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SANSKRIT WORDS SEEN IN 27 KHMER PROVERBS

A Glance Through Sanskrit, Proverbs and Khmer Cultural Context.

A proverb would have been considered as an equivalent to a big and thick book. In ancient time a proverb can resume an exhortation, an appeal to reason, a reprimand, a justice, a taking care of love. Without speaking of philosophy, a proverb is a popular wisdom. It conveys the first steps of truth, the realistic aspects of things, and in a few words it embodies living voice of humanity. Any civilization through its own language has a collection of proverbs which are capable to hold on the signications facing elaborate philosophy and sophisticated thought.

Mankind has created various tools to satisfy the need of all kind. Otherwise, a proverb could be viewed as a tool functioning like a whip made of words. Human being lashes a whip against the ground to call upon anyone to a good sense in life as a proverb is the fruit of experiences through generations. A proverb may be considered as a lengthening of human intelligence as well as a tool is an extension of hands.

Mankind has laid down a wisdom and a proverb, in its simple expression, is still an evidence through ages. Does one know when a proverb will reach a regression? Facing the prowess of the forthcoming technology, spiritual feeling would have a restricted place as life is more surrounded by bodily needs, by diseases, by a progressive degradation of natural resources and by an ill-working of living framework. Consequently, mankind could have left proverb as well as dead body had been abandoned at a

secluded place in the forest. The question whether to contemplate a limit of a proverb or not will be being discussed. If mankind should ever reach an opportunity of getting rid of proverbs, witty means of intelligence were likely misused.

The world had had many prophets; proverbs have not been substituted by their “good sayings” generally uttered before crimes and tortures. Is a proverb capable of stopping the slaughters, the massacres, the silliness and the arrogance? It appears that a proverb would have heard in a hopeless situation of a heart-gripping crime and irreparable conditions of blood-shed by a powerless witness.

Sanskrit culture, endowed with the sacred sense and great value of the *Veda*, has an important collection of proverbs. Like other cultures of mankind, proverbs are the storehouse of collective memory heaped up by experiences.

The purpose of the present task has two or three incidental steps implying historical bonds between Cambodia and India. At the dawn of history, Khmer people had been in close contact with Indian culture. The chronological facts of growing up of Khmer country through Indian pattern of ruling institution is known by many scholars in the fields of archaeology, epigraphy, architecture, decorative arts of monuments and sculptures. The development of Khmer culture was due to various and important Sanskrit works having brought in Cambodia. Khmer culture knew Sanskrit language before Pāli.¹ The French scholar George

¹ The aspects of the question was known to many scholars of George Coedès's generation. It has been neglected by many Western survey since the end of 60's. It is clear that Pāli language came in Khmer country through Theravada Buddhism since the middle of 15th Cent. A.D., cf. San Sarin, *Gratefulness (TIN GUN) in Cambodian Behaviour*, issued in *Indian Epic Values, Rāmāyaṇa and Its Impacts*, Proc. of the 8th International Rāmāyaṇa conference, Leuven, 6-8 July 1991, pp. 221-228, edited by G. Pollet, Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies Leuven, 1995; the same paper is printed in *Vaṁmaya*, vol. VI, edited by Dr. Gautam Patel, Sanskrit Sahitya Academy, Gujarat, 2002, pp. 61-67. According to the inscription of Vo-Canh found in the actual region of Nha-Trang (at the place called as Khanh-hoa), Sanskrit language would have been used in the royal chancellery, cf. George Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, ed. De Boccard, Paris, 1964, p. 82, Theravāda Buddhism used Sanskrit language had been effectively testified in Nagar Bham (Fou-nan, according to Chinese records) since the 3rd Cent. A.D.; this Buddhism was well-developed in Khmer country till the Vth and VIth Cent. A.D., cf. G. Coedès, *ibid.*, p. 120. About the date of this inscription, cf. D. C. Sircar, *Date of the earliest sanskrit inscription of Campā*, in *J. Greater India Soc.*, VI, 1939, p. 53-55; G. Coedès, *La date de l'inscription sanskrite de Vo-*

Coedès had suggested another scope of survey by foreseeing an inherent aspect of Indian culture expressed by Khmer feeling and capability through many evidences. George Coedès recommended the forthcoming scholars for some cases intending to form a correct estimate of “the power of penetration” of Indian culture in South East of Asia by taking into account “the importance of what it is still extant”.² In practical way, the George Coedès’s idea would deal with a possibility to appreciate *the degree of penetration* of Indian culture in Khmer society, which the matter is wittingly concerned. Collecting Khmer proverbs having Sanskrit words used in them seems to be one of the means to measure the degree of penetration indicated above. In the same time, the present first step of scanning 27 Khmer proverbs will bring in the sense of Cambodian attitude with regard to Sanskrit language. One will be able to appreciate the semantic platform considered from Khmer side. The last point is very important as it is connected with a) action, b) relation of cause and effect and c) morals in working. In the present scope, a good or acceptable behaviour of a scholar must naturally follow from that degree of penetration set up by G. Coedès. Then, the scope of study cannot be avoided nor twisted it.³

canh, Ind. Hist. Quart., XVI, 3, 1940, 72, 484; E. Gaspardonne, *La plus ancienne inscription d'Indochine*, in J. Asiat. T. CCXLI, 19, 477-485; K. Kumar Sarkar, *The earliest inscription of Indochina*, in *Sino-Indian Studies*, V, 2, 1956, pp. 77-87; K. Bhattacharya, *Précisions sur la paléographie de l'inscription de Vo-Canh*, in *Artibus Asiae*, t. XXIV, 1961, pp. 219-224.

² G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés...*, *ibid*, pp. 69-70, 453-454. After a long period of staying in Khmer society, G. Coedès had seen many attempts to have some Hindu elements ejected out of Khmer cultural sphere. Even five centuries after the collapse of Angkorian Empire (1435 A.D.), many *Pāragū*, (Brahmins of Khmer country) are still present in the important ritual ceremonies in the Royal Palace. At the page 269 of his book, G. Coedès pointed out a religious symbiosis among *r̥ṣis*' practices, Śivaism and Buddhism throughout many countries having received Hindu *dharma* in the 10th Cent. A.D. The facts of religious symbiosis had been obviously recorded by A. Leclère in Cambodia at the end of 19th Cent. till the beginning of the 20th Cent.; A. Leclère's book is *Cambodge, fêtes civiles et religieuses*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1916, 661 pages. I brought in my contribution in the matter. A form of religious symbiosis had been lasting in Khmer country till the present day. By surveying Khmer Theravāda Buddhism, I wrote an article issued at Varanasi, San Sarin, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Practices and Institutional Interplay in Cambodia*, in *The Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 10, n. 1 & 2, Varanasi, 1998, pp. 116-140.

³ The matter and the spirit are related of a methodological view. It depends on what one is going to have as an upshot of all investigations. I have just put forward the three heads as they must be the ground of a proper methodological view owing to what one is keen to rightly

Khmer proverbs, oral tradition.

Khmer language uses till nowadays the word *subhāsīt* to point out a proverb. It is a pāli form *subhāsita* < past partic. of *bhāsati*, “well spoken, good words”. Sanskrit form of *subhāsīt* is *su-bhāsita*, of course; it means “eloquent”; “good saying, witty saying”.⁴ Khmer people follow the same word as do pāli and sanskrit languages.⁵

focus the insight of the matter. More than forty years I am in the field and I had had a best opportunity to meet Prof. Jean Filliozat and I had unceasingly worked with André Bateau for more than twenty years since I had been in France. Prof. Jean Filliozat took time to listen to one who forms a project of investigation. He made one feel his taste for philosophy that meant his comprehensive opening of spirit. He took proper care of the source of topic. Having heard the outline of the elements of theme, he was handy to give advice which was fitted for a good deal. Prof. André Bateau was a level-headed person and time is on his side. Before a forthcoming work, he wanted to be informed about the state of documents and the possible conditions of documentation. He was aware of quicksands, which it is easy to be grasped. Without any word, he wished to know adequate ways to deal with the needs of an author and his own background. Jean Filliozat and André Bateau shared two things: they were not trustful in any system as they found out weak and discordant rules in it. Both of them called upon carefulness. I had proposed to both of them to consider a balance between the view given by a Western observer and the one of a national of a country of which a subject is in dissertation. They had sincerely agreed with me. Where will I meet the similar scholars in France? I had been in Buddhist philology and in philology and history with André Bateau. Avoid fumbling in mind for a way out, which I had been taught. The balance may be considered in case of a valuation of the upshot. Breaking new ground seems to tick over at a decade before the end of XXth Cent. A.D. About the countries which are in the orbit of Indian cultural world, the history and its chronology have been reaching an acceptable position of knowledge after more than eight decades of constant and great efforts. Now, the moment may be devoted to the impacts of Indian cultural elements among various populations in a large geographical area. The analysis of the impacts must be extended and enlarged. In this view, a competent, native observer is needful as it can see the matter from the inner part of his own society. Moreover, he is able to provide what an alien observer cannot do. The task is beyond a particularity; it has a complexity which requires a permeated skilful criticism. It is not a matter to convince anyone. A good upshot does not fail to harp upon the balance in a valuation and also balance is efficient at handling a device. What I just have said is intended to have people informed on researches and some laborious ways aiming at obtaining a result. The present article will show forth what I like best are the difficulties.

⁴ Rhys Davids, T.W. & William Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1st edition 1921-1925, 738 pages. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford University Press, 1st edition 1899.

⁵ The word *subhāsita* is used or associated with the title of an anthology or a compilation of sanskrit proverbs: *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. Ed. Peterson and Pt. Durga Prasad, Poona, 1886; *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (or Gems of Sanskrit Poetry), compiled by Kashinatha Pandurang Parab, pub. Nirnaya Sagar press (5th ed.), Bombay, 1911; *Śatakātrayādisubhāṣitasāṅgraha* of Bharṭhari. Cr. Ed. By D.D. Kosambi Bharatiya Vidya

Khmer contribution to popular proverbs in Cambodia cannot in any way be compared to Indian publications as indicated in footnote. In the *Catalogue* of the publication of Buddhist Institute of Phnom Penh of the year 1965, only a short compilation of Khmer proverbs is seen among 170 titles issued by the Institute;⁶ this compilation bears a title as *Cpāp' Subhāsīt*, it can be rendered as “a Code of Conduct [through] proverbs”. Some proverbs are selected according to a moral tenet. Khmer proverbs had no importance in printing activities of the Institute. They would have been labelled as usually bearing a squib of rural countryside.

In the *Catalogue*⁷ issued by French printing office, Khmer proverb is totally absent. The department of manuscripts of French library had been set up since 1863 A.D. (for Khmer section). Many French scholars of those days were not lucky at coming back home with a manuscript of Khmer proverbs.

Some years after Independence of Cambodia (1953), private editions had published some short compilations for school-children.

The political power had set up the ministry of Public Instruction and the programme followed French way of education from 30's. They neglected the Khmer traditional teaching⁸ and many

Bhavan, Bombay, 1948; *subhāṣitaratnaśoṣa* compiled by Vidyākara. Ed. D.D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1957; *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of the poet Hari (or Bhānu Bhaṭṭa), ed. by G. C. Tripathi, Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthāna, Prayāga, 1984, 356 pages (*anukramaṇī, śuddhipatram*).

⁶ The Buddhist Institute of Phnom Penh had been named as *Brah Rāj Paṇṇālay*, “Royal Library”. It had been founded in 20's. Suzanne Karpelès, a French scholar, assumed the management under the authority of the Ministry of Cults. The “Royal Library became the Buddhist Institute round 30's. Then, all activities were submitted under the manumission of the Buddhist modernist monks (known as *buok dharm thmī*) as they represented the official Buddhism backed up by political power.

⁷ AU Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1953, 307 pages.

⁸ The Khmer traditional teaching maintained its working role in society till the end of the Second World War. The education of young people was assumed by Buddhist monks as they usually followed the practice left by the past. The whole royal administration had been filling up with the men turned out by Buddhist monastery. The schools organized by Buddhist monks were called as *sālā vatt* which had been disappeared by the conditions stirred up by political power. Consequently, Khmer authentic value had been progressively given up. The opposite of *sālā vatt* was *sālā pārāṇī*, “school (organized by) French (administration)”. One may take note: Champa, F., *L'organisation de l'enseignement au Cambodge*, in *Asie française*, 1, pp. 29-33, 1912. Russier, Henri, *L'enseignement élémentaire au Cambodge*, in *Revue indochinoise*, 4, pp. 409-420, 1913. Brachet, F., *L'enseignement populaire et les écoles de pagode au Cambodge*, in *Bulletin générale de l'instruction publique*, 4, 12, pp.53-60, 1923. Manipoud,

attempts had been regularly done to have it turned down and finally suppressed. The situation of modernism extended by the power was harmful to Khmer national value, included proverbs being one of its composing elements. Khmer proverbs held back the oral tradition which is still the solid framework of life. They had been taking possession of oral literature with the force of living voice. The oral literature is the proper mark of populations in rural countryside. These populations had no police force, but their mind was constantly wide-awake owing to active brain.⁹

The main part of Khmer proverbs had been recorded by Dr Pannetier at the beginning of the last century. Dr Pannetier's record is the only printed "anthology" known to Western world¹⁰. It has more than two hundreds proverbs. Though I know them according to what I had been turned out, it is in good sense to follow Dr Pannetier's work as it is still the valuable informations on proverbs. Instead of setting up another form of classification,¹¹ the forthcoming survey has already a ground or an outline of a state as matters stand.

The Dr Pannetier's record is the good one for a person who has

L., *Les écoles de pagodes rénovées de la province de Kampot*, Imprimerie tonkinoise, Hanoi, 1930, 14 pages; *La rénovation des écoles de pagodes au Cambodge*, Imprimerie A. Portail, 1935, Phnom Penh, 1935, 18 pages.

⁹ An example of living creation of a proverb may be shown here. Under the permanent terror organized by Khmers Rouges in Cambodia from April 1975 till January 1979, hopeless populations, having observed the arrogance of communist agents of all degrees, created the following sentence: *sī chñāñ' bāñijj vāy kaṃdec yodhā vedanā anak yak kār(aṅa) hīhā kam-mābhipāl paek kpāl prajāñjan*, "the intendants' [sections] eat tastefully, striking till breaking down [all resistance] is (the mission) of army, investigators (go through) distressing (situations), controllers of (all) actions are swelling and the heads of people are broken". The sentence stamps for ever the realistic aspects of the total criminal acts. To save their cartridges, any slandered person or any supposed culprit was killed down by hitting the head by means of hoe or a wooden stick. I save anyone the hideous aspects of explaining each word. Who are responsible to the massacres?

¹⁰ Dr Pannetier, *Sentences et proverbes cambodgiens*, in B.E.F.E.O., t. XV, Hanoi, 1916. In connection with proverbs, it may be noticed a very short note left by Yukanthor (Princess Pingpeang), *Folklore cambodgien: sentences cambodgiennes – adages et dictions*, in *France-Asie*, 18. 8. pp. 812-813, 1947.

¹¹ If I can do, I will not set up another useless classification. I have seen in Khmer studies where many nonsense ways are maintained; many systems of classification had been produced with a view to clear up the same material. After a long run, one may have wasted time to turn round the classification. I confess I feel the big question of liberty which normally is the guard-rail. Never a perfect or an absolute classification exists.

a clear and competent background in Khmer culture. There are already ninety years after the publication of Dr Pannetier's record till the present day. It presents accordingly a barrier that may induce anyone to sink into confusion. The barrier is set by the transcription laid down by Dr Pannetier. The correct transliteration¹² had been hardly known and the study of Khmer general literature was in the pioneers' days. Dr Pannetier is not to be reproached about his transcription. The latter would likely deviate one who is not skilful in Khmer literature from the right comprehension.

Dr Pannetier's transcription cannot be a tool to find out a correct spelling and the lines of scripture in Khmer language. This is an opportunity to set off the 27 proverbs to their fullest advantage and the present gesture evinces the possible movements of deformation of Khmer scripture and language by using the universal transliteration. By the way the forthcoming readers will be able to have the proverbs appropriately protected for ever.¹³

Dr Pannetier's transcription involved partially an awkward translation. The principal cause was the comprehension of Khmer language, especially the right sense through the semantic platform. What the outcome reveals the Dr Pannetier's limits. Some errors and misinterpretations leap up to the eye. A searcher without having to hint openly at them must improve the comprehension. Dr Pannetier's survey had been at the beginning of Khmer studies.¹⁴

¹² Finot, L., *Notre transcription du cambodgien* in B.E.F.E.O., t. II, Hanoi, 1902, pp. 1-15 ; this was the first attempt of transcription. For the transliteration of Sanskrit and Pāli, a system of latin scripture had been established by the 10th Orientalist Congress at Geneva in 1894. The system of transliteration had been known as Burgess Actes 29. Many editors throughout the world accept it. Moreover, the transliteration of Khmer language, following the principle of Burgess Actes 29, needs more elements which are shown by Saveros Lewitz: *Note sur la translittération du cambodgien*, in B.E.F.E.O., t. LV, Paris, 1969, pp. 163-169.

¹³ When being informed about the interests and the steps of working, one may grasp the reason of the word *barrier* used in the text.

¹⁴ Some important studies on Khmer language had been started by Janneau (G.) since 1869. Semantics and the correct Khmer were the topics of researches from the 3rd quarter of XIXth Cent. to the 1st decade of XXth Cent.; this is only a period preceeding the publication of Dr Pannetier's record. Janneau, G., *manuel pratique de la langue cambodgienne, listes des mots usuels groupés par catégories; dialogues pratiques et carton*. Saigon, 1870, pp. 274. Aymonier, E., *Dictionnaire khmer-français*, Saigon, Imprimerie nationale, 1878, 436 pages. Moura, Jean, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français*, Paris, Challamel, 1878, 235 pages; it had been a good practical manual of language. Tandart, S., *Dictionnaire français-cambodgien*, Imprimerie de la société des missions étrangères, Hongkong, 1910.

Like any proverb of other cultures and civilizations, a living image is needful to set up a concrete example and at last a spiritual case is held forth. Generally speaking, a proverb has a rhyme as it must be agreeable to listen to. When hearing some one saying a proverb, it is the that there have a rhythm well-articulate with rhyme. Sometimes, a rhythm and rhyme are enhanced by a redundancy. What was the rate of persons being able to read a text in ancient time? Listening to a person who said a proverb should be an agreeable moment. This was the power of oral literature. Words, image, rhyme, rhythm, redundancy and spiritual thought are still the constituents of a good speech. One could always have said a proverb in earnest, he should not be joking.

In the present purpose, I endeavour to offer a view on these elements in Khmer proverbs when a case will be worth while mentioning. Let's take an example of a proverb without Sanskrit word (the analysis will follow the same way applied with Sanskrit word). It is intended to show a global scope.

[AAA] *Trī krāñ' chñāñ' ī jāñ trī aṅṭaeñ chñāññ eñ vaek eñ ceñ lūk cūl lūk.*

Translation.- “What [has] a *krāñ'*-fish¹⁵ to be more tasteful than an *aṅṭaeñ*-fish, [from] your cooking-pot¹⁶ and your soup-ladle of

2 vols. 1104 p., 1135 p.; (it had been reprinted at Phnom Penh in 1935 with an index, (A. Portail). Dr Pannetier & Ménétrier, E., *Eléments de grammaire cambodgienne appliquée*, Imprimerie du Protectorat, Phnom Penh, 1922, 266 pages.

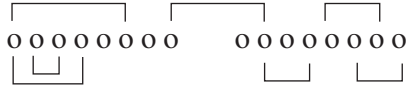
¹⁵ *Krāñ'*-fish and *aṅṭaeñ*-fish are species of fresh water fishes; *krāñ'*-fish is tasteful with caramel (*trī kha*). *Krāñ'*-fish has its legend connected with *braḥ baisrab(ana)* (=Khmer popular name of Kubera); *krāñ'*-fish had been chosen to travel from Khmer country to the residency of Kubera at the high place of Himavant (*Bhmañ Hemabānt* in Khm.). He had been introduced to Kubera who received deep salutation of *Krāñ'*-fish sent by Khmer people. He had insisted on asking something to feed people who had nothing to eat. The whole country had been in starvation, which he had declared the situation to Kubera. He had stressed his long and painful journey and had complained that the Guardian of gods' treasure should help powerless people. Kubera granted a just request by giving an only seed of rice to *Krāñ'*-fish. Having offered thanks to the mighty Guardian and said good-bye to him, he came back to *Kambujā* country with a seed of rice. Then, he gave it to Khmer people who developed the rices throughout the country. This had been the deed of *Krāñ'*-fish. A *trī aṅṭaeñ*, “a cat-fish”, has, in Khmer country, four varieties: *aṅṭaeñ ñi*, *aṅṭaeñ ñāmñ*, *aṅṭaeñ ūpy* and *aṅṭaeñ dan'*. All of *aṅṭaeñ*-fishes are tasteful in *samla kakūr*, especially with *phkā krasāmñ*, “flower of *Feroniella lucida*”, or with *mot*, i.e. unripe fruit of palm-tree (*Borassus flabelliformis*); the variety *aṅṭaeñ dan'*-fish is remarkably tasteful when it is grilled and taken with a *jrak'* (a kind of “pickled preparation”) made of *mamāñ*, a species of annual herb (*Cleome gynandra* L.).

¹⁶ The words *chñāññ* and *vaek* are seen in a well-known old tag as *ka vaek ka chñāññ*,

your own you take nourishment as you go in and go out”.

Sense: a man may have a work (or a job) nearby his own family as he comes back home at twilight for taking daily care of his dearest ones.

The rhyme follows the scheme:¹⁷



Translation, Annotation, Insight into the Sense.

The translation is an approaching essay to get an idea in the matter. The annotation enlightens anyone on the possible meaning of a proverb by offering critical elements connected with the purpose. An insight requires ferreting ways in various fields. Still, all attempts are not conclusive. I don't know how best to have the proverbs well-explained.

1. Kuṃ oy jīoe meḡh kuṃ oy jīoe phkāy kuṃ oy jīoe kūn thā gmān sahāy kuṃ oy jīoe mṭāy thā gmān paṃṅul.

(n° 2 of Dr Pannetier, DrP).

Translation.- “Don't trust in sky don't trust in stars don't trust in daughter to have no lover don't trust in mother to have no debt”.

There is the expression *kuṃ oy jīoe*; *kuṃ*, particle of interdiction, prohibition, forbidding; *kuṃ* frequently followed by an imperative.

“(just) starting with soup-ladle and cooking-pot”, which young couple is spoken of.

¹⁷ The fundamental rhyme scheme of the proverb shows the *pad bākya(a) prām pī*, “the scheme of eight syllables”. Without going into the details of Khmer prosody, this scheme has normally four parts (or *ghlā*). This present proverb has only two parts. The rhyme of the 1st part would be likely called as *pad dansāy toer brai*, “a hare strolling in a forest”. The 2nd part would belong to the scheme *pad yattibhaṅ(a)*. *Yatti* seems to be a corrupted form of hybrid *pāli*; *yatti* would be supposed to connect with *yata* of YAM-; *bhaṅga*, may be understood as “breaking of “. *Yattibhaṅ(a)* can be rendered as “breaking of self-control”. It will be hopeful to have an opportunity to clear up the diagram of the scheme.

Oy jioe: two verbs are associated; *oy* means “to give”, in proper sense; *jioe*, “to believe in, to trust in”. In communication, one tries to bring anyone round his own idea (or view) by means of convincing effort. One makes others believe in something. *Oy* has the sense of going or following what it is trustful in appearance. *Oy* and *jioe* are under the power of the forbidding particle *kuṃ*. *Kuṃ oy jioe* shows a subtlety in the language.

Megh: *megha*, sk. “a cloud”; in Khm., it means “sky, firmament”; Khm. language has the word *babak* to point out “a cloud”.

Thā: some persons see *thā* coming from *kathā* of sk.; Khmer borrowing way has omitted the 1st syllable *ka*, which it could be true. In Khm. *thā* announces a cause, a motive, a reason related to something; *thā*, according to Pāṇini’s view is an affix as seen in the sūtra V. 3.26: **thā hetau cacchandasi // 26 //** padāni // *thā* hetau ca chandasi //

वृत्तिः // किम् शब्दाद्धेतौ वर्तमानात्था प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात्
प्रकारावसाने / चान्दसि विषये /

The affix *thā* bears the sense of “cause” (and also “manner”) after the word *kim*. *Kim* changes into *ka* and we have *kathā* which has the sense of wherefor? Why? For what reason? How? The view may be entrusted by *prakāravacane* in the वृत्तिः. The term *ca* of the sūtra hints at *prakāra*^o. It seems to be that *thā* in Khm. may follow the idea expressed in the Pāṇini’s sūtra above mentioned. In the sūtra V. 3. 23 *thā* is pointed out by *thāl* preceded by *prakāravacane*. (See also the sātra V. 32; V. 3.11 and VII. 2. 103). Yāska’s *Nirukta* explained *thā* as a word, see in Chap. 3, section 16. Yāska quoted some stanzas from *Ṛgveda*.

Thā is used two times in the proverb. *Thā* is firstly a verb meaning “to say, to speak, to reproach, to reprimand”; *thā* is secondly a particle to point out what it continues in a speech.¹⁸ Guesdon recorded the same meaning as did Chuon Nath,¹⁹ except *thā* as particle.

Sahāy: from sk. *sahāya*, *saha + aya < e < I-*, “to go together”, which

¹⁸ Chuon Nath’s *Khmer Dictionary*, p. 386.

¹⁹ Guesdon’s lexicon Khmer-French, p. 735; he recorded some interesting expressions with *thā*. In the preceding page, I have indicated the stanzas of the *Ṛgveda* quoted by Yāska; these are here as following:

Hiraṇyārūpaḥ sa hiraṇyasaṃdr̥gapāṃ napāt sedu hiraṇyavarṇaḥ /
hiraṇyayātpari yoner niṣadyā hiraṇyadā dadatyannamasmai // 10 // (Ṛg.II. 35)

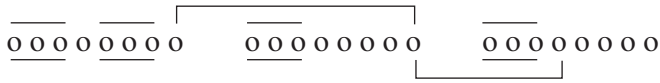
Yāska quoted the 1st line of the stanza and he added “hiraṇyavarṇasyevasya rūpopamā **thā** iti ca / taṃ pratnathā pūrvathā viśvathemathā /”. The words ending with *thā* is seen in *Ṛgveda* V. 44.1:

Taṃ pratnathā pūrvathā viśvathemathā jyeṣṭhatātiṃ bārhiṣadaṃ svarvidam /
praticīnaṃ vrjanaṃ dohase girāśuṃ jayaṃtamanu yāsu vardhase // 1 //

pratnathā: ind. “as formerly, as of old, in the usual manner”; *viśvathā*: ind. “in every way, at all times”; *imathā*: ind. “in this way or manner”.

is the 1st view; the second one is related to Prakṛt, *sakhāya* < *sakhi*. The meaning is “a companion, follower, assistant, helper”. Khmer language takes a pejorative sense as “a lover”. The protagonists of the forbidden practice are reprimanded as a transgression of customs concerning gestures and facts between young boys and girls. The words *sahāy* is sometimes associated with *smān*; this latter comes from sk. *samana* meaning “amorous union, embrace”. Khmer speech omits the inherent vowel *a* in the 1st syllable *sa*. *Smān*’ increases the pejorative sense of *sahāy*.

The scheme of the proverb can be seen through the diagram.

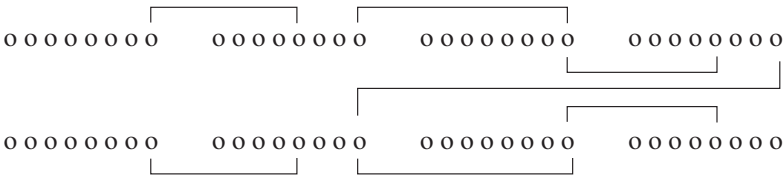


The proverb has three parts (or *ghlā*) each one of them has eight syllables. It obeys the principle of scheme *pad bāky(a) prām pī*.²⁰ The expression *kuṃ oy jīoe* is repeated in four times. The using way of the expression *kuṃ oy jīoe* recalls one to the *pad phkā jhūk rīk*, “a lotus-flower (is) opening”.

Another form of the proverb is:

1* Kuṃ duk citt meḡh kuṃ duk citt phkāy kuṃ duk citt kūn thā gmān saḡy kuṃ duk citt mṡy thā gmān paṅul.

²⁰ The fundamental scheme of the *pad bāky(a) prām pī* follows the diagram:



This fundamental scheme is called *pad bāky(a) prām pī sāmāññ(a)* according to the concept of the principle. It is also pointed out as *me bāky(a) prām pī dhammatā* or *me bāky(a) prām pī* in short. Like in other schemes of Khmer prosody, this fundamental scheme is developed or ornamented by particular figure of rhyme and consequently receives another name, of course. In Khmer studies, it is seen an awkward way to show the rhyme by using the sign like XXX. In Khmer way of teaching the prosody, the showing way of the ensemble of rhyme must offer what I just have done. Each round sign put together is called *bañ trī*, “fish-eggs”; it is also a name of *kpāc*, “motif”. The good example of this *bañ trī* is the “head band” of the pilaster of Kompong Preah style, a Khmer pre-Angkorian art, period of Tchen-La (reign of King Jayavarman 1st, 657-681 A.D.).

This form uses the expression *ku duk citt* instead of *ku oy jāoe*. *Duk citt* and *min duk citt*²¹ are used in actual language.

2. Sūv slāp' pā kuṃ oy slāp' me lic dūk kaṇṭāl danle kuṃ
oy tae bhloēṅ cheḥ phdaḥ.

(n° 3 of DrP)

Translation.- “Better that the father should perish than the mother’s death, better that the boat should sink in the middle of a river than one’s own house which has been burning”.

Phdaḥ, “a house”, comes from *pada* of *sk*. The father and the mother are pointed out respectively by the words *pā* and *me*.

Sense.- It is possible that the mother can take care closely the children who could be warmly looked after by maternal love. A boat sinks in the river with its content as an only part of thing which reach the bottom of a river, but various things stored in his own house. To discern the degree of importance in daily life, which the proverb may hint at.

Kaṇṭāl danle, the word *danle* is generally associated with difficulties, trials; giving birth to a baby is said as *chlaṅ danle*. It is a happy event but it is an anxious moment as in countryside, people have only a rural midwife.

The proverb has three parts (or *ghlā*), the first one has 7 syllables, the 2nd and the 3rd have 6 syllables each. The scheme of rhyme is:

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

The rhymes of the 6th word in the 2nd part and the 3rd word of the 3rd part can be tolerable.

²¹ In modern democracy, when a government has been set up, the Prime Minister goes to the parliament house with others ministers. After the proceedings, a vote of confidence takes place. On the voting papers, there are the mentions: a) *duk citt*, “confidence”, b) *min duk citt*, “no confidence”, c) *anuppavād*, “white voting paper”, it expresses an “undetermined, undecided, irresolute” position. *Duk citt* can be understood as “entrusting”, *min duk citt*, “not entrusting”. *Citta* < past partic. of *cinteti* < CIT, “intention, impulse, design, mood, disposition, state of mind, heart; loving thought, kindness”. *Duk*, “to place, to establish”, *duk citt* can be grasped as “to put one’s trust in” (someone or something).

3. Radeḥ pāk' min git dau git e go lūc dañ.

(n° 7 DrP)

Translation.- “(You) don’t worry out (your) broken cart, (you) are quite worried about the ox [who shows his] erectile pubis”.

Go: sk. “an ox”, Khmer word for pointing out an ox is *androk* which is an etymological stub of Mōn-Khmer language. *Androk*²² is a domestic ox or cow.

Lūc: something that comes out of a *srom* or *khlaep*, “an envelop, a sheath, a cover, a pod, a husk, a case”; the verb in causative mood is *banlūc*, “to make something come out”.

Dañ: it is “a penis” in this present context as being out of foreskin; the word *lūc* determines this condition. The male organ is in erection. The words *lūc* and *dañ* are generally avoided by true-born people. There is an insult as *khmoc vā lūc*, “a ghost [came] to make out your (penis) [while you was asleep]”. The word *dañ* is a thing understood. There is an insult which is aimed at a woman as *me cor tak dañ*; “Female thief (who) makes a penis come out”. *Tak dañ* means that a woman makes a penis come out of foreskin and goes on sexual intercourse. The proper sense of *tak* is “to uproot, to extirpate, to remove”. In common sense, the word *dañ* is a good one, as *dañ phkā*, “a petiole of flower”; *dañ vañ*, for speaking of figure of a pretty woman, has the sense of “slim, graceful, pleasing; gracious”. According to its place in a sentence and the context, *dañ* shows a difference like the one of darkness and daylight.

Sense: the proverb reprimands the attitude of thoughtlessness, insouciance. People take care of futile things.²³

²² Cf. Khmer inscription K. 28, ed. by G. Coedès in *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, t. II, Hanoi-Paris, 8 vols from 1937 to 1966. Sometimes, the form *anrok* is seen. Aymonier, E., *Le Cambodge*, t. II *les provinces siamoises*, Paris, 1901-1903, p. 357. Levy, P., *Recherches préhistoriques dans la région de Mlu Prei*, Publ. E.F.E.O., t. XXX, p. 115. Saveros POU, *Lexicographie vieux-khmère*, ed. in *Seksa Khmer*, t. 7, Paris, 1984, p. 74. The sk. word *go* appeared rapidly as a substitute for ancient Khmer *androk*. *Androk* is a domestic ox or a cow.

²³ After the collapse of Lañvaek (January 1594), Khmer people were in continuous weakness, except a rare short moment of peaceful situation. Five centuries had gone, Khmer country could not lift up again. After the Independence of 1953-1954, the country underwent the ascendancy of madness, particularly among the men of the leading sphere. The bad situation led to the step of massacre in the whole country within more than 36 months on behalf of “the

4. Mnau 2 dau yak skar phñoe niñ sramoc.

(n° 10 DrP)

Translation.- “(You) can’t stay in calm [at your own place]; why do you take sugar to entrust it to ants”.

Mnau mnau: a popular short form of daily spoken in Khmer. In full, one has *min nau min nau*, which it means “(you) can’t stay in calm”. *Mnau mnau* announces a reproach. Dr Pannetier’s translation is “tu es bien tranquille”; it may be a misinterpretation. A person can reproach one for doing something without discerning the true relation between the things.

Skar, “sugar”, sk. *śarkarā*, “candied sugar”;

Phñoe, “to entrust” in this context.

There are some proverbs beginning with *mnau mnau*: a) *mnau 2 yak jar bnau mak tp̄iet kl̄iek*, “(you) don’t stay in calm; why do you take the sap of fruit *Aegle marmelos* Correa²⁴ to put it in your arm-pit; b) *mnau 2 yak bañ m̄ān’ dau phñoe niñ ka-ek*, “(you) don’t stay

popular progress, the leap up forward and the triumph of humanity”. I am not interested in what a historian in career thinks. I wonder how many Khmer people can eat at their fill till 25 years before the end of the 21st century A.D., which it is my big question. What will be the bird of ill omen?

²⁴ *Bnau* in actual Khmer (Old Khm. *vinau* in K. 292, inscription of Royal Palace, East *gopura*, Añgar, Siem Rāp province, 1011 A.D.; K.392 at *Nom Van*, East external door, *Nak’ on Rāc’ asima* (Siam), 1055 A.D. (?); K. 869, Banteay Srei Temple, East *gopura* IInd, Siem Rāp province, 968 A.D.). *Bnau* is *śrīphala* of sk., “the fruit of *Śrī*”; *Śrī* is Lakshmi. In Khmer country, *Śrī* is depicted with a lotus-flower in each hand or a lotus-flower in right hand and *Śrīphala* in left hand; Khmer sculpture followed the Indian iconographical data, cf. K. Bhattacharya, *Les religions brahmaniques dans l’ancien Cambodge*, Paris, 1961, p. 120. The marks of sacred sense of *Śrīphala* had been recognised in the court of Khmer kings. The *Pāragū* of the royal court of modern Cambodia put a leaf of *Śrīphala*-tree at their left ears for performing a ritual ceremony. In the occasion of Khmer New Year Ceremony (in *Caitra* month, March-April), the ruling King takes his ritual ablution at the East of the Throne Hall. The ablution is out-door of this Hall in the afternoon; the ruling King’s face must turn toward the beneficent direction known as *dis taihoem ras’*, “direction of the living breath”, (it depends on the day, it would be believed to be a cosmic breath “*prāṇa*” sent by a Supreme Being). Just after his ablution, the Head of *Pāragū* (*Braḥ Isībhadd*, as his title) offers a leave of *Śrīphala*-tree to the King who puts it on his left ear. This is the symbol of prosperity, felicity for the King and his family and also for the whole Khmer people in the Kingdom; cf. *Braḥ rājavidhī dvādasamās*, (in Khmer language), ed. by la Commission des Moeurs et Coutumes of the Buddhist Institute, Phnom Penh, 1957, 2nd edition, t. I, p.59. Vidal, J.-E., Martel, G., Lewitz, S., *Notes ethnobotaniques sur quelques plantes en usage au Cambodge*, in B.E.F.E.O., t. LV, Paris, 1969, pp. 171-232.

in calm, why do you take eggs of hen and entrust them to a crow”, c) *mnau 2 yak ka dau la andāk*, “(you) don’t stay in calm, why do you try to put your own neck in a slip-knot”.

Sense: a person takes a hand in anything and he does not know how to do.

5. Chkae khām oy rak mcās’ go chkiḥ oy rak nāy.
(n° 14 DrP)

Translation.- “Look for the owner of the dog who has bitten, look for the driver of the ox who has stricken with his horns”.

Chkiḥ: the proper sense of *chkiḥ* is “to separate, to remove something” (by using a little or a big wooden or bamboo stick). *Go chkiḥ* is the ancient khmer form of speaking about an ox (or a buffalo) who strikes anything (or anyone) with his horns. The horn is in analogy with wooden or bamboo stick. The actual common speaking way is *go vadh*, *krpī vadh*, (from VADH- of sk., “to strike, to slay, to kill, to murder, *vadha*, “one who kills, a slayer”). *Jal*’ is sometimes used as it means “to hit, to hurt (by obstruction), to knock (against) to run against, to knock at”. *Chkiḥ* can be spelt as *chkoes*, *chkis*.

Go: see in analysis under *radeḥ pāk*’..., cf. Proverb n.3.

Nāy: coming from *nāya* of sk.; *nāya* comes from the root Nī-, “to lead, to drive”; in the vowel gradation, the *i* is at the degree zero, the *guṇa* is *ai*, the *vṛddhi*, *āi*. So, we can have $I < e < ai < āi$ or $e \rightarrow ay$, $ai \rightarrow āy$; $o \rightarrow av$; $au \rightarrow āv$; this is explained by Pāṇini’s sūtra VI. 1.78²⁵.

