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Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos

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Unfolding Buddhism:  
Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of the Dying  
in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos

By

Trent Thomas Walker

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Buddhist Studies

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Professor Robert Sharf

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Abstract

Unfolding Buddhism:  
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Trent Thomas Walker

Doctor of Philosophy in Buddhist Studies

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Professor Alexander von Rospatt, Chair

This dissertation examines Cambodian leporellos, or folded-paper manuscripts, that contain chants for Buddhist end-of-life rites. Grounded in a catalog that details the provenance, materiality, and content of 70 such leporellos, as well as transcriptions, editions, and translations of the 195 Pali, Khmer, and Siamese texts they contain, this study reveals a corpus of chants that illuminates Cambodian Buddhism in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. This textual corpus and the paratexts furnished by the leporellos themselves combine to show how Cambodians made Buddhist chants locally relevant for the end of life. By reading these data alongside Siamese, Lao, and Lanna parallels, this dissertation also highlights Cambodia's participation in a broader Khmer-Tai Buddhist world.

Part I presents the social function of Cambodian leporellos and their texts for chanting to the sick, the dying, and the dead. Chapter 2 argues that these manuscripts are communal objects, circulated between scribes and donors, annotators and performers, and monastics and laypeople. Chapter 3 outlines how they unfold a spectrum of melodic chants, including those recited for deathbed rites and for the postmortem consecration of buddha images. Chapter 4 shows how their sequences, illuminations, and annotations, like those of their Siamese counterparts, create scripts for performance.

Part II analyzes the translation processes by which texts in the leporello corpus became localized in Cambodia. Chapter 5 focuses on how some Sanskrit incantations were remade into Pali protective chants. Chapter 6 engages the grammatical techniques for precise and cogent translations in bilingual Pali-Khmer and Pali-Tai prose texts. Chapter 7 examines the ways translators crafted locally appropriate yet equally performable Khmer poems from Pali and Tai

sources.

Part III considers the obligations placed upon those approaching the end of life, as witnessed in Khmer chants in verse. Chapter 8 focuses on poems that invite the dying to reflect on the inevitability of death, the process of dying itself, and what happens immediately after. Chapter 9 explores a second set of obligations for the dying, namely the absolution of evil karma and the aspiration for a more fortunate future existence, particularly for buddhahood itself.

To those who preserved Cambodian manuscripts over the centuries—  
may the merit of your labors be long remembered.

និក្ខេបបទនេះ សូមឧទ្ទិសជូនចំពោះអ្នកដែលបានកសាងនិងថែរក្សា ក្រាំង វាន និង សាស្ត្រាស្ថិតិវិគ្គយ ជាយូរសតវត្សមកហើយ  
សូមមហាកុសលនៃការខិតខំប្រឹងប្រែងនោះ ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងសន្តានចិត្តរបស់មនុស្សលោកយូរអង្វែងតរៀងទៅ ។

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# Summary in Khmer

ក្រាំងសម្រាប់ស្នូត្រជម៌បទនៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា

ការកសាងនិងប្រើប្រាស់តាមភូមិ វិធីបកប្រែពីភាសាបាលីសំស្ក្រឹតនិងថៃមកភាសាខ្មែរ និង កាតព្វកិច្ចពេលទៀបស្ងាប់

ដោយ

ត្រេន វ៉ិកយ៉ែ

បណ្ឌិតផ្នែកសិក្សាអំពីពុទ្ធសាសនា

សាកលវិទ្យាល័យនៃរដ្ឋកាលីហ្វ័រញ៉ា ទីក្រុងប៊ែរឃឺ

លោកសាស្ត្រាចារ្យបណ្ឌិត្យអាឡិក្សានឌ័រ វ៉ែន ពោសប៉ាត់ ជាប្រធានគណៈវិនិច្ឆ័យនិក្ខេបបទ

និក្ខេបបទនេះសិក្សាវិភាគគម្ពីរក្រាំង (សៀវភៅរបៀបបុរាណ ធ្វើពីក្រដាសបត់ជាជាន់ៗ) ដែលកត់ត្រាទុកនូវធម៌បទសម្រាប់ស្នូត្រជម៌ពិធីចុងក្រោយនៃជីវិត ។ ស្នាដៃនេះអមដោយឧបសម្ព័ន្ធពីរ គឺ ទី១/ បញ្ជីដំលំអិតដែលបន្សល់ទុកនូវព័ត៌មានអំពីទីតាំង សម្ភារៈ និង សាច់រឿង នៃក្រាំងចំនួន ៧០ ក្បាល, ទី២/ កម្រងធម៌បទចំនួន ១៩៥ រឿង ជាភាសាបាលី សៀម និង ខ្មែរ ដែលមានទាំងការប្រៀបធៀបច្បាប់ដើមនានា ការកែសម្រួលតាមអក្ខរវិទ្យាសម័យថ្មី និង ការបកប្រែជាភាសាអង់គ្លេសសម្រាប់បទនីមួយៗ ។ និក្ខេបបទនេះផ្តល់ឱកាសឲ្យយល់កាន់តែច្បាស់អំពីព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនានៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យកណ្តាលនិងសម័យអាណានិគម ជាពិសេសធម៌បទដែលតែងនិពន្ធឬបកប្រែពីភាសាផ្សេងៗ ក្នុងអំឡុងពេលសតវត្សទី ១៧ ដល់ សតវត្សទី ១៩ នៃគ្រិស្តសករាជ ។

ធម៌បទទាំង ១៩៥ បទក្នុងក្រាំង ៧០ នោះ និងទិន្នន័យផ្សេងៗ លើទំព័រក្រាំង ដូចជាកំណត់ហេតុនិងសេចក្តីអធិដ្ឋានរបស់អ្នកចម្លងដើម និង សេចក្តីកត់សំគាល់របស់អ្នកធ្លាប់ប្រើប្រាស់តាមក្រោយ រួមផ្សំគ្នាដើម្បីធ្វើឲ្យឃើញយ៉ាងជាក់ច្បាស់នូវមូលហេតុដែលពេលរដ្ឋខ្មែរ ទាំងបព្វជិតទាំងគ្រហស្ថ បានយកក្រាំងនិងធម៌បទក្នុងក្រាំងមកស្នូត្រជម៌ពិធីចុងក្រោយនៃជីវិត គឺពិធីសម្រាប់មនុស្សឈឺ មនុស្សទៀបស្ងាប់ និង មនុស្សទើបបានស្ងាប់ហើយ ។ ទិន្នន័យទាំងអស់នេះបង្ហាញឲ្យឃើញថា ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និង គម្ពីរពុទ្ធសាសនានៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ចូលរួមក្នុងវប្បធម៌ពុទ្ធសាសនារបស់ភូមិភាគអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍នៅក្នុងសតវត្សទី ១៧ ដល់ ១៩ ពោលគឺគម្ពីរនិងការបដិបត្តិពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរ សៀម លាវ និង លាននា (ថៃខាងជើង) ក្នុងសម័យនោះ តែងតែមានការជះឥទ្ធិពលវប្បធម៌គ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក និងមានការបកប្រែពីភាសាមួយទៅភាសាមួយទៀត រហូតដល់យើងអាចយល់បានថាមានលក្ខណៈរួមគ្នា ពុទ្ធសាសនា «ខ្មែរ - តៃ» បុរាណ

ដែលមានចំណុចផ្សេងៗជាច្រើនដែលរកមិនឃើញក្នុងព្រះត្រៃបិដកឡើយ និងដែលខុសប្លែកពីពុទ្ធសាសនានៅ  
ប្រទេសភូមា និងស្រីលង្កាផងដែរ ។

និក្ខបបទនេះមាន ៣ ភាគ និង ១០ ជំពូក ។ ភាគទី ១ ឬ ជំពូកទី ២ ដល់ ទី ៤ សិក្សាអំពីតួនាទីសង្គមរបស់ក្រាំងនិងបទ  
សូត្រក្នុងក្រាំង ។ ជំពូកទី ២ សំអាងថា ក្រាំងសម្រាប់សូត្រធម៌បទ ជាសម្បត្តិរួម ដែលតម្កល់ទុកនៅក្នុងវត្ត និង ជាសម្បត្តិ  
ឯកជន ដែលគ្រូហស្តមានសទ្ធាកសាងសម្រាប់សិក្សានិងរក្សាទុកផ្ទាល់ខ្លួនតាមគេហដ្ឋាន ហើយគេអាចខ្ចីគ្នាបាន គឺ ខ្ចី  
ពីវត្តទៅប្រើការតាមភូមិ ឬ ខ្ចីពីភូមិទៅប្រើការតាមវត្តវិញ ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត គម្ពីរនោះជាចំណងមនុស្សធម៌ផ្សារភ្ជាប់គ្នា  
រវៀងអ្នកចម្លងនិងម្ចាស់ទាន ឬ ចងក្លាប់ទំនាក់ទំនងរវៀងបព្វជិតនិងយវាវាស ឬ ផ្សារភ្ជាប់រវៀងអ្នកសូត្រនិងអ្នកចម្លង  
ក្រាំង ។ ជំពូកទី ៣ ពន្យល់អំពីបទសូត្រនានាក្នុងក្រាំង ៧០ រួមមានបទសម្រាប់សូត្រក្នុងពិធីចុងក្រោយនៃជីវិត និង  
ពិធីពុទ្ធាភិសេកផង ។ ជំពូកទី ៤ បង្ហាញអំពីរបៀបប្រើប្រាស់ក្រាំងក្នុងការសូត្រធម៌បទ ដោយមានការប្រៀបធៀបនឹង  
ក្រាំងសៀមផងដែរ ។

ភាគទី ២ ឬ ជំពូកទី ៥ ដល់ ទី ៧ ពិគ្រោះពិចារណាទៅលើការបកប្រែក្នុងធម៌បទដែលមានក្នុងក្រាំង ។ ជំពូកទី ៥ សិក្សា  
អំពីការប្រែ «ធារណ៍» សំស្ក្រឹតមកជា «បរិត្ត» បាលីនៅក្នុងវប្បធម៌ «ខ្មែរ - តៃ» ។ ជំពូកទី ៦ វិភាគបច្ចេកទេសផ្លូវវេយ្យា-  
ករណ៍ដែលប្រើប្រាស់ក្នុងការប្រែកាសាបាលីមកជាកាសាខ្មែរឬជាកាសាតៃផ្សេងៗ ដូចជា សៀម និង លាវ ជាដើម ។  
ជំពូកទី ៧ សិក្សាអំពីការតែងកំណាព្យខ្មែរដែលប្រែចេញពីគម្ពីរកាសាបាលី និង កាសាតៃ ។

ភាគទី ៣ ធ្វើការវិភាគទៅលើកាតព្វកិច្ចរបស់មនុស្សនៅពេលទៀបស្ងាប់ តាមបែបបទឃើញជាក់ស្តែងក្នុងក្រាំង ជា  
ពិសេសក្នុងពាក្យកាព្យតែងសរសេរឬក៏បកប្រែជាកាសាខ្មែរ ។ ជំពូកទី ៨ ផ្តោតទៅលើស្នាដៃកំណាព្យខ្មែរដែលជំរុញ  
ឲ្យអ្នកចាស់ទុំ ឬ ឈឺធ្ងន់ ឲ្យគន់គិតពិចារណាអំពី ៖ ១/ ការជៀសមិនផុតពីសេចក្តីស្ងាប់, ២/ ដំណើរការពីមនុស្សរស់  
ទៅសាកសព, ៣/ ហេតុការដែលនឹងកើតឡើងបន្ទាប់អំពីមរណភាព ។ ជំពូកទី ៩ សិក្សាទៅលើកាតព្វកិច្ច  
មួយផ្នែកទៀតរបស់មនុស្សជិតនឹងដាច់សង្ខារ គឺ ការលាបាលាទោស និង ការផ្សងសច្ចាសូមសម្រេចដល់សម្បត្តិខ្ពង់  
ខ្ពស់តាមលទ្ធិពុទ្ធសាសនាសម័យនោះ ជាពិសេសការអធិដ្ឋានសូមសម្រេចដល់ពុទ្ធកូមិជាអវសាន ។

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ម្យ៉ាងវិញទៀត គាត់ទាំងបីបានជំរុញឲ្យខ្ញុំធ្វើការជាមួយអ្នកជំនួយការដ៏ជំនាញពីររូប គឺ លោក មិច ឃឿន និង លោក ណាត សុកក្តី ។ ដូចខ្ញុំនឹងពន្យល់យ៉ាងច្បាស់ក្នុងនិក្ខេបបទនេះ អ្នកជំនួយការពីររូបនេះ បានបំពេញនាទីសំខាន់ៗ ក្នុងកិច្ចការស្រាវជ្រាវរបស់ខ្ញុំ ជាពិសេស ការសំអាត ជួសជុល ថតរូប និង សរសេរចម្លង សៀវភៅ ក្រាំង វាន និង សាស្ត្រាស្និករិត ទោះបីជាក្នុងបណ្ណាល័យរដ្ឋក្តី បណ្ណាល័យវត្តក្តី ឬក៏តាមកូមិនៅស្រុកស្រែក្តី ។ អនុស្សាវរីយ៍ក្នុងគ្រា នីមួយៗ ដែលយើងទាំងបីបានធ្វើដំណើរចុះស្រាវជ្រាវតាមខេត្តនានាក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា និងតែងតែផ្សារភ្ជាប់ទៅនឹងដួង វិញ្ញាណខ្ញុំ ហើយនិងសង្ឃឹមថាយើងនឹងអាចធ្វើឡើងវិញនៅពេលអនាគតឆាប់ៗនេះបាន ។ ចំណុចមួយទៀតដែលខ្ញុំ មិនអាចបំភ្លេចបានគឺ ពួកគាត់បានពិនិត្យមើលនូវរាល់ទំព័រដែលខ្ញុំប្រើភាសាខ្មែរក្នុងនិក្ខេបបទនេះ បើនៅមាន កំហុសឆ្គងនៅសេសសល់ គឺជាកំហុសរបស់ខ្ញុំម្នាក់ឯងទេ សូមអធ្យាស្រ័យផង ។ បើមិនមានការរួមចំណែកពីលោកទាំង ប្រាំរូបខាងលើនេះទេ ការងារស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ពិតជាពុំទាន់បានចប់ពាក់កណ្តាលនោះឡើយ ។

Do not judge me too harshly for this confession: the years I spent researching and writing this dissertation (2016–2018) have been the happiest of my life. What luck, to be able to choose and pursue a project with the material support of organizations and the immaterial gifts of mentors, family, and friends! If my work was so unexpectedly easeful and enjoyable, this is entirely their fault.

I would first like to express my deepest thanks to the Fonds pour l'Édition des Manuscrits du Cambodge (FEMC), especially to Olivier de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An. These three brilliant scholars shared their erudition and experience in the study and care of Khmer manuscripts with me; indeed, whatever knowledge I have in these areas, however limited, was largely acquired through asking them questions or learning from the inestimable legacy of their work. Moreover, they made my research possible by inviting me to spend two years digitizing and transcribing manuscripts at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo in Phnom Penh.

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## Conventions

For the transliteration of Khmer *jriën*, Khmer *mūl*, Khom Thai (*khaam daij*), Tham (*dhārm*),<sup>1</sup> including both its Lanna and Lao varieties), modern Lao, and modern Thai scripts into roman script, I adopted a simplified<sup>2</sup> version of the EFEO<sup>3</sup> and Antelme<sup>4</sup> systems. I provide the details of this system in the table below. Note that the Khom and Tham characters represented are based on the modern fonts accessible to me, which occasionally differ from the forms in the manuscripts themselves.

UB	EFEO	Antelme	<i>jriën</i>	<i>mūl</i>	Khom	Tham	Lao	Thai
ka	ka	ka	ក	ក	ᩉ	ᩉ	ກ	ก
kha	kha	kha	ខ	ខ	ᩈ	ᩈ	ຂ	ข
´kha	Kha					ᩈ		ข
ga	ga	ga	គ	គ	ᩉ	ᩉ	ຄ	ค
´ga	Ga					ᩉ		ค
gha	gha	gha	ឃ	ឃ	ᩉ	ᩉ		ข
ña	ña	ña	ង	ង	ᩉ	ᩉ / ᩉ	ງ	ง

<sup>1</sup> ព្រះវិហារ; មូល; ខាងលិខិត; ធម៌

<sup>2</sup> The main simplification I have made is to eliminate the use of majuscules (EFEO system) and underlining (Antelme) for certain letters, since these cause additional formatting confusions. Where necessary, I have retained the distinctions they stand for by adding acute accents, for instance *kha* instead of *Kha*. My system follows Antelme rather than the EFEO in that it does not distinguish between dependent (*sra: nissāy*) and independent (*sra: beñ tuo*) vowels in Khmer, Khom, and Tham scripts. In that and in other senses it is not a perfect transliteration system but a simplified one. To make premodern orthographic conventions clear, however, I have also adopted the innovation of Olivier de Bernon for marking subscripted finals in Khmer (i.e. writing *dāmm*<sup>o</sup> instead of *diām*), and have applied this to Khom and Tham texts as well. Due to the complexity of Tham script, when transliterating such texts I also include a Thai-script version.

<sup>3</sup> Also known as the *Textes bouddhiques du Cambodge* system, this method of transliteration is presented for Khmer, Thai, and Tham Lanna scripts in a table on pages 233–234 of François Bizot and Oskar von Hinüber, *La guirlande de joyaux* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994). A very similar system for Khmer was adopted by the Fonds pour l’Édition des Manuscrits du Cambodge (FEMC) project of the EFEO. See Olivier de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2004), xlv–xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Antelme, “Inventaire provisoire des caractères et divers signes des écritures khmères pré-modernes et modernes employés pour la notation du khmer, du siamois, des dialectes thaïs méridionaux, du sanskrit et du pāli,” *Bulletin en ligne de l’AEFEK* 12 (June 2012): 1–81.

ca	ca	ca	ច	ច	ច	ច	្ក	ក
cha	cha	cha	ច	ច	ច	ច		ក
ja	ja	ja	ជ	ជ	ជ	ឃ	ខ	ឃ
ǰa	Ja	jha			ឃ / ជ	ឃ		ឃ
jha	jha		ឃ	ឃ	ឃ	ច		ឃ
ña	ña	ña	ញ	ញ	ញ	ឃ		ឃ
ṭa	ṭa	ṭa	ដ	ដ	ដ	ច		ឃ
ṭa	Ṭa				ដ			ឃ
ṭha	ṭha	ṭha	ហ	ហ	ហ	ឃ		ឃ
ḍa	ḍa	ḍa	ឌ	ឌ	ឌ	ឃ		ឃ
ḍha	ḍha	ḍha	ឈ	ឈ	ឈ	ឃ		ឃ
ṇa	ṇa	ṇa	ណ	ណ	ណ	ឃ		ឃ
ta	ta	ta	ត	ត	ត	ឃ	ព	ត
ṭa	Ta						ព	ត
tha	tha	tha	ថ	ថ	ថ	ឃ	ព	ត
da	da	da	ដ	ដ	ដ	ឃ	ព	ត
dha	dha	dha	ដ	ដ	ដ	ឃ		ត
na	na	na	ន	ន	ន	ឃ	ប	ន
pa	pa	pa	ប	ប	ប	ឃ	ប	ប
pá	Pa	p̣a			ប	ឃ	ប	ប
pha	pha	pha	ផ	ផ	ផ	ឃ	ផ	ផ
páha	Pha	p̣ha			ផ	ឃ	ផ	ផ
ba	ba	ba	ប	ប	ប	ឃ	ប	ប
ḥa	Ba	ḥa			ប	ឃ	ប	ប
bha	bh	bha	ភ	ភ	ភ	ឃ		ភ

ma	ma	ma	မ	မ	မ	မ	မ	မ
ya	ya	ya	ယ	ယ	ယ	ယ	ယ	ယ
ýa	Ya					ယ	ယ	
ra	ra	ra	ရ	ရ	ရ	ရ	ရ	ရ
la	la	la	လ	လ	လ	လ	လ	လ
va	va	va	ဝ	ဝ	ဝ	ဝ	ဝ	ဝ
śa	śa	śa	ဆ	ဆ	ဆ	ဆ		ဆ
ṣa	ṣa	ṣa	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ		ဗ
sa	sa	sa	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ	ဗ
ha	ha	ha	ဟ	ဟ	ဟ	ဟ	ဟ	ဟ
ḷa	ḷa	ḷa	ဣ	ဣ	ဣ	ဣ		ဣ
há	Ha					ဟ	ဟ	ဟ
a/'a	A	'a	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ
aa		aa			အ	အ	အ	အ
ā	ā	ā	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ
i	i, I	i	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ
ī	ī, Ī	ī	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ
ì	ì	ì	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ
ī̄	ī̄	ī̄/ī̄a	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ	အ / အ
u	u, U	u	အ / ဇ / ဇ	အ / ဇ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ
ū	ū, Ū	ū	အ / ဇ / ဇ	အ / ဇ / ဇ	အ / ဇ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ	အ / ဇ
û	Ak	û	အ	အ				
ṛ	Ṛ	ṛ	အ	အ	အ			အ
ṝ	Ṝ	ṝ	အ	အ	အ	အ		အ
ḷ	Ḹ	ḷ	အ	အ	အ			အ

ī	ī	ī	ဣ	ဣ	ဣ	ဩ		ဂါ
uo, va (svat)	v, uo	uo/āva	ဟူ	ဟူ	ဟူ (ဟူဒ)	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ (ဆဝဂ)	ဗိာ (ဆာဒ)
ö	ö	ea/ei/oe/eī	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ / ဝိ	ဘွီ	ဗိ / ဝိ	ဗိဝ / ဗိ
īö	īö, iū	īe/īca	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ / ဝိ	ဗိဝ
ie	īe, ie	īe/īey	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ / ဝိ	ဗိဝ
e	e, E	e	ဟေ / ဝ	ဟေ / ဝ	ဟေ / ဝ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ / ဝိ	ဗိဝ
è	è	ae/ee	ဟေ	ဟေ	ဟေ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
ai	ai	ai	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
aī	aī	ai				ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
o	o, ao	o/au	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
au	au	au	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
ūv	Au/Uv	ūu	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဟိ / ဝ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
aṃ	aṃ, à	aṃ/a	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
aḥ	aḥ	ḥ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
oḥ	oḥ	ḥ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
:		:	:	:	:			
ǎ	ǎ, ǣ	ǎ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဟိ	ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
â						ဘွီ	ဗိဝ	ဗိဝ
'(kak')	'(kak')	'(kak')	'(ကက)	'(ကက)				
"(p"ā)		"(p"ā)	"(ပ" / ပ", etc.)	"(ပ" / ပ", etc.)				
ṛ (garbh)		r	ṛ (ဂဂ)	ṛ (ဂဂ)	ṛ (ဂဂ)	ṛ (ဂဂ)		ဂဂ (ဂဂ)
^ (ṣī, ṣū)		^ (ṣī, ṣū)	^ (ဗီ, ဗီ)					
( ) (kāraṇ)	" (kāraṇ)"	( ) (kāraṇ)	( ) (ကာဂ)	( ) (ကာဂ)	( ) (ကာဂ)	( ) (ကာဂ)		( ) (ကာဂ)
1	1, á, ǣ	1			'(က)	'(က)	'(က)	'(က)
2	2	2			"(က)	"(က)	"(က)	"(က)
3	3	3			"(က)	"(က)	"(က)	"(က)

ṭ (cāḥṭ)	ṭ	ṭ, ṭ	ṭ (ចាំ)	ṭ (ចាំ)			ṭ (ចាំ)	ṭ (ចាំ)
á	ă	ă	ṭ (ក្រ)	ṭ (ក្រ)	ṭ (ក្រ)			ṭ (ក្រ)
2		II	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ (ឆ្លង)	ṭ	ṭ
.		/, //, %	ṭ / ṭ / ឆ	ṭ / ṭ / ឆ	ṭ / ṭ / ឆ			ṭ / ឆ
o		o	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ			ṭ
° (dāmi°)			ṭ (ឆ្លង)	ṭ (ឆ្លង)	ṭ (ឆ្លង)	ṭ (ឆ្លង)		
Conjunct								ṭ (ឆ្លង)

The basic principles of this system are as follows: 1) it is essentially reversible, such that the orthography in the original can be derived from the transliteration; 2) it reveals the roots of words, particularly those borrowed from Pali or Sanskrit, with clarity and precision; and 3) it makes clear the abundant connections between Khmer, Lao, Lanna, and Siamese words through their parallels in orthography. The disadvantage of such a system is that it completely obscures modern pronunciation. On a few occasions, I provide IPA pronunciations of words as needed for particular points of analysis. Whenever possible, I include Khmer, Lao, or Thai script for transliterated terms and passages in footnotes or in block quotes. For Pali and Sanskrit, I use the international standard for transliteration.

For translations of texts that include both vernacular and Pali portions, I generally put the translation of the Pali in italics to distinguish it from the vernacular. For diplomatic transcriptions of Pali and vernacular texts, I attempt to record the words and punctuation marks exactly as they appear in the manuscripts, with ellipses used for passages that are illegible or damaged. For standardized editions of these same texts, I use square brackets to mark my conjectural emendations of illegible or damaged passages. I also use square brackets to mark words I have added to clarify my English translations. These conventions, when used for a block quote incorporating both vernacular (Khmer in this case) and Pali portions, are illustrated in the following example:

Diplomatic transcription of excerpt from **UB013**, spread 78b (with ellipses marking illegible or damages portions in the manuscript):

បានប្រែទេ *idaṃ vatame puññaṃ āsavakkhaya vahaṃ nibbāna... kāle...*

Standardized edition (with square brackets indicating conjectural emendation):

បានប្រែទេ *idaṃ vata me puññaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ nibbāna[nikhātaṃ hotu ānāgate]kāle...*

Translation (Translation of Khmer in roman script, translation of Pali in italics, with square brackets marking English words added for clarity):

This translates as: *This is indeed my merit. [By means of this merit], may [I] reach the destruction of the cankers known as “Nibbāna” in the future.*

The precise conventions by which I refer to the 70 leporellos and the 195 texts they contain is explained in detail in Chapters 1 and 3, respectively. For now, let it suffice to say that I use boldface to notate both leporellos and their texts, with hyphenated tags to categorize the latter. These conventions are designed to facilitate reference to the catalog and corpus presented in Appendix I and II. Thus **UB013** refers to one of the 70 leporellos (**UB** = Unfolding Buddhism, **013** = running number 13), and **Ākāravattā B-NP** and **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** are some of the texts it contains.

For most Pali and Sanskrit words, even if they have made their way into English, I still usually include diacritical marks for precision. This includes “Nibbāna,” in uppercase throughout, and “saṃsāra,” in lowercase. “Pali” and “Theravada,” however, I render without diacritics. Sangha also appears without diacritics, and in uppercase when part of the Three Jewels. Since both the Pali and Sanskrit forms for “Dhamma” and “Dharma” are used in Khmer, when translating I chose the one that appears in the source text. As the Sanskrit spelling is preferred in Khmer and many Tai languages, I use it throughout as the default, and in uppercase when referring to the teachings of the Buddha. As for the first member of the Three Jewels, I reserve the use of uppercase “Buddha” in reference to the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni, or to specific other named buddhas of the past or future. In all other instances, such as when referring to plural “buddhas,” the vow to become “a buddha,” to “buddha images” (*buddharūpa; buddhapaṭimā*) or to “buddha-image consecrations” (*buddhābhiseka*), I favor the lowercase form.

For Khmer and Tai words, I use the transliteration system outlined above, but with a few exceptions. For common toponyms, including provinces and major cities, I use the official spellings of the respective governments. For modern Khmer, Lao, and Thai authors who publish in Western languages as well as Southeast Asian ones, I use their preferred romanized spelling of their own name in lieu of my transliteration system; e.g. I write “Santi Pakdeekham” instead of “Śāntī Bhāktigāṃ.”<sup>5</sup> In addition, I use “Khom” instead of *khaam*, but I use *jriən* and *mūl* instead of “chrieng” or “moul.”<sup>6</sup> Unless I am treating a Khmer or Tai word only in its Pali or Sanskrit sense, I transliterate such that the silent final short *a* in many Khmer and Tai words is dropped, irrespective of the etymology. Therefore, when transliterating a Khmer word or text, I use *buddhābhisek* instead of *buddhābhiseka*, but the latter spelling when speaking of the Pali concept in the abstract or with regards to a specific Pali text.

As discussed further in Chapter 1, I use “Khmer” interchangeably with “Cambodian” throughout, though with the recognition that the former includes Khmer speakers beyond the

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<sup>5</sup> ศานติ ภัคดิ์คำ

<sup>6</sup> ขอม; ជ្រៀង; មូល

borders of modern Cambodia, including throughout the southern provinces of Northeastern Thailand, around the Mekong Delta of Vietnam, and in worldwide diaspora. I use “Tai” as a shorthand for the Buddhist groups who speak languages from the Southwestern Tai branch of the Tai-Kadai/Kadai language family, present throughout mainland Southeast Asia, including much of Laos and Thailand, as well as some groups beyond these borders, such as the Shan of Myanmar and the Lue of Yunnan. I use “Lanna” to refer to the language, culture, and region of the Northern Thai/Yuan and “Lao” to refer to the spoken language of modern Northeast Thailand as well as the official spoken and written language of modern Laos, with the recognition that considerable overlap exists between these groups. I use the term “Siamese” interchangeably with “Thai,” particular in reference to texts in Central Thai prior to the twentieth century. I also use the term “Siam” in place of Thailand when discussing events prior to World War II.



# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Unfolding Buddhism

This project wagers that Cambodian manuscripts contribute to the study of Buddhism as a whole. These manuscripts open up our understanding of how Buddhists circulate, translate, and articulate the Dharma. The texts they contain, and the way these texts are presented, offer new insights into old questions. These manuscripts speak directly to many of the anthropological, historical, and buddhological inquiries that have been conducted on Buddhist cultures, especially those of the Theravada tradition, both within and beyond Cambodia.

Anthropologists studying Buddhist practices in Theravada societies have long been interested in why Buddhists do what they do. Pali scriptures, however, are often too far removed in time or place to provide more than a dim light on such matters. Local texts, especially those transmitted in traditional manuscripts, convey the worldviews, motivations, and soteriologies of Theravada Buddhists much more vividly and precisely than those of the Pali Tipiṭaka. The values they convey, implicitly or explicitly, are those that animate the religious lives of Buddhists in particular times or places.

Historians of colonial and postcolonial Theravada Buddhist societies often rely on print and archival sources to bring to light the social and doctrinal developments of the mid-nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. However, they generally frame these changes against a relatively blurry view of the centuries that preceded colonialism. Other sources are necessary to establish a clearer picture of Buddhist values, texts, and practices prior to the height of the colonial period. Yet stone inscriptions, royal chronicles, and travelers' reports, for all of their insights, cannot by themselves furnish a detailed image of how Buddhism was lived in Sri Lanka and mainland Southeast Asia before the mid-nineteenth century. Traditional manuscripts from village, monastic, and state library collections provide some of the missing pixels. This is particularly true for the period from which the bulk of manuscripts survive in Theravada contexts, namely the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Buddhological interest in Theravada civilizations is of course more directly tied to texts transmitted in traditional manuscripts. In fact, these manuscripts provide the basis for editions of the Pali texts that have long formed the core of buddhological inquiry into the Theravada tradition. But such manuscripts are more than just the sum of the texts they contain. Their paratexts—including covers, colophons, annotations, ritual instructions, cantillation marks, graffiti, textual sequences, illuminations, and marks of use—specify where, when, how, by whom, and for what purposes they were used. Manuscripts are thus more than simply what philologists call “witnesses” to particular compositions. They open a window to the world of texts used by specific Buddhist communities. They make even translocal literature speak with a local accent. They resist abstraction and ground our interpretation of narrative, doctrinal, and ritual texts in particular lived or living contexts.

In Theravada studies in particular and Buddhist studies more generally, we are only

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just beginning to use manuscripts to gain insight into the religious lives and values of premodern Buddhists. Through studies of the Pali Tipiṭaka and other scriptural collections, we know much about the texts of ancient Buddhists, and through ethnographic and historical approaches we are learning more about the lives of modern Buddhists in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Yet we still know quite little about the texts and lives of postclassical, precolonial Buddhists. How did they transmit, perform, and circulate their texts? How did they situate themselves in a broader Buddhist world? How did they reflect on the arc of their lives, from birth to old age and death?

Our knowledge is even more scant when it comes to non-elite Buddhists prior to the reforms of the colonial era, who are rarely the subject of stone inscriptions or other durable records. This is especially true for Cambodia, as very few documents of any kind survive between the 1450s and the 1850s. Were it not for a few surviving nineteenth- and twentieth-century manuscripts that transmit texts from previous centuries, the voices of ordinary Buddhists and the contours of their ritual and devotional lives would be lost. We would remain ignorant of what it meant to live and die as a Buddhist in Cambodia during that era. Moreover, we would lose access to a distinctive way of being in the world, one that becomes increasingly hard to imagine with each passing decade.

The palm-leaf and bark-paper manuscripts that could provide the necessary evidence for these voices and lives were decimated in Cambodia's tumultuous decades of the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, a few seventeenth- through nineteenth-century vernacular and hybrid Pali-vernacular texts still survive in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century manuscripts. These sources illuminate a world of Buddhist chants and practices that has largely escaped academic attention. These older leporellos, in particular, present a Buddhism that is strikingly different from both the ancient texts of the Pali Tipiṭaka and the modernist innovations in textual practice that accelerated under the pressures of Siamese developments and French colonialism. They help us locate Cambodia as a node in a wider network of Theravada cultures on the cusp of modernity.

This project investigates how Buddhists in Cambodia circulated, performed, translated, and composed texts prior to twentieth-century reforms. Instead of focusing on just one or a handful of related manuscript texts, I adopt a novel approach: examining a whole corpus of such texts. I argue that it is only through studying a larger body of material recited for particular rituals that the voices and values of Buddhists become clear. The format and genre of manuscript I engage—leporellos for end-of-life ceremonies—present a distinct corpus of Pali, Pali-Khmer, Khmer, and Thai texts that were chanted by monks and laypeople in village rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead. These texts bear witness to how Cambodians wove explicitly Buddhist explanations for their trials and aspirations at the end of life.

The leporello manuscripts studied in this dissertation offer fresh ways of unpacking the anthropological, historical, and buddhological dimensions of the Theravada tradition. Leporellos, or folded-paper books, are not unique to Cambodia. They are among the traditional formats of Buddhist manuscripts found across Asia, including in China, Japan, Korea, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, and Thailand. They differ in both form and function from the

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codex format of most Western books as well as the loose-leaf arrangement of many Buddhist manuscripts, including those inscribed on palm leaves. This study examines leporellos used for chant in Cambodia to unfold the texts and paratexts they enclose.

Books and manuscripts contain more than the semantic content of their texts; they also communicate aspects of the contexts that give their texts meaning in particular times and places. Leporellos in Cambodia contain a wealth of such paratextual information—transmitted via their materiality, arrangement, and annotations—that illuminates how they were made, circulated, and performed. Unlike the palm-leaf manuscripts more commonly found in Cambodia and across Southeast Asia, leporellos typically contain not one but multiple texts along with various paratextual layers. They are complex objects that reveal the interplay of social, ritual, textual, and doctrinal dimensions of Buddhism in Cambodia.

I focus only on chanted leporellos, or more specifically leporellos that primarily consist of texts to be intoned in a melodic style. I concentrate on these manuscripts because they offer a privileged vantage point for viewing how Buddhist texts come to life through ritual performance. In a narrow sense, this study interrogates three interrelated questions regarding Cambodian chanted leporellos: 1) what function do they serve in Buddhist communities in Cambodia, 2) how do they relate to Buddhist traditions outside of Cambodia, and 3) what teachings and practices do they articulate? I argue that chanted leporellos are communal objects that provide scripts for chanting performances during end-of-life rituals, including rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead. I also show how these leporellos, which contain a range of Pali and vernacular texts that largely date from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, participate in a broader Khmer-Tai Buddhist network across mainland Southeast Asia. Finally, I demonstrate how these manuscripts enact an end-of-life program that includes contemplation on the process of dying as well as prayers of absolution and aspiration.

More broadly, however, this project concerns the ritual function of Buddhist manuscripts, the role of translation in the Buddhist world, and the ways Buddhist practices and doctrines interface with the end of life. I aim to show that the texts transmitted by Buddhist manuscripts need to be studied hand-in-hand with the ritual and social functions that brought them into material existence. To repeat, Buddhist manuscripts are more than mere witnesses to a text or set of texts; they are microcosms of Buddhist ritual and communal life. Cambodian chanted leporellos, as communal scripts for performance, provide particularly vivid exemplars of the multitudes contained between a manuscript's covers.

I also seek to reiterate the centrality of translation to the transmission and interpretation of Buddhist texts. Translation is not separate from or ancillary to Buddhism; to the extent that various doctrinally or linguistically specific “Buddhisms” can be conceived as a single tradition, it is the work of translation that binds them together. Buddhist texts transmitted in Cambodia, for instance, are thick with translation; they cannot be studied without considering the acts of linguistic transformation that brought them into being. In the case of the leporellos studied here, such transformations include the rendition of certain Sanskrit texts into Pali, Pali into various Tai languages (Thai, Lao, Lanna, etc.), Tai into Khmer, and Khmer into Vietnamese, French, English, and other languages. These acts of translation are also acts of localization by which Buddhist texts are made cogent in new

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temporal, geographic, and cultural settings.

The third goal of this study is to show how end-of-life rites highlight what is at stake in many Buddhist ideas and practices. Buddhist teachings on the inevitability of the body's decay, the inexorable force of karma, and the soteriological potency of the last thought before death do not always sit easily together. How do we reconcile the pain we have caused ourselves and others during the course of our life with the ideal of a peaceful mind at death? If Buddhist funerals focus on what the living can do for the dead, deathbed rites emphasize both what the living can do to assist the dying and what the dying must do for themselves. Cambodian leporellos provide scripts for communities to gather together and chant texts for the dying to listen to, but the dying alone bear the burden of heeding the chanted words. This burden of contemplation and prayer constitutes the work of the dying.

Taken together, these three aims all concern how to understand Buddhism as necessarily grounded in particular communities of circulation, practices of translation, and responses to the end of life. I seek to unpack these aspects of Buddhism writ large as reflected in the pleated pages of Cambodian leporellos.

My research included an extensive field survey and documentation of extant leporellos in Cambodia and beyond. In this dissertation, I focus on a subset of these—leporellos containing texts for ritual recitation. These 70 manuscripts are the subject of a detailed catalog (Appendix I) that describes their provenance, materiality, and content.<sup>1</sup> My analysis of these manuscripts includes an extensive presentation of their corpus of 195 distinct chanted texts in Pali, bilingual Pali-Khmer, Thai, and Khmer (Appendix II). The ravages of climate, war, and religious change have permitted the survival of only a few leporellos. Older manuscripts are particularly rare; the set studied here only dates from the mid-nineteenth to the early twenty-first century. However, the texts these younger manuscripts record reflect the attitude of their largely seventeenth- through nineteenth-century authors, redactors, and translators, and they thereby illuminate Buddhism in Cambodia prior to the modernist reforms that proliferated in the early twentieth century.

With few exceptions, these texts have never before been published, edited, or translated—as such, they provide an expansive new corpus for studying the textual contours of Southeast Asian Buddhism. In particular, they furnish an intimate portrait of how Cambodians made Buddhist texts and doctrines locally relevant in times of crisis and renewal. I place the specificities of this local manuscript culture in conversation with the wider Buddhist world by focusing on a different theme in each of the three parts of the dissertation: I) Communal Scripts (2–4), II) Localized Translations (5–7), and III) The Work of the Dying (8–9), as detailed below.

Chapter 2, “Communal Manuscripts,” argues that Cambodian chanted leporellos are communal manuscripts, i.e. shared objects that connect scribes and donors, authors and

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<sup>1</sup> As a companion to the dissertation itself, I also created a website that makes the digital images of these manuscripts available freely online at [www.trentwalker.org/unfoldingbuddhism](http://www.trentwalker.org/unfoldingbuddhism). The design facilitates the simultaneous viewing of the manuscript images themselves alongside the catalog entries of Appendix I.

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copyists, annotators and performers, and monastics and laypeople. I begin the chapter with a detailed unfolding of a single leporello, followed by an analysis of the patterns found in the whole set of 70 leporellos cataloged in Appendix I. Although I consider graffiti and other paratexts, in the remainder of the chapter I focus primarily on colophons that help to put leporellos into this social context of circulation and exchange. In particular, I examine colophons that include appeals to take care of manuscripts, apologies for mistakes and calls for corrections, and articulations of the intentions of scribes and donors.

Chapter 3, “Chants for the End of Life,” provides an overview of the corpus of chanted ritual texts contained in the leporellos, as presented in Appendix II. By analyzing, summarizing, and enumerating the corpus of these texts, I aim to demonstrate how this corpus consists almost entirely of chants for end-of-life rituals. Since the vast majority of these texts have not been edited or translated before, this chapter also serves to introduce the content of these texts, their relationship to one another, and their significance for the themes considered in Parts II and III. These texts fall into two broad historical groups, irrespective of the physical age of the leporello they appear in. The first are texts composed in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, or even before, that represent the bulk of the texts I analyze in the dissertation. The second are those penned by modernist authors that date from the early through mid-twentieth centuries, which I generally discuss only in Chapter 3. After an analysis of the corpus as a whole, I group each of the 195 Pali, bilingual Pali-Khmer, Thai, and Khmer texts into metrical and thematic categories that demonstrate their function in rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead.

Chapter 4, “Scripts for Performance,” examines three kinds of leporello paratexts to demonstrate how these manuscripts function as scripts for performing end-of-life rituals. The three sets of paratexts I focus on are textual sequences, *mise-en-abyme* illuminations, and ritual instructions. For the first, I examine the various orders in which chanted texts, especially those in Pali, appear within each leporello. This reveals a ritual sequence that commences with old age and sickness, crescendos as death approaches, and culminates in the memorializing consecration of a new buddha image. I then analyze painted or drawn *mise-en-abyme* illuminations from the leporellos that depict a leporello in actual use for performing end-of-life chants. Finally, I consider some of the detailed ritual instructions that annotate the pages of the leporellos. Since the creators of these leporellos in Cambodia were directly or indirectly inspired by leporellos in neighboring Siam, this chapter also engages the paratexts of 36 eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siamese leporellos to reinforce how their Cambodian counterparts function as scripts for end-of-life chanting.

Chapter 5, “From Sanskrit *Dhāraṇī* to Pali *Paritta*,”<sup>2</sup> like the two chapters that follow, engages the processes of localized translations at work in the leporello corpus. This chapter proposes that some Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts, including the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, have been

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<sup>2</sup> An early version of this chapter is currently in press (Trent Walker, “Echoes of a Sanskrit Past: Liturgical Curricula and the Pali Uṇhissavijaya in Cambodia,” in *Proceedings of the Second International Pali Studies Week (Sorbonne, École Pratique Des Hautes Études, Paris, 20–23 June 2016)*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza, Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka 14 (Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, forthcoming 2018), 67 pp.).

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localized in Khmer-Tai contexts as Pali *paritta*. In other words, a genre of magical protection current in Mahayana Buddhist contexts has been adapted and made suitable for Theravada Buddhist use. I first analyze the transformation of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* into the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya*, in both its long and medium-length versions. I then contextualize the *Uṇhissavijaya* alongside other non-canonical *paritta* in *bhāṇavāra* (monastic chant for memorization) collections in leporellos and short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*). Finally, I show how a variety of other non-canonical Pali protective chants may have emerged from Sanskrit antecedents through a process of localized translation in the Khmer-Tai context.

Chapter 6, “Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose,” considers how Pali texts are rendered into the vernacular. More specifically, it analyzes bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts in the leporello corpus and in other Khmer or Tai manuscripts. My central aim is to demonstrate that the techniques of creating these bilingual Pali-vernacular texts follow a set of strict conventions that are shared across the Khmer-Tai world. Fully and partially bilingual texts, by and large, are not the result of random, idiosyncratic, or inconsistent approaches to rendering Pali texts into Khmer-Tai vernaculars. The creators of these texts aimed to create systematic, accurate, and consistent bilingual texts that faithfully localize Pali scripture into the lexicon, syntax, and style of Khmer or Tai prose. Two main techniques make this localization possible: The first is the addition of a specific set of technical particles in the vernacular to mark grammatical features of the Pali. The second is the creation of a novel system of syntactic rearrangement, such that Pali sentences may be broken down into their component parts and reordered to fit the local syntax of Khmer and Tai languages. The sophisticated combination of these techniques represents an important moment in the global history of linguistics, for European philologists were only just beginning to develop parallel forms of bilingual analysis in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Chapter 7, “Translating Pali and Tai into Khmer Verse,” concerns the processes of localization by which Pali and Tai texts have been translated into Khmer poems. Three such processes surface in these verse texts. The first is the deliberate use of Pali words and phrases in otherwise vernacular texts, the second is the effacement of Tai toponyms in Khmer translations of Tai texts, and the third is the attempt to create what I call “performative parity” between the new translations in Khmer and their Pali and Tai sources. Taken together, these three processes highlight the dynamics of localization at play when Buddhist texts are refashioned in Khmer verse.

Chapter 8, “End-of-Life Contemplations,” is the first of the final two chapters that engage in doctrinal analysis of the texts in the leporello corpus to highlight different aspects of the work of the dying. This chapter gathers, arranges, and analyzes many short excerpts from Khmer verse texts in the leporello corpus to explore the question of what the dying are expected to contemplate in their final days and moments. These texts provide a programmatic approach to the work of contemplating the fearsome process of aging, illness, death, and rebirth. In other words, the task faced by the dying is to come to terms with the fact of death’s arrival, the process of dying itself, the horrible fate of the body after death, and the deathbed practices that might secure a favorable rebirth, including merit-making as well as traditional *kammatthāna* meditations.

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Chapter 9, “End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations,” considers a second aspect of the work of the dying found in Khmer verse texts from the leporellos. In contrast to the present moment of dying focused on in contemplations from the previous chapter, the absolutions and aspirations explored in this chapter extend from the deep past to the distant future. In some cases, chants of absolution function as a kind of life review for the dying, allowing them to reflect on, repent for, and take leave of all of the sins they have acquired over a lifetime. In other cases, chants of aspiration enumerate the physical and mental qualities the dying hope to achieve in the future, usually on the model of the characteristics of a chief disciple, a bodhisatta, or a buddha. The work of absolution and aspiration are firmly wedded to one another; Khmer deathbed texts invite the dying to concurrently let go of the past and reach out to the future, to seek release from suffering and win the highest bliss.

Chapter 10 provides a short conclusion and a reflection on the themes of the dissertation, with an emphasis on how its findings reframe our understanding of Khmer-Tai and Theravada Buddhism.

In the remainder of this introduction, I outline a set of terms, topics, and themes that are germane to the chapters that follow. First, in section 1.2, I provide an overview of the languages, Pali compositions, vernacular genres, local doctrines, scripts, and manuscript cultures in what is now Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. My aim is to demonstrate the utility of considering Khmer-Tai Buddhist cultures as a shared area of exchange, particularly prior to the middle of the nineteenth century. Section 1.3 examines the relevance of my project to broader themes in Buddhist studies, including the paratexts, ritual use, and circulation of manuscripts; translation and localization of texts; and rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead. Finally, in section 1.4, I provide a brief account of my methods, focusing on the combined processes of fieldwork on chanting practices, paratextual analysis of manuscripts, and philological inquiry into texts and intertextualities.

### **1.2 Khmer-Tai Buddhism and Manuscript Culture**

Buddhism in Cambodia, particularly during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, did not develop in isolation. I contend that the dominant religious culture of Cambodia in this period emerges from a broader phenomenon of “Khmer-Tai Buddhism.” Both “Khmer” and “Tai” are linguistic categories that do not strictly conform to contemporary national boundaries. Khmer-Tai Buddhism thus refers to the Buddhist traditions cultivated by Khmer and Tai speakers. Many of the texts, practices, technical terms, and material expressions of Buddhism are shared by these groups in ways that do not extend to their counterparts elsewhere in the Theravada world, including the Bamar (Burmese) and Rakhine (Arakanese) of Burma and the Sinhalese of Lanka.<sup>3</sup> “Khmer-Tai” is not an ethnic or linguistic group; it is

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<sup>3</sup> The main exceptions to this pattern are the Mon, Austroasiatic speakers presently residing in western Thailand and southeastern Myanmar, aspects of whose Buddhist practices are more closely related to the Khmer-Tai than most groups in Myanmar. Most studies of Theravada Buddhism focus on the modern nation-states of Myanmar

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a merely a shorthand to refer to a collective body of cultural practices shared by Khmer and Tai speakers, including those of precolonial Cambodia, Lanna, Laos, and Siam.

The notion of a Khmer-Tai Buddhism reframes our understanding of Buddhism in Cambodia. The question of how and when forms of Buddhism that championed Pali—what we may heuristically refer to as “Theravada”<sup>4</sup> Buddhism—rose to prominence in Cambodia remains the subject of much debate.<sup>5</sup> Hypotheses have been floated for the Tai, Mon, Burmese, and Sinhalese origins of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia, though most likely there was no single source. In the paragraphs that follow, I highlight the mutuality of Khmer and Tai elements in thirteenth- through sixteenth-century evidence for Theravada traditions in Cambodia.

The Khmer linguistic zone extends beyond Cambodia’s modern borders to include parts of northeast Thailand and southern Vietnam.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not these extraterritorial zones are conceptually included, the country’s regional position is the same: it sits between the largely Sinified zones of Vietnam to the east and the more-or-less Indianized parts of mainland Southeast Asia to the west and north.<sup>7</sup> This “greater Cambodia” was once at the

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(which in non-contemporary contexts I call “Burma”), Sri Lanka (which I refer to as “Lanka” in pre-independence contexts), and Thailand (which I generally call “Siam” in pre-World War II contexts) to the exclusion of smaller groups, including the Khmer and the Lao. A more useful division of the Theravada, I suggest, would be to consider three major cultural streams: the Sinhalese, the Burmese, and the Tai, Khmer, and the Mon. Due to my own limitations, however, in this dissertation I do not consider the Mon practices, texts, and materials that parallel those of the Khmer and Tai.

<sup>4</sup> Work by Skilling and Perreira, in particular, has undermined the notion of “Theravada” as a stable term over time. See Peter Skilling, “Therāvāda in History,” *Pacific World* Third Series 11 (Fall 2009): 61–93, and Todd LeRoy Perreira, “Whence Theravāda? The Modern Genealogy of an Ancient Term,” in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), 443–571. For the texts I study here, Skilling’s observation that the label “Theravādin,” while correct, “does not seem especially relevant” holds true (Peter Skilling, “King Rāma I and Wat Phra Chetuphon: The Buddha-Sāsana in Early Bangkok,” in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), 330). However, even if the word would not have been used by the authors of the texts I work with from seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Cambodia, I follow Steven Collins in retaining the use of “Theravada” as a qualitatively useful, if certainly retrospective, term (Steven Collins, “Periodizing Theravāda History: Where to Start?,” in *Theravada Buddhist Encounters with Modernity*, ed. Juliane Schober and Steven Collins (New York: Routledge, 2017), 17–18). See also Anālayo, “A Note on the Term *Theravāda*,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 30, no. 2 (2013): 215–235. Others prefer “Pali Buddhism” when discussing Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia prior to the modern period (Ashley Thompson, “Contemporary Cambodian Buddhist Traditions: Seen from the Past,” in *Oxford Handbook of Contemporary Buddhism*, ed. Michael K. Jerryson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 237).

<sup>5</sup> A forthcoming volume on this subject (*The Emergence of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia: Southeast Asian Perspectives*, ed. Ashley Thompson and Hiram Woodward) will hopefully illuminate these questions in much greater detail, particularly from an art-historical perspective. Much of the spatial and architectural evidence for this period is addressed in Ashley Thompson, “Mémoires du Cambodge” (Université de Paris 8, 1999), 40–114.

<sup>6</sup> On the Khmer in Vietnam, see Philip Taylor, *The Khmer Lands of Vietnam: Environment, Cosmology, and Sovereignty* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014). For Thailand, see Peter Vail, “Thailand’s Khmer as ‘Invisible Minority’: Language, Ethnicity and Cultural Politics in North-Eastern Thailand,” *Asian Ethnicity* 8, no. 2 (June 2007): 111–130, and Yasuyuki Sato, *The Thai-Khmer Village: Community, Family, Ritual, and Civil Society in Northeast Thailand* (Niigata: Niigata University, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> This is of course only a caricature of a more complex situation; Vietnam is much more than the processes of Sinicization that shaped it, and Chinese influence is deep and far-reaching even in areas thought to be largely



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center of a Sanskrit-oriented elite culture in the region.<sup>8</sup> As Lowman argues, it is one of the oldest states in mainland Southeast Asia in terms of continuous evidence for a shared territory and language, stretching back to at least several centuries before the Angkorian empire in the ninth through fourteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup>

The inscriptions and royal chronicles for the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries offer, at best, a sketchy picture of how exactly Theravada practices arose. A bilingual Pali-Khmer inscription dated to 1308 provides evidence of royal support for a plausibly Theravada presence.<sup>10</sup> The *Glass Palace Chronicle* suggests that a son of Jayavarman VII (r. 1181–1218) studied in Lanka, while the Lao royal chronicles suggest that their form of Theravada Buddhism was adopted from Cambodia.<sup>11</sup> But these sources are isolated from one another and difficult to corroborate. Inscriptional evidence for Buddhist texts and practices alongside Brahmanist (primarily Śaivite)<sup>12</sup> ones extends back to well before the Angkorian period, but with the exception of an energetic sponsor of Mahayana Buddhism, Jayavarman VII, Buddhism of any school only enjoyed limited royal patronage during the efflorescence of the Khmer empire.<sup>13</sup> The Mekong Delta region, linguistically dominated by Khmer speakers until its settlement by the Vietnamese in the past half millennium, is also thought to have been a center of Buddhist learning during the centuries before Angkor, but the relationship between

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Indianized. On the contingency of modern borders and the dangers of reading them back onto the past, see Thongchai Winichakul's *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994) and "Writing at the Interstices: Southeast Asian Historians and Postnational Histories in Southeast Asia," in *New Terrains in Southeast Asian History*, ed. Abu Talib Ahmad and Liok Ee Tan (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2003), 3–29.

<sup>8</sup> Ian Lowman, "The Descendants of Kambu: The Political Imagination of Angkorian Cambodia" (University of California, Berkeley, 2011), 102.

<sup>9</sup> Ian Lowman, "The Land of Kambu: Political Space and Myth in Angkorian Cambodia," in *Le passé des Khmers: Langues, textes, rites*, ed. Nasir Abdoul-Carime, Grégory Mikaelian, and Joseph Thach (Bern: Peter Lang, 2016), 95–113.

<sup>10</sup> Claude Jacques, "Stèle de Kok Svay Cek K 754," in *Manuel d'épigraphie du Cambodge*, ed. Yoshiaki Ishizawa, Claude Jacques, and Khin Sok (Paris: École française d'Extrême Orient, 2007), 115–124. On the relationship between this inscription and the development of Khmer vernacular literature, see Ashley Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State: Territory, Sovereignty and Sexual Difference in the Inventions of Angkor* (London: Routledge, 2016), 161–163.

<sup>11</sup> For a review of these sources, see Ian Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 19–25, and Kanai Lal Hazra, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia: With Special Reference to India and Ceylon* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1996), 175–190. For a critique of the relevant Lao sources, see Michel Lorrillard, "Insights on the Diffusion of Lao Buddhism," in *Buddhist Legacies in Mainland Southeast Asia: Mentalities, Interpretations, and Practices*, ed. François Lagirarde and Paritta Chalermpong Koanantakool (Paris and Bangkok: École française d'Extrême-Orient and Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2006), 139–148.

<sup>12</sup> Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers (Part I)," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 90–91 (2003): 349–462.

<sup>13</sup> For a summary of the epigraphical evidence in Cambodia and its neighbors for various Buddhist schools prior to the thirteenth century, see Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, *The Ascendancy of Theravāda Buddhism in Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2010), 71–90. On Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism in the Angkorian period, see Hiram Woodward, "Aspects of Buddhism in Tenth-Century Cambodia," in *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Christian Lammerts (Singapore: ISES–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015), 218–260. See also Julia Estève and Brice Vincent, "L'about inscrit du musée national du Cambodge (K. 943): nouveaux éléments sur le bouddhisme tantrique à l'époque angkorienne," *Arts Asiatiques* 65 (2010): 133–158.

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early polities in that region—sometimes referred to by the Chinese name Funan—and later ones, including Angkor itself, remains unclear. It is hard to read the copious presence of Buddhist statuary and a few Buddhist inscriptions (including one in Pali)<sup>14</sup> there as forming a continuous arc with the supposedly Theravada Buddhist practices that were dominant by the sixteenth century.

The Angkorian empire encompassed much of what is now Laos and Thailand, and the language, religion, statecraft, and fine arts of its capital Yaśodharapura (near today’s Siem Reap and centered on the famous stone monuments now known as Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom) undoubtedly shaped the elite culture of those countries up to the present. The influence on Central Thailand and the Central Thai dialect, or Siamese, is especially pronounced, leading some to conclude that early Ayutthaya was essentially a bilingual Khmero-Thai culture.<sup>15</sup> This is partially the inheritance of the Khmer imperial outpost of Lavo (Lopburi in Thailand today) in the rise of nearby Ayutthaya and its powerful dynasty (1351–1767), which promptly eclipsed a waning Angkor. Thai chronicles also point to a series of Siamese invasions of Angkor, likely culminating in 1431.<sup>16</sup> Since the Siamese of Sukhothai and Ayutthaya, as well as the Yuan or Lanna people in the north, had already adopted Theravada Buddhism, presumably from the Mon as well as directly from Sri Lanka, we might assume that the Siamese invasions resulted in the establishment of the religion in the remains of the Khmer empire.

But evidence for Khmer adoption of Siamese forms of Theravada Buddhism goes back further than the fifteenth century, to at least the thirteenth, when the Chinese emissary Zhou Daguan visited Angkor in 1296. Zhou’s record points to the presence of *zhugu*, monks who “shave their heads,” “wrap themselves in a robe made of yellow cloth,” and worship “just one icon, an exact likeness of the Sakyamuni Buddha.”<sup>17</sup> Though Peter Harris claims that *zhugu* might come from Thai *cau<sub>2</sub> gun*,<sup>18</sup> the Middle Chinese phonology of *zhugu* is closer to Thai *cau<sub>2</sub> kū*, an old Thai term for monk.<sup>19</sup> Others connect *zhugu* to the Khmer word *cau kūw*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> On this inscription and its relationship to similar Pali inscriptions from elsewhere in the region, see Peter Skilling, “The Advent of Theravāda Buddhism to Mainland South-East Asia,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 118.

<sup>15</sup> Wilaiwan Khanittanan วิไลวรรณ ขนิษฐานันท์, “Daiy + khmer: daiy lum<sub>1</sub> nām<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> brahyā ไทย+เขมร: ไทยลุ่มน้ำเจ้าพระยา (Thai+Khmer: The Thai of the Chao Phraya Basin),” *Journal of Liberal Arts วารสารศิลปศาสตร์* 1, no. 1 (2544): 3–27. An abridged English version appears in Wilaiwan Khanittanan, “Khmero-Thai: The Great Change in the History of the Thai Language of the Chao Phraya Basin” (Ninth Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistic Society, Bangkok, 2001), 375–391.

<sup>16</sup> On this date, see Michael Vickery, “Cambodia After Angkor: The Chronicular Evidence for the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries” (Yale University, 1977), 494–5, and “Cambodia and Its Neighbours in the 15th Century,” in *Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor*, ed. Geoff Wade and Laichen Sun (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010), 294.

<sup>17</sup> Peter Harris, *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2007), 52.

<sup>18</sup> *cau<sub>2</sub> gun* เจ้าคุณ, a modern term for a monk of high rank. The Chinese reads 孛姑. Harris uses the phonetic transcription *chaokhun* for *cau<sub>2</sub> gun*.

<sup>19</sup> เจ้ากู, literally “my lord.” Pelliot’s translation from 1902 correctly interprets 孛姑 as *cau<sub>2</sub> kū* as well. See Paul Pelliot, “Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 2 (April–June 1902): 148–149.

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instead of emphasizing its Siamese origins.<sup>21</sup> But either way it seems clear than in the late thirteenth century, Buddhist monks garbed in saffron robes and engaged in plausibly Theravada practices were known by a Siamese word.<sup>22</sup> This fits the general pattern of Theravada Buddhism entering Cambodia from the west.

In an inscription that appears a few centuries after Zhou’s visit, namely K.177<sup>23</sup> from Prāsād Dhātu Kvāv, Siem Reap, one of the earliest records to provide evidence of post-Angkorian Buddhism,<sup>24</sup> we learn of the presumably Khmer monk named Kamrateñ Lānkā... Śrīyasa.<sup>25</sup> He ordained (*pvās*), presumably as a novice, in Candapura (possibly today’s Chanthaburi in Thailand or Vientiane in Laos), then came to Braḥ Nagara (likely the former Yaśodharapura), where he studied “grammatical and religious treatises” or perhaps “all religious treatises” (*sabda nu sāsa*). Then, at some point, after performing many meritorious acts, he sought higher ordination on a propitious day from the Saṅgharāja and all the *brya* (Modern Khmer *baññā*; Thai *baññā/brahyā*<sup>26</sup>—i.e. high-ranking dignitaries) of the Saṅgha. From the outset, this inscription appears to tell of a novice who came from the periphery, perhaps in a Thai- or Lao-speaking region, and settled in Angkor, presumably after the collapse of the Khmer empire, to ordain as a *bhikkhu*. We know little about the ethnic identity of Śrīyasa, or why he sought to pursue his studies of Buddhism in Angkor rather than Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, or Chiang Mai.

However, the ceremonies recorded by the inscription show a trace of non-Khmer influence. The distinguished monks of Braḥ Nagara “led the great man [i.e. Śrīyasa] to undergo the Saṅgha rite (*saṅghakāra*), to propitiate his souls (*thleñ khvān*), and to take the higher ordination (*upasampada*) in the month of Kattika.”<sup>27</sup> The use of the term *thleñ khvān* to describe a rite just prior to ordination is particularly striking here. In Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand today, some ordinands still undergo a ceremony to “call” (Khmer *hau*, Thai *riek*), “fix” (Thai

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<sup>20</sup> ថៅក្លូវ, an uncommon word for “abbot,” itself a loanword from Thai *cau<sub>2</sub> kū*.

<sup>21</sup> Úk Suḷañ ṣīk ṣuḍṣ and Pelin P"āv Úk លលីងថៅ ធិក, *Jīw tā gwān' kamnat' hetu ambī dik tī nīn prabainī prades kambujā* ជីវ ភាគាត៍ ៖ កំណត់ហេតុអំពីធិកជីវីងប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រសកម្មភាព (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2011), 42.

<sup>22</sup> François Bizot, *Le Chemin de Lanḥā* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1992), 26–27.

<sup>23</sup> For a slightly different reading of this inscription, see Saveros Pou, “Inscriptions khmères K. 144 et K. 177,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 70 (1981): 101–120. A translation and analysis of a subsequent passage in the same inscription appears in Ashley Thompson, “The Ancestral Cult in Transition: Reflections on Spatial Organization in Cambodia’s Early Theravāda Complex,” in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1996: Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Leiden, 2–6 September 1996*, ed. Marijke J. Klokke and Thomas de Bruijn (Kingston upon Hull, Yorkshire: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1998), 284–288.

<sup>24</sup> K. 888, an unfinished piece possibly dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth century from a paleographic perspective, is occasionally cited as evidence for Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia in this period. But the inscription is in fact in Sanskrit, not Pali, and connects to a wider dissemination of Sanskrit liturgical texts in Southeast Asia and beyond (Peter Skilling, “Namo Buddhāya Gurave (K. 888): Circulation of a Liturgical Formula across Asia,” *Journal of the Siam Society*, forthcoming 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Part of his title is illegible in the inscription.

<sup>26</sup> ពញ្ញា; พญา/พระยา

<sup>27</sup> *nāṃ mahāpurusa dau the saṅghakāra thleñ khvān yok upasampada ta khē kattaka*.

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*dām* or *sū*<sub>1</sub>), or “propitiate” (Middle Khmer: *thleñ*, i.e. *thlön*) their souls (Thai: *khvǎñ*).<sup>28</sup> In Southeast Asian belief, humans contain many souls that are prone to wander off in times of travel, crisis, illness, or transition, including ordination, and must be ritually recalled back into the body. In Cambodia today, these “souls” are usually referred to by their Khmer name, *braññ*, but in the context of the ordination ceremony, the souls of the ordinand may be called by their Thai name, *khvǎñ nāg*.<sup>29</sup> The apparently long-standing tradition of using the word *khvǎñ* instead of *braññ* to refer to the souls of the ordinand suggests that at least this part of the ordination procedure may have come to Cambodia from the lands to the west.

On the other hand, given the massive Khmer lexical influence on the Siamese language, it is hardly surprising that many basic vernacular terms concerning Buddhism in modern Thai are derived from Old Khmer, including *pvaj/pvas* “to ordain,” *svat* “to chant [religious texts],” *chǎn* “to eat [for monks only],” *cǎnhǎn* “food [for monks only],” *siñ* “to sleep [for monks only],” *praḥgen* “to offer [to monks only],” *lǎk pātr* “to give alms [to monks],” *ṣik* “to leave the monastic order,” *smī* “a forcibly defrocked monk,” *span* “lower portion of the monastic robe,” and *vāt* “monastery.”<sup>30</sup> It is nearly impossible to speak in Thai of the daily activities of Buddhism without recourse to these Khmer terms. The use of these terms in Thai suggests that the religious culture of the Khmer exerted a powerful influence on their western neighbors during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. In addition, the presence of numerous inscriptions in Khmer in the thirteenth- through fifteenth-century Thai-speaking areas of Siam, commissioned by the kings of Sukhothai and describing their Buddhist faith and works, demonstrates how the use of Khmer as a language of prestige and empire was not limited to the old Brahmanical and Mahāyāna traditions of the Khmer empire but also applied to Pali-centered Theravada practices.<sup>31</sup>

In short, the complexity of Khmer-Siamese cultural exchange means that the origins of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia are not easily summed up in a unidirectional model of

<sup>28</sup> *ហេវ*; *เรียม*, *ท่า*, *สุ*; *ថ្ងៃ*; *ខ្លះ*; *ขวัญ*. On the ritual in contemporary Cambodia, see Sou Ketya, Hean Sokhom, and Hun Thirith, *The Ordination Ceremony of Buddhist Monks in Cambodia: Past and Present* (Phnom Penh: Center for Advanced Study, 2005), 65–67; Ashley Thompson, *Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text / Le rappel des âmes: texte rituel khmer* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2005), 8–9; Ang Choulean *អង្គ ជួលាន*, *Brah Ling ស្រះល្អិត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Reyum អែវ, 2004), 89–99. For Northeast Thailand, see S. J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 224. For Central Thailand, see Thomas Silcock, *A Village Ordination* (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1976), 31–41; Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities* (Bangkok: The Bangkok Times Press, 1939), 138–140.

