CHAPTER – III

Social and Cultural Life

Society is a group comprises of men, women and children that has been established patterns of co-operation by means of which its members are able to survive and reproduce. It is a social way of living costum etc. of a civilized community; systems where by people live together in organized communities. The functions of the society are many divided into five areas of established group producer, called institution by sociology. The society provides for the foot, shelter and clothing of its members through economy. The family functions are to insure the care and feeding of children. Knowledge and learning in a society are acquired through education. Political institution is the means of maintaining order and protecting the society from enemies. Lastly, man’s place in the universe is interpreted by religion. A group of the people that lives in the certain place, shares a common culture, and has its own social institution is called society. In a society social institutions include the family, education, religion, politics, and economy. A society changes when one or more of its institutions are altered. This institutional changes may be positive (beneficial) or negative (harmful), depending on how they affect the members. Changes may be brought about by forces within the society (internal change) or by influences outside the society (external change).

The Meitei social structure was based on clan system which is known as Yek system. As the Meiteis are the composite group of different Sagei or
Yumnak (lineages) they belonged to seven Yeks namely (1) Ningthouja, (2) Angom, (3) Khuman, (4) Khaba Nganba, (5) Moirang, (6) Sarang Leishangthem and (7) Luwang. The Yek structure was formulated under patrilineal system because Meitei society was patrilineal society. Yek rules were observed and followed strictly in the Meitei society. The marriage relation between the member of same Yek and Yumnak or Sageis was prohibited. The said rules were imposed upon on the social members of the Meiteis. According to Th. Maniratan Singh Pakhangba was the founder of the Yek system of which each of his seven sons was given with its seven Yeks. On the basis of the Puyas (ancient Manipuri text), myth and legends, many scholars attempted to explore the origin of the Meitei Yek system. However, a concrete picture of the subject cannot bring to light. T.C. Hudson considered the seven clans of Meiteis are not only the social unit but also political unit which forms the Meitei confederation. The Meitei society was constituted under the seven Yeks in which a large number of Yumnaks (lineages) allotted to each Yek. In course of time there was continuous growth and expansion of lineages on account of growth of population, socio, cultural, economic activities and certain event continuous intermission of people from outside Manipur in the successive waves of migration led to the increase of population in the Manipur society. Many of the immigrants absorbed into different Yumnaks of the Meiteis in ancient time.

It is stated that before the introduction of Yek system seven Yumnaks—(1) Laiyaibi, (2) Lapubi, (3) Mangwaibi, (4) Tuwaimu, (5) Sachibi, (6) Thererongpamant, (7) Layarn were existed. Then new Yumnaks came into
existence and Latham, Langlem, Langleppam, Langkam, Langkolcham, Leikhram, Soipam, Seltham, Sanoucham, Satokpam, Sarangthem, Senpam were of pre-Pakangba period.\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Leithak Leikharol}, the ancient Manipuri text mentioned the \textit{Yumnaks} as – Langmaithem, Hitam, Luwangcham, Wangkhem, Ningompam, Laitoncham, Kasom, Keisam, Nungsang, Khongnang, Lumpu, Karom, Arong, Angom, Thokchom, Soibam, Leiajam, Situbam, Sarangthem, Leisangthem, Moirangthem, Konhoujam, Loktombam, Khumukcham, Atom, Khoitom, Mantom, Khuyontem, Mayanglambam, Laishram, Kangabam, Aheibam, Konseba, Chirom, Khakopam, Ningthoujam, Lourembam, Chanam, Mongbijam, Haokham and Sharom.\textsuperscript{6}

Loiyomba Sinyel mentioned many \textit{Yumnaks} which assigned with certain social economic, religion and political functions. Some of the \textit{Yumnaks} which are found from this text are –

1. Nganukappam
2. Thingkusham
3. Lairenlakpham
4. Kasom
5. Tiyam
6. Chakpalakpham
7. Kongpacham
8. Thongakpam
9. Khumallambam
10. Haokhom
11. Laikhrampham
12. Solchiram
13. Whahengbam
14. Kabacham
15. Aouchom
16. Chingngakhalpam
17. Thongpam
18. Kongbam
19. Thoudam
20. Thinpam
21. Taipangcham
22. Yumlempam
23. Okthiyampam
24. Khirisumbam
25. Yumnaksangbam
26. Koisnam
27. Singkhangbam
28. Chingkhwapam
29. Wangpacham
30. Thanghangsapam
31. Ahongsamgbam
32. Naotam
33. Langsangbam
34. Yiroibam
35. Khumenthem
36. Khumukcham Yipusangbam
37. Usiyampam
38. Hakwalthem
39. Atom
40. Heirom
41. Irom
42. Soiyam
43. Hidam
44. Soirensangbam
45. Ningombam’
46. Sarangthem
47. Leishangthem
48. Sorokhaibam
49. Potsangbam
50. Moirangpukhrambam
51. Puroichan
52. Hottalkokpam
53. Konthoujam
54. Asangbam
55. Arambam
56. Yenkhom
57. Luwangsangbam
58. Senam
59. Moirangthem
60. Pathem
61. Mangsatabam
62. Langmaithem
63. Ngarangyalpam
64. Nakalbam
65. Khuraichom
66. Mayanglambam
67. Ningthijam
68. Puklambam
69. Longjam
70. Chenglei
71. Kangucham
72. Tekcham
73. Langmaiyumathing
74. Thoipicham
75. Aseibam
76. Lirongcham
77. Arupam
78. Lourempam
79. Ronsapam
80. Aheipam
81. Hisapa
82. Moichambam
83. Loukham
84. Maimuwam
85. Tiym
86. Nahakpam
87. Khunthoubam
88. Meihoubam
89. Pheiroijam
90. Naokalsangbam
91. Tokpam
92. Thangsabam
93. Tourem
94. Naoroipam
95. Wangkhem
96. Nagithem
97. Lankolcham
98. Langthem
99. Lankambam
100. Laitoncham
101. Singkhanpam
102. Tokpam
103. Haomukpam
104. Satokpam
105. Khoirisumbam
106. Khoiriyangbam
107. Lairencham
108. Lisham
109. Leisawanbam
110. Yelwam
111. Khugolthem
112. Okrambam
113. Maipawamcha
114. Pongkhaichambam
115. Akuwanapam
116. Maipam
117. Aphrakpam
118. Walleppam
119. Ngangom
120. Yelkokpam
121. Loichayanbam
122. Atram
123. Punggraicham
124. Ayangpam
125. Hairelpam
126. Walkhongthem
127. Akham
128. Siyatpamsam
129. Hayingthem
130. Khaithem
131. Halnoibam
132. Luwangcham
133. Amukcham
134. Surembam
135. Narumbam
136. Khumurong
137. Luchambam
138. Mongvangpam
139. Wanglembam
140. Kabrambam
141. Seram
142. Suthantham
143. Thongkaicham
144. Soukrpam
145. Keiyungbam
146. Khoimaicham
147. Ngaseppam
148. Nampucham
149. Asem
150. Paobam
151. Phandem
152. Laishram
153. Haobicham
154. Kumpom
155. Naokhongcham
156. Latham
157. Khuraicham
158. Yumleppam
159. Nangam
160. Heirangkhongjam
161. Mutum
162. Thingam
163. Chingkangbam
164. Khuribam
165. Laisom
166. Thongam
167. Chantam
168. Nongpokpam
169. Waikhom
170. Pukhrambam
171. Singkham
172. Soraisam
173. Haisinam
174. Thiym
175. Akoicham
176. Hicham
177. Solam
178. Khamman
179. Hidam
180. Laisangbam
181. Senrapam
182. Nomram
183. Punamyang
184. Kokpam
185. Phuritsapam
186. Putalcham
According to O. Ranjit Singh, Meitei lineages (Yumnaks) might appear in the Meitei Society since very early times. The Meitei lineages which contained in the Loyumba Sinyen are found incomplete. A detailed account of the traditional Yumnak is obtained in the Khagemba Yumlep. There are around four hundred and thirty two Yumnaks. Out of these 432 Yumnaks found in the Khagemba Yumlep, one hundred sixteen (116) are for Ningthoucha, forty seven (47) for Angom, thirty one (31) for Chenglei, sixteen (16) for Ngangba, fifty seven (57) for Luwang, one hundred and one (101) for Khuman and sixty four (64) for Moirang. Each of the four hundred and thirty two (432) Yumnaks has a background of its own. The four hundred and thirty two (432) lineages were named based on the occupation, name of the progenitor, place of settlement, physical feature, post held, deity worshipped by the progenitor, etc. Mayanglambam is derived from the post held. The post held by the progenitor was Lambu of Mayang, Khamlangpa Sangpam was given for looking after the deity Khamlangpa, Khoirom is the one who introduced the art using Phi-Aphaiba in weaving, Leiyusungpam prepared the local liquor ‘Leigu’, Ayekpam is a painter and so on.\(^7\)\(^9\)
Regarding the social life of the *Meitei Pangal*, it is significant to note that the family life and social organization of the immigrants Muslims of Manipur were greatly influenced by Meitei family institutions and social organizations. In past, people migrated from the east as well as from the west settled in Manipur. The immigrants were absorbed to Meitei society either by accommodating in the traditional *Yummaks* or by introducing new *Yummaks*.10 The Indo-Aryan Brahmans migrating groups and Muslims of Manipur commonly known as *Meitei Pangals* married Manipuri women and established new *Yummaks* which are not inlisted in the Meitei *Yeks*. It is stated that “individuals or groups of individual Muslims, including those involved in the 1606 events, were sought to be identified, in years/decades that followed the 1606 settlement, on the basis of inter alia, either individual skills or place of origin or the name (S) of the place (S) when they settled etc. and the descendants of those individuals or groups of individuals came to be known by that identification. This identification is known as *Sagei* in Manipuri which denotes “Kin”, “relative”, “genus” *Sagei* also means *Yummak* meaning “household”. Therefore *Sagei* carries the meaning of relative, kin, household etc. A *Sagei*, therefore, is a congnate group because of their consanguineous relationship. It may be noted that nomenclature of Muslim *Sageis* bore the imprint of how it came to be Christianed in different ways on the basis of, as mentioned above, either individual skills or place of origin or the name (S) of the place (S) where they settled etc. *Pangals* followed patrilineal descent system and were patrilocal11 like the Meiteies. From this a conclusion may be
drawn that Meitei Pangal society was based on a *Sagei* based set-up. However there is no nation of Mythical organization of the *Sagei*.

The Meitei Pangals were accomodated in the Meitei society by enlisting them in many new lineages (*Yumnaks*) based on occupation, incident, place of settlement, physical feature etc.\(^\text{12}\) According to W. Ibohal Singh, Muslims of Manipur were also allotted family title of *Yumnak Sagei* according to their occupation. The name of the subclans was assigned on the basis of the occupation, post and places of settlement in Manipur.\(^\text{13}\) He further stated that now-a-days Meitei Pangal hardly used their family titles like earlier periods. It appeared that they prefer personal style of name.\(^\text{14}\) Regarding social stratification of the Meitei Pangal society, Mohammad Latif Shah stated that “all section of the Pangal community are not equal in their social status within the society, however, they have no distinct social divisions except for lineages (*Sageis*). The names of their *Sagei* were given by earlier kings of Manipur, on the basis of skill and aptitude. There is no hierarchical differentiation within the *Sagei*, based on either economy or occupation”.\(^\text{15}\)

The *Meitei Pangal Yumnak* allotted during the reign of king Khagemba of Manipur are given as follows:

1. *Ipham-mayum*  
2. *Khullakpam*  
3. *Khutheibam*  
4. *Sanggomsumbam*  
5. *Imkhaibam*
6. Korimayum  
7. Hawai-inkholmayum  
8. Sairem  
9. Moijingmayum  
10. Leishangkhongmayum  
11. Sajoubam  
12. Urupmayum  
13. Maibam  
14. Thoubalmayum  
15. Moinam  
16. Chesam  
17. Phunderimayum  
18. Bagimayum  
19. Thongkhongmayum  
20. Wangmayum  
21. Nongsayaibam  
22. Shinggkhongbam  
23. Mansam  
24. Keinoumayum  
25. Baseimayum  
26. Phusam  
27. Pukhrimayum  
28. Makakmayum  
29. Miraimayum  
30. Yangkhumbam  
In later period Muslim immigrant were allotted nine more *Yumnaks* in addition to the earlier thirty one *Yumnaks* already assigned during king Khagemba period. The nine family titles (*Yumnaks*) given, were two during the period of Paikhomba, two during the period of Charairongba, one during the period of Marjit, two during the period of Gambhir Singh and two during the period of Chandrakiriti Singh respectively.\(^{17}\) The *Yumnak* given to the Meitei Pangal in the later period were Makak Mayum Angouba and Oinam.\(^{18}\) B. Kulachandra Sharma and Baderuddin mentioned twenty seven more *Yumnaks* in addition to the above mentioned as:

1. Lulakpam/Luplakpam
2. AYekpam/Gajmayum
3. Sunasam
4. Dolaipabam
5. Loupampham
6. Yamkham
7. Bhukramayum
8. Aribam
9. Makakmayum Amuba
10. Kamlmayum
11. Konthamayum
12. Labuktongbum
13. Phisabam
14. Keikongta
15. Hidakinkhol
16. Panchaimayum
17. Menjormayum
The following Yumnaks were conferred to the Muslim who settled in Manipur on basis of their profession, residence, or place of settlement, their administrative duties and other reasons.

