

Title	Bondage Loan (Or) <i>Ko-Nay Thetkayit</i> in Salin Town During Konbaung Period
All Authors	Wai Wai Hein
Publication Type	Local Publication
Publisher (Journal name, issue no., page no etc.)	2nd International conference on Burma/Myanmar Studies 16-18 February 2018, Vol.6, Page Number-653-661
Abstract	<p>The Myanmar economy was based on agriculture throughout the Konbaung Period. Therefore, the livelihood of most people was concerned with agriculture. When people were faced with difficulties they used to solve their problems by mortgaging their agricultural land, borrowing money, borrowing paddy and share-cropping. In some cases, poor people had to borrow money or paddy by mortgaging humans as a pledge; they mortgaged their relatives such as son, daughter, husband, wife, nephew, nieces etc. Sometimes people had to keep more than two or three people in bondages to get enough money for their needs. There were some contracts in which the whole family was kept in bondage. Even though bondage contracts were made in several areas of Myanmar, most contracts were found in Salin, an ancient town of Central Myanmar where agriculture thrived and big land owners lived. In this paper the reasons for people being kept in bondage and how they were mortgaged are discussed by analyzing the contracts found in Salin. To understand and distinguish the custom of bondage loan, the contracts from Yindaw, Shwebo and other places were used for comparison.</p>
Keywords	Konbaung, bondage, Thetkayit
Citation	
Issue Date	2018

Bondage Loan (Or) *Ko-Nay Thetkayit* in Salin Town During Konbaung Period

Wai Wai Hein
Department of History
University of Mandalay
Myanmar

Abstract

The Myanmar economy was based on agriculture throughout the Konbaung Period. Therefore, the livelihood of most people was concerned with agriculture. When people were faced with difficulties they used to solve their problems by mortgaging their agricultural land, borrowing money, borrowing paddy and share-cropping. In some cases, poor people had to borrow money or paddy by mortgaging humans as a pledge; they mortgaged their relatives such as son, daughter, husband, wife, nephew, nieces etc. Sometimes people had to keep more than two or three people in bondages to get enough money for their needs. There were some contracts in which the whole family was kept in bondage. Even though bondage contracts were made in several areas of Myanmar, most contracts were found in Salin, an ancient town of Central Myanmar where agriculture thrived and big land owners lived. In this paper the reasons for people being kept in bondage and how they were mortgaged are discussed by analyzing the contracts found in Salin. To understand and distinguish the custom of bondage loan, the contracts from Yindaw, Shwebo and other places were used for comparison.

Keywords: Konbaung, bondage, Thetkayit

Aim

This paper aims to present an account of the gap between the two social classes: how the well-off gave aid to the poor as an act of philanthropy.

Introduction

During Konbaung Period, since the majority of the population was peasants, the country's economy was agro-based economy. Some people were faced with problems of survival either because of the natural disasters or because of the frequent foreign invasions. Finally, they resorted to the means of bondage loan or borrowing money with no object of mortgage. Though some contracts included the terms of limited year for retrieving the mortgaged paddy land, yet in reality it did not turn out as signed in the contract. Once a paddy land owner had lost the balance for survival, he or she could not afford to retrieve the mortgaged land, but took more borrowings of money on the mortgage. Finally, when the paddy land owner could not pay back the loan borrowed with no object of mortgage, he or she enslaved himself or herself, his or her son or daughter, husband, wife, brother-in-law, daughter-in-law, son-in-law, nephew or niece, and there started the tradition of bondage loan or

Ko-nay Thetkayit. The maximum number of such *Thetkayit* or bondage loan contracts were found in Salin. During Konbaung Period, there existed bondage loans in a few other towns of Myanmar, but the number was not as many as that of the bondage loans of Salin Town. Though other towns had only a few bondage loan contracts, since a comparison shall be made with the bondage loan *Thetkayits* of Salin, this paper is prepared with the evidences of bondage loans discovered in Salin, Yintaw, Shwe Myo Taw, Shwebo and Kyaukpataung. The data that were included in bondage loan. *Thetkayits* are presented in detail with examples.

