

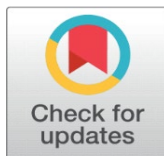
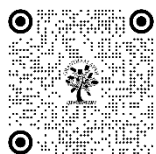
EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE MEITEI-PANGALS OF MANIPUR

Md. Firoz Alam Ahmed¹✉, Moichingmayum Aijaj Ahamed², Md Zakariya³

¹Ph.D scholar, Department of Political Science, Manipur University

²Ph.D scholar, Department of Political Science, Manipur University

³Ph.D Scholar, Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy, Manipur University



Corresponding Author

Md. Firoz Alam Ahmed,
Journalpublication24@gmail.com

DOI

[10.29121/shodhkosh.v5.i1.2024.3378](https://doi.org/10.29121/shodhkosh.v5.i1.2024.3378)

Funding: This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

Copyright: © 2024 The Author(s). This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

With the license CC-BY, authors retain the copyright, allowing anyone to download, reuse, re-print, modify, distribute, and/or copy their contribution. The work must be properly attributed to its author.



ABSTRACT

Manipur is a land of numerous religious and ethnic communities co-existing peacefully for centuries. Meitei-Pangal is one of the minority ethnic communities predominantly inhabited in the valley region of Manipur along with the majority Meitei/Meetei population. Since their settlement in Manipur during the reign of King Khagemba (1597-1652), Meitei-Pangals have been integrated into the history and cultural fabric of Manipur. Being one of the ethnic minority communities of Manipur, the Meitei-Pangal community has a unique cultural identity shaped by a blend of indigenous Meitei traditions and Islamic practices. This paper will try to highlight the historical context on which the identity of Meitei-Pangal is shaped and its evolution into a distinct identity the community has today. By analyzing political, economic, social, and cultural sources, the paper highlights how these factors have helped in shaping the Meitei-Pangal identity over time. Specific examples illustrate the impact of intra-community identity crisis, demonstrating the community's resilience and adaptability. Furthermore, the paper discusses importance of education and awareness in fostering reconciliation and understanding the inter-community identities.

Keywords: Meitei-Pangal, culture, identity, Islam, Manipur

1. INTRODUCTION

Manipur, one of the small states in northeastern India, is renowned for its rich cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity. Covering an area of 22,327 km², Manipur is home to a number of ethnic groups, each contributing to the state's vibrant cultural diversity. The official language of Manipur is Manipuri (Meiteilon), a language that originated from the Meitei people but now serves as a lingua franca among the region's diverse communities. According to the 2011 Census, the Meitei people constitute approximately 53% of Manipur's population, followed by Naga tribes at 20%, Kuki-Zo tribe groups at 16%, and Meitei-Pangal (Manipuri Muslims) at 8.4%. Recognizing and promoting cultural diversity is vital for the stability and the development of the state. The Meitei-Pangal or Manipuri Muslims, represent a sub-ethnic group within the dominant Meitei majority.

Identity can take many forms depending upon the context in which the term is used as multiple identities are structured within individuals. In simplest of terms, identity is how an individual perceive himself base on a set of qualities and

beliefs which he identifies with a group or community. There are various aspects of identity such as occupational, religious, national, ethnic or cultural among others. According to Peter Burke (2020), "Identities tell us who we are and they announce to others who we are". Cultural identity plays an important role in a person's identity in the construction of his 'self'. It is not something fixed rather it evolves over time and it is a continuous process. Cultural identity refers to a sense of belonging to a particular group that shares common cultural traits such as language, religion, traditions, and customs.

The three main ethnic groups in Manipur—the Meiteis, Kukis, and Nagas—are profoundly influenced by their ethnic consciousness. Gangmumei Kamei (2008) notes that while the Meiteis have a long history of nationhood, the Nagas and Kukis-Chins are ethnic entities moving towards a pre-state or non-territorial nationality. However, this primordial understanding of ethnic groups does not fully apply to the Meitei-Pangal. Unlike the Kukis, Meiteis, and Nagas, the Meitei-Pangals do not share a common ancestry, culture, or history. Their identity has evolved through the acculturation of the dominant Meitei culture and social setup, leading to their social identification as Meitei-Pangal. The Meitei-Pangal's identity is constructed through their integration into the dominant Meitei society, resulting in a unique blend of local cultural and social characteristics and the Islamic practices. This attachment to the Meitei identity has significant implications for their social and political organization.

