

THE ROHINGYAS OF ARAKAN --- HISTORY AND HERITAGE

Chapter – 1

THE ORIGIN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROHINGYAS IN ARAKAN

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INTRODUCTION

The Rohingyas are the Muslims inhabitants of Arakan. Now it is a part of the Union of Myanmar. Who are the Rohingyas? This is a vital question to the intellectuals of the modern times. Why does this question arise among the scholars or intellectuals? Obviously, there are some historical and geo-political causes behind this question. As a result, to discuss the origin of the Rohingyas in Arakan it is better for us that we gradually analyse the origin of the words Arakan, Rohang and Rohingyas; introduction to the land and the people of Arakan along with its early history. To realise the development of Rohingyas in Arakan, this discussion is followed by Muslim settlement in Arakan in five distinct phases.

ORIGIN OF THE WORDS ARAKAN, ROHANG AND ROHINGYAS

The origin of the words Arakan, Rohang and Rohingyas are controversial, interesting, traditional, legendary and also historical. All the three words had long enlightened historical background. Master Amanullah, an Arakanese school teacher of history wrote an article on this subject, which was attested by another modern Arakanese scholar like Muhammad Ashraf Alam. They say: "The word Arakan is definitely of Arabic or Persian origin having the same meaning in both these languages. It is the corruption of the word *Arkan* plural of the word *Al-Rukun*. There exists some controversy about the origin of the name of 'Arakan' on which traditional and legendary sources differ. In fact, the name of Arakan is of much antiquity. In Ptolemy's *Geografia* (150 A.D.) it was named '*Argyre*'. Early Buddhist missionaries called Arakan as '*Rekkha Pura*'. In the Ananda Chandra stone pillar of Chandra dynasty (8th Century) at Shitthaung Pagoda in Mrauk-U the name of Arakan was engraved as '*Arakades's*'. In a Latin Geography (1597 A.D.) by Peta Vino, the country was referred to as '*Aracan*'. Friar Manrique (1628-43 A.D.) mentions the country as *Aracan*.

In the work of Arab geographer Rashiduddin (1310 A.D.) it appears as '*Rahan* or *Rahan*'. The British traveller Relph Fitch (1586 A.D.) referred the name of Arakan as '*Rocor*'. In the Rennell's map (1771 A.D.), it is '*Rassawri*'. Tripura Chronicle '*Rajmala*' mentions the name of Arakan as '*Roshang*'. In the medieval works of the poets of Arakan and Chittagong, like Quazi Daulat, Mardan, Shamsar Ali, Quraishi Magan, Alaol, Ainuddin, Abdul Ghani and others, they frequently referred to Arakan as '*Roshang*', '*Roshanga*', '*Roshango Sha*', and '*Roshango Des*'. Famous European traveller Francis Buchanan (1762-1829 A.D.) in his accounts mentioned Arakan as "*Reng, Roung, Rossawn, Russawn, Rung*". In one of his accounts, "*A Comparative Vocabulary of some of the languages spoken in the Burman Empire*" it was stated that, "the native Mugs of Arakan called themselves '*Yakiri*', which name is also commonly given to them by the Burmese. The people of Pegu are named '*Taling*'. By the Bengal Hindus, at least by such of them as have been settled in Arakan, the country is called '*Rossawri*'. The Mahammedans who have long settled at Arakan call the country '*Rohingaw*' and called themselves *Rohinga* or native of Arakan. The Persians called it *Rkon*." The Chakmas and Saks of 18th century called it *Roang*. Today the Muslims of Arakan call the country '*Rohang*' or '*Arakan*' and call themselves '*Rohingya*' or native of Rohang. The Maghs call themselves '*Rakhine*' and call the country '*Rakhine Pye*' or country of Rakhine."¹

After summerising the unpublished Thesis of A.S. Bahar entitled "The Arakani Rohingyas in Barmese Society", at the University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada, M.A. Alam codify the origin of the Rohingyas as follows: "*Rohang*, the old name of Arakan, was very familiar region for the Arab seafarers even during the pre-Islamic days. Tides of people like the Arabs, Moors, Turks, Pathans, Moghuls, Central Asians, Bengalees came mostly as traders, warriors, preachers and captives overland or through the sea route. Many settled in Arakan, and mixing with the local people, developed the present stock of people known as ethnic Rohingya. Hence, the Rohingya Muslims, whose settlements in Arakan date back to 7th century A.D. are not an ethnic group which developed from one tribal group affiliation or single racial stock. They are an ethnic group developed from different stocks of people. The ethnic Rohingya is Muslim by religion with distinct culture and civilization of their own. They trace their ancestry to Arabs, Moors, Pathans, Moghuls, Central Asians, Bengalis and some Indo-Mongoloid people. Since Rohingyas are mixture of many kinds of people, their cheekbone is not so prominent and eyes are not so narrow like Rakhine Maghs and Burmans. Their noses are not flat and they are a bit taller in stature than the Rakhine Maghs but darker in complexion. They are of some bronzing coloured and