Nāy may be seen by Pāṇini’s sūtra VII. 3.84.²⁶ *Nāya* is composed by $N-\bar{i} \rightarrow n-e \rightarrow n-ai \rightarrow n-āy-a$. The final *a* of *n-āy-a* is called as *vikaraṇa*, “vowel (indicating) the stem of system of present

²⁵ Pāṇ.VI. 1.78: **eco’yavayavaḥ** // 78 // padāni // ecaḥ ay av āy āvaḥ //

vṛtīḥ // ecaḥ sthāne’ ci parato’y av āy āv ityete ādeśa yathā samkhyam bhavanti //

²⁶ Pāṇ. VII. 3.84: **sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ** // 84 // padāni // sārvadhātuka ārdhadhātukayoḥ //

vṛtīḥ // sārvadhātuke ārdhadhātuke ca pratyaye parata igantasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati //

The *guṇa* is substituted for the final *ik* of a stem before the affixes known as *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* (Pāṇ.III. 4.113 (...)).

conjugation”, which is stated by Pāṇini’s sūtra III. 1.68.²⁷ The *vr̥ddhi* taken by *Nī-* (*nāy-a*) is reinforced by the sūtra VII. 2.114.²⁸ The nature of *vr̥ddhi* is established by the sūtra I. 1.1. *Nāy-a* may be considered as an *aṅga*, “stem of conjugation”, Pāṇ.VI. 4.1.²⁹

The word *nāy* was frequently used till the end of 50’s. Traditional way followed what it is left by cultural heritage. A chief of stage-play was called *nāy* followed by his name. In a group of *Yīke*, a kind of Khmer form of drama, a chief bears a title as *nāy roñ*, “a chief of stage”. A singer is called by *nāy* before his name or sometimes his nickname, i.e. *nāy Slik*, *nāy Lvai*, *nāy Prām Pī Jruñ*, *nāy Pāttālān*, they were the singers of *Āyai-art*; the famous Pūv Thau Ṭai, singer of *cāpī* (a long zither). A chief of crew of a sailing ship is pointed out as *nāy saṃbau* or *nāy bhetrā*. A Midshipman, a Naval Cadet, an Officer Cadet and the same degree in air-craft are called *nāy caṃṇaṇ’*. *Nāy* was taken by modern administration, i.e. *nāy khuddakālay*, “principal private secretary”. A chief of Royal Store is known as *nāy ghlāmñ*, i.e. *nāy ghlāmñ rājaratn*, “the chief of Royal Treasure”, *nāy ghlāmñ bhoj(a) sālī*, “the chief of Rices Store”. People preferred *lok*, “Mister” to *nāy* in 60’s, but this latter continued among titles and traditional calling way through hierarchy. Sometimes, *nāy* is associated with *cau hvāy* (word taken from Siamese) in colloquial Khmer. Anyhow, *nāy* holds forth a notoriety.

Sense.- When a harmful situation or a malignant disposition has given rise to trouble, one must have come to a right person with a view to clear up a relevant case. Anything discrepant in the case should be kept off, but accept it as consistent with the evidence.

²⁷ Pāṇ.III. 1.68: **kartari śap** // 68 // padāni // kartari śap (sārvadhātuke dhātoḥ) // vr̥tīḥ // kartṛvācīni sārvadhātuke parato dhātoḥ śap pratyayo bhavati //

²⁸ Pāṇ.VII. 2.114: **mṛjer vr̥ddhiḥ** // 114 // padāni // mṛjeh vr̥ddhiḥ // vr̥tīḥ // vibhaktāvīti nivṛttam mṛjeraṅgasya ito vr̥ddhir bhavati // (ār is substituted for r before an affix).

Pāṇ.I. 1.1. **vr̥ddhirādaic** // 1 // padāni // vr̥ddhiḥ āt aic // vr̥tīḥ // vr̥ddhiśabdaḥ saṃjñātvena vidhīyate pretyekamādaicāṃ varṇānāṃ sāmānyena tad bhāvītānāmadbhavitāvaṃ ca // (ā, e and au are considered as *vr̥ddhi*, *āt* used for the long ā, the letter t is an indicator, *aic* means the vowels *ai* and *au*).

²⁹ Pāṇ.VI. 4.1: **aṅgasya** // 1 // padāni // aṅgasya // vr̥tīḥ // adhikāroyamā saptamādhyāyaparisamapteḥ / yadita urddhanukramiṣyāmo ṅgasyetyevaṃ tad veditavyam // (This is a governing rule, *adhikāra*; it bears the effect from VI. 4.1 to VII. 4.97 and the word *aṅga-sya* has its influence in each subsequent rule).

These two strophes are among the best composition that one can read them in the *Cpāp' Kerti Kāl*.³¹ The subtlety is in the fine interplay of each word and its place in the speech and in a part of it.

Kūn croen pā croen l-a may be understood as [obtaining] many sons who are better. DrP with his “various paternity” induces the good products are created by many males, which it seems to be clear enough.

Mukh: coming from sk. *mukha*; in Khm. and in the present purpose, it means the elements composing a meal. Otherwise, what it can be eaten is pointed out by the word *caṃṇī* which announces and species the meaning of the word *mukh*; the general term for “food, nourishment” is *mhūp*. *Caṃṇī* coming from the verb *chī* enlarges the idea related to *mhūp*. *Mukh* shows out the aspects and the characteristics of *mhūp* and gives an idea of a quantity by enumerating the dishes. There are *caṃ āp*³² and *pañ-aem* in Khmer gastronomic art. *Caṃ āp* is a group of non-sweetened dishes.

Pañ-aem is a group of desserts (with sugared tasty, of course). Let's take an example:

a) **caṃ āp** has 1) *nāñ lāv*, 2) *mī paṃbañ*, 3) *samla mjūr grōeñ sliḱ thniñ*³³, 4) *prahuk khdiḱ* with prepared vegetables;

³¹ Saveros POU & Philip N. JENNER, *Les Cpāp' ou «Codes de conduite khmers»*, I, *Cpāp' Kerti Kāl*, (transl. & ed.), in B.E.F.E.O., t. LXII, Paris, 1975, pp. 369-394. The French translation is:

(.....) “si la femme est douée de qualités, le mari en souffrira;
si vous êtes prolixe et mensonger, votre personnalité en souffrira; /21/
s'il y a trop de fruits à un arbre, les feuilles en souffriront.
Trop de poissons rendront l'eau trouble;
trop de biens seront difficiles à garder;
trop peu de bien vous donnera des soucis.» /22/

The translators had spoken about the possible comprehension of these two strophes. The persons, who stick to a controversy, ground their opinions on a primary view. They are far from the acceptable notion of grammar, context and structural linguistics.

³² *Caṃ āp* comes from Old Khmer *ca-āp*, “smelling the odour of flesh or fresh meat”, K. 559, inscription of Tūol Añ (Vatt Khnat Trapök) province of Tā Kaev, pre-Angkorian period, cf. G. Coedès, I C II; Saveros POU, *Lexicographie...op.cit.*, p. 78. *Ca-āp* → *caṃ-āp*; *ca-āp* → *c-āp* → *ch-āp* in colloquial Khmer.

³³ *Thniñ* or *vall(i) thniñ* in full, (a species of creeper); the leaves are picked up to make the dish mixed with ingredients (*grōeñ*) and acid or sour vegetable constituent; *samla* is a dish with sauce, *samla* < *sa* + *amla*, the initial vowel *a* of *amla* is dropped down before the vowel *a* of *sa*; it follows the case of Pāli *nathī* < *na* + *athī* → *na'thī* → *nathī*, (the vowel *a* is followed by a double consonants). *Samla* can litt. be rendered as “with acid (vegetable constituent)”; from *samla* Khm. language had adopted the verb *sla*, “to make a dish with sauce” and they have many kinds of *samla*. *Sla* is different from *sñor*. *Amla* of the present purpose is not an architectural decorative (?) seen on certain monuments in Southern India, according to some scholars.

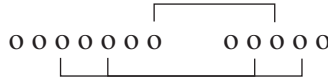
b) **pañ-aem** (desserts), **lat*, ***naṃ babāy*, ****naṃ bhii*;

c) drink: fresh water.

There are four elements (*mukh*) in *caṃ āp*, each element is called as *mhūp*, i.e. *mhūp puon mukh*, (*puon* = four). In the group of *pañ-aem*, one has 3 *mukh* of *pañ-aem*, i.e. *pañ-aem pī mukh*. The word *mukh* holds on its importance in the composition of meal.

Croen pā: litt. “many males”, i.e. many sons. Female is said *me*, *pā*³⁴ is certainly the opposite of *me*.

The diagram of rhymes is:



7. Go lioen sik ka srī l-a sik gūth. (n° 17 DrP)

Translation.- “The neck of a fast speeded ox is worn out on being yoked, a woman endowed with good [qualities] is a worn-buttocked one”.

Dr. Pannetier’s translation is “Boeuf vite cou pelé, femme jolie vite usée”.

Go, see Proverb n. 3;

Lioen, «speed»; «running or going on rapidly»;

Sik, litt. “worn”; *sik* in this very case aims at pointing out a depilate neck of an ox where the skin is unhaired as he is yoked at the working time;

Srī, coming from sk. *śrī*, the first sense is woman, lady, female in Khm.; *srī* is not used for animal. *Kūn srī*, “a daughter”. (a mare is said as *seḥ nī*, a cow, *go nī*, a bitch, *chkae nī*, a he-goat, *babae jhmol*, a she-goat, *babae nī*).

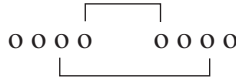
Gūth < *gūtha* of pāli, “excrements, dung, faeces” (in *Pāyāsi-sutta*); *gūth* has the sense of “buttock”; the populations of North West of Pāt’

³⁴ In Buddhist plain-chant dealing with the last moment of living days of the Buddha Gotama, Ānanda is called as *pā*, (**Yo vo Ānand oey nae pā oey mak āy rā...**). Hanumant, the famous Rāma’s general is called *pā* in the recitative of Shadow-play, (*Spaek dham*). About the terms *pā* & *me*, cf. Martini, F., *De la signification de BA et ME affixés aux noms de monuments khmers*, in B.E.F.E.O., t. XLIV, part 1, Paris, 1951.

taṃpañ and Siem rāp province use the word *tabok* or *trabok* to point out “buttock”. People of Phnom Penh and other regions have the word *kṭit* which means in fact “vagina”, and the latter is avoided in the North West of Pāt’ taṃpañ and in Siem rāp province. Populations of Phnom Penh and other regions take umbrage at hearing the word *tabok* or *trabok*, dealing with the sense of “vagina”. About the spelling of *gūth*, the monk Chuon Nath said that the correct one is *gūd*, without giving any explanation. The word *gūth* is not recorded by Menetrier.

Sik gūth bears the sense of a woman who works all the time as she sits down and does many things for taking care of her own family and domestic affairs. By rendering *sṛī l-a sik gūth* as “femme jolie vite usée”, DrP had seen the superficial aspect of the matter. *L-a* means “good, right”, as hinting at behaviour and moral. “Joli” of DrP has the sense of “pretty” in English having connection with physical aspect. DrP did not grasp *sik gūth* of the 2nd part of the proverb, which one can say. In the n. 59 of his collection, he understood very well the sense of *trabok* where this very word is seen. It seems to be certain that DrP would not have taken the full sense of *sik gūth*.

The diagram of rhymes is:



8. Prājñ āñ prājñā ramās āñ panlā khlā āñ brai ṭaṃrī āñ ranām brāhm(aṇa) āñ ved. (A)

8* Prājñ āñ prājñā ramās āñ panlā khlā āñ brai ṭaṃrī āñ ranām trī āñ dik dāhān āñ sik pramik āñ baen. (B) (n° 18 DrP)

Translation of (A) “Skilful scholar relies on intelligence, rhinoceros on thorns, tiger on forest, elephant on flooded forest, Brahmin on the *Veda*”.

Translation of (B) “Skilful scholar..... elephant on flooded forest, fish on water, soldier on war, drunkard on cup”.

Prājñ: adj. form of pāli *paññā*, “endowed with knowledge or insight”; *prājñ* must be preceded by *anak*, i.e. *anak prājñ*; *anak* is omitted for *metre causa*. The vowel *a* is lengthened; *anak prājñ* means a skilful scholar, a learned person.

Prājñā: from sk. *prajñā*, pāli *paññā*, (pa + JÑĀ-), “intelligence, wisdom, insight, knowledge”.

Āñ, a verb, “to lean on, to base oneself on an authority; to act on the authority of someone, to give oneself up to overbearing rights; to rely on”. In practical way, people make too free of a use of right or power, and the acts become a violation or an evil custom.³⁵

Panlā, “a thorn”, a rhinoceros is a herbivorous animal. Why *panlā* is used in the present proverb? According to oral literature it is said that a rhinoceros is a gentle animal as it is chosen to be a Bodhisattva’s mount. One time, a Bodhisattva was at a dwelling place of his secret lover in a dark night. He got down and attached the rhinoceros at a tree and went in the room of his lover. The lady

³⁵ The good example of *āñ* is in a poem left by the popular poet-singer Nuy:

Ṭpit manuss iliv yak khus jā triv yak chkuot dhvoe jā amboe ākrak’ lik lak’ lilā brahoen bān bār āñ mās āñ prak’. / 4 /

Āñ broel āñ prājñ āñ koñ āñ kāc āñ kāp’ āñ cāk’ āñ joen āñ tai āñ vāy āñ dhāk’ āñ guk cravāk’ āñ māsīn kāt’ ka. / 5 /

Āñ suddh tae khus kūn oey caṃ cuḥ āñ noḥ min l-a anak git oy l-it ṭpit sruk lok kra pramāṇ tamṇa ta diēt dau mukh. / 6 /

Brah̄ Bhiram(ya) Bhāsā Ū alias Nuy, *Cpāp’ lpoek thmī*, ed. by Buddhist Institute, Phnom Penh, 1972.

It can be rendered as following:

“As men of nowadays take the wrong for the right, the fool for the normal; they are addicted to bad actions, insane and fickle ways, impertinent, aggressive and offending (attitude) and they rely on gold and silver”. / 4 /

“(They) rely on silly (acts), on intelligence, on arrogance, on wicked ways, on hard strokes blown someone with side arms, on slapping someone down, on fighting and jibbing against (someone) by using forcefully one’s arms and feet, on imprisonment, on [putting a prisoner in] chains (and) on [making use] of guillotine”. / 5 /

“[What they] rely on is certainly wrong, O dear lads, bear it in mind that all they rely on are not good, think these cases over very carefully, please. As here below, [the living] time in the country is got hard. [One may wonder] how many generations it continues moreover its ways through the forthcoming (days)”. / 6 /

I had written an article by grounding on the Ly Theam Teng’s data; cf. San Sarin, *Phirum Noy, poète khmer d’après M. Ly Theam Teng*, in *Cambodge Nouveau*, n° 16, Phnom Penh, 1971, pp. 25-35; (the same article was translated into English and issued in *New Cambodge*). The poet-singer Nuy was born in 1865 and died in 1936.

asked her lover how he could come to the place in the darkness of the night. Bodhisattva replied that he came by riding on the rhinoceros as his companion. The lady wanted to know where this companion was left. Bodhisattva replied that it was bound by string to a *Krasāmṇ*-tree.³⁶ The rhinoceros heard the word *Krasāmṇ* said by Bodhisattva. The animal got angry with him for saying the word which, according to rhinoceros empirical comprehension, means “stiff or difficult to be mild or gentle”. The word *Krasāmṇ*, through a silly way could be analysed as *kra + sāmṇ*; *kra*, “stiff, hard, difficult”, *sāmṇ*, “mild, gentle, subdued, tamed”, which the rhinoceros believed in the mad view of the word. The rhinoceros thought he had nothing to reproach himself with. He went always with Bodhisattva everywhere, and now he told his lover about the behaviour and duty of his companion in the room at the moment of sexual intercourse. Bodhisattva went on making love and he made the rhinoceros mad. In a fit of anger, he cut off the string and went away. In the night, a couple of cats (female and male) had unceasingly mewed. The cats’ mewing disturbed the Bodhisattva’s sensual delight of loving stream. Then, he cursed the cats as when making love they must feel like mixing with the savour of salt and pimento. From that time, people hear a loud mewing of cats when they copulate. A cock made a cock-a-doodle-doo! Bodhisattva woke up at the dawn which was the right moment to leave rapidly the place. He was happy and said any cock eats paddy and cereals as a reward of crowing services.

Bodhisattva made his way towards the *Krasāmṇ*-tree; the rhinoceros was not seen as he fled to a remote place. The bad situation infuriated him and he cursed the rhinoceros: “you eat thorns and drink muddy water”.³⁷ A rhinoceros eats only thorns and drinks muddy water, which Khmer people believe in. Otherwise, a rhinoceros though he lives nearby little pond or swampy place does not drink clear water. He used to stir the mud and, consequently, the water becomes muddy and he drinks it at once.³⁸ Rhinoceros had been tracked down in many countries of Asia since a long time. In peril of death, this animal would have taken refuge at a place surrounded by wild thorny plants, which it was thought to live by eating thorns. The last rhinoceros had been

³⁶ It is identified as *Feroniella lucida* (see foot-note 15).

³⁷ *Èn sī panlā phik dik l-ak’*, in Khmer.

³⁸ Is it a legend? I report what I had been told by various persons living in jungles in Khmer country. Rhinoceros was a victim of many legends and also an occult power of his horn which after having been killed becomes a sort of “talisman” known as *kuy buk*, litt. “rotten horn”, in Khmer belief. The mighty and uncanny image of rhinoceros is directly associated with a Bodhisattva (!).

killed in Eastern region of Kamṛaṅ Cām province of Cambodia in 20's.

ranām is a kind of forest; its characteristics are under water in rainy season (or season of high water from May to November). Actual Khmer country is a big “wash-basin”; the low part is the Great Lake well-known as *Danle sāp* having 2,300 km² in dry or hot season (*raṭūv prāṅṅ*). Its surface is enlarged in rainy season (*raṭūv vassā*) and reaches 10,000 km².³⁹ Without taking into account the distant surrounding places from the Great Lake where the space is under flood brought along by many watercourses as local swelling times have happened more than 7,000 km² of space encompassing with the *Danle sāp* is flooded. All of forests are put under water by the swelling of the Mekong river and also by tropical rains. These forests are called *brai ranām*. “Elephant relies on flooded forest”, which one has seen in the proverb. The elephants that live in the flooded forests are pointed out as *ṭaṃrī ranām*. These latters are also called as *ṭaṃrī traēṅ* (*traēṅ* is a species of reed). Another species of elephants known as *ṭaṃrī bhnaṃ*, “elephants of hill” may be noticed. This species lives round a hill having table-land with savannah. The fact is little bit complex. There are big flocks of *ṭaṃrī ranām*. They follow a sort of “transhumance” from a season to another. Let's take an example in the Kamṛaṅ Dhaṃ province in the North of *Danle sāp*. From May to November, elephants *ranām* leave the flooded forest round the banks of the Great Lake. They go towards the hills (300m or 400m high) in the Northern region of the province. From May to November, the swelling of *Danle sāp* is very important. Elephants feel the condition to be difficult to find out feeding space as water is everywhere. They go to the hills by taking the same way. Some small groups reach the plain Srayūv after leaving the flooded forests at mid-May. They go on without disturbance. The flocks are still distrustful. After some months staying round the hills, the flocks come down at the end of November. They make their way towards the flooded forests where the waters begin to subside progressively. When reaching the plain of Srayūv, the flocks are really disturbed. There are many disturbers-watchers and night-watchmen. They make noise by beating tam-tam and gongs, by creaking small iron bars. At certain points, some disturbers-watchers use petards. The flocks are diverged from usual route towards the flooded forests where the feeding is abundant as the waters fall. When the elephants reach the approaches of the flooded

³⁹ Delvert, Jean, *Le paysan cambodgien*, thesis, Paris, Mouton, 1961; *Le Cambodge*, P.U.F., «Que sais-je?», Paris, 1983, (1st ed.).

forests (*brai ranām*), it is very difficult to catch them. Men can hardly move in these flooded forests which are more difficult than moving through mangrove in shore-mud of wild seaside. Many disturbers-watchers direct them toward the place called *Trabāṃṇ Dadā Khat*, “the Pond of Cackling Dadā-birds”; this pond is at 25 km from the limit of Srayūv plain. (Again, it is only an example, and there are another places of capture of elephants). The scenery round this pond has naturally many good elements: ponds, banks, small islands, high trees, many knolls surrounded by clear forest (*brai lpaś*) with herbs and savannah.

Many teams of *hma*, “chief of capture” and his assistant, *gañvāl*, stay nearby the banks of the ponds. Their solid, imposing, well-tamed elephants (*ṭamrī dhnāk*’ or *dhnāk*’ in short) are with them. Another teams of catchers are on boats full of long bamboo-poles tipped with sharp-pointed irons; these bamboo poles are a sort of long harpoon. The way of capture may be called as harpooning capture.

It intends to be more of hundred wild elephants who had been directed at the place wanted by the catchers. On the firm land, a unit of capture has 7 *hma*, 7 *gañvāl* and 7 *dhnāk*’. Sometimes, a party capture is joined by 4 or 5 units coming different parts of the region. There are many boats carrying long harpoons and roping and chains. The team of catchers on boats hide themselves behind low, thick branches of trees near the banks of ponds. The decision of catching assaults depends on the dean among many *hma* of the whole units of party. Generally, wild elephants are left without disturbance within 24 hours after their arriving at the surrounding place of capture.⁴⁰

When the signal of assaults is known all of the units begin to track the wild elephants towards the ponds.⁴¹ The success of an assault is

⁴⁰ The dean among *hma* that has a charge of giving the very signal of assaults watches many things: form of clouds, direction taken by them under the high wind-storm, the colour of sky at the sunset time and the form of clouds shown by the rays of sunlight, the flying movement of birds, the flies, black ants, the cry of gecko, the noise made by a woodpecker. The dean among *hma*, with his hook in right hand, comes up to his *dhnāk*’ at the earliest moment of morning. He listens to the breath of his dear elephant by approaching his ear near the mouth of the *dhnāk*’. After this act, he stands firmly in thinking position. Then, he goes away and comes back after a short moment; he gives a wisp of fresh herbs to his *dhnāk*’. If he should ever feel something abnormal, the signal of assaults can be delayed. Normally, the operational signal is known at the beginning of afternoon.

⁴¹ Each unit adopts a large V-figure array (*toer snaeñ krapī* or *snaeñ krapī* in short). A chief of an unit goes near a flock and the dominant male comes out, is ready to charge. The 3rd and the 4th *hma* rush speedily upon the dominant male, which the assault is started. The 2nd *hma* protect the 1st one and looks for the leading elephant who conducts the running away. The 5th *hma* reinforces the 3rd and the 4th *hma*. The 7th *hma*, generally on an outstanding *dhnāk*’ is a

to attack the flocks by surprise. They run away, and the *hma* has to increase the speed of running way and make them be wild in the panic. So, they are weary as they have nothing to do, except running as rapidly as possible. They fall down in the ponds as they have no choice, which is the end of their running away. The catchers on boats attack them with long harpoons. The elephants that try to get out of the water are beaten by the *dhnāk'* waiting for them on the firm ground near the banks of the ponds, but the catchers have left a narrow way for those who should escape from the ponds. Any team can't catch all of the flocks; an issue is worth while managing. Sometimes, there is a fighting between a *dhnāk'* and a *ranām*. They use the trumps as they give one another the blows.⁴² A *hma* on his *dhnāk'* has to watch the dominant male, the dominant female and the possible leaders of running away. These three sorts of elephants must be kept in the ponds. They have to swim or to tread water like their fellows. Their potential of charge is reduced. Generally, the ponds are shallow; the elephants have their legs disturbed by the mud. After a short moment, the catchers have many young elephants bound by lasso (*brat*); rear-legs of them are maintained by the firm nooses. There is elephants' blood in the water of ponds as many have been wounded by long harpoons.⁴³ Since the starting moment of assaults till the capture round the ponds, violent uproars were coming from all sides. The trumpeting of the *dhnāk'* are the noise of scare-monger. They may feel as they are in the winners' position. One can see the fate of a wild elephant deviated from his *ranām*. The *hma* and their confraternities take up a challenge of *ṭamrī ān ranām*.

Brāhm(aṇa) is *brāhmaṇa* of sk., "a Brahmin". It is normal that a Brahmin relies on the *Veda*. Actions and attitude of Brahmin weave

rear-guard which is protected by the 6th *hma*. What it has just said is a fundamental functional attack of an unit.

⁴² The wild elephants are dazed by the panic, weary by running away, wet with the water of ponds. They use the blows (*gak'* in Khmer) to protect themselves as they do instinctively and nervously. The banks of the ponds are wet as the ground is generally formed by clay. They slip on the banks and fall again in the water. Any *dhnāk'* under the accurate commands of a *hma* knows how, when and where to beat by blowing his trump. A *dhnāk'* is a best result of a drastic selection and well-trained in fighting and skilful to give a leg-blow, a knee-blow, a shoulder-blow. It is incredible that a *dhnāk'* obeys smoothly to a *hma*'s fighting command. Each blow seems to be mighty.

⁴³ Cf. Michel, G., *La capture des éléphants à Kompong Thom* in *Revue Indochinoise*, n° 172, 1943. The important work on the subject is written by Ellul, Jean, *Le coutumier rituel des captureurs d'éléphants de l'Ouest du Cambodge*, directed by G. Condominas, Thesis, Paris, 1983, 385 pages (map, photos, bibliogr.).

into the *raison d'être*. There are many components; some strophes⁴⁴ quoted from *Manusmṛti* may be a suitable trend toward a good comprehension:

*Karmātmanām ca devānām so'srjat prāṇinām prabhuḥ /
sādhyānām ca gaṇam sūkṣmaṃ yajñam caiva sanātanam // 22 //*

“and the Lord emitted the host of gods who have the breath of life and whose essence is the ritual, and the subtle host of the Amenables, and the everlasting sacrifice.”

*Agnivayuravibhyas tu trayaṃ brahma sanātanam /
dudoha yajñasiddhyartham ṛgyajuḥsāmalakṣanam // 23 //*

“From fire, wind, and the sun he milked out the triple eternal Veda, consisting of the *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, and *Sāman*, so that the sacrifice could be accomplished”.

*Kālam kāvibhaktīś ca nakṣatrāṇigrahāms tathā /
saritah sāgaraṃ hailān samāni viśamāni ca // 24 //* (Mn. I)

“He emitted time and the divisions of time, the constellations and planets, rivers, oceans, mountains, rough ground and smooth ground”.

*Ācārād vicyuto vipro na vedaphalam aśnute /
ācāreṇa tu saṃyuktaḥ saṃpūrṇaphalabhāgbhavet // 109 //* (Mn. I)

“A priest who has slipped from (proper) conduct does not reap the fruit of the Veda, but one who is engaged in (proper) conduct is traditionally said to enjoy the full fruit”.

*Yasmin deśe niṣīdanti viprā vedavidas trayaḥ /
rājñas cādhikṛto vidvān brahmaṇas tāṃ sabhāṃ viduḥ // 11 //*

(Mn. VIII)

“Where three priests who know the Vedas and a learned man appointed by the king sit (in judgement), that place is known as the court of Brahma”.

*Pāṇigrahaṇikā mantrā niyataṃ dāralakṣaṇam /
teṣāṃ niṣṭhā tu vijñeyā vidvadbhiḥ saptame pade // 227 //* (Mn. VIII)

“The Vedic verses for the wedding ceremony of joining hands are the sure mark of a (legitimate) wife; but wise men should know that they are sealed in the seven step”.

*Yathaidhas tejasā vahniḥ prāptam nirdahati kṣaṇāt /
tathā jñānāgninā pāpaṃ sarvaṃ dahati vedavit // 246 //* (Mn. XI)

“Daily study of the Veda, performance of the great sacrifices according to one's ability, and patience quickly destroy evils, even those caused by the major crimes”.

⁴⁴ Cf. *The Laws of Manu*, translated by Wendy Doniger with Brian K. Smith, Penguin classics, New York, First published 1991, 362 pages.

Ityetad enasāmuktaṃ prāyaś cittaṃ yathāvidhi /

ata ūrdhvaṃ rahasyānāṃ prāyaś cittaṃ nibodhata // 247 // (Mn. XI)

“Just as fire instantly burns up the fuel that it touches with its brilliant energy, so a man who knows the Veda burns up all evil with the fire of his knowledge”.

Śrutis tu vedo vijñeyo dharmasāstram tu vai smṛtiḥ /

te sarvārtheṣvamiṃsye tābhyāṃ dharmo hi nirvabhau // 10 //

(Mn. II)

“The Veda should be known as the revealed canon, and the teachings of religion as the tradition. These two are indisputable in all matters, for religion arose out of the two of them”.

Yo`vamanyeta te mūle hetuśāstrāśrayād dvijaḥ /

sa sādhubhir bahiṣkāryo nāstiko vedanindakaḥ // 11 // (Mn. II)

“Any twice-born man who disregards these two roots (of religion) because he relies on the teachings of logic should be excommunicated by virtuous people as an atheist and a reviler of the Veda”.

The verses are quoted from *Manusmṛti*; they give some interesting views on important scope of Hinduism, particularly what it is related to Brahmin:

* origin of the *Veda*, Mn. I. 22, 23, 24;

* conduct with regard to a true aspect of Hinduism, Mn. I. 109;

Mn. VIII. 11;

* deep spirit of Vedic *mantra* for wedding ceremony, Mn. VIII. 227;

* case of destroying evil, Mn. XI. 246, 247;

* relying on the *Veda*, Mn. II. 10, 11.

From the simple manner of worship, the people of vedic age reached a complex sacrifice with an overwhelming system which required preparation and elaboration. They set up a religious ideology in the *Brāhmaṇa*-period. In the development, some concepts may be considered as having three fundamental points: 1) the *Veda* grants absolute validity, 2) only the members of families of Brahmins were competent to interpret the *Veda*, 3) the first ground of the *Veda* was ritualistic and a ritual performing act needs *mantra* which must be rightfully employed.⁴⁵

Khmer people have Hindu heritage since the dawn of their history. The Brahmins of Khmer country are called as *Pāragū*. They employed Sanskrit text noticed by *grantha* scripture which is the one used in

⁴⁵ Cf. Dandekar, R. N., *Some Aspects of the History of Hinduism*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1989, pp. 62-63.

Tamoul country. Some copies are protected in particular library of Thailand. A part of result of survey provides some informations that the Brahmins of Khmer country were related to a line of descendants of *Kailāsa-paramparā* (*Kailāyaparamparai* in Tamoul). It is believed to be Satyajñānadarśanin who, having spent his childhood in company with his maternal uncle, received the consecration (*dikṣā*) of Parañcoti, and afterward wrote the *Śivajñānabodha* (*Śivañānapotam* in Tamoul). Before the XVIth Cent. A.D., the *Kailāsaparamparā* had two branches a) *Skandaparamparā*, b) *Nandiparamparā*. There was an author known as Śivagrayogīndrajñānaśivācārya; he wrote a commentary on *Śivajñānabodha*. This author Śivagrayogīndrajñānaśivācārya taught the *Kriyādīpikā* which was the anthology of the *Āgama*. This is the kind of text of ritual and invocatory employed in Khmer country; the *kriyādīpikā* is connected with sanskrit texts devoted to Śiva worship. The tradition of *Kailāsa-paramparā* was well-known in Khmer country before the coming of Buddhist Theravāda from the middle of XVth Cent. A.D. The Brahmins in the royal court of Cambodia held the function of *Purohita*; the view may be felt through Sanskrit inscriptions. Till 1970 A.D., the Brahmins of the royal palace of Phnom Penh were related to the *Purohita* of ancient time. The great Khmer monuments had been built up according to the scope of the *Kailāsa-paramparā* tradition. The Brahmins or *Pāragū* do not refuse the Buddhist precepts, but they continue to perform particular ritual being needful in royal and national ceremony⁴⁶. There was in ancient Cambodia the *Brāhmaṣatra*, word pointing out a new category of persons who sprang up from the marriage of Indian Brahmins with the members of the royal Khmer dynasties of Cambodia⁴⁷. One can see the fact related to a relying act according to an adequate situation; the proverb (A) ends in Brahmin's relying on; Vedic knowledge and

⁴⁶ Filliozat, J., *Kailāsaparamparā*, in *The Journal of Siam Society*, Bangkok, November 7th, 1965 (B.E. 2508), Felicitation volume offered to Prince Dhaninivat, vol.II (Southeast Asian Studies). G. Coedès, *Pour mieux comprendre Angkor*, 1947, pp. 68... About the title of the anthology of *Āgama*, cf. the publication of Grantha of Madras, Kalyabdāh (5031), 1929 A.D., ed. by Su. Śrīrāmaśāstrin, *Śrīkailāsaparamparāsamagataśrīmat-skandaparamācāryala bdhānuagraha...*

⁴⁷ K.134, (703 śaka era, 781 A.D.) Inscription of *Lpoek srut* originated from Kraceh province, G. Coedès, *IC*, t. VIII, pp. 96-97, Paris, 1966; Majumdar, R. C., *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, (Asiatic Society Monograph Series, VIII); Sharan, M. K., *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 172. The inscription K.134 has 9 lines in sk. The evidence of the word of the present purpose is in the verse:

*Śrījayavarmmaṇi nṛpatau śāsati pṛthvīm samudraparyantiām,
brāhmaṣatramśabhava natanṛpavṛtaśāsi(tari) nityām.*

practices in the field of religion with regard to the social context grant a solid legitimacy.

Now, the present inquiring action into the matter has to notice the Dr. Pannetier's record as it just has been indicated and translated at page 16. It intends to be the (B) version which has the sense to my humble analysis.

After *ṭaṃṛī āñ ranām*, the (B) version continues as *trī āñ dik* (...), but *brāhm(aṇa) āñ ved* is suppressed.

Trī āñ dik, "fish relies on water" as it is easy to understand. Any fish needs water. The relying idea related a fish may have been a transformed expression given by the verse 34 of the pāli *Dhammapada, Cittavagga* (Chap. III):

*Vārijo va thale khitto okamokata ubbhato
pariphandati'daṃ cittaṃ māradheyyaṃ pahātave // 34 //*

"Even as a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground (moves about restlessly), this thought quivers all over in order to escape the dominion of Māra (the temper or Death)". (translated by S. Radhakrishnan).

Sik, n. "war, battle, (armed) conflict"; *sik* is khm. word for *saṅgrāma, vighraha, yuddha*. *Sik* is sometimes used as compound as *sik saṅgrām, sik satrūv*, (*satrūv* = *śatru* of sk.), "a foe, an enemy"; *vāy sik*, "to engage oneself in fighting (condition)". A soldier (or a fighter) has many things to do in a conflict and in a war as fighting art is a profession where professional can earn much money. So, for soldier, fighting is still an issue.

Pramik, coming from the verb *phik*, "to drink"; a drunkard is everywhere, even in a country where "the Buddhism is the religion of State"; a cup, *baeñ*, is a good means for a drunkard to satisfy his desire.

With regard to the idea of relying on something, one has two versions, i.e. (A) and (B). It may be true that the (A) version ending with a Brahmin and his *Veda*, which it is the old and authentic one. The (B) version appears to be recent and it had been propagated at the beginning of XXth Cent. A.D. Why the ending part of the (A) version is suppressed? This question is worth while noticing. It may have a real cause. I feel the cause to be still in many sparkling elements of social situation in the first quarter of XXth Cent. A.D.

The last Sanskrit inscription of Khmer country is called as the Inscription of Angkor Vat. In fact this inscription comes from a place known as *Kapilapura* at the North East of Angkor Vat⁴⁸. It had been proceeding from the great scholar Vidyēśadhīmant. It shows a tenet of Śīvaist mysticism. Hinduism comes to shelter at the court of the successors of Jayavarman VII as its last refuge. The Theravāda Buddhism propagated from Ceylon Island made a noticeable progress⁴⁹. This Buddhism of pāli language had attempted to have Brahmin or *Pāragū* ejected out of the royal court of Khmer country in the period of Phnom Penh. Some precisions must have been brought in as it concerned one of aspect of the evolution of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia. Under the significant influence of Siamese court of Bangkok of Rāma IV, the Dhammayuttikanikāya recently created by the King himself had been brought in Khmer country since 1850 A.D. One knows it to have been a particular practice in the Khmer royal entourage imitating cringingly what it had done in royal Siamese court⁵⁰. A movement by which Khmer Buddhism would have been largely transformed had been undertaken by the political power; it supported the three young monks of the Mahānikay order (monastery of Uṇṇālom in Phnom Penh). The quarrel was openly engaged the important protagonists⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Barth, M A., *Inscriptions sanscrites du Cambodge*, Paris, 1885.

⁴⁹ Coedès, G., *Les états hindouisés...*, Paris, 1964, on page 412, one can examine: "Tout imprégnée du mysticisme çivaïte, elle prouve que, dans un pays où le bouddhisme singhalais devait avoir déjà fait de très grands progrès, l'hindouisme avait trouvé à la Cour des successeurs de Jayavarman VII un dernier refuge. Six siècles n'ont pas réussi à l'en chasser, puisque dans les cérémonies royales du Cambodge moderne, les Bakō ou brahmanes de la Cour continuent d'officier".

⁵⁰ San Sarin, *Buddhism Transformed: religious Practices and Institutional Interplay in Cambodia*, in *The Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 10, n° 1 & 2, Vārāṇasī, 1998, India, pp. 116-140. Till 1970, the Dhammayuttikanikāya had only 100 monasteries in Cambodia. Khmer traditional Buddhist Theravāda sect is still largely known as Mahānikāy. The coming of the new sect created in Bangkok could have been an issue to Khmer royal family with regard to the powerful royal dynasty of Siam. Khmer people did not really need to have another Buddhist sect, did they? The low number of the monasteries devoted to the new Siamese sect in Cambodia proved to be no need for such artificial religious practices. There were believed to have been queer transformations of a certain number of monasteries on behalf of the ruling king.

⁵¹ French colonial power followed the device as "to divide to rule"; the king, his entourage and the aristocracy were at the heels of French authority. They wanted to establish "the Orthodoxy" in Buddhism, which was certainly the view of the political power which backed up the

G. Coedès and Finot were the witnesses of the conflict, and both of them deviated the tension of crisis, but the Modernist monks were certainly keeping up the quarrel through various forms. G. Coedès knew already the stake of the conflict and he wrote that after six centuries the Brahmins are still in the royal palace of Phnom Penh⁵². What was the interest of having the brahmanic heritage suppressed? One may appreciate the degree of comprehension of the Modernist monks as they should have believed Theravāda to be an only way and a sole voice of righteousness in the world. If one had carefully studied Buddha Gotama's teaching Buddhism would have considered as another branch of Hinduism. Some scholars held the opinion by saying that Buddhism is a reformed Brahmanism⁵³. Even in pāli *Dhamma-pada*, one can read the *Brāhmaṇa-vagga* (Chap. XXVI) where Buddha Gotama, in one of the best of his discourses, praised Brahmins for their right and true behaviour and high qualities. On hearing the word *Pāragū* (word pointing out the Brahmins of Cambodia), Modernist monks were ill at ease. This word is seen in the strophe of *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*:

*Yadā dvayesu dhammesu pāragū hoti brāhmaṇo
ath'assa sabbe samyogā atthaṃ gacchanti jānato // 384 //*

“When the Brahmin has reached the other shore in both laws,
to him who knows all bonds vanish”.

(translated by S. Radhakrishnan)

monks Chuon Nath, Huot Tath and Um Sou. These three monks represented the Modernists, which they were so called. The opposite camp was composed by the great Chief of Mahānikāy order supported by the mass of rural population of the whole country. French colonial power pulled the strings, but it had to face despise in a hard and stiff resistance of the Chief Kae Ūk reinforced by the rural population. Political power did not find out an issue to the conflict. G. Coedès and Finot took care of the monks Chuon Nath and Huot Tath as both of them were sent to Hanoi. It was a favourable occasion to turn down the tension of the quarrel. The two monks had an opportunity to learn Sanskrit language, the general notion of Khmer epigraphy under the guidance of Finot. Both of them knew Sanskrit though they were in two times at Hanoi (almost 8 or 10 months of Sanskrit!). What was the level of Sanskrit culture after 10 months of training? Cf. *Buddhism Transformed*, *op.cit.*

⁵² Cf. A. Leclère, *Cambodge, Fêtes civiles et religieuses*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1916, 660 pages. Case of Brahmin in the royal court of Siam, cf. H.G. Qua. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931.

⁵³ Jenning, J.G., *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, 1947.

Two ending strophes of the *Dhammapada* are worth while quoting:

*Usabhaṃ pavaraṃ vīraṃ mahesiṃ vijitāvinam
anejaṃ nahātakaṃ buddhaṃ tamaḥaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇam //*
422 //

“Him I call a Brahmin who is fearless (like a bull), noble, heroic, the all-wise who has overcome (death), the sinless who has accomplished his study, the awakened”.

(translated by S. Radhakrishnan)

*Pubbe-nivāsaṃ yo vedīsaggāpāyaṃ ca passati
atho jātikkhayaṃ patto abhiññāvositō muni
sabbavositavosānaṃ tamaḥaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇam //* 423 //

“Him I call a Brahmin who knows his former abodes (lives), who perceives heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is a sage whose knowledge is perfect and has accomplished all that has to be accomplished”.

(translated by S. Radhakrishnan)

The strophe 423 can be compared to a passage of chap. II of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*⁵⁴.

