

## The Chakpa of Manipur : A Brief Historical Account

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The Chakpas are an ancient people of Manipur. But their early history was shrouded in obscurity. Still, there are various source materials both primary and secondary which are to be properly utilized for the reconstruction of the history of the Lois in general and Chakpas in particular. Moreover, the myths, legends, folk stories play important roles in writing the history of this wonderful community. Reports and monograph published by the British Administrators are also of great help in giving a detailed account of the Chakpa Lois. Over and above, for giving an objective and complete treatment, these historical materials are to be supplemented by field studies.

The Chakpas had been in Manipur from the early time is supported by Poireiton Khunthokpa, an ancient, text which deals with the migration of Poireiton who was searching for a land free from death and disease. In course of his journey he advised one of his co-travelers to behave like the Chakpas for becoming a member of the Chakpas community. According to a number of *Meitei Puyas* (ancient texts), Poireiton was a contemporary of Nongda Lairen Phakhangba who ruled in the first century A.D. Thus, we come to know that the Chakpas had been in this country even before the immigration of Poireiton and the coronation event of Pakhangba in the first century A.D.

According to their chronology the Chakpa Loi of Phayeng, Andro and Sekmai believe that their ancestors had been living in this land since the creation of the universe. *Sakok Lamlen Ahanba* a Meitei text gives a legendary account with Atiya Sidaba as the creator of the universe in the form of Chakpa Ahuiroi starting with of the cosmological explanation and mythical account of the formation of the Kangla, the centrally located site of Manipur. The Chakpa scholars relate that "their ancestors along with the ancestors of Andro ... once occupied Kangla.<sup>1</sup> This is supported by number of place-name situated at Kangla. Of this places, mention may be made of Chakpa Yenkaobung, Chakpa Yumpham, Chakpa Pumshaikhong and Choubripung which are also traceable in the maps of the Kangla.

It is also said that the Chakpas were instrumental in the coronation of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba. Before the rule of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba there was no united Manipur or Meitei Leipak. During that time Manipur was divided into many small kingdoms like Khuman Leibak, Moirang Leibak, Luwang Leibak etc. and there was no peace and prosperity in the country. Thus the Chakpa Kansuroi, a leader of the Chakpas sent four persons, namely, Chak Maringba, Tang Maringba, Mung Maringba and Ngang Maringba to call their king Pakhangbato rule at Kangla. They guarded Pakhangba at Kangla during the coronation.

According to Kh.Nupamacha, a Pandit of Sekmai, it is stated that Pakhangba was a descendant of supreme being of the Chakpa community called Chakpa Maharaba, which was regarded as the other name of Sidaba Mapu (Supreme god) of the Meities. This view is supported by *Chakpa Khoirayanba* a text of the Chakpas. According to *Chakpa Khoirayanba*, Chakpa Maharaba also known as Chakpa Tangda Lenba took Epenzhou Toibi Leima in marriage and Sangda Lenba was born out of the union of the two deities. Sangda Lenba married Leima Sankhanu who gave birth to Tondalenba. Tondalenba married Youreibi and Tang Maringba was born out of the womb of Youreibi. Tang Maringba was married with Mareinu who gave birth to Tang Naidaba. Kangla Yourei Chakleima was given in marriage to Tang Naidaba and Tongma Khubi was descended from Tang Naidaba. Tongma Khubi married Panthoibi and because of their union, Pakhangba was born. However, with regard to the ancestry of Nongda Lairen Pakhangba, there is still a controversy. In spite of all controversies, Pakhangba was the progenitor of the Ningthouja clan who subsequently subdued all other clans and tribes under their authority. If we can trace the real ancestor of Pakhangba, it would be a hall mark in the history of the Ningthoujas in particular and Meiteis including the Chakpas in general.