not yellowish. The Rohingyas of Arakan still carried the Arab names, faith, dress, music and customs. So, the Rohingyas are nationals as well as an indigenous ethnic group of Burma. They are not new born racial group of Arakan rather they are as old an indigenous race of the country as any others.”²

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

Arakan is bounded in the north by India, in the south and west by the Bay of Bengal and in the east by the Yoma mountains. In the north and west Arakan had a common boundary with Bengal by the river Naf which is still borderline between Bangladesh and Myanmar. Once the area of Arakan was about 20,000 square miles. Arakan Hill-Tracts district of 5233 square miles and most part of southern Arakan were separated from Arakan. So it has now reduced to 14200 square miles. Arakan lies between 21°20” and 16°22” latitude and 92°21” and 95°20” longitude. Arakan Yoma, a long range of mountains separates her from Myanmar. As a result, the land communication between Arakan and the rest of the country is almost impossible except for the armed forces. Arakan, however, linked with other parts of the country by water communication. As a sea coast country, Arakan had harbours providing an anchorage to maritime ships. The land was intersected by many rivers and streams, which served the purpose of communication and drainage. Naf, Mayu, Kaladan, Lembru, Anu, Tangu and Sandoway are the major rivers of Arakan. There are seventeen township in Arakan and they are- Akyab, Kyankpayu, Sandoway, Kyauktaw, Buthidaung, Maundaw, Minbya, Mrauk-u, Gwa, Tangu, Pauktaw, Pannagun, Maybon, Manaung, Rambree, Rathidaung and Ann.

The Rohingyas and the Rakhines are the two major ethnic races in Arakan. The Rohingyas are Muslims and the Rakhines are Buddhists. Actually, it is not possible to give the exact population figure due to absence of census for long times. But the approximately estimated population is 4 million excluding about 1.5 million of those Rohingya Muslims who had been expelled from Arakan since 1942 A.D. At present the Buddhists and Muslims population almost in equal proportion i.e. 2 million are Buddhists, 1.8 million are Muslims and the rest 0.2 million are Animists, Hindus and Christians. Polygamy, early marriage, food habit and circumcision enhance the growth rate of the Rohingya population. On the other hand, the growth rate is much lower among the Buddhist population because of monogamy, late marriage and celibacy. The Rohingyas are mostly concentrated in the riverian plains of the river Naf, Mayu and Kaladan. Besides, Arakan is the only Muslim Majority province among the 14 provinces of Myanmar.

A BRIEF EARLY HISTORY

The periodization of the early history of Arakan may be classified in the following manner:

- a) Some Hindu Dynasties: 100-788 A.D.
- b) Chandra Hindu Dynasty : 788-957 A.D.
- c) Chaotic period of Mongolians and Buddhists: 957-1430 A.D.
- d) Mrauk-U Dynasty : 1430-1784 A.D.
- e) Burman Buddhist Rule: 1784-1826 A.D.
- f) British Colonial Rule : 1826-1948 A.D.

Under the changing circumstances and different period of history, Arakan had been an independent and sovereign monarchy ruled by Hindus and Buddhists. But the exceptional was the Mrauk-U dynasty. This dynastic rule was established with the help of the Sultan Jalaluddin Mahammad Shah of Bengal. The kings of this dynasty ruled Arakan as per tradition and culture of the sultans of Bengal.