Materials

In this paper the *Parabaik* manuscripts, the primary sources, were obtained from Daw Ohn Kyi, Member of the Historical Commission, Yangon, Dr. Thu Nandar, Professor, Department of History, Kyaington University and Dr. Moe Moe Oo, Associate Professor, Department of History, Mandalay University of Distance Education, secondary sources were obtained from Mandalay University Library and the Library of the Department of History.

Discussion

This paper discusses how the poor people in Konbaung Period solved the problems of survival through the means of bondage loans. A comparison is made between the bondage loan *Thetkayits* of Salin Town, where the maximum number was discovered, and those of Yintaw, Shwe Myo Taw, Shwebo and Kyaukpataung.

During Konbaung Period, since the economy of Salin was agro-based, the majority of the people were peasants. When faced with the tight conditions of economy through hardships, the peasants had to solve their problems by mortgaging their own paddy land, borrowing money and paddy, and working as tenant farmers on their own paddy lands. Those of Salin and other towns, who had financial problem, had no more object for the mortgage, but, finally, had to mortgage their service as a slave and get their problems of survival resolved. This paper is prepared with the evidences of 136 bondage loan contracts of Salin, 10 from Yintaw, 17 from Shwe Myo Taw, 5 from Shwebo, and 5 from Magwe. Dr. Toe Hla's paper "The Economic - Focused Background of Wun-pyae¹⁴² or Ten villages of Taik-kyan" mentions that Wun-pyae had 46 bondage loan contracts. Details are not, however, provided here. This paper may not be exhaustive in terms of data collection since it is prepared with the evidences collected as far as possible.

In the act of bondage loan *Thetkayit* signing, the person who was giving to borrow the bondage loan and the own who offered the loan had to sign a contract of agreement known as *Thetkayit*. The contract included the terms: day, month and year of the commencement of the bondage loan, name, address of the person taking the bondage loan, and the reason, as well as the name of the "owner", person who offered the bondage loan, the amount of the loan, terms pledge, terms of year limited,

¹⁴² A large old village, located on Mandalay - Monywa Road, 3 miles to the west of Myinmu.

names witnesses and the clerk. But some contracts under the present study did not include the address, terms of pledge or year limited.

According to the evidences, those of Salin Town who enslaved themselves under the bondage loan were 103 men and 33 women. The villages of these people were Magyee, Kanni, Thoe, Ngat-gyi, Swe-te, Thoe-pyin, Pon-taut, Shwe-taw, Nwe-ta-me, Min-hlin, Dwe, Htin-pai, Mezali, Hse-kan, Thè, Pauk-khwe-kon and Kun-kyin of Baung-lin province, and the villages of Auk-hlaing Province, namely south Kumi, Wun-lo, Myauk Kyi-su, Paung Pinsi, Hsin-kyone, Pahtoe-phyu, Kya-pin, Htein-kon-taw, Seint, Paung-too, Myint-tin, Shwe-kyar-ngon, Sabai-gyi, Linzin, Dant-kyin, Cetottara, Ma-tè, Naung-taw, and Ingyin-pon-hla¹⁴³. Of 136 bondage loans 41 had no mention of the addresses.

The people of Yin-taw who took the bondage loans were 4 men and 10 women; those of Shwebo, 3 men and 2 women; those of Magwe, 2 men and 3 women; those of Shwe Myo Taw, 1 man and 4 women, 3 couples of husband and wife, and 9 families who took the loans and centered the bondage. If a comparison is made between the bondage loans of Salin and those of other regions, the number of women was greater than that of man.

The general reasons for entering such bondage, like these for mortgaging paddy lands and for money loans, included the terms: being in need of money, and to pay back the debt. Mostly, no specific reasons were mentioned. Only a few did: "to pay the cost of domestic affairs"¹⁴⁴, "to compensate the cost of the oxen"¹⁴⁵, "to pay the charge of the judicial transactions"¹⁴⁶, "to make investment"¹⁴⁷.