Cultural disorientation and identity crises are issues faced by communities worldwide, especially in multicultural and multi-ethnic regions. The Meitei-Pangals in Manipur represent a unique case for these phenomena. As an ethnic minority within a predominantly Hindu Meitei society, they navigate the intricate layers of cultural and religious domain, often facing difficulties that shape their social and cultural experiences. This paper explores the historical context, contemporary challenges, and resilience of the Meitei-Pangal in maintaining their distinct identity amidst infusion of new global values and practices.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: SETTLEMENT OF THE MEITEI-PANGAL IN MANIPUR

Manipur literally means the land of gems. The term 'Manipur' was officially introduced during the reign of King Garibaniwaza (1709-1749) in the early Eighteenth century. Muslims who later came to be known as 'Pangals' came to Manipur during King Khagemba's reign (1596-1652). Those people who came from Bengal were called Pangals (Pangans) as the local populace could not pronounce 'b' and therefore the corrupted version 'Pangal' came into use (Singh, 2023, p.13). There have been different theories on the exact manner in which Pangals began to settle in Manipur. However, the popular understanding is that Pangals (Muslims) came to Manipur as mercenaries in 1606 AD in support of Prince Sanongba against his brother King Khagemba. This important incident is mentioned in the royal chronicle 'the Cheitharol Kumbaba'. 'Nongsamei Puya' (Pangal Khunthokpa) also refers to the advent of Muslim settlement in Manipur and their contribution to Manipuri society (Ahmed, 2010).

King Khagemba had two brothers- Chingsomba and Sanongba. Chingsomba borrowed a boat from Sanongba to participate in a boat race. During the race, the boat was damaged due to collision. Prince Sanongba was offered a new boat, however he insisted that his boat be returned to him in its original condition. This incident is popularly recorded in the history as '**Sanongba Higaiwa**'. After King Khagemba intervened in favor of Chingsomba, Sanongba fled to Cachar along with his mother and sought assistance from Dimasha Prataphil, the ruler of Cachar to overthrow King Khagemba. Subsequently he returned with Cachari forces and Muslim forces from Sylhet to invade Manipur. During the ensuing invasion, while Cachari soldiers fled from the battlefield, Muslim soldiers continued fighting under the leadership of general Mohammad Shahani. The invasion failed and the strong contingent of 1000 Muslim soldiers were taken hostage (Irene, 2010, pp.27-29). However, according to Gangmumei Kamei (2015), most of them were not professional soldiers but common peasants drafted on the promise of rewards. They fought valiantly but were eventually persuaded to sign a treaty with the Meitei forces. This led to the first permanent settlement of Muslims in Manipur and becoming an integral part of its society. Khullakpam (2008) concludes that they adopted the dominant Meitei culture and social setup, leading to their identification as Meitei-Pangal. This identity is marked by their distinct religious and cultural practices, setting them apart from other ethnic groups in the region.

3. FORMATION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE MEITEI-PANGAL

Manipur's diverse ethnic composition, comprising Meiteis, Nagas, Kukis, and Meitei-Pangal, presents a complex landscape of cultural identities and potential crisis. They have their exclusive language, culture, tradition and ethnic affinities. The historical evolution of these communities, marked by migration, integration, and adaptation, has shaped their distinct cultural identities.

Pangals who came to Manipur in 1606 AD were given land and Meitei women as wives thereby adopting the local culture and language as their own. McCulloch (1859) wrote that "The Muniaporee Mussalman population arise from Muniapore men having taken as wives Mussalman women.... before the regular introduction of Hinduism. On the introduction of that religion, they with their descendants were obliged to become Mussalmans." (Gangte, 2019). Since then, they have been the part and parcel of the social and cultural fabrics of Manipur. Like any other tribes of Manipur, Meitei-Pangals are an ethnic tribe. However, for Kukis, majority of them came to Manipur in the 18th century. According to Gangmumei Kamei (2008), Meitei-Pangals are an "**indigenized community**" (p.146).

Meitei-Pangals follow the religion of Islam. Therefore, their religious practices are similar to other Muslims around the world. Culturally, there are differences among Muslims like any other religious group depending on the place of their settlement. Meitei-Pangals are culturally different from Muslims in other parts of India in the sense that there is no such thing as social hierarchy among Meitei-Pangals like that of mainland Muslims (influence by the Hindu's practices of caste system). Rather in the initial period, the stratification of the community took place based upon occupation – '**Khunja** – those working the King's army' and '**Inkhol** – those involves in peaceful vocational works like carpentry, agriculture, fishing, etc.'.

