

A MINOR KHMER ETHICAL TEXT OF EARLY DATE

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In early April 1975 I had the privilege of reading with my learned teacher and colleague Saveros Pou an obscure cpā'pa /cbap/<sup>1</sup> codex of which I had obtained a microfilm copy some years before from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Because of its marginal literary interest Dr Pou and I do not intend to include this text in the series of studies on the cpā'pa genre which we are publishing in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*.<sup>2</sup> Because it is short, early, and valuable on linguistic and philological grounds I offer it here as an example of a minor cpā'pa which will improve our understanding of the genre as a whole and throw into relief the strengths and beauties of the better-known texts in the aforesaid series.

The work in question is an anonymous, undated Middle Khmer cpā'pa srī /cbap srəj/ or code of conduct for young women. Item 164 in the catalogue of Au Chhieng,<sup>3</sup> it consists of a bundle of eight ōla disposed as follows: 1a, top cover, bearing the title neḥ khsatrā cpāpa srīya<sup>4</sup> 'This the treatise *Precepts*

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<sup>1</sup>Khmer forms are here cited primarily in a strict Indianist transliteration, interpreted wherever warranted by phonemic transcription.

<sup>2</sup>See Saveros Pou & Philip N. Jenner, "Les cpāp' ou 'codes de conduite' khmers. I: Cpāp' kerti kāl," in *BEFEO*, LXII (1975): 369-94, and "Les cpāp' ou 'codes de conduite' khmers. II: Cpāp' prus," in *BEFEO*, LXIII (1976): 313-50. The Cpāp' kūn cau is due to appear shortly and the Cpāp' rājaneti is in press.

<sup>3</sup>Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer*. Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953), 103. The codex bears the old accession numbers *Indochinois* 136 and *Camb.* 58.

<sup>4</sup>Modern neḥ sātrā cpā'pa srī.

for *Womenfolk*!; 1b and 2a, blank; 2b, unnumbered, side 1 of text; 3a, blank; 3b, unnumbered, side 3 [*sic*] of text; 4a, numbered 1, side 2 of text; 4b, unnumbered, side 5 of text; 5a, numbered 2, side 4 of text; 5b, unnumbered, side 7 of text; 6a, numbered 3, side 6 of text; 6b, blank; 7a, numbered 4, side 8 of text and end; 7b, blank; 8ab, lower cover. As Au Chhieng notes, the size of the *ōla* is 56.5 x 5.5 centimeters and there are five lines on each *ōla* of text. The total number of lines is thirty-five.

With a wordcount of only 922, the work is organized into thirty-eight strophes in the *kākagati* meter. This calls for seven verses of four syllables each and a rhyme scheme as follows:

a.	x	x	x	1	
b.	x	x	x	1	
c.	x	x	x	2	← g4 in preceding
d.	x	x	x	(3)	
e.	x	(3)	x	2	
f.	x	x	x	2	
g.	x	x	x	4	→ c4 in next

In the present text the option of having the *de* rhyme is exercised in all but four cases (strophes 1, 22, 23, 31), though it must be conceded that three *de* rhymes involving short /a/ are of questionable authenticity: *cita* : *ktāta* in 17, *mcāsa* : *khusa* in 25, and *cita* : *prayāta* in 32. Other *de* rhymes which may appear dubious are commonly admitted in the metrical compositions of this period: *duka* : 'ā *kraka* in 9, *kūna* : *sñwna* in 10, the two /-l/ : /-r/ rhymes in 19 and 21,<sup>5</sup> and the four -ī : -ai rhymes in 8, 11, 12 and 14.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>See my "The Final Liquids of Middle Khmer," in *ZPSK*, 28 (1975).5/6: 599-609.

<sup>6</sup>See my "The Value of *au* and *ai* in Middle Khmer," in *South-East Asian Linguistic Studies*, [Vol. 1], edited by Nguyen Dang Liem, published as *Pacific Linguistics*, Series C - No. 31: 157-73, and "The Value of *ī*, *i*, *ū* and *u* in Middle Khmer," in *South-*

As is usually the case with Middle Khmer manuscript literature, the obligatory rhyme pattern imposed by the meter has been broken here and there, ostensibly by successive copyists bent on improving or clarifying the original text. These discrepancies are mentioned in my notes and, where it has seemed safe to do so, corrected in the text given here. These textual changes on grounds of rhyme are limited to five: strophe 2a, *mtāya stāpa* > *stāpa mtāya*; 7g, *pāta 'antařāy* > *'antařāya pāta*; 22g, *ita lākkha* > *ita lākkhāna*; 24g, *smēra mtāya* > *smēra khlwna*; and 32c, *tēña tām* > *tēña māna*.

Thus restored, the text shows a rhyme factor<sup>7</sup> of 46.9%, which locates it between the earlier *Cpā'pa rājaneti* (47.2%) and the later *Cpā'pa krama* (45.4%). As far as subsequent phonological development enables us to say, therefore, the original text from which the present manuscript derives was composed in the mid-17th century if not before.

Regarding the transliterated text a word of explanation may be helpful to readers who have had no previous exposure to the manuscripts of this period. As far as I am aware, no one has ever taken the trouble to point out that certain of the conjunct consonant allographs of modern Khmer had two distinct functions in Middle Khmer. One of these, exactly as in the modern language, was to combine with syllabic consonant symbols to form initial and final ligatures (digraphs). The other, which did not finally pass out of usage until the early decades of this century, was to mark final consonants minus the inherent vowel. Presumably a Cambodian innovation, this function appears to have developed in response to the gradual disappear-

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*East Asian Linguistic Studies*, Vol. 2, edited by Nguyen Dang Liem, published as *Pacific Linguistics*, Series C - No. 42: 39-72.

<sup>7</sup>For this term, see my "The Relative Dating of Some Khmer *Cpā'pa*," in *Austroasiatic Studies*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 13 (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), II: 693-710.

ance of the *virāma*, a process which has not to my knowledge been investigated either in Old Khmer or in Middle Khmer and which hence cannot be dated. Since the orthography of the Middle Khmer period was fluid, the alternative of using conjunct allographs in syllable-final position was exercised haphazardly. In the present text it is confined to the symbols for *ña*, *da*, *ma*, *ya*, and *sa*. Thus we find such orthographic forms as *dāṇṇi* /daṅ > taṅ/ (modern *dāmṇā* /teəṅ/) 'all', *pād* /bat/ (modern *pā'ta* /bat/) 'to be lost', *nāṇṇm* or *nāṇṇma* /nam/ (modern *nāṇ* /noəm/) 'to lead', *mtāy* /mḍaaj/ (modern *mtāya* /mḍaaj/) 'mother', and *is* /qih/ (modern 'a'sa /qah/) 'to be spent'.<sup>8</sup>

Works belonging to the *cpā'pa* genre are of more than linguistic or literary interest: their object is the expression of those ethical and social standards which individual Khmer poets have considered worthy of transmission in this form. Their utilitarian intent is successful to whatever degree the values they treat are made attractive by art. Flights of poetic imagination in the present text, it seems fair to say, are limited to strophes 18, 19, 30, 31 and 32 and to a few felicitous images as in 11g.