<sup>29</sup> Sou Ketya, Hean Sokhom, and Hun Thirith, *The Ordination Ceremony of Buddhist Monks in Cambodia: Past and Present*, 65; Ashley Thompson, *Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text / Le rappel des âmes: texte rituel khmer*, 30n35.

<sup>30</sup> *บวช*; *สวด*; *ฉัน*; *ประเคน*; *ตักบาตร*; *สิก*; *สมิ*; *สบง*; *วัด*. Here I am drawing on the work of Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรศะริน in her *Les éléments khmers dans la formation de la langue siamoise*, *Langues et civilisations de l’Asie du sud-est et du monde insulindien* 15 (Paris: SELAF, 1984), 171–172; cf. the Thai translation of this passage in Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรศะริน *Raṇṇ; raay bhāṣā khmer nai bhāṣā daiy ร่องรอยภาษาเขมรในภาษาไทย*, trans. Aravaññ Puñyard(dhī) อรวรรณ บุญยฤทธิ, Caṭubar Gōtrakanak จตุพร โคตรกนก, and Samkierti Vāḍhanābañṣākul สมเกียรติ วัฒนางษากุล (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Bhāg vijā bhāṣā ṭahvān aak, gaṇaḥ porānagatī, mahāvīdyālay śilpākār, vāñ dā<sub>1</sub> braḥ ภาควิชาภาษาดะวันออก คณะโบราณคดี มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร วังท่าพระ, 2557), 188–189.

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, Saveros Pou, “Inscriptions dite de Brai Svāy ou «Bois des Manguiers» de Sukhoday,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 65 (1978): 333–359.

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west to east. What we can say with certainty, however, is that Cambodian Buddhism cannot be studied in isolation. We need to see it as part of a broader Buddhist culture shared with other speakers of the Southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai (or simply Kadai) language family, including Central Thai, Southern Thai, Northern Thai/Yuan/Lanna, and Lao/Northeastern Thai.<sup>32</sup> The speakers of these Southwestern Tai (without an “h,” i.e. pronounced without aspiration) languages have been dominant in the lowlands of what is now Thailand and Laos for the past seven centuries. Texts in Lao, Central Thai, and Northern Thai (Lanna) are cited throughout the chapters to come, and as a shorthand, I refer to them collectively as “Tai.” I use the term “Siamese” interchangeably with “Thai,” particularly in reference to texts in Central Thai prior to the twentieth century. I also use the term “Siam” in place of Thailand when discussing events prior to the Second World War. Khmer and Tai (or, if conceived collectively, Khmer-Tai) Buddhists share a particular heritage of texts, rituals, and material forms that set them apart from other Theravada Buddhist cultures, including those of the Burmese and Sinhalese. The fact that Khmer comes from an entirely different linguistic background (the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austroasiatic family) seems to not have precluded frequent and intense exchanges with their Tai-speaking Buddhist peers.<sup>33</sup>

Like other Theravadins, Khmer-Tai Buddhists uphold Pali as their primary ritual and scriptural language. But exactly which Pali texts were most studied and revered? The prominence given to what we think of as the Pali Tipiṭaka has waxed and waned over the centuries in these cultures. There is little evidence to suggest that Cambodia was ever a center of Pali scholarship, but Khmer and Tai speakers alike certainly engaged with the wave of new Pali compositions, many originating in Chiang Mai, that spread throughout mainland Southeast Asia from the fifteenth century onward.<sup>34</sup> These include a number of texts that

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<sup>32</sup> On the name of this language family, see Anthony V. N. Diller, “Introduction,” in *The Tai-Kadai Languages*, ed. Anthony V. N. Diller, Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo (London: Routledge, 2008), 3–8. Others prefer Tai-Kradai or even Tai-Kra.

<sup>33</sup> Khmer and Southwestern Tai are both part of the Mainland Southeast Asian linguistic area, a zone with frequent cross-fertilization across language families. For an overview of this area, see N. J. Enfield and Bernard Comrie, “Mainland Southeast Asian Languages: State of the Art and New Directions,” in *Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: The State of the Art*, ed. N. J. Enfield and Bernard Comrie (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 1–27. For examples of some of these areal processes at work, see Paul Sidwell, “Local Drift and Areal Convergence in the Restructuring of Mainland Southeast Asian Languages,” in *Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: The State of the Art*, ed. N. J. Enfield and Bernard Comrie (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 51–81. With regards to Khmer and Siamese/Thai, there are lexical, phonological, morphological, and even syntactical convergences. On the latter, see Franklin E. Huffman, “Thai and Cambodian: A Case of Syntactic Borrowing?,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 4 (October–December 1973): 488–509. On different eras of lexical borrowings, see Saveros Pou, “Old Khmer and Siamese,” in *Choix d’articles de khmerologie / Selected Papers on Khmerology* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), 259–270, and Michel Antelme, *La réappropriation en khmer de mots empruntés par la langue siamoise au vieux khmer* (Pattani, Thailand: Prince of Songkla University, 1996), 17–25.

<sup>34</sup> On Lanna as a center of Buddhist literary production in Pali, see Daniel M. Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 63–102, and Oskar von Hinüber, “Lān<sup>2</sup> Nā as a Centre of Pāli Literature During the Late 15th Century,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 26 (2000): 119–137. In Cambodia, by contrast, virtually no Pali literature was composed.

came to shape a distinct approach to Theravada Buddhism in the region, such as the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī*, the *Paññāsajātaka*, and the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*. These three Pali texts are emblematic of three distinct emphases in Khmer-Tai Buddhism.

The *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* demonstrates the extension of the method of the classical Pali commentaries to a single short canonical discourse, the *Maṅgala-sutta*, widely used as a protective text (*paritta*). Moreover, the *Maṅgalatthadīpanī* greatly expands on the notion of the virtues or debts of gratitude (*guṇa*) children owe their parents, a theme central to Buddhist practice among the Khmer and Tai.<sup>35</sup> The fifty non-canonical *jātaka* narratives of the *Paññāsajātaka* form the basis of much of the vernacular literature produced from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries in mainland Southeast Asia, literature that was generally produced by monks or former monks for recitation.<sup>36</sup> Such performances would take place outside the most sacred buildings (namely the *uposatha* and the *vihāra*) but still inside the monastery, for amusement and moral edification alike.<sup>37</sup> The *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha* is perhaps the first major Southeast Asian Pali text to demonstrate the doctrinal and ritual possibilities of “heart syllables” (Khmer: *pañtūl*, Thai: *hwǎ cǎi*).<sup>38</sup> Heart syllables are syllables in Pali that are drawn from *mantras* or from the abbreviated titles of texts that may be ritually rearranged in various ways, including for recitation, visualization, and protection.<sup>39</sup> The distinctly Khmer-Tai versions of protective diagrams and *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation, which form much of the “traditional” Buddhism that began to lose ground in the nineteenth century to modernized, Tipiṭaka-centered developments, place a strong emphasis on these heart syllables.

The fifteenth through the nineteenth century, therefore, marks a period during which

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See Olivier de Bernon, “The Status of Pāli in Cambodia: From Canonical to Esoteric Language,” in *Buddhist Legacies in Mainland Southeast Asia: Mentalities, Interpretations, and Practices*, ed. François Lagirarde and Paritta Chalermpong Koanantakool (Paris and Bangkok: École française d’Extrême-Orient and Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2006), 53–66.

<sup>35</sup> Grégory Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2015), 459–475.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of these texts, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, “The Apocryphal Jātakas of Southeast Asian Buddhism,” in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 375–393; Peter Skilling, “Jātaka and Paññāsa-Jātaka in South-East Asia,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 161–217; and N"uk Thəm ញឹក ថៃម, *Paññāsajātaka បញ្ញាសជាតក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Mahāvīdyālay aksar-sāstr niñ manuss-sāstr មហាវិទ្យាល័យអក្សរសាស្ត្រនិង មនុស្សសាស្ត្រ, 1963). On the relationship between the *Paññāsajātaka* and traditional Lao literature, see Anatole-Roger Peltier, *Le roman classique lao* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1988), 28–30.

<sup>37</sup> On these performances, see Henry Ginsburg, “The Suddhana-Manoharā Tale in Thai,” in *Lāi Sū’ Thai: Essays in Honour of E. H. S. Simmonds*, ed. Jeremy H. C. S. Davidson (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987), 78–86. For analyses and summaries of some *Paññāsajātaka* narratives recited in Central Thailand, see Trisilpa Boonkhachorn ตรีศิลป์ บุญขจร, *Vaiṇakaīm fraḥbhed klaan svat bhāg klān: kāṛ śikṣā jññ viṅroḥ(h) varṇanākrampṛasēphaklon svasatphakklāng: kārāḥkṣā chēngvīkrasāh* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sthāpān daiy śikṣā cuḷālaṅkara(n) mahāvīdyālay สถาบันไทยศึกษา จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2547), 259–399.

<sup>38</sup> បណ្ឌិត; หัวใจ. For a detailed study of this text, we await the forthcoming dissertation of Javier Schnake at the École Pratiques des Hautes Études (“Le Dhamma par le jeu de langue et d’esprit: le *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*, texte bouddhique en pali de Thaïlande du Nord du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle”).

<sup>39</sup> For some of these rearrangements, see François Bizot and Oskar von Hinüber, *La guirlande de bijoux* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994).

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Khmer-Tai Buddhism developed a distinct doctrinal, narrative, and ritual vocabulary, drawn in large measure from new Pali texts such as the *Māṅgalatthadīpanī*, the *Paññāsajātaka*, and the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*. But these Pali texts were far from the only sphere of overlap and interchange between Khmer, Lao, Thai, and other Buddhist cultures in the region.<sup>40</sup> Vernacular Buddhist compositions in Khmer-Tai languages flourished during this time as well. Perhaps the three most distinct of these genres are *ānisaṃsa*, or texts describing the karmic benefits of performing particular meritorious acts; *kammaṭṭhāna* manuals, which articulate a local system of meditation that flourished from the sixteenth through early nineteenth centuries; and short chanted poems for public recitation.

*Ānisaṃsa* texts exist in Pali versions as well, but it is not clear whether the much more numerous vernacular versions were translated from Pali, or vice versa.<sup>41</sup> *Ānisaṃsa* almost always take the form of sermons to be preached by monks to laypeople who have gathered to perform a particular meritorious act, such as making a material offering (*dāna*), ordaining as a monk, chanting a Pali text, or listening attentively to a sermon. Sermons describing material offerings are perhaps the most numerous, and give specific accounts of the benefits to be expected by someone who donates a particular requisite to the sangha, such as food, robes, a buddha image, a sanctuary (*vihāra*), or even a toilet.<sup>42</sup> Like many non-canonical Southeast Asian Buddhist texts, these sermons are framed as narrative sermons given by the Buddha, thus lending them familiarity and legitimacy.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, by articulating the karmic benefits connected to particular Buddhist deeds, *ānisaṃsa* reveal the boons that many would have aspired to when they were composed. These boons include wealth and good fortune in this

<sup>40</sup> Other Southeast Asian Pali compositions were equally prominent in Khmer-Tai communities. These include an important life narrative of the Buddha, the *Paṭhamasambodhi* (George Cœdès and Jacqueline Filliozat, eds., *The Paṭhamasambodhi* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2003)). Anant Laulertvorakul อนันต์ เหล่าเลิศวรกุล convincingly shows the relationship between various Tai and Khmer versions of this text in “Paṭhamasambodhi in Nine Languages: Their Relation and Evolution,” *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 6, no. 1 (2003): 11–34, and “Paṭhamasambodhikathā bhāṣā daiy chpāp samtéc braḥ mahāsamaṇa cau<sub>2</sub> kram braḥ ṭparamānujit jinoras: gvām sāmbān(dh) tān<sub>2</sub> sārāthaḥ kāp vaṇṇakaṛm buddhaṭṭhāvaṭī ṭin<sub>1</sub> ปฐมสมโพธิกถาภาษาไทยฉบับสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส : ความสัมพันธ์ด้านสารัตถะกับวรรณกรรมพุทธประวัติอื่น” (Chulalongkorn University, 2546). In this case, the Khmer version was clearly translated from the Siamese.

<sup>41</sup> For the most current survey of *ānisaṃsa* texts and themes, including an extensive bibliography of Thai collections, see Peter Skilling, “*Ānisaṃsa*: Merit, Motivation and Material Culture,” *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 14 (2017): 1–56. For short translations of a number of different types of Tai texts in this genre, see Anatole-Roger Peltier, *Ānisaṃsa in Tai Buddhism* (Chiang Mai: Chiang Mai Rajabhat University, 2014). For a comparative study of a single family of *ānisaṃsa* texts across several Tai languages, Louis Gabaude, *Les cetiya de sable au Laos et en Thaïlande: Les textes* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1979). For traditional Khmer *ānisaṃsa* texts, see Olivier de Bernon, “La littérature des «avantages» (*ānisaṃs*) dans les bibliothèques monastiques du Cambodge,” *Aséanie* 32 (December 2013): 77–96. Modern Khmer versions are collected in Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Ānisaṃs sām sīp អាទិសន្យ សាមសិប* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2543). For Lao versions, see Braḥ Maḥhā Nāndaḥnān (Ket) Ākraḥvānno Brāmmaḥcāk(r) ພອນມະຫາ ນິນທະນັນ (ເກດ) ອັກຄະອັນນິນ ພອນມະຈັກຣ໌, *Hnān sī desahṇā ānisaṃ 50 kān ຫ້ງສີເທສະຫາ ອານິສິງ 50 ກັນ* (Pakse, Champasak province ເມືອງປາກເຊ ຈຳປາສັກ: Vāt hāy sok nāndaḥnālām ວັດຫາຍໂສກ ນິນທະນາລາມ, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> de Bernon, “La littérature des «avantages» (*ānisaṃs*) dans les bibliothèques monastiques du Cambodge,” 90.

<sup>43</sup> Arthid Sheravanichkul, “Narrative and Gift-Giving in Thai *Anisaṃsa* Texts,” in *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond*, ed. Peter Skilling and Justin Thomas McDaniel, vol. 1 (Bangkok: Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), 37–46.

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life, a lofty birth as a powerful human or even a deity in the heavens in lives to come, and eventually the attainment of Nibbāna, typically during the time of the future buddha Maitreya.

*Kammaṭṭhāna* meditation manuals present a distinct system of ritual, recitation, visualization, and mental cultivation developed in Southeast Asia. *Kammaṭṭhāna* manuals primarily exist in vernacular languages, though a few were translated or transmitted in Pali, including some that traveled to Lanka in the eighteenth century along with the establishment of a Siamese ordination lineage.<sup>44</sup> In Khmer-Tai contexts, many of the manuscripts for such manuals have the generic name *mūlakammaṭṭhān*.<sup>45</sup> As François Lagirarde demonstrates, Khmer versions of these texts sometimes have direct Tai parallels, and vice versa.<sup>46</sup> Since such texts are typically intended for use by teachers or pupils engaged in this esoteric tradition, their contents are not always immediately transparent or intended for public view. Some *kammaṭṭhāna* concepts and practices, in particular the five joys (*pīti*), six pairs (*yugala*), and two types of well-being (*sukha*), have a specific history that may be traced back to at least the seventeenth century.<sup>47</sup> For other forms of traditional *kammaṭṭhāna*, however, the specifics of their lineages remain unclear; many may have disappeared prior to the twentieth century. In contrast to the particular historical lineage analyzed by de Bernon, not all traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* texts share an emphasis on the five *pīti* or the six *yugala*.

What unites *kammaṭṭhāna* practices are their distinct approach to the body, visualization, and the Buddhist path. Generally speaking, Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* practices are based on the cultivation of eidetic images (*nimitta*) that correspond to various stages on the path to buddhahood. These *nimitta* are brought by the practitioner into the center of the body, where they form the elements of a buddha within.<sup>48</sup> *Kammaṭṭhāna* manuals may explain the overall path of this meditation system, recount its central narrative concerning Prince and Princess Mind (*cittakumāra cittakumārī*),<sup>49</sup> enumerate its stages in relation to various Buddhist teachings, describe specific “jewel orbs” (Khmer *tuon kèu*; Thai/Lao *tuān kèu*) that correspond to different

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<sup>44</sup> On one such transmission, see Kate Crosby, Andrew Skilton, and Amal Gunasena, “The *Sutta on Understanding Death* in the Transmission of *Borān* Meditation From Siam to the Kandyan Court,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 40, no. 2 (2012): 177–198.

<sup>45</sup> Khmer texts bearing the title *kammaṭṭhān* are surveyed in Olivier de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammaṭṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer” (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2000), 29–40.

<sup>46</sup> François Lagirarde, “Textes bouddhiques du pays khmer et du Lanna: un exemple de parenté,” in *Recherches nouvelles sur le Cambodge*, ed. François Bizot (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), 101–39.

<sup>47</sup> On the historical contours of this particular *kammaṭṭhān* tradition, see de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammaṭṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer,” 413–455. See also Olivier de Bernon, “Le *mūl kammaṭṭhān* Wat Ratchathiwat daté de 1661 A.D.: présentation et traduction,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 90, no. 1 & 2 (2002): 149–60.

<sup>48</sup> Kate Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation and Its Modern-Era Suppression* (Hong Kong: Buddha Dharma Centre of Hong Kong, 2013), 15–16.

<sup>49</sup> François Bizot, *Le figuier à cinq branches: recherche sur le bouddhisme khmer* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1976), 112–115. For an overview of Bizot’s contributions to the study of *kammaṭṭhāna* texts, see Kate Crosby, “Tantric Theravāda: A Bibliographic Essay on the Writings of François Bizot and Others on the Yogāvacara Tradition,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 1, no. 2 (2000): 141–198.



attainments,<sup>50</sup> or provide technical lists of mental and physical phenomena. Kate Crosby argues that traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation is closely related to other premodern “technologies of transformation,” especially grammar, alchemy, and obstetrics.<sup>51</sup> Her argument is particularly helpful for understanding the close connections between *kammaṭṭhāna* guides and other traditional manuals in Khmer-Tai contexts, including those for astrology, medicine, and magical spells.

Short chanted poems for public recitation and reflection are known by a variety of names in Khmer-Tai Buddhist cultures; they are rarely considered as a unitary genre. Most are intended to be chanted in Buddhist rituals by either monks or laypeople, typically solo though occasionally in small groups, and almost always *a cappella*. In Cambodia, this form of chant is usually known as *smūtr* or *dharmaṃ pad*.<sup>52</sup> The leporellos studied in this dissertation feature texts largely chanted in this ornate, melismatic style. In contemporary Laos and Thailand, short vernacular poems recited in Buddhist rituals are known by a variety of names, including *sarabhāññāḥ*, *klaan sarabhāññ(ñ)*, *klaan lām*, *gām hām<sub>1</sub>/gām rām<sub>1</sub>*, *hlè<sub>1</sub>*, and *lām hlè<sub>1</sub>*.<sup>53</sup> These terms are not synonymous by any means, and are used in multiple different ways in Central Thailand, Northern Thailand, and Northeastern Thailand and Laos. However, they all share similar qualities in that they may refer to lay-focused chanting traditions centered around the recitation of relatively short texts in verse. They are distinct in function from, though musically akin to, the various types of melodically intoned monastic sermons in Tai cultures (also known as *hlè<sub>1</sub>*).<sup>54</sup> They are of course quite closely related to older practices of intoning long vernacular poems (*klaan svat*, “chanted poem”) for and sometimes by the laity at

<sup>50</sup> ដួងកែវ, ดวงแก้ว; ດວງແກ້ວ. For one interpretation of the role of these jewel orbs on the path of *kammaṭṭhāna*, see François Bizot, *Le Chemin de Lanḱā* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1992), 57–61.

<sup>51</sup> Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation and Its Modern-Era Suppression*, 70–102.

<sup>52</sup> សូត្រ; ធម៌បទ. The two terms are functionally equivalent. *Smūtr* (also written *smūt* សូត្រ or *smūthy* សូធុ), derived from Old Khmer *svat* ស្វត្តិ, c.f. Modern Khmer *sūtr* សូត្រ, Thai and Lao *svat* สวด, สอด) can include secular texts, though it generally implies Buddhist ones; *dharmaṃ pad* refers exclusively to Buddhist texts. *Smūtr* generally implies only vernacular texts, whereas *dharmaṃ pad* includes both Pali and vernacular texts. Very often the two terms are combined into one phrase, *smūtr dharmaṃ pad*, with *smūtr* as the verb and *dharmaṃ pad* as its object. For an analysis of this vocal style, see Trent Walker, “Saṃvega and Pasāda: Dharma Songs in Contemporary Cambodia,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, forthcoming 2018.

<sup>53</sup> ស្រក្សិយ្យះ; ក្លោនស្រក្សិយ្យៈ; ក្លោនស្រា; គាម៉ា; អេស្រ, ស្រាអេស្រ. On *klaan sarabhāññ(ñ)*, see Awirut Thotham อวิรุทธ์ โทथा, “Dāṃṇaāññ sārabhāññ(ñ) nāi bññ<sub>2</sub>dī<sub>1</sub> bhāḡ īsāññ ތានອງសារក្សិយ្យៈໃນផ្ទៃក្រុងភ្នំពេញ” (Mahidol University, 2549), and Phra Somchid Jaruthummo (Uthakit) พระสมชิต จารุธมโม (อุทากิจ), “Sīḡkā vidhīkār saat drèk cariyadhārm nāi pad khāp raañ<sub>2</sub> sarabhāññ(ñ) īsāññ: sīḡsā chboh karanī pad khāp raañ<sub>2</sub> sarabhāññ(ñ) nāi khēt tāmpal tāt daañ āmbhō sñī dhātu cāñhvāt utar dhāññī ศึกษาวិธีการสอดแทรกจริยธรรมในบทขับร้องสรภัญญ์อีสาน: ศึกษาเฉพาะกรณีบทขับร้องสรภัญญ์อีสานในเขตตำบลตาตของ อำเภอศรีธาตุ จังหวัดอุดรธานี” (Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2550). For Northern Thailand, a number of Lanna *gām hām<sub>1</sub>/gām rām<sub>1</sub>* are collected in Puñgit Vājrasāsī(r) บุญคิด วัชรศาสตร์, *Gām rām<sub>1</sub> sāñkhāradhārm, lāmṛā tū tvā en ค่ำรำลิ่งขารธรรม ตำราดุดตัวเอง* (Chiang Mai เชียงใหม่: Dhārā daañ kār bim(b) ธาราทองการพิมพ์, 2550).

<sup>54</sup> On the musical dimensions of these forms of sermon chant, see Thitipol Kanteewong ธิติพล กันดิวังศ์, “Dāṃṇaāññ deśa(n) mahājāññī kañḡ mādḡdī nāi prāḡḡḡñī tāñ<sub>2</sub> dhām(m) hlvaññ cāñhvāt jien hmaññ ތានອງពេស្រណាមាហាធាតិ ក្លោងអំពាតិក្នុងប្រទេសធីតាំងធីតាំងអង្គរ ភ្នំពេញ” (Mahidol University, 2545) and Braḡ Grū Vināyadhār Māñab Pālahbāññ(dh) พระครูวินัยธร มาณพ ปาละพันธ์, *Sīḡp sāñ kār deśa(n) mahājāññī สืบสานการเทศน์มหาชาติ* (กรุงเทพฯ: บริษัท เอทิสัน เพรส โปรดักส์ จำกัด, 2553).

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monasteries, typically on festival days or full-, new-, or half-moon days, a practice variously known as *ān<sub>1</sub> hnāñ sī*, *ān<sub>1</sub> hnāñ sī phūk*, *svat sarabhāñ(ñ)*, *svat hnāñ sī*, *svat hnāñ sī puk*, among other designations.<sup>55</sup> These longer texts are often verse renderings of *Paññāsajātaka* narratives or occasionally canonical stories or discourses. While the Tai traditions typically employ less complex melodies than their Khmer counterparts, there are considerable grounds for treating these forms of chanted poetry as part of a broader Khmer-Tai tradition. Many Tai *klaan svat* titles are found not only in Siamese, Lanna, and Lao versions, but also among the Khmer *lpök* and *sāstrā lpèn* genres of recited poems.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, as I demonstrate later in this study, a number of the Khmer verse texts in the leporellos were translated directly from their Siamese counterparts.

In addition to these new Pali compositions and vernacular developments, Khmer-Tai Buddhists also developed shared ritual and curricular uses of standard Pali chants. As in the broader Theravada world, Khmer and Tai monks studied a particular curriculum of Pali texts for memorization, largely texts to be recited in rituals for laypeople and for the monastic community itself.<sup>57</sup> These texts are locally known as *bhāṇavāra*, an old Buddhist term meaning “sections for recitation.”<sup>58</sup> Many of the chants included in the *bhāṇavāra* curricula are protective texts known as *paritta*. While the practice of protective chant has a long history in Buddhism, indeed going back to the compilation of the various canons themselves,<sup>59</sup> its practice in a Khmer-Tai context takes on some particular characteristics. Most notable among these is that, until recently, *paritta* chanting often comprised not only canonical texts and protective texts composed in medieval Lanka, but also Pali texts composed in Southeast Asia as well as their vernacular parallels.

In addition to these shared textual genres, Buddhists in what is now Cambodia, Laos, and

<sup>55</sup> อ่านหนังสือ; อ่านหนังสือผูก; สวดสรภัญญ์; สวดหนังสือ; สวดหนังสือผูก. For an overview of the various regional practices for reciting *klaan svat* texts in Thailand, see Trisilpa Boonkhachorn ตรีศิลป์ บุญขจร, *Vaṇṇakārm phrabhed klaan svat bhāṅ klān: kār śikṣā jññ vigroh(h) วรรณกรรมประเภทกลอนสวดภาคกลาง: การศึกษาเชิงวิเคราะห์*, 2–20. For a musical analysis of some Lao styles, see Terry Miller, “A Melody Not Sung: The Performance of Lao Buddhist Texts in Northeast Thailand,” in *Text, Context, and Performance in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam*, ed. Amy Catlin (Los Angeles: University of California, 1992), 161–188. A broad range of Tai recitation styles are documented and compared in Kram śilpākār กรรมศิลปากร, *Saruṭṭ phal kār sāmmanā dān vijākār raḥṭāp anubhūmibhāṅ e jje āgne(y) rōñ<sub>2</sub> “dvañ<sub>1</sub> dāṃnaañ raay<sub>2</sub> kraañ<sub>1</sub> dāi nāi uṣāgne(y)” สรุปลผลการสัมมนาทางวิชาการ ระดับอนุภูมิภาคเอเชียอาคเนย์ เรื่อง “ท่องทำนอง ร้อยกรองไท ในอุษาคเนย์”* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākār กรรมศิลปากร, 2544).

<sup>56</sup> ญឹ๊จ; សាស្ត្រាណុយ៉ែន. For more on the parallels between Khmer *sāstrā lpèn* and Siamese literature, see Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ ภัคดีคำ, *Śāsīrā lpèn: vādhanaḥārm dān vaṇṇasīl(ṭ) bādhanaḥārm lèḥ gvām sāmman(dh) kṣp vādhanaḥārm khmer ศาสตราแลมบง: วัฒนธรรมทางวรรณศิลป์ พัฒนาการ และความสัมพันธ์กับวัฒนธรรมเขมร* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Samāgam mitrabhāb daīy – kāmbūjā samākm mītrāpāp ṭāy – kām pūṣā, 2554), 145–153.

<sup>57</sup> Barend Jan Terwiel, *Monks and Magic: Revisiting a Classic Study of Religious Ceremonies in Thailand* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012), 105–9. This aspect of the curriculum was much the same in Burma. See Khammai Dhammasami, “Between Idealism and Pragmatism: A Study of Monastic Education in Burma and Thailand from the Seventeenth Century to the Present” (University of Oxford, 2004), 42–4.

<sup>58</sup> For the commentarial definition of *bhāṇavāra*, see Oskar von Hinüber, “The Nigamanas of the Sumaṅgalavilāini and the Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 21 (1995): 130–131.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Skilling, “The *Rakṣā* Literature of the *Śrāvakayāna*,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16 (1992): 109–182.

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Thailand have articulated a distinct understanding of the Dharma as reflected in their soteriologies, ontologies, and uses of language. Many Khmer-Tai Buddhists over the centuries aspired to the same soteriological goals as their peers in the broader Theravada world: to achieve a more fortunate rebirth; to be reborn as a human being during the time of the future buddha, known locally as Śrī Ārya Maitreya (Pali: Metteyya); and to achieve Nibbāna, presumably as an arahant.<sup>60</sup> However, as mentioned in the context of *kammatthāna* manuals above, a minority of Buddhists in the region instead aspired to reach the state of complete awakening as a buddha and to ferry other living beings over to the far shore of Nibbāna. Since much of the available evidence we have for such aspirations comes from kings and other elites, it is easy to suppose that this aspiration was strongly linked to the prominent connections made in Khmer-Tai communities between kings and *bodhisatvas* (Pali: *bodhisatta*).<sup>61</sup> However, manuscript colophons, inscriptions, and vernacular literature make clear that a number of non-royal laypeople aspired to the *bodhisatva* path as well.<sup>62</sup>

Just as has been shown in the case of India and China, Khmer-Tai Buddhist monastics and laypeople appear to have long been motivated to perform religious deeds on behalf of their ancestors, particularly their parents. As mentioned above, the crucial notion here is *guṇa* (Khmer and Thai: *guṇ*; Lao *gun*),<sup>63</sup> which in most Indian Buddhist contexts means “quality” or even “virtue,” but, as Grégory Kourilsky convincingly demonstrates using Khmer-Tai sources, eventually comes to mean the “legacy” (*legs*) of one’s parents or one’s “debt” to them.<sup>64</sup> In the *kammatthāna* meditation traditions of these cultures, texts frequently speak of the *guṇa* of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha; parents, ancestors, relatives, preceptors, and teachers; the four or five elements; various personified aspects of nature, such as the Earth; and manifold Brahmanical deities. Each of these are entities that support human material and spiritual life, and in many cases the *guṇa* may be enumerated and described in detail. One therefore speaks of the 56 *guṇa* of the Buddha, the 38 of the Dharma, and the fourteen of the Sangha, totaling the 108 syllables of the *itipi so* formula.<sup>65</sup> In reference to one’s parents, one may refer to the 21 *guṇa* of the father and the twelve *guṇa* of the mother, totaling 33, with the paternal legacy being the solid (earth element) parts of the body and the maternal one the liquid (water element) parts.<sup>66</sup>

Khmer-Tai Buddhists further extended the numerical logic of *guṇa* in various linguistic and ontological directions. *Guṇa*, in other words, form the center of a distinct Khmer-Tai

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<sup>60</sup> Asanga Tilakaratne, *Theravada Buddhism: The View of the Elders* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2012), 93–95.

<sup>61</sup> On some of these royal aspirations for buddhahood, see Peter Skilling, “King, Sangha and Brahmins: Ideology, Ritual and Power in Pre-Modern Siam,” in *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*, ed. Ian Harris (London: Routledge, 2007), 188–192.

<sup>62</sup> Scribal aspirations for buddhahood are discussed in Naomi Appleton, *Jātaka Stories in Theravāda Buddhism: Narrating the Bodhisatta Path* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 103–105.

<sup>63</sup> គុណ; កុណ; គុណ

<sup>64</sup> Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao,” 497–513. See also Grégory Kourilsky, “Note sur la piété filiale en Asie du Sud-Est theravādin,” *Aséanie* 20 (2008): 27–54.

<sup>65</sup> Bizot and von Hinüber, *La guirlande de joyaux*, 21–24.

<sup>66</sup> de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammatthān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer,” 299–305.

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approach to the power of Buddhist letters and syllables. For example, since novices (*sāmaṇeras*) often ordain at twelve years of age and full-fledged monks (*bhikkhus*) at 21, novice ordination is connected to repaying of one's debt to one's mother, while full ordination is considered a reciprocation of the debt to one's father. Furthermore, each of the consonants of the alphabet, beginning with *ka*, *kha*, *ga*... and by some counts totaling 33, is connected to a part of the body and therefore also a *guṇa* of a particular parent.<sup>67</sup> These consonants are an example of the above-mentioned “heart syllables” that encapsulate the emphasis placed on *guṇa*. Moreover, syllables that stand in for the *guṇa* of various entities take on a efficacious power of their own, whether for creation, protection, magic, or soteriological attainment.<sup>68</sup> In some *kammaṭṭhāna* texts, the heart syllables are prior to, and hence more important than, the entities they purport to represent. Thus from certain *kammaṭṭhāna* perspectives human beings are not born from their parents or even the *guṇa* of their parents, but from the heart syllables that represent those *guṇa*. These heart syllables, in turn, come from the body of the Dharma itself.<sup>69</sup>

One of the most striking visual manifestations of heart syllables in Khmer-Tai cultures are *yantra* or diagrams that combine syllables in geometric patterns for protective purposes. *Yantra* appear in inscriptions, shirts, pieces of cloth, tattoos, and manuscripts.<sup>70</sup> In Northern Thailand, Northeastern Thailand, and Laos, the primary script used is the Tham (*Dharm*/*Dharmm*)<sup>71</sup> script. This is also the script used to write all Pali and most religious vernacular texts (i.e. in the Lanna and Lao languages) in traditional manuscripts from these regions. Descended from Old Mon script, Tham script features a much more complex system of ligatures than the Central Thai script used today throughout Thailand or the Tai Noi script that developed into contemporary Lao script.<sup>72</sup>

In Central and Southern Thailand, the primary script for Buddhist manuscripts up through the nineteenth century and still for magical purposes today is known as Khom (*Khaam*) script. *Yantra* and manuscripts, including those recording both Pali texts as well as vernacular Buddhist texts, employ this script. Though its precise etymology remains contested in Thailand, the term “Khom” seems to derive from an exonym for Khmer in Mon and Thai,

<sup>67</sup> Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao,” 61–63.

<sup>68</sup> Crosby, *Traditional Theravāda Meditation and Its Modern-Era Suppression*, 84.

<sup>69</sup> Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao,” 245–247; 539–540. See also Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Philosophical Embryology: Buddhist Texts and the Ritual Construction of a Fetus,” in *Imagining the Fetus: The Unborn in Myth, Religion, and Culture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 91–106.

<sup>70</sup> For Khmer examples of *yantra*, see Olivier de Bernon, *Yantra et Mantra* (Phnom Penh: Centre Culturel Français de Phnom Penh, 1998) and ុច សុន ុច សុន, *Kpoun sil(p)-sāstr khmèr pūrān ុច សុន សិល្ប៍សាស្ត្រខ្មែរមូលដ្ឋាន* (Kandal កណ្តាល: Vatt bo(dhi) anṭèt វត្តពោធិ៍សាត់, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> Thai ธรรม

<sup>72</sup> For examples of *yantra* in Tham script, see Susan Conway, *Tai Magic: Arts of the Supernatural in the Shan States and Lan Na* (Bangkok: River Books, 2014).

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related to Old Khmer *karom*.<sup>73</sup> Khom script is thus unsurprisingly almost identical to the variety of Khmer script known as *mūl*. While the ultimate origin of both *mūl* and Khom script is Old Khmer script, paleographers still debate their exact filiation.<sup>74</sup> Influence likely cut both ways; aspects of certain Khmer script styles of the past few centuries, including *mūl* (“rounded”) and *jrīen* (“cursive”), may draw from Siamese developments.<sup>75</sup>

Khom script itself appears in manifold varieties, the most important of which are Khom Yo (*khaam yaa*<sub>1</sub>, “abbreviated Khom”), Khom Bali (*khaam pālī*, “Pali Khom”), Khom Thai (*khaam daiy*, “Thai Khom”), and Khom Wat (*khaam hvāt*, “freehand Khom”).<sup>76</sup> Khom Yo is a stylized, almost calligraphic script that appears only in mid- to late-Ayutthaya-period Pali manuscripts. Khom Bali is the most common variety, used for writing Pali in manuscripts, inscriptions, and *yantra*; it is also the most similar to Khmer *mūl* script and continues to be used up to the present for *yantra*. Khom Thai is especially used for certain seventeenth- through nineteenth-century religious texts in Siamese manuscripts; while the form of its letters is similar to Khom Bali and *mūl*, it incorporates numerous other characters and orthographic practices to make it suitable for writing vernacular Central and Southern Thai.<sup>77</sup> Finally, Khom Wat appears in interlinear annotations of Khom Bali manuscripts. Khom Wat is almost identical to Khmer *jrīen* script and, according to Santi Pakdeekham, the latter may in fact be derived from the former.<sup>78</sup>

Buddhist manuscripts from Khmer-Tai communities in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand primarily use the Khom Thai, Khom Bali, Tham Lanna, Tham Lao, Khmer *mūl*, and Khmer *jrīen* scripts to record texts on a variety of physical formats.<sup>79</sup> These formats include long-

<sup>73</sup> On the derivation of this term, see Antelme, *La réappropriation en khmer de mots empruntés par la langue siamoise au vieux khmer*, 61–62.

<sup>74</sup> Kongkaew Veeraprajak กองแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, “Ākṣar khaam khaaṅ daiy อักษรขอมของไทย,” in *Sāy dhār hèn<sub>1</sub> gvām git 2: sārāniban(dh) jōt jū kierti dān<sub>1</sub> phū<sub>2</sub> hñiñ varuṅyubā snidvañ(ś) na ayudhyā nōñ<sub>1</sub> nai varokās āyu graḥ 72 pī* สายธารแห่งความคิด ๒ : สารนิพนธ์เขตขุเกียรตินิพนธ์ผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิ สนธิวงศ์ ณ อยุธยา เนื่องในวโรกาสอายุครบ ๗๒ ปี, ed. Vudhijāy Mūlaśil(p) วุฒิชัย มูลศิลป์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kaaṅ dun bīō vijākār varuṅyubā sanidvañ(ś) กองทุนเพื่อวิชาการวรรณวิทยา สนธิวงศ์, 2544), 317–349. See also Jana Igunma, “Aksoon Khoom: Khmer Heritage in Thai and Lao Manuscript Cultures,” *Tai Culture* 23 (2013): 25–32.

<sup>75</sup> Khmer មូល, ជ្រៀង

<sup>76</sup> Thai ขอมย่อ, ขอมบาลี, ขอมไทย, ขอมหวัด. For more on these scripts, see Kongkaew Veeraprajak กองแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, “Ākṣar khaam khaaṅ daiy อักษรขอมของไทย.”

<sup>77</sup> For details on these added features in Khom Thai, see Antelme, “Inventaire provisoire des caractères et divers signes des écritures khmères pré-modernes et modernes employés pour la notation du khmer, du siamois, des dialectes thaïs méridionaux, du sanskrit et du pālī.”

<sup>78</sup> Santi Pakdeekham, personal communication.

<sup>79</sup> Some Buddhist manuscripts also use modern Thai, modern Lao, Lao Buhan/Tai Noi (*lāu pūhān* ลาวภูษาน/*dai naay<sub>2</sub>* ไทน้อย or *tai hnoy<sub>2</sub>* ไทน้อย) scripts, though these are more common for recording secular texts, such as poetry, narratives, manuals, legal codes, or administrative documents. In Laos, these various scripts may sometimes be mixed together in a single manuscript or even a single line of text. See Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Manuscripts Found in the Abode of Pha Khamchan at Vat Saen Sukharam,” in *The Lao Sangha and Modernity: Research at the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang, 2005–2015*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Hans Georg Berger (Luang Prabang: Anantha Publishing, 2015), 212–214. On the history and usage of these scripts in Laos, see Michel

format palm-leaf manuscripts, short-format palm-leaf manuscripts, leporellos, traditional codices, and European-style notebooks. Traditional bark-paper codices (Lao *bǎp sǎ*) are generally limited to upland regions, particularly Tai groups in Northern Thailand and Laos.<sup>80</sup> The remaining four formats are found throughout Khmer-Tai communities in Southeast Asia. European-style paper notebooks, bound with string, glue, or staples, became increasingly common from the late nineteenth-century onwards and especially since the 1970s. The remaining three formats have a long history in Southeast Asia, with evidence for the use of palm-leaf manuscripts in particular going back to the Angkorian period.<sup>81</sup> The earliest surviving examples are from Northern Thailand in the late fifteenth century.<sup>82</sup> The history of leporellos is less certain; evidence for their use in Siam goes back to at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, though it is not yet clear whether the technology came from Java, China, the Arab world, or elsewhere.<sup>83</sup>

The two main formats of palm-leaf manuscripts in Khmer-Tai communities are distinguished by their physical dimensions. The most numerous, known as *saṭrā* or *sastrā sliḅ rīt* in Cambodia and *baī lān* or *gāmbhī(r) baī lān* in Laos and Thailand, are generally between 50 and 60 centimeters in length and around 5 centimeters in width.<sup>84</sup> These long-format palm-leaf manuscripts contain a wide variety of texts in Pali as well as in Khmer, Lanna, Lao, and Thai, including those for religious sermons, moral instruction, vernacular narration, and doctrinal analysis. Long-format palm-leaf manuscripts generally contain only one title; if a text is too long to fit into one fascicle (*khsè* in Khmer; *phūk* in Lao and Thai), then multiple fascicles (usually between two and ten, but sometimes up to thirty) can be grouped together to form a single, wrapped bundle (Khmer *tum*; Lao and Thai *māt*).<sup>85</sup> A few very long texts, such as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, may be split into two bundles.<sup>86</sup>

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Lorrillard, “The Diffusion of Lao Scripts,” in *The Literary Heritage of Laos: Preservation, Dissemination, and Research Perspectives*, ed. Kongdeuane Nettavong et al. (Vientiane: The National Library of Laos, 2005), 366–372, and “Scripts and History: The Case of Laos,” *Senri Ethnological Studies* 74 (2009): 33–49. Smaller Tai communities in upland Thailand and Laos use Tai Khün, Tai Lue, Tai Nuea, Shan, and other scripts for their manuscripts, some of which are closely related to Tham Lanna script. Mon script appears primarily with Pali and Mon texts from Mon communities, but in some cases may appear alongside Khom Bali in certain manuscripts from Thailand.

<sup>80</sup> Lao ພັບສາ. See Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Buddhist Monks and Their Search for Knowledge: An Examination of the Personal Collection of Manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang” (Universität Hamburg, 2016), 44–46.

<sup>81</sup> Catherine Becchetti, “Une ancienne tradition de manuscrits au Cambodge,” in *Recherches nouvelles sur le Cambodge*, ed. François Bizot (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), 47–62; Harris, *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People*, 53.

<sup>82</sup> Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, 220n18.

<sup>83</sup> Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680, Volume 1: The Lands below the Winds* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1988), 228. Skilling speculates that the statue that includes K. 888, likely dating from thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Cambodia, may be depicting a leporello (Skilling, “Namō Buddhāya Gurave (K. 888): Circulation of a Liturgical Formula across Asia”).

<sup>84</sup> Khmer សត្រា; សាស្ត្រស៊ុកវត្ត; Thai คัมภีร์ใบลาน; Lao ໃບລານ (also *lān yāv* လານຍာဝ).

<sup>85</sup> ខ្សែ; ជួរ; ជួរ; ជុំ; រំពេច; រំពេច (cf. Lao *jum* ຊຸມ for unwrapped bundles; see Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Buddhist Monks and Their Search for Knowledge: An Examination of the Personal Collection of Manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang,” 43).

<sup>86</sup> The two bundles of this text in Cambodia, again following the Thai usage, are often labeled *pān° tān°* ប្រាំ (cf.

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Short-format palm-leaf manuscripts are known as *vān* in Cambodia and *bai lān sǎn<sub>2</sub>* or *hnǎi s̄ā kaam<sub>2</sub>* in Thailand, and *lān kaam<sub>2</sub>* in Laos.<sup>87</sup> These manuscripts range from less than 10 to about 50 centimeters in length, though they are generally the same width as their long-format counterparts. Short-format palm-leaf manuscripts contain Pali liturgical texts as well as a variety of short vernacular manuals for meditation, ritual, astrology, mathematics, and medicine. Texts in such manuscripts rarely extend beyond a single fascicle. In the case of those containing Pali liturgical texts, each fascicle may in fact contain several individual titles. The Khmer word *vān* may be derived from the Thai pronunciation of the Pali term *bhāṇavāra* (*pʰa.nawa:n*), as many *vān* in Cambodia contain collections of Pali liturgical texts known by this term.<sup>88</sup> These *bhāṇavāra* collections tend to be written on *vān* manuscripts around 40 centimeters in length, whereas vernacular manuals are more written on manuscripts between 10 and 30 centimeters in length.

In Cambodia and central Thailand, traditional leporello manuscripts (Khmer: *krām̃i* or sometimes *grām̃i*; Thai: *samut khaay*)<sup>89</sup> mostly date from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries and record disparate fields of knowledge, including literature, law, medicine, astrology, warfare, and history.<sup>90</sup> Perhaps the most studied and celebrated of these manuscripts are those, largely from central Thailand and fashioned by Siamese scribes, that feature vivid illuminations of Buddhist narratives.<sup>91</sup> Many of these illuminated manuscripts, such as the

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Thai *ban ton* บันตัน) and *pān° plāy°* ប់ฎฎฎ (ban plai บันปลาย), respectively. The catalogs of the FEMC, following the recommendation of Braḥ Dhammalikhit Lās' Lāy ๒ะตมฺญณิฉิต ๒าส์ ฎฎฎ, use the forms *pʰen tan r̄s̄s̄s̄s̄* and *pʰen plāy r̄s̄s̄s̄s̄* instead (cf. Thai *pen ton* เป็นต้น and *pen plai* เป็นปลาย). See Olivier de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004), xlvī–xlvii.

<sup>87</sup> Khmer វ៉ាន; Thai ใบลานสั้น, หนังสือก้อม. For long- and short-format palm-leaf manuscripts in Laos (*lān yāv* ๒าวຍາဝ and *lān kaam<sub>2</sub>* ๒าวກ້ອມ), see Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Buddhist Monks and Their Search for Knowledge: An Examination of the Personal Collection of Manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang,” 42–44.

<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the Pali term *bhāṇavāra* ភិណ្ឌវារិ is often pronounced /*pʰəm v̄m̄*/ (*bhān vān* វ៉ាន-វ៉ាន) in Cambodia, the final nasal consonant reflecting Thai pronunciation. On this derivation and its problems, see Antelme, *La réappropriation en khmer de mots empruntés par la langue siamoise au vieux khmer*, 109–110.

<sup>89</sup> Khmer គ្រាំដំ or គ្រាំដំ; Thai สมุดข่อย

<sup>90</sup> For examples of Central Thai leporello manuscripts of these genres, see Puñt̄iön Śrīvarabaca(n) บุญเดือน ศรีวรรณ จัน and Prah̄sid(dhi) S̄endāp ประสิทธิ์ แสงทับ, *Samut khaay*, สมุดข่อย (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Maratak daiy มรดกไทย, 2542). For a facsimile reproduction, translation, and analysis of a Central Thai astrology leporello, see M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapavati, ed., *Divination au royaume de Siam: le corps, la guerre, le destin*, trans. Nicolas Revire, Collection Sources (Paris and Geneva: Presses Universitaires de France and Fondation Martin Bodmer, 2011). For Shan and Lanna examples, see Conway, *Tai Magic: Arts of the Supernatural in the Shan States and Lan Na*.

<sup>91</sup> For more on these manuscripts, see Henry Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western Collections* (London: The British Library, 2000), and “A Monk Travels to Heaven and Hell,” in *Pearls of the Orient: Asian Treasures of the Wellcome Library*, ed. Nigel Allan (London and Chicago: The Wellcome Trust and Serindia Publications, 2003), 144–159. On the content of these manuscripts, see Toshiya Unebe, “Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvātimsa Heaven,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 427–444, and Tanabe Kazuko 田辺和子 and Shimizu Yōhei 清水洋平, アユタヤー期後期作製ワット・フアクラブー寺院所蔵の絵付折本紙写本 = *An*

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Bodleian library manuscript recently studied by Naomi Appleton, Sarah Shaw, and Toshiya Unebe,<sup>92</sup> contain commonly recited liturgical texts, especially those performed in funeral rites. Another notable feature of ritual texts in leporello manuscripts from Thailand is that they occasionally feature interlinear diacritics thought to represent how the texts are to be recited, a subject I return to in Chapter 4 (see *infra*, 171–173). Despite the pioneering work of Fredrik Almstedt, such cantillation marks have yet to be fully deciphered, and much work remains in terms of articulating the relationship between leporellos and current and past ritual performance practices.<sup>93</sup>

However much remains to be written about leporellos in Thailand, even less is known about their Cambodian counterparts. The oldest extant leporellos in Khmer are in the British Library and date from the 1830s, though those particular manuscripts may have been fashioned in Siam or in Cambodia’s western provinces that were then under Siamese administration.<sup>94</sup> A few mid-nineteenth century examples survive in Cambodia and France, and the remainder date from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. From the mid-twentieth century to the present, the production of leporellos continued, but no longer on traditional white or black *snāy*<sup>95</sup> bark paper. People experimented instead with a variety of modern materials. These leporellos contain similar arrangements of texts to their older counterparts, but are written on refurbished cement-sack kraft paper or a variety of modern card stocks, as the traditional papermaking techniques, described by Dard Hunter in Siam, were already in severe decline by the mid-twentieth century.<sup>96</sup> Since leporello manuscripts in Siam survive from several centuries earlier, we would probably be right to suppose that such manuscripts were used at least that far back in Cambodia as well.

Very few traditional manuscripts of any format survive today in Cambodia. By Olivier de Bernon’s estimates, nearly 98% of such materials were lost in the tumultuous period

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*Illustrated Folding Book from the Late Ayutthaya Period Preserved at Wat Hua Krabue* (Tokyo 東京: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会, 2016).

<sup>92</sup> Naomi Appleton, Sarah Shaw, and Toshiya Unebe, *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha: An Illustrated Chanting Book From Eighteenth-Century Siam* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 2013).

<sup>93</sup> Fredrik J. Almstedt, “On the Origin of the Thai Tone Markers: A Vedic Influence on the System of Marking Tone in Thai” (University of Copenhagen, 2011).

<sup>94</sup> Or 8852 and Or 8853 are both dated to 1830. The former is dated to June 14<sup>th</sup>, 1830 CE (Monday, 9<sup>th</sup> waning day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month, year of the tiger, 2<sup>nd</sup> of the decade) and the latter to June 4<sup>th</sup> (Friday, 14<sup>th</sup> waxing day of the 7<sup>th</sup> month, year of the tiger, 2<sup>nd</sup> of the decade). Both were likely acquired by Robert Curzon in Siam in the 1830s or 1840s. Or 5865, Or 7560 A, and Or 7560 B are undated but were probably were fashioned in the same era. A similar manuscript at Cornell (Archive # 4528, MSS temp control # 66, currently catalogued as “Khmer manuscript on mulberry paper”) also dates from the same period and likely the same workshop in Siam.

<sup>95</sup> ស្នាយ; Thai *khaay*, ขี้ไผ่; scientific name: *streblus asper*.

<sup>96</sup> Dard Hunter, *Papermaking in Southern Siam* (Chillicothe, OH: Mountain House Press, 1936). Traditional papermaking survives in the Buddhist cultures of the Himalayas. For detailed information on how such manuscripts are made, see Mark Elliott, Hildegard Diemberger, and Michela Clemente, eds., *Buddha’s Word: The Life of Books in Tibet and Beyond* (Cambridge: Museum of Archeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 2014), 93–111.



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between 1970 and 1990.<sup>97</sup> Some were certainly lost to willful destruction at the hands of the Khmer Rouge (1975–1979); others were scattered or simply succumbed to the elements.<sup>98</sup> Two decades of warfare often made proper storage of manuscripts impossible, and Cambodia’s climate is hardly conducive to the longevity of organic fibers. The bulk of the manuscripts that do survive, likely numbering in the tens of thousands of fascicles, are those inscribed on palm leaves. Leporellos are much rarer; if mid- to late-twentieth-century leporellos on kraft paper and cardboard are excluded, I am only aware of a few hundred examples. This is partially due to the fragility of traditional bark-paper leporellos; palm-leaf manuscripts, by comparison, are made of a more robust material that is relatively resistant to moisture, mold, and insects. Leporellos were also far less common than palm-leaf manuscripts to begin with.

In Cambodia, as in Laos and Thailand, long-format palm-leaf manuscripts are almost always found as part of state or monastic collections, with a minority belonging to private lay collections. Monks and modern researchers are not the only people involved in the production, circulation, reading, and performance of manuscripts, however. Leporellos and short-format palm-leaf manuscripts, in particular, are often owned, produced, and used by laypeople rather than strictly by monks. Cambodian Buddhism gives particular emphasis to the role of the *ācāry*, or lay priest, who traditionally owned, copied, and circulated such manuscripts. Analogous in many respects to the *ācāry* of Northern Thailand and the *hmaa dhaīm* and *hmaa baar* in Northeastern Thailand and Laos,<sup>99</sup> Khmer *ācāry* are typically former monks who obey the five precepts, or more rarely the eight or ten precepts.<sup>100</sup> They often don white shirts and black pants (for five-precept holders) or white pants (eight- or ten-precept holders) when at the temple, and specialize in a number of religious occupations, including divination, melodic chant, conducting rituals, teaching meditation, and attending to the sick, the dying, and the dead, all of which would have once required the use of short-format palm-leaf manuscripts and leporellos.

Despite the paucity of physically surviving examples, manuscripts are essential to the study of pre-twentieth-century Southeast Asia, including Cambodia. Between the collapse of the Angkorian empire in the fifteenth century and the establishment of the French protectorate in the nineteenth, Cambodians transmitted much of their literary and religious

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<sup>97</sup> de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie*, xix. Others, however, contend that this figure is probably too high (Ian Harris, *Buddhism Under Pol Pot* (Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2007), 167–169).

<sup>98</sup> Ian Harris, *Buddhism in a Dark Age: Cambodian Monks under Pol Pot* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013), 114–117.

<sup>99</sup> Thai อาจารย์, หมอธรรม, หมอพร; Lao ພອຊັມ, ພອພອນ. On these roles, see Yukio Hayashi, *Practical Buddhism among the Thai-Lao: Religion in the Making of a Region* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2003), 196–303, and Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao,” 51–52. *Ācāry* in Khmer contexts are described in Carol A. Mortland, *Cambodian Buddhism in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 139–141; Harris, *Cambodian Buddhism: History and Practice*, 77–78; and Erik W. Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 31–32. Various responsibilities of *ācāry* in Cambodia are described in detail in Nāṇ Bhīṅ *ញាណ ភ្លឺន* and M'am Chai ម៉ម ថៃ, *Lamān damṅniem khmèr purān, damlāp' ācāry សំអានទំនៀមខ្មែរពុទ្ធសាសនា ធម្មប្រាមាញ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2007).

<sup>100</sup> These groups of precepts are described in Richard F. Gombrich, *Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 64–67.

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culture through traditional palm-leaf and leporello manuscripts. With the exception of several dozen stone inscriptions, scattered reports of foreign travelers, and the historical chronicles of Cambodia and its neighbors, almost all of our written evidence for this period takes the form of traditional manuscripts. Though extant Cambodian manuscripts only date from the late eighteenth century onward, with the vast majority from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries, almost all of these manuscripts are thought to be copies of older texts, with some compositions stretching back to the sixteenth century.<sup>101</sup> We are only just beginning to grasp the implications of the scope and contents of these manuscripts for understanding Cambodia's past.

The above summary of Khmer-Tai Buddhist languages, Pali compositions, vernacular genres, doctrines, scripts, and manuscripts primarily represents these cultures prior to the modernization movements of the mid-nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. However, many aspects of what I describe survive to the present, usually under the label of “traditional” or “traditionalist” (Khmer *purāṇ*) Buddhism, in contrast with “modern” or “modernist” (*samāy*) currents.<sup>102</sup> These latter developments emphasize the authority of a narrowly defined Pali canon and the rejection of texts and practices that fall outside of that canon.<sup>103</sup> Modernists sidelined Southeast Asian Pali compositions, various vernacular genres, aspects of local Buddhist doctrines, and the scripts once used in traditional manuscripts in favor of practices rooted in the Pali Tipiṭaka, which was printed in Siam in modern Thai script by the end of the nineteenth century and in Cambodia in modern Khmer fonts by the middle of the twentieth.

Many recent studies, including those by Anne Hansen and Penny Edwards, describe the particular set of circumstances by which modernist Buddhist movements arose in Cambodia.<sup>104</sup> Kourilsky describes similar dynamics in Laos.<sup>105</sup> The proximate roots of

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<sup>101</sup> On the dating of *Rāmakerti I* to this period, see Saveros Pou, *Études sur le Rāmakerti (XVI–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1977), 51–60. For her dating of didactic poems (*cpāp*) to the same era, see Saveros Pou, “La littérature didactique khmère: Les cpāp’,” in *Choix d'articles de khmerologie / Selected Papers on Khmerology* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), 202–204.

<sup>102</sup> *បុរាណ; សម័យ*. On these distinctions in contemporary Cambodia, see Satoru Kobayashi, “An Ethnographic Study on the Reconstruction of Buddhist Practice in Two Cambodian Temples: With the Special Reference to Buddhist *Samay* and *Boran*,” *Southeast Asian Studies* 42, no. 4 (March 2005): 489–518, and John Marston, “Reconstructing ‘Ancient’ Cambodian Buddhism,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 9, no. 1 (2008): 99–121.

<sup>103</sup> This emphasis on the authority of the Pali Tipiṭaka remains strong in Thailand today. See Martin Seeger, “Thai Buddhist Studies and the Authority of the Pāli Canon,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 8, no. 1 (2007): 1–18.

<sup>104</sup> See especially Anne Ruth Hansen, “Khmer Identity and Theravāda Buddhism,” in *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 40–62; “Modernist Reform in Khmer Buddhist History,” *Sikṣācakr: Journal of the Center for Khmer Studies* 8–9 (2006–2007): 31–44; and *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860–1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), as well as Penny Edwards, “Making a Religion of the Nation and Its Language: The French Protectorate (1863–1954) and the Dhammakāy,” in *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 63–89, and *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). See also Alain Forest, “Buddhism and Reform: Imposed Reforms and Popular Aspirations: Some Historical Notes to

twentieth-century Buddhist modernisms in Cambodia and Laos can be partially traced to developments in colonial-period Ceylon and Burma, but most directly to the reforms initiated by King Rama IV (Mongkut) of Siam (1804–1868). During his extended career as a monk from 1824 until his ascension of the throne in 1851, Mongkut founded the reformist Dhammayuttikanikāya (Thammayut) sect, which advocated a stricter interpretation of monastic discipline, a more Indic pronunciation of Pali, and a scripturalist approach to doctrine and practice that rejected many traditional texts and rituals.<sup>106</sup>

The Dhammayuttikanikāya spread to Cambodia as well, though it met with more resistance in Laos.<sup>107</sup> In both Cambodia and Siam, many monks that were not part of the Dhammayuttikanikāya (and hence by default belonged to the majority Mahānikāya) built nonetheless upon the new sect's reforms concerning Buddhist doctrine, practice, and textual study. Other Mahānikāya monks emphasized traditionalist, or pre-reform practices. By the mid twentieth century in Cambodia, the distinction within the Mahānikāya between “modernist” and “traditionalist” monks, practices, and texts was as much or more significant than that between the Mahānikāya and the Dhammayuttikanikāya.

Modernists from both sects eventually favored printed books, particularly printed versions of the Pali Tipiṭaka, over handwritten manuscripts, further contributing to the latter's decline. Though a few traditionalist temples in Cambodia have revived the production of manuscripts, by and large the chosen format of the modernists won out. Manuscript production in Laos and Thailand followed a similar pattern of decline in the twentieth century, and only in a few upland Tai Buddhist cultures do manuscripts still remain a primary medium for accessing and transmitting Buddhist texts. The study of Buddhist manuscripts in Khmer-Tai contexts is thus particularly important for studying the so-called “traditionalist” Buddhist texts, doctrines, practices, and scripts that were dominant prior to the modernist reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

### **1.3 Manuscripts, Translation, and the End of Life in Buddhist Studies**

In addition to deepening our understanding of Khmer-Tai Buddhism, particularly in Cambodia during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, my project also draws from and contributes to ongoing conversations in the study of Buddhist manuscripts, translation, and end-of-life practices. As noted at the outset of this chapter, one of the aims of my project is to demonstrate the relevance of Cambodian materials to broader currents in Buddhist studies. For all of its participation in Khmer-Tai networks of exchange, Buddhism in Cambodia rarely figures in discussions of Buddhist studies writ large. In particular, there are certain areas

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Aid Reflection,” in *People of Virtue: Reconfiguring Religion, Power and Morality in Cambodia Today*, ed. Alexandra Kent and David P. Chandler, NIAS Studies in Asian Topics 43 (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2008), 16–34.

<sup>105</sup> Grégory Kourilsky, “L’Institut bouddhique ou l’ambition de promouvoir une aire bouddhique ‘lao-khmère,’” *Sikṣācakr: Journal of the Center for Khmer Studies* 8–9 (2006–2007): 60–69.

<sup>106</sup> François Bizot, *Le bouddhisme des Thaïs* (Bangkok: Éditions des Cahiers de France, 1993), 65–71. See also François Bizot, *Les traditions de la pabbajjā en Asie du Sud-Est* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 93–102.

<sup>107</sup> John Clifford Holt, *Spirits of the Place: Buddhism and Lao Religious Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 77.

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within Cambodian studies about which we still know quite little. One such domain concerns the Buddhist texts and practices that Cambodians created, circulated, and transformed in the centuries prior to the colonial period.

To be sure, studies of Cambodian manuscripts have begun to bear fruit in recent decades. Handwritten texts in a variety of formats are increasingly available to researchers. The largest overseas collections are in France, and most of these have been cataloged. Detailed catalogs are currently available for Cambodian manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Médiathèque d'Alençon.<sup>108</sup> Handlists are available for a number of other collections, including those of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Paris as well as part of the state and monastic collections in Cambodia curated by the Fonds pour l'Édition des Manuscrits du Cambodge (FEMC).<sup>109</sup> Since 1990, the FEMC has singlehandedly surveyed, organized, restored, catalogued, and microfilmed the surviving manuscript heritage of Cambodia.<sup>110</sup> A fraction of the manuscripts they documented are now available online, albeit with rather poor readability due to the digitization technology available at the time.<sup>111</sup> The FEMC's cataloguing process presents a major advance over that of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and its well-honed categories allow for an accurate overview of Cambodian literature transmitted in traditional manuscripts.

The manuscripts of Laos and Thailand are also becoming more accessible for research.<sup>112</sup> A number of early print and handwritten versions of manuscript catalogs from various parts of Thailand have been edited and published by Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, providing a comprehensive bibliographic guide to what texts might eventually be found and identified in Thai collections.<sup>113</sup> Thanks to the efforts of David Wharton and

<sup>108</sup> Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1953); Grégory Mikaelian, *Un partage au Cambodge: biographie d'Adhémard Leclère suivi de l'inventaire du Fonds Adhémard Leclère* (Paris: Péninsule, 2011).

<sup>109</sup> de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie*.

Subsequent volumes are forthcoming. For the Pali manuscripts of Cambodia in the École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris, see Jacqueline Filliozat, "Pour mémoire d'un patrimoine sacré," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* Persée, no. 87 (2000): 445–71. Other older catalogues of supposedly "Cambodian" Pali manuscripts in European collections are often exclusively based on Khom-script manuscripts from Thailand. See, for example, C. E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Cambodian and Burmese Pāli Manuscripts*, Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections, Vol. 2, Part 1 (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, 1983), and Hammalawa Saddhatissa, "Pali Literature in Cambodia," *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 9 (1981): 178–97.

<sup>110</sup> Olivier de Bernon, "The Preservation and Transmission of Manuscripts in Cambodia," in *The Literary Heritage of Laos: Preservation, Dissemination, and Research Perspectives*, ed. Kongdeuane Nettavong et al. (Vientiane: The National Library of Laos, 2005), 310–324.

<sup>111</sup> They are currently accessible at <http://khmermanuscripts.efeo.fr/>. A complete re-digitization of the FEMC collections in Phnom Penh is underway.

<sup>112</sup> For recent projects in Laos, see Harald Hundius, "Lao Manuscripts and Traditional Literature: The Struggle for Their Survival," in *The Literary Heritage of Laos: Preservation, Dissemination, and Research Perspectives*, ed. Kongdeuane Nettavong et al. (Vientiane: The National Library of Laos, 2005), 1–9, and Khamvone Boulyaphonh, "Pha Khamchan Virachitta Maha Thela and the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage," in *The Lao Sangha and Modernity: Research at the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang, 2005–2015*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Hans Georg Berger (Luang Prabang: Anantha Publishing, 2015), 65–93.

<sup>113</sup> Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli Literature Transmitted in Central Siam*, Materials for the Study of the Tripitaka v. 1 (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002); Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, *Pāli and Vernacular Literature Transmitted in Central and Northern Siam*, Materials

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others, vast collections of manuscript images are now available through the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) and the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts (DLNTM).<sup>114</sup> The metadata encoded in these databases provide especially rich resources for probing the linguistic, paleographic, temporal, and geographic dimensions of these manuscript traditions. The work of the Manuscript Conservation Association, the Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, and the Henry Ginsburg Fund will hopefully make the rich manuscript collections of Central Thailand more accessible in years to come.<sup>115</sup> Many provincial, national, and international research institutes in Thailand are beginning to put their manuscript collections online as well. In addition, manuscripts from Thailand in overseas collections, including in Britain, Germany, Japan, and the United States, are increasingly available through updated catalogs and digital tools.<sup>116</sup> A model in this process is the excellent website for Thai manuscripts created by the University of Pennsylvania Libraries.<sup>117</sup>

Access to manuscripts, however, is only the first step towards understanding them. Since manuscripts transmit more than just the content of the texts they contain, we have to study their paratexts as well to more clearly ascertain the contexts in which these texts were composed, transmitted, and performed. The study of manuscript paratexts has been recently championed by Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin, among others.<sup>118</sup> Apiradee Techasiriwan, Bounleuth Sengsoulin, and Volker Grabowsky emphasize the importance of paratexts for understanding Tai manuscript cultures.<sup>119</sup> By examining the materiality, sponsorship,

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for the Study of the Tripiṭaka v. 2 (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004); Santi Pakdeekham, *Tāṃrā Traipiṭaka: A Handbook of the Tripiṭaka* (Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2017).

<sup>114</sup> Accessible online at <http://www.laomanuscripts.net> and <http://www.lannamanuscripts.net>, respectively. On the former, see Harald Hundius and David Wharton, “The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts,” *The Journal of Lao Studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 67–74.

<sup>115</sup> For some of the results of the Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation/Henry Ginsburg Fund projects, see Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham, “Manuscripts in Central Thailand: Samut Khoi from Phetchaburi Province,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 125–150.

