Journal of Kolkata Society for Asian Studies : Vol. 11. No. 2, Dec. 2025

Manipur and the Shan Kingdom of Pong: Political and Cultural Relation

Sanjoy Ahanthem & Yaiphaba Ningthoujam

Manipur and the Shan Kingdom of Pong: Political and Cultural Relation

[1]Sanjoy Ahanthem & [2]Yaiphaba Ningthoujam

Abstract

The Shan Kingdom of Pong and Manipur had a cordial relation for most parts of their recorded history. The relation between the two, which dates back to the 7th century, lasted until the 18th century after which the Pong kingdom faded away from the power dynamics of the region that was completely dominated by the rising Burmese empire. Nonetheless the relation between the two kingdoms was deep and impactful while it lasted, mutually influencing the culture, economy, polity and even transcending the way of life for both. As recorded in the chronicles of both the kingdoms, the two collaborated in wars against common enemies and frequently helped each other in times of troubles. The kings and queens of the Pong frequently visited the royal court of Manipur thereby indicating deep bond between the two kingdoms. The two kingdoms also had close people-to-people connection, which in turn, influenced the culture and way of life of the masses. The paper attempts to encapsulate the whole gamut of relationship between Manipur and the obscure and mysterious kingdom of Pong from 7th century to 18th century.

Keywords: *Manipur, Pong, Burma, relations, culture, war.*

1. Introduction

The northern Shans inhabiting the present states of Myanmar and China were the immediate and the closest neighbour of the kingdom of Manipur[1] for centuries. In fact, the Shans were the first outsiders to have encountered the Meiteis inhabiting the isolated mountain gritkingdom of Manipur in ancient times. Hence, their pervasive impact on the overall socio- economy and polity of Manipur was immense. The Meiteis and the Shans are believed to have shared a common ethnicity that is marked by similar social norms and culture. There are uncanny similarities between the two in terms of food habits, housing designs, beliefs and practices, festivals and even superstitious beliefs and culture (Devi 2019: 99). Earlier, it was the Shans especially the Pongs, who being more powerful, called all the shots in the interactions between the two powers. However, they never ill-treated the Meiteis but rather helped in ushering civilization among them. In the later period, the role reversed with the Meitei kingdom reaching its zenith of power and posing constant troubles to both Shan states and even Ava since the 18th century. However, the good relation between the Meiteis and the Shans especially the Pongs continued with Manipur helping them against the constant threats of the Burmese.

The origin of the ancient kingdom of Shan in upper Burma is obscure. The Shans migrated to

Burma before the beginning of the Christian era (Maw 2018:21). Muang (2023:2) attributed the term "Shan" as a derivative of "Siam" meaning a group of mountainous people who migrated from Yunnan during the 6th century AD. Both the Shan themselves as well as the Burmans considered them as Tai people inhabiting Burma. In fact, the name Shan itself was given to them by the Burmese (Colquhoun 1885:206). During the zenith of their power in 13th and 14th centuries, they ruled all over Burma and thereafter extended their empire as far as Yunnan in China in the north, Tensaaerim of Burma in the south, Assam of India in the west and in the west parts of Laos and Thailand in the east (Wansai, 2004). During its heyday, the kingdom thus was of considerable importance in the region and exacted allegiance from Assam, Manipur, Cachar, and Tripura in the west. Moreover, numerous Shan chiefs in the Kabaw valley paid tributes to it (Brown 2001:58). The might of the Shansdeclined during the 16th century when many of the Shan *muangs* (principalities) were conquered during the reign of the Burmese king, Bayinnaug (1551-1581) after a series of military campaigns (Chan 2006:47).