It is said that the concept of Chak, a form of periodization prevalent in early Manipuri history was developed by the Chakpas. Of the four Chaks, namely, Hayee Chak, Haya Chak, Langba Chak and Kona Chak, the Chakpas, according to the Chakpa khundalon, a history of the settlement of the Chakpas, ruled during the period of Hayee Chak. It was followed by the rule of Sarang Leishangthem-Khaba-Nganba groups of people in Khunung Chak; Khuman and Luwang, in Langba Chak and finally Pkhangba ruled in Konna Chak. The texts further mentioned in a mythical way that on seeing Pakhangba's power and strength, the former ruler known as Soraren Ahum could no longer rule in their former

places and they moved towards different directions. After that Pakhangba ascended the throne with Laisana, a lady of Chingkhei Yaiphu Ningthou family. During the reign of Pakhangba, one Khaba Nungjengba waged war against the ruler in which Pakhangba was defeated by Khaba Nungjengba. Finding no other way out Pakhangba fled to Moirang. At last, with the help of the Moirang, Pakhangba was successful to regain his throne of Kangla after defeating the Khabas. Here, it is very much of interest to know that *Chakpa Khundalon*, ancient text of the Chakpas records the genealogy of the Chakpas and their settlement area after giving an account of the conflict between Pakhangba and Khaba Nungjenba. This information supplied by *Chakpa Khunthoklon* leads to certain pertinent questions :

- (1) Whether the period from Hayee Chak down to Kona Chak is to be treated as rule of the Chakpas or not;
- (2) Should we treat Sarang Leishangthem, Khaba-Nganba, Khuman-Luwang and Pakhangba along with his seven successors up to Naokhamba as the various branches of the Chakpa community?

Confusion becomes compounded when *Sakok Lamlen Ahanba* an ancient text of the Meiteis starts its deliberation saying that this text is going to give information in the form of Chakpa Ahuiron, an account of the subsequent development of the Chakpa rule. Here history becomes more elaborate. The text continues to tell that Ningthou Kangba ruled during the period of Hayee Chak. King Kangba's wife gave birth to Kangkoi, Teima, Yangma, Tasarot, Urelkhuba, Urelhanba, Khaba and Langba. After this, in Haiya Langba Chak Mariya Phambalcha became King. Kaksu Tolongba ruled in Langba Chak. In Kona Chak, Apanba Pakhangba acted as a ruler of the State.

The culture and history of the Chakpas is also reflected in the art of making potteries. According to a book entitled, *Pottery in Manipur* edited by Mutua Museum, "The art of pottery was perhaps first adopted by the Chakpas".<sup>2</sup> The pot was created imitating the shape of flower popularly known as Nura Khundonglei (*Melastoma malabathricum*) (Chakpa role). One literary source namely, Chakpa Chairel Lol mentions that Panthoibi, an inspiring goddess, once following the divine order of the Supreme being, came down on the earth, but she did not know what to do. Seeing the perplexity of the goddess the Supreme god advised her conferring a good work for the flower seed she had embellished in her ear when she left her celestial abode to craft its appearance. She searched

for it and found the flower which was then growing into a plant saying "while I am doing God's assignment, my beloved one, please do rest on my ear". She lovingly plucked the flower and started her art of pot making imitating the shape of the flower. The flower was none but the Nura Khungdonglei which is the symbolic representation of the style of the potteries made by the Chakpas.

A legendary account circulated among the people of the Chakpa village is that the term *chaphu* is the combination of two words 'chak = chakpa' and 'phu = vessel'. Another oral tradition of the Chakpas speaks that 'the meaning of *Chaphu* is derived from the word *Chakpa*, the innovator of pottery and even today some of the Chakpa villagers are regarded as potter community.'<sup>3</sup>

In the dictionary of anthropology, E.B. Tylor defines, "the word pottery as implement made of fired clay fashioned on a wheel or by hand".<sup>4</sup> He further stated that "the first fired pottery dates CA 6500 B.C. and is linked with early horticulture and agriculture. But that time the Sumerians in the Euphrates valley had made pots and other objects of sun-baked clay".<sup>5</sup> In this connection, B. Kullachandra Sharma estimated the craft of pottery making was developed in this state around a century before Christ.<sup>6</sup> However, O. Kumar Singh states that the use of pottery on the basis of archaeological findings dates from early Neolithic period and it is taken to 4,460+ -120 years B.P. old.<sup>7</sup>

If the authenticity of these different Puyas, oral traditions and theories based on archaeology and anthropology, is accepted it can be said with precision that the Chakpas were an ancient people whose artifacts were traditionally derived from the Neolithic culture of Manipur.

