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 srēj/ or code of conduct for young women. Item 164 in the catalogue of Au Chhieng,³ it consists of a bundle of eight ōla disposed as follows: la, top cover, bearing the title neḥ khsatrā cpā'pa srīya⁴ 'This the treatise Precepts

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


⁴Modern 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 51a is 56.5 x 5.5 centimeters and there are five lines on each 51a 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 : śñwma in 10, the two /-l/ : /-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, mṭāya stāpa > stāpa mṭāya; 7g, pāta 'antaṇāy > 'antaṇāya pāta; 22g, ita lākkha > ita lākkhāna; 24g, sāmāra mṭāya > sāmāra khłīna; and 32c, tēṇa tām > tēṇa māna.

Thus restored, the text shows a rhyme factor of 46.9%, which locates it between the earlier Cpa'pa rājaneti (47.2%) and the later Cpa'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 vīrāma, 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 dāmā /daŋ/ > tan/ (modern dāmā /teŋ/) 'all', pād /bat/ (modern pā'ta /bat/) 'to be lost', nām or nāmā /nam/ (modern nām /noem/) 'to lead', mtāy /mdaaj/ (modern mtāya /mdaaj/) 'mother', and is /qih/ (modern 'a'sa /qah/) '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 lly.

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 नार, श्र।
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. kūnɔy mātrāra / cpāpa sṛīya neh ɿāra / kra kraiṅ kan-laṅa / nāña yaka traciṅka / ona stāpa traṅa raṅa / kuṃ nāṅa leṅa laṅa / stāpa mtāy pratova //

2. kūna bova stāpa mtāya / cpāpa sṛīya mina niṅa / nāña yaka duka nova / knuṅa 'aṅa 'ātmāṇa / sāwna bhūra sṛīya bova / kuṃ oy māṅa sova / maṅa khūwa kūna sṛīya //

3. ora kūna sṛīya bova / stāpa mtāya pratova / pēra nāṅa māṅa phtiya / kuṃ khiṅa pokka poḥ / dratoṅ sratīy / niṅa kōta 'apriya / twca tala nāṅa ɿāra //

4. kūnɔy cpāpa sṛīya / pēra niṅa sratīy / khlāṃṅa beka būṃ jāra / doṅ niṅa kreva krodha / bhīrodha ktīya ɿāra / gīta knuṅa cintāra / ona 'aṅa serīsāra //

5. prāṃ bīra hoẏa guna / guna gita oy tiṅa / knuṅa cita sratīy / oy guna oy gita / junjiṅa gwra guna / gwra gita oy dhūna x oy saṃm saṃmatīy //

6. kūnɔy mwya ɿā / doṅ ththāna gṛhitāra / nova jāra pra- kratīy / kuṃ tōra dhūna jōṅa / jāna tōṅa dāṃṅ tīy / lōra phdāṅ nāṅa sṛīya / 'ābbha ita lakkhiṅā //

7. doṅ lāṅca pralupa / riṇa oy sabva grupa / rapasa drāb-bha jāra / kuṃ mēla paṃṇāmma / pracāmma gnī gnāra / drābbha dhuna noṅ ɿāra / niṅa 'antaṅāy pēta //
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. ora kūna bova mtāya / kum so ca k’āka k’āy / pralupa
ādrattha / ṣāṃreka rājjasy / noḥ naiy būm ghlāta / caṇraiyə
tala āṭṭha / khlwa nañña jā srīya //

9. ora kūna sañsāra / ’āṅgūya māta dhvāra / dhvo kāra iy iy / niña kēta dos dukā / ’ā kraka ’apriya / khusa niña cpāpa srīya / thay thoka sakkha yusa //

10. kūney swstiya / suka saṃmṛiddhīy / niña kēta khbaña khbasā / bīy nañña jā kūna / srīya sūñna sapparasa / pāṁbeṇa sakkha yusa / mçasā nañña jā srīya //