The purpose of the paper is to unearth the deep buried yet intricate political and cross-cultural relationship between the kingdom of Manipur and the mysterious Shan kingdom of Pong during the period from 7th to 18th century. The age-old Manipur- Pong Shan interactions are often neglected in contemporary research mainly due to the lack of proper historical materials. The present paper is a humble attempt to fill the void in this area. The paper relies on the chronicles of both Manipur and Burma in unearthing obscure relations between the two kingdoms. The paper depends substantially on *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal court chronicle of Manipur and the Shan chronicle found in Manipur as highlighted by R.B. Pemberton that was translated in Manipuri in finding out the interaction between the two kingdoms. Further, the writings of both Manipuri and Burmese historians provided rich source of materials on the research area. In this regard, colonial writings of G.E. Harvey, N. Elais, J. George Scott, and Edward Harper Parker on the Shans in Burma served as rich sources of the obscured Shan history. The Burmese sources were carefully corroborated with the accounts of Manipur including the *Cheitharol Kumbaba* and the Shan Chronicle as mentioned by R.B. Pemberton.

Apart from highlighting the intricate and cordial relation between the two kingdoms, the present paper argues that it was the policy of Burmese expansionism since the onset of the 18th century that completely altered the political landscape between the two kingdoms as well as the region itself for centuries to come. In fact, the rise of Burmese might under King Bayinnuang (1551-1581) resulted in the subjugation of all the Shan muangs and since the second half of the 18th century, the same fate befalls the kingdom of Manipur as she faced a series of devastating Burmese invasion one after other. Thence, the history of the region was dominated by the rise of Burmese expansionism whereby they completely subjugated the Shans, the Manipur Kingdom and even most parts of the present North East India. The gradual Burmese expansion in India ultimately proved to be their undoing as they came into direct collision with another power, the British which ultimately defeated them in course of three wars (1824-1826; 1852-1853 & 1885).

The present paper suffers from major limitation of relying unduly on Chronicles and the works of colonial writers. Moreover, the lack of proper historical records on Manipur, along with the need to approach existing writings with skepticism, and the absence of an authentic, people-centric history of

the Shans, made it extremely challenging to gather reliable materials for the study. The study also faced certain limitations regarding the periodization of the crucial events unfolding between the two kingdoms. Often the dates mentioned in different chronicles and other sources do not match with each other's, thereby highlighting the need for more collaborating work that spans across regions and time period. To that extent, the study found certain difficulties even in locating the now non-existent kingdom of Pong historically and geographically among the numerous yet forgotten Shan states and principalities.

2. Manipur and the Shan Kingdom of Pong: Political Connections

The Pongs belonged to a branch of Tai that was known as Mao Shan (Singh 1986:291). Harvey (2000:322) also considered Pong as the same as Maw and the people as Mao Shans. Scott (1901:282) was of the view that the kingdom of Pong as understood by the Meiteis was the Mong Mao Rong (great Mong Mao) that was situated probably in the extreme southwestern part of the Shan kingdom. Elias (1876:2-3) in his book, 'History of the Shans', also wrote that the Kingdom of Pong known to the Manipuris and her neighbours i.e. Cachar, Tripura was the Mung- Mau or the country of Mau in Burma. Kausambi was the Budhhist name of the kingdom (Elias 1876:2-3). The Manipuris used Pong as synonymous with the Shans (Singh 1986:291; Sorokhaibam 2021). Hodson (1908:114) argued that the reason for it was that Pongs at that time were the mightiest among the Shans with whom the Manipuris had dealings throughout her history. The Pong Shans, in fact maintained close cultural relationship with both Tai people in Assam and Manipur until it was annexed to Ava (Chan 2006:47).