Without having deep knowledge, human being may simply see object, subject, Nirvāṇa and Brahman.

In cultural context, Khmer country has, with its history, its particular aspect which may be called as Indo-Khmer heritage handed down by the past. Modernist monks refused this heritage and its value without proposing another valid one. They had held their “Orthodoxy” by kicking out Brahmin or Pāragū who accepted Buddhist precepts. Buddha Gotama’s teaching has nothing to disturb brahmanic practices. Khmer Theravāda

⁵⁴ In chap. II. 5.11, one can read: *ayaṃ dharmāḥ sarveṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ madhu asya dharmasya sarvāṇi bhūtāni madhu yaś cāyam asmin dharme tejomayo ’mṛtamayaḥ purusaḥ yaś cāyam adhyātmaṃ dharmas tejomayo ’mṛtamayaḥ purusaḥ ayam eva sa yo ’yam ātmā idam amṛtam idam brahma idam sarvaṃ //* 11 //

11. “This righteousness (*dharmā*) is like honey to all beings, and all beings are like honey to this righteousness. (The same with) the shining, immortal being who is in this righteousness, and shining, immortal being identified with righteousness in the body. (These four) are but this Self. This (Self-knowledge) is (the means of) immortality; this (underlying unity) is Brahman; this (knowledge of Brahman) is (the means of becoming) all”. Cf. *The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, translated by Swāmī Mādhavānanda, Advaita Ashram, Calcutta, 1993.

Modernist monks were entirely in contradiction.

Any human social group has a history, even a social group having no scripture has its own history. From the beginning of *Nagar Bhnam* period to their living moment, Khmer country has a long history. The pattern of building a State and a Nation is due to Brahmanic *dharma*, which the Modernist monks did not take it into account.

The Modernist monks with their crawling “Orthodoxy”, represented by Chuon Nath, Huot Tath and Um Sou, had chosen to suppress the landmark of Indo-Khmer heritage. Their actions were put forward by the high-ranked men of political sphere. It was natural for them to feel proud of what they had done. Otherwise, they must have made do of what they had done facing history and the movement of ideas. Is it possible for them to hush up their dealings? That was a perfect thing for them to make the forthcoming generations believe in superficial appearance. It must require a short, intense thinking moment to find out what they were believed to be very cleared of their errors of judgement and choice with regard to the message of Indo-Khmer heritage being dear to children of Cambodia. At the dawn of *Nagar Bhnam* period, Indian people and Brahmins were helpful to Khmer population having adopted Hindu model of growing. Right human factor was needful to build a State. Brahmins performed the ritual *Vrātyastoma*⁵⁵ which was a fit way to accept the aliens in orthodox sphere. Brahmins from India held on this rite, so many local chiefs took up the position of leadership. What is the last point to be meant in the question of bad practice in socio-religious eld.

What was the cause of the omitting act applied to a proverb? I am at a loss for an answer. My mind is capable to remember a strophe of *Hitopadeśa*: “An ignorant man can be easily satisfied; still more easily can one who is eminently learned; but even Brahmā himself cannot please a man who is vainly proud of his little knowledge”⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens* (Hist. du Monde, III, p. 168-169, 174, 178; *Dynasties et histoire de l’Inde* (*ibid.*, VI, 2), p. 361. – S. Lévi, *Le Nepal*, I, p. 220. – L. Renou, *Bibliographie védique*, 1931, p. 143, 334. – G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés... opt.cit.*, p. 53.

⁵⁶ Sanskrit strophe is: *ajñāḥ sukham ārādhyāḥ sukhātaram ārādhyate viśeṣajñāḥ |*

Some important points have just shown and an attempt to understand the actions dealt with the so-called “reform” has been broached in a subject. A favourable case is in the heap as a reconstruction provides an acceptable result⁵⁷.

At present, inquiring phase reaches the rhyming step. Let’s start with the (A) version. The first stage is to see the general aspect without the bonds of rhyming. The syllables are lain in groups as following:

1 st <i>ghlā</i>	2 nd <i>ghlā</i>	3 rd <i>ghlā</i>		
o o o o	o o o o	o o o	o o o o	o o o (A)
		1 st group		2 nd group

 N.B. In Khmer prosody, traditional way does not proceed in the present manner, which must be carefully noticed. Without going in the details, the aspect would be helpful towards a good comprehension.

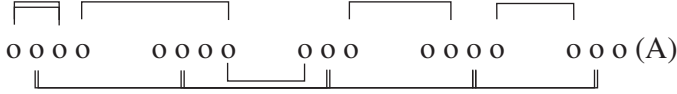
The (A) version has 18 syllables. Three *ghlā* are seen in the line; *ghlā* is simply a sort of sequence belonging to the succession of a line (*pada*) of a system of rhyming. Each *ghlā* has four syllables (4 X 3 = 12). It has two groups, each one of them has three syllables (3 X 2 = 6). The total is 12 + 6 = 18. We obtained the number 18 which confirms the conclusion of the proverb in its (A) version as it is the authentic form⁵⁸.

jñānalavadurvidagdham brahmāpi naram na rañjayati // 105 // “Peace”, (Chap. IV), Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa, ed. & transl. by M.R. Kale, printed by J. Prakash Jain, Delhi, 1989, p. 102, p. 120.

⁵⁷ This is a realistic aspect of the question. It does not sound agreeable. The question whether to offer a true view or to show a tiny part of thing is to be chosen. I follow my way which would not be fostering by some. There is a survey round what should be grasped. A structural case must be foreseen along the account.

⁵⁸ Case of number 18, cf. San Sarin, *Mahābhārata, The Numbers 18 and 108 Through Akṣauhiṇī*, paper presented at XIth World Sanskrit Conference, (Turin, April 3rd – 8th, 2000) issued in *Indologica Taurinensia*, vol. XXX, 2004, Edizioni A.I.T., Torino (Italy), pp. 237-252. – Stein, O., *The Numeral 18*, in “The Poona Orientalist”, vol. I, n. 3, October 1936, pp. 1-35.

The line of (A) and the bonds of rhymes are:



By following the letters, *ramās* (= rhinoceros) has two syllables, but in the proverb the first syllable *ra* of *ramās* is contracted or “swallowed”; *ramās* is heard as / *lmās* /. The same phenomena are applied to *ranām* where the first syllable *ra* is hardly heard.

What it just has said can explain the line of rhyming of (A) version of the proverb.

The three *ghlā* have 12 syllables, which it is shown. The number can represent some things significant as if Khmer collective memory of the past expected to be grasped by the forthcoming generations. It would seem that this were a door-way toward a cultural message. The 12 syllables of these three *ghlā* would represent: 1°) *Mīmāṃsā*, 2°) *Vedānta*, 3°) *Sāṃkhyā*, 4°) *Yoga*, 5°) *Nyāya*, 6°) *Vaiśeṣika*, 7°) *Sikṣā*, “phonetics”, 8°) *Chandas*, “metre”, 9°) *Vyākaraṇa*, “grammar”, 10°) *Nirukta*, “etymology”, 11°) *Jyotiṣā*, “astronomy”, 12°) *Kalpa*, “ceremony, ritual”⁵⁹.

The number 12 of the three *ghlā* could represent *prakṛti* having 12 in number. It may be seen in two sets: 1°) *madhyama*, 2°) *vijigīṣu*, 3°) *udāsīna*, 4°) *śatru*, (this is the set of 4), 5°) *mitra*, 6°) *ari-mitra*, 7°) *mitra-mitra*, 8°) *arimitra-mitra*, 9°) *pārṣṇigrāha*, 10°) *ākraṇḍa*, 11°) *pārṣṇigrāhāsāra*, 12°) *ākraṇḍāsāsa*; (this is the set of 8)⁶⁰.

In the verse 157 at its end, the number 72 is the final conclusion. At its beginning, one has *amātya*, “minister”, *rāṣṭra*, “territory”,

⁵⁹ The numbers 7 to 12 are seen in the verse:

*sikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇaṃ niruktaṃ chaṇḍasāṃ citiḥ /
jyotiṣāmayanaṃ caiva ṣaḍaṅgo veda ucyaṭe //*

Sometimes, *cayaḥ* is seen instead of *citiḥ*, and the last pada is *vedāṅgāni ṣaḍeva tu*.

⁶⁰ The case is taught by Manu:

*madhyamasya pracāraṃ ca vijigīṣoś ca ceṣṭitam /
udāsīnapracāraṃ ca śatroś caiva prayatnataḥ // 155 //*
*Etāḥ prakṛtayo mūlaṃ maṇḍalasya samāsataḥ /
aṣṭau cānyāḥ samākhyātā dvādaśaiva tu tāḥ smṛtāḥ // 156 //*
*Amātyarāṣṭradurgāṛthadaṇḍākhyāḥ pañca cāparaāḥ /
pratyekaṃ kathitā hyetāḥ saṃkṣepena dvisaptatiḥ // 157 //* (*Manusmṛti*), (VII).

durga, “fortresses”, *artha*, “treasure”, *daṇḍa*, “army”, there are 5 elements which need one more that is a king as a high commander, $5 + 1 = 6$; $12 \times 6 = 72$, this *dvisaptatiḥ* at the end of the verse 157. Without a close view on the meaning of the three verses, one would make a mistake⁶¹.

I just have made an operation like $18 \times 4 = 72$, and the number 72 is found out. The number 18 is the number of syllables in the line of rhyming according to (A) version⁶².

In my opinion, the number 4 could be the four elements of the

⁶¹ Some persons would have made an operation like $12 \times 5 = 60$; the number 72 is not obtained as they have forgotten a king who is at the head of the five elements in the verse 157. I may be wrong, but I follow the fundamental idea met in Khmer culture. The simple image left by the elements of statecraft is a lion (sometimes a tiger also). The four legs could be elephants’ fighting teams, the chariots, the horses and the foot-soldiers. The head of a lion represents the ruling king. The tail announces the temper and the inner feeling; it hits the ground like the haughty rhythm just before the moment of an assault. The tail is compared to another eye of a lion. It would be the spies who are far-sighted in the shade and they make inquiries about many things planned by the enemies’ camp.

⁶² I had shown my result to many old persons in Khmer country in 60’s. They knew the importance of the numbers of 18 and 16. Many of them told me by dividing $18 / 4$, the result is 4 with 2 as remainder. They had their opinion as the number 2 represents a common human being and *ādideb*, “Supreme Being” or “Primordial Deity”. It is also the visible world and the invisible world. Human being is used to forget the invisible world. About the number 72, I had been told that the digit 7 represents the life on earth with its mysterious side and the two worlds said above (digit 2) continue to follow this life. Anyone is bewildered by this life, happy moment is very short. They made an addition: $72 \rightarrow 7 + 2 = 9$, this number 9 is the high number among the natural numbers from 0 and onward or it is the last high number of one digit. Had mankind the mark or the sign of ten? The answer was that the mark or the sign for pointing out or noticing the number “ten” had existed, but this sign had been suppressed by Indra, because it had been very efficient and a soothsayer of the past could tell one anything included the place and the year of Enlightenment of the Braḥ Si Ārya Metrī (i. e. Maitreya Buddha). Indra had come on earth and he had intended to have the sign of “ten” suppressed for ever. So, mankind has luckily escaped from the danger of the use of sign of “ten”. Now, the digit 1 immediately followed by *one zero* is an artificial way for “ten”; it is not the real nor an original sign of “ten”. In any matter, human being is in front of imponderable thing. About the number 4 (in $18 \times 4 = 72$) they said that it is the solidity in physical and spiritual matter. The four cardinal directions of space are useful to situate oneself and to locate anything. In the past, people had seen many statues carved in sandstone; they had four arms holding weapons. Particular mention may have been noticed as *Braḥ īsūr* (= Śiva) has three eyes. The rays coming out of his third eye can burn anything into ashes (*kraḷek cheḥ* in Khmer). The fourth thing being the fierce power is not seen, but it is in the body of *Braḥ īsūr*. He has four members in his own family: Umā (his spouse), Bhaktr Ganes (= Gaṇeśa), Skand (= Skanda) and the god himself. I insisted on asking my respectful speakers to tell me how they knew these kind of stories. Many old persons told them and they said that the narrative lines had been known from the old *Krāṃṇī* and *Kaṃbī* written in Sanskrit language, which most of them had declared. These kind of books were lost or destroyed. No one knows this language in country at present time.

Puruṣārtha, i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*⁶³.

We have two groups, each one of them has three syllables, (3 X 2 = 6). The number 6 could represent the four elements of *Puruṣārtha* and the nature of world and the nature of the Supreme spirit⁶⁴. This number 6 would remind one the 6 fires on the *dhiṣṇya*, (a quantity of earth is heaped up and 6 hearths are made on the place which is covered by sand)⁶⁵.

The number 6 can deal with the six duties of Brahmins, i.e. teaching the Veda, reciting the Veda, sacrificing for themselves, sacrificing for others, giving and receiving (gift)⁶⁶.

The number 6 can represent the six acts granted to a Brahmin for his existence i.e. 1) gleaning left-over of grains in the paddy (or another kind of grains of cereals) in such a field after harvest, 2) begging (alms and strict necessary means), 3) receiving or accepting gift, 4) becoming merchant or trader, 5) watching or rearing of cattle (even this is an activity of Vaiśya), 6) agriculture⁶⁷.

⁶³ *Dharmārthakāmamokṣānāṃ yasyaiko'pi na vidyate / ajāgalastanasyeva tasya janma nirarthakam //*

⁶⁴ *Dharmārthakāmamokṣeṣu lokatattvārthayor api / śaṭsuprajñā tu yasyāsau śaṭprajñāḥ parikīrtitaḥ //*

⁶⁵ Each fire belongs to the 1) the *Hotṛ*, 2) the *Maitrā-varuṇa* (or *Pra-śastr*), 3) the *Brāhmaṇacchamsin*, 4) the *Potr*, 5) the *Neṣṭṛ*, 6) the *Acchā-vāka*. Sometimes, the 7th, *marjaliya*, is added; the six hearths are not absolute. In the *Kātyāyana śrauta Sūtra*, one can read some passages related to *dhiṣṇya*. *Dhiṣṇyān nīvapatyuddhata 'vokṣite puriṣaṃ nīvapati sphyaen'nvārabdha udānīupaviśya vibhūrasīti pratimantram / 8.6.12: "After the rites of digging and sprinkling, the Adhvaryu pours earth for setting up the Dhiṣṇya-hearths. Sitting with face to the north he puts the earth (brought from the cātvalā-pit) by means of the sphya on the sites of Dhiṣṇya with vibhūr asi respectively when touches by the Sacrifer".*

8.6.17: *pratyān mukho dvāram apareṇa hotuḥ / "The Adhvaryu lays down the hearth meant for the Hotṛ-priest to the west of the (eastern) door of the Sadas by sitting with his face towards the west"; (a commentary says: prṣṭhya madhye bhavati yathā tathā).*

8.6.18: *dakṣiṇapūrvenaudumbarīm maitrāvaruṇasya / "the hearth meant for the Maitrāvaruṇa priest lays on the south-east of the audumbari-staff".*

8.6.19: *hotṛdhiṣṇyam uttare caturāḥ samāntarān brāhmaṇacchamsipotṛneṣṭracchāvākān ām / "there are four hearths with equal distance between each two for Brāhmaṇacchamsin, Potr, Neṣṭṛ and Acchā-vāka respectively towards the north of the Hotṛ's hearth"; cf. Kātyāyana° ed. and transl. by H.G. Ranade, issued with financial assistance from the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Govt. India, 1978, pp. 270-271.*

⁶⁶ *Adhyāpanam adhyāyanam yajanam yājjanam tathā / dānam pratigrahaś caiva śaṭkarmānyagrajanmanāḥ // 75 // (Mn. X).*

⁶⁷ *Uṃcam pratigraho bhikṣā vāñijyam paśupālanam kṛṣṭikarma tathā ceti śaṭ karmānyagrajanmanāḥ //*

Sometimes, uṃcam and uṃchaṃ are seen.

A Brahmin can perform six acts by means of magic i.e. *śāmti*, an expiatory rite, “a propitiatory rite for averting evil”, *vaśīkaraṇa*, “fascinating, attracting, subduing”, *stambhana*, “a particular magical art which causes the suppression of any force of feeling by supernatural means”, *vidveṣa*, “disdainful pride, contempt”, *uc-cāṭana*, “ruining (an adversary), causing (a person) to quit (his occupation by means of magical incantations)”.

The number 3 is seen in the group *khlā āñ brai* and *brāhm(aṇa) ṁāñ ved*. At the starting steps of any human existence, one has a father, a mother and a preceptor (*guru* or *ācārya*); these 3 important persons. Till the end of his life, one must pay homage to these three persons⁶⁸.

The 12 syllables of rhyming line of (A) version would be symbolically represented, of course, by the 12 members of the famous “chain of causation” (*pratityasamutpāda*, pāli *paṭiccasamuppāda*); it is a sort of working effect and cause being connected with “genesis”⁶⁹.

The 6 syllables (group of 3 + 3 = 6) may remind one towards *abhiññā*, “the supernatural powers” having 6 members⁷⁰.

The group of six syllables would also be the “six functional

⁶⁸ There are two verses said by Manu: *tayor nityaṃ priyaṃ kuryād ācāryasya ca sarvadā / teṣveva triṣu tuṣeṣu tapaḥ sarvaṃ samāpyate* // 228 // *Teṣāṃ trayānāṃ śuśruṣā paramaṃ tapa ucyate / na tair abhyananujñāto dharmam anyāṃ samācāret* // 229 // (Chap. II).

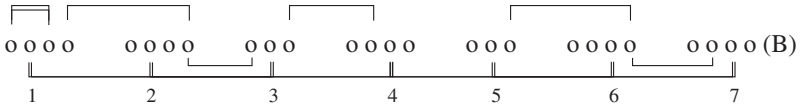
⁶⁹ It may be seen as following:

- 1) *avijjā* (*avidyā*), ignorance
- 2) *saṅkhārā* (*saṃskāra*), aggregates of conditions
- 3) *viññāṇa* (*viññāṇa*), consciousness,
- 4) *nāma-rūpa*, mind & body,
- 5) *saḷāyatana*, six organs of senses,
- 6) *phassa*, (*sparsā*), contact, touch,
- 7) *vedanā*, feeling, sensation,
- 8) *taṇhā*, *trṣṇā*, craving,
- 9) *upādāna*, “firm idea of attachment,
- 10) *bhava*, character of becoming,
- 11) *jāti*, birth and rebirth,
- 12) *jarāmaraṇa-soka*, old age, death, tribulation.

Past	This is a part of pāli text on Paṭiccasamuppāda <i>Avijjā paccayā saṅkhārā saṅkhārappaccayā viññāṇaṃ</i>
Present	<i>viññāṇappaccayā nāmarūpaṃ nāmarūpappaccayā saḷāyatanaṃ saḷāyatanaappaccayā phasso phassappaccayā vedanā vedanāpaccayā taṇhā taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ upādānappaccayā bhavo bhavappaccayā jāti</i>
Future	<i>jātipaccayā jarāmaranaṃ sokaparivedadukkhadomanassupāyāsā sambhavanti evametassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa sumudayo hoti.</i>

⁷⁰ 1) *iddhi-vidhā*, “supernatural power”, 2) *dibba-sota*, “the Heavenly ears”, 3) *ceto-pariyañāna*, “knowing other’s thought”, 4) *dibba-cakkhu*, “having divine eyes”, 5) *pubbe nivāsānussati*, “recollecting previous births and living existences”, 6) *āsavakkhaya*, “to be certain that all intoxicating flows are cut off”, i.e. emancipation already attained.

sense-organs”⁷¹. This group may relate to *chabbaṅṅaraṅsī* which are the six colours known in Khmer⁷².



The (B) version as recorded by DrP. may be seen through the line above suggested. People who derived pleasure from transforming and hushing up what it is connected with brahmanical track removed *brāhm(ana) āṅ ved* (at the number 5) and they put *trī āṅ dik*. These people, one must notice, are the Khmer Modernist Theravāda monks. It may be said that this is a bad and low gesture. They had a right to refuse the Khmer traditional Buddhist way. Whatever they may have resented it, they must have proved their capability by showing a right and fit way to Khmer Buddhist followers for a good future of socio-religious practices. It was natural that they had to create a new tenet and a coherent form of discourse to deviate the Buddhist followers from the traditional way. So, Buddhist followers would have supported them without despising religious cultural heritage. Why waste all their time changing something which bears entirely the *raison d'être*. They did nothing except disturb everyone and stand surety for men of political power. They were scornful with regard to the cultural heritage of their own native land⁷³.

⁷¹ According to ancient pāli text, one has two parts:

Inner part (*ajjhattika*)

- 1) *cakkhu*, eye,
- 2) *sota*, ear,
- 3) *ghāna*, nose,
- 4) *jivhā*, tongue,
- 5) *kāya*, body (skin)
- 6) *mano*, mind,

Outer part (*bāhira*)

- 1) *rūpa*, visible object (forms, colours),
- 2) *sadda*, sound, noise
- 3) *gandha*, odour, smell
- 4) *rasa*, (sense of) taste,
- 5) *phoṭṭhabba*, tangible,
- 6) *dhamma*, cognizable object.

⁷² The word can be understood as *śas- varṇa + raṅsi*; the six colours are applied to the nimb of the Buddha; they are: blue, yellow, red, white, “colour of *haṃsapād*” and *phlek*. *Haṃsapād* is Khmer use being the equivalent of sk. *mañjiṣṭha*, “light red, crimson, Indian madder”. *Haṃsapād*, litt. is “foot of *Haṃsa*”; it intends to be the colour of the “skin” of *haṃsas*’ legs. In Khmer, *phlek* is a “glitter (of diamond)” considered as a colour.

⁷³ The Modernist monks had done many things against Khmer authentic value and they judged people and cultural heritage by adopting the superficial view of political power with its permanent oligarchy. They must have believed themselves to be certain that no one will disclose what they had made believe. I know it to have been a silly thing. I can afford to gather

Dr. Pannetier's translation is still in superficial aspect; many Khmer words are not understood.

9. Cās' ān slāp' bāl ān kāp' kmeñ ān yaṃ. (A) (n° 19 DrP)

9*Kmeñ ān yaṃ bāl ān praṭaṃ cās' ān slāp'. (B)

Translation of (A): “Old person relies on death, a fool on cutting, a young one on crying”.

Translation of (B): “A child relies on crying, a fool on giving blows, an old one on death”.

Bāl is seen in the two versions; *bāl* coming from sk. *bāla*, “young, child”; “a fool, an ignorant”; this late sense may be considered in the proverb. In pāli *Dhammapada*, the 5th chap. is named as *Bālavagga*, “the fool”. *Bāla* is understood in the primary sense by Dr P. The proverb has three sequences, each has three syllables. The verb *an*, “to rely on”, is present in each sequence, (see this verb on p. 17). DrP's translation does not follow the real sense of *ān*.

Kāp', in (A) version, means “to cut” by using an axle or a sword. Generally, the act of *kāp'* is commonly known among Khmer people by using a small axle (*pūv thau tai*) or a sort of big knife called *kām pit phgāk'*. I wonder how DrP could have “vigour” (to blow) as the sense for *kāp'*.

Praṭaṃ, in (B) version, *tam*, “to strike, to hit”, *pra*, prefix, indicating a connexion, a reciprocity, mutual actions, *praṭāl'*, “to box with someone”, *prañāṃh'*, “to race”, *prakuot*, “to compete, to match”. In sk. *pra* is an indeclinable, “before, in front, on, forth” (used with a verb expressing a motion); as prefix, *pra* has the sense of “very, very much”. There is a Pāṇini's sūtra on *pra*.⁷⁴ In Khmer language, in case

the facts left by them with a view to see clearly the official Buddhism and the Buddha's teaching rightly felt by the whole Khmer population of countryside.

⁷⁴ Pāṇ.VIII. 1.6: *prasamupodaḥ pādapūraṇe // 6 // padāni // pra sam upa udaḥ pāda pūraṇe // vṛttih // pra sam upa ut ityeteṣāṃ pādapūraṇe dve bhavato dvir vacanena cetpādaḥ pūryate//*

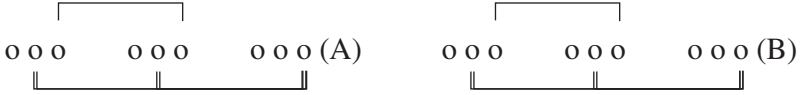
The terms *pra sam upa ut* are repeated or used as doubling, and the quarter of a verse is completed, which it is the essential sense. Some examples can be seen in *Rgveda*.

Rg.I. 126.7: upa upa me parā mṛśa mā me dabhrāṇi manyathaḥ /

Rg.VII. 8.4: pra-prāyam agnir bharatasya śṛṇve (...),

of mutual actions, *pra* is used. Khmer language has been enriched by Sanskrit contribution⁷⁵.

The lines of rhyming are:



The (A) version recorded by DrP reverses the natural course of existence of any living being. This version starts with *cās' ān slāp'*, which is contrary of what is taught by Buddhist *dhamma*, i.e. birth, old age, sickness and death, (koet cās' jhī slāp' in Khmer, jāti jarā byādhi maraṇa in pāli).⁷⁶

10. *Anak yoeñ gan' groḥ tām rāsī cau kram kṭi tām bāk(ya).*
(A) (*n*^o 25 DrP)

10* *Anak yoeñ gan' groḥ tām rāsī cau kram kāt' kṭi tām bāk(ya) pñiñ.* (B)

10** -----“”----- cau kram kāt' kṭi dau tām
bāk(ya). (B1)

Translation.- “A Buddhist monk inspects (what it will happen

*Rg.*IV. 2.9: *kim na ut ut harṣ-a-se dātavā u //*

*Rg.*X. 191.1: *saṃ sam id yuvase vṛṣan //*

After Vedic period, this rule was rarely applied as prepositions or prefix were not used in that way.

⁷⁵ After Independence of Cambodia (in 1954), some Khmer people started to refuse Sanskrit and Pāli in Khmer language. They said that these two languages “originated the social classes”. As hating Sanskrit, they continued their low dealings aiming at kicking out the fundamental principle of Khmer alphabets being the same as Sanskrit as well. Their first targets were to suppress all cerebrals, all initial vowels (*sra beñ tuo*), the *visarga*, letter *l* (of Vedic manner). They held their words that betray great ignorance. Their attitude were associated with “Khmer marxists”. Many members of teaching profession had invaded the organ called as Khmerization (*Khemarayānakamm*). They took this organ and used it to propagate their dealings. I wrote a paper presented at the World Sanskrit Conference organized at Delhi in April 2001 by Indian Government; cf. San Sarin, *Challenging Indo-Khmer Culture or Sanskrit Influence on Actual Khmer Language*. The positive and useful Indo-Khmer heritage would soon be destroyed by the dealings of a small group of persons.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Paṭiccasamuppāda* on p. 23; the chain of causality is also shown in various formulae as mentioned above, cf. in *Cullaniddesa*. The four steps are related to *saṃsāra*, “faring on”, litt.; it has been shortly stated in pāli *Dhammapada*, st. 60: *dīghā jāgarato ratti dīghaṃ santassa yojanaṃ dīgho bālānaṃ saṃsāro saddhammam avijānataṃ //* (*Bālavagga*).

through) calculations, (according to the movements of) zodiacal signs, (just as) a judge passes a sentence according to a complaint”.

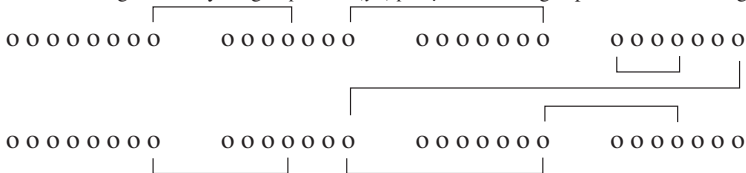
The (A) version as recorded by DrP shows that the proverb is built up according to the rhyming called *pad bāk(ya) prām bīr*⁷⁷, “the rhyming line of seven syllables”. The 1st *ghlā* is correct, the 2nd *ghlā* has only five syllables. The person who had informed DrP should have said speedily, and two syllables were skipped in the 2nd *ghlā*. DrP did not give any remark.

The (B) version presents a variation depending on different regions of Khmer country. The 2nd *ghlā* of (B) and (B1) have a correct rhyming and they convey a full sense.

Anak yoeñ, *anak* is the term used to call kindly someone with whom friendship and affection are shared. This term would have been borrowed from Javanese language. In Khmer, *Anak* is used to indicate an agent, and it must be placed before a verb, i.e. *dhvoe*, “to do”, *anak dhvoe*, “a doer, a maker”, *poek par*, “to drive”, *anak poek par*, “a driver”, *crīeñ*, “to sing”, *anak crīeñ*, “a singer”. *Anak* is also used to point out an inhabitant of a place, a country or a region, i.e. *anak sīem rāp*, “an inhabitant of Siem rāp (province), *anak bhnaṃ beñ*, “an inhabitant of Bhnaṃ Beñ”. *Anak* is applied to a man or a woman. It is connected with a honorific mark title of hierarchy granted by custom and also by official administration. It points out also a person by his professional activity, i.e. *anak nesād*, “a fisherman”, *anak jamnuoñ*, “a merchant”, *anak rājakār*, “a civil servant” (of royal administration). What are the principal functions of the term *anak*. *Yoeñ* is a personal pronoun in plural or a possessive adjective (it depends on the accurate case of use or a place in a sentence). *Anak yoeñ* is an expression having a respectful and affectionate sense; it is used with a Buddhist monk; it is met in great literary text and sometimes in inscription (?) of post-Angkorian period.

Gan’, “to look at” (with carefulness); in the present purpose, it

⁷⁷The diagram of rhyming of *pad bāk(ya) prām bīr* can be grasped in the following way:



intends to be a soothsaying art with calculation which sometimes needs a figure or a diagram (for example *tamrā sambhañs nāg*, “mixed reckoning way of a male-*nāga* and a female-*nāga*”, *tamrā dhnū*, “a stemming bow”). In common way of speaking, it is said as *gan’ gūr* which may be understood as reckoning and drawing (diagram). The proverb says only *gan’* as it obeys to the number of syllables in rhyming.

The synonym of *gan’ gūr* can be *dass(ana) dāy*, (*dass(ana)* is pāli form of sk. *darśana*, “a view”, *dāy*, khm., “to predict (the future).⁷⁸

Groḥ, coming from sk. *graha*, *groḥ* means in khm. “the fact of taking or of reaching a trouble position or situation”, according to the movements of constellation; in common use *groḥ* takes the sense of “incident, accident, a happening event inducing happy or sad moment in life”, (as it has the expressions *groḥ l-a*, *groḥ ākrak*’, “fortunate situation, unfortunate situation”, in actual Khm. language. This sort of event is believed to be related to the movements of constellations. When a *groḥ* is already reached a person, some Buddhist monks are invited to recite a specific *Paritta*-texts;⁷⁹ the ritual is called as *sūtr mant raṃṭoḥ groḥ* or *sūtr mant kāt’ groḥ*, “to recite *Paritta*-texts to release from a bad situation, or to get rid of a trouble condition”.

Rāsī, from sk. *rāśi*, “a constellation”, in soothsaying art, it deals with the zodiac which in full is said as *rāsī cakr*, (*rāsī cakra* in sk.; having 12 signs from *Aries* to *Pisces*). In general, people believe in *rāsī loeñ*, “the constellation or a sign of zodiac is in ascending position”; the days,

This *pad* is also called *pad bāk(ya) prām bīr sāmāññ* in the study of Khmer prosody; in this latter, the technical term applied to this *pad* is *me bāk(ya) prā bīr dhammatā*. Traditional manner in study of prosody presents always two “strophes”, *lpaḥ* in Khmer; each one of them has 4 *ghlā*; each *ghlā* has 7 syllables. The proverb of the present purpose in (B) version follows the scheme of the 1st and the 2nd *ghlā* of a *lpaḥ*.

⁷⁸ To ascertain a result of *gan’ gūr*, a skilful soothsayer takes an ensuring act by referring to the *Rāmakert(i)*, the Khmer version of Vālmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa*. It has, according to the result of calculations, various interpretations, i.e. *Sugrīb kāt khluon knuñ brai*, Sugrīva is alone, he hides himself in the forest, the case may mean the person is helpless, he goes through a sad moment, he can’t avoid it, he must be patient, he will meet a favourable person who will bring in some helps; *braḥ Rām cañ thnal’*, Rāma makes a road and builds bridge toward Lañkā, the meaning is favourable and the person must make his best to be successful in what he wants to do (wedding, business, friendship, general relations...); *nāñ Sītā jāp’ghuṃ knuñ suon*, Sītā is confined in Aśoka Garden of Lañkā, this is an awful routine, the person must accept it, even it is a bad condition. The interpretations of Rāma’s deeds and the story are in living existence, but people do not say anything about; the facts are worth while feeling.

⁷⁹ Cf. my systematic studies on *Paritta*-texts in pāli under André Bareau’s guidance. The title is *Paritta: signification rituelle et religieuse chez les Khmers*, Paris, 1992, 524 pages, (a thesis).

the weeks or the month will be in benecial line or in favourable period. The opposite sense is *rāsī ṭāk'*, “the constellation or a sign of zodiac is in descending position”. A person, whom his own zodiacal sign is concerned, is on the way leading toward a latent trouble, many things will be ill-working with him. To moderate or to lessen the effect of bad moment caused by the movements of constellations, some Buddhist monks are invited to recite *Paritta*-texts; the ritual is known as *sūtr mant loek rāsī*, “to recite *Paritta* to make the constellations raise”.

The *Paritta*-texts are believed to be able to reduce the bad effect of conjuncture. The belief in the movements of *rāsī* makes people request a Buddhist monk or a lay person who knows a soothsaying art. By reckoning he can advice and show the favourable or unfavourable movements of *rāsī* according to a personal sign.

Cau kram, “a judge”, *cau* has many senses; in the present purpose, it means a chief, a title in hierarchy of civil servants. A chief of Buddhist monastery is correctly said as *cau adhikār*. *Adhikār* is preceded by *cau*. In general administration, some important titles of civil servants are recorded as *cau hvāy khett*, “governor of province”, *cau hvāy sruk*, “governor of district” (one of the subdivisions of a province). *Cau* preceded by *braḥ* is applied to title of the ruling King, i.e. *braḥ cau kruṅ kambujādhipatī*.

In Khmers’ supernatural world, the *Anak tā*, (a kind of tutelary genius), of Bhmaṅ Beñ bears the title of *braḥ cau*, and he is well-known as *Anak tā braḥ cau*, having his abode at Vatt Bhmaṅ, the first old place of Bhmaṅ Beñ. *Kram*, from *krama* of sk., means “going, proceeding, course, order, regular progress, method, way, manner”. *Cau kram*, preceded only by *cau*, has the sense of judge. What is the real nature of the principle of semantics in this very case? I am not a specialist in linguistics; I want to grasp the phenomenon. Among the meanings indicated above, the words *order* and *regular progress* seem to help a positive view. Hindu and Khmer thought may follow the fit trend laid by scientific attitude round the line held by reason, order and measure. A scientific method of other human cultures may follow the same scheme though the expression could be different.⁸⁰ I strive to get a background and I catch the idea of order in *prayoga* expressed in the

⁸⁰ I had expressed the scheme in my paper *Gratefulness (tīṅ Guṇ) in Cambodian Behaviour* issued in *Indian Epic Values, Rāmāyaṇa and its Impact*, Proceedings of the 8th International Rāmāyaṇa Conference, Leuven, 6-8 July 1991, ed. by G. Pollet, Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies Leuven, 1995, pp. 221-228. The same paper is published in *Vāṇmaya*, vol. IV, ed. by Dr. Gautam Patel, Sanskrit Sahitya Academy, Gandhinagar, Gujarat (India), 2002, pp. 61-67.

Mīmāṃsā darśana.⁸¹

Prayoga can be understood as “injunction of use”, and it needs *krama*, “order” in analysis or in ritual performing act. *Krama* has 6 criterions (*pramāṇa*), namely 1) direct wording, 2) sense, 3) tenet, 4) position, 5) primacy, 6) procedure. It is certain in the view of *Mīmāṃsā*, but in the present case through common sense, *cau kram* could not take the meaning of judge as we are in judiciary affairs. Anyone waits for a judgement and punishments must consequently be applied. To grasp the case, Khmer attitude may have something more due to heritage and the facts which were difficult to have them suppressed. The minister of Justice is traditionally called as *Ukñā Yamarāj*. This is *Yamarāja* of sk. In popular Khmer speaking way, *Yamarāj* becomes *Jaṃrāj*. Before starting a debate, there was the solemn and serious moment of taking the oath required by any tribunal. The protagonists of the both sides have to repeat after what it is said by a process-server. The names of various terrible and mighty geniuses of Khmer country are invoked to come in the open court and they are also called upon to bear witness to the truth in the dispute between persons concerned. The occult and uncanny force will not fail to punish severely the one who hides his wicked conduct. The light of candles and the smoke produced by incense-sticks increase the make-weight in the air. At the end of the text of oath, the protagonists are requested to kneel down on the floor with

⁸¹ I have a limited knowledge in *Mīmāṃsā*. Khmer traditional tribunal needs a solemn taking of oath. Religious and lay practices have no barrier. Can the idea of *krama* influence the appellation of judge in Khmer language? Among the four forms of “injunction”, I believe that *prayoga* is a fit way for the purpose.

Justice affairs are still formal. Let’s take a simple example connected with an examining magistrate (*subhācārapuras* in Khm.). To issue a warrant requires two or three helpful persons in an office as an accurate dealing has to be done, i. e. *ṭikā koh*, “a warrant for coming in the office of an examining magistrate”, *ṭikā pañhāñ khluon*, “a summons to appear” (in the office or in the court), *ṭikā nāṃ khluon*, “a warrant for bringing (a culprit or a suspected person whose name is seen on the black list)”, *ṭikā cāp’ khluon*, “a warrant for arrest”, *ṭikā ghuṃ khluon*, “a warrant for shutting (a culprit or a suspected person) up” as sometimes the forthcoming steps of inquiry need the confining measure. In the debate in open court, an advocate of a culprit does not agree with the term of a warrant for arrest; he tries to relieve his customer by claiming the correct attitude of the culprit. The advocate of other side invites the judge (*cau kram*) to refer to the policeman’s record and he says that the arrest had been very difficult, and he makes use of the famous stock phrase as *teñ praphāp’ cāp’ prabhīñ*. At last, a *cau kram* has to clear up all the situations and the different steps of inquiry. One can understand the reason of the use of the word *cau kram* for a judge. The session of taking of oath is directly related to religious aspect, the *Mīmāṃsā* and its *prayoga* as indicated above would bring in an idea of the choice of *kram* and the form *cau kram*. At the moment, *Mīmāṃsā* can stand for something significant way of grasping the purpose and its context.

añjali salutation.⁸²

Kṛī, coming from sk. *gati*, (guttural sonant *g* changes into voiceless guttural *k*, the vowel *a* in *ga* is dropped down, the final vowel *i* is lengthened), *kṛi*→*kṛī*, “issue, place of issue, origin, refuge, resource”. At the beginning time of Buddhist Theravāda in Khmer country, *kṛī* would have been used to point out the places dwelled by monks.