The main features of the Neolithic culture were given by different eminent scholars. According to Brian Harrison, "It was in the Neolithic age, they reached at different times in different parts of the world that man carried through the first 'industrial revolution' in history. It was then that he began to turn to hunting and gathering his food to cultivate it and thus learnt the new way of living that made civilization possible. History really with agriculture and the techniques and ways of living begins with agriculture and the techniques and ways of living associated with it. The cultivation of food-crops, the domestication of animals, and the making of pottery were the great social economic achievements of the neolithic age".<sup>8</sup>

The Neolithic people of South-East Asia, according to Brian Harrison, obtained their food partly by hunting and fishing but they were

also agriculturists. They cultivated rice and millet, either by the method of shifting cultivation (the ladang system), clearing a temporary field every year or so, or in permanent irrigated fields (the sawah system). They used these crops to brew a kind of beer as well as for food. They lived in wooden houses raised above the ground by bamboo or wooden piles. Their domesticated animals were buffalo and pig. They made cloth from the bark of trees. They were animists, believing that a life-force or soul-substance (semagat) was contained in all natural objects, and above all in their food plants. The life force of the rice-field was personified as a goddess, the rice-mother, and a complex ritual made up of numerous prescriptions and prohibitions surrounded the cultivation and harvesting of the crop so that its life-force should be preserved and captured; for example, loud noise was to be avoided in the rice-field, and the grain had to be harvested with a small knife concealed in the hand. For the same reason the people of South-East Asia were headhunters, cherishing the head for its soul-substance.<sup>9</sup>

Agriculture made possible a settled community life and the development of social custom and behaviour. The peasant village community became and remained the basic social unit under the guidance of its priest- or priestess-chief, who was the guardian of traditional religious and social custom (adat), regulations governing individual and group rights and duties, agricultural ritual, social privileges and penalties, all of which were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.<sup>10</sup>

According to O. Kumar, the pottery discovered during the excavation of a site at the Phunal Maring village which is about 22 kms. away from Imphal on the South-East, shows that the technique used for making them was also practiced in Eastern Asia during the Neolithic period.<sup>11</sup> Relics unearthed from different areas of the Imphal valley like Khurai Lamlong, Sekta and Keibung have resemblance with those from Indonesia.<sup>12</sup> Thus from cultural point of view, Manipur was within the Neolithic cultural zone of South-East Asia which was developed mainly by the people of Austronesian origin. If the tool types of the Chakpas were the remnants of the Neolithic culture, of South-East Asia we may conclude that the Chakpas had close racial affinity with the Austronesian people.

However, identification of cultural waves with racial origin has dangerous ends in spite of the fact that culture acts as a pointer for developing history and origin of the people.

Language also plays an important role to trace racial affinity of the different groups of people of South-East Asia and North-East India. Peter Schmidt applied the term 'Austrie' to the great group of Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages found in the area stretching from the Himalayas to Easter Island and from Madagascar to Hawaii when attempting to demonstrate their underlying unity. However, at present we do not have sufficient documents to show the underlying unity of Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages with that of the Chakpas of Manipur. Damant classed the Andros, Sekmais and Chairels belonging to the Kuki Chin group on linguistic ground.<sup>13</sup>

McColloch records a tradition among the 'Kukis', according to which they and the Maghs are descended from two brothers, the younger being the progenitor of the Kukis. There can, of course, be attributed little or no importance to this tradition; but this much is certain, that the Kuki-Chin languages belongs to the Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family.

The history of the Kuki-Chin tribes is only known from comparatively modern time. With the exception of the Meitei, who have been settled in the Manipur valley for more than a thousand years, all the Kuki Chin tribes appear to have lived in a nomadic state for some century. It would seem that they all settled in the Lushai and Chin Hills some time during the last two century and this country may be considered as the place where their languages have developed their chief characteristics.

It has already been stated that the Kuki-Chin languages belong to the Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. At present, it is impossible to class the Chakpa language along with different dialect of the Kuki-Chin groups owing to the lack of information. Grierson wrote that the dialect of the "Chakpas cannot belong to the Kuki-Chin group".<sup>14</sup> Such statements based on linguistic ground lead scholars, historians, linguists and layman alike to the notion that the Chakpas did not belong to the Kuki-Chin language speaking people.

However, language is not sole determinant for establishing racial affinity of a community. The people of Sekmai claim that they had close relationship with Lai people of Mizoram and Myanmar. According to Kh. Nipamacha of Sekmai, in early historical times Chakpas were also known as Chaklais. In northern Mizoram, there is a group of people called Poi

or Lai which has same mythical account as that of the Chakpas. The Lai people of the Mizoram have their cousins in Myanmar.