The subject matter of this text can be categorized as a preamble (strophes 1 and 2) stressing the difficulty of living up to the highest ideals; miscellaneous precepts ranging from the specific to the general and from the concrete to the abstract; a medial exhortation (23-4) to observe the code, followed by praise of its precepts (28) on the basis of their antiquity; and terminal reaffirmations (32-5) of the worth of the code. The miscellaneous precepts forming the main body of the text have to do with (a) respect for one's husband (3, 10, 20-22), (b) devotion to duty as a homemaker (6, 31), illustrated by the parable of the fish and water (18-19), with special em-

<sup>8</sup>Cf. such nonpermissible *devanāgarī* forms as नॉं, इर.

phasis on the safeguarding of one's property (7, 11, 14, 29), (c) the just treatment of servants (15, 25-6), (d) the cultivation of virtue, notably kindness and generosity (10), modesty (8-9, 22), and mental alertness (27), together with self-discipline (4-5, 17), (e) the avoidance of evil (12), including hypocrisy (17) and arrogance (30), (f) pride in being a woman (33), (g) observance of Buddhist teachings (16), and (h) perseverance in general self-improvement (13). Students of Asian patterns of behavior will note the prohibitions against loud laughter (8) and "staring" (22), that is, looking directly into the eyes of one's interlocutor. It will also be observed that many of these injunctions are attended by references to the good (10, 12) or evil (1-3, 6-9, 17, 25, 33-4) consequences of compliance or noncompliance. The tone of the text, unlike certain others of its kind, is more positive than negative: while *kum* 'do not' and *kum oy* 'let not' occur in seventeen strophes (45%) in mostly short prohibitions, twenty strophes (53%) are entirely affirmative.

My translation is meant to serve as a close guide to the Khmer text, and is not to be understood as having any artistic pretensions. Because of its literality I have elected not to encumber it with brackets around English words having no counterpart in the text. I have on the other hand bracketed a few phrases interpolated to suggest the relationship between successive verses or strophes.

## neḥ padd kākkati

1. kūṇṇey mātrāra / cpāpa srīya neḥ ṇāra / kra kraiy kan-  
laña / nāña yaka traciēka / ona stāpa traña raña / kuṃ nāña  
leña laña / stāpa mtāy pratova //

2. kūna bova stāpa mtāya / cpāpa srīya mina ṇṇāya / nāña  
yaka duka nova / knuña 'aña 'ātmāha / sṇwna bhṇāra srīya bova /  
kuṃ oy māna sova / māña khlwna kūna srīya //

3. ora kūna srīya bova / stāpa mtāya pratova / pera nāña  
māna phtīya / kuṃ khiña poka poḥ / dratoḥ sratīy / niña kēta  
'apriya / twca tala nāña ṇāra //

4. kūṇṇey cpāpa srīya / pera niña sratīy / khlāmṇa beka būṃ  
jāra / doḥ niña kreva krodha / bhīrodha ktīya ṇāra / gīta knuña  
cintāra / ona 'aña serīsāra //

5. prām bīra hēya guna / guna gita oy tiña / knuña cita  
sratīy / oy guna oy gita / junjiña gwra guna / gwra gita oy  
dhṇuna x oy saṃm saṃmatīy //

6. kūṇṇey mwya ṇā / doḥ ththāna grīḥhāra / nova jāra pra-  
kratīy / kuṃ tēra dhṇuna jēna / jāna kēna dāmṇ tīy / lēra phdaḥ  
nāña srīya / 'ābbha ita lakkhiṇā //

7. doḥ lṇāca pralupa / riēpa oy sabva grupa / rapasa drāb-  
bha jāra / kuṃ mēla paṃṇāṃma / pracāṃma gnī gnāra / drābbha  
dhuna noḥ ṇāra / niña 'antaṛāy pāta //

This the *kākagati* meter

1. O my child, these rules / and precepts for womankind /  
are most difficult.<sup>1</sup> / Let you give ear, / humbly heed, and  
take them unto yourself.<sup>2</sup> / Let you be not inattentive,<sup>3</sup> / but  
hear me as I teach.

2. Let my youngest heed me:<sup>4</sup> / precepts for womenfolk are  
not easy, / Let you take and keep them / within the person,<sup>5</sup> /  
well-loved, of my last-born daughter. / Let there be no blemish  
/ unto my daughter's person.

3. O youngest daughter, / hear me as I teach: / When you  
have a husband, / be not cross or rude / or try to break your  
bonds or speak ill of him; / for you will breed contempt /  
which reflects back on yourself.

4. O my child, a precept for womankind: / if you would  
speak,<sup>6</sup> / it is unseemly to be too loud;<sup>7</sup> / if you would rage /  
and rant over matters, / consider them in your thoughts, / with  
head and body bowed.<sup>8</sup>

5. Seven times<sup>9</sup> / let you ponder until you know / in your  
heart what it is you say; / let you ponder, let you think / and  
weigh; it is well to ponder, / it is well to think so that  
grave, so that seemly, be your speech.

6. O my only child, / even if the house<sup>10</sup> / wherein you  
live be of the common kind, / move not with heavy feet:<sup>11</sup> /  
tread<sup>12</sup> lightly along the ground / and in your home, / lest  
they lack luster and distinction.<sup>13</sup>

7. If it is late afternoon or dusk, / see to it that all /  
your chattels are safe; / do not regard them indifferently / or  
wait for others [to care for them], / [for if you do,] your  
wealth / will be damaged or lost.<sup>14</sup>

8. ora kūna bova mtāya / kuṃ sœca k'āka k'āy / pralupa  
'ādrāttha / saṃmreka rājjasīy / noḥ naiy būṃ ghlāta / cañraiya  
tala 'āttha / khlwna nāna jā srīya //

9. ora kūna sañsāra / 'aṅgūya māta dhvāra / dhvœ kāra iy  
iy / niña kœta dos duka / 'ā kraka 'aprīya / khusa niña cpāpa  
srīya / thay thoka sakkha yusa //

10. kūṃœy swstīya / suka saṃmrīdhdhīy / niña kœta khbaña  
khabasa / bīy nāna jā kūna / srīya snwna sapparasa / paṃbeña  
sakkha yusa / mcāsa nāna jā srīya //

11. kūna bova nāna cāṃṃ / bāka beja pantāṃṃ / pantepa hā-  
radaiy / doḥ drābbha dhuna dhāna / mena māna taṃṃtaiya / rāksāra  
sabva thñaiya / jāra trīya snēra muka //

12. lokkīy neḥ naiy / gey niña sratīy / caṃmrcœna bara  
suka / prās lēna cañraiya / nova bhaiy lēna duka / bova mtāya  
pāna suka / saṃpāta swggāra //

13. kūna bova mtāya phtāṃṃ / bāka beja nāna cāṃṃ / toy  
pada gāthāra / mtāya niña pratova / kūna bova būṃniñāra / oy  
nāna pāna jāra / ddhaṃṃma dœbva sraṇuka //

14. ora kūna srīya bova / stāpa mtāya pratova / oy pāna  
swra suka / drābbha guña tpita srīya / ceḥ saṃcaiy duka / māna



8. O my youngest child, / laugh not boisterously / at dusk  
or in deep of night,<sup>15</sup> / [for if you do] the *rājasimha*'s roar /  
will not be far away / and will bring calamity to the weal / of  
yourself as a woman.