11. kūna bova nañña cāmm / bāka beja pantāmma / pantepa hā-
radaiy / doḥ drābbha dhuna dhāna / mena māna taṃtaiya / rāksāra sabva thṇaiya / jāra trīya snēra muka //

12. lokkīy neḥ naiy / gey niña sratiy / caṃmrēna bara suka / prās lēna caṇraiyə / nova bhaiy lēna dukā / bova mtāya pāna suka / saṃmpāta swggāra //

13. kūna bova mtāya phtāmma / bāka beja nañña cāmm / toy pada gāthāra / mtāya niña pratova / kūna bova būṃnāna / oy nañña pāna jāra / ddhaṃma dōvva sraṇuka //

14. ora kūna srīya bova / stāpa mtāya pratova / oy pāna swra suka / drābbha guṇa tpita srīya / ceḥ saṃcaiy dukā / māna
8. O my youngest child, / laugh not boisterously / at dusk or in deep of night,\(^{15}\) / [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\(^{16}\) 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.\(^{17}\)

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 constantly, / as the fish loves [its own reflected] face.\(^{18}\)

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:\(^{19}\) / being a woman, hold fast to
phdaḥ sranuka / tpita lākkha sriya jāra //

15. ora kūṇa ūtaṃma / kum jera bola khñūṃma / crūna taṅa
   crūna grāra / sina sima duka yaka / vāra maka jāra gnāra /
   nāna 'ata oy vāra / tām cpāpa pūrāna //

16. neḥ śīna mtāya phtāṃma / kūna bova nāna cāṃm / oy nāna
ciṣma prāna / toya dharmma braḥ buddha / caṃhuta dūnamāna /
   bita bīy pūrāna / jāta jāra gāthāra //

17. pēra pāna jā ddhamma / manusa phaṇa kosa kum / toya
   puna loka jāra / nāna kum dhvēra cita / khiṇa ktāta phtāśāra /
   manusa phaṇa rwēna rāra / raʾāra dīy daiy //

18. nānūny guṅgāra / is dāṃ śmechchāra / biṇa bāka pra-
   sraiya / tēra biṇa guṅgāra / lgika nāra ktova krai / triya
   phaṇa maka khsaiya / juna jāta jārāra //

19. kūṇa mahā jā dika / kūṇovy pēra lgika / pṛēra ktova
   viṇa nāra / bita būṃ ta mūla / papūra mechchāra / būṃ hova guṅ-
   gāra / sūna suṇa jāra troya //

20. ora kūṇa bīysi / pēra nāna māna phtīya / guṭteṇa
    nānūny / paṃmrēra pranipāṭtha / prajāta jā troya / kum prahēsa
    loy / krēṇa khusa cpāpa sriya //
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. ne-dismissal ēna jā ’āta / oy nāna sāṁvāta / pāmmṛera phtiya siy / pēra niña jwpa kāla / ’āhāra caṃniy / oy chīy caṃniy / niña phtiya noh ṇāra //

22. kum prēra muka traṇa / pañjhara juncunā / lēna spaiy biy smāra / noh hova būm koṭṭha / gaṃmtēna kraṭāra / toy cpāpa loka thāra / sriya ita lākkhāna //

23. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēṇa caṃm oy pāna / kūna bova mās mtāy / oy nāna caṃm prāna / duka jāra dūnmāna / pratova ’ātmāra //

24. cpāpa neḥ prabaiy / oy kūna mās thlaiya / cēṇa caṃm rāksāra / smōra khlwna mtāya nova / graṇa bova būmniāra / oy sīwna rāksāra / duka nova smōra khlwna //

25. khūnumma prusa khūnumma sriya / nāna deṇa sratīy / oy lmaama kūna sīwna / kum ’āna jā mcāsa / prēra khusa niña kpwna / geysacca sriya sīwna / tēḥ tiēla nindāra //

26. kūṃgaya ḋ khūnumma / prusa sriya kum khamma / prēra begya nās nāra / oy tiṇa knuṇa cita / kumṇita prēra vāra / doḥ kāca doḥ jāra / nāna mēla oy stēṇa //

