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/\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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 srèaj/ or code of conduct for young women. Item 164 in the catalogue of Au Chhieng,\(^3\) it consists of a bundle of eight öla disposed as follows: 1a, top cover, bearing the title neḥ khsatrā cpā'pa srīya\(^4\) 'This the treatise Precepts

\(^1\)Khmer forms are here cited primarily in a strict Indianist transcription, interpreted wherever warranted by phonemic transcription.


\(^4\)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 ôla is 56.5 x 5.5 centimeters and there are five lines on each ôla 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. \( \times \times \times 1 \)
b. \( \times \times \times 1 \)
c. \( \times \times \times 2 \) ← c4 in preceding
d. \( \times \times (3) \)
e. \( (3) \times 2 \)
f. \( \times \times \times 2 \)
g. \( \times \times \times 4 \) ← 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 : sūrna in 10, the two /-1/ : /-r/ rhymes in 19 and 21,⁵ and the four -ī : -ai rhymes in 8, 11, 12 and 14.⁶


⁶See 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 'antaṟāy > 'antaṟāya pāta; 22g, ita lākkha > ita lākkhāna; 24g, smōra mtāya > smōra khlwna; and 32c, tēna tām > tēna māna.

Thus restored, the text shows a rhyme factor 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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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 ŋa, ŋa, ma, ya, and sa. Thus we find such orthographic forms as dāṃ /daŋ/ 'tag/ (modern dāṃia /teŋ/) 'all', pād /pât/ (modern pā'ta /bat/) 'to be lost', nām or nāmma /nam/ (modern nām /noem/) 'to lead', mtāy /mtâaj/ (modern mtāya /mtâaj/) 'mother', and is /qîh/ (modern 'a'sa /qoh/) 'to be spent'.

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-

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8Cf. such nonpermissible devanāgarī forms as नाँ, इं.
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.
neh padd kākkati

1. kūṇey māṭrāra / cpañ srīya neḥ ṇāra / kra kraiy kan-
laṇa / nāna yaka tracieka / ona stāpa traṇa raṇa / kuṃ nāna
leṇa laṇa / stāpa mtāy pratova //

2. kūna bova stāpa mtāya / cpañ srīya mina ṇāya / nāna
yaka duka nova / knuṇa 'aṇa 'ātmāha / sīwna bhūra srīya bova /
kuṃ oy māna sova / ṇāna khlwna kūna srīya //

3. ora kūna srīya bova / stāpa mtāya pratova / pēra nāna
māna phtiya / kuṃ khina pokha poḥ / dratoḥ sratīy / niṇa kōta
'apriya / twca tala nāna ṇāra //

4. kūṇey cpañ srīya / pēra niṇa sratīy / khāṃṇa beka būṃ
dāra / doḥ niṇa kreva krodha / bhūrodha ktiya ṇāra / gīta knuṇa
cintāra / ona 'aṇa serīsāra //

5. prāṃ bīra hōya guna / guna gita oy tiṇa / knuṇa cita
sratīy / oy guna oy gita / junjiṇa gwra guna / gwra gita oy
dhūna x oy saṃ saṃmatīy //

6. kūṇey mwya ṇā / doḥ thṭhāna grīḥhāra / nova jāra pra-
kratīy / kuṃ teṛa dhūna jōṇa / jāṇa teṛa dāṃti tiy / lēra phdah
nāna srīya / 'ābbha ita lakkhiṇā //

7. doḥ lōca pralupa / riṇa oy sabva grupa / rapasa drāb-
bha jāra / kuṃ meḷa paṃpāṃma / pracāṃma gnī gnāra / drābbha
dhuna noḥ ṇāra / niṇa 'antaṛāy pāta //
This the kākagati meter

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

2. Let my youngest heed me:⁴ / precepts for womenfolk are not easy, / Let you take and keep them / within the person,⁵ / 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,⁶ / it is unseemly to be too loud;⁷ / if you would rage / and rant over matters, / consider them in your thoughts, / with head and body bowed.⁸