In Myanmar, particularly in Chin State, a section of the Kuki-Chin group known as Lai was there. In this connection F.K. Lehman wrote in the following manner :

Vai is the correlative of zo, but zo has another correlative, Lai, which has a decidedly ambiguous connotation, best rendered as 'intermediate, although physically Lai means centre'. The Haka villagers called themselves Lai, thinking of themselves as better than their cultural near relations to the South, who in turn call themselves Lai, resent the term zo, and apply it only to the people even further South . All of these people in the Northern Chin sociocultural system are zo, however, in relation to civilisation and to 'outsiders' like the Southern Chin.<sup>15</sup>

According to eminent scholars like Luce and Lehman, the Chakpa people of Manipur were more akin to the Kadus, Ganaan, whose settlement areas are in China, Myanmar and other South-East Asian countries. F.K. Lehman states that "More likely the split between the Sak of the Irrawaddy valley in Burma and the related Andro and Sengmai of Manipur may have resulted from the subsequent northward movement of the Chin into Chinwin".

From a letter of Guangxi Library Min, Zuda Dao, China, we have learnt that "some pronunciation of Zhuang dialect, and Kejia dialects such as sky, silver, father, mother... are similar to Sengmai (Sekmai)".<sup>16</sup>

From the above facts , it is learnt that the Chakpas of Manipur had their own dialects which were similar with the people of the neighbouring countries. In order to have clear idea of Ckakpa dialect, the following tables are furnished herewith :

**Table 1**

English	Manipuri	Chakpa( Sekmai)
Rice	Chak	ko
Water	ishing	me
Fire	mei	wal
Sun	numit	chamit
Soil	leibak	ka

English	Manipuri	Chakpa( Sekmai)
Pond	pukhri	mekhong
River	turel	mehang
Sky	atia	harung
Moon	tha	shatha
Lightning	nongthang	harung-hako
Hill	ching	kontak
Stone	nung	torong
Gold	sana	kungdonong
Silver	lupa	ngon
Day	nungthil	ik-nong
Night	numitang	sanuk
Men	nupa	tikahora
Women	upi	tikayaho
Boy	nupamacha	shajihora
Girl	nupimacha	shajiyaho
Father	ipa	apo/awa
Mother	ma	ame
Uncle	ipal	ashangako
Uncle	khura	awang
Maternal uncle	ama	amang
Grandfather	ipu	okshi
Grandmother	abok	ashi
Sister-in-law	eteima	iyo
Elder-Sister	echea	api
Brother-in-law	ibai	anang
Brother-in-law	eshen	ganingsha
Younger-sister	chan	chan
Ant	ene	ani
Mother-in-law	enembok	anan
Friend (male)	marup/itao	uto
Friend(femate)	ita	anang
Teacher	oja	shaayaji
Son	echanupa	ngasha
Firewood	ching	fol
Bamboo	wa	kwangdenglang
Pig	ok	wak

English	Manipuri	Chakpa( Sekmai)
Hen/cook	yen	pai/kai
Cow/ox	nan	shok
Bufallo	troi	ke
Horse	sako	shurup
Elephant	shamu	kong
Lion	nongsha	king
Tiger	kei	keman
Dog	hui	ki
Deer	shaji	metcha
Goat	hameng	kernek
Head	kok	hulang
Hai	sam	humli
Forehead	laibak	kantu
Eye	mit	hakamrto
Teeth	ya	suwa
Throat	khouri	katok
Waist	khwang	ashang
Chest	thapak	thantuk
Arm	bambom	tokning
Thigh	pheibak	angei
Foot	khongpak	taha
Calf	khubom	tahop
Foot palm	Khuya	tachak

**Table 2**

English Sentence	Manipuri Sentence	Chakpa (Sekmai)
The Sun raises	Numit thokle	Chamit pukato.
Son and grandsons, lit the fire	Echasha eshusha, meihoukatlo	Ngasha tongsha wal fole.
Fire has started	Mei houre	Wal phongkade.
Mother, cook the rice	Ima chakthongo	Ame ko-hongte.
Bring the rice	Cheng purako	Huchat lahare.
Prepare rice on plate	Chak thiro	Kosa kato.
Come, come let us have meal	Laklo laklo chak charshe	Lire lire kosha-chu

English Sentence	Manipuri Sentece	Chakpa (Sekmai)
Where are you going	Nahak kadaida chatllibano	Mi-yao shangchu ngai
I will go to the river	Ei turelda chatke	Ga mehngme thongna-chu.
I will roam.	Ei koipa chatke	Ga kiyangshu.
I will Collect the firewood	Ei Shing louruge	Ga Fol anghchu.
Younger bothers. the sun rises	Inaosha numit thokle	Ngana-lai chamit pukato.