9. O beloved<sup>16</sup> child, / if you sit beside your door / to  
do any chore soever, / you will beget sin and woe / and be low  
and contemptible, / going contrary to the precept for women /  
and debasing your station.

10. O my child, weal, / contentment and prosperity / shall  
rise to great heights / above you if you are a maid / who is  
loving and kind / and who lives up to the station / of your  
husband.<sup>17</sup>

11. My last-born child, let you bear in mind / these words  
prescribed / and enjoined by my heart: / if your goods and  
chattels / be indeed of high value, / safeguard them constant-  
ly, / as the fish loves [its own reflected] face.<sup>18</sup>

12. Of this world / the folk would say: / to increase bles-  
sings and contentment / quit that which is hurtful / and fear-  
some, quit [that which causes] woe; / let my last-born child  
achieve contentment, / wealth, and heaven.

13. Last-born child, I prescribe / words for you to commit  
to memory / in verses and strophes; / I would teach / my well-  
loved youngest / how to come to be of good estate / and high  
rank, and thereby be happy.

14. O my last-born daughter, / hear me as I teach you /  
how to achieve heaven's bliss:<sup>19</sup> / being a woman, hold fast to

phdaḥ sraṇuka / tpita lākkha srīya jāra //

15. ora kūna ūtaṇṇa / kuṃ jera bola khñuṇṇa / crēna taṇa  
crēna grāra / sina sima duka yaka / vāra maka jāra gnāra /  
nāna 'ata oy vāra / tām cpāpa pūrāna //

16. neḥ ēṇa mtāya phtāṇṇa / kūna bova nāna cāṇṇ / oy nāna  
ciēma prāna / toya dharmma braḥ buddha / caṃhuta dūnamāna /  
bita bīy pūrāna / jāta jāra gāthāra //

17. pēra pāna jā ddhaṇṇa / manusa phaṇa kosa kuṃ / toya  
puna loka jāra / nāna kuṃ dhvōra cita / khiṇa ktāta phtāsāra /  
manusa phaṇa rwāna rāra / ra'āra dīy daiy //

18. nānñey guṅgāra / is dāṇṇi mechchāra / biṇa bāka pra-  
sraiya / tēra biṇa guṅgāra / lgika ṇāra ktova kraiy / triya  
phaṇa maka khsaiya / juna jāta jārāra //

19. kūna mahā jā dika / kūṇey pera lgika / prēra ktova  
viṇa ṇāra / bita būṇ ta mūla / papūra mechchāra / būṇ hova guṅ-  
gāra / sūna suṇa jāra trōya //

20. ora kūna bīysīy / pēra nāna māna phtīya / guṇṭeṇa  
nānñey / paṇṇrera pranipāttha / praṇāta jā trōya / kuṃ prahēsa  
lōy / krēna khusa cpāpa srīya //

your wealth, / know how to save and lay it aside / and maintain  
a cozy home, / for this is the mark of a good woman.

15. O most excellent child,<sup>20</sup> / rebuke not your servants /  
with excessive frequency;<sup>21</sup> / rather, bide your time and / make  
them part of your household;<sup>22</sup> let you be indulgent toward  
them, / in keeping with the precepts of yore.

16. This which I enjoin, / youngest child, do you bear in  
mind: / let you be conscious of yourself<sup>23</sup> / and follow the  
*dharma* of the Buddha, / which is most effective in its teach-  
ings, / true since ancient times, / and exists in the form of  
*gāthā*.<sup>24</sup>

17. When they achieve high station / folk make much noise  
/ as they ape the good works of their betters;<sup>25</sup> / let you give  
no admittance to feelings / of hot anger or execration, / for  
others will shrink and draw back / and be frightened off, each  
in his own way.

18. O young lady, in water / do all manner of fish / take  
refuge and asylum; / on water alone do they depend; / and if it  
be very warm, / they grow numerous<sup>26</sup> / and people the water.<sup>27</sup>

19. For fry, water is most excellent;<sup>28</sup> / but if, O my  
child, / it does [not] wax warm, / the fish therein do not /  
come together and multiply / and the water, empty and dark,<sup>29</sup> /  
cannot be said to be a refuge.

20. O my dearest child, / when you have a husband / and  
lord, O young lady, / let you humbly serve / and care for him  
as your refuge; / do not neglect him ever, / lest you break the  
precepts for womankind.

21. neḥ ēña jā 'āta / oy nāña saivāta / paṃṃrera phtīya  
 sīy / pæra niña jwpa kāla / 'āhāra caṃṃīy / oy chīy caṃṃīy /  
 niña phtīya noḥ ṇāra //

22. kuṃ prēra muka traña / pañjhara juñguña / lēña spaiy  
 bīy smāra / noḥ hova būṃ koṭṭha / gaṃṃtēña krañāra / toy cpāpa  
 loka thāra / srīya ita lākkhāna //

23. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēña cāṃṃ  
 oy pāna / kūna bova mās mtāy / oy nāña cāṃṃ prāna / duka jāra  
 dūnmāna / pratova 'ātmāra //

24. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēña cāṃṃ  
 rāksāra / smera khlwna mtāya nova / graña bova būṃñāra / oy  
 sīwna rāksāra / duka nova smera khlwna //

25. khñuṃma prusa khñuṃma srīya / nāña dæna sratīy / oy  
 lmama kūna sīwna / kuṃ 'āna jā mcāsa / præra khusa niña kpwna /  
 gey sæca srīya sīwna / tēḥ tiæla nindāra //

26. kūṇæya ḥ khñuṃma / prusa srīya kuṃ khaṃma / præra  
 begya ṇās ṇāra / oy tiña knuña cita / kuṃnita præra vāra / doḥ  
 kāca doḥ jāra / nāña mæla oy stēna //

27. oy cāṃṃ oy cēḥ / oy rwsa riæna rīḥ / raka riæna tāka  
 tēna / oy gita junjiña / ruṃbiña oy jhveña / toy cpāpa neḥ ēña

21. In this above all else / let you do your best: / to serve your honored husband.<sup>30</sup> / And if you would be with him at / mealtimes,<sup>31</sup> / let you take your food / with your husband.

22. Direct not your gaze<sup>32</sup> straight forward, / or allow your knees to stand upright,<sup>33</sup> / or let your shawl<sup>34</sup> fall from your shoulder. / These things are called being disrespectful to / your lord,<sup>35</sup> / and in the codes sages brand / [such a] woman as devoid of quality.<sup>36</sup>

23. Let my dear and darling child<sup>37</sup> / keep these estimable precepts / clear and well in mind. / My treasured last-born child, / let you safeguard yourself / and deem them as instruction / which teaches you.