Pemberton (2008:108) relying on an ancient Shan chronicle found in Manipur, vividly explained the history, polity and geography of the Pong kingdom whose capital was at Moguang in present Burma. He mentioned the boundary of the kingdom as extending from the Assam valley in the north to mountains of Manipur and Kabo valley in the west to the Chinese province of Yunnan in the east. Harvey (2000:322) in his 'History of Burma' pointed out that during its glorious days, the Pong kingdom stretched between the Brahmaputra and Salween river. Their territory sometimes extended over Moguang and Mohny in, and sometimes over the upper Chindwin River and into Manipur. Parker (1893:45) while writing at the closing years of the 19th century, was of the view that the erstwhile Pong kingdom was probably Luh- ch'wan rather than Muh-pang. According to him, the area covered under it was represented by the *sawbwaships* of Moguang, Mo-hny in probably Momeit and North Theinni. Further, it might have included within its boundary other mediatised Shan States forming parts of Chinese dominions like Nan-tein, Kan-ngai, Lung-ch'wan, Mengmo, Man-mao, Hulasa etc. Thus, the Pong kingdom during its heydays occupied quite a vast area and was a force to be reckoned with in the region.

The first king recorded in the Shan Chronicle as mentioned by Pemberton was Khool- liee who ascended the throne in 80 A.D. and a list of 12 kings was specified till the reign of Murgnowin 667 A.D. (Pemberton 2008:109). The chronicle further mentioned the successful military expedition of Samlongpha, the brother of king Sookampha in Cachar and Tripura. From there, he finally came to Manipur around the latter half of the 8th century A.D. through the source of the Khuga River (Pemberton 2008:109). *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, the royal court chronicle of Manipur, also attests the arrival of

Samlongphain Manipur in 698 A.D. (Parratt 2005:29). It further mentioned him as staying in the capital Imphal for ten years at a place called Pong *Inkhol*[2] and returned by the river way of Iril in the north to his land. However, there is a huge discrepancy as to the period of the reign of Sookampha as the Hsenwi State Chronicle mentioned him ascending the throne in 1152 A.D. (Scott 1967:18). Elias (1876:27) on the other hand, gave the year of his accession as 1220 A.D. Both the Hsenwi Chronicle and Elias mentioned Samlongpha, the conqueror as the brother of Sookampha and mentioned in detail about his military conquest. The huge discrepancy between the Manipuri sources and the others regarding the reign of Sookampha needs further research.

Until 1474 A.D., there was little mention of political exchanges between the two kingdoms in both the Shan Chronicle as well as *Cheitharol Kumbaba*. However, during the mentioned year, Soohoongkhum also known as Khekkhompa, the king of Pong sent an emissary to king Kyamba (1467-1508) of Manipur, requesting one of his daughters as his queen to whom the Meitei king obliged. However, as known from the chronicle, the retinue was waylaid and the bride kidnapped by the king of Khampat near the western frontier of Samjok (Pemberton 2008:113). The enraged King of Pong in alliance with the Manipuri king invaded Khampat and destroyed it (Pemberton 2008:113). *Cheitharol Kumbaba* also mentioned the joint expedition against Khampat but the year is mentioned as 1470. The joint victory against Khampat is vividly accounted in the royal court chronicle of Manipur as-

Meetingu Kyampa and Choupha Khekkhompa[3], the king of Pong, made an alliance and fought (against the Kyangs). The Yinthi River[4] which is 100 lam across was bridged with gold and silver and the two crossed it together. They sat together on one golden throne on one golden mat. They ate together from one royal plate. They attacked together Kyang Khampat of Kapo. They defeated Kyang. (Parratt 2005:41)

After the victory, a friendship treaty was signed, accordingly the boundaries between the two kingdoms were demarcated, and the Kabaw valley was handed over to Manipur (Singh 2014:2978). The fixing of boundary was recorded in *Cheitahrol Kumbaba* as well as in *Pong Meitei Lamyen Lairik*[5]. Accordingly, Manipur got Mungkhong and Mungwai in the north east, Loijarik in the east and in the south, Miyatong hills, and the area upto the Heinou Khongnempa Pokpa. The whole of Heinou Khongnempa Pokpa went to the Pongs. Regarding Samjok, Manipur received the western portion while the eastern portion fell into the hands of the Pongs. The two kings also exchanged gifts. The Pong king presented the Manipuri king a golden *pandhan*, a silver mounted *dao,* and a *dulai* or litter. Those objects and a sacred spear were passed through generations of kings as royal insignia until the reign of king Marjit who ruled from 1813 to 1819 (Brown 2001:58).