5. Seven times⁹ / 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 house¹⁰ / wherein you live be of the common kind, / move not with heavy feet:¹¹ / tread¹² lightly along the ground / and in your home, / lest they lack luster and distinction.¹³

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.¹⁴
8.  ਓਰਾ ਕੁਣਾ ਬੋਵਾ ਮਤਾ ਯਾ / ਕੁਆ ਸੋਕ ਕਾ ਕਾਛ ਕਾਛ / 
ਪ੍ਰਲੰਪਾ 
ਭਾਗ੍ਰਤਥਾ / ਸਾਮਰ੍ਕਰੁ ਰਾਜਾਸ਼ਿਆ / ਨੌੜ ਨਾਈ ਬੁੱਲ ਗ੍ਰਲਾਤ / ਕਾਨਰਾਇਆ 
ਟਲਾ ਭਾਗ੍ਰਤਥਾ / ਕਹਲਨਾ ਨਾਂਨਾ ਜਾ ਸਰੀਆ //

9.  ਓਰਾ ਕੁਣਾ ਸਾਂਸਾਰਾ / 'ਅੰਗੂਆ ਮਾਤਾ ਦਹਵਾਰਾ / ਦਵੇਕਾ ਇਾ ਇਾ / 
ਨਿਆ ਕੋਟਾ ਦੋਸ ਦੁਕਾ / 'ਅ ਕਰਕਾ ਅਪਰੀਆ / ਕਹਸਾ ਨਿਆ ਪਲਾਣ 
ਸਰੀਆ / ਥਾਈ ਥੋਕ ਸਕਕ਼ਾ ਯੁਸਾ //

10. ਕੁਝ੍ਗੌ ਸਵਸੀਆ / ਸੁਕਾ ਸਾਮਰ੍ਹਿਦਹੀਅ / ਨਿਆ ਕੋਟਾ ਖਹਾਈ 
ਖੱਬਾ/ ਬੀ ਨਾਣਾ ਜਾ ਕੁਣਾ / ਸਰੀਆ ਸਨਵਾ ਸਾਪਾਰਾ / ਪਾਮ਼ਬੇਲਾ 
ਸਕਕ਼ਾ ਯੁਸਾ / ਮਾਸਾ ਨਾਣਾ ਜਾ ਸਰੀਆ //

11. ਕੁਣਾ ਬੋਵਾ ਨਾਣਾ ਚੀਮ / ਬੀਕਾ ਬ੍ਰਜਾ ਪੰਤ੍ਰੋਮ / ਪੰਤੇਪਾ ਹੌਰਾਈ ਗ਼ਰਬੱਹਾ / ਦੋਹ ਦ੍ਰਾਬਬਾ ਦਹੁਨਾ ਦਾਨ / 
 ਮੇਨਾ ਮਾਨਾ ਤਾਮਾਈਆ / ਰੂਕਸਾਰਾ 
ਸਾਬਵਾ ਤਹਾਈਆ / ਜਾਰਾ ਸਰੀਆ ਸ੍ਨੇਰਾ ਮੁਖ //

12. ਲੋਕੀ ਨੇ ਨਾਈ / 
ਗੀ ਨਿਆ ਸਰਤੀਆ / 
ਸਾਮਾਨਾ ਬਾਰਾ 
ਸੁਕਾ / ਪ੍ਰਸਲ ਲੇਣ ਕਾਨਰਾਇਆ / ਨਵਾ ਭਾਇ ਲੇਣ ਦੁਕਾ / ਬੋਵਾ ਮਤਾਹਾ 
ਪਾਮ ਸੁਕਾ / ਸਾਮਨਪਾ ਸਵਗਾਰਾ //