Afterward, people considered the word *vatt* < *vatta* of pāli, having the meaning as “that which is done or is customary”, i. e. duty, service, custom function.⁸³ At the South-East of Phnom Penh, on the main road leading to *Braek Anak Līoēn*, there are the *Vatt Kṛī Tā Kuy*⁸⁴ and the *Vatt Kṛī Tā Ras*’. *Kṛī* of the present case can be a verb or a noun; in case of noun, it means “proceedings at law, action at law, a lawsuit”; case of verb: “to institute proceedings against someone, to sue someone”. The word is seen in compound like *koet kṛī*, “to be at law with someone”, *cāñ’ kṛī*, “to fail in a suit”, *kṛī kṛām*, “to be at law (with fussy person pushed by futile motive)”, *smā kṛī*, “an attorney, advocate”.⁸⁵

Bāk(ya), from sk. *vākya*, also *vākya* in pāli; Khmer way changes *v* into *b*, and the last syllable is not heard. It is incredible that modern Khmer language has produced a confusion since the moment where the monk Chuon Nath and his team went in many sections of the Royal Library and onward at Buddhist Institute. Normally, *bāk(ya)* means “saying, speech, sentence”. In modern time, *bāk(ya)* took till now the sense of “word”! *Pada* or *pad(a)* in authentic Khmer has the

⁸² Cf. Adh. Leclère, *Cambodge, Fêtes civiles...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 631-649. This is a session of *spath* coming from *śapatha* of sk. Taking the oath had been very important at the open court in Khmer country. Adh. Leclère couldn’t help noticing some of the sessions. He was an administrator of French Republic and he had recorded people taking the oath. He wrote shortly, which he might have felt disturbed. Anyhow, what he had left is very interesting. There were culprits or suspected persons who had taken fright at the potential punishments inflicted by the invisible power entirely held by terrible geniuses. They admitted their guilt. As usual, a *cau kram* requests to hear what they owned up to having done cruel acts.

⁸³ Some scholars of Western Europe have assimilated *vatta* = *vastu* or *vāstu* of sk., which is a queer idea. (*Vatthu* is related to *vastu* of sk., coming from the root VAS-).

⁸⁴ The monastery *Kṛī Tā Kuy* was the dwelling place of the monk Gañ’, a close friend of King Narottam. The monk Gañ’ was the chief of that monastery (*cau adhikār*). He gave up his function, dropped down his monastic garments and became a high ranked-fighter with the title of General (*kraḷāhom*) which fought against French colonial infantry. After a moment, he had been arrested, chained up and fastened tightly upon the funnel of French gunboat till death.

⁸⁵ The Chuon Nath’s neologism removed this *smā kṛī* which, litt. “a shoulder of action at law”, had been created in the language by old tradition and it was very popular. Chuon Nath and his team brought in *medhāvī*. From Siamese country, Khmer people had used the term *thanāya*, i.e. *thanāyakṛī* (*danāya* + *kṛī*) for “attorney”. To be noticed that the term *kṛī* can be used as *nipāta* in carefully built sentence.

sense of “word”. In countryside, people use *pad* for “word”. *Pad* is used to point out a “word” in a centre of meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*).⁸⁶ Khmer religious traditional practices through collective memory followed Indo-Khmer heritage handed down by the past. The followers of traditional way continued to make a distinction between *bāk(ya)* and *pad*; the fact gave evidence of the fundamental ground of Hindu *darśana* which had been stamping for ever,⁸⁷ and the modern Khmer people of big towns neglected it in the 2nd half of XXth cent. It was incredible that many stupid and harmful things should not have been forbidden to teach in classrooms. These things had not been controlled nor testified through acceptable phases. One may regret to have been formed that the high sphere of Khmer Nation had no capability to make a distinction between “sentence”, *bāk(ya)* and “word” (*pad*) in its own language.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Many places of *Kammaṭṭhān* well guided by competent traditional *grū* (*guru*) or an *ācārya* had been destroyed by the dealings of political police at the beginning of King Sihanouk’s reign and onward. The destruction by using the low means was the direct consequence of the Quarrel between the Traditionalists and the Modernists, Quarrel stirred up by political power.

⁸⁷ Among the six *darśana*, I think the *Mīmāṃsā* had been holding its deep root as it had provided a systematical form related to the thought of the *Brāhmaṇa*, which it is my own point of view. Without touching a theological explanation, Brahmanical influences do not fail to appear in another form. Khmer high sphere of State had made silly things in the field of language through many phases, particularly after the World War II till the end of 60’s. The Cultural Commission had been created awkwardly in the Buddhist Institute. Presided by the monk Chuon Nath, this Commission was empowered to produce the neologism. How many competent and skilful persons were in this Commission? What was the background of the methodology? The Cultural Commission (called as *gaṇakammakār vappadharm* in Khmer neologism) created only the “new words” which are known as *bāk(ya) vappadharm*. Many of them are the queer words blended through French words! They aimed at producing Khmer words for Khmer population, but they did by considering and referring to strange elements. Where are the cultural appurtenances? Without any respect toward Indo-Khmer cultural heritage and diving in French words, the production of the Cultural Commission provided many crabbed elements made of a kind of ill-assimilated pāli data. They were in the quicksand.

There was the *Khmerization* in public instruction. The organ was guided by the sympathizers of the circle held by Sālūt Sar (the future Pol Pot backed up Chinese Communist policy). They worked havoc among young Khmer people. Most of the employees of this organ knew the common speech, they were skilful in style of propaganda. Their method and their attitude were pitiful with regard to the members of the Cultural Commission, (cf. foot-note n° 75 on p. 24). The men composing the Cultural Commission and the *Khmerization* were while observing.

However much they were different among themselves, they had three marks at least in common: 1) inducing many generations of young people to the doorway of obscurantism, 2) neglecting the great message of Khmer cultural heritage, 3) making fun of notion of practical philosophy facing the problem. However one may resent it, one will have to consider it. The view could be the line of conduct of a honest observer. It is not incredible for many, but it is one aspect of harmful consequences.

⁸⁸ Let’s take an example. In Khmer traditional music (of any kind), a musician can easily

distinguish a *bāk(ya)* meaning “phrase” and a *pad*, “a principal theme”, i.e. in *Bhleñ Khmaer* (a kind of music for wedding ceremony), there is a *pad* known as *Kansaeñ kraham*, “red scarf”. This *pad* is still known from Surin to the Khmer places in the far Southern part of Indochina. Each band has its own expression of interpretation like the manner of *khāt*, a *solo ad libitum*, (litt. “to polish”) and *vāy phlae* or *oy phlae*, “(subtle) notes in the phrases”. In short, these are the leading ways of interpretation of a “principal theme” (*pad*). These ways are in “ornamentation” of a *pad*. A band of *Mahorī* brings in at first an expression of romantic elegy, (it has others *rasa* in *Mahorī*).

To see such an error of modern Khmer, I take a Guesdon’s record: “*bāk(ya)*, mot, terme, expression, parole”, (p. 1207 of his Khmer-French dictionary). Guesdon had been a good observer, he had been close to every day spoken in Khmer.

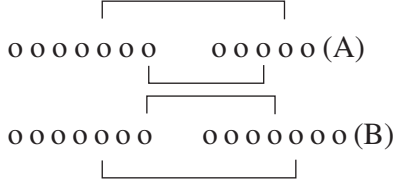
Now and then, I bring in some item of news as the first right in any matter is the information. About the word *bāk(ya)* which is left by Chuon Nath: “*bāk(ya)* [of] sk. *vākya*, v changes into b; bhāsā, samṭī, prayog(a) samṭī; *bāk(ya)cam é bāk(ya) cambōh*, *bāk(ya) prīep*, (p. 742 of his Khmer dictionary); about *prayog(a)*, [from] sk., p. payoga; kār prakap, kār prakap byāyam(a), ākār(a) samrāp’ prakap tām damṇaṅ. ṭaṅoer bāk(ya) ṭael mān seckṭī grap’ grān’ muoy saṅkāt’ 2. *Seckṭī muoy prayog(a)*, *joeñ prayog(a)* rapiep bāk(ya) ṭael riep riēn tām mun tām kroy nai bhāsā nimuoy 2 (... p. 663 of his Khmer dictionary). Under *bāk(ya)*, he used *samṭī* to have *bāk(ya)* explained. Let’s see under *samṭī*: *bāk(ya)* ṭael sṭī, ṭael niyāy, bhāsā, (p. 1287 of his Khmer dictionary). He deals also with *vākya*: from sk., *bāk(ya)*, *samṭī*, *vohār(a)*; *prayog(a)*; *vākyasabd(a)* *sabd(a)* gi *bāk(ya)*, *praṅjūbāk(ya)* *samrāp’* proe knuñ bhāsā nimuoy 2, me *bāk(ya)* ṭael proe knuñ vijjā nimuoy 2. *Vākyasambandh(a)* *sambandh(a)* nai *bāk(ya)*, kār cañ krañ *bāk(ya)*; *phnaek veyyākar(aṅa)* niyāy bī mukh kār nādiñ niñ rapiep *bāk(ya)bec(ana)* knuñ *prayog(a)* nimuoy 2.

Moreover, the words *ghlā* and *lpaḥ* may be noticed as they are important in the matter. About *ghlā*, Chuon Nath said: *lpaḥ bāk(ya)*, *lpaḥ seckṭī* ṭael mān damṇaṅ trūv ṭak oy ṭac’ oy ghlāt, *seckṭī muoy ghlā*, *moel kāb(ya)* oy ṭiñ *ghlā*, *sar ser ṭak ghlā*, (p. 163 of his Khmer dictionary); he did not say what the function of the word *ghlā* is in Khmer prosody and its technical framework. On that point, Guesdon’s record is: “vers, phrase”, *knuñ 1 lpaḥ mān puon ghlā* (see in his dictionary on p. 345), (cf. p. 31, foot-note 1 of my present text as it is helpful to grasp what Guesdon had said). About *lpaḥ* Chuon Nath said: to see under *rapaḥ* as *lpaḥ* spelling is dropped down (p. 1139), under *rapaḥ* it must read: kār raḥ oy mān ghlā. *Jhmoḥ vaṅṅayutt(a)* muoy prabhed(a) (...) *samrāp’* raḥ khaṅḅ knuñ saṅkāt’ nai *prayog(a)* vaēñ khliñ nimuoy 2. *Rapaḥ* neḥ mān *jhmoḥ* phseñ 2 dau diet (...). Why *lpaḥ* spelling had been suppressed? He himself may have done it without any reason.

Through Chuon Nath’s view, where is the good meaning of the word *bāk(ya)*? In what it has been quoted, I see confusion, useless and superficial paraphrase. It is a shame to have to say that Khmer civilization having been consolidated by the *dharma* taken from India was going on a way of decay in various fields of knowledge. One thing must be mentioned, the Chuon Nath’s Khmer dictionary provides a good line which is the correct spelling by following an acceptable datum of etymology in general outline. The author of a dictionary of language is not able to offer the useful sense of “word” and “sentence”. The charge of the author could be lessened as he had his close entourage of civil servants paid by public financial means. There were the monk Kim Tūr, member of the Commission of *Traipīṭaka*, Lāñ Hap’ Ān, General Secretary of Buddhist Institute and Nūñ Sīoēñ, Secretary of Buddhist Institute, which was the team for the 4th edition. The 5th edition repeated the errors of the former, of course.

According to my humble point of view, a real lexicographical labour needs at least the fundamental information supplied by Vedism, Hinduism, Buddhism through pāli and Sanskrit texts, the six *darsāna*, the whole *vedāṅga*, particularly the theories of grammar, the philosophy of grammar, linguistics and its branches, epigraphy of ancient and actual Khmer country and Khmer

This is the diagram of rhyming of the (A) and (B) versions:



The two diagrams follow the rhyming of *pad bāk(ya) prāṃ bīr*, the (B) version is correct (see foot-note n. 77).

11. Koet jā janlen min khboem tī dhvoe jā mantrī min khboem prāk’
dhvoe jā jān chlāk’ min khboem jhoe.

(n. 26 DrP)

Translation.- “As earth-worm by birth does not feel repugnance to earth, as civil servant in position does not feel repugnance to money, as wood-carver in profession does not feel repugnance to wood”.

Mantrī, N. sg. m. of *mantrin*, s.m., “a king’s counsellor, a minister”.

Mantrī is used to point out a high-ranked class of civil servant.⁸⁹

Janlen: an earth-worm.

Khboem: “to feel repugnance”.

Jān chlāk’, “a wood-carver” (in the purpose).

According to the proverb, any civil servant is ready to become corrupted. A corruptor is certain that any thing in official administration will work by giving money as he knows the attitude of a civil servant. This is the problem of corruption which,

language taken into account in various matters. Eight or a dozen months at Hanoi in company of Louis Finot, George Coedès and Victor Goloubew had not been enough to provide a good effect.

Seeing from the inner part of Khmer context, one may remind *ṭamrī kā khvāk’ dramāk’ kā chkuot*, “the (domestic) elephant is blind and the driver is mad”, which is a fit proverb to say.

⁸⁹ It is seen in expression: *catustambh senāpatī nāmin sabb mukh mantrī kñiṃ rājakār sevakāmāt(ya)*. The neologism brought in *raṭṭh(a)mantrī*, “minister”, *desaraṭṭh(a)mantri*, “State minister”, *nāyak(a)raṭṭh(a)mantrī*, “President (of the Cabinet)”, *upanāyak(a)raṭṭh(a)mantrī*, “Vice-President (of the Cabinet)”. *Raṭṭh(a)mantrī* is a compound having a pāli word and a sk. word, which is Khmer using way of sk. and pāli elements in language.

in many countries, disturbs the normal working of law and rules. The question whether to consider a corruption as a part and parcel of a cultural background or as a consequence of a ruling system will be being grasped. This kind of question shall be set up. I find it very difficult to avoid as modern social organization continues the same vicious circle. The depraved conduct is decried by the following proverb:

(BBB) *manuss niñ prāk' yaks(a) niñ sāc' chkae niñ āc(ama) s̄tec niñ rāj(ya).*

“mankind and money, a giant and (fresh) flesh, a dog and (human) excrement, a prince and kingship, [which one must remember]”.

The sk. and pāli words in this proverb are: *manuss* from sk. *manuṣya*, *yaks(a)* from sk. *yakṣa*, *rāj(ya)* from *rājya*. The doubtful origin of *āc(ama)* has slackened the progress of inquiry⁹⁰. How comes

⁹⁰ Chuon Nath could have been sure by recording: “sk., pāli, āhār(a) cās’, litt. old food, āhār(a) cās’ ʔael pando ceñ mak tām vaccamagga (*uccāra, lāmaka*), old food which has been pushed and got out through opening of the rectum (*uccāra, lāmaka*)”, (p. 1715 of his Khmer dictionary).

In pāli, there are ā-CAM- (*ā-camati*), “to take in water, to resorb, to rinse; to wash off, to clean oneself after evacuation” and *ācamana-* s.nt., rinsing, washing with water, used 1) for the mouth, 2) after evacuation. This is *ācamana* and not *ācama* (or *āc(ama)*). There are some passages in pāli *Vinaya-piṭaka*: *acamanakumbhī na hoti. Anujānāmi bhikkhave ācamana-kumbhin ti*, (Vn. II.142, *Cullavagga*).

A significant passage is in *Cullavagga* 9, in Vin. II. 221: *Tena kho samayena aññataro bhikkhu brāhmaṇa-jātiko vacca katvā na icchati ācāmetuṃ ko imaṃ vasalaṃ duggandhaṃ āmasissatīti, tassa vaccamagge kimi sañṭhāsi. Atha kho so bhikkhu bhikkhūnaṃ etaṃ atthaṃ ārocesi. Kim pana tvaṃ āvuso vaccaṃ katvā na ācamesīti. Evaṃ āvuso’ ti. Ye te bhikkhū apicchā... vipācenti. Kathaṃ hi nāma bhikkhu vaccaṃ katvā na ācamesatīti.* “Now on that occasion, a certain monk who was born as brahmin did not want to clean oneself off, and [bearing in his mind an idea as] who would lay hold on a fool, evil-smelling? A worm remained in his rectum. Then, this monk told the case to (others) monks (who said): “but, friend, after evacuation, won’t you clean yourself off? Friend, you are in this way.” Those who were modest monks... became annoyed. They asked: why, indeed, after evacuation, won’t clean yourself off?

Atha kho te bhikkhū bhagavato etaṃ atthaṃ ārocesuṃ. Saccaṃ kira tvaṃ bhikkhu vaccaṃ katvā na ācamesīti. Saccaṃ bhagavā. Vīgarahitvā dhammiṃ kathaṃ katvā, bhikkhū āmantesi: na bhikkhave vaccaṃ katvā satī udake na ācāmetabbaṃ. Yo na ācāmeyya āpatti dukkaṭassā’ ti // 9 //

“Thus, these monks told the matter to Lord Buddha. “Is it true, you, monk, after evacuation, did not clean off yourself? It is true Lord. Having scolding them, having said the reasoned talk, he addressed the monks: “O monks, if there is water you was not cleaned off by yourselves and you should not be cleaned off, there is a (guilty) of *wrong-doing* offence”.

it that *āc(ama)* takes the meaning of “excrement”? Khmer borrowing way from sk. takes a stem, *aṅga*, of a verbal element without personal flexional endings, according to what I just have obtained in the present inquiry. This stem is considered as a noun in khm. language. Khmer feeling adopts (with pāli influence) this stem of conjugation of verb expressing “cleaning oneself off” after evacuation through opening rectum, and this very stem takes the sense of faecal matter, dung. After a long period, the word *āc(ama)* of *ā-cam-a* in khm. language becomes a pejorative one. The neologism of big town had tried to impose *uccāra*, “excrement, faeces” or *lāmaka* “insignificant, poor, inferior, bad, sinful” from the middle of XXth cent. The royal

Otherwise, *āc(ama)*, coming from *ā-CAM-* of sk. as it can be written down as *ā-cam-a*, “to sip (water) from the palm of the hand for purification; to lap up, to lick up, to absorb”; one has also a noun *ā-cam-ana*, nt., “sipping water from the palm of the hand (before religious ceremonies, before meals, etc...) for purification”.

Through *ā-cam-a* as a form giving a way to a possible comprehension of *āc(ama)* which is a form used in khm. of our inquiry. In *ā-cam-a*, the long *a* is a prefix to verb, especially applied to motion; *CAM-*, a root of 1st cl. or 5th cl.; *ā-cam-a* deals with present tense which is stated by a Pāṇini’s sūtra, III. 2.123: **vartamāne laṭ** // 123 // padāni // *vartamān-e laṭ* //, it gives a definition of a present action. The final vowel *a* of *ā-cam-a* is a *vikaraṇa* indicating the stem of system of conjugation (system of present conjugation), Pāṇ.III. 1.68: **kartari śap** // 68 // padāni // *kartari śap* (sārvadhātuke dhātoḥ) //

Vṛtīḥ // *kartrvācīni sārvadhātuke parato dhātoḥ śap pratyayo bhavati* //

Personal flexional endings of present tense can be added after the *vikaraṇa*; it is seen in Pāṇ.III. 4.78: **tiptasjhisipthasthamibvasmastātāmjhathāsāthāmdhvamiḍvahirahin** //

An issue is set up in case of arrangement of radical vowel of a root, Pāṇ.VI. 1.78: **eco’ yavāyavaḥ** // 78 // padāni // *ecaḥ ay av āy āvaḥ* //

Vṛtīḥ // *ecaḥ sthāne’ ci parato’ y av āy āv ityete ādeśā yathā saṃkhyam bhavanti* //

Pāṇ.VII. 3.84: **sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ** // 84 // padāni // *sārvadhātuka arddhadhātukayoḥ* //

Vṛtīḥ // *sārvadhātuke ārddhadhātuke ca pratyaye parato igantasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati* //

Pāṇ.III. 4.113: **tiṅśitsārvadhātukam** // 113 // padāni // *tiṅ śit sārvadhātukam* //

Vṛtīḥ // *tiṅṅ śitaś ca pratyayāḥ sārvadhātukasamjñā bhavanti* // (definition of all personal flexional endings and all affixes with indicatory s).

Pāṇ.III. 4.114: **ārddhadhātukam śeṣaḥ** // 114 // padāni // *ārddhadhātukam śeṣaḥ* //

Vṛtīḥ // *tiṅṅ śitaś ca varjayitvānyaḥ pratyayaḥ dhātusaṃśabdānena vihita ārddhadhātukasamjñā bhavati* //

(definition of all affixes other than *tiṅ* and those with an indicatory s subjoined to a verbal root).

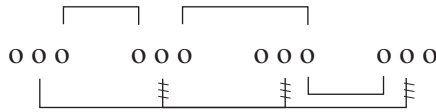
Pāṇ.VI. 4.1: **aṅgasya** // 1 // padāni // *aṅgasya* // (this is an *adhikāra sūtra* governing till the end of 7th book).

Vṛtīḥ // *adhikāroyamā saptamādhyāyaparisaṃmāpteḥ / yadita urddhamanukramiṣyamo’ ṅ gasyetyevaṃ tad veditavyam* //

This sūtra has some cases of application and the effective force of genitive; one can remind: *san samprasāraṇa dīrghatvaitvatāīrṅhayaṅvaṅ nuṭa hrasvatva tatve ca aṅgasyetyadhikāre prayojanam* //.

vocabulary banished the word *āc(ama)* and which is replaced by the word *mūl* from *mūla* of sk. By scanning the word *āc(ama)*, one may notice a Khmer borrowing way from sk. or pāli, which an *aṅga* of conjugation can be taken and it has its place in the language.

Here is the diagram of the last proverb, i.e. “mankind and money...” (p. 30).



12. *Koet jā kraboe min laeñ ak kruos dhvøe jā cau kram min laeñ niyāy huos dhvøe jā anak puos min laeñ trūv āpatt(i).* (n° 27 *DrP*)

Translation.- “A crocodile by birth does not fail to swallow gravels, to hold out a function of judge does not fail to talk in exceeding way, to hold out a religious position does not fail to commit an offence”.

Min laeñ, the proverb has three *ghlā*, *min laeñ* is in each one of them. It is an expression composed by *min*, particle of negation and *laeñ*, “to stop, to pause”(a course of working). *Min laeñ* can be rendered by English verb as “to do not fail to”. Sometimes, *min laeñ* is met in colloquial Khmer. *Min laeñ* is not recorded in Chuon Nath’s dictionary. *Min laeñ* is normally followed by a verb expressing an action, i.e. *min laeñ ak*, *min laeñ niyāy*, *min laeñ trūv*, as it is seen in the proverb.

Ak, “to swallow something down”, people believe that a crocodile swallows gravels to ease its digestive system. The verb *ak* is related to an ensemble of rituals⁹¹.

Cau kram has been said; see Proverb n. 10.

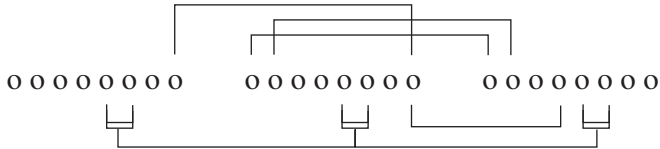
⁹¹ The rituals are under the head of the ceremony well-known as *puñ(ya) uñ dūk*, “pirogue-racing”, holding on the last days of the period of waxing moon of *Krttikā* month (October-November) of each year. With this “pirogue-racing”, there are the rituals: a) “the rain forecast”, *pūl dik bhlēñ*, b) “salutation to the moon”, *saṃbañ brañ khæe*, c) “swallowing grilled and pounded rice”, *ak ampuk*, (at that moment, the rice in the ear has just come to maturity; it announces the harvest and the hot season, *rañv prāmñ*, will soon come, cf. my appropriate exhaustive studies on the matter, unedited).

Niyāy, “to speak, to tell, to say”, coming from sk. *nyāya* which is one of the six *darśana* of Hindu philosophy. It is so called as it “goes into” all subjects physical and metaphysical by setting up a chain of syllogistic method. The followers of *Nyāya* teaching (the *Naiyāyika*) rely on five elements, i.e. *pratijñā*, *hetu*, *udāharana*, *upanaya* and *nigamana*. The *Nyāya* is ascribed to Gautama.

Huos, “to pass beyond, to go beyond; to run past; to exceed, to override”.

Āpatt(i), pāli, sk. *apatti* < ā-PAD-, “an ecclesiastical offence” which is a fault induced by going beyond the rules⁹², this fault is called as *āpatti*, “offence”. The *āpatti* are of seven kinds: 1) *pārājika*, 2) *saṅghādisesa*, 3) *thullaccaya*, 4) *pācittiya*, 5) *pāṭidesanīya*, 6) *dukkaṭa*, 7) *dubbhāsita*.

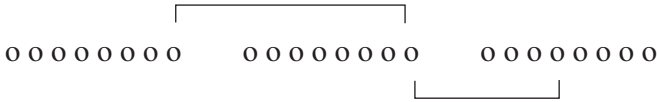
The proverb has three *ghlā*, each one of them has 8 syllables. The rhyming of these three *ghlā* follows the one of *pad(a) bāk(ya) prā pī*, “eight syllabled rhyming sentence”. Two accurate points may be noticed: a) in the 2nd *ghlā*, *niyāy* must be considered as one syllable, the *ni* is hardly heard as it is in colloquial way, b) in the 3rd *ghlā*, the word *āpatt(i)* where the long vowel *a* is lessened, it follows practically the way applied to *niyāy*. Then, we can have the diagram of the proverb:



Without considering the rhyming lines made by *min laeñ* and *dhvoe jā*, the fundamental rhyming of the the proverb can be seen by the diagram:

⁹² According to *Pāṭimokkha*, the precepts of training (*sikkhāpada*) or rules are recorded as *pārājika* (4), *saṅghādisesa* (13), *aniyata* (2), *nissaggiyapācittiya* (30), *suddhikāpācittiya* (92), *pāṭidesanīya* (4), *sekkheyavatta* (75), *adhikaraṇasamatha* (7). Thus, there are 227 precepts of training or rules which must be obeyed by any monk.

The precepts of training or rules established for female-monks (*bhikkhunī*) are: *pārājika* (8), *saṅghādisesa* (17), *nissaggiyapācittiya* (30), *suddhikāpācittiya* (166), *pāṭidesanīya* (8), *sekkheyavatta* (75), *adhikaraṇasamatha* (7). Any *bhikkhunī* must observe these 311 precepts of training fixed by the Buddha himself. The word *āpatti* had been rendered as “péché” (sin) by Dr Pannetier, which “péché” has nothing to do here.



The rhyming of the proverb may start from the 2nd *ghlā* of the 1st line of the real *pad(a) bāk(ya) prām pī* (see in foot-note n° 93). The 2nd *ghlā* of the proverb can be compared to the 2nd *ghlā* of the real *pad(a) bāk(ya) prām pī*⁹³. The 3rd *ghlā* of the proverb shows an inverse rhyming line (or a reverse order) with regard to the 4th *ghlā* of the 1st line of “the eight syllabled rhyming sentence”, (see in foot-note n° 93).

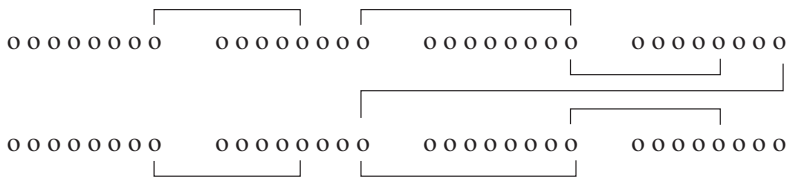
In two lines (or in two strophes), Khmer rhyming system has generally the last syllable of the last *ghlā* rhyming with the last syllable of the 2nd *ghlā* of the following line (or strophe), which it is a fundamental characteristic. In Khmer prosody, in case of showing a rhyming system of any *pad(a)*, two lines (or two strophes) are absolutely required as one can see in the foot-note of the preceding page. This is the fundamental doorway toward Khmer prosody as a rhyming system needs a structural view of the ensemble of the two strophes.

13. Go ge min uot uot tae go eñ.

(n° 29 DrP)

Translation.- “You don’t praise an ox of others, you praise only the yours”.

⁹³ Its rhyming system is recorded as following:

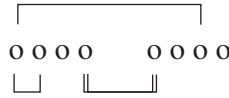


Otherwise: this latter is not rigid. Consider the 1st line; the rule of rhyming is like that: the 8th syllable of the 1st *ghlā* must rhyme with the 3rd or the 5th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*; the 8th syllable of 3rd *ghlā* must rhyme with the 8th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*; the 3rd or the 5th syllable of the 4th *ghlā* must rhyme with the 8th syllable of the 3rd *ghlā*. The 8th syllable of the 4th *ghlā* must rhyme with the 8th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā* of the 2nd line of the rhyming system.

Go, “an ox”, (see Proverb n. 3);

Uot, verb, “to praise (someone or something), to speak highly (of someone or something)”.

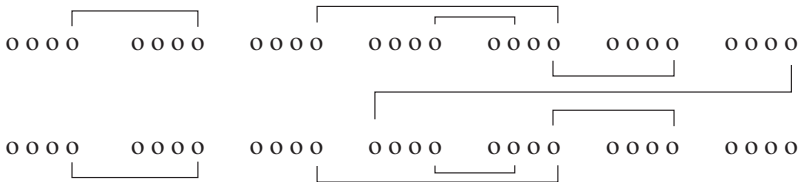
This is the diagram of rhyming.



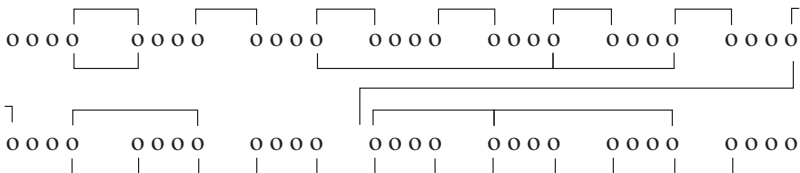
The proverb has two *ghlā*, each one of them has 4 syllables. It may follow the rhyming of *pad(a) kākagati*⁹⁴, “the walking way of a crow”, according to the number of syllables in each *ghlā*. The final syllable of the 1st *ghlā* and the 1st syllable of the 2nd *ghlā* have the same word *uot*. The position of this word in the proverb can be the mark of the *pad(a) bāk(ya) jāp’ dañ*, “rhyming sentence [made of] tied linkage”.

When someone says this proverb, a pat answer is heard as “to praise an ox of others, can one have him yoked?”

⁹⁴ The diagram of the *pad(a) kākagati* can be seen as following:



A line (or a strophe) of *pad(a) kākagati* has seven *ghlā*, each *ghlā* has four syllables. The *pad(a) bāk(ya) jāp’ dañ* follows the rhyming pattern of *pad(a) kākagati* and develops or enriches it by adding more ornaments. With regard to prosody and its technical term, the *pad(a) kākagati* is, in this step, called as *me bāk(ya) puon* because each *ghlā* has four syllables. This is the diagram of *pad(a) bāk(ya) jāp’ dañ*.



14. Ciñciṃ manuss oy moel citt ciñciṃ satv oy moel cañkūm.

Dr Pannetier's record increases the term *vā* at the end of the 2nd *ghlā*, (n° 30 DrP).

Translation.- “If you feed a man, observe his mind, if you fatten an animal, observe its tusk.”

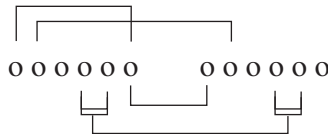
Manuss, from sk. *Manuṣya*, pāli *manussa*, “human being, a man”.

Citt, from sk. *Citta* past partic. of *cinteti*, *cetati*, from *CIT-*, (it has *CINT-* with nasal infix (as semblable case to *MUN?C-*, *YUn?J-*, *SIn?C-...*), another radical form is *CET-*, with *guṇa* as I →e, case of *MOC-*, *YOJ-*, *SEC-*); *citta* has many senses according to various heads of expressions. For the present purpose, mental status, intellectual status and emotional habitus could be a fit way toward an acceptable comprehension; the meaning may be “mind, mind (in its manifestations), thought, will”⁹⁵.

Satv, pāli *satta*, sk. *sattva*, “living being, a creature”; Khmer language has adopted *satv(a)* as spelling, it takes the sense of “animal” which is the opposite of “a human being, a man”. Some simple examples can be shown as *satv slāp*, “a bird”, *satv brai*, “a wild animal”, *satv narak*, “animal of purgatory, of hell”, *naraka-sattva* or °*satva* or °*satta* is the compound of mixed sk. and pāli, or pāli.

Cañkūm, “a tusk”, in Khmer language, there are different tusks: *kuy*, “a tusk of rhinoceros”, *khnāy*, “a tusk of wild boar”, *cañkūm*, “a tusk of dog, of tiger, of lion, of wolf, of fox”, *bhluk*, “a tusk of male elephant”, *cae*, “a little tusk of female elephant or of a male elephant having no long tusk, (*ṣṭa*), *nup*, “a short and little horn of great horned owl”, *snaeñ*, “a horn of ox, of buffalo, of fallow-deer, of buck”.

The diagram of rhyming pattern of the proverb can be shown:



⁹⁵ There are some definitions of *citta* in pāli: *cittan ti viññāṇaṃ bhūmikavatthu-ārammaṇa-kiriyādi-cittatāya panetaṃ cittan ti vuttaṃ*, (in *Dhammapada* Comm.); *cittan ti mano mānassa*, (in *Khuddakapāṭha* Comm.), *cittaṃ manoviññāṇaṃ ti cittassa etaṃ vevacanaṃ*, (in *Nett-Praka*°); *yam cittaṃ mano mānassa hadayaṃ pañḍaraṃ*, (*Dhammasaṅgaṇi*).

The proverb has 2 *ghlā*, each *ghlā* six syllables. Two consecutive *ghlā* of six syllables are rare in Khmer prosody. According to this rhyming pattern, it may be a *pad(a) dol ñok*; it is also called as *pad(a) col muoy* or *col muoy* in short. Normally, its full line has four *ghlā*, but this *pad(a)* is used only two *ghlā*. The proverb is said by using the two last *ghlā*. It is considered as a broken stick in a stick ghting duel where an adversary holds on his stick having just been broken by his opponent's blow, but this man can be killed by the fighter having his sharp pointed end of his broken stick as he is at stake. What it is the image devoted to the concept of the *pad(a) dol ñok* which is used to warn something in danger.

15. Niyāy kṭī oy moel mātrā niyāy kār of moel daṃṇaṅ. (A)
(n° 31 DrP)

15* Niyāy kṭī oy moel mātrā niyāy kār oy moel daṃṇaṅ
niyāy chgaṅ oy moel khamā (B)

Translation.- “If you debate in action at law, look at items of law; if you talk about affairs, look at the binding tendency”. (A)
“... .. if you talk awkwardly, observe [the gesture of] begging for pardon”. (B)

The (A) version as shown by DrP has two *ghlā*; the version (B) is the proverb in full length. It would have a reason for it, which I will try to see.

Kṭī, from sk. *gati*, (see Proverb n. 10).

Niyāy, from sk. *nyāya*, (see Proverb n. 12).

Mātrā, sk. *mātrā*, “measure, quantity, size; in Khm., it means “item, article of text of law”. Traditional way of composing elements of texts of law is pointed out as *mātrā*, i.e. *mātrā* 14, “article 14”.

Kār(a), coming from root *Kṛ-* of sk., “making, doing, working; act, action, effort, exertion”; *Kṛ-* → *kār*-Ghaṅ → *kār-a*, (Pāṇ.VI. 1.159; VII. 2.115); *r* → *ār* (Pāṇ.VII. 2.114; I. 1.52).⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Pāṇ.VII. 2.114: **mṛjer vṛddhiḥ** // 114 // padāni // mṛjeḥ vṛddhiḥ //

Vṛttiḥ // vibhaktāviti nivṛttam mṛjeraṅgasya iko vṛddhir bhavati //

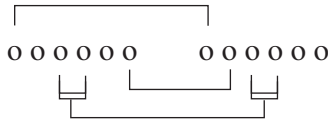
The spirit of this rule helps to see *r* → *ār*;

Pāṇ.I. 1.52: **alontyasya** // 52 // padāni // alaḥ antyasya (ādeśaḥ) //

Khamā, the full form is *khamādos(a)*, “to beg a pardon, to ask for an excuse”; the first element *khamā* itself appears to be a part of something which had been cut off. *Khamā*, sk. *ḷṣamā* from the root *KṢAM-*, “to be patient, to endure, to forgive”, caus. *Khamāpeti*, “to pacify, to ask one’s pardon, to apologize”. Can *khamā* of *khamādos(a)* in Khm. be a metamorphosis of pāli *khamāpanā*? We have the pāli noun *khamā*, which it must be considered facing the *khamā* of *khamādos(a)*. How could one have thought it a trustworthy borrowing act? Anyhow, the spirit of the proverb would stoop to a causative sense. Doesn’t one have to take *khamā* as being cut from *khamāpanā*? It need only be said that any issue could not at present be coherent.⁹⁷ *Dos(a)*, pāli *dosa*, sk. *doṣa*, “fault, bad condition”. In colloquial way, asking for excuse or pardon is said as *sūm dos*, *sūm at’ dos* or *sūm abhay dos*.

The proverb is expressed in the metre known as *pad(a) dol ñok* as it is already shown in the preceding proverb (p. 34). Each *ghlā* has six syllables; the important word is *niyāy* which must be said as one syllable; the 1st one is hardly heard; it may be an effect of contraction. The rhyming line of this proverb has some variants of the same *pad(a)* as it has been already said.

This is the diagram of (A) version.

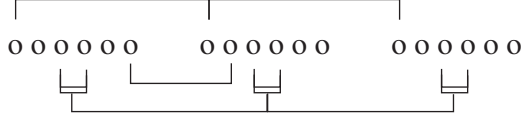


Vṛttiḥ // ṣaṣṭhinirdiṣṭasya ya ucyate ādeṣaḥ sonyasyālaḥ sthāne veditavyaḥ //
 Pāṇ.VI. 1.159: **karṣātvato ghañō’nta udattaḥ** // 159 // padāni // karṣa atvataḥ ghañāḥ antaḥ udattaḥ //
 Vṛttiḥ // karṣater dhātorākāravataḥ ca ghañāntasyanta udatto bhavati //
 Pāṇ.VII. 2.115: **aco ñṇiti** // 115 // padāni // acaḥ ñ ṇiti //
 Vṛttiḥ // ajantāṅgasya ṇiti ṇiti ca vṛddhir bhavati // (see also Pāṇ.III. 2.23 of *kāra* at the end of a word).

According to some principal Pāṇini’s sūtra, *kār(a)* has a *-ra* at its end in Khmer word spelling. This is one way (among others) to have a final *ra* (or *r[a]*) explained in Khm. language. Chuon Nath, in his *Dictionary*, (on pp. 34-35), recording 5 kinds of *kār(a)*, gives a superficial explanation.

⁹⁷ In the present purpose, *ḷṣamā* (related to vedic *ḷṣam*) meaning “earth, ground”, must be kept off. *ḷṣamā*, Inst. of *ḷṣam*, indeclinable, “on the earth, ground”. *Khamādos* is a specific compound used in Khmer language, Chuon Nath had left a little word about *khamā*.

This is the diagram of (B) version.



Again, Dr. Pannetier's record has only two *ghlā* of the *pad(a)*. Why? When saying something expressed by the *pad(a) dol ñok*, the case must be heard in two *ghlā*. The view is considered from the side of a person knowing Khmer prosody. In common speech anyone follows the habit with regard to tradition. This would have been the reason by which DrP's record ended at *damñanñ* as the informant started from the 1st *ghlā*, i.e. *niyāy kṛī...*

I have just announced "in full length" for the version (B) where 3 *ghlā* have to be noticed. When saying, the rule of two *ghlā* must be observed. If one starts from *niyāy kār...* (2nd *ghlā*), one will end at the final syllable of the 3rd *ghlā*, i. e.... *oy moel khamā*). One has three *ghlā* at one's disposal; it depends on what *ghlā* one likes to start from.

What do I propose to do? It is worth while seeing a functional part of prosody: a) in rhyming structure, b) in searching beautiful expression and c) redundancy. Now I can confess to having done the analysis with this aspect, and it is the matter, for I am attempting to go into what is objectionable for many in the eld. I differ with others on the

subject felt and seen by myself from the inner part of Khmer traditional society, which I am gathering some parts of decided facts. At present, there are 100 years after the publication of Dr. Pannetier's record. My survey does not try to have the matter challenged by weighty arguments, but I simply bring in something bearing witness. One would cavil at words; one calls it what one will, the facts would not be changed by what one can think.