The cordial relation between the Pong kingdom and Manipur continued till the reign of king Garibniwaz (1709-1748) and consultations regarding diplomatic and administrative reforms were carried on (Sorokhaibam 2021). The Shan chronicle also mentioned the fleeing of two princes Mongpo and Kyathon to the court of Garibniwaz from Burmese in around 1734 thereby seeking his protection. Further, in their support he attacked and destroyed the town of Meetoo and established the two brothers at Moongkhaon by giving his daughter Yenjeejoyaee to the elder brother (Pemberton 2008:115). The

same expedition is recorded to have happened in the year 1735 in *Cheitharol Kumbaba* (Parratt 2005:145).

Further, during his reign, *Cheitharol Kumbaba* is replete with the arrival and leaving of various ambassadors and emissaries of Pong. Garibniwaz also presented several gifts to the king of Pong when he ascended the throne in 1739[6]. It consisted of palanquin, set of royal dress, and everything that was needed for a king without withholding anything (Parratt 2005:150). In the next year, the king of Pong along with the queen came to Manipur and participated in a boat race with the king of Manipur. The king of Pong was also presented several valuable gifts that consist of palanquin, white Sekpin (canopy), royal sword and all other items required for a king (Parratt 2005:151). The king of Pong also presented the Manipuri king a gift that was believed to have supernatural powers (Parratt 2005:150).

In 1745, the king of Pong along with his wife arrived in Manipur asking for help against its enemies (Parratt 2005:162). Garibniwaz accordingly sent his younger brother Atolpa to help the Pongs in the next year to restore law and order in the kingdom. As put up by historian Singh (1965:162), the help was the last of its kind for the Manipuris to extend its friendship to the Pongs. After that, the dynamics of power in Burma changed rapidly thereby rendering the Pong kingdom merely a pawn and subsidiary to the rising Burmans. Thereafter, with the emergence of Burmese empire in the political scenario, the influence and even the existence of the Pongs ceased and Manipur had to deal with the hostile Burmese instead of the friendly Pongs that they had dealt with for centuries.

3. Manipur and Pong Kingdom: Cross Cultural Relations

Since ancient times, Manipur had diplomatic and cultural relations with the Shan kingdom of Pong. In fact, the first mention of any foreign country in *Cheitharol Kumbaba* is the Pong indicating perhaps the first external contacts of the Manipuri kingdom. Regarding the extent and age-old relation between the two kingdoms, Laishram (2009:2) observed that the Kingdom of Manipur emerged from the obscurity first as a neighbour and more importantly, an ally of the kingdom of Pong. She asserted that the Meiteis belong to the Tai race sharing close affinity with the Shans. Parratt (2005:3) went further in hypothesizing a common origin of the Meiteis and the Pongs with both migrating from southern China before the pre Christian era. However, Hodson (1908:10) on the contrary argued that though the influence of the Shans on the culture and polity of Manipuris overwhelming, it is difficult to group the Meiteis as Tais due to the Meitei language being more akin to the Tibeto- Burman tree.

Nonetheless, the Meiteis since the beginning of their civilization were deeply influenced by the Shans especially the Pongs. In fact, the process of detailed historical recording of the events in the kingdom in the form of *Cheitharol Kumbaba* was started in 1485 by king Kyamba after a meeting with the king of Pong (Parratt 2005:3) with the beginning of the *Cheithaba*[7] method of dating. Kyamba after taking the help of the Pongs ensured that the events that happened were recorded with years (Singh 1965:91). As a result, *Cheitharol Kumbaba* became more detailed, rich, and scientific as a court chronicle.