27. oy caṃm oy cēḥ / oy rwsa riṇa rīṇ / raka riṇa tāka tēṇa / oy gita junjiña / rumbiña 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
28. कुण्य cpāpa srīya / mēna bita bīysīy / breṇa bridha 'attitāra / loka duka jāra cpāpa / santāpa 'ātmāra / naiy nāna sīwnā bhārāra / oy cāmm sabva thānaiya //

29. कुण्य tāmśineka / pēra niṇa cūla teka / dhvēra muka oy srāy / posa is būka brēra / oy thēra sabva sāy / kum oy bāy nāy / 'aṇa 'ā nindāra //

30. kum tēra dhūnuna jūnā / nāna kroka toh lūnā / hoy jēra phtāsāra / duka smēra jhēra ddhamma / ralumma lēra gnāra / drābbha dhuna noḥ nāra / niṇa pād khcāta khcāya //

31. lūmmanovala noḥ nāra / tūca kala grīḥhāra / bṛiksāra dāṁī hlāy / māna phlēra māna phkāra / brah 'adita sabva sāy / rummajwla rwsa rāy / khcāta khcāy sabva sdhāna //

32. कुण्य ṛīy cpāpa / 'aṃbhēra sūrabhābbha / noḥ vāra tēṇā māna / ṛīy tūca sramola / 'andola tām prāna / būṃ tēla jiēsa pāna / traṇa ktiya sala vala //

33. कुण्य dhamsāra / jāra srīya noḥ mahāra / prasvēra kandaḷāra / cāmm caṇa knuṇā cita / prayaṭa khlna hoṇa / kum 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 preeminent / 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 behind 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. dhəmtərə jāra sərīya / cənə cəh sərtəy / kəna cəpapa duka novə / krənə cəh krənə cəpapa / kətəhta pəpə maka trūva / naruka jraṃma jrovə / bəmp lənə lənə nəra //

35. mənə təra cəpapa nəh / is 'əra təcneh / oy kənə bova graña / oy thəra oy dəmə / oy cəmə jə mtaṇə / 'ata ona trəna raṇə / sabva thənaiya prəkrətəy //

36. kəmp oy mənə teca / kəmp oy mənə bhleca / tala məy rətriya / cəpapa nəh jə sədəna / dənumənə indərinya / sabva 'aŋə 'ət- məra / jəra nəcəkəla həna //

37. kənə bova mətəmy / mətəy sota cəsə həy / ita 'naka nəra səna / xəra khəlnə mətəy novə / graña bova bəmənərə / sənərey rəksəra / bəka mətəy phtəmə hoṇə //

38. mətəy phtəmə kənə bova / bəy thənaiy nəh dova / cəla nəna rəksəra / bəka mətəy kəmp bhleca / sənərcə uərə- / -dənə novə prəkəra / mələŋ eŋə həna // //
34. By the dharma⁵⁸ 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.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 receptive⁶¹ / 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 school⁶² / which trains the faculties of each and every one⁶³ / 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,⁶⁴ / O my darling, keep⁶⁵ / the words which I enjoin.⁶⁵

38. [Herewith] I instruct my youngest child: / from this day forward / do you keep / my words and not forget them. / Ended⁶⁶ are my instruction- / -giving⁶⁷ 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 traña raña /traŋ traŋ/ 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 yaña /traŋ traŋ/ 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 laña /leŋŋ laŋŋ > lēŋŋ laŋŋ/ 'to trifle, dally; to be trifling, frivolous'.

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

5 Modern 'aṅga 'ātmā.

6 Sraṭī /sroṭī > sradēj/ connotes speaking ill of someone. Between c and d the original has one superfluous verse: doṅ niṅa sratīy.

