



---

## **A Brief Study of the Religious History of the Meitei People**

**Dr. RK Singel Sana**

*Assistant Professor of History, Pandit Deendayal Upadhyaya Govt. Model College,  
Katlicherra, Hailakandi, Assam, India*

---

Received: 21.04.2026; Accepted: 07.05.2026; Available online: 31.05.2026

©2026 The Author(s). Published by Scholar Publication. This is an open access article under the CC BY license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)

---

### **Abstract**

*From the very early time the Meiteis have their own religious beliefs, tradition and customs. Actually, the religion of the Meitei has lost its originality by the influence of Hinduism, Buddhism, Saktism, Saivism etc. Despite many influences Meitei believed in the ancestor worship. But during the reign of Garibniwaz, Hinduism became the state religion of Manipur and it exercised a remarkable effect on the social and religious life of the Meiteis. Thus, the present paper is an attempt to analyse the traditional religious beliefs of the Meiteis and how it assimilated with the new faith after the conversion of Hinduism.*

**Keywords:** Meitei, Ancestor, Hinduism, Religion, Tradition, Conversion

---

### **Introduction:**

As regards religious history, the new religious beliefs grew on the soil of Manipur richly up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century CE. During its long course of life, there have been addition and exclusions of different religious cults coming from the east and the west, for few examples there was the arrival of different missionaries during the reign of Naophangba (5<sup>th</sup> Century CE), Naothingkhong (8<sup>th</sup> Century CE), Irengba (11<sup>th</sup> Century CE) and Khagemba (17<sup>th</sup> Century CE).<sup>1</sup> The earliest documented contact of the Meiteis with people of other Asian religions was in 1606 CE when Khagemba is reported to have taken captive around a thousand men of an invading Muslim army. They were resettled in the Manipur valley and allowed to marry Meitei women. While these women were permitted to convert, no attempt was made to spread the Islamic faith move widely. The Muslim community remained until modern times largely self-contained and localised.

Though there have been the influences of different religious cults in different periods, the Meiteis hardly drop their old beliefs and accepted the new cult in to. On the other hand, they welcomed the new cult and absorbed some of its elements in their old faiths. It is a fact that, there are evidences for the inclusion of different religious cults viz. Hinduism, Buddhism, Nathism, Shaktism etc. and some of their religious philosophy was adopted as their own. It will be interesting to note that, some of the foreign deities were welcomed and changed to local God even by changing its name. To cite a few instances, Sheetala Devi was converted to Huidompokpi, Ganapati as Shamulai and they were worshipped as local deity like the Umanglai. Again, some of the outside Gods and Goddesses even though their names remained unchanged; their worship was made in local style.

Besides the lofty ideology stated above there were also elements of tribal beliefs such as spiritualism, ancestor worship, nature worship, fetishism etc. Though the religious philosophy has a high ideology similar to Buddhism or Hinduism, so far as the Gods and Goddess and mode of worship are concerned it was purely of tribal origin.<sup>2</sup>

The ancestral spirits, both divine and human, are designed as Umanglais. Umanglai literally means presiding deity of the grove (*umang*: grove, *lai*: god). The Umanglais were originally nine in number and that they are invariably described as the manifestations of the Ultimate father. Now, the list has expanded to include as many as three hundred and seventy-eight.<sup>3</sup> The names of the nine Umanglais were Muwakon, Chakhakon, Naokhangkon, Tinsikon, Yumoikon, Taothingkon, Yoiheikon, Leitolkon and Mongbakon. *Umanglais* (forest deities) are entrusted to certain families or *Yumnaks* by a royal order during the Kingship days. Most of the Umanglais have a temple and an image. Generally, there are two images in every temple that of the presiding deity and his or her consort. They used to represent the deities by masks made of brass or bronze, but before the introduction of the bronze mask, a wooden mask having two horns was used. The use of brass or bronze mask was introduced in a late period of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE. The masks were dressed as a human form in a sitting position. A canopy is placed over the altar. In general, the mask is in oval shape or slightly conical having a length of about 8 to 10 inches with a breadth of 6 inches. Such images are brought out only when the *Laiharaoba* is performed. After the close of the *Haraoba*, the masks is kept in safe custody inside the temple or buried under the ground within the campus of the abode until and unless the next *Haraoba* comes. The Umanglai that is worshipped by the individual hardly uses the mask; the image is made of cloths as in the case of unauthorized *Sanamah*i worship by an unauthorized person.<sup>4</sup>