Meitei-Pangals have adopted the language of Meiteis as their mother tongue. And they follow the Meitei months, dates and days in fixing marriage, religious feast and journeys. Despite its small number, the community has developed a unique cultural identity shaped by a blend of indigenous Meitei traditions and Islamic practices. They have made many of the Meitei family life and social organization as their own, from local cuisines to traditional dresses to etiquette and many others. Since their first settlement at Moirangkhom, Yaiskul by the order of the King Khagemba, the hospitable and the secular Manipuri society nurtured the growth of this small community (Irene, 2010, pp. 14-15) **Pangal Loishang** was established to look after the internal affairs of the community (Singh and Singh, 1989, p. 33). A Kazi headed this institution and decides of the internal issues of the community. Muslims continued to arrive in Manipur up to the reign of King Chandrakirti (1850-1886).

Following the traditions of Meitei social organization, Meitei-Pangals were given '**Sagies**' (a kinship system whose members are connected by blood relationship). In the process of their settlement, Meitei-Pangals were assimilated into the dominant local culture and traditions of Manipur. The extent of acculturation is evident from the fact that the prefixed 'Meitei' is added to Pangals. Since then, Meitei-Pangals have lose their original clans and culture. The only difference is that they follow the Islamic religion and the additional practices that comes with it (Irene, 2010, pp. 15-16).

Meitei-Pangal women almost similarly follow the Meitei women dressing pattern: a **fanek** (a cloth fastened around the waist to cover down to the ankle) and a **Khudei** (a piece of cloth used to cover the head and other areas of the body) (Ahmed, 2010). They now wear hijab, niqab, salwar, kurti and saree also. Meitei-Pangal men usually dress in lungi, kurta, shirt and trousers. As they have imbibed the Meitei's traditions and social institutions, they are arranged around the social format of the exogamous unit of clan system (Yumnak-Sagei). This kinship system is not strict as compare to Meiteis (they strictly follow exogamy). However, despite religious sanction, the marriage within the same Sagei is not widely practices and considered as taboo (Irene, 2010, p. 51)

In an agrarian society like Manipur, Meitei-Pangals mainly engaged in agriculture and allied activities like farming and fishing. Therefore, most of the Meitei-Pangal settlement are found around the water bodies like river and lakes. Their women folk work in the paddy field to support the family (Irene, 2010, pp. 52-53) Women folks while working in the

paddy fields engaged in folk songs reflecting the tragic and unrequited love stories and the love for the land. Kirti Singh observes:

“The song sung by the young female folk in their daily contacts and conversations and on the occasion of marriage and social gatherings containing sentiment did not substantially differ from the songs of the Meiteis. The girls sing songs in praise of the patriotism of Paona Brajabasi and the worriers of Khongjom (1890) and who perished in the war with the British and this is clearly reflected in the songs exhorting them to the Kheba hill where the hero died.” (Singh, 1993, pp. 62-63)

Influenced by the Meitei family institutions and etiquette, Meitei-Pangal social system is based on love and respect for parents and elders and religious scholars (Imams). Elders are address as mama, chacha, khura etc. and greet them with the salutation ‘Salaam’. The most important practices that form part of their cultural identity revolves around the events of birth, marriage and death. The traditions of this practices are amalgamated with religious teachings and requirement.

Birth: Like in the birth of a child, ‘**Azaan**’ (call to prayer) is recited in the ear of the child. For abled parents, they performed ‘Akika’ (Hakikat) to celebrate the coming of the child. Akika is done by sacrificing an animal, usually a cow or a goat in the name of Allah. In that occasion, the newly born child is given a name. According to tradition, the mother of the child is taken care of by confining in the maternal home usually for a period of forty days also known as ‘Chakmangba’ (or Meining Kunba). As dictated by the Islamic rules, boys during the age of 7 to 10 have to undergo circumcision by an expert and it is called as “Sunnat Touba” or “Khatna”.