According to modern historian A.P. Phayer and G.E. Harvey, the Arakanese Kings established alternately capitals in eight different places, transferring from one to another. They were successively at Dinnyawadi, 25 Kings (146-746 A.D.); Vesali, 12 kings (788-994 A.D.); First Pyinsa (Sanbawut), 15 Kings (1018-1103 A.D.); Parin, 8 Kings (1103-1167 A.D.); Krit, 4 kings (1167-1180 A.D.); Second Pyinsa, 16 Kings (1180-1237 A.D.); Launggyet, 17 Kings (1237-1433 A.D.); and Mrauk-U, 48 Kings (1433-1785 A.D.). All these capital cities were situated in the modern Akyab district on or near the river Lemberu.³

MUSLIM SETTLEMENT IN ARAKAN

The Arab Muslim traders had good contacts with Arakan and coast of Bay of Bengal for trade and preaching of Islam in these

regions. There is a most interesting legend in the society of Arakan regarding the coming of Muhammad bin Hanifa, son of Hazrat Ali (R), the 4th Caliph of Islam to Arakan. On the basis of this legend Shah Barid Khan wrote a (*puth*) book in 16th century named *Hanifa-o-Kaiyapari*. The summary of this legend as narrated by some writers that "In 680 A.D. after the war of *Karbala'* Muhammad Hanafiya with his army arrived Arab-Shah Para near Maungdaw in the Northern Arakan, while Kaiyapari, the queen of cannibals ruled this hilly deep forest attacking and looting the people of Arakan. Muhammad Hanif attacked the cannibals and captured the queen. She was converted to Islam and married to him. Her followers embraced Islam *en mase*. Muhammad Hanif and the queen Kaiyapari lived in Mayu range. The peaks where they lived were still known as *Hanifa Tonki* and *Kaiyapari Tonki*. The wild cannibals were tamed and became civilised. Arakan was no more in danger of them and peace and tranquility prevailed. The followers of Muhammad Hanif and Kaiyapari were mixed up and lived peacefully".⁴ How far this legend is historical? No doubt, after the death of Hazrat Fatima (R), Hazrat Ali (R) married a woman of Hanafia tribe. Muhammad was her son. He was known as Muhammad bin Hanafia in stead of Muhammad bin Ali (R). But the later events are very difficult to prove in one side and the existence of *Hanifa Tonki* and *Kaiyapari Tonki* still today is also mysterious on the other. If the legend is true, then we may conclude that the descendants of these mixed people for the first time formed the nucleus of the Muslims in Arakan.

The second phase of the coming of the Muslims in Arakan is historical events narrated in the Arakanese traditional history. It was stated in the all local histories of Arakan that during the reign of Mahataing Sandya (788-810 A.D.) several Arab ships wrecked off the Coast of Rambree Island, the Muslim sailors and crews fortunately somehow escaped and swam into the shore. They were taken by the people of administration and produced before the king. The king observed the capability and developed cultural life of the sailors. He allotted a piece of land for them and they were allowed to settle there.

This is the first record ever seen in the history of the Muslim settlement in Arakan. R.B. Smart writes as follows: "The local histories relate that in the ninth century several ships were wrecked on Ramree Island and the Mussalman crews sent to Arakan and placed in villages there. They differ but little from the Arakanese except in their religion and in the social customs which their religion directs, in the writing they use Burmese, but amongst themselves employ colloquially the language of their ancestors."⁵

Abdul Karim, an eminent historian of this sub-continent explain, analyse and comments on the above facts and events of the history of Arakan in the following ways: "This is a very important piece of evidence regarding the origin of the Rohingyas. These shipwrecked Arab Muslims became the nucleus of the Muslim population of Arakan; later other Muslims from Arabia, Persia and other countries entered into Arakan. The important point to be noticed about these shipwrecked points to be noticed about these shipwrecked Muslims is that they have stuck to their religion, i.e. Islam and Islamic social customs. Though they used Burmese language and also adopted other local customs, they have retained the language of their ancestor (probably with mixture of local words) in dealing among themselves. Another point to be noted is that the Arab shipwrecked Muslims have retained their religion, language and social customs from more than a thousand years. Later on, of course other Arabs also come in the trading and other pursuits and some of them have stayed on in Arakan and in this ways people of Arab blood increased as time passed by. So the Rohingyas have been staying in Arakan from more than a thousand years."⁶

The third phase of the coming of the Muslims in Arakan was held in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Arakanese king Naramekhla alias Min Sowa Mun was the grandson or great grandson of Minhti. According to Arakanese chronicles, when Min Sown Mun took minister Ananda Them 's sister Saw Pu Nyo by force, the minister called upon Ava Min Swe Min Khaung to attack Min Sowa Mun. The Ava king sent his son Min Ye Kyaw Swa to lead the attack. Min Ye Kyaw Swa won the battle and Min Sowa Mun expelled from his kingdom in 1406 A.D., took shelter in Gaur which was the capital of Bengal.

