., Pp.103, 104.
of four or five hundred rupees, but for want of encouragement on the spirit of the authorities, it has been nearly closed. 77

So most of the Manipuris were illiterate, that some of the highest officials could neither read nor write. They were not ashamed of their want of knowledge. James Johnston reports that, this was a set back as about fifty or sixty students including two girls attended on English school. The failure of Major General Nathal's School was due to a widespread belief of the Manipuries that they would lose Caste if they read English. It might be remarked also that education was going on at this time in the traditional way i.e. at the residences of the teachers. 78

Afterwards, with the approval of Maharaj Chandrakriti Singh, James Johnstone, the then Political Agent of Manipur, established one English School under his name at Imphal in 1885. A.D. The School was upgraded by stages later on. Generally speaking the Government of the state were indifferent towards education.

In the year 1909-10, Muslim students which were enrolled in the Johnstone School were only eleven and after that it decreased and again in the year 1930-31, picked up just a little the number of Meetei-Pangal students increased to a mere ten. 79 Ten boys were sent from this school to Shillong, and one Muhammadan boy to Sylhet, to prepare for the Matriculation Examination of 1919. 80

A new Madrassa (Lower Primary School) was established in 1907-08 at Lilong. It is the first lower Primary School so far established for the Muslims in

The curriculum of the school included Arabic, Urdu and Persian. Since the year, some Muslim boys studied general education that was the initial stage.

Again, a new Madrassa was opened at Khergao, raising the number from two to three in 1909-10. Then six Madrassas were established up to 1930-31 at the Muslim inhabited area of Manipur. In 1935-36, the Feizia ME Madrassa was established.

After independence of India, many schools like lower Primary School, Primary School, Junior High School, High School and Higher Secondary School were established in the Muslim inhabited area of Manipur.

Since the year, only 1/2 Muslim women studied English education. Before this, learning in education by the Muslims was totally restricted on the ground that co-education is illegal and Purdah system should be performed. These girl students of that time were treated as untouchable and they were not allowed and respected in the public gatherings.

Before 1976, Muslim boys and girls were scattered in any college of Manipur for higher education for the conveniences and upliftment of the Muslim Community a Muslim College was established at Lilong in 1976. This is the Government College so far established for Muslim Community in Manipur. The name of the College is “The Lilong Haoreibi College”.

According to the survey report of All Manipur Muslim Co-ordinating Committee (1995) the total number of matriculates is 5,704, and 1,822 in graduate and 86 number of Technical and professional graduates. So the number of first-class officers of Manipuri Muslim are a few in number (53 in

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1998) and the number of Class II, III & IV grade are 101, 217 and 653 respectively. The literacy rate of the muslims of Manipur in census, 2001 was found to be 58.6% as against Manipur State's literacy rate of 70.5%.

Today, both boys and girls of the Muslim inhabited area of Manipur have been studying and progressing in the line of education, knowing the immediate needs of education. But in comparison to Meeteis, the percentage is quite low for the Muslims. In order to make up all these loopholes, political leaders, social workers, teachers, guardians have to bring up the Muslim of education simultaneously.

Pangals on Indigenous Game

The Pangals participated in all affairs of Manipur. The Pangals witnessed and enjoyed the festivals of the Meeteis. Still now, some of the Pangals observed and performed the ceremony of “Cheiraoba” and others. They sang and quite often attended the “Khunung Isei”, “Pena”, “Moirang Parva”, “Khongjom Parva”, etc., which are very popular. They regularly witnessed the “Laiharaoba” dance, “Hiyang Tannaba” (Boat race), “Yubi Lakpi” (a form of game similar to Rugby) and all entertainments like “Sumang Leela” (Jatra). They also participated and played the “Polo”, “Mukna” (Wrestling like game), “Kangjei” (Primitive Hockey), etc., with their Meetei brethren. There are very good Pangal players of the above games. Even now, they are popularly playing the games in some areas. The Pangals of Lilong, Paobitek, Sangaiyupham, Irong, Kwakta and Mayang Imphal were and producing some of the best players in polo (Sagol Kangjei).

Pangals on Culture

Prof. Md. Riyajuddin rightly remarked ‘Folklore of the Muslims of Manipur’, that “As a Chinese proverb says that journey of one thousand miles begins with the first step, the study of the folklore of the Muslim folks of Manipur, just initiated, has a long way to go constant interest and intensive
research”. Further, he stated “The folk life and, for the matter, the folklore of the Muslims, consequently, cannot be independent of the mainstream of the composite folklore of Manipur although of course, the possession by them a district pattern or identity of their own”.

**Language**

The first influence of the Meetei was that language. The Manipuri Muslim adopted Manipuri (Meeteilon) and accepted it as their mother tongue. It became the door of their hearts. They are the only community in Manipur who speak: this language like the Meeteis. Muslim influences many Urdu words (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) entered into the Meetei vocabulary, such as, Dalil, Darji, Bazar, Shahar, Ain, Izzat, Einak (Anok), Murammat, Zamin, Salam Haque, Kanun, Khaber, Miyad, Fark, Hukum, Amin, Ukil, Zarib, Sahid, Ejit, Namuna, Kharif Rabi, Chalak, Kha-rch, Moja-Furit, Hesap, Baki, Talp, Shaher, Chandra, etc.

**Dress**

Of the Meetei ladies dresses the ‘Fanek’ has got its place in the Manipuri society. The Muslim ladies choices it as one their variable dresses. The Shariat. (Islamic Law) enjoins the Muslim ladies to cover bodies up to anklet. The wearing of ‘Fanek’ is not against this commandment.

**Khulang Isei**

One of the most noteworthy example of the adoption of Manipuri (Meeteilol) by the Manipuri Muslims was their composition of folk songs in this language. Muslims male and female sing such song sung by a person at his own cost and to give a reply song by another person. The Muslims started the singing of ‘Khullang Ishei’ song from the time. Meidingu Khongajaoba, (1652-

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85 Ibid., p.5.
86 Ibid.
1666), at this time they started to sing by describing romantic and love exchange one after another. The style of song are follows:—

1. Pangan Nipa : Ha-da Urit. Apishak
                Nangna. Taningba Lamdam-du
                Taklam-mugaba Chekla-O

               Pangan Nupi : Eina Taningba Lamdam-dee
                Pakhang Samlang Samjoinungdani
                Tampha Thinba Lamdani.

Thus, the Manipuri Muslims are settling in Manipur since 1606 during the reign of King Khagemba. They have interaction with the majority Meetei communities and socialised by them. So one could see commonness among them regarding the language, culture, food habit and house style. Even in olden days, they had same surname and naming of children. But to-day maximum of Muslim are influenced by the Islamic religion and it leads something different from the Meetei communities. But one of the interesting area for study as far as political participation is concerned, still the Manipuri Muslims are having common political aspiration though they are trying assert their economic interest to the polity of Manipur. The main reason is that both the communities are going through from the same agencies of political socialization and political culture. So the Manipuri Muslims, their political culture is maintained and changed in this process of political socialization though they could not be turned on large scale like the Meeteis. That means the Muslims are participating in interaction and reaction to the polity with the Meeteis. So we have need to see the social movements of Manipur in which how Manipuri Muslims are sharing with them.

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87 Ibid.