1. Korimayum: The Yumnak was allotted to those Muslims who expert in work of copper (Kori). Kori Mayum is within the Muslims Sagei Sheikh. The head of this Yumnak was Niyam Tullah who accompanied with Muhammad Shani during the King Khagemba. Jaman Khan, the head of Phulderimayum, Yumkaiba Kundan Khan of Phulderimayum, Mahammad, the head of Ayekpum, Kachamyum, Sheikh Jalee, the head of Khutheibum along with Niyam Tullah made a beautiful palanquin which decorated with copper and presented to king Khagemba. King Khgemba was very pleased with which they had gaven Meitei women Thokchom Chanu Chaobi to Jaman Khan, Thokchom Chanu Kayambi to Kundan Khan, Salam Chanu Noibi to Muhammad, Siyatpam Chanu Tombi to Sheikh Yalli and Wangtheilakpam Chanu Koingambi to
Niyam Tullaha. As Niyam Tullah was very expert in the work of the copper, king Khagemba assigned Korimayum Yumnak (lineage) to him.\textsuperscript{20}

2. **Kamalmayum**: This Yumnak belongs to Pathan group of the Muslim. The head of this Yumnak was Munor Khan who was one of the Muslim soldiers who were captured by King Khagemba of Manipur. He married a Meitei Lady of Kanok (Konok). After Kanok (Kanok) his Yumnak was named as Kamalmayum.\textsuperscript{21}

3. **Kakchingmayum**: This Yumnak was given to those Muslim who made their settlement at Kakching.\textsuperscript{22}

4. **Karpursungbam**: It belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim. Muhammad Ibrahim was the head of Karpursungbam Yumnak. It is said that their settlement is found at Yairipok. As the king assigned for producing Karpur (Camphor), Karpursungbam Yumnak was given.\textsuperscript{23}

5. **Keinoumayum**: They were the decendents of Sheikh and Pathan groups of the Muslim. Ukhatollah and Urakkha were the head of the Pathan group of Keinoumayum. Heiwan Sheikh and Pachu Sheikh were the head of the Sheikh group of Keinoumayum. They came to Manipur during reign of Paikhomba in 1679AD. They were given the duty to look after state granary called ‘Kei’ which was established at Keinou during the time of King Khagemba. For settlement at Keinou, King
Paikhomba gave Keinoumayum *Yumnak* to those settled at Keinou. This *Yumnak* was derived from the place of settlement called Keinou.\(^{24}\)

6. **Keikhongtabam:** As they were the descendent of the incharge of royal granary (*Kei*), their *Yumnak* was named Keikhongtabam.\(^{27}\) The heads of this *Yumnaks* were Mantkup, Knsing (Khansing), Minsek, Apukha (Abukhan) and Chapiya (Imbiya). Earlier they lived as a Miraimayum. King Khagemba ordered them to look after *Keikhu Keiren* of *KeikhuKeikhom*. When they settled near the *Kei* their *Yumnak* was known as Keikhongtamayum or Keikhongta.\(^{26}\)

7. **Konthamayum:** The Muslims are divided into Syeed, Sheikh, Pathan, and Moghal. Konthamayum belongs to Seikh group. Siskhamula/Isekhamula/Ishakali Mullah was the head of Konthamayum *Sagei* Isekhamula was the incharge of the state granary of Kontha as a result of which Meidingu Khuljouba (1652-1666) allotted Konthmayum to him. This *Sagei* is now at Irong.\(^{27}\)

8. **Kazikhut:** This is belonged to Pathan group of Muslim. The progenitor of this *Sagei* (Kazikhut) was Tollen Kazi. In 1819 during the seven year Devastation which is known Chahi Taret Khuntakpa in the history of Manipur. Tollen Kazi fled to Cachar. When he was in Cachar he became a very popular man there also. Tollengram village which is in Cachar was after his name. After Manipur was free from *Awa*, a place called Kazikhul was named after his *Kazi* post. The village
Kazikhul/Kachikhul is near Salangthem. And Tolen Kazi shifted from Lazikhul to Thongju King Gambhir Singh named a lake called Kazi Pat after him.  

9. **Keitheninkhol**: Those Muslim who engaged for the plantation of vegetables in *Inkhol* (homestead) and sold to the market were entitled to use Keitheninkhol *Yumnak*. This *Sagei* belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim. B. Kullachandra Sharma and Baderuddin stated that the progenitors of *Keitheninkhol Yumnaks* are still unknown.

10. **Sangom Sumbam**: This *Sagei* belongs to Sheikh of the Muslim. The progenitor of Sangomsembam was Umorn Sheikh. He was one of the Muslim captives. He was very expert for producing the food items made of milk. For this King Khagemba gave Sangomsembam *Yumnak* to him.

11. **Sajaobum**: The progenitor of the Sajoubam was Sahakusum, the youngest brother of Muhammad Shani who was known as parsena Lanjinglan. Sajoubam belongs to Sheikh Group of Muslim because of the well built physique of the person Khagemba the king of Manipur, allotted Sajoubam *Yumnak*. He was married to Meitei lady called Malei and made settlement at Singjamei.

12. **Sairem**: The progenitor of this *Sagei* was Keishamiya one of the Muslim soldiers who accompany with Muhammad Shani to invade Manipur during the time of Khagemba in 1606. He married with a
Meitei lady of Sairem clan. Following his wife’s clan name king Khagemba conferred on him Sairem Yumnak. This Sagei belongs to Sheikh group of the this Muslim.32

13. Singakhongbam: Singa means Bengoon, a kind of clarinet, a musical instrument. Sheikh Shani Mulla the progenitor of Singakhongbam was one of the Muslim soldiers who made their settlement in Manipur by King Khagemba. He was a great expert in playing Bangoon. That is why Singakhongbam Yumnak was given to those Muslims who were skilled in playing the said instrument by the King Khagemba. Singamayum belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim.33

14. Shakakpam: The progenitor of Shakakpam Sagei was Sunautei who was one of the Muslim captives during the reign of King Khagemba. They belong to Sheikh group of the Muslim. As Sunautei engaged the work of butcher, king Khagemba gave his Sagei name Shakakpam.34

15. Surmammayum: As the progenitor of the Sagei was called Surmam, after his name the Sagei was known as Surmammayum.35 Surmammayum Sagei is not found in Kheiruddin’s Turko Afghangi Chadanouda, B. Kullachandra Sharma and Badaruddin’s Meitei Pangal Hourakpham and Pangal Thorokpa of R.K. Shanahal.

16. Loitongbam: According to Kheiruddin Khullakpum, Loitongbam Yumnak was after the name of a person who was originally a Meitei of Loitongbam Sagei. It is stated that Loitongbam Yumnak of the Muslim is
one of the Muslims group called Sheikh and Kalambra was the head of this Sagei. However, Ayeakpam Tomba Meitei stated that as the Muslims lived at a place Loi and their Sagei was known as Loitongbam.

17. Loubuktongbam: This Sagei is Pathal group of the Muslim. Ninkhan was the head of Loubuktongbam Yumnak. He came from Gujarat and reached Manipur on Wednesday third Wakching of Meitei month, in 1688. In course of time the king allotted him near the agricultural land and king assigned Loubuktongbam Mayum being settled near agricultural land (Loubuk).

18. Lairikyengbam: Napit Bhaghirath who came from the Tekhaou (Shibasagar of Assam) was the progenitor of this Sagei. Lairikyengbam Sagei of the Meitei Pangal was converted from Keikhong Inkhol Taba, Lairikyengbam Panshangtaba of the Hindus Bhaghirath who was originally a Hindu. After his conversion to Muslim he continued to follow his original Sagei. For this reason we find Lairikyengbam Sagei among the Meitei Pangal as Yumnak.

19. Leishangkhong: Akya Tulha was the head of Leishangkhong Sagei of the Meitei Pangal. Among the Muslim prisioners who made settlement in Manipur by King Khagemba, Akya Talla was one of them. He got settlement along Laishang Khong Kholen (canal of Leishangkhong) at Thangchu Wairopa Mashungmang Patyai Chanmba Mikaiphum
Thonglentaibi Langthabal. As he settled at Leishangkhong with the permission of the then king of Manipur his *Sagei* name was called *Leishangkhong* after the name of *Leishangkhong*, the place of his settlement in Manipur.\(^{40}\)

20. **Loupalmayum**: According to B. Kullachandra Sharma and Badaruddin, *Loupalmayum Yumnak* was given to those Muslims who look after the king’s agricultural land. *Loupanaba* (*Lou*=Agricultural land and *Pananba*= who takes care) means one who takes care agricultural land. As some Muslim were allotted the duty of taking care of the king’s agricultural land, *Yumnak Loupalmayum* was given to them.\(^{41}\)

21. **Luplakpam**: During the Meidingngu Paikhomba (1666-1697) a post called *Luplakpa* was created. A man who belongs to *Phusham Sagei* held that post. From the name of the post (*Luplakpa*) a *Sagei Luplakpam* was given to the person who holds *Luplakpa* post. *Luplakpa Yumnak* was separated from the *Phusham Sagei*.\(^{42}\)

22. **Moijingmayum**: On the basis of evidence found from the *Meitei Pangal Hourakpham* of B. Kullachandra Sharma and Bardaruddin, it may be stated that the progenitor of *Moijingmayum* (*Moichingmayim*) was Muhammad who settled first at food hill of Moiching in Thoubal district. As *Moijing* is the first place of the settlement of Mahammad in Manipur, his *Sagei* was named *Moijingmayum* after the name of the place of the settlement.\(^{43}\)
23. **Moinammayum or Moinam:** This Sagei belonged to Sheikh group of the Muslim. Jan Muhammad was progenitor of *Moinam Sagei* of the Meitei Pangal. He was one of the soldiers who came with Muhammad Shani to invade Manipur during the time of King Khagamba. After defeated the Muslim troops in hand of the Manipuris, they settled in Manipur instead of returning to their home land. Jan Muhammad presented a bird called *Moina* to the King Khagamba. That is why king Khagamba gave *Moinam Yumnak* to him after the name of the bird *Moina*.44

24. **Mayangmayum:**45

25. **Mansam:** The Meitei Pangal *Sagei Mansam* is one of the group of Muslims called Sheikh. The progenitors of Mansam were Akun Shah and Kanba Shah. King Khagamba gave the *Sagei* name to the two Muslims namely Akun Shah and Kanba Shah,46 father and son who expert in *Satzan* and serve King Khagamba.

26. **Manzammayum:**47

27. **Malsam:** They are the Sheikh groups one of the Muslims. According to Meitei Puya the progenitor of Meitei Pangal *Yumnak Malsam* was Base or Pase who expert in the profession *Mal* (goods) which include household articles. Base or pase is mentioned as “*Malsanpa pase*” in the Meitei Puya. From *Malsanpa Pase Malsam* comes. According to
Ayeakpam Tomba Meitei, *Malsam Sagei* was allotted to those who were skilled in repairing work.  

28. **Miraimayum**: Syeed Ambiya, Syeed Abdulla and Syeed Kalka Huishen were progenitors of Miraimayum. This *Sagei* is kept Syeed group of the Muslim. The Miraimayum was named after Mir Syeed and the clan came to be known as *Miraimayum*. During the time of Charairongba (1697-1709) the descendant of the three Mir Syeed were conferred *Miraimayum Sagei*.  

29. **Maibam or Maibammayum**: Kashra Muhammad or Kashram Muhammad is said to be the progenitor of *Maibammayum*. He was a medical practitioner which is known as *Maiba* in the Meitei language. Considering the profession of the *Maiba* King Khagemba gave *Maibam Yumnak*. This is Sheikh group of the Muslims.  

30. **Mayangmayum Anouba**: Yasin Miyang was the progenitor of Mayangmayum Anouba. He came to Manipur from Sylhet which is now in Bangladesh during King Nongderen Khomba. Since they came from Sylhet King Chandrakriti gave them Mayangmayum *Yumnak*. It is stated that during King Gambhir Singh’s period (1825-1834), Mayangmayum *Yumnak* was already given to the some Muslims. And during the king Chandrakriti period the same *Yumnak* was also given to some section of the Muslims who settled in Manipur. In order to differentiate the same *Yumnak* given by two kings in different period the word *Anouba* (New)
was added to those Muslims who got Mayangmayum *Yumnak* in the
time of Chandrakriti. Thus *Mayangmayum Anouba Yumnak* was used by
the Muslims who came during King Chandrakriti and Mayangmayum
Ariba was used by the Muslim who came during Garibaniwaz. Thus
Mayangmayum Anouba was assigned to the Muslim, coming during the
time of Chandrakriti. This *Sagei* belonged to Sheikh group of the
Muslim.\(^{51}\)

31. **Mayangmayum Ariba:** The *Sagei* is placed within the group of Pathan.
However Kheiruddin Khullakpam stated that Mayangmayum Ariba
belonged to Pathan group of the Muslim. The progenitor of the *Sagei*
was called Yamai Miya. He was in the post Zamandar during king
Gambhir Singh.\(^{52}\)

32. **Makakmayum:** The Muslim who came from a particular place called
Makak of Sylhet to Manipur, were given *Yumnak* called *Makakmayum*
after their original place (*Makak*) name. The progenitors of this *Sagei*
were Sunarful and Lukhiyaful. They were the brothers. In course of time
the *Sagei* was divided into two (i) *Makakmayum Angouba* and (ii)
*Makakmayum Amuba*\(^{53}\) Makakmayum belonged to Mughal group the
Muslim.