<sup>116</sup> See, for instance, Toshiya Uebe, “Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Siam in Japan,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 151–173; Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Illuminating Archives: Collectors and Collections in the History of Thai Manuscripts,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 3–21; and Susanne Ryuyin Kerekes and Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 202–237.

<sup>117</sup> Fifty-three such manuscripts are available for viewing here: [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/search.html?fq=collection\\_facet%3A%22Thai%20Manuscripts%22](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/search.html?fq=collection_facet%3A%22Thai%20Manuscripts%22).

<sup>118</sup> Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin, “Preface,” in *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, ed. Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), vii–xii.

<sup>119</sup> Apiradee Techasiriwan, “Locating Tai Lü and Tai Khün Manuscripts in Space and Time through Colophons,” in *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, ed. Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 35–58; Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Buddhist Manuscript Culture in Laos on the Road to Modernity: Reflections on Anisong Manuscripts,” in *The Lao Sangha and Modernity: Research at the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang, 2005–2015*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Hans Georg Berger (Luang Prabang: Anantha Publishing, 2015), 249–265; Volker Grabowsky and Apiradee Techasiriwan, “A Note on Tai Lue Wooden Buddha Image Inscriptions and Buddhist Manuscript Colophons from Northern Laos,” *Aséanie* 33 (2014): 61–81. Similar analyses are deployed in Christoph Emmrich, “Emending Perfection: Prescript, Postscript, and Practice in Newar Buddhist Manuscript Culture,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz,

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annotations, colophons, and repair of Tai manuscripts, they provide a rich context for the ways in which these manuscripts were actually created and used. This contextual information, in turn, illuminates how to interpret the textual content.

Part I of the dissertation builds on these studies of Tai manuscripts to demonstrate how paratexts contribute to our understanding of Cambodian leporellos. It follows up on calls to study Buddhist manuscripts in connection with their material and cultural contexts.<sup>120</sup> Manuscripts, to borrow a term from Arjun Appadurai, have “social lives”—they are borrowed, circulated, read, performed, damaged, returned, and repaired. Moreover, as Khamvone Boulyaphonh and Justin McDaniel show, manuscript collections reveal much about the lives and times of their curators.<sup>121</sup> We do not need to assume that inanimate objects such as manuscripts have agency to examine the ways they are embedded within human trajectories and aspirations. The paratexts of manuscripts bring Buddhist texts out of abstraction and into particular living realities.

In addition to their participation in the social worlds highlighted by their paratexts, individual Buddhist texts are nodes within complex webs of intertextuality. They are each connected to many other texts, whether through citation, inspiration, or translation. In the paragraphs that follow, I emphasize that Buddhist texts are in a constant process of translational motion. My argument here draws from George Steiner’s insight that the study of texts—and indeed of all spoken and written messages—cannot ultimately be divorced from the study of translation.<sup>122</sup> Intra- and inter-linguistic translation makes communication possible. Like the human world itself, Buddhist texts are inseparable from the processes of translation that brought them into being and make them intelligible to the receiver. Moreover, the multilingual transmission of the Buddhist textual tradition forces us to confront the centrality of translation at every turn.

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Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London: Routledge, 2009), 140–156.

<sup>120</sup> Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown, “Rethinking Buddhist Manuscript Cultures,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London: Routledge, 2009), 1–15. On the importance of paratexts in this endeavor, see Stephen C. Berkwitz, “Materiality and Merit in Sri Lankan Buddhist Manuscripts,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London: Routledge, 2009), 43. For understanding the relationship between the paratexts of a given manuscript and its ritual use, see Bilinda Devage Nandadeva, “Flowers for the Dhamma: Painted Buddhist Palm Leaf Manuscript Covers (*Kamba*) of Sri Lanka,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London: Routledge, 2009), 159–171.

<sup>121</sup> Khamvone Boulyaphonh, “Pha Khamchan Virachitta Maha Thela and the Preservation of the Cultural Heritage,” 84–93, and Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Two Buddhist Librarians: The Proximate Mechanisms of Northern Thai Buddhist History,” in *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, ed. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown (London: Routledge, 2009), 124–139. McDaniel’s analysis is based in part on the extensive presentation of colophons in Harald Hundius, “The Colophons of 30 Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 14 (1990): 1–173.

<sup>122</sup> For Steiner, the notion that “inside or between languages, human communication equals translation” is premised on the idea that language is private, and each individual must translate every spoken or written text they receive. See George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 48–49.

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Reflecting on translation in Buddhist studies is a bit like trying to step out of one's own skin. The foundational craft in the field is translation, whether between classical languages (Prakrit to Sanskrit, Sanskrit to Chinese, Chinese to classical Japanese, etc.) or between classical languages and vernaculars (Pali to Thai, Chinese to modern Japanese, Tibetan to French, etc.). In the textual domains of Buddhist studies, scholars are expected to not only translate old or foreign texts for modern readers, but also to consider the *parcours* of a particular text or a word between languages over the centuries. With regards to scriptural texts, almost every trace of *buddhavacana*, the speech of the Buddha, may be considered as forever *in media res*, between older, now lost utterances, and future interpretations. Buddhist texts are therefore only momentary crystallizations of a continuous process of translation.

The omnipresence of translation could be conceived as dividing the Buddhist world into incommensurate “Buddhisms.” When we look at texts in Khmer, what compels us to consider them as part of the same world brought to life by those in Mongolian or Manchu? From another angle, however, it is only the constant flow of translation that makes speaking of “Buddhism” possible. The realm of Buddhist texts is not merely intertextual in the sense of being embedded in a set of relations between sources and targets, excerpts and adaptations, facsimiles and commentaries. The spread and integrity of Buddhism is predicated on the possibility of translation. Unlike the words of the Qur’an, which belong strictly to Arabic, *buddhavacana* must be translated. For many Buddhists, the transmission and translation of texts is precisely what maintains the *sāsana*, the dispensation of the Buddha, in the world. Hence the great merit associated with the copying, explication, and translation of the Buddha’s words.

Likewise, from an academic perspective, it is translation that makes the study of Buddhism possible. We decipher manuscripts and inscriptions, compare scriptures and exegetical works, and even “read” art and ritual because we hold that what Steiner calls “the hermeneutic motion” of translation is feasible.<sup>123</sup> Within a Buddhist studies framework, we trust that not only can we make our texts legible, but also that this legibility will contribute towards our understanding of the Buddhist tradition as a whole.

In many ways, a modern academic’s concerns with how best to translate a Buddhist text are not so different than those faced by Buddhists over the past two thousand years. By attending to not just what our chosen texts say but also how they were translated, we gain fresh insights into what these texts may have meant to Buddhists in particular times and places. Buddhist scholastics have long been interested in issues of language that continue to intrigue contemporary linguists. Some scholastics delved into issues of phonology.<sup>124</sup> Others

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<sup>123</sup> Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, 312.

<sup>124</sup> For instance, Gornall shows how contention over what counts as a distinct phoneme in Pali set off a chain of debates between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. See Alastair Gornall, “How Many Sounds Are in Pāli? Schism, Identity and Ritual in the Theravāda *Saṅgha*,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 42, no. 5 (2014): 511–550.

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focused on comparing the function and morphology of nouns in different languages.<sup>125</sup> In short, Buddhist scholastics were aware of the linguistic problems inherent to translation.

As many have shown in the case of Indic to Chinese translation, the transmission of Buddhist texts across languages was rarely an easy process.<sup>126</sup> Translators were forced to develop new techniques to make texts accessible to domestic audiences. These techniques aimed to localize translocal *buddhavacana*. Walter Benjamin, Lawrence Venuti, and others have shown that translators are constantly faced with choices of “fidelity” and “freedom,”<sup>127</sup> or “foreignizing” and “domesticating,”<sup>128</sup> when trying to render a text into another language. Translations of Buddhist texts are all localizing, but vary widely by degree and technique.

The creation of Buddhist texts in vernacular tongues, whether intended as *buddhavacana* or the words of later thinkers, has long proved a fertile site for reflection between the local and translocal in Buddhist studies.<sup>129</sup> With regards to the Sinosphere, including Vietnam, Victor Mair and John Duong Phan contend that Buddhist translations (whether into Chinese *baihua* or Vietnamese *chữ nôm*) played a formative role in the development of literary vernaculars.<sup>130</sup> While the study of Southeast Asia has profited greatly from debates stimulated

<sup>125</sup> Verhagen, for example, discusses a number of twelfth- to sixteenth-century treatises that compare the case-suffix system of Tibetan with the nominal declensions of Sanskrit in order to produce more felicitous translations in different contexts. See Pieter Cornelis Verhagen, “Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Hermeneutics (7): Sa Skya Paṇḍita’s *Mkhas jug* on the Sanskrit-Tibetan Interface: Synthesis, Comparison and Translation,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 42 (October 2017): 246–267, and “Studies in Tibetan Indigenous Grammar (4): A Sixteenth-Century Survey of *Sum Rtags* and Related Literature (Appendix: Sa Skya Paṇḍita’s *Mkhas Pa’i Kha Rgyan*),” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* 42 (October 2017): 217–245.

<sup>126</sup> Early attempts in the field included the notion of *geyi* 格義 (supposedly “matching concepts”), a concept whose utility, identity, and historicity has been largely debunked, including by Robert Sharf and Victor Mair (Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise* (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 97–98; Victor H. Mair, “What Is Geyi, After All?,” *China Report* 48, nos. 1–2 (2012): 29–59). Others have focused on the difficulties faced by Buddhist translators in China, including dealing with translation, transliteration, and the influence of Indic commentarial *nirukti* explanations for words (Jan Nattier, “The Ten Epithets of the Buddha in the Translations of Zhi Qian 支謙,” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 6 (2002): 207–250.). Some have argued that the translation of Buddhist treatises resulted in confrontations between the radically different syntax and morphology of Sanskrit and literary Chinese (Christoph Harbsmeier, *Part 1: Language and Logic*, ed. Kenneth Robinson, vol. 7, *Science and Civilization in China*, 1998, 382). More recent scholarship, such as that by Jinhua Chen, emphasize that Buddhist translations of Indic texts in China were a complex, multilayered task done by large committees, whose various roles are only beginning to become clear (Jinhua Chen, “Some Aspects of the Buddhist Translation Procedure in Early Medieval China: With Special References to a Longstanding Misreading of a Keyword in the Earliest Extant Buddhist Catalogue in East Asia,” *Journal Asiatique* 293, no. 2 (2005): 603–662).

<sup>127</sup> Walter Benjamin, “The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire’s *Tableaux parisiens*,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, trans. Harry Zohn, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 75–81.

<sup>128</sup> Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 19–20.

<sup>129</sup> On these terms and their use in Theravada studies, see Erik Braun, “Local and Translocal in the Study of Theravada Buddhism and Modernity,” *Religion Compass* 3, no. 6 (2009): 936. For a review of a similar set of terms in Southeast Asian studies, see Andrea Acri, “‘Local’ vs. ‘Cosmopolitan’ in the Study of Premodern Southeast Asia,” *Swannabhumi* 9, no. 1 (June 2017): 7–52.

<sup>130</sup> Victor H. Mair, “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Languages,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 3 (August 1994): 707–751; John Duong Phan, “Lacquered Words:



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by Sheldon Pollock’s articulation of a progression from a “Sanskrit cosmopolis” to a “vernacular millennium,” the role of Buddhist translations in the formation of vernacular literature has not been fully explored.<sup>131</sup> Steven Collins’ “Pali imaginaire” and Peter Skilling’s “databank” metaphor suggest related models by which translators and authors could create vernacular Buddhist texts that draw on the resources of Pali.<sup>132</sup> Nidhi Eoseewong, by comparing various Thai translations of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, shows how vernacular literature emerges from changing attitudes towards translation and adaptation.<sup>133</sup> These contributions push us toward an understanding of how the rich resources of the Pali tradition provided translators with the platform from which to develop vernacular literature.

In the Theravada world, however, the influence was not only from Pali to the vernacular, but also the other way around. Charles Hallisey demonstrates that “in medieval Sri Lanka, it was Sinhala that was superposed onto Pali,” leading to a variety of new ways of using Pali as a poetic and literary language.<sup>134</sup> Nidhi, in his examination of nineteenth-century Siamese translations of the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, shows how changing conceptions of what counts as *buddhavacana* can shape how non-canonical Pali texts are rendered in the vernacular, such that the vernacular versions may attempt to reach towards a supposed canonical “original.”<sup>135</sup> In this way, a vernacular translation may seem to usurp the authority of the Pali by ridding it of commentarial accretions.

Translation thus emerges not only as a site for the emergence of vernacular literature but also as a locus for contests over textual legitimacy. In Anne Blackburn’s terms, this “dialogical interplay between translocal and local languages” allows for a glimpse into the formation of new “textual communities.”<sup>136</sup> Her work on bilingual Pali-Sinhala texts, in particular, demonstrates that works that explicitly highlight the craft of translation underscore the interaction between the local and the translocal. William Pruitt’s and Justin McDaniel’s analyses of bilingual Pali-Burmese and Pali-Tai texts, respectively, contribute to the same discourse of seeing Pali and the vernacular as locked in the dialogical interplay of

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The Evolution of Vietnamese Under Sinitic Influences from the 1st Century BCE through the 17th Century CE” (Cornell University, 2013), 385–392; John Duong Phan, “Rebooting the Vernacular in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam,” in *Rethinking East Asian Languages, Vernaculars, and Literacies, 1000–1919*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 96–128.

<sup>131</sup> Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, And Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). See also Sheldon Pollock, “The Cosmopolitan Vernacular,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 1 (February 1998): 6–37, and “Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History,” *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 591–625.

<sup>132</sup> Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali Imaginaire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 76–77; Skilling, “King Rāma I and Wat Phra Chetuphon: The Buddha-Sāsana in Early Bangkok,” 336–347.

<sup>133</sup> Nidhi Eoseewong, “On the Phetchaburi Version of the *Mahachat*,” in *Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok*, ed. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 222–226.

<sup>134</sup> Charles Hallisey, “Works and Persons in Sinhala Literary Culture,” in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 742.

<sup>135</sup> Nidhi Eoseewong, “The Life of the Buddha and the Religious Movement of the Early Bangkok Period,” in *Pen and Sail: Literature and History in Early Bangkok*, ed. Chris Baker and Ben Anderson (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2005), 270–276.

<sup>136</sup> Anne M. Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice in Eighteenth-Century Lankan Monastic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 129–130.

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translation.<sup>137</sup> Their work demonstrates how manuscript texts challenge the distinctions between local and translocal. What cuts across cultural lines are not only texts of the formal Pali canon, but also all manner of vernacular traditions. Southeast Asian uses of Pali function within the framework of translocal inheritances but nonetheless belie the traces of Quaritch Wales' "local genius."<sup>138</sup> The localizing translation of translocal Buddhist textual corpora is not merely a one-way road from Pali to vernacular, but rather part of a complex cross-linguistic and intertextual network.

Part II of this dissertation emerges from these conversations in Buddhist studies and Southeast Asian studies by focusing on Cambodian leporello texts that show traces of translation from Pali to Sanskrit, Pali to Khmer and Tai, Tai to Khmer, and Khmer to Vietnamese. Examining these networks of translation thus contributes to understanding what Hallisey calls "the local production of meaning."<sup>139</sup> For Hallisey, part of this inquiry means considering "the manner in which texts were circulated—the technology, practices, and institutions which made their survival possible."<sup>140</sup> Blackburn emphasizes the value of studying locally used "practical canons" as distinct from the idealized "formal canon."<sup>141</sup> The practices and products of translation are an ideal site for understanding the textual interactions between the local and translocal in Theravada Buddhist cultures.

The third discourse this dissertation aims to contribute towards is the study of Buddhist end-of-life practices. By the end of life, I refer not just to the deathbed itself, but also to the extended and unpredictable process of old age, sickness, dying, and death.<sup>142</sup> Buddhist monastics have derived much of their legitimacy, respect, and economic success over time from their supposed mastery over death. Taking a cue from Foucault's notion of "biopower," Erik Davis calls the social power that accrues to those who care for and manipulate the dead "deathpower."<sup>143</sup> But Buddhists are expected not only to care for those who have already

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<sup>137</sup> William Pruitt, *Étude linguistique de nissaya birman* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994); Justin Thomas McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

<sup>138</sup> Quaritch Wales, *The Making of Greater India* (London: B. Quaritch, 1961), 229, cited in O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Revised Edition (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1999), 51.

<sup>139</sup> Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism," in *Curators of the Buddha: The Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 49.

<sup>140</sup> Hallisey, "Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism," 51.

<sup>141</sup> Anne M. Blackburn, "Looking for the *Vinaya*: Monastic Discipline in the Practical Canons of the Theravāda," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 282–285.

<sup>142</sup> Here I am inspired by Jacqueline Stone, who writes in regard to medieval Japan that attending to the dying "took place within a broader framework of ritual activity surrounding illness and death that was not necessarily confined to the sickroom or limited to deathbed rites narrowly construed." See Jacqueline I. Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 296.

<sup>143</sup> Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 4–5.

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passed away, but also for those who are dying or who find themselves at different stages of the end-of-life process.

Robert Desjarlais, quoting Emmanuel Levinas, notes that “one of the ethical obligations of human beings is to not ‘leave the other alone in the face of death.’”<sup>144</sup> In the Yolmo (a.k.a. Hyolmo) communities Desjarlais studies, dying is ideally mediated by an ethic of “tender accompaniment.”<sup>145</sup> Hansen cites attending to the dying as exemplary of early twentieth-century Cambodian Buddhist efforts to “create and unify a web of reciprocal care.”<sup>146</sup> Jacqueline Stone demonstrates the central importance of the deathbed attendant (*zenchishiki* or *kalyānamitra*) in Japanese Buddhist rituals for the end of life.<sup>147</sup> Mark Blum shows how Hōnen’s teachings advocated for dying as a communal, “intersubjective experience” during the Kamakura period.<sup>148</sup> Contemporary Buddhist guides for caring for the dying, including those in both Southeast Asia and the United States, emphasize the role of caretakers and friends in guiding those on their deathbed.<sup>149</sup> These works demonstrate how dying functions as a social process in Buddhist societies, one marked by the ethical imperative to accompany those at the end of their lives.<sup>150</sup>

On the other hand, dying is “singular,” as Desjarlais notes, “because it’s the person alone who dies... A stark chasm marks the gap between life and death.”<sup>151</sup> Many Buddhist deathbed texts recognize this in their emphasis on what the dying need to do, as opposed to the obligations of their caretakers. In contradistinction to Thomas Laqueur’s notion of the “work of the dead”—how corpses function as active agents in the social world of the living<sup>152</sup>—many Buddhist practices highlight the “work of the dying,” that is the burdens we must perform in the transition between life and death. In Khmer texts, the Pali term *marañakicca* (“the duty/function of dying/death”) may refer to two distinct moments: 1) the

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<sup>144</sup> Robert Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 55.

<sup>145</sup> Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*, 57.

<sup>146</sup> Anne Ruth Hansen, “Buddhist Communities of Belonging in Early-Twentieth-Century Cambodia,” in *Theravada Buddhist Encounters with Modernity*, ed. Juliane Schober and Steven Collins (New York: Routledge, 2017), 71.

<sup>147</sup> Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*, 266–310.

<sup>148</sup> Mark L. Blum, “Never Die Alone: *Shonen* as Intersubjective Experience,” in *Never Die Alone: Death as Birth in Pure Land Buddhism*, ed. Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu (Tokyo: Jodo Shu Press, 2008), 1–16.

<sup>149</sup> Beth Kanji Goldring, “Actualizing Understanding: Compassion, AIDS, Death, and Dying among the Poor,” in *Buddhist Care for the Dying and Bereaved: Globalized Perspectives*, ed. Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012), 149–168; The Spiritual Friends of Supapon Pongpruk, “Death Without Pure Land? Preparing for a Peaceful Death in the Thai Theravada Tradition,” in *Never Die Alone: Death as Birth in Pure Land Buddhism*, ed. Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu (Tokyo: Jodo Shu Press, 2008), 127–151; Koshin Paley Ellison and Matt Weingast, eds., *Awake at the Bedside: Contemplative Teachings on Palliative and End-of-Life Care* (Somerville, MA: Wisdom, 2016).

<sup>150</sup> The social obligations of attending to the dying apply to Buddhist saints as well as ordinary people. See Charles F. Keyes, “Death of Two Buddhist Saints in Thailand,” in *Charisma and Sacred Biography*, ed. Michael A. Williams (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 149–180.

<sup>151</sup> Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*, 44.

<sup>152</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 17–18.

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process leading up to moment of death itself (*cutyākāraṅkicca*)<sup>153</sup> and 2) the rites conducted immediately after death (*matakicca*, including *jhāpanakicca* or cremation).<sup>154</sup> My use of the phrase “the work of the dying” draws on these Khmer Buddhist notions of death as both a process and a set of duties or rites. In so doing, I aim to underscore how Buddhist texts outline a series of private burdens for the dying to accomplish in the twilight of life.

These duties vary from tradition to tradition, but a number of elements are usually present. One is acceptance of and insight into the reality of the Three Marks (Pali *tilakkhaṇa*: impermanence (*anicca*), suffering (*dukkha*), and not-self (*anattā*), particularly as manifest within a dying body.<sup>155</sup> Contemporary Theravada guides for the dying, including those by Phra Paisan Visalo and Bhikkhu Anālayo, emphasize the importance of such insight.<sup>156</sup> Another duty is a review of one’s life, including repenting evil deeds and rejoicing in good ones.<sup>157</sup> Third are techniques to focus and calm the mind, especially by contemplating the names or qualities of the Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*).<sup>158</sup> In Japan, the predominant practice in this regard is perhaps the recitation of the *nembutsu* in the immediate moments prior to passing away.<sup>159</sup> Recitation of the Buddha’s names is also recorded as a deathbed practice in nineteenth-century Siam.<sup>160</sup> Finally, some traditions, including those of the Himalayas, ask the dying to contemplate the process of dying itself and what will happen in the immediate hereafter, especially as articulated by the

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<sup>153</sup> Khmer ចុត្តរការកិច្ច. See Sin Suvaṇṇi ស៊ិន សុវណ្ណនី, *Pubbacariyā brah mahāvimaladharm thoñ បុព្វចរិយា ព្រះមហាវិមលធម្ម ថោន* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2012), 20. Cf. *cutikicca*, in Bhikkhu Bodhi, ed., *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma: The Abhidhammattha Sangaha of Ācariya Anuruddha* (Onalaska, WA: BPS Pariyatti Editions, 1999), 122–124.

<sup>154</sup> Khmer ណាបនកិច្ច. See Sēm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajñā dharm kāvātār niñ sūtr brah dhāmm ប្រជ្ញាធម៌ការវារ និដ្ឋ សូត្រព្រះធម៌* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1972), 84–87.

<sup>155</sup> For an interpretation of how contemplations on the foul nature of the body (*aśubha-bhāvanā*) may be related to deathbed practices, see Eric M. Greene, “Death in a Cave: Meditation, Deathbed Ritual, and Skeletal Imagery at Tape Shotor,” *Artibus Asiae* 73, no. 2 (2013): 265–294.

<sup>156</sup> Phaisan Visalo, “The Seven Factors of a Peaceful Death: A Theravada Buddhist Approach to Dying,” in *Buddhist Care for the Dying and Bereaved: Globalized Perspectives*, ed. Jonathan Watts and Yoshiharu Tomatsu (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2012), 137–9; Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death: Compassionate Advice from Early Buddhist Texts* (Cambridge: Windhorse Publications, 2016), 81–117. See also Ellison and Weingast, *Awake at the Bedside: Contemplative Teachings on Palliative and End-of-Life Care*, 164–165.

<sup>157</sup> Phaisan Visalo, “The Seven Factors of a Peaceful Death: A Theravada Buddhist Approach to Dying,” 139–142. In Abhidhamma thought, the life review process (*abhinavakarāṇa*) is thought also to be automatic in the moments prior to death. See Bodhi, *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma: The Abhidhammattha Sangaha of Ācariya Anuruddha*, 221–222. For further details of Abhidhamma perspectives on the moments preceding death, see Rita Langer, *Buddhist Rituals of Death and Rebirth: Contemporary Sri Lankan Practice and Its Origins* (London: Routledge, 2007), 54–61. On pre-death repentance in Japan, see Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*, 66; 78.

<sup>158</sup> Raoul Birnbaum, “The Deathbed Image of Master Hongyi,” in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 185; Jacqueline I. Stone, “Just Open Your Mouth and Say ‘A’: A-Syllable Practice for the Time of Death in Early Medieval Japan,” *Pacific World Journal* Third Series Number 8 (Fall 2006): 167–182.

<sup>159</sup> Jacqueline I. Stone, “By the Power of One’s Last Nembutsu: Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan,” in *Approaching the Land of Bliss: Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitābha*, ed. Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 77–119.

<sup>160</sup> Dan Beech Bradley, “Siamese Customs for the Dying and Dead,” in *Siam and Laos, as Seen by Our American Missionaries* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1884), 247–248.

*Bardo thos grol* (“Liberation upon hearing [in/about] the intermediate state”).<sup>161</sup> What binds these duties together is that, while the dying may receive guidance from the living in completing them, they alone must undertake these contemplations and prayers. In that sense, these duties constitute the work of the dying in Buddhist societies.

The writings of Stone, Desjarlais, and others have opened up a wealth of literary and ethnographic evidence for understanding the end of life in Buddhist contexts in Japan and the Himalayas. Research relevant to deathbed rites in Theravada societies is much less voluminous. Many works on death in modern Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia mention pre-death rites but do not discuss them extensively.<sup>162</sup> A few Khmer sources, including the royal chronicles compiled by Eñ Sut as well as Lī Suvīr’s study of funerary rites, provide some details of how such rituals once took place in Cambodia. Eñ Sut notes that when members of the royal family were on their deathbed, monks would be invited to recite texts on the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Three Jewels as well as the *Girimānanda-sutta*.<sup>163</sup> Both practices remain current today in Cambodia. The latter text is notably recommended by Bhikkhu Anālayo as offering an appropriate meditation practice for the dying.<sup>164</sup> Lī Suvīr outlines similar practices, including the recitation of the *Ākāravattā* (a non-canonical Pali text on the various *guṇa* of the Buddha), based on nineteenth-century manuals.<sup>165</sup> A number of related rites are also described by Adhémard Leclère, based on both study of traditional manuals and observation of the practices surrounding the death of King Norodom in 1904.<sup>166</sup> One of the most detailed descriptions of pre-death practices appears in Ūm Sūr’s narration of the passing away of Braḥ Mahāvimaladhamm Thoñ in 1927.<sup>167</sup>

Part III of this dissertation attempts to fill in what is missing in all of these sources, namely a detailed investigation into the texts that articulate the work of the dying in Cambodian Buddhist contexts. By examining the vernacular Khmer poems recited in end-of-life rituals, I show how they articulate two main forms of obligations for the dying: 1) to contemplate death and the process of dying, and 2) to make prayers of absolution and aspiration. One of my aims is to contribute to Desjarlais’s emphasis on poiesis, or “a creative making, a generative fashioning of sense and consciousness” in response to the presence of

<sup>161</sup> Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*, 66–73; Margaret Gouin, *Tibetan Rituals of Death: Buddhist Funerary Practices* (London: Routledge, 2010), 12–14.

<sup>162</sup> Langer, *Buddhist Rituals of Death and Rebirth: Contemporary Sri Lankan Practice and Its Origins*, 10–23; Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 52–54; Marcel Zago, *Rites et cérémonies en milieu bouddhiste lao* (Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1972), 240–241.

<sup>163</sup> Eñ Sut អេង សុត, *Ekasār mahāpurus khmèr មហាបុរសខ្មែរ*, vol. 7. (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb ap’raṃ រោងពុម្ព អប់រំ, 2003), 73–74.

<sup>164</sup> Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death: Compassionate Advice from Early Buddhist Texts*, 208–241.

<sup>165</sup> Lī Suvīr សី សុវិរ, *Bidhī dhvō puñy khmoc satavatsa(r) dī 19 niñ tōm satavatsa(r) dī 20 ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យខ្មោច សតវត្សរ៍ទី ១៩ និង ដើមសតវត្សរ៍ទី ២០* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2002), 8–12. On the use of the *Ākāravattā* among the Khmer in Thailand, see Mañkuṭ Kèn, tiev มงกุฏ แก่นเดียว, “Kautār: gāmbhī(r)-khmer เกาดาร์ : คัมภีร์-เขมร,” in *Sārānukram vāḍhanadhārm daiy bhāg ṭsān สารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ภาคอีสาน*, vol. 1, 15 vols. (Mūlanidhi sārānukram vāḍhanadhārm daiy dhanāgār daiy bāñij(y) มูลนิธิสารานุกรมวัฒนธรรมไทย ธนาคารไทยพาณิชย์, 2542), 335–336.

<sup>166</sup> Adhémard Leclère, *La crémation et les rites funéraires au Cambodge* (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, 1907), 11–14; 67–69.

<sup>167</sup> Śin Suvaṇṇi សិន សុវណ្ណនី, *Pubbacariyā brah mahāvimaladhamm thoñ បុគ្គលិកា ព្រះមហាវិមលធម្ម ថោង*, 7–22.

death.<sup>168</sup> In *Subject to Death*, Desjarlais uses poiesis “not so much to apply Western models” to Yolmo understandings of death and dying, but rather “to grasp how Buddhist orientations to generative fashioning and creative subtraction shed light on processes in all of our lives.”<sup>169</sup> By the same token, the work of the dying in Cambodian leporellos presents ways for those on their deathbed to fashion a meritorious, even liberative relationship with their bodies and minds. I hope that this aspect of my work opens avenues to not only learn about Cambodian Buddhist manuscripts but also from them.

To this end, I am also inspired by the work of Scott Stonington, whose ethnographic studies on the end of life in Northern Thailand demonstrate the relevance of local approaches to death to broader debates in palliative medicine and bioethics.<sup>170</sup> Though my work is not primarily ethnographic in orientation, the texts I study present Cambodian ways of being with death and dying that go beyond stereotypes of Buddhist mindfulness. These texts reveal contemplations that are as much about the past and the future as the present, about bold prayer as much as calm awareness. Above all, they present death as a pivotable moment for refashioning the course of life.

#### **1.4 Methods**

In this dissertation, I primarily use a philological approach to analyze the paratexts, localized translations, and the work of the dying in Cambodian leporellos. In this section, I detail the specifics of my approach. This methodological orientation is grounded in my training in Buddhist studies as well as the belief that philology offers potent tools for exploring the connections between texts across eras and languages. Bringing the social, intellectual, and ritual worlds of Cambodian leporellos to life requires a fine-grained examination of their words, scripts, colophons, annotations, and intertextualities. Moreover, the manuscripts I study and the texts they contain were not part of any one archive at the onset of the project. Part of the contribution of the dissertation is the assembly and presentation of a clearly documented and comprehensive archive of Cambodian chanted leporellos. I hope that this archive and the methods I used to generate it will prove useful in Buddhist studies, Cambodian studies, and beyond.

While I occasionally employ ethnographic and musicological approaches, these disciplines only figure secondarily in my analyses. Given that many of the leporello texts were composed, translated, and transmitted in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, their

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<sup>168</sup> Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*, 9.

<sup>169</sup> Desjarlais, *Subject to Death: Life and Loss in a Buddhist World*, 10.

<sup>170</sup> Scott Stonington, “The Uses of Dying: Ethics, Politics and the End of Life in Buddhist Thailand” (University of California, San Francisco and University of California, Berkeley, 2009); “Facing Death, Gazing Inward: End-of-Life and the Transformation of Clinical Subjectivity in Thailand,” *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 35, no. 2 (2011): 113–133; “On Ethical Locations: The Good Death in Thailand, Where Ethics Sit in Places,” *Social Science & Medicine* 75, no. 5 (2012): 836–844. Very little work, by comparison, has been done on contemporary medical practices associated with the dying in Cambodia or Laos. For a perspective on these issues in diaspora, see Leck Keovilay, Lance Rasbridge, and Charles Kemp, “Cambodian and Laotian Health Beliefs and Practices Related to the End of Life,” *Journal of Hospice and Palliative Nursing* 2, no. 4 (October–December 2000): 143–151.

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content cannot be fully explained by contemporary ethnography. While I do incorporate my own ethnographic observations as well as insights gleaned from interviews with Cambodian monks, *ācārya*, and lay chanting experts, particularly in aspects of Chapters 4 and 8, my focus remains on the leporellos themselves.

The manuscripts I study are indeed for melodic chant; almost all of the texts they contain are intended to be intoned in the melismatic *smūtr* or *dharma pad* style of vocal performance. Yet my focus is not on these ornate, expressive melodies. Although I incorporate some rudimentary musical analysis into Chapters 3, 7, and 9 to demonstrate the interpretative links between text and music, these investigations are secondary to my focus on the manuscripts. Contemporary performance practices can be helpful in imagining the past, but we have little in the way of concrete evidence to ascertain precisely how the leporello texts were chanted in prior centuries.

The roots of this project began in 2005 and 2006, when I spent thirteen months in Cambodia studying the melodic chant tradition of *smūtr/dharma pad* under the auspices of the nonprofit organization Cambodian Living Arts. During this period, I spent five months living with a rural lay chanting teacher in Kompong Speu and then five months as a novice monk in two monasteries in Siem Reap and Kandal provinces, each with contrasting liturgical traditions. I returned to Cambodia for the subsequent three summers to conduct interviews and curate over 125 hours of field and studio audio recordings of chanting masters, before completing my BA thesis on the aesthetics of Dharma songs in contemporary Cambodia in 2010.<sup>171</sup>

As I began working more on translating the texts of the Dharma song tradition, my curiosity about their pre-twentieth-century roots grew. This led me to the study of leporellos that contain collections of melodic chants. Between 2011 and 2015, I took several trips to conduct fieldwork in Cambodia and Thailand, photographing manuscripts, interviewing performers, and learning from local experts on rituals, chanting, and manuscripts. I returned for additional fieldwork in Phnom Penh from January 2016 to November 2017.

For this 22-month period, I was invited by the FEMC to be based at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong under the supervision of Olivier de Bernon of the EFEO and Kun Sopheap and Leng Kok-An of the FEMC. The Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong, then situated on the upper level of *kuṭi* 1 of Vatt Sārāvān Tejo,<sup>172</sup> Phnom Penh, is the largest library of traditional manuscripts in Cambodia, containing some 3,500 fascicles of palm-leaf manuscripts, including significant portions of the pre-1975 collections of the École Supérieure de Pali and the Institut Bouddhique,<sup>173</sup> and a few dozen leporellos. I

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<sup>171</sup> Trent Walker, “Quaking and Clarity: Saṃvega and Pasāda in Cambodian Dharma Songs” (Stanford University, 2010). Two articles and one online resource emerged directly from this thesis: “How Sophea Lost Her Sight,” *Peace Review* 23, no. 4 (2011): 522–529; “Saṃvega and Pasāda: Dharma Songs in Contemporary Cambodia,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, forthcoming 2018; and *Stirring and Stilling: A Liturgy of Cambodian Dharma Songs* (Multimedia website, 2011), <http://www.stirringandstilling.org>.

<sup>172</sup> The entire collection has since been moved one city block east to the FEMC offices in Vatt Uṇṇālom.

<sup>173</sup> On the history of these institutions, see Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860–1930*, 130–142; and Penny Edwards, ed., *The Buddhist Institute: A Short History* (Phnom Penh: The Buddhist Institute, 2005).

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also worked closely with two research assistants: Mech Khoeun and Chheat Sopheak, both of whom were trained by Kun Sopheap and Leng Kok-An for three years in a UNESCO-sponsored manuscript project to continue the work of the FEMC.

Some of the manuscripts I study in this dissertation were documented on previous trips to the field in Cambodia's Kompong Speu (2006), Siem Reap (2006), and Kampong Cham (2008 and 2011) provinces as well as Surin province, Thailand (2012, facilitated by Cheymongkol Chalermasukjitsri).<sup>174</sup> Most of them, however, were located, cleaned, repaired, and documented by Mech Khoeun, Chheat Sopheak, and myself in 2016. In March 2016, we began by working on leporellos and selected palm-leaf manuscripts at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong before moving on to the other four major libraries organized by FEMC in Phnom Penh.<sup>175</sup>

The three of us also conducted fieldwork in 2016 in rural areas to the north of Phnom Penh, including Bañā Ban' and Brèk Bnau communes, Sèn Sukh district, Phnom Penh municipality; Bnaṃ Pāt, Bañā Ī, Brèk Tādèn, Phsār Tèk, and Daṃnap' Dhaṃ communes, Baññā Ī district, Kandal province; and Ksem Ksānt commune, Uṭuṅg district, Kampong Speu province.<sup>176</sup> Since the palm-leaf manuscripts in monastic libraries in these areas had already been surveyed by the FEMC in the 1990s,<sup>177</sup> our focus was on leporellos and handwritten notebooks, held not only in monastic libraries but also in private lay collections.

Many of the leporellos in these collections, along with another twenty-five leporellos donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong before or during my stay here, were in poor condition, and they hence needed more than simple cleaning to be ready for photographing. In some cases, we documented one set of images before and another set after our repairs. Leporellos are vulnerable to tears along their many folds. Once a manuscript is torn, it is frequently stored out of order or further deteriorates, resulting in additional loss of pages or spreads. Most of the pre-1975 leporellos, with the exception of a handful already repaired by the FEMC, required a range of repairs.

Beyond my fieldwork in Cambodia and Surin province, Thailand, I also examined and photographed manuscripts at the British Library, the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris – Maison de l'Asie (EFEO – Paris), and the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BNF). Finally, there were ten manuscripts that I was only able to access in photocopied form, held at the FEMC office in Vatt Uṇṇālom, Cambodia, which we re-photographed and converted to a digital format. In total, I documented over 150 Cambodian leporellos and roughly ten times that number of palm-leaf manuscripts. From this larger corpus, I narrowed my focus down to 70 leporellos

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<sup>174</sup> Due to technical limitations and inadequate preparation on my part, the quality of these images is poorer than those achieved in 2016, and I also failed to properly record the dimensions of the manuscripts before imaging. I have nevertheless included these manuscripts in my dissertation on account of their distinctive content and the likelihood that some of them have deteriorated or been moved since I documented them in the field.

<sup>175</sup> These four collections are the Bibliothèque du Musée National de Phnom Penh/Fonds Michel Tranet (Musée National), the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Phnom Penh (Hun Sen Library), the Bibliothèque Nationale du Cambodge, and the Bibliothèque de la Pagode d'Argent (Royal Palace).

<sup>176</sup> ឃុំពញាធន់ ឃុំព្រែកញ្ជៅ ស្រុកសែនសុខ រាជធានីភ្នំពេញ; ឃុំភ្នំបាត ឃុំពញាធន់ ឃុំព្រែកតាទែន ឃុំផ្សារដែក ឃុំទំនប់ធំ ស្រុកពញាធន់ ខេត្តកណ្តាល; ឃុំក្សេមក្សាន្ត ស្រុកឧដុង្គ ខេត្តកំពង់ស្ពឺ.

<sup>177</sup> de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie*.



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that contain melodically chanted texts. Each of these leporellos is given a running number (starting from **UB001** up to **UB070**)<sup>178</sup> and cataloged in detail in Appendix I. The catalog itself is prefaced by a brief introduction (see *infra*, 656–659) and by ten tables (660–710) that collate and summarize the information contained in Appendix I.

The date, provenance, materials, condition, and dimensions of the leporellos are the sum of the codicological data I have cataloged. This body of information provides the background context for analyzing the texts written upon these manuscripts. The chants I study do not appear nakedly shorn of context—they arrive to us clothed, as it were, in the garb of larval bores and wax drips. They swell with inserted pages and improvised adhesives. They come bearing the traces of their ritual use, as evidenced by damage from candle flames and incense embers. They transmit their long history of reading and borrowing, as suggested by their fold and edge wear. They betray the changing political, economic, and cultural landscape, particularly after 1970, that led many to be inadequately stored and vulnerable to fragmentation, disordering, and the ravages of water, mold, and insects.

The manuscripts also contain clues to when, where, and by whom they were created. The precise dates given for some of the manuscripts come from information presented in the colophons. The estimated dates for the remaining manuscripts are based on comparisons to similar dated manuscripts as well as other factors such as paleography, the kind of ink and paper used, and the presence or absence of dated ritual texts from particular periods. Colophons, too, point to manuscripts being created by a scribe or team of scribes in one monastery, donated by a sponsor to another, and then borrowed or lent to still other locations.

My primary aim is not, however, to study these manuscripts qua objects from the standpoint of material culture. My focus centers on the texts and paratexts they contain. The techniques I use for studying Khmer leporellos, as outlined above, provide one way to move from a collection of manuscripts to a detailed catalog that notates the context and arrangement of each manuscript as well as an extended record of the corpus of distinct texts contained in such a collection. The 70 leporellos cataloged in Appendix I transmit a corpus of 195 ritual texts that I present in Appendix II.<sup>179</sup> This corpus emerged from a sustained process of reading, sorting, transcribing, and translating the texts contained in the leporellos.

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<sup>178</sup> The use of three digits allows for the expansion of the catalog in the future. The number is simply a running number that reflects the order in which I cataloged the manuscripts but nothing about their provenance, age, or content. Further details on the cataloging system appear in the introduction to Appendix I.

<sup>179</sup> In Appendix I, these ritual texts are given in boldface, first by their standardized title. This is the title by which they appear in Appendix II, including appended shorthand codes, as explained in Chapter 3, that notate their canonicity, language, and/or meter. The standardized title is then followed by an equals sign and the title as it appears in the manuscript, if such a title appears at all. If multiple titles are present for one distinct text in the manuscript, they are separated by a slash. Short, distinct ritual texts that do not appear in Appendix II are generally transcribed in the summary of the contents for each manuscript in Appendix I, along with all of the colophons, ritual instructions, legible graffiti, and other annotations present.

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To compile Appendix II, I began by reading through each leporello and assigning preliminary titles to each of the 653 texts they contained.<sup>180</sup> Once I had assigned these preliminary titles, I began to compare the texts to one another to determine which of them were identical or at least closely related to another. The challenges of this process were multiple, including the fragmentary nature of many of the texts as preserved in the manuscripts; the lack of consistent punctuation, including very few line breaks, spaces, or stanza markers for verse texts; the wide range of titles used for identical texts, even within the same manuscript; and, in some manuscripts, the complete lack of titles or other notations to mark the beginning and end of texts. I first sorted the 653 texts into three groups: those that I recognized from early- to mid-twentieth-century Cambodian printed books, those that did not show up in printed collections but that I was relatively confident were distinct titles, and those whose precise relationship to other texts was unclear. I then worked together with my research assistants to begin transcribing key texts into Khmer Unicode.<sup>181</sup>

Once all of the required texts were transcribed according to the orthography, arrangement, and punctuation of the manuscripts, I began to collate and compare them. The Pali texts posed no special challenges, as it was usually immediately clear whether a text was a distinct title or not. For the bilingual Pali-Khmer and Thai texts, almost all of them were distinct and therefore not difficult to place under different titles. For the Khmer verse texts, comprising the majority of the total distinct titles found in these leporellos, the process was made more difficult by the many variant recensions in circulation and frequent metrical inconsistencies in the manuscripts.

In order to facilitate analysis of the content of these texts, I created various editions. The first ones I crafted are diplomatic editions, namely editions that aim to present a source text in a legible, standard script (nowadays typically in Unicode) while maintaining the orthography of the manuscript source. For Pali texts and the Pali portions of Pali-Khmer texts, my diplomatic transcriptions are in Roman script; for the Khmer- and Thai-language texts (both of which appear in Khmer script in the manuscripts), I use the standard implementation of Khmer Unicode.

I began the editing process by proofreading our raw transcriptions against the images of the manuscripts to correct for typos and misreadings. My goal here was to make sure that we matched the exact graphical representation of the manuscripts using modern Khmer script. I did not impose any editing in terms of the orthography or punctuation with reference to the source manuscript. As Odd Einar Haugen reminds us, however, even a diplomatic edition has undergone at least a minimal level of editing to make a text legible to its

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<sup>180</sup> The number of texts ranged from 1 to 27 per manuscript, with a mean of 9.4 texts per manuscript. For more details on the distribution of texts, see Appendix I, Tables 8–10 (see *infra*, 693–704).

<sup>181</sup> Khoeun and Sopheak began by transcribing all of the relevant texts from early to mid-twentieth century printed books that I identified as source material for texts in a number of late twentieth- and early twenty-first century leporellos, while I worked on transcribing the colophons, annotations, ritual instructions, and graffiti from the manuscripts. I then assigned us each to work on different chanted texts from the manuscripts, with Khoeun and Sopheak working on a number of the Khmer verse texts I had not yet transcribed before 2016 and I focusing on the Pali, Thai, and bilingual Pali-Khmer texts.

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audience.<sup>182</sup> In my case, the act of transcribing them into modern Khmer script involved interpretative work, since many consonants, subscripts, vowels, and diacritics are graphically ambiguous in the manuscripts.<sup>183</sup>

Moreover, the diplomatic transcriptions of the Khmer and Thai verse texts required an additional layer of editing. Since the leprellos do not generally make line breaks or consistently mark the beginnings and ends of stanzas, I divided all of the verse texts by metrical line and added stanza numbers, retaining the original spacing and punctuation where possible. Adding line breaks to divide texts into their proper meter allowed me to more accurately compare various recensions of a particular verse text by copying each recension into a different spreadsheet column and arranging the contents so that they lined up horizontally, revealing both the portions missing from each recension and the line-by-line variants. In this sense, these diplomatic transcriptions have undergone several layers of editing in order to group the 653 texts into groups of distinct textual traditions that can appropriately fall under a single title.

Some texts had only a single witness, i.e. they only appeared once in the leprello corpus. For these, I often present the single diplomatic transcription alongside a resultative (i.e. without a critical apparatus)<sup>184</sup> standardized edition. For the latter, I regularize the orthography according to contemporary standards.<sup>185</sup> The Pali verse text **Aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** (“The eight great sites”), for instance, appears only once in the leprello corpus, on spread 85b of **UB044**. The diplomatic edition represents the original spelling and spacing of **UB044**, and in my standardized edition I regularize these features:

<b>UB044</b>	Standardized edition	Translation
<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	1
<i>paṭhamam̐lumbiniṃ jātamaṃ</i>	<i>paṭhamam̐ lumbinijātamaṃ</i>	One, the Lumbini birth,
<i>duttīyaṃ bodhimuttaṃ</i>	<i>duttīyaṃ bodhim̐ uttamaṃ</i>	two, the [achievement of the] highest awakening,
<i>tattīyaṃ dhammacakkañca</i>	<i>tattīyaṃ dhammacakkañ ca</i>	three, the [turning of the] wheel of the Teaching,

<sup>182</sup> Odd Einar Haugen, “The Making of an Edition: Three Crucial Dimensions,” in *Digital Critical Editions*, ed. Daniel Apollon, Claire Bélisle, and Philippe Régnier (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 224.

<sup>183</sup> See Conventions (see *supra*, xiii–xix) for details. Particularly ambiguous in leprellos are the following sets of vowels and consonants: *ga ḱ / ta ṭ / ka ḱ*, *da ḡ / na ḡ / cha ṭ*, *i̇ / ī̇ / i̇̇ / ī̇̇*, *ū̇ / subscript vȧ / uȯ / subscript dḣ*, *jȧ / tȧ / cȧ*, *pȧ / pȧ*, and subscript *sȧ / subscript yȧ*. The diacritics known as the *lekh aṣṭā* (transliterated ˘), the *saṃyog saññā* (transliterated ˘), and the *daṇḍaghāt* (transcribed as a set of parentheses around the affected syllable) are also often graphically ambiguous. Furthermore, I elided a number of symbols used in the manuscripts, most prominently the two ways of writing the vowel *ū* (*ū̇* versus *ū̇̇*), as they were not present in the Khmer Unicode implementation available to me.

<sup>184</sup> Haugen, “The Making of an Edition: Three Crucial Dimensions,” 228.

<sup>185</sup> For Pali texts, this means following the standard of Pali Text Society and the *Critical Pali Dictionary*. For Thai, I follow the *Royal Institute Dictionary* (Rājapāṇḍīyasthān ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, *Bacanānukram chpāp rājapāṇḍīyasthān phanatham chabānāyasthān* (กรุงเทพฯ: Rājapāṇḍīyasthān ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, 2542). For Khmer, I follow the fifth edition of the *Buddhist Institute Dictionary* (Institut bouddhique ព្រះនាយកដ្ឋានព្រះបណ្ឌិតវិទ្យា, *Vacanānukram Khmèr* វចនានុក្រមខ្មែរ, 5th ed. (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ព្រះនាយកដ្ឋានព្រះបណ្ឌិតវិទ្យា, 1967).

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<i>catutthaṃ pālīleyyakaṃ.</i>	<i>catutthaṃ pālīleyyakaṃ.</i>	four, the Pālīleyyaka [forest],
2	2	2
<i>pañcamamaṃ ca nālāgiriṃ</i>	<i>pañcamamaṃ ca nālāgiriṃ</i>	five, the [taming of the elephant] Nālāgiri,
<i>chaṭṭhaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ</i>	<i>chaṭṭhaṃ pāṭihāriyaṃ</i>	six, the [twin] miracle,
<i>sattamaṃ sirideviṅca</i>	<i>sattamaṃ sirideviṅ ca</i>	seven, the [preaching to his mother] Siridevī,
<i>aṭṭhamaṃ parinibbutaṃ.</i>	<i>aṭṭhamaṃ parinibbutaṃ.</i>	eight, [his entry into] parinibbāna—
3	3	3
<i>ete aṭṭhamahāṭṭhānā</i>	<i>ete aṭṭhamahāṭṭhānā</i>	these eight great sites,
<i>jambudīpe paṭiṭṭhātā</i>	<i>jambudīpe paṭiṭṭhātā</i>	established in Jambudvīpa,
<i>pūjītānaradevehi</i>	<i>pūjītā naradevehi</i>	are worshipped by humans and gods.
<i>ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato.</i>	<i>ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato.</i>	I pay homage [to them] from afar.

In almost every line, I have made a minor change to standardize text. For instance, in the second line of the first stanza, I eliminate the geminate *t* in *duttiyaṃ* (*dutiyaṃ*) and adjust the spacing as well as add in a missing *ma* to *bodhimuttaṃ* (*bodhim uttamaṃ*). My aim in such regularization is twofold: 1) to present my understanding of how to interpret the text and 2) to postulate what the text would have looked like at the time of composition. In Appendix II, I present diplomatic and standardized editions in parallel form, as above, to allow for rapid comparison of these editions and my translation without the need for an explicit apparatus. In the main body of the dissertation, however, I usually present only my standardized editions alongside my translation.

For other texts in the corpus, especially those in vernacular verse, there are many witnesses in corpus. For these texts, I generally present multiple diplomatic transcriptions in parallel, along with a resultative standardized edition. The resulting presentation is both synoptic (presenting multiple witnesses side by side) and eclectic (combining readings from multiple documents, as opposed to a best-manuscript edition).<sup>186</sup> Many of the texts in the leporello corpus appear only in fragmentary witnesses; entire words, lines, and stanzas are missing from some manuscripts and must be restored to produce a coherent text. In most cases, I use multiple leporello witnesses to produce these editions. In a few cases, such as **sarasōr pṛīṭhabī-k** (“In praise of the earth”), I compare the single leporello witness (**UB011**, 72a–73b) with a palm-leaf manuscript version (FEMC d.122) of the same text. In my presentation of stanzas 5–8 of this text below, I synoptically compare these two witnesses alongside an eclectic, standardized edition, which forms the basis for my interpretation and translation. Each X marks a syllable missing from a particular witness:

<b>UB011</b>	FEMC d.122	Standardized	Translation
ඡ	ඡ	ඡ	5
සුඝඛධංගාසඤ්ඤ	සුඝඝංගාසඤඤ	සුඝඝංගාසඤඤ	Whoever should repay their debts [to her],

<sup>186</sup> Haugen, “The Making of an Edition: Three Crucial Dimensions,” 228.

Chapter 1: Introduction

អ្នកនោះបានបុណ្យ	អ្នកនោះបានបុន	អ្នកនោះបានបុណ្យ	that person gains merit,
XXXX	ទៅរកើតត្រៃត្រឹង	ទៅកើតត្រៃត្រឹង	and shall be reborn in Trāyastriṃśa,
XXXX	ក្សិមានឆ្វាក់ឆ្វាវ	វិមានឆ្វាក់ឆ្វាវ	in a beautifully adorned palace,
XXXX	រេចនាស្រេចស្រីង	រេចនាស្រេចស្រីង	decorated with spires.
XXXX	អ្នកនោះរំមួង	អ្នកនោះរំលង	That person shall cross over
ជាតិទៅបានត្រាស	ច្នៃទៅបានត្រាស ។	ជាតិទៅបានត្រាស់ ។	birth to reach awakening.
៦	៦	៦	6
រឹងអ្នកកាច។	រឹងអ្នកកាច	រឹងអ្នកកាច	As for being a mean person,
XXXX	ប្រមាទក្តីម្តង	ប្រមាទកំណាច	careless and cruel,
កុំណាចក្រៃក្រាស់	នេះឯងក្រៃក្រាស់	នេះឯងក្រៃក្រាស់	this is a grievous [sin],
វាហិនវាហៃ	ហឿ វាហិនហៃ	វាហិនវាហៃ	ruinous indeed,
ខ្សិនខ្សែទៅអស់	ខ្សិនខ្សែទៅអស់	ក្សិណក្ស័យទ្រព្យអស់	leading to the loss of all wealth;
បានបាបនោះក្រាស់	បានបាបនោះហ្មាស។	បានបាបនោះក្រាស់	such a sin is grave,
នឹងរក្ខត្រើនជ្រៅ	ន រក្ខត្រើនជ្រៅ	នរកជំជ្រៅ ។	leading to hells vast and deep.
៧	៧	៧	7
វិព្រះបន្ទូលថ្ងៃង	XXXX	ព្រះបន្ទូលថ្ងៃង	The Lord expressed it thus:
បីដូចអំបែង	XXXX	បីដូចអំបែង	It is like a roasting pot
ចាក់ទឹកដៅ	XXXX	ចាក់ទឹកកម្ដៅ	into which water is placed and heated,
វាវងជ្រួតជ្រាប	វាវងជ្រាបជ្រួត	វាវងជ្រួតជ្រាប	being thoroughly soaked.
ស្ងួតទឹកនោះទៅ	ស្ងួតទឹកនោះទៅ	ស្ងួតទឹកនោះទៅ	Once the water completely evaporates,
អំបែងក្ដៅ	អំបែងក្ដៅ ងនោះកៅ	អំបែងនោះក្ដៅ	the pot remains hot
XXXX	ចំរើនរាជ្យ	ចំណេរនៅឆ្ងាយ ។	for a long time to come.
៨	៨	៨	8
XXXX	នេះនឹងអប្បម្ការ	នេះនឹងឧបមា	In this simile,
XXXX	ភ្លើងគឺជាវា	ភ្លើងគឺជាវា	fire is like all of our
XXXX	បាបឯងសំម្បាយ	បាបឯងសំម្បាយ	vengeful sins.
XXXX	ទឹកនោះគឺទ្រព្យ	ទឹកនោះគឺទ្រព្យ	The water is like all
XXXX	របស់ទាំងឡាយ	របស់ទាំងឡាយ	of our possessions.
XXXX	រឿងអំបែងធ្លាយ	រឿងអំបែងធ្លាយ	As for the broken pot,
គឺអង្គឯហោង ។។	គឺអង្គឯហោង។	គឺអង្គឯហោង ។	it is like our body.

Since verse texts in Khmer follow set metrical patterns, we can be fairly confident that the standardized edition that results is closer to the text at the time of composition than scribal witnesses that are missing required syllables, rhymes, and lines. For instance, **UB011** is missing lines 3–6 of the fifth stanza, and **FEMC d.122** is missing lines 1–3 of the seventh. In each case, the other witness fortunately contains the missing lines, so they can be restored with certainty in the standardized edition.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

My choice to produce synoptic, eclectic editions of Khmer and Thai verse texts in the leporello corpus aims to stay faithful both to the scribes of the manuscripts and to the largely unknown authors of the texts themselves. In other words, I am trying to bridge two competing discourses in the academy: traditional philology, which seeks to reconstruct the primacy of a lost “original text,” and New Criticism/Nouvelle critique, which “nourish[es] fundamental disinterest for... reconstructing text[s] from ancient manuscripts and actively endeavor[s] to replace what they think is [a] retrograde intellectual fixation with fresh analyses of literature as products of social or other interaction.”<sup>187</sup> My contention is that the leporellos I study contain many texts that can and indeed must be edited before their literary and doctrinal value can be fully appreciated. Philological methods, particularly standardizing orthography and producing an eclectic edition that combines aspects of different witnesses, provide the most effective tools for restoring the integrity of these texts. On the other hand, the way texts appear in leporellos, including their often fragmentary form, inconsistent titles, and typical lack of authorial information, demand that we pay attention to the social interactions that sustained their transmission over the past few centuries. The parallel presentation of multiple manuscript witnesses in synoptic form allows the reader to grasp these complex undercurrents behind the smooth surface of each standardized edition.<sup>188</sup>

Appendix II records the results of this editorial process, grouping the 653 texts of the leporellos under 195 distinct titles, with selected synoptic diplomatic transcriptions, eclectic standardized editions, and/or translations appearing in vertical columns for each of the verse texts. Whether canonical or not, the standardized titles of Pali texts have all been capitalized (e.g. **Aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV**). The bilingual Pali-Khmer texts appear with the capitalized Pali title followed by a slash and then the lowercase Khmer title (**Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br**). Finally, the titles of the Khmer and Thai texts appear in lowercase only (**sarasōr prīthabī-k**). Titles listed in Appendix II appear in **bold** throughout the dissertation, a convention that allows the reader to easily cross-check my analyses of particular excerpts against the complete editions and translations.

Appendix I and Appendix II are followed by Appendix III, which contains the complete editions and translations of several non-leporello texts in Khmer, Pali, and Thai that I cite throughout the dissertation. Finally, the bibliography contains only referenced sources and excludes sources I only consulted but do not cite in the footnotes. It is divided into five parts: 1) leporellos (exclusive of Appendix I); 2) long-format palm-leaf manuscripts; 3) short-format palm-leaf manuscripts; 4) print sources in Burmese, Khmer, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese, and 5) print sources in other languages.

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<sup>187</sup> Daniel Apollon and Claire BÉlisle, “The Digital Fate of the Critical Apparatus,” in *Digital Critical Editions*, ed. Daniel Apollon, Claire BÉlisle, and Philippe Régner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 91.

<sup>188</sup> On the value of such synoptic editions in Southeast Asian Buddhist studies, see Peter Skilling, “An Impossible Task? The Classical ‘Edition’ and Thai Pāli Literature,” *Thai International Journal of Buddhist Studies* I (2009): 33–43.

*Part I: Communal Scripts*

## Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the set of 70 leporellos and argues that such chanted leporellos are communal manuscripts. By “communal,” I intend to highlight how leporellos function as shared objects that connect texts and paratexts, scribes and donors, annotators and performers, and monastics and laypeople. Palm-leaf manuscripts share some of these qualities, but not to the same degree as leporello manuscripts in Cambodia. Whereas Cambodian leporellos may connect many texts together, palm-leaf manuscripts almost invariably contain no more than one text per fascicle. In some cases, particularly in long-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*satrā/sāstrā*), multiple fascicles, as many as 30, are required to complete a single text. Leporellos, by contrast, tend to contain many distinct texts between their covers—as many as 27 or more different titles.

Leporello texts are also annotated with a range of paratextual information. While Cambodian palm-leaf manuscripts sometimes contain a short colophon at the end, as well as a cover title and occasionally traces of corrections or annotations, they are primarily vehicles for transmitting a single text. The paratexts that accompany the single text tend to be limited, if present at all; very often the only recoverable paratext accompanying a text in a palm-leaf manuscript is its title, either on the first or last leaf or both. By contrast, leporello manuscripts may contain a wide range of paratextual information. These paratexts include a unique cover design, the sequence of the texts themselves, multiple colophons from different scribes and sponsors, ritual instructions, annotations, corrections, apologies from the scribe, abbreviating brackets, illuminations in a variety of colors, and cantillation marks. These paratexts transform a manuscript from a textual repository to a script for ritual performance and a record of communal transmission and exchange.

Studying these paratexts demonstrates how leporellos challenge the distinctions between authors and copyists, scribes and donors, annotators and performers, and monastics and laypeople. Leporellos today are found in a mix of private, monastic, and state collections. As communal manuscripts, they may belong, for a time, to a particular monastery or *ācāry* (lay priest), but are often circulating between different users, curators, and performers. For one ceremony, a group of monks may chant from a particular leporello; the next day, a laywoman may recite from the same manuscript in a different ritual. This copious circulation and flexibility differs from long-format palm-leaf manuscripts in Cambodia, which were traditionally limited to monastic libraries. Leporellos also contrast with short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*), some of which, especially the Pali ones, were the property of monastic libraries while others, particularly the ones that contain vernacular manuals, were privately held by *ācāry*s, astrologers, or meditation teachers.



## Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

This chapter draws from the tables (see *infra*, 660–710) and catalog (711–844) of Appendix I to demonstrate the communal nature of Cambodian leporellos as outlined above. To illustrate how textual and paratextual information for each leporello is presented in a compressed form in Appendix I, the following section of this chapter (2.2) provides an in-depth “unfolding” of a single leporello. I then present a summary analysis of the whole set of chanted leporellos (2.3). To demonstrate how these leporellos function as communal manuscripts, in the remaining section of this chapter I focus on a particular kind of paratext, the colophon. Leporello colophons, left by the scribes and the donors, describe the who, what, when, where, why, and how of the creation of the manuscript. I first present a survey of the colophons contained in the 70 manuscripts to show how leporellos partake in a communal network of exchange between the lay and the monastic and between scribes, donors, annotators, and performers (2.4). This is followed by a detailed analysis of three kinds of colophons that put chanted leporellos in their communal context, namely appeals to take care of manuscripts (2.5), apologies for mistakes and appeals for corrections (2.6), and articulations of the purpose of such leporellos (2.7). I conclude by showing how these leporellos provide a circulating, shared material basis for end-of-life rituals that involve both monastics and laypeople.

### **2.2 Unfolding a Sample Manuscript: Texts and Paratexts of UB015**

Each leporello has its own scent, its own story, its own traces of piety, performance, correction, and circulation. However, with the set of leporellos totaling 4,593 spreads, or 9,186 pages, I cannot dwell on every crease and tear. The tables and catalog of Appendix I provide a bird’s eye view of the landscape of these manuscripts, but convey little of their intricate texture. The paragraphs that follow zoom in on the minute details of a single manuscript to provide an example of what kinds of insights we can glean from closely examining the contents and arrangements of leporellos. In particular, I highlight, with equal prominence, the texts and paratexts of **UB015**, a manuscript that contains a wide array of chants for end-of-life rituals along with a particularly rich set of paratextual material, including one painted illumination and several annotations and colophons. In Appendix I, the details of this manuscript are recorded only in an abbreviated form:

#### **UB015**

FEMC d.939

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown but close to **UB014** of which it seems to be a partial parent manuscript, possibly formerly in the private collection of *ācāry* Hun (active in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century), Brai Cār district, Jōñ Brai province (now part of Kampong Cham province), Cambodia, purchased at Duol Daṃbūñ market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvāñ Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

Traditional black and purple ink, yellow and white paint, and pencil in *mūl*, *jriēn*, and Thai scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, modern off-white paper, and white thread.

Severe fold and edge wear, moderate fire, water, and mold damage, and severe insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 115 M-folded<sup>1</sup> spreads, with no “covers”; spread 1 (recto) is simply the beginning of a backwards section, written later, that continues directly on spread 115b (verso), and the verso “cover” (spread 59) is simply part of the a text that starts on spread 54a and ends on 66b.

Recto

- 1 “Cover”: beginning of reversed portion that proceeds from 1, 115b, 115a, 114b, etc. all the way back to 91b; see below.
- 2a Illustration of a crowned buddha being worshipped by two monastics, in yellow and white paint with traditional black ink.
- 2b–15b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāravaṭāsūt, with the following incipit:  
  - [*mūl* script] *namatthuratanattayassa*
  - [*jriēn* script] *sātāgīriyakkho asurindo cātumahārājā sakko mahābrahmā*
  - [*mūl* script] *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- 15b Colophon: *buddhohomi anāgatekāle*. ក្រាំងកោវតា វត្តមាលា សហស្សវាយុ ល្អវរិគីរី មាន់ន្ទ ខ្លាំងនាគ ព្រះត្រៃលោក្ខ ព្រះធម្ម ។ ៛
- 16a–26b **Ratanamālā-NV** = ratn'amālār/brah kèv ratn'amālā
- 21b Ritual instruction: ព្រះតាថានៃទ្វារ ៥៦ ឲ្យរំលឹកគុនព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអំប្លោះ សព្វថ្ងៃប្រសើរ ដួងស្រពោង ។
- 25a Ritual instruction: នេះគុនព្រះធម្មដរជាអំប្លោះទ្វារ ៣៨ នេះឯងស្រពោង
- 27a Ritual instruction: [purple ink] នេះគុនព្រះសង ដរជាអំប្លោះទ្វារ ១៤
- 27a–27b Ānisaṃsa<sup>2</sup>
- 28a–31a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅgapakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ dhātukathāpakaraṇ, braḥ pugalapaññattipakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ kathāvatthupakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ yamakapakaraṇ saṅkhep braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇ saṅkhep
- 31a Ritual instruction: ព្រះអង្គធម្មពិកម្ពីទ្វារព្រះធម្មដើម សូតបុគ្គលបានស្ងប់
- 31a–35b **Sahassanaya-NP**, with final note [black ink]: ដោយបរិបូរោនិលេ = saḥṣaṇai

<sup>1</sup> For an typology of the different folds present in leporellos, see the introduction to Appendix I (see *infra*, 656–659).

<sup>2</sup> Pertaining to the benefits of **Ratanamālā-NV**; transcription skipped here to save space, but reproduced later in this section.

Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

- 36a–44b      **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānandasutaṃ, with up and down *go mūtr* cantillation marks  
 44b              Colophon: ចំបបត្តិរណសង្កេតស្រេច លើ៖ ឧបសម្ព័ន្ធ  
 45a–53b      **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = lpār [cap' lpār lvěh]  
 54a–58b      **khvān' nāg-r** = khvā'n nāggapakaraṇ saṅkhèp (to be continued [below])

Verso

- 59–66b **khvān' nāg-r** = khvā'n nāggapakaraṇ saṅkhèp (continued [from above])  
 66b              Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមប្រជុំជួបនឹងព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសិរិកេតិអណ្ណគុត្តជាតិសូមជំរុះ  
 ប្រជុំកុំឲ្យទើសទាល់សំលឹងព័ក្ខ  
 67a–86a      **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy lā'kkh saṅkhèp pakaraṇ  
 86a–91b      **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** = phal' ānīsa'n(s) akāra(v)tāsūt  
 91b–115b      Remainder of reversed portion that proceeds from 1, 115b, 115a, 114b, etc. all the way back to 91b; see below.