The Manipuri kingdom in the ancient times also learnt immensely from the Pongs in matters of

administrative reforms. In fact, diplomatic and administrative reforms in both kingdoms were made in consultation with each other as mentioned above. The Pong kings brought various changes in their dominion especially in the fields of drainage system, irrigation, agriculture, housing, weaving, and other industries. The seincluded measures like smooth and free flow of water bodies, proper utilization of fire, effective construction of houses by bamboo, introduction of transplantation of rice, and initiation of silk culture (Singh 2014:20). They also built a number of royal grain storage houses where paddy collected in the form of taxes from its subjects and various items collected in the form of tributes were stored (Singh 2014:20). The Meiteis also more or less followed these reforms. The successive kings invested a lot of time and energy in dredging rivers, adopting silk culture, new cultivation methods and use of bamboo in house construction. Further, tributes were collected from the *Lois*[8] and kept at *Keis* (granaries).

The recorded influence of the Pongs in the Manipuri culture and way of life dates back to the 7th century when Samlongpha stayed in Manipur for ten years in the capital as mentioned above. During his stay, he found the people to be backward and accordingly enacted several changes in dress and food habits, cleanliness, and manners to usher in the light of civilization (Pemberton 2005:110). He also brought certain changes in the style of building houses in Manipur. Accordingly, the king's old Naga style of house was abandoned and a new one known as '*Sung Kaie-poon Seaba'* meaning long-live house was built (Brown 2001:58). The extensive use of bamboo in building houses of the Meiteis also seemed to have been influenced by the Pongs as they also used it as the main material in building their houses. Samlongpha also brought certain changes in the way the Meiteis talk by getting rid of slangs (Singh 1986:296). He also introduced to the Meiteis the chewing of *pan* instead of the pieces of dried fish that made them dirty (Allen 2010:12). Samlongpha could be considered in a way as both a conqueror and benefactor of the people of Manipur and he was treated with both fear and honour. As a result, the Meiteis still have sayings like *Mee Pong Uni*, *Mee Pong Tani, Mee Pong Lakani* meaning man of Pong may see, man of Pong may hear and man of Pong may come depicting the act of concealing of any unbecoming act or behavior which one wishes to keep in secret (Singh 1986:299).

Samlongpha also asked the people of Moirang to offer to the deities the tributes meant for him (Brown 2001:58). The practice continues till date as people celebrates and offer on a yearly basis whatever they could to *Ebudou Thangjing*, the God of the people of Moirang that is located in the south of Manipur valley.

The Pongs and the Meiteis also had age-old people- to people contact resulting in migration and settlement of especially the Pongs in Manipur. The Pongs were in fact, the first outsiders to have migrated to Manipur during different centuries starting from the time of Samlongpha in the 7th century AD. (Ahanthem 2019:90). The migration of Pong Shans though not backed by archeological evidence is replete in tales and literary works of the Meiteis (Singh 2015:140). The Shans also migrated to Manipur in the 15th and 16th centuries when attacked by the Chinese and Burmese and settled gradually in Manipur (Singh 2010). The ancient text, *Nongpok Haram*[9] mentions the arrival of Singngun, Choukhunpung and Khunlak, all Pongs, during the reign of king Mungyamba (1562-1597AD), who became the progenitors of three *yumnaks* (surnames) of the Meiteis viz. Nandeibam, Khumbongmayum

and Chingabam after settling down with the Meitei ladies in Manipur. McCulloch (1980:XXIII) even mentioned the name of a Shan Village called Khurkhul in Manipur, about nine miles from Imphal, who spoke the Shan language. Contemporary Manipuri historian, Birachandra (2013:73) mentioned the present day Langol in Imphal West district as inhabited by the Pong Shans. Though the Meiteis might have migrated and settled in the Pong kingdom as they did in Burma voluntarily or otherwise, records of it are non-existent and there is further scope for investigation in this aspect.