33. **Makakmayum Angouba:** The progenitor of this *Sagei* was Sunarful
who had fair in complexion. On the basis of his complexion his *Sagei* is
named *Makakmayum Angouba*.\(^{54}\)
34. **Makakmayum Amuba**: Since the complexion of Lukhiyafu, the progenitor of this *Sagei* was dark (*Amuba*), his *Sagei* name was called *Makakmayum Amuba*.\(^55\)

35. **Menjormayum**: Thable menjor was the progenitor of this *Sagei*. As he was in the post of major in the royal service his *Sagei* name came to be known as *Menjormayum*. They are the Pathal of the Muslim group.\(^56\)

36. **Musharammayum**: Mushra Kalimuthor Uliya of Sylhet was one of the Muslim soldiers who came to Manipur under the command of Muuhammad Sani. Later on he became the progenitor of *Musharammayum*. Musharam *Yumnak* is within the Sheik group of the Muslim.\(^57\)

37. **Pukhrimayum**: Those Muslims who made in-charge of royal tank (Pukhri) and made settled near the *Pukhri* (royal tank) were given Pukrimayum *Yumnak* after name *Pukhri*. Muhammad Jalaluuddin was the progenitor of the *Pukhrimayum*. This *Yumnak* was given by the king Khagemba of Manipur. They are the Sheikh of the Muslim group.\(^58\)

38. **Nongjaimayum**: This *Sagei* belongs to Sheikh of the Muslim. The progenitor of Nongjaimayum was Abdul Karim. After the Maring war in 1627 Muhammad Abdul Karim was sent to settle to a place called *Nongchai* from which the clan name *Nongjaimayum* is said to have started.\(^59\)
39. **Nongshayaibam**: It is separated from the Makakmayum or Makakmayum Amuba. Some group of this *Sagei* belonged to Mughal and sons are Sheikh. Maltalam Sheik/Matuya Sheikh and his some Leithou, Akuh Sheikh and Ishaman Khan and Umerjan, Apu Sheikh were the progenitors of Sheikh group of Nongshayaibam. *Kakching Taba Uinamjan/Poinamjan* was the progenitor of the Mughal group of Nongshayaibum. It is stated that Umerjan Sheikh which he was in the *Heibokmayum Sagei* took sun-bath everyday for this reason his *Yumnak* was called *Nongshayaibam*.⁶⁰

40. **Chesham**: Sheikhchunet alias Chunalia who was originally inhabitant of Traf of Sylhet, was the progenitor of *Chesham Sagei* He was a famous person and expert in making of paper from the bamboo in Manipur. As he was expert in art of the making paper, King Khagembha conferred *Chesham Sagei* to him. *Chesham Sagei* is credited with introducing the art of making paper in Manipur. This *Sagei* belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim and separated from the *Khullakpum Sagei*.⁶¹

41. **Tampakmayum**: This Tampakmayum clan ancestor is Laiba. His ancestry is as such: When Muhammad Sani’s son Ahong married Syeed Ambiya’s daughter Bibi Choina, to them were born Namphou, Tonaba and Kangoi. Tonaba married Bibi Begum, the daughter of Lahong who was the grandson of Lukhiyaphul. The couple Tonaba and Bibi Begum had wife sons namely – Laiba, Amu, Aton and Miyamba. This eldest son Laiba settled in a valley (*Tampak*) granted by Nungthilchaibi, the
wife queen of King Charairongba, and thus his clan name emerged. This Sagei belongs to Sheikh.62

42. Touthongmayum: Najara/Nazara who was the eldest son of Muhammad Sani was the progenitor of Touthongmayum Sagei. It is within the Sheikh group of the Muslim. Najara was a friend of Sheikh Jali who came from Makak in Sylhet. Najara Sheikh was carried by Lairen Nongshamei as his own son and was made to settle at Apong Inkhol which is at present the compound of Rajadumbra Singh High School and then shifted. After the death of Najara (Najira) Sheikh Bana son of Sheikh Jali and his children shifted from Rameng to Tauthong, south of Lamdeng, and ancient inhabitant of Poreiton. For being settled at Tauthong, this group acquire Touthongmayum clan in the early period of Pamheiba 1709-1784 as it mentioned in Pangal Hourakpham of Kullachandra Sharma and Badaruddin.63

43. Tinmayum: This Sagei name is mentioned in the Meitei Yek Salai Ashupa of Ayeakpam Tomba Meitei but it subjects to verification as it is not mentioned in other literary texts of Manipur like Pangal Thorakpa, Meitei Pangal Hourakpham etc.64

44. Khullakpam: The progenitor of Khullakpam came from Traf now in Bangladesh. Nawab Muhammad Sani his brothers namely Sheikchunate, Kourip Sheikh, Shah Kusum, etc., are said to be the progenitors of this Sagei Khullakpam which belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim. It is
said that *Khullakpam* clan ancestor is traced to a Shah Kusum, a brother of Muhammad Sani who led a thousand strong Pasha troops from Traf (Sylhet) and Cachar who were invited by rebel price Sanongba of Manipur. Muhammad Sani, the Chief of the Muslims who came to Manipur in 1606, had three brothers, one became a *Khullakpam* (administrator of a village), his descendants were known as *Khullakpam*. A source traces Muhammad Sani’s ancestry to Mirza Malik Muhammad, Persian (Turani) adventure who came to Sylhet in 1384C.E. “Prataugrah’ Deorali and Bhanugach areas were also conquered in the 14th century by the one Mirza Malik Muhammad who came from Persia.

“The (Manipur) King was the absolute head of the state but generally ten Ministers assisted him in the administration. These ministers were known as *Ningthou Pangba Tara*. The king appointed the Muslim, Muhammad Sani, as one of the ‘Pangba Tara’. He was the first Muslim minister to be so appointed. “For the Meitei Pangal, King Khagemba established the Mangkanshang, a community department, Muhammad Sani was the Qazi and *Shanglakpa*, and attended the Darbar. From the *Khulakpam Sagei* some Sageis like *Ningthem Inkhol, Houwai Inkhol, Wangmayum, Phisam* etc. were separated. Regarding the name of the *Sagei (Khullakpam)* N. Debendra Singh stated that one person became *Khullakpa*, village chief and from the administrative post of the *Khullakpa* their sub-clan was named *Khullakpam*.65
45. **Khuleibam/Khutleibam/Khutheibam**: Sheikh Jalli/Sheikh Challi the progenitor of *Khuleibam/Khutleibam/Khutheibam* married a Meitei lady called Tombi Chanu of *Siyatpam* and got settlement in Manipur. He was very expert in the artistic work of the decoration. King Khagemba was satisfied with his excellent skill of the artistic work. From this *Khuleibam/Khutleibam/Khutheibam* was given to him by King Khagemba. *Khuleibam* belongs to Sheikh.⁶⁶

46. **Khoiningmayum**: The progenitor of this *Sagei* can not be traced, however it belongs, to Sheikh group of Muslim.⁶⁷

47. **Thongkhongmayum**: The ancestor of this *Sagei* is Kheisha Akanba who was one of 16 (sixteen) Sardars of Muhammad Sani in the 1606 campaign. As he chose to settle near a bridge (*Thong*) from which king Khagemba conferred upon him *Thongkhongmayum Yumnak Sagei*. Most probably the bridge was *Manu Thong*. *Thongkhongmayum Sagei* belonged to Sheikh.⁶⁸

48. **Thoubalmayum**: *Thoubalmayum Sagei* belongs to Sheikh group of the Muslim. The ancestry of this *Sagei* is traced to Ibrahim Miya/Tamiya who came to Manipur in 1606. He was one of the Sardars of Muhammad Sani. For being settled on the bank of the Thoubal river, they were given *Thoubalmayum Yumnak* by the King Khagemba in 1630.⁶⁹
49. **Thangcham/Thangjam:** The progenitor of Thangcham or Thangjam was Sheikh who came in Manipur in 1606 as a Pasha Muslim soldier with Muhammad Sani. Thangcham/ Thangjam Sagei of the Meitei Pangal belong to Sheikh group of the Muslim. Sheikh, the ancestor of the Thangjam was engaged in the profession of sword making (Thangshaba). He presented sword to King Khagemba from which he came to be called Thangcham/Thangjam Sagei.\(^{70}\)

50. **Wangmayum:** Sheikh Salim was clan ancestor of Wangmayum. It is stated that Sheikh Salim made a house near a “Wang” tree in the Musalman Loukol from which he came to be called Wangmayum. It is further stated that Musalman Loukol is located in the places (i) Mayang Langing which was once inhabited by Tolenkazi in the beginning and (ii) Khongjom or a place near Khongjom. In Meitei Pangal Thorakpa it is written that they lived at Wanging Loukol hence they came to be known as Wanging Taba Mayum later on Wangmayum. They are Sheikh.\(^{71}\)

51. **Yangkhubam:** The ancestor of Yangkhubam Sagei was Yanglem Khamba who was originally a Meitei. Later on he was converted to Meitei Pangal but continue to retain his original Yumnak and his Yumnak to be known as Youngkhubammayum after his conversion to Meitei Pangal. Youngkhubam are Sheikh group of the Muslim.\(^{72}\)
52. *Yimkhaibam/Yumkhaibam*: Its clan ancestry is traced to Kundan Khan, the elder brother of Jaman Khan of *Phuldeimayum*. *Yimkhaibam/Yumkhaibam* split out from *Phuldeimayum Sagei*. As it separated from *Phuldeimayum* King Khagemba gave title *Yimkhaibam/Yumkhaibam* (*Yum* = house, *khaiba* = separated or split out). Hence *Yumkhaiba* comes *Yumkhaibam*. They are the Pathal group.73

53. *Yumkham or Yumkhamayum*: It is recorded in the Manipuri literatures dealing with *Meitei Pangal* that an elderly tried to prevent the split to the house between Kundan Khan and Jaman Khan but his effort failed. Yet his descendants came to be called *Yumkham*. They belong to Pathan group of the Muslim.74

54. *Hawai-Inkholmayum*: The progenitors of *Hawai-Inkholmayum* were Pulom Sheikh, Kashra Muhammad and Shampara Muhammad who came from Traff in the big emigration of 1606. They were reported for their proficiency in farming and agriculture. As they produced vegetables in large quantity or abundantly, *Hawai-Inkholmayum* was given to them. They are in the Sheikh group of the Muslim.75

55. *Hidak-Ingkhonmayum*: Sheikh Banana, the son of Sheikh Jalali is said to be the progenitor of *Hidak-Ingkhonmayum Sagei*. Smoking of tobacco began in Manipur during the reign of King Khagemba in 1610. It is mentioned in the *Lost Kingdom* (Royal Chronicle of Manipur), Sheikh
Banana was the first to plant tobacco in Manipur in 1615 for which this particular clan name was assigned. Sheikh is their group in the Muslim social division.76

56. **Heikhamayum**: The progenitor of *Heikhamayum* was Leima Sheikh/Khuru Sheikh who was also among the big settlement epoch of 1606 event. After settlement for sometime in Manipur, he went back to Sylhet to bring his younger brother Kashra Muhammad and his sister Cheinadind (Jeinab Bibi) from where they brough mango ‘*Chara*’ (seedling). The two brothers planted the mango tree in Manipur, and in three years it gave fruit. Leima Sheikh presented mango fruit to king Khagemba of Manipur who asked them to settle at *Khomidok Heinou Khongnembi* or *Awang Heinou Khongnembi*. Leima Sheikh and his brother Kashra Muhammad joined *Hawai Inkhol* clan. Then the two brothers were asked to look after the orchid from which they were known *Heikhongshangbal/Heikhongda Leiba*, and in course of time *Heikhamayum* clan was emerged. The people of the *Heikhamayum* is the Sheikh group of the Muslim social division.77

57. **Heibokmayum**: Miatullah Sheikh and Umarjam Sheikh the two brothers who came from Makak in Sylhet were ancestors of *Heibokmayum*. It is stated that they came during the period of Paikhomba (1666-1697) who gave *Heibokmayum* clan to them since they settled first in area of *Heibok Ching* (hill) which also supported by many scholars of Manipur. However, Kulachandra Sharma and
Badruddin do not mention the progenitor of this Sagei except their settlement place of Heibok Ching (Hill). They are Sheikh group of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{78}

58. **Huirem**: This clan exists Pylapul (Lalang Khun) in Cachar but not in Manipur. The noted scholars who are authorities on the Meitei Pangal do not mention this Yumnak, however, Kheiruddin Khulakpam mentioned this Yumnak in his book Terko Afghali Chadanouda stating that the ancestry of Huirem is unknown. He left this topic to the scholar for further researches and studies.\textsuperscript{79}

59. **Urumpayum**: This Sagei is placed in the group of Pathal of the Muslim Kanar Khan (Khano Khan) was ancestor of this Sagei. He came to Manipur with Mahammad Sani in 1606 from Traff. Kanar Khan was made settlement at Urup from the name of place his clan was known as Urumpayum which was given by King Khagemba.\textsuperscript{80}

60. **Ipham/Iphammayum**: This Sagei is kept in the Pathal group of the Muslim. After clearful investigation and analysis it is found that Puto Khan, Mil Khan, Lukaman Khan, Tillen Khan and Salim Khan were the ancestors of Ipham Yumnak of the Meitei Pangal. As they were first to settle in a garden of thatch (Ee), Ipham Sagei was conferred to them.\textsuperscript{81}

61. **Phusam**: Nuriya Sheikh, the progenitor of Phusam Sagei was very expert in the art of making pottery. He made a beautiful pot which Mushammad Sani presented to King Khagemba who being pleased a
woman Shri Bebi was given to Sheikh Nuria as a wife. They are Sheikh groups of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{82}

62. \textit{Phundreimayum}: The ancestors of \textit{Phunderimayum Sagei} were Kundan Khan and Jaman Khan, the two brothers who came from Traff (Sylhet) in Manipur with Muhammad Sani in 1606. They were artisan who used Phunderi (\textit{lathe}), a tool used by carpenters from which they were known as Phundreimayum. Kuldan Khan married Thokchom Chanu Kayambi and Jamal Khan married Thokchom Chanu Chaobi. This \textit{Sagei} is within the Pathal group of the Muslim. The two brothers were on the work of \textit{Phundrei} in making Palanquin which was made by the Muslim for the presentation to King Khagemba.\textsuperscript{83}

63. \textit{Phisabam}: This \textit{Yumnak} is derived from a group who expert in the weaving. Phisabam \textit{Yumnak} is in the Sheikh of the Muslim group. Sheikh Chunat was its ancestor. \textit{Phisabam} is said to have been sperated from \textit{Khullakpam Sagei} Sheikh Chunat got married with Thokchom Chanu Ngambi and born Najri and Sheikh Salim to them. Sheikh Salim was the first man who started the work of weaving in Manipur. His family came to be known as \textit{Phishabam Sagei}.\textsuperscript{84}

64. \textit{Firingjimayum}: Talanga Khanba Maimu, Pukchao, Tonba and Atol, the four brothers were the ancestors of this \textit{Sagei}. Earlier they were in \textit{Nongsayaibam} clan and later on parted away. They were Firingji soldiers. When three Firingji homes were built at Langthabal
(Canchipur) in 1825 during Gambhir Singh’s reign, the work was overseen by Atol. In Manipur Fringji came to be known as Talanga Khanba. While Talong Khanba changed Fringji then the Sagei of Atol was known as *Fringjimayum* which was given by King Khagemba. They were kept in the group of Sheikh.\(^85\)

65. **Ayekpam:** Muhammad was ancestor of *Ayekpam*. He took important part in painting and sculpting the *Dolai* (palanquin) made by a team of artisans. The palanquin was presented to King Khagemba for which his clan was known as *Ayekpam*. This *Sagei* came in the Sheikh group.\(^86\)