Imoinu Ahongbi the Goddess of the wealth and prosperity and Phou-oibi-lairembi the Goddess of paddy are placed in the category of household deities. But they are also worshipped as Umanglai in some temples. When they are worshipped as household deities, in the case of Imoinu Ahongbi an earthen pot was buried on the backside of the hearth (*phunggā*). It was covered by an earthen lid having a hole and in the hole offerings were made. But nowadays neither the hearth nor the pot is seen to represent the deity. But till now the Meitei used to offer some share of foods to the deity every day during the time of lunch and dinner at a convenient place. Some orthodox families still preserve the *phunggā* and offerings are made near the hearth but the keeping of the pot is dropped. Society is fast changing; nowadays the worship of the Goddess on a large scale has started in the main Imphal town. On this occasion of worship, they used to represent the deity by different images, some represented the deity by a big earthen pot full of rice and some others used a picture of a woman in their own fashion.

The main theme of the traditional religion of the Meiteis was ancestor worship. Meitei worshipped both male and female ancestors. Different forms of ancestor worshiped is found in the Meitei society such as *Phunggā Apokpā* (family ancestor), *Sāgei Apokpā* (sub-clan ancestor), *Salai Apokpā* (progenitors of the clan) etc. The nature of worship varies from one form to another.<sup>5</sup>

They also worshipped a number of mythical and legendary figures like *Taibangpanba Mapu*, *Sanamah*i, *Pakhangba*, *Thangjing*, *Marjing*, *Kouburu*, *Wangbren*, *Leimarel*, *Nongpok Ningthou*, *Panthoibi*, *Petanga* etc. In the Meitei pantheon *Taibangpanba Mapu* occupies

the highest place of all ancestors. This Immortal Lord of the Universe is also known as Taibang Mapu Sidaba, Atinga Sidaba, Ipung Loinaba Apakpa, Lainingthou Asuppa, Hei Ha Mapu Sidaba, etc.<sup>6</sup>

### **Divine family of Taibangpanba Mapu (Ultimate or divine Father):**

Taibangpanba had three sons from his consort Leimarel Sidabi viz; Atiya, Ashiba (Sanamahi) and Konchin Tingthokpa (Pakhangba). Leimarel Sidabi (mother goddess) as the first manifestation of the Supreme Lord acquires great significance in that she represents the highest female form.<sup>7</sup> Nongthangleima is mentioned in the *Leithak Leikharon Puya* as the daughter of Guru Sidaba and Leimaren Sidabi. She is one of the seven *Lainuras* (divine girls) who assisted the divine father in the creation of the universe. From the account of *Panthoibi Khonggul* (In Quest of Panthoibi) it seems that Nongpok Ningthou and his divine consort Panthoibi were superior to many other *lais* in the Meitei pantheon. Panthoibi is also one of the seven *Lainuras* (divine girls) brought forth by Taibangpanba Mapu.<sup>8</sup>

The Meitei used to keep abode of the Leimaren Sidabi (Leipuren-Leishibi). The abode will be kept in the *Laplen-Ka* i.e. the northern side of the central room of the typical Meitei house. The deity is represented by an earthen pot full of water being covered by an earthen lid. A coin is used to be put inside the pot at the time of its installation. The pot being dressed in the form of a woman is kept over an altar then a canopy is erected over it. The image is also known as "Ishaiphu". Again, in all abodes of the Umanglais, they used to keep and venerate the Ishaiphu.