*For Table 1 and 2: Sources collected from Y. Yaima and Kh.Luja, L. Dhananjoy, Awang Sekmai*

*The following tables shows those similarities in language:*

**Table 3**

Sl No.	English	Sak		Ganan	Kadu	Aandro S. Sengmei C. Chairal
		Bawtala	Dodem			
1.	I	ga	ga	ga	ga	AS ga C.gahak
2.	Fire	Vai	Va	wan	Wan	A.wan c. pal
3.	To eat	Tra	Sa	Yao	Yo	A.Sai, S.sa
4.	Men	Lu	Tiksa	Tamisa		A.tiksa, S.tik
5.	Father	Ava	Ava	Awa	Awa	A.apa. S.apo C.apa
6.	Mother	Ano	Any	Ame	Ame	A. ame. S. ame
7.	Child:young	Asa	Asa	Sa.asa	Sa	A .saija. S sa C.nasa
8.	Younger Brother	Nisy		Nisi	Nasi	A.nasi. S.nasi C.nanao
9	Hand:palm	Tauhu	Tahu	Takpa	Takpa (tahu)	A.taku. S.tahu C. lak
10.	Foot	Ata	Ata	Ta	Ta	A.taka. S.tampa c.la
11	Hair	Ahumi	Hu		Ku (halog)	A.humi. c.sam

Sl No.	English	Sak		Ganan	Kadu	Aandro S. Sengmei C. Chairel
		Bawtala	Dodem			
12.	Nose	Asakanu	Kano	Sana	Sana	A.sanauti s.sanup
13.	Tooth	Asava	Swa	Swa	A.saw.	S.soa c.ya
14.	Ear	Akana	Akana	Kana	Kana	A. kana. C. hantu
15.	Sun	Tsame	Same	Sani	Same	A.chamit

Sources : *From phases of Pre-Pagan of Burma, Languages and History*, Vol-2., Oxford 1985

**Table 4**

The following table shows those similarities in language:

English	Sekmai	Zhuang
Sky	Harung	Harung
Silver	Ngon	Ngeon
Father	Apo	Apo
Mother	Ame	Ame
Cow	Ngo	Ngo
Fan	Man	Man
Flesh	Sen	Sen
Salt	Choom	Choom
Village	Theng	Theng
Boat	Ho	Ho

We cannot proceed further to trace the relationship between the Chakpas and the people who speak the Zhuang Dialect due to the lack of detail information.

There are also a number of similarities in dialects amongst the Sekmai, Khanti, Siamese, Shan and Ahan. However we need further study. The details are given in the following manner

TABLE 5

English	Senqmai	Khumti	Siamese	Shan	Ahom
Father	Apo	Po	Boor(Pho)	Po	Po
Mother	Ame	Me	Me	Me	Me
Flower	Baba	-	-	-	Blak
Neck	Kotok	Kho	-	Kho	Kho
Younger brother	Nasee <sup>3</sup>	Nang	Nang	Nang	Nang
Silver	Ngon	Ngun <sup>''</sup>	Ngon	Ngun	Ngun
Elder brother	Api	Pi	Phi	Pi	Pi
The Head	Horang	Ho	Hua	Ho	Ro
A boat	Ho	Hu	-	Hu	Ru
The mouth	Shoon	Shup	-	Shup	Shup
To die	Tai	Tai	Tai	Tai	Tai
To be old	Thou	Thou	-	Thou	Thau
A foot	Taka	Tin	Ta-ti	Tin	Tin
Ox	Ngo	Ngo	Ngua	Ngo	Hu
Buffalo	Ke	Khai	-	-	Khrai

Source from *Saraighat Souvenir of 77th Anniversary of Chao-Lung-Siu-Ka-Pha 1992-98*.

The history of the Chakpas can be had from a number of Puyas like *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, *Ningthourol Lambuba*, *Moirang Ningthourol Lambuba*, *Poireiton Khunthokpa* etc. From the study of these different texts, we come to know that the history of the Chakpas took a different course after the king Naokhamba(428 A.D). According to *Cheitharol Kombaba*, the Lai dynasty was an end with the end of the rule of king Naokhamba and began the new dynasty in Manipur.<sup>17</sup> After him the relation of the Meite king and Chakpas became in bed ways. They became dependant of the Meiteis Kings.