Reversed portion (1,115b–91b, upside-down with respect to the rest of the manuscript)

- 1, 115b–107b **kāyagatā-k** = braḥ kāyagatār  
 107b              Ritual instruction: ទុកឲ្យស្ងួតមនុស្សជាតិវិនិច្ឆ័យនិមន្ត  
 107b–99a      **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃ»-k**, with final note: បំបូរហើរហោងដំរីចប់តែបង្កើនហោង  
 98b–91b      **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** (explicit missing), with final note: មិនទាន់ចប់ទេនៅដែរ

To put some flesh on this skeletal depiction of **UB015**, I now consider the various texts and paratexts it contains. I place my analyses of the working parts of this leporello alongside images of particular portions so that the manuscript as a multilingual, multilayered, and multi-owner object may come to life. My aim here is twofold: 1) to demonstrate how texts and paratexts function together to make leporellos scripts for chanting performances; and 2), to show how the paratextual and codicological dimensions of this leporello reveal its status as a communal manuscript.

Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

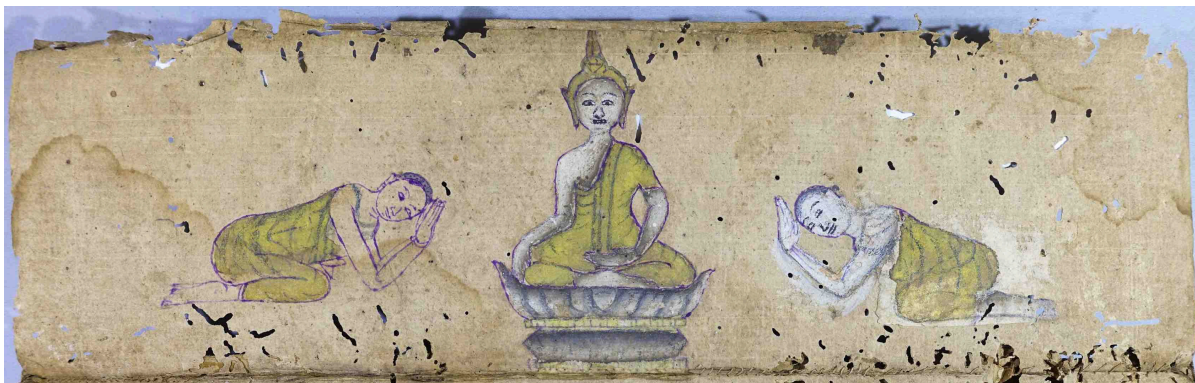


Figure 2.2.1: **UB015 2a**, painted illumination

A four-pigment depiction of the Buddha, seated on a lotus throne and flanked by two prostrating disciples, is the sole illumination in this tattered volume (Figure 2.2.1 above). In a manuscript pockmarked by the tunnels of hungry insects, the central image in the Māra-vanquishing (*māravijaya* or *phcāñ' mār*) posture remains relatively unscathed.<sup>3</sup> This miniature yellow, white, and black painting, with traces of purple ink underneath, reflects the most common posture for the main Buddha in Cambodian *vihāras* today, though the prominent flame or crown on the head speaks to an earlier Khmer and Thai iconographic tradition.<sup>4</sup>

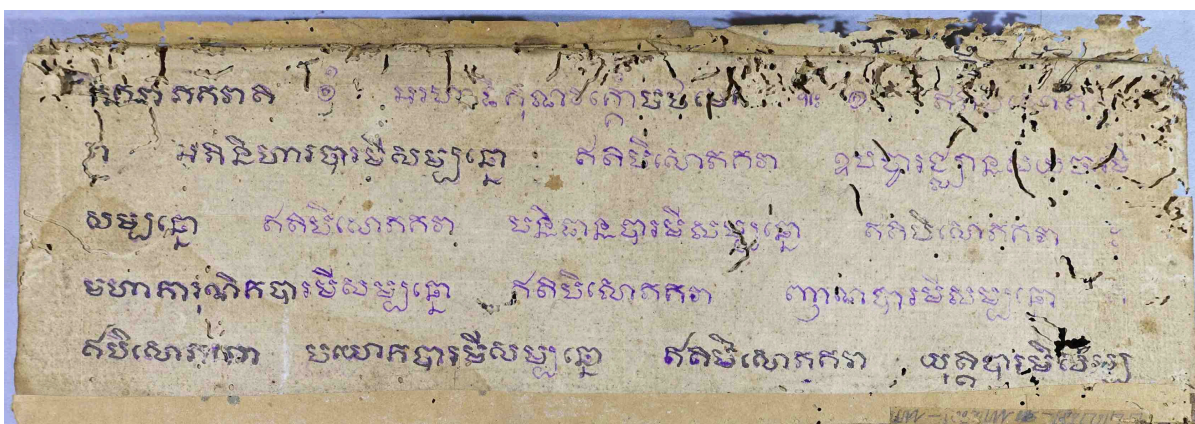


Figure 2.2.2: **UB015 4a**, purple ink overwritten with black ink

Like many leporellos in Cambodia, multiple hands glided pens with various inks across its pages. The manuscript was probably first executed in a narrow pen with purple ink, with much of one side kept blank. This purple ink, made from a dye traditionally available only by

<sup>3</sup> Khmer ផ្កាញ់មារ. This posture is sometimes referred to as the *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā*, though generally not in Southeast Asia.

<sup>4</sup> Hiram Woodward, “The Buddha Images of Ayutthaya,” in *The Kingdom of Siam: The Art of Central Thailand, 1350–1800*, ed. Forrest McGill and M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2005), 54–56.

the Cambodian coast,<sup>5</sup> commonly appears in the oldest surviving leporellos from the late nineteenth through early twentieth centuries but was gradually replaced by other inks. At a later point, perhaps years after the work of the first scribe had been completed, the remaining pages of the leporello were filled in—upside-down with respect to the purple parts—with a thicker style in ordinary black ink. Portions of the texts originally inked in purple were also overwritten by this second hand, or at least by someone using a similar dark hue, perhaps because the purple portions had already faded in parts (Figure 2.2.2). Before either of these colors left their mark, however, the manuscript was lightly ruled with ten straight lines per spread in pencil. The later, black-ink parts of the manuscript also include some sections where eight additional lines are added in between the existing ten to make eighteen, and other sections modified to have fourteen lines per spread.

That this manuscript survived at all is remarkable. In addition to being partially consumed by insects, whatever protective covers were once present have since been lost, though impressively all of the pages appear to be present. It was first crafted in a laborious process of pulping bark from the *snāy* or *man*<sup>6</sup> tree, drying the pulp in large sheets, cutting those sheets into long strips the width of the manuscript (36 centimeters), folding the strips every twelve centimeters in an accordion fashion, and carefully gluing several folded strips together to form the whole length of the manuscript (roughly 13.7 meters in this case).<sup>7</sup> But over the years several of those glued seams came apart and were either stitched back together with thread or reinforced with a thin strip of modern paper and reglued. In this case, it appears that the modern paper was first used to record French words and their pronunciation in Khmer, perhaps as part of a student’s notebook (Figure 2.2.3).

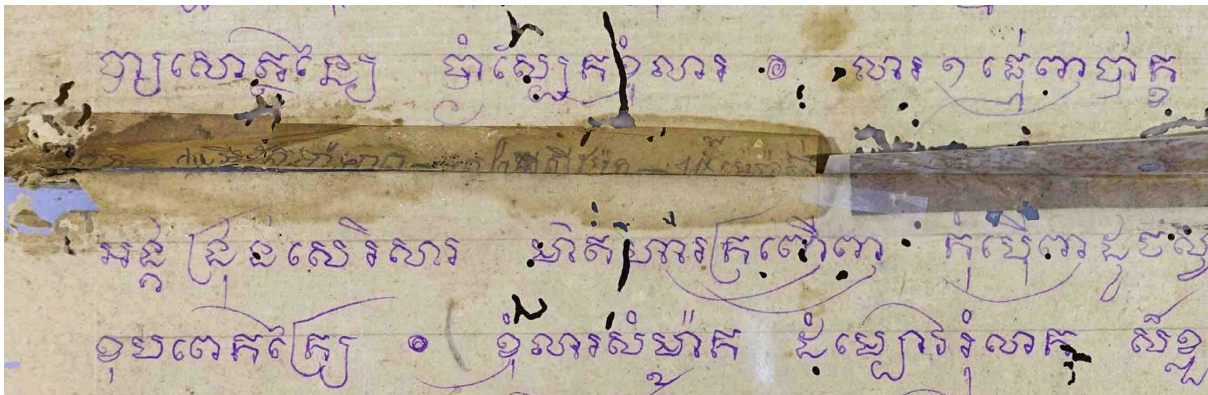


Figure 2.2.3: **UB015** 51a–51b, detail of stitched seam and inserted paper reinforcement, with French and Khmer writing visible on inserted paper

In addition to the ravages of the climate, this manuscript survived the rise of the printed book and the Buddhist modernist ideas that accompanied it from the 1920s through

<sup>5</sup> Leng Kok-An, personal communication.

<sup>6</sup> Khmer ស្លាវ (*Streblus asper*, cf. Thai *khaay*, กล้วย); Khmer មន (*mulberry*; *Morus*).

<sup>7</sup> For a description of this process in Central Thailand in the 1930s, see Hunter, *Papermaking in Southern Siam*, 27–32.

the 1960s, the war and desecration of the 1970s, and the paper shortages of the 1980s. It even survived the relative prosperity of the 1990s and early 2000s, when manuscripts continued to decay and disappear in Cambodia at an alarming rate, before surfacing in a market in Phnom Penh and being donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong in 2016.

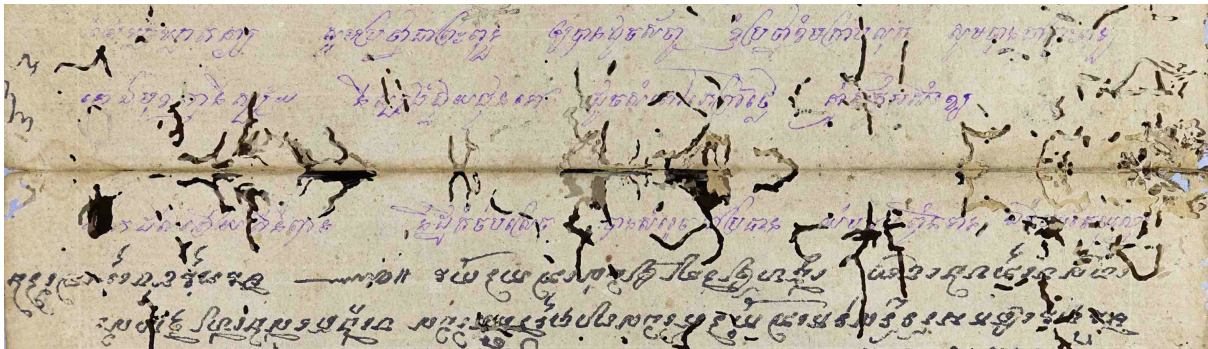


Figure 2.2.4: **UB015** 91a–91b, detail of end of upright purple portion meeting end of upside-down black portion

The portion of the manuscript written in purple ink, though occasionally overwritten in black, begins on 2b of the recto side, filling 57 spreads on that side before continuing through over half of the verso side, up to the beginning of 91b. The portion written originally in black begins on recto 1, and runs, upside down and backwards with respect to the purple portion, through the verso side back to 91b (Figure 2.2.4). The purple portion begins with five texts in Pali:

- 2b–15b: **Ākāravattā A-NP**,<sup>8</sup>
- 16a–26b: **Ratanamālā-NV**,<sup>9</sup>
- 28a–31a: **Abhidhammātikā-NP**,<sup>10</sup>
- 31a–35b: **Sahassanaya-NP**,<sup>11</sup> and
- 36a–44b: **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**.<sup>12</sup>

It then continues with several more in the vernacular:

- 45a–53b: **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**,<sup>13</sup>
- 54a–58b (last spread of recto side) and 59 (first of verso) through 66b: **khvān' nāg-r**,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ākāravattā, version A, non-canonical prose. This system of standardized titles is detailed in the following chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Ratanamālā, non-canonical verse

<sup>10</sup> Abhidhammātikā, non-canonical prose

<sup>11</sup> Sahassanaya, non-canonical prose

<sup>12</sup> Girimānanda-sutta, canonical prose

<sup>13</sup> លាបាប «ភន្តេ ភគវា» (“Taking Leave of Sins,” with the opening lines *bhante bhagavā*, “O venerable Blessed One,” *kākaḡati* meter)

<sup>14</sup> ខ្នាន់នាគ (“[Calling] the Souls of the Ordinand,” cf. Thai *khvān nāg* ขวัญนาถ, Khmer prose with a few Pali phrases)

67a–86a: **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k**,<sup>15</sup> and  
86a–91b: **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**.<sup>16</sup>

The black portion contains two Khmer texts and one in both Pali and Khmer:

1 (first spread of recto side), 115b (last spread of verso side) through 107b: **kāyagatā-k**,<sup>17</sup>  
107b–99a: **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṇ»-k**,<sup>18</sup> and  
98b–91b: **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r**.<sup>19</sup>

A colophon at the end of **Ākāravattā A-NP** on spread 15b gives a slightly different order of texts, mentioning all but one of the texts in the purple portion, though none of the later black-ink ones:

ត្រាងកោរតា វត្តមាលា សហស្សណ្ណ ល្អវត្ត គិរីមាណន្ទ ខ្លាំងនាគ្គ ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ្ណ ព្រះធម្ម ។ ័

[This is a] leporello manuscript (*krāmṇ*) [containing] *kovatār*, *ra'tnamālā*, *sahāssanañy*<sup>o</sup>, *lpā(r)*, *Girimāna'nd*, *khw'an nāgg*, *braḥ trayi'lakkhaṇ*, [and] *braḥ dha'mm*.

Not only have the relative position of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (*lpā(r)*, “Absolution”) and **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** (*braḥ dha'mm*, “Holy [Abhi]dhamma”) changed, but the names of these and the other texts differ significantly in their orthography from the modern, standardized ones I have selected to use. In just the previous line of the manuscript, the title standardized as **Ākāravattā A-NP** appears as *akāravatāsūt*; yet in the colophon it surfaces as *kovatār*.

Another part of this colophon, immediately before the portion quoted above, reads: *buddhohomi anāgatekāle* (or *buddho homi anāgate kāle* with standard Pali punctuation), “may I become a buddha in the future” (Figure 2.2.5). Although buddhahood might seem like a presumptuous aspiration to many Cambodian Buddhists today, such wishes are commonly witnessed in Khmer and Thai colophons and inscriptions prior to the twentieth century.

In other notes scattered throughout the text, words appear that blur the lines between Pali and the vernacular. For instance, at the conclusion of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, the manuscript first reads, in hybrid Khmer-Pali, *braḥ girimāandasuttaṃ*.<sup>20</sup> The Khmer word *braḥ*, “holy, august, sacred,” is brought together with a declined form of the compound Pali noun

<sup>15</sup> ត្រៃលក្ខណ្ណ «រូបំទុក្ខំ» បុរាណ (“The Three Marks,” with the opening lines *rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ*, “material existence is painful,” old version, *kāgati* meter)

<sup>16</sup> អាការវត្តារអាណិសង្ស (“The Benefits of the *Ākāravattāra*,” *brahmagāti* meter)

<sup>17</sup> កាយគតា (“[Awareness] Centered on the Body,” *kāgati* meter)

<sup>18</sup> ត្រៃលក្ខណ្ណ «រូបំទុក្ខំ ទុក្ខរូបរូមខ្លាំង» (“The Three Marks,” with the opening lines *rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṇ*, “material existence is painful, painful indeed is material existence,” *kāgati* meter)

<sup>19</sup> គិរីមាណន្ទសម្រាយ «គិរីមាណន្ទសូត្រនេះ» (Girimānanda-sutta in Pali and in Khmer translation, with the opening lines *girimānandasūtr neḥ*, “this *Girimānanda-sutta*,” prose)

<sup>20</sup> ព្រះគិរីមាណន្ទសុត្តិ (i.e. *braḥ girimāandasuttaṃ* ព្រះគិរីមាណន្ទសុត្តិ)

*girimānandasutta*, “The [Buddha’s] Discourse for Girimānanda.” The noun here is neuter, and declines in both the nominative and accusative cases as *girimānandasuttam*. Such a title is quite typical, as is its juxtaposition of multiple languages. What is missing here is a Pali preterite, which would typically be *niṭṭhitam* (“is finished”) in this context.

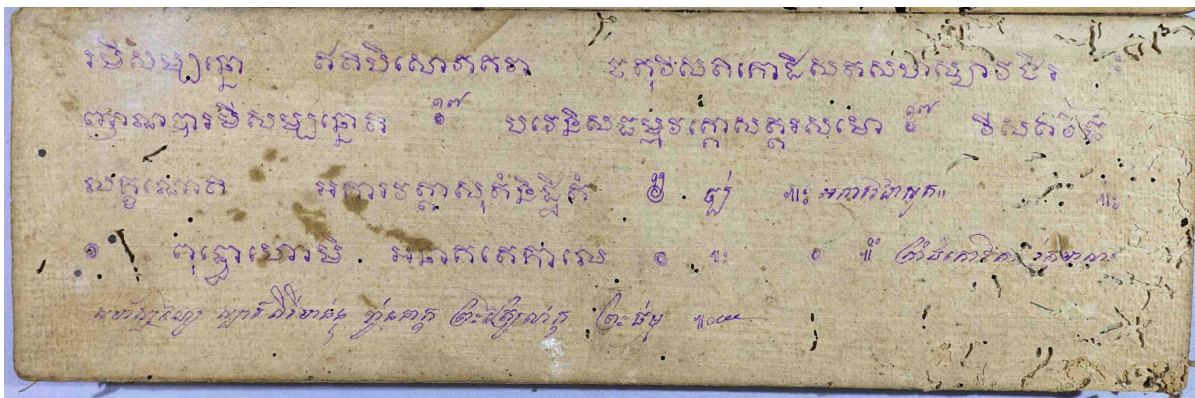


Figure 2.2.5: **UB015** 15b, Pali and Khmer colophon

In Thai manuscripts, too, the word *braḥ* often accompanies declined names of Pali texts.<sup>21</sup> But the parallels to Thai manuscripts go a few steps further in **UB015**. After the Khmer-Pali declaration that the **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** is finished, the manuscript reads, in Khmer, *cap' pakkharan saṅkhēp sre'c*,<sup>22</sup> “the text (Pali *pakarāṇa*) as abridged (Pali *saṅkhepa*) is completed (Khmer *cap' sre*).” This sentiment is then reiterated in two more surprising ways (Figure 2.2.6 below). First, the text reads, in Khmer script, *leəvḥ*, a word that might be written *lèv* or *hlèh* in modern Khmer.<sup>23</sup> But there are no such modern Khmer words, since the syllable in question seems to be a fusion of a Thai word marking completion, *lèv*, and a Thai final particle serving a similar purpose, *hlèh* in modern usage or sometimes *lèh* in older manuscripts. In this context, both *lèv* and *hlèh/lèh* mean “it’s over” or “that’s all.”<sup>24</sup> Either word may show up in Cambodian leporellos to mark the end of texts, just as would be done in manuscripts from Siam. But as if to highlight the exotic quality of this syllable in the Khmer context, the scribe immediately follows it with a phrase in Thai script, *cap' lèv*, “finished.”<sup>25</sup> The use of Thai script is not unheard of in Khmer manuscripts, but far more common is the marshalling of Khmer script to express Thai words.

<sup>21</sup> Thai พระ

<sup>22</sup> ចប់បក្ករណសន្តែបស្រេច (in modern orthography: *cap' pakkharan saṅkhēp sre'c* ចប់បករណ៍សន្តែបស្រេច)

<sup>23</sup> លើវះ; លែវ; លៃះ

<sup>24</sup> แลว; แล; แหละ

<sup>25</sup> จบแล้ว; *cap' lèv* ចប់លែវ would be the modern Khmer transliteration



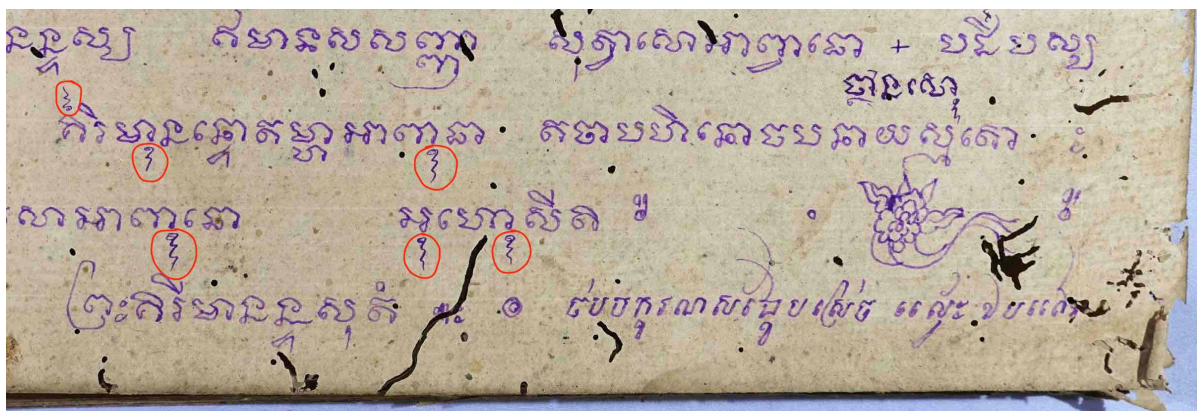


Figure 2.2.6: **UB015 44b**, detail of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** with Khmer- and Thai-script colophon. Cantillation marks consisting of vertically oriented go mūtr marks (𑀓, circled in red) are visible as well.

In this same figure (2.2.6), a set of vertically oriented *go mūtr*<sup>26</sup> marks (circled in red) can be seen extending beneath some of the Pali syllables at the end of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. The *go mūtr* symbol is used in both Khmer and Thai manuscript traditions, including leporellos, to mark the end of sacred texts, *gāthās*, and mantras. They are also used extensively in both Khmer and Thai *yantra* traditions. **UB015** uses these marks in a distinctive way, however, one that only appears in a few Khmer leporellos. Throughout this manuscript's version of the text, *go mūtr* marks extend above and below in a selected pattern of syllables. This intriguing use of these symbols parallels the cantillation marks witnessed in red ink in some nineteenth-century Siamese leporellos (see Chapter 4 *infra*, 171–173). Although standardization of these marks never occurred in either Siam or Cambodia, it seems clear that they mark either the upward and downward contours of the melodies used to recite **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** or the placements of vocal ornamentation.<sup>27</sup> In contemporary Cambodia, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, like the rest of the texts contained in this leporello manuscript, is sometimes still chanted with exceptionally elaborate melodies, taking between forty-five minutes to an hour to perform a short prose text that contains no more than 1,500 words in English translation.

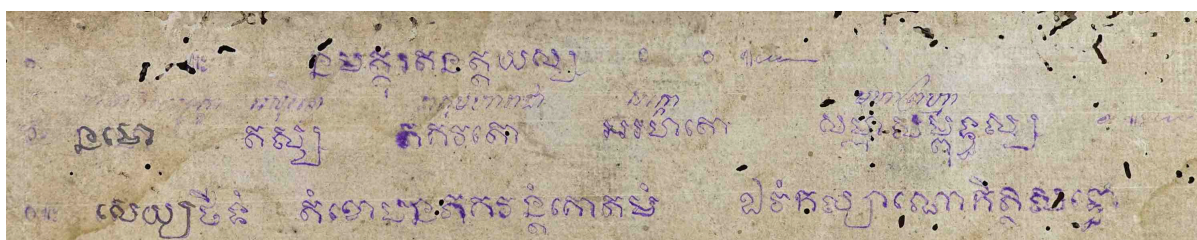


Figure 2.2.7: **UB015 2b**, detail of Pali annotations at beginning of **Ākāravattā A-NP**

<sup>26</sup> គោមូត្រ (“bovine urine,” or the 𑀓 symbol in Khmer script or sometimes the ๓ symbol in Thai script)

<sup>27</sup> Khmer តែន អៀន; Thai តែន ๓

A contrasting set of annotations in the manuscript appear at the beginning of **Ākāravattā A-NP**. Unlike the cantillation marks, it seems unlikely that these annotations were intended to be performed. The contrast between the main Pali text in Khmer *mūl* script and the smaller superpositioned Pali annotations in the italic *jriēn* script is especially clear (Figure 2.2.7). In other parts of this manuscript, Khmer *jriēn* script, just like Khom Wat in bilingual Pali-Thai Siamese manuscripts, is used primarily for the vernacular language, not Pali. The use of *jriēn* script in this context suggests that these annotations are not, strictly speaking, part of the sacred text, but rather implied. This passage transliterates as follows, with the *jriēn*-script annotations appearing in a smaller boldface type:

*namatthuratanattayassa*  
***sātāgiriya******kkho***    *asurindo cātumahārājā*    *sakko*    *mahābrahmā*  
*namo*                    *tassa*                    *bhagavato*                    *arahato sammāsambuddhassa*  
*seyyathīdam taṃkhopanabhagavantamgotamam evaṃkalyāṇokittisaddho*

The opening homage (in corrected Pali: *namatthu ratanattayassa*, “Homage be to the Triple Jewel!”) and the first part of **Ākāravattā A-NP** proper (in corrected Pali: *seyyathīdam taṃ kho pana bhagavantam gotamam evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo*) are not annotated. The annotations appear over each of the five words of the standard Pali homage in between: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (“Homage to the him, the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Rightly Self-Awakened One!”). *Namo* is annotated by *sātāgiriya****kkho***, “the *yakkha* of Sātā Mountain”; *tassa* by *asurindo*, “lord of the *asuras* [i.e. Rāhu]”; *bhagavato* by *cātumahārājā*, “the four great kings”; *arahato* by *sakko*, “Sakka [i.e. Indra, lord of the gods]”; and *sammāsambuddhassa* by *mahābrahmā*, “the great Brahmā [i.e. Saḥampati Brahmā, lord of the Saḥā world-system].”

These annotations do not explain the meaning of the Pali terms in the sense of a gloss. Instead they are names of deities in the Buddhist pantheon that are articulated in a Southeast Asian commentarial tradition preserved in Pali and vernacular manuscripts. Commentaries of this tradition are generally titled *Ṭīkā namo* (“Commentary on [the homage prayer that begins with] *namo*”). A few Cambodian palm-leaf manuscripts also bear the title *ñēh sec kṭī khār pēp ñēk pad namo tassa oy viṭṭhār bistār tā dov* (“What follows is the content providing an extended analysis of the phrase *namo tassa...*”).<sup>28</sup> According to this commentarial tradition, these names refer to the first beings to utter each word of the five-word homage. Thus the annotations in this manuscript may remind the performer that *namo* was first spoken by the *yakkha* of Sātā Mountain (*sātāgiriya****kkho***), *tassa* by Rāhu, lord of the *asuras* (*asurindo*), and so on. These annotations in smaller *jriēn* script fall outside of the main body of the text, which is inscribed in *mūl* script, and yet may be intoned as an optional addition that invokes the pantheon of deities recorded by the commentarial tradition.

<sup>28</sup> One such Khmer palm-leaf manuscript is FEMC d.883 (ไธระเสชคฺคิธีโรบไซเฎกษบจรเฮลลสญญูวิฐูรติสฺกุรตีเสต). For more extensive explanations in Thai, see Amar อมร and Brah Deb Siṃhapurācār(y) พระเทพสิงหนราจารย์, *Ṭīkā namo ฐีกานโม* (Dā<sub>1</sub> jān<sub>2</sub> district, Singburi province อ. ท่าช้าง, จ. สิงห์บุรี: Vāt bikul daan วัดพิศกุลทอง, n.d.); and Brah Grū Gāmbhīranides (Gāṃ Cānd(r)ṭī) พระครุคัมภีร์นิเทศ (คำ จันทรดี), *Ṭīkā namo deśanā ฐีกานโมเทศนา* (Khon Kaen ขอนแก่น: Roñ bim(b) glāñ nānā vidyā โรงพิมพ์คลังนานาวิทยา, 2548).

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Another, more expansive, kind of annotation appears with other texts in this manuscript. They are called *ānisaṅs* (Pali *ānisaṃsa*), which, as discussed in the introduction, are texts that articulate the benefits of different meritorious acts, in this case the benefits of hearing, reciting, memorizing, copying, and venerating a particular Pali text. The first of them was inked by one of the scribes following the completion of **Ratanamālā-NV** (figure 2.2.8 below). This short prose *ānisaṅs* in Khmer, of uncertain origin, may have been intended by the scribe to be read aloud after the chanted recitation of **Ratanamālā-NV** had been achieved.

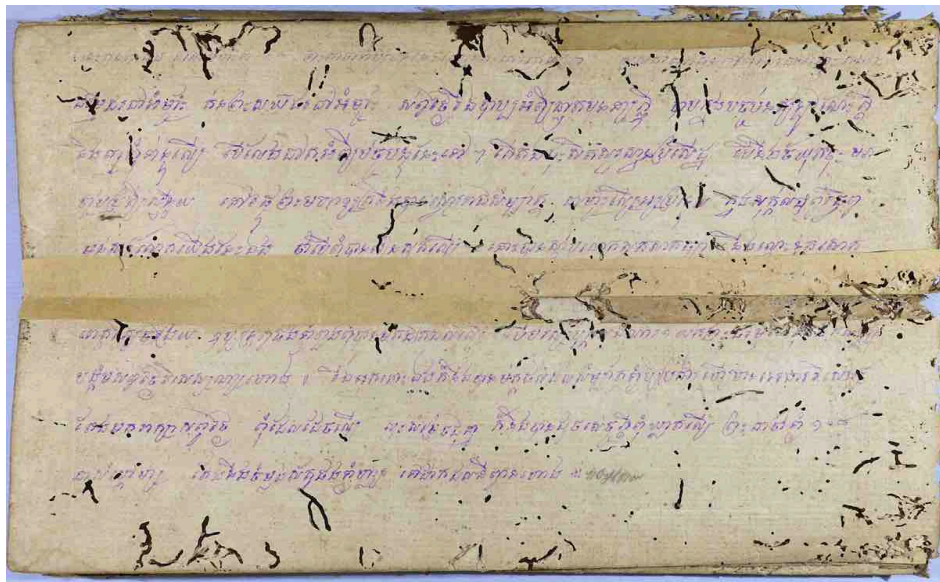


Figure 2.2.8: **UB015**, 27a–27b

My diplomatic transcription, following the original orthography of the manuscript, is as follows:

ព្រះគាថាទ្រាំប៊ូបទនៃនេះឈ្មោះព្រះកែវវត្តមាលា ឲ្យសូតរំព្យកគុនព្រះពុទ្ធដរជាអំម្លោះ គុនព្រះធីរ័ម្មដរជាអំម្លោះ គំនព្រះសប៊ិ  
ដរជាអំម្លោះ សំព្វថ្ងៃរីឯបាប្បអំព្យជ្ជាតមុនន្យក្ដី បាបក្នុងបំប្លែងស្យឡូវណោះក្ដី និងគ្នាពុំទាន់លឿ បើលែងជាតអំព្យបំប្ល  
បំប្លនៃនេះទៅ កើតឯដុះសិតសួរស្មានប្រសើរដ្ឋ បើនឹងថយុតចុះ មកប្រជុំប្រជុំសន្និយ ទៅផ្ទះព្រះមហាឧបត្ថនិងបានស្វោយ  
រាជសំប្បវត្ត ជាម្លោះលើសអ្សប្រទេស ក្នុងសក្ដិលពុំពូជពូជ មន់ស្ស័យលោកយើងនៃឯង ថាបើពុំបានរៀនសូតលឿ ទោះបាន  
ស្តាប់លោកសូតស្វាតឆ្ងាយនឹងឈ្មោះទុកសោកពោតក្រែចង្រៃយ ឧប្បទ្រព្វផងទ្រាំពូជពុំបានមកដិតដលលឿ បើបរស្សបុគ្គល  
ឯណា១ យកព្រះធីរ័ម្មនៃនេះទុកដកល្បថ្ងាបង្គំមសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេស្សណារហោង ។ រីឯអ្នកនោះឯងក៏នឹងបានមគ្គផលដល់សំម្បក្ដី  
ត្ថទ្រាំប៊ូប្រកាសហ្មឺមានទេវវិសេស្សតែងមករកក្បាសពូថ្ងៃ ពុំដែលដៃចលឿ លុះសំម្រេចជុន្មា ក៏នឹងបានដូចសេចក្ដីពុំ  
ឃ្លាតលឿ ព្រះគាថាទ្រាំ ១០៨ ជាសំម្លោម្សតែងនឹងចំម្លងស័ត្វផងទ្រាំហ្សា ទៅដាក់ដល់និព្វានហោង ។ ៧

Standardized into modern orthography, this passage reads:

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ព្រះភាថាទាំងបីបទនេះឈ្មោះព្រះកែវរត្នមាលា ឲ្យសូត្រវិញកុណាព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ គុណព្រះធម៌ដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ គុណព្រះសង្ឃដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់សព្វថ្ងៃរីឯបាបអំពើជាតិមុននាយក្តី បាបក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នឡូវណោះក្តី និងតាមពុំទាន់ឡើយ បើលែងជាតិអំពើបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះទៅ ទៅកើតឯតុសិតសួគ៌ស្ថានប្រសើរ បើនឹងច្បួលចុះមកចាប់បដិសន្ធិទៅផ្ទៃព្រះមហាក្សត្រនិងបានសោយរាជសម្បត្តិជាម្ចាស់លើសអស់ប្រទេសក្នុងសកលជម្ពូទ្វីបមនុស្សលោកយើងនេះឯង ថាបើពុំបានរៀនសូត្រឡើយ ទោះបានស្តាប់លោកសូត្រស្វាធាយនិងរំដោះទុក្ខសោករោគភ័យចង្រៃឧបទ្រពផងទាំងពួងពុំបានមកដិតដល់ឡើយ បើបុរសសបុគ្គលឯណាមួយ យកព្រះធម៌នេះទុកតម្កល់ថ្វាយបង្គំសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេសណាស់ហោង ។ រីឯអ្នកនោះឯងក៏នឹងបានមគ្គផលដល់សម្បត្តិទាំងបីប្រការហើយមានទេវតាវិសេសតែងមករក្សាសព្វថ្ងៃ ពុំដែលដាច់ឡើយ លុះសម្រេចជន្ម ក៏នឹងបានដូចសេចក្តីពុំឃ្នាតឃ្លើ ព្រះភាថាទាំង ១០៨ ជាសំពៅមាសតែងនឹងចម្លងសត្វផងទាំងឡាយ ទៅដាក់ដល់និព្វានហោង ។

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This brief *ānisaṅs* translates as follows:

These three sets of sacred *gāthās* are called the Sacred Jewel Ratnamālā (*brah kèv ratnamālā*, “Garland of Jewels”). Chant them every day to recollect the virtues of the lord Buddha, the lord Dharma, and the lord Sangha, and sins from distant previous lives and sins in the present will not be able to follow you. Should you depart from your present life, you will be reborn in the excellent heavenly realm of Tusita. Should you pass away from there, you will take rebirth in the womb of a queen and reign as the lord supreme over all the countries in the entirety of Jambudvīpa, our own human realm. And even if you have not studied at all, should you just listen to monks chant and recite it, you will be liberated from all pain, sorrow, illness, danger, misfortune, and calamity; they will not come and follow you. Should any man take this dharma and raise it up in reverence every day it would be extraordinary. Such a person will achieve the paths and the fruits, including the three treasures, and there will be special deities to protect him every day without a lapse, and, when his life span is up, he will achieve his [wish] without fail. These 108 *gāthās* are a golden vessel that always ferries living beings to nibbāna.

This passage is an example of a vernacular annotation that illuminates the importance of a particular chanted text in Pali. Certain Pali ritual texts, such as **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP**, almost always appear without Khmer translation in leporello manuscripts; by contrast, some palm-leaf manuscripts provide translations or bilingual versions for these same texts. The case for the **Ratanamālā-NV** is similar. The only vernacular texts that elucidate their meaning take the form of *ānisaṅs*. The importance Cambodians ascribe to **Ratanamālā-NV** is perhaps best expressed in the brief *ānisaṅs* above rather than a careful translation of the Pali verses themselves. Like most Khmer *ānisaṅs*, this passage articulates different benefits to those who perform various meritorious acts, such as daily recitation (one will “reign as the lord supreme over all the countries in the entirety of Jambudvīpa”), a single hearing of monks reciting it (one “will be liberated from all pain, sorrow, illness, danger, misfortune, and calamity”), or even daily worship of the text (one “will achieve the paths and the fruits, including the three treasures, and there will be special deities to protect him every day without a lapse”). Again, while this *ānisaṅs* remains distinct

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from the text of the **Ratanamālā-NV** itself, the presence of both the root verses and the short prose summarizing their benefits captures how leporellos combine texts and annotations in a single volume.

Another, more extended *ānisaṅs* appears as the last text written by the first hand in purple ink. It is given the title *phal' ānīsa'n(s) akāra(v)tāsūt* in the manuscript (standardized as **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**). This text, which fills 62 stanzas in the 22-syllable *brahmagīti* meter, is considerably longer than that accompanying **Ratanamālā-NV**. Although prose *ānisaṃsa* texts for **Ākāravattā A-NP** exist in Khmer, Lao, Pali, and Thai, this is the only verse text of its kind. Indeed, this manuscript might be the only extant copy of this text. Quite unusual for ritual texts appearing in leporellos, **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** presents itself as a self-conscious verse composition:

<i>Diplomatic transcription of UB015</i>	<i>Standardized edition</i>	<i>Translation</i>
១០	១០	10
ខ្ញុំនឹងគិតចាត់ចែង ចារសម្តែងតាមពុទ្ធដីកា ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ទេសនា អ្នកដែលបានសូតចំរើន]	ខ្ញុំនឹងគិតចាត់ចែង ចារសម្តែងតាមពុទ្ធដីកា ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ទេសនា អ្នកដែលបានសូត្រចំរើន ។	I intend to arrange and express the Buddha's words from when the Lord preached about the one who recites
១១	១១	11
អការវតានេះ ខំមរើគិតក្រអើន ផលានិសង្សច្រើន បំបាត់ទុក្ខទោសទ្វាប្បិរ	អការវត្តានេះ ខំរើគិតក្រអើន ផលានិសង្សច្រើន បំបាត់ទុក្ខទោសទាំងឡាយ ។	this <i>Ākāravattāra</i> and strives to ponder it, to whom benefits will accrue to destroy all pain and sin.

Furthermore, towards the end of his composition in stanzas 49–52, the author even spells out his name and homeland:

<i>Diplomatic transcription of UB015</i>	<i>Standardized edition</i>	<i>Translation</i>
៤៩	៤៩	49
ឯនាមឈ្មោះខ្ញុំណា ក្នុងអក្ខរាដើមថ្កើងថ្កាន អក្សរហក់ល្បីរា បំបែកហិរុកន៍ប្រកប	ឯនាមឈ្មោះខ្ញុំណា ក្នុងអក្ខរាដើមថ្កើងថ្កាន អក្សរ ហ ក ល្យាណ បំបែក ហ រុក ន ប្រកប ។	As for my own name, in its original powerful letters— the lovely letter “h,” cleft by a “u” and finished with an “n,”
៥០	៥០	50
ប្រកដដោយអក្ខរា ប្រកបថាតាមរបប រៀបយើងប្រកប ឈ្មោះថាហ៊ុនកុំស្រង្ស]	ប្រាកដដោយអក្ខរា ប្រកបថាតាមរបប រៀបយើងប្រកប ឈ្មោះថាហ៊ុនកុំសង្សយ ។	manifest in script and spelled according to the method, the way we spell; the name is “Hun”—don't doubt it.
៥១	៥១	51

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កំណើតនៅស្រុកព្រៃចារ	កំណើតនៅស្រុកព្រៃចារ	Born in Brai Cār district
ញាតិការប្រសើរដ្ឋក្រៃ	ញាតិការប្រសើរក្រៃ	to an excellent family
ក្នុងខេត្តជើងព្រៃថ្ម	ក្នុងខេត្តជើងព្រៃថ្ម	in precious Jōn Brai province,
ជាកូនអ្នកស្រែមន្ត្រី	ជាកូនអ្នកស្រែមន្ត្រី ។	the child of a rural government official,
៥២	៥២	52
ខ្ញុំបានបូសសូត្ររៀន	ខ្ញុំបានបូសសូត្ររៀន	I ordained and studied
ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរឃ្នាតខ្ចី	ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរឃ្នាតខ្ចី	within the gnosis of the Buddha,
សរសេរតាមបាលី	សរសេរតាមបាលី	striving to quickly
ដោយប្រាជ្ញាល្អដំខ្មៅ	ដោយប្រាជ្ញាល្អដំខ្មៅ ។	write according to the Pali
		with my uneducated mind.

Such elaborate declarations of an author’s name as well as brief autobiographies are common in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Khmer verse literature, though they appear but rarely in ritual texts of that era.<sup>29</sup> It is possible that this record of **ānisañs ākāravattā-br** is an autograph<sup>30</sup>; the mention of a province name, Jōn Brai,<sup>31</sup> made obsolete by the French administration in 1884, suggests a nineteenth- or early twentieth-century date for the text, which is confirmed by the paleographical and codicological characteristics of the manuscript. Even if it is not an autograph, this text may have only circulated locally in Kampong Cham province, of which Jōn Brai is now a district. Kampong Cham, particularly in the historically prosperous districts along the Mekong, has long been home to a rich manuscript culture, including the largest surviving monastic libraries today, so it comes as no surprise that many distinctive and unusual texts, including **ānisañs ākāravattā-br**, can be found there.

Though it is just one of the manuscripts presented in Appendix I, **UB015**’s texts, annotations, and arrangements encapsulate many of the possibilities in studying leporellos. All twelve of the texts in this manuscript will be addressed in further detail in the following chapters. Leaving aside the doctrinal details of these twelve ritual texts, their collection and arrangement in **UB015** affirm broader patterns. The nine initial texts in purple ink are typical for leporellos used in end-of-life rituals, with the exception of **Khvān’ nāg/khvān’ nāg-r**, recited in ordination ceremonies, suggesting that this manuscript’s primary use was an aid for monastics or laypeople chanting the texts traditionally recited for the sick, the dying, and the recently departed. This identification is supported by the fact that the three texts added later in black ink are likewise all appropriate for such rituals.

Like many other leporellos, the Pali texts of this manuscript are grouped together. Three of them, **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, are so common that they represent nearly one-fifth of the 653 ritual texts found in the set of leporellos studied here. **Ākāravattā A-NP**, particularly when grouped with its variants **Ākāravattā B-NP**, **Ākāravattā C-NP**, **Ākāravattā D-NP**, and **Ākāravattā E-NP**, occurs so frequently and assumes such a prominent ritual role that leporellos for end-of-

<sup>29</sup> For a comparative discussion of this passage, see Chapter 9 *infra*, 560–574.

<sup>30</sup> I.e. the scribe and the author were one and the same.

<sup>31</sup> Khmer ជើងព្រៃ

life rituals are commonly referred to as *krāṃṇi kauṇṇā*, which translates as “*Ākāravattā* leporello,” *kauṇṇā* being the colloquial Khmer pronunciation for the title of this text.<sup>32</sup>

The titled ritual texts of **UB015** are not merely arranged among themselves, but in the context of illuminations, cantillation marks, notes, colophons, and other annotations that frame their importance in the ritual tradition they transmit as well as communicate information about the cultural and linguistic context in which they were copied down. The simple yet thoughtfully placed illumination frames the construction of this manuscript as a sacred act of merit. The later addition of the three texts in a new hand wielding a different color ink in the remaining blank pages of the manuscript indicates how leporellos remain living objects as they pass through different owners. The efforts to repair the manuscript over the years, with thread, French-inscribed paper, and overwritten ink, support this observation and demonstrate the practical need to keep such manuscripts functional and legible for successive generations of chanters.

The discrepancy between the textual sequences and titles within and beyond the manuscript, as reflected in the first colophon that names this manuscript a leporello (*krāṃṇi*), points to the fluidity of the ritual tradition and its lack of central standardization during the period it was produced. The cantillation marks echo of one of the salient characteristics of leporello manuscripts—that they were scores for expressive melodic renditions of Buddhist texts. The numerous connections to Thai words, paleographic conventions, and even commentarial traditions reflects the substantial cultural influence of Siamese Buddhism that flowed into Cambodia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as efforts to localize Siamese texts and conventions within the pages of Khmer manuscripts. Finally, the presence of rare, perhaps locally circulated texts such as **ākāravattā ānisaṅs-br** highlights the bespoke character of every manuscript studied in this dissertation. No matter what impression of Khmer Buddhism they may yield in the aggregate, each manuscript unfolds a uniquely fashioned world of its own, one dependent on the aspirations, inclinations, and gifts of its original creators and subsequent curators.

The multiple hands that sponsored, inscribed, annotated, refurbished, repaired, safeguarded, and performed **UB015** over the past 100 to 150 years speak to its status as a communal manuscript. The manuscript includes texts performed by laypeople and monastics, is the product of several scribes, and likely saw a long period of circulation and performance before falling into disrepair and ultimately disuse. Moreover, this leporello contains more than one text and presents far more information than simply the semantic content of its twelve chanted texts. **UB015**, when considered as a representative example of the set, demonstrates that leporello texts come alive when studied in context with their paratexts. The following section zooms back out again to consider the whole set of leporellos and the patterns they reveal.

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<sup>32</sup> Khmer គ្រឿងកៅវ៉ាង

### 2.3 Unfolding a Collection: Summary Analysis of the Set of 70 Leporellos

The set of leprellos I study is not a sample chosen through a statistically rigorous method. It is simply 70 leprellos that contain texts that are recited today in the *smūtr* or *dharma pad* (“Dharma song”) style of melodic chant. Excluded from this set are redundant mass-produced manuscripts, *bhikkhuppāṭimokkha* manuscripts, and manuscripts for traditional manuals or various secular subjects. Certainly more than 70 manuscripts survive that fit my criteria, including some in the microfilm archive of the FEMC; indeed, as my fieldwork continued after I decided to close the set at 70, I documented numerous additional leprellos in the Cambodian countryside that would be recited in the *smūtr* style, hence also meeting the criteria for selection. What the set does represent, however, is a reasonably representative collection of the range of leprellos for melodic chant extant today, both in Cambodia and abroad, with an emphasis on older, handmade manuscripts.

In this section, I use the ten tables included in Appendix I to present an analysis of the leprellos, including their dates, locations, dimensions, materials, conditions, and the ritual functions they emphasize. The overall picture that emerges suggests that while the materials used to fashion chanted leprellos have changed over the past 150 years, the contents continue to focus on texts for end-of-life and buddha image consecration rituals, with some more recent leprellos also including texts for calendrical rites as well as narrative texts for a variety of ritual occasions. These texts and the ritual functions they represent are dealt with in detail in the following chapter; here my aim is to present an overall picture of the materiality and circulation of these communal manuscripts.

As mentioned above, I documented more leprellos than I eventually ended up focusing on. Many of these roughly 150 leprellos are either outside the scope of melodically chanted texts or are modern manuscripts very similar to the ones already included. For instance, in Britain and France there are several dozen Khmer leprellos. As mentioned in the introduction, many of these are quite old, with some in the British Library going back to the 1830s. But I was only able to identify two manuscripts in Europe, **UB021** and **UB022**, that primarily fit the theme of this dissertation.

In Cambodia, there are three groups of leprellos that I digitized but ultimately excluded from this study. First are leprellos containing the *bhikkhuppāṭimokkha*. These leprellos contain the text of the monastic rule for recitation every fortnight. Since the monk who recites the text must do so from memory, the leprello is for the abbot or another monk to silently follow along to make sure no mistakes are made in the recitation.<sup>33</sup> I documented numerous examples of this kind of leprello, in both traditional and modern formats, but exclude them here since they are only the basis for textual verification, not vocalized performance. Furthermore, for the fortnightly *uposatha* ritual, the monk who memorizes the

<sup>33</sup> The same practice is observed in Thailand. See Bhikkhu Ñānatusita, *Analysis of the Bhikkhu Pāṭimokkha* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2014), xlv–lii. For a mass-produced Thai leprello on cardstock used in such rituals, see Sam Bvaṅbhāktī สม พวงภักดี and Dāsani(y) Bvaṅbhāktī ทศนิยม พวงภักดี, *Gāṃ svat brah bhikkhuppāṭimok(kh) chpāp samtéc brah sāṅgharāj draṅ jāṃrah saapdān braam<sub>2</sub> dān<sub>2</sub> gāṃ aīth plè lèh svat brah buddhābhīsek คำสวดพระภิกษุปาฎิโมกข์ ฉบับสมเด็จพระสังฆราช ทรงชำระสอบทาน พร้อมทั้ง คำอธิบายแปลและสวดพระพุทธรักษาภิเศก* (Brah nagar พระนคร: Sāṃnāk nān sa. dhārmabhāktī สำนักงาน ส. ธรรมภักดี, 2511).



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*bhikkhuppāṭimokkha* does not recite it in the *smūtr* style, but rather in a rapid monotone fashion (*sūtr rāy*).<sup>34</sup>

Another group of leporellos that I excluded are those, primarily from the past two decades, that are mass-produced versions of leporellos already included in the set of 70, or are close variants thereof. In particular, leporellos produced by *ācāry* H̄i of S'ān district, Kandal province, and Jāy Sen, an ethnic Khmer from Vietnam, could be found at many of the monasteries I visited. The former's handwritten leporellos have been widely photocopied, cut up, and pasted into new blank cardboard leporellos for mass distribution.<sup>35</sup> The latter's are produced from word-processed documents that are printed out, and then likewise cut up, and glued to new cardboard leporellos. Unlike *ācāry* H̄i's leporellos, which tend to circulate by means of *dhammadāna* ("gift of the Teaching," i.e. through non-commercial acts of generosity), Jāy Sen's leporellos are available for both retail and wholesale at Buddhist bookstores. I include two of *ācāry* H̄i's leporellos (**UB060** and **UB062**) and four of Jāy Sen's (**UB063–66**), but to include any more would only introduce redundancies to the set.

Finally, I excluded a wide variety of traditional leporellos that did not primarily contain texts for melodic recitation. This group includes many vernacular manuals (*kpuon* or *tamvā*), such as manuals for astrology, divination, *kammatthāna* meditation, and magical incantations. There are also Cambodian leporellos of legal, administrative, and literary texts, of which only a handful survive in Cambodia.<sup>36</sup> In Britain and France, however, many exceptional examples of such manuscripts are preserved.<sup>37</sup> The exclusion of *bhikkhuppāṭimokkha* leporellos, most modern mass-produced leporellos, and traditional leporellos containing manuals as well as sundry secular subjects means that the catalog of Appendix I contains only leporellos whose primary focus is texts for melodic recitation.<sup>38</sup>

Appendix I does not contain a single manuscript that has appeared before in a published catalog. Eleven of the manuscripts have existing catalog numbers, all from unpublished records of the EFEO or the EFEO-FEMC. These include two manuscripts included in the unpublished library catalog of the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de

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<sup>34</sup> Khmer សូត្រវាយ

<sup>35</sup> Some have been photocopied for publication in book format. See Sāṃñ H̄i សំដី ហ៊ី, *Brah kāvaṭā* ព្រះការវាដា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār buddhasānanapaṇḍity បណ្ណាគារពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, n.d.).

<sup>36</sup> See, for instance, FEMC d.382 (a short excerpt from Suttantapīṭhā Ind's សុត្តន្តប្រដា ឥន្ទ *Gatilok* គតិលោក) and FEMC d.386 (*ġṇāv puspā* អំណាវបុស្សា, an excerpt from a Khmer translation of the Siamese version of the Panji narrative from the Malay world).

<sup>37</sup> In the British Library collection, for instance, see Or 5865, Or 7560 A, Or 7560 B, Or 8852, Or 8853, and Or 16131.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to these three groups, I also excluded leporellos from outside of Phnom Penh that were cataloged by the FEMC but for which they did not produce a photocopied version for storage in their archives. While many of these were microfilmed, without an effective and affordable way to convert the microfilms into digital images, I chose to not include them in my study. Moreover, in many cases, the microfilm is the only remaining version, as the original manuscripts, if stored in the monastic libraries in the countryside, have often been lost or destroyed over the past 20 years. I am not sure how many leporellos exist only in the FEMC microfilm collection, but probably at least several dozen. While the catalog of Appendix I necessarily excludes such manuscripts, hopefully they will be incorporated into future research.

l'Asie,<sup>39</sup> and nine manuscripts that are slated to appear in future catalogs of the EFEO-FEMC.<sup>40</sup> One leporello (**UB056**) from the latter group is part of the cataloged collection of the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong in Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh, another (**UB037**) is a manuscript originally from Kampong Cham but now held by the FEMC at Vatt Uṅṅālom, and the other seven are EFEO-FEMC photocopies of manuscripts originally from monasteries in Kampong Cham, Kandal, and Phnom Penh. The remaining 59 manuscripts have never been formally cataloged before.

Three of the uncatalogued manuscripts do not have formal FEMC codes, but do have so-called “EFEO-FEMC Photocopy” codes, indicating the running number of the photocopies of manuscripts kept at the FEMC office at Vatt Uṅṅālom, Phnom Penh.<sup>41</sup> Five manuscripts were donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong before my arrival at the library in 2016, but remain uncatalogued.<sup>42</sup> Of the remaining 51 manuscripts, 20 were donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong during my stay there in 2016.<sup>43</sup> For these manuscripts, with the exception of the word-processed leporellos **UB063–66**, I have also cataloged them in the FEMC format so that they will appear in a forthcoming EFEO-FEMC catalog, albeit with much less detail than in Appendix I. The remaining 31 manuscripts were documented in my fieldwork in Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, Kandal, Siem Reap, and Tboung Khmum provinces, Cambodia, and Surin province, Thailand, from 2008 through 2016.

Tables 1–3 of Appendix I (see *infra*, 660–674) provide a detailed record of the original locations of the leporellos, including for the 31 documented in the field. For the other manuscripts, which are either photocopies or are stored at FEMC or EFEO libraries, I note the country, province, commune, village, and monastery, depending on what is known about their provenance. For ten of the leporellos, I was not able to identify any location more specific than the country of Cambodia.<sup>44</sup> Four of the manuscripts, specifically Jāy Sen’s four word-processed manuscripts (**UB063–66**), were purchased at their main distribution point in Phnom Penh, Trai Rata(n) bookstore, and then donated to Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong. Two additional manuscripts were inscribed in Thailand. **UB006** was documented in the field in Surin province, and **UB004** was fashioned in Sa Kaew province in a refugee camp in 1986 before eventually being brought to Siem Reap, Cambodia in the late 1980s or early 1990s.

The remaining 54 manuscripts hail from various provinces and municipalities in Cambodia. Nineteen of these come from Kampong Cham, which is also the province where the FEMC has identified the most surviving palm-leaf manuscripts in Cambodia. Twelve were created in Kandal province and another ten in Siem Reap, the other two provinces where the

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<sup>39</sup> **UB021** and **UB022**

<sup>40</sup> **UB017**, **UB037**, **UB051**, **UB052**, **UB053**, **UB054**, **UB055**, **UB056**, and **UB069**

<sup>41</sup> **UB025**, **UB039**, and **UB042**

<sup>42</sup> **UB057**, **UB061**, **UB062**, **UB067**, and **UB068**

<sup>43</sup> **UB001**, **UB013**, **UB014**, **UB015**, **UB023**, **UB024**, **UB026**, **UB028**, **UB030**, **UB031**, **UB035**, **UB040**, **UB049**, **UB050**, **UB059**, **UB063**, **UB064**, **UB065**, **UB066**, and **UB070**

<sup>44</sup> **UB021–24**, **UB030–31**, **UB050**, **UB056**, **UB059**, and **UB061**

FEMC has identified and cataloged large numbers of palm-leaf manuscripts. One manuscript, **UB046**, was partially written in Siem Reap in 1979 before being completed in Kandal in 1991, some 300 kilometers to the southeast. Four leporellos come from Phnom Penh, a municipality in which most of the palm-leaf manuscripts are concentrated in large state or FEMC libraries rather than in monasteries. The remaining leporellos come from provinces for which the reserves of palm-leaf manuscripts are little known, including three each from Kampong Speu and Tboung Khmum and two from Kampong Thom.

The provenance of the 70 leporellos thus reflects the larger distribution of traditional manuscripts in Cambodia, particularly those on palm leaves. There are certainly leporellos in other Cambodian provinces; I received photographs of such manuscripts in Battambang from Erik W. Davis, and restored and documented several examples during fieldwork in Takeo in 2017. The steadfast work of Cheymongkol Chalerm sukjitsri has uncovered numerous examples in the Khmer-speaking provinces of Thailand, and a Vietnamese news article shows Khmer leporellos being restored in a state library in Ho Chi Minh City.<sup>45</sup> This particular set of 70 leporellos reflects the bias of my 2016 fieldwork, which was centered in Phnom Penh, Kandal, Kampong Speu, and Siem Reap, as well as the ample numbers of manuscripts from Kampong Cham in FEMC collections. For instance, six leporellos (**UB051–55**) belong to the collection of a single monastery, Vatt Bodhiratanārām in Kampong Cham, which the FEMC had the foresight to preserve via photocopies. Another nine manuscripts are from a single district of Kandal province, Bañā Ī, where I attempted to visit as many monasteries as possible on several research excursions in 2016. If the FEMC had not preserved these manuscripts in photocopy or if I had chosen another district of Kandal province to research intensively, then the set of leporellos might have looked somewhat different.

However, there is reason to suppose that the actual content of the manuscripts would have in fact been quite similar. There do not appear to be many patterns linking the provenance of leporellos and the texts they contain. The most common texts tend to be found in leporellos from every province, and even the less frequently encountered texts tend to show a uniform distribution. There are only a few texts with possible regional specificity. These include **Rāp' ṭhān-NP** (both instances in manuscripts from Siem Reap) and **dhārm yog-y/ch** (all four from Kampong Cham or from the province recently split off from it, Tboung Khmum). However, in the absence of a larger data set, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about how leporellos from different provinces vary in their contents. The general picture that emerges is that the corpus of texts in chanted leporellos is shared across Cambodia and in the Khmer-speaking provinces of Northeastern Thailand.

In terms of the current locations of the manuscripts, 28 are now housed at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong and two more are at Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie. The remainder belong to monastic libraries or private lay collections. By “monastic libraries,” I refer to collections held by monks at a monastery, usually under the

<sup>45</sup> Many of the manuscripts digitized by Cheymongkol are available online at <http://www.libraryofcambodia.org/category/esastra/>. For images of Khmer leporellos being restored in Vietnam, see <https://adamrobertyoung.wordpress.com/2014/01/21/the-restorers-ancient-vietnamese-manuscripts-behind-locked-doors/>.

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custodianship of the abbot. Since manuscripts, particularly those on palm-leaf and older leporellos, have largely fallen into disuse, they are rarely part of an individual monk's private collection but rather are property of the monastery and hence usually under the direct supervision of the abbot. This is in contrast to the past, where at least some monks might have retained private collections of manuscripts, including ones they themselves had copied by hand, in their own dwelling. I encountered a few such monks with private collections during my field work, but in each case they were unwilling to let me view or document their collection. Some may have been concerned about theft; others may have wanted to protect their specialized ritual knowledge. Abbots, however, were almost always willing to show me the collections of the monastic libraries under their control.

By "private lay collection," on the other hand, I refer to collections of manuscripts, usually not more than one or two, stored at the home of a layperson, usually a male *ācāry* (lay ritual priest). Only eight of the forty leporellos not currently held at EFEQ or FEMC libraries hail from such private collections. There are probably many more manuscripts in the private collections of *ācārys*, but they are challenging to find and identify. On multiple occasions, my research assistants and I were informed of the existence of such a collection, only to arrive at the *ācāry*'s domicile and learn that part or all of it had been loaned out to someone else for an end-of-life ceremony or funeral and had not yet been returned.<sup>46</sup> Many manuscripts, it seems, are lost in similar processes of circulation. Leporellos from monastic collections are also frequently loaned out to laypeople or other monastics for ritual use, study, or replication.

Although only a minority of leporellos seem to reside in private lay collections, the very existence of such collections points to the status of leporellos as communal manuscripts, whose creation, use, storage, and circulation are not limited to a monastic context. Laypeople, including laywomen, take an active role in the sponsorship, performance, and custodianship of chanted leporellos. Several of the manuscripts in private collections I documented were family heirlooms, and had been passed down through one or more generations of *ācārys*. Others had passed to the custodianship of the wife of an *ācāry* after her husband had passed away. Still other manuscripts, now part of the Bibliothèque EFEQ – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong collection, were in private collections before the owners chose to donate them, or in some cases sold them to an antique dealer before they were purchased by another donor and given to the library. Again, as in the case of the geographic provenance of the manuscripts, whether a manuscript comes from a monastic library or a private lay collection does not seem to determine its textual content. The 70 leporellos all include texts that may be recited by householders or monks, and as such it is not surprising that chanted leporellos appear to be frequently circulated between and performed by both sides of the lay/monastic divide.

In addition to their practices of circulation, another area in which Cambodian leporellos share broad similarities is their physical dimensions. Leporellos in Cambodia are invariably longer (measured from left to right when folded up) than they are wide (from the top to the bottom of the cover when folded up, i.e. the width of one half-spread). Table 4 (see *infra*, 675–677) provides the details of these measurements. The ratios of width to length in

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<sup>46</sup> In some cases, this may have simply been a pretext to not show the manuscripts to us. In other cases, when we came back on a later date the borrowed manuscripts had been returned.

the set range between 0.28 and 0.48, with an average of 0.349. Twenty-one leporellos have a ratio between 0.33 and 0.34, generally measuring about 12 centimeters in width by about 35 or 36 centimeters in length. Fifteen of such leporellos date from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Only three leporellos of comparable age in the set feature different ratios. This suggests that there was formerly a system of standardized dimensions in place, or that the way they were produced ensured a kind of uniformity. Many Siamese leporellos of this period, including all of the Siamese leporellos in Cambodian collections, have similar dimensions. The primary exception are the illuminated Siamese leporellos for end-of-life chants discussed in the following chapter, which tend to be significantly larger, though with a lower width to length ratio (i.e. they are often much longer in absolute terms than their Cambodian counterparts).

Cambodian leporellos with width to length ratios lower or higher than 0.33 or 0.34, therefore, tend to be more recent creations. Other aspects of their dimensions, however, are less tied to their date. For example, almost all of the leporellos have ten to twelve lines per spread, or five to six lines per page. A few have up to fourteen lines on certain spreads, but only two leporellos, **UB001** and **UB064**, both from the past few decades, consistently have fewer than ten or more than fourteen lines per spread. Among the 45 manuscripts that are complete in the set (twelve are incomplete photocopies and thirteen are fragmentary original manuscripts), the number of spreads ranges from 32 to 154, with a mean of 73.7, with over three-quarters of these leporellos containing between 50 and 100 spreads. Both new and old manuscripts fit this pattern.<sup>47</sup>

Clearer patterns in the dating of the leporellos are found when compared to their current physical condition, with older manuscripts unsurprisingly showing more signs of their age. Table 7 (see *infra*, 690–692) presents a summary of this information. Of the seven kinds of wear and damage I recorded, two types, edge and fold wear, are most connected with the circulation and reading of the manuscripts, since the process of handling and unfolding the leporellos causes the edges and folds to degrade over time. With the exception of two manuscripts stored at the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie for most of the past century, all of the pre-1975 manuscripts showed severe or moderate edge and fold wear, with severe wear predominant among manuscripts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of the oldest manuscripts have almost entirely fallen apart at their seams, thus requiring extensive repairs before we could photograph them. This suggests that Cambodian leporellos, even if stored away from humidity and insects, might simply deteriorate after some 150 years of constant use and circulation.

Another three kinds of damage, that of water, mold, and insects, are primarily due how a manuscript has been stored rather than its use per se.<sup>48</sup> These forms of damage are more common in the older manuscripts as well. Water and mold, however, can rapidly

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<sup>47</sup> The same is true for the folding patterns M, N, W, and H, which are each roughly equally represented in leporellos of all dates, though with M and W being about 50% more common overall than N and H. See the introduction to Appendix I for more on these folding arrangements.

<sup>48</sup> Surprisingly, I was not able to find any obvious traces of gnaw marks from rodents or other mammals, even though hungry rats would presumably take an interest in chewing on leporellos.

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discolor and destroy a leporello. Unlike palm-leaf manuscripts—which can be soaked in water for cleaning with no apparent ill effects to the leaves, engravings, or ink—leporellos are extremely vulnerable to humidity, and are thus in some ways ill-suited to Cambodia’s climate. One should note that even ordinary paper books deteriorate quickly in this climate; it is rare to find a paperback book in robust condition from earlier than the mid-1990s. Even so, most of the water, mold, and insect damage to the leporellos probably occurred between 1970 and 1990, when war disrupted the proper storage and care of manuscripts. Manuscripts from the mid-1980s or later in the set are largely free of these forms of damage.

The two final forms of damage, that of wax and fire, are connected not so much to circulation or storage but to ritual use. Since many chanting rituals, including those for end-of-life and consecration rites, take place at night, candlelight was once an essential part of the ritual performance of leporellos. Fire damage seems especially rare, as in most cases flame would destroy a leporello entirely, along with the rest of a manuscript library. However, if a stick of incense or a candle accidentally fell on a manuscript during a ritual, the performer could quickly extinguish it, leaving a burn mark but not extensive damage. This seems to be the case for the four manuscripts with such damage. Wax damage, generally in the form of candle drippings, are much more common, being present in sixteen manuscripts. Since wax is easily removed, it is likely that more manuscripts once showed this sign of ritual use. In the process of cleaning the manuscripts before photographing them, we also removed wax drippings that obscured words, sometimes leaving a small oil stain behind while at other times leaving nary a trace.

Damage from ordinary wear and tear during circulation or use, however, can be addressed and often repaired. Many of the manuscripts in the set were repaired over the course of their life. Some forms of damage require little effort to mitigate. For instance, wax probably accumulated on the pages during ritual performance, but was largely cleaned away before the manuscript was stored. Mold can also be mitigated by wiping the spores and hyphae away, though the damage from water, fire, and insects tends to be permanent. Other types of damage, especially torn folds, can be addressed through labor-intensive repairs. Eighteen of the manuscripts were repaired by Mech Khoeun, myself, or the FEMC, generally with cellophane tape, glue, and plain white paper. I also commissioned a set of wooden covers to be made for each of the leporellos in the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong collection that lacked such a cover. However, many of the manuscripts had already been repaired multiple times with glue, paper, tape, or thread, and fitted with a variety of paper and wood covers before we did any additional repairs.<sup>49</sup>

The oldest Cambodian leporellos, like their Siamese counterparts of the same dimensions, are fitted with traditional layered paper covers, fixed together with plant glues and resins, and occasionally reinforced over time with wood, black crocodile skin, or card stock.