MARRIAGE: Marriage occupies an important place in the life of Meitei-Pangals. There is no fix age for marriage, however they preferred early marriage. In two ways marriage is initiated. First, the boy’s parents would ask for the hand of the girl from her parent (called the Haijaba Chatpa). Second, the girl would elope (called ‘Chenba’) with the boy when they are anxious to marry. This practice is prevalent in the Meitei culture and despite religious prohibition, many Meitei-Pangal couples engage in this practice very often and becomes part of their culture. For Muslims, marriage is a civil contract and like a contract it cannot be annul under duress. After the girls’ parents agree to the marriage proposal, according to Islamic tradition, a ‘bride-price’ (Mehr) is negotiated between the parents of the boy and the girl. According to Quran, the Mehr is an obligatory bridal money or property to be given to the wife by the husband. There is no maximum and minimum Mehr and depend on the economic conditions of the parties concerned.

“And give to the women (who you marry) their Mehr with a good heart, but if they, of their own good pleasure, remit ant part of it to you, take it, and enjoy it without fear of any harm (as Allah has made it lawful)”, - Surah An-Nisa (Women), 4:4

When the date of the marriage is fixed, following the Meitei tradition, the ceremony of ‘Waroipt Puba’ is performed. On the day of the marriage, ‘Nikah’ is conducted by an Imam (religious scholar). Because of many adaptations of Meitei traditions, Quazi Hamid Ali (1979) concludes that the marriage system of the Meitei-Pangal is a combination of Islamic and local Manipuri traditions.

DEATH: According to the Islamic belief, death is not the final destination for Muslims. However, all believing men and women are ordered to prepared for death as it can come anytime.

“Every soul shall taste death, and to Us you shall be returned”- Quran, 29:57

There are certain rituals to be performed at the time of the death. Islamic law dictates that calls for burial of the body to be made as soon as possible. A time is fix for the funeral. It involves a simple ritual involving bathing and shrouding the body and finally performing the ‘**Salat al-Janazah**’ (funeral prayer).

After death, the eyelids are closed and the mouth is plugged immediately with a white piece of cloth. The big toes are tied with a piece of white cloth. It is important that the dead body be buried as soon as possible. Bathing of the body is important before the burial and it is to be done by immediate adult family members and relatives with hot boiled water. It is local tradition that while bathing, a special type of leaf locally known as ‘Sungbrei’ to be used. After the bathing is done, the body is shrouded with a three-piece new white cloth called ‘Kafanfi’ and perfumes applied to the hands, feet and forehead. The prepared body is then place on a wooden palanquin like carrier ‘Kai’ cover with white cloth to be carried to the place of burial ‘Kabristan’ by the sons and the male relatives of the deceased. (As in the Meitei tradition)

According to Islamic traditions, female members cannot accompany the funeral procession and cannot partake in the prayer for the deceased (Janazah Namaz). After the funeral prayer, the body is rest on its back with the head towards 'Kibala' (direction towards 'Kaaba' – Islam's holy place in Mecca, Saudi Arabia) and bamboo sticks are placed across the opening of the grave to prevent the earth from falling into the body. After the burial is completed, a 'dua' (supplication) is done on behalf of the deceased (Irene, 2010, pp. 63-75).

The Meitei-Pangal community, in particular, navigates a unique cultural identity that blends Islamic traditions with the dominant Meitei cultural practices. This dual identity often places them at the intersection of cultural and religious crisis. As a minority within a predominantly Hindu Meitei society, the Meitei-Pangal face challenges related to religious practices, socio-economic marginalization, and political representation. Understanding the cultural identity and crisis involving the Meitei-Pangal requires a comprehensive analysis of their historical background, socio-political dynamics, and the broader discourse on multiculturalism and social harmony.

4. EFFECT OF MODERNITY AND THE ACCESS TO EDUCATION ON CULTURE

The development or construction of cultural identity is not a fixed process but continually evolving within the discourse of social, cultural and historical experience. It involves a change in the behavioral and psychological development with the influx of foreign values and belief system. The crisis arises in the face of physical growth, sexual maturity and integration of ideas and values of themselves and other previously foreign to them (Schultz & Schultz, 2009). The cosmopolitan nature of our being has been the result of social media and information technology that threaten to usurp the local culture and traditions. This crisis occurs when individuals struggle with their cultural identity or caught between different cultures. It also occurs when a person's sense of cultural identity is threatened or his sense of identity is challenged.