66. **Aribam:** The word *Aribam* has been derived from the *Meitei Lol* word Ariba which means the oldest. The *Aribam Sagei* is placed in the group of Sheikh. Sheikh Ruba, Kutwan Khan, Sadik and Ashik Shah, the oldest Muslim settlers in Manipur, were the progenitors of Aribam. They came to Manipur during the King Mungyamba in 1564 from Sylhet. As they were the oldest Muslim who settled in Manipur, *Aribam Yumnak* was given to them.\(^87\)

67. **Bhuiyamayum:** The people of this group came from Sylhet and Cachar. It is said that Asager Miya was said to be the ancestor of this *Sagei*. They are Sheikh group of the Muslim.\(^88\)

68. **Bharatmayum:** The Muslims are divided into four divisions namely – Sheikh, Mughol, Pathal, and Syeed. The Bharatmayum fall in Pathal group. The ancestor of this *Sagei* was called *Ibanu Farakhan* (*Fari*
Khan) who came to Manipur from Baratpur. Bharatmayum Sagei was called after his origin. Ibanu Farakhan (Fari Khan) was also known as Bharat. He had two sons namely Thambal Angou alias Thambal and Nimai.\(^89\)

69. **Bhukramayum**: N. Debendra Singh writes, the people of **Bhukramayum** came from a village called **Bhukhra** of Sylhet and Cachar. From this, their group was known as **Bhukramayum**. However he does not give the name of the ancestor and also he is not mentioned which group of the Muslim they belonged to.\(^90\)

70. **Dolaipabam/Dulaipabam**: Nampha Akanba who was one of the sixteen Sardars of Muhammad Sani was the progenitor of **Dolaipabam/Dulaipabam**. He was given the charge to look after **Dolaipaba Loisang** (Department of palanquin service), from which he came to be known as **Dolaipabam**. Of the social division of the Muslim they were Sheikh.\(^91\)

71. **Bagimayum/Bogimayum**: Purn (Purn) was the progenitor of **Bagimayum**. One day he caught an **Urok** (Egrets) and presented it to King Khagemba. In Hindustani Egret is known by the name Bagala, from which **Bagimayum** was given to Purnot. This **Sagei** is kept in the Sheikh group of the Muslim.\(^92\)

   It is also said that Purna Miya, Nur Baksh, and Salim Bakh who came from “**Bog-Boki** of Sylhet were the ancestors of **Bogimayum**. From
the areas of their original place Bog-Boki their Sagei came to be known as Bagimayum.\textsuperscript{93}

72. **Baseimayum/Bashimayum**: This Sagei is in the Sheikh of the Muslim social division. Musakalimula/Musakamula was progenitor of this Sagei. His original name was called Musa Kalimula. He was given the charge to look after the Patsoi area. Earlier his Sagei name was known was Paseimayum later on it came to be known as Baseimayum/Basheimayum. According to the Pandits of Manipur (Sana Konung) Basheimayum was given by the King Khagemba of Manipur as he played flute (Bashi).\textsuperscript{94}

73. **Oinammayum**: This Sagei belongs to Sheikh of the Muslim. Oinam Bir Singh, a Meitei was converted into Muslim during the reign of Chandrakriti from his original Yumnak the king of Manipur gave Oinam Yumnak to him.\textsuperscript{95}

Muslims in Manipur can be broadly divided into four groups namely Sheikh, Syeed, Pathal and Mughol, However this classification is plausible if we analyse and look into the nature of clan origins as discussed above. The classification of forty-six (46) Sageis/Yumnaks (clans) by Salam Irene as follows.\textsuperscript{96}

1. Aribam
2. Khulakpam
3. Khutheipam
4. Sangomsumbam
5. Korimayum
6. AYekpam
7. Hawai-Inkhol
8. Phusam
9. Leishangkhong
10. Sajabam
11. Moijing
12. Maibam
13. ThoubaImayum
14. Moinam
15. Chesam
16. Mushram
17. Bagimayum
18. Sairem
19. Thongkhongmayum
20. Wangmayum
21. Shinggakhongbam
22. Nongjaimayum
23. Mansam
24. Phisabam
25. Pukhrimayum
26. Dolai Pabam
27. BaseImayum
28. Konthamayum
29. Yangkhubam
30. Oinam
31. Mayang Ariba
32. Hidak-Inkhol
33. **Mayang Anouba**
34. **Heibokmayum**
35. **Phiringjmayum.**

The above stated *Sagei* are kept in the group of Sheikh.

36. **Phundreimayum**
37. **Yumkhaibam**
38. **Yumkhamb**
39. **Urupmayum**
40. **Kamanmayum**
41. **Labuktongbam**
42. **Keinoumayum**
43. **Ipham**

The *Sagei* from serial number 36 to 43 are in the Pathal group.

44. **Maraimayum is in the Syeed.**
45. **Makakmayum**
46. **Nongshjaibam**

The *Sagei* indicated in serial number 45 and 46 are in the category of Mughol groups.

Most of the *Sageis* belong to the Sheikh group. 35 *Sageis* are Sheikhs, seven are Pathans, one Syeed and two were Mughols out of forty-six *Sageis*. It is stated that “it is apparent that the word ‘Sheikhs’ is common to names of early Muslim settlers. But all such persons were either religious teachers or heads of orders of darwishes. It might be that some of them were real ‘Sheikh’
as it was a custom with the Muslim Governors and Generals to take learned men and Auliyas with them, wherever they went. Others used the word ‘Sheikh’ as a surname, being sons or descendants of the Sheikh, others used it as part of this name. The Nongshamei describes about the coming of Syeed and Mughals during the time of Khagamba and Paikhomba respectively. The Manipuri Muslim so called Meitei Pangal had distinctive surnames or Yumnak Sageis, which were quite different from the other Indian Muslim in different parts of the sub-continent. The later categoris namely Pathan, Mughal, Syeed, Sheikh, are of Persians and Arabic origin. The Meitei Pangal of after their adoption of new Yumnak Sageis became unique among the Muslim community of the other part of the world.

The Yumnaks or Sageis of the Meitei Pangals on the basis of their respective professions are - Sangomsembam, Chesam, Maibam, Phulderimayum, Singakhongbam, Phusam, Ayeakpam, Phishabam, Korimayum, Hawaiinkhondmayum etc.

The Yumnak Sageis which were assigned on the basis of residence are – Ipham, Moigingmayum, Thoubalmayum, Thongkhongmayum, Wangmayum, Keinoumayum, Noihjaimayum, Keikhongta etc.

Dolaipabam, Lulakpam, Manjormayum, Pukhrimayum, Mansam, etc. are the Sageis awarded according to their administrative duties.

The Yumnak Sageis names according to their original homeland are – Bukhramayum, Makakmayum etc.
The Sageis like Sairem, Oinam, Meraimayum, Bagimayum, Sajoubam etc. were assigned on account of different reasons.

In the early period of the settlement of the Muslims in Manipur, they had been divided into two groups – (i) Khunja and (ii) Khut Heiba based upon occupations. The Meitei Pangals belonging to Khunja served as soldiers of the kingdom of Manipur. The Meitei Pangals of Khutheiba category engaged in the work to produce goods for the kingdoms since they were skill workers. Apart from this they also rendered military services to the kingdom at the time of requirements of the country. Kayamuddin Pukhrimayum in his article entitled Manipur Muslim Thorakpa writes that Pangals were divided into two divisions (i) Khunja and (ii) Inkhol Shangba. The Khunjas were soldiers of the king whereas Inkhol Shagba were skill workers who produced commodities for the society and kingdoms as well as they paid tribute or tax to the king.

With the increase of the populations of the Meitei Pangal the Khunja was further subdivided into two – (i) Maulvis, (Religious Head) and (ii) Lanmi (soldier). The Inkhol Sangba split into two (i) Khutheiba (Articians) and Inkholshangba (Gardener). The Maulvis engaged themselves in religious activities and enjoyed highest positions in Pangals society as the Baharmans in the Hindu society. Khunja Lanmi placed next to the Maulvi they performed the Lallup duty. They were the soldiers who engaged military service. Khutheiba occupied third place among the four divisions of the Meitei Pangal. They also served Lallup like the Khunja Lanmi. Khutheiba engaged in different vocational trader like carpentary, tailoring, weaving, pottery, etc. Inkhol
Shangba were the lowest among the four social division of the Meitei Pangals. They had to pay tribute to the king annually. They were expert in agricultural work and agro-manufactures. They did not perform Lallup service.\textsuperscript{102}

The social divisions of the Meitei Pangals into four categories were based on individual occupation that one held not on blood ties or Yumnak or Sagei. Hence it had nothing to do with Sageis or blood ties as the individual from different Sageis may belong to anyone of the four social divisions or categories. It is also well known fact that the persons belonging to different Sageis may be included in any of the categories.

The appearance of Maulvis in the Meitei Pangals society proved that during that period Meitei Pangals begin to pay attention to the Islam religion. The statements of E Dun,\textsuperscript{103} M. McCulloch\textsuperscript{104} and R. Brown\textsuperscript{105} regarding their ignorant of their religion came to the conclusion that in the early period of their settlement the Meitei Pangals were not strict followers of Islam.

The Islamic society, at first, was a perfect model of the teaching of the Islam, but with passage of time the Muslim in different parts of the world were influenced by the indigenous culture. A Rahaman is right to say that the social life of Muslims everywhere is based on two factors – (a) Islamic belief, way of life and code of ethics and (b) The influences of indigenous civilization and customs of the people amongst whom the Muslim live. The first factor is the common principle of the cultural make-up of the Muslims all over the world. The language, dress, food, etc. of the Muslim who live in one or other countries
may be different but the said common principle is shared by them universally and it dyed the Islamic hue on them. The second factor forms a part of their culture which distinguishes them from their co-religionists living in other countries and imparts to them their individual national character”.

The social system of the Meitei Pangal is Patriarchal in nature in which the father was head of the family. The structure of the family came to be based on patriarchal values and the institutions of the *Sagei* were strictly followed by the Meitei Pangal like the Meitei. Thus social structure of Meitei Pangal was mainly based on kinship social system which was greatly influence by the culture and social structure of the Meitei. The Meitei Pangals are not exception from the general principle which had already been stated. Their culture becomes the combination of both Islamics and Meitei influences.

**Marriage**

The establishment of the institution of marriage is a landmark in the history of mankind. Such institution did not exist among the primitive people. In the early days promiscuity was well founded and sex life was absolutely free. As civilization advanced, people gave up habit of frequently moving from one place to another in search of food. They started to lead settled life. At this stage, food gathering economy turned to food producing economy. In the food producing stage men began to lead some regulated life. In the food gathering stage the sex relationship was promiscuous. Thus motherhood alone could be the ascertainable parenthood without the trace of definite fatherhood”. It was only practicable to ascertain fatherhood when sex relationship became
exclusive union of male and female. From promiscuiting to monogamy there was a long march from pre agricultural to agricultural economy in which monogamy and monogamous marriage were institutionalized. Thus marriage as an exclusive union of man and woman did not emerge at one stroke. The historical process was a prolonged one as mankind procured the knowledge of cattle breeding, agriculture, art and industry and learnt the use of natural resources to the best of its advantage. Agriculture was the threshold of civilization. This was also the threshold of regulated sex life. At different places and at various stages of human development, marriage came into existence in different forms. At the beginning promiscuity was permitted within tribes, i.e., women in the tribe belonged equally to every man and vice versa, but sexual intercourse outside the tribes was not allowed. The later development was the narrowing down of the circle and gradual weaning of promiscuity. The process was initiated by exclusion of sexual relationship within the tribe of the closer relations such as mothers and sons and then brothers and sisters. This process of exclusion gradually extended to distant relation, till finally a stage was achieved when there remained only a couple, united in marriage. In the beginning this was possible a union loosely uniting the couple, the dissolution of the union being a simple matter as entering it. They enjoyed freedom of separation and no formalities were required in this regard. The recorded history of early Roman civilization reveals that marriage and divorce were easy matters.
Marriage is defined by Edward Watermark as the “more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of procreation till after the birth of offspring”\(^{112}\) D.N. Majumdar and T.N. Madam stated that, “Every kind of human grouping comes into being, and is maintained, thought a process of recruitment by which various persons become its member. In every human family the majority of its members are recruited into it by being born into it. But before children are born, some women in patrilocal societies; man in matrilocal societies must be recruited into it. A family comes into being through such a communication of spouses. Marriage is the socially recognized form of such recruitment through communication”\(^{113}\)

Oinam Ranjit Singh writes, “Marriage is considered as very important social institution. That is why no society permits a couple quietly to pair off and start living as husband and wife”\(^{114}\) It is also further stated that “every society has, therefore, developed pattern forbiding marriages. In early days there were certain rules and regulations connected with the institution of marriage in every society including the Meiteis ..... The importances among these are exogamy and endogamy.”\(^{115}\) “All people prohibit marriage between individuals sharing certain degrees of blood relationship. This is known as exogamy which means marriage outside the group .......... and marriage within the class is known as endogamy.”\(^{116}\) In Meitei society \textit{Yek} rules has been becoming a biding force in the marriage system. \textit{Yek} is a social exogamous group within which marriage is not allowable.\(^{117}\) Gangmumei Kabui wrote, “\textit{Yek} and \textit{Salei} are used almost in the same sense. Hence \textit{Yek-Salai} is within the
degree of prohibited relation”\textsuperscript{118} Loitongbam Kalachan Singh\textsuperscript{119} gives the names of nine Salai namely (1) Ningthouja, (2) Angom, (3) Luwang, (4) Khumal, (5) Moirang, (6) Khaba, (7) Nganba, (8) Sarang Leishangthem and (9) Chenglei. In later period, Khaba and Nganba grouped to form one Salai called Khaba Nganba and Sarang Leishangthem and Chenglei grouped together as Sarang Leishangthem.\textsuperscript{120} In regard to the marriage rule the seven Salais came to be known as Yek Taret or seven Yeks. No marriage could take place between persons belonging to the same Salai.\textsuperscript{121} According to T.C. Hudson” Angoms were not allowed to marry with Khabanganbas, Moirangs, or Luwangs. The Luwangs were forbidden to take their wives from among the Khumans, and the Moirangs were not permitted to marry the Khabanganbas and one or two families of the Chenglei Salai were also forbidden to them. The family of Moirang Laipham seems to have been prohibited to the Ningthouja clan, but the case is obscure, and if genuine, constitutes the only prohibition affecting the Ningthoujas.\textsuperscript{122}