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

8 Modern ona 'aṅga sirī /goon qoŋ seerī > qaaon qoŋ sēe-rōj/ (rhyming with sratīy in 5c), of which the last member would be a poetic expansion of sira /sir > sēr/ 'head' or variants sira(sa), sirsa, sir(sa), and sera. The orthography seri-sāra shows that the copyist was unmindful of the syllable count as well as the rhyme.

9 Where I give prām bīra the original has the numeral 7. The strophe is badly garbled. In addition to the fact that prām bīra hāy guna makes no sense, guna (modern ga'nā /kun/ 'to observe, scrutinize') fails to rhyme with tiṅa /d̪ẙŋ > ḍẙŋ/ in b. Sraṭī in c, moreover, fails to rhyme with guna and dhūnā in e and f.

10 Modern ṭhāna grihā /thaan kṝ̥hīa/, < Pāli thāna (cf. Sanskrit sthāna) 'place, stead' + Sanskrit gr̥ha (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 jāna. 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 'antaṟay, which fails to rhyme with 8cef.

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

16 Pāli sansāra '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 tṛṣ 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 *snēra, a dialectal allomorph of modern chnera /cnēer/, 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 oṣ pāṇa swra sukha '...that you cross over to contentment," emphasizing swra /sūrer/ 'to inch forward, advance cautiously along a narrow way'. I read it as oṣ pāṇa swrga sukha '...that you attain heaven and contentment' or, better yet, oṣ pāṇa swrgasukha '...that you attain heaven's contentment', with the last two items bound into a neo-Indic compound.

20 Note the questionable rhyme between uttama /qutdām > qut-dom/ 'highest' and khñum /knum > knom/ 'slave, servant' in b.

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

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

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

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'. 
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 /si/ 'to eat'. However, ptī sī /pīrəj sīəj/ 'husband' is well attested as a compound, being even mentioned by the Vacanānukrama khmēra (Phnom-Penh: Institut Bouddhique, 1967), I: 636b, sv ptī; see also Guessed, op.cit., II: 1746b, sv sīy. S. Pou identifies the latter with Old Khmer sī /si/ '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 /səj/ 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, gamteñā kramā /kumdaaŋ kramā/ 'lord of the court', an archaic elegant term for husband.

36 Where I have lākkhāna (modern lākkhāna /leakhhāan/, a metrical expansion of lakkha(ña) /leak/) the original has lākha /lak > leak/, 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 /haw/ 'to call') before sīya.

37 The translation reorders verses abc.

38 Where I have khlwna /kluœn > klœun/ 'self' the original has mtīya /mdaaŋ > md Wilderness /sīwān > sīwān/ in 25c. In view of 24d, the meaning is still clear.

39 The orthographic form dūna /dœn > tœn/, written very
clear in the manuscript, is almost certainly a variant of modern tōma /tōen > tāen/ 'to awaken', now used intrinsically of royalty and clergy. Cf. kratōna /krōtōen > krataan/ 'to be vigorous; to be eager, zealous' and also tīna /tīyan/ 'to urge on, press'. I take dāna sratīy as 'to incite by speaking (sharply) to', on the ground that sratī often takes on a fault-finding tone.

4. 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.

5. Modern tīša tiæla /tīh dīæl/ '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 /nintīa/ 'to rebuke'.

6. 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.

7. The translation transposes verses f and g.

8. Kācā /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'.

9. 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.

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

11. Note the rhyme between thānā /tēj > tēj/ and sāya /sraaj/ in 29c.

12. 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.

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

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

15. Phtaṣāra (modern phtaṣā /pāasaa/), unlike its occurrence in 17e, is written as two words of which the first has conjunct final -s: phtaṣā sāra.

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

17. Modern ka'la grihā /kāl kryhīa/ 'chock up or elevate the house'. Cf. 6b and note 10. Here /kāl > 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, hāy trūvā kumātova '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 'amba subhāba 'acts (actions) which are good in
nature or intent'.

56 Where I have māna /maan > mīan/ the manuscript gives
tām /taam/, which fails to rhyme with sdhāna (modern sthāna
/sthaan/) in 31g and prāṇa and pāṇa in 32ef and was almost cer-
tainly picked up by a copyist from verse e, where it is far
more effective.