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<sup>49</sup> We occasionally encountered manuscripts that had undergone botched repairs, usually in the form of tape or thread being used to join two broken folds that were originally in different parts of the leporello, thus leaving the text incoherent across the repaired fold. In these cases, we photographed the manuscript once as is, and then trimmed away the tape or thread and put the manuscript back in its proper order before repairing and photographing it a second time.

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More recent manuscripts tend to be fashioned with hard cardboard covers instead. Older leporellos were also repaired with a mix of glues and resins, traditional papers, and thread. The latter was used to sew together spreads that had torn at the folds, with paper and resins also used to reinforced such seams. Newer manuscripts tended to use modern glue, cellophane or electrical tape, paper clips, plastic laminate, and a variety of modern papers to make the same repairs. While the methods use to repair manuscripts over time have certainly changed, what remains constant is the need to mend and refurbish leporellos so that they may remain suitable for ritual use. In contrast to palm-leaf manuscripts, which tend to show far fewer signs of repair due to their relative durability and lack of circulation, this set of leporellos bears a long history of communal circulation and repair.

One manuscript, **UB013**, provides specific written evidence for such acts of repair. This manuscript was first inscribed in 1944 or 1945 by a certain bhikkhu named V"ān in Kampong Cham. In subsequent decades, likely in the 1960s, early 1970s, or early 1980s, the manuscript had fallen into disrepair and was restored by a layman named Jān. What is unusual about him is not only that he recorded his act of restoration of this particular manuscript, but also that he claims to have restored many more manuscripts and considered these works to be important acts of merit:

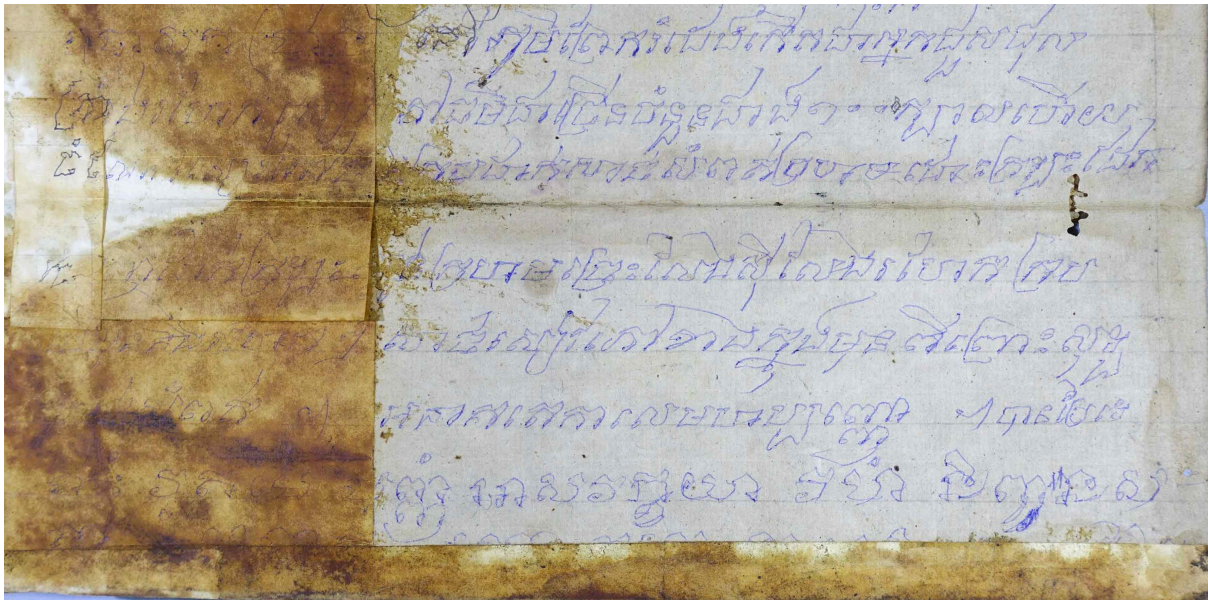


Figure 2.3.1: **UB013**, 78a–78b, detail of colophon, with evidence of reinforcing paper added on the left and bottom

Diplomatic transcription:

ឧបាសក (ជាង) នៅភូមិព្រែករំដេងកើតជាអ្នកជួសជុលត្រាំងរំហែកសៀវភៅធម៌ជាច្រើនចំនួនជាង១០០ក្បាល  
ហើយ ចំណែកសៀវភៅច្រាំង/ចង/បិតក្របដាក់សាច់សំពត់ប្រហមដោះក្រឡះដែកចេញដាក់  
ក្រឡះស្ពាន់ក្រហមច្រោះលែងស៊ីលែងរំហែកក្របប្រើមុននិងរំហែកកា សាច់សៀវភៅខាងក្នុងមុនពីព្រោះ

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សុទ្ធសាច់សំពត់ ។ *anāgatekāle mahappaññā* ។ ជាដំបូង *idaṃ vatame puññaṃ āsavakkhaya vahaṃ nibbānasa[nkhātaṃ hotu ānā gate] kāle...*<sup>50</sup>

Translation (with Pali portions in italics):

[I], the layman [named] Jān of Brèk Raṃṭeñ village, am a restorer of over 100 torn leporello-format Dharma books (*krāṃṇi rahèk siev bhau dharm*). As for books (*siev bhau*) with [wooden] covers and cloth [wrappings], [I] removed the iron [parts] and inserted copper [parts] to prevent rust from tearing the covers, as before they were quite torn and even tore away the paper of the manuscripts with only cloth [wrappings]. *In the future [may I achieve] great wisdom.* This translates as: *This is indeed my merit. [By means of this merit], may [I] reach the destruction of the cankers known as “Nibbāna” in the future.*

Jān was likely not the only restorer of leporellos in his day, as many manuscripts in the set of 70 bear traces of such repairs. Jān’s explicit connection between his restoration and his aspiration for Nibbāna highlights how he and others may have seen their labors as meritorious.<sup>51</sup> Jān was neither the original sponsor of the manuscript nor its scribe, yet he participates in the same continuity of merit-making. As leporellos circulate and change hands, they extend the reach of their community of performance, restoration, and merit, as witnessed in how Jān and others have repaired them over the years.

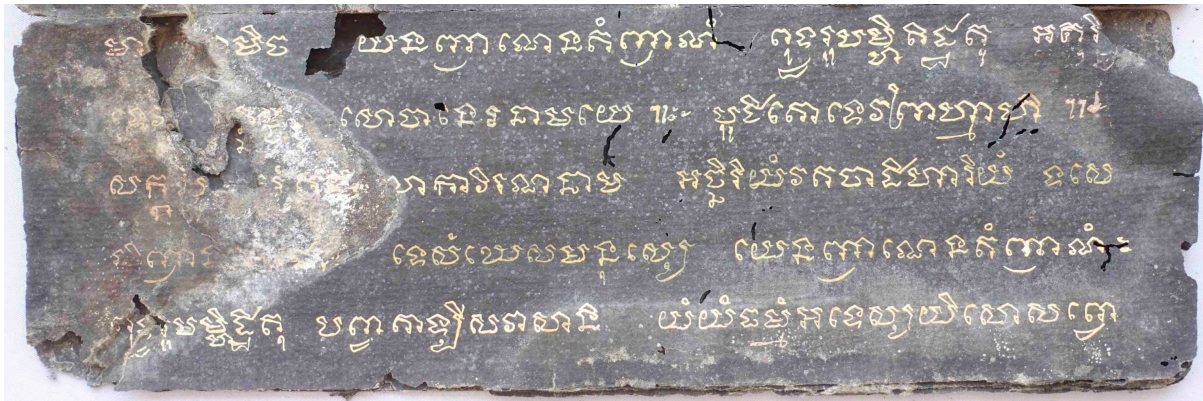


Figure 2.3.2: **UB056** 16b, mid nineteenth century, black snāy paper, showing extensive water, mold, and insect damage

In addition to their mending and refurbishment, the materials of the leporellos themselves weave a story over time. Table 6 (see *infra*, 684–689) provides further details on this aspect of their materiality. All twenty-six of the leporellos produced before the mid-twentieth

<sup>50</sup> **UB013** 78a–78b, i.e. *idaṃ vata me puññaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ nibbānasa[nkhātaṃ hotu ānāgate]kāle...*

<sup>51</sup> In Nepal and other parts of the Buddhist world, great merit is believed to accrue to those who repair damaged manuscripts. I am not aware of texts that explicitly celebrate such repair work in Southeast Asia; most *ānisaṃsa* texts concern the donation of new items rather than the restoration of old ones. However, the Khmer and Tai words for “to sponsor [a religious work]” (*sān* សាង or *srān*: สร้าง) literally mean “to build,” and while in general they refer to new “constructions,” they may, in some circumstances, connote repairs of old buildings or objects.



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century consist of handwritten texts inked upon a handmade manuscript. In leporellos created before roughly 1930, the paper used is a traditional white or black paper made from the bark of the *snāy* (*Streblus asper*) or *man* (mulberry; *Morus*) trees (Figure 2.3.2). From 1930 to 1960, limited production of this traditional paper continued, but was supplemented by leporellos fashioned from cement-sack kraft paper (Figure 2.3.3). From the 1960s to the present, leporellos have typically been fashioned from mass-produced blank folding books, initially produced in Thailand but since the mid-1990s produced in Cambodia, or from handmade composites of modern card stock, cardboard, and glue. Unlike palm-leaf manuscripts, which require a range of rare materials and specialized training to create, leporellos fashioned from ordinary materials remain a living, if dwindling, part of Cambodia's Buddhist communities. Moreover, these leporellos may be created for and by a rural community using limited resources, even in the absence of traditional bark paper manuscripts to copy from.

Almost all of the leporellos I documented were ruled into lines for writing before the actual process of copying began. In the earliest manuscripts, diluted ink or pencil is most common. In newer manuscripts, pencil or incised scores are more common, with the latter found in manuscripts on thicker card stock. The text itself is generally written in a mix of ink and pencil. The older manuscripts are written with Chinese ink applied with a nib pen, generally in black but also with a brilliant shade of purple for certain texts, illuminations, and highlights. By the mid-twentieth century, purple ink was no longer used. Instead, scribes used both nib and ballpoint pens, with felt-tip markers increasingly common in leporellos by the 1960s. By the early 2000s, leporellos handwritten with markers and ballpoint pen were increasingly eclipsed by word-processed, printed manuscripts, principally those created by Jāy Sen.



Figure 2.3.3: **UB057** 76a–77b, mid-twentieth century, cement-bag kraft paper, with cement logo visible on 77a–77b; this is the only spread where the logo is visible; all there other spreads look like 76a–77b

While the materials used in the fashioning of leporellos has changed over the years, what remains constant is the need for a constellation of different acts and actors: someone to produce a blank manuscript (the biblioepigist or bookbinder), someone to rule it and write on it (the scribe), someone else to sponsor the whole process (the donor), and finally someone to whom the merit of the project is dedicated (the dedicatee). This picture is necessarily complicated by the fact that these four roles often overlap and may involve more than one person per role or more than one role per person.<sup>52</sup> The role of the biblioepigist is obscured in Cambodian leporellos, and **UB013** is unique in giving details about an act of restoration. For the roles of the scribe, the donor, and dedicatee, however, we have ample information provided in the colophons of leporellos.

#### **2.4 Scribes, Donors, and Dedicatees: Colophons of Communal Manuscripts**

Buddhist manuscripts often feature a colophon, a statement by the scribe or donor that provides the user of the manuscript with information concerning the who, what, when, where, why, and how of the creation of the manuscript. Colophons in manuscripts across the Buddhist world typically give the name of the donor and/or scribe, the time and/or date of completion, the title and/or contents of the text copied, and often some statement expressing the purpose of copying the text and/or an aspiration for merit and its dedication.<sup>53</sup>

Cambodian manuscripts in both leporello and palm-leaf formats are no exception to this.

Many, though by no means all or even most, Khmer palm-leaf manuscripts contain a short colophon at the end. In the simplest form, such a colophon simply says, “finished” or “completed,” sometimes preceded by the title of the text. On other occasions, the colophon includes an aspiration of the scribe, usually for the attainment of Nibbāna in the future, with or without the title of the text. For certain manuscripts, the colophon comes not at the end but on the first leaf of the manuscript along with the title. This is more common on long, multi-fascicle treatises than for short texts consisting of less than ten or twelve leaves. Another common colophon is simply the name of the scribe, sometimes accompanied by the time or date in which the manuscript was copied. In Cambodian manuscripts, the date is often incomplete; the year, in particular, is often missing.

The colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts thus provide information about the title of the text copied, the time or date it was copied, the name of the scribe, or the aspirations of the scribe, but rarely are all four pieces of information present in a single manuscript. In rare instances, palm-leaf manuscript colophons may also contain other information, including the name of a donor, the place it was copied, an apology for poor handwriting, or a dedication of merit. By and large, however, colophons in Cambodian palm-leaf manuscripts are dry and succinct, if present at all.

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<sup>52</sup> This is before even considering the roles of authors and as well as the now-lost manuscripts or memories any given text in a leporello was copied from.

<sup>53</sup> For comparable examples, see Apiradee Techasiriwan, “Locating Tai Lü and Tai Khün Manuscripts in Space and Time through Colophons”; Heinz Braun, “The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 27 (2002): 147–153; Hundius, “The Colophons of 30 Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand.”

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By contrast, Cambodian leporellos often contain more varied, detailed, and distinct colophons. Part of this contrast is due to the relatively flexible format of the leporello, which allows for multiple colophons placed all over the manuscript, not simply on the first or last leaf. Another dimension that shapes the comparatively rich colophons of leporellos is their circulation between multiple scribes, donors, performers, and restorers, both inside and outside of monasteries. In other words, the colophons of leporellos reflect their diverse cohort of creators, users, and borrowers.

Among the 70 leporellos, only sixteen do not contain a colophon of any sort. An additional five manuscripts provide a simple colophon, but do not specify who might be the scribe, donor, or dedicatee. Many of these manuscripts lacking colophons altogether or containing only very simple ones are in fact the oldest surviving leporellos from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as highlighted in Table 12 (see *infra*, 708–710). The remaining 49 manuscripts provide not only one or more colophons, but also enough information such that some aspect of the scribe, donor, or dedicatee can be determined. These colophons range in length from less than one line to more than one spread, and contain a wide variety of information that places leporellos in their communal context.

While each colophon is different and reflects the particular constellation of actors and actions that gave rise to the manuscript, leporello colophons tend to follow a stereotyped formula of nine elements.<sup>54</sup> Even when, as is often the case, all nine elements are not present or are spread out across several different colophons in the manuscript, they still tend to follow the following sequence:<sup>55</sup>

- 1) Appeal to take care of the manuscript
- 2) Names of donors and/or scribes
- 3) Location
- 4) Time/date
- 5) Contents of the manuscript
- 6) Purpose of the manuscript
- 7) Apology for mistakes and appeal for correction
- 8) Dedication of merit, including names of dedicatees
- 9) Aspiration/absolution

While many of these elements can be present in palm-leaf manuscripts, leporellos provide the space and flexibility to incorporate this rich array of information, often spread out between several colophons. Sometimes, however, many of these elements are present all in one place.

**UB031** provides a typical example of a colophon (Figure 2.4.1) that contains elements 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9, in that order:

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<sup>54</sup> A quite similar structure is described for Tai Lue inscriptions and colophons in Grabowsky and Apiradee Techasiriwan, “A Note on Tai Lue Wooden Buddha Image Inscriptions and Buddhist Manuscript Colophons from Northern Laos,” 63.

<sup>55</sup> Note that curses upon those who violate a manuscript are not included in this formula; see section 2.6 below.

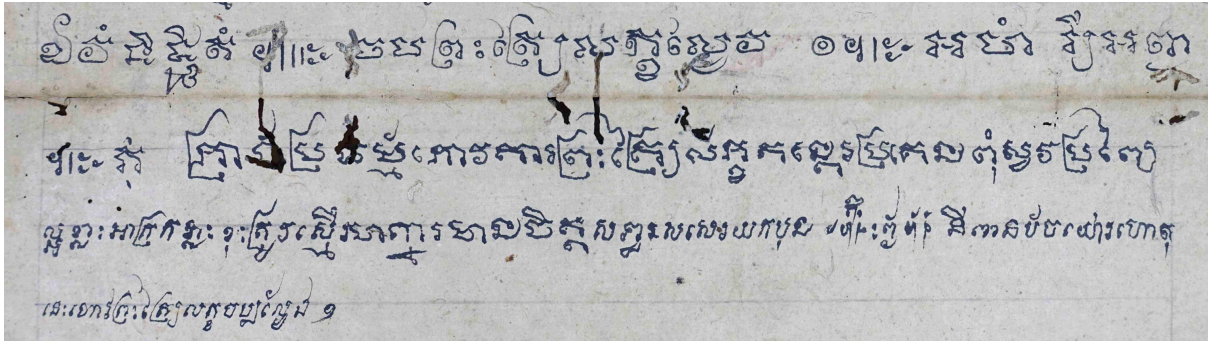


Figure 2.4.1: **UB031** 58a–58b, detail of colophon

*aham* វិអញ ។ កំ ក្រាងប្រធម៌កោរតារព្រះត្រៃលីក្ខកន្តេរប្រគេនពុំសូវប្រព្រៃ ល្អខ្លះអាត្រកខ្លះ ខុះត្រូវស្មើរហ  
គ្នាមានចិត្តសទ្ធារសសេរយកបុន ។ ព្វី ។ *nībānapācay'ohotu*<sup>56</sup>

*Aham* as for me, I<sup>57</sup> [created] this leporello of the *pradhāmm* [**Abhidhammātikā-NP**], *kovatār* (**Ākāravattā A-NP**), *brah trailākkhaṇ* (**trailakkhaṇ «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ purāṇ-k**), and *bhante* (**lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**) as an offering [to the monks]. It is not very beautiful, with good and bad, right and wrong in equal measure. [I created it] with a heart filled with faith in order to receive the merit. *May it be the condition for [my attainment of] Nibbāna.*

The colophon begins with the contents of the manuscript (5), followed by its purpose (6), in this case as an offering to fellow monks in a monastery. This is followed by an apology for its shortcomings (7), and finally a dedication of merit (8), in this case to the scribe himself, and an aspiration for the attainment of Nibbāna (9).

In other leporellos, many of the nine elements are present, but in a slightly different or even overlapping order. **UB028** provides a complex example of how these elements may be woven together in different ways:

ជួបចប់នៅថ្ងៃ ពុធ ៨ រោច ទី ១៤ ខែ បុស្ស ខែ មករា ឆ្នាំ មមៃ ព.ស ២៥៤៧ គ.ស ២០០៤ ។ លោកយាយ « វ៉ាត » ព្រមទាំងបងប្អូន កូនចៅ បានកសាង ក្រាំង គឺវិមាននុស្សត្រមួយក្រាំង សន្សំកុសលតម្កល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ សូមថ្ងៃ ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សាបរិបូរហោង ។ ។ ម.អ.ខ. ទុក្ខំ! គុណគិតរូបំ រូប្យាមៃ។ ទើបខ្ញុំគិតសាងធម៌ព្រះពុទ្ធថ្ងៃ មានទាំងគឺវិមាននុ កៅវ៉ាដា ឥតិបិសោថត ព្រះធម្ម អានត្រ័យ ត្រ័យលក្ខ ស្មាលាផងនៃ គុណគិតសង្វែក ក្នុងខ្លួនពន់ពេក ខំរកច្បាប់ធម៌នេះ ជួលគេចម្លង ទុកសំរាប់ញោមញាតិប្រើតទៅមុខ សំរាប់សូត្រសូមផល្លាអនិសង្ស ទៅខាងមុខ កុំអោយខ្ញុំជួបនឹងសេចក្តីកងទុក្ខ ពីត្រឹមនេះទៅមុខកុំបីជួបឡើយ ខ្ញុំសូមជួបតែសេចក្តីសុខ ហើយចំរើនផង ។ សូមចៀសភ័យ ចៀសទុក្ខវិជុកក្នុងប្រាណ កុំមានវេក បាបទល់ទុក្ខ វេទនា កុំបីជួបឡើយ ។ សូមសងគុណមាតាបិតាត្រាប្រិយ សូមលោកបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបីប្រការដូចចិត្ត កុំអោយក្រក្រី សូមបានដូចសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នាហោង ។ កើតជាតិអនាគតកាល សូមតម្រះដូចនាងអម្រា សូមប្រាជ្ញាដូចព្រះមហោសថ ច្បាស់

<sup>56</sup> **UB031** 58a–58b

<sup>57</sup> For more on this kind of bilingual Pali-vernacular sentence structure, see Chapter 6.

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និងព្រះធម៌ជាតំខ្ពស់ សំរេចព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត សូមបែរក្រោយ អោយ ស័ព្ទសាធុការ កូនចៅ រកស៊ី កើតមាន ត្រជាក់ត្រជុំដូចទឹកអម្រិត មូលមាតាបិតា វង្សត្រកូលដៅសន្តាន កុំបីឃ្លាត ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ នេះហោង ។ មានខុសត្អូអត្តរព្យញ្ជនណាមួយ ព្រះករុណាខ្ញុំបាទ សូមមេត្តាជួយកែចែកផង ។ ឈួន-ធ្នូ ។ ។ ចម្លងក្នុងវត្តពោធិ៍បន្ទាយជ័យ ។<sup>58</sup>

[This act of] magical incantation<sup>59</sup> was completed on Wednesday, the eight waning day of Pussa, the fourteenth of January, Year of the Goat, 2547 BE, 2004 CE [I], Mrs. (“Grandmother”) V”āt, along with my siblings, children, and grandchildren, sponsored one *Girimānanda-sutta* leporello as an act of merit to be established within the dispensation of the Buddha. May it last the full five thousand years. *MA A U dukkham!* After contemplating the body and its faults, I decided to sponsor this leporello of the *Girimānanda-sutta*, *Ākāravatā*, *Itipi so that*, *Abhidhamma*, *Ān trai*, *trailakkha(n)*, and *lā pāp*. After contemplating and being stirred within the body, I strove to find copies of these texts and hired someone to copy them so that they could be established for relatives and friends to use in the future for chanting. May the benefits continue into the future, and may I not face the various forms of suffering from now on. I humbly pray to only encounter well-being and prosperity. May I be free of danger, pain, and suffering in the body, and may I be free of rancorous sins that lead to pain—may I never encounter them. May I repay my debt to my dearest parents, and may they achieve the three attainments in accordance with their wish, may they never be in poverty, and may they achieve everything they aspire to. In whatever life I may be born in the future, may I have intelligence equal to Amarā[devī, i.e the wife of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Mahosatha], may I have wisdom equal to Mahosatha, clarity in the highest levels of the august Dharma, and achieve Nibbāna. Moreover, returning to an earlier subject, may the sounds of rejoicing [in this merit lead] my children and grandchildren to succeed in business and be cooled and quenched, as if by ambrosial waters, along with their parents, relatives, and kin. May all of them never be separated from the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. If there should be any mistakes in the letters or the consonants, I, servant of your grace, humbly request that you kindly correct them as a favor to me. Jhuon Dhū. Copied in Vatt Bodh(i) Pandāy Jāy.

In this case, the date appears first (4), followed by the name of the donor (2), and an initial statement of the purpose of the manuscript (“as an act of merit to be established within the dispensation of the Buddha”) (6). This is followed by a listing of the contents of the manuscript (5) and another statement of purpose (“for relatives and friends to use in the future for chanting”) (6). Then comes a long list of aspirations and absolutions (9) on the part of the donor, alternating with several statements for dedicating the merit to various relatives (8). The colophon concludes with an apology from the scribe for inadvertent mistakes and an appeal for corrections (7), the name of the scribe (2) and the location it was copied (3). In other words, this colophon contains eight of the nine elements, missing only the first element, an appeal to

<sup>58</sup> UB028 55b–56a

<sup>59</sup> Pali/Sanskrit *japa*, i.e. muttering the texts while writing them down to imbue the manuscript with the texts’ magical power.

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take care of the manuscript, which only appears in a handful of leporellos. However, in this case, the colophon weaves these elements into a complex, overlapping order that weaves together statements from the donor and scribe.

In a few cases, the formulaic elements of a colophon are provided not in prose but rather in verse. This is true for **UB045**, which includes two extensive colophons in prose that describe the biography of the scribe and his relatives as well as the date, location, and purpose of the manuscript. In addition to these long prose passages, a third, equally extensive colophon in verse focuses on the donors and the merit they have accrued through their sponsorship of the leporello. The scribe says this poem, consisting of fifteen stanzas in the *brahmagāti* meter, is his own composition. He titles it “Poem Offered as a Souvenir” (*kaṃṇāby jūn anussāvarī(y)*),<sup>60</sup> presumably as a keepsake for the donors:

<b>UB045</b> 48a–48b, 50a	<i>Translation</i>
១	1
០ លោកអុំ ភឿន-គឹមថ័ន្ទ ចិត្តជាក់ស្បែនក្នុងសទ្ធា ព្រមទាំងអុំភរិយា នាមឈ្មោះថា តាន់.គឹមលន់ ។	Mr. Bhīṅ Gīm-cānd, with a clear heart of faith, along with his wife, Mrs. Tān' Gīm-lan'
២	2
ព្រមទាំងបុត្រជីតា ចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាក្រៃពេកពន់ បរិបូណ៌នូវទ្រព្យធន កសាងក្រាំងព្រះធម្មា ។	and their children, all with extremely bright faith, donated their wealth to sponsor a leporello of the august Dhamma.
៣	3
មានធម៌ព្រះអភិធម្ម ធម៌ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់នៃសាស្តា និងធម៌ព្រះកៅវតារ គិរិមាននូវសូត្រផង ។	It contains the <i>Abhidhamma</i> , the highest teachings of the Teacher, and the <i>Ākāravattā</i> , the <i>Girimānanda-sutta</i> ,
៤	4
និងព្រះសូត្រផ្សេងទៀត ខ្ញុំលែង្រៀតដកចម្រង ឱ្យស្របតាមបំណង បរិស័ទគ្រប់គ្រប់គ្នា ។	and various other scriptures. I strove to excerpt and copy them in accordance with the wishes of all Buddhist followers
៥	5
ដំកល់ជាធម្មទាន ក្នុងទីប៉ានវត្តបូព៌ាណា	and establish them as a gift of the Dharma within the grounds of Pūrṇ Monastery,

<sup>60</sup> **UB045** 48a និពន្ធដោយ បណ្ឌិតធម្មាចារ្យ ឡាយ សាំង «កំណាព្យជូនអនុស្សាវរីយ៍» (Composed by the lay Dhamma teacher (*paṇḍit dhammācāry*) Lāy Sāṃh, “Poem offered as a souvenir”).

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សាធុជនដែលត្រូវការ  
ជនអាពាធដែលចង់ស្តាប់ ។

៦

រឺធម៌គិរិមានន្ទ

អ្នកឈឺធ្ងន់ប្រាជ្ញាអ័ប្ប

បើផ្គង់ស្មារតីស្តាប់

នោះនឹងមានគតិល្អ ។

៧

រឺធម៌ព្រះអភិធម្ម

ធម៌ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់បំផុត

បើបានស្នឹងស្មារតីល្អ

អាចកាត់ផ្តាច់វដ្តសង្សារ ។

៨

សង្ខេបធម៌ប៉ុណ្ណោះ

ខ្ញុំត្រិះរិះពិពណ៌នា

សំដែងពីសទ្ធា

ព្រះភក្ត្រវាស្តែងសត្យ ។

៩

*saddhī'dha*

*purīssaṃ seṭṭham*

*dharmo suciṅṅo*

*sukhamācchati.*

១០

រឺបុរសក្នុងលោកនេះ

មានវិសេសទ្រព្យសទ្ធា

ល្អលើសទ្រព្យនានា

ព្រះភក្ត្រវាទ្រង់សំដែង ។

១១

រឺអ្នកសន្សំធម៌

ប្រព្រឹត្តល្អភ្លឺចំពៃឆ្នង

សុចរិតធម៌នោះឯង

តែងនាំមកនូវសុខា ។

១២

សូមជូនពរស័ក្តិសម

ដល់លោកអំទាំងទ្រព្យ

ព្រមទាំងបុត្រជីតា

for the faithful who require them,  
for the ill who want to listen to them.

6

As for the *Girimānanda-sutta*,

the ill, whose wisdom is clouded,

if they can sharpen their awareness and listen [to it],

they can have a favorable rebirth.

7

As for the *Abhidhamma*,

the highest, most supreme teaching,

if one can concentrate [on it] well,

it can cut off saṃsāra completely.

8

Having briefly summarized the texts,

I shall reflect on, describe, and

expound upon faith,

about which the Blessed One truly preached:

9

*In this world, faith*

*is the greatest [wealth] of a man.*

*The Dhamma, once well-practiced,*

*brings forth happiness. (cf. Sutta-nipāta 1.10)*

10

As for men in this world,

their best wealth is faith,

exceeding all other wealth—

thus preached the Blessed One.

11

As for one who cultivates the Dharma,

practicing it well and illuminating it brightly,

this well-practiced Dharma

always brings forth happiness.

12

I humbly offer appropriate blessings

to both Mr. and Mrs. [Gḁm-cānd],

along with their children,

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មានសទ្ធាវិសេសក្រៃ។	who have such great faith,
១៣	13
សុចរិតជឿប្រាកដ	good conduct, firm belief,
ចិត្តបរិសុទ្ធក្នុងត្រៃ	whose hearts are purified in the Three Jewels:
ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ	the Buddha, the precious Dharma,
នឹងព្រះសង្ឃបុណ្យខេត្ត។	and the Sangha, the field of merit.
១៤	14
បច្ចុប្បន្ននឹងទៅមុខ	From now on,
សូមសោយសុខក្នុងសួគ៌ា	may they enjoy the bliss of the heavens
សូមទាន់ព្រះសិរាហ្ស	and may they be born in the time of Maitreya
នាអនាគតនោះផង ។	in the future as well.
១៥	15
សូមដល់ព្រះធម៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត	May they reach the peaceful Dharma,
គឺនិព្វានសុខកន្លង	that is, Nibbāna, of unsurpassed bliss,
ផុតទុក្ខទាំង៤កង	beyond all four types of suffering,
ដោយសារក្រាំងព្រះធម្មនេះ ។	as a result of this leporello of the august Dharma.
ជាអ្នកស្តាប់ក្តី គួរតែប្រតិបត្តិដោយ	For those who are listening, you should practice
គោរពទាំងអស់គ្នា និងបានផល្លានិ	respectfully to achieve many fruits and benefits.
សង្ឃច្រើន ។ អ្នកសរសេរ	Scribe: Lāy Sāṃṇ.
[signature] ឡាយ-សាំង	

This poem, too, contains many of the nine elements. It begins with the names of the donors (2), followed by a brief listing of some of its most important texts (5). This is followed by the name of the monastery where the manuscript will be kept (3) and a statement concerning the purpose of the manuscript (“for the faithful who require them, for the ill who want to listen to them”), along with a description of the benefits of these particular texts (6). The poem then reflects on the importance of faith, and confers a dedication of merit upon the donors (8), one that perhaps reflects their aspirations to be born in the time of Maitreya Buddha and attain Nibbāna (9). A few other colophons contain poems, though none as long or complex as this one, and typically only for the final, ninth element of aspiration and absolution.

Some of the nine elements are self-explanatory: the location, if recorded, usually notes the monastery the manuscript was copied at or donated to. Some manuscripts give the date, or less often the time, when the manuscript was completed. As the twentieth century progressed, notation of the year in such colophons steadily increased, and as a result most manuscripts of the past 50 or 60 years can assigned a secure date. The contents of the manuscript usually take the form of a list of the most salient texts included in the leporello. As witnessed in **UB015** above, however, this list can be incomplete or out of order. Some very recent



manuscripts include a table of contents, complete with page numbers. Perhaps the most distinctive and complex element of leporello colophons is the aspiration and/or absolution of the scribe, donor, or dedicatee, a theme I discuss in detail in Chapter 9 along with the closely related element of the dedication of merit. In the sections that follow, I treat the other complex elements of colophons, namely appeals to take care of the manuscript (2.5), apologies for mistakes and appeals for correction (2.6), and the purpose of the manuscript (2.7). First, however, I examine the names, identities, and roles of the scribes, donors, and dedicatees, the subject of Tables 11 and 12 (see *infra*, 705–710).

These tables elucidate information from the colophons, specifically from the second (names of donors and/or scribes) and ninth (dedication of merit, including names of dedicatees) elements to present a synoptic view of the parts played by various laymen, laywomen, and monks in the creation of leporellos. Viewed as a whole, the colophons bring to life the communal process of manuscript production. As mentioned above, 49 leporellos contain colophons with sufficient information to determine something about the role of at least one scribe, donor, or dedicatee. In some of these cases, however, we know only that such a person or persons exist. We may know their name, but do not know their gender, age, or ordination status. There are seven such scribes and five such donors mentioned in the leporellos. For the remaining cases, however, we can identify a more specific societal position for the scribes, donors, and dedicatees.

What I am calling the “scribe” is the person who inked the texts onto the manuscript. The scribe is rarely named as a scribe; only in one manuscript, **UB067**, is a “scribe” (*smien*, “the person who writes,” from Old Khmer *smēr* via Thai *smien*) mentioned as such, probably in this case a professional scribe.<sup>61</sup> For other manuscripts, the role of the scribe can be identified by the verb connected to a particular subject or subjects. Verbs for scribes, in decreasing order of frequency, include *saraser* (“to write”), *camlañ* (“to copy,” “to transfer from one place to another”), *cār* (“to inscribe”), *jap* (“mutter,” “magically produce via incantation,” “to imbue an object with magical power via incantation,” from Pali/Sanskrit *japa*<sup>62</sup>), and *smēr* (“to write,” “to act as a scribe,” **UB041** only).<sup>63</sup> Combinations of the above are common as well, especially with *saraser*, including *saraser camlañ*, *saraser cār*, and *saraser jap*. The subjects, such as a named man, woman, or monk, that precede these single or compound verbs are the scribes.

Leporellos may have one or more scribes, though most name just one. Nine manuscripts in the set have two main scribes, though sometimes with additional hands providing annotations, corrections, or graffiti. Fifteen of the named scribes are laymen (usually *lok*, rarely *upāsak* or Thai *nāy*).<sup>64</sup> Seven more are *ācāryas*. Four are laywomen, in three cases named as working alongside their husbands and in one case named on her own. Finally, another ten are monastics, including nine monks (*bhikkhu*), among them one abbot (*cau*

<sup>61</sup> សរសេរ; ស្មើរ; សើមីយ

<sup>62</sup> The use of the verb *jap* in this context does not seem to necessarily imply that the scribe is imbued with special powers of efficacy, but rather that the words and letters he or she is writing down contain such magical potency.

<sup>63</sup> សរសេរ; ចម្លង; ចារ; ជប; ស្មើរ

<sup>64</sup> លោក; **UB007** ឧបាសក; **UB006** នាយ / นาย

*adhikār*),<sup>65</sup> as well as one novice (*sāmeṇera*). Scribes thus may be lay or monastic, of varying ranks, and may be women as well, though female scribes are uncommon, particularly in older manuscripts.

As is the case for scribes, there is no common noun to describe a donor or sponsor in the leporello colophons, so we must instead attend to the verbs in use. The main verbs witnessed in the colophons to describe the act of sponsoring the creation of a leporello are *sāñ* and *ka sāñ*, both of which mean “to build,” “to construct,” “to cultivate [merit],” or “to sponsor.”<sup>66</sup> These verbs imply that the donor provided money for the cost of materials as well as the labor of the scribe. They also suggest, although not in a strict sense, that the donor instigated, commissioned, and/or supervised the process of the leporello’s creation, rather than simply purchasing one that a scribe had already completed and made available for sale. In the latter case, the preferred verb is *jāv* (Old Khmer *jau*, “to barter; to purchase”),<sup>67</sup> which in modern Khmer is generally reserved for the selling or buying of religious objects. In Thai, the equivalent is *jau*,<sup>68</sup> which primarily means “to rent” but can also mean “to purchase a religious object.” In either case, *jāv* and *jau* suggest a respectful distance from the crudeness of ordinary commerce and possession, as if religious objects, such as buddha images, monastic robes, and manuscripts, cannot really be bought and sold in the same way as everyday things. In addition to the verbs *sāñ*, *ka sāñ*, and *jāv*, a few leporellos use more complex expressions to explicitly state that the donor paid a scribe for his—or, more rarely, her—labor. **UB028** notes that the donors “hired others to copy” (*juol ge camlan*) the leporello, while **UB039** very similarly states they “hired others to write” it (*juol ge saraser*).<sup>69</sup>

Single or multiple individuals—or even involve a whole community—may sponsor the creation of a leporello. Of the donors mentioned in the colophons, thirteen are laymen (*lok*, in the sense of “Mr.,” or *upāsaka*), among them one high-ranking male dignitary (*anak ukñā*).<sup>70</sup> Three additional donors are *ācāryas*. In comparison to the scribes, fewer named donors are monks: only seven, of whom five are high-ranking, including one assistant vice-abbot (*grū sūtr chveñ*), one vice-abbot (*grū sūtr stām*), and three abbots (*cau adhikār*). Moreover, more donors are women (fourteen), usually notated as *lok srī* or *upāsikā*. In addition, six colophons note that the children and grandchildren of the main donor also contributed, and two more record that friends and relatives contributed as well. Ten colophons list more than two donors, with one manuscript, **UB032**, recording fifteen donors by name. Sponsorship of leporellos is thus often a communal effort.

The final role involved in the creation of leporellos is that of the dedicatee, the person or persons to whom the merit of producing the leporello is dedicated. Unlike the role of a scribe or a donor, where the verb used elucidates the role of those mentioned in the colophon,

<sup>65</sup> ចៅអធិការ

<sup>66</sup> សាង; កសាង

<sup>67</sup> Modern Khmer ជាំ; Philip N. Jenner, *A Dictionary of Pre-Angkorian Khmer* (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2009), s.v. *jau*.

<sup>68</sup> เช่า

<sup>69</sup> ជួលគេចម្លង; ជួលគេសរសេរ

<sup>70</sup> អ្នកឧកញ៉ា

it is not always clear from the specific word choice who the dedicatee is. In some cases, the word *uddis* (literally “to point out,” but in this context “to dedicate” or “to transfer merit”) makes the dedication of merit clear. In other cases, the dedication is marked by a variety of phrases beginning with *sūm* (“to humbly request”), such as *sūm oy* (“to humbly request that...”), *sūm prāthnā oy* (“to humbly make the aspiration that...”), or *sūm samrec nūw* (“to humbly wish to attain...”).<sup>71</sup> In many cases, the dedicatees are explicitly specified, particularly when they are the donors, the relatives of the donor, or the relatives of the scribe. In the case of the dedicatee being the scribe himself, particularly if the scribe was also the sponsor, this dedication is more often implied than specifically stated.

The dedicatees are often multiple—three or more are specified in ten of the leporellos. In these cases, sometimes multiple donors are named, along with broader categories, including “all Khmer ancestors” (*pubbapuras khmèr grap' camnān*).<sup>72</sup> Unlike other dedications across the Buddhist world, however, dedications in leporellos colophons do not often include the category of “all sentient beings,” but instead focus on more specific human beneficiaries. Among other dedicatees, one manuscript, **UB047**, first petitions all who read the manuscript to take good care of it, and then dedicates the merit to these very readers and custodians. As is common in palm-leaf manuscripts, the primary beneficiary in many leporellos is the scribe or scribes themselves; twenty-two colophons make such a dedication. But leporello colophons also give substantial emphasis to the broader community beyond the individual scribe or scribes. Seven colophons give dedications to the donors who sponsored the manuscript, while another seven confer merit upon the relatives of either the donor or the scribe. One manuscript, **UB023**, even dedicates its merit to a couple of unknown relation to the scribe, one of whom seemed to have passed away during or shortly after the process of creating the leporello, suggesting that the scribe created this leporello for someone who already had an advanced illness.

The scribes, donors, and dedicatees form one aspect of the communal network that shapes the production, performance, and transmission of leporellos. Before them comes the little-understood role of the bibliopagist, and after them often comes a long chain of performers, borrowers, returners, annotators, refurbishers, curators, and librarians. The names of some of these actors, as furnished by the colophons, provides us with one vantage point for understanding leporellos as communal objects. Other parts of the colophons, including appeals to take care of the manuscript, apologies for mistakes and appeals for correction, and statements concerning the purpose of the manuscript, provide additional angles from which to see how leporellos connect scribes, performers, annotators, and the listening audience.

## 2.5 Appeals to Take Care of Manuscripts

As witnessed above, leporello manuscripts are fragile, vulnerable to wear from use and

<sup>71</sup> សូម; សូមឲ្យ; សូមប្រាថ្នាឲ្យ; សូមសម្រេចនូវ

<sup>72</sup> **UB009** 2a បុព្វបុរសខ្មែរគ្រប់ជំនាន់, i.e. *jamnān'* ជំនាន់

circulation as well as to catastrophic damage from humidity and insects. A number of scribes were cognizant of this situation and took it upon themselves to petition future readers, performers, and curators to look after the manuscript in their hands so as to protect it from damage. A total of six leporellos contain colophons including such appeals, generally at the beginning of the main colophon or elsewhere in the manuscript.

Some of these appeals are quite simple. **UB062** includes one that reads, “Treat [this manuscript] gently, please.”<sup>73</sup> Others are more specific, petitioning the reader to keep the leporello clean and protected so as to extend its useful life. The scribe of **UB001**, for instance, writes, “Please help take care of [this manuscript] to keep it clean and beautiful,” and **UB012** says “Please protect [this manuscript] so that it lasts for a long time.”<sup>74</sup> Still others, such as **UB060**, make a polite but firm request to those who use the manuscript in the future, saying, “I humbly and respectfully ask all of you to please help take care of [this manuscript] and treat it gently—thank you.”<sup>75</sup> In this particular leporello, the request is repeated four times throughout the manuscript, on spreads 3b, 26a, 38a, and 54b. Finally, in **UB042**, the appeal is quite specific, requesting that future users protect the manuscript by keeping it clean, intact, dry, away from fire, and away from children:

*សូមជួយថែរក្សា - កុំឲ្យប្រឡាក់ - កុំឲ្យរំហែក - កុំឲ្យទទឹកទឹក - កុំឲ្យភ្លើងឆេះ - កុំឲ្យភ្នែងលេង អរគុណទុកជាមុន  
ចំពោះលោកអ្នកដែលបានជួយថែទាំគ្រាន់នេះ ។*<sup>76</sup>

Please help protect and take care of [this manuscript]—don’t let it get dirty, don’t let it tear, don’t let it get wet, don’t let it catch fire, and don’t let kids play with it. Thank you in advance for your help in looking after this leporello.

What is common to all of these requests is the foresight of the scribe to imagine that the manuscript he or she worked so hard to create would soon be in the hands of others and circulated throughout monastic and lay contexts for decades to come. These appeals connect the scribe to the communities in the future that will engage with this particular leporello. These communities are addressed humbly and with kindness, rather than by threatening those who destroy manuscripts with a curse. Such curses are common in Angkorian inscriptions and in other parts of Southeast Asia, but they appear to be entirely absent in the leporellos.<sup>77</sup> This is largely because of the centuries-long decline in the use of curses in manuscripts and inscriptions, but perhaps also partially because of how scribes were aware that the danger to

<sup>73</sup> **UB062** 67a ជួយថែរក្សា

<sup>74</sup> **UB001** 2a–2b សូមមេត្តាជួយថែរក្សាឲ្យបានស្អាតល្អផង; **UB012** 67a សូមជួយរក្សាឲ្យបានយូរ; cf. the very similar appeal on **UB047** 49b យើងខ្ញុំសូមគោរពជូនអស់លោក - សូមអស់លោកមេត្តា ជួយថែរក្សាឲ្យបានយូរឆ្នាំទៅហោង (“We humbly and respectfully ask that you please help take care of and protect [this manuscript] so that it may last for a long time”).

<sup>75</sup> **UB060** 26a ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យសូមគោរពលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់មេត្តាជួយថែរក្សាជួយថែរក្សាសូមអរគុណ ។

<sup>76</sup> **UB042** 49a–49b

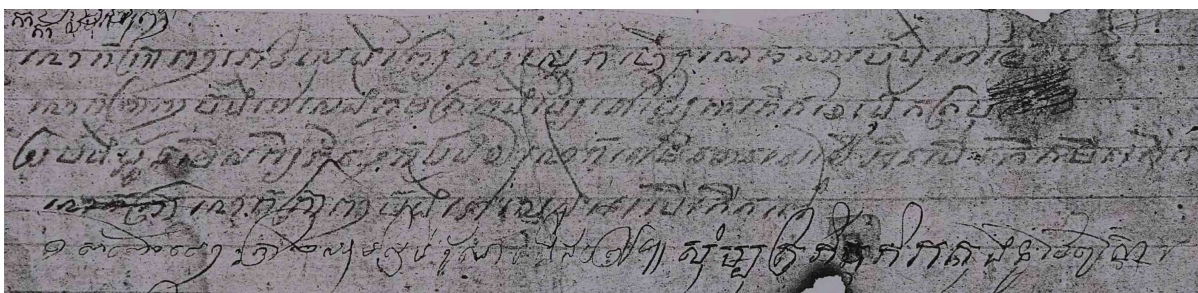
<sup>77</sup> On such imprecations in Old Khmer and Sanskrit inscriptions, see Kunthea Chhom, “Le rôle du sanskrit dans le développement de la langue khmère: Une étude épigraphique du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2016), 158–191.

their manuscripts was not likely to come from a malicious outsider so much as from a careless member of their own community. Thus these appeals resound with “please” and “thank you,” for they comprise one aspect that makes chanted leporellos communal objects, whose use is not confined to a particular person or monastery.

In some cases, however, these appeals to take care of the manuscript were not heeded. Most of the damage suffered by leporellos, including from water, fire, mold, and insects, appears to be due to accidental rather than willful neglect. Nonetheless, a number of leporellos contain extensive graffiti,<sup>78</sup> i.e. additional writing not done by one of the main scribes and that does not constitute a chanted text, a colophon, or a ritual instruction. By and large these graffiti include short notes, signatures, and sketches that do not pertain to the main texts or rituals conveyed by a manuscript. In other words, they are not signs of active reading or annotation, but rather are the result of either someone needing paper to write some piece of information down or someone wanting to leave their mark on the manuscript. In some cases, the graffiti is nothing more than someone’s name (who is not the scribe, the donor, or the dedicatee) signed once or dozens of times, like someone practicing their autograph. Although we could consider them a form of “damage,” they are in fact quite useful in seeing how leporellos function as communal manuscripts. In particular, these forms of graffiti provide evidence for the circulation of manuscripts within and beyond the monastery—and apparently often beyond the protective eyes of the owner.

In some cases, those who added graffiti to a particular manuscript seemed to be using the leporello as a vehicle for personal notes, including notes to be circulated. One example of a personal note appears on the spread fold between the final colophon in **UB010**, where a short message in a different hand and ink color reads, *sne(h) ūn min bhlec sralāñ ūn min bhlec* (“I love you and won’t forget you, darling. I adore you and won’t forget you, darling”).<sup>79</sup> This love note may have not been intended for circulation; it is possible that its author merely wanted to profess his love somewhere, and a leporello was the most convenient location.

**UB069** contains a series of notes that provide more specific evidence for their circulation (Figure 2.10.1 below). They are written in rather messy handwriting—possibly in several hands—that is difficult to read in parts. My interpretation is therefore quite tentative.



<sup>78</sup> For an analysis of graffiti at Angkor Wat, see Penny Edwards, “Subscripts: Reading Cambodian Pasts, Presents, and Futures through Graffiti,” in *Expressions of Cambodia: The Politics of Tradition, Identity, and Change*, ed. Leakthina Chan-Pech Ollier and Tim Winter (London: Routledge, 2006), 23–36.

<sup>79</sup> **UB010** 64a ស្នេហាអូនមិនភ្លេច ស្រឡាញ់អូនមិនភ្លេច

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Figure 2.5.1: Detail of graffiti notes found on **UB069**, spread 20b

១ ថ្ងៃ ១ ៦ ឆ្នាំម្សិញខ្សឹត្រងក្សក៏ថ្ងៃ ៥ ខែ ១១ នេះកិក្ខុក្រាញកុំននៅវេលស្គាងសូមបានជ្រាព្វ ធ្វើរមកបងទេះនៅ ភូមបឹងនាឲ្យមកលេង

លោកក្រាញទៅវលែងព្រៃឈើស្តែកហ្សើលោកណារបឹង ទៅ...លោកក្រាញចំងទៅលេងភូមត្រពាំងជ្រូនៅ ថ្ងៃព្រហស្បតិ៍ខែរដុកត្របុតឲ្យបងផ្លូវមើលអ្សរវិនទុកផងលោកនៅមិនបានទេ ។ អីនលីកើតមិនកើត អាក ក្រាញលោកក្រាញចំងទៅលេងអាលីកើតនៅ ១ សាញឈ្មោះក្រាញយុមស្រមមីខ័ណជើងព្រៃ ។

សុំម្សត្រកិក្ខុកិកគុំនូវវេលស្គាង ១ តុំម្សត្រលោកកិក្ខុកិកនូវវេលស្គាង ឃុំមស្រមី ខណ្ឌស្កុន ខែត្រកុំមពុំចាមធ្វើរ មកឈ្មោះអ្នកទេះនាងទេះសម្ភានជាតុំម្សីនូវវេលនាសុកសារព្យជាទេ ឬ<sup>80</sup>

Sunday, the first waning day of the first month, year of the snake, first of the decade, that is the fifth day of the eleventh month [of 1928 CE].<sup>81</sup> This is what Bhikkhu Krāñ, residing in S'āñ monastery, kindly asks to be sent to brother Deḥ in Pīñ Nāy° village so that [he] comes over to visit.

Venerable Krāñ is going to vist Braiy° Jh(a) tomorrow, should any other monks wish to go... Venerable Krāñ wishes to visit Trabāñ Jaiy° village on the third waxing day of Phuktraput (Bhadrapad), so may his siblings look after his things, as he cannot remain here. Has Lī been born yet? Venerable Krāñ wishes to visit; has Lī been born yet? [Signed by?] Krāñ in Sram"a commune, Jön Braiy° district.

This is the letter of Bhikkhu Kik in S'āñ monastery. This is the letter of Bhikkhu Kīk in S'āñ monastery, Sram"a commune, Sgan' district, Kampong Cham province, sent to Mr. and Mrs. Deḥ; please inform me in the future how [you both] are doing.

Although I am unable to discern the precise relationship between the three paragraphs above, they read like messages to be sent back and forth between monks and laypeople in various provinces and villages. Like the love note in **UB010** above, reading these instances of graffiti in **UB069** is akin to overhearing a conversation from the past. We don't know the relationship between the two fellow monks, Krāñ and Kik, nor do we know their relationship to Mr. Deḥ, Mrs. Deḥ, and Lī. The toponyms mentioned in Kampong Cham province are largely still current today; Sram"a commune in Jön Braiy° (Jön Brai) district still essentially borders Pīñ Nāy (Pīñ Nāy) commune in Braiy° Jh(a) (Brai Jhar) district.<sup>82</sup> Even if the details remain hazy, leprellos appear to be a part of epistolary history, and they may have occasionally served as a

<sup>80</sup> **UB069** 19a–20b

<sup>81</sup> 1868/1869 and 1928/1929 are the only possible Gregorian dates for “year of the snake, first of the decade,” as 1988/1989 is too late and 1808/1809 is too early. However, the Gregorian and lunar dates do not match for any of these dates. If we ignore the Gregorian month and date (November 5th), then “Sunday, the first waning day of the first month, year of the snake, first of the decade” corresponds to 1869 C.E., but 1869 is too early for Kampong Cham to exist as a province that includes Jön Brai as a district within it, rather than a separate province. Therefore, November 5th, 1928 is the only feasible date.

<sup>82</sup> ឃុំស្រមី ស្រុកជើងព្រៃ ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម; ឃុំបឹងនាយ ស្រុកព្រៃឈរ ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម

trusted medium for communication.<sup>83</sup> These bits of graffiti thus reinforce the notion that leporellos were communal objects of circulation inside and beyond the monastery.

### 2.6 Apologies and Appeals for Correction

Scribes were not only cognizant of the dangers lurking on the outside, ready to bring a watery or fiery end to the fruit of their labors. They were also conscious of threats from within their own leporellos, specifically any flaws in their handwriting, spelling, and transmission of the texts. They knew that others would read their work, and some scribes took it upon themselves to apologize for their mistakes and appeal to others to make corrections. Eleven leporellos contain such appeals to their future community of users.

In their simplest form, these appeals are no more than an apology. **UB048** concludes its transmission of one text with the following in small letters: “Please forgive me.”<sup>84</sup> In other cases, such as **UB013**, no apology is provided per se, but we encounter the scribe’s caveat that his handwriting is unfortunately inelegant: “I have only just begun to learn to write. My handwriting is not beautiful, as I have studied writing just once.”<sup>85</sup> In a number of colophons, a stock expression is used to express the infelicities in one’s penmanship, namely *vāt’ jōn sīn tak’ vāt’ sak’ sīn chgan* (“the subscripts are drawn incorrectly, and the top of the letters are drawn mistakenly”).<sup>86</sup> One such colophon occurs in **UB031**: “These letters are not so elegant; the subscripts are drawn incorrectly, and the top of the letters are drawn mistakenly. Whether correct or incorrect, I followed what the others [wrote].”<sup>87</sup> In this case, the scribe insists that, his own sloppiness aside, he strove to maintain the texts as transmitted in the old manuscript he was copying from, rather than trying to make corrections.

Other colophons take a similar approach by apologizing for their inelegance while also insisting that the errors in the texts themselves were already present in the reference manuscript. For instance, **UB014** addresses the future community of users, acknowledges its potential sloppiness and mistakes, and then suggests that errors in the texts themselves were not corrected:

ខ្ញុំសូមជុំវិញសូរលោកអ្នកដែលបានមកសូតសំដ្ឋងក្នុងក្រាំងនៃសូមវណ្ណិតកុំថាស្បត្យុទ្ធខ្ញុំសំសេរចម្លែងនៃក្លែកវង្ស  
តមើលឃើញព្រលា មិនត្រឹមត្រូវតាមបន្ទាត់ មិនសូវឱ្យយរស ទ្រេរ ត្នាច្បាប់គ្រឿកក៏ច្រើនតង្គ<sup>88</sup>

I humbly inform all of you who have come to chant and perform from this leporello:  
please take pity on me and don’t complain, for I copied this with darkened and blurry

<sup>83</sup> My thanks to Penny Edwards for suggesting this to me.

<sup>84</sup> **UB048** 42b សូមអភ័យទោ [sic]

<sup>85</sup> **UB013** 79a ទើបនឹងរៀនសសេម្យតង់ទៀ [purple ink] អក្សរមិនល្អទៀហ [ទើបនឹងរៀនសសសេម្យតង់ទៀ]

<sup>86</sup> វាត់ជើងសីងតក់ វាត់សក់សីងតង្គង់. Kun Sopheap helped me understand the sense of the word *vāt’* here, which in this context means “to draw in a sweeping motion,” referring to how one writes the tails of certain subscripts (*jōn*) as well as the “hair” (*sak*) that forms the upper portion of many consonants. When these tails are curved in the wrong direction, confusion between letters easily arises.

<sup>87</sup> **UB031** 77a អក្សរនេះនៃមិនសូវប្រព្រៃ វលជើងសីងតង្គីវលសកសីងតង្គង់ ខុះត្រូវត្នាគ្រឿ

<sup>88</sup> **UB014** 97a

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vision and did not always respect the ruled lines or the distinction between long (*dīgha*) and short (*rassa*) vowels. I followed the texts of others but they were often erroneous.

Here the unknown scribe asks for compassion from those who would read and perform the leporello, offering an excuse for why he or she veered from the straight lines of the ruling and for why the vowel length, crucial in the recitation of Pali texts, was not respected. Finally, the scribe notes that the old manuscript or manuscripts he or she worked from had many mistakes, perhaps in an effort to deflect criticism away from the scribe or to show his or her deference to the tradition of past manuscripts.

In other colophons, however, the scribe makes it clear that he did, in fact, correct the texts as found in the reference manuscript. One such colophon is found in **UB009**:

សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា: អត្ថបទធម៌ដែលខ្ញុំចម្លងនេះ តាមច្បាប់ដើមទាំងស្រុង ដោយគ្រាន់តែសម្រួលត្រង់ចំនុចខ្លះឱ្យ ត្រឹមត្រូវទៅតាមភាសាបាលី ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យលោកអ្នកចេះដឹងទាំងឡាយ មេត្តា ខិត្តិ អភ័យទោស រាល់ ចំនុចខ្លះខាតទាំងឡាយ មេត្តាជួយកែតម្រូវ ដោយអនុគ្រោះផង ។<sup>89</sup>

Please be informed: for the Dharma texts copied here, I have copied them in accordance with the original manuscript completely, only making minor edits in some places to make it correct according to the Pali language (*bhāsā pālī*). Moreover, I request all of you knowledgable people to have kindness and patience, and to forgive me for my mistakes and omissions. Please help to correct it out of your compassion.

As in previous colophons, the scribe humbly addresses the community of future users. He expresses his fealty to the lineage of textual transmission, while also admitting that he corrected the Pali in several passages. Unlike the colophons surveyed above, however, he also invites his knowledgable audience of readers and performers to kindly correct any mistakes.

Such appeals for correction appear in numerous colophons. One simple example is from **UB027**, whose scribes make this request of those who use their leporello: “If there is anything missing, please help repair and restore it.”<sup>90</sup> **UB006** uses a variant on the stock phrase discussed above to articulate the same kind of appeal for correction: “The subscripts are drawn incorrectly, and the top of the letters are drawn mistakenly. Should anyone read this, please help correct it as a favor to me.”<sup>91</sup> **UB011** makes a similar request, but adds an element of seeking forgiveness: “If I have written in excess or with the wrong consonants in any way, please forgive me and help to correct it.”<sup>92</sup> In each case, the scribe or scribes appeal to the community to correct their manuscript. They do not reveal precisely why they are concerned with a correct text, but their appeals suggest that they prefer the potential embarrassment of their manuscript being emended to the fault of letting their errors stand

<sup>89</sup> **UB009** 2a

<sup>90</sup> **UB027** 34a បើមានការខ្លះខាតសូមជួយជួសជុលផង

<sup>91</sup> **UB006** 66b តាក់ជើងតក់តាក់សោះសឹងត្រង់ បើអ្នកណាបានមើលហៀវជួយបំពេញផង (“កោន ផ្ការឹន”). Here we see a variant on the stock phrase, using the verb *tāk'* instead of *vā'* (*tāk' jōñ sīñ tak' tāk' sak' sīñ chgāñ* ដាក់ជើងសឹងតក់ ដាក់សក់សឹងត្រង់).

<sup>92</sup> **UB011** 89b បើមានលើសលោះខុះព្យញ្ជៈត្រង់ណាសូមអត់ទោសជួយបំពេញ។។



uncorrected.

Sometimes the scribe admits to serious errors, but instead of correcting them himself, petitions others to rectify them. This is the case for **UB049**, where the monk who copied the manuscript confesses that he is aware that his transmission of a couple of Pali texts is lacking several pages. He writes to the future users of the text:

ចំណែកក្រាងនេះបានចម្លងតាមក្រាងចារគេពីមុនមក ហើយក្រាងចារនោះមានបាត់ពីកន្លែង គឺ ព្រះកេវលីតា ម្ស  
ថ្នាក់ គឺមាននូវម្សថ្នាក់ហើយអាត្មាកាតមិនដឹងថាបាត់ចេះតែសរសេរទៅ ដល់ទៅផ្ទៀងបានដឹងជាបាត់ ហេតុនេះ  
សូមលោកអ្នកដែលបានអាននៅក្រាងនេះបើចាំជួបន្តែមនៅពាក្យនោះតទៅផង សូមអគុណ។<sup>93</sup>

As for this leporello, it was copied from an old leporello that has several missing passages, including one section of *Ākāravattā* and one section of *Girimānanda*. Since I didn't know they were missing, I simply continued writing and only while proofreading them did I notice that those sections were missing. Thus I kindly request all of you who read this leporello to help fill it in in the future. Thank you.

Since the scribe was cognizant of his mistake, he presumably could have corrected it as well, but instead chose to rely on the community of users who will read and perform his manuscript. Scribes of other manuscripts, such as that of **UB026**, confess to similar errors in transmission, but rectify them by inserting pieces of paper with the missing text.<sup>94</sup>

Several other leporellos acknowledge that mistakes in copying are inevitable and invite future users to correct them, articulating this correction as a favor to the scribe and also begging for their forgiveness. For instance, the monk who wrote **UB010** requests corrections in three separate occasions throughout the manuscript. One such passage reads, “Please forgive me, as I cannot write letters beautifully at all. If I have written excess words or am missing words—please correct them as a favor to me. The scribe is the monk Buddhajoto of Nāmarūp Monastery. Thank you, laypeople, and thank you, monks.”<sup>95</sup> The scribes of **UB027** do not explicitly ask for corrections, instead emphasizing an appeal for forgiveness from the transgressions of mistakes or missing words: “I humbly ask for forgiveness from all followers of Buddhism for the work of copying this leporello book, lest it not be appropriate or be missing a Pali word—please be understanding toward me. And this work of copying was not done

<sup>93</sup> **UB049** 34a–35a

<sup>94</sup> See **UB026** 30b–37b, which contains the text of **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoh-r**, including footnotes from the printed edition it was copied from, with an inserted piece of brown paper on spread 35 (now mostly torn away) and another on spread 37, each recording parts of the text initially skipped by the scribe (introduced by ខ្ញុំសរសេរខ្លះ សូមមើលបន្តិះដូចតទៅនេះ).

<sup>95</sup> **UB010** 64a សូមអភ័យទោសចែកអត្ថាកាតផងពីព្រោះខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាត្មាកាតសរសេរអក្សរមិនបានស្អាតទេ បើមានពាក្យលើឬខ្លះសូមឱ្យបំពេញ  
ចែកផង អ្នកសរសេរគឺភិក្ខុ ពុទ្ធជោត្តោ គង់នៅវត្តនាមរូប ។ សូមអគុណ និងសូមអព្រះគុណ ។. Other similar passages in this manuscript  
include 48b (សូមអគុណ និងសូមអព្រះគុណ ។ សូមអភ័យទោសចែកអត្ថាកាតផង បើសរសេរទៅលើសពាក្យខ្លះសូមឱ្យបន្ថែមចែកផង។  
[“Thank you, laypeople, and thank you, monks. Please forgive me if I have written excess words or am missing  
words—please correct them as a favor to me”]) and 64b (សូមខន្តិអភ័យទោសចំពោះអ្នកមើលបើអត្តៈព្យញ្ជនៈមិនគ្រប់ឬខ្លះ ឬមួយ  
ជាលើស សូមអោយកែសំរួលចែកផង សូមអគុណ និងសូមអព្រះគុណ).

beautifully at all.”<sup>96</sup> In both **UB010** and **UB027**, the scribes seek absolution from the future readers of their work.

By contrast, several colophons from **UB062** emphasize seeking forgiveness from the Three Jewels for mistakes in the leprello, rather than from readers. For one of these colophons, the *ācāry* who wrote the manuscript included the following petition:

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានក្លាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណា ម្យ៉ាងទៀតគ្រាំងចាស់ដើមសរសេរមានក្លាត់ខុះខ្លះ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាបានកែជួសពាក្យនឹងឃ្លោងឃ្លាខ្លះ ហេតុនេះខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមបរាណាខមាទោសសូមព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ មេត្តាខន្តីអភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំករុណាអាចារ្យហ៊ីផង ។<sup>97</sup>

I, servant of your grace, humbly bow down in offering to the virtues of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, and humbly ask for forgiveness of my faults, lest I, servant of your grace, have mistakenly written the wrong letters or consonants of the Pali scriptures (*brah pālī*).<sup>98</sup> Moreover, as the old leprello contained some mistakes, I, servant of your grace, have corrected and emended some passages. Therefore I, servant of your grace, request for forgiveness from the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha to have kindness, patience, and absolution for me, servant of your grace, *ācāry* Hī.

Hī’s language of supplication, repeated in other colophons throughout the manuscript, highlights how he seeks forgiveness for two kinds of faults. First, he inevitably made mistakes in copying texts. Second, he emended some of the texts when copying them from old manuscripts. For each of these transgressions, either against the texts themselves or the manuscripts that transmitted them, he seeks forgiveness, not from other readers, but rather from the Three Jewels.

In another colophon from the same manuscript, *ācāry* Hī makes a very similar petition, but then adds a coda in which he invites monastics to correct his mistakes:

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានក្លាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ មេត្តាខន្តីអភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាចារ្យហ៊ីផង។ អធិដ្ឋាន ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគោរពព្រះគុណម្ចាស់គ្រប់ព្រះអង្គបើឃើញខុះមេត្តាជួយកែផង ។<sup>99</sup>

<sup>96</sup> **UB027** 72b ខ្ញុំសូមអភ័យទោសដល់ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទទាំងឡាយ ក្នុងការចម្លងសៀវភៅក្រាំងនេះ ក្រែងពុំសមរម្យឬមានការខ្លះខាតនូវសព្វបាលីណាមួយសូមអធ្យាស្រ័យដល់ខ្ញុំផង ហើយការចម្លងនេះក៏ពុំបានស្អាតល្អនៅឡើយដែរ ។

<sup>97</sup> **UB062** 53a. See also the similar colophon on spread 49b: ជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានក្លាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សង្ឃ មេត្តាអត់ទោសផង ។

<sup>98</sup> On this term in Thai (*brah pālī* พระบาลี, i.e. *phra pālī*) and its use in the early Rattanakosin era, see Skilling, “King Rāma I and Wat Phra Chetophon: The Buddha-Sāsanā in Early Bangkok,” 336–346.

<sup>99</sup> **UB062** 76b

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I, servant of your grace, humbly bow down in offering to the virtues of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, and humbly ask for forgiveness of my faults, lest I, servant of your grace, have mistakenly written the wrong letters or consonants of the Pali scriptures. May the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha be kind, patient, and forgiving towards me, servant of your grace, *ācāry* Ħī. Aspiration (*adhittān*). I, servant of your grace, humbly and respectfully request all venerable monks to kindly correct any mistakes they see.