Most of the contracts, or *Thetkayits*, included the terms, "Loan on *Shin-pwa- The-son*" or "Loan on *Shin-ma-pwa The-ma-son*". The former included the following terms: a woman who was accepted for the bondage might have been pregnant before entering the bondage, while serving at the money lender's, the child she gave birth to was liable for serving like his or her mother; in another instance of the case, a woman who got married and delivered a child while serving the money. Lender had to present her child in the service of her money lender; if the woman died while in her service of bondage, there was no need to make a replacement for the dead maid servant. In the latter type of the bondage loan, a woman might have been pregnant before entering the bondage, the child she bore while in her service to the money lender, or the child born to a maid - servant who got married during her service, remained free, but when she did in harness, a replacement must be made. During King Badon's reign, the majority of the *Thetkayits* belonged to the former type probably because the person who was going to enter the bondage had only a few family members or relatives, or because

¹⁴³ Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, No.10, 114,122,325.

¹⁴⁴ 4th waxing of Thadingyit, M.E. 1191(16 October 1829), Nga-ni *Ko-nay Thetkayit*. Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript, No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁴⁵ 10th waxing of Pyatho, M.E. 1209 (16 December 1847), Nga Kan Pe *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik* Manuscript, No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁴⁶ 3rd waxing of Wakhaung, M.E. 1205(27 August 1843), Nga Khattar *Ko-nay Thetkayit*. Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik* Manuscript, No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁴⁷ Mi Moe *ei Ko-boe-ngwe Htat-phye Thetkayit*, (2005). The Catalogue of Materials of Myanmar History in Microfilms, Vol.2, edited by Thu Nandar, Tokyo Universities of Foreign Studies, 2005, 147 (Henceforth: CMMH, 2005).

there was no one to guarantee him or her or because the man servant or maid servant did not want to be a burden to other people. It was probably because the contract terms did not include the terms of limited year. Some contracts belonging to King Badon's reign mentioned that the bondage loan could be retrieved at any time. The majority of the contracts belonging to King Mindon and King Thibaw mentioned the terms of "Purchase in terms of the second type of loan *Shin-ma-pwa The-ma-son*".

The study of the bondage loans of Salin Town shows that the first types of loan declined, starting from King Thayawaddy's reign, and no more existed in the reign of King Mindon and King Thibaw. Though it might be assumed from this, that the custom of bondage loans had changed in the course of time, it is not exactly known about the cause of the change, probably because the change originated from the change of social customs.

The money allowed from the bondage loans varied from region to region, from person to person. In the contracts of Salin, the minimum cash granted from the bondage loan for a woman was k.16; the maximum amount being k.40. The money granted from a man's bondage loan was k.20 at the minimum, and k.120 at the maximum. In Yin-taw, women fetched at least k.115. In the other towns, the prices for the bondage loans of man and woman did not make a difference. Probably the price could be the amount decided upon by the money lender; or it depended on the relationship between the paddy land owner and the money lender.

In the bondage loan, the borrower got into the bondage his or her son or daughter, wife, nephew, niece, brother-in-law or grandchild. When the required amount of loan was not obtained from the bondage of one person, two or three had to be set in bondage simultaneously. It is learned from the study of the contracts, that there were cases in which the whole family had to enter the bondage finally. To cite one instance of a bondage loan contract discovered from Yin-taw,

Maung Lu, and wife Shin Hse of Zee Pin Pauk Village were in need of money. Their daughters Mi Bon Toke and Mi Toke were set to bondage in terms of 150 coins of one kyat in the contract type of *The-mason Shin-ma-pwa*; liable to send the maids on service out of the territory; in terms of *Kyaw Pai-Nin. Pai* and *Lin-ban-phala-khwe*. Maung Chein guaranteed to pay for the money taken for the bondage if the maids should run away. Clerks: Maung Ko Lay; Writer: Maung His¹⁴⁸.