The Pongs also had their share of influence in the religious life of the Meiteis. The statue of Lord Visnhu at Lamangdong in the present Bishnupur district was also given by king Chaupha Khekkhomba to king Kyamba after the conquest of Khampat as mentioned in "*Vishnu Fangbagi Puran*" (Indramani 2014:18-19). Kyamba requisitioned a Brahmin who could take care of the statue and thence started the regular worship of Lord Vishnu in Manipur (Singh 1965:94-95). After the above-mentioned joint venture of Khampat, he had also exchanged his servant, a drummer with a servant of the king of Pong who was a trumpeter (Parratt 2005:41). This was probably done so that different cultures were promoted in each other's kingdom. There were also references about the sharing of the expertise in the treatment of various ailments and diseases. When King Chokphalung, who succeeded his father Khekkhomba as the next Pong king, came to Manipur after he suffered from leprosy, proper arrangement was made for his stay at Pong *Ingkhol* by king Kyamba (Singh 2014:34). The king of Manipur requisitioned the services of his royal priests and priestesses for the treatment of the Pong king. After three months, he was completely cured of the disease and he went back to his kingdom (Singh 2014:34). Further, it was during the reign of king Khagemba (1597-1652) that guava was introduced by the Pongs in Manipur when their king presented a sapling of the tree to help the Manipuris in curing dysentery (Singh 1965:119).

The Pong Shans also introduced certain fruits, vegetables, and cloths in Manipur. *Heipong*, an edible wild fig and *Kampong*, an aquatic edible plant, may also be mentioned. Another vegetable that have medical property known locally as Pong Hawai (Cowpea) is assumed to have come to Manipur from the Pongs. Further, until date the Pong route or the Pong *Lambi* as known locally still exist in Manipur in the present Imphal East district. A bamboo artifact called *pongden*, a round bamboo container was also copied from the Pongs (Parratt 2017:31). Further, there is also a reference of *Phipong*, which literally means cloth of the Pong in *Cheitharol Kumbaba* (Parratt 2005:38). The design of the cloth was most likely imitated from the Pongs.

From both historical and literary accounts, both the Pongs and the Meiteis regarded each other as brethren. In this regard, it is interesting to note the view of Manipuri historian, Singh (1986:304) who hypothesized the blood relation of the Pongs with the Meiteis since the time of Samlongpha in the 7th century. Here, he argues that since Samlongpha stayed in the land of the Meities for so long, they must have left several descendants and near ones and must have considered the Meiteis as their kins and relatives. Goswami (2019:62), another Manipuri historian also subscribed to similar view that due to the long stay in Manipur, many descendants and followers of Samlongpha might have been absorbed within the Manipuri society thereby influencing the socio-cultural life of the people. The recorded influence of the Pongs in the culture and way of life of the Meiteis dates back as early the 7th century and it continued until they were fully subdued by the Burmese in the 18th century.

4. Conclusion

The relation between Manipur and the kingdom of Pong went a long way as the first interaction between the two could be traced to the 7th century AD. In fact, the first external contacts of the Manipuri kingdom were the Pongs. They had always been in cordial relations for most parts of their recorded history. Besides the matrimonial alliances between the two kingdoms, there were people- to people contact resulting in migration and settlement of especially the Pongs in Manipur. In the beginning, the Pongs were more powerful and advanced and as such, ushered in many positive changes in the Manipuri society. But in the later period, especially in the 18th century when Manipur reached the zenith of its power, the Meiteis played a protective role even assisting the Pongs in their internal as well as external matters. The Pongs not only introduced certain fruits, cloths and vegetables in Manipur but also influenced the socio-cultural life of the Meiteis. However, Manipur Pong relations endedcompletely in the 18th century when the Pong kingdom faded away after being completely dominated and eventually absorbed by the rising Burmese. The rise of the Burmese completely changed the political scenario in the region and Manipur had to deal with the hostile Burmese instead of the friendly Pongs that they had dealt with for centuries. The Burmese onslaught led to the complete dissolution of the Pongs as an independent kingdom during the 16th century, while Manipur was reduced to a mere pawn in the power politics of the region. The theater of power then shifted to the tussles between the two expansionists: the British and the Burmese. Ultimately, the relations between the Pongs and the Manipuris were relegated to the past and were forgotten completely. However, further exploration in this deeply buried field could unearth the obscure history and culture of both the Shans and the Manipuris.

