

The *Cheitharol Kumbaba*: The Royal Chronicle of Manipur as a Source for Pre-Colonial *Meitei* Migrations and Diaspora

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Abstract:

Manipur was once a powerful independent kingdom having its own territory, rich culture, tradition, indigenous script and writing system. The Meiteis ruled the land under strong and capable kings, gradually transforming the kingdom from a collection of clans into a unified and centralized state under the Ningthouja dynasty. Our forefathers preserved many valuable manuscripts dealing in many topics like traditions, customary laws, chronicles, etc. out of which the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal chronicle of Manipur is the most important manuscript. It stands as a vital historical text that not only records the reigns of kings and the events concerning but also offers rare glimpses into the early movements of the Meitei people beyond the borders of Manipur in the pre-colonial period. These movements happened for varied reasons such as war, marriage alliances, political missions, or migration and were sometimes temporary, sometimes permanent. Such movements contributed to the early formation of the Meitei diasporic communities that preserved elements of Meitei identity across borders, offering valuable insight into the early Manipuri diaspora and the cultural resilience of its people. The paper intends to highlight the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* not just as a royal record, but also as an important source that tells the story of the early Meitei migrations before the advent of colonial rule in Manipur.

Keywords: *Cheitharol Kumbaba*; Meitei migration; Diaspora; Neighbour regions; Pre-colonial Manipur

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Introduction

Manipur was a sovereign and independent kingdom bordering Burma (Myanmar) before it was merged into the Indian Union in 1949. Traditionally believed to have been founded by *Nongda Lairen Pakhangba* in 33 A.D., the kingdom was ruled predominantly by the *Meiteis* under the *Ningthouja* dynasty. The *Meiteis* possessed their own indigenous script and language and developed a rich cultural and political tradition that sustained the kingdom for centuries.

Situated at a crossroads of trade between South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia, Manipur historically served as a gateway of India connecting these regions for the movement of the people and the land was believed to be known to the Greek and Roman traders.ⁱ The present ethnic groups of Manipur like Meiteis, Naga and Kuki Chin tribes are said to be the descendants of various migrating groups belonging to southern Mongoloid group, the Tibetan-Burmans, Tai and Indo-Aryans migrating from pre-historic times.ⁱⁱ This historical context makes the phenomenon of Meitei people migration unsurprising, and early historical texts including *Cheitharol Kumbaba* contain scattered but significant references to these migrations.

The *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal court chronicle of Manipur,ⁱⁱⁱ stands as an important historical text of the Manipuri people offering continuous records of kingship and significant events happening during the past time from 33 AD to the 20th century of the reign of King Bodhachandra. Beyond serving as a dynastic record, it also gives us insights of the *Meitei* people, their political, cultural, and living society. One of its lesser-explored dimensions is how it documents the outward movement of *Meitei* people into regions beyond the kingdom of Manipur. These movements were often prompted by political turmoil, war, or strategic marriage alliances. Besides the trade also facilitated the movement and migration of the people of Manipur. Elephants, a royal monopoly, horses and luxury items were significant trade commodities of the kingdom of Manipur with external commerce linked to regions like Shan states, Assam and Burma and even Chinese merchants.^{iv} In brief, entries in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* offer crucial references to these events.

Today, the *Meitei* people are found scattering across different regions and countries like Tripura, Assam, Bangladesh and Myanmar forming the Meitei diasporas. In early Manipuri sources, including the *Cheitharol*

Kumbaba, Tripura was referred to as *Takhen*, Assam as *Tekhao*, Burma as *Awa*, and Cachar-then an independent kingdom and now part of Assam was known as *Mayang*. All these regions functioned as independent political entities before the intervention of British colonial administration.

The term diaspora refers to a community of migrants who live outside the borders of their country of origin, often with a common ethnic or ancestral background with migrations creating the conditions for diaspora formation. The roots of the *Meitei* diasporas settlement were formed by the migration of their ancestors in the early period of time. Migrants belong to two broad groups: voluntary migrants like employment, study, other personal factors and involuntary (forced migrants) like disasters, conflict, repression, etc. and can result in the creation of diasporas.^v In the context of the *Meitei* people as reflected in the chronicle, pre-colonial movements beyond Manipur can be identified through military campaigns and captivity, royal marriages and alliances, asylum, voluntary migration and religious or spiritual mobility.