The *Puyas* assign significance to the nine Laibungthous (divine youths) and the seven *Lainuras* (divine girls) whom Taibangpanba Mapu had brought forth from within himself in order to help him in the creation of the universe. The nine Laibungthous are Laininghanba, Khamlangba, Mongba Hanba, Chakhaba, Naokan, Muwa Ningthou, Luwang Punshiba, Marjing and Koubru. The seven *Lainuras* are Leishangthem Lairemma, Sarangthem Lairemma, Phouoibi, Thoomleima, Panthoibi, Nongthangleima and Ngaleima. The nine divine youths emanated from the nine orifices of *Kuru* (or Guru) Sidaba's body. The seven *Lainuras* are the manifestation of Leimaren Sidabi or the Ultimate Mother.

There are other eight gods who were known as *Maigei Ngakpas* i.e., guardians of directions. They are Soraren (North), Khana Chaoba (South), Nongpok Ningthou (East), Nongchup Ariba (West), Koubru (North-West), Wangbren (South-East), Thangjing (South-West) and Chingkhei Ningthou or Marjing (North-East). The Salai Apokpas (clan ancestors) are the ancestors who are worshipped by the concerned clans. But Taibangpanba Mapu, the nine Laibungthous, the seven *Lainuras* and the *Maigei Ngakpa* *lais* are ancestors for all the Meiteis and are evoked at various public rituals, although they may also be worshipped along with the Salai Apokpas at home.

The cult of Nongshaba was introduced during the reign of Khagemba. A temple of Nongshaba was built at the royal palace and on every Wednesday food is offered to the deity. There are many human personalities whom the Meiteis worship because of some extraordinary qualities which they are supposed to possess. Pitanga and Konthoujam Lairembi are representatives of this category of ancestral *lais* due to the popularity associated with the story of deification of those two human personalities. Among the many kings in Meitei history, only a few have risen to the status of ancestral *lais*. Two of such defied kings are Naothingkhong (663-763 CE) and Khagemba (1597-1652 CE).

The two most important divine personalities in the Meitei pantheon are Sanamahi and Pakhangba. The religious system of the Meiteis may be said to have revolved around these two *lais*. Sanamahi is a more approachable *lai* who is venerated in every Meitei home. The worship of Sanamahi is permitted only to the *Pibā* (head) of the *Sagei* (Sub clan). Sanamahi is the most popular and widely worshipped *lai* (deity) among the Meitei people. Being the presiding *lai* of every home, he is regarded with feelings of respect and reverence by the entire community.<sup>9</sup> The South-West corner of a typical Meitei home is reserved for Sanamahi. This corner, known by the name of Sanamahi Kachin (corner of Sanamahi) is the abode of the *lai*. There is no image of Sanamahi. Originally there used to be a mat and a bamboo stick in the Sanamahi Kachin.<sup>10</sup> Nowadays, a *sel* (coin) represents the deity. The *sel* is placed in an earthen pot filled with water. According to the *Sakok Lamlen Ahanba Puya*, Sanamahi is the creation of the mankind and world. He is the protector and guardian of every Meitei household. He becomes acceptable for the entire community and so pervasive is his influence that the pre-Hindu Meitei religion has come to be known by the term Sanamahism.<sup>11</sup>

The worshipping of the Lainingthou Sanamahi was initiated by King Khagemba in 1617 CE without any image or idol in his palace compound. In February of the next year the bronze image of Sanamahi in the form of Konmai was cast and installed in the temple of Wangoi. No doubt there are references of the worshipping of Sanamahi by king Kangba. After a century, King Charairongba also made the image of Lainingthou Sanamahi by bronze in 1700 CE.

But the image or idol was destroyed by his son and successor Garibniwaz as he initiated to Vaishnavism in 1726 CE. Once again the deity was recast in 1729 CE on the advice of his guru Santidas Gosai. Unluckily it was destroyed again in 1732 CE by two disciples of Santidas, but was made again in 1733 CE. Regarding the reinstallation of the idol a local chronicle, *Khagemba Langjei* alias *Sanamahi Laihui* give a vivid picture of its casting on the instruction of the deity to the king Garibniwaz. Hence, the king made the idols of Lainingthou Sanamahi and Leimarel Sidabi in full human form at Tolong Yumpham, the present area of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Manipur Rifles. The idols were lost during the Burmese invasion. But Maharaj Bhagyachandra reinstalled the present idols in 1778 CE.