13. ਕੁਣਾ ਬੋਵਾ ਮਤਾ ਪਹਤ੍ਰਮ / 
ਬੀਕਾ ਬ੍ਰਜਾ ਨਾਣਾ ਚੀਮ / ਤੋ ਪੱਦ ਗਾਥਾਰਾ / ਮਤਾ ਨਿਆ ਪਰਤੋਵਾ / ਕੁਣਾ ਬੋਵਾ ਬੁਲਮਿਨਾਰਾ / 
ਓਨਾ ਪਾਮ ਜਾਰਾ / ਦਧੇਸਾ ਦੇਬਵਾ ਸਰਨੁਕਾ //

14. 
ਓਰਾ ਕੁਣਾ ਸਰੀਆ ਬੋਵਾ / ਸਥਾ ਮਤਾ ਪਰਤੋਵਾ / 
ਓਨਾ ਸਵਾ 
ਸੁਕਾ / ਦ੍ਰਾਬਬਾ ਗੁਨਾ ਤਪਿਤਾ ਸਰੀਆ / 
ਚੇ ਸਾਮਾਈ ਦੁਕਾ / ਮਾਨਾ
8. O my youngest child, / laugh not boisterously / at dusk
or in deep of night,\textsuperscript{15} / [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\textsuperscript{16} 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.\textsuperscript{17}

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.\textsuperscript{18}

12. Of this world / the folk would say: / to increase bless-
ings 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:\textsuperscript{19} / being a woman, hold fast to
phḍaḥ sraṇuka / tpita lākkha srīya jāra //

15. ora kūṇa ūṭamma / kuṃ jera bola khūmma / cṛṇa taṇa
cṛṇa grāra / sina sima duka yaka / vāra maka jāra gnāra /
nāṇa 'ata oy vāra / tām cpāpa pūrāna //

16. neḥ ēṇa mtāya phtāmma / kūṇa bova nāṇa cāmm / oy nāṇa
ciema prāna / toya dharmma braḥ buddha / caṃhuta dūnāmaṇa /
bita biy pūrāna / jāta jāra gāthāra //

17. pōra pāṇa jā ddhamma / manusa pḥaṇa kosa kuṃ / toya
puna loka jāra / nāṇa kuṃ dhvōra cita / kiṇa ktāta phtāsāra /
manusa pḥaṇa rwṇa rāra / raṅra dīy daiy //

18. nānāye guṅgāra / is dāṃ mechchāra / biṇa bāka pra-
sraiya / tēra biṇa guṅgāra / lgika ṇāra ktova kraiy / trīya
pḥaṇa maka khsaiya / juna jāta jārāra //

19. kūṇa mahā jā dika / kuṃ̄ ye pōra lgika / prēra ktova
viṇa ṇāra / bita būṃ ta mūla / papūra mechchāra / būṃ hova guṅ-
gāra / sūna suṇa jāra tṛeya //

20. ora kūṇa biyṣīy / pōra nāṇa māṇa phtīya / guṃṭena
nānāye / pāṃmrera pranipāṭtha / praṭāta jā tṛeya / kuṃ prahēsa
lēy / krēṇa 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, ²⁰ / rebuke not your servants / with excessive frequency, ²¹ / rather, bide your time and / make them part of your household, ²² 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 ²³ / and follow the dharma of the Buddha, / which is most effective in its teachings, / true since ancient times, / and exists in the form of gāthā. ²⁴

17. When they achieve high station / folk make much noise / as they ape the good works of their betters; ²⁵ / 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 ²⁶ / and people the water. ²⁷

19. For fry, water is most excellent; ²⁸ / 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, ²⁹ / 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 ēna jā ṭāta / oy nāna saṅvāta / paṁmrōra phtiya siy / pēra niña jwpa kāla / 'āhāra camṇīy / oy chīy camṇīy / niña phtiya noḥ ṇāra //

22. kuṃ prēra muka traṅa / paṅjhara junγuṇa / lēṇa spaiy biy smāra / noḥ hova būṃ koṭṭha / gammtēṇa kraiāra / toy cpāpa loka thāra / sriya ita lākkhāna //

23. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēṇa cāmṇ oyi pāna / kūna bova mās mtāy / oy nāna cāmṇ prāna / dukā jāra dūnmāna / pratova 'ātmāra //

24. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēṇa cāmṇ rāksāra / smēra khlwna mtāya nova / graṇa bova būmniṇāra / oy sīwna rāksāra / dukā nova smēra khlwna //

25. khūṁma prusa khūṁma sriya / nāna dēna sratīy / oy lmama kūna sīwna / kuṃ 'āna jā mcāsa / prēra khusa niña kpwna / gey sēca sriya sīwna / tēḥ tiēla nindāra //

26. kuṇeyya Ṇ khūṁma / prusa sriya kuṃ khamma / prēra begya nās nāra / oy tiṇa knuṇa cita / kuṃmīta prēra vāra / doḥ kāca doḥ jāra / nāna mēla oy stēṇa //

27. oy cāmṇ oy cēḥ / oy rwsa riēna rīn / raka riēna tāka tēṇa / oy gita junjiṇa / rūmbiṇa oy jhveṇa / toy cpāpa neḥ ēṇa
21. In this above all else / let you do your best: / to serve your honored husband.\textsuperscript{30} / And if you would be with him at / mealtimes,\textsuperscript{31} / let you take your food / with your husband.

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

23. Let my dear and darling child\textsuperscript{37} / 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\textsuperscript{37} / 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.\textsuperscript{38}

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

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

27. Let you watch, let you know, / let you be keen to learn and reflect / and seek to be orderly.\textsuperscript{45} / Let you think
/ prasæra sobhāra //

28. kūṇay cāpa sṛīya / mēna bita bīṣīy / breṇa bridhā 'attitāra / loka duka jāra cāpa / santāpa 'ātmāra / naiy nāṇa sūwna bhūnāra / oy cāmm sabva thnaiya //

29. kūṇay taṃmineka / pēra niṇa cūla teka / dhvēra muka oy sṛāy / posa is būka brēra / oy thēra sabva sāy / kum oy bāy ōnāy / 'ānā 'ā nindāra //

30. kum tēra dhūnā jōnā / nāṇa kroka toḥ lōnā / hōy jera phtāssāra / duka smēra jhēra ddhamma / ralamma lōra gnāra / drabhba dhunā noḥ ōnāra / niṇa pād khcāta khcāya //

31. lūmmmanova noḥ ōnāra / tūca kala grīḥhāra / brīksāra dāṃ hīy / māna phlēra māna phkāra / braḥ 'adita sabva sāy / rummajwla rwsa rāy / khcāta khcāy sabva sdhāna //

32. kūṇay rīy cāpa / 'amboera sūrabhābbha / noḥ vāra tēna māna / piy tūca sramola / 'andola tām prāna / būm tēla jiēsa pāna / traṇa ktīya sala vala //

33. kūṇay dhamṭāra / jāra sṛīya noḥ mahāra / prasæra kan- laṇa / cāmm caṇa knuṇa cita / prayāta khlwna hoṇa / kum oy māna ōmāna / mandila 'ā srūva //
and reason, / let you ponder until things are clear; / and fol-
low this very code, / which is noble and resplendent.

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

29. O my child, into your sleeping-place / if you would go
to repose, / make your countenance serene,⁴⁸ / [as you might]
smooth out a silken mattress. / Let you observe all around
you⁴⁹ / without being remiss / and thereby sustaining reproach.

30. Move not with heavy feet⁵⁰ / or, when you have gotten
up and out, scold and curse;⁵¹ / 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,⁵² raise it up:⁵³ /
trees of every kind / bear fruit and flowers, / the sun shines
in all directions,⁵⁴ / while [the wind] stirs pleasantly / and
spreads everywhere.