The nine Salais to seven Yeks which mentioned in Leisemlon Ariba were (1) Pong, (2) Meitei, (3) Mayang, (4) Takhel, (5) Pathal, (6) Moirang, (7) Pasha, (8) Khagi, and (9) Irang.\textsuperscript{123} There are two Muslim racial groups namely Pasha and Pathal. The Pasha was also known as Turushka and Pathals are called Afghals.\textsuperscript{124} The seven Yeks among the Meiteis are Nganba, Angom, Luwang, Khuman, Moirang, Khaba-Nganba and Sarang Leishangthem. Meitei Bamons (Bahramins) are not included in the seven Yeks Salais of the Meiteis as Meitei Pangals.
In Meitei society the marriage rules namely *Yek Salai, Mungnaba, Sairuk Tinaba, Pee Tinaba,* etc. were adopted since the time of Pakhangba (33-154AD), the first historical king of Manipur. *Yek Salai* means the kinship relation of the clan and lineages and sublineages having a common ancestor. Marriage within the clan was not allowed. Such restriction was known as *Yek Thoknaba.*125 *Sairuk Tinaba* means persons belonging to the same clan or lineage. They were not permitted to have matrimonial relations.126 *Mungnaba* which means “Persons having a common maternal grand mother of the fifth degree and persons falling within the different surnames with a common maternal grandfather and the later relationship so established have blood relationship called the *Ee Mungnaba*”127 *Pee Tinaba* means persons having a common maternal ancestor.128 *Pee Tinaba* means persons belonging to different *Yek Salai* but having common maternal grandmother, they could not have marriage relation.129

Muhamadan law defines marriage as a contract which has for its object of the procreation and the legalizing of children. Marriage according to Muhamadan is not a sacrament but a civil contract. Every Muhamadan of sound mind, who has attend puberty, may enter into contract of marriage.130 Lunatics and minors who have not attained puberty may be validly contracted in marriage by their respective guardians. A marriage of a Muhamadan who is of sound mind and has attained puberty, is void, if it is brought about without his consent. Puberty is presumed, in the absence of evidence, on completion of the age of fifteen years.131 “It is essential to the validity of a marriage that there
should be a proposal made by or on behalf of one of the parties to the marriage, and acceptance of the proposal by or on behalf of the other, in the presence and hearing of two male or one male and two female witnesses, who must be sound and adult Muhamadans. The proposal and acceptance must both be expressed at one meeting; a proposal made at one meeting does not constitute a valid marriage. Neither writing nor any religious ceremony is essential”.

Kuran allowed a man to have four wives at the same time but not more. If he married fifth wives when he already had four, the marriage is considered not a void but nearly irregular which testify the popularity of polygamy in the Muslim society. It is not lawful for a Muhamadan woman to have a husband more than one at the same time. A marriage with a woman who has her husband alive and who has not been divorced by him is void which means polyandry is not encouraged among the Muslim society. However, child marriage was favoured.

In the Muslim society man is totally prohibited from marrying – (a) his mother or his grandmother how high soever, (b) his daughter or grand-daughter how low soever; (c) his sister whether fall, consanguine or uterine, (d) his niece or great niece howsoever, and (e) his aunt or great aunt how high soever, whether paternal or maternal. A marriage with a woman prohibited by reason of affinity is void. “Whoever is prohibited by consanguinity or affinity is prohibited by reason of fosterage except certain foster relation, such as sister’s father-mother, or foster-sister’s mother or foster-son’s sister, or foster brother’s sister, with any of whom a valid marriage may be contracted. A marriage prohibited by reason of fosterage is void.” In another word a man can not
enter matrimonial alliance with (1) his mother, (2) his mother’s sister, (3) his father’s sister, (4) his sisters, (5) step-mother and her daughters, (6) his daughters, (7) his brother’s daughters (8) his sister’s daughters, (9) his son’s wife or wives, (10) his wife’s daughters, (who are born to their husbands), (11) his wife’s or wives sister (at the same time), (12) his foster mother (who has sucked him) and (13) other women who are nursed by his foster mother.\textsuperscript{135} Marriage with anyone of the woman are considered to be taboos and Meitei Pangals do not marry generally with close relatives or with clan members as the Meiteis.

According to A. Rahamand, in the Meitei Pangal society no matrimonial alliance is made within the same \textit{Sagei} (clan) which too is the influence of Meitei custom on the Meitei pangals.\textsuperscript{136} In the social system of Meitei Pangal no marriage can take place between the same \textit{Yeks} as for example a chesam can not marry with a chesam, a man of Phusham can not have marriage relation with a Phusham woman, a man of Phulderimayum can not marry with a woman of Phulderimayum, a man of Aribam can not marry with a woman of Aribam, a man of Khullakpam can not marry with a woman of Khullakpam, a man of Khutheibam can not marry with a woman of Khutheibam, a man of Yumkhaibam cannot marry with a woman of Yumkhaibam, a man of Yumkham can not marry with a woman of Yumkham, a man of Sanggomsumbam can not marry with a woman of Sunggomsumbam, a man of Korimayum can not marry with a girl of Korimayum, a man of Ayekpam can not marry with a girl of Ayekpam, a man of Hawai-Inkhol can not marry with a
girl of Hawai-Inkhol, a man of Phusam cannot marry with a girl of Phusam, a man of Leishangkhong can not marry with a woman of Leishangkhong, a man of Sajabam can not marry with a woman of Sajabam, a man of Moijing can not marry with a girl of Moijing, a man of Urupmayum can not marry with a woman of Urupmayum, a man of Maibam can not marry with a girl of Maibam, a man of Thoubalmayum can not marry with a girl of Thoubalmayum, a man of Moinam can not marry with a girl of Moinam, a man of Mushram can not marry with a girl of Mushram, a man of Bogimayum can not marry with a woman of Bogimayum, a man of Sairem can not marry with a woman of Sairem, a man of Thonkhongmayum can not marry with a woman of Thonkhongmayum, a man of Wangmayum can not marry with a girl of Wangmayum, a man of Singakhongbam can not marry with a woman of Singakhongbam, a man of Nongjaimayum can not marry with a woman of Nongjaimayum, a man of Mansam can not marry with a woman of Mansam, a man of Phisabam can not marry with a woman of Phisabam, a man of Kamalmayum can not marry with a woman of Kamalmayum, a man of Pukhrimayum can not marry with a woman of Pukhrimayum, a man of Dolaipabam can not marry with a woman of Dolaipabam, a man of Meraimayum can not marry with a woman of Meraimayum, a man of Baseimayum can not marry with a woman of Baseimayum, a man of Konthamayum can not marry with a woman of Konthamayum, a man of Ipham can not marry with a woman of Ipham, a man of Labuktongbam can not marry with a woman of Labuktongbam, a man of Makakmayum can not marry with a woman of Makakmayum, a man of Nongsayaibam can not marry with a
girl of Nongsayaibam, a man of Keinoumayum can not marry with a woman of Keinoumayum, a man of Yangkhubam can not marry with a woman of Yangkhubam, a man of Oinam can not be marry with a woman of Oinam, a man of Mayang Ariba can not marry with a woman of Mayang Ariba, a man of Hidak-Inkhol can not marry with a woman of Hidak-Inkhol, a man of Mayang Anouba can not marry with a woman of Mayang Anouba, a man of Phiringjimayum can not marry with a women of Phiringjimayum, a man of Thoubalmayum can not marry with a woman of Thoubalmayum, a man of Heibokmayum can not marry with woman of Heibokmayum, a man of Keithel Inkhol can not marry with a woman of Keithel-Inkhol, a man of Tampakmayum can not marry with a woman of Tampakmayum and so on.

In course of time the offsprings of Mirza Khakan Turani came to be divided into 13 clans which shown in the table given below – when Khullakpam Touthong marged into the Sajoubam Touthong, now-adays there are 12 clans only.\textsuperscript{137}
The thirteen clans, later on twelve clans mentioned above had a common ancestor but having different Yunnak or Sagei. As a result of becoming of different Sageis, marriage with the Sageis is not permissible in the Meitei Pangal society and marriage outside the Sagei is encouraged. It is due to the influence of Meiteis marriage rules on the Meitei Pangal. Generally Meitei Pangal does not marry with close relatives or with clan members. Marriage within the clan or marriage between clan members was strictly forbidden. In other word their certain forbidden categories of woman that a Muslim man can not have marriage relation. The Meitei Pangal, however, follows the practice not marrying with a close relative or clan member. The Meitei Pangals believe that marriage between the same clan results ill effects or adverse consequences like birth of defective children or congenial defects malformed, deformed or mentally and physically retarded children. This is mainly because of the social influences of the Meiteis, who adopted the system of exogamy. During the period of Charaırongba one clan or Sagei-Miraimayum was wiped out except an unborn child for arranging endogamous marriage i.e., marriage within the clan probably between parallel cousins.\textsuperscript{138} It shows that society strongly objected in endogamous marriage. However marriage between the clan members specially distances one can be found in some pockets among the Meitei Pangals as an exception. One point to be noted here is that Muslims allowed practicing polygamy. However, the Kuran made monogamy the general rule and polygamy only an exception.\textsuperscript{139}
In Meitei society no restriction was there for the re-marriage of widows, widowers and divorces which means that such persons had a good place in the society. Society allowed the widows, widowers and the divorces to re-marriage. Likewise in the Meitei Pangal society’s widows, widower and divorces are allowed to re-marriage if they like. Hence sororate and liverective marriages can be traced in the Meitei Pangal society. However, such marriages are not considered as compulsory. These marriages are only permissible on which certain advantages lies. Such types of marriage are unpopular in the society.\textsuperscript{140}

The various forms of marriage which prevailed in ancient Manipur Society down to the present age are –

1. Marriage by capture: This technique is growing rare with social advancement. However it continue even today as one of the ways acquiring a mate among the Meiteis and Meitei Pangals.\textsuperscript{141}

2. Marriage by mutual consent and elopement or love marriage and elopement or love marriage. “An interesting and most commonly practiced way of securing a bride in Manipur society right from early period to present day is marriage by mutual consent and elopement or love marriage. This system of marriage is called as Gandharava in ancient Hindu scriptures. We have ample evidence to show the existence of this marriage among the Meiteis and Meiteis Pangals”.\textsuperscript{142} “In the case of marriage by mutual consent and elopement or love
marriage the consent of the boy and the girl is very essential. This marriage is done through mutual decision of the boy and the girl. Neither the father nor kinsmen needed hand in bringing about the marriage."\(^{143}\)

3. Arranged marriage or marriage by engagement. “The most approved form of marriage in Manipur right from ancient days to present day is of course the marriage by engagement or arranged marriage. Among the other types of marriage this marriage is the best and the highest form of marriage. Marriage by engagement is done through the parents of the parties with or without the consent of the boy and girl. Here the consent of both the parents is extremely important. Such marriage was very common and popular among the Manipuries in ancient period.”\(^{144}\)

We may agree with the view of Oinam Ranjit Singh who wrote “That marriage system of the Manipur Muslim so called Meitei Pangals was more or less similar to that of the Meiteis. It is the combination of Islamic law and Manipuri custom in the later day. There was no much difference between the Meitei and Manipur Pangals in respect of the marriage being finalized. The proposal for marriage is known as ‘Haijaba’ or ‘Nupi Haiba’ in the Meitei Society.\(^{145}\)

According to Quaji Hamid Ali “In Manipuri Muslim Society, “at first the guardians of bridegroom seek information through a third party of person
whether their daughter is willing to marry. If the guardians of the bride express willingness to have matrimonial relation the proposal of marriage is made by the guardian of the bridegroom ….. after” Haijaba’ the guardians of the bridegroom come for the second time to the bride’s residence on a fixed date ….. after that they bring the Waroipot ….. the fixation of the marriage date.”146 In the Haijaba and Nupi Haiba of the Meiteis, “an emissary led by friends or relatives of parents of the boys was sent along with fruits, sweets, pan, etc. If the girl greed to the proposal for marriage, she took the fruit and flowers and put the flower on her ear.147

Nupi Haiba was the first step in the arranged marriage which also followed by the Meitei Pangal. Meitei Pangals did it through a Tuti who acted kind of intermediary between the two parties of the girls and boys who are supposed to be bride and bridegroom. When there was on agreement of the both parties relating to the marriage a day was fixed to settle Mahr (Bride Price) and to fix the due date of marriage. On the fixed day for the purpose the parent of the expected bridegroom along with some elderly persons and some relatives with some fruits, pans, sweets, etc. That is also called Mou Thiba Changba (Mou=daughter-in-law, Thiba=Seek).148 Following the fixation of marriage date and amount of Mehra was fixed and a ceremony known as ‘Waroipot’ was performed. This Ritual bears the hall mark of Manipur culture and tradition. According to A Rahaman, Meitei Pangal called ‘Waroipot Puba’ as Kwa Khaiba149 Salam Irene says that “The ‘Kwa Khaiba’ (cutting betel nuts into for square pieces) is performed on a date agreed to between the parents of
brided and bridegroom. After the assembling of the invitees’, one or two of the old ladies present, remove the skin of green betal nuts, and cut them into four pieces. If the pieces are found to be without blemish, it is considered as a good woman. After this ritual, betel nuts with leaves as also sweets, brought by the bridegroom’s family, are distributed to all invitees in the gathering. This symbolizes a formed declaration of the agreement arrived at between the bride and bridegroom’s families, with regard to the marriage of their children.150

On the preceding day of the marriage ‘Panuka Puba’ which is akin to the Meiteis ‘Haijapot Puba’ or ‘Heijing Kharai Puba’ is performed on an auspicious day before the marriage ceremony. There was no objective by the society to do Heijingkharai even on the day of marriage. It can be carried out on any suitable day before marriage or on the day of marriage according to convenience of the parties.151 The items which to be included in the ‘Panuka Puba’ were Tan (bread), Kabok (Parched rice), Kabok Aphaba (a kind of parched rice), banana, coconut, sweets etc. Along with the items of Panuka Puba the parents and relatives of the bridegroom and elder persons went to the house of the bride and items were distributed among the member present in the Panuka Puba ceremony.