Pakhangba is the ancestral deity of the royal family of the Meiteis. The most popular and well known Pakhangba, with whom the *Puyas* deal exclusively, is Nongda Lairen Pakhangba, the first historical king of Manipur.<sup>12</sup> *Cheitharol Kumbaba* records that Nongda Lairen revealed to his wife Laisna that he descended from the heavens and therefore possessed the ability to assume the form of man during the night as well as that of god during the day. Nongda Lairen, a semi-divine personality, ascended the Meitei throne assuming the title of Pakhangba and ruled the kingdom for one hundred and twenty years (33-154 CE).<sup>13</sup> It has been mentioned earlier that Pakhangba is credited with the unification of the Meitei people. It was under his rule that seven clans which formed the Meitei confederacy came under the control of the Ningthouja salai. He is, therefore, the first ancestor of the Meitei kings. The ruling deity of the Ningthoujas is represented in the form of a serpent. *Paphal* is a particular pattern of a coiled serpent, and the *paphal* illustrations are regarded as symbolic representations of Pakhangba. This serpent is believed to lay hidden in the Meitei palace of Kangla. Those *paphals* of Pakhangba, which portray the head of the serpent biting its own tail, signify tranquillity and continuity of life.

Worshipping the objects of nature and supernatural forces has become an indispensable part of Meitei religion. Ritual and chants to appease the natural objects like the hills, rivers and lakes, worshipping trees all have become religious practices of the Meitei people. Since early days Meitei worship the different forces of nature. Worshipping of the Sun God has been one of the significant religious belief systems. Sun God is known to the Meitei people with different names like Yoimayai, Taodanba, Taoroinai, Aapanba, Tarengsen, Khoingungsen, Thabileng, Sengoireng, and Malemkhei etc., while praising and performing the rituals.<sup>14</sup>

Meiteis also worship the fire as god and reserved a fireplace in every household known in as *Phungga* believed to have been an abode of goddess Imoinu, the goddess of wealth. Whenever the Meiteis built a house, the first fire will start at a particular place mostly in the middle of a house and rituals and offerings have to be made for the well-being and prosperity of the family.<sup>15</sup>

Worshipping the Moon god is very important ritual practice which becomes an inseparable part of ancestor worship since immemorial times by the Meiteis. According to some important old texts like *Leithak Leikharol* and *Khunung Lichat Sajat*, it was written that the Supreme Lord's right-side eye is Sun god and left eye is believed to be the Moon god and his belly becomes the limitless vast sky, his back becomes the earth. Besides this, Meiteis also worship the stars according to their clan.

Another aspect of worshipping the entities of nature is *Wa-Hongba* (rituals of worshipping Bamboo). This worshipping of bamboo was held in Moirang where a bamboo grove is worshipped by the then king, Sana Wakhuwa of Moirang. This bamboo grove is believed to be pious and sacred one.<sup>16</sup> Trees are known by different names like *Pamel*, *Talla*, *Upal* etc. in Manipuri. It is believed that before the birth of many varieties of trees, there was a tree called *Uhal* from which evolved many tree species and this very tree is considered sacred and has healing power.<sup>17</sup>

There are hills and mountains considered as the abode of the gods and goddesses and believed to have been related with the myths and legends of Manipur. These hills and mountain are worshipped as god. The Thangjing Mountain ranges located at the south-western part of Manipur has many stories of historical and cultural significance and is believed to be the abode of gods and goddesses.<sup>18</sup> It was named after Lord Thangjing who rules over these mountain ranges and it is worshipped and conserved as a sacred mountain.