I may explain away a misunderstanding; till this step, what I have said is not an interpretation. It is useless for anyone to dissent from what it has set forth. Like any *pad(a)*, there are three or four *ghlā* in a strophe (*lpaḥ*). One may set up the question: why two *ghlā* must be said? I had sought for a case of comparison, I have nothing to unfold. I wonder what is the function of the number two

in the matter.⁹⁸ Instinctively, the number two is connected with a duel and generally the latter has its rules (*dharmayuddha*). There is a purposeful rule said by Bhīṣma: “the ruling person should be fought in the battle-field without equipped (by weapons), without an armour; it is designated by one against one, hurl at, I throw a glance”⁹⁹. I am not sure what I have seen through the number two. I have no idea of how they had chosen two *ghlā* at each time of saying. The rule “one against one” stands for an opening debate as how best to have it grasped rightly. Otherwise, the digit two can suggest a balance, i. e. two normal legs of a human being to move bettingly. An image which come across is two wheeled-cart drawn by a couple of oxen. If one of the two wheels were “an eight sided ring”, the vehicle should not go on correctly as the balance were absent because of different wheels. The idea of duel and the balance related to a natural moving act of human being are still a possibility¹⁰⁰.

16. Manuss khlāmñ duk jā rapañ manuss kāc duk jā khnañ
manuss koñ duk jā samrās’ manuss slūt duk jā rapāmñ. (A)
(n° 32 DrP)

16*
..... manuss phsaḥ duk jā rapāmñ. (B)

Translation.- “A strong man is considered like a boarding, an evil-doer like a back, a showy one like an enclosure, a good one a (defensive) cover”. (A)

“..... .. a conciliatory man like a (defensive) covering”. (B)

⁹⁸ It is not a survey on prosody; it is only some principal lines of Khmer prosody which would require the operational information related to how is dealt with. The deep, unsaid background of the matter is a battle or a fighting art.

⁹⁹ *Nāsaṃnaddho nākavaco yoddhavyaḥ kṣatriyo raṇe eka ekena vacyaś ca viṣṭjasva kṣipāmi ca || 7 ||*

Mahābhārata, śantiparvan, XIIth book, 96, st. 7, Bhīṣma’s reply, vol. 13, p. 451, ed. BORI.

Cf. San Sarin, *Question of Dharmayuddha in the Mahābhārata*, paper presented at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference, Edinburgh, Scotland, July 2006.

¹⁰⁰ Among more than one thousand languages that India has, a comparable case with the *pad(a) dol nok* may be existed, which I believe to found out when the time shall come.

The version (A) shows four types of human being: a strong man (*khlāmñ*), an evil-doer (*kāc*), a showy man (*koñ*), a good man (*slūt*).

The version (B) has the same number of types of human being; the first three are the same as well as in the version (A). The 4th is different from the one of the version (A); it is expressed by *manuss phsaḥ* instead of *manuss slūt*.

Manuss, from sk. *manuṣya*, pāli *manussa*, “human being, a man” (see Proverb n. 10);

Kāc, adj. “bad, depraved”; it indicates an attitude or a temper of a man. He does not provide a harmful effect, nor a criminal act; he is a fussy person and sometimes quarrelsome. The word *kāc* is also applied to animal like a dog. In big towns of Cambodia, there is a bill on which it can be read as *prayatn(a) chkae kāc*, being equivalent to English “be aware of dog”.

In realistic aspects, *kāc* bears many senses¹⁰¹, and it depends on

¹⁰¹ The context of “Code of Conduct” (*Cpāp’*) may be helpful to grasp the sense of the word *kāc*.

Cpāp Kert(i) Kāl(a)

Añjul duk oy gañ’ prāk knuñ thañ’ duk oy jā
proe khñum moel mukh vā doḥ kāc jā moel oy sṭaen // 19 //

“Put a sewing needle in a safe place, keep money in a purse to be safe; if you order (hired) servants, look at their faces, be they hard-headed or good, look at (them) obviously.” // 19 //

Cañ dāk poḥ paṅgol riḥ rak thmol buor yuthkā
kār khyal’ kāc buṅ jā kraen bān bār pok paek pāt’ // 24 //

“For mooring a boat, drive a stake into the ground, think to provide a boat-hook, rope and anchor and ward off tempestuous wind as it is not advantageous, (of course), for fear that (it) should be ran into, lashed against, broken and sunken (by billow)”. // 24 //

Cpāp’ Prus

Kuṅ kāc ku slūt bek kuṅ caṃ iek rīen rahas
kuṅ khlāc kuṅ hān nās’ oy raṃbiñ raṃbai grap’ // 10 //

“Be not too strict (or) too gentle; do not dawdle, train oneself to be fast (at practical actions). Be not too fearful (or) too fearless, ponder and be on close inspection.” // 10 //

Anak slūt dau jā kāc e anak khlāc dau jā hān
khus truiv dau paṃbān paṃbul khlulon oy pān pāp // 87 //

“A gentle one becomes a heavy-handed man, a fearful one becomes a fearless one; without considering wrong and right, they transgress (the good-breeding), they are reeking of (alcohol), they, then, have done bad actions”. // 87 //

K-ēñ k-āñ bāk(ya) ka k-ae uot būkae pad(a) pān srā
min mān khlāc nar(a) nā sraṭi koñ rak kal jhloh // 81 //

“(A man) swanks (and) sets himself up as [someone of consequence] by talking ceaselessly as verbiage (sounding like) one being smitten in a gushing way. He speaks highly of his powerful (manners) as just he has spirituous beverage, he does not take fright of anyone be he; he

conditions, circumstances, feeling, needful cases. *Kāc* may mean: severe, austere, strict, rigorous, extreme, strait-laced, hide-bound, censorious, intolerant, hard-headed, merciless, stern, stiff, masterful, arbitrary, harsh, heavy-handed, ill-treat, irritable, quarrelsome,

speaks arrogantly and goes all out for fighting". // 81 //

Cpāp' Kūn Cau

*Rī anak sāmān(ya) khsat' khsoy sanṭān(a) āp' it prājñā ṭaṇṇoer aēñ oñ
kaēñ koñ hatthā ṭūc khduoy soḥ sā maen mān bis tic // 4 //*

“(An) insignificant (person) of poor and weak lineage, (being) narrow-minded and devoid of intelligence, goes on dangling with bulging shoulders and lifted arms and the forearm are discarded aside the body. He moves away [in this posture] resembling entirely a scorpion which is, indeed, endowed with feeble venom”. // 4 //

Cpāp' Rājaneti

*Rīen kṭī gūr git cās' it prabritt nau prae craḷaṇ anak jā jā kāc
ṭūc prae jā dhaṇ bāj bañs uttam craḷaṇ jā rāstr(a) // 17 //*

“When enquiring into (various aspects of) questions and deep reflection has to be held on, [it may be said] that a man devoid of (practical sense) of behaviour makes a mistake (because of) wavering (temper); the good one becomes the heavy-handed one, the humble one becomes the great one. The one well-born in a most elevated lineage mingles with common people”. // 17 //

*Bāk(ya) khus kuṃ sṭāp' kṭī khus kuṃ trāp' anak kāc kuṃ phṭit l-nañ' kuṃ sraṭī
khsat' kuṃ duk citt bālo kuṃ phṭit jā mitr metrī // 32 //*

“Let us not listen to wrong advice, let us not imitate a wrong case; let us not associate with a hard-headed (person), let us not talk with an ignorant (person), let us not put trust in an indigent (people), let us not associate with a fool who is not considered as a good friend”. // 32 //

*Phdaḥ bhloēñ mān pī aṃboe but srī khiñ it pramāṇ kūn kāc caces
buṃ ṭoy dūnmān khūṃ kāc bhies prāṇ buṃ oy mcās' proe // 40 //*

“There are three grates, the first one is the acts and the vice of woman; (when) being subject to fits of anger, she flings aside all restraint; stiff and self-willed children do not follow a disciplinary custom; a wicked servant who slips away does not mind paying his respects to the master”. // 40 //

Cpāp' Trinet(i)

*Muoy ku puttāṃ nasati kulāṃ pad(a) panlae thā poe mān kūn kāc
kaṃṇāc hoey nā siñ vinās prā- kaṭ gī sanṭān(a) // 9 //*

“The first one is a bad son who destroys the family, the theme can be understood as if someone has a harsh son quite endowed with churlishness, this son will certainly lead the family to the ruin”. // 9 //

*Kuṃ lobh cañ' pān drab(ya) ge paṃbān banlik soḥ sā kuṃ rīen kaṃṇāñ'
svit svāñ rsyā buṃ sgāl' kāc jā bāk(ya) bec(ana) dragoḥ // 73 //*

“Let not long and desire eagerly for encroaching someone's goods by means of dreadful ways in defiance of every respect. Let not get oneself into the hard avarice [which induces] fitfully one to ignoble jealousy (and then one is) not able to differentiate a heavy-handed (man) from the good one, the paroles of the wise men from the affront”. // 73 //

These *Cpāp'* had been translated into French by Jenner, Ph. N. & POU Saveros and issued in BEFEO under the head as “Les Cpāp' ou “Codes de conduite khmers”, i.e. *Cpāp' kertī kāl*, BEFEO, tome LXII, Paris, 1975, pp. 380, 385, 386; *Cpāp' prus*, BEFEO, tome LXII, Paris, 1976, pp. 326, 332, 329, 341, 342; *Cpāp' kūn cau*, BEFEO, tome LXIV, Paris, 1977, pp. 183, 190; *Cpāp' rājaneti* ou *Cpāp' Braḥ Rājasambhār*, BEFEO, tome LXV, Paris, 1978, pp. 379, 389, 381, 393; *Cpāp' Trineti*, BEFEO, tome LXX, Paris, 1981, pp. 159, 170, 165, 186.

abusive, snappish, testy, resentful, wrathful, unprincipled, outrageous.

The word *kāc* in *Cpāp' Srī*, “Code of Conduct for Woman” composed by Paṅḍit Mai is seen in the strophe: *cañrai kāc kraī buṃ jā niñ brāt' prās gnā buṃ pān vaen ch-ñāy //*

“It is a portentous carriage as being very awe-struck; it is not good at all, (the couple) will separate from one another, [the married life] cannot last long time”.

The word *kāc* is associated with the word *cañrai*,¹⁰² and the sense is increased by the superlative *kraī*. When lying down full length at bedtime, a woman turns her back to her husband, it is an ominous sign of *cañrai* which bears a baneful trouble like a *krāy*-snake ascending the house.

Cpāp' kūn cau lpoek

Muoy sot anak ṇā ge mak prāp' thā ṭpit pā dhvoe chgañ pā git jāñjīn

raṃbiñ ṭoem dañ kuṃ pā tot tūñ¹⁰³ k-eñ k-āñ buṃ gāp¹⁰⁴ // 23 //

“Moreover, someone comes to you and says that you did awkwardly, you think of (it), you reflect on (it), you consider the cause and its connection; let not leapfrog, let not swank or bluff, bad behaviour”. // 23 //

¹⁰² *Cañrai* is any ill-omened sign that might portend what will happen to a person, a village. Many kinds of omens are deep-rooted in popular belief. A stork (*kuk*) comes in a village and perches on a roof of a house, it bears a bad omen. A wood owl (*mīem*) must not come near a house where a woman has just given birth to a baby. This wood owl must be insulted loudly and cast out by throwing short wooden sticks. The bird is believed to be sent by gruesome, invisible spirit to take away the baby. Some portentous signs can be recorded. The form of maxillary of tiger (*dhgām khlā*), the form of chin of Garuḍa (*cañkā gruḍ*), the buttock like a terra cotta cooking pot (*gūth ṭūc chnāññ ṭī*), the eyebrow of adder (*ciñcoem bas' vaek*) and the eyes of wood grouse (*bhnaek mān' brai*) are the foreboding marks. If one of them is seen on a woman, luckless, inauspicious event and things will happen as baneful influence haunts the bearer. The list of these omens is very long and it concerns many fields of life. What Khmer people call as *cañrai*. A *cañrai* grips also certain kinds of dreams. After waking in the morning, if one feels like having a queer dream, he will tell it to an old person. At the first words of narrative line, this person says straight away to stop telling with appropriate forbidding gesture. The dreamer is told to perform what it is to be done. When going for evacuation as the time shall come, he (or her) must relate the dream while excrements will be getting out the opening rectum. The excrements do not fail to hear or to listen to what the dream is intentionally told. The case is known as *niyāy prāp' āc(ama)*. Then, the ill-omened effect is destroyed by this narrative act. This sort of dream must not be related in a house. An old tradition has arranged some means to get rid of *cañrai*; even excrement casts out by making use of its own operational force.

¹⁰³ *Kuṃ pā kaen koñ*, (in *Cpāp' Pañṭām Pitā*).

¹⁰⁴ *Buṃ sṭāp'*, (in *Cpāp' Pañṭām Pitā*).

Kūn oey cūr sṭāp’ bāk(ya) muoy mahā gāp’ mān mitr¹⁰⁵ snehā
oy moel māryād
moel sabb iriyā oy ṭin jāk’ jā jā
kāc vīec trañ’ // 53 //

“O dear one, listen to a clause which is greatly consistent as if you have a friend, look at his limits of morality and all (items) of his observances, know certainly whether (he is) gentle, rigorous, unseemly, honest [or not]”. // 53 //

Kūn kāc raeñ cāñ’ mṭāy bāk(ya) bāy nāy ge raeñ s-ap’
khcī drab(ya) ge kañjap’ rak ge dīet ge thā gmān // 33 //

“A pernicious child is always defeated by a mother;¹⁰⁶ scornful speech is constantly hated by others; in case of (asking for) the loan of something, [an owner] allows grudgingly¹⁰⁷ (the use); when asking for once more (time), he is told that it is not [to do]”. // 33 //

Cpāp’ ariyasatthā
Oy riēn citt l-a ṭin dharm aksar guor git kot khlāc kār
ker(ti) prayatn(a)
guor kāt’ col kāc guor oy khluon khlāc kuṃ
oy grū dāy // 25 //

“Train oneself to be a great-hearted (man), get oneself a clue¹⁰⁸ to *dharmā* and scripture, mind oneself to be respectful towards (deep human values), protect carefully the renown, cut off one’s snappish ways, set forth one’s physical-bodied respectfulness, let not one’s master forecast [one’s forthcoming days]. // 25 //

¹⁰⁵ *Mān citt snehā* is seen in *Cpāp’ pañṭām pitā*, st. 53; *Mitt* would be fit to the sense of the strophe.

¹⁰⁶ See also the case of *croen cāñ’* in *Cpāp’ Kerti Kāl*, see foot note 31. Here one faces *raeñ cāñ’ mṭāy*. It is sure that *raeñ* stands for what it must be produced, happened, taken place as the situation or the condition cannot be avoided. The derivative word of *raeñ* is *ramaēñ*. The famous example is *bāk(ya) bit raeñ slaēñ*, “true speech has certainly bitter (taste)”, which it is well-known among most Khmer people. (*Slaēñ*, *Strychnos nux vomica*, it is a big tree of 30m high, producing *nux vomica* from which the seeds can be extracted). How best to have the strophe 33 understood? What it has been shown is still a possibility. At last, a wicked child must normally yield to mother’s love. Another possibility would be: “a mother must undergo a pernicious child”. The matter whether to keep off the latter possibility or not will be chosen.

¹⁰⁷ In Khmer, it is expressed by the word *kañjap’* which is not recorded by any dictionary. *Kañjap’* is a very expressive word. Its sense can be felt by expression of face and a low-headed speech. Is it safe for me to mention the nuance?

¹⁰⁸ *ṭin*, “to be informed, to have some practical ideas on some matters”. According to traditional Khmer position facing a theory of knowledge, there are some degrees expressed by some key-verbs starting from low to high degree, i.e. *í, ṭin, sgāl’, yal’, ceḥ*. Modern Khmer people of big towns had been establishing in the *ceḥ* degree in any matter since the end of World War I. This point may interest a matter as political sociology.

Cpāp' dūnmān khluon

Manuss kāc kuṃ prasabb kuṃ dau bhap' niñ cor khmuoy
ge cāp' cañ dau kroy vāy pañtoer yal' aprīy // 1 //

“Let not join with irritable persons, let not unite with thieves and their men of all works; one could be arrested and one’s wrists should be bound behind the back;¹⁰⁹ [while being submitted to one’s evil act] by being exhibited [through the streets] one should be beaten [by blows of a stick]; [that should come to] a dark (procession)”. // 1 //

Manuss kāc kuṃ oy proe kār kra dhvoe kuṃ oy sal'
caek dān kuṃ oy yal' bāk(ya) pañjoh kuṃ oy mān // 16 //

“Do not employ a hard-headed man; achieve entirely a difficult task; contribute the gifts without any discrimination, get rid of excited spiteful speech”. // 16 //

Phik srā jā anak kāc buṃ kraeñ khlāc anak ṭadai
vā nām pāt' smārātī niñ rak sī pāt' prājñā // 38 //

“A drunkard is snappish, he does not show regard for anyone; alcohol causes the loss of memory; when setting about a growing business concern, (alcohol) makes lose ones wits”. // 38 //

Kram Nuy, Cpāp' lpoek thmī

(*Āñ broel āñ prājñā āñ koñ āñ kāc...*, already quoted and translated, see foot-note 35).

Rīen pad rīen pād kuṃ koñ huos khnāt kuṃ bhlāt'
huos phlūv kuṃ bhloen bhlec mae
kuṃ prae huos au ghoēñ cās' sak'
skūv kuṃ sūv moel nāy //

“Train oneself into setting in affairs, do not let one be too presumptuous; let there be no failing error by going off from a (safe) lane, let one be not cluttered up with an excited spirit which makes one forget one’s mother; let one not shift (the attitude) going beyond one’s father’s (good sense).

When seeing an old white haired-man, let one hardly hold him in contempt”.

Rak srī māryād khbas' ceḥ khboem bāk(ya) jhloh ceḥ drām at'
ghlān ceḥ slūt ceḥ kāc
ceḥ khlāc ceḥ hān ceḥ khmās ceḥ ien
kāc mān prājñā //

“Seek a woman (who observes) a high custom as she is aware of hating contending speech, she gets the hang of enduring the shortage

¹⁰⁹ *Cañ dau kroy* in the strophe hints at a binding way known as *cañ slāp sek*, litt. “to bind [like] the wings of parrot”.

(of essential foodstuffs), she gains full knowledge of what is whether to be mild or strict, whether to be respectful of or unflinching; she sees through what is whether to be shameful or coy; she is strict but she is clever”.

*Rīen trāp' anak prājñ poe cañ' jhnaḥ kāc yak slūt saṅkat'
cañ' jhnaḥ manuss khiñ
oy priñ khaṃ at' vā jer vā hat'
vā spath laeñ khiñ //*

“Train yourself to follow the scholars’ (manners). If you want to overcome a stern (person), you will take hold of gentle (ways) to press him hard; if you want to defeat an irascible (person), you will exert yourself to keep your (temper). [When] he gets tired of injuring, (and onward) he swears he will not be quick-tempered again”.

*Cāṃ citt kaṅṭāl poe niñ jhī ch-āl sappuras moel
yāñ rīen slūt rīen prājñ
kāc kuṃ k-eñ k-āñ kraeñ groḥ saṃṇāñ
khamoc khāñ vā s-ap' //*

“Mind (how) you be in middle (path)(*); if you devote yourself to (others), you will be benevolent according to the cases; train yourself to be a good and quick-witted (fellow); be strict, but mind you don’t swank and set yourself. Should it be gripped by (former) acts (**), and (then) the ghost of [anyone’s lineage] (***) might have hated (you)”.

Kram Nuy, Cpāp’ kert(i) kāl thmī

*Kāc myāñ khāñ l-nāc brik rīoeñ pāy dik thnām mlū slā
kāc myāñ rīoeñ dhvoe kār myāñ diēt nā rīoeñ praçaṅḍ //*

(*) Kram Nuy (1865-1936) had been a Theravāda Buddhist monk; he had been skilful in Pāli *Tipiṭaka*. Onward, he had reached the title of *ācārya* as he taught *Tipiṭaka*. After having left monastic order, he became a singer-poet. The point of the strophe may have hinted to the Pāli passage: *dve me bhikkhave antā pabbajitena na sevitabbā yo cāyaṃ kāmesu kāmasukhalikānuyogo hīno gammo pothujaniko anariyo anattasañhito. Yo cāyaṃ attakilamathānuyogo dukkho anariyo anattasañhito. Ete bhikkhave ubho ante anupagamma majjhimā paṭipadā tathāgatena abhisambuddhā cakkhukaraṇī nāṇakaraṇī upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati.*

(**) Buddhist followers think that each human being had done good and bad acts (*karman*) in former existences. The effects of those acts follow the doer. The Buddha Gotama had given a solution and the path toward full emancipation and *Nirvāna*.

(***) There is an old belief among Khmer people. It intends to be something related to animism. People believe that the spirit of the dead can manifest in due time through the *juor jaṃpuor* by means of medium. Some scholars see in this belief the religious cult handed down by Proto-Indochinese culture.

“[Firstly] he is rigorous on the question of food, tobacco, betel leaves and *areca*-nut in the morning and evening; [secondly] he is rigorous on the question of work and [thirdly] on keeping a jealous eye on (some men)”. One can appreciate the sense of *kāc* through many views and conditions.

Srās', v. “to put up, to set up an enclosure, a paddock”; an example of *srās'* is an act of tying up some thorny branches round the foot a fruit-tree. These branches are cut from *toem ambil dik*, *Inga dulcis*, and *toem krasāmñi*, *Feronia lucida*, (others thorny branches of trees may also work well). They may deter the thieves from going up the fruit-tree. An owner of fruit-tree has no time to have it looked up. By the way he expects to have a satisfying quantity of ripe fruits. Sometimes, the thorny branches are tied up at the shutting frame of an entrance of a kitchen garden surrounded by a quickset hedge. *Samrās'* of the third *ghlā* of the proverb is an enclosure, a paddock, a ring-fence, a barring, a blocking, a damming made of branches to forbid or to discourage anyone to do some evil acts in the space behind it. A *samrās'* can be put in a flooded rice-field or near the low shore of a pond full of water in rainy season. The barring branches arranged in the water is for the fishes as they need shady spots to protect themselves against the warmth of sunlight through water which would become a good conductor of heat during the hot season. The fishes will be caught properly, but in the meantime, an owner of a flooded rice-field or of a pond waits for a falling down of water-gauge. The “obstacles” put in the line of course of race-horse are called *samrās'*. The word *srās'* can be seen in some strophes of *Cpāp'* texts. In Kram Nuy's *Cpāp' lpoek thmī*, it is seen as

kūn oey rak sī ka kāy dharañi dhvoe srae yak srūv kuṃ
tām anak nā

pā tām tae au loek bhli jit phlūv kuṃ

srās' panlā //

“O my dear son, make your living by scraping the ground, mind you don't trust in another; my dear one, do trust in your father. If you make a dam near a lane, you should not set up a barring thorny (branches)”.

Ge toer yap' thñai mut joeñ mut tai ñin cēs dau nā cēs
cuh jān' srūv

hoey jer phṭāsā kūn mṭāy āñā srās'

toer min ruoc //

“People go one every night and day, [so that the thorns] should prick feet and hands. They wonder at what (side the harm) can be avoided. If it can be

avoided by going down in (a rice-eld), they will walk (in it, and) the rice-plants [should be] broken. Moreover, they insult and curse as “who is the mother of the fellow having set up (the thorny branches there?), no one can walk”.

Rapīep camkār thae dām raksā yūr2 srās' mṭaṅ srās'
oy trūv juor

moel guor sam phaṅ kuṃ poek muj chlaṅ
dau srās' khāṅ krau //

“The manners of setting up a *camkār*¹¹⁰ [require] watching and protection; barring (thorny branches) may be done after a long period (of the former one). A barring (thorny branches) is necessary to be arranged along the row (of quickset hedge). It must be flawless to casting a glance at. Mind you don't open (the hedge), penetrate into (it and) cross (it) with a view to have (it) blocked from outside”.

About *srās'*, a strophe of *Cpāp' bāk(ya) cās'* offers a good image based on three points, i.e. observance (or protection), a choice (or decision) and the time which is difficult to escape from. The *Cpāp' bāk(ya) cās'* is believed to be one of old texts in didactic literature.

Raksā dau mukh viṅ it kaṃṭiṅ as' ampāl
camṅer cīr(a) kān' kāl(a) ṭūc rapaṅ srās' panlā // 22 //

“Observance is to be strongly grasped without being worried by all of (troublesome situations) as the future, henceforth, will last the long time out like a quickset hedge is still barred by thorny (branches)”.

Phsaḥ, verb, in healing view, it means “to cure (a wound, a sore, disease)”. In the present purpose, *phsaḥ* the sense of easing a situation, a condition (related to space, time and persons). It can be rendered as “to attenuate, to lessen, to diminish, to reduce, to palliate; to temper, to moderate; to conciliate, to adjust (a difference)”. In market gardening, one knows *lmut phsaḥ. ṭoem lmut, Nispero Achras* or *Sopala Achras*, is a fruit-tree brought in Khmer country from tropical America (Mexico) by Portuguese or Spanish travellers since 16th cent. A.D.(?). This tree

¹¹⁰ According to Jean Delvert, a great scholar in geographical field of Khmer country, the mixed farming of *camkār* had not been known in the period of Angkorian Khmer people. The actual *camkār* on the steep bank of the Mekong, the Bassac and some parts of Tonle Sap begun since the middle of the 19th cent. A.D. Till 1970, the activities of *camkār* filled 100,000 families; the total surface of the mixed farming had been 250,000 hectares, without taking into account family kitchen garden, of course. In agricultural scenery, there are *Sruk srae*, “region producing the paddy” and *Sruk camkār*, “region (of steep bank of river) filling the market gardening”; the inhabitants are respectively called as *Anak srae* and *Anak camkār*, cf. J. Delvert, *Le Cambodge*, P.U.F., coll. “Que sais-je?”, Paris, 1st edition 1983, p. 59. A question would be set up. What had been the market garden of Angkorian Khmer people? They might have needed a form of market gardening, which makes one think of.

produces grey, egg-shaped fruit¹¹¹, called as *lmut*. *Lmut phsaḥ* points out the fruits *lmut*, having been picked up before its coming moment to maturity, are mixed with white slaked lime; a certain quantity of *lmut*-fruit is dipped in slaked lime within some days, according to the quality of fruits and the species. Normally, the fruits are picked at the phase preceding the ripeness. (When ripping, the fruits become soft). *Lmut phsaḥ* or sometimes *lmut trāṃ* is very appreciated.

In Battambang province, there are two varieties of grapefruit. They are smaller than the common grape-fruit called as *kruc thluṅ*; (a comparison with grapefruit found in general European markets must be kept off). These two varieties are known as *krūc tā mau* and *krūc tā yok*. After having been picked up, they are normally subjected to a *phsaḥ* operation. Each grapefruit is cut at the part where the pedicle is seen. A slice of skin is thus cut down; a surface if left, and this is smeared with slaked lime. “this fruit is delicious” as it receives a “quid” of betel, which people believe in¹¹². *Phsaḥ* is generally used with the word *phsā*, i.e. *phsaḥ phsā*.

Phsā means “smarting, burning” (pain, sore); *phsaḥ phsā* may be understood as “to moderate a burning (pain)”; “to consiliate (what is) stinging”. As a verb, *phsā* has the sense as “to join, to unite” (in any conflict). There are at least two opposite camps. An action of *phsaḥ phsā* attempts “to conciliate, to unite the two camps”.

The version (B) of the proverb is coherent with the evidence of what the message would instill. Other-wise, *phsaḥ* rhymes fully with *samrās*. The version (B) must be the ancient form of the proverb recorded by DrP. Between *slūt* and *samrās* of the version (A), the rhyming is not correct¹¹³.

We may see in detail the proverb as it is conveyed to people through ages. It is expressed in the metre called as *pad(a) dol ñok* in the two versions. This metre has been stated since the page 34 and onward. Now, one is in front of the *pad(a) dol ñok* in its full


¹¹¹ By making an incision on the bark of the tree, the latex is bleeding. This latex is used to make what one knows as chewing-gum. In Khmer country, dry bark of this fruit-tree is an element of traditional pharmacopoeia.


¹¹² A “quid” or a punch of betel-leave has a slice of *areca*-nut, slaked lime on a betel-leave, a tiny tuff of tobacco.

¹¹³ *Phsaḥ* had been replaced by *slūt*, which is related to a queer fact in Khmer Theravāda Buddhism, fact leading to the Quarrel of the Traditionalists and the Modernists. The Modernists claimed the right to dictate to anything in all fields of knowledge, even the right making them out to be mad. They removed what it is handed down in Khmer cultural heritage.

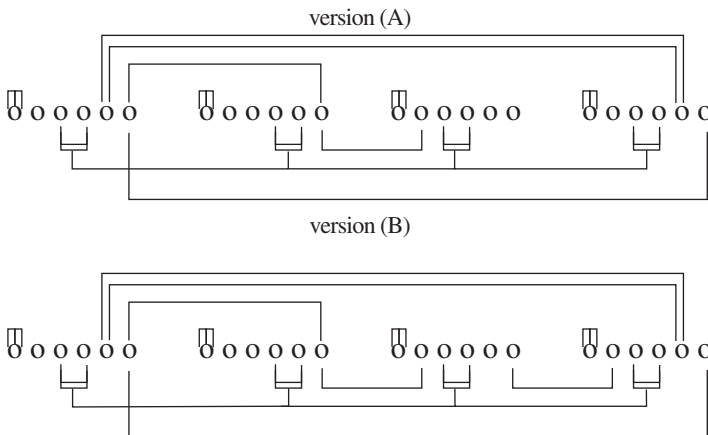
line; it has four *ghlā*, each *ghlā* has six syllables.

Some signs may be known in the diagram:

 This sign seen in the beginning to each *ghlā* indicates the same word; (here the word is *manuss* which must be contracted to make one syllable, except in the beginning of the 2nd *ghlā* of the two versions; in this 2nd *ghlā*, *manuss* pronounced normally, without “contracted” effect.

 This sign means the same words as they are seen in any *ghlā* of the two versions. In the 2nd *ghlā* of (A) and (B), the sign is situated in different positions from those of others *ghlā*.

I have pointed out an ill-rhyming way of the version (A); the last syllable of the 3rd *ghlā* (*rās*’ of *samrās*’) is not coherent with the 2nd syllable of the 4th *ghlā* (*slūt*). Again, according to my survey, there are persons who derived pleasure to alter many things left by cultural heritage. They should have been silly persons. They did not see the difference between *samrās*’ and *slūt*¹¹⁴.



Due to Khmer prosody, I have reached the possible element of rhyming with *rās*’ of *samrās*’; it is *phsah*, which I try to perform my duty. So, the version (B) has again its entire look. Hence, the

¹¹⁴ In Khmer society, there is always the sort of madness. They claim to be followers of Gotama’s teaching! Where is the sense of elementary notion of rationalism?

acceptable rhyme is between the last syllable of the 3rd *ghlā* and the 2nd syllable of the 4th *ghlā*.

In the two versions, an attempt may be held to understand the rhyming structure between the 5th and the 6th syllables of the 1st *ghlā* and the 5th and the 6th syllables of the 4th *ghlā*.

The 5th syllable of the 1st *ghlā* and the 5th one of the 4th *ghlā*: they are shown by double strokes on the diagram. The rhyme is pointed out as *aksar ṭaṭael* or *aksar ṭūc gnā*, “the same letter” (here, *aksar* means “letter”, coming from *akṣara* of sk.). The case shown by the double strokes is *ra* (*rapañ* at the end of the 1st *ghlā*, *rapāṃṇ* in the 4th *ghlā*).

The 6th syllable of the 1st *ghlā* and the 6th one of the 4th *ghlā*: they are joined by a long stroke. They have the same letter which is already mentioned as *aksar ṭaṭael* or *aksar ṭūc gnā*. The letter *p* is used in the two rhymes. The vowels are different from one another; the 1st one is *pañ* ($= p + a + ṇ$), (the 6th syll. of the 1st *ghlā*). The 6th syll. of the 4th *ghlā* has *pāṃṇ* ($= p + āṃ + ṇ$). In the ensemble, Khmer prosody has the term known as *sra*: *khus gnā*, “vowels are different”. *Pañ* of *rapañ* of the end of the 1st *ghlā* is associated with *ṇ*; the *pāṃṇ* of *rapāṃṇ* of the end of the 4th *ghlā* is also associated with the same *ṇ*. In this case, Khmer prosody uses the term *prakap ṭūc gnā*, “associated with the same (letter)”¹¹⁵.

After scanning this proverb and its *pad(a)*, one begins to know some fundamental elements of Khmer prosody. The terms *cuon*, “to rhyme”, *aksar ṭaṭael* or *aksar ṭūc gnā*, “same letter”, *sra*: (*ṭūc gnā*, *khus gnā*), “same or different vowels”, and *prakap*, “associated with”, (*prakap ṭūc gnā*, *prakap khus gnā*) are cleared up.

The message of the proverb is clear enough as one has to deal with someone to do a good stroke of business or to get into trouble. Has one a gift for nosing things out?

¹¹⁵ To have a clear idea, let take two words as example: *koet* and *koey*; they have the same letters *k*, same vowels *oe*, but they are associated with different letters, *prakap aksar khus gnā*. *Koet*, “to be born” with the letter *t*, *koey*, “to put one’s head on a pillow” (when lying down at full length at bedtime), is associated with the letter *y*.

17. Phlae traḷāc gaṅ' mān paṅṭūl manuss dāṃṅ mūl gaṅ'
mān citt.

(Version A), (n° 35 DrP)

Translation – “A traḷāc-fruit has certainly a pith, a man is assuredly a great-hearted one”.

Traḷāc, *Benincasa hispida*, is a fruit of a trailing or creeping plant giving yellow flowers; it produces green, cylindrical, oblong, fleshy fruit which has inside a *paṅṭūl*, being a medulla oblongata or a pith. A standard *traḷāc* does not exceed a cubit. The stones are in a pith.¹¹⁶ At its young state of development, the fruit of the plant is called as *traḷāc khlūt* (the adjective *khcī* is not used in the correct speech). Its pith is not left at this phase, the fruit is tasty in certain usual way of cooking. At the state before the ripeness, the pith is thrown away.

Gaṅ', it is frequently associated with the word *tae* (a conjunction?); *gaṅ' tae* indicates what is to certainly arrive, to come. The image is a fruit on a tree; it will imminently fall down when the ripeness shall come. The sense of *gaṅ' tae* can be compared to the spirit conveyed by a sk. saying as *yad bhavi tad bhavatu*, “it must arrive what it is inevitable”. The present proverb has omitted the term *tae*.

Manuss from sk. *manuṣya*, pāli *manussa*, cf. Proverb n. 11.

Dāṃṅ mūl, “entirely, wholly”;

Citt, from sk. *citta*, cf. Proverb n. 14; *mān citt*, “to be great-hearted”, *manuss mān citt*, “a great-hearted man”; *mān citt* hints at a man is bent to do something positively. The opposite of *mān citt* is *at' citt*, i.e. *manuss at' citt*, “a heartless man”; he is inclined to do something unwillingly, reluctantly.

Dr. Pannetier's record has the word *phlae*, “fruit”, before *traḷāc*. In good Khmer language, people needn't say *phlae*, particularly in oral way. It need only be said that the noun indicating any fruit is adequate; that is more than enough as the context¹¹⁷ does not fail to fill the plain sense. That

¹¹⁶ *Paṅṭūl*, it can be a sort of “marrow”, a heart or a germ of something; *paṅṭūl*, in general bears an idea of importance, like *paṅṭūl kaṅṭiṅ*, “a clapper or tongue (of a bell)”; a bell is heard by its tongue which beats the inner surface. The term *paṅṭūl* is associated with some words, i.e. *paṅṭūl bot*, “a natural support of grains of mais”, *paṅṭūl ambau*, “the middle part of a sugar-cane”, *paṅṭūl cek*, “an inner part of banana-stalk”, *paṅṭūl citt*, “what it is insight of heart”, *paṅṭūl kṭa*, “acorn of penis”.

¹¹⁷ The word *phlae* is also used in general narrative way. Here, we are in living speech. The word *phlae* is awkwardly situated. This is the matter of good use of language and also the stylistics. Since the end of 40's till nowadays, Khmer language is constantly disturbed by

the word *phlae* is present at the beginning of the proverb may whether have connected with Dr. Pannetier's comprehension or determined by the one who had been his informant. Whether Dr. Pannetier would have undertaken his own analysis was another step of the account. The word *phlae* is a doublet of sk. word *phala*, which it must be noticed.

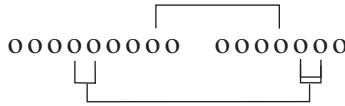
By recording the word *phlae*, the proverb is expressed by the rhyming way of *pad(a) bāk(ya) prāṃ bīr* (see footnote n° 20). This Dr. Pannetier's record must be pointed as version (A).

The version (B), according to my survey, has no word *phlae*. It can be written down as:

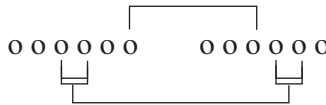
17* Traḷāc gañ' mān pañṭūl manuss dāṃṇṇ mūl gañ' mān citt.
(Version B)

Manuss of the 2nd *ghlā* (7 syllables) of the version (A) is not contracted in one syllable. The version (B) is then expressed by the *pad(a) dol ñok*, (each *ghlā* has 6 syllables) Here are the diagrams of rhyming.

(version A)



(version B)



The case of omitting the word *phlae* can be compared to another

a series of exasperating factors, namely Chuon Nath's crawling neologism, obscurantism of the "Khmerization", the ideological propaganda of communism (Soviet and Chinese), the Khmer teaching program of public instruction and at last the shameful amateurism backed up by stupid ways in the field. Under the influence of the class war, there are the subversion and swindling aiming at turning down Sanskrit and Pāli contribution to Khmer culture as these two languages are originated from India. They undertook and undertake the deviation from the true data of Khmer history. The question whether to trust in Khmer historical conscience or not has to be seen. How collective conscience of Khmer people has been spoilt?

Khmer saying as

Anak tā gañ' mān slā dharm anak kra gañ' mān phtil dik.

This is expressed in *pad(a) dol nok*. It can be rendered as “*anak tā*¹¹⁸ has certainly a *slā dharm*¹¹⁹ as offering, a poor people must have a water-vessel”¹²⁰.

A pair of *slā dharm* is placed in the “little shelter” (*khdam*) of a genius. The word *khdam* need not say as an *Anak tā* has his “little shelter” where *slā dharm* is in it, which is in normal way. In full, the 2nd *ghlā* may be preceded by the word *phdah* (from *pada* of sk.) “a house or dwelling place”, but one does not really need to say this word.¹²¹ At home, even in a poor condition of life, people have a *phtil* for water, of course.¹²² This proverb sums up the thieves’ attitude.

18. Im jāñ ĩem snĩem jāñ samṭī. (version A) (n° 36 DrP)

Translation – “Better ashamed than unsettled (attitude), better silent than talking”.

The proverb in full is

18* Im jāñ ĩem snĩem jāñ sraṭī sī cek khcī jā jāñ māt’ dade.
(version B)

Translation – “Better ashamed than unsettled (attitude), better silent than talking; do take an unripe banana-fruit rather than remain empty mouth”.

Im, “confused, ashamed”.

Īem, unsettled, vague, hesitating”, an *ĩem* attitude is not in total silent; a person who adopts this attitude talks in low tune aiming at

¹¹⁸ A tutelary genius having its root in animism which would have been largely known in Proto-Indochinese culture. The most popular one in Khmer country is *Anak tā Cās’ Sruk*. The famous *anak tā* having a human origin is *Anak tā Ghlāññ Mĩoēñ* in the province of Bodhisatv (at the village of *Pāk’ Nim*).

¹¹⁹ An offering made of banana-stalk or of ripe coco-nut.

¹²⁰ This is a *phtil*, a kind of copper or silver vessel for water.

¹²¹ In France, I could have discussed the kind of question related to Khmer studies with Professors Jean Filliozat and André Bareau. Afterward, I wonder how I dare to discuss such an accurate matter.

¹²² During a journey or a displacement, people use hollow gourd and *sĩen*, a little basket-work rendered water-repellent by particular sap of wild tree.

conveying a futile feeling. Popular comprehension gives a nuance between *im* and *īem*. Chuon Nath, in his *Dictionary* (p. 1776) seems to omit this nuance as at this very page, one can read *im īem*; consequently, the proverb is recorded as *im īem sñiem ja jāñ sñī sī cek khcī jājāñ nau māt' dade*. As usual, Chuon Nath had arranged the matter by taking hold an arbitrarily way. He kept off the word *kra im*; a word preceded by a prefix *kra* indicates an effort “to be or to remain ashamed, shame-faced”. The word *jāñ* is a particle used in comparative way of speech; *jājāñ* is a form of insisting comparative manner; *jājāñ* is generally followed by a verb or an expression indicating a state or a condition with regards to what it just has been announced.