24. Let my dear and darling child<sup>37</sup> / keep these estimable precepts / clear in mind and guard them / as tantamount to myself continuing / to shield my cherished youngest. / Let you care for and keep them / and deem them equivalent to myself.<sup>38</sup>

25. Male and female servitors / let you animate<sup>39</sup> by / a just degree of admonition. Dear child, / flaunt not the fact that you are mistress / by using them in violation of the treaties;<sup>40</sup> / for folk will laugh at my dear girl / and reproach her.<sup>41</sup>

26. O my child, as to your servitors, / male and female,<sup>42</sup> endeavor not / to use them overmuch; / let you know in your heart and mind how to employ them, / and let you observe closely<sup>43</sup> / whether they be fit or unfit.<sup>44</sup>

27. Let you watch, let you know, / let you be keen to learn and reflect / and seek to be orderly.<sup>45</sup> / Let you think

/ prasæra sobhāra //

28. kūṇçey cpāpa srīya / mēna bita bīysīy / breña bridha  
'attitāra / loka duka jāra cpāpa / santāpa 'ātmāra / naiy nāna  
sīwna bhñāra / oy cām̄m sabva thñaiya //

29. kūṇçey tam̄ineka / pæra niña cūla teka / dhværa muka oy  
srāy / posa is būka brēra / oy thēra sabva sāy / kuṇ oy bāy  
nñāy / 'āna 'ā nindāra //

30. kuṇ tæra dhñuna jœna / nāna kroka toḥ lœna / hœy jera  
phtāssāra / duka smæra jhœra ddhaṇma / ralumma lœra gnāra /  
drābbha dhuna noḥ ṇāra / niña pād khcāta khcāya //

31. luṇmanova noḥ ṇāra / tūca kala grīḥhāra / brīksāra  
dām̄n hlāy / māna phlēra māna phkāra / braḥ 'adita sabva sāy /  
ruṇmajwla rwsa rāy / khcāta khcāy sabva sdhāna //

32. kūṇçey rīy cpāpa / 'am̄bæra sūrabhābbha / noḥ vāra tēna  
māna / pīy tūca sramola / 'andola tām̄ prāna / būṇ tēla jīœa  
pāna / traña ktīya sala vala //

33. kūṇçey dhamtāra / jāra srīya noḥ mahāra / prasæra kan-  
laña / cām̄m caña knuina cita / prayāta khlwna hoña / kuṇ oy māna  
māna / mandila 'ā srūva //

and reason, / let you ponder until things are clear; / and follow this very code, / which is noble and resplendent.

28. O my child, these precepts for women / are truly pre-eminent / and of high antiquity.<sup>46</sup> / Sages have preserved them in the form of codes / for the instruction of the Self / of dear, beloved you; / let you remember them always.<sup>47</sup>

29. O my child, into your sleeping-place / if you would go to repose, / make your countenance serene,<sup>48</sup> / [as you might] smooth out a silken mattress. / Let you observe all around you<sup>49</sup> / without being remiss / and thereby sustaining reproach.

30. Move not with heavy feet<sup>50</sup> / or, when you have gotten up and out, scold and curse;<sup>51</sup> / deem this as being like unto a great tree / which falls down upon its fellows, / whereby wealth and worth / are lost and dissipated.

31. If your dwelling-place / be low,<sup>52</sup> raise it up:<sup>53</sup> / trees of every kind / bear fruit and flowers, / the sun shines in all directions,<sup>54</sup> / while [the wind] stirs pleasantly / and spreads everywhere.

32. O my child, these precepts / for goodly conduct<sup>55</sup> / are ever with you,<sup>56</sup> / like unto the shadow / moving along behind your body: / never can you escape / its endless turning.<sup>57</sup>

33. O my child, by the *dharma*<sup>58</sup> / being a woman is a most / excellent thing.<sup>59</sup> / Keep [this fact] firmly in mind / and safeguard yourself: / let there be no unsightly / stain or blemish.

34. dhamtāra jāra srīya / ceṅa ceḥ sratīy / kāna cpāpa  
duka nova / krēṅa c'eḥ krēṅa c'āpa / kəṭṭha pāpa maka trūva /  
naruka jrāṅma jrova / būṅ lēṅa ləy ṅāra //

35. māna tēra cpāpa nēḥ / is 'āra tūcneḥ / oy kūna bova  
graṅa / oy thēra oy dāṅma / oy cāṅm jā mtaṅa / 'ata ona traṅa  
raṅa / sabva thṅaiya prakratīy //

36. kuṅ oy māna teca / kuṅ oy māna bhleca / tala mūy rā-  
triya / cpāpa neḥ jā sdhāna / dūnmāna indriya / sabva 'aṅa 'āt-  
māra / jāra nicakāla hoṅa //

37. kūna bova mtāyey / mtāya sota cāsa həy / ita 'naka  
ṅāra snaṅa / pəra khlwna mtāy nova / graṅa bova būṅṅāra /  
sṅwney rāksāra / bāka mtāy phtāṅma hoṅa //

38. mtāy phtāṅma kūna bova / bīy thṅaiy neḥ dova / cūla  
nāṅa rāksāra / bāka mtāy kuṅ bhleca / sūreca ūvāra- / -dāna  
nova prakāra / mleḥ ēṅa hoṅa // //



34. By the *dharma*<sup>58</sup> being a woman, / know well how to cite  
/ and follow the precepts with fixed resolve, / lest you be in  
bad odor / or beget sin and come to merit / the deep Hell of  
Boiling Mud / for ever and aye.

35. There are hence only these precepts / which make up  
the whole of your wealth.<sup>60</sup> / Let my youngest child keep them;  
let you tend them well, let you commit them to memory for all  
time, / being patient, humble and receptive<sup>61</sup> / each day as a  
matter of course.

36. And let there be no break, / let there be no forget-  
ting / for even a single night: / this code is a school<sup>62</sup> /  
which trains the faculties of each and every one<sup>63</sup> / at all  
times.

37. O my last-born child, / what is more, I am now grown  
old / and there is no one to take my place. / If my presence is  
to still / watch over my beloved youngest,<sup>64</sup> / O my darling,  
keep<sup>64</sup> / the words which I enjoin.<sup>65</sup>

38. [Herewith] I instruct my youngest child: / from this  
day forward / do you keep / my words and not forget them. /  
Ended<sup>66</sup> are my instruction- / -giving<sup>67</sup> and my exposition / in  
this wise.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The poet presumably means to suggest at once "hard to understand" and "hard to put into practice." The idea is echoed in 2b.

<sup>2</sup>The compound traña raña /trɔŋ rɔŋ > traŋ rɔŋ/ is not found in modern dictionaries. The prior member ('to be clear; to clarify, filter') here has the sense of 'to strain data through the senses, take in, absorb'; the latter member ('to support from below') adds the notion of 'to take up, accept'. Joseph Guesdon, *Dictionnaire cambodgien-français* (Paris: Plon, 1930), I: 699b, lists it in the form traña řaña /traŋ raŋ/ and hazards the gloss 'recevoir ce qui tombe d'en haut', which is in truth quite good. The thought reappears in 2cd. See also 35f.

<sup>3</sup>Leña laña /leeŋ lɔŋ > léeŋ lɔŋ/ 'to trifle, dally; to be trifling, frivolous'.

<sup>4</sup>The original reads: kūna bova mtāya stāpa. Verses a and b must rhyme.

<sup>5</sup>Modern 'aŋga 'ātmā.

<sup>6</sup>Sraṭī /srɔṭii > srɔṭəj/ connotes speaking ill of someone. Between c and d the original has one superfluous verse: doḥ niña sratīy.

<sup>7</sup>Khlāmna /klaŋ/ 'strong, forceful' connotes both 'loud' and 'harsh', the ambiguity being no doubt deliberate.