Military Campaigns and Captivity

One of the earliest and most common reasons for the movement of people recorded in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* is warfare. Owing to its strategic position between Northeast India and Southeast Asia, Manipur was often involved in military conflicts with neighbouring kingdoms such as Tripura, Cachar, Assam, Burma, and other regional powers. At various times, the kingdom exercised political influence over territories far larger than its present boundaries. Although population movement may have occurred from much earlier periods, the earliest recorded instance of *Meitei* movement in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* appears in the context of military alliance and warfare.

The first recorded migration of a *Meitei* individual in the chronicle dates to 1467, following the alliance between *Kyamba*, the king of Manipur, and *Khekhomba*, the king of *Pong*, after their joint victory over the *Kyangs* of the *Kabaw Valley*. As part of this alliance, attendants were exchanged between the two courts, and the *Meitei* servant sent to *Pong* was *Sekta*, a *pung* drummer.^{vi} According to R. B. Pemberton, *Pong* was an ancient Shan kingdom that was later annexed by the Burmese Empire, with its capital known as *Mogaung* to the Burmese and *Mongmaorong* to the Shans.^{vii} This early instance highlights how military alliances and campaigns facilitated the movement of *Meitei* individuals beyond the valley of Manipur.

During successful military expeditions, *Meitei* armies often captured territory, wealth, and people. Skilled artisans, women, and other captives were brought back to Manipur and absorbed into the social structure of the kingdom. Conversely, when *Meitei* forces were defeated, soldiers and civilians were taken captive by enemy states and resettled in foreign territories. In many cases, these displaced groups either assimilated into the host societies or retained elements of their *Meitei* cultural identity. Political control over regions such as the *Chinwin Valley* further contributed to the establishment of *Meitei* settlements in those areas.^{viii} Such movements, though often forced in nature, laid the foundation for *Meitei* communities outside the kingdom of Manipur.

As one of the prominent regional powers, Manipur faced repeated invasions from neighbouring states. While many of these attacks were repulsed under strong *Meitei* rulers, the situation deteriorated significantly after the death of King *Garibaniwaz* in 1751. Internal conflicts and rivalries within the royal family weakened the kingdom, enabling frequent Burmese invasions. The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* records major Burmese invasions in 1758(1:171) and 1764(2:3), during which large numbers of *Meitei* people from the Manipur valley and Shan regions were taken captive and resettled in the riverine villages of *Sagaing* districts, *Amarapura* and particularly in the new capital, *Ava* to increase the population.^{ix} Known as *Kathe* by the Burmese, these *Meitei* captives and their descendants were organized into royal service groups based on their skills and were provided land for housing and subsistence.^x

The most devastating episode of mass migration recorded in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* occurred during the *Seven Years Devastation* (*Chahi Taret Khuntakpa*), when Burmese forces occupied Manipur from 1819 to 1826 following the defeat of King *Marjit*. According to the chronicle, the Burmese carried away three lakhs of *Meiteis* in each of the years 1819 and 1820,^{xi} although historians have debated the accuracy of these figures. *James Johnstone*, the Political Agent of Manipur, observed that out of an estimated population of four to six lakhs, only about two thousand inhabitants remained in the valley.^{xii} Many others fled to Tripura, Cachar, Assam and the neighbour regions to escape Burmese oppression.

This phase of migration was particularly destructive, as it forcibly separated families from their homeland, often for several generations. Nevertheless, refugee and captive communities displayed remarkable resilience by preserving their cultural practices, language, and identity in exile. The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* also records the captivity of members of the royal family, such as Prince *Bhobananda*, who was taken to *Awa* in 1769 after

a defeat against Burma.^{xiii} During the Seven Years Devastation, several princes who were installed as puppet rulers were compelled to attend the Burmese court, resulting in permanent settlement in Burma.

After the end of Burmese occupation in 1826, many captives and exiles returned to Manipur. However, a significant number chose to remain in their adopted lands, thereby laying the foundation for long-standing Meitei diasporic communities. These communities continued to identify themselves as Meitei and retained many cultural practices, even as they adapted to their new social and political environments.