In the case of Pangals of Cachar and Bangladesh Tuti is known as ‘Mou Semba’ and among the Pangals of Bangladesh the ‘Wakin’ among who acted as an intermediary between the both parties of expected Bride and Bridegroom. The Pangal of Cachar and Bangladesh followed certain procedures like ‘Yumchang Pot Puba’ ‘Haijapot Puba’ or ‘Waroi Pot Puba’ etc. Before the
actual marriage (Luhongba) was done. Nikah, is performed on the day of ‘Panuka Puba’ in some cases, but it is generally done on the day of the marriage Panuka Puba was followed by Sagei Kawa chatpa. It was the distribution invitations for the marriage to relatives.

Just before the day of marriage i.e., in the night prior to the day of marriage a ritual was conducted in the both houses of the bride and bridegroom. The indigenous games of the Meiteis namely ‘Mukna’ ‘Jubi Lakpi’, ‘Mukna Kangei’ etc. were held between the relatives of the bride and bridegroom as entertaining programme. A group of the dance similar to that of the Meitei’s ‘Thabal Chongba’ was also performed. The day just before the day of marriage was called “Purrjak Numit” among the Pangal of Cachar and Bangladesh. The Pangal of Manipur called “Purjak Numit” as “Gaya Numit”. On this day Manipur folk songs were sung and a dinner was served in both the house of bride and Bridegroom. In Bangladesh it was the customary of the Pangal that on the day of the Purjak the relatives of bridegroom went to the house of the bride with betel nut that was known ‘Kwa Tangkhai Chaba’ (to have half of betel nut). In Cachar before the day of Purjak bags of rice were given to the bride family by the family of bridegroom. On the day of the Gaya the bride was given bath by her friends after taking lunch. Then she did makeup by applying powder etc. in a separate room and she worn the marriage dress along with her friends. She danced and sang in the evening which continues up to mid-night. After the male members had dinner, the female members took the dinner.
In the Meitei tradition the most important articles/fruit which to be included in *Heijing Khardi Puba* are *Heikru* (*Emblica officindlis* or Amla) and *Heining* (*Hogplium*). “The said two fruits (*Heikhru* and *Heining*) were left out on the event of *Heijingkharai Puba* of Tampha Laiembi, hence the furious goddess cursed the party of the bridegroom’s family to turn into stone statues. From that onward these two fruits become a compulsory articles of *Heijingkharai Puba*. If the fruits are not available, their stem or leaves are used. In the case of a marriage where the bride price has arisen it would be finalized on the day of *Heijingkharai Puba*. The articles that brought on the day of *Heijingkharai Puba* were offered to ancestral gods viz., ancestor of the clan and sub-clan, *Sanamahi*, local and guardian gods, then the articles were distributed among the members present in the function”.

In the *Panuka Puba* of the Meitei Pangal the two fruits are always associated or become very important fruits for the rite of *Panuka Puba*. However, in Meitei Pangal’s *Panuka Puba* the articles that brought on that day did not offer to the ancestral gods like *Sanamahi* etc. as the Meitei Pangal do not have such gods.

On the day of marriage of the Meitei Pangal bridegroom and his company including parents, relatives, friends etc. went to the house of the bride with some articles of marriage. A palanquin was arranged for the bridegroom. In the palanquin a special cloth called “*Dolaiphi*” was placed, on it a pillow was also kept then the *Daman* (bridegroom) which is called *Bor* by the Meiteis sat on the Pillow. At the residence of the *Goina* (bride) which Meitei called *Keina* (bride) a special mat was arranged for the *Daman*. The mat was covered
by the Dolaiphi and again put a pillow on it. The Daman had to sit on the pillow. When the Daman reached the residence of Goina (bride) he used to sit on the seat which was arranged specially for the Daman (bridegroom) and his party. Generally the sitting arrangement was done at the verandah of the bride’s parents house. If the Nikah had already been performed before on any other day, then on the actual day of the marriage, only Duha was done. Unless Nikah was not done, both Duha and Nikah were performed on the day of the marriage. Afterwards the party of bridegroom commonly called “Nupamayum” would go back, leaving only the Daman and his Gaiya (the friends of the bridegroom). It is one of the important points that after the dinner the bridegroom and his friends would sleep in the “Sangoi” a separate front open house forming a part of the larger house usealy located in front of the man’s house or “Mangol” (Varandah). In the next day of the marriage, in the morning after having light foot, Goina would sit on the palanquin and Daman mounted a horse and proceeded back with the invitees, relatives, etc. including the ‘Gaiya’ (friends of the bride) of the Goina to the residence of the ‘Daman’. After taking wedding feast at the residence of the bridegroom the ‘Nupimayum’ (bride’s family, invitees friends) would go back leaving the ‘Goina’ at residence of the ‘Daman’. It is said that “After 3 or 5 days, but usually after three days, members of the bride would come with eatables to the residence of the Daman to take the Daman, Goina and the girl kept in the house of the Daman some days back. This was known as Hinam Loukhatpa Chatpa (going for picking up the Hinaam). And they came back with Daman and the Goina (and also the girl) to the residence of the parent house of the Goina. Thus, the Daman and
the *Goina* would spend the number of days proportionate to the day they lived in the residence of the *Daman* after marriage that would be three or five days. After that both the *Daman* and *Goina* were sent off to the residence of the *Daman*.” With the passage of time the custom of *Daman* and his *Gaya* spending in the night at residence of *Goina* has been stopped and do not appear to day.

Before the advent of Vaisnavism in Manipur, it is believed that both the bridegroom and bride of the Meitei Pangal used similar dress of the Meitei’s bride and bridegroom. In those days the Meitei Pangals bridegrooms used to wear a Tarban, a white Dhoti and ‘Namkhang Inaphi’ which cover the upper part of the abdomen. *Phanek (Mayeak naiba Phanek)* and Inaphi were the dresses of the bride. In Manipur after Hinduism, we have seen many changes in the dress of the Meiteis including marriage dress which also gave a great impact in the society of the Meitei Pangal. As the Meiteis ‘Keina’ (bride), the *Goina* (bride) of the Meitei Pangals wore ‘Posak’ (accoutrement, a custom of Manipuri Ras Marriage dress worn by the bride) which is called *Potloi* in *Meitei Lon, Resom* shirt velvet blouse), *Kajenglei* (ornamented head gear) and chardar (*Inaphi*).162

Like the Meiteis, the Meitei Pangals used to follow three systems of the Mirrage – (1) *Luhongba*, (2) *Keinakatpa*, and (3) *Loukhatpa*. Oinam Ranjit Singh remarks, “In Meitei society a boy and a girl could became husband and wife through one of the rituals i.e., (1) *Luhongba*, (2) *Keina Katpa*, and (3)
He further observed that “marriage known as Keinayakatpa became a very common form of solemnizing a tie among the poor, or already married women, or widows or widowers, girls or women who already eloped or kidnapped. And Loukhatpa was applied only to those who became husband and wife by elopement or kidnap against the wishes of the bride’s family. When a boy and girl lived together as husband and wife without performing any rituals like Luhongba or Keinayakatpa, a formal recognition was necessary. This formal recognition could be obtained only through Loukhatpa ceremony. Any couple who were living as a husband and wife without performing any one of the rituals like Luhongba, Keinayakatpa or Loukhatpa were deprived of many social privilege. Keinayakatpa and Loukahtpa ceremonies are very simple and short. Above all these two ceremonies are less expensive to compare to that of Luhongba ceremony.” In the case ‘Chenba’ (elopement) Nikah is also compulsory. Unike the Meitei marriage there is no ‘Lai Tin Thaba’ in the marriage of the Meitei Pangal.

In respect to the dowry, the Meitei Pangals are considerably influenced by the Meitei concept of ‘Awonpot’ (dowry) which is given to the bride (“Keinya”) by her family. “From the early period giving of dowry was vogue in the Meiteis society but this system seems not to be considered essential part of the marriage in most of the cases. Probably it was presented voluntarily and not compulsion was exercised. The presents of dowry included ornaments, cloths, cash etc. There was not hard and first rule of giving dowry. The quantum of dowry obviously varied in accordance with the financial position, ability or
capacity of parents or family of the bride.” The concept of the Meiteis ‘Awonpot’ is always present in the mind of the Meitei Pangals since they lived with the Meiteis as well as married with Meitei ladies. More dowries were given by the rich Meitei Pangals and less dowry were given by the poor Meitei Pangals as it was voluntarily and not under compulsion.

**Divorce**

Marriage under the Muhamadan law may be dissolved in any one of the followings ways: (1) by the husband at his will, without the intervention of a court; (2) by mutual consent of the husband and wife, without the intervention of the court; (3) by a judicial decree at the suit of the husband or wife. The wife can not divorce herself from her husband without his consent, except under the contract whether made before or after marriage, but she may in some case obtain a divorce by judicial decree.

When the divorce proceeds from the husband, it is called Talaque; when it is effected by mutual consent it is called *Khula or Mubara* according to the terms of the contract between the parties.

Talaque is an Arabic word which means divorce. It carries the literal significance of furring or undoing of a knot. Talaque, therefore, means divorce of a woman by her husband. The *Holy Quran* puts strong restrictions on the divorce of women by their husbands. *Prophet Muhammad* said that “never did *Allah* allow anything more hateful to him then divorce.” Without any reason if Talaque is given it is stupidity and ingratitude to God.
Talaque are three types – (1) Talaque-e-Ahsan, (2) Talaque-e-Hasan and (3) Talaque-ul-widdat or Talaque-ul-Bidat.

“In Talaque-e-Ashan, the husband morally pronounces a single Talaque and abstains from marital relation with his wife for a period of three months, during which time reconciliation is possible and divorce revocable. If the husband revokes and resumes marital relation, the divorce is notified and the marriage continues. But if it is not revoked during the specific period, the Talaque became final and irrevocable.167

Talaque-e-Hasan is a type of divorce in which three series of pronouncements of the Talaque is done in intervals. Reconciliation, revocation and resumption of relations may take place at any time prior to the third pronouncement, which is by definition irrevocable.168

Talaque-Ul-Widdat or Talaque-Ul-Bidat is the pronouncement of Talaque three times at one time. Such a triple pronouncement is immediately final and irrevocable.169

A Muslim woman also has the right to divorce her husband on the grounds that (1) husband’s absence for consecutive four years, (2) failure to pay maintenance for consecutive four years, (3) if the husband is sentenced to imprisonment for seven or more years, (4) failure to perform marital obligation for three years, (5) impotency, (6) suffering from insanity or venereal disease, (7) wife being minor and marriage is not consummated and (husband’s cruelty.”170
As the Muslims, the Meitei Pangals followed the Islamic rules of divorce laid down in their law texts, however, in the case of Meitei Pangal we do not find clear evidence of following the strict rules of divorce until they followed Islamic rules. As they married Meitei ladies and lived closely with the Meiteis, the Meitei Pangal had adopted Meitei system of divorce in their early period of settlement. In ancient Meitei societies we do not find any hard and first rule to deal with divorce. But with beginning of Christian era a court known as ‘Pacha Loishang’ was established to deal with all the cases relating to women such as adultery, insult, beating, divorce etc. The divorce rules of the Meiteis might have adopted by the Meitei Pangals in their early period of their settlement in Manipur as they did not strictly observed the Islamic rules. In the later period the Meitei Pangals followed the rules and regulations which are in the Islamic law text but not in the early period.

Birth is considered as a passage of young or baby from the mother’s body. After the birth, the child is developed, served from the mother’s body and becomes an independent individual and the woman also became a responsible mother in the society. Birth is a very important social event, around which gather many traditional practices and associated with the religion. The Meitei Pangals practiced traditional method of delivery system because of the lack of advanced medical facilities as we have today. An elderly women or midwife, the local doctor known as Maibi and an assistant known as Maiyoknabi performed the delivery. Hot water was kept ready and every requirement was made available for the purpose of the delivery. When the birth
took place the umbilican cord was cut off by the Maibi with the help of a sharp bamboo slip which is called Kabak by the Meitei Pangal. The plancenta was collected and put into a new earthen pot and buried on the right side of the courtyard if the child was male, if the child was female on the left side of the courtyard. On the seventh day from the birth of the child or within the seven days from the birth of the child, naming ceremony was performed on which the child was given a name ritually. On that day a cow or got was scarified in the name of God. This celebration is known as Agiga or Hakhikat. Meining Hippa (parturition) was for forty (40) days. Duing this period the mother had to confined at the bed and she used to take dry fish and indigenous salt which is called Meitei Thum, for about 40 days after delivery. ‘Sunnat Touba’ (circumcision) is combination of two words Sunnal + Touba– Sunnat literal meaning is the trodden path in Arabic which denote the practice of the Prophet and Touba is Manipuri word which means to do. Every Muslim boys in the world under ten years of age had to be circumcised. Earlier it was done by a specialist who was locally known ‘Napit’.

**Death**

Death considered the total cessation of life process. Death eventually happens in all living beings. It is said that “we call it to leave this world, but where we once out of it and instated into happiness of the next, we should think it dying indeed to come back to it again.” Death is the last crisis in the cycle of an individual. “The usual theory of the process of the separation of the soul from the body.” The soul sometimes may move out from the body before
death as in dream. Illness is held to be such a moving out from the body. The only distinction between such a separation and that of death is that the later is final. The movement when the final separated is accomplished, the liberated soul takes flight.\textsuperscript{177}

“Man is the only creature known to bury his dead. It was not originally motivated by hygienic considerations but by ideas entertained by primitive people concerning human nature and destiny. This conclusion is evident from the fact that the disposal of the dead from the earliest times was a ritual kind.\textsuperscript{178} The ritual burial which have been practiced in most part of the world from the very down of human culture is mainly because of refusal on the part of man to accept death as the definitive end of human life.”\textsuperscript{179} The Paleolithic people such as the Neanderthals and later groups used to bury their dead along with food, weapons and other equipment. This implies that there was a belief that the dead still required such things in the grave. The practices can be traced back to possibly as early as 50,000 BC.\textsuperscript{180} Funeral ritual makes to supply the earliest evidence of religion in human society.