Sñiem, “silent, peaceful, taciturn”; according to some linguists' view, *sñiem* comes from *tūṣṇīm*; three factors are conducive to *sñiem* from *tūṣṇīm*, namely aphaeresis, nasal change as nasal cerebral ṇ into guttural nasal ñ and a diphthong¹²³.

Samñī (in version A), *srañī* (in version B), linguistics has seen that these two Khmer words may come from sk. *sarasvatī*. Khmer speaking way would have omitted *–[arasva]–* of *s-arasva-tī* and *stī* is obtained; (t → ṭ) *sñī* gives *samñī* by inserting nasal (or *anusvara*). *Srañī* would have been obtained by omitting the elements [a] and [sva] → s- [a] ra [sva] –*tī* → s- ra- tī → *srañī*. The cases could be true as *Sarasvatī* as “the goddess of eloquence”, “power of speech”, “wife of Brahmā”, (Brahmā's wife is *Savitṛī*). The forthcoming survey will confirm what it can be reported here.

Sī cek khcī, “to eat or to take an unripe banana-fruit”, in this phase of development, the very fruit has a gluey sap in it. How nasty the savour is! The idea can be compared to “to pocket an affront”.

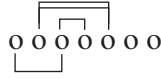
¹²³The word *tūṣṇīm* is seen in a Pāṇini's sūtra, Pāṇ.III. 4.63: **tūṣṇīmi bhuvah** // 63 // padāni // tūṣṇīmi bhuvah (ktvā ṇamulau) //

Ṛttih // tūṣṇī śabda upapade bhavater dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau bhavataḥ //

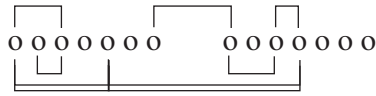
In *Rgveda* II. 43.3 (...) *tūṣṇīmāsinaḥ sumatiḥ cikiddhi naḥ* / (...), it speaks of *kapiñjala* bird.

This is the diagram of rhyming.

(version A)



(version B)



The message is clear. Nothing could be ner than knowing how to accept an answer or a situation. It is worth while noticing with courage one’s deep conviction rather than come to nothing, which it is the trait of nobleness of soul.

19. Niyāy yap’ pradap’ brai niyāy thñai brai mān tracĕk. (n° 37 DrP)

Translation – “A forest secures (what) one tells in night-time; when telling in day-time, a forest has its ears”.

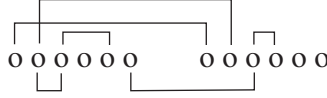
Niyāy, “to speak, to tell, to say”, (see Proverb n. 12).

Yap’, “at night, by night, night-time”.

Pradap’, the verb *dap’* preceded by *pra*; it means “to hold in, to restrain”; the context may bear the sense of “to secure”. Generally, the prefix *pra* induces two parts or mutual sides. What it had been told in night-time must have been concealed by a forest. Consequently, the latter is protected from curious, ill-intentioned rivalry or an adversary. Dr. Pannetier had a mistranslation of *pradap’* by giving “to tell in night-time shuts up a forest”¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ Dr Pannetier’s translations may be (from n° 32) summed up shortly. In n° 32, his translation is deviated from the original; in n° 35, he did not understand the word *paññūl*, he could have opened a *traḷāc*-fruit to see its inner part. In n° 36, he could not grasp a nuance of *īm* and *īem*.

This is the diagram of rhyming.



The proverb is expressed in the *pad(a) dol ñok*; each *ghlā* has six syllables; the word *tracīek* of the 2nd *ghlā* must be “contracted”, so it does a final syllable.

20. Ghlān kuṃ āl sī. (n° 39 DrP.)

Translation – “(When) being hungry, don’t make haste to eat”.

Ghlān, coming from sk. *glāna* < the root GLAI- 1st cl. (or 2nd cl.); the root GLAI → *glā-*;¹²⁵ as a verb, it has the meanings: “to feel aversion; to be languid, weary, to feel tired, to be exhausted”; *glāna*, (pāli *gilāna*), means “feeling aversion, wearied, languid, exhausted, emaciated”. For obtaining *glāna*, it may be supposed the following possibility: GLAI → *glā* + *ana* → *glāna* → *ghlān* (in Khm.). Two Pāṇini’s sūtra would be coherent to the supposition¹²⁶. An action noun of the root GLAI-, *glāni* s.f. may be mentioned; it means “exhaustion, fatigue of the body, lassitude, depression of mind”. The word *glāni* is seen in the well-known *yadā*, one of the famous strophes of the *Bhagavadgīta*, IV. 7.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Pāṇ.VI. 1.45: **ādeca upadeśe’sīti** // 45 // *padāni* // āt ecaḥ upadeśe aśīti //

Vṛtīḥ // dhātoriti varṭate / ejaṅto yo dhāturupadeśe tasyākaradeśo bhavati śīti tu pratyaye na bhavati // (Pān. I. 1.66; III. 1.1; VI. 1.8).

An exception is made in case of Perfect; the term *śīti* must be rightly understood.

¹²⁶ Pāṇ.III. 2.126: **lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ** // 126 // *padāni* // lakṣaṇa hetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ (laṭaḥ Satṛ- śanācau) //

Vṛtīḥ // lakṣaṇe hetau cārthe varṭtamānād dhātoḥ parasya laṭaḥ śatṛśānacādeśau bhavataḥ //

Vārttikam // lakṣaṇa hetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ guṇa upasaṃkhyānam //

Vārttikam // tatvākhyāme ca //

Pāṇ III. 2.127: **tau sat** // 127 // *padāni* // tau sat (śatṛ śānacau) //

Vṛtīḥ // tau śatṛśānacau satsaṃjñau bhavataḥ // (also Pāṇ.III. 3.14; III. 1.93; III. 1.1).

¹²⁷ *Yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata* (...), “whenever there is decline of *Dharma*, O descendant of *Bharata*”. *Glāni* can be grasped by a Pāṇini’s sūtra, Pāṇ.III. 3.94:

striyām ktin // 94 // *padāni* // striyām ktin (bhāve akartari kārake) //

Vṛtīḥ // strīlīṅge bhāvādau dhātoḥ ktin pratyayo bhavati //

Vārttikam // glāmlājyābhābhyo niḥ // This is the Vārttikam 3 being consistent with *ni* of *glāni*.

Āl, verb. “to hasten, to hurry; to make haste to do something; to lose no time in doing something”; “to rejoice, at, in, to be glad of, to be delight at”. In these senses, *āl* is generally used by being preceded by a prohibitive particle *kuṃ* as *kuṃ āl sī* of the present proverb. Another well-known one is *anak mān kuṃ āl ar anak kra kuṃ āl bhay*, the terms *kuṃ āl* are rightly used.

This short proverb is still very effective; the drama of the last decenies had reduced Khmer society to crawling on quicksand.¹²⁸

I have noticed in Monier-Williams’s *Sk.-English Dictionary* under *glāni*, s.f. (p. 374, col. 3) the following indication Pāṇ. III. 3.95, vartt. 4. It may be an error, it must be removed as Pāṇ. III. 3.94, vartt. 3. The Pāṇ. III. 3.95 has only a *Vṛtīḥ*, according to *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, vol. I, edited & transl. into English by Śrīśa Chandra Vasu, Allahabad, 1891, 1st edition, pp. 515-516. The Monier-Williams’s *Dictionary* has left the same error under *ḥyāni*, p. 426, col. 3, (1st edition 1899, reprint 1990).

¹²⁸ Since the 2nd trimester of 1975, this drama has no importance facing the “developed countries”. This matter is then avoided by many observers even the so-called “modern specialists of khmerology”(!). One is free to use the liberty. It is related to the history of the world after the “broken wall of Berlin” and the Iron Curtain had been fallen down. The forthcoming decenies will interest in the steps of the history as the big political ideology and its system had destroyed more than 60 millions human beings since the rising of Lenin till the death of Deng Tchao Ping. The end of the Iron Curtain is the important event after the World War II. About twenty new “apprentices-wizards” must ruminate on what they had done.

Khmer people inside the country and those of outside it had trusted in communist propaganda. They has seen the “tasty meals and the dreams” made by attractive sentences and words. There was the successful moment of an “utopia simmered on behalf of Marxist ideology”. The Western followers of ideological sympathy had warmly congratulated the Khmer murders on behalf of the victory of the class war. Most of Khmer people “made haste” to share these “tasty meals prepared by murders”.

Now there is a bitter consequence, the Indo-Khmer cultural heritage may undergo the attempts of destruction. Sanskrit and Khmer language are still the two pillars of this cultural heritage. This is the view taken from Khmer side. A question may be set up as can Indo-Khmer cultural heritage survive? The question whether it will soon reach its end or not will be being discussed. I speak of the matter for the forthcoming observers as more than three decenies many authors of Khmer studies have been unaware of this bitter consequence even many Khmer scholarly authors have distorted it, intentionally as the “tragedy is without importance”.

In this period, two Khmer proverbs can be said: a) **ṭamrī kā khvāk’ dramāk’ kā chkuot**, “an elephant is blind and the driver is mad”, b) **svā bāk’ mkuṭ**, “monkeys put the crowns (on their heads)”. (Mkuṭ is sk. makuṭa or mukuṭa)..

21. Țek yap' kuṃ niyāy niñ srī. (version A) (n° 40 DrP)

Translation – “(If) you sleep at night-time, don't talk with a woman”. (version A)

21*Ñuy kuṃ Țek yak prabandh oy moel mṭāy kmek
cūl Țaṃṅek kuṃ niyāy niñ srī.

(version B)

Translation – “(If you) feel drowsy, you must not lie; (if you) marry someone, (you) must observe (your future) mother-in-law; (if you) go to bed, (you) must not talk with woman”. (version B)

The proverb is divided in two parts: a) *ñuy kuṃ Țek*, b) *yak prabandh oy moel ...* till the end.

The part a) announces what it goes against animal instinct. When being sleepy, one goes to bed, which is normal. Anyone knows a popular saying; “as we make our bed so we must lie”. The part b) shows the evident case related to what it has just announced. Its aspect may go beyond a simple contradiction. It could be an antimony and also a dialectic conflict.

For any being on earth, a sleep is a determinism, and facing it, one must abstain from the need of sleeping. There is a reason reinforced by a will connected with a hope to obtain something. The proverb (part b)) gives only two cases of right and useful and fit conduct to what it has announced.¹²⁹

Ñuy Țek, “to be sleepy”, *ñanuy* (or *ñanuy Țek*), a sort of “intensive” form of *ñuy*, “to feel strongly drowsy”.

Kuṃ, particle of negation, it may be considered as it is intended to be a strong or serious advice as it is worth while following, (see also *kuṃ* in the preceding page under *Āl*).

Țek, verb, “to go to bed, to lie down, to retire”.

Prabandh, (from the sk. root *pra-BANDH-*, “to bind on, to fasten, to fetter, to check”), sk. *prabandha-* s.m. “a connection,

¹²⁹In political ideology, there is a line of conduct in statecraft as “to clamour of peace, prepare the war”. Just after the World War II, communist world propagated: “to go to Western Europe, go to Africa”; this concept trusted in totalitarian ideology to expanse throughout the world by means of class war.

an uninterrupted connection, continuance”; in Khmer language, *prabandh* takes the sense of a lady, a woman who is united to a man for ever by wedding ritual act (i.e. *maṅgalakār*, *ābāh(a)bibāh(a)* or *rīep kār*). Some linguists have seen that *prabandh* in Khmer would be directly related to Javanese (or Malay?) *perempuan*, which they dared say! What is the etymology of *perempuan*? Can one suppose *prempuan* coming from Sanskrit?¹³⁰

Srī, “female, a woman”, (see Proverb n. 7).

Niyāy, “to tell, to speak, to say”, (see Proverb n. 12).

The version (A) of Dr Pannetier’s record cannot show a possible form of rhyming. The version (B) runs through its two parts; the part a) is out of a form of rhyming. The part b) follows the rhyming of *pad(a) bāky(a) prāṃ bīr* (see foot-note 77).

The rhyming of the version (B) is:



(Here, the word *niyāy* must be contracted in oral language).

The rhyming is reduced to be two elements; the last syllable of the 1st *ghlā* rhymes with the 3rd syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*. These two rhymes follow what it is left in the last word of the part a), which is *ṭek*. Each *ghlā* of the part b) has seven syllables, so it may be considered as it is connected with the *pad(a) bāky(a)*

¹³⁰ The persons who have seen the semblable case between *perempuan* and *prabandh* in Khm. are influenced by ideological sympathy preferring keeping off Sanskrit elements in Khm. as Sanskrit is, according to their view, associated with social class (i.e. the four *varṇa*) in India. Another (militant) group is constantly striving to kick Sanskrit elements off Khmer linguistic heritage. The group had labelled itself as “true Khmer”, a sort of purist attitude infatuated with stupidity. They hold always the affirmations. The purist tendency in the matter was born on the bank of La Seine. They went back to Cambodia with their “doctrine of Khmer linguistics”, without issuing a book. A quackery is met everywhere. The case of *prabandh*, I report, is, according to quack movement, must be written as / *prabun* /, because *pra* requires at least two elements, for example *prakhāṃ*, “to bite one another” like two dogs, *praṭāl*, “to box” (with someone). *Bun* means “to bear” one thing on a shoulder by using a wooden stick or a bamboo scourge. (Bearing two things, i.e. baskets, jars, by means of a scourge on a shoulder is said *raek*). A man, after a wedding act, has to bear (*bun*) on his shoulder a burden which his wife. What whimsical their explanations are! It is my duty to record these facts as I had seen and heard from inner part of Khmer society, which many linguists are deliberately unaware of.

prāṃ bīr already mentioned (see foot-note 1).

I simply indicate that this proverb with its antinomy could be inspired by a pāli *Jātaka* which it was largely developed in Khmer oral literature. The forthcoming survey will confirm or set aside what I just have felt.

22. Pan' braḥ dau saṃbaḥ e pāyāp pañ' pāñ' mahāprāsād dau
nau brai
pañ' bāky(a) samaṇa jī brāhmaṇ(a) dau yak e bāky(a) bāl(a).
(n° 41 DrP.)

Translation – “To praise Buddha, but to offer salutation toward *pāyāp*; to prop up the great palace and (onward) to stay in a forest; to abandon the speech of monk and respectful Brahmin to consider the discourse of the fools”.

Pan' can be seen in two cases: a) from sk. PAN- 1st cl., “to honour, to praise”, b) PAN- 1st cl. “to be worthy of admiration, to admire, to regard with surprise or wonder, to praise, to acknowledge”. *Pan'* is in fact a form of “negociation” with a mighty spirit (divinities, god, goddess...). One asks for something he wants to obtain and promises to offer a present if the wish will be true. This is a matter of a popular saying: *bel jhī yak ṭamrī pan' bel sran' bañ mān' kĀ at'*, “in the moment of illness, an elephant is promised to be as an offering for praise, when the illness becomes appeased, even an egg is not (offered)”.

Braḥ, the word had been largely used in Khmer language since a long time; Tcheou Ta-Kouan had recorded it as *Po-lai*¹³¹ in his *Mémoires...* In Khm. linguistic eld, the moderate tendency does not agree with *braḥ* related to *vara* of sk.. They hold out that *braḥ* would be a Khm. form of *raḥ*¹³² associated with the letter *b*. By what rule is

¹³¹ P. Pelliot gives his view by ascribing that *Po-lai* is certainly *braḥ*(*Praḥ*). *Braḥ* is actually used to point out the Buddha Śakyamuni. P. Pelliot notices that *fo* “Buddha” of Chinese is translated as *p'o-la* in Siamese (i. e. *phraḥ*), cf. *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge*, traduit par P. Pelliot, in B.E.F.E.O, vol. II, Hanoi, 1902, p. 27, foot-note 1.

¹³² *Raḥ* verb, “to shine, to illuminate” as rising light from the sky through clouds, i. e. *thnai raḥ* “the rising sun”, *khae raḥ* “the rising moon”. A popular song begins like *candr(a) raḥ beñ kuṃ do mmeñ a-vī soḥ loey ...* “the moon is rising with its full light, don't be worried by anything”. There is a popular saying: *khae raḥ kaṃṃmān brai*, “the rising moon is hidden by

possibly the letter *b* associated with *rah*?

The purist attitude sees that *br* is combined with *khyal' aḥ* suggesting the idea of “unsurpassed, strong, mighty”; the example is *jḥmah* “to win, to be victorious”.

The acceptable view is *braḥ* coming from sk. *vara-* adj. “choicest, valuable, precious, best, most excellent, eminent”. The *v* of *vara* changes into *b*, and a line can be written down as *varaḥ* → *b-a-rah* the vowel *a* is dropped down and *braḥ* is obtained. Why Khmer language takes the *visarga* (*h*)? *Varaḥ* is the nominative case in sing. of *vara*. Khmer borrowing act would have generally considered nominative, an *aṅga* (stem of conjugation) or a root, which it can be observed. The matter is still far to set up any rule.¹³³

Sambah, a gesture of “salutation, reverence, benediction, a mark of supplication” being equivalent to sk. *añjali*. In fact, the open hands are closely placed side by side, and there is a hollowed space between the two palms. Normally, it may be said as *añjalipuṭa* as the open hands form a cavity. Tcheou Ta-Kouan described the gesture of *sambah* by using **San pa**¹³⁴. How is the word *sambah*? By setting up the question, I do know that I can't provide a good deal. However, I see two elements as *saṃ* + *baḥ*. In later Khm. language met through *sātra* texts, *baḥ* has a function of interjection dealing with surprise, wonder, an attack, a ghting position. *Baḥ* could be thought as having been originally meant the sense of a meeting one another in normal position. Onward, *baḥ* is preceded by *saṃ* which is a form of *sa* connected with *saha*. It is certain that *sa*, *saṃ* and *saha* are the opposite of the privative *a*. So, *sa* and *saṃ* bear the sense of “junction” or “(to be) together with”. When making a *sambah*, one may be in front of a statue, of a person or at least the valuable things or beings of devotion are felt mentally. The reason of meeting or of “junction” may give a background of *saṃ* + *baḥ*. The final nasal labial *m* of *saṃ* becomes an *anusvara*.¹³⁵

a forest”, i.e. the matter is entirely evident, no one can conceal.

¹³³ Chuon Nath gives his way from *vara*, *v* < *b* + *r* + *aḥ*, (see in his *Dictionary*, p. 807).

¹³⁴ P. Pelliot, *Mémoires...*, B.E.F.E.O., 1902, p. 55. Speaking of gesture performed by slaves, Tcheou Ta-Kouan noticed the *sambah* by using the Chinese word *Ho-tchang*. P. Pelliot explained it as an expression used by Chinese people to translate the Sanskrit *añjali*. He brought a precision as *Ho-tchang* has nothing to do with *añjali* or *añjalipuṭa*. Chinese Buddhists, for showing salutation or reverence, joined the palm of hands together, which it is said as *Ho-tchang*, cf. *Mémoires...*, *op.cit.*, p. 34, foot-note 5.

¹³⁵ It is stated by two Pāṇini's sūtra, Pāṇ.VIII. 3.23: **mo'anusvaraḥ** // 23 // padāni // maḥ anusvaraḥ //

Vṛtṭiḥ // makārasya padāntasyānusvara ādeṣo bhavati jhali parataḥ //

Pāyāp, a spirit who lives in water, a sort of “guardian of water” (Guesdon); this word is not recorded by Chuon Nath’s *Dictionary*. *Pāyāp* is respected by fishermen.¹³⁶ At the period of high tided-water (*khæ dik loeñ* or *raṭūv vassā*), they make in secret an offering having a sort of “salad” as the principal element; this “salad” is put in a hollow-coco-nut. It is composed by leaf-stalks of hyacinth (*kaṃphlok*, *Eichhornia crassipes*), some leaves of reed (*gynerum*, *traeñ*) and a species of “mint” known as *jī tracĕk jrūk*, “pig eared-mint” having thick leaf. These elements are cut in tiny pieces and mixed together with ash. A fisherman takes a cooking pot in terra cotta, he scrapes with knife its outside bottom, a small quantity of soot is fallen down in the “salad”. Before setting out toward his boat, he puts some pinches of husk in it. The offering is held and carried in the morning and put at a safe place on his boat.

After a moment of smooth pulling, the preferred zone of fishing is reached. Then, he takes out the coco-nut containing the “salad”, he puts a little bit of dry powdered-pimento, some grilled rices (*lāj*), some drops of rice alcohol in the coco-nut, of course. In fresh air of the morning, he puts carefully the coco-nut on the water; it floats on it. He looks at it within a calm moment. He stands up on his boat, takes his sweep-net and casts it on the water. This would be a symbolical casting just after offering.

Another offering may be performed at the hot season, the water becomes gradually lower day afterday. Practically, it is the same offering added by dry gills of sh, which it is the only different element from the offering at the period of high water (*raṭūv vassā*). The performing act may be held in the period of waning moon.

No one knows the figure of *Pāyāp*. Some views may be said:

- a) hyacinth and reeds are aquatic plants, hyacinth is seen in swamps and marshland, so do reeds;
- b) ash is for the body of *pāyāp* as he puts it on his skin and fishes are fond of it, so *Pāyāp* is always followed by them;

Pān.VIII. 3.24: **naścāpadāntasya jhali** // 24 // padāni // naḥ ca apadāntasya jhali //
 Vṛtīḥ // nākārasya makārasya cāpadāntasyānusvarādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ //

The exception is, in short, meant in the sutra, i.e. with the nasal and semi-vowels; one has to spell *ramyate*, *gamyate*. In Khm. language, there are gestures and ritual acts connected with *saṃbaḥ*, i.e. *saṃbaḥ braḥ khæ*, *sabaḥ grū*, *sabaḥ belā* (in *phdīm* of wedding ritual act), *saṃbaḥ ācāry(a)*, *saṃbaḥ caṅkrān*, *saṃbaḥ anak tā*, *saṃbaḥ lā*, *loek tai saṃbaḥ* (to be worthy performed before and after many acts).

¹³⁶This an opportunity to present a short survey related to *Pāyāp* as I had seen and also had been told in many places in my home country. On behalf of information, it is my duty to notice the account.

- c) soot from a cooking pot is for his eyes, *Pāyāp* smears it on his shaggy eyebrows, the black spots are reflected by the body of *Joēn kap* and *Pāyāp* knows where his enemy is. *Joēn kap* is a spirit being always in conflict with *Pāyāp*. People are fearful of this *Joēn kap*;¹³⁷
- d) some drops of rice alcohol and dry powdered-pimento are *pāyāp* 's weapons which frighten the *Joēn kap*'s troops away;
- e) short sewing string is a fetter or a noose to catch the important chiefs of *Joēn kap*'s troop, (this string can resemble to *pāśa* of Sanskrit), this sewing string is put in the coco-nut with the offering; there are shermen having their axes at their hips, they give some blows of the axe on a *jrai*-tree (*Ficus pilosa*) or a *snāy*-tree (*Grewia sinuata*), and they take some drops of sap in the coco-nut before reaching their boats. The sap will be useful for *Pāyāp* to tie up the prisoners;
- f) the husk (*aṅkām*) and grilled rice (*lāj*) are the signs of salutation toward the Sun¹³⁸ when the coco-nut sinks; *Pāyāp* takes the offering and leaves the husk and *lāj* on the surface of water for the Sun as they float;
- g) the dry gills of fish (a little piece) is a sign of thanking toward *Pāyāp* as in period of high water, many fishes had been caught.

There is a saying being an irony, it is *bal braḥ kañjah pāyāp*, it can be rendered as "slave at Buddhist monastery and (spirit) is devoted to *Payap*'s rule". *Bal braḥ* was among others *bal*.¹³⁹ The opposite of the

¹³⁷ Like *Pāyāp*, *Joēn kap* is always associated with water. There places or spots where wrecks and drownings were frequent. The fatalities were believed to be the bad actions of *Joēn kap* against human beings. On a firm land, the places where the accidents of traffic are frequent, these places are said *kanlaēn Joēn kap*. People are not interested in any possible explanation of accidents. On ship or on boat, no one would dare to say the word

Joēn kap. The term *Joēn kap* of the present purpose is connected directly with a bad aquatic spirit. In linguistics, *joēn kap* would have been the corrupted form of the term *ckop*, dealing with "to levy the tithes, to tax something", which some scholars in epigraphy of Khmer country had said. *Caṅkop* as noun means "tax", and *caṅkop* would become *joēn kap*. The case would be plausible. According to G. Coedès, *caṅkop* at first had been a "tax" related to a boat, cf. The survey on inscriptions K. 44 and K. 940.

¹³⁸ According to the *Trai Bhūm(i)*, the Sun is the first element of the first seven forces which govern the world. These seven force are called as *balahak*.

¹³⁹ There were many *bal* in Khmer ancient organisation of armies; literally, *bal* is *bal* of Sanskrit, "force", i. e. *bal seh*, "cavalry", *bal thmoer joēn*, "foot-soldier". *Bal braḥ* was in religious service; it would have been the heritage of the past as each Brahmanic temple had many groups of different services. For the good working, a territorial authority of those days had arranged to have at least a unity of slaves round a temple. An official act or a collective act had turned round the expression *duk khūm*, "to leave (a team) of slaves [for the service of a temple]". I indicate roughly the essential fact, which epigraphy of Khmer country provides

irony is *bal braḥ kañjaḥ braḥ saṅgh*, “slave at Buddhist monastery (and submitted) to the rule of the Community”. The *bal braḥ* would have been a metamorphosis of the unities (or teams) working at a Brahmanic temple. From the middle of 15 Cent. A.D.,¹⁴⁰ these unities were onward under the Buddhist Theravāda patronage.

The third case of *bal braḥ* is known as *bal braḥ kañjaḥ āyatt(a)*, which it can be rendered as “soldier-slave (being) constantly ready (to ght)”. This *bal braḥ*¹⁴¹ was a spear-head of the unities of protection of a ruling king.

Dr Pannetier recorded *pañ’ braḥ*¹⁴² and he translated *pañ’* by “to disown, to repudiate, to disavow, to abjure”. *Pañ’ braḥ* shows through a hypocrisy as acting correctly before a statue of Buddha in company of folks. A person who hides behind such a weak screen will be discovered as he gives himself away. *Pañ’*, as

various informations.

¹⁴⁰Many Buddhist monasteries replaced the ancient Brahmanic installations. Old temples would have been pulled down. A Buddhist central sanctuary (*vihāra*) had been built up; a part of ancient surrounding ditch had been suppressed by filling up. Till nowadays, some Buddhist monasteries had good ditch full of lotus.

¹⁴¹The word *āyatt(a)* of sk. *āyatta* determines the particularities of that *bal braḥ*. *Āyatta* means “resting on, depending on, being ready, prepared, being at disposition”; this unity was not the pick of the army; it was affiliated to the unity of protection of a ruling king (*bal raksā aṅg*) and for watching the royal headquarter (*rājamandīr*). *Bal braḥ kañjaḥ āyatt(a)* (or *kañ āyatt(a)* in short) was never in march past. Sometimes, it was at the last part of the rear-guard of a fighting march. Generally, it was sent to the place where the advanced troops (*bal sruoc*) had controlled an important part of territory. This latter was then surveyed by the picked soldiers (*bal thnik*). A *kañ āyatt(a)* went there to organize the places for the unity of King’s protection. The ruling King came with his operational headquarter. A *kañ āyatt(a)* set up a net of sentry-duty (*bal mañ*) by calling in the local troops for a limited time. A soldier-slave of *kañ āyatt(a)* had a short wooden stick, a kit of buoy, a *ṭaṇa* (entirely in iron), a cord and a kind of attacking knife known as *kāṃ pit krañāṃ ak*. The best point of a soldier-slave of *kañ āyatt(a)* was to win his enemy by his two hands. He used the stick or the knife at the last step of fighting. When having been caught by enemies, he must have swallowed a special tablet or a pill (called as *mar(aṇa) gulikā*) and death ensued in a very short moment.

The word *braḥ* can be understood as *vraḥ kamrateñ aṅ jagat ta rājya* or *braḥ rājā* or *braḥ mahāksat* in recent period in case of *bal braḥ kañjaḥ āyatt(a)*; *braḥ* could have been followed by a word pointing out a *devarūpa*, “an image of god” (in a Brahmanic temple), and afterward *braḥ* would have been used to point out *braḥ Buddh*, a statue of a Buddha Sakyamūnī in a *vihāra* from the Buddhist Theravāda period of Khmer people history.

¹⁴²It could be true in the ensemble of *pañ’*, meaning “renier” (to disown), which the translation is given by DrP. For *pañ’ pāñ’*, DrP did not understand the right sense, he was in a confusion (it will be seen further). It is incredible that DrP had heard as *pañ’*. My survey is quite different, the proverb aims at teasing anyone about a hateful attitude.

recorded by me, throws hypocrisy into relief, which I prefer it to *pañ*' of Dr Pannetier.¹⁴³

The part *pañ' pāñ' mahāprāsād dau nau brai* may be analysed. The best comprehension of *pañ' pāñ'* is a solid wooden piece used to prop up or to hold something upright with it. *Pañ' pāñ'* can be understood as a stay, prop, shore, strut, a pillar, stanchion. To set up a stay or a prop requires at least an elementary technics (nature of ground, the kind of building, dominant direction of wind in the course of year). Dr Pannetier's record, being led by *pañ'* instead of *pan'*, went on *pañ'*, "to disavow, to abjure", and he translated as "rejeter son palais royal", (in English "to abandon his palace"). Dr Pannetier could have translated the verb *pāñ'*, "to shoot, to re, to let off". Why *pāñ'* is left untranslated? Dr Pannetier would have translated as "to disavow to shoot the great palace", which I can only suppose.

Again, to set up a prop to maintain with its upright before it could tumble down. *Mahāprāsād*, "a great palace" symbolizing the royal authority which was in tottering situation had been likely consolidated by stays. Some acceptable measures would have been undertaken, but an ill-working pursued its course. At last, a ruling king took the way leading to a forest. In Khmer history, there were many princes who left the "great palace to stay in another place."¹⁴⁴ This attitude induced an regretful disorder in

¹⁴³ I can't know the Khmer close informant of Pannetier's days. However, Pannetier's degree of knowledge in Khmer language was a good informant that was still absolutely necessary. From Dr Pannetier's time till nowadays, inadmissible defects can be easily pointed out.

¹⁴⁴ An example can be considered, and it was in the last period of Angkorian Empire. Many historians call it as "the successors to Jayavarman VII". I could have been a heavy charge for the forthcoming ruling kings. A brief chronology can be made:

* Jayavarman VII (1181-1218), son of Dharanindravarman II,

* Indravarman II (died in 1243), son of Jayavarman VII,

* Jayavarman VIII (1243-1295), he had abdicated,

* Śrindravarman (1295-1307), son-in-law of the former, important facts: the Chinese traveller reached Angkor in 1296, he left his memory; the earliest pāli inscription was engraved under his reign; the king left the palace to stay in a forest as a follower of Theravāda Buddhism;

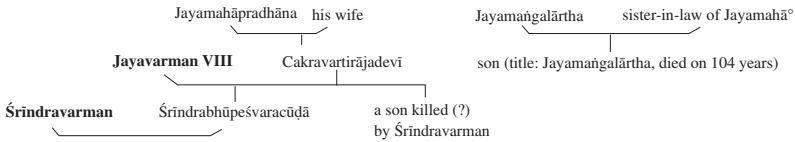
* Śrindrajayavarman (1307-1327), important facts: death of the Brahmin Jayamaṅgalārthason died on his 104 years old; Chinese mission came at Angkor for purchasing domestic elephants (?);

* Jayavarmādiparameśvara (1327-1335), he was the last Angkorian king known in epigraphy; the last Sanskrit inscription of Khmer country is called as inscription of Angkor Vat, written by the scholar Vidyēśadhīmant.

the working of the institution of a kingdom.

From the beginning of Oudong period, there were the disorder and the ill-wording of institution caused by unceasing internal quarrel. Some princes had ascended two or three times the throne because of stupid rivalry among them. King Jayajetthā III (or Aṅg Sūr) had ascended four times the throne: 1st reign 1677-1695, 2nd reign 1696-1700, 3rd reign 1701-1702, 4th reign 1704-1707.¹⁴⁵ Before the end of Angkorian period till the recent one, any prince or any high ranked man had its own “reform” aiming at improving many things in statecraft. The result was the

The following diagram may be useful to a clear comprehension.



The serious crisis had started under the reign of Jayavarman VIII. Śrīndravarman began his power by killing his brother-in-law. The kingdom had been shaken by the Siamese recent attacks of T'ai people who followed the Mongol strategy known as “cool settling in” the North-West provinces of Khmer country.

Till the end of the 1st half of 13th cent., before the the T'ai military pressure toward the South, Angkorian authority continued to control the valley of Me Nam and the Eastern borders of Burma (G. Coedès, *Les états...*, p. 330). After Jayavarman VII, Theravāda Buddhism coming from Ceylon began to propagate in Khmer country. The dislocation of Khmer power had been felt from the reign of Jayavarman VIII. Old secular Śivaism did anything (included vandalism) to recover the powerful influence. Theravada Buddhism extended its progression among people.

After 1335, the year which ended the power of Jayavarmāḍiparameśvara, the last Angkorian king, Khmer country was constantly under an endless crisis of all kinds. At last, Angkor had been abandoned in 1435. Within a hundred years, they could not find out an issue of safeguard. One may wonder:

a) what was the force of propagation and propaganda of Theravāda Buddhism, b) what was the defected context of social, politic and religious data, c) how could have been the Khmer understanding way of Theravāda Buddhism of those days, d) how weak Khmer statecraft should have been. Had the followers of Theravāda Buddhism planned to bring about a profile of “reform”? One thing is sure and certain according to my investigation in Khmer Buddhism, Theravāda Buddhism, influenced by alien current, focussed on kicking out all of composing elements of Indo-Khmer heritage, (see also G. Coedès, *Les états ...*, p. 412). There were always the unscrupulous high ranked men who were satisfied with holding on the power like grim death.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Mak Phoeun, *Essai de tableau chronologique des rois du Cambodge de la période post-angkrienne*, in J. A., t. 290, Paris, 2002, n. 1, pp. 157-158.

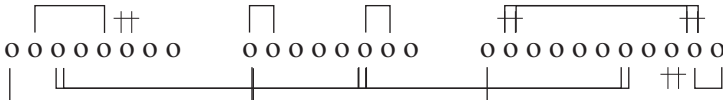
permanent conflict and the war. In consequence, many kings had changed their royal dwelling places. What were the aspects seen through the 2nd part of the proverb (*pañ' pāñ' mahāprāsād...*).

The 3rd part of the proverb is *pañ' bāky(a) samaṇa jī brāhmaṇ(a) ...*; they repudiate the value of their own society to consider the discourse of the fools (*bāla*). This is the perversion and they takes easy ways by using cunning methods which lead to tragedy. Dr Pannetier took the primary sense of *bāla*, “child, boy”.¹⁴⁶ The word *bāla* of the proverb may aim at making an opposition with the “sages”. Moreover, the pāli *Dhammapada* would have been developed by Theravāda Buddhist teaching. In fact, the pāli *Dhammapada* has a chapter known as *Bālavagga* (5th chapter). Two strophes are worth while quoting:

“The fool who knows his foolishness is wise at least to that extent; but a fool who thinks himself wise is called a fool indeed”. (st. 63)

“If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he does not perceive the truth even as a spoon (does not perceive) the taste of soup” (st. 64).¹⁴⁷

This is the diagram of rhyming.



¹⁴⁶ This Dr Pannetier’s translation of the 3rd part: “rejeter la parole des sages pour croire la parole d’un enfant”.

¹⁴⁷ In pāli: *Yo bālo maññati bālyam pañḍito vāpi tena so bālo ca pañḍitamāni sa ve bālo ti vuccati // 63 //*
Yāvajīvam pi ca bālo pañḍitam payirupāsati na so dhammam vijānāti dabbī sūparasam yathā // 64 //

The English translation had been made by S. Radhakrishnan, *The Dhammapada*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1950 (1st edition).

Related to the st. 64, there is a Khmer saying: *ā vaek ge sī krom bhnaek min tiñ khluon*, “you are a ladle, they eat under (your) eyes, (you) do not know (the matter) by your own sense”. The popular meaning is the attitude of a cuckold who continues to believe in his wife as she went out with other men. Among Khmer people, only *ā vaek* is said, one knows very well the sense. Further, *ā vaek* becomes a grave insult. These two syllables are avoided. There is a long matter with a ladle (*vaek*) in Khmer cultural context. It has also connection with *cañrai* associated with the eyes of a woman (see foot-note 102).

The proverb has three parts (of *ghlā*), each of the two first parts has 8 syllables. The 3rd part has 11 syllables. *Mahā* of *mahāprasād* of the second part may be contracted to obtain one syllable. *Samaṇa* of the 3rd part may be contracted and two syllables are obtained.

The three parts have a rhyming, of course, it can't be identified with any basic of rhyming.

Otherwise, the number of syllables of the ensemble may be related with certain signification. I try to see a possible sense of the number used in the line of the proverb. One notices $8 + 8 + 11 = 27$, (this is the number of *nakṣatra*).¹⁴⁸ The number 27 may hold

¹⁴⁸ This is an attempt to grasp the numbers used in the rhyming of the proverb. At the first glance, I see the number 11 having connection with deepness of sense and message. The important message is related to the method of government (*rājadharmā*) as it can be seen through it). The sense may deal with peaceful, coherent march of every thing. The 1st indication is the number 11 which can be seen as $11 = 10 + 1$. The number 10 is called as "radix". The number needs to be added an unity (1). I start to look for a possibility in calendar and its data. I am interested in the solar months and by habit 360 days are considered, a normal year (*sāvāna*) has 365 days. The total number of days in lunar months (for example in Khmer luni-solar calendar) is 354 days. When making a simple operation as $365 - 354 = 11$, this case relates to *ekādaśarātra*, "an eleven day sacrifice", (the idea can be seen in *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, VII. 2.6, cf. SAN Sarin, *Behind the Number 2006* (With special reference of the arrangement of *Ṛgveda*), issued in *Vedavidyā*, traimāsika śodha patrikā, pauṣa-māgha (makara) saṃvat 2059, (2003 A.D.), first year, n^o 1, Ujjain, pp. 90-91).

$$8 + 8 + 11 = 27(A),$$

$$27 \rightarrow 2 \times 7 = 14(A1),$$

$$27 \rightarrow 2 + 7 = 9 (A2), 9 \rightarrow 3 \times 3 = 3^2 = 9, \text{ the root is } 3 (A3),$$

$$(A1) + (A2) = 14 + 9 = 23 (B),$$

$$(A1) \times (A2) = 14 \times 9 = 126 (B1),$$

$$(A1) - (A2) = 14 - 9 = 5 (B2),$$

$$(B1) - (B) = 126 - 23 = 103 (C),$$

$$(C) + (B2) = 103 + 5 = \mathbf{108 (D)},$$

$$(B1) - (D) = 126 - 108 = \mathbf{18 (E)};$$

Consider (A) = 27 and square it as $27 \times 27 = 729 (F)$,

In (F), we make the operation $7 \times 29 = 203 (F1)$, this is a Khmer way called as *kāc' guṇ*, and the number 7 is considered. (The number 7 and 14 may be the leading elements in the calculation).

$$(F) + (F1) = 729 + 203 = 932 (F2),$$

$$(C) + (D) + (E) = 103 + 108 + 18 = 229 (G),$$

$$(G) + (A3) = 229 + 3 = 232 (G1), (232 \rightarrow 2 + 3 + 2 = 7),$$

$$(F2) - (G1) = 932 - 232 = 700 (G2), \text{ This the number of strophes in the } \textit{Bhagavadgītā}.$$

$$(F) - (G) = 729 - 229 = 500 (H), \text{ five hundreds are an important number (as } 1000/2).$$

Let's consider the fundamental principle in calculation. The sum of 1 till 9 is equal to 45 as $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 = 45$, (or $5 \times 9 = 45$),

The number 9 is the biggest one among the numbers of one digit and it holds the limit of

its importance. It would be related to a cosmic march. Could I be able to see rightly the case? It would not be the entire true answer. Otherwise, it is a record of Khmer way of comprehension as I had been educated in the matter.¹⁴⁹ I have mentioned that the number 14 has its importance to which two illustrating facts can be quoted. Lakṣmiḥ kaustubhapārijātakasurā dhanvantariś candramā gāvaḥ kāmādughāḥ sureśvaragajo raṃbhādidevāṃganāḥ / aśvaḥ saptamukho viṣaṃ haridhanuḥ śāṅkho ‘mṛtaṃ cāmbudhe ratnāniha caturdaśa pratidinaṃ kuryuḥ sadā maṅgalaṃ //

It speaks about the 14 “jewels” obtained at the churning of the ocean.

the order of one digit. After 9, the number ten follows naturally; this is the smallest one among the numbers of two digits.