In the seventeenth century, the Meitei Pangals might have learnt meiteilon from local people, also they were fluent in Bengali and Urdu. Because of the educational intellect, Mohammad Sani, the Qazi and Shanglakpa was allowed to attend the Darbar. In fact, there was a 'Lairikyenbam Clan' (learned in writing and reading) among the Meitei-Pangal. Despite early sign of learning and education among the community, they were limited to basic Urdu and Arabic and English education was considered impure. The Islamization of the Meitei-Pangal community started only in 1910 when Maulvis who returned to Manipur after study started Islamic education (Irene, 2010, pp. 57-60). Having learn the Islamic rules and regulation in the daily activities and social festivities, they began to relinquish many of the old unislamic traditions. Like in the marriage system of the Meitei-Pangal, moonlight dance ('Thabal Chongba' - a tradition of the Meitei performed during Yaosang festival) was widely practiced on the night before the wedding at the bride's home by the 'gaiyamacha' (friends of the bride) (Ali, Shah, Hussain, 2014). With the rapid Islamization of the Meitei-Pangal culture by the spread of Islamic education led to abandoning of the wider practice of 'Thabal Chonga' except some sporadic occurrence (Khan, 2020). Cultural customs like 'Hinam Hanba' (first visit by the bride along with her husband to her paternal home) has been largely forgotten. The infusion of new customs in marriage and social functions has led to the decline of old cultural practices and emergence of new hybrid cultural practices created a crisis between the old and new breed of Meitei-Pangal.

Vineet Kaul (2012) has studied the relationship between globalization and cultural identity crisis with the assumption that globalization have substantial effects on the cultural identities. The stereotypical representation of a culture would have an adverse effect on identity when such images are negative. Greater integration leading to cultural homogenization and hybridization by means of globalization can have dreadful consequences for the local cultural traits. The impact of cosmopolitan western culture has been deemed to be negative as it tends to subsume the local traditions. Meitei-Pangal are also the victim of such phenomena. The local traditions and customs hold dear to many elders of the community has been drawn into crisis by the consumption of consumer-oriented practices dictate by market forces by the young members of the community (Kaul, 2012).

Cultural conflict and identity crises are significant issues for the Meitei-Pangal community in Manipur. The dominance of the majority culture, combined with socio-economic challenges and inadequate government policies, contributes to ongoing cultural tensions. Understanding these crises through the lens of historical integration, cultural assimilation,

and the psychocultural framework of oppression provides a comprehensive view of the Meitei-Pangal's struggle for identity and social justice.

5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The socio-economic landscape of the Meitei-Pangal community has not been deeply studied in spite of evidence of lacking behind other communities. Initially, the socio-economic conditions of the Muslims were favorable after their settlement in Manipur, with many participating in skill jobs and warriors in the state's forces. Historically, the Meitei-Pangal community was involved in various economic activities like agricultural production and allied activities and craftsmanship, contributing significantly to the local economy.

Education plays a pivotal role in the socio-economic status of the Meitei-Pangal community. Despite some progress, challenges remain in accessing higher education and professional opportunities due to limited infrastructure and economic constraints. Many Meitei-Pangal remain in traditional occupations or lower-income jobs, affecting their socio-economic mobility and perpetuating a cycle of marginalization. The overall literacy rate of Muslims in Manipur is 58.6%, compared to the state's 70.5% (Special Economic Survey, 2004)

Economic disparities are evident, with Muslims often underrepresented in political institutions and having limited access to government schemes and resources. Around 71% of the Muslim population resides in rural areas, and only 36.75% of Manipuri Muslims are part of the state's workforce. This economic backwardness hinders educational development and perpetuates their marginalized status. The scarcity of land, poor quality of cultivated land, and lack of irrigation facilities further exacerbate their economic struggles (Irene, 2010, pp. 131-132).

Political representation is crucial for the socio-economic well-being of the Meitei-Pangal. Despite their substantial population, they are underrepresented in local and state government bodies, limiting their influence on policy decisions. Efforts to address these issues, such as demands for quotas and reservations, have garnered support but have not significantly improved their socio-economic conditions. The lack of effective political leadership and government neglect of the community's demands, such as converting them to the Others Backward Communities (OBCs) status and providing free education, further hinders their development. Despite recommendations from the Sarkaria Commission, there has been no significant implementation of policies aimed at improving the socio-economic conditions of the Muslim community in Manipur (Ruqaiya, 2016, pp. 70-72). This lack of government intervention highlights the ongoing struggle of the Meitei-Pangal to achieve social justice and equity.

The socio-economic conditions of the Meitei-Pangal community have deteriorated over time, with increasing disparities in education, employment, and living standards. The community's representation in white-collar jobs is minimal, and their participation in professional fields like medicine and engineering is significantly lower than other communities. Many Muslims reside in areas with inadequate infrastructure, such as lack of tap water and poor living conditions, further highlighting their socio-economic struggles.