Unlike other scribes, *ācāry* Ħī, largely writing in the 1990s, emphasizes forgiveness from the Three Jewels and corrections only from monastics, rather than fellow laypeople. Most other scribes, however, seem to be more invested in the community that will read and perform their manuscript in the future, whether they be inside or outside of the monastery. Some scribes use colophons to reach out to their readers, as if wanting to be noticed, remembered, and invited to partake in the continuing process of making merit. One such colophon appears in **UB049**:

វិទូអក្សរ វត្តជើងសិវតក់ វត្តសក់សិវត្តងអសលោកមើលហោង ដម្រងឲ្យទានផង ។ បើខុះត្រងណា សូមលោកមេត្តា បញ្ចូលឲ្យផង កំមើលបំណាំ ដល់ក្រាំងនេះហោង ដល់ខ្លួនខ្ញុំផង ជាភារក្ខ័សរសេរ ។ មិនចេះលើកទេពាក្យកាព ចេះតែធ្វើឲ្យកើតទៅៗ។<sup>100</sup>

As for the letters themselves, the subscripts are drawn incorrectly, and the top of the letters are drawn mistakenly. Please, all of you, rectify them as a favor to me. If [I have made] any oversights, please kindly fill them in. Don't be indifferent, neither to this leperello nor to me, its scribe. I don't know how to compose poetry; I simply make it up as I go along.

This passage incorporates many elements already witnessed above, including the stock phrase about sloppy handwriting, an appeal for correction, and an excuse for the scribe's mistakes. Most strikingly, however, is the phrase in which he begs future users not to be apathetic or "indifferent" (*mōl paṇṇām*) to the scribe, a monk, and the leperello he produced. The tone is not the blatant piety of *ācāry* Ħī, witnessed above. The monk instead petitions those who partake in the future life of the manuscript to honor its maker by correcting any mistakes. In requesting others to be emotionally invested in the texts and the physicality of the leperello, the scribe reveals how such manuscripts are expected to make connections, both karmic and social, between those who fashion and sponsor them and those who use them in years to come.

The karmic connections between authors and performers, curators and borrowers, and scribes and sponsors are emphasized in some of the texts in the leperello corpus. One example appears in **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**, a text that appeared in **UB015**, the leperello unpacked in section 2.2 above. In this passage, the author, *ācāry* Hun, implores those who encounter his text in the future to not only forgive him for any mistakes but also to correct his composition so as to make it better:

<sup>100</sup> **UB049** 35a

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<p>៤៤          សម្តែងផលនេះណា          សង្ខេបដោយទំនុក          ជាផលខ្ញុំទៅមុខ          ទុកគ្រាន់មើលពីងឆ្នើនចិត្ត ។</p>	<p>44          This explanation of the fruits          has been abbreviated according to convention          as a fruit for me in the future,          set down as sufficient for seeking refuge and chastising the mind.</p>
<p>៤៥          បើលោកអ្នកណាមើល          កុំថាព្រើលសូមអាណិត          ក្រែងខុសពុំសុចរិត          ពុំសូវត្រូវតាមលំអាន ។</p>	<p>45          If any of you should read this,          don't call it immature; please take pity on me,          since I fear I may be wrong, corrupt,          or not so correct according to tradition.</p>
<p>៤៦          ដ្បិតខ្ញុំប្រាជ្ញាតិច          XXXXបុរាណ [កត់សរសេរខុសបុរាណ]          ពុំត្រឹមត្រូវដោយជាន          គន្លងលោកអំពីមុន ។</p>	<p>46          Since I have but little wisdom,          I may have written against tradition,          not in accordance to custom,          the way of the people of the past.</p>
<p>៤៧          សូមលោកជួយតម្រង់          ឲ្យត្រឹមត្រង់កុំXX [រិះគន់]          យកផលទុកជាទុន          [ជា]គុណលោកខ្ពស់ក្រាសក្រៃ ។</p>	<p>47          Please help rectify it          so it is correct; don't criticize it.          Taking this fruit as a basis          your virtues shall be extremely exalted,</p>
<p>៤៨          ក្រាស់ក្រៃលតតឧបមា          ដូចភោត្រាឆ្លងជលស័យ          យល់ច្បាស់ក្នុងធម៌ថ្លៃ          ថ្លៃដ៏ថ្លៃគុណលោកពុំបាន ។</p>	<p>48          massively large beyond compare,          like a great ship crossing the waters,          for you see clearly into the precious Dharma,          and your virtues cannot be explained.</p>

This passage opens with Hun’s declaration that he composed this text for his own merit, “ a fruit for me in the future.” But he then invites others to participate in his merit-making by correcting the text he authored. Those who follow through with this invitation are promised a passage beyond the ocean of saṃsāra, and virtues so “exalted” they “cannot be explained.” In so doing, Hun suggests that the karmic connection between an author or scribe and those who curate or perform a text in the future are assured. In the following section, I explore a final element of colophons that show yet another aspect of leporellos as communal manuscripts.

### 2.7 Purpose of Leporellos

Many manuscripts include a colophon that expresses the purpose or purposes the scribe or donor had in mind when creating it. Twenty-three of the 70 leporellos in the set contain such an element in at least one of their colophons. In the long colophons presented in section 2.4 above, we already witnessed the three main purposes expressed for leporellos: 1) for the sake of extending the dispensation of the Buddha (cf. **UB028**: “to be established within the dispensation of the Buddha. May it last the full five thousand years”), 2) for the use of monks in a monastery (cf. **UB031**: “as an offering [to the monks]”), and 3) for monks and laypeople to chant in end-of-life rituals (cf. **UB028**: “be established for relatives and friends to use in the future for chanting” and **UB045**: “for the faithful who require them, for the ill who want to listen to them”). Each of these three purposes occurs frequently in the leporellos, with some colophons combining two or all three of them together.

The first purpose, extending the dispensation of the Buddha, is common to both leporellos and palm-leaf manuscripts, and is closely tied to copying manuscripts as an act of merit on the part of the scribe. These colophons suggest that many scribes viewed the Buddha’s words as vital yet vulnerable, and that the act of copying them, again and again throughout the generations, preserves the Dharma and allows the dispensation (*sāsana*) of the Buddha to last its full predicted 5,000 years. To some extent, these declarations are merely formulaic ways of ending a manuscript that are found elsewhere in the Theravada world.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, they still appear to describe a coherent purpose for the continued production of manuscripts.

In many cases, this purpose is expressed in succinct terms. **UB008**, for example, asserts that a couple sponsored this manuscript “to be established for [use] within the dispensation.”<sup>102</sup> Another colophon from **UB031**, separate from the one examined above, furnishes a similar statement: “This is what Ven. Jjotasārīy°mullatthè Gamm wrote, following the monks, for the dispensation, as an act of merit for the future.”<sup>103</sup> The scribes of **UB027** assert that they wrote their manuscript “in offering that it may be kept for study in the dispensation of the Buddha long into the future.”<sup>104</sup> In each of these cases, the colophon states that the leporello is established “for” or “in” the dispensation, without specifying how long the dispensation should last.

In contrast, other leporellos, such as **UB033** and **UB067**, suggest that the purpose of the leporello is to extend the lifespan of the dispensation. **UB033** expresses this only in vague terms, saying that the donors “sponsored this *Girimānanda-sutta* leporello to be established in order to continue the dispensation on into the future, with the limit of the Nibbāna [of images

<sup>101</sup> Veidlinger, *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, 165–167; Hundius, “The Colophons of 30 Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand,” 93.

<sup>102</sup> **UB008** 59a–59b អ្នកបោះពុម្ពនេះបានជូនសេវាដល់ព្រះសាសនា។ A similar statement is found in **UB039**, spread 1b: ១ លោកអាចារ្យ ម៉ក់ - ផាន់ - នឹងយាយឧបាសិកា ក៏និយាយនិមន្ត បានជូនសេវាដល់ព្រះសាសនា ២០០០ ។ ដំកល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ក្នុងភូមិអូលាវ

<sup>103</sup> **UB031** 77a នេះលោកជ្រោតសារីមុល្លថ្មៃតិម បានសរសេរព្យលោកសំរាប់សារស្នា ជាវកុសលត្រូវទៅហោង

<sup>104</sup> **UB027** 72b «.សូមចារជូន ទុករៀនក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាតទៅ។»

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and relics] at the end.”<sup>105</sup> In **UB067**, however, the purpose is more specific, namely for the sake of the dispensation lasting the full 5,000 years:

នេះអ្នកស្ងៀនអ៊ិនស័រសេក្រាង ព្រះធម្មកោវតា រត្នមាលារ សហស្សវណ្ណ ល្អារ គីរីមាណុន ពុទ្ធារព្យាសក្ខ ធម្មយ៉ា  
ក្ខ នេះទុកត្រូវព្រះសាស្តា ឆ្នាំ ៥០០០ ព្រះវសារ<sup>106</sup>

This is the leporello that the [professional] scribe Īn wrote, including *Abhidhamma*, *Ākāravattā*, *Ratanamālā*, *Sahassanaya*, *lā pāṇ*, *Girimānanda*, *Buddhābhiseka*, and *dharma yog*, to be established for the sake of continuing the dispensation for the full five thousand years.

In this case, the statement of purpose is both an expression of the pure intention of the scribe as well as an aspiration that the full length of the dispensation might be achieved.

Finally, in a few manuscripts, this purpose is expressed through a Pali phrase commonly used in Cambodia to pray for the longevity of the dispensation.<sup>107</sup> One example is **UB027**, one of whose colophons includes the following:

thātu ciram buddhasānanam sūmaṅgalam បិតានៅអស់កាលដ៏យូរអង្វែងទៅហោង! thātu ciram  
sataṃ dhammo ធម៌របស់សប្បុរស សូមបិតានៅអស់កាលដ៏យូរទៅហោង! <sup>108</sup>

*Long live the dispensation of the Buddha! May the dispensation of the Buddha last for a long time to come! Long live the Dharma of the good! The Dharma of good people—may it last for a long time to come!*

A more complex articulation of this sentiment occurs in the first prose colophon of the previously discussed **UB045**. After a short biography of the scribe and a record of the date of the manuscript’s creation, the scribe includes a series of short aphorisms in Pali followed by their translation into Khmer:

ព្រះពុទ្ធត្រង់សំដែងថា - dhammadānaṃ sabbadānaṃ jināti ធម្មទានឈ្នះ អស់ទានទាំងពួង ។ -  
dhammaraso sabbarasaṃ jināti រស់នៃធម៌ឈ្នះអស់រសទាំងពួង ។ -taṇhakkhayā sabbadukkhaṃ jināti  
ការអស់ទៅ នៃតណ្ហា ឈ្នះអស់សេចក្តីទុក្ខទាំងពួង «ciram tittthatu buddhasānā sūmaṅgalam បិត  
នៅគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា» <sup>109</sup>

<sup>105</sup> **UB033** 59b–60a ចបនៅថ្ងៃ ។ អង្គារ ១១ កើត ខែហេតុ ឆ្នាំ ១៩៦៤ អាចាយ ។ លោកអាចារយ្យវែន មានសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លា បានផ្តើមផ្តួច បបួលអស់  
ញាតិមិត្តភ្ញាក់ ក៏រសាងគ្រោងព្រះគិរីមាណុននូវសុតនេះទុកសម្រាប់ ត្រីសាស្ត្រាទៅអាណាគត់ កុំណាត់ដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន ជាទ្វីសម្រេច ។ ។ ។ បាន ក៏រសាង  
គ្រោងនេះក្នុងឆ្នាំម្តោះ ។ ១៩៦៤

<sup>106</sup> **UB067** 87a

<sup>107</sup> Alexander von Rospatt pointed out to me that these phrases echo those recited for the daily practice of *ādikarmika bodhisatvas*.

<sup>108</sup> **UB027** 37b–38a

<sup>109</sup> **UB045** 2a

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The Buddha said, “*dhammadānaṃ sabbadānaṃ jīnāti*” – the gift of the Dharma overcomes all other gifts. “*dhammaraso sabbarasaṃ jīnāti*” – the taste of the Dharma overcomes all other tastes. “*taṇhakkhayā sabbadukkhaṃ jīnāti*” – the destruction of craving overcomes all suffering. “*ciraṃ titṭhatu buddhasāsanā*” – may the Buddha’s dispensation last the full 5,000 years.

This passage, in addition to celebrating the gift of the Dharma, expresses a wish for the longevity of the dispensation. More specifically, it translates the *ciraṃ* (“for a long time”) of the Pali into “the full 5,000 years” (*grap’ 5000 vassā*). In each of these cases outlined above, the colophons articulate that the purpose of writing or sponsoring the leporello is to ensure that the teachings of the Buddha are extended to last for the full predicted length of time.

Another, generally separate, purpose articulated in many colophons is that a manuscript is intended to be for the use of monks, often for those of a particular monastery. In other words, these colophons express that the leporello is to be bequeathed to the sangha for safekeeping and for use in ritual performance. Manuscripts available for sale often explicitly state that they are intended to be subsequently donated to the sangha. For example, a late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century leporello in the FEMC photographic archives<sup>110</sup> contains the following colophon:

ព្រះពុទ្ធាភិសេក ធម៌យោកផ្កាញ័រមា នមោមេដៃ បិតម្យទ្វាអស់ បើលោកណាអ្នកណាបានចិតសុទ្ធា ជាវយកទៅ  
ទុកសំរាប់ វត្ស័រក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសានសាក៏សូមលោកនោះអ្នកនោះ បានសំបុត្តិទ្វា ៣ គិតសំបុត្តិស្នូ ១ សំបុត្តិព្រះនិពាន  
១ សំបុត្តិមនុស្សលោក១ ឲ្យដូចសេចក្តីប្រថ្នា ថ្ងៃធ្លាប់ជាវ ៣៥ រៀល ។:០៣៦

[This leporello contains] *brah buddhābhiseka* [**Buddhābhiseka-NP**], *dhaṛm yog* [**dhaṛm yog-bn**], *phcān’ mār* [**phcāñ’ mār-k**], and *namo me jāy* [**Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**], all leafed in gold. If anyone should have a heart of faith, he or she may purchase it to be established for a monastery. May such a person attain the three attainments, that of the gods, of Nibbāna, and of the human realm in accordance with his or her wish. The purchase price is 35 riel.

Here the relevant passage is “to be established for a monastery” (*duk samrāp’ vat(s)*, i.e. *duk samrāp’ vatt*). The same phrase is found in **UB029**, in which the colophon on the cover notes that the donors “sponsored [this manuscript] to be established for Aṅg Siri Monastery.”<sup>111</sup> A colophon in **UB007** is similar, though it also names a specific monk within the monastery, saying that it was “established for the monks of Vatt Ṭamril, especially the Venerable Abbot Līn Dhiem, to use from now on.”<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> My research assistants have low-quality digitized images of the original color slide photographs from the early 1990s, but the manuscript itself is of unknown provenance (though presumably from Kandal or Kampong Cham provinces, Cambodia).

<sup>111</sup> **UB029** 1 ឧបាសក លីម ឧបាសិកាសយ ឧបាសកយិប ឧបាសិកាចៃមព្រមទាំងបុត្រ បានក៏សាងគ្រាន់នេះទុកសំរាប់វត្ត អង្គសិរិ

<sup>112</sup> **UB007** 36b ទុកសំរាប់ព្រះសង្ឃវត្តដំរិល ជាពិសេសព្រះដេជៈគុណាធំចៅអធិការព្រះនាម-ឡឺង-ធៀម ប្រើប្រាស់រៀងទៅទៀត ។

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Some colophons specify the intended monastic use of a leporello. For example, a colophon in **UB062** notes the donors intended to give this manuscript to a monastery to be used in certain rituals performed by monks:

ត្រាំងពុទ្ធាភិសេក្ខនឹងបាតិមោក្ខនេះកើតឡើងដោយសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាលោកគហប្បតិ ង៉ោ អិចយូ នឹងគ្រួសារព្រមទាំង  
ញាតិមិត្ត បានក៏សាងត្រាំងនេះនាំមកវេរប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃគង់នៅវត្ត [blank space] ទុកជាគុកុណានឹងសំរាប់  
ព្រះសង្ឃធ្វើសង្ឃកម្មនឹងធ្វើពុទ្ធាភិសេក <sup>113</sup>

This *buddhābhiseka* and *pātimokkha* leporello was created through the bright faith of the householder Mr. N<sup>o</sup> Īc Yū, along with his family, relatives, and friends, who sponsored this leporello to be offered to the sangha that resides in [blank space] Monastery, to be established as monastic property for the monks to perform *saṅghakamma* and perform *buddhābhiseka* [ceremonies].

The blank space in this formulaic colophon is due to the fact that the donors later chose not to donate this manuscript to a monastery, and it ended up being donated, likely by the scribe, to the FEMC. What the colophon highlights, however, is that the manuscript was originally intended to become monastic property (*garubhanda*) to be used for monks to chant from in two specific rituals, the fortnightly recitation of the *bhikkhuppātimokkha* and buddha image consecrations (*buddhābhiseka*). Other colophons give broader declarations of the purpose of a given leporello. One colophon in **UB004**, for instance, notes that it was copied “in order to be useful for all kinds of followers of Buddhism.”<sup>114</sup> **UB022** gives a somewhat more specific purpose in one of its colophons: “The monk Viön and the teacher Hēn hired me to copy the *Dasajāti* for the sake of the young to learn and memorize.”<sup>115</sup> The “young” (*kmeñ*, i.e. *kmeñ*) here might refer to temple boys (*kmeñ vatt*)<sup>116</sup> or to novice monks.

A few colophons, such as **UB009**, make a much more extensive statement of purpose that encompasses several elements, including for the protection of old texts, as a resource for monastic learning, and for the extension of the lifespan of the Buddha’s dispensation.

អត្ថបទធម៌ធម្មប្បដិយោគ និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក គាថាបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈនេះ ដែលខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាបានចម្លងមកនេះ  
ដែលមានភាពងាយស្រួលដល់បច្ចុប្បន្នតាមដាន អ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោយទាំងឡាយ ដែលមានបំណងសិក្សារៀនសូត្រធម៌  
យោគៗហើយក្នុងការចម្លងត្រាំងនេះឡើង ដោយមានគោលបំណងដូចតទៅ: ១-បំណងថែរក្សាក្បួនច្បាប់  
បុរាណទុកឱ្យគង់វង្សយូរអង្វែង ២-ដើម្បីជំនួយដល់បព្វជិតអ្នកបូសក្នុងសាសនាទូទៅ ទុកជាក្បួនច្បាប់ឱ្យ  
កាន់តែសំបូរឡើង សំរាប់សិក្សារៀនសូត្រឡើង ៣-និងចង់ឱ្យបព្វជិតបានសិក្សាចេះចាំ និង ប្រតិបត្តិតាមមា  
គ៌ានៃ ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាឱ្យបានរៀងរហូតគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា។ <sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> **UB062** 41a–41b  
<sup>114</sup> **UB004** 2a ព្រះគុសិរីសុវណ្ណោ ជាចៅអធិការវត្តប្រាសាទសិរី ជំរុំប្រទ្វីសែន បានឱ្យខ្ញុំចម្លងធម៌ទាំងអស់នៅក្នុងត្រាំងនេះ ដើម្បីជាប្រយោជន៍ដល់ពុទ្ធ  
បរិស័ទទូទៅ។  
<sup>115</sup> **UB022** 75b ភីកវៀន លោកគ្រូហើងប្រើខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាចម្លងធម៌ទាំងអស់ទុកឱ្យគង់រៀនទានទៃញ  
<sup>116</sup> ក្មេងវត្ត  
<sup>117</sup> **UB009** 2a



Chapter 2: Communal Manuscripts

The Dharma texts of *dhammappaṭṭiyog*, *buddhābhiseka*, and *gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa* that I, servant of your grace, have copied here is for the ease of the people in the future with a desire to study and learn [these texts for consecration collectively called] *dharmaṃ yog*. In this work of copying, [I] had the following goals: 1) to take care of and protect the texts and manuals of old such that they might last for a long time, 2) to be of aid to all monastics in this dispensation and to be kept as an ever-improving manual for study and learning, and 3) to facilitate the learning and practice of monastics such that the dispensation of the Buddha may last the full five thousand years.

In this case, the scribe follows the purpose of creating a leporello for the aid of monks in a monastery, as seen in the previous examples, but augments this purpose with a variety of other aims, including to be a resource for studying old texts, to preserve the transmission of such texts into the future, and to increase the longevity of the dispensation. This colophon therefore goes beyond merely stating that the leporello is intended for use by monks in a monastery. It points to a more expansive purpose that encompasses the needs of all who study Buddhist texts and the aid that transmitting such texts renders to the preservation of the religion.

The third commonly expressed purpose in colophons concerns how leporellos may be intended as a material support for monks and laypeople chanting in end-of-life rituals. This purpose is specific but not limited to the sangha, being open to laypeople as well. These end-of-life rituals may include those performed for the ill, the dying, and the dead. In some colophons, this purpose is expressed in discreet terms. In **UB042**, for example, the colophon records that the donors “gathered together to produce the intention to purchase this leporello ([containing] Buddhist texts for the elderly) in order to distribute it as a gift for everyone’s use.”<sup>118</sup> **UB001** makes a similar case, though it uses the phrase “old and sick” (*jarābāt*, i.e. *jarā ābādh*) instead of “elderly” (*cās’ dum*). The colophon in question notes that the donors “sponsored this *Ākāravattā* [leporello] so as to enshrine it within the Buddhist religion and to be [used] for chanting for the old and sick.”<sup>119</sup> Like **UB001**, the already discussed **UB028** explicitly notes that the purpose of the leporello is for chanting, though it does not mention end-of-life rites specifically.<sup>120</sup> Other colophons, such as that of **UB014**, are more direct in asserting that they are intended for end-of-life rituals: “Pèn Ĥun sponsored this leporello for those who are dying.”<sup>121</sup>

The first colophon in **UB060** provides an even more direct and detailed statement that this leporello’s purpose is for chanting in end-of-life ceremonies:

ត្រាំងនេះកើតឡើងដោយសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាលោកយាយគ្រុយ ព្រមទាំងកូនប្រុះស្រីចៅប្រុះស្រី

<sup>118</sup> **UB042** 49b លោកអាចារ្យ ទ្រី-គឹមឡេង-និងឧបាសិកា ស៊ឹម-អេង ព្រមទាំងញាតិមិត្តជិតឆ្ងាយទាំងអស់បានមូលមតិគ្នា ផ្តល់ផ្ដើមគំនិតជាត្រាំង (ធម៌ចាស់ទុំ នេះឡើងសម្រាប់ចែកជូនប្រើប្រាស់រៀងទៅ ។

<sup>119</sup> **UB001** 2a មានសទ្ធាចូលបច្ច័យកសាងព្រះធម៌កៅវតានេះដ៏កល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាផងនឹងសំរាប់សូត្រជវាណតផង។

<sup>120</sup> **UB028** 55b–56a គុណគិតសង្កែក ក្នុងខ្លួនពន់ពេក ខំរកច្បាប់ធម៌នេះ ជួលគេចម្នង ទុកសំរាប់ញោមញាតិប្រើតទៅមុខ សំរាប់សូត្រ “After contemplating and being stirred within the body, I strove to find copies of these texts and hired someone to copy them so that they could be established for relatives and friends to use in the future for chanting.”

<sup>121</sup> **UB014** 118b ប៉ែនហ៊ុនបានក៏សាងត្រាំងនេះសំរាប់លោកអ្នកដែលមានមរណកាពូ

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ទាំងអស់គ្នា បានជាត្រូវនេះនាំមកវេប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃគង់នៅវត្ត ទុកជាគុក្កណធ្វើជាធម្មទានដល់  
ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្យដែលមានជម្ងឺជាទម្ងន់ត្រូវការសូត្រធម៌ឱ្យស្តាប់យកផល្យានិសង្ឃបានដាច់ពារជាសះស្បើយផង ។<sup>122</sup>

This leporello came about through the bright faith of Grandmother Gruy, along with all of her children and grandchildren, who purchased this leporello to offer it to the monks of [blank space] Monastery to become monastic property as a gift of the Dharma for all Buddhist followers who have severe illnesses and would like to have the Dharma chanted for them in order to receive the fruits and benefits, have their vengeful karma cut off, and be completely healed.

This passage provides many more details than the previous examples, namely that such end-of-life chanting 1) is intended for those, including laypeople, “who have severe illnesses,” 2) is thought to confer “fruits and benefits” (*phalānisaṃs*)<sup>123</sup> upon the listener, 3) and may lead to the destruction of the invalid’s “vengeful karma” (*bier*, cf. Pali *vera*) and even his or her complete recovery. Although the previously surveyed colophons were not as explicit, they all point to this same function of chanting for the gravely ill.

Although only a handful of leporellos in the set make such an end-of-life purpose explicit in their colophons, that Cambodian chanted leporellos are generally intended to be performed in end-of-life rituals is clear from texts themselves (Chapter 3) and other paratexts (Chapter 4). But even without considering these texts or paratexts in detail, when looking at the leporellos as a whole, it becomes clear that such end-of-life ceremonies were very much the aim many of their creators had in mind. Appendix I, Tables 8–10 (see *infra*, 693–704) give a synopsis of the distribution of different texts in the leporellos, including which leporellos focus on end-of-life, consecratory, calendrical, and narrative texts (genres explained in the following chapter). Thirty-four of the 70 leporellos contain only end-of-life texts; another 25 contain end-of-life texts mixed with other genres, generally either consecratory (typically in older leporellos) or narrative (more often in newer leporellos from the 1960s onward). In other words, 59 of the 70 chanted leporellos focus on end-of-life rituals. This is not merely because of a selection bias; most of the chanted leporellos I documented but was ultimately not able to include in the set also primarily contained end-of-life texts.

Thus it is not surprising that a number of colophons make the explicit claim that particular leporellos were created for use in chanting rituals for the old, the ill, the dying, and the dead. More challenging to uncover, however, are the details and developments of the rituals themselves. Somewhat detailed descriptions, such as that seen in **UB060** above, are rare in leporellos, particularly in those before the mid-twentieth century. A number of printed Khmer books in the 1960s and 1970s elucidate these rituals with particular clarity. As we shall see, however, they leave open the question of whether end-of-life rituals are intended to heal the invalid or rather to guide a person from life to death. In Chapter 4, I return to this question in the context of the detailed ritual instructions for end-of-life rituals that appear in

<sup>122</sup> **UB060** 1a

<sup>123</sup> From Pali *phalānisaṃsa* (Buddhist Sanskrit *phalānuśamsa*), *phala* (“fruit, benefit”) + *ānisaṃsa* (“praise; blessing”). The compound could be read as either “praise of the fruits” or “fruits and blessings.”

some leporellos. These instructions, along with other paratexts, demonstrate how the communal manuscripts explored in this chapter function as scripts for ritual performance.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

The set of 70 chanted leporellos studied here represents the primary material basis for melodic chanting in end-of-life rituals, especially prior to the widespread availability of paperback books and stapled booklets. The colophons clarify that these manuscripts were created with a community of users in mind. The scribes specifically address these users, asking them to take care of the manuscripts, to forgive and correct any mistakes they might contain, and to bear in mind their purposes, namely to extend the life of the Buddha's dispensation, to be offered to monasteries, and, perhaps most distinctively, to be used for chanting in end-of-life rituals. As I explain further in Chapter 4, such end-of-life ceremonies involve both laypeople and monastics, indeed bringing a community together around the dying body of the invalid for the sake of contemplating death, achieving luminous clarity of mind, and perhaps, though not necessarily, also gaining enough merit that the invalid may recover. As the "books" of choice for such rituals, leporellos are thus communal manuscripts that circulate back and forth between the village and monastery, weaving together scribes, donors, annotators, and performers.

The study of Cambodian leporellos, and this group of chanted leporellos in particular, offer a set of challenges and opportunities different from those of their palm-leaf counterparts. This chapter provided an overview of the set of 70 manuscripts detailed in the tables and catalog of Appendix I. The provenance, materials, physical condition, texts, and paratexts of these manuscripts, especially their colophons, graffiti and other annotations, led to my analysis of them as communal manuscripts primarily chanted for end-of-life rituals. The following chapter shifts from the materiality and ritual function of these leporellos to an analysis of the corpus of 195 ritual texts they contain, a corpus presented in detail in Appendix II.

## Chapter 3: Chants for the End of Life

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the texts contained in Cambodian chanted leporellos. By analyzing, summarizing, and enumerating the corpus of these texts, I aim to demonstrate how this corpus consists almost entirely of chants for end-of-life rituals. The vast majority of these texts have not been edited or translated before, and so this chapter also serves as a reference guide to introduce the content of these texts, their relationship to one another, and their significance for the themes considered in Parts II (Chapters 5–7) and III (Chapter 8–9) of this dissertation. As discussed in the introduction, Buddhist studies in general and Theravada studies in particular lacks such handbooks for the extensive collections of short, largely vernacular ritual texts that comprise the “practical canons” for different Buddhist societies. Nonetheless, the quantity of the material can be overwhelming; readers who wish skip over these detailed textual explanations may find it useful to refer back to this chapter later to learn more about specific titles and their relationship to other texts.

The 70 leporellos I have selected comprise a corpus of 195 distinct chanted texts composed in Pali, bilingual Pali-Khmer, Thai, and Khmer. These texts are presented in full in Appendix II (see *infra*, 845–1493), which includes summaries, leporello citations, and bibliographies of palm-leaf and printed sources for all the texts; partial editions and translations of fifteen texts; and complete editions and translations of 92 texts. For many of the other texts, if not already available in printed editions, I provide a diplomatic or standardized edition, though not a translation. The corpus itself is preceded by six tables that collate information about the 195 texts in a convenient format. Two tables provide information on the titles of the texts, including the titles I have chosen, their translation in English, and, when applicable, the title used by the FEMC (see *infra*, 846–865). Four further tables present additional information about each text, including its frequency in the corpus, length in stanzas, certain or probable date of composition, authorship, and ritual function (see *infra*, 866–901).

This chapter compresses and analyzes the information contained in Appendix II to demonstrate the breadth, contours, and patterns of this corpus. After a presentation of the corpus as a whole, I discuss each of the 195 texts in turn, situating each within eighteen linguistic and metrical categories (the same categories followed in Appendix II), as well as highlighting its relative prominence within the corpus and its relevance for the arguments presented in later chapters. I aim to provide the reader with a coherent picture that puts all of these individual texts into their historical and ritual context, such that the overall content of the leporellos becomes clear.

The 195 texts discussed below reinforce the assertion, discussed in the previous chapter, that chanted leporellos primarily contain texts for end-of-life rituals. These include

texts for reciting to the sick, the dying, and the recently deceased, as well as texts for memorializing the dead. This latter category encompasses a number of texts for buddha image consecrations, as the *buddhābhisek* ritual for the inauguration of new images is, in many cases, closely tied to rituals for the dead in Cambodia.<sup>1</sup> The corpus shows that only a small minority of texts specifically concern other rituals besides those conducted for the end of life. These include a few texts for annual calendrical rituals, namely Māghapūjā (a commemoration of the *Ovādapāṭimokkha-sutta*, usually in February), Visākhapūjā (Wesak, in April or May), and Bhjṃ Piṇḍ (the major communal rite for deceased ancestors, usually in September or October).<sup>2</sup> Another group of texts are narrative texts concerning the lives of the Buddha and his career as the Bodhisatta, which may be recited in end-of-life rituals, including memorials and consecration rites, but are not strictly associated with them.

The corpus of texts also presents evidence that while the physical leporellos that survive in Cambodia rarely predate the late nineteenth century, the vernacular texts they contain are part of a centuries-long lineage of copying and recopying, with many texts representative of the largely anonymously authored chanted texts transmitted in the seventeenth to late nineteenth centuries. These older texts represent the majority of those present in the leporello corpus and the principle focus of Chapters 5–9. There is another, newer group of texts, however, which are found in many leporellos from the mid-twentieth century onward. This group includes most of the narrative texts and some of the shorter end-of-life texts. They were composed in the early to mid-twentieth centuries, typically by known authors, including the noted modernist reformers Lvī Em, Juon Nāt, Huot Tāt, Jhīm Śum, Ek Nīm, In Kheñ, Mahā Luc, Jāy M'ai, Ū Cuñ, Cāp Bin, Yin Van', and Sēm Sūr.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of this chapter, however, I rarely discuss these modern calendrical or narrative texts in the dissertation, as these twentieth-century compositions would be best analyzed in a study focusing on printed books rather than manuscripts.

This chapter also presents a wide range of Cambodian Buddhist texts never before described, summarized, edited, or translated. Seventeen of the 195 texts can be found in modern printings of the Pali Tipiṭaka, and have already been edited and translated many times. Among the 41 non-canonical Pali texts, only seven have been translated into a non-Southeast Asian language before, including two texts closely related to Jaini's edition and translation of the *Ākāravattāra-sutta* (**Ākāravattā A-NP** and **Ākāravattā C-NP**), two protective texts frequently performed in Thailand that were translated into English by a team led by Phra Videsdhammakavi (**Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV** and **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP** and), two texts translated into French by Bizot alone and and collaboratively by Bizot and von Hinüber, respectively (**Dhammakāya-NP** and **Ratanamālā-NV**), and finally one studied

<sup>1</sup> Ang Choulean អាំង ជួលាន, Preap Chanmara ព្រាប ចាន់ម៉ារ៉ា, and Śun Cān'ūp ស៊ុន ចាន់ជ័ប, *Tamñör jivit manuss khmèr mōl tām bidhī chlan vōy ដំណើរជីវិតមនុស្សខ្មែរ មើលតាមពិធីឆ្លងវ័យ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Yosothor យសោធរ, 2014), 88–89.

<sup>2</sup> For more on this ritual, see Siyonn Sophearith ស៊ីយ៉ុន សុភារិទ្ធ, “From Indian Śrāddhā to Khmer Pchum Ben ពិពិធី ‘គ្រាទ្ធ’ របស់ឥណ្ឌាមកបុណ្យ ‘ភ្ជុំបិណ្ណ’” (Yosothor, Lecture in Khmer and English at the Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh, 2010); John Clifford Holt, “Caring for the Dead Ritually in Cambodia,” *Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 1 (April 2012): 3–75; Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 159–184.

<sup>3</sup> ស្លី ឯម; ជួន ណាត; ហួត តាត; ឈឹម ស៊ុម; ឯក ញឹម; អ៊ីង ខេង; មហា ឡុច; ជ័យ ម៉ៃ; អ៊ូ ចុង; ចាប ពិន; យិន វ៉ង; សែម សូរ.

by Skilling (**Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV**).<sup>4</sup> A recent article by Skilling provides editions of a few Pali texts extracted from the canon, including ones closely related to **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Ān trai A-NP**, **Ān trai B-NP**, and **Ān trai C-NP**.<sup>5</sup> Editions of versions of these texts, plus **Sahassanaya-NP**, also appear in Kazuko Tanabe and Yōhei Shimizu’s facsimile edition, transcription, and analysis of an Ayutthaya-period leporello of chanted texts from Siam.<sup>6</sup> The remaining 29 non-canonical Pali texts have not yet been published outside of Southeast Asia.

The bilingual and vernacular texts have received even less attention. None of the 19 bilingual Pali-Khmer prose have been published before outside of Cambodia, and only a few exist in Khmer-script printed editions. The lone Thai verse text has likewise never been published and is completely unknown in Thailand. Only two of the bilingual Pali-Khmer verse texts have been translated, namely **Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br** and **Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br**. San Sarin edited these in roman script and provided a French translation in his dissertation based on printed twentieth-century Khmer liturgical collections.<sup>7</sup>

As for the 107 Khmer verse texts, two were edited and translated into French in their entirety under the guidance of Madeleine Giteau (**dhārm yog-bn** and **phcāñ’ mār «yön khñum paṅgam»-k**).<sup>8</sup> Another text, **hau braññ-k**, was the subject of a study, edition, and translation into English and French by Ashley Thompson.<sup>9</sup> Bizot published partial French translations of **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k**, **sarasör braḥ pād chveñ-k**, and **dhārm yog-bn**.<sup>10</sup> Bizot’s translation of the latter text was translated into English and published by

<sup>4</sup> Padmanabh S. Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 535–557; Phra Videsdhammakavi, ed., *Legend of Paritta: Protective Chants and Background Stories* (Fremont, CA: Wat Buddhansorn, 2011), 52–57, 63–64; François Bizot, *Le Chemin de Lanikā* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1992), 293–300; François Bizot and Oskar von Hinüber, *La guirlande de joyaux* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), 145–174; Peter Skilling, “The Sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhology,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 128–154.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Skilling, “Chanting and Inscribing: The ‘Condensed Tripiṭaka’ in Thai Ritual,” in “*Guiding Lights*” for the “*Perfect Nature*”: *Studies on the Nature and the Development of Abhidharma Buddhism. A Commemorative Volume in Honor of Prof. Dr. Kenyo Mitomo for His 70th Birthday* (Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, n.d.), 928–962.

<sup>6</sup> Tanabe Kazuko 田辺 和子 and Shimizu Yōhei 清水 洋平, *アユタヤー期後期作製ワット・フアクラブー寺院所蔵の絵付折本紙写本 = An Illustrated Folding Book from the Late Ayutthaya Period Preserved at Wat Hua Krabue* (Tokyo 東京: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会, 2016), 106–108.

<sup>7</sup> San Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 171–172; 197–209.

<sup>8</sup> Madeleine Giteau, *Le bornage rituel des temples bouddhiques au Cambodge* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1969), 73–99.

<sup>9</sup> Ashley Thompson, *Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text / Le rappel des âmes: texte rituel khmer* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> François Bizot, “La figuration des pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge,” *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 25 (1971): 411–419; François Bizot, “La consécration des statues et le culte des morts,” in *Recherches nouvelles sur le Cambodge*, ed. François Bizot (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), 111–114.

Donald Swearer.<sup>11</sup> Olivier de Bernon presented an analysis of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**, along with an edition and French translation of the first third of the text.<sup>12</sup> San Sarin's aforementioned dissertation includes his roman-script editions and French translations of three Khmer verse texts in the corpus, namely **ārāḍhanā dhammadesanā-br**, **aṭṭhavīsati buddha-gāthā samrāy-4**, and **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k**.<sup>13</sup> The remaining 99 Khmer verse texts, however, have never been published outside of Cambodia, and many of the pre-twentieth-century compositions have never been printed at all, being extant only in manuscript form.

Some of the texts in the leporello corpus may appear in other physical formats as well, including short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*) and long-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*satrā/sāstrā sṭik rīt*). For instance, many of the Pali texts also appear in *vān*, as explored in more detail in Chapter 5 (see *infra*, 277–294). The main exception are those non-canonical Pali texts that are more strictly associated with end-of-life and buddha-image consecration rites, including **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**, **Itipi so 10 dis-NP**, **Itipi so that A/B/C-NP**, **Dhammakāya-NP**, **Buddhābhiseka-NP**, **Ratanamālā-NV**, **Rāp' thān-NP**, and **Sahassanaya-NP**, all of which are quite rare outside of leporellos. The bilingual Pali-Khmer prose texts are typically found in long-format palm-leaf manuscripts; they are less common in leporellos.

With regards to Khmer and Thai verse texts, among the pre-twentieth-century compositions, only a few of the longer texts (**lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn**,<sup>14</sup> **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k**,<sup>15</sup> **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**,<sup>16</sup> **phcāñ' mār «yōn khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**,<sup>17</sup> **dhaṛm yog-y/ch**,<sup>18</sup> and **sarasör pṛithabī-k**<sup>19</sup>) are found in long-format palm-leaf manuscripts. A few such texts also surface in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (such as **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**,<sup>20</sup> **sarasör pṛithabī-k**,<sup>21</sup> **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k**,<sup>22</sup> **hau braliṅ-k**,<sup>23</sup> and **akkharā 33-br**,<sup>24</sup> plus a number of texts with *jāy* in their title). Almost all of the other pre-twentieth-century verse compositions in the corpus are exclusive to leporellos. As for the twentieth-century compositions, they may be found in printed books, handwritten notebooks, and some leporellos from the mid-twentieth century or later, but never in palm-leaf manuscripts. The

<sup>11</sup> Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 226–229.

<sup>12</sup> Olivier de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammatṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer” (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2000), 747–760.

<sup>13</sup> Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel,” 69–78; 180–184; 185–197.

<sup>14</sup> FEMC d.120, FEMC d.795

<sup>15</sup> FEMC d.620

<sup>16</sup> B.04.03.03 FEMC 95 (Vatt Vālukārām, Kampong Cham), FEMC 059

<sup>17</sup> FEMC d.621, BNF Indochinois 35 B, BNF Indochinois 209 A

<sup>18</sup> BNF Indochinois 409

<sup>19</sup> FEMC d.122, BNF Indochinois 209 A

<sup>20</sup> BNF Indochinois 114 E

<sup>21</sup> BNF Indochinois 114 E

<sup>22</sup> FEMC a.472

<sup>23</sup> BNF Indochinois 114 F

<sup>24</sup> B.01.06.01 FEMC 1107 (Vatt Bhūmi Thmī, Kampong Cham)

corpus of texts transmitted in Cambodian chanted leporellos is thus a distinct body of texts that overlaps only partially with that of short- and long-format palm-leaf manuscripts.

This chapter presents the majority of this corpus for the first time, making available a broad range of chanted texts transmitted in Cambodian manuscripts from the seventeenth to mid-twentieth centuries. It also provides evidence for the historical development of texts set to melodic chant for deathbed and consecration rituals during this period. These texts are, in the main, non-canonical, speak to Southeast Asian and specifically Khmer concerns regarding the end of life, and provide evidence for the processes of localized translations discussed in Chapters 5–7 and the work of the dying discussed in Chapter 8–9.

### 3.2 Breadth, Contours, and Patterns

I divide the 195 texts into eighteen groups based on their linguistic and metrical features. Each group corresponds to a particular kind of text, determined by its language or languages, canonicity, and versification. Each of these eighteen categories is assigned a short code, appended to the title of every text given in both Appendix I and Appendix II to facilitate easy cross-referencing. For a full listing of the texts in each of these eighteen groups, see the tables of Appendix II, especially Table 1 (see *infra*, 846–855), which presents the titles of the texts, ordered by group and then by Khmer alphabetic order; and Table 3 (866–874), which presents some key information about each text in the same order.

The first six categories comprise texts in Pali, organized by whether they appear in the standard Pali Tipitaka or not and whether they are in prose, verse, or mixed prose and verse. These six groups of Pali texts are as follows, along with their short codes appended to each title:

- II-1 (Appendix II, part 1) Canonical Pali prose (-CP for “Canonical Prose”)
- II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV for “Canonical Verse”)
- II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM for “Canonical Mixed”)
- II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP for “Non-canonical Prose”)
- II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV for “Non-canonical Verse”)
- II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM for “Non-canonical Mixed”)

The next four groups comprise bilingual texts in both Khmer and Pali, organized by the type of versification. These groups are:

- II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r for “*rāy*”)<sup>25</sup>
- II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagīti* verse (-br for “*brahmagīti*”)<sup>26</sup>
- II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky 4* verse (-4 for “*bāky 4*”)<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *វាយ*

<sup>26</sup> ព្រហ្មគីតិ

<sup>27</sup> ពាក្យ ៤



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II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7 for “*bāky* 7”)<sup>28</sup>

These are followed by the single category of Thai texts, grouped as follows:

II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chabāñ* 16 verse (-y/ch for “*yānī* 11 and *chabāñ* 16”)<sup>29</sup>

Finally, the remaining seven groups pertain to Khmer texts that are almost entirely in verse. The first six correspond to the six poetic meters most commonly used in Khmer Buddhist chanted texts, namely:

II-12 Khmer *kākagati* verse (-k for “*kākagati*”)<sup>30</sup>

II-13 Khmer *brahmagāti* verse (-br for “*brahmagāti*”)

II-14 Khmer *bañmol* verse (-bn for “*bañmol*”)<sup>31</sup>

II-15 Khmer *mañḍukagati* verse (-m for “*mañḍukagati*”)<sup>32</sup>

II-16 Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4 for “*bāky* 4”)

II-17 Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7 for “*bāky* 7”)

The final category, II-18 Khmer miscellaneous, comprises a handful of texts that are either in *rāy* prose, incorporate aspects of prose and verse (compositions sometimes known as *kamron kèu*<sup>33</sup> in Khmer), or mix together different poetic meters.

Since others have already extensively described Pali, Thai, and Khmer versification, I do not dwell on the specific qualities of these meters here, an exercise that would require many pages.<sup>34</sup> I will limit myself to the following remarks on the dating of the Khmer and Thai meters. The two Thai meters included, *yānī* 11 and *chabāñ* 16, are found in compositions

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<sup>28</sup> ពាក្យ ៧

<sup>29</sup> យ៉ានី ១១; ឆប៉ង ១៦

<sup>30</sup> កាកគតិ

<sup>31</sup> ប៉ំរោល

<sup>32</sup> មណ្ឌកគតិ

<sup>33</sup> កម្រងកែវ

<sup>34</sup> On Khmer versification, see Olivier de Bernon, “Ieng Say: La métrique, cours traité pour la composition des poèmes” (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 1985); Judith M. Jacob, “Some Features of Khmer Versification,” ed. David Smyth (London: Routledge, 1993), 212–224; Judith M. Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 53–64; M. Roeské, “Métrique Khmère, Bat et Kalabat,” *Anthropos* 8 (1913): 670–687 and 1026–1043; Krasuon ap’ram គ្រូស្ថានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយអប់រំ, *Kaṃṇāby khmèr k’ṣaṅgyāy* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Griḥsthān poḥ bumb phsāy ap’ram គ្រឹះស្ថានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយអប់រំ, 1985); Lī Sumunī លី សុមុនី, *Kaṃṇāby khmèr k’ṣaṅgyāy* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Griḥsthān poḥ bumb nīn cèk phsāy គ្រឹះស្ថានបោះពុម្ព និងចែកផ្សាយ, 2009); Lī Sen លី សេន, *Kpuon kaṃṇāby k’ṣaṅgyāy* (Sóc Trăng, Việt Nam: Mandīr vappadhārm - ghosanākār khett ghlāṃn មន្ទីរវប្បធម៌ - វេបសនាករ ខេត្តឃ្នាំង, 1996). For Thai, see Kāmjäy Daanhlaai, กำชัย ทองหล่อ, *Hlāk bhāsā daiy hlāk ḡaṅṅāy* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ, 2459). On the relationship between Thai and Pali meters, see Thomas J. Hudak, *The Indigenization of Pali Meters in Thai Poetry* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1990). For Pali, see A. K. Warder, *Pali Metre: A Contribution to the History of Indian Literature* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1967).

dating back to the early Ayutthaya period; some claim that they derive from the Khmer *brahmagīti* and *baṃṅol* meters, which are essentially identical with the exception of some minor tone rules stipulated in the Thai versions.<sup>35</sup> Among the Khmer meters, the ones associated with the oldest known compositions, including texts as early as the sixteenth century, are the *kākagati*, *brahmagīti*, *baṃṅol*, and *maṇḍukagati* meters.<sup>36</sup> The *bāky* 7 meter only seems to take off in the nineteenth century, probably in imitation of Thai *klaṅ* meters. What I call *bāky* 4 is sometimes called the *paṭhyāvatt* meter (in which each stanza is composed of two *bāky* 4 stanzas). As there is little evidence for the pre-nineteenth use of the *paṭhyāvatt* meter and as it is easily divisible into *bāky* 4, I choose to only use the term *bāky* 4.

These Khmer and Thai meters work quite differently from their Pali and Sanskrit *akṣaracchanda* counterparts. Instead of distinguishing between “light” (*laghu*) and “heavy” (*garu/guru*) syllables, they emphasize strict numbers of syllables per line, a set number of lines per stanza (three, four, or seven, as it turns out), and a complex rhyme scheme that connects syllables both within and between stanzas. Most commonly, these schemes link several syllables within one stanza and also the last syllable of the last line of each stanza with two or three syllables in the following stanza. In older texts, these rhymes are thought to follow the vocalic structure of the language at the time of composition rather than contemporary phonology, possibly allowing one to date the text accordingly.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to rhyming patterns, these Khmer and Thai meters are associated with particular recitation styles. As discussed in the introduction, these recitation styles emerge from a tradition called *smūtr* (“melodic recitation”) or, alternatively, *dharmaṃ pad* (“Dharma songs”). In the case of Khmer recitation styles, the melodies used can be quite melismatic (comprising many musical notes per syllable) and typically divide each line into groups of two, three, or four syllables per melodic phrase. These divisions of each line into smaller groups of syllables are essential to understanding the rhythm and meaning of the poetry, even though such divisions are usually glossed over in most descriptions of Khmer verse. The recitation styles are thus intimately wedded to the interpretation of texts composed in such meters.

Moreover, each poetic meter, in turn, has not one possible melody but many—at least a dozen in most cases.<sup>38</sup> These melodies are known as *pad* or *pad smūtr*. A melody is selected by each performer on the basis of tradition, her knowledge, and its appropriateness of the aesthetic of the text in question. In a forthcoming article, I deal extensively with the

<sup>35</sup> William J. Gedney, “Siamese Verse Forms in Historical Perspective,” in *William J. Gedney’s Thai and Indic Literary Studies*, ed. Thomas J. Hudak (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1997), 45–100; Hudak, *The Indigenization of Pali Meters in Thai Poetry*, 13.

<sup>36</sup> Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia: A Preliminary Guide*, 54.

<sup>37</sup> Philip N. Jenner, “The Value of i, ī, u, and ū in Middle Khmer,” *Mon-Khmer Studies* 5 (1977): 101–133; Antelme, *La réappropriation en khmer de mots empruntés par la langue siamoise au vieux khmer* (Pattani, Thailand: Prince of Songkla University, 1996), 39–41. See also Phal Sok, “Développement des diptongues en khmer moderne” (Université de Montréal, 2003), 99–132.

<sup>38</sup> For one interpretation of the number of *smūtr* melodies, see V'èn Sun វ៉ែន សុន and Y'an' Pūrin យ៉ាន់ បូរិន, *Rapāyakāra(n) pūk sarup laddhaphal nai kār srāv jrāv pad smūtr kāmṅāby* របាយការណ៍ប្លុកសរុបលទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវបទស្នូតកំណាព្យ, ed. Thī Cāndo ថី ចឺន្ទោ and Iev Sukr-hān អៀវ សុក្រហាន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Samāgam rañjanabuddhibodhanamitt [CamboKids] សមាគមរតន្ត្រីពោធិនមិត្ត, 2003).

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relationship between the musical qualities of these melodies and the aesthetic experiences or reactions (primarily *saṃvega*, “stirring, shock, quaking,” and *pasāda*, “stilling, clarity, faith”) the texts are associated with.<sup>39</sup> What is most important to bear in mind is that the 195 texts are each associated with a certain melody or range of melodies, some more musically complex and melismatic than others, and that these melodies are intended to attract the hearts of the listeners and help engender the kind of aesthetic reaction appropriate for the occasion. To some extent, *saṃvega* is emphasized in rites for the sick and dying and *pasāda* is emphasized in buddha image consecrations, though there is copious overlap.

For the Khmer and Pali-Khmer bilingual verse texts in the corpus, there are clear patterns connecting the poetic meter and the date of composition. The most striking pattern is that the majority of the Khmer and Pali-Khmer bilingual texts in the *bāky* 4 and *bāky* 7 meters can be ascribed to known authors in the twentieth century, with the anonymous texts generally dating no earlier than the late nineteenth century. By contrast, with but a handful of exceptions, those composed in the *kākagati*, *brahmagāti*, *bānol*, and *maṇḍukagati* meters were likely composed in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, typically by anonymous authors.

For the remainder of the texts in the corpus, the patterns connecting particular groups of texts to their dates of composition are also quite conspicuous. For details, see Appendix II, Table 5 (see *infra*, 884–892). The Pali texts present a special case, since the canonical ones are quite old, dating back to at least the first millennium CE, if not before, and many of the non-canonical ones were likely composed or compiled in Southeast Asia as early as 1200 to 1700 CE. Only a handful of non-canonical Pali texts in the corpus can be assigned to a known author, generally to King Rāma IV of Siam, who penned them during his twenty-seven years as a monk and founder of the Dhammayuttika-nikāya before ascending the throne in 1851, or to successive generations of Dhammayuttika-nikāya monks.<sup>40</sup> With a few exceptions the Pali-Khmer bilingual texts in prose and the Khmer miscellaneous texts also date from before the twentieth century, though in absence of firm clues it is difficult to ascertain exactly when.

In only a very small number of pre-twentieth century vernacular texts do we have either a clear author or a firm date of composition. Only two texts are found with an exact date in the corpus, namely **lpök kammatthān-br/bn** from 1713 and **dhaṛm yog-bn** from 1869. Neither of these are autographs; the dates are included in the poems themselves. What is notable about these two texts is that the dates in question are the years in which their Khmer authors translated them from the Siamese originals. In the case of **dhaṛm yog-bn**, the Siamese original can be found within the leporello corpus itself as **dhaṛm yog-y/ch**,

<sup>39</sup> Trent Walker, “Saṃvega and Pasāda: Dharma Songs in Contemporary Cambodia,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, forthcoming 2018.

<sup>40</sup> The King’s collected compositions in Pali are found in Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Praḥjum braḥ rājaniban(dh) bhāṣā pālī nāi braḥ pād samtéc braḥ caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvā* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547). A number of Pali compositions associated with the Dhammayuttikanikāya, including reordered canonical material, appear in Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvañ svadmanādvāp hlvañ* สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakut rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 245–410.

which probably dates from the mid- or late Ayutthaya period (c. 1550–1767). No such text has been found in Thailand today, however. As for **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn**, no Siamese counterpart exists in Cambodia, but a possible source text, *Nidān kaīmathān*,<sup>41</sup> exists in incomplete form in some manuscripts from Northeast Thailand. In both cases, we know the monastic title of the translator in question (Braḥ Sugandhādhīpati for **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn** and Braḥ Dhammalikhī for **dhaīm yog-bn**), but I have been unable to determine any personal names or other details of these high-ranking monks.<sup>42</sup>

For other texts, we have a name and even a location, but no precise date. This is the case for **caṅkūm kēv-k**, composed by a certain Bhikkhu Suvanṇakesara in Vatt Jhūk Sa, probably in Uṭṭaṅg, today in Kampong Speu province, Cambodia, sometime during the nineteenth century, and also for **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**, attributed to an *ācāry* named Hun from Brai Cār, in today’s Kampong Cham province, also sometime during the nineteenth century. Several texts are also attributed to Suttantapriṅā Ind, including **Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br** and **ārādhana dhammadesanā-br**, who flourished during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but whose compositions are generally undated.<sup>43</sup>

The remainder of the authored pieces are by some of the most famous reformist monks and lay priests of the twentieth century, including Lvī Em (one text), Juon Nāt (three texts), Ek Nīm (four texts), Huot Tāt (two texts), In̄ Kheñ (two texts), Mahā Lūc (one text), Jhim̄ Ŗum (two texts), Jāy M"ai (eight texts), Ū Cuñ (one text), Cāp Bin (eight texts), Yin Van' (five texts), and Sēm Sūr (three texts). These authors are responsible for the bulk of the chanted poems recited in Cambodian Buddhist ceremonies today, and composed most of the *bāky 7* and *bāky 4* texts in the leporello corpus, which tend to appear only in late-twentieth-century leporellos. A complete study of their collective poetic works lies outside the scope of this project. What is clear even from the small selection of their works included in this corpus is their relatively short length; their frequent borrowings, corrections, and adaptations from one another; and their connection to modernist doctrinal positions.<sup>44</sup> Although I present summaries of their compositions in this chapter, I generally do not take up their texts in the chapters that follow, as they are not at all representative of the style of the seventeenth-through nineteenth-century compositions that populate the oldest surviving leporellos.

<sup>41</sup> นิตานกรรมฐาน. For more on this text, see Chapter 7 (see *infra*, 405–406).

<sup>42</sup> Both of these Khmer translations are discussed in further detail in Chapter 7 (see *infra*, 405–415).

<sup>43</sup> For more on the life and works of Suttantapriṅā Ind, see Anne Ruth Hansen, “Ways of the World: Moral Discernment and Narrative Ethics in a Cambodian Buddhist Text” (Harvard University, 1999), 7–9; 88–93; 97–101; Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, “Kamṇat’ khlah̄ lö gatilok, snāṭai suttantapriṅā ind កំណត់ខ្លះលើគតិលោក, ស្នាដៃសុត្តន្តប្រឹក្សា ឆន្ទៈ,” in *Kamrañ siksākathā khmèr uddis pragen brah̄ dhammārāmo p"uṅṅ sambahā* កម្រងសិក្សាភាសាខ្មែរ ឧទ្ទិសប្រគល់ ព្រះធម្មារាម ប៉ុណ្ណ សុម្ពាជ, ed. Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2011), 268–279; Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, *Suttantapriṅā ind niñ snāṭai សុត្តន្តប្រឹក្សាឆន្ទៈ និង ស្នាដៃ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Details of the lives and doctrinal positions of some of these reformers, including Lvī Em, Juon Nāt, and Huot Tāt, can be found in Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860–1930*, 101–108; 150–162; Edwards, *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860–1945*, 185–197; and Edwards, “Making a Religion of the Nation and Its Language: The French Protectorate (1863–1954) and the Dhammakāy.”

These modern authors are also responsible for the majority of the narrative and calendrical texts in the corpus. While they also contributed many modern interpretations of texts for end-of-life rituals, including those focusing on themes of death and impermanence, their works stand out as being particularly focused on narratives of the Bodhisatta's final life as Siddhattha Gotama, including episodes from after his awakening as the Buddha, as well as of his previous lives. These texts may be recited for the dying, for buddha-image consecrations, or for a variety of other Buddhist rituals, and are typical of twentieth- and twenty-first century Dharma song performances. In addition to these narrative texts, the calendrical texts for the Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā ceremonies are also generally composed by the above named authors. These two ceremonies appear to have only arrived in Cambodia in the mid-nineteenth century along with the importation of the Siamese Dhammayuttika-nikāya, and received increasing attention from Khmer modernist authors in the twentieth century.

By contrast, the end-of-life and consecration texts tend to be the work of older, generally anonymous authors from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. For a full listing of all 195 texts by their ritual function, see Appendix II, Table 6 (see *infra*, 893–901). End-of-life texts make up the majority of texts in the corpus, some 120 distinct titles. Consecratory texts number only twelve, while generally modern calendrical and narrative texts number eighteen and 32, respectively. That leaves seven blessing or “victory blessing” (*jāy*) texts, one text for monastic ordination (**khvān' nāg-r**), three for sermons (**ārāghanā dhammadesanā-br**, **bāky prakās mun ārāghanā dhammadesanā-br**, and **Dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā/dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā samrāy-br**), and a handful of others that fall into multiple categories. If twentieth-century texts are excluded, then the corpus becomes increasingly centered on end-of-life texts, with a smaller number of consecration texts alongside them.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this set of leporellos containing chanted texts is centered on manuscripts that primarily contain texts recited at the end of life. This includes both texts for the sick and dying as well as for consecrating buddha images. The former are recited before death, whereas the latter may be recited after death or at other times, and so they are in some sense both “end-of-life” texts. There are further links between rituals for the dying and rituals of consecration. One, both rituals require chanters skilled in the melodic recitation styles associated with *smūtr* or Dharma songs, so a single performer could conveniently have all of his or her repertoire in a single, portable leporello. Two, as previously mentioned, buddha image consecration rituals are linked with funerals and ancestor worship in Cambodia. Specifically, an elaborate funeral and memorial ritual may conclude with a buddha image consecration, and the buddha images themselves are often linked with deceased ancestors.<sup>45</sup> As such, the textual corpus, particularly with regards to the older texts, represents

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<sup>45</sup> On this latter point, see Bizot, “La consécration des statues et le culte des morts,” 117–127; Ashley Thompson, “The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult,” in *History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia*, ed. John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 27; Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State: Territory, Sovereignty and Sexual Difference in the Inventions of Angkor*, 137–141.

a single arc of ritual continuity from old age, to sickness, to death, and to birth of a new buddha image-cum-ancestor.

The portion of the textual corpus composed from roughly the fifteenth to the mid- nineteenth century, particularly the non-canonical Pali texts and the vernacular verse texts, unfold a set of Buddhist genres and values distinct to Southeast Asia and localized to Cambodia during this period. From a linguistic perspective, it appears that certain Pali protective texts owe something to their Sanskrit antecedents in the region (Chapter 5), that the bilingual Pali-Khmer texts share the conventions of bilingual Pali-Tai texts (Chapter 6), and that much of the Khmer verse texts are translated from Pali and Tai originals (Chapter 7). These linguistic processes of localization highlight how this corpus represents a distinctly Cambodian adaptation of the broader currents of Southeast Asian Theravada Buddhism in this period. Moreover, from a doctrinal perspective, the corpus articulates a set of labors for the dying, a course of work to take up on the deathbed. These include a series of contemplations on the present process of death (Chapter 8) as well as models for end-of-life prayers regarding the past and future (Chapter 9). Taken together, these localized translations and end-of-life obligations provide a rich picture of how Cambodian Buddhists, particularly from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, partook in a broader network of Khmer-Tai textual practices and doctrinal orientations.

The doctrinal underpinnings for much of the corpus emerges not from canonical Buddhist practices but rather from the traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation systems native to Southeast Asia, particularly to Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. As discussed in the introduction, these systems employ a variety of esoteric techniques, taught in secret under the tutelage of a master, including specific “heart syllables” (Khmer *pañṭūl*, Thai *hwǎ cǎi*) and visualizations, that are intended to produce a buddha within one’s own body and lead directly to Nibbāna. Not all of these practices conform to the model of the five joys (*pīṭi*), six *yugala* (“pairs”), and two types of well-being (*sukha*) as discussed by de Bernon and others. Nevertheless, they draw on the distinctive body-centered systems of traditional Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* practices.

Within the leporello corpus, *kammaṭṭhāna* practices are most fully and explicitly articulated in in **kāyagatā-k**. However, an additional eleven texts, including **Dhammakāya-NP**, **Dvattiṃsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP**, **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**, **trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāmñ»-k**, **namo namassakār-br**, **akkharā 33-br**, **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**, **aṭṭhadisabuddhamaṅgal-br**, **jāy kūn go-m**, **khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7**, and **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn**, also mention or are explicitly framed as traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* practices. Since they are recited for a public audience, they are separate from the private transmission of secret meditation practices from master to disciple. Nevertheless, they draw on the language and prestige of the *kammaṭṭhāna* tradition to articulate a set of responsibilities for those approaching the end of life. Moreover, many of the other texts, while

not explicitly working with specific aspects of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation, clearly emerge from the same doctrinal milieu.

The presence of traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* elements in the corpus aligns this dissertation with previous work, cited in the introduction, on these esoteric meditation traditions, but also differs in one major respect. While such research has generally examined texts specifically focused on meditation practices, often taking the form of meditation manuals, the texts in this corpus provide examples of ritual texts adjacent to such explicit guides. In other words, many of these 195 ritual texts take the doctrinal innovations of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation as part of their basic framework, but do not mention exactly how such meditation is practiced. Indeed, with the exception of the specific meditation instructions given in **kāyagatā-k**, this corpus shows how the body- and syllable-centered practices of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation inform a much broader range of Southeast Asian Buddhist texts. This corpus can hence be viewed, in part, as the exoteric, public dimension of a Buddhist doctrinal world apexed by esoteric, initiatory meditation.

The 195 texts in this corpus are not at all evenly distributed. Some are common, others quite rare. For full details, see Appendix II, Table 4 (see *infra*, 875–883), which lists all the texts by the frequency they appear in the leporillos. In terms of total texts, the corpus contains 281 occurrences of Pali texts (43% of the total of 653), including 58 distinct titles (29.7% of the total of 195). There are 37 occurrences of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts (5.6%), though they comprise 29 distinct texts (14.9%). The lone distinct Thai text occurs four times. Finally, there are 331 occurrences of Khmer texts (50.7%), including 107 distinct titles (54.9%).

As for the most frequent individual texts, just three distinct Pali texts, **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (44 occurrences), **Ākāravattā A-NP** (43), and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (35) account for 43.4% (122 of 281) of the occurrences of Pali texts and 18.7% of all texts. Three vernacular texts, **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (20), **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** (19), and **phcāñ' mār «yōn khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** (19) are the next most common. The Pali text **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (18) is next, followed by four vernacular texts, **dhaṛm yog-bn** (17), **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** (17), **dhammasaṃveg «oḥ o guor saṃveg-br»** (15), and **girimānand samrāy sūtr neh-br/7** (15), and then a further six Pali texts, **Ākāravattā B-NP** (12), **Itipi so that A-NP** (12), **Ratanamālā-NV** (11), **Ān trai A-NP** (9), **Sahassanaya-NP** (8), and **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** (8). These seventeen distinct titles occur a total of 322 times in the leporillo, representing nearly half of the total texts. They are, in many respects, the core of the corpus, and are strictly associated with either end-of-life (thirteen texts, including the five most common) or consecration rituals (four texts). The remainder of the texts occur much less frequently: 37 texts occur three to seven times, 38 occur twice, and the remaining 103 texts appear only once in the leporillos.

There are many ways to measure the length of texts. This is only possible for those texts that appear intact or that I have reconstructed in a complete form, namely 187 texts. The remaining eight texts only appear in the leporillos in a fragmented form or I have not

been able to reconstruct their full form from other sources, such as palm-leaf manuscripts or printed books. For complete texts, one could count the total number of words, though what would qualify as a “word” in Pali, Thai, or Khmer is debatable. Syllables could be counted, albeit with great tedium. The duration of the performance of a text is perhaps a more salient aspect of a text’s length, though this varies greatly from performer to performer, and from melody to melody. Some texts, including **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, **dharma yog-bn**, and **phcāñ' mār «yön khñum paṅgam»-k**, when recited in traditional styles, regularly take anywhere from one to five hours to perform. Other texts may be recited in the span of a few minutes.

For verse texts, we can easily count the number of stanzas. Length comparisons make most sense when considered among texts of the same metrical structure. The twenty-five Khmer texts in the *kākaḡati* meter contain range from 4 to 151 stanzas, averaging 38.9 stanzas each. The eighteen texts in the *brahmagāti* meter have a similar range and average, namely 6 to 137 stanzas and a mean of 30.5 stanzas. The seven *baṅṅol* texts average 45 stanzas, and range from 16 to 115 stanzas. The three *maṅḡukaḡati* text are shorter on average, with a range of 15 to 28 and a mean of 21.7. Those for the *bāky 4* meter are similar, ranging from 13 to 40 and averaging 22.8. The lowest average, 20.4, is found among the *bāky 7* texts, most of which are twentieth-century compositions, and range from 5 to 107 stanzas.