Endnotes

1 Manipuris a state in the northeastern part of India bordering Myanmar. It has a total area of 22,327 Sq. Km. with a population of 2.3 million according to the 2011 census. Manipur was an independent kingdom before the British annexed her in 1891. After independence, she became a part of the Indian Union in 1949.

2 *Inkhol* means homestead. The place is on the eastern side of Kangla in Imphal East district.

3 During the period, N. Elais (1876) mentioned the Sabwa of Mong Mao as Chau- Hum-pha same as Choupha as mentioned in Cheitharol Kumbaba.

4 Chindwin River as known by the Meiteis.

5 An archaic manuscript that deals with the accord of the sharing of land between Pong and Meitei. It has been published by Manipur State Archives in 2003.

6 N. Elais (1876, p.46) mentioned the name of Haw- Seing commencing his reign in 1739. Therefore, he might be the king of Pong as mentioned in *Cheitharol Kumbaba.*

7 The word *Cheithaba* comes from *Chei* (stick) and *Thaba* (to put down). In ancient Manipur, counting was done by putting down sticks that represented the base number. Thus, *Cheithaba* means putting

down sticks to aid counting. Under the *Cheithaba* method of dating, each year was given a specific name corresponding to the name of the person who performed the *Cheithaba* ceremony. Another *Cheithaba*would succeed the person at the end of the year. Thus, from 1485, every year was named after the *Cheithaba*.

[8] A group of people who were subdued or outcasted in the earlier Meitei society.

[9] *Nongpok Haram* is an unpublished manuscript in the custody of Manipur State Archives, Imphal west.

References

- Ahanthem, S. 2019. 'Nongpok Haram: The Easterners in Pre- Colonial Manipur', *History Research Journal,* 5 (5): 89-97. DOI: 10.26643/hrj.v5i5.7964.
- Allen, B.C. 2010. *Gazetteer of Naga Hills and Manipur* (Part 2). New Delhi: Mittal Publications. (First Published 1905).
- Birachandra, N. 2013. *Ethnic and Ethnicity in Pre Colonial Manipur Society*. Imphal: G.M. Publications.
- Brown, R. 2001. *Statistical Account of Manipur*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications. (First Published 1873).
- Chan, A. 2006. '*Burma: Shan domination in the Ava period*' (c. AD 1310–1555). *Journal of the Siam Society.* 94,2749.https://thesiamsociety.org/wpcontent/uploads/2006/03/JSS 094 0d Aye Chan Burma Shan Domination In Ava Period. pdf. Accessed on 13th September 2023.
- Colquhoun, A.R. 1885. *Amongst the Shans*. New York: Sribner and Welford.https://ia800909. us.archive.org/4/items/amongstshans00colqrich/amongstshans00colqrich.pdf Accessed on 2nd December 2023.
- Devi. T. C. 2019. 'Society and Culture of the Meitei of Manipur and Tai Shan of Burma a comparative study.' Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Imphal: Manipur University.
- Elias, N. 1876. *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans in Upper Burma and Western Yunan.* Calcutta: Printed at the Foreign Department Press.https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/introductory sketch of the history of the shans in upper burma and western yunnan.pdf. Accessed on 10th December 2023.
- Goswami, H. 2019. *History of the People of Manipur*. Imphal: Yaol Publishing Limited.
- Guha, R. 2023. On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India In Cain, P.H. & Harrission, M. *Imperialism* (pp. 53-59). London: Routledge.
- Harvey, G.E. 2000. History of Burma: From the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824, The Beginning of the English Conquest. New Delhi: Asian Education Services. (First Published 1925).
- Hodson, T.C. 1975. *The Meitheis*. Delhi:B.R. Publishing Corporation. (First Published 1908).
- Indramani, N. 2014. Manipurda Vishnu Purakpaamasung Lamangdongi Vishnu Phura, *Reform*, 2 (1), 17-25.
- Laishram, R. 2009. *Early Meitei History*. Delhi: Akansha Publishing House.
- Manipur State Archives. 2003. *Compilation of Archaic Manuscripts*, Vol.1. Imphal.
- Maw, S. Z. 2018. Filling the Power Vacuum: The Rise and Fall of the Shan in Central Myanmar (C.1300-1550). *Journal of Myanmar Academy of Arts and Science*, 16 (7), 21 30.http://www.maas.edu.mm/Research/Admin/pdf/2.%20Dr%20Shwe%20Zin%20Maw(21-30).pdf. Accessed on 20th September 2023.
- McCulloch, W. 1980. *Valley of Manipur*. Delhi: Gian Publications. (First Published 1859).
- Muang, S. H . *Shan People and their Culture,* https://www.academia.edu/37318871/Shan people and their culture CHAPTER ONE SHAN PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE, Accessed on 14th November 2023.