32. O my child, these precepts / for goodly conduct⁵⁵ /
are ever with you,⁵⁶ / like unto the shadow / moving along be-
hind your body: / never can you escape / its endless turning.⁵⁷

33. O my child, by the dharma⁵⁸ / being a woman is a most
/ excellent thing.⁵⁹ / Keep [this fact] firmly in mind / and
safeguard yourself: / let there be no unsightly / stain or
blemish.
34. धाम्तारा जारा स्रीया / चेना चेह स्रतीय / काणा चपाप 
धुका नोवा / क्रेणा चेह क्रेणा चपाप / केव्व्हा पापा माका तुघ्वा / 
नरुका ज्राम्मा ज्रोवा / बुंम लेहा लेय नारा //

35. माना तेरा चपाप नेह / इस भ्रातुचुनेह / ओ जूना बोव 
ग्राणा / ओ थेरा ओ दाम्मा / ओ चाम्म जा म्ताणा / 'ता ओना त्राणा 
राणा / सबवा थ्नाया प्रक्रती //

36. कुम ओ जूना तेका / कुम ओ जूना ब्ह्लेका / ताला मुय रात्रिया / 
चपाप नेह जा स्थाता / दुन्माना इंद्रिया / सबवा 'अणा 'अत- 
माणा / जारा निकाणा होना //

37. जूना बोवा मॅयोय / मॅया खोता ठासा होय / इता 'नाका 
धारा स्नाना / पेरा क्ल्व्हा मॅया नोवा / ग्राणा बोवा बुम्निनारा / 
स्वनोय राक्सारा / बाका मॅया पह्ताम्मा होना //

38. मॅय पह्ताम्मा कुना बोवा / बिय थ्नायि नेह दोवा / कुला 
नाणा राक्साया / बाका मॅया कुम ब्ह्लेका / सुरेका उवारा- / -दाणा 
नोवा प्रकारा / मलेह एणा होना // //
34. By the dharma\textsuperscript{58} 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.\textsuperscript{60} / 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\textsuperscript{61} / each day as a matter of course.

36. And let there be no break, / let there be no forgetting / for even a single night: / this code is a school\textsuperscript{62} / which trains the faculties of each and every one\textsuperscript{63} / 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,\textsuperscript{64} / O my darling, keep\textsuperscript{64} / the words which I enjoin.\textsuperscript{65}

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

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

2 The compound traṇa rāṇa /traṇa rāṇa/ 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 traṇa rāṇa /traṇa rāṇa/ 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.

3 Leña laṇa /leṇa loṇa/ 'to trifle, dally; to be trifling, frivolous'.

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

5 Modern 'āṅga 'ātmā.

6 Sarā /srādāj/ > sradēj/ connotes speaking ill of someone. Between c and d the original has one superfluous verse: doñ niñā sratīy.

7 Kholāmā /klāy/ 'strong, forceful' connotes both 'loud' and 'harsh', the ambiguity being no doubt deliberate.

8 Modern ona 'āṅga sirā /qoṇ qoṇ seerīi /qoṇ qoṇ seerēj/ (rhyming with sratīy in 5c), of which the last member would be a poetic expansion of sira /sir > seer/ 'head' or variants sira(sa), sīrīa, sīr(sa), and sera. The orthography serī-sāra shows that the copyist was unmindful of the syllable count as well as the rhyme.

9 Where I give prāṃ bīra the original has the numeral 7. The strophe is badly garbled. In addition to the fact that prāṃ bīra hāy guna makes no sense, guna (modern ga'na /kun/ 'to observe, scrutinize') fails to rhyme with tīṇa /dṇa > dṇa/ in b. Sarā in c, moreover, fails to rhyme with guna and dhununa in e and f.

10 Modern ṭhāṇa grihā /thaan krēhīia/, < Pāli ṭhāna (cf. Sanskrit sthāna) 'place, stead' + Sanskrit grīha (cf. Pāli geha) 'house, home'.

11 Cf. 30a, where the sense is more concrete.

12 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.

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

14 The original reads: niña pāta 'antaṁy, which fails to rhyme with 8cef.

15 Modern 'adhrātra, a hybrid form reflecting Pāli addharat-tā as well as Sanskrit ardharātra 'midnight'.

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

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

18 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 /cnēr/, in which case the sense would be: "...as a fish [hugs] the bank before it."