57 Note that sa'la va'la /sol wol > sol wol/ 'to turn con-
tinuously, spin, whirl' does not rhyme with kanlaṇa /konloq >
kanlaŋ/, hoña /hoog > haq/ or ṭaṇa /mocq > maq/ in 33cef.
Cf. the Cpa'pa krama, strophe 35.

58 Modern dhammata /thomdaa/ (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.

59 Read: mahāprasāra kanlaṇa.

60 Modern 'a'sa 'ārtha tūcneh.

61 For traṇa raṇa see le and note 2.

62 The sense of sdhāna (modern sthāna /sthaan/ 'place,
stead'; cf. note 10), while open to question, must fit the fol-
lowing dūṃmaṇa indriya. Preferring the simplest solution, I
suggest that the poet, needing a word to rhyme with dūṃmaṇa 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 need-
lessly forced.

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

64 Note that dūṃmaṇā (modern bampū /bomqaa > pumq'ia/ fails
to rhyme with snaṇā /snoq > snaq/ in c but does rhyme with
rāksāra (modern raksā /raksaa > reeksaa/) in f.

65 Hoña /hoog > haq/ fails to rhyme with rāksāra, ūvāra-,
and prakāra in 38cef, and no doubt stands in place of an original ṇāra (modern ṇā /naa/).


67 Modern ovādadāna /qaowaaattǐən/ 'the giving of teachings, the imparting of advice or admonitions', < Pāli ovāda (cf. Sanskrit avāda) 'commandment, instruction, counsel' + dāna 'giving, gift, donation; communication, teaching'. The manuscript clearly shows syllabic ŭ, easily confused with o. The orthographic form ūvāra- - ovāra- /qoowaar- > qaowaar-, 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’Aṅgar Vat," in Journal Asiatique, 1975: 124.
kanlaña 1c, 33c.  
kanlaña 31b.  
kāca 26f.  
kāna 34c.  
kāra 9c.  
kāla 21d.  
kūn̥y 1a, 4a, 6a, 10a, 19b, 28a, 29a, 32a, 33a.  
kūn̥ya 26a.  
kūna 2a, 2g, 3a, 8a, 9a, 10d, 11a, 13a, 13e, 14a, 15a, 16b, 19a, 20a, 23b, 23d, 24b, 25c, 35c, 37a, 38a.  
kaṭṭha 34e.  
kaṭa 3f, 9d, 10c.  
koṭṭha 22d.  
kosa 17b.  
kum 1f, 2f, 3d, 6d, 7d, 8b, 15b, 17b, 17d, 20f, 22a, 25d, 26b, 29f, 30a, 33f, 36a, 36b, 38d.  
kum̃n̥ita 26e.  
ktāta 17e.  
ktīya 4e, 32g.  
ktova 18e, 19c.  
knûna 2d, 4f, 5c, 26d, 33d.  
kpwna 25e.  
kra 1c.  
kraṭṭāra 22e.  
kreva 4d.  
krēña 20g, 34d.  
kraiya 1c, 18e.  
kroka 30b.  
krodha 4d.  
k’āka 8b.  
k’āy 8b.  
khina 3d, 17e.  
khusa 9f, 20g, 25e.  
khamma 26b.  
khcāta 30g, 31g.  
khcāya 30g, 31g.  
khn̥umma 15b, 25a, 26a.  
khbaña 10c.  
khbasà 10c.  
khlna 2g, 8g, 24g, 33e, 37d.  
khn̥ma 4c.  
khsaiya 18f.  
gāthāra 13c, 16g.  
gīta 5b, 5d, 5f, 27d.  
gīta 4f.  
gūna 14d.  
guṅgāra 18a, 18d, 19f.  
guna 5a, 5b, 5d, 5e.  
gwra 5e, 5f.  
gey 12b, 25f.  
gumteña 20c.  
gummatēña 22e.  