Marital Alliances

Beyond the arm conflicts, one of the most significant causes of early Meitei settlement in neighbouring regions was the practice of royal marriage alliances. In the pre-colonial period, matrimonial alliances functioned as an important diplomatic instrument, fostering peace, political cooperation, and stability between Manipur and neighbouring kingdoms such as Assam, Cachar, Burma, Kabaw, and Tripura. Through these alliances, *Meitei* princesses were married into foreign royal households, often accompanied by large entourages consisting of attendants, musicians, cooks, priests, and officials. Many members of these retinues were permitted to settle permanently in the host kingdoms, where they continued to preserve Meitei cultural practices, thereby contributing to the formation of early Meitei diasporic communities.

The earliest reference of marriage recorded in *Cheitharol Kumbaba* was between *Tekhao* (Assam) in 1536 and the name of the Meitei princess who left for *Tekhao* was Khongnanbi (1:52) and was corroborated by Ahom chronicle recording exchange of presents and envoys. Subsequent marriages followed, including the departure of Princess Monsambi to *Mayang* (Cachar) in 1557, Princess Tarungnanbi in 1566, and Princess Koirembi in 1585 (1:57-64). These matrimonial ties reflect sustained diplomatic engagement between Manipur and its western neighbours.

Marital alliances were also established with the Shan principalities, particularly Kabaw, which formed part of the Manipuri kingdom and served as a frontier zone against Burmese incursions. Princesses Langmeirembi and Hekpi were married to the ruler of Kabaw in 1570 and 1574(1:60-61) respectively, marking the beginning of enduring matrimonial connections with the Shan regions.

During the reign of Khagemba, one of the most illustrious rulers of medieval Manipur, marriage alliances expanded significantly as part of a broader strategy to consolidate territorial control and regional influence. Khagemba's reign is regarded as one of the most prosperous and dynamic periods in Manipuri history. The first marriage alliance recorded in the chronicle between Manipur and Burma occurred in 1637, when Princess Tourangbi was married to the king of *Awa* (1:82). Further alliances included marriages to Kabaw in 1601 and 1610, and to *Mayang* in 1603 and 1630(1:68-78). In addition, Akoijam maiden Yangbi was married to the king of Tripura in 1609, followed by the marriage of royal girl Takhembi in 1638(1:72-82). These unions contributed significantly to the diffusion of Meitei presence in Tripura and surrounding areas. Another marriage alliance with *Awa* is recorded in 1654, when maiden Mingthoingambi departed to become queen of the Burmese king (1:87).

As Manipur emerged as a rising regional power, diplomatic exchanges intensified. In 1704, emissaries from *Awa* arrived in Manipur seeking a marriage alliance, and Princess Chakpa Makhao Ngambi was married to the king of Burma, although her name is not explicitly mentioned in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. In 1744, another Meitei princess was married to a prince of *Mayang* and departed along with a royal entourage and officials for settlement in that kingdom (1:159). Following a period of disruption caused by internal conflicts and repeated foreign invasions, references to marriage alliances reappear in the chronicle. In 1802, a princess was married to the king of *Mayang*, marking the continuation of matrimonial diplomacy even during times of political instability (2:63). The final recorded marriage alliance in the chronicle between Manipur and Burma appears in 1806, shortly after Crown Prince Marjit's attempt to seize the throne with the support of *Awa* nobles (2:72). The princess departed with Burmese emissaries, accompanied by her retinue. Such matrimonial ties played a crucial role in the spread of Meitei culture and the establishment of diasporic settlements across neighbouring kingdoms.

Political Asylum and Succession Conflicts

Succession disputes are a common feature of monarchical systems, and the kingdom of Manipur was no exception. Conflicts over the throne frequently led to the displacement of royal claimants and their supporters. Defeated princes, along with their families, nobles, attendants, priests, and artisans, often sought refuge in neighbouring kingdoms. While some of these exiles were temporary, others resulted in permanent settlement, thereby contributing to the formation of early Meitei diasporic communities.

The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* records several instances of princes and kings seeking political asylum following failed attempts to seize or retain power. In 1806, Prince Marjit fled to *Awa* after an unsuccessful bid for the throne (2:72). Similarly, King Chaurajit escaped to *Mayang* in 1813 after being defeated by his brother Marjit (2:77). Later, in 1850, King Devendra Singh fled to *Mayang* following his defeat by King Chandrakirti Singh.^{xiv} These cases demonstrate how political instability within Manipur frequently resulted in outward migration and exile.