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

20 Note the questionable rhyme between uttama /qutdōm/ > qut-dōm/ 'highest' and khñum /kñum > kñom/ 'slave, servant' in b.

21 Literally, "many times, [on] many occasions."

22 Literally, "...bring them into the group."

23 Ciṃa /ciəm/, not listed in modern dictionaries, is possibly an allomorph of cām /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.

24 The reference is to the Pāli texts, metrical and other-wise.

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

MKS 7:111-140 (c)1978 See archives.sealang.net/mks/copyright.htm for terms of use!
26 Khsāya /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'.

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

28 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.

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

30 The context may well suggest that sīy, as elsewhere in this text, is modern sī /sii/ 'to eat'. However, ptī sī /pdeaj sēej/ 'husband' is well attested as a compound, being even mentioned by the Vacañānukrama khmēra (Phnom-Penh: Institut Boudhdique, 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.

31 More literally: "...times for sustenance and food."

32 Literally: "Do not turn your face..."

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

34 Old Khmer spai /sbeaj/ 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.

35 In modern orthography, gamtēna kraľā /kumdaeŋ kralaa/ 'lord of the court', an archaic elegant term for husband.

36 Where I have lākkhāna (modern lakkhāna /leskkhaan/, a metrical expansion of lakkha(ṇa) /lesk/) the original has lākha /lak > leenk/, which fails to rhyme with pāna /baan > baan/ in 23c. My amendment raising the syllable-count to five, I go a step further and delete a superfluous hova (modern hau /hau/ 'to call') before srīya.

37 The translation reorders verses abc.

38 Where I have khlwna /kluuαn > kluwαn/ 'self' the original has mtāya /mdaαj > mdaaj/ 'mother', which fails to rhyme with sîwna /squuαn > squuαn/ in 25c. In view of 24d, the meaning is still clear.

39 The orthographic form dēna /deen > tōen/, written very
clear in the manuscript, is almost certainly a variant of modern tōa /tēen > tāen/ 'to awaken', now used intransitively of royalty and clergy. Cf. krātōa /krōtēen > krōtāaen/ 'to be vigorous; to be eager, zealous' and also tēna /tēyēn/ 'to urge on, press'. I take dēna sratīy as 'to incite by speaking (sharply) to', on the ground that sratī often takes on a fault-finding tone.

"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 kpwma to refer to any precepts or codes of conduct.

1Modern tīh tīaqa /tēh dīel/ '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 /nindīa/ 'to rebuke'.

2This 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.

3The translation transposes verses f and g.

4Kaca /kaac/ 'to be bad' encompasses the ideas of being wicked, ill-natured, dangerous, indolent, and incompetent; jā /jaa > cīa/ 'to be good' includes being virtuous, benign, kind, industrious, and worthy'.

5The line is ambiguous, probably deliberately so. I take tā'ka tēna as not referring to household chores only but to personal habits in general.

6Modern 'atīta /qatējtaq ~ qadēt/ 'bygone, ancient'.

7Note the rhyme between thānai /tēaj > tēaj/ and srāya /sraaj/ in 29c.

8Literally: "...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.

9Sabva sāya /sop saaj > sop saaj/ occurs again in 31e in the sense of 'to reach in all directions, all around'.

10Cf. 6d, where the sense is more figurative.

11Phtāsāra (modern phtāsā /pdaasa/), unlike its occurrence in 17e, is written as two words of which the first has conjunct final -s: phtās sāra.

12Literally: "If your dwelling-place be small..."

13Modern ka'la grihā /kāl kryhīa/ 'chock up or elevate the house'. Cf. 6b and note 10. Here /kōl > kāl/ 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.

54 Sabva sāy has occurred previously in 29e (cf. note 49). Between verses d and e the original text has one superfluous line, hoy trūva kukhtova '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.