The contract mentions that the parents set the two daughters into bondage being in need of money. The type of contract was that of *The-mason- Shin-ma-pwa*. Another term included: *Myit-ku Chaung Cha* ("even beyond the territory"), i.e., the owner is not responsible for having the maids fined or dead while on service out of the defined territory; another term included was *Kyaw-pai Nin-pai*, i.e., the owner, a man, is entitled to take the maid for wife; another term included (*Lin-ban Phala-kwe*) is if the maid accidentally breaks the property of the owner, she does not need to pay for the damage. The study of the bondage loan contracts discovered in Salin does not mention any such terms.

¹⁴⁸ Zee-bin-pauk Ywa-ne Mi-Bon-Toke, Mi-Toke-To-ei *Ko-nay Thetkayit, Parabaik*, Manuscript, No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

We shall now discuss the contracts in which the whole family were set into bondage. One contract dated 30 September 1878 is concerned with the bondage of Nga Nyo's family set by the Headman of Kan-Kauk Maung Myat Kyaw: the family members were Nga Nyo's wife Mi Bè, sons Nga The and Nga Hmat. The bondage was done in terms of k.150 for the three¹⁴⁹. Another contract was done again over one year after the first bondage of the family. It is noted that 23 *kyats* were paid back out of the loan of 150 *kyats* borrowed on loan. But besides failing to pay back the remaining loan of 127 *kyats*, another loan of 70 *kyats* was borrowed¹⁵⁰.

In signing the bondage loan contracts, in order to satisfy the money lender, the person entering the bondage had to make guarantees with pledges¹⁵¹. Some bondage loan contracts include the terms that there was a person who guarantees the service of the slave and who will deal with the case in which the slave runs away from the service. To cite an example, one contract dated on 4 November 1858 included the terms that the one who made a guarantee was to pay for the bondage loan. It is noted that because no search was made for both of the two persons who made the guarantee, the guarantee in charge Mi Oo Ma's mother had to enter the bondage at the rate of the half of the loan Mi Oo Ma owed. It is noted that, later, the guarantee in-charge Nga Bè had to enter the bondage at the rate of half of the bondage loan¹⁵². Nevertheless, according to the pledge, the responsible persons fork the responsibility. To cite another instance, in one bondage loan contract dated 21 November 1869, the father and his friend set the bondage of the son for k.5; however, the son fled. So the father and his friend had to pay back the loan, but only the money the father spent, and not the money his friend spent, was paid back. Since the remaining debt was not paid back, the friend had to enter the bondage¹⁵³. There were three contracts that mention that the one set in bondage fled.

Each of the bondage loan contracts of Yin-taw mention the guarantee - in charge's name: "If the slave flees, the loan borrowed and the charge for the days the slave had been away from service". That is, the responsible one was to pay back the loan borrowed, and to serve for the days the slave had been away from service. Some contracts mention the terms: "If the slave should flee, the fine shall be paid: at the interest of 5 *Hmus* per months per k.10¹⁵⁴."; "If the slave should flee, double charges must be paid"¹⁵⁵.

¹⁴⁹ *Thetkayit* 1240, 4th waxing of Thadingyit (30 September 1878), Nga Nyo-mi-tha-su *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

¹⁵⁰ *Thetkayit* 1242, 5th waxing of Waso (11 July 1880), Nga Nyo-mi-tha-su Htat-phye-yu *Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

¹⁵¹ *Thetkayit* 1191, 4th waning of Thadingyut (16 October 1829), Nga Ni *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁵² Salin *Thugaung Parabaik*, Manuscript, No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁵³ *Thetkayit* 1231, 3rd waxing of Tazaungmon (21 November 1869), Nga Shwe Myin *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.24, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁵⁴ *Thetkayit* 1242, 5th waxing of Wakhaung (10 August 1880), Mi-Ma-Ma *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

¹⁵⁵ *Thetkayit* 1246, 11th waning of Tazaungmon (13 November 1884), Mi Phyu *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

It is noted from one bondage loan contract signed on 9 September 1882, that the guarantee in-charges had to find replacements since the slaves died on harness¹⁵⁶. In that contract, Nga Aung Thar set in bondage died before the term of bondage was over, so another replacement was set on the side of those who took the bondage loan. This shows that the slave set in bondage belonged to the type of *Shin-ma-pwa The-ma-son* loan, and that the terms defined in the contract were strictly followed. According to the terms of the contract pledged for not causing grievances on the part of the money lender, a new contract was signed and a new replacement for the slave was made. So pledges were made to the satisfaction of the money lender in signing bondage loan contracts; should anything go wrong, the terms signed in pledge were followed accordingly. Only one contract was discovered, in which the slave set in bondage died in harness.