Most such verse texts are recited in melodies that require roughly one minute per stanza, though recitation styles can range from as short as fifteen seconds to as long as three minutes per stanza. With most verse texts ranging, on average, from 20 to 40 stanzas, this means that many such texts would generally take around half an hour to perform. For texts on the extreme end, including the 336-stanza **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn**, a complete recitation would last several hours at a minimum. Many recitation masters have informed me that Dharma song performances for the dying or for consecration once tended to last all night, and occasionally even for several nights in succession. The temporal length required for reciting these texts is important to bear in mind, since a live chanting performance is how they were intended to be transmitted. What takes us a few minutes to read silently in English translation might be recited in Cambodia for an hour or more. The vernacular texts therefore rely on euphony, gentle repetition, and a progressive structure, often ending with an aspiration to reach Nibbāna, to keep their audiences engaged. For the Pali texts recited in melismatic styles, the performers must rely on the power and authority ascribed to such texts as well as their expressive and nonrepetitive vocalizations to maintain the audience’s focus on the text, which are semantically inaccessible to most listeners.

In the sections that follow, I provide a summary and some additional analysis about each text in the eighteen groups, highlighting their relative prominence in the corpus, their ritual use, their distinctive features, and if and when they are discussed in the chapters to come. The overall structure of this chapter is organized according to Appendix II, that is sections divided according to language and poetic form, rather than according to thematic concerns. However, within each section, I group texts with similar themes together so as to more clearly



demonstrate the trends that characterize the corpus as a whole. My aim is make the distinctive emphases of this corpus come to life, especially its engagement with rites for the dying (deathbed rituals) and in memory of the dead (consecration rituals).

### 3.3 Canonical Pali Prose (II-1, -CP)

By far the most prominent canonical Pali prose text is the **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, which occurs 35 times in the corpus, whereas the remaining ten texts occur just once, twice, or thrice. The **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (Discourse to Girimānanda, Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60) circulates widely in Cambodia as a protective *paritta* text, and is especially widespread in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts. In the leporellos themselves, the most common titles for this text are *braḥ gīrīmānand* and *gīrīmānandasūtr*. As mentioned in the previous chapter, one leporello, **UB015**, features up and down *go mūtr* cantillation marks that appear to record how the text is supposed to be melodically intoned. A handful of complete recordings of melodic recitations of this text exist, lasting from forty-five minutes to over an hour. A few other leporellos contain unusual marks for this text, including **UB031** and **UB060**. The latter abbreviates part of the text with brackets. Another leporello, **UB055**, states explicitly that this text is to be recited for the sick, as explained in the previous chapter. This leporello gives the title as follows: *gīrīmānan sūt manus ābāt*, or “The *Girimānanda*[-*sutta*], for chanting to the sick.” The text itself is a canonical discourse of the Buddha to Ānanda on the ten “notions” (*saññā*)—reflections to be undertaken by an invalid for the purpose of healing—for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda. These perceptions include contemplations on impermanence, the 32 parts of the body, the body’s susceptibility to illness, and awareness of inhalations and exhalations.<sup>46</sup>

The remaining texts in this group are *paritta* texts common in *bhāṇavāra* collections short-format palm-leaf manuscripts, a genre explored further in Chapter 5. Three of these are explicitly connected with recitation for the sick, namely **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatīyagilāna-sutta-CP** (First, second, and third discourses on illness, Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.14–16). These three texts, also known as the *Mahākassapatttherabojjhaṅga*, *Mahāmoggallānattherabojjhaṅga*, and *Mahācundattherabojjhaṅga*, respectively, are canonical discourses of the Buddha to a sick monk, namely Kassapa, Moggallāna, or Cunda, on the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*), resulting in the invalid’s recovery.

The remaining texts are not explicitly connected with illness, but exhibit a similar function as end-of-life chants in the leporellos. Three of them are discourses associated with the very beginning of the Buddha’s teaching career. The **Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** (Discourse on the turning of the wheel of the Teaching, Saṃyutta-nikāya 56.11; see also Mahāvagga I.6) is the canonical first discourse of the Buddha to his first five disciples on the avoidance of the two extremes and the exposition of the four truths for the Noble Ones (*ariyasacca*). The **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP** (Discourse on the mark of not-self, Saṃyutta-

<sup>46</sup> For an analysis of this discourse as a meditation text for the dying, see Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death: Compassionate Advice from Early Buddhist Texts*, 208–241.

nikāya 22.59) provides the Buddha's sermon to his first five disciples on the nature of the mark of not-self. The **Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP** (Discourse explaining burning, Saṃyutta-nikāya 35.28) gives the Buddha's discourse to his first five disciples on the burning nature of all six senses and an exhortation to become disenchanted with them.

Other texts are conventionally attributed to different periods of the Buddha's life. The **Paṭhamamaṇassati-sutta-CP** (First discourse on the contemplation of death, Aṅguttara-nikāya 6.19) presents the Buddha's discourse in which he instructs his disciples how to cultivate the contemplation on death by imagining one's life lasting for increasingly short intervals. Finally, the **Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta-CP** (Great discourse on the foundations of awareness, Majjhima-nikāya 10; Dīgha-nikāya 22) is the Buddha's discourse on the four foundations of awareness, including awareness of body, sensations, the mind, and mental objects (*dhammas*), concluding with an explication of the great benefits of this form of meditation.

All eleven of these texts may be recited for end-of-life ceremonies, particularly by monks. The **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** stands out for both its prominence and also for the fact that it is often recited by laypeople, particularly male lay priests (*ācāry*), for the ill. It is often specifically chanted for those who still have some chance of recovery, in the hope that listening to this text may bring healing.

### 3.4 Canonical Pali Verse (II-2, -CV)

Just two texts, or rather two short poems extracted from longer texts, belong to this group, appearing once or twice each. **Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV** (Stanza beginning with "Soon, alas, this body," Dhammapada 3.9) describes the inevitability of death and **Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV** (Stanzas beginning with "For limitless births in saṃsāra," Dhammapada 11.8–11.9) relates what according to the commentarial tradition is the Buddha's first declaration after his awakening. The former text is associated with end-of-life rituals, whereas the latter is found in liturgies for the calendrical ritual of Visākhopūjā.

### 3.5 Canonical Pali Mixed Verse and Prose (II-3, -CM)

With the exception of the **Parābhava-sutta-CM**, these six texts, each occurring just once or twice, are quite similar in function to the canonical Pali prose texts and are likewise associated with end-of-life rituals. They are also quite common in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts.

**Āṭānāṭiya-sutta-CM** (Discourse on the Āṭānāṭiya protection, Dīgha-nikāya 32) narrates the Buddha's discourse describing a vast assembly of deities, focusing on Vessavana's recitation of the Āṭānāṭiya protective chant (*rakkha*). **Maṅgala-sutta-CM** (Discourse on blessings, Khuddakapāṭha 5, Sutta-nipāta 2.4), provides the Buddha's discourse on 38 types of blessings. **Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM** (Great discourse on the meeting, Dīgha-nikāya 20) is a discourse of the Buddha concerning a great meeting of deities assembled to see and praise the Buddha and his disciples, concluding with the defeat of Māra's armies. **Isigili-sutta-CM** (Discourse at Isigili, Majjhima-nikāya 116) presents the Buddha's discourse at Isigili mountain

on the *paccekabuddhas* who formerly lived in the vicinity, concluding with an exhortation to pay homage to them. In **UB022**, the text is divided into three *pad*, meaning sections or melodies for recitation, starting with *evam me...* (*nēh pad 1*), then *aritt̃ho...* (*pad m̃tañ diet*), and finally *ye sattasārā* [the third *pad*].... These divisions correspond to the contemporary practice of reciting this text in two or three different styles, with a particularly melodic section beginning at *aritt̃ho...* Finally, the **Dhajajga-sutta-CM** (Discourse on the top of the banner, Saṃyuttanikāya 11.3) provides the discourse of the Buddha on the benefits of recollecting the virtues of the Three Jewels, comparing this recollection to viewing the top of the Sakka’s banner in battle in order to overcome fear.

Whereas the above five texts are situated in an end-of-life context in the leporellos, the **Parābhava-sutta-CM** (Discourse on downfall, Sutta-nipāta 1.6) is explicitly connected to the calendrical ritual of *bhjum p̃ind* for making offerings to ancestors. **UB003** states that this text is “for monks to chant for those who are making offerings of rice-balls” for their ancestors.<sup>47</sup> **UB046** makes clear that this text is to be chanted in the morning, specifically right at dawn (*dhaṛm par"ā p̃ok ārun*). This text is recited every morning by the monks at each monastery during the fortnight leading up to *bhjum p̃ind*. It is almost always recited in a distinct melody reserved for this text. The text itself is a discourse of the Buddha on the causes of downfall for living beings.

### 3.6 Non-Canonical Pali Prose (II-4, -NP)

These twenty-five texts comprise the largest group of Pali texts in the corpus. In terms of frequency, this group is dominated by **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** (44 occurrences), **Ākāravattā A-NP** (43), **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (18), **Itipi so that A-NP** (12), **Ān trai A-NP** (9), **Sahassanaya-NP** (8), and **Dhammakāya-NP** (6). **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ān trai A-NP**, and **Itipi so that A-NP** have three or four additional variants each, of which **Ākāravattā B-NP** (12) and **Ān trai B-NP** (6) are the most frequent. The remaining sixteen texts occur just once or twice in the leporellos. In terms of ritual function, this group contains two texts that strictly appear in a buddha image consecration context in the leporellos, namely **Buddhābhiseka-NP** and **Dhammakāya-NP**, while **Dasajāti-NP** appears in both end-of-life and consecration rituals. The remainder of the texts appear in an end-of-life context.

In addition to frequency and function, this group can also be parsed into different compositional styles. **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP**, **Dvattimsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP**, **Sabbadisāsu-mettāphāraṇa-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and four variants of **Ān trai** (**Ān trai A-NP** through **Ān trai D-NP**) are anonymous reworkings of canonical material, reworkings that date back many centuries. **Atītappaccavekhaṇa-pāṭha-NP**, **Abhinḥappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP**, and **Rūpakammaṭṭhānā-rūpakammaṭṭhāna-NP** also consist of reworked canonical material but are associated with nineteenth-century Dhammayuttikanikāya collections of texts. The remaining texts, with the exception of **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP** and **Dhammakāya-NP**, are in the *Itipi so* style, meaning they are

<sup>47</sup> **UB003** 5b: នេះចប់ធម៌បរាដែលគិត្តសូត្រថ្វាយអ្នកកាន់បិណ្ឌហៅ

structured around the enumeration of extensive lists of the virtues and perfections of the Buddha, each prefaced by *itipi so*, “thus [the Blessed One] is called....”

**Abhidhammamātikā-NP** (Table of contents of the Abhidhamma) is the most prominent exemplar of the first style.<sup>48</sup> This text is divided into seven excerpts from the beginning of each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma, namely the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Dhātukathā*, *Puggalappaññati*, *Kathāvattu*, *Yamaka*, and [*Mahā*] *patthāna*. It is identical to the third portion of **Ān trai A-NP**. In the leprellos themselves (cf. **UB001**, **UB028**, **UB034**, etc.) it is occasionally cited by its colloquial name, *brah dhamm* (the august [Abhi]-dhamma), but more commonly each of the seven excerpts is given its own title. Many leprellos end each excerpt with the Thai phrase *cap lèv<sub>2</sub>* (“finished,” usually spelled *cap' lev<sup>o</sup>* or *capp' lèv<sup>o</sup>* in the manuscripts), while **UB052** also includes the longer Thai phrase *paripunn paripūra(n) lèv<sub>2</sub> lè dān<sub>1</sub> òy* “it is complete and finished, O Venerable!”<sup>49</sup> The incorporation of these Thai phrases suggests that at least some scribes were aware of Siamese manuscript conventions, or had copied from scribes who had such an awareness. In **UB058**, however, **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** is given the unusual title *kauvaṭā khmè*, “the Khmer *Ākāravattā*,” in contrast to **Ākāravattā B-NP**, which **UB058** titles *kovarata sēm*, “the Siamese *Ākāravattā*.” This speaks to a broader process of labeling certain texts “Khmer” and others “Siamese” in Cambodian leprellos (cf. **dhārm yog-bn** and **dhārm yog y/ch**), though in this case it is uncertain what the labels refer to.

**Abhidhammamātikā-NP** is traditionally intoned in a melismatic style as soon as a dying person stops breathing, and again throughout the funeral preparations that follow. **UB015** confirms this tradition, noting that it is to be “chanted for those who have already died.”<sup>50</sup> In contemporary practice its recitation is often preceded by *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (Homage to him, the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Rightly Self-Awakened One), a practice reflected by the incipit to **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** that appears in **UB038**. Some of the lay priests I interviewed described that in certain contexts this text may be recited for those who are severely ill but who have not yet stopped breathing, though in most cases **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** is strictly associated with death. Various longer and shorter abbreviations of the seven books of the Abhidhamma are chanted at funerals in Khmer and Southwestern Tai Buddhist cultures, but in Cambodian leprellos **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** is always essentially the same text.

A closely related set of texts to **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** are the four variants of *Ān trai*, namely **Ān trai A-NP**, **Ān trai B-NP**, **Ān trai C-NP**, and **Ān trai D-NP** (Recitation of the Three Baskets, versions A–D). The first contains three sections: a brief excerpt from the beginning of the *Cullavagga* and the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Vinaya, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the Dīgha-nikāya, and of each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma. The third section is identical to **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**. **Ān trai B-NP** is the same, except that the third section contains only an excerpt from the first book of the Abhidhamma, the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*.

<sup>48</sup> For an edition and analysis of this text as it circulates in Thailand, see Skilling, “Chanting and Inscribing: The ‘Condensed Tripitaka’ in Thai Ritual.”

<sup>49</sup> **UB052** 11a *បរិបូណ៌បូរល្ងើលេខ្លាអៀង*, i.e. *បរិបូណ៌បរិបូរណ៍លើលោកយាយ*

<sup>50</sup> **UB015** 31a *ព្រះអង្គជំងឺពិក្ខុទ្ធុព្រះជំងឺដើម សូតបុត្តលបានស្លាប់*

**Ān trai C-NP** continues the pattern by eliminating the Abhidhamma portion entirely. **Ān trai D-NP** is the most different, as it contains only very brief excerpts from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the *Parivāra*, with non-Pali, non-Khmer words sprinkled throughout.

Among these four, only **Ān trai B-NP** and **Ān trai C-NP** are commonly given the title *Ān trai* in the manuscripts themselves. **Ān trai A-NP**, for reasons unclear to me, usually gives separate titles to the Vinaya excerpt, the Sutta excerpt, and the seven Abhidhamma excerpts. These texts are commonly found in both Khmer and Siamese<sup>51</sup> end-of-life leporellos, but the association between them and end-of-life rituals is obscure in contemporary practice. In both Cambodia and Thailand, these texts are associated with three-seat sermon rituals (Khmer *desanā grè 3*; Thai *deśa(n) sām dharmāsa(n)*),<sup>52</sup> which reenact the First Council, with one monk playing the role of Kassapa, the questioner; another Upāli, who responds about the Vinaya; and a third Ānanda, who responds about the Sutta and the Abhidhamma.<sup>53</sup> After the spoken questions and answers for each basket are complete, a separate group of four monks, known as *brah nāgathter*<sup>54</sup> in Cambodia, melodically intone each of the three portions of **Ān trai B-NP** or sometimes **Ān trai A-NP**.<sup>55</sup> This practice is called *svat cèn* in Thai and *ān trai* in Khmer, hence the name **Ān trai A-NP**, etc.<sup>56</sup>

*Ān trai* performances today are associated only with three-seat sermons, which occasionally take place at funerals, though they can take place at other rituals as well. **UB058** provides cantillation marks for **Ān trai A-NP**, but **UB069**'s **Ān trai D-NP** is the only substantial leporello evidence that speaks to the distinctive performance practices of *ān trai* maintained in a few monasteries in Cambodia. These *ān trai* performances use melodies drawn from nineteenth-century secular music to perform each of the three sections of Pali excerpts, and include a *pad kamplèn* or *chāk kamplèn*<sup>57</sup> (humorous song or scene) between each excerpt. These humorous sections are thus called because they not only imitate secular music but also the sounds of other languages besides Khmer and Pali, especially Thai. Aspects of these performances, and their connections to long-banned Siamese rituals, are addressed in the following chapter.

<sup>51</sup> For more on these “condensed Tripiṭaka” texts in Thailand, see Skilling, “Chanting and Inscribing: The ‘Condensed Tripiṭaka’ in Thai Ritual.”

<sup>52</sup> ទេសនាត្រៃ ៣; เทศน์สามธรรมาสน์

<sup>53</sup> For details on these three-seat sermons, see Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Pathamasāṅgāyanā desanā grè pī បឋមសង្កាយនា ទេសនា ត្រៃបី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār bhnaṃ beñ 59 p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារ ភ្នំពេញ លេខ ៥៩ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 2002); and Kun Sopheap, “Les rituels accompagnant les prédications dans le bouddhisme traditionnel des Khmers,” trans. Olivier de Bernon, *Aséanie* 32 (December 2013): 101–102.

<sup>54</sup> ព្រះនាគត្រូវ

<sup>55</sup> For ritual instructions on this practice, see **UB045** 2b: ៖ តអំពីនេះនឹងសំដែង បាប ព្រះវិន័យ ព្រះសូត្រ ព្រះអភិធម្ម សង្ខេប ដៃ លលោករួមទុក ឱ្យព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រក្នុងកាលចប់ សង្កឹតិទេសនា នោះតាមលំដាប់តទៅ។

<sup>56</sup> สวดแจง; អាទត្រៃ

<sup>57</sup> បទកំប្លែង; តាកកំប្លែង

Another text compiled from excerpts from the Pali canon is **Sahassanaya-NP** (One thousand meanings).<sup>58</sup> This text consists of four successive excerpts from the *Dhammasaṅgani*, each an analysis of the wholesome phenomena and mental factors at work in the progression through the supramundane absorptions. **UB058** contains a few rare cantillation marks for this text, supporting the idea that it was once chanted in a distinctive melodic cadence for end-of-life rituals. However, I have searched for eleven years without success to find someone in Cambodia who still knew this melody or who had even ever heard it in youth. Hence its performance may have already been in steep decline by the mid-twentieth century. As discussed in the following chapter, this text is also common in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siamese leporellos. It is not surprising, then, that both **UB015** and **UB067** use Thai phrases marking completion at the conclusion of this text, *toy paripūra(n) dau<sub>1</sub> nī<sub>2</sub> lè* and *cap lèv<sub>2</sub>*, respectively.<sup>59</sup>

**Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇa-NP** (Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters) is also reworked from canonical sources, with some additional commentarial sources as well.<sup>60</sup> Numerous variations exist; this one is among the longest witnessed in Cambodia, though in Thai liturgies this text can be embedded in even longer texts, such as the *Cakkavāḷamettabhāvanā*.<sup>61</sup> A longer example is a long extract from the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, a passage known in Thailand as the *mettā hñāi*,<sup>62</sup> “Great [Text on] Friendliness”. The leporello version, **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇa-NP**, functions as an end-of-life text that first extends friendliness (*mettā*) to all beings in all directions, then compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and finally equanimity (*upekkhā*). As this text is related to the *Uñhissavijaya* in Cambodia, I discuss it at some length in Chapter 5 (see *infra*, 295–298).

**Dvattiṃsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP** (Meditation on the thirty-two parts of the body) comes directly from the *Visuddhimagga*, though the list of parts of the body comes from the canon.<sup>63</sup> The single leporello version states that “to meditate on this everyday is exceptionally wonderful.”<sup>64</sup> The text presents an end-of-life meditation that first lists all of the thirty-two parts of the body in order, then recites the first five forwards and backwards, then the next five forwards and the first ten backwards, then the next five after that forwards and the first fifteen backwards, until all thirty-two are recited backwards at the end (i.e. ABCDE, EDCBA, FGHJI, JIHGFEDCBA, KLMNO, ONMLKJIHGFEDCBA, etc.).

The remaining three texts that rework material from the canon are associated with the body of texts produced by the Dhammayuttika-nikāya in nineteenth-century Siam, though

<sup>58</sup> Unebe’s analysis of this text shows that only 200 *naya* could be plausibly calculated, well short of 1,000. See Toshiya Unebe, “Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvātimsa Heaven,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 438–440.

<sup>59</sup> **UB015** 35b *ដោយបរិបូរេចានិលេះ* i.e. *โดยบริบูรณ์เท่านั้นแล*; **UB067** 9b *cap lvev* i.e. *จบแล้ว*

<sup>60</sup> One part is related to a passage in the *Visuddhimagga* (PTS 309–310) and another to a passage in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, PTS III 74.

<sup>61</sup> See Anandajoti Bhikkhu, *Safeguard Recitals* (Kandy, 2014), 194–196.

<sup>62</sup> *เมตตาใหญ่*

<sup>63</sup> Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Path of Purification* (Seattle: BPS Pariyatti Editions, 1999), 237–238.

<sup>64</sup> **UB021** 60a *อุทฺทมาถาสถุโธวโรเสสบบาสเบตถ ๗*

they may have been composed earlier. **Atītapaccavekhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (Passage for reflection on the past) is a common text recited by monks in Cambodia, though it is rare in leporellos. The text comprises a reflection on the four types of requisites (robes, alms food, lodging, and medicine) used by a monastic over the course of each day.

**Abhiṇhapaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (Passage for frequent reflection) offers a contemplation for monastics on the inevitability of karma, old age, illness, and death. Finally,

**Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakammaṭṭhāna-pāṭha-NP** (Physical and non-physical meditation), possibly compiled by King Rāma IV, explains two different forms of meditation, one that focuses on the physicality of the body, including its impermanence and its thirty-two parts, and another that focuses on the non-physical realm of pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral sensations. All three texts only occur once or twice each, and only in leporellos from the past three decades.

The second style of non-canonical Pali prose texts are those composed in the *itipi so* style. *Itipi so* texts are those that use repetitions of the formula *itipi so...* (“Thus he [i.e. the Buddha] is called...”) coupled with various epithets and qualities of the Buddha. The twelve texts in this style are only a small sampling of such texts that circulate in Southeast Asia. The basic template for *itipi so* texts is the set of qualities (*guṇa*) of the Three Jewels articulated in canonical texts such as the previously discussed **Dhajagga-sutta-CM**. In this text, the enumeration of the qualities of the Buddha begins with *itipi so bhagavā*. The recitation of these qualities is explicitly recommended in a Khmer verse text from the corpus, **sarasör prīṭhabī-k** (In praise of the earth):

១៤	14
និរុដ្ឋកផង	All people
ទោះដឹងយល់ហោង	who know and understand,
ប្រសើរvaro	who are great and excellent,
ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
សងគុណ buddho	to repay their debt to the Buddha,
ពី itipi so	from itipi so
ទៅដល់ bhagavā ti ។	to bhagavā ti.
១៥	15
អ្នកផងទាំងឡាយ	All the people
ស្តាប់ធម៌អភិប្រាយ	should listen to the explication of the Dharma
ដោយបទបាលី	in accordance with the Pali phrases,
និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
ដោយព្រះគម្ពីរ	following the sacred scriptures
ដោយបទបាលី	with their Pali phrases,

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ប្រសើរ <i>settho</i> ។	most excellent,
១៦	16
ព្រងើយកាលនោះណា	and then, at that moment,
ដោយព្រះគាថា	by using a single
បាលី <i>eko</i>	Pali verse,
ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
សងគុណ <i>dharmo</i>	to repay their debts to the Dhamma,
ពី <i>svākkhāto</i>	from <i>svākkhāto</i>
ទៅដល់ <i>vinīhīti ti</i> ។	to <i>vinīhīti ti</i> .
១៧	17
ហើយអ្នកទាំងឡាយ	Moreover, all people
ឲ្យធ្វើសប្បាយ	should generate joy
ក្នុងចិត្តឯងក្តី	within their hearts
និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
ដោយព្រះគម្ពីរ	following the sacred scriptures
ដោយបទបាលី	with their Pali phrases,
ប្រសើរ <i>settho</i> ។	most excellent.
១៨	18
នរណាម្នាក់	All people
ទោះដឹងយល់ហោង	who know and understand,
ប្រសើរ <i>varo</i>	who are great and excellent,
ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
គុណលោក <i>saṅgho</i>	to repay their debt to the Saṅgha,
ពី <i>supatīpanno</i>	from <i>supatīpanno</i>
ទៅដល់ <i>sārathī</i> ។	to <i>sārathī</i> .
១៩	19
អ្នកផងទាំងឡាយ	All people
ស្តាប់ទងនិយាយ	should listen to the words spoken
ដោយព្រះគម្ពីរ	in the sacred scriptures
និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
អស់ព្រះបារមី	of the Lord's perfections,
កាលកើតមកក្តី	from when he was born
បានចូលនិព្វាន ។	until he entered Nibbāna.
២០	20
ហៃអស់អ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	All you wise people!
ឲ្យសូត្រព្រឹកល្ងាច	You should chant in the morning, in the evening,



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ថ្ងៃត្រង់កុំខាន	and at noon without fail,
អាចចម្រើនអង្គ	to cultivate your being,
ទីនៃសព្វប្រាណ	each one of you, every one,
នោះនៃទើបបាន	such that you can achieve
សុខសួគ៌សម្បត្តិ ។	the bliss of the heavenly treasures.

A subsequent passage from the same text, **sarasör prīṭhabī-k**, also recommends the recitation of other texts, including **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, the *Vessantara-jātaka*, the *Paññāsa-jātaka*, and the *Ākāravattā*:

២១	21
គុណអ្នកម្តាយ	As for their debts to their mothers,
ព្រះពុទ្ធទាំងឡាយ	all buddhas
តែងសងគុណថ្នាក់	always repay them
យកព្រះអភិធម្ម	using the Abhidhamma,
ធម៌តែងនាំសត្វ	the Dharma that leads beings,
ប្រសើរពេកក្តី	the Dharma that is excellent
សងគុណមាតា	for repaying maternal debts.
២២	22
ព្រះជនកសោតនៃ	As for their fathers,
ព្រះគុណថ្នាក់ថ្លៃ	their virtues are most precious
ប្រសើរមហិមា	and immensely great,
ឲ្យយកមហាជាតិ	so they use the <i>Mahājāti</i>
វេស្សន្តរដីកា	of <i>Vessantara</i> and its <i>tīkā</i> ,
ព្រះពុទ្ធចេសនា	which the buddhas preach
សងគុណនោះហោង ។	to repay those debts.
២៣	23
រំលោភជាគ្រូ	As for our teachers,
លោកហោងនាំផ្លូវ	those who show us the way
ដើរដោយគន្លង	to walk the path,
យកការវតា	we can take the <i>Kāvātā</i> [ <i>Ākāravattā</i> ]
សងគុណលោកហោង	to repay our teachers
បំបាត់បាបផង	and destroy all sins
អស់បាបនោះណា ។	to eradicate them completely.
២៤	24
រើសអ្នកផង	For all people,

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ប្រដាប់នឹងសង	the means to repay
គុណញាតិកា	the virtues of their relatives
ឲ្យយកធម្មបញ្ញាស	is to take one of the <i>jātakas</i>
ជាតិកឯណា	from the <i>Paññāsajātaka</i> .
ធម៌នោះថ្លៃថ្លា	This Dharma is precious
ប្រសើរពេកហោង ។	and extremely excellent.

The *Ākāravattā* is represented by a family of five texts in the leporello corpus, **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**. The most prominent *itipi so* in the leporellos is **Ākāravattā A-NP** (*Ākāravattā*, version A). Both **Ākāravattā A-NP** and **Ākāravattā D-NP** are essentially excerpts or modified excerpts of the full text of the *Ākāravattāra-sutta* published by Jaini.<sup>65</sup> **Ākāravattā A-NP** contains just the core of Jaini’s text (sections 11–28), comprising a short introduction concerning the Buddha’s epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, followed by a non-canonical enumeration of the perfections of the Buddha, divided into seventeen chapters of ten perfections each. **Ākāravattā D-NP** is essentially the same as **Ākāravattā A-NP**, but concludes with an additional section in which the Buddha declares to Sāriputta that, from the moment of his awakening, he recalls how the *Ākāravattā* can destroy all sins, corresponding to section 29 in Jaini’s edition.

The most unusual variant among the five is **Ākāravattā B-NP**. This version begins with the same short introduction concerning the Buddha’s epithets and fame, followed by a non-canonical enumeration of the perfections of the Buddha. This extensive enumeration is not divided into chapters, but includes repeated petition to be free from illness, disaster, and other obstacles. This is followed by an extensive excerpt from the seventh chapter (*Samuccayapariccheda*) of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha*. The text closes with a final petition that all illness, disasters, and other obstacles be destroyed by the power of the *Ākāravattā* and that all beings, from those in the lower realms up to those in the heavens, be happy. **Ākāravattā C-NP** and **Ākāravattā E-NP** appear to be simplified versions of **Ākāravattā B-NP** and **Ākāravattā A-NP**, respectively. **Ākāravattā C-NP** comprises the same short introduction as above, followed by a simple enumeration of the thirty perfections of the Buddha (the ten normal *pāramī*, from *dāna* to *upekkhā*, plus the same ten *upapāramī* and ten *paramatthapāramī*), with a concluding petition to be free from illness and disaster and for all beings to be happy.

Due to the prominence of this family of texts in leporellos, I discuss the *Ākāravattā* in some detail here, as it does not feature as prominently in the chapters that follow. The *Ākāravattā*, in its five versions, is perhaps *the* defining text of Cambodian chanted leporellos. Indeed, it occurs no fewer than 58 times in the set of 70 leporellos. Few Cambodians are familiar with the term *Ākāravattā* itself, however. In spoken parlance, *kauvatā* or *braḥ kauvatā* is the preferred term. Many leporellos follow this usage when presenting the title of the *Ākāravattā*.

<sup>65</sup> Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand.”

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But the orthographic variants are legion, with or without the honorific *braḥ* (“venerable, august, sacred”), including *kauvaṭār*, *kauvatā*, *kauvatār*, *kāvaṭā*, *kāvaṭār*, *kāvatā*, and *kāvatār*. In some older manuscripts or in those favoring bygone orthographic conventions, the spelling *kovatā* occurs as well.<sup>66</sup> All of these names share essentially the same three-syllable phonetic realization, or four if *braḥ* is added. This pronunciation is rarely followed by the term *sūtr*, the Khmer-Sanskrit equivalent of Pali *sutta* that is favored in Cambodia. By contrast, the five-syllable pronunciation *ākāravattā*, also used in some titles for the *Ākāravattā* in leporellos, is typically followed by *sūtr*. Other alternate orthographies for *ākāravattā* include *ākāravattār*, *akāravattā*, and *akāravattār*. The five-syllable pronunciation does not typically include the *braḥ* honorific.

This wide array of modern spellings for the title of this text is largely confined to Cambodia. In Laos and Thailand, the other areas where the *Ākāravattā* is known, the orthography *ākāravattā*, generally followed by either *sūt* (Laos), *sut* (Thailand), or *sūtr* (Thailand), has become a standard in modern printed books. The honorific prefix *braḥ* or some *braḥ gāthā* (“holy Pali verses”) is common in printed books from Thailand. In palm-leaf manuscripts from central Thailand, northern Thailand, and Laos, however, more variations exist.<sup>67</sup> In Laos and Northern Thailand, the variations remain confined to five-syllable versions, ranging from the most common *ākāravatta* to variants such as *akāravatta*, *ākālavatta*, and *ākāravata*.<sup>68</sup> Such manuscript titles are almost always followed by *suḍ*, the local form of *sutta*.<sup>69</sup>

The three-syllable variant, *kauvaṭā*, remains the local term of choice in Khmer-speaking areas of Cambodia and Thailand. This title never appears within the Pali text itself but only paratextually. While *kavāṭa* can mean “window” or “door” in Pali and Sanskrit, it is difficult to understand the sense of *kauvaṭā* other than as a shortening of *Ākāravattā*. In central Khmer

<sup>66</sup> In Khmer communities in Northeast Thailand, the variant *kautār* เกาดาร appears. See Mañkuṭ Kèn̄tiēv มงกุฏ แก่นเตี้ยว, “Kautār: gāmbhī(r)-khmer เกาดาร : คัมภีร์-เขมร,” 335–336. Other rare variants in Cambodia include *kēvaṭār* កែវវាត. See Khāt’ Khun ខាត់ ខុន, *Kamrañ kpuon cpāp’ purāñ khmèr* កម្រងក្បួនច្បាប់បុរាណខ្មែរ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Gañ’ Sār’an គង់ សារ៉ន, 2012), 206.

<sup>67</sup> One important central Thai variant witnessed in a single palm-leaf manuscript published by Jaini is *ākāravattāra*, but this variant occurs only in the *sutta* itself, not in the title or colophon. These read *ākāravasutta* and *ākāravattasūtra* respectively.

<sup>68</sup> Such a range of variants is not uncommon in Southeast Asian manuscripts, though that of the *Ākāravattā-sutta* looms particularly large. For vernacular manuscripts, variant orthographies in titles reflect the lack of standardization in the language in particular periods. For Pali manuscripts, such variants reflect less on a lack of standardization but more on differing conventions with regards to titles, local titular traditions, as well as etymological uncertainties regarding the meaning of particular titles. For non-canonical Pali texts such as the *Ākāravattā-sutta*, all three of these factors may be in play.

<sup>69</sup> Various extended versions of the *Ākāravattā* address the question of its canonicity, with some claiming that it belongs to the Saṃyutta-nikāya and others arguing it falls outside of the Tipiṭaka. But with the exception of the three-syllable Khmer title *kauvaṭā*, *sutta* or a variant thereof almost always follows *Ākāravattā* in both manuscripts and printed books. In Thai printed material, sometimes the words *braḥ gāthā* พระคาถา are added before the title as well. The pattern of whether terms such as *gāthā* or *sutta* are appended to titles of non-canonical Pali texts in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand is complex. In Thailand, the term *gāthā* or *braḥ gāthā* is freely applied to many Pali texts, generally those to which special powers are ascribed. Such *gāthās* need not be verse texts. Thus in Thailand a prose text such as the *Ākāravattā* maybe considered a *gāthā* or consisting in *gāthās*, whereas in Cambodia the term is more strictly reserved for Pali verse compositions or for certain very short magical spells in prose.

dialects, final and sometimes medial r-sounds have gone silent in recent centuries, and this process supports a view that *kauvaṭā* is a shortening of *Ākāravattā*.

If *kauvaṭā* is derived from some version of the five-syllable *Ākāravattā*, then the problem remains of what the latter might mean. We might first try to consider the whole term as a single word, rather than a compound. The *Apaṇṇaka-sutta* of the Majjhima-nikāya uses the term *ākāravant*, in its feminine nominative singular form *ākāravatī*, to describe the kind of faith (*saddhā*) that is based in reason.<sup>70</sup> *Ākāravā* is the corresponding masculine and neuter nominative singular form. While *Ākāravatā*, with a non-geminate dental stop, is a plausible masculine instrumental form, it would be unusual for the title of a text. Hence, analyzing the title as a *tatpuruṣa* compound composed of the terms *ākāra* and *vattā* in a genitive relationship, “the *vattā* of the *ākāra*(s),” makes the most sense.

Padmanabh S. Jaini, in his study of a Central Thai manuscript using the variant *ākāravattāra*, suggests that *vattāra* means “the speaker.”<sup>71</sup> I find this untenable since the Pali agentive stem form *vattar* (related to Sanskrit *vaktṛ*) should appear in the nominative singular as *vattā* and only in the plural as *vattāro*; *vattāra* is nowhere attested. Although the final *-ra* appears in Jaini’s Central Thai manuscript and in a sizable number of Khmer manuscripts, I would suggest that it is more likely the intrusion of a silent Khmer orthographic variant that produces the form *Ākāravattāra* in Jaini’s manuscript. I do concur with Jaini that the final two syllables of the title probably mean “speaker” or “that which expounds,” though I prefer *vattā* as the appropriate spelling in this context.

As for the first three syllables, Jaini argues that *ākāra* means “the manner of,” as in “the manner of [averting rebirth in hells].”<sup>72</sup> Although the *ānisaṃsa* tradition of the *Ākāravattā* indeed concerns how to avoid birth in the lower realms, i.e. by reciting and listening to this very *sutta*, this strikes me as a roundabout explanation for *ākāra*, especially since “averting rebirth in hells” has to be supplied in brackets for the title to make any sense.

*Ākāra* is, of course, a notoriously polyvalent term in Indic texts. Beyond its basic meanings of condition, attribute, form, mode, or reason, it takes a number of specific technical senses in Indian philosophical traditions, including Buddhist schools such as Yogācāra. What else besides “the manner of [averting rebirth in hells]” might *ākāra* mean in the title of this text? The Cambodian sources I am aware of are entirely silent on this matter, and no contemporary reciters of this text in Cambodia offered any explanations. A number of Thai printed books that translate the title of this text use the formulation *braḥ sūtr vā<sub>1</sub> tva<sub>2</sub> braḥ ākāra dī<sub>1</sub> ꦥេន ꦥៃ អើន<sub>1</sub> braḥ buddha cau<sub>2</sub>* (“the sutra that speaks of the *ākāra* that exist for the Lord Buddha.”)<sup>73</sup> Although *ākāra* remains untranslated, this explanation of the title suggests that the Indic term retains its usual senses in Khmer and Thai, to wit: sign or symptom, manner or conduct, and organ or constituent part. The first and third senses strike me as particularly

<sup>70</sup> It specifically distinguishes two kinds of faith or confidence: *amūlakasaddhā*, “rootless faith,” and *ākāravatisaddhā*. As the commentary clarifies, “in this case, *ākāravatī* means ‘possessing reason’ or ‘with reason’” (*tattha ākāravatīti kāranavatī sahetukā*) (VRI Tipiṭaka, Majjhimaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā, 1. Gahapativaggo, 10. Apaṇṇakasuttavaṇṇanā, §93).

<sup>71</sup> Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” 537.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> พระสูตรว่าด้วยพระอาการที่เป็นไปแห่งพระพุทธเจ้า

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appropriate here. Since the core text of the *Ākāravattā* consists of seventeen *vagga*, or sections, that enumerate 164 different *pāramī* of buddhas, the term *ākāra* may refer to these “aspects,” “signs,” or “constituent parts” of buddhas.

This use of *ākāra* to refer to characteristics of bodies or beings, in this case the body of buddhas as consisting in the sum total of their *pāramī*, matches the embodied referents of the term in Thai and Khmer. Symptoms of illnesses, as manifested on or in the body, are known as *ākāra* in these languages. The resonance with the physical sense of *ākāra* continues with the notion of the 32 *ākāra*, or 32 parts of the body, expressed in both languages and derived from the Pali *dvattimsākāra*, crucial to both traditional medicine and *kammattthāna* meditation systems in Southeast Asia.

Perhaps the most straightforward way to understand the title of the *Ākāravattā* is to follow the standard Thai explanation that it is a text enumerating the signs or parts—in this case, the *pāramī*—that comprise the existence of buddhas. Taken a step further, the title of the text may present a notion that while the external physical makeup of a buddha consists of the 32 characteristics (*lakkhaṇa*) of a great man, or *mahāpurusa-lakkhaṇa*, the *ākāra* of a buddha comprise his *pāramī*. And given that the 32 characteristics of a great man is listed among the *pāramī* in the *Ākāravattā*, the 164 *ākāra* or *pāramī* are more fundamental to a buddha’s existence.

This conflation of *ākāra*, *lakkhaṇa*, and *pāramī* is not the only possible explanation of the title of this text, however. There are a few commonly witnessed orthographic variants in Cambodian, Lao, and Thai manuscripts that prompt further reflection on whether *Ākāravattā* is the appropriate standardized title.<sup>74</sup> One such variant concerns whether the initial vowel is *a* or *ā*. If we consider the former, which occurs in the titles of many Lao manuscripts and a few Khmer ones, then the title refers not to *ākāra* at all but rather to *akāra*, or the letter *a*, usually considered the first letter in the Sanskrit alphabet and a crux of various Hindu and Buddhist philosophical and ritual systems.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Another orthographic variant, that of a single, non-germinate *ta* in the title, surfaces in both Khmer and Lao manuscripts. At the moment, I am unable to explain such a variant, except with regards to scribal practices or the aforementioned dubious connection to a possessive *-vant* suffix. A potentially more disruptive variant that to my knowledge only occurs in Lao and Northern Thai manuscripts is the short final *a* vowel in the title. Breaking the compound up the same way as before would yield *ākāra + vatta* (or possibly *akāra + vatta*). *Vatta* can mean “religious duty, service, or liturgy” in Pali, so this variant could be read to mean “liturgy of the *ākāras*” or “liturgy of the *akāra*.” This strikes me as a less likely reading of the title. But the short-*a* variant raises a further possibility, that of *vatta* being a misreading of *vagga*, for *ga* and *ta* are easily confused in Khom and Khmer scripts. To my knowledge, however, no extant manuscript includes *vagga* in the title, even though *Ākāra-vagga-sutta* (“The Discourse on the sections of the constituents”) or *Akāra-vagga-sutta* (“The Discourse on the sections [beginning] with the letter *a*”) might make for a more comprehensible descriptive title than what I have standardized as *Ākāravattā*.

<sup>75</sup> The use of terminology drawn from Sanskrit Buddhist texts is common in the titles of non-canonical Pali texts in Southeast Asia. The Pali liturgical texts *Uṇhissavijaya* and *Mahāmegha-sutta* clearly drawn on the titles of their famous Sanskrit counterparts, *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī-sūtra* and *Mahāmegha-sūtra*, though their textual content is only obliquely related. The six-part mantras of *Salākavijjā* or the *Chalankāravijjā* in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand—*ditthilā dandhalā maṇḍalā rogalā kavalā dubbalā* in one Khmer manuscript version—may recount another famous six-part mantra in Sanskrit, the *ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā* mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*.

The precedent thus exists for the appearance of a term such as *akāra* in a Pali text. The first two *vagga* of the *Ākāravattā-sutta* do in fact begin with the *akāra*: *arahādiguṇa-vagga* and *abhinihāra-vagga*. So it is possible, however

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Even if we accept the standardized title *Ākāravattā* as the most likely candidate for the text's title at the time of composition, we cannot ignore the plural manifestation of titles that surround this text. The multiple titles and the confusion over their etymologies constitute crucial paratexts that illuminate our understanding of the text and its genre. In a single leporello, it is not uncommon to have the prefatory title, the title in the Pali text, and the title in the Khmer colophon to all be spelled differently. This complex excursus into the etymology of the title of this text may seem to be at odds with the three-syllable moniker by which most Cambodians hear of the text. But for some Cambodians who recite, transcribe, and listen to this text, the questions of whether *kauvaṭā* has a silent final *-r* and why the Pali title has more syllables than its Khmer counterpart remain subjects of discussion. The plethora of orthographic variants speaks not to carelessness but to earnest disagreement over what the text stands for. Even as scholars posit watershed moments when Buddhism in Southeast Asia encountered new notions of modernity and authenticity, there has perhaps never been a time when local, non-canonical Pali liturgical texts such as the *Ākāravattā* were not contested.

Cambodian leporello manuscripts raise these issues of titles and their contestations with particular potency. Their position as manuscripts often used outside of the monastery for personal use by laypeople highlights the individual choices made by their creators, who copied from memory or from a range of preexisting texts. Putting Cambodian leporello variants for the title of the *Ākāravattā* in conversation with closely related manuscript traditions in Laos and Thailand clarifies how the orthography of the title remains an unresolved question everywhere. Moreover, the *Ākāravattā* fits in with a broader pattern in non-canonical Pali texts in the region, including *Paññāpāramī*, *Uṇhissavijaya*, *Mahāmettī*, and the *Salākavijjā-sutta*, all of which feature a variety of variant titles in Cambodia, Lao, and Thailand. The titles of these texts, with the possible inclusion of the *Ākāravattā* as well, hark back to the first half of the second millennium, when Sanskrit-based Buddhist traditions flourished alongside Pali-based texts in Southeast Asia. These issues are addressed at greater length in Chapter 5 (see *infra*, 249–316).

The three-syllable *kauvaṭā* title in Cambodian manuscripts points to how the paratextual information contained in a variant title reframes our understanding of a text. As discussed in the previous chapter, leporello manuscripts used for end-of-life rituals in Cambodia are often referred to as *krāṇṇi kauvaṭā*, “*Ākāravattā* leperellos.” This takes both the form of an oral paratext, as when responding to the question of “what kind of a leporello is that?,” as well as a written paratext, such as a manuscript cover emblazoned with the words *krāṇṇi kauvaṭā* or simply *kauvaṭā*.<sup>76</sup> In this way, *kauvaṭā* becomes a shorthand not only for the *Ākāravattā*, in any of its five variants, but also for the whole range of vernacular and Pali texts recited in the elaborate *smūtr* or Dharma song style for end-of-life rituals in Cambodia, including the **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, and **Sahassanaya-**

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unlikely, that the *Ākāravattā-sutta*'s title references a non-Pali Buddhist notion of *akāra* in the same way that other non-canonical Pali texts such as *Uṇhissavijaya*, *Mahāmegha-sutta*, and *Salākavijjā/Chalaṅkāravijjā* may reach back to Sanskrit Buddhist texts possibly known in a previous era of Southeast Asian history.

<sup>76</sup> **UB010, UB011, UB043, UB047, UB057, UB061, UB063, and UB063.** A handful of leporellos instead bear the alternative cover title *krāṇṇi girimānand*, for **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**.

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**NP**, as well as a variety of vernacular texts focusing on generating a sense of being stirred (*saṃvega*) for the fragility of the human body and a sense of being stilled in clear faith (*pasāda*) for the luminosity of the bodies of buddhas and their relics. While this usage of *kauwatā* is generally in the sense of “a manuscript that contains the *Ākāravattā*, among other ritually related texts,” rather than implying that texts beyond the *Ākāravattā* are somehow also *kauwatā*, there may be some slippage between these two usages. The widespread use of the shortened title *kauwatā* as a synecdoche for a wide range of end-of-life texts attests to the uncontested prominence of the *Ākāravattā* in end-of-life rituals.

Like the **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, and various versions of *Ān traī*, **Ākāravattā A-NP** and its variants are also traditionally recited in a richly ornamented and melismatic style. However, I have not yet encountered a leporello that provides cantillation marks for this text. But other paratextual markers seem to provide sufficient structure for performers to remember how to perform the melody they learned from their teacher. When cantillation marks do appear in Cambodian or Siamese manuscripts, they seem to serve primarily as mnemonics to remind performers when to follow the upward and downward contours of the melodies or where to place particular kinds of vocal ornamentation.<sup>77</sup> In the case of the melodies used to perform **Ākāravattā A-NP**, the brackets and section markers that paratextually annotate the Pali offer sufficient reminders for the performer to accurately chant the text without the need for cantillation marks.

**Ākāravattā A-NP** is the only variant for which I have clear evidence as to its performance practice, having studied this version from the late *ācāry* Braṃ Ut of Kampong Speu province from 2005 to 2006. **Ākāravattā B-NP** is only rarely heard today; I only have evidence of its performance through audio cassette recordings. **Ākāravattā A-NP** begins as follows, with parenthetical notation of the time in minutes and seconds elapsed during the performance of this text by Braṃ Ut in 2006. Each of the five sentences in the Pali text corresponds roughly to a single extended melodic phrase.

(00:00 – 1:31) *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.*

(01:31 – 02:41) *seyyathīdaṃ taṃ kho pana bhagavantaṃ gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāno kittisaddo abhuggato:*

(02:41–03:47) *iti pi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaranasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī satthā devamanussānam buddho bhagavā ti.*

(03:47–04:35) *so imam lokam sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakam sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyam pajjam sadevamanussaṃ sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti.*

(04:35–06:53) *so bhagavā cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto dhammabhūto brahmabhūto pavattā atthassa nīnnetā amatadātā dhammasāmī dhammarājā dhammaṃ desesti ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyoṣāṇakalyāṇam*

<sup>77</sup> Khmer *tōn* ព្រះវិហារ; Thai *tōn*<sub>2</sub> เอื้อน

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*sātham sabyañjanam kevalam paripunnam parisuddham brahmacariyam pakāseti sādhu kho pana tathārūpānam arahatam dassanam hoti.*

**Ākāravattā B-NP** begins in a similar way, this time with parenthetical notation of the time elapsed in an anonymous performance recorded on a cassette tape I purchased in 2008. Despite the differences in texts and performers, the first four sentences are performed in quite similar melodic structures, both with same the six-tone scale, C – E<sub>b</sub> – E – F – G – B<sub>b</sub>.

(00:00 – 1:24) *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*

(01:24 – 2:16) *taṃ kho pana bhagavantam evam kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato.*

(02:16 – 3:40) *itipi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaranasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānam buddho bhagavāti.*

(3:40 – 5:09) *so imam lokam sadevakaṃ samāraṃ sabrahmakam sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyam sadevamanussam hoti.*

The initial parts of the text take the longest to perform. In musical terms, they are the most melismatic, stretching small numbers of Pali syllables over many notes. As the text progresses, the pace speeds up slightly and the melody takes on a quite regular pattern dictated by the structure of the particular version of *Ākāravattā* performed. For **Ākāravattā A-NP**, many leprellos employ brackets to abbreviate the repetitive portions of the text. Not all of the repetitious portions are set off by brackets. For instance, the portion of the text that follows directly from that cited above always takes the form of a simple block of text:

*iti pi so bhagavā araham iti pi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho iti pi so bhagavā vijjācaranasampanno iti pi so bhagavā sugato iti pi so bhagavā lokavidū iti pi so bhagavā anuttaro iti pi so bhagavā purisadammasārathi iti pi so bhagavā satthā devamanussānam iti pi so bhagavā buddho iti pi so bhagavā ti bhagavā ti. arahādiguṇavaggo pathamo.*

However, in many leprello versions of **Ākāravattā A-NP**, the next portion, the so-called second “section” or *vagga*, is set off in brackets so that it does not appear as a block of text. In versions without brackets, this section appears as follows:

*iti pi so bhagavā abhinthārapāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā ulārajjhāsayaṇapāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā paṇidhānapāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā mahākaruṇāpāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā ñānapāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā payogaṇapāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā yuttipāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā cutipāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā gabbhaokkantipāramīsampanno iti pi so bhagavā gabbhatthitipāramīsampanno. abhinthāravaggo dutiyo.*

With brackets, this sections instead appears as follows:



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	↖			↗	
		<i>abhināhāra</i>			
		<i>ulārajjhāsaya</i>			
		<i>paṇidhāna</i>			
		<i>mahākaruṇā</i>			
		<i>ñāṇa</i>			
<i>itipi so bhagavā</i>		<i>payoga</i>			<i>pāramīsaṃpanno</i>
		<i>yutti</i>			
		<i>cuti</i>			
		<i>gabbhaokkanti</i>			
		<i>gabbhaṭṭhiti</i>			
	↙			↘	
		<i>abhināhāravaggo dutiyo.</i>			

Perhaps the most obvious function of these brackets is to save the scribe time in copying the manuscript by hand, so that he (or rarely she) does not have to write out *itipi so bhagavā* and *pāramīsaṃpanno* 147 extra times.<sup>78</sup> But the brackets also have the effect of visually structuring the melody for the performer. The changing words within the brackets are produced on a single tone or two tones, with little to no melisma. The stable words outside of the brackets, *itipi so bhagavā* and *pāramīsaṃpanno*, are, by contrast, performed on many musical notes. The brackets are thus a kind of paratext in the manuscripts that support the melodic realization of the text. Note also that the section-ending markers, such as *abhināhāravaggo dutiyo*, sit outside the brackets. In some manuscripts, they are set off by other punctuation marks, such as the *khaṇḍ* or the *go mūtr*.<sup>79</sup> In other manuscripts they are translated into Khmer or are missing entirely. These section markers, however, are not typically recited as part of the text’s performance. Like the brackets, they serve a structuring function that helps to remind the performer to modify the melody appropriately to mark off the different sections.

All five versions of the *Ākāravattā* are intended to be recited for the very ill, particularly those without hope of a medical recovery or on the verge of death. The benefits ascribed to listening to this text, briefly described in the previous chapter, are discussed more fully in Chapter 9 in the context of the Khmer vernacular literature praising the benefits of this text, particularly **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**. A few leporellos, such as **UB045**, make explicit how the *Ākāravattā* is intended to be recited for invalids to listen to and contemplate on their deathbeds, so as to direct their minds toward the perfections of the Buddha: “[this is] the recitation of the meditation practice for recollection [of the Buddha], for an ill person to listen to.”<sup>80</sup>

Beyond the *Ākāravattā*, another prominent *itipi so* text for end-of-life rituals is *Itipi so that*,

<sup>78</sup> The text of **Ākāravattā A-NP** repeats this phrase a total of 148 times.

<sup>79</sup> The 𑀧 and 𑀭 marks, respectively.

<sup>80</sup> **UB045** 69b ការស្តារធុរយន័អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានឱ្យអពាធស្តាប់

consisting of three variants, beginning with **Itipi so that A-NP** (“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version A). This first variant follows a simple liturgical formula of going for refuge and paying homage to each of the ten epithets of the Buddha. **Itipi so that B-NP** follows a slightly different structure, first enumerating the ten epithets of the Buddha, then going for refuge and paying homage to each. **Itipi so that C-NP** goes for refuge and pays homage to each of the ten epithets of the Buddha, then lists his thirty perfections, along with the four *brahmavihāras* for each. The sense of the word *that*, which derives from a Tai language, is explained in Chapter 5. **UB060** makes it clear that this text is to be recited for those close to death, specifically “to be chanted [for those] with little strength [remaining].”<sup>81</sup>

There are two other, much rarer *itipi so* texts for end-of-life rituals in the corpus. The first is **Itipi so 10 dis-NP** (“Thus he is called” in the ten-directions), also known as *paṇḍāyo*<sup>o</sup> *1 sèn jānd*, “the fortress of one hundred thousand levels.” For each of the ten directions, this text connects one of the ten epithets and one of the ten perfections of the Buddha, then goes for refuge and pays homage to each, and petitions for protection within the body. The second is **Rāp' thān-NP** (Numbering the realms), which enumerates the Buddha’s ten perfections, his four *brahmavihāras*, his generosity, his meditative knowledges, his attainment of the four paths and the four fruits, his ten past births, and his knowledge of the three marks. As is the case for **Ākāravattā A-NP**, leprellos recording this text tend to make extensive use of brackets, though the recitation style is not known to me. In addition, there is the *itipi so* text **Dasajāti-NP** (Ten births of the Bodhisatta), which includes aspects of **Rāp' thān-NP**, in that it enumerates each of the ten births prior to the Buddha’s final birth, expressing how in each life the Bodhisatta practiced with the thought of awakening in mind. This text may be recited as part of a daily liturgy, for end-of-life rituals, or for buddha image consecrations.

The *itipi so* text most associated with consecration ceremonies is unsurprisingly titled **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (Consecration of a buddha image). This text occurs eighteen times in the corpus and is the defining Pali text for traditional consecration rituals in Cambodia. It opens by petitioning the blazing light of the Three Jewels for protection, then lists the epithets of the Buddha, followed by a declaration that the power of uttering these true words causes the buddha image to be like the Buddha himself, endowed with radiance and power that can endure until the end of the dispensation. The text then lists more qualities of the Buddha in an *itipi so* style, starting with his perfections and followed by his physical characteristics, further attainments, knowledges, and teachings, with each list likewise followed by the same declaration as above.

This text, also known in various versions in Thailand,<sup>82</sup> often shows traces of Siamese influence in the leprellos that record it. Several leprellos, such as **UB017**, **UB035**, and

<sup>81</sup> **UB060** 4a sūtr kaṃḷāṃñi tic

<sup>82</sup> See, for instance, Deb(y) Sārikaputr เทพย สาริกบุตร, *Buddhābhisek bidhī chpāp sampūra(n)* พุทธาภิเษกพิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Śilpā paṇḍāgār ศิลปา บรรณาคาร, 2528), 259–300; Deb(y) Sārikaputr เทพย สาริกบุตร, *Tāmvā brah ved bistār bhāg 2 ต้ารพระเวทพิสตาธ ภาค ๒* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) śilpāpaṇḍāgār สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปบรรณาคาร, 2550), 619–649; Sam Bvaṇḍbhāktī สม พวงภักดี and Dāsānī(y) Bvaṇḍbhāktī ทัศนีย์ พวงภักดี, *Gāṃ svat brah bhikkhuṣṣātimok(kh) chpāp samīc brah sāṅgharāj draṇ jāṃrah saapdān braam₂ dān₂ gāṃ aṭh plē lēh svat brah buddhābhisek ต้า สวดพระภิกขุปาฐีโมกข ฉบับ สมเด็จพระสังฆราช ทรงชำระสอบทาน พร้อมทั้ง ต้าอรรถแปลและสวดพระพุทธานิเษก* (Brah nagar พระนคร: Sāṃnāk nān sa. dhārmabhāktī สำนักงาน ส. ธรรมภักดี, 2511), 168–246.

**UB067** use Thai phrases to mark its completion. More unusually, a further four leporellos (**UB002**, **UB003**, **UB010**, and **UB011**) use a special set of cantillation marks not witnessed in other Cambodian manuscripts, namely the Thai words *lan* and *khin*<sub>2</sub>, usually spelled *luim*<sup>o</sup> and *khin*<sup>o</sup> in the leporellos themselves.<sup>83</sup> These words do not mean anything in Khmer, but in Thai they literally mean “fall” and “rise,” respectively. In the context of chanting, this can either mean a drop or rise in the pitch of the melody, or more simply an alternation between one or more chanters. These are explored in more detail in the following chapter.

Another text essential for traditional buddha image consecration rituals is **Dhammakāya-NP** (Dhamma-body), which, like the following text, is not structured in the *itipi so* style. This text instead connects twenty-seven different wisdoms (*ñāna*) or teachings of the Buddha with a different part of the body or monastic vestment, then pays homage to the Buddha, who outshines all other beings since he understands the Dhamma-body, i.e. all of those wisdoms, and closes with an exhortation to the meditator (*yogāvacarakulaputta*) to repeatedly reflect on the marks of the Buddha’s Dhamma-body that comprise his state of omniscience. **Dhammakāya-NP** is frequently embedded in or directly connected to ritual instructions for implanting each of these twenty-seven marks on the image. In these cases, the title given in the leporellos is often *gāthā pañcuḥ brah lakkhaṇa*: “the incantations for implanting the sacred marks.”<sup>84</sup>

Finally, **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP** (World-encircling wall of blessings) is a protective text, used in end-of-life and blessing rituals, that reflects an emphasis on the protective power of the Buddha’s body itself. It petitions for blessings from the physical qualities of the Buddha’s body, such as his bodily marks, the marks on the soles of his feet, and his radiance; from his perfections and attainments; and from various aspects of the Dhamma and the entirety of the Three Jewels. The blessings include those for freedom from suffering, obstacles, and danger, and for longevity and the constant protection of deities.

### 3.7 Non-Canonical Pali Verse (II-5, -NV)

This group of twelve texts is dominated by one end-of-life text, **Ratanamālā-NV** (11 occurrences), and one consecration text, **Cullajayaṅgala-NV** (8). The remainder are mostly calendrical texts for Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā, along with a few blessing texts that may also be used in end-of-life contexts. Each occurs just once, twice, or thrice in the corpus. The calendrical texts tend to be recited in a simple melodic style by groups of monks or laypeople. **Cullajaya-ṅgala-NV** is still recited in a complex melodic style in some monasteries in eastern Cambodia. **Ratanamālā-NV** may have once been recited in such a *smūtr* style, but, as is the case for **Sahassanaya-NP**, I have yet to meet anyone who still can recite it this way today. The remainder of the texts are recited in a simple, largely monotone style typical of Pali chant in Cambodia. Most of the texts in this group are in ordinary *anutthubha* verse and were largely composed in Siam.

<sup>83</sup> လၢ; နီၤ; လှီ; နီ

<sup>84</sup> နာဗာပဏ္ဍိတုးလက္ခဏာ:

**Ratanamālā-NV** (Garland of jewels) is a 108-stanza text in *anutthubha* verse, composed in an acrostic fashion such that first syllable of each line of each stanza is assigned to one of the 108 syllables of the shortened *itipi so* formula, forming a praise of the 56 virtues of the Buddha, the 38 virtues of the Dhamma, and the 14 virtues of the Sangha.<sup>85</sup> One interpretation of the benefits ascribed to this text in end-of-life contexts was described in the previous chapter. The eleven occurrences in the leporellos generally present the same text as in Bizot and von Hinüber’s edition, but a few manuscripts, such as **UB052**, **UB068**, and **UB070**, contain a more elaborate incipit. That of **UB068** and **UB070**, for instance, includes an homage to all of the nine planetary deities, petitioning to be released from their grasp and to destroy all suffering.<sup>86</sup>

**Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** (Short victory blessings) is a 27-stanza text for buddha image consecration. It petitions the Buddha, the Three Jewels, a standard set of Brahmanical deities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, and Indra, the earth and its waters, manifold wild beasts, spirits, bad omens, sorcerers, ogres, and demons for success and victory. The text then enumerates the throngs of deities who celebrated the Buddha’s victory over Māra. This is followed by a benediction for victory, drawing on the power of the Buddha’s victory under the bodhi tree. Then comes a benediction for success, happiness, health, and growth in the Buddhist dispensation, excerpted from the *Pubbaṅha-sutta* (Aṅguttara-nikāya 3.155). It concludes with a final invocation to the deities for longevity, health, protection of all beings and the dispensation, rain as appropriate, and happiness.<sup>87</sup> I briefly discuss this text as part of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection analyzed in Chapter 5 (see *infra*, 304–309).

The next seven texts are closely associated with the calendrical rites of Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā. **Aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** (The eight great sites) consists of three verses that enumerate the eight great pilgrimage sites associated with the life of the Buddha (today in India and Nepal), concluding with an homage to them from afar. **Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas for Aṭṭhamīpūjā) is in seven sections, consisting of a total of 167 half-stanzas in *anutthubha*, composed by King Rama IV of Siam.<sup>88</sup> It gives an account of the cremation of the Buddha, the occasion celebrated by Aṭṭhamīpūjā, eight days after Visākhapūjā.

**Aṭṭhavīsati buddha-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas) is comprised of eight stanzas in *anutthubha*, which Juon Nāt introduced to Cambodia from Sinhalese-script book, that offer an enumeration and adoration of the twenty-eight buddhas of the past.<sup>89</sup> **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas of the homage octet), comprised of eight half-stanzas in

<sup>85</sup> The formulas for the Buddha and the Dhamma are complete (56 and 38 syllables, respectively), but only the first 14 of syllables of the formula for the Sangha are invoked (*supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaṅgho*).

<sup>86</sup> **UB068** 55b: *namomebabūdevānam sabbagarahacadevānam casuriyamamuñcatṭha sasibhūmmacadevānam baddholokambhavissati jīvosukrocamaḥālabham sabbadukkhavinnassantui sovoraḥuketthucamaḥālabham sabbadukkhavinnassanti*

<sup>87</sup> For an alternative summary, see Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” in *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, ed. Olle Qvarnström, vol. 2 (Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 2003), 391.

<sup>88</sup> For an edition and Thai translation, see Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Prahjum brah rājaniban(dh) bhāsā pālī nāi brah pād samtēc brah caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvā* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547), 249–267.

<sup>89</sup> Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, *Nāgopamādikathā នាគោបមាទិកិតា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 17–18.

*anutthubha*, composed by King Rama IV of Siam, is an eight-part homage to the Three Jewels, including their symbolic expression as the syllable *OM* (*arahant* + *uttaradhamma* + *mahāsaṅgha* = *aum* = *om*). **Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas for Māghapūjā), ten stanzas in *anutthubha*, commonly attributed to King Rama IV of Siam, provides an account of the spontaneous arrival of 1250 bhikkhus to listen to the Buddha preach the *Ovādapāṭimokkha*, the occasion celebrated by Māghapūjā, followed by a presentation of offerings and a prayer for the longevity of the dispensation of the Buddha. **Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas for Visākhapūjā) consists of seven sections totaling 167 half-stanzas in *anutthubha*, composed by King Rama IV of Siam, with all sections except for the first section identical to **Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV**. It comprises an account of the birth, awakening, and passing away of the Buddha, the occasions celebrated by Visākhapūjā, and a presentation of offerings.<sup>90</sup> **Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas on the seven great sites) consists of two stanzas in *anutthubha* that enumerate the seven sites of pilgrimage near Gayā where the Buddha spent the first seven weeks after his awakening, concluding with an homage to them from afar.

The final three texts in this group are blessing texts that may occasionally be used in end-of-life contexts. **Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV** (The Ātānāṭiya protection), 45 stanzas in length, is partially extracted from the canonical **Ātānāṭiya-sutta** (Dīgha-nikāya 32) with supplemental non-canonical material. It pays homage to the twenty-eight buddhas of the past, extolling their teachings, virtues, radiance, and power, followed by a petition for protection from these buddhas as well as from various deities, nāga, ogres, and spirits in all directions, and closing with an assortment of protective stanzas from various sources, including **Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV**. **Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas beginning with “sakkatvā...”) comprises three stanzas that are part of both **Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**. They pay homage to each of the Three Jewels and pray for the destruction of calamities and suffering. Lastly, **Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV** (Stanzas beginning with “sambuddhe...”) contains seven-and-a-half stanzas in *anutthubha* that pay homage to increasingly large numbers of buddhas, concluding with an aspiration for the merit of this homage to destroy all calamities and dangers.

### 3.8 Non-Canonical Pali Mixed Verse and Prose (II-6, -NM)

This final group of monolingual Pali texts contains just four texts, all rare in leporellos, all typically chanted in a simple monotone style, and all associated, with the exception of **Bhāsītovāda-NM**, with blessing rituals as well as end-of-life contexts. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** (Victory of the cranial protuberance) is subject to an in-depth analysis in Chapter 5. Briefly, the text is a medium-length version of the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya*, without the frame narrative but with a prose section recollecting the virtues of the Three Jewels. It begins with an articulation of the benefits of the “Victory of the cranial protuberance” (*uṇhissavijaya*), followed by the

<sup>90</sup> For an edition and Thai translation, see Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Prahjūm brah rājaniban(dh) bhāṣā pālī nai brah pād samtéc brah caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvā* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547), 249–265.

recollection of the Three Jewels, then a further description of the benefits of the “gift of life” (*jīvadāna/jīvidāna*), and closing with a series of protective stanzas.

**Mahāmetti-NM** (Great text on friendliness), also considered at length in Chapter 5, begins with an enumeration of twenty-four protective texts preached by the Buddha, followed by a prayer for all, including relatives, royalty, human beings, all kinds of deities in various realms, and all manner of hell beings, to be happy and free from suffering. One text in the corpus, **sarasōr prīthabī-k**, even explicitly recommends the recitation of **Mahāmetti-NM**:

ព្រះ	34
ហៃជនណាៗ	All you people!
ឲ្យរកការវិនា	You should strive to meditate
ពេញចិត្តស្តាប់ស្តាប់	and make your heart satisfied
សូត្រមហាមេត្រី	by chanting the <i>Mahāmetrī</i> [ <i>Mahāmetti</i> ],
ប្រសើរសាយសព្វ	most excellent and extensive.
ទេព្តាចុះគ្រប់	All the deities shall descend
ស្តាប់ធម៌នេះណា ។	to listen to this Dharma.