55 Modern 'ambah subhāba 'acts (actions) which are good in nature or intent'.

56 Where I have māna /maan > mān/ the manuscript gives tām /taam/, which fails to rhyme with sāhāna (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.

57 Note that sa'la ya'la /sol wol > sol wol/ 'to turn continuously, spin, whirl' does not rhyme with kanlañā /kanlecq > kanlacy/, hoñā /hocq > haq/ or māna /mocq > maq/ in 33cef. Cf. the Cpa'pa krama, strophe 35.

58 Modern dhammatā /thomdaa/ (cf. Sanskrit dharmatās) 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.

59 Read: mahāprasāra kanlañā.

60 Modern 'a'sa 'ārtha ūcneq.

61 For trañā rañā see 1e and note 2.

62 The sense of sāhāna (modern sthāna /sthaan/ 'place, stead'; cf. note 10), while open to question, must fit the following dūnmāna indriya. 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.

63 Note that ātmāra (modern ātmā /qaatmaa/) fails to rhyme with rātriya and indriya in c and e.

64 Note that būmnāra (modern baṁña /bomqaa > pumliya/ fails to rhyme with snañā /snoon > snoq/ in c but does rhyme with rāksāra (modern raksā /raksa > reeksaa/) in f.

65 Hoñā /hocq > haq/ fails to rhyme with rāksāra, uvāra-,
and prakāra in 38cef, and no doubt stands in place of an original nāra (modern nā /naa/).


67 Modern ovādāna /qaaowaattǐːən/ '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- /qoowaaar- > qaaowaar-, rhyming with rākṣāra 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'Añgar Vat," in Journal Asiatique, 1975: 124.
kanlaña  1c, 33c.
kala  31b.
kāca  26f.
kāna  34c.
kāra  9c.
kāla  21d.
kūṇāy  1a, 4a, 6a, 10a, 19b, 28a, 29a, 32a, 33a.
kūṇāya  26a.
kūna  2a, 2g, 3a, 8a, 9a, 10d, 11a, 13a, 13e, 14a, 15a, 16b, 19a, 20a, 23b, 23d, 24b, 25c, 35c, 37a, 38a.
kōṭṭha  34e.
kōta  3f, 9d, 10c.
kōṭṭha  22d.
kosa  17b.
kum  1f, 2f, 3d, 6d, 7d, 8b, 15b, 17b, 17d, 20f, 22a, 25d, 26b, 29f, 30a, 33f, 36a, 36b, 38d.
kumnita  26e.
ktața  17e.
ktīya  4e, 32g.
ktova  18e, 19c.
knunā  2d, 4f, 5c, 26d, 33d.
kpwna  25e.
kra  1c.
kraiāra  22e
kreva  4d.
krēña  20g, 34d.
kraiya  1c, 18e.
kroka  30b.
krodha  4d.
k'āka  8b.
k'āy  8b.
khīña  3d, 17e.
khusa  9f, 20g, 25e.
khamma  26b.
khcāta  30g, 31g.
khcāya  30g, 31g.
khñumma  15b, 25a, 26a.
kheeña  10c.
kheeśa  10c.
khlwma  2g, 8g, 24g, 33e, 37d.
khlampa  4c.
khsaiya  18f.
gāthāra  13c, 16g.
gita  5b, 5d, 5f, 27d.
gīta  4f.
guña  14d.
gunāra  18a, 18d, 19f.
guna  5a, 5b, 5d, 5e.
gwra  5e, 5f.
gey  12b, 25f.
gumtena  20c.
gammatena  22e.

*The text comprises 362 lexical items, 394 orthographic forms.
gni 15e, 30e.

gnāra 15e, 30e.

gnā 7e.

grāna 24e, 35c, 37e.

grāra 15c.

grāha 6b, 31b.

groupa 7b.

ghlāta 8e.

jni 29f.

jniya 2b.

caña 33d.

cairaiya 8f, 12d.

cāsa 37b.

cita 5c, 17d, 26d, 33d.

cintāra 4f.

cula 29b, 38c.

ciema 16c.

ceña 34b.

che 14e, 34b.

ceña 23c, 24c.