The mountain range of Koubru is one of the mountains which the Meiteis believed to be the origin of different ethnic groups of people settling in Manipur. This mountain was at first inhabited by gods during the creation of the earth and later mankind evolved from the topmost of this mountain. Meiteis worshipped this mountain believing it as the manifestation of the Supreme Lord.<sup>19</sup>

Meiteis again worshipped the earth believing that she is the giver of life. It is through the nourishment given by mother earth in the form foods and drinks, air and sky and fertile earth that mankind is able to sustain and propagate life on this planet. The ritual of worshipping the earth is believed to bring forth wealth and prosperity.<sup>20</sup>

The ritual of *Saroi Khangba* which the Meitei performed is a part of their religious life. The Meiteis believed that the primeval or titular deities (Atingkok, Atiya and Atinga), Thangjing, Marjing, Koubru and Wangbren has their own *Saroi* 61 in numbers for each of

them. The literary meaning of the *Saroi* is accompanied of one's body. *Sa* means body, *roi* = *loinaba* = accompany and *Khangba* means propitiation or offering. Dr. N. Devendra Singh opined that the word *Saroi* means the attendants of both presiding deities of all direction and the other divinities. J. Shakespeare and J.C. Higgins opined that the *Saroi*s are the evil spirit who had lesser supernatural power. The Meiteis performed the rituals of *Saroi Khangba* to protect them from death, illness and other harmful activities cause by the *Saroi*. To save their lives from the list of death the Meiteis worshipped the deities and performed a ritual of appeasement in the morning of the day i.e. the first Saturday of *Lamda* month (February-March).<sup>21</sup> After chanting the ritual hymns to the *maigei ngakpa lai* or guardian gods of directions, seven women representing seven *lairembi* or goddess offered seven different forms of dance to them.<sup>22</sup> After this ritual dance the womenfolk marked seven lines on the floor and cut it again with seven lines. The theme of this ritual is the separation of the relationship between human beings and the evil spirits. Then they prayed the progenitor or those ancestors who settled first in that village to protect them from the danger of death and illness. Then they again asked to the soul spirit of the last person who die in that village jurisdiction to vigil the village from the *saroi*s and evil spirit. Not only this *Saroi Khangba*, the Meiteis also performed this ritual during *Sajibu Cheiraoba* (Meiteis New Year), *Inga Lamdaiba* and *Lai Haraoba*. Thus, the ritual of *Saroi Khangba* formed a very important role in the religious life of the Manipuri Meiteis.

### **Transform of Religion:**

The Brahmanas, a minority group, immigrated into Manipur from about the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century CE. A majority of the immigrant Brahmanas arrived in Manipur as bachelors and they married Meitei women. These Brahmanas, who came from such places as Assam, Tripura, Nadia district in West Bengal and Mathura etc, settled down in Manipur and were also allotted *yumnak* (sub-clan) titles. They came to enjoy the highest ritual status in the Meitei society. The Meiteis along with the king were assigned the Kshatriya caste after their conversion into Hinduism.<sup>23</sup> According to *Sakok Lamlen Puya*, during the reign of king Naophangba (5<sup>th</sup> century CE) a religious leader from Bengal visited the court of the king Naothingkhong. During the reign of king Kyamba (1467 CE - 1508 CE) they were beginning to employ as the court astrologer and given the right to look after the Hindu Gods and temples. There is a tradition in Manipur that king Khekkhomba of Pong kingdom situated in Myanmar gave a stone image of God as present to king Kyamba of Manipur. King Kyamba cannot identify what the statue is. So, he directed his court officials to find out someone who would be able to identify it. Brahmins identified the image/statue as Lord Vishnu. The king entrusted them to worship the statue. Thus, the worship of Vishnu was started in this way.<sup>24</sup>

The reign of King Charairongba (1697 CE - 1709 CE) was a transitional period for the conversion of traditional Meitei society into a Hinduise Meitei society. He was the Meitei king of Manipur who accepted Hinduism widely. Maharaj Garibniwaz (1709 CE - 1748 CE) the son and successor of king Charairongba was also converted to Hinduism. It was during his reign that Hinduism became very popular. He declared Vaishnavism as the state religion of under the influence of a Hindu missionary Shantidas Gosai.<sup>25</sup> King Garibniwaz brought out many changes in the society and culture of Manipur.<sup>26</sup> The temples and images of village umanglais (forest Gods) were either destructed or buried.

Many indigenous religious books in manuscripts were burnt down and cremation of death bodies was introduced.