$45 + 10 = 55$, this is the sum of the first ten numbers $1 + 2 + 3... + 9 + 10 = 55$.

In (A1) = $14 \rightarrow 14 / 2 = 7$, the number 14 is rightly divisible by its equal (14), by 2 and by 7.

$55 - 7 = 48$ (H1),

(H) X (H1) = $500 \times 48 = 24,000$ (H2), this is the number of strophes in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The number 14 may be found out by other ways. In (B), there are two terms (or digits), i.e. 2, 3; in (B1), there are three terms (or digits), i.e. 1, 2, 6. The sum of these terms is $2 + 3 + 1 + 2 + 6 = 14$ (I),

(A1) = (I) = $14 (= 7 \times 2)$, this number appears as the key of the present calculation.

In (G1) $\rightarrow 2 + 3 + 2 = 7$ (I1),

In (G2) $\rightarrow 7 + 0 + 0 = 7$ (I2),

Consider 7 of (I1) and square it $7 \times 7 = 49$, (D) $- 49 = 108 - 49 = 59 \rightarrow 5 + 9 = 14$ (I3),

(B1) $- 49 = 126 - 49 = 77 \rightarrow 7 + 7 = 14$ (I4).

The numbers **108** and **18**, the most important ones, are obtained. The way reached to 700 and 24000, which it could not be incredible for many.

¹⁴⁹ The calculation can continue from the foot-note 1 of the former page.

(F2) $-$ (H) = $932 - 500 = 432$ (J),

(D) / (A) = $108 / 27 = 4$ (J1),

(A) + (A2) = $27 + 9 = 36$, $\rightarrow \bar{a}$ (D) / $36 = 3$ (J2), (this number 3 is also equal to (A3),

(E) / (A2) = $18 / 9 = 2$ (J3),

(J) X (J1) = $432 \times 4 = 1728$ (J4),

(J) X (J2) = $432 \times 3 = 1296$ (J5),

(J) X (J3) = $432 \times 2 = 864$ (J6),

(J) X 1 = $432 \times 1 = 432$ (J7),

A serie of multiplications may be made as (J4) X 10 = $1728 \times 1000 = 1,728,000$, (kṛtayuga)

(J5) X 10 = $1296 \times 1000 = 1,296,000$, (tretayuga)

(J6) X 10 = $864 \times 1000 = 864,000$, (dvāparayuga)

(J7) X 10 = $432 \times 1000 = 432,000$. (kaliyuga)

The total of these results is equal to 4,320,000 of human years, which it corresponds to 12,000 divine years. These are the well-known four *yuga*.

aḍaṅgamiśritā vedā dharmasāstraṃ purāṇakaṃ
mīmāṃsā tarkam api ca etā vidyās caturdaśa //

It enumerates the 14 *vidyā* (sciences or knowledge).

23. Paṃṇāc' niṅ pāp oy ch-āp māt' (n° 42 DrP)

Translation – “However evil (the act may be), it must provide the smell of raw flesh at the mouth”.

The proverb is built by an image of hunting. According to Buddhist teaching, hunting is wrong, evil doing. If it is fruitful, the meal will be tasty. This idea is expressed by “the smell of raw flesh at the mouth”. DrP seems to go so far from a translation. I must be considered as an interpretation.¹⁵⁰

Pāp, from *pāpa* of sk. or pāli, adj. “wicked, sinful, bad, evil”; s.nt. “evil doing, wrong doing”. In Khmer, the opposite is *puṇya(a)*. In pāli, the opposite of *pāpa* may be *kusala*, an example is in the *Dhammapada*:

Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassa upasampadā (...) st. 183,¹⁵¹

Yassa pāpaṃ kataṃ kammaṃ kusalena pithiyati

so imaṃ lokaṃ pabhāseti abbhā mutto va candimā // 173 //¹⁵²

In two strophes, *puñña* is opposite to *pāpa*:

pāpañ ce puriso kayirā na taṃ kayirā punappunaṃ (...), st. 117,

puññañ ce puriso kayirā kayirāth'enaṃ punappunaṃ (...), st. 118.¹⁵³

Ch-āp, old Khm. *ca-āp*, K. 559. It is the smell of raw flesh; instinctively, the characteristic of *ch-āp* is associated with the fishy smell.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ “Tant que faire de pécher, rassacie ton envie”.

¹⁵¹ *Buddhavagga*, “the eschewing of all evil, the perfecting of good deeds,” (...), translated by S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

¹⁵² *Lokavagga*, “he whose evil conduct is covered by good conduct lights up this world like the moon when freed from a cloud”. (translated by S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.* p. 116-117.

¹⁵³ *Pāpavagga*, “Evil Conduct”, “if a man commits sin, let him not do it again and again (...), (st. 117),

“if a man does what is good, let him do it again and again” (...), (st. 118), (translated by S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

¹⁵⁴ K. 559 is the inscription of Duol Aṅg(a), province of Tā Kaev, (monastery of Khnath Trapok), cf. G. Coedès, *Inscription du Cambodge*, t. II, p. 36.

The famous fishy smell belonged to a girl who had been taken from a stomach of a fish which was the form of Adrikā, a daughter of King of Cedi. Adrikā was condemned to live

The proverb of the present purpose has its contrary one which is *pāp min ch-āp māt*. It can be rendered as “(even) evil act had been already done, the smell of raw flesh is not felt at the mouth (at all)”. This last proverb is not recorded by Dr Pannetier. The sense of this proverb is in conspiracy, weaving a plot, intrigue as group of doers expected a “result” after their bad act.

The diagram of the n° 42 recorded by DrP is:

o o o o o o o o

The contrary proverb is:

o o o o

24. Kuṃ rā mukh ṭin kuṃ dadiṃ mukh dab. (n° 46 DrP)

Translation. – “Don’t resist with a pickaxe, not to be opposed to an army”.

Mukh, (from *mukha* of sk.), “the top, tip, point (of anything), the edge (of sharp tool or instrument)”,

Ṭin, “a pickaxe, pick”; among Khmer people, the same kind of tool is distinguished as *cap jik*, a sort of “pickaxe, pick”(for digging), *cap cak*, “a small short pick with large tip”, *cap kāp*, “a hoe” and *ṭin* of the present purpose. A *ṭin* can be used with the rockery ground.

Mukh dāb, “a fore part, a front (of an army)”,

Dab, “an army, a troop”, *dab* is Khm. form of *drava*, of the root DRU-, (pāli form is *dava* or also *dabba* = *dravya* of sk., “running,

in the form of a fish. A fisherman took care of the girl who was called Satyavatī; she was a beautiful girl, she had a fishy smell. She plied a boat on the river Yamunā, to help the fisherman, her foster father, as undertaking actions in religious duty. One day, the ṛṣi Parāsara came at Satyavatī’s place and took the boat for crossing the Yamunā. In her boat, the ṛṣi was under the grip of desire. He said Satyavatī what he felt facing her beauty. He promised her to offer a boon. The ṛṣi created a thick fog and had a sexual intercourse with her. For a boon, she asked she would have from her body a sweet-smelling. The ṛṣi Parāsara granted her the boon and Satyavatī could be lovely scented at the distance of a *yojana*. Afterward, she gave birth to a dark boy well-known as Vyāsa (or Kṛṣṇa Dvaipayana) who composed the great Epic *Mahābhārata* (I. adhyāya 57, devanagari of BORI edition).

course, flight, quickness”). DRU-, in case of the present purpose, means “to run up to, to attack, to assault”. Otherwise, *dāb* in Khmer vocabulary may come from the sk. roots DU- or DU-, “to go”, (1st cl. Parasmai pada, *Dhatup.* XXII, 46). The men who engaged themselves in army must go on as they have to obey the order of military authority. The case of *dab* can be written down like *dab < dab < dava < DU-, DU-,* the line may continue as DU- do (Pāṇ.I. 1.2, Pāṇ.VII. 3.84) → do + śap → do + a → do → dav (Pāṇ.VI. 1.78) + a (Pāṇ. III. 1.68) → dava (Pāṇ. VI. 4.1), *dava* is then called as *aṅga* or stem of conjugation; this *aṅga* becomes a substantive in Khmer language; the *v* changes into *b* → *dava* → *daba* --- *daba* → *dāb* (in final course)¹⁵⁵. Some “khmerologists” of linguistic field set up a question: “Why *dab* had been chosen by Khmer people to point out an army?” The first idea of “troop or an army” is the movement of foot-soldiers or infantry. They had to obey an order as “to run up to, to run or to move quickly to attack”. So, they have to move speedily.¹⁵⁶ The total assault or an immense attack was known as *hau*.

Drava of DRU- is seen in *Ṛgveda* IV. 40.2:

Satvā bhariṣo gaviṣo divanyasacchravasyādiṣa uṣasasturanyasat / satyo dravo druvarah patamgaro dhadhikrāvesamūrjaṃ svarjanat // 2 //

“Brave, seeking war and booty, dwelling with the good and with the swift, may he hasten the food of Dawn.

May he the true, the fleet, the lover of the course, the bird-like Dadhikrāvan, bring food, strength, and light”.

(translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith)

Ṛgveda VIII. 4.11: *adhvaryo drāvayā somamindraḥ pipāsati / upa nānaṃ yuyuje vṛṣana harī ā ca jagāma vṛtrahā // 11 //*

“O Adhvaryu, make the Soma juice flow out, for Indra longs to drink (it). Then, the Slayer of Vṛtra had

yoked his strenuous, bay steeds and he had come nearby”. (the verb DRU- means also “to flow”).

¹⁵⁵ Pāṇ.I. 1.2: **adeṅ guṇaḥ // 2 //** padāni // at-eṅ guṇaḥ //

vṛttih // guṇaśabdaḥ samjñatvena vidhiyate patyekamadeṅam varṇānām sāmānyena tad bhūvitāmatadbhūvi tānāṅ ca // (a, e, o are called as guṇa).

The sūtra VI. 1.78; VII. 3.84; III. 1.68; VI. 4.1 are seen respectively in foot-notes 25, 26, 27 and 29. The root DRU- is stated in the sūtra VII. 2.13:

Kṛṣṛbhṛvṛstudrusuṣruvo liṭi // 13 // padāni // kṛ ṣṛ bhṛ vṛ stu dru sru śruvaḥ liṭi //

Vṛttih // kṛ ṣṛ bhṛ vṛ stu dru sru śru ityeteṣāṃ liṭi pratyaye idāgamo na bhavati //.

¹⁵⁶ Tradition had chosen something in vocabulary as people had an accurate need. Guesdon did not record the word *dab*. The “purists” and “non-purists” hold on the opinion that “*dab* is in reality *dap*” as soldiers must come *to bar*; *to obstruct*, *to dam*, *to contend*, *to block up* the enemies’ advance. They do not like Sanskrit contribution (see also foot-note 130).

In *Mahābhārata*: *Athāvaraṇamukhyāni nānāpraharaṇāni ca pragrhyābhyadravan devān sahitā daityadānavāḥ* // 1 //

Then, various strikings (among) the chiefs carrying various missiles that ran up to gods along with the demons, son of Diti". (I, adhyāya 17)

Kṛṣṇa's word: *ayudhyamānasya vadhas tathāśastrasya bhārata parāṇ mukhasya dravataḥ śaraṇaṃ vābhigacchataḥ kṛtāñjaleḥ prapannasya na vadhaḥ pūjyate budhaiḥ* // 22 //

"One who is not ghting, who has no weapons (in hands), who is running away from the battle-eld, who is seeking refuge, who is coming (for protection) with suppliant (attitude) and with folded hands, such a person should not be killed, o descendant of Bharata, as suggested by the sages".¹⁵⁷

(*Karṇaparvan, Mahābhārata*, VIII. 49.22, vol. 10, p. 408, BORI, Devanagarī edition).

A *hau* was initiated and led by the pick (of regular army), *bal thnik*. A drum was beaten, and the men with weapons in hands cried (*hō*). Any person from 16 years old of any place crossed by a *hau* must have followed the movement. Had a person or a group of persons been opposed to a *hau*, they would have been killed at once. When the flow of men reached a course of water (lake, river), there were particular big boats called *dūk gae hau*¹⁵⁸; they were used to transport the men. Anywhere, the cry (*hō*) was heard all the time. The soldiers-rowers, *bal caev*, were ready to make the boat move.

One can understand that after the collapse of Angkorian statecraft and its organization, Khmer history till the beginning of Narottam's reign was full of endless conflict. Cambodia had permanently undergone many wars caused at first among Khmer of high ranked-men. In consequence, Khmer territory had been invaded by Annamese or Siamese forces. A

¹⁵⁷ Cf. SAN Sarin, *Question of Dharmayuddha ...*, *op. cit.*, (see foot-note 99).

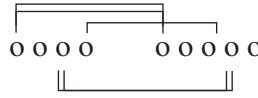
¹⁵⁸ Chuon Nath recorded the word *gae* and omitted the word *hau*. *Hau* is also absent in Guesdon's *Dictionary*; *gae hau* was "a pleasure-junk" (p.315). Guesdon had seen merely what had been the function of this boat in the late period. It became a sort of boat surrounding the "royal floating little palace" before the actual Royal Palace of Phnom Penh. In *gae hau*, according to Guesdon, *gae* comes from Annamese word (?). Since a very long time, Khmer people had not waited for borrowing *gae* from Annamese language.

Gae is "a crop"(of bird) which is a temporary stock place of food, i.e. a thin-walled pouch, before reaching the gizzard. A man has this kind of "crop" (or well-known as "Adam's apple" which "moves" when one swallows something, and it "comes" again at its place, the starting point of gullet). This "Adam's apple" would have made a transfert of food to the stomach through the gullet, which could have caused people to believe in. The idea of "transfert" may have been considered as the big boat transported the troops from a bank of another.

total ghting back like *hau* had been an unique issue for Khmer people to find themselves once again their dignity. The task force and the legitimacy of a *hau* were certainly *ājñā sik*, “the authority of war”, which was absolute.¹⁵⁹

The present proverb may have been a piece of collective memory instilling a dangerous condition of battles and also an expected hopeful situation. Moreover, this proverb would have dened to remind anyone of fierce and terrible assaults known in the past.

This is the diagram of rhyming:



25. Sla oy sāp aṅguy oy dāp prājñā oy vai saṃtī oy khbas'.
(n° 47 DrP)

Translation. “To make a *main dish*, don’t add more salt, to take a seat, sit down (with right manner); (your) intelligence must be quickening, (your) expressing words may be noteworthy for (an inventive issue)”.

Sla, verb, it is very difficult to have this verb rightly translated into English language. The present point may be acceptable as I have chosen “to make a main dish”, for it intends to convey a simple idea. Western European gastronomy and Khmer cooking art are very different from one another. In operational way, like other cooking arts of various cultures, *sla* implies some successive steps of preparations. An example may be given as some elements of appreciation. Any Khmer people know *samla mjūr*.¹⁶⁰ This latter may be considered as

¹⁵⁹ This is an idea or an opinion as I had listened to through Khmer country. People in rural condition had their view on their own realistic history which was very different from those who stayed in their rooms in Western Europe or another continent with their booming titles.

¹⁶⁰ *Mjūr*, a matter which produces naturally an acid taste, i.e. lemon, (*amla-keśara*, “citron-tree”, tamarind-pods (*amla-phala*, “tamarind-tree”). Acid taste is pointed out by the word *jūr*. Generally, *mjūr* is obtained by vegetal origin. This acid substance for the dish can also be obtained from insect like “red ant” (*aṅkrañ*). This insect has a pair of mandibles; it attacks by nipping skin of an intruder; it causes ache and it spreads a liquid on the point of nipping act. This liquid is acid and it is used in certain kind of *samla mjūr* (with beef, big and small game). *Amla* is seen in the Chap. V of *Manusmṛti*, st. 114, 4th pada (...) *kṣārāmlodakavāribhiḥ* // 114 //.

a Khmer “national dish”. The simple preparing steps are: 1) boiling water in a pot (terra cotta or metal), 2) *jraṃ prahuk*, “putting the paste of fish in the boiling water by using a kind of strainer made bamboo basket-work (*kantraṅ prahuk*) and a ladle, 3) put prepared pieces of fish (or meat) in the «sauce», 4) adding acid substance (*mjūr*), 5) putting vegetables, 6) adding fresh stalks of *m-am* herb (*Limnophila conferta* Benth); *m-am* herb is needful in many forms of *samla mjūr*; it depends on the composing elements of the *samla*.

These preparing steps can be pointed out together by a verb *sla* where salt may be put in with care.¹⁶¹

Dāp, adj. “low”, in figurative sense, *dāp* is generally associated with *thok* (of pāli *thoka*), i.e. *thok dāp*. *Dāp* of the proverb is connected with a sitting position. In traditional way, people sit down on a mat made of rush; it is unfolded on the floor. People sit down by bending the legs at the right (or left) hand side. (It is sometimes said as “to sit down at the Indian way”). Khm. language points out the sitting way by the expression *aṅguy pai’ joēñ*.¹⁶² With

¹⁶¹ I am not a specialist of receipt for dish of Khmer cooking art. I gather some indications to offer a comprehensive way. Many persons believe that *samla* coming from *sla* by inserting *-am-*. *Samla* of the present purpose may come from *sa + amla*; *amla* means “sour, acid”. After *sandhi*, we obtain *samla*, the case does not follow the phonetic rule of sk. grammar. The first element *sa*, ind., having close connection with *saha*, *sam*, expresses a “junction, conjunction, a possession”; it may be understood as “with, together, along with, added to, having, possessing, containing”. The final short *a* of *sa* meets the initial short *a* of *amla*; this latter *a* is immediately followed by a double consonants (or a binding letter). Then, the short *a* of *sa* is dropped down. This situation may recall one the pāli phonetics as *na atthi* changes into *n’atthi* (or simply *natthi*). What I can bring in a possible answer to make clear the word *samla*.

I do not know the etymological aspect of the verb *sla*. The aspect of famous *sla* is seen on a panel of the surrounding wall painting left by the last great artist Ukñā Deb Nimitt Mak’ (at the end of 19th cent. A.D.) at the “Silver Monastery” (*Brah Vihār Brah Kaev Markat*) at Phnom Penh. It can be seen some big cauldrons (without handle in Khm. way) set up on fire, and many monkeys jump out of them. They are onward to be trained to make Rāma’s armies. Many troops had been killed by demons in the battle-fields. To maintain the battles, many monkeys are needful. So, a quick way is to *sla* as it intends to produce numerous and successive contingents of soldiers. Being in possession of secret and effective ingredients, Rāma commanded that attacking soldiers must be *sla* as it would have been useless to mobilize the monkeys as had done Sugrīva. The narrative knot is well-known as *Brah Rām sla bal*, which it can be understood as a creative part of popular *Rāmakert(i)*, a Khmer version of Vālmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to popular belief, Rāma knew how to have a big army rapidly. This is celebrated as the first mission of Hanumant to Laṅkā to meet Sītā in Aśoka garden, and also as well as Rāma’s building the bridge to Laṅkā (pointed out in Khm. by *Brah Rām cañ thnal*). What is the wide-spreading sense of *sla* in Khmer taste.

¹⁶² There are some principal sitting ways: 1) *aṅguy baen bhnaen*, “sitting by crossing legs” (“lotus position”), 2) *aṅguy coñ hoñ*, “sitting on one’s heels”, 3) *aṅguy sanṭūk joēñ*, “sitting by putting one’s buttock on the floor, the legs are stretched out at full length”, 4) *aṅguy pai’*

regard to a chair or an armchair, the traditional sitting position is already low. Khmer right ways taught to a true-born people focus an attention on the hip, the trunk, the shoulders and the elbows of an individual. When the buttocks touch the floor and the legs are folded (on the right or left hand side), the hip and the trunk must be standing upright. The position of a person is appreciated from the front-view. The shoulders do not spread out¹⁶³, the arms are naturally at the sides of the trunk; each forearm is on each thigh; the two hands are between the space limited by the two thighs as each wrist is on the edge of each thigh. When speaking or answering, the left arm must not be used as a stay, the left hand must not prop against the floor outside the space limited by one's two thighs. The two shoulders must not be spread largely¹⁶⁴. When speaking, they are maintained unshaken,¹⁶⁵ the face is lightly lifted up.

Samṭī oy khbas', a speech or an expression must be made of correct sentences composed by right words. In an assembly or in a public meeting, a final result is to find out an issue to a problem, a critical

jaṃdaeñ, "sitting by spreading one's legs" (the buttocks are on the floor), 5) *aṅguy kandhaek joeñ*, "sitting by spreading largely one's legs" (the buttocks are on the floor), 6) *aṅguy yah joeñ*, "sitting by stretching out one's legs at full length and being spread largely on the floor", 7) *aṅguy camhāmñ*, "sitting by spreading largely one's legs which are drawing up towards one's body", (this is another way of *aṅguy pañ' jaṃdaeñ* or *aṅguy kandhaek joeñ*), 8) *aṅguy trapom kpāl jaṅgañ*, sitting with a folded leg, (the left one), on the floor, the folded right one holds its standing position, and this right leg is interlaced by the two arms, (this position could recall one the *rājalālītāsana*, "(sitting position) of a royal ease", 9) *aṅguy crak kiev* or *aṅguy bāk' kiev*, "sitting by bestriding something".

¹⁶³ There is a particular sitting position; it is known as *aṅguy māp* performed by any man as it depends on various situations (taking meal, listening to recitation of pāli texts performed by Buddhist monks...). Buttocks being on the floor, legs folded, hip and trunk standing upright, the position admitted as "low" (*dāp*) is obtained by putting the left elbow on the left thigh; the important part of the weight of the trunk is supported by the left arm propping against the left thigh. Consequently, the trunk and the head are better lowered than the position where the wrists are on the thighs. This low sitting position must be observed in case of paying a visit to a high ranked man, a Buddhist monk enjoying a high degree in hierarchy. In Khm. traditional society, a marriage is likely arranged among families. The applicant for the possible wedding act would be shown to the family of the eventual bridegroom. The applicant had to be trained within some times. Some gestures must be performed rightly as sitting down, presenting *añjali* salutation, speaking, answering. In training times, he must endure the comments and personal notices of his own folks. Again, the sitting position with the left arm propped against the left thigh is called as *aṅguy māp*, and for a touch of irony, it is said as *aṅguy māp mṭāy knek*, it can be understood as sitting with low position as making a show of zeal (facing) the mother-in-law.

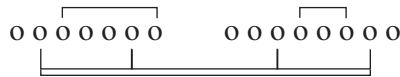
¹⁶⁴ In Khm., *kāñ smā*.

¹⁶⁵ In Khm. *gralaeñ smā*; true Khmer way does not know any act of shrugging one's shoulders, which it is ill-mannered.

situation. *Khbas'* means "high, superior, nobly, lofty, exalted". A speech with chosen words must bear a positive tenet bringing in a solution with its steps of task force.

The proverb is a concise lesson of humility. It advises how to show one's respect with regard to deep human value. From the 40's, the men who were in and round Khmer statecraft deviated from national authentic values. If they would have thought of Khmer realistic situations by reducing their bestial instinct, Cambodia and its people would have been able to avoid a long and total massacre in the last quarter of XXth cent. A.D.

This is the diagram of rhyming:



The proverb has two *ghlā*; the first one has 7 syllables, the 2nd *ghlā* shows 8 syllables¹⁶⁶.

26. Dhvoe srae oy moel smau duk tāk' kūn cau oy moel phau santān.

(n° 50 DrP)

Translation.—“Cultivating a rice-field requires keeping a close eye on herbs,
aiming at putting proposal (of marriage) into words of one's children and grandsons requires querying lineage and continuity”.

Moel smau, it is an expression, the primary sense must be kept

¹⁶⁶ By looking through the numbers 7 and 8, the showing way of the proverb may convey an interesting core. Some operations can be made: $7 + 8 = 15$ (A),

(A) may be cubed as $15 \times 15 \times 15 = 3375$ (B)

→ $3 + 3 + 7 + 5 = 18$ (C)

Apply Khmer way of calculation as *kāc' pūk* to (B) $33 + 75 = 108$ (D).

off. There always weeds in a rice-eld. The owner must not let them develop much more as rice-plants would be stifling by them. The right action is to have the rice-plants developed suitably, so the weeds must be pulled out of a rice-eld. In direct way, it can be said as *poc smau*, *ṭak smau* or *jaṃraḥ smau*. Using the verb *poc*, *ṭak* or *jaṃraḥ* would be an awkward manner. *Moel* is a fit word to say.

Duk ṭāk', there are two verbs used together; they have the meanings as following: *duk*, “to keep, to place, to put”, *ṭāk'*, “to put, to set on, to dispose, to place, to fix”. When a father and a mother coming to an agreement with the partners of an alliance, organize a wedding ceremony with traditional rites, it is lovely said as *mṭāy duk aubuk ṭāk'*. It is the matter to remind that the parents share out the charge and task with regard to the obligations due to blood relation.

Kūn, “child, son”, *kūn srī*, “a daughter”, *kūn prasā*, “a son-in-law”; *cau*, “a grandson”;

Moel phau santān, in appearance, the same *moel* is in the 1st and 2nd *ghlā* of the proverb. The nuance is quite different from one another. *Moel* in the 2nd *ghlā* means “to look at, to exam, to inquire, to investigate, to scan”. Each step of action related to a verb needs a tactful behaviour; scrupulousness is the key-word.

Phau, “family lineage, collateral relative”, there are synonyms: *vams(a)*, *trakūl*, *būj*, *aṃpūr*.

Santān(a), from pāli *santāna*, s.nt., m. (from *sam* + TAN-), “continuity, succession, lineage”.

Recently, the proverb was set on three *ghlā*, each one of them has four syllables:

Dhvoe srae moel smau duk ṭāk' kūn cau moel phau santān.

It is the modern arrangement by omitting the verb *oy* introducing an obligation or a recommendation. The rhyming line follows the *pad(a) kākagati*¹⁶⁷. I prefer the form recorded by Dr. Pannetier than this arrangement indicated above. It has an outlining, a calling up to what it has to be done. The matter is shown in toilsome way; the sentence becomes flimsy.

Dr. Pannetier's record is still heard in nowadays. The speaking way sets off something to advantage as recommendation; traditional way is vivifying and it conveys an adumbrating wit mixed with a sort of a deep game of aesthetics touched with that

¹⁶⁷ Cf. footnote 94.

an inner inventive effect¹⁶⁸.

Another view must be stated. The idea of *moel smau* is seen in a text of *Cpāp*¹⁶⁹. In this text, the author stirred up a theme of conduct facing some types of men. I could say that the King-poet Braḥ Rāj Sambhār Bañā Tū did not fail to know the proverb in the form as recorded by Dr. Pannetier. According to my opinion, beyond the simple message, the proverb rakes in many things.

This is the diagram of rhyming.



The proverb has two *ghlā*, the first one has five syllables, the second one, nine syllables. The 1st and the 2nd syllables of the 1st *ghlā* are “free” facing others binding with structural rhyming. The 8th and the 9th syllables of the 2nd *ghlā* are also “free”¹⁷⁰ as

¹⁶⁸ An analysis is devoted to some rare elements of prosody as the modern arrangement had tried to have them disappeared. It may deal with showing way, balance, rhymes, numbers and far reaching meaning of proceedings.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Saveros Pou & Philip N. Jenner, *Cpāp’ Rājaneti ou Cpāp’ Braḥ Rājasambhār*, in B.E.F.E.O. t. LXV, Paris, 1978, p. 381, 394, st. 36:

*dhvoe srae moel smau santān moel phau paṃroe moel but
doḥ ṭin but jā buṃ cer but ṭput ṭin citt parisuddh buṃ cer iriyā // 36 //*

“En cultivant la rizière, surveillez les herbes; en étudiant la lignée [de quelqu’un], on examine ses collatéraux; en jugeant les serviteurs, on examine leur comportement; en voyant une bonne conduite, on ne rejette pas la possibilité d’une ruse; en remarquant un cœur pur, on ne néglige pas l’examen du comportement”.

¹⁷⁰ The term “free” is intentionally used here to ease the comprehension of the statement. When considering the case from Khmer point of view on prosody, it requires an adequate showing way. One is in front of two *ghlā*. Through any surveying way, a comprehensive view commands attention. The two *ghlā* form an unit with regard to what it must be said. The first two syllables of the 1st *ghlā* is in the beginning or the “starting point” (*toem*, in Khm.). The two last syllables of the 2nd *ghlā* are at the “ending point” (*cuñ*, in Khm.). The “starting point” and the “ending point” have three terms to point them out. These are: 1) *rās’ toem cuñ*, 2) *ramāññ toem cuñ*, 3) *radaeñ toem cuñ*.

The words *toem* and *cuñ* are common in the three terms.

Case of the 1st one: *rās’* is a verb having a proper sense as “to harrow”. In figurative sense, *rās’* is generally associated with *niyāy*, “to speak, to tell, to state, to say”. Then, one can meet *niyāy rās’* which means “to speak” or “to say” with assurance and conviction about something. Any point of the speech is not left without full signification; the expression is *niyāy rās’ dāññ cuñ dāññ toem*, “to speak with assurance till the end and from the beginning”.

well as the beginning of the 1st *ghlā*.

The 1st *ghlā* and the 2nd *ghlā* would be considered as in unbalanced situation. It could be a queer thing as the fundamental principle in Khmer art is still the bilateral symmetry (architecture, sculpture...and even making of paper-kite!). Normal proceeding with the number 14 syllables would be two parts of 7 syllables. The 7 *cuon* has its *raison d'être* as

it belongs already to the rhyming line (see the ending part of the foot-note 2 of the former page). What is the function of 7 *laeñ* in the global indication? Within many long years I had been getting uneasy about the unbalanced situation of the two *ghlā* and the principle of bilateral symmetry. However, The 7 *laeñ* is the ringing tone for me. Since the very beginning of 80's, my Sanskrit reading led me to Vedic mathematics and the works left by Hindu scientific heritage and also by the spheres of Jaina and Buddhist practices. My attention focuses on the science of numbers. The accurate view on the matter may call on mathematic contribution combined with Khmer collective memory in the field.¹⁷¹

Case of the 2nd one: ramāññ, in proper sense, means “to go away” (without any reason), “to take to one’s heels”. In figurative sense, the message conveyed by a speech or precisely by the present proverb of the present purpose, must “go away” or “work well” without taking care of an opinion of anybody as the good idea must gain ground. To notice that *ramāññ* in proper sense is one of species of ruminant mammals; Khmer people know five species, i.e. *kāñ*, *proes*, *jhlūs*, *ramāññ*, *drāy*, (in English these can be comparative to stag, hart, red deer, etc..., with antlers as characteristics).

Case of the 3rd one: radaeñ, adj., it means what it is concrete as it can't be denied or refused. In the present proverb, the *radaeñ* way is a fit mean to hold out the sense, i.e. *dhvoe srae*, “working at rice-field” (agricultural profession), *santān(a)* as any human being has his succession, his lineage.

The rhyming structure has no name at all, but each part of the ensemble has three terms conveying an interesting in Khmer art of prosody. The proceeding ways are still rare, and they are worth while describing.

The 1st, 2nd and 3rd syllables of the 2nd *ghlā* are “free” in their appearance. In fact, they are encompassed by the rhyming line and its structure. This line is limited by the 3rd syllable of the 1st *ghlā* and the 7th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*.

People use another term being 7 *cuon laeñ*. The latter is useful to show a global aspect of rhyming line and in practical way it is a mnemotechnic form. In full, it is said as *prām bīr cuon prām bīr laeñ*, “7 in rhyming 7 left released”. One sees easily the seven syllables binding by the rhyming line (7 *cuon*) in the ensemble. *Prām bīr laeñ* has two syllables at the “starting point(*toem*), two syllables at the “ending point” (*cuñ*) and three syllables, i.e. the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd syllables of the 2nd *ghlā*. The total of *prām bīr laeñ* is 7 syllables. Again, the two *ghlā* of the proverb have 14 syllables.

¹⁷¹ For all that, it is not the dinner-bell of a gala. The fact can be an opening lane. We may

consider the possible function of *7 laeñ* as it bears a potential capacity to be helpful. The two syllables at the “starting point” of the 1st *ghlā* and the two syllables at the “ending point” of the 2nd *ghlā* make four syllables. We have three syllables at the beginning of the 2nd *ghlā*. (Otherwise, they are encompassed by the rhyming line, which it just has indicated in another platform).

The calculation can be started as: $4 - 3 = 1$ (A),

We have a total of 14 syllables ($5 + 9 = 14$),

$14 - 1 = 13$ (B),

The relation (B) may be cubed: $13^3 = 13 \times 13 \times 13 = 2197$ (C), it gives $2 + 1 + 9 + 7 = 19$ (D).

N.B. The number 19 represents the *braliñ khmaer* having 19 elements; *braliñ* can be understood as “vital spirits”. Otherwise, the relation (D) is equivalent to 1. By taking the relation (C), we make the operations *kāc'tak* and *kāc'pūk* according Khmer calculating proceedings.

$97 - 21 = 76$ (E), [it is a *kāc'tak*, a subtraction],

$97 + 21 = 118$ (F), [it is a *kāc'pūk*, an addition].

Reaching this step, one can expect a good and satisfying result as in (E) the final digit is 6; in (F) the two final digits are 18. The numbers 6 and 18 are divisible by 3 (and also by 6).

By reckoning from the 3rd syllable of the 1st *ghlā* up to the 7th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*, we have 10 syllables. The number **ten** (10) is a “radix”, according to the principle of Vedic mathematics.

(F) - 10 = $118 - 10 = 108$ (G),

(G) - (E) = $108 - 76 = 32$ (H).

From the relations (G) and (H), a number which may corroborate the total number of syllables in the two *ghlā* of the proverb would be found out. The two final digits of (G) are 08; the final digit of (H) is 2. Thus, $8 + 2 = 10$, this the “radix”. Now, the number 32 seen in relation (H) represents the 32 favourable marks of the Great Man (*Mahāpuruṣa*) as it is stated in the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* the 30th *sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* of pāli *Tiṭṭaka*. In the present purpose, the number 32 could be considered as a favourable symbol conveyed by the message of the proverb.

Vedic people could have built up a big system of structural numbers and they had left us many series of operational numbers as the modern terminology can point out by the term arithmetic and geometric progression. The *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, XVII had known the structure of numerical series as one actually knows as “exponent”. About the present number 32, it can naturally be a result of a geometric progression with common ratio = 2.

The *n*th term of a geometric progression is, according to modern way, obtained by the formula: $n\text{th} = ar^{(n-1)}$, *a* is the first number, *r* = the common ratio, *n* = number of terms in the series.

Till the 5th term, we can write down as $1 \times 2^{(5-1)} = 1 \times 2^4 = 2^4 = 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 16$. When multiplying $16 \times 2 = 32$; then, we can write down: $1 \times 2^{(6-1)} = 1 \times 2^5 = 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 32$.

The line of the geometric progression with ratio 2 is as following: 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32; the number 32 is at the 6th rank reckoning from 1 (the 1st number) and it needs five terms of $2(n - 1 = 6 - 1 = 5)$. As having foreseen, make an addition of relations (G) and (H):

(G) + (H) = $108 + 32 = 140$ (I).

By dividing (I) by 10, the “radix”: $140 / 10 = 14$ (J), this is the total number of syllables in the proverb.

(H) - (J) = $32 - 18 = 18$ (K).

This last relation makes sure of an acceptable result. Can we have a good result? This state of a so-called “good result” is still a possibility. The forthcoming great scholars in Khmer

studies would bring in another view which would be able to pull down what it just has shown. The **19** *braliñ*, “vital spirits” of each Khmer people (**braliñ Khmaer**) have been indicated by the relation (D). This number 19 could be found out by another proceeding. We have already the relations (C), (E) and (F). Let’s take 97, the two final digits of (C); (it may be noticed that $9 + 7 = 16 \rightarrow \bar{a} 7$); the number 7 is a half of 14.

Let’s square 97 as $97 \times 97 = 9409$ (L),

108 of (G) is squared as $108 \times 108 = 11664$ (M), $\rightarrow 1 + 1 + 6 + 6 + 4 = \mathbf{18}$,

$(M) - (L) = 11664 - 9409 = 2255$ (N), $\rightarrow 2 + 2 + 5 + 5 = 14$, this is the 14 syllables;

$18 + 14 = \mathbf{32}$, this is equal to (H).

In (M) and in (N), we take respectively 64 and 55; otherwise, $64 \rightarrow 6 + 4 = 10$, the “radix”, $55 \rightarrow 5 + 5 = 10$, the “radix”,

In these results, the number 1 holds out its importance.

$64 + 55 = 119$ (O) = $100 + 19 = 10^2 + 19$, again, the number 19 is found out.

$64 - 55 = 9$ (P), (the number of syllables in the 2nd *ghlā* of the proverb).

Now, in (C), consider the number 21 which must be squared: $21 \times 21 = 441 \rightarrow 4 + 4 + 1 = 9$, it’s equal to (P).

The numbers 32 of (H) and 18 of (K) may be squared as $32 \times 32 = 1024$ (Q),

$18 \times 18 = 324$ (R),

$(Q) - (R) = 1024 - 324 = \mathbf{700}$ (S), this is the number of strophes in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Within more than 7 years, I could not help hushing up this number 700 what I thought of through my long seeking moment. I had not anticipated finding it at the tip of my pen after an equation. Through reckoning ways, it can be ascertained that the numbers 1, 13 and 32 take their importance.

The proverb and its rhyming show an appearance of an unbalanced thing. When scraping the matter with critical sense, the number of syllables and the rhyming line conceals something coherent and well-balanced. Moreover, they show off an unbalanced aspect, but behind a screen the inner part is animated by harmony which satisfies anyone knowing how best to appreciate the Khmer art of parole. The presence of the number 13 of relation (B) is obsolete. It is also a square cover number with a view to deal with a practical way. Meanwhile, when being cubed, it offers a helpful track. Among many elements of the present purpose, this number 13 is empty or void. Normally (or instinctively), the gaps must be filled up. What is gap is sufficient by itself, which I can feel. The reckoning uses something like a void element, and it has its function in the framework. The fact reminds me toward the many frontons of the style of Khmer art of Banteay Srei (*Pandāy srī* of 10th cent. A.D.). There is empty space on these frontons. It has its entire part in the aesthetic beauty of the frontons. Hence, the number 13 has its *raison d’être*, due to this possible comparison.

N.B. About the recent arrangement of the proverb, I had some ideas of whom it came from. As usual, I strive to obtain some proofs. When a thing was shown through what they wanted it to be, they took care to get rid of any track of their artificial and superficial acts. They made believe many things which had been transformed by their views and their judgment; this latter aimed at hushing up Indo-Khmer heritage handed down by the past. The arrangement of the proverb is seen in Chuon Nath’s *Khmer Dictionary*, 5th ed. p.701 under *phau*.

The arrangement is immediately followed by the strophe 36 of King Bañā Tū, ruling from 1627 to 1632 A.D., (see footnote 169). The proceeding way made believe that the arrangement had its background in a noticeable work. What a shameful amalgam! This was the attitude of Khmer Modernist Buddhist monks who, with royal family and aristocracy, glorify the modernism brought in Khmer country by French colonialism. Now and then, it is incredible that the real facts connected with the cultural movement of their heritage even from the beginning

I think it could be another issue to grasp the rhyming line of the proverb. I bring in a part of a possible solution as the unbalanced situation can be seen through a series of calculations.