- Parker, E.H. 1893. *Burma with special Reference to her Relations with China*. Rangoon: Rangoon Gazette Press. https://archive.org/details/burmawithspecial00parkrich. Accessed on 18th December 2023.
- Parratt, J. 2017. *The Coils of Pakhangba: A Culture History of Meeteis*. Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Parratt, S. N.A. 2005. The Court Chronicle of The Kings of Manipur: The Cheitharon Kumpapa, Vo.1, 33-1763 CE.London:Routledge.
- Pemberton, R.B. 2008. *The Eastern Frontier of India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications. (First Published 1835)
- Scott J.G. 1901. Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. Part II. Vol-1. Rangoon: Superintendent Government Printing, Burma. https://www.myanmar-law-library.org/IMG/pdf/shan state part ii volume i.pdf Accessed on 23rd November 2023.
- Scott, J.G.1967. Hsenwi State Chronicle. In The GUARDIAN (Originally written in 1897).17-20 (February). https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/hsenwi state chronicle.pdf. Accessed on 23rd November, 2023.
- Singh, H.N. 2015. 'Early People in Manipur,' *Journal of Emerging Technology and Emerging Research,* 2 (8), 135-142.https://www.jetir.org/papers/JETIR1701A14.pdf. Accessed on 15th October 2023.
- Singh, K.M. (ed). 2014. Descent of the Scion of Sorarel on the Earth (A Shan Chronicle in *Meitei).* Imphal: Konsam Imo Singh.
- Singh, R. K. J. 1965. *A Short History of Manipur*. Imphal: O.K. Store.
- Singh, R. K. J. 2010. History of Medieval Manipur, Part 2,https://e-pao.netepSubPageExtractor.asp?src=manipur. History_of_Manipur. History_Of_Medieval_Manipur_2. Accessed on 1st October 2023.
- Singh, W. I. 1986. *The History of Manipur: An Early Period*. Imphal: W. Kishori Devi.
- Singh, Y. S. 2019. 'Political Exploits of Manipur in the Chindw in Valley (1467-1748),' *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research*. 4 (4), 2973-2985.https://ijsser.org/files_2019/ijsser 04 221.pdf. Accessed on 5th October 2023.
- Sorokhaibam, M. S. July 31, 2021. 'Shan (Pong)' Relationship with Meitei: Mongmaorung, The Splendid Capital of The Kingdom of Pong, *Imphal Review of arts and politics*, https://imphalreviews.in/shan-pong-relationship-with-meitei-mongmaorung-the-splendid-capital-of-the-kingdom-of-pong/#google_vignette. Accessed on 12th November 2023.
- Wansai, S. February 25, 2004. *Shan-Burmese Relation: Historical Account and Contemporary Politics,* https://unpo.org/article/434. Accessed on 5th September 2023.

Bio profile of the authors

[1]Assistant Professor

Department of History, Dhanamanjuri University, Manipur.

Email: zuluthem@gmail.com

&

[2]Assistant Professor,

Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy Manipur University, Manipur.

Email: yaipha_ning@yahoo.in