The disposal of dead is always associated with certain ritual in all human societies. The Meitei Pangals who are the followers of Islam adopted Islamic way of disposal of death. As soon as a Pangal (Muslim) is confirmed to be dead, his/her eyes and mouth are made properly closed. His/her dead body is made to face to the direction of Kbah in Meca. Then his/her chin is loosely tied by a piece of white cloth with the head. This is called \textit{Khadangchet Thaba} or \textit{Punba}. His/her whole body is covered with a white
cloth. The dead body is surrounded by relatives and friends. They offered *Dua* (supplication) for the deceased. Taking bath of the deceased person is done outside or inside the house according to the sex. If the deceased is male taking of bath is done outside the house. Whereas in case of the female, the taking of the bath is inside the house. This process is done by keeping the death body on the bed, below of which the surface of the earth which is covered by the bed containing the death body is dug up or made loose the surface to absorb the water of the bath. For bathing the corpse, the water is boiled with a plant known as *Shangbrei (Pogastemon-Purpurascens)* with this boiled water each and every part of the dead body is washed. After the bath, the dead body is then wiped dry with piece of cloth and camphor powder and perfume oil applied to the hand, feet, and face to give a good fragrance. The dead body is wrapped in a new cloth made of cotton called *Kafanfi*. The dead body is then kept in the wooden coffin called ‘*Kai*’ which is to made of bamboo or wood. The *Kai* is also covered with a cloth called *Ngoubong*. The dead body is brought near the *Kaberstan* and Janaja is said there. When the Janaja is over the death body is brought to *Kaber* (grave) and placed carefully. The head of corpse is placed towards the direction of *Meca*. The relatives and friends who are participated in the funeral rite fill up the grave with handful of soil and the surface is made smooth and a shape of dome is also made on the *Kaber*. A plant called *Boroi* (*ziziphus mauritiana*) or *sungberi* is planted over the Kaber of the decease and watered. After that people present there offer *Dua* and return. People usually go to Kabarstan to offer *Dua* for the departed loved ones. This is known as *Kabar Jiyarat Touba Chatpa* (going for Kabar Jiyarat). After this a ceremony called
Tasbisonba is performed reciting Kuranic Verses for the departed soul on Friday or any other day. On the day of the Tasbisonba light refreshment or feast is arranged for those who presented on the day of Tasbisonba. There is also one ceremony which is known a Numit Nifunigi Chak Pijaba on or before forty days of the death or after the forty days according to the convenient of the deceased family. Another ceremony which is known as Thoutouba is also performed for the departed soul by the family members.

**Games and Sport**

According to Dr. M. Kriti Singh, “The Manipurees lived a sartan life and sports and games were popular as much as among them as in the west”. Khong-kangjei (Hokey), Sagol Kangjei (Polo), Lamchell (Race), Hiyang (Boat race), Mukna (wrestling) etc. were favourite games of the Meitei. Indoor games included ‘Kang Sanaba’, etc. Polo is called Sagol Kangjei, i.e., hokey on horse back which was connected with mythology of creation”. The Muslims of Manipur were accessible to Meitei influence. They had participated Meitei’s festivals. They developed social ties and friendship with the Meiteis. They took part in the Hiyang (Boat race), Mukna (wrestling) etc. Dr. M. Kriti says that “we find these festivals full of both Hindu and Muslim strolling participants”. Owing to the influence of Meitei custom on the Muslims in Manipur the outdoor games of Meiteis like Lamchell (race), Khong Kangjei (hokey) etc. became their chief amusements. It is evident from the numbers of sources that the two Muslims wrestlers namely Akun Shah and Kanba Shah were attached to the king’s palace of Khagemba. The descendants of the two
wrestlers continued the tradition the wrestling for which Mansom Sagei was given to them. The Meitei Pangals were played Likon Sanaba, Kang Sanaba etc. like the Meiteis. The Meitei pangals adopted a division system known as Khulthak Vs Khunkha, Ahallup Vs Naharup while playing Sagol Kanggei, Mukna, Mukna Kangjei, Khong Kangjei, Jubi Lakpi, etc. “The modality of divisions was like this. If both people live in the Khunthak, they formed a team and so also the Khunkha team. In each of the divisions Ahallup and Naharup was formed. The Pangals of Cachar and neighbouring areas played these games where the division was on the basis of Turel Wangma and Sorok Tupkhai. It was in accordance with the geographical situation. In Manipur if the competition was based on Pana, the Pangals were included in the Panas of the Meiteis. There was no separate Pana for the Pangals. The norms and rules were solemnly followed by the players. The dress and costumes in the sports was in earnest followed by themselves. Thus, a sport was a great means to unite and live together in harmonious co-operation in Manipur”.

Language

The Manipur Muslim (Meitei Pangal) when they settled in Manipur they had started sharing a common ecological niche with the Meiteis. The marriage of the Muslims (Meitei Pangal) with the Manipuri women brought a reciprocal exchange of the cultural information between the Meitei and Meitei Pangals. They adopted Meitei Lon as their language which led to the increase of Meitei Lon speaking people in Manipur as Meitei Lon became the mother tongue of Meitei Pangal. They are the only community who speak Meitei Lon next to the
Meitei. It is fact that language took the role of an agent interacting human ideas among each-other. According to P. Lehman language of the community has been classify into two groups – (a) Native form and (b) borrow from which were to be critically examined. There are many deat among the scholars regarding the origin of Meitei language. However majority of the scholars agreed with the fact that Meitei language is a branch Tibeto-Burman group which belong to Sino-Tibetan family.

**Dress**

The dresses of the Meitei Pangal are almost similar to that of the Meiteis. *Phanek* is the dress of the Meitei women since the very early time. The unmarried girls wear *phanek* at waist and married women at breast. The dress of Meitei male wearing at the lower abdomen is called *Khudei*. Both the male and female of the Meiteis are wearing *Phi* or *Inaphi* since time immemorial. Thus the Meiteis have their own customary and traditional dresses. Handicrafts had greatly developed during the time of king Loiyumba. Thirty families were assigned to weave different cloths and the dyers were assigned to produce various colour based on the colour of the followers. The Meitei Pangals are wearing the same dress of the Meiteis right from their settlement in Manipur onward. T.C. Hudson says, “The Pangan (Pangal) women wear *Phaneks*, which they fasten under the right breast, while Meitei women fasten this garment under left breast. The colours of the *Phaneks* of Pangan women different from those used by Manipures, as for instance, the green used by a Meitei will be darker, less glaring than the *shada* of green
allowed to the Pangan”.192 “Khuwangnam”, a peace of the cloth tied on the Phanek at the waist of the Meitei woman is also used by the Meitei Pangal women.193 Pardah system of the Muslim was not followed to by the Meitei Pangals it is because of the influence of the Meitei custom.194 However in later days and now we find a slight difference in the dress of the Meitei Pangals from that of the Meitei because of Islamization.

Dwelling Houses

The Meiteis have their own style of house. Certain rules and regulation had been also applied for the selection of the site building and construction of the house.195 According to Panthoibi Khongul and Numit-Kappa people lives in dwelling houses, probably hut types.196 As the Meiteis, the Meitei Pangal are also divided the whole plot of land into nine equal sub plots such as Langja Yumpham (Vulture), Phiral Yumpham (Flag), Meikhu yumpham (Smoke) Samu Yumpham (Elephant), Sangai Yumpham (Royal site), Nongsa Yumpham (Lion), Lolla Yumpham (Ass), Tampha Yumpham Diamond and Lamhui Yumpham (Fox).197 A. Rahaman says that no house was constructed in the sub-plots assigned to Vulture, flag and smoke.198 The Meitei Pangal constructed their houses in the same ways of the Meiteis reserving Phamen, Ningol Ka, etc. “Like Meiteis, the Pangal houses had one Sangoi (out house) either in the east or north, one Kei (Granary) and one Sangol (Stable).199 Colonel McCulloch states that” “The dwelling of the Munniporees are all of the same form, but those of the rich are larger, and constructed of better materials than those of the poor, that is the post and beams of the house of the former are of wood, whilst
those of the later are of bamboo. The walls of both are of reeds plastered with a mixture of earth and cow dung, and the roofs of all are thatched with grass. All the dwelling houses face to the eastward, in which direction they have a large open verandah. In this Verandah the family rites during the day, and in it all the work of the household is carried on, except cooking, which is performed inside, in the South side of the verandah is the seat of honor, here a mat or cloth is laid for the head of the family, upon which no one intrudes. Inside the house is without partitions. The bed of the head of the family, is placed in what is called the Luplenka, close to the wall on the South side about the middle. It is usually screened by roats. The daughters usually sleep on the North side. There are no windows in houses, the only light admitted being by two doors, one opening into the open verandah, the other to the North, near the north western corner of the house. The style of house was introduced by a mythical king named Khoi Ningon, but in the reign of Khagemba changes were made. Not many houses are built of brick, though the recent development of the manufacture of bricks may lead to an increase in their number. The temples, both private and public, are built of brick, and the walls of the match ghar or dancing house which is built in the trabeated style with massive teak beams of enormous size and thickness, are also of the same material. The native bricks are long, wide and thin, possessing considerable durability, which is in part due to the liberal amount of genuine mortar and lime used on the walls.
Food

The Meitei Pangals are not vegetarians and meat forms a familiar item of their food. Their foods were almost similar to that of the Meiteis before the advent of Vaisnavism in Manipur. However the food and drink for the Muslims are divided into two – (i) Haram (forbidden) (ii) Hala (unforbidden). The food item which do not take by the Meitei Pangals as the Muslim of any part of the world are meat of Pork, dog, cat, horse, elephant, crow, parrot, snake, oyster (Kongreng), mud eel (Nagpurum) Tharaikokpi (zoological name Dytiseus indicus), snail, Noushek (Zoological name belostoma indica belostomtide) etc.

Festivals

The three major festivals of the Meitei Pangals are (i) Id-ul-Fiter (ii) Id-ul-Zuha and (iii) Muharram, Id-ud-Fiter is considered as the sacred festival of the Muslims. It is celebrated every year at the end of the month of fasting. Its importance can be judged from the fact that Al-Mighty Allah has Himself ordered the believers to celebrate it with rejoicing. It is said that “Actually this celebration of Id-ul-Fitr was to mark the great occasion of the revelation of the Holy Quran. The month of Ramzan was selected for this historical event for its particular relevance with this festival.” According to Thomas Patrick “On this festival day, the people having previously distributed the alms which are called the Sadr-qatu-I-Fir, assemble in the vast assembly in the Idgah and led by the Iman offer two Rakahs of prayer”. Id-ul-Zuha the animal sacrifice on In-ul-Zuha, majority of the Muslim jurists agree that it is Sunnah of the Holy
Prophet. “Almost all the great authorities on the teachings of Islam agree that all the main features of Hajj are based on the authority of Hazrat Ibrahim. For instance the running between Safa and Marwa which is Islamic terminology is known as Sa’y is in commemoration of Hazrat Hajra’s running to and fro to seek water for the baby Ismael. Similarly the sacrifice of animal on this day is commemoration of Hazrat Ibrahim’s endeavour to obey the Divine commandement which he thought meant the sacrifice of Hazrat Ismail. Animal sacrifice on the day of Id-ul-Azha outside Makkahal-Mukarmah is the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet. The companions of the Holy Prophet and all the great jurists of the various schools of Islamic jurisprudence held the same view. In the light of the instructions issued by the Holy prophet in this respect, they maintained that those believers who made it a point to offer sacrifice on the day of Eid-al-Azha, will no doubt to reward on the day of judgment but anyone who desist from offering it may not be taken to take on the account.”  

H-204 Id-ul-Fiter and Id-ud-zuha are celebrated by the Meitei Pangal with great joy and festivity with the new cloth varities of delicacies food items are prepared on the days of these two festivals. Married women along with their husband and children used to go to their natal parents with cooked meats coconuts, fruits, sweetmeats, a kind of bread known as ‘Tal’ which is made of Chahou, a kind of rice or bread made of rice powder etc. Salam Irene stated that “In the festivals that follow the religious sacrifice many similarities to the Meitei celebration of Ningol Chakkouba can be observed. (Feast) for married sisters and daughters. This primarily consists in the offering of food and gifts, just as in Ningol Chakkouba, married daughters and sisters visit their natal homes,
with offerings of coconut, fruit and sweetmeats, and are in turn feted, given a lavish repast and gifts so also married women accompanied by their children, visit their parents home, attired in bright, new clothes. Much attention is paid to the cousin on these festive occasions, and family members and guests, partake of many delicacies, dressed in new clothes, brought specifically for the occasion. However, Md. Ahmed Ali Shah opines that similarity is found between Idds of the Meitei Pangals and that of Ningol Chakouba of the Meiteis although the context are very different. On the day of the Idds Meitei Pangal perform prayer in the morning at “Idgaha” or at Mosque and used to go Kabarstan to pay homage to their ancestors and recited some verses from the Kuran. which are not done in the Ningol Chakouba of Meiteis. In the Ningol Chakauba married women along with their children used to go to their natan parents in the morning to take lunch arranged by their parents or relatives and received gifts or presents from their parents or brothers whereas on the day of the Idds Meitei Pangal married women go to their parents recedants in afternoon with their children bringing eatables items and used to take dinner but giving of the gifts or presents to the married women by their parents or brothers is not compulsory or not done.