It is learned that among the bondage loan contracts signed during the reign of King Mindon and King Thibaw, terms of limited years were included: from at least one year to three years at the maximum; the three years being at the maximum in must contract. During these three years, the slave set in bondage had to serve domestic affairs and farm work or whatever the money lender, the master of the house, set him to do. It is assumed that the terms of limited years were included just for the sake of business because there were so few who could retrieve the loan according to the limited year. Sometimes, those trustworthy persons of the money lender were usually appointed as *Kyi-htein* ("in-charge of financial affairs")¹⁵⁷.

It is noted that in every bondage loan, the borrower of the loan, being in need of money once again, added to his or her loan many times. It is learned that, as the bondage loans discovered in Salin, those of Wun-pyae and Shwe Myo Taw had additions of the loans borrowed by those set to bondage. In the bondage loan contracts of Salin, Wun-pyae and Yin-taw, only a few additional loans were borrowed¹⁵⁸, but in Shwe Myo Taw, 12 to 22 time borrowing were made within 3 years, and 11 time borrowings within 2 years¹⁵⁹. Those who were in financial difficulties, it is assumed, had resorted to the fastest way to resolve the problem of survival.

One contract shows that a slave set in bondage to serve at a money lender, being unhappy there, was transferred to another. For this purpose, not only the bondage loan borrowed but also added money or gift usually defined by the local customs was given to the new owner. Moreover, in that contract, both the husband and the wife centered the bondage at the same time¹⁶⁰. It is assumed that, of the husband and the wife entering the bondage at the same time, only one would be to serve as the slave.

¹⁵⁶ *Thetkayit* 1244, 3rd waning of Thadingyit (29 September 1882), Nga-Thet-Oo *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.24, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁵⁷ U Cendima (Salin), (2014). *Anyar-mye Shwe Salin*, Yangon, Lin Lun-Khin Sarpay, 179.

¹⁵⁸ Toe Hla, "*Wun-pye-tho Taik-kyan-Hse-ywa-ei- Sibwa-ye-son-chet Nauk-khan-thamaing*": Than Tun 75 Hmwe-ne Let-saung. (1996).Sha-sha Phwe-phwe Myama-Thamaing, Vol. 2, Diamond Jubilee Publications Group, Yangon, Inwa Sarpay, 178.

¹⁵⁹ CMMH, 2005, 132-142.

¹⁶⁰ *Thetkayit* 1229, 13th waxing of Waso (13 July1867), Mi-Sabai-nint-lin- Nga-Shwe-O-to-ei *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

The study of the bondage loan contracts of Salin shows one contract in which, in order to retrieve the daughter set in bondage, the three remaining family members set themselves into bondage¹⁶¹. That was only one contract of its kind. However, among the contracts of Shwe Myo Taw, there were nine in which the whole family entered the bondage. It might lead to the assumption: Was it intentionally done to set the whole family into bondage for the sake of solving the problems of survival.

One noteworthy fact was that, though a person entered the bondage, he or she did not stay with the money lender, as stated in some bondage loans contracts. Eight contracts of such kind were discovered: the loan was made in terms of *Shin-ma-pwa The-ma-son*e type. To compensate the absence of service to the money lender, the "labor tax paddy" or other particular terms must be supplied in the form of interest on the bondage loan.