At that time, Sultan Giasuddin Azam Shah son of Sultan Sikendar Shah was the reigning Sultan of Bengal. But he could not help the Arakanese King immediately because he was busy with more important political and administrative matters. Actually, the political condition of Bengal towards the first quarter of the 15th century was internal chaos and confusion, palace revolution, supplanting of the family of Giasuddin Azam Shah and the usurpation of the throne by Raja Ganesh, a Zamindar and high officer of the time.

According to *Riaz-us-Salateen*, Sultan Giasuddin Azam Shah patron of Min Sowa Mun was killed with the complicity of his minister Raja Ganesh in 1410 A.D. who played later on the role of a kingmaker. After Azam Shah, his son Saif-Uddin Hamza Shah (1410-12 A.D.) was put to the throne. He was removed by the conspiracy of Raja Ganesh. After Hamza Shah, Ganesh placed a slave on the throne in the name of Shihabuddin Baiyzid Shah (1414-15 A.D.). A few months after, he was replaced by Ganesh,

who now placed on the throne Bayzid Shah's son Alauddin Firuz Shah. When Raja Ganesh found all of his opposition wiped out and then he himself occupied the throne. ⁷ Abdul Karim wrote regarding this change in the following words:

“The changes did not take place easily as we have stated in a few sentences. There were movements and counter movements, fighting's, killings, political groupings and regroupings; at one stage the guardian saint of Pandua, Shaikh Nur Qutb Alam interfered and invited Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur to intervene and save the Muslim kingdom. The Sharqi Sultan came and invaded with a large army, but had to return when by tricks, Raja Ganesh got his son Jadu converted to Islam and feigned to relinquish the Kingship to his converted son. There was the scene of reconversion of Jadu to Hinduism by passing him through a cow made of Gold.”⁸

Very soon Raja Ganesh died. After his death Jadu occupied in throne under the title Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. This Sultan of Bengal restored the Arakanese king Min Saw Mun to his throne after 24 years. About the return of Arakanese King Abdul Karim observes that – “The Arakanese King returned to his kingdom with all these experiences. Arakan had no proper coinage, they became now acquainted with minted coins, Arakan used Burmese script, literature was not developed, but in Bengal they found Bengali, Arabic and Persian language and literature. So the Arakanese returned to their century with much commitment to a civilized life and a better living.”⁹

The process of restoration of Arakanese king was not so easy. The sultan of Bengal sent an army of 20,000 soldiers under the leadership of General Wali Khan in 1430 A.D. On reaching Arakan, Wali Khan betrayed his trust when he saw the situation favorable for him to establish independent authority. He took one of chiefs of Arakan named Tseuka into confidence. Wali Khan established an authority over Arakan with his help and co-operation and imprisoned Min Sowa Mun. The unfortunate king of Arakan escaped and took shelter again to his patron, the sultan of Bengal. Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah sent second time an army of 30,000 soldiers, under the leadership of General Sandi Khan with an order not only to restore Min Sowa Mun (Narameikhla) on his throne, but also to punish the betrayer Wali Khan. Sandi Khan was a capable general who was able to establish Min Sowa Mun (Narameikhala) to his throne and killed Wali Khan in 1430 A.D. ¹⁰

Arrival of large Muslim population in Arakan by the two expeditions is a remarkable and most important event in the history of Arakan. Abdul Karim explain the matter in the following words: “In both the expedition, many people belonging to the auxiliary force, like carriers, tent bearers, cooks and butlers, washer-men etc. accompanied the actual fighting force, or in other words combatant non-combatant people taken together, several thousand Muslims entered into Arakan in 1430 A.D. while reinstating the ousted king Min-Saw-Mun. It is almost certain that the first expeditionary force did not return to Bengal because they rebelled and they knew what could be their fate if they returned to Bengal. So it is very probable that they remained in Arakan hiding, and settled in villages and out of the way places. It is also doubtful if all soldiers of the second expeditionary force returned home, because their services were needed by the reinstated king. So these soldiers also helped in swelling the Muslim population as found in later times.”¹¹ To sum up the above comments and explanation of an eminent historian we may easily conclude that fifty thousand soldiers and several thousand auxiliary forces who settled in Arakan were the predecessor of the present Rohingyas.