<sup>8</sup>Modern ona 'aŋga sirī /qoon qɔŋ seerii > qaaon qɔŋ sèer- rəj/ (rhyming with sratīy in 5c), of which the last member would be a poetic expansion of sira /sir > sèer/ 'head' or variants sira(sa), sirsa, sir(sa), and sera. The orthography serī-sāra shows that the copyist was unmindful of the syllable count as well as the rhyme.

<sup>9</sup>Where I give prām bīra the original has the numeral 7. The strophe is badly garbled. In addition to the fact that prām bīra ḥay guna makes no sense, guna (modern ga'na /kun/ 'to observe, scrutinize') fails to rhyme with ṭiña /ɔŋ > ðyŋ/ in b. Sraṭī in c, moreover, fails to rhyme with guna and dhūna in e and f.

<sup>10</sup>Modern ṭhāna grihā /thaan krýhíie/, < Pāli ṭhāna (cf. Sanskrit sthāna) 'place, stead' + Sanskrit gr̥ha (cf. Pāli geha) 'house, home'.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. 30a, where the sense is more concrete.

<sup>12</sup>Where I have jāna (modern jā'na /coen/ 'to step on') the original has jāña. The allusion is not to stomping about in a

rickety shack but to tripping about the house and grounds with a certain enthusiasm for one's chores.

<sup>13</sup>A closer rendering of this verse would be: "...which [might otherwise] be dulled and devoid of good qualities." The form 'ābha corresponds to modern 'ā'pa /qap/ 'to dim, darken; to besmirch, sully'.

<sup>14</sup>The original reads: niña pāta 'antaṛāy, which fails to rhyme with 8cef.

<sup>15</sup>Modern 'adhrātra, a hybrid form reflecting Pāli *addharat-tā* as well as Sanskrit *ardharātra* 'midnight'.

<sup>16</sup>Pāli *saṅsāra* 'transmigration' takes on in Middle Khmer the derivative idea of 'that which binds one to worldly existence: fetter', hence anything held dear.

<sup>17</sup>More literally: "...who fulfills the status (rank and honor) of the lord of you who are a woman."

<sup>18</sup>This last verse is admittedly problematic. I read it as modern *jā trī sne(ha) mukha*, with the suggested reflection being on the underside of the water's surface. A possibility pointed out by S. Pou is that *snēra* may represent \**snera*, a dialectal allomorph of modern *chnera* /cnēer/, in which case the sense would be: "...as a fish [hugs] the bank before it."

<sup>19</sup>Again the interpretation is conjectural. S. Pou takes this verse as modern *oy pāna swra sukha* '...that you cross over to contentment,' emphasizing *swra* /sùæ/ 'to inch forward, advance cautiously along a narrow way'. I read it as *oy pāna swrga sukha* '...that you attain heaven and contentment' or, better yet, *oy pāna swrgasukha* '...that you attain heaven's contentment', with the last two items bound into a neo-Indic compound.

<sup>20</sup>Note the questionable rhyme between *uttama* /qutdɔm > qut-dam/ 'highest' and *khñum* /kɲum > kɲom/ 'slave, servant' in *b*.

<sup>21</sup>Literally, "many times, [on] many occasions."

<sup>22</sup>Literally, "...bring them into the group."

<sup>23</sup>*Ciəma* /ciiəɱ/, not listed in modern dictionaries, is possibly an allomorph of *cāṃ* /cam/ 'to watch', and means 'to be aware, conscious, alert'. *Prāṇa* /praan/ 'body, person; self' is < Sanskrit *prāṇa* 'life breath, life, vitality, vigor; spirit, soul', and is here probably to be taken in its broadest sense.

<sup>24</sup>The reference is to the Pāli texts, metrical and otherwise.

<sup>25</sup>A closer rendering would be: "...in following the *puṇya* (merit or meritorious actions) of righteous folk," though it is uncertain whether *loka* /look > lóok/ should be taken as 'persons of quality' or as 'sages'.

<sup>26</sup>*Kh̄sāya* /ksaaj/, a derivative of *sāya* /saaj/ 'to scatter, spread', in modern Khmer means 'to be scattered in bits or particles; to be loose, granular'; at this stage of the language it meant 'to be widespread, prevalent'.

<sup>27</sup>I interpret this verse as *janajāti jalā*, with the latter item a metrical expansion of *jala* /ʃɔl > cul/ 'water'.

<sup>28</sup>This strophe appears to be garbled; my translation is hence conjectural. It must at least be presumed that a negation marker has been lost in *c*.

<sup>29</sup>In this context it seems best to take *sūnya suña*, now 'pitch-black', word by word.

<sup>30</sup>The context may well suggest that *sīy*, as elsewhere in this text, is modern *šī* /sii/ 'to eat'. However, *ptī sī* /p̄d̄əj s̄əj/ 'husband' is well attested as a compound, being even mentioned by the *Vacanānukrama khm̄era* (Phnom-Penh: Institut Boudhique, 1967), I: 636b, *sv ptī*; see also Guesdon, *op.cit.*, II: 1748b, *sv sīy*. S. Pou identifies the latter with Old Khmer *sī* /sii/ 'man, male'; see her "Note on Words for *Male* and *Female* in Old Khmer and Modern Khmer," in *Austroasiatic Studies*. Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 13 (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), II: 764.

<sup>31</sup>More literally: "...times for sustenance and food."

<sup>32</sup>Literally: "Do not turn your face..."

<sup>33</sup>The poet alludes to sitting on a flat surface with one's knees drawn up close to the body, thus risking indecent exposure.

<sup>34</sup>Old Khmer *spai* /s̄b̄əj/ and modern *spai* /sbaj/, the old-fashioned shawl worn by women as an upper garment, passed across the breast, thrown over the left shoulder, and allowed to hang down at the back.

<sup>35</sup>In modern orthography, *gamtēña kraṣā* /kumdaaɛŋ kɔlaa/ 'lord of the court', an archaic elegant term for husband.

<sup>36</sup>Where I have *lākkhāna* (modern *lakkhāṇa* /leəkkhaan/, a metrical expansion of *lakkha(ṇa)* /leək/) the original has *lā-kha* /lak > leək/, which fails to rhyme with *pāna* /ʔaan > baan/ in 23c. My amendment raising the syllable-count to five, I go a step further and delete a superfluous *hova* (modern *hau* /haw/ 'to call') before *srīya*.

<sup>37</sup>The translation reorders verses *abc*.

<sup>38</sup>Where I have *kh̄lwna* /kluuən > kl̄uən/ 'self' the original has *mtāya* /m̄daaj > m̄daaj/ 'mother', which fails to rhyme with *s̄wna* /s̄juuən > s̄juuən/ in 25c. In view of 24d, the meaning is still clear.

<sup>39</sup>The orthographic form *dəna* /d̄əən > t̄éən/, written very

clear in the manuscript, is almost certainly a variant of modern *tæna* /tæ̃n > taãn/ 'to awaken', now used intransitively of royalty and clergy. Cf. *kratæna* /kr̥tæ̃n > kr̥taãn/ 'to be vigorous; to be eager, zealous' and also *tiæna* /t̥ỹn/ 'to urge on, press'. I take *dæna* *srat̥i* as 'to incite by speaking (sharply) to', on the ground that *sraṭi* often takes on a fault-finding tone.