If the term of a bondage loan contract includes the pledge of serving as slave, the one entering the bondage must stay with the money lender, giving his or her service in domestic affairs and farm work set to work by the lord of the house. However, in some contracts, a person entering the bondage might not stay with the money lender, but stayed at his or her home and served as best as he or she could afford till he or she could completely pay back the bondage loan. For example, the terms included in the contract were: "Allow me to stay at (the money lender's) house, but until the bondage loan is settled, allow me to supply 20 baskets of paddy ("Labor Tax Paddy") per year¹⁶²"; "Let me supply 25 baskets of paddy per year¹⁶³"; "I will supply 30 baskets of paddy from the hard-earned yield every year¹⁶⁴"; "Let me pound 15 baskets of paddy per month (for the money lender)¹⁶⁵". It was the person entering the bondage who made a request that he or she be allowed to keep him or her away from the money lender, but supply labor from outside or supply paddy from the yield harvested from his or her labor. But it cannot be exactly found out whether the offer for the supply of labor from outside or for the paddy yield was defined by the money lender or by the person entering the bondage or through the negotiations on both sides.

It is found out from the evidences mentioned in the contracts that the money lenders of Salin, Shwebo, Yintaw, Magwe and Wun-pyae, who accepted the bondage loans were officers. The beknighted persons of Salin were well-off persons who were mostly relied upon by the poor. A short account of the beknighted people of Salin shall be presented. During King Narapati Sithu's reign, the four headmen who founded and developed Salin Town were awarded the title, "Pyi-Soe" (Town

¹⁶¹ *Thetkayit* 1195 13th waning of Tabaung (7 March 1834), Nga-Wa, Mi-Wet-nint-Nga-Shwe Hmaw-to- ei-Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁶² *Thetkayit* 1161, 10th waxing of Tabaung (4 March 1800), Nga Tun Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁶³ *Thetkayit* 1154, 12th waxing of Waso, (30 June 1792) Nga-htun Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

¹⁶⁴ (a) *Thetkayit* 1154, 3rd waxing of Nayon (23 May 1792) Nga Nyo Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collection.

(b) *Thetkayit* 1272, 6th waning of Tabaung (14 March 1811), Nga Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collections.

¹⁶⁵ *Thetkayit* 1229, 4th waning of Pyatho (12 January 1868), Mi Pyo Ko-nay *Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114, Daw Ohn Kyi's Collections.

Governor), from which came the descendants of the beknighted. The descendants of the beknighted ruled Salin as town governors until King Thibaw was sent into exile as a deposed King. The beknighted were powerful in terms of wealth and political power. The poor peasants in Salin and other neighboring villages, having financial difficulties, or having no rice for meals, mortgaged their land to the beknighted headmen or entered the bondage as the slave for money loan or paddy loan. The In-charge of the paddy cultivators on royal lands called *Shwe-nan-yoe Lamaing Officer*¹⁶⁶, the *Than-taw-sint*¹⁶⁷, *Kyauk-se Officer*, who were in charge of irrigation, *Myin-su-gyi Officer*¹⁶⁸, of Shwe Myo Taw Town, the Town Governor of Shwebo, the Finance Clerk, and the counter in royal service from Wun-pyae, and the Town Officer of Yin-taw accepted the bondage loan contracts as a business.

Conclusion

When people encountered difficulties in life, and their socio - economy collapsed, they had to solve the problems at hand by mortgaging their own paddy lands or by requesting a loan from the money lender. Unfortunately, since they had to ask for more and more loans on the mortgaged paddy lands and could not afford to settle the debt, as the Myanmar saying goes, "Debts make a slave", the owners of the paddy lands finally turned themselves into the lives of slaves serving the money lenders. From then on there came to exist the practice of bondage loans. In other towns during Konbaung Period, women were to enter the bondage as slaves, but the study of the bondage loan contracts of Salin shows that the number of men following the bondage loan practice was greater than that of women. Men are physically stronger than women; moreover, men could find any job suitable to them, but women could not. It is assumed, therefore, that the number of men serving as slaves to the money lender was greater. It was found from the study of the bondage loan contracts, that no cause or reason for the bondage loan was mentioned, that in some contracts, the pledge had to be made by the would - be slave to satisfy the money lender, that the terms of the limitation of time or year occurred in the bondage loan contracts belonging to the reign of King Mindon and King Thibaw, that what is noteworthy is the slave under bondage contract did not need to stay at the money lender's, but had to supply the paddy yield harvested from his or her labor, or any other service. It is assumed that, from such as bondage loan, the poor people could get the immediate problems of survival resolved for the moment. Besides, they could take more loans again and again on the bondage loan, and get one of the family members free from the load of survival. If the slave stayed with the money lender, he or she did not need to worry about the food or clothing or shelter. With such rights offered to the slave, the money lender also had his or her domestic affairs and farm work dispatched; having both sides get along well.