The Portuguese first came to Bengal for trade and commerce. In course of time, they involved in the acts of piracy and in the slave trade. Abdul Karim Says: “There are various examples of Portuguese piracies in the ocean as well as in the coastal district, and men, women and children, and valuable i.e. carried away, so that the whole coastal area of the districts of Jessore, Khulna, Bakerganj were desolated and no habitation was to be founded there. The Magh King of Arakan employed the Portuguese to perpetrate their piratical activities into Bengal and later the Magh were also joined with the Portuguese, so that they jointly raided the coastal districts.”¹³

Fray Sebastien Manrique, a Portuguese priest who spent eleven or twelve years in Arakan and Bengal gives a description of Portuguese piracy in Bengal. He writes: "They (Portuguese) usually made there general attacks three or four times in the year, irrespective of minor raids which went on most of the year. So that during the five years I spent in the Kingdom of Arracan, some eighteen thousand people came to the ports of Dianga and Augurcale". Dianga was a Portuguese town with an Anguetian Church situated on the south bank of the river Karnafully and Angurcale (Angarkhali) was also a Portuguese town of sea coast located in Banskhali thana which was disappeared in Bay of Bengal in the middle of the 18th Century.¹⁴

Shihabuddin Talish, a famous contemporary Mughal historian gives a picture of slave trade of the Magh and Portuguese pirates. He wrote: “They (Portuguese) sold their captives to the Dutch, English and French merchant at the ports of the Deccan. Sometimes they bought their captives to Tamluk and Balasore for sale at high prices Only the Feringis sold their prisoners but the Maghs employed all whom they carry off in agriculture and other occupations or as domestic servants and concubines .¹⁵

Only for four years i.e. from 1621 to 1624 A.D., the Maghs and the Portuguese pirates brought 42,000 slaves captured in the various districts of Bengal and then given to the possession of the king of Arakan. Describing the situation of piracy in the coast of Bay of Bengal during 18th century, modern historian G.E. Harvey writes:

“..... With the Arakanese they (Portuguese pirates) made a dive combination, holding Sandwip Island, Noakhali and Backergunge districts, and the Sunderbands delta south of Calcutta, and raiding up to Dacca and even Murshidabad, while Tippura sent them propitiatory tribute. After they had sacked Dacca, his capital, in 1625 A.D. the Mughul governor felt so unsafe that for a time he lived further inland. For generations an iron chain was stretched across the Hoogly River between Calcutta and Sibpure to prevent their entrance. In a single month, February 1727 A.D., they carried off 1800 captives from the southern parts of Bengal; the king chose the artisans, about one fourth, to be his slaves and in rest were sold at prices varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 70 a head and sent to work on the land as slaves.”¹⁶

On the basis of the evidence given by the contemporary great historian Shihabuddin Talish, Portugusese priest Fray Sebastian Monique and modern historian G.E. Harvey, Abdul Karim drew an analogy regarding the enhancement of Muslim population in Arakan. He says: “But the Maghs generally did not sell their captives, they employed them in Arakan in low works particularly agriculture, cutting of wood, feeding the animals and felling the trees etc. Their number was not small and an idea of their member may be had from the fact that when the Chittagong port fell into the hands of the Mughals, ten thousand Bengali (both Muslim and Hindu) captives got liberty and they went to their homes. Actually, they were not slaves but free men; they were made to slavery. The Kaladan River is origenates from the Chin Hills and falls into the Bay of Bengal. ‘Kala’ means place occupied by the foreigners. Actually, the captives of Magh pirated were made to settle there and they were employed in tilling the soil and developing agriculture. So, these captives also helped in increasing the Muslim population of Arakan.”¹⁷

The last, but not least, evants of migration of the Muslims from Bengal to Arakan took place during the time of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658A.D). He had four sons, Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangib and Murad. They were trained in the art of war, government and administration. Emperor Shah Jahan was able to guess that his four sons would eventually fight amongst themselves to occupy the throne of Delhi after his death. He, therefore, tried his level best to keep them separate giving each of them a shere of governing the empire. Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son was kept in the capital by his side; Shah Shuja, the second son was given the viceroy of Bengal and Orrissa; Aurangib, the third son was appointed viceroy of the Daccan, and Murad, the forth son was the viceroy of Gujarat. Under such situation, Shah Jahan actually fell ill in 1658 A.D. and for some time everybody gives up all hope of his recovery. Prince Dara Shikoh cut off all communications between the capital and the provinces. When the princes leaving in the other provinces did not received any information of emperor's health for some time, they thought that the emperor was dead and Dara had kept it secret to enthrone himself at the imperial seat of power. The result was the war of succession.