<sup>40</sup>The verse is ambiguous. Other likely renderings are: "... or use them in ways contrary to standards" and "...or order them to violate established principles." I take *kpwna* to refer to any precepts or codes of conduct.

<sup>41</sup>Modern *tiḥ ṭiæla* /t̥h̥ dĩl/ 'to blame' + 'to abuse' is a loose-knit compound equivalent to 'to take to task, find fault with, denounce'; it is here amplified or glossed by Indic *nindā* /n̥int̥ĩ/ 'to rebuke'.

<sup>42</sup>This is one of the few polar compounds I have encountered in a free environment (i.e., one not dictated by metrical requirements) in which *male* precedes *female*; the case is otherwise in 25a. See my "A Possible Case of Cosmological Gender in Khmer," in *Austroasiatic Studies*, II: 711-40.

<sup>43</sup>The translation transposes verses *f* and *g*.

<sup>44</sup>*kāca* /kãc/ 'to be bad' encompasses the ideas of being wicked, ill-natured, dangerous, indolent, and incompetent; *jā* /j̃aa > cĩĩ/ 'to be good' includes being virtuous, benign, kind, industrious, and worthy'.

<sup>45</sup>The line is ambiguous, probably deliberately so. I take *tā'ka tēna* as not referring to household chores only but to personal habits in general.

<sup>46</sup>Modern 'atīta /qat̥ə̃jtaq ~ qad̥ət/ 'bygone, ancient'.

<sup>47</sup>Note the rhyme between *th̥nai* /t̥n̥aj > t̥naj/ and *srāya* /sraaj/ in 29c.

<sup>48</sup>Literally: "...make your face unknotted," evidently a poetic injunction against taking all one's cares to bed with one; "let your brow be unfurrowed" comes close.

<sup>49</sup>*Sabva sāya* /s̥ɔp saaj > s̥ɔp saaj/ occurs again in 31e in the sense of 'to reach in all directions, all around'.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. 6d, where the sense is more figurative.

<sup>51</sup>*Phtāssāra* (modern *phtāsā* /p̥daasaa/), unlike its occurrence in 17e, is written as two words of which the first has conjunct final -s: *phtās sāra*.

<sup>52</sup>Literally: "If your dwelling-place be small..."

<sup>53</sup>Modern *ka'la grihā* /kãl kr̥h̥ĩĩ/ 'chock up or elevate the house'. Cf. 6b and note 10. Here /k̥ɔl > kãl/ on the explicit

level refers to raising the house on higher piling, but is plainly a metaphor for enhancing the appearance of an humble home through assiduous care.

<sup>54</sup>Sabva sāy has occurred previously in 29e (cf. note 49). Between verses *d* and *e* the original text has one superfluous line, hœy trūva kuṃtova 'and receive the warmth [of the sun, which shines in all directions]', which not only does not fit into the metrical scheme but fails to rhyme with anything.

<sup>55</sup>Modern 'ambœ subhāba 'acts (actions) which are good in nature or intent'.

<sup>56</sup>Where I have māna /maan > mīiæn/ the manuscript gives tām /taam/, which fails to rhyme with sdhāna (modern sthāna /sthaan/) in 31g and prāna and pāna in 32ef and was almost certainly picked up by a copyist from verse *e*, where it is far more effective.

<sup>57</sup>Note that sa'la vā'la /səl wəl > sal wal/ 'to turn continuously, spin, whirl' does not rhyme with kanlaña /kənłəɔŋ > kənłəɔŋ/, hoña /həɔŋ > haɔŋ/ or māña /məɔŋ > məɔŋ/ in 33cef. Cf. the Cpā'pa krama, strophe 35.

<sup>58</sup>Modern dhammatā /thoəmɔaa/ (cf. Sanskrit *dharmatas*) at this period is a poetic cliché conveying the notions of 'by cosmic law, in the great scheme of things, by nature'. A freer and better rendering would be: "O my child, being born a woman ..." Cf. 34a.

<sup>59</sup>Read: mahāprasœra kanlaña.

<sup>60</sup>Modern 'a'sa 'ārtha ṭucneḥ.

<sup>61</sup>For traña raña see 1e and note 2.

<sup>62</sup>The sense of sdhāna (modern sthāna /sthaan/ 'place, stead'; cf. note 10), while open to question, must fit the following dūnmāna indrīya. Preferring the simplest solution, I suggest that the poet, needing a word to rhyme with dūnmāna in *e*, is rather awkwardly likening the code to a "place where" one learns to bring one's faculties (or senses) under control. Others may wish to go back to Sanskrit *sthāna* and pick up the idea of 'abode, storehouse, repository' or even 'base, firm foothold, point of departure', both of which strike me as needlessly forced.

<sup>63</sup>Note that 'ātmāra (modern 'ātmā /qaatmaa/) fails to rhyme with rātrīya and indrīya in *c* and *e*.

<sup>64</sup>Note that būmñāra (modern baṃñā /bəmŋaa > pumñīæ/ fails to rhyme with snaña /snəɔŋ > snəɔŋ/ in *c* but does rhyme with rāksāra (modern raksā /raksaa > reeksaa/) in *f*.

<sup>65</sup>Hoña /həɔŋ > haɔŋ/ fails to rhyme with rāksāra, ūvāra-,

and prakāra in 38cef, and no doubt stands in place of an original ṇāra (modern ṇā /naa/).

<sup>66</sup>On sūreca (modern sūreca /sòorac/) see my "Anomalous Expansions in Khmer Morphology," in *Mon-Khmer Studies VI* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1977), 176: item 21.

<sup>67</sup>Modern ovādadāna /qaaowaattīen/ 'the giving of teachings, the imparting of advice or admonitions', < Pāli ovāda (cf. Sanskrit avavāda) 'commandment, instruction, counsel' + dāna 'giving, gift, donation; communication, teaching'. The manuscript clearly shows syllabic ū, easily confused with o. The orthographic form ūvāra- ~ ovāra- /qoowaar- > qaaowaar-, rhyming with rāksāra and prakāra in c and f, indicates the reduction of /qoowaatdaan/ to /qoowaadaan/, a simplification of the same type as that reported by Saveros Pou in her "Note sur la date du Poème d'An̄gar Vat," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1975: 124.

## WORDLIST\*

kanlaña	1c, 33c.	kreva	4d.
kala	31b.	krēña	20g, 34d.
kāca	26f.	kraiy	1c, 18e.
kāna	34c.	kroka	30b.
kāra	9c.	krodha	4d.
kāla	21d.	k'āka	8b.
kūṇey	1a, 4a, 6a, 10a, 19b, 28a, 29a, 32a, 33a.	k'āy	8b.
kūṇeya	26a.	khiña	3d, 17e.
kūna	2a, 2g, 3a, 8a, 9a, 10d, 11a, 13a, 13e, 14a, 15a, 16b, 19a, 20a, 23b, 23d, 24b, 25c, 35c, 37a, 38a.	khusa	9f, 20g, 25e.
kəṭṭha	34e.	khaṇṇa	26b.
kəta	3f, 9d, 10c.	khcāta	30g, 31g.
koṭṭha	22d.	khcāya	30g, 31g.
kosa	17b.	khñuṇṇa	15b, 25a, 26a.
kum	1f, 2f, 3d, 6d, 7d, 8b, 15b, 17b, 17d, 20f, 22a, 25d, 26b, 29f, 30a, 33f, 36a, 36b, 38d.	khbaña	10c.
kumṇita	26e.	khbasa	10c.
ktāta	17e.	khlwna	2g, 8g, 24g, 33e, 37d.
ktīya	4e, 32g.	khlāmña	4c.
ktova	18e, 19c.	khsaiya	18f.
knuña	2d, 4f, 5c, 26d, 33d.	gāthāra	13c, 16g.
kpwna	25e.	gita	5b, 5d, 5f, 27d.
kra	1c.	gīta	4f.
kraṭāra	22e	guña	14d.
		guṅgāra	18a, 18d, 19f.
		guna	5a, 5b, 5d, 5e.
		gwra	5e, 5f.
		gey	12b, 25f.
		guṇteña	20c.
		gaṇmatēña	22e.