After Garibniwaz, Jai Singh or Bhagyachandra who became the king of Manipur from 1762 CE - 1799 CE also became well acquainted with Hinduism and he was a great devotee of Lord Krishna. By restoring Chaitanya School of Vaishnavism and <sup>27</sup> by introducing certain innovations he paved the way for consolidation of Hinduism. His period was very important for the spread of Vaishnavism.<sup>28</sup>

The seven idols constructed during the reign of Bhagyachandra from the jackfruit tree are installed in different places. From the book '*Shree Govinda Nirpan Amasung Lai taret Nirpan Toukhiba*' it gives as: - Shree Bijoy Govinda at Sagolband; Shree Govindajee at Langthabal palace; Shree Gopinath Macha ibungo at Ningthoukhong; Shree Nityananda prabhu at Lalambung; Shree Madanmohan at Uripok, now at Oinam Thingel; Shree Banshibadan at Khangabok; and Shree Abdeita at Lamangdong. The above idols are innovated during the reign of Rajarshi Bhagyachandra and these are firstly inherent idols after Hinduism is influence in Manipur.<sup>29</sup>

The installation ceremony of Shree Govindaji was performed in the year 1776 CE. He set up an association of Brahmins called Brahmasabha to deal with all religious matters which were related to Hinduism. The Gaudiya Vaishnavism was recognised as a state religion in place of Rāmāndi cult. One of the notable features of the Bhagyachandra's reign was the introduction of a new form of dance known as Rasalila, which was intimately connected with Chaitanya school of Vaishnavism. The first Manipuri Rasa dance was dedicated to Shri Govindaji in the month of October, in 1779 CE on the occasion of installation ceremony of Shri Govindaji.<sup>30</sup> During this period, the songs and the Kirtans were composed in Bengali not in the Vernacular, which continued until very recently. Within a period of one century Vaishnava sect of Hinduism was spread in every nook and corner of Manipur valley. The Manipuris were baptized their heart and soul, their mind and thinking, their daily way of life viz. food habit, their dress, everything to Vaishnavism. Their social, cultural, racial identities were also sanskritised. Hinduism which is entered Manipur in the early part of eighteen century gave a great impact on the cultural life of the Manipuris as well as their literary style. Their traditional culture was assimilating to the culture of Hinduism.

Historically speaking, Vaishnavism may be said to have assumed a distinct expression in Manipur in 763 CE during the reign of king Khongtekcha. A copper plate inscription of this king says that the king was a devotee of Shiva and Devi and regarded Hari as the Supreme God. This much has been established that the earlier waves of Aryan colonization and the intermingling of various cultures led to the earliest appearance of Shaiva cult.<sup>31</sup> It is historically proved that (1) in about 1467 CE Manipuris belonged to Bishnuswami Sect of Vaishnavism in the reign of king Kyamba, (2) in about 1698 CE Charairongba changed it to Madhavāchārya Sect of the Vaishnava Sampradāya, (3) in about 1713 CE king Garibniwaz tried to change the sect from Madhavāchārya to Rāmāndi of the Vaishnava Sampradāya but he failed (4) in about 1777 CE king Bhagyachandra and his subjects began to worship Radhakrishna in Parakiya rasa of the Madhura bhāva of the Narottam (Gourango) Paribar of the Bengal branch of Vaishnava Sampradāya. This faith became very prosperous in Manipur while it was dying in Bengal. This dying religion was revived by the king Bhagyachandra (Jaya Singh) in Nadia in 1798 CE.<sup>32</sup>

The Vaishnavism appears to have been made superior to the traditional religion. The reason is that the King who is both the political and religious head is apparently in favour of the Gaudiya-Vaishnavism<sup>33</sup> although in reality he professes the traditional religion in matters of vital importance. Another reason is that Sir Chandra Kirti Singh was made the direct disciple of the Bengali Gosai of Murshidabad by the Queen Mother on political ground. So the Gaudiya Vaishnavism became so prominent in Manipur.