¹⁶⁶ In-charge on the cultivators on the royal lands and the paddy lands inherited by the prince before he succeeded to the throne.

¹⁶⁷ Responsible for dispatching the King's orders.

¹⁶⁸ Officer of Horse; next to minister in rank; the king appointed one of the officers whom he trusted most.

References

Primary Sources

Parabaik Manuscripts

- Mi Moe *ei Ko-boe-ngwe Htat-pbye Thetkayit*. (2005). The Catalogue of Materials of Myanmar History in Microfilms, Vol.2, edited by Thu Nandar, Tokyo Universities of Foreign Studies.
- Thetkayit* 1154, 12th waxing of Waso (30 June 1792). Nga-htun *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1154, 3rd waxing of Nayon (23 May 1792). Nga Nyo *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1161, 10th waxing of Tabaung (4 March 1800). Nga Tun *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1173, 6th waning of Tabaung (14 March 1811). Nga *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1191, 4th waning of Thadingyut (16 October 1829). Nga Ni *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1195, 13th waning of Tabaung (7 March 1834). Nga Wa, Mi Wet nint Nga-Shwe Hmaw *to ei Ko-ne Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1205, 3rd waxing of Wakhaung (27 August 1843). Nga Khatta- *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1209, 10th waxing of Pyatho (16 December 1847). Nga Kan Pe *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1220, 13th waning of Thadingyut (4 November 1858). Mi O Ma *ei Mi khin Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.114. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1229, 13th waxing of Waso (13 July 1867). Mi-Sabai-nint-lin- Nga-Shwe-O-to-ei *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1229, 3rd waning of Pyatho (12 January 1868). Mi Pyo *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.10. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1231, 3rd waxing of Tazaungmon (21 November 1869). Nga Shwe Myin *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.24. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1240, 4th waxing of Thadingyit (30 September 1878). Nga Nyo-mi-tha-su *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1242, 5th waxing of Waso (11 July 1880). Nga Nyo-mi-tha-su Htat-pbye-yu *Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1242, 5th waxing of Wakhaung (10 August 1880). Mi-Ma-Ma *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2, Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1244, 3rd waning of Thadingyit (29 September 1882). Nga-Thet-Oo *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Salin *Thugaung, Parabaik*, Manuscript No.24. Daw OhnKyì's Collection.
- Thetkayit* 1246, 11th waning of Tazaungmon (13 November 1884). Mi Phyu *Ko-nay Thetkayit*, Shwesandaw *Parabaik*, Manuscript No.2. Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.
- Zee-bin-pauk Ywa-ne Mi-Bon-Toke, Mi Toke *to ei Ko-nay Thetkayit, Parabaik*, Manuscript, No.2. Dr. Moe Moe Oo's Collection.

Secondary Sources

- Sandimar (Salin), U. (2015). *Anyar Myay Shwe Salin* (Salin the land of upcountry). Yangon; Lin Lun Khin Sarpay.
- Toe Hla. (1999). *Wun-byei Thomahok taik-kyan sai-ywa ei Sipwa-yay-songet* (Wun-Byei (or) Economic pivot of the ten excluded villages. Sha Phwe Phwe Sandanmya, published in honor of the 75th anniversary birthday of Dr. Than Tun, Yangon, Thein Htaik Yatana Press.