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\*The text comprises 362 lexical items, 394 orthographic forms.



- gnāra 15e, 30e.  
gnī gnāra 7e.  
graña 24e, 35c, 37e.  
grāra 15c.  
grīḥhāra 6b, 31b.  
grupa 7b.  
ghlāta 8e.  
ññāy 29f.  
ññāya 2b.  
caña 33d.  
cañraiya 8f, 12d.  
cāsa 37b.  
cita 5c, 17d, 26d, 33d.  
cintāra 4f.  
cūla 29b, 38c.  
ciəma 16c.  
ceña 34b.  
ceḥ 14e, 34b.  
cēña 23c, 24c.  
cēḥ 27a.  
cām 23c.  
caṃṇīy 21e, 21f.  
cāmna 11a, 13b, 16b, 23e,  
24c, 27a, 28g, 33d, 35e.  
caṃmraena 12c.  
caṃhuta 16e.  
cpāpa 15g, 22f, 23a, 24a,  
27f, 28d, 32a, 34c, 35a,  
36d.  
cpāpa srīya 1b, 2b, 4a,  
9f, 20g, 28a.  
crəna 15c.  
c'āpa 34d.  
c'eḥ 34d.  
chīy 21f.  
jā 8g, 10d, 10g, 17a, 19a,  
20e, 21a, 25d, 35e, 36d.  
jāta 16g, 18g.  
jāna 6e.  
jāra 4c, 6c, 7c, 11g, 13f,  
14g, 15e, 16g, 17c, 19g, 23f,  
26f, 28d, 33b, 34a, 36g.  
jārāra 18g.  
juṅguña 22b.  
juna 18g.  
junjiña 5e, 27d.  
jwpa 21d.  
jəña 6d, 30a.  
jiəsa 32f.  
jera 15b, 30c.  
jrova 34f.  
jrāṃma 34f.  
jhəra 30d.  
jhveña 27e.  
ṇā 6a.  
ṇāra 1b, 3g, 4e, 7f, 18e, 19c,  
21g, 26c, 30f, 31a, 34g, 37c.  
ṇās 26c.  
ta 19d.  
taña 15c.  
tala 3g, 8f, 36c.  
tāka 27c.  
tām 15g, 32e.  
tiña 5b, 26d.  
tīy 6e.  
tūca<sup>1</sup> 31b.  
tūca<sup>2</sup> 32d.  
tūcneḥ 35b.  
twca 3g.  
təra 6d, 30a.

- tiəla 25g.  
 teka 29b.  
 teca 36a.  
 tēña 27c, 32c.  
 tēra 18d, 35a.  
 tēla 32f.  
 tēḥ 25g.  
 toy 13c, 22f, 27f.  
 toya 16d, 17c.  
 toḥ 30b.  
 taṃñneka 29a.  
 taṃñaiya 11e.  
 tpita 14d, 14g.  
 traña<sup>1</sup> 22a, 32g.  
 traña<sup>2</sup> 1e, 35f.  
 traciəka 1d.  
 triya 11g, 18f.  
 trūva 34e.  
 trəya 19g, 20e.  
 thay 9g.  
 thāra 22f.  
 thēra 29e, 35d.  
 thoka 9g.  
 thñaiy 38b.  
 thñaiya 11f, 28g, 35g.  
 ththāna 6b.  
 thlaiya 23b, 24b.  
 dika 19a.  
 dīy daiy 17g.  
 duka<sup>1</sup> 2c, 12e, 14e, 15d,  
 23f, 24g, 28d, 30d, 34c.  
 duka<sup>2</sup> 9d.  
 dūnamāna 16e.  
 dūnmāna 23f, 36e.  
 dəna 25b.  
 dəbva 13g.  
 dova 38b.  
 dos 9d.  
 doḥ 4d, 6b, 7a, 11d, 26f.  
 dāṃñi 6e, 18b, 31c.  
 dāṃma 35d.  
 ddhamma 13g, 17a, 30d.  
 dratoḥ 3e.  
 drābbha 7c, 7f, 11d, 14d, 30f.  
 dhantāra 33a, 34a.  
 dharmma 16d.  
 dhāna 11d.  
 dhuna 7f, 11d, 30f.  
 dhñuna 5f, 6d, 30a.  
 dhvāra 9b.  
 dhve 9c.  
 dhvera 17d, 29c.  
 naruka 34f.  
 nāña 1d, 1f, 2c, 3c, 3g, 6f,  
 8g, 10d, 10g, 11a, 13b, 13f,  
 15f, 16b, 16c, 17d, 20b, 21b,  
 23e, 25b, 26g, 28f, 30b, 38c.  
 nāñney 18a, 20c.  
 niña 3f, 4b, 4d, 7g, 9d, 9f,  
 10c, 12b, 13d, 21d, 21g, 25e,  
 29b, 30g.  
 nicakāla 36g.  
 nindāra 25g, 29g.  
 neḥ 1b, 12a, 21a, 23a, 24a,  
 26a, 36d, 38b.  
 nēḥ 27f, 35a.  
 naiy<sup>1</sup> 8e, 12a.  
 naiy<sup>2</sup> 28f.  
 nova 2c, 6c, 12e, 24d, 24g,  
 34c, 37d, 38f.