**Maharam**

*Maharam* is the festival on which group of elderly people of the Meitei Pangals gather at the Mosque and pray to God in form of mourning, for the sacrifices made by the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhamad. Besides the three festivals Meitei Pangal also enjoyed some
festivals of the Meitei like ‘Cheiraoba’, Ningol Chakkouba etc. from the earlier times.208

Religion

From time to time people find themselves forced to reconsider current and inherited beliefs and ideas, to gain some harmony between present and past experience, and to reach a position which shall satisfy the demands of feeling and reflexion and gave confidence for facing future.209 If, at the present day, religion, as a subject of critical or scientific inquiry, of both practical and theoretical significance, has attracted increasing attention, this can be ascribed to (a) the rapid progress of scientific knowledge and thought (b) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject; (c) the wide spread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct religion, or even to replace it by some body of thought, more ‘rational’ and ‘scientific’ or less ‘superstition’, and (d) the effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been influenced by religion. Whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questional, the value of religion is involved; and all deep-stirring experiences invariably compel a reconsideration of the most fundamental ideas, whether they are explicitly religious or not. Ultimately there arise problems of justice, human destiny, God, and the universe; and these in turn, involve problems of the relation between ‘religious’ and other ideas, the validity of ordinary knowledge, and practicable conception of ‘experience’ and ‘reality’.210
The term ‘religion’ whatever its best definition, clearly refers to certain characteristic types of data (beliefs, practices, feelings, moods and attitudes, etc). Its use presupposes criteria, and therefore some preliminary conception of what does not come under the category. But it soon appears that there is no absolute gulf between religion and what, in some one respect or other, closely approximates it (e.g., art, morality). Different people draw the line differently. A man will be awed by his conception of what religion is or is not; but such conceptions vary, not only among individual members of the same society, but even in the lifetime of any one of them. Only in the course of his mental or physical growth does a man acquire the conception and come to distinguish between what is and what is not religion; and this development- which is of the greatest personal significance for the individual – finds an analogy in the history of the race, where the distinctions which we draw (eg. Between religion and law or ethics) are not found among rudimentary or backward people. Herein lies the fundamental importance of such questions as : How and why do we come to distinguish the ‘religious’ from the ‘non-religious’? Is there a border-line?, and if we rely upon a prior definition, how did that definition originate? Consequently, the subject is seen to involve not only (a) the various beliefs and practices which obviously belong to the subject matter, but also (b) the mental or physical aspects of all the individuals concerned.211

Robertson Smith, whose religion of the Semites brilliantly illuminated the sociological aspects of religion, especially emphasized the important fact that ‘the circle into which a man was born was not simply a group of kinsfolk
and fellow citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings’. ‘The social body was not made up of man only, but of gods and men’. ‘The gods are part and parcel of the same natural community with their worshippers’. Here, then, ideas of gods and men and of the supernatural and natural, would tend to form part of a single coherent whole – a unitary system, so to say, of thought and practice.\textsuperscript{212}

The concept of ‘God’ is inexplicable save as the result of a growth of consciousness, a realization, an awareness of that of which man can find only an imperfect and inadequate description. It is only in the secondary stages of each moment in the process that the term is trusted as itself an object of knowledge; primarily the concept can be justified only as representing a reality of which man has come to have some conscious experience, and which he has been able to express only in a partial and limited way.\textsuperscript{213} The concept is a God is to be supreme over all others, and rest are but his vassals, his ministers or angels.\textsuperscript{214} It is “who guides below and rules above, the great disposer and the mighty king; than none greater; next him none can be, or nor was; supreme, he singly fills the throne.”\textsuperscript{215}

The presence of survival, superstition, and other signs of cultural differences in an environment shows that, as general principle, any apparently rudimentary or irrational datum need not on that account alone be older than one more advanced or elevated. Moreover, a culture can decay and be followed by one of a lower, ruder, or less organized type. Not only has this often happen in the East, but in Arabia, e.g., the old civilization reflected in the Minaean and
Sabaean inscriptions was followed by the pre-Islamic Jahiyya, the age of savagery or barbarism, and this in turn by a new growth the rise and development of the specifically Mahammadan culture. Facts of this sort bring intricate problems of the rise and fall of systems or cultures, and their consequences for the development of thought. There has undoubtedly been a profound advance from the first appearance of man onwards, but the persistence of all that is styled irrational or superstitions, and the frequent cases of decay, retrogression, and new growth, shatter all facile theories of a simple, continuous, mental or psychical evaluation.²¹⁶

Although the treasuring and veneration of relics are hardly consistent with the spirit of Islam, Musalmans have followed to some slight extent the example of their heathen neighbours and have been tempted occasionally to cherish and reverence tangible memorial of their Prophet. Such limited compliance with non Muslim practice has not produced any considerable effects, and the few instances of Muhammadon reverence for relics which can be cited are detached phenomena with no special significance. Certain places pride themselves on the possession of hairs from Muhammad’s beard. Two such relics (asar) were brought to Bijapur in the Deccan, India, at some times in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim 11. ‘Adilshah of Bijapur (1580-1626), and were deposited in a place now known as the Asar Mahal, ‘Relic House’, where they are treated with much reverence. Even foreign Muhammadan potentates send rich offerings in honour of the relics, which are venerated by a special ceremonial on the Prophet’s birthday, 12th Rabi’ 1. The box in which they are
kept is never opened, so that no one living has seen the relic’ Rohri (Rorhi) in sind boasts of a similar treasure, a single hair, which is kept in a jeweled god case in a shrine named the War, or Wal, Mubarak, a building erected for the purpose by Nur Muhammad in about A.D. 1745. The relic is exhibited to the faithful once a year, when, by means of some trick, it is made to rise and fall, the movement being regarded by the crowed as supernatural. Certain relics of the Prophet are kept in the Topkapu Palace at Constantionaple and Visited by the Sultan at the beginning of a new reign. The reputed footprints of the Prophet or rocks or slabs of stone are venerated in many places, which need not be specified. J. Burgess mentions examples at Ahmadabad, Gaur, and Delhi, and many more might be collected from various countries. The honours paid to the tombs of numerous pirs, or reputed saints, in Mahammadan lands are near akin to relic-worship, but are not quite the same thing. The Meitei Pangal are the follower of Islam. Those Muslim who migrated from Bangal to Manipur were the followers of the Sunni sect. and they belong Hanifia schools of the Sunni. Literal meaning of Islam is submission and in religious sense it means submission to Allah alone. Thus Islam means surrender. Prophet Muhammad who was born in 570AD at Maca and died in 632AD was the founder of Islam. The Prophet emphasized the need of surrendering oneself to God to attain peace. Islam is a very wide term and cover the entire universe and religion of all such things which do not even possess life, will and discretion is Islam. In this regard Holy Kuran says “Do they seek for other than the Religion of Allah? While all creatures in the heavens and on earth have, willing or unwilling bowed to His will (accepted Islam). And to Him shall they all be
brought back” (3:83) “The Religion before Allah is Islam (submission to Him will)” (3:19).

According Holly Kuran the beliefs and traditions are six. They are -

1. Belief in Allah
2. Belief in the Prophets
3. Belief in the Day of Judgment
4. Belief in the Revealed Books
5. Belief in the fates
6. Belief in the Angels

Islam believes in universal brotherhood of mankind. Muhammad taught that all Muslims are brothers within the framework of Islam.

Prophet Muhammad prescribed five recitations of duties to his followers:

1. Kalima – Faith in God and the Prophet. “‘Lu Ilaha ill’ Ilahu: Muhammadur Rasula’ Ilah”. There is no deity but God: Muhammad is the Apostle of God, the first and formost tenet of Islam.

2. Namaz – Offering Prayer five times everyday “Morning, midday, afternoon, justafter sunset, and night. These are known as Fajr, Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib and Isha.

3. Zakaat – Offering income for charitable purposes. In the light of the Holy Quran traditions, there are three objects of Zakaat,
the first being specific and the other two are secondary. “The basic and specific object of Zakaat is the purification of the soul. Giving of Zakaat purges the best of wealth, infuses fear of Allah in one’s mind, heart and makes one to do good deeds.” The Holy Quran says: “of their wealth take alms that to thou mightest purify and sanctify them; and pray on their behalf”(9:103). “But those most devoted to Allah shall be removed far form it. Those who spend their wealth for increase in purification” (92:17-18).

Secondary objects: Giving of Zakaat provides basic necessities of the poor and needy Muslims. The Holy Prophet has said, “verily Allah has ordained the payment of Zakaat on the Muslim. It will be realized from the rich and returned (spent for) to their poor”.

In another Tradition the Holy Prophet has said, “one who eats to his full while his neighbour straves, is not a true Muslim”.Thus Islam attaches great importance to the fulfillment of the needs of the poor and it proves beyond doubt that Islam is highly sensitive to the need of the poor and destitutes. The next among the secondary objects of Zakaat is to help and support the cause of Islam. The objects, of which Zakaat can be spent, have been described by Holy Qu’ran thus. “Alms are for the poor and needy, and those employed to administer the (funds): for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to truth) for those in bondage and in dept, in cause of Allah; and for the way fearers: (this is it) ordained by Allah. And Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom” (9:60)
4. **Ramzan** – *Ramzan* means observing fasts in prescribed month. Fasting is obligatory for every Muslim who is not infant or minor. Fast creates piety and fear of Allah. “Fasting is a shield for you as it saves you from sins in this world and would protect you from Hell in the Hereafter. When anyone of you keeping fast, he should neither use indecent language nor speak loud. If someone picks up a row abuses him he should tell him that he is observing fast.” Muslims observe fast during the month of Ramzan.

5. **Hajj** – *Hajj* means going on pilgrimage to Mecca. It is a duty of the Muslim to perform pilgrimage to the House of Allah once in lifetime if he possesses the means to undertake the journey to Mecca. He who has the means to perform *Hajj* and fails to do so, will be a sinner. Holy Qur’an say,” Pilgrimage to the House (Ka’ba) is a duty man. Owe to Allah, those who can afford the journey; but if any deny Faith, Allah stands not in need of any of His creatures” (3:97).

Every Muslim is bound to wage Jihad or Holy War against those who do not believe the Prophet if he is called upon to do so. It is stated that “Nothing is more appreciable and desirable to Allah than offering of prayer by human beings. No other act of devotion has been so much emphasized and lauable in Shariia as the Prayer and that is why Allah has fixed five times prayer daily as an expression of gratitude for his unlimited favours bestowed upon the
creatures from birth to death even since before birth and do not discontinue after death. The favours, blessings and bounties of Allah are bestowed abundantly on Fridays than on other days Adam, the first prophet and forefather of all mankind was created on Friday. On account of its importance and excellence a special prayer has been enjoyed on Friday. The benefits and importance of congregations has already been described and it should now be clear to the reader that the large the congregation will be, the greater will be its reward and credit.\textsuperscript{228}

The religious belief of Islam is based on the Holy Qur’an teachings – the word of God, revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. However it is also stated by Dr. Oinam Ranjit Singh and other scholars like Shyeed Ahmad that the Pangals practice other customs and traditions, and held beliefs which the orthodox Muslims would argue are beyond the pale of Islam. These are accretions drawn from the local environment, development as a response to the local cultural situation for survival and practical needs. They adopted the local customs and beliefs to their own requirements and needs by putting an Islamic tinge into it. The Pangals, like their Meitei counterparts, believe in the existence of local malevolent spirits e.g., *Helois, Bhuts* etc.\textsuperscript{229} They further stated that in the early stage of their settlement they were not strict followers of Islam which is evident from the number of written records\textsuperscript{230} of colonial writers. Dun writes, “The Muhammadans of this country are very ignorant of their religion”.\textsuperscript{231} According to McCulloch, “whole Mussulman population being very ignorant of the creed they profess, is not attended with the inconvenience which it would
be amongst a better informed people.” R. Brown says, “They were liberal and unorthodox, because they had no Masjid, and were, for the most part, very ignorant of the religion the profess,” and this stage may be called semi-Islamic period which lasted from the middle of 17th century to the end of 19th century. Kheiruddin Khullakpam in contrast to the accounts of colonial writers stated the existence of 13 Masjids at –

1. Kangla, where the place of Muhammad Sani offered prayer,
2. Moirangkhom Sangoi Laisang,
3. Kangla Ukok Sangoi Laisang,
4. Ningthounagai Sangoi Laisang,
5. Irong Chesab Sangoi Laisang,
6. Mayang Imphal Sangoi Laisang,
7. Sangai Jumpham Sangoi Laisang,
8. Awang Leikai Sangoi Laisang,
9. Lilong Sangoi Laisang,
10. Makha Leikai Sangoi Laisang,
11. Keirou Sangoi Laisang,
12. Keirang Sangoi Laisang,
13. Porompat Sangoi Laisong and

Panjagan at - (1) Phundri (2) Heirok (3) Ukhongshang (4) Malom Khongbal (5) Thoubal Moijjing (6) Urup (7) Kshetri Bangoon (8) Lamshang Touthong (9) Khomyan (10) Moirang Touthong and (11) Pangal Tabi were
existed before the seven year devastation 1819-1826 in Manipur. But the question is that as to whether the accounts of Kheiruddin Khullakpam can be accepted as an authentic or not. In our opinion it is subject to further investigation, verification, and further examination. We may agree with Md. Ahmad Ali Shah who rightly wrote, “Although the Pangals of Manipur are supposed to follow all the doctrines and laws of Islam, with exception, most of them are not orthodox in general. They are not a people of missionary Zealots. They can be divided into religious and not very religious groups. Only some of them pay prayers daily for five times. The younger generations mostly do not pray regularly. Even during fasting month (Ramdhon) some people do not observe fasting. Such people, however, are generally isolated by the Muslim society. Some people including even some Maulvis and Hajis (those who had paid Pilgrimage to Mecca also some to ignore religious rules. Majority of the Muslims of Manipur could not pay Pilgrimage to Mecca, even though it is a must. The tenet of Jihad (holy War) and its conceptions seem to have been completely forgotten from the minds of the Pangals due to some reasons or the other. It is also very important to point here the accounts of Dr. O. Ranjit Singh who observes, “the fact is that the seed of Islam was sprouted in the soil of Manipur with the settlement of Muslims. However, Meitei Pangals never adopted the conversion policy in Manipur. They neither converted the native non-Muslim population to Islam nor did ever force them to accept their faith. The truth is that Mashajid, the religious institution of Meitei Pangals come to be existed at the very late stage.
End Notes


10. *Ibid*.


17. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p.84; Kheiruddin Khullakpam, *op.cit.*, p.143.
47. Ayekpam Tomba, *op.cit.*, 4.84.


98. B. Kullachandra Sharma and Badaruddin, *op.cit.*, p.3.


103. EW Dun, *Gazatter of Manipur*, Delhi, 1975, p.16.


115. MMAT, p.40.

116. MMAT, p.40.

117. MMAT, p.41.


125. MMAT, p.41.

126. MMAT, p.41.


128. S.R. Mangang, *“Prohibited Degree of Meitei marriage” in Lanmei Thanbi*, Imphal, 1986; MMAT.

129. MMAT, p.41.


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139. Kuran, iv;3.


151. MMAT, p.39.


156. Ibid., p.213.
159. Ibid., p.213.
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230. HMIC, p.15.
237. HMIC, p.15-16.