*The text comprises 362 lexical items, 394 orthographic forms.*
gnāra 15e, 30e.
gnī gnāra 7e.
graṇa 24e, 35c, 37e.
grāra 15c.
grīthāra 6b, 31b.
grupa 7b.
ghlāta 8e.
nāy 29f.
nāya 2b.
caṇa 33d.
caṇraiya 8f, 12d.
cāsa 37b.
cita 5c, 17d, 26d, 33d.
cintāra 4f.
cūla 29b, 38c.
cisma 16c.
ceṇa 34b.
ceh 14e, 34b.
ceṇa 23c, 24c.
cīh 27a.
cām 23c.
camīya 21e, 21f.
cāmma 11a, 13b, 16b, 23e, 24c, 27a, 28g, 33d, 35e.
cammrōna 12c.
camhuta 16e.
cpāpa 15g, 22f, 23a, 24a, 27f, 28d, 32a, 34c, 35a, 36d.
cpāpa srīya 1b, 2b, 4a, 9f, 20g, 28a.
crūna 15c.
c'āpa 34d.
c'ēh 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.
jūgūna 22b.
juna 18g.
junjiṇa 5e, 27d.
jwpa 21d.
jeha 6d, 30a.
jiṣa 32f.
jera 15b, 30c.
jrova 34f.
jarāma 34f.
jhēra 30d.
jhveṇa 27e.
ṇā 6a.
ṇāra 1b, 3g, 4e, 7f, 18e, 19c, 21g, 26c, 30f, 31a, 34g, 37c.
ṇās 26c.
ta 19d.
tāna 15c.
tala 3g, 8f, 36c.
tāka 27c.
tām 15g, 32e.
tiṇa 5b, 26d.
tīy 6e.
tūca 1 31b.
tūca 2 32d.
tūcneḥ 35b.
twca 3g.
tuṛa 6d, 30a.
tisla 25g.  
teka 29b.  
teca 36a.  
tēna 27c, 32c.  
tēra 18d, 35a.  
tēla 32f.  
tēṭ 25g.  
toy 13c, 22f, 27f.  
toya 16d, 17c.  
tōṭ 30b.  
tamīnneka 29a.  
tamśaiya 11e.  
tpita 14d, 14g.  
traṇa¹ 22a, 32g.  
traṇa² 1e, 35f.  
traciśka 1d.  
trīya 11g, 18f.  
trūva 34e.  
trūya 19g, 20e.  
thay 9g.  
ṭhāra 22f.  
thēra 29e, 35d.  
thoka 9g.  
ṭhṇaiy 38b.  
ṭhṇaiya 11f, 28g, 35g.  
ṭhthēna 6b.  
ṭhṭaiya 23b, 24b.  
dika 19a.  
dīya dāiy 17g.  
duκa¹ 2c, 12e, 14e, 15d, 23f, 24g, 28d, 30d, 34c.  
duκa² 9d.  
duṇamāna 16e.  
duṇmāna 23f, 36e.  
duṇa 25b.  
duṇva 13g.  
dava 38b.  
ḍos 9d.  
ḍuh 4d, 6b, 7a, 11d, 26f.  
ḍāmi 6e, 18b, 31c.  
ḍāmma 35d.  
ḍhāmma 13g, 17a, 30d.  
ḍratoḥ 3e.  
ḍrābbha 7c, 7f, 11d, 14d, 30f.  
ḍhantāra 33a, 34a.  
ḍharmma 16d.  
ḍhāna 11d.  
ḍhuna 7f, 11d, 30f.  
ḍhnuna 5f, 6d, 30a.  
ḍhvāra 9b.  
ḍhvṛ 9c.  
ḍhvṛṣa 17d, 29c.  
naruka 34f.  
nāna 1d, 1f, 2c, 3c, 3g, 6f, 8g, 10d, 10g, 11a, 13b, 13f, 15f, 16b, 16c, 17d, 20b, 21b, 23e, 25b, 26g, 28f, 30b, 38c.  
nānukṣey 18a, 20c.  