The chronicle also records the expulsion of King Chit Sai, his brother, and his son Deb Sai, along with their followers, to the land of the *Mayangs* in 1752 for their involvement in the killing of King Garibaniwaz and in the same year, Prince Ganga Vishnu was sent to *Pong* (2:170). In 1753, King Bharat Sai was driven into exile in *Awa* by King Gourshyam. Further instances include the exile of Princes Patchahanba and Kukila to *Mayang* in 1788, likely due to their involvement in succession disputes (2:31). In 1833, Prince Netrajit was expelled to *Awa*, while Prince Tarangkhomba was sent to *Mayang* following attempts to seize the throne (2:108-109). The chronicle also records the failed uprising of 1886, after which five princes were exiled to the land of the *Mayangs* (3:240).

Exile was not limited to members of the royal family. The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* documents instances involving common individuals such as in 1852, a *Bamon* (Brahmin) was deported to *Awa* for the crime of killing a pregnant woman and several families being exiled to *Awa* for crime in 1853(3:57-63). These entries illustrate that political punishment and judicial exile also contributed to population movement beyond Manipur.

Repeated conflicts with Burma further intensified the pattern of exile and refuge with the Meitei kings and royal families compelled to flee temporarily or permanently to neighbouring regions following military defeats. The chronicle records that King Bhagya Chandra fled to *Mayang* and later reached *Tekhao* in 1764 and again in 1772 after successive defeats by Burmese forces (2:3-6). King Marjit similarly fled to *Mayang* in 1819 after being defeated by *Awa* (2:82). Such repeated episodes of displacement resulted in the establishment of Meitei settlements in neighbouring territories. The descendants of exiled princes, royal retainers, and followers who did not return to Manipur eventually became part of the Meitei diaspora in those regions. These communities-maintained connections with their homeland while adapting to the political and social conditions of their host kingdoms. The recurring patterns of political exile recorded in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* thus reveal how internal instability within the Manipuri court played a significant role in shaping early Meitei migration and diasporic formation.

Migrations: Livelihood and Spiritual mobility

While a large proportion of Meitei migrations recorded in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* were linked to warfare, royal alliances, and political exile, the chronicle also contains references to voluntary movements undertaken for livelihood, trade, personal reasons, and religious purposes. Although such instances are comparatively fewer, they played an important role in the gradual establishment of Meitei settlements beyond Manipur, particularly during periods of internal political instability and repeated foreign invasions.

In 1662, the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* records that Loukrakpam Moiramba and Chongtham Thingla, along with three others, departed for *Takhen* (1:90). In 1678 and 1701, entries note the departure of individuals to *Awa* (1:96-114). Pramananda, the choirmaster of King Bhagya Chandra, left for *Mayang* in 1787 with emissaries (2:29). The chronicle also records that in 1777, Prince Khaba and Wangkheichand departed for *Mayang* (2:10). Although the specific motives for these movements are not always mentioned, it was a common practice for Meitei princes, particularly after the adoption of Hinduism, to reside temporarily in *Mayang* and the region also served as a strategic base for launching attempts to reclaim the throne, as evidenced by Prince Tarangkhomba's march from *Mayang* against King Chandrakirti Singh in 1836 (2:113).

The chronicle further documents instances of individuals fleeing Manipur to escape punishment or to seek better living conditions. In 1736, *Bamons* (Brahmins) who followed the Ramandi sect fled to *Mayang* (1:146). In 1787, the servant of a *Bamon* who had fled to *Awa* was captured and executed (2:29). In 1861, twenty-seven men fled to *Mayang*, while in 1888 several individuals, including prominent persons, were captured after fleeing to the Kabaw region (3:92-254). Many such events were recorded in the chronicle, and these entries suggest that migration also functioned as a means of avoiding judicial punishment or political persecution.