če 27a.

cām 23c.

caṇīy 2le, 21f.

caṇma 11a, 13b, 16b, 23e, 24c, 27a, 28g, 33d, 35e.

caṇmraṇa 12c.

caṇhuta 16e.

caṇpā 15g, 22f, 23a, 24a, 27f, 28d, 32a, 34c, 35a, 36d.

caṇpā śriyā 1b, 2b, 4a, 9f, 20g, 28a.

crena 15c.

cāpa 34d.

ceh 34d.

chiṇ 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.

juṅguṇa 22b.

juna 18g.

juniṇa 5e, 27d.

jwpa 21d.

jwṇa 6d, 30a.

jiesa 32f.

jera 15b, 30c.

jrova 34f.

jṛama 34f.

jhēra 30d.

jhveṇa 27e.

ṇā 6a.

ṇāra 1b, 3g, 4e, 7f, 18e, 19c, 21g, 26c, 30f, 31a, 34g, 37c.

ṇās 26c.

ta 19d.

taṇa 15c.

tala 3g, 8f, 36c.

taka 27c.

tām 15g, 32e.

tina 5b, 26d.

tīy 6e.

tūca1 31b.

tūca2 32d.

tūcneṇ 35b.

twca 3g.

tera 6d, 30a.
tiela 25g.
teke 29b.
teca 36a.
tēña 27c, 32c.
tēra 18d, 35a.
tēla 32f.
tēḥ 25g.
toy 13c, 22f, 27f.
toya 16d, 17c.
toḥ 30b.
tamūneka 29a.
tamālaiya 11e.
tpita 14d, 14g.
trāṇa 22a, 32g.
trāṇa 1 1e, 35f.
traciaska 1d.
trīya 11g, 18f.
trūva 34e.
trūya 19g, 20e.
thay 9g.
thaṛa 22f.
thatra 29e, 35d.
thoka 9g.
thṇaiy 38b.
thṇaiya 11f, 28g, 35g.
thṭhāna 6b.
thlaiya 23b, 24b.
dika 19a.
dīy daiy 17g.
duka 1 2c, 12e, 14e, 15d, 23f, 24g, 28d, 30d, 34c.
duka 2 9d.
dūnāmāna 16e.
dūnāmāna 23f, 36e.
dōna 25b.
dōbva 13g.
dova 38b.
dos 9d.
dōḥ 4d, 6b, 7a, 11d, 26f.
dāṁi 6e, 18b, 31c.
dāṁma 35d.
ddhamma 13g, 17a, 30d.
dratoḥ 3e.
drābbha 7c, 7f, 11d, 14d, 30f.
dhamtāra 33a, 34a.
dharmma 16d.
dhāna 11d.
dhuna 7f, 11d, 30f.
dhnuna 5f, 6d, 30a.
dhvāra 9b.
dhva 9c.
dhvāra 17d, 29c.
naruka 34f.
nāṇa 1d, 1f, 2c, 3c, 3g, 6f, 8g, 10d, 10g, 11a, 13b, 13f, 15f, 16b, 16c, 17d, 20b, 21b, 23e, 25b, 26g, 28f, 30b, 38c.
nāṁṇey 18a, 20c.
nīṇa 3f, 4b, 4d, 7g, 9d, 9f, 10c, 12b, 13d, 21d, 21g, 25e, 29b, 30g.
niṇakaḷa 36g.
nindāra 25g, 29g.
nēḥ 1b, 12a, 21a, 23a, 24a, 26a, 36d, 38b.
nēḥ 27f, 35a.
naiy 1 8e, 12a.
naiy 2 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.
pantāma 11b.
papūra 19e.
pāta 7g.
pād 30g.
pāna 12f, 13f, 14c, 17a, 23c, 32f.
pāpa 34e.
pīy 32d.
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