niṇa 3f, 4b, 4d, 7g, 9d, 9f, 10c, 12b, 13d, 21d, 21g, 25e, 29b, 30g.  
niṅkāla 36g.  
nindāra 25g, 29g.  
neḥ 1b, 12a, 21a, 23a, 24a, 26a, 36d, 38b.  
nēḥ 27f, 35a.  
naiy¹ 8e, 12a.  
naiy² 28f.  
nova 2c, 6c, 12e, 24d, 24g, 34c, 37d, 38f.
noha 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.
pūra 3c, 4b, 17a, 19b, 20b, 21d, 29b, 37d.
poka 3d.
posa 29d.
poḥ 3d.
panṃāmma 7d.
pambeṇa 10f.
pamṛrēra 20d, 21c.
prakāra 38f.
prakratīy 6c, 35g.
pracāmma 7e.
pratova 1g, 3b, 13d, 14b, 23g.
pranipāttha 20d.
prabaiy 23a, 24a.
prayaṭa 33e.
prayaṭa 20e.
pralupa 7a, 8c.
prasāra 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.
pṭāṣāra 17e.
pṭāsāra 30c.
pṭīya 3c, 20b, 21c, 21g.
pṭāmma 13a, 26a, 37g, 38a.
phḍaḥ 6f, 14f.
phḷēra 31d.
bara 12c.
bāka¹ 11b, 13b, 37g, 38d.
bāka² 18c.
bāy ēnāy 29f.
bīna 18c, 18d.
bīta 16f, 19d, 28b.
bīy 10d, 16f, 22c, 38b.
bīyāy 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.
būm 4c, 8e, 19d, 19f, 22d, 32f, 34g.
būmāṇāra 13e, 24e, 37e.
lokīya 12a.
lummanova 31a.
līgika 18e, 19b.
līnāca 7a.
liyama 25c.
vāra 15e, 15f, 26e, 32c.
vīna 19c.
sakkha 9g, 10f.
saṃvāta 21b.
saṃsāra 9a.
saṃtāpa 28e.
sapparasa 10e.
saṃvāpa 7b, 11f, 28g, 29e, 31e, 31g, 35g, 36f.
sala vala 32g.
sāy 29e, 31e.
sina 15d.
sima 15d.
sīya 21c.
suka 10b, 12c, 12f, 14c.
suṇa 19g.
sūna 19g.
sūrabhābbha 32b.
sūryeca 38e.
suvgāra 12g.
suṣra 14c.
suṣṭīya 10a.
suṣca 8b, 25f.
suṣīṣāra 4g.
sota 37b.
sobhāra 27g.
sova 2f.
saṃcaiy 14e.
saṃma 5g.
saṃmatīya 5g.
saṃmpāta 12g.
saṃmrīdhīya 10b.
saṃmreka 8d.
sāwīna 2e, 10e, 24f, 25c, 25f, 28f.
sāwīnaya 37f.
stāpa 1e, 1g, 2a, 3b, 14b.
steṇa 26g.
sdēna 31g, 36d.
snaṇa 37c.
snēra 11g.
spaṇya 22c.
smāra 22c.
smēra 24d, 24g, 30d.
sraṇuka 13g, 14f.
srātiy 3e, 4b, 5c, 12b, 25b, 34b.
sramola 32d.
srāya 29c.
srīyā 1b, 2b, 2c, 2g, 3a, 4a, 6f, 8g, 9f, 10e, 10g, 14a, 14d, 14g, 20g, 22g, 25a, 25f, 26b, 28a, 33b, 34a.
hāradaiy 11c.
haya 5a, 30c, 37b.
hōna 33e, 36g, 37g, 38g.
hoya 19f, 22d.
hlāy 31c.
ṭomā 6e.
ṭaṇa 1 29g.
ṭaṇa 2 2d, 4g, 36f.
ṭaṅguya 9b.
ṭata 15f, 35f.
ṭatitāra 28c.