In the contest Aurangzib (1658-1707A.D.) come out successful and occupied the throne of Delhi. Dara and Murad had been killed. Prince Shah Slinja was defeated and forced to seek shelter to the king of Arakan. With the consent of the Arakanese king Sanda Thudamma (1652-84 A.D.) he arrived with his family and followers in Mrauk-U, the capital of Arakan on 26th August 1660 A.D. and was favorably received by the king who assigned him a residence near the city.¹⁸ In this regards modern historian G.E. Harvey says: “Shah Shuja came to Arakan as the King promised to provide him with some of his famous ships to take him on the way to Macca; he wished to die in retirement at the holy spot. But when arrived in Arakan with beautiful daughters and half a dozen camel loads of gold and jewels, the temptation was too great for King Sanda Thudamma. Such wealth had never seen in Arakan before. The king in order to seize all Shah Shuja's treasure had to find out a lame excuse. So, King Sanda Thudamma asked the hand of Shah Shuja's daughter Ameena, though he know very well that Sultan Shah Shuja would never consent. As Shah Shuja refused the suit, the king ordered him to leave his country within three days. So on 7th February, 1661 A.D. Shah Shuja fled to forest with some of his followers. The Maghs chesed them like famishing wild wolves. Ultimately the Maghs caught Sultan Shah Shuja and chopped him into prices. The king seized all his treasure, took his daughters into harrem, and imprisoned the rest of the family. Everyday the gold and silver, which the Arakanese have taken, are brought into the king's treasury to be melted down. A year later he executed them all for so called plotting, including the unhappy princess.”¹⁹

Actually, nobody can say how many Muslims were in the retinue of Shah Shuja. On the basis of the available sources and the experience on the history of Bengal and Arakan, Abdul Karim estimated that about one thousand Muslim entered into Arakan during this time.²⁰

CONCLUSION

The Muslims entered into Arakan from 7th century to 17th century i.e. near one thousand year. The coming of Muhammad bin Hanafia with his good number of followers in Arakan is the first phase of the coming of the Muslims in Arakan which we may called legendary period. Excluding this phase, Abdul Karim sums up the matter in the following words:

“So by the seventeenth century, the Muslims entered into Arakan in a big way on four different occasions; the Arabs in course of their trading activities including the ship-wrecked ones; the Muslim army, actually two big contingents, in course of restoring the king Min Saw Mun to the Arakanese throne; the captive Muslims carried by the pirates in the 16th-17th centuries; and the family and retinue of Shah Shuja in 1660 A.D. of them, the army contingents who entered into Arakan were numerically very great. They also influenced the Arakanese society and culture in a great manner. In the 17th century the Muslims thronged the capital Mrohaung and they were present in the miniature courts of ministers and other great Muslim officers of the Kingdom.”²¹

END NOTES:

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2. Mohammad Ashraf Alam, op. cit., p. 26.
3. Mohammed Ali Chowdhury, Bengal-Arakan Relations (Kolkata: FIRMA KLM (Pvt.) Limited, 2004), p. 2.
4. M.A. Taher Ba Tha, The Rohingys and Kamans (in Barmese) (Myitkyina: United Rohingya National league, 1963), P.6-7. Maung Than Lwin, 'Rahhine Kala or Rhhingya', The Mya Wadi Magagine, July 1960, PP 72-73, M.N. Habibullah, History of Rahingyas (in Bengali), (Dhaka: Bangladesh Cooperative Book Society Ltd., 1995), PP 32-33.
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6. Dr. Abdul Karim, The Rohingyas: A Short Account of their History and Culture (Chittagong: Arakan Historical Society, 2000), p. 14
7. 7 Abdul Karim, Banglar Ituhas, Sultani Amal (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1997), pp. 177-215.
8. Dr. Abdul Karim, op.cit., p. 14
9. Ibid.
10. Mohammed Ali Chowdhury, op.cit., p 34.
11. Dr. Abdul Karim, op.cit., p. 19.
12. Ibid, p. 35.
13. Luard & Hosten (ed.), The Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, Vol. I. p. 285.
14. for details about Aunggarkhali see Abdul Karim, "Aunggarkhali: A Protugnese town of the sea coast of Bانشkhali, Chittagong disappeared in the Bay of Bengal." Bangla Academy Patrika, Baishak-Asar, 1400 B.S.
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17. Dr. Abdul Karim, op.cit; pp. 38-39.
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20. Abdul Karim, History of Bengal, Mughal period, Vol. II (Rajshahi: Institute of Bangladesh Studies, 1995), P. 363.
21. Abdul Karim, op.cit, PP. 40-41