One of the direct results of Hinduism was the popularity of Brahmans in the Manipuri society. The traditional rites and rituals, ceremonies and festivals were controlled, governed, guided and regulated by the Brahmans. But on the other hand, the Maibas and Maibis (traditional Priests and Priestesses) continued to maintain their position in the society. As a matter of fact, the Brahman and the traditional priests became the joint custodians of socio-cultural tradition.

### **Conclusion:**

One of the worth mentioning aspects of the impact of Hinduism on Meitei society is the adoption of Hindu rituals and festivals. It is believed that festivals namely, Holi, Janmashami and Ratha Yatra are directly connected with Krishna, whose worship became very popular after the advent of Chaitanya Vaishnavism in Manipur. The other festivals like Durga Puja, Saraswati Puja and Diwali became popular after the adoption of Hindu customs and practices. Actually, the introduction of the synthesis of old and new elements, and consequently, it led to the evolution of a syncretised form of Hinduism which is still practiced in Manipur.

### **References:**

1. Singh, N. Birachandra, *Primal Religion Change & Continuity (A Case Study of the Meiteis)*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2013, p.15.
2. *Ibid.*, 21-22.
3. Parratt, Saroj Nalini, *The Religion of Manipur Beliefs, Rituals and Historical Development*, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1980, p. 110.
4. Singh, N. Birachandra, *Primal Religion Change & Continuity (A Case Study of the Meiteis)*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2013, p.42.
5. Laisram, Rena, *Early Meitei History: Religion, Society and the Manipur Puyas*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2019, p. 132.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
7. Parratt, Saroj Nalini, *The Religion of Manipur Beliefs, Rituals and Historical Development*, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1980, pp. 32-34.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
11. Basanta, N., *Meitei family in flux: An Empirical Study*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2010, p. 136.
12. Zehol, Lucy, *Ethnicity in Manipur Experiences, Issues and Perspectives*, Regency Publications, New Delhi, 1998, p. 43.
13. Laisram, Rena, *Early Meitei History: Religion, Society and the Manipur Puyas*, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2019, p. 103.

14. Devi, Adhikarimayum Radhamanbi, Manipuri Dance and Culture: An Anthology, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2018, p. 90.
15. Parratt, Saroj Nalini, The Religion of Manipur Beliefs, Rituals and Historical Development, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1980, pp. 16-17.
16. Devi, Adhikarimayum Radhamanbi, Manipuri Dance and Culture: An Anthology, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 91-92.
17. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
18. Parratt, Saroj Nalini, The Religion of Manipur Beliefs, Rituals and Historical Development, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1980, p.15.
19. Ibid., p. 28.
20. Devi, Adhikarimayum Radhamanbi, Manipuri Dance and Culture: An Anthology, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2018, p. 94.
21. Devi, L. Basanti & Sinha, Th. Asha, Socio-Economic Survey before 19th Century of North East India, ABS Books, New Delhi, 2019, p. 49.
22. Ibid., p. 51.
23. Laisram, Rena, Early Meitei History: Religion, Society and the Manipur Puyas, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2019, p. 22.
24. Devi, L. Basanti & Sinha, Th. Asha, Socio-Economic Survey before 19<sup>th</sup> Century of North East India, ABS Books, New Delhi, 2019, pp. 169-170.
25. Raatan, T., History, Religion and Culture of North East India, Isha Books, Delhi, 2006, p.122.
26. Roy, Jyotirmoy, History of Manipur, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1999, p. 251.
27. Raatan, T., History, Religion and Culture of North East India, Isha Books, Delhi, 2006, p.123.
28. Roy, Jyotirmoy, History of Manipur, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1999, p. 252.
29. Devi, Adhikarimayum Radhamanbi, Manipuri Dance and Culture: An Anthology, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2018, pp. 144-145.
30. Joshi, S.C., Manipur The Jewel of India, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2002, p. 95.
31. Parratt, Saroj Nalini, The Religion of Manipur Beliefs, Rituals and Historical Development, Firma KLM Private Limited, Calcutta, 1980, p. 107.
32. Hodson, T.C., The Meitheis, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2010, p. 96.
33. Joshi, S.C., Manipur The Jewel of India, Akansha Publishing House, New Delhi, 2002, p.39.