The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* also records cases of return migration, where individuals who had earlier moved or forced to neighbouring regions came back to Manipur. In 1742, some attendants of a royal lady married to the king of *Awa* fled back to Manipur (1:155). Prince Krishnachandra, who had been residing in Kabaw, was

recalled in 1791 to assume the post of *Wurungpuren* (Chief Forestry Officer) (2:38). In 1788 and 1790, several Meitei individuals, including women, fled from *Awa*, likely after being held as captives (2:31-35). In 1792, Yipi Yumlembi, a royal consort, escaped from *Awa* along with nineteen others (2:41). These instances reflect the fluid nature of migration and return during the pre-colonial period. The chronicle further notes the mass migration of Meitei people in 1799 from the land of the *Mayangs* due to conflicts over land (2:56). In 1802, the visit of a Meitei prince settled in Sylhet to Manipur is recorded (2:62), indicating that Meitei lineages had already taken root in regions beyond Manipur while maintaining ties with their homeland.

Religious transformation also significantly influenced Meitei mobility, particularly after the adoption of Hinduism. The *Cheitharol Kumbaba* records the first pilgrimage to the Ganga in 1735, undertaken by two Brahmins, Kesok and Horinaran (1:145). Religious mobility increased considerably during the reign of King Bhagya Chandra, leading to the establishment of Meitei settlements in places such as Sylhet, Nabadwip, and Vrindavan.^{xv} In 1793, one of King Bhagya Chandra's queens, *Yangambi*, departed for Vrindavan (2:43). In 1798, after abdicating the throne, King Bhagya Chandra himself left on pilgrimage and is believed to have settled in Nabadwip with his entourage.^{xvi} King Chourajit also played a significant role in establishing Meitei settlements in Bengal.

Brahmins, who held important religious and administrative positions in Manipur, also migrated to *Awa* for better livelihood or religious works. In Burmese records, Meitei Brahmins were referred to as *Kathe Ponna*, distinct from the Meitei *Kathe* population. These Brahmins served in the Burmese royal court and engaged in religious and administrative activities, often occupying high positions.^{xvii} This is corroborated by entries in the *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, such as the incident in 1729 when King Garibaniwaz prevented court Brahmins from departing to *Awa* following a disagreement (1:137). Shanti Das, the religious teacher of King Garibaniwaz, left for *Awa* in 1733 but was reportedly denied entry for political reasons (1:142-143). Siton Das departed for *Awa* in 1806 (2:72). These movements contributed both to the formation of Meitei diasporic communities and to cultural exchanges between Manipur and neighbouring regions.

In the modern context, various sources indicate that there are approximately 129 Meitei-inhabited villages in the Cachar district of Assam, although recent estimates suggest around 163 villages in the Barak Valley and additional Meitei settlements exist in the Brahmaputra Valley, with about 96 villages located in areas such as Hojai, Satgaon, Dongka, Hatighar, Diphu, and Gargaon.^{xviii} Magulau Ghat in Jorhat is considered the earliest Meitei settlement in Assam. In Tripura, Meitei populations are concentrated in areas such as Agartala, Jirania, Panisagar, and Kailashahar.^{xix} In Bangladesh, Meitei settlements are primarily found in the Sylhet district, including Longla, Sreemangal, Habiganj, and Dhamai.^{xx} In Myanmar, sizeable Meitei populations reside in regions such as Sagaing, Mandalay, and Rangoon.^{xxi} Beyond these areas, *Meitei* diasporic communities are now found in various parts of the world.

Conclusion

The *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal chronicle of Manipur, is not without its limitations. Several important events and movements are either briefly mentioned or entirely omitted. For instance, the migration of *Laiyingthou Chingjel Naral Panganba* to the land of the *Mayangs* in the fifth century A.D.,^{xxii} recorded in other sources, does not find mention in the chronicle. Similarly, the marriage of the Meitei princess *Kuranganayani*, who became a prominent queen of Assam, is not recorded. Moreover, the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* often provides little detail regarding the circumstances and experiences of migration, focusing primarily on courtly and political affairs.

Despite these limitations, it must be acknowledged that the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* was never intended to serve as a comprehensive social history. As a dynastic chronicle, its primary concern lay with royal events and political developments. Consequently, the lives and struggles of common people, as well as the broader social dimensions of migration and diasporic life, remain largely unrecorded. Nevertheless, the chronicle stands as a valuable historical source that reflects the political foresight, resilience, and enduring legacy of the Meitei civilization and serves as an important source for understanding the pre-colonial migrations and diasporic formations of the *Meitei* people.