6. CONCLUSION

The Meitei-Pangal community, also known as Manipuri Muslims, has been intricately woven into the fabric of Meitei society since the early 17th century. Despite being the follower of Islam, the Meitei-Pangal have significantly assimilated into the Meitei way of life. This assimilation is evident in their adoption of Meiteilon (Manipuri) as their mother tongue, making them the only community to speak the language other than the Meitei. This integration led to the establishment of the Meitei-Pangal community.

Culturally, the Meitei-Pangal have been influenced by Meitei social and cultural practices. They have adopted the Meitei lifestyle while maintaining their Islamic religious practices. This dual identity is a hallmark of the Meitei-Pangal community, reflecting a blend of cultural assimilation and distinctiveness. They participate in the broader cultural and social life of the Meitei majority, yet their religious ceremonies and personal laws remain distinctively Islamic. This unique cultural synthesis underscores the Meitei-Pangal's ability to navigate their dual identity, contributing to the rich cultural diversity of Manipur.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

None.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

None.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, F. (2011). Manipuri Muslims Historical Perspectives 615-2000 CE. Pharos Media.
- Ahmed, M. M., & Singh, P. K. (2007). Traditional Knowledge System of the Muslim Community in Manipur.
- Ahmed, M. S. (2010). Understanding Muslim Social Arrangement: The Pangals of Manipur, India. *American Journal of Islam and Society*.
- Ahmed, S. (2011). *Essays in Sociology: Muslims in Manipur*. The Institute of Objective Studies.
- Ali, Q. H. (1979). *The Manipuri Muslim*. Banskandi.
- Burke, P. (2020). Identity. In P. Kivisto (Ed.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Social Theory: Volume 2: Contemporary Theories and Issues* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press.
- Devi, H. B. (2018). Customary Practice of Meitei Pangal (Manipuri Muslim) in Manipur. *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences*, 5(2).
- Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Manipur. (2004). *The Report on Socio-Economic Survey of Meitei-Pangals (Manipuri Muslims)*.
- Gangte, T. (2019). The Muslim Women of Manipur. *Journal of Emerging Technologies and Innovative Research (JETIR)*, March 2019, Volume 6, Issue 3.
- Ghaffar, M. A. (2014). In Defense of Multiculturalism: A Case of Manipuri Muslims. *International Journal of Research (IJR)*, 1(5).
- Irene, S. (2010). *The Muslims of Manipur*. Kalpaz Publication.
- Ibungohal Singh, & Khelchandra Singh, N. (Eds.). (1989). *Cheitharol Khumbaba*. Manipur Sahitya Parishad.
- Kaul, V. (2012). Globalisation and crisis of cultural identity. *Journal Of Research in International Business and Management*, 2(13), 341-349.
- Kamei, G. (2008). *Ethnicity and Social Change (An Anthology of Essays)*. Akansha Publishing House.
- Kamei, G. (2015). *History of Manipur: Pre-colonial Period*. Akansha Publishing House.
- Khan, M. Y. (2020). Marriage among Pangals in Manipur: Ideals and Practices. *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences*.
- Khullakpam, A. H. S. (2008). *The Manipur Governance to the Meitei-Pangal (Manipuri Muslim) 1606-1949*. Pearl Education.
- McCulloch, W. (1859). *Account of the Valley of Munnipore and of the Hill Tribes*. Akansha Publishing House.
- Ruqaiya, K. (n.d.). *Construction of Intra-Ethnic Identities and Development Processes: A Study of the Meitei Pangals of Manipur* (Unpublished master's thesis). Jawaharlal Nehru University.
- Schultz, D., & Schultz, S. (2009). *Theories of Personality* (9th ed.). Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Sharma, B. K. (2010). 1891 AD Mamangda Leiramba Meitei Pangal (Manipuri Muslim) Ge Fibam. Writers' Union Manipur.
- Sharma, K., & Badaruddin. (1991). *Meitei-Pangal Hourakpham*. Chingtam Press.
- Singh, K. (1993). *Folk Culture of Manipur*. Manad Publication.
- Singh, R. K. J. (2023). *A Short History of Manipur (From 33 A.D. to the Present Time)* (R. K. I. Singh, Ed.). Ningthemba Publishing House.
- Singh, R. S. (1989). *Pangal Thorakpa*. Liberty Publishing Association.