According to the mythical account of the Chakpas, it is said that the Chakpas went to different direction for settlement. The two brothers decided to live their settlement area after taking meal together and thus prepared their meal. The elder brother prepared Ngakha a variety of small fish and the younger cooked Khajing (prawn). The Khajing became red when cooked The younger brother believed that his preparation of

Khajing was still incomplete. So he asked the elder brother to leave first as he wanted to wait until the Khajing became eatable. Thus, elder brother departed leaving behind his younger brother. Before his departure the elder brother Haleng said that he would put sword mark on the trees as trace-mark for enabling his younger brother Hanjok to follow his journey. Fortune tells otherwise. The Hanjok brother felt that the prawns were properly cooked. The more they cooked, the more the prawns became redder. They therefore left the prawns on the Khangla leaves. Since then, this place was known as Khanglapung, place which is now lying between Soibam Leikai and Nongmeibung, Imphal East. Haleng brothers, as they resumed their journey, could not trace the sword of their Haleng brother and returned. Since Haleng party returned from their onward journey, they were known as Handros or Andros. 'Handro' is derived from the word 'hanba' meaning going back. It is said that the present settlers of Andro are the descendants of those Handros led by Hanjok.<sup>18</sup>

During the reign of king Naophangba(428-518 AD), the Chakpa were allowed to settle at different parts of the Manipur valley. A section of the Chakpas were at Thoubandong under the leadership of Mashemtong and hence the place-name was known as Chakpa Thoubandong. Another group under the leadership of Lakhai and Lasheng were at Enamsheng in Pallel and those group of Enamsheng was known by the name Chakpa Sekmai. Arok and Akhu formed their village at Khongjee which was later on named Chakpa Khongjee. Phanasen and Hunnasen made Phayeng their permanent abode. Kharaiपा and Kharaiкhu were living at Leimaram and since then their settlement area was known as Chakpa Leimaram. Kakauringba with his group inhabited at Koutruk which was given by the name 'Chakpa Koutruk'. Chingpa and Laipa were at Chinguthel (Shangaitel ?)

Besides, there were a number of historical events in which the Chakpas were defeated by the Meitei kings. *Cheitharol Kumbaba* mentions that there was a throne of the Chakpas at Sekta and over the question of this throne, king Loiyumba (1074-1112 A.D) invaded Sekta. It is believed that the throne had the magical power to produce meat and fish. In this battle of Sekta, the Chakpas were defeated by the Meitei king who arrested Chakpa Tao, Angkom Tao, and four other Chakpas.<sup>19</sup> The same text goes on to tell that during the reign of Kongyamba, the Meitei King (1324-1335 AD), there was a battle at Khuroi Haora Lamangdong between the Meiteis and the Chakpas, who were defeated by the former.<sup>20</sup>

During the reign of king Mungyamba (1562-1597 AD), the Meitei king defeated Chakpa Pungpun, the prominent leader of the Chakpas.<sup>21</sup> During the time of Khagemba (1597-1652 A.D.), Chakpa Pungpun fled to Kabow valley, where the Chakpas established a number of independent Chakpa principalities.<sup>22</sup>

Meitei king Paikhomba invaded Sakwai Khanapok (Khangabok) and arrested a number of Chakpas. King Charairongba (1697-1709 A.D.) sent a group of Chakpas Sekwai (Sekmai) to Ehairai now known as Awang Sekmai to defend the invasion of northern hills tribes.<sup>23</sup> Chakpalon Khundaba also mention the same story stating that king Charairongba was instrumental in the division of Kha and Awang Sekmai.<sup>24</sup> Twenty four Chakpa Shalais or families were arranged to settle down at Ehairai which was lying on the north at the foot of the Koubru hills.<sup>25</sup>

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From the study of these different texts, we come to know that the history of the Chakpas took a different course after the king Naokhamba (428 A.D).

### *Notes and References*

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20. *Ibid, op.cit*, p.8.
22. *Ibid*, p.23.
23. *Ibid*, p.53.
24. Kulchandra (ed) *Chakpalon Khundaba*, Imphal, 1993, p. 8.
25. *Ibid*.
26. Iboongohal & Khelchandra, *Cheitharol Kumbaba*, p.53.
27. Kulchandra, *op.cit.*, p. 8.
28. *Ibid*.