Through its entries, the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* enables us to trace recurring patterns of Meitei migration caused by warfare, political alliances, captivity, exile, livelihood pursuits, and religious mobility. These movements contributed to the formation of Meitei diasporic communities across neighbouring regions, where they continued to preserve their cultural practices, language, and traditions while maintaining enduring connections with their homeland. Migration has always been an integral part of human history, and the early Meitei people were no exception, moving in response to their historical and political circumstances. Before the British rule in Manipur, such movements were recorded in the royal chronicle, making it an important source for

understanding pre-colonial Meitei migration. This paper has attempted to explore the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* not merely as a royal record but as a historical text that offers valuable insights into the early migration of the Meitei people beyond the realm of the erstwhile kingdom of Manipur.

Endnotes

- ⁱ Gangmumei Kamei, *History of Manipur: Pre-Colonial Period* (New Delhi: Akansha Publishing House, 2015), pp. 14.
- ⁱⁱ *Ibid.*, 14-15.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Cheitharol Kumbaba* is a key historical chronicle of Manipur, notable for its unique *Cheithaba* dating system in which each year was named after a person appointed by the king, somewhat like the Assyrian Limmu list. Widely regarded by historians as a reliable source for reconstructing Manipur's past, the chronicle has been transliterated and translated from *Meitei Mayek* script into several editions, including the English version by Saroj Nalini Parratt and the Bengali-Manipuri version by Khelchandra and Ibungohal, which are used in this study.
- ^{iv} Moirangthem Suresh Singh, "Condition of Trade and Commerce in the History of Manipur during the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century," *Studies in Indian Place Names* 40, no. 60 (2020): 3432.
- ^v International Organization for Migration, *World Migration Report 2000* (Geneva: United Nations, 2000), 8; and Wikipedia contributors, "History of Human Migration," *Wikipedia*, last modified December 9, 2025, 21:50 (UTC).
- ^{vi} Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, Original text, translation and notes vol. 1, 33–1763 CE (London: Routledge, 2005): 41. All subsequent references to these translations are cited parenthetically in the text by volume and page number (e.g., 1:171, 2:43, 3:75).
- ^{vii} R. Boileau Pemberton, *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1835): 109.
- ^{viii} Yumkhaibam Shyam Singh, "Political Exploits of Manipur in the Chindwin Valley," *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research* 4, no. 4 (2019): 2983.
- ^{ix} G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma: From the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925): 238-248.
- ^x New Ni Hlaing, "The Meitei (Kathe) Crown Service Groups in Myanmar from the Earliest Times to the End of Monarchical Rule," *Journal of the Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science* XIII, no. 9 (2015): 68-86.
- ^{xi} Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, Original text, translation and notes vol. 2, 1764–1843 CE, rev. ed. (New Delhi: Jain Book Shop Publication, 2019), first published 2009 by Foundation Books: 82-84.
- ^{xii} James Jonstone, *My Experiences in Manipur and the Naga Hills* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1896): 86.
- ^{xiii} Lairenmayum Ibungohal and Ningthoujam Khelchandra Singh, *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, 3rd ed. (Imphal: Sahitya Parishad, 2005):125.
- ^{xiv} Saroj Nalini Arambam Parratt, *The Court Chronicle of the Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa*, Original text, translation and notes vol. 3, 1843-1891 CE, rev. ed. (New Delhi: Jain Book Shop Publication, 2021), first published 2009 by Foundation Books: 42.
- ^{xv} H. Basanta Kumar Singha, "Settlement History of the Manipuris in the Barak Valley," *Research Journal of Political Science and Sociology* 42, no. 1 (2017).
- ^{xvi} Syed Ahmed, "Seven Year Devastation (1819–1826) and the Settlement of Manipuris Outside Manipur," *Journal of Namibian Studies* 33, S1 (2023):4185.
- ^{xvii} New Ni Hlaing, op. cit., 68-69.
- ^{xviii} M. Ningamba Singha, "The Migration and Settlement of the Manipuris in Assam," *International Research Journal of Human Resource and Social Sciences* 7, no. 9 (2020): 40-43.
- ^{xix} Syed Ahmed, op. cit., 4195.
- ^{xx} *Ibid.*, 4195.
- ^{xxi} *Ibid.*, 4196.
- ^{xxii} H. Rajmani Singha, "Manipur Migration and Settlement in Barak Valley," *International Journal of Early Childhood Special Education* 13, no. 2 (2021): 3897.

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