- noḥ 7f, 8e, 21g, 22d, 30f,  
 31a, 32c, 33b.  
 pañjhara 22b.  
 pada 13c.  
 pantepa 11c.  
 pantāmma 11b.  
 papūra 19e.  
 pāta 7g.  
 pād 30g.  
 pāna 12f, 13f, 14c, 17a,  
 23c, 32f.  
 pāpa 34e.  
 pīy 32d.  
 puna 17c.  
 pūrāna 15g, 16f.  
 pēra 3c, 4b, 17a, 19b,  
 20b, 21d, 29b, 37d.  
 poka 3d.  
 posa 29d.  
 poḥ 3d.  
 paṃṇāmma 7d.  
 paṃbeña 10f.  
 paṃmrera 20d, 21c.  
 prakāra 38f.  
 prakratīy 6c, 35g.  
 pracāmma 7e.  
 pratova 1g, 3b, 13d, 14b,  
 23g.  
 pranipāttha 20d.  
 prabaiy 23a, 24a.  
 prayāta 33e.  
 praḥyāta 20e.  
 pralupa 7a, 8c.  
 prasera 27g, 33c.  
 prasraiya 18c.  
 prahēsa 20f.  
 prāna 16c, 23e, 32e.  
 prās 12d.  
 prusa 25a, 26b.  
 prōra 25e, 26c, 26e.  
 prēra 19c, 22a.  
 prāṃ bīra 5a.  
 phaṇa 17b, 17f, 18f.  
 phkāra 31d.  
 phtāsāra 17e.  
 phtāssāra 30c.  
 phtīya 3c, 20b, 21c, 21g.  
 phtāmma 13a, 26a, 37g, 38a.  
 phdaḥ 6f, 14f.  
 phlēra 31d.  
 bara 12c.  
 bāka<sup>1</sup> 11b, 13b, 37g, 38d.  
 bāka<sup>2</sup> 18c.  
 bāy nñāy 29f.  
 biṇa 18c, 18d.  
 bita 16f, 19d, 28b.  
 bīy 10d, 16f, 22c, 38b.  
 bīysīy 20a, 28b.  
 buddha 16d.  
 būka 29d.  
 beka 4c.  
 begya 26c.  
 beja 11b, 13b.  
 bola 15b.  
 bova 2a, 2e, 3a, 8a, 11a, 12f,  
 13a, 13e, 14a, 16b, 23d, 24e,  
 35c, 37a, 37e, 38a.  
 būṃ 4c, 8e, 19d, 19f, 22d,  
 32f, 34g.  
 būṃnāra 13e, 24e, 37e.

briddha	28c.	13a, 13d, 14b, 24d, 26a, 37b.
brīksāra	31c.	mtāyōy 37a.
breña	28c.	mleḥ 38g.
brēra	29d.	yaka 1d, 2c, 15d.
braḥ	16d, 31e.	yusa 9g, 10f.
bhīrodha	4e.	raka 27c.
bhaiy	12e.	raña 1e, 35f.
bhñāra	2e, 28f.	rapasa 7c.
bhleca	36b, 38d.	raluṃma 30e.
maka	15e, 18f, 34e.	ra'āra 17g.
maña	2g, 33f.	rāksāra 11f, 24c, 24f, 37f, 38c.
manusa	17b, 17f.	rājjasīy 8d.
mandila	33g.	rātrīya 36c.
mahā	19a.	rāy 31f.
mahāra	33b.	rāra 17f.
māta	9b.	rīy 32a.
mātrāra	1a.	rīḥ 27b.
māna	2f, 3c, 11e, 14f, 20b, 31d, 32c, 33f, 35a, 36a, 36b.	rwña 17f.
mās	23b, 23d, 24b.	rwsa 27b, 31f.
mina	2b.	riēna 27b, 27c.
muka	11g, 22a, 29c.	riēpa 7b.
mūy	36c.	ruṃmajwla 31f.
mūla	19d.	ruṃbiña 27e.
mwyā	6a.	lakkhiṇā 6g.
mēla	7d, 26g.	laña 1f.
mechchāra	18b, 19e.	lākkha 14g.
mena	11e.	lākkhāna 22g.
mēna	28b.	lōña 30b.
mcāsa	10g, 25d.	lōy 20f, 34g.
mtaña	35e.	lōra 6f, 30e.
mtāy	1g, 23d, 37d, 37g, 38a, 38d.	leña 1f.
mtāya	2a, 3b, 8a, 12f,	lēña 12d, 12e, 22c, 34g.
		loka 17c, 22f, 28d.

- lokīy 12a.  
 luṃmanova 31a.  
 lgika 18e, 19b.  
 lñāca 7a.  
 lmama 25c.  
 vāra 15e, 15f, 26e, 32c.  
 viña 19c.  
 sakkha 9g, 10f.  
 sañvāta 21b.  
 sañsāra 9a.  
 santāpa 28e.  
 sapparasa 10e.  
 sabva 7b, 11f, 28g, 29e,  
 31e, 31g, 35g, 36f.  
 sala vala 32g.  
 sāy 29e, 31e.  
 sina 15d.  
 sima 15d.  
 sīy 21c.  
 suka 10b, 12c, 12f, 14c.  
 suña 19g.  
 sūna 19g.  
 sūrabhābbha 32b.  
 sūreca 38e.  
 swggāra 12g.  
 swra 14c.  
 swstīya 10a.  
 sœca 8b, 25f.  
 serīsāra 4g.  
 sota 37b.  
 sobhāra 27g.  
 sova 2f.  
 saṃcaiy 14e.  
 saṃma 5g.  
 saṃmatīy 5g.  
 saṃpāta 12g.  
 saṃmrīdhdhīy 10b.  
 saṃmreka 8d.  
 sn̄wna 2e, 10e, 24f, 25c, 25f,  
 28f.  
 sn̄wnœy 37f.  
 stāpa 1e, 1g, 2a, 3b, 14b.  
 stēña 26g.  
 sdhāna 31g, 36d.  
 snaña 37c.  
 snēra 11g.  
 spaiy 22c.  
 smāra 22c.  
 smœra 24d, 24g, 30d.  
 sraṇuka 13g, 14f.  
 sratīy 3e, 4b, 5c, 12b, 25b,  
 34b.  
 sramola 32d.  
 srāy 29c.  
 srīya 1b, 2b, 2c, 2g, 3a, 4a,  
 6f, 8g, 9f, 10e, 10g, 14a,  
 14d, 14g, 20g, 22g, 25a, 25f,  
 26b, 28a, 33b, 34a.  
 hāradaiy 11c.  
 hœy 5a, 30c, 37b.  
 hoña 33e, 36g, 37g, 38g.  
 hova 19f, 22d.  
 hlāy 31c.  
 hœña 6e.  
 'añña<sup>1</sup> 29g.  
 'añña<sup>2</sup> 2d, 4g, 36f.  
 'añguya 9b.  
 'ata 15f, 35f.  
 'attitāra 28c.

- 'adita 31e.  
 'antaṛāy 7g.  
 'andola 32e.  
 'apriya 3f, 9e.  
 'ā kraka 9e.  
 'ā nindāra 29g.  
 'ā srūva 33g.  
 'āñā 25d.  
 'āta 21a.  
 'āttha 8f.  
 'ātmāra 23g, 28e, 36f.  
 'ātmāha 2d.  
 'ādrāttha 8c.  
 'ābbha 6g.  
 'āra 35b.  
 'āhāra 21e.  
 ita 6g, 22g, 37c.
- indriya 36e.  
 iy iy 9c.  
 is 18b, 29d, 35b.  
 ūtaṃma 15a.  
 ūvāradāna 38e.  
 'āya See kūṇāy, nāñāy, mtā-  
 yāy, snwāy.  
 𑀓 26a.  
 ēñā 21a, 26a, 27f, 38g.  
 ona 1e, 4g, 35f.  
 oy 2f, 5b, 5d, 5f, 5g, 7b,  
 13f, 14c, 15f, 16c, 21b, 21f,  
 23b, 23c, 23e, 24b, 24f, 25c,  
 26d, 26g, 27a, 27b, 27d, 27e,  
 28g, 29c, 29e, 29f, 33f, 35c,  
 35d, 35e, 36a, 36b.  
 ora 3a, 8a, 9a, 14a, 15a, 20a.  
 'ambāra 32b.  
 'naka 37c.