The position of Dr. Pannetier facing the proverb is worth while noticing; Again, his record is close to real and popular living fact. His translation is difficult to accept; it can be understood. It is far from the degree of tune of the proverb¹⁷².

27. Būj go jralaen būj srī p̄tī laen
 būj siss grū pī būj chkae pan' mcās'.

Translation.- “An ox of *jralaen*-bred, a woman who had bred to being separated by her husband, a man who had bred to be a three mastered-disciple, an ill-bred dog who abandons his master, [one must be constantly aware of these four kinds of things]”.

Būj, “race, lineage, breeding antecedents”.

Go jralaen, “a stiff ox or a stiff-necked ox”; after a long period of interbreeding, a species of *go jralaen* is obtained. It is a solid animal, but sometimes it has a bad temper. Then, an owner would have more troublesome moment. In a long time, a stiff ox refuses to obey his owner's orders. He does not hear the commands. Anyone does not know how to bring him round one's command¹⁷³. Khmer language

of the last century A.D. had been likely avoided by many Khmer scholars. Does one know the reason why they looked at without seeing? The question whether to hold fast to one's opinion or not will be being made clear. There will not be a debate as to what should be done. In the working field, it is not worth one's while to call on critical sense.

¹⁷² For information, this is Dr. Pannetier's deal: “Pour faire la rizière, regarde d'abord l'herbe; pour établir tes enfants, regarde l'origine de la famille”, in B.E.F.E.O., t. XV, Hanoi, 1916, (see footnote 10).

¹⁷³ A stiff ox does not move at all; sometimes he lies down on the ground with the yoke on his neck. He remains motionless even his owner has pricked him with the goad. By opening his chops, an owner puts in ox's mouth a handful sand. This stiff one continues to stay at his place. An owner withdraws the yoke from the ox, and then the cart is put at another place. Anyhow, there is no way to make him move. In a village of rural region called as *sruk srae* (which is quite different from a *sruk camkār* being on the banks of important water-course of a region), an instinctive way is to take a bundle of dry palm-leaves; the fire is set on it and the ox is burnt by that fire. This issue seems to be dangerous as the scalds must wound the skin of the animal. It remains another issue. An owner chews two or three pimentos. Meanwhile, two or three men with string in hand are ready to bind the ox's feet. By a signal, an owner goes near the ox, opens the chops and sprits the content of his mouth in the one of the animal.

Pimentos mixed with saliva make the effect very rapidly. There is a risk, the ox can attack by using his feet, his head in the course of operation. The men can be gored. The ox jumps up on his four feet which are fastened by the helpers. The rear feet must be bound at first. The end of the strings are tied up to solid points. A sort of "carcan", *ghnān*, is put under his thorax; the wooden piece is lifted up by a kit of strings as the fore feet of the animal are still touched the ground. So, he can't move. To get rid of the hot effect of pimentos, a palm-sugar is mixed with water. The solution is put in the ox's mouth by a long-handled ladle. He opens his mouth as the sweet solution lessens the effect of pimentos. By spitting force, some drops of tiny debris of pimentos can be deposited in his nostrils. A sweet, thin solution must be spread on his nostrils. So, the painful sensation may be felt in a short moment. He remains in this position for two or three days with a food intake, i.e. some small tufts of dry herbs and little quantity of water.

After a night, it seems that his physical condition stands still. He has a tuft of fresh herbs and water. The latter is given again in the afternoon as the weather is hot. In the morning of the 2nd day, the ox has a tuft of fresh herbs and water; he will receive a little measure of paddy and water in the afternoon. The food intake is the same as before in the morning of the 3rd day. Some men are coming for help. The lifting strings are eased; the "carcan" is maintained at its place. Two others strings are bound on each side of a wooden piece under the ox's thorax. The ends of them are fastened to a heavy wooden piece behind the ox's rear feet. The four strings at the four feet are then untied; the ox's feet are free. He is driven out of the village by dragging the heavy wooden piece behind him. The owner and the helpers stop at a place having some big trees. A rear foot of the ox is tied up by a string with its end bound at a peg well-driven into the ground. He has on the ground before him a heap of fresh herbs and he starts to eat. In the afternoon, he receives the paddy in a little basket. Before twilight, he is driven back to the village where he receives the last heap of fresh herbs of the day before going in the cow-shed.

The operation like the 3rd day can be repeated in case of need; it depends on the attitude of the animal. Normally after a week an ox recovers his ordinary habit. It seems that it is the only way out of the predicament for the owner. Again, the case of a baneful situation caused by a bad-tempered ox is said as *go kiec* incurred risk, for an owner having a *go jralaēn*.

It is happened that it is hurtful to the owner in ploughing moment in the rice-field. He lies down on the ground, accurately in the mud as ploughing activity takes place at the beginning of tropical raining season. After a short time, he can stand up, draw the plough as he is still yoked and goes to and fro. Through this frightening way, anyone would be running the risk of being attacked by this ox. Even the owner himself is in a dangerous situation for his life if he will risk stopping the animal.

At first, he takes away the plough by easing him from the yoke, and immediately, the string binding the ox must be extended by a coil of string. Suddenly, the ox begins to go to and fro as he will play truant. Then the man ties an end up to a big tree. These steps have to be done at the first moment of the bad situation. In the instant, it is sure that the ox is still bound at the string which could be cut off by his impulsive force. The owner must make him move on condition that he were at least under a threat. But the owner is alone.

The only issue left by old persons of the past is to catch the small crabs of the rice-fields in the period of the first ploughing. It will take time before finding out a living place of crabs. Standing a chance, the man has caught two or three small crabs. What his owner is searching all round the place would have been felt or remarked by the ox. When seeing him coming back, he stares at the man and his feet start to stir. His owner shows him the small crabs, the ox stands up at once. With these crustaceans in hand, the man simulates to put some of them in the ox's ear; its external ear moves nervously. He tries to go away, but the string retains him

points out the bad attitude of an ox by the word *kīec*, i.e. *go kīec*.

What is the origin of *go jralaēñ*? It is still a difficult question. This species of ox is a result of a long period of interbreeding. In Khmer language, there are two words for cow seen in inscriptions of Pre-Angkorian period: *tmur* and *androk*.¹⁷⁴ The present state of information is likely acceptable, for want of competent survey. One

tightly. By the way, the owner makes the ox go to and fro within a moment as he is frightened out of his wits. From the early morning to noon, the working time has been lost. Then, the man sets on going back to the village. The yoke of the plough is ready, he must lead the wicked ox for being yoked. He has deluded the animal into believing that he would be threatened by small crabs at any time. It boils down to this. He should get him to come step by step towards the yoke by dragging him hardly.

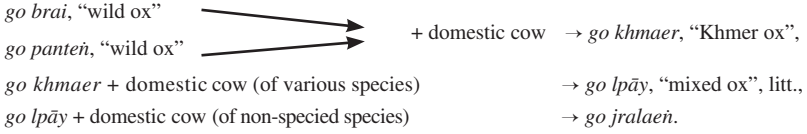
Reaching home, he is released and tied up at a place, he undergoes a food intake, i.e. little quantity of dry rice-plants (*campoēñ*) and water till next morning.

Why does an ox take fright at a small crab? No one knows the real cause. One has his own opinion facing the fact. What I will say is a supposition after many observations. Any crab has five pairs of jointed legs. The ones of small crab may give an ox a thrashing sensation when he would move on the inner surface of an auditory duct of the ear. On the lining, a small crab finds many things to eat. All of its movements produces vibrations made by sound waves which are collected by eardrum (or tympanic membrane); this membrane becomes a generator of an amplification in the inner ear. If, by simulating gesture of putting a small crab in a ear-hole of an ox, one should ever do an awkward way, a crustacean could have fallen into it. Then, it would not to be expected that it should be easily drawn back out of the ear-hole. The ox should die, due to a wrong gesture bringing terrible pain. Do not let one do many times the simulating acts of threatening, lest a small crab should fall into the ear-hole. An ox starts horrified at the feeling of the legs of crustacean which is put on his external ear. A man can be wounded by the ox's feet as the animal is panic-stricken.

One prefers to stay at home rather than be disturbed by a wicked ox. One likes changing rapidly the situation and one loathes waiting, of course. One can't bear seeing an ox wicked and disobedient. Fortunately, the older persons found out from the past the small crabs as an efficient remedy against a bad-tempered ox. This is an aspect of *go jralaēñ* having an odd way of his own of disturbing the working moment. No one knows how best to shake off a baneful temper of a *go jralaēñ*.

¹⁷⁴ *Tmur* in K. 726, cf. G. Coedès, IC V, p.76; *androk*, in K. 28, c. G. Coedès, IC II, p. 24. Khmer language had taken the word *go* of sk. and used it till the present time. Cf. *Lexicographie vieux-khmère* in *Seksa Khmer (Khmer Studies)* n° 7, Paris, 1984, p. 74, p. 147. different regions of Khmer country had produced bovine matter since prehistorical period (site of Laang Spean in Western Battambang, Roland Mourer's survey and B.P. Groslier's point of view). The actual spreading species of ox in Cambodia is called as *go sīem*, "Siamese ox". It would have been a species having brought in Cambodia. In what period? No one can answer. Consequently, *go khmaer* species should have become rare. According to native view, the remaining image of a bull Nandin in Khmer art carved in sandstone represents the figure of *go khmaer*. The oxen who draw the plough in the the Royal Furrows Festival (*puny(a) crat' brah nañgal*); they are ritually called as *go usabharāj*. They may remind one toward the noble figure of *go khmaer*. Roughly speaking, from *go brai* or *go panteñ*, people have *go khmaer*, *go lpāy* and *go jralaēñ*. Certain opinion argues that *go khmaer* is the same as *go lpāy* as they are the results of interbreeding. (see also foot-note 22).

may see *go jralaen* through some steps:



Srī, “woman”, (see Proverb n. 7);

Pī, from sk. *pati*, “master, husband, lord”;

Laen, “to release, to liberate, to set free”; *laen*, in the present context, takes the sense of “judicial separation” or “divorce”. The part of the proverb *srī pī laen* has its right senses dealing with the husband who takes a divorce proceedings against his wife or he sues for a divorce. If the proverb said *srī laen pī* the sense would be “the wife sues for a divorce”. In Khmer language, the order of words in a sentence and also their place hold the importance, which must be noticed.¹⁷⁵ In rural milieu, separation or divorce is rare. With regard to social Khmer context, it is incredible that a husband sues for a divorce. Normally, social human condition should have avoided a divorce. There would have been some heavy facts and and sorrowful gestures in a married couple. A woman has to stand a loss, the situation injures her reputation. Rightly or wrongly, she is believed to have behaved badly towards her husband as the proverb searches to remind one about the sad case undergone by a woman.

Siss, *pāli*, sk. *śiṣya*, “pupil, disciple”, *siss grū pī* points out a pupil who had already three teachers (or masters, preceptors) for what he wishes to become skilful in an art or a science, according to his choice. At last, he did not reach a competence as he changed the masters before knowing entirely what he can do. In traditional way, when someone wishes to know an art or a science, he must look for a master or a preceptor and stay with him. By common consent, a pupil renders the master a service while staying with him. This latter has an obligation to teach what the pupil wishes to be. Generally, a pupil has an inconstant temper, which it is his defective side. Then, he can’t go through what it must be learnt. He goes away to look another master. From a place to another, he does not find his legs in a true knowledge. Consequently, he has no ability at all¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁵ Many French translators and also some Khmer persons do not take care to the nuance of the language.

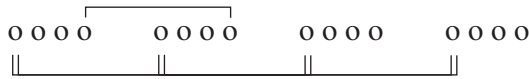
¹⁷⁶ Before the general massacre and after it and till nowadays many Khmer people “know

Chkae, “dog”, *mcās*’, “master, owner”; *pañ*’, “to abandon, to give up”. A dog who abandons his master becomes a stray dog. Physically, the proverb reminds one as to avoid the contact with this sort of dog who can bears infectious diseases. It is useless to keep a stray dog at a place.

Dr Pannetier’s translation may be quoted: “De la race des boeufs *cralèn* (bœuf), de la race des femmes repudiées, de la race des élèves qui ont eu trois précepteurs, de la race des chiens indèles». After nearly a hundred years of publication, the tenet of translation is hardly different from the one of Dr Pannetier, but the approach is not the same touch. Dr Pannetier had no time to survey the realistic aspects of Khmer way of life of those days.

I come, now, after him and I wish to enlarge the scope of comprehension of the proverbs. However, Dr Pannetier bears a sincere esteem toward oral tradition of Khmer country.

This is the diagram of rhyming:



The proverb has four *ghlā*, each one of them has four syllables. By considering the number of syllables in each *ghlā*, the rhyming line could be related to *pad(a) kākagati*.¹⁷⁷ At present and after

many things of all kind”. They have lost traditional approach toward a true knowledge for building an accurate skill. Cultural heritage of contemporary period distinguishes five degrees from a low one to a high one. The successive degrees are *ī*, *tiñ*, *sgāl*’, *yal*’, *ceḥ*. From many decenies of the last century, “modern Khmer people” believed themselves to reach *ceḥ* which is the high degree in a competence. For my own deep conviction, the whole Khmer peasants have the *ceḥ* degree as they have produced what is necessary for life. “Modern Khmer people” of all disconcerted propensity had done many things to boil down to the general massacre and now one may wonder where is *the Khmer dignity*. Roughly speaking, after Independence (50’s), the “modern category” of population had pretended to a high knowledge, but it had been in fact in an ill-assimilated knowledge left by. The situation was onward to face alien ideology brought in Khmer country and the superstructure of State had no capacity to hold forth an appropriate analysis. A comparative way can be likely suggested; the three masters of Khmer people in contemporary period are Khmer cultural heritage, colonialism, alien ideology (cold war). It is not the historical explanation, it is simply a practical view by which the sequence of *siss gru pi* could be grasped. The leading class of Khmer people had deviated from cultural heritage of the nation and lost the sense of State.

¹⁷⁷ See footnote 94.

scanning, the whole proverb does not belong to any clear rhyming. The 1st syllable of each *ghlā* uses the same word, *būj*. The 4th syllable of the 1st *ghlā* rhymes with the 4th syllable of the 2nd *ghlā*. In this 2nd *ghlā*, the 2nd syllable rhymes with the 3rd syllable.

Statement of the proverbs.

It is the first step in the field of sentences and proverbs left by the past of Khmer country. By *first step*, it hints at some manners have been undertaken to clarify the sense of a proverb. A conclusion cannot be established as I show only 27 proverbs. Even a provisional conclusion is certainly a non-sense. The present survey brings in an aspect of the matter related to Khmer studies. This is also the main line of information about Khmer expression with regard to the normal life.

It can be said that the proverbs are among others cultural expressions of human beings. Moreover, proverbs are in way of life of any society where many dynamic impulses are always blending.

Proverbs can represent a tangible wisdom held and also felt by a social group through many generations. Many proverbs endow with realistic sense and realistic expression. I follow the same way as I stand in realistic aspect in grasping and in illustrating the sense of a proverb. Then, some short words on method must be heard here. Otherwise, I try to show the result or rather a positive effect recorded by a society in which the proverbs had been created and handed down from the past. Each proverb has its reason as it shows a right path or attitude in doing something. Between reason and emotion, I choose reason as there is no truth without reason.¹⁷⁸ There is a serious problem of methodology in

¹⁷⁸ It must be said that my way had been contested by some scholars who pretended to be skilful in Khmer studies. At first, I had nothing to vouch for me. Perhaps, my striving effort will vindicate me, which the future will tell. I can take an example. When having read my survey on Buddhism in Khmer country, they refused all what I had carefully recorded in many fields. After a while, I have understood that they have hardly a low bookish Buddhism and many of them were still on the doorway of groping elements of pāli language and “their Khmer” is still at a pitiful degree. They wanted to have my method changed and they tried to bring me round their doubtful knowledge in the field. The attitude is undeserving of France of Descartes. They see Khmer cultural heritage through system and ideology. I show Khmer

Khmer studies and I do something with a clear conscience. I act in full consciousness of the consequences, which I have always gone on since nearly forty years with slog away at finding an issue of many difficult questions. By the way, I do not aim at inducing anyone to believe what I just have written. I only stress the fact that I claim the right to be considered as someone who is courageous enough to bear witness to the truth.

* *Social aspects*

Khmer society was managed on hierarchical framework. Sociological and historical data are still unknown¹⁷⁹. Chinese people had been encouraged to stay in Cambodia by French colonial authority. They were the economic “good agents” of politics of exploitation led by colonial objective. This latter backed up royal family and aristocracy. These Khmer superstructures made business in real estate by housing (condominiums, flats) warranted by colonial authority. In conversation among members of royal family, these “houses” were pointed out by the term *phdah phsār*,”litt. “house (at) the market (place)”. The members of royal family were enriched rapidly by the income of real estate and housing. French Administration had set up a system of “dispatching of interests”¹⁸⁰. Steps by steps, Chinese people

cultural facts through reason and realistic aspect and respect toward people having created this culture.

¹⁷⁹ Some aspects of social life are informed by some short surveys since Cambodia began to extend the relations with France (from the 2nd half of 19 cent. A.D.). After a moment, Khmer country had been under French direct administration. The authority had opened largely Cambodia to the massive settlement of Chinese people; Christian organization brought in Cambodia large number of Vietnamese people (case of his Eminence Miche).

¹⁸⁰ Chinese people had been present since the period of Spanish and Portuguese expansion of 15th and 16th cent.. There had been Chinese presence at the end of 13th cent., according to Techeou Ta-Kouan’s record (cf. footnote 131 p. 48). French Administrators had increased rapidly Chinese people in Cambodia. From 1860, i.e. the first year of period of Phnom Penh just after Oudong period, less than four decenies, they controlled entire economic sphere, included agricultural resources by fixing arbitrarily the price of any raw materials produced by Khmer inhabitants of countryside. Round the royal family, a sort of “Real Estate Agency” was set up and animated by Chinese people called as *mā jiñ* being “administrators or collectors of rent” and deposited it at respective owners of “houses”. Chinese people had expanded a framework (reinforced by secret society known as *pāy huoy*) and developed the real estate. They bought

controlled all of economic aspects. They could strangle Khmer way of life at any moment.

About sanction and justice, French authority had created their “colonial justice” for closely protecting French people by birth, the nationals of “France of Overseas zone” and all of alien of Cambodia. Khmer people depended on justice¹⁸¹ dispensed on behalf of king. All of this had been easily justified by colonial device as “to divide and rule”.

Colonial authority did anything to exhibit its power. The followers of Khmer Theravāda Buddhism offered resistance. They endowed with a silent endurance¹⁸². Colonial administrators burst the large Community of monks, the *Mahānikāya* order. There had been the Quarrel between the Modernist and the Traditionalist monks. French administrators wanted to have Khmer Buddhism “colonized”, which it must be understood as religious practices be under the heel of colonial power.

Till the present time, Khmer society is divided into two parts: the rural countryside and the urban agglomerations. The whole Khmer population became poor year after year. Many politic platforms came one after another, permanent warlike conditions may continue to expand the harmful effects through various forms anywhere.

many places from Khmer people who, owing to the force of circumstances, had to go far away toward the graveyard in forest. Corruption raised up in any sectors (of public and private activities). The bad aspect is established for ever by a saying: *crapāc' ka cin lien aṅṅāt khmaer cin teñ khmaer khmaer teñ khmoc*, “to throttle Chinese people, the tongue of Khmer people comes out of (mouth), Chinese people drive out Khmer people who drive out the ghost”.

¹⁸¹ Alien people called Khmer justice court by using the term *sālā khmaer*; this is the short form *sālā kāt' kṛī khmaer*. A prison being under the Khmer authority of justice is contemptuously pointed out by the term *guk khmaer*. It became a humiliation, and *guk khmaer* was largely used as an insult said by an alien to a Khmer people as *ā guk khmaer!* It appears that a prison administrated by French colonial authority was at a higher level than the one of royal justice. Anyhow, any prisoner was sentenced and condemned for offences. Discrimination took place even in prison.

¹⁸² Cf. San Sarin, *Buddhism Transformed:...*, see in footnote 2; *Bouddhisme et laïcité au travers d'événements survenus au Cambodge*, a lecture offered on 26 February 2006 at Saint-Mandé (France). When writing on the matter of social, religious practices or Buddhism in Cambodia, it is sure that French authors used to avoid the realistic aspects of the question, (from the end of World War II till the very recent period). Even Khmer authors follow the same way as took French writers. Doing something by rule of thumb as one uses liberty, which it is an easy answer.

Big international organization adopted measures which reinforce the world of sharks. What it is as old as the hills.

**** Behaviour**

The proverbs bring anyone round right conduct. Three principal characteristics can be brought into relief:

- to accept something when it can be accepted after considering every respect; knowing what one wishes; being aware of the limit of possibility in many things;

- to have a right determination in one's own path of life and to make anyone feel that reason is constantly held on, truth is certainly observed;

- sense of decency and practice of just middle path; according to the Constitution of 1947, the first one for Khmer people, Theravāda Buddhist practice had been recognized as one of the components of Kingdom, i.e. "Nation, Religion, King"¹⁸³.

¹⁸³ Even a little part of Khmer proverbs teaches useful advices for life. Before the middle till the end of the last century, Khmer society took a sinking way. At each period, administration adopted measures to untie the knots of problems. It would have brought a solution which, in turn, become another problem. Like any measure, there had been a right side and a bad side. This latter changed into gangrene and it destroyed from the inner part of society.

1st principal aspect. In Khmer Theravāda Buddhist religious practices, colonial power sought any means to reduce the silent resistance of Buddhism. The Quarrel between the Modernist and the Traditionalist monks became a permanent tackling attempt. Consequently, historical heritage of Khmer Buddhism was lessened. The new way was *āṇācakra(a)* and *buddhacakra(a)* propounded by political power. In practical meaning, political power and administration took care of all components of existence. Buddhist monks had nothing to say, even reflection on the conditions and methods of government was forbidden. Buddhist monks must have devoted entirely to *Nirvāna* and taught lay people how to do for obtaining the last goal after death. A Khmer king would have been told in that way by colonial administrators having bookish knowledge on Buddhism. The king obeyed as he had other fish to fry, (problems of women in the harem, financial expenses, his besetting sins, i.e. alcohol, opium and sexual intercourses).

2nd principal aspect. Khmer population had an opportunity to learn how to be trained by democracy, according to the Constitution of May 1947 (which had taken the French Constitution of the 4th Republic as the pattern). Narottam's royal lineage with young king Sihanu (Sihanouk) did not accept it at all. At the very starting of democracy, two great political leaders had been assassinated. (The monk Haem Ciev, a spiritual Khmer guide had been imprisoned and beaten till death at *Koḥ Tralāc*).

3rd principal aspect. Geneva Conference from April 26th 1954 to July 21st, it had insured Independence of Cambodia. On Wednesday March 2nd 1955, King Sihanouk abdicated the

*** *Language, Expression, Sinking into the mire*

The language and expression are direct, clear and natural. They bring out the simple idea reinforced by consistent wit and powerful sense. The spirit of a proverb does not need an analysis. In many times, the expressions are incisive and sparkling. All of these compact characteristics are clung to realistic aspects of existence.

The language and expression have engraved for ever what it is Khmer through niceties and “smelling emanation” suggested by the words and the end of a sentence. They are endowed with another virtue which offers a strong resistance facing the destroyers. These latter intended to have Khmer language distorted and at last disappeared. It may be said that many destroying attempts had been flattened themselves against a wall made by Khmer identity. This reason why *sinking into the mire* could be summed up.¹⁸⁴

throne; he founded the political party known as Sangkum Reastr Niyum on March 22nd. At Bandung Conference in April 18-24, 1955, Sihanouk met Chou-En Lai, and he began to follow entirely all of Chou-En Lai’s political statement. Before Independence, Sihanouk went by French directions and protection. After Independence, communist China became then Sihanouk’s protector. One may shudder to think that Sihanouk was going to entrust his Kingdom to Chinese communism for the future. He carried his point of view as communist Chinese power was the savior of the Kingdom. All of services of State had to do as did Chinese people. He claimed that “the Buddhist socialism” is the foundation of “Khmer progress” with the approbation of the urban Buddhism (Chuon Nath and Phul Tes). From 1955 (April) to the end of 1969, absurd and whopping lie pervaded through the affairs of State; there was the saloon of vanity. Social atmosphere was always disturbed by permanent conflict, by stupid domestic quarrels between “**Old Palace clan**” (Queen Kusuma, Sihanouk’s mother) and “**Monique clan**” (led by Sihanouk’s wife) from 1966 to 1969. The whole Khmer population had to lie at the men of Chinese economic frameworks of Cambodia. The very determinant source of quarrels was the cruel rivalry between Narottam’s lineage and Sisuvath(i)’s lineage, which it had been set up by French colonial power.

4th principal aspect. The three events of March 18th 1970, of April 17th 1975 and of January 1979 were the bad consequences of the policy engaged by Khmer political superstructure since the Independence (1953 - 1954). Twenty years after this easy moment, Khmer country sank into the general massacre.

The winners took all the power, they could have mistaken within a short time. The general massacre lasted out more than three years. Khmer population had fallen into the criminal trap. The trap was operating on behalf of “progress and the triumph of humanity”. The owner of trap, the layer of trap and the deliverer were the same, which one can believe. Till nowadays, no one feels responsible for more than three millions of departed people. All of Khmer political leading groups had deviated from the real yearning of population. These groups did not take into account the cultural heritage and its spiritual message of their own native land.

¹⁸⁴ The destroying attempts may be known through some steps:

1st step. Since the beginning of 20th cent. A.D., many agents of French colonial power looked for some ways to replace Khmer scripture by using Latin scripture. (Small Christian groups in Khmer country use a form of “Romanization” applied to Khmer language). At the 1st period of Sihanouk’s reign, this “Romanization” was authorized by a “law-text” dated on August 13th 1943; Khmer scripture was forbidden. This act undertook after having arrested the monk Haem Ciev on July 20th 1942. Khmer population had refused the colonial “Romanization”.

2nd step. Khmer people born in 20’s and 30’s had received the instruction in schools organized by colonial administration. They followed the platform established by the Government of French Indochina. They had an elementary knowledge of Khmer language as they were led by “modern instructions” by lessening cultural heritage. Most of them became civil servants for the executive operation closely controlled by French Service.

Just after the end of World War II, these persons began through colonial context to say that “Khmer language has nothing to be accurate”. They did not know their native language properly, and they started to judge and to scorn the language taught by their mother! Some of them became high ranked civil servants. They had to make a speech. They looked for a man knowing correct Khmer language as he had been a Buddhist monk. In many times, I had opportunities to talk about Khmer language with some of them as this language had been used to convey in a large scale the teaching of the Buddha Gotama. What he had left us is still very difficult to grasp properly and Theravāda Buddhist monks had succeeded in propagating wittingly Buddha’s message in Khmer country since the middle of 15th cent. till the present time. How superficial these high ranked men were, and they talked through their hats.

They created the “Cultural Commission” by which Khmer neologism began. It was led by the monk Chuon Nath, Chief of Mahānikāya Order. This “Commission” gathered the persons having no competency in the field of linguistics. They knew gropingly Indo-Khmer heritage handed down by Angkorian period. Chuon Nath, to make a new word, saw at first French words and was helped by civil assistants. Without any background, he invented new words by taking awkwardly the elements from pāli language. The members of the “Commission” aimed at providing Khmer words for Khmer people, but they had done through strange ways. What is the action of cultural belonging to Khmer society? Before the end of 50’s, there were a barbarizing words and speech in Khmer language. People were fed up. The Khmer neologism of 50’s could have destroyed the true structure of Khmer language and its niceties (called *dik tam*, in Khmer).

3rd step. This step had a portentous sign and the haughty sign forboded a frightful tenet. It had been under the heel of the hard communist cell set up by Saloth Sār (i.e. the future Pol Pot). He and his close entourage had taken place in the National Institute of Pedagogy. Numerous future “professors” must have shared in the leftist idea, so they had no problem of training. Among the future “professors”, the activistic members of the communist cell made the following ideas propagate:

1°) the personage of Rāma in the *Rāmakert(i)*, the Khmer version of Vālmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa*, is the model of a weak man. He had gathered many soldiers and made war to take back Sītā, his wife, from Rāvaṇa; he devoted himself to his personal interest like pleasure;

2°) the personage of Prince Vessantara, a famous figure of Buddhist literature, represents the perfect businessman who did not hesitate to exchange his wife, his children for his own forthcoming Illumination; this is an image of a selfish person created and handed down by the feudal system protected by aristocracy and bourgeoisie;

3°) this kind of literature had been originated by the society which maintained firm the power of class and did anything to hide the cheating ways. When having instilled into their

They knew pāli language by routine; they could not appreciate rightly the literary works in *Bāk(ya) Kamrañ kaev* style and the “High Poetry”. Without knowing the elements of Indo-Khmer culture conveyed by Sanskrit and Old Khmer, they worked in dilettante fashion.

Till the present time, one can be hopeful that it would be very difficult to destroy Khmer language with its niceties well-represented by the proverbs. One must be confident that any attempt to have Sanskrit contribution in Khmer language lessened will be doomed to failure. Khmer and Sanskrit languages have for ever a deep-rooted heritage. The proverbs, reinforced by traditional songs, can be considered as a fortress built by a popular feeling which is obviously clung to Khmer historical culture and its natural evolution.

minds the artificial swaying power, Khmer people will soon be getting ready for the final victory. They will be still hopeful about something to assuage their griefs. Avoiding the blighted hopes, the “Red Orient” will make them take heart.

These queer ideas had been developed rapidly as they wanted to get rid of Sanskrit and pāli elements in Khmer language. On September 9th 1967, the National Committee of Khmerization had been set up under the influence of Saloth Sār’s cell. Many leaders of executive commissions were under the severity of the 3 points above indicated. (Saloth Sār and Ieng Sary left Phnom Penh since May 1963 in secret, of course. The two sisters, Khieu Thirith and Khieu Ponnary, wives of both of them, fled from Phnom Penh since September 1965; they were believed to join their husbands, cf. Long Tbol, *Kambuja, An Annotated Chronology of Events from the French Protectorate: 1863-1953 to the Second Kingdom: 1993*, researched and compiled by Former student Archaeology Faculty (P. Penh). Anthro. (Otago-Nz), p. 169, 184, (un-published)).

The *Rāmakert(i)*, Khmer version of Vālmiki’s *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Khmer text of *Vessantarajātaka* are the strong supporters of Khmer literature. They went on their ideology like the men wearing blinkers. The poor and unsteady results were immediately taught in class-rooms anywhere in the country since the beginning of the term 1967-68 (for 1st year of secondary level). After a moment, the parents of pupils had seen the methods of obscurantism. Cf. San Sarin, *Challenging Indo-Khmer Culture or Sanskrit Influence On Actual Khmer Language*, paper offered at the World Sanskrit Conference organized by the Government of India, 5-9 April 2001, New Delhi.

Cf. *Proceedings of World Sanskrit Conference*, vol. IV, edited by Prof. Vachaspati Upadhyaya, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Delhi, 2007 A.D., pp. 349-355.

សុភាសិត

(AAA) ត្រីក្រណាត់ចាត់វិធានត្រីអណ្តែង ត្រង់ចងចែកចងចេញលូកចូលលូក ។

1 កុំឱ្យជឿមេឃកុំឱ្យជឿផ្កាយ កុំឱ្យជឿកូនថាគ្មានសហាយ
កុំឱ្យជឿម្តាយថាគ្មានចំណុល ។

1* កុំទុកចិត្តមេឃកុំទុកចិត្តផ្កាយ កុំទុកចិត្តកូនថាគ្មានសហាយ
កុំទុកចិត្តម្តាយថាគ្មានចំណុល ។

2 សុចស្តាប់បាវកុំឱ្យស្តាប់មេ លិចទុកកណ្តាលទន្លេ
កុំឱ្យតែភ្លើងនេះផ្ទះ ។

3 រនេះបាវកុំមិនគិត ទៅគិតឯគោលូបទទ ។

4 ម្តេចៗទៅយកស្ករឆ្នើនីចស្រមោច ។

5 ផ្តែខាំឱ្យកេម្មាស់ គោឆ្អឹងឱ្យកេនាយ ។

6 ចំណីច្រើនមុខច្រើនពិសា កូនច្រើនបាច្រើនល្អ ។

7 គោល្បើនសឹកក ស្រីល្អសឹកក្នុង ។

8 ប្រាជ្ញរេចប្រាជ្ញា មេសរេចមន្ត្រា ខ្លាអេចព្រៃ
ដំរីរេចនោម ព្រាហ្មណ៍រេចវេទ ។

8* ប្រាជ្ញរេចប្រាជ្ញា មេសរេចមន្ត្រា ខ្លាអេចព្រៃ ដំរីរេចនោម
ត្រីរេចទឹក ទាហ៊ានរេចសឹក ប្រឆឹករេចពែច ។

9 ចាស់រេចស្តាប់ ពាលរេចកាប់ ក្តេចរេចយំ ។

9* ក្តេចរេចយំ ពាលរេចប្រជំ ចាស់រេចស្តាប់ ។

10 អ្នកយើងគល់គ្រោះតាមរាសី ចៅក្រមកាត់ក្តីតាមពាក្យ ។

- 10* អ្នកយើងគន់គ្រោះតាមពសី ចៅក្រមកាត់ក្តីតាមពាក្យផ្តើម ។
- 10** អ្នកយើងគន់គ្រោះតាមពសី ចៅក្រមកាត់ក្តីទៅតាមពាក្យ ។
- 11 កើតជាជនល្មមមិនខ្ពើមដី ធ្វើជាមន្ត្រីមិនខ្ពើមប្រាក់
ធ្វើជាជនឆ្លាត់មិនខ្ពើមឈើ ។
- (BBB) មនុស្សនឹងប្រាក់ យក្សនឹងសាច់ ផ្តុំនឹងលេចធំ ស្តេចនឹងពង្ស ។
- 12 កើតជាក្រពើមិនលែងអកក្រស ធ្វើជាចៅក្រមមិនលែងនិយាយហួស
ធ្វើជាអ្នកម្ចាស់មិនលែងច្រឡំវេលាបង្កី ។
- 13 គោគេមិនអ្នក អ្នកកែគោង ។
- 14 ចិញ្ចឹមមនុស្សឱ្យមើលចិត្ត ចិញ្ចឹមសត្វឱ្យមើលចង្កូម ។
- 15 និយាយក្តីឱ្យមើលហត្រា និយាយការឱ្យមើលទំនេង ។
- 15* និយាយក្តីឱ្យមើលហត្រា និយាយការឱ្យមើលទំនេង
និយាយឆ្គងឱ្យមើលខមា ។
- 16 មនុស្សខ្លាំងទុកជាបេច មនុស្សភាចទុកជាខ្លួន
មនុស្សកោចទុកជាសម្រាស់ មនុស្សស្អុកទុកជាចាំច ។
- 16* មនុស្សខ្លាំងទុកជាបេច មនុស្សភាចទុកជាខ្លួន
មនុស្សកោចទុកជាសម្រាស់ មនុស្សឆ្មុះទុកជាចាំច ។
- 17 ផ្លែក្រឡាចក្រវាត់មាត់បណ្តូល មនុស្សទាំងមូលក្រវាត់មាត់ចិត្ត ។
- 17* ក្រឡាចក្រវាត់មាត់បណ្តូល មនុស្សទាំងមូលក្រវាត់មាត់ចិត្ត ។
- 18 អើមជាងរៀម ស្រៀមជាងស្រដី ។
- 18* អើមជាងរៀម ស្រៀមជាងស្រដី ស៊ីបេកខ្ចីជាងមាត់ទទេ ។

- 20 **ဖွဲ့စည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
- 21 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
- 21* **ရေအားဖြင့်** ။
ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့် ။
- 22 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့် ။
- 23 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။ ။
- 24 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
- 25 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
- 26 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။
- 27 **ပေါင်းစည်းပုံအားဖြင့်** ။

Pāṇini's Sūtra Quoted in Text and in Foot-notes

Pāṇ.V. 3.26, Proverb n. 1 (about *thā*);

Pāṇ.VI. 1.78, f.note 25; f.note 90;

Pāṇ.VII. 3.84, f.note 26; f.note 90;

Pāṇ.III. 1.68, f.note 27; f.note 90;

Pāṇ.VII. 2.114, f.note 28; f.note 96;

Pāṇ.I. 1.1, f.note 28;

Pāṇ.VI. 4.1, f.note 29; f.note 90;

Pāṇ.VIII. 1.6, f.note 74;

Pāṇ.III. 2.123, f.note 90;

Pāṇ.III. 4.78, f.note 90;

Pāṇ.III. 4.113, f.note 90;

Pāṇ.III. 4.114, f.note 90;

Pāṇ.I. 1.52, f.note 96;

Pāṇ.VI. 1.159, f.note 96;

Pāṇ.VII. 2.115, f.note 96;

Pāṇ.VI. 1.45, f.note 125;

Pāṇ.III. 2.126, f.note 126;

Pāṇ.III. 2.127, f.note 126;

Pāṇ.III. 3.94, f.note 127;

Pāṇ.VIII. 3.23, f.note 135;

Pāṇ.VIII. 3.24, f.note 135;

Pāṇ.I. 1.2, f.note 155;

Pāṇ.VII. 2.13, f.note 155.

Numbering of proverbs.

(AAA) Trī krāñ' chñāñ' ī jāñ trī...;

1. Kuṃ oy jīoe megh...;
- 1* Kuṃ duk citt megh...;
2. Sūv slāp' pā kuṃ oy slāp' me...;
3. radeḥ pāk' min git...;
4. Mnau 2 dau yak skar...;
5. Chkae khāṃ oy rak mcās' ...;
6. Caṃṇī croen mukh croen bisā...;
7. Go lioen sik ka...;
8. Prājñ āñ prājñā...;
- 8* -----id. -----.... pramik an baen;
9. Cās' āñ slāp';
- 9* Kmeñ āñ yaṃ....;
- 10 Anak yoeñ gan' groḥ tām rāsī...;
- 10* ----- id ----- cau kram kṭī...;
- 10** -----id ----- cau kram kāt' kṭī dau tām bāk(ya);
11. Koet jā janlen min khboem ṭī...;

(BBB) manuss niñ prāk'...; (N.B. right spelling āc(ama) instead of ac(ama)).

12. Koet jā kraboe min laen ak kruos...;
13. Go ge min uot...;
14. Ciñcim manuss oy moel citt...;
15. Niyāy kṭī oy moel mātrā...;
- 15* ----- id -----..... niyāy chgañ oy moel khamā;
16. Manuss khlāmñ duk jā rapamñ....;
- 16* ----- id -----..... manuss phsaḥ duk jā rapāñ;
17. Phlae traḷāc gan' māñ pañṭūl....;
- 17* Traḷāc gan' māñ pañṭūl....;
18. Im jañ iem...;
- 18* ----- id ----- sī cek khcī jā jāñ....;
19. Niyāy yap' pradap' brai...;

20. Ghlān kuṃ āl sī;
21. ṭek yap' ku niyāy niñ srī;
- 21* Nuy kuṃṃ ṭek...;
22. Pan' braḥ dau sabaḥ e pāyāp...;
23. Paṃṇāc' niñ pāp oy ch-āp māt';
24. Kuṃ rā mukh ṭiñ...;
25. Sla oy sāp aṅguy oy dāp...;
26. Dhvoe srae oy moel smau...;
27. Būj go jralaeñ....

Bibliography
Abbreviations

- AA: *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris
 AAK: *Arts et Archéologie khmers*, periodical publications on researches, arts, monuments and ethnography of Cambodia, directed by G. Groslier, Paris;
 AMG: *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris, (Publications of Guimet Museum) ;
 Art. Asiae : *Artibus Asiae* ; Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Ascona ;
 B.C.A.I.: *Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l'Indochine*, Paris, 1903-1934.
 B.E.F.E.O. : *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, Paris, (annual issue).
 B.S.E.I.: *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, Saigon.
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