**Chadisapāla-paritta-NM** (Guardians of the six directions protection) is likewise discussed in Chapter 5. It petitions the ogres (*yakkha*) of the four directions, plus the *nāgas* of the nadir and the deities of the zenith, for protection from harm from malevolent beings, closing with a verse recapitulation of this prayer for protection.

Finally, **Bhāsitovāda-NM** (Uttered admonitions), unlike the previous three texts, is a compilation of canonical sources and is closely related to the *Ovādapāṭimokkhādi-pāṭha* of King Rama IV of Siam. After an initial declaration that the highest worship of the Buddha is worship through practice, the text quotes from a variety of canonical stanzas that emphasize the importance of avoiding sin and striving hard on the Buddhist path, the rarity of human existence, and the five daily duties of a Buddha.

### 3.9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *Rāy* Prose (II-7, -r)

The structure and form of many of the nineteen texts in this group are considered in depth in Chapter 6. There is little evidence to suggest that any of them are to be performed with Dharma song melodies, though they may be chanted in simpler styles. Only a few of these texts occur more than once in the corpus. Among the most common texts are five different bilingual versions of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, which occur between one and four times in end-of-life contexts in the leporellos. **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r** occurs twice and is the only text in this group connected to buddha image consecration. The rest all appear only once in the corpus and are associated with end-of-life rites or ordinary daily liturgies.

The five bilingual versions of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** each hew closely to the Pali text. The first three are complete bilingual versions. **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r** (Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This Discourse to Girimānanda”) and **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r** (Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “As for this Discourse to Girimānanda”) are both anonymous, complete bilingual Pali-Khmer versions of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r** (Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This discourse is called”) is Huot Tāt’s 1934 version of the same.<sup>91</sup>

The final two only give a small portion of the text in Khmer translation, with the rest in Pali. **Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/cakkhum samrāy-r** (Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of not-self perception) provides the Pali text of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, with Khmer translation for the sections of the not-self nature of the sense organs and the 32 parts of the body. **Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r** (Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of thirty-two parts of the body section) is similar to the previous, in that it presents the Pali text of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, with Khmer translation only for the section on the thirty-two parts of the body.

The next eight texts are bilingual prose versions of assorted Pali verse texts, both canonical and non-canonical. Most are complete translations, and some syntactically rearrange the Pali to make it fit the Khmer, a process detailed in Chapter 6. **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā A samrāy-r** (The stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version A) simply presents a bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā-CV**, a verse on the inevitability of death (Dhammapada 3.9). **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā B samrāy-r** (The stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version B) is the same as the previous, but with an additional non-canonical portion describing the animals that consume corpses. **Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r** (Stanza beginning with “Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things,” bilingual version) is a bilingual Pali-Khmer rendering of a verse, extracted from *Dīgha-nikāya* 16, on the impermanence of all conditioned things. **Iminā puññakammena-gāthā/iminā puññakammena-gāthā samrāy-r** (Stanzas beginning with “By this meritorious act,” bilingual version) is a bilingual Pali-Khmer version of three non-canonical stanzas for the dedication of merit to benevolent and malevolent beings, petitioning them to rejoice in the merit, be happy, and swiftly reach Nibbāna. **Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r** (Stanzas beginning with “I honor all of the buddhas,” bilingual version) provides the Pali text, with partial Khmer translation, of the non-canonical stanzas for honoring the 28 buddhas of the past, with the Khmer translation somewhat selective and disjointed. **Yaṃ dunnimittam ca/yaṃ dunnimittam ca samrāy-r**

<sup>91</sup> Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិភ្នំ ទ្វាដសបរិភ្នំ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនា បណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971), 145–165.

(Stanzas beginning with “Any bad omen,” bilingual version) gives a syntactically rearranged Pali-Khmer version of three non-canonical stanzas petitioning the Three Jewels to destroy various bad omens. **Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r** (Stanzas beginning with “Any and all breathing beings, be they small,” bilingual version) consists of a Pali-Khmer version of non-canonical stanzas for dedicating merit to beings we may have killed in our carelessness, then a prayer extending friendliness to all beings, and finally a petition that those in the hells be liberated and those in the heavens develop further. Lastly, **Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r** (Stanzas explaining refuge, bilingual version) is a Pali-Khmer version of stanzas from the *Dhammapada* (14.10–14.14) on how the refuge of the Three Jewels is a true, stable refuge that can eliminate all suffering.

The final six texts are bilingual prose versions of Pali prose texts, again drawn from canonical and non-canonical sources. **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anatta-lakkhaṇa samrāy-r** (The discourse on the mark of not-self, bilingual version) is Huot Tāt’s 1934 Pali-Khmer version of **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP**.<sup>92</sup> **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r** (The Dhamma-body, bilingual version) is simply a Pali-Khmer version of **Dhammakāya-NP. Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r** (Dependent origination, bilingual version) is a Pali-Khmer version of the canonical pericope of the twelve links of dependent origination, in both forwards and reverse order. **Braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r** (The ten buddhas of the future, bilingual version) is closely related to and possibly copied directly from the printed version of the Pali-Khmer *Anāgatavaṃsa*.<sup>93</sup> It is a bilingual Pali-Khmer text, with many additional details in Khmer, that begins by enumerating the ten buddhas of the future, including both their names as bodhisattas and their names as buddhas. The text then lists each of these buddhas in connection to their particular kind of bodhi tree, followed by a declaration that those who pay homage to these trees will not go to the hells for hundreds of thousands of eons. This is followed in turn by a listing of the different eons of the future and how many buddhas will arise in each. In closing, the text gives the beginning of the narrative of the Buddha predicting that his disciple Ajita will one day awaken as Maitreya Buddha. **Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r** (Passage beginning with “Whatever evil actions,” bilingual version) is a Pali-Khmer repentance text, with both the Pali and Khmer portions in a state of disarray and incoherence. The text seems mostly to be a formula for repentance for faults committed against the Three Jewels and all creatures, as well as infringements of the five precepts, and closes by petitioning for all such faults to not have any karma effect in the future. Finally, **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** (Absolution of faults and sinful karma, bilingual version) presents a mixed Khmer and Pali text for repenting and taking leave of sinful actions when guiding the “journey of the person [from this life to the next]” (*taṃṅör puggal*), beginning with a Pali text for the repentance of faults. The rest of the text is in Khmer, and begins with an offering to all buddhas, a petition for the five buddhas to pacify unskillful

<sup>92</sup> Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិភ្នំ ទ្វាដសបរិភ្នំ*, 117–31.

<sup>93</sup> For the exact text, see *Anāgatadasavaṃsa អនាគតទសវង្ស* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1963), ja–5.



karma, then a “taking leave” (*lpā*) of all faults and sins committed against the Three Jewels, deities, and all manner of human beings and animals, and finally a vow to practice until reaching Nibbāna and a petition for the Three Jewels to cut off any unskillful karma. These last two texts, which both work with themes of repentance and absolution, are discussed further in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 610–624).

### 3.10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *Brahmagīti* Verse (II-8, -br)

The four texts in this category contain complete bilingual versions of short Pali non-canonical verse texts, largely composed in Sri Lanka, with interwoven translations in Khmer *brahmagīti* verse. The mechanics of these translations are addressed in Chapter 7. Each occurs only once in the corpus. One of these texts, **Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br**, is recited for inviting a monk to preach a sermon. The other three are liturgical or protective texts that appear in end-of-life contexts in the leporellos, but are by no means exclusively connected to such rituals.

The one Pali stanza and six Khmer stanzas of **Cetiyavandana-gāthā/ cetiyavandana-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanzas in homage of cetiyas, Pali with Khmer translation) pay homage to all of the cetiyas—including relics, bodhi trees, and buddha images—and petition for boons from such worship. **Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/ jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanzas on the eight victories, Pali with Khmer translation) contains nine stanzas in Pali and thirty-six in Khmer, the former composed in medieval Sri Lanka and the latter composed by Suttantapriṇḍā Ind.<sup>94</sup> It provides a description of the eight great victories of the Buddha over various beings, with each verse concluding with a prayer for the blessings of that victory to reach the audience, and with the final stanza describing the benefits of reciting this text. **Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanzas for inviting the preaching of Dhamma, Pali with Khmer translation) is not the typical text used today to invite a monk to preach, that being Suttantapriṇḍā Ind’s **ārāddhanā dhammadesanā-br**. This is an older, anonymous translation, containing two stanzas in Pali and seventeen in Khmer. The first Pali stanza is from the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the second is non-canonical. It narrates the Buddha being invited to preach the Dharma by Sahampati Brahmā, emphasizing the dire situation of living beings and the simile of the Dharma as a drum whose sound can lead them to Nibbāna, after which the Buddha assents to preach. The text concludes by briefly stating the benefits of listening to the Dharma.<sup>95</sup> Finally, **Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/ samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanzas from the *Samantapāsādikā*, Pali with Khmer translation) contains four stanzas of Pali verse, corresponding to the first four stanzas of Buddhaghosa’s *Sāmantapāsādikā*. It interweaves these with fifteen Khmer stanzas in *brahmagīti*. The text pays homage to each of the Three Jewels, with a brief description of each, followed by the aspiration to accrue merit, destroy calamities, and achieve Nibbāna.

<sup>94</sup> Suttantapriṇḍā សុត្តន្តប្រដៅ Ind ឥន្ទ, “Dharm buddhajāyamaṅgal ធម៌ពុទ្ធជ័យមង្គល,” *Kambuja Suriya កម្ពុជសុរិយា* 1 (1926–1927): 29–33.

<sup>95</sup> For further details on this text, see my discussion in Chapter 7 (see *infra*, 446–451).

**3.11 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *Bāky* 4 Verse (II-9, -4)**

Only three texts appear in this category. Each are complete bilingual versions of short Pali non-canonical verse texts for the calendrical rituals of Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā with interwoven translations in Khmer *bāky* 4 verse. Again, these texts are discussed further in Chapter 7. They each occur only once in the leporellos, and are recited in the same style as the monolingual Pali verse texts used for such calendrical rituals.

The first, **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-pv** (Stanzas of the homage octet, Pali with Khmer translation) interweaves the eight half-stanzas of **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV** with sixteen stanzas of translation into Khmer. **Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4** (Stanzas on the Great Nāga, Pali with Khmer translation) presents four stanzas in Pali, interwoven with twenty-one stanzas in Khmer, which were composed by In Kheñ in 1945, based on a 1933 Khmer prose translation by Juon Nāt.<sup>96</sup> The text offers an explanation of why the Buddha is known as the “Great Nāga,” followed by an homage to him as such and an aspiration that this homage destroy obstacles, illness, and danger. Lastly, **Sārīrikadhātu-gāthā/sārīrikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4** (Stanzas on the bodily relics, Pali with Khmer translation) includes five stanzas in Pali interwoven with twenty-six in Khmer that enumerate the type, number, sizes, and colors of the bodily relics of the Buddha, concluding with an homage to them and an aspiration for various boons. As with the previous text, the Khmer verses were composed by In Kheñ in 1945, based on a 1933 prose version by Huot Tāt.<sup>97</sup>

**3.12 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *Bāky* 7 Verse (II-10, -7)**

Another small group of only three texts, this category contains one text associated with calendrical rituals (**Thvāy grīōñ sakkāra:/thvāy grīōñ sakkāra: samrāy-7**) and two texts related to end-of-life rituals, each containing Khmer stanzas composed in the twentieth century. Each text occurs only once or twice in the corpus. The first text, **Thvāy grīōñ sakkāra:/thvāy grīōñ sakkāra: samrāy-7** (Presenting objects for offering, Pali with Khmer translation) contains four non-canonical Pali stanzas accompanied by their Khmer translation in four stanzas. The latter were composed by the modernist reformer Lvī Em.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> For the Pali verse and Khmer prose translation, see Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, *Nāgopamādikathā នាគោបមាទិកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 15–16. For In Kheñ’s អ៊ីង ខេង verse translation, see Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā niñ buddhābhisek មាឃបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធកិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār yāy tā, tūp lekh 97 phsār ūr ṛssī បណ្ណាគារយាយតា តូបលេខ 97 ផ្សារអូឫស្សី, 1989), 12–14.

<sup>97</sup> For this attribution, see Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā niñ buddhābhisek មាឃបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធកិសេក*, 19. For the text itself, see pages 21–7 of the same source.

<sup>98</sup> Nān Jhīn ញាណ ឈិន, *Gāthā dhārm māgh niñ visākhapūjā ភាថាធម៌មាឃ និង វិសាខបូជា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2004), 67–68.

The text presents various objects for offering to the Three Jewels, along with a dedication of merit. The first of two end-of-life texts is **Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Cāp Bin-7** (Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation), which comprises six verses extracted from canonical texts on the impermanence of the body, including some from the *Dhammapada*, interwoven with twenty-two stanzas in Khmer, composed by Cāp Bin in the mid twentieth century.<sup>99</sup> **Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Sèm Sūr-7** (Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation) features a very similar selection of ten canonical verses, interwoven with different translations into Khmer in twenty-six stanzas composed by Sèm Sūr in the late 1960s or early 1970s.<sup>100</sup>

### 3.13 Thai Mixed *Yānī 11* and *Chapāñ 16* Verse (II-11, -y/ch)

This group contains but a single text, **dhārm yog-y/ch** (The Dharma of union), that occurs four times in the corpus and is recited in buddha image consecration ceremonies. This text is colloquially known as *dhārm yog sēm*, “The Dharma of union, Siamese version” to contrast it with **dhārm yog-br**, alias *dhārm yog khmer*, its 1869 Khmer translation. Very few Cambodians today are aware of **dhārm yog-y/ch**. I have found only a few monasteries in Kampong Cham and Tboung Khmum provinces where it is still performed. Even in these monasteries, the fact of it being the Thai original to **dhārm yog-br** is obscured by the local insistence that **dhārm yog-y/ch** is not in Thai at all but rather in some old or archaic form of Khmer. The words of **dhārm yog-y/ch**, when chanted in Cambodia, are indeed not pronounced according to their Thai values but according to their spelling in Khmer, producing a performance unintelligible in either language. For these few monasteries that continue the pre-1869 tradition, **dhārm yog-y/ch** is an essential text for bringing a buddha image to life and is performed with a complex set of highly ornamented melodies. Both this text and its Khmer translation are discussed further in Chapter 7 (see *infra*, 415–429). In seventy-one stanzas of mixed *yānī 11* and *chapāñ 16* verse, the text presents an opening homage to the Buddha, then an extensive ritual invitation to the relics, radiance, perfections, and Dharma of the Buddha to come inhabit the newly consecrated buddha image, followed by an enumeration of elaborate offerings, and closing with an aspiration to destroy obstacles and achieve boons, including birth during the time of Maitreya.

### 3.14 Khmer *Kākagati* Verse (II-12, -k)

If non-canonical Pali prose texts are the core of the Pali texts in the corpus, then the most important Khmer texts therein are those in the *kākagati* meter. Along with three extremely

<sup>99</sup> Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) piyā nīn trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti nīn samvejanīyadhārm* ត្រៃវិគីយុដា និង ត្រៃវិគីយុដា ប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 61–65.

<sup>100</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṇḍha dhaṁ kāvātār nīn sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1972), 65–70.

common texts—**trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** (19 occurrences), **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** (19), and **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (20)—the remaining 22 texts in this group occur between one and five times in the corpus for a total of 52 occurrences. Their combined 967 stanzas—approximately the length of a typical classical Khmer verse novel such as *Duṃ Dāv*—represent about one-quarter of the total length of the distinct verse texts in the corpus.

Only two of the texts, **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** and **madhupāyās-k**, are strictly consecration texts. The closely related **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** as well as **caṅkūm kèṅ-k** are more in the narrative genre. Another four, **namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k**, **sarasör prīṭhabī-k**, **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k**, and **sarasör braḥ pād chveñ-k** are hymns of praise that frequently occur in end-of-life contexts. The remaining seventeen texts are closely associated with rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead. Thirteen of these have either *trailakkha(ṇ)* (“The three marks”) or *dhammasaṅveg* (“Stirring teachings”) as their primary title and focus largely on the impermanence of the body and the inevitability of death. Two more, **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** and **lā pāp «muoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k**, concern repentance and absolution. Finally, **hau braliñ-k** presents a rite for the sick and **kāyagatā-k** outlines the path of body-focused *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. All of the texts in this section, with the exception of a few twentieth-century compositions, are undated; they were likely composed or translated in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. In the following paragraphs, I address each text in the order outlined above.

The key consecration text in this group is **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** (Defeat of Māra, beginning with “We bow down”). This 151-stanza text is the parent text of **madhupāyās-k** (Rice-milk offering), a four-stanza expansion of a one-stanza excerpt, and probably the inspiration for the brief, possibly modern composition **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** (Defeat of Māra, beginning with “At midnight’s hour”). The former is recited in a buddha image consecration ceremony when reenacting the offering of milk-rice by Sujātā to the Bodhisatta. Some leporellos incorporate instructions of how and when to offer the food to the buddha image at this juncture (cf. **UB002** 68b). Other leporellos note the time in which the offering is to be made, specifically just before dawn.<sup>101</sup> The latter text, **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k**, while not typically used in consecration rituals, is a narrative text of seven stanzas that depicts part of the main story told by **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**. It narrates the moment of the Bodhisatta’s departure from the palace, focusing on his admonitions for his infant son Rāhula.

The much longer **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** narrates the broader tale of the Bodhisatta’s, i.e. Siddhattha Gotama’s, renunciation and eventual awakening. It begins with his witnessing of the four divine messengers (*devadūta*) of old age, illness, death, and a monk, then the Bodhisatta’s decision to leave behind his son and his wife; followed by his conversation with Māra, who challenges him not to leave the palace. The text then describes the Bodhisatta’s disgust with the woman of his harem; his departure from the palace on his horse Channa, accompanied by an entourage of deities; the descent of a sword with which to

<sup>101</sup> **UB009** 39a dhaṛm sūtr thvāy grīön phseñ 2 nau bel jit bhī

cut off his hair; his vow to reach awakening; and the ascent of his hair to the Cūḷāmaṇī cetiya in the Traiyastrimśa heaven. The text continues with a brief account of his six years of ascetic practice, followed by Sujātā's offering of the milk-rice. The king of the *nāgas* then warns Māra about the Bodhisatta's impending awakening. Māra sends his three beautiful daughters to seduce the Bodhisatta, who transforms them into ugly old crones. Māra, in anger, then assembles a vast army of deities and all kinds of ferocious beasts to frighten and attack the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta's perfections (personified!) then declare that they will assist him in the battle against Māra. They halt the progress of Māra's armies and the projectiles they shoot all turn into lovely flower garlands when they approach the Bodhisatta. After a final onslaught by his armies, Māra demands that the Bodhisatta return the jewel throne to him. In response, Nāṅ Gaṅhīṅ Braḥ Dharanī,<sup>102</sup> the Earth Goddess, prostrates herself before the Lord, assuring him she will defeat Māra, testifying that she is the Lord's witness, and wrings out her hair, washing away Māra's armies. Māra, defeated, offers flowers to the Blessed One and bows in homage to him. The Lord in turn predicts that Mara will awaken in the future as a solitary buddha. The text concludes with a description of the deities assembled to honor the Buddha, the beauty of his bodhi tree and his radiance, and a final praise of the Blessed One.

Like **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k, caṅkūm kèv-k** (The jewel canine relics) is a narrative text that may be used in end-of-life ceremonies. It appears only once in the leporellos, though related texts are found in palm-leaf manuscripts.<sup>103</sup> The text, analyzed further in Chapter 7, is a translation and expansion of the Pali portion of **Sārīrikadhātu/ sārīrika-dhātu samrāy-4**, including an enumeration of the type, number, sizes, and colors of the bodily relics of the Buddha; the division of the relics into portions by the brahman Doṇa and where those portions went; and the locations of relics of the two clavicle bones, the four canine teeth, and various monastic requisites. The text proceeds to workshop the relics with symbolic offerings, announces that the author is a bhikkhu named Suvanṇakesara, enumerates the benefits of paying homage to the relics, and finally asks for boons for such homage, including birth at the time of Maitreya Buddha.

Following **caṅkūm kèv-k** are four further hymns of praise. The first, **namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k** (Homage to the ten buddhas of the future) also appears only once in the corpus. Its thirty-four stanzas pay homage to each of the ten buddhas of the future, from Maitreya until Sumaṅgala, including a description of each buddha's lifespan, height, bodhi tree, and throne, and concluding with a description of the benefits of such homage and an aspiration to reach Nibbāna. The next, **sarasōr prīthabī-k** (In praise of the Earth) is a forty-two-stanza paean in praise of virtues of the Earth, other deities and elements of the universe, our parents, and the Three Jewels, as well as specific instructions as to what texts to chant and what rituals to perform to repay our debts to each. This text may be recited for end-of-life rituals, but is also part of daily rituals of repentance and transferring merit to one's mother in certain monasteries. It tends to be recited in a rapid, monotone style, not in the melismatic recitation associated with end-of-life texts.

<sup>102</sup> For more on this deity in Cambodia and Thailand, see Elizabeth Guthrie, "A Study of the History and Cult of the Buddhist Earth Deity in Mainland Southeast Asia" (University of Canterbury, 2004).

<sup>103</sup> See, for example, FEMC a.472.

The following text, **sarasör brah pād stām-k** (In praise of the Buddha’s right foot), comprises forty-one stanzas that form a paean in praise of the 108 auspicious marks inscribed on the Buddha’s right foot, beginning with symbolic offerings, followed by a description of the marks, continuing with an account of why and where the Buddha left five of his footprints in the world, and closing by describing the benefits that accrue to those who worship them from afar. It appears four times in the corpus and appears to be a translation of a Thai text, discussed further in Chapter 7. Much rarer is **sarasör brah pād chveñ-k** (In praise of the Buddha’s left foot), which contains twenty-eight stanzas, forming a paean in praise of the 108 auspicious marks inscribed on the Buddha’s left foot. These include many marks not specified for his right foot, such as Brahmanical deities and texts. Both of these poems are not strictly connected to end-of-life contexts, but they tend to appear adjacent to end-of-life texts in the leporellos and may certainly be recited for the sick and dying to direct their minds to the Buddha.

The next eight texts each have the primary title *trailakkha(n)* (“The three marks”) and are distinguished from one another by their first line or two. Each of these texts addresses, to a greater or lesser degree, the three marks of impermanence, suffering, and not-self. Their themes are discussed further in Chapter 8. However, the most prominent of these eight texts, namely **trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** (The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!,” old version), only emphasizes the three marks in the first four of its 115 stanzas. This extended composition is divided into three major sections, one on the three marks, the five buddhas, and the importance of practicing meditation for the moment of death; another on the history of the Buddha’s dispensation, from India, then to Sri Lanka, and finally to Cambodia; and a concluding section providing a series of predictions for the future of the dispensation in Cambodia. Since it occurs nineteen times in the corpus, it is not surprising that several variant recensions exist. The variants are more significant in the third and final part of the text, and different manuscripts provide different sets of dates from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for these predictions.<sup>104</sup>

The first section begins with an explanation of the three marks of suffering, impermanence, and not-self, followed by a narrative description of the five buddhas of the present fortunate eon, beginning with Kākusandha and ending with Maitreya, including a description of each of their bodhi trees, radiance, and lifespan. The text continues with a description of how all these buddhas are like vessels that ferry living beings to reach the radiant “Prime Jewel Lake,” i.e. Nibbāna. This is followed by a description of how those who do not reach Nibbāna shall perish in the eon-ending fire, only to be reborn again in saṃsāra. The text continues with an exhortation to honor these buddhas, cultivate the mind, making it bright and focused so as to reach four paths and fruits, from stream-entry to arhatship. This is followed by a description of how Yama’s henchmen bind those who failed to study the Dharma on their deathbed and pull their minds down to the hells, and then an admonition to

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<sup>104</sup> For details on these different recensions, see Appendix II.

practice meditation to avoid this fate, namely by strenuously sitting in concentration throughout the night. Several topics of meditation are described, including recollections of the fortunes of Indra and of a universal monarch, leading to great bliss and birth in the time of Maitreya. This is followed by a description of the moment of death for those who cultivate such meditation, including Yama’s joyful assistance, via the personifications of Prince and Princess Mind, to escape the hells and reach the heavens. The text then explains that death is inevitable for all beings, that the mind splits from the body at death, and that Yama’s henchmen bind and torture the bodies of beings on their deathbed if they do not practice the Dharma. This is followed by a short explanation that only a few give of their own flesh to become bodhisattas.

The second section begins with an abbreviated narrative account of the deeds of Aśoka, Nāgasena, and Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī. This is followed by a more detailed account narrating the life of Buddhaghosa, from his birth, to his teacher’s command to translate the commentaries from Sinhala into Pali, and then his travels to Sri Lanka, including a description of the isle and its relics. The text then briefly describes his journey to Phnom Penh to translate the scriptures and commentaries into Khmer at the behest of King Ketumālā. The second section closes with a summary of the accomplishments of all four men: Aśoka, Nāgasena, Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī, and Buddhaghosa.

The third section begins with a series of predictions of what will occur in Cambodia in various years as the Buddhist era progresses, including the arrival of men of merit; times of calamity, danger, and war; and the return of a powerful king. The text closes with an exhortation to reflect on the passage of the Buddhist era, the rewards of practicing the Dharma, and a final praise of the beauty, radiance, and wisdom of the Buddha, including a prayer to attain happiness and Nibbāna.

Two additional texts are very closely related to **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**. The first, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** (The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” abbreviated version) comprises the first four stanzas of **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**, which focus on the three marks. The second, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k** (The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” Cāp Bin version), takes the four-stanza version of **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** and appends five additional stanzas. These latter verses were composed by Cāp Bin in 1962, and include admonitions to train the mind, practice the path, and prepare for death so that one can reach Nibbāna.<sup>105</sup>

The next five texts with the title *trailakkha(n)* stick closer than **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** to the theme of the three marks. The longest and most complex of these texts is **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāmṅ»-k** (The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body! The body’s pain binds tight”) is a sixty-stanza text that addresses the three marks, the process of death, and the importance of practicing *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. In **UB026**, this text comes with a note from the mid-

<sup>105</sup> For a print version, see Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) piṅṅā niṅ trairāta(n) praṅṅām, buddhapravatti niṅ saṅwejanīyadharm* ត្រៃវគ្គបូជានិង ត្រៃវគ្គប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 68–70.

twentieth-century scribe that reads, “I copied this from an extremely old leporello. The master who inscribed it gave this text the title *dharma sāvapāda*. However, after examining and studying the text, it could also be titled *dharma trāy lakkhaṇa*.”<sup>106</sup>

The text begins with an explanation of the impermanence of the body, focusing on the aging process of the eyes, hair, teeth, ears, and skin, and how these parts of the body do not really belong to us. This is followed by a description of the futility of trying to halt the aging process, depicted through conversations between us and the parts of our bodies, which do not listen to our pleas. The text then describes the binding of the body by Yama’s henchmen and the painful process of death. This is followed by an account of our corpse decaying in the forest, where it is feasted upon by beasts before rotting back into the soil. Next the text critiques our constant preening of the body to make it beautiful while failing to recognize its impermanence. The text transitions to focusing on the importance of relinquishing one’s attachments, for which the sincere practice of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation is the only solution. *Kammaṭṭhāna* meditation is described as being like a precious treasure that should be stashed away carefully; in other words, the meditator who achieves the Dharma should be careful to conduct himself properly after his realization. The text closes with an extended set of admonitions on how to behave with modesty and respect, and final assurance that those who follow these admonitions will achieve the heavens.

The next text, **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhando»-k** (The three marks, beginning with “The aggregate of form”), contains similar, if less complex, themes. Its thirty-four stanzas provide an explanation of the impermanence of the body, focusing on the processes of dying and decay. The text begins with an account of the dying person in conversation with Yama’s henchmen, who bind the body as it struggles to breathe, loses its vitality, and expires. It then continues with a description of the postmortem lament of the spirit, who rues being shut out of human society, the horrific decay of its former body, and its reliance on spirit offerings. The text concludes with an exhortation to strive hard to contemplate impermanence, uphold the precepts, give away wealth, practice meditation, and recite Buddhist texts to reach the heavens and Nibbāna.

Closely related is **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k** (The three marks, beginning with “The body is painful, the body is impermanent”), in thirty-nine stanzas. This text begins with an explanation of the impermanent and not-self nature of the body, followed by a description of how the mind parts from the body at death. The text then focuses on the aging and decay of the sense organs. This is followed by an exhortation to practice and take refuge in the Three Jewels, for death can come at any moment, is common to all, and is the general condition of *saṃsāra*. The text closes with a brief description of the winds of the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma at the moment of death, and an assurance that those who practice meditation shall, in a flash of brilliance, soar to the heavens upon their deaths.

The final two *trailakkha(n)* texts in the *kākaḡati* meter follow a simpler structure, though

<sup>106</sup> **UB026** 44a ខ្ញុំបានដកស្រង់ពីគ្រាំដំបូរណាមួយអង្វែងកាលណាសម័យកាលហើយ លោកដាក់ឈ្មោះហៅថា (ធម៌សាវតុទ) តែពិនិត្យរៀនសូត្រទៅ ហៅធម៌ត្រ័យលក្ខណ ក៏បាន



on similar themes. The first, **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccam rūpam»-k** (The three marks, beginning with “The body is impermanent!”), comprises twenty-seven stanzas and provides an explanation of the impermanence of the body, beginning with an account of how our craving for sensuality ends in the suffering of separation. The text then describes the inevitability of decay and death and our inability to control these processes. This is followed by admonitions to practice the Dharma, reflect on impermanence, make merit, let go of attachments, and aspire to reach Nibbāna. The second, **trailakkha(ṇ) «rāl' rūp dāmn as'»-k** (The three marks, beginning with “All bodied beings”), contains thirteen stanzas and also begins with an explanation of the impermanence of the body, then continues on the importance of being heedful in life and paying respect to the Three Jewels, and the inevitability of death, at which point the souls will be split from the body.

The following five texts have *dhammasaṇveg* (“Stirring teachings”) as their primary title. Discussed further in Chapter 8, they address themes similar to those in the eight *trailakkha(ṇ)* texts, but generally follow a simpler structure and place a special emphasis on the abandonment of our corpse in the forest, its destruction at the beaks and claws of scavenging animals, and the importance of practicing the Dharma. The first, **dhammasaṇveg «guor git aniccā»-k** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “We should reflect on the impermanence”) is a nineteen-stanza text that begins with an explanation of the impermanence of the body and the inevitability of its transformation into a foul corpse, followed by a description of how this corpse will be abandoned in the forest and feasted upon by wild beasts. The text concludes by emphasizing the refuge of the Dharma and the vow of the Buddha to save beings from saṃsāra, such that they might reach Nibbāna.

The next text, **dhammasaṇveg «dhammasaṇveg»-k** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “These are the stirring teachings”), comprises twenty stanzas that begin with an explanation of how the body will decay and be separated from its soul, followed by admonitions to give away one’s wealth, contemplate one’s body, and to make merit while one is still alive and well, before it is too late. The text closes with a petition to the Buddha to help one forsake one’s wealth and body and a vow to practice the Dharma in every life.

The third *dhammasaṇveg* text in the *kākaḡati* meter is **dhammasaṇveg «oh o rūpā»-k** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body”), which is extant only in an fragment of twenty-five stanzas. This text provides an explanation of the impermanence and inevitable death of the body, along with the the rites of binding it to a cross and abandoning it in the forest, where it will be surrounded by beasts. It emphasizes the loss of all of one’s family and accumulated wealth and how craving and attachment to these lead to suffering.

The final two *dhammasaṇveg* texts are quite closely related and probably descend from the same parent text. The first, **dhammasaṇveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body, how impermanent!”) contains just twelve stanzas, and gives an explanation of how bodies inevitably become foul corpses, which are abandoned in the forest, feasted upon by wild beasts, and rot back into dirt. It concludes with an exhortation to rely only on oneself and make merit, uphold the precepts, and practice meditation before passing

away. The second, **dhammasañveg «oh o aniccā»-k** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, how impermanent!”), expresses much of the same content, albeit in fourteen stanzas. It contains an explanation of the transience of the body and the inevitability of death, focusing on the process of the corpse decaying in the forest and being consumed by animals, and concluding with an exhortation to reflect on impermanence to reach Nibbāna.

The next two texts offer a very different approach to end-of-life rituals by providing a liturgy for repentance and absolution. They are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9. The first, **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (Taking leave of sins, beginning with “Venerable Blessed One!”) is by far the more common of the two, occurring twenty times in the leporellos. The title ascribed to it in the manuscripts is quite inconsistent. While *lā pāp* (“taking leave of sins”) is the most common, *lpā* (“absolution”), *smā lā dos* (“to repent and take leave of faults”), and *dhaṛm bhante* (“the text beginning with ‘Venerable...’”) also occur frequently. **UB029** provides the longest title: *lpā smā lā pāp lā doḥ lā pramād satv tūc dhaṃ niñ māṭāpītā grū ācāry brah ādit brah cand' brah agī gaṅgā tī dik* (“Absolution for repenting and taking leave of sins, taking leave of faults, taking leave of being negligent toward creatures great and small, parents, teachers, the Sun, the Moon, Fire, Rivers, Earth, and Water”), which indeed captures much of the content of the text.

The seventy-two stanzas of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** present an extended petition to take leave of sins and their consequences on the body, structured in the form of a life review from birth to middle age. It begins with an enumeration of the sins incurred against one’s mother, including those while in the womb and during birth, infancy, and early childhood. This is followed by an account of the sins incurred by deriding various beings; by defying one’s teacher while a novice; and by cursing one’s students, abusing animals, and drinking liquor under the guidance of non-Buddhist healers while a monk. The text then continues with a petition to take leave of all manner of disfiguring illnesses, skin diseases, and congenital abnormalities. This is followed by a petition to take leave of the sins of violating the five precepts, violating the eight precepts during important calendrical rituals, of playing all manner of games and frivolities while inside the monastery grounds, of being disrespectful during Buddhist rituals, of giving respect to non-Buddhist spirits, and of slandering the Dharma. The text closes with a petition to the Three Jewels to help one practice well, be liberated from saṃsāra, and achieve the attainments of the heavens and Nibbāna.

The second repentance text, **lā pāp «muoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k** (Taking leave of sins, beginning with “In addition, I take leave”) exists only in a fragmentary form, comprising eight stanzas from one leporello from Surin province, Thailand (**UB006**). The original text must have been much longer, but I have not yet been able to find any parallels in leporellos or palm-leaf manuscripts. The fragment contains a petition to take leave of the sins of killing and harming animals (though vegetarianism is advocated neither here nor in any other traditional Khmer text), as well as to take leave of various pains, illnesses, deformities, and the consequences of chewing betel.

The next *kākaḡati* text, **hau braḡiṅ-k** (Calling the souls) takes yet another approach to

an end-of-life ritual, in this case especially focusing on the sick.<sup>107</sup> Along with **khvān' nāg-r**, this is one of the only representatives of “calling the souls” texts in the leporello corpus. A number of other such texts have been recorded and published in Khmer books, though it seems that the number and diversity of extant texts in this genre is much smaller than in Tai cultures. As for **hau braliṅ-k**, its ninety-four stanzas open with an invocation to a range of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, including minor deities and spirits from all directions, followed by an enticement for all of the invalid’s souls to return home from their wanderings in the forest, which is described as being filled with frightening wild beasts and malevolent spirits, and concluding with a petition to Buddhist and Brahmanical deities to offer their blessing and protection and a final pronouncement that the souls have returned home.

The last *kāragati* text is **kāyagatā-k** (Body-connected foundation of awareness), discussed further in Chapter 8 (see *infra*, 539–541). As mentioned in section 3.2 above, this is the only text in the corpus to give explicit *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation instructions, though in an abbreviated and poetic form suitable for recitation to a sick or dying person, presumably one who has studied *kammaṭṭhāna* previously and could follow its esoteric description of particular meditative practices.<sup>108</sup> Its fifty-five stanzas provide an explanation of the four foundations of awareness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) from the perspective of traditional Southeast Asian *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. After an initial exposition of the four foundations, the text continues with an opening propitiation (*ārādhana*) and an introduction of four heart syllables (*paṅṭūl*), *NA MA BA DA*. The text then explains each of the signs (*nimitta*) and counterpart signs (*paṭibhāganimitta*) of the four foundations of awareness. This terminology of sign and counterpart sign derive from the *Visuddhimagga*’s presentation of the stages of creating an eidetic image of the meditation object. In this case, the signs and counterpart signs are typified by various colored lights and rays. The text also describes these *nimitta* and *paṭibhāganimitta* as comprising the path to the city of Nibbāna, i.e. Aiyuthyā or Ayutthaya (the capital of Siam before 1767). The text closes with an enumeration of four jewels (*kēv*, representing the four paths and the four fruits, culminating in arhatship), a description of their appearance and radiance, and how they serve as a condition for the attainment of Nibbāna.

### 3.15 Khmer *Brahmagāti Verse (II-13, -br)*

In comparison to the twenty-five *kāragati* texts, which are overwhelmingly seventeenth-

<sup>107</sup> For Khmer editions of the text (in addition to Thompson’s version, cited above), see Preap Chanmara ព្រហ្ម ចាន់ ម៉ាង, “Bāky hau braliṅ nāg ពាក្យហៅព្រលឹងនាគ,” *KhmeRenaissance* 8 (2012–2013): 134–139; Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, *kaṅṅat’ bidhī hau braliṅ កំណត់ពិធីហៅព្រលឹង* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Panṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2004), 20–33; Li Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī hau braliṅ tām rapieṅ khmèr purāṇ ពិធីហៅព្រលឹងតាមរបៀបខ្មែរបុរាណ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2010), 10–28. See also Ang Choulean អាំង ជូលាន, “Hau braliṅ oy anak jamñī ហៅព្រលឹងឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺ,” *KhmeRenaissance* 7 (2011–2012): 134–136.

<sup>108</sup> I should note that the set of *kammaṭṭhāna* practices outlined in this text are by no means identical to those studied by de Bernon and others; there is no mention of the five joys (*pañī*), the six pairs (*yugala*), or the two types of well-being (*sukha*). It is possible that the lineage of meditation practices described in **kāyagatā-k** is not exactly the same as that attested to in previously analyzed *mūlakammaṭṭhān* manuals.

through nineteenth-century compositions for recitation in end-of-life rituals, the eighteen *brahmagīti* texts represent a broader range of dates and functions.<sup>109</sup> Half of them are associated with end-of-life rituals (though only five strictly so), two with consecration rituals, four with narrating events from the Buddha’s life for a variety of rituals, two with sermons, and one with the annual Bhjūṃ Piṅḍ ceremony. Five texts were composed in the twentieth century, another five either in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, seven sometime between the seventeenth and late nineteenth centuries, and one sometime before 1684. Only two of the texts, the end-of-life text **dhammasaṃveg «oḥ o guor saṃveg-br»** (15 occurrences) and the consecration text **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** (7) appear more than four times in the corpus. Two additional ones, the end-of-life text **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** and the narrative text **pacchimabuddhavacana A-br**, appear four times each, and **sikkhāpad prāmpī-br** appears three times. The remainder occur just once or twice.

One text strictly associated with end-of-life rituals is **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** (The discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “As for this discourse”), Sèm Sūr’s late 1960s, 137-stanza complete verse translation of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**.<sup>110</sup> The extremely common, possibly late-nineteenth-century **dhammasaṃveg «oḥ o guor saṃveg»-br** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, what a shock, what a fright!”) is another.<sup>111</sup> Its sixteen stanzas expound on the three marks, give an exhortation to practice charity and not cling to wealth, and articulate the benefits that accrue to those who practice the Dharma, including the attainment of Nibbāna. An older text in the same genre is **dhammasaṃveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br** (Stirring teachings, beginning with “Permit me, O Venerables and good people!”), whose sixteen stanzas furnish an explanation concerning the fate of the body after death, including its abandonment among the beasts of the forest and the lament of the corpse for its mother. Another such text is **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” translated into Khmer). This fragment of forty-nine stanzas takes the form of an expansive translation and explanation of **Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV**. It begins with an explanation of the suffering of birth, old age, sickness, and death; followed by an unpacking of the Pali stanza in question on the inevitability of death; then an exhortation to practice *kammatthāna* meditation; and concludes with a parable of a man being chased by the four thieves of birth, old age, sickness, and death.

A quite distinct end-of-life text in the *brahmagīti* meter is **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** (Benefits of the Ākāravattā), whose sixty-two stanzas provide a verse translation and reworking of a prose version of the *Ānisaṅs ākāravattā* by an otherwise unknown lay priest named Hun in Kaṅ Mās province (today in Kampong Cham). This composition is discussed in further detail

<sup>109</sup> I should note that both *kākagati* and *brahmagīti* are old meters, used in Khmer poetry for centuries. Despite their age, Khmer poets continue to compose in them right up to the present. It just so happens that in the leprelo corpus, there are more twentieth-century *brahmagīti* compositions than twentieth-century *kākagati* ones.

<sup>110</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajñā dharm pad niṅ dhammasaṃveg ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្ខេប* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 48–63.

<sup>111</sup> Ek Ñiṃ ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prèjā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamnī គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់ សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ពូ*, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 19–20.

in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 560–574). The text of this lone leprello witness opens with an homage to the Three Jewels, parents, and teachers, including a vow to be awakened as a buddha in the future, followed by an exposition of the benefits of the *Ākāravattā* (**Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā B-NP**, etc.), emphasizing its power to protect from danger, remove obstacles, aid in attaining aspirations, and remove sin, especially sins incurred by violating the five precepts. This is followed by an apology on behalf of the author and a request for corrections, and concludes with a short explanation of the author’s name and biography, including the circumstances of the text’s composition, and a final dedication of the merit accrued from composing it to his aspiration to reach buddhahood.

The next four texts appear in an end-of-life context in the leprellos, but may be recited for other occasions as well. The longest text of this group is the forty-six-stanza **akkharā 33-br** (The thirty-three consonants), which pays homage to the *guṇ* (virtues or legacies) of one’s mother and father, followed by an exposition that connects each consonant of the alphabet to a part of the body. The text then explains which parts of the body are the legacies of the mother and which are the legacies of the father, and concludes with the benefits enjoyed by one who studies and memorizes this teaching, including birth as a handsome and mighty king. Another is **aṭṭhadisabuddhamāṅgal-br** (Eight-direction array around the Buddha), a ten-stanza text that pays homage to the Buddha, who is described as sitting in the center of a maṅḍala-like array (though the term *maṅḍala* is not used in the text), surrounded on eight sides by his leading disciples.<sup>112</sup> The poem concludes with an account of the benefits enjoyed by someone who can recall and maintain this maṅḍala within his body. Like the previous two texts, **namo namassakār-br** (*Namo* pays homage) also draws from the doctrinal language of traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. Its ten stanzas furnish an explanation that connects the syllables of the Khmer alphabet—beginning with *namo buddhāya siddham* and continuing through the vowels—with a particular *guṇa* (“virtue” or “legacy”) of various objects of worship. The final text in this group takes up a less esoteric topic, namely the lay precepts, and was composed by Ek N̄im in 1933. This text, **sikkhāpad prāmpī-br** (The eight precepts), comprises thirteen stanzas that give an explanation of the eight precepts and the benefits obtained by keeping them, including the attainment of Nibbāna.<sup>113</sup>

The next two texts form part of consecration rituals, specifically for the morning after the consecration of the new buddha image is complete. The second of the two, **padum thvāy phkā «yön khñuṃ mān citt trek»-br** (Lotus flower offering, beginning with “Our hearts are filled with joy”), is one of several short, modern texts created in imitation of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br** (Lotus flower offering, beginning with “I unite my ten fingers”), whose thirty-nine stanzas were composed in the late sixteenth

<sup>112</sup> This arrangement is mirrored in inscriptions found around the *vihāra* in a few older monasteries today. See Olivier de Bernon, “About Khmer Monasteries: Organizations and Symbolism,” in *The Buddhist Monastery: A Cross-Cultural Survey*, ed. Pierre Pichard and François Lagirarde (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2013), 212. See also de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammaṭṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer,” 792–796.

<sup>113</sup> Ek N̄im ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bākya kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamnī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់ សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ពូ, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 21–22.

or early seventeenth century, before 1684. The older text, analyzed further in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 624–651), is a paean in homage of the Buddha and an offering of flowers to him, followed by an extensive set of aspirations, including for extraordinary skills, beauty, wealth, and memory, as well as to be equal to the Brahmanical deities and to complete the path of the bodhisatta, receive a prediction from a buddha, and reach buddhahood oneself in the future. The newer text, on the other hand, in nine stanzas, simply presents a joyful offering of flowers to the Buddha together with an aspiration to be free of suffering and death and eventually achieve Nibbāna.

Four of the *brahmagīti* texts narrate events from the life of the Buddha and may be performed at a variety of rituals, including consecration and end-of-life. The first in terms of the chronological order of the Buddha’s life is **māravijāy paricched-br** (The chapter on the defeat of Māra), a composition by Ū Cuñ first published in 1955.<sup>114</sup> The word “chapter” (*paricched*) here refers to the divisions of the *Pathamasambodhi*, the most important biography of the Buddha in Cambodia and Thailand, which itself includes a chapter called *Māravijaya*.<sup>115</sup> The forty-five stanzas of **māravijāy paricched-br** provides a third-person narrative of the Buddha’s defeat of Māra under the bodhi tree, plus a colophon expressing the aspiration of the author to be awakened as an arahant during the time of the future buddha Maitreya. The next text, **pacchimabuddhavadāna A-br** (The final words of the Buddha), expresses the Buddha’s final admonitions to Ānanda on his deathbed in seven stanzas.<sup>116</sup> The closely related **pacchimabuddhavadāna B-br** (The final words of the Buddha) is a composite of most of **pacchimabuddhavadāna A-br** (stanzas 1–6) with a second, otherwise unknown text on the Buddha’s deathbed advice for Ānanda (stanzas 7–29). Finally, **sira: on-br** (Bowling my head), in eleven stanzas, pays homage to the Buddha, recounts his passing away into Nibbāna on the full moon of the month of Visākha, and makes an aspiration to be born in time for the dispensation of Maitreya.<sup>117</sup>

Two additional texts are recited at sermon rituals, specifically by a layperson who ritually invites a monk to preach. The first text, **bāky prakās mun ārādhānā dhammadesanā-br** (Announcement prior to inviting to preach the Dhamma), is a six-stanza announcement to fellow laypeople, urging them to listen carefully to receive boons, in anticipation of reciting the following text, **ārādhānā dhammadesanā-br** (Invitation to preach the Dhamma).<sup>118</sup> This latter text, closely related to the older **Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br** (both of

<sup>114</sup> Ū Cuñ ធី ចុន, *Cpāp’ gorab mātāpitā* ច្បាប់គោរពមាតាបិតា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1967 [originally published in 1955]).

<sup>115</sup> Cœdès and Filliozat, *The Pathamasambodhi*, 118.

<sup>116</sup> First printed in Braḥ Vināyadhara ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 27.

<sup>117</sup> First printed in Braḥ Vināyadhara ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត, 30.

<sup>118</sup> First printed in 1933, in Ek Nīṃ ឯក ញឹម, *Girimānandasūtra prè jā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtra oy manuss mān jamhī* គិរិមាណន្ទ សូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 23.

which are analyzed in Chapter 7; see *infra*, 444–451), was composed by Suttantapriṇḍā Ind, probably in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.<sup>119</sup> Its twenty-two stanzas give an account of the Buddha being invited to preach the Dharma by Sahampati Brahmā, emphasizing the capacity of the Dharma to save living beings with the proper karmic affinities (*nissaya*). After the Buddha assents, the text concludes with a summary of his preaching career and a direct invitation to a monk to likewise preach the Dharma for the assembled laypeople.

The final *brahmagāthi* text is the calendrical text **thvāy pāy piṇḍ-br** (The offering of balls of rice), which comprises twenty-one stanzas. This text commences with a description of the symbols on the Buddha’s feet, much in the manner of **sarasōr braḥ pād stām-k** and **sarasōr braḥ pād chveñ-k**. It then continues with a description of the food and other offerings made on the occasion of Bhjuṃ Piṇḍ, and closes with a dedication of merit to ancestors and an aspiration to achieve Nibbāna.

### 3.16 Khmer *Baṇṇol* Verse (II-14, -bn)

The seven texts in this group, with the exception of the modern text **jāy bar thmī-bn**, were all composed in the *baṇṇol* meter in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Numerically, the group is dominated by **dhaṛm yog-bn**, which occurs seventeen times in the leprellos. The remaining six texts each occur just once. **kruñ bālī pōk braḥ netr-bn**, like **dhaṛm yog-bn**, is a consecration text, and **dasajāti-bn** is a narrative text. The remaining four are texts for offering protective “victory blessings” (*jāy*), typically on auspicious occasions, such as before weddings or for housewarmings. While they may appear in leprellos containing end-of-life texts, they themselves are rarely used in end-of-life contexts. While **dhaṛm yog-bn** is performed in an elaborate, melismatic, even slightly lugubrious style, typically as a duet or a solo piece, the four blessing texts are recited in more brisk and rhythmic melodies, often by groups of five monks or more.

The first consecration text, **dhaṛm yog-bn** (The Dharma of union) is the 1869 Khmer translation of **dhaṛm yog-y/ch**, and its seventy-one stanzas contain essentially the same content. The second consecration text is **kruñ bālī pōk braḥ netr-bn** (King Bālī opens the eyes of the Buddha), whose thirty-nine stanzas are in a state of metrical decay in the lone manuscript witness. This text is performed for the eye-opening portion of the buddha image consecration ceremony. In Khmer myth, King Bālī (*kruñ bālī*) is a *nāga* king who once ruled over a flooded Cambodia before the arrival of the Buddha. Though his territory was in a sense conquered by the Buddha and turned into dry land, he is still honored in traditional Cambodian ceremonies involving construction, since King Bālī is considered the original ruler of the waters and the soil.<sup>120</sup> The text of **kruñ bālī pōk braḥ netr-bn** begins with a petition to Viṣṇu, Śiva, various seers, Viśvakarman (the divine architect), and other deities to come grant their blessings, followed by an enumeration of offerings, then an invitation to King Bālī

<sup>119</sup> Suttantapriṇḍā សុត្តន្តប្រិដា Ind ឥន្ទ, “Ārādhanaḥ dhammakathik oy samtèn dhaṛm អាណនាធម្មកថិកឲ្យសម្តែងធម៌,” *Kambuja Suriya កម្ពុជសុរិយា* 1 (1926–1927): 34–37.

<sup>120</sup> For more on King Bālī, see Erik W. Davis, “Treasures of the Buddha: Imagining Death and Life in Contemporary Cambodia” (University of Chicago, 2009), 48.

to bless the construction of various buildings and architectural features within the monastery, and finally an invitation to him to open the eyes of the image and to bless all in attendance with the destruction of obstacles and the increase of prosperity.

The only narrative text in this group is **dasajāti-bn** (Ten past births of the Buddha), a 116-stanza text that begins with a brief homage to the Three Jewels, then succinctly narrates each of ten final births of the Bodhisatta, from Temiya to Vessantara, closing with an exhortation to memorize and recall these ten lives. In its sole leprello witness, the scribe adds a Thai phrase at the end of the text, *cap lèv<sub>2</sub> p̄ai*, “it is complete.”<sup>121</sup>

The remaining four texts are all recited in blessing rituals. They are notable for their extensive incorporation of Brahmanical deities alongside Buddhist ones.<sup>122</sup> The first, **jāy dis-bn** (Victory blessings from the eight directions) presents, in sixteen stanzas, a petition for victory blessings from a multitude of deities—those of the eight directions, along with Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and spirits of the earth, the waters, and the mountains—to increase prosperity and eliminate obstacles. The second, **jāy bar thmī-bn** (New victory blessings), comprises twenty-six stanzas of a petition for blessings of victory from the Three Jewels to be bestowed upon the sponsors of a particular ceremony, asking them to be freed from dangers, freed from their evil karma, fulfilled with abundant treasures, and to reach their aspirations on the Buddhist path, including Nibbāna. The seventeen-stanza third text, **jāy ratanatrai-bn** (Victory blessings of the Three Jewels) petitions the Three Jewels and all deities to eliminate dangers that could arise in a home, including dangers from all manner of wild beasts and other natural phenomena, and concludes with an aspiration for well-being and success. Finally, **jāy löñ phdah-bn** (Victory blessings for a new house) is a thirty-one-stanza text recited in housewarming rituals. It presents a petition to the Three Jewels and the power of the *Dibbamanta*<sup>123</sup> to remove planetary misfortunes, ghosts, illness, tuberculosis, and wild beasts from a newly rebuilt home, rendering these dangers inert (Pali: *ahosikamma*).

### 3.17 Khmer *Maṇḍukagati* Verse (II-15, -m)

The three poems in this group, like the last four texts of the previous category, are also recited only in blessing rituals. These texts in the rare *maṇḍukagati* meter<sup>124</sup> were likely composed in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries as well, and each occur just once or twice in the corpus. The first, **jāy kūn go-m** (Victory blessings of the calves) comprises twenty-eight stanzas that form a petition, traditionally recited before wedding ceremonies, for various blessings from the Buddha and his Dharma, embodied in *kammattḥāna* meditation and—quite strikingly—various

<sup>121</sup> **UB022** 75b brah dharm doḥ jātti cap' lèv<sup>o</sup> p<sup>"</sup>ai, i.e. បបស្ថាវៃ

<sup>122</sup> On the contemporary performance of such *jāy* texts, see Miec P<sup>"</sup>uññ t̄ȳt̄ ប៉ុណ្ណ, *Prabaiṇī niñ damniem damlāp' khmèr ប្រពៃណី និង ទំនៀមទម្លាប់ខ្មែរ*, vol. 2 (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2008), 173–179; and Ras' Sukhum រស់ សុខុម, “Sūtr jāy សូត្រជ័យ,” *KhmeRenaissance* 4 (2008–2009): 133.

<sup>123</sup> For more on this term and its possible valences, see Chapter 5.

<sup>124</sup> Also known as the *pantūl kāk* meter.



cows and calves, aspiring for longevity and the splendor of the heavens.<sup>125</sup> The second, **jāy bar 10-m** (Victory blessings of ten kinds) presents twenty-two verses narrating the story of the sage Kassapa and the enumeration of his ten kinds of victory blessings, concluding with evasion from the four dangers (*bhaya*) and the swift realization of Nibbāna. Lastly, **jāy bar puon-m** (Victory blessings of four kinds) contains fifteen stanzas that relate the story of the seer Cintāmaṇī and his blessings for his grandchild, including longevity, complexion, prosperity, and wealth, and concludes with a petition to receive these same blessings from Cintāmaṇī and to destroy all obstacles.

### 3.18 Khmer *Bāky* 4 Verse (II-16, -4)

This group of eight texts exclusively contains Khmer translations, generally from the early to mid-twentieth century, of the Pali texts recited for the calendrical rituals of Māghapūjā and Viśākhapūjā. Each occurs between one and three times in corpus. They essentially overlap with or provide slightly different translations of the seven calendrical texts found in Appendix II-5: Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV) and the three texts of Appendix II-9: Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4). They are recited with the same melodies used for those texts as well. Since they do not pertain to the primary thrust of end-of-life and consecration focus, I refer the reader to Appendix II for their full details to avoid undue repetition here.

### 3.19 Khmer *Bāky* 7 Verse (II-17, -7)

This penultimate group comprises thirty-eight texts, the most numerous of the eighteen. However, with the exception of **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** (17 occurrences), **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** (7), and **parinibbānakathā-7** (7), most appear only a handful of times in the corpus, generally twice or thrice. With the exception of **paṅṭām mahāmāyā-7**, **parinibbānakathā-7**, and **daṃnuoñ madrī-7**, which might date from the late nineteenth century, the remainder of the texts are twentieth-century compositions, generally by well-known modernist authors. With a mean of 20.4 stanzas, they are, on average, shorter than the *kākaḡati* compositions. In this regard, they are more suitable to the compressed time afforded to many Buddhist chanting rituals in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Cambodia.

One text, **māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7** (Pali verses for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer) is like those in the previous group, in that it is a calendrical text translated from a Pali verse text, namely the previously discussed **Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV**. The remaining texts, however, are divided between end-of-life and narrative functions, comprising fourteen and twenty-three titles, respectively. Except for certain passages from the end-of-life texts, most of these texts are not considered in detail in the chapters that follow in order to focus on pre-twentieth-century compositions. I include summaries of them here to paint of portrait of the modern repertoire of *smūtr* or Dharma songs in Cambodia. Although texts in the other, older

<sup>125</sup> The reference to calves (*kūn go* កូនគោ) is also witnessed in a number of other Khmer texts, such as *abhidhamm kūn go* អភិធម្មកូនគោ. For a related text, see FEMC a.11.

meters are still composed and performed today, they are greatly outnumbered by *bāky* 7 compositions. Some modern performers, especially laywomen and lay nuns (*tūn jī*),<sup>126</sup> almost exclusively recite texts written in this meter.

The fourteen end-of-life texts can be further divided into several sections, each of which I will explain in turn. One text, **anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7** (The Discourse on the Mark of Not-Self, translated into Khmer), simply provides a complete translation, in fifty-five stanzas, of **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP** into Khmer verse.<sup>127</sup> A further six texts examine aspects of the three marks, especially the impermanence of the body, though without reference to a specific canonical Pali text. The first, **baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7** (Description of the five aggregates) gives a thirty-stanza technical description of the function of each of the five aggregates of form, sensation, perception, mental formations, and consciousness.<sup>128</sup> The second, **bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7** (Reflection on the five aggregates), is quite similar, though shorter, giving a sixteen-stanza technical description of the function of each of the same five aggregates.<sup>129</sup> The third, **sādhāraṇadharm-7** (Dharmas common to all) presents a twelve-stanza explanation of how the three marks are common to all living beings, and how ignorance prevents them from seeing otherwise.<sup>130</sup> The next two texts, **sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7** (Ordinary marks) and **sukhumalakkhaṇa-7** (Subtle marks) each cover very similar themes in thirteen stanzas.<sup>131</sup> Its thirteen stanzas were composed by Jāy M"ai in 1942. The sixth and most voluminous text is **saṃvegavatthu 8 y"āñ-7** (Eight things to be stirred by), which presents a detailed explanation, in 107 stanzas, of eight *saṃvega*-inducing subjects, namely the suffering of birth, old age, illness, death, the lower realms (*apāya*), the past, the future, and desire (*pariyetthika*), concluding with an exhortation to seek Nibbāna.<sup>132</sup>

In addition, there are four further texts that explore themes similar to the previous six texts. These four texts all bear the title *trailakkha(n)* (The three marks). The most common—and, in some ways, the most prosaic—is **trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** (The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version A). This ten-stanza text first appears in print in 1933, though it might have first been composed in the late nineteenth

<sup>126</sup> ជូនជី; also *yāy jī* យាយជី, cf. Thai *mè, jī* แม่มจี

<sup>127</sup> For the original published text, see Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajñā dharm kāvātār nīn sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 57–64.

<sup>128</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādharmasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត, 33–36.

<sup>129</sup> Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Trailāta(n) pūjā nīn trailāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti nīn saṃvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃតតតបូជានិង ត្រៃតតតប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌, 72–74.

<sup>130</sup> Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Trailāta(n) pūjā nīn trailāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti nīn saṃvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃតតតបូជានិង ត្រៃតតតប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌, 66–67.

<sup>131</sup> Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Trailāta(n) pūjā nīn trailāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti nīn saṃvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃតតតបូជានិង ត្រៃតតតប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌, 70–72; Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, 37–38.

<sup>132</sup> Braḥ Mahā ព្រះមហា លុច ឡុច, *Braḥ trailakkha(n) nīn saṃvegavatthu* ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ និងសង្កេតវត្ថុ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Rājapaṇṇālāy kambujā រាជបណ្ណាល័យកម្ពុជា, 2478).

century.<sup>133</sup> It provides a reflection on the impermanence of the body and its fate of being discarded in the forest, followed by an exhortation to practice the Buddhist path. A very similar text is **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7** (The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version B), which covers the same themes in fourteen stanzas.

Strikingly different is **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** (The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version C). This thirty-one-stanza text, cited frequently in Chapter 8, presents a much more specific account of the dying process and the various postmortem rituals that still take place in Cambodia. It begins by extolling the inevitability of impermanence, the aging of the body, sickness, and death; then describes the final recitation given to a dying person; followed by the response of relatives to one’s death. The text goes on to describe the rituals that take place immediately after death, beginning with an *ācāry* reciting the Abhidhamma to accompany the “journey of the person” (*taṃṇör puḅgal*),<sup>134</sup> then the performance of *paṇsukūl* and *tār*<sup>135</sup> rituals for the deceased for a few days, followed by the procession of the corpse to be buried or cremated. The text continues by detailing the post-cremation process, including the washing of the bones, a brief repentance rite over the bones, their placement into an urn, and the conferment of the urn to the monastery.<sup>136</sup> The text concludes with the dead complaining that the living no longer care for them and do not dare to keep their bones at home.

A separate text concerning similar themes is **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā rūp yōn min dieṅ bit»-7** (The Three Marks, beginning with “Pity our bodies, truly impermanent!”). Neither this nor the previous text seem to appear in printed books. Also in thirty-one stanzas, this text gives a reflection on the impermanence of the body, the inevitability of aging and illness, the not-self nature of the body, the abandonment of the body in the forest, the loss of one’s belongings, the separation of the mind from the body at death, including its escape in the form of *bhavaṅgacitta* through one of the six sense doors, and closes with an exhortation to cultivate merit and practice the Buddhist path.

Another end-of-life text, though not one focused on the three marks, is **khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy-7** (The corpse cries out in remorse). This twenty-stanza text stands out for its distinct voice of regret, taking the form of a largely first-person lament of a recently departed corpse who rues his failure to live up to Buddhist ideals, presented in the form of him admonishing the living to practice charity, the precepts, and *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation.

A further two end-of-life texts focus not on the impermanence of the body or the inevitability of death but instead on the debts (*guṇ*) Cambodian Buddhists believe they owe their parents. The first of these, **raml̥k guṇ mātāpitā-7** (Recollection of the legacies of parents), provides an eight-stanza account of the legacies of one’s parents, directly addressed

<sup>133</sup> Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamiṇī śīvīṅasū* សូត្រ ឧបមនុស្សមានជម្ពីរ, 17–18.

<sup>134</sup> ដំណើរបុគ្គល

<sup>135</sup> បង្ក្រួល; ដារ. On the latter ritual, see Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Puṇy tār bistār puṇṇyaṅgār* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2008).

<sup>136</sup> On the binding of such urns, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 74–76. See also Ouch Makara, *The Urns: Nothing Is Permanent* (Phnom Penh: Wat Langka Pagoda and Sleuk Rith Institute, 2015).

to them. It concludes with a transference of merit to help repay one's debts to them. An older, probably nineteenth-century version, beginning with *ahaṃ namo siro rāḥ*, also exists, though not in this corpus. The second text, **oh o brah mātāpitā-7** (O my august parents!), provides a twelve-stanza description of the debts a child owes to his parents, directly addressed to them, beginning from in the womb and continuing throughout childhood. While the leporello corpus only provides a few such texts that focus exclusively on the virtues of parents, modern Dharma song compositions include dozens, if not hundreds, of texts in this genre. They can be performed for a variety of contexts, including funerals and memorials, but more generally for any ritual performed on behalf of a parent, living or dead.

The twenty-three remaining *bāky* 7 texts in the corpus narrate events from the life of the Buddha. The first nine cover his past lives before his birth as Siddhattha Gotama, whereas the final fourteen narrate his final life from his birth until his entrance into Nibbāna. The paragraphs that follow present each text in “chronological order,” i.e. starting from his past lives and then sequentially covering the events of his last existence.

The first text, **ṭāk' dañ' sāsanā-7** (Lowering the Buddhist flag), doesn't quite fit this chronological structure, in that its ten stanzas cover multiple past lives, giving a brief explanation of the Bodhisatta's acts of generosity behind each of the six colors of the Buddhist flag, followed by a salute to the flag and a description of the benefits of paying respect to it. Next is **damṇuoñ nāñ kesinī juop niñ putr-7** (Queen Kesinī's lament upon meeting her son), which in five stanzas provides the first-person lament of Queen Kesinī, wife of King Subhamitta, upon being reunited with her son, from whom she was separated after her abduction.<sup>137</sup> The narrative comes from the *Subhamitta Jātaka* (*Sabbamitta Jātaka/Sambhūmitta Jātaka*), one of the non-canonical jātakas in the *Paññāsajātaka* collection. Third is **damṇuoñ bhariyā rapas' jāñ kèv-7** (The jeweler's wife's lament), which presents, in seven stanzas, the first-person lament of the wife of the Bodhisatta from an unidentified *jātaka* narrative.<sup>138</sup>

Fourth is **damṇuoñ chaddant-7** (Chaddanta's lament), whose six stanzas give a first-person lament of the Bodhisatta during his birth as the six-tusked elephant Chaddanta upon being shot by the hunter Soṇuttara, an episode from the *Chaddanta Jātaka*. The next text, **damṇuoñ subhadrā-7** (Subhadrā's lament), continues the narrative of this *jātaka* by narrating the lament of Subhadrā (Pali: Cullasubhaddā), formerly the junior wife of Chaddanta and now reborn as the wife of a human king, upon seeing the tusks that the Bodhisatta, after being shot with an arrow by a hunter, had sawed off from his own head in an act of generosity.

The sixth is **damṇuoñ mtāy suvaṇṇasām-7** (Suvaṇṇasāma's mother's lament), a five-stanza lament of the mother of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Suvaṇṇasāma, after she and her husband are blinded by the venom of a snake. The seventh, **damṇuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7**

<sup>137</sup> For a print version, see Yin Van' យិន វ៉ាន់, *Prajum dhaṃ pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារវិទ្យាវិទ្យាសម្ភេស ៩៩ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 47.

<sup>138</sup> Yin Van' យិន វ៉ាន់, *Prajum dhaṃ pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ*, 48.

(Suvāṇṇasāma’s lament), continues the narrative of the *Suvāṇṇasāma Jātaka* by offering a six-stanza lament of the Bodhisatta upon being shot and realizing he can no longer filially serve his blind parents.

The final two *jātaka* narratives come from the Bodhisatta’s antepenultimate birth as Prince Vessantara. The first, **daṃṇuoṅ madrī-7** (Madrī’s lament) narrates, in five stanzas, the lament of Madrī (Pali: Maddī), the Bodhisatta’s wife, upon seeing that her path home to her children has been blocked by gods taking the form of ferocious beasts. Finally, the six stanzas of **kumārabilāp-7** (Prince Jāli’s lament) give a third-person account of the lament of Jāli—son of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Prince Vessantara—after being given, along with his sister Kṛṣṇā (Pali: Kaṇhā), by their father to the wicked brahmin Jūjaka.

While the leporello corpus represents only a small fraction of the *jātaka* texts incorporated into Dharma song performance in Cambodia, these nine texts capture some of the key themes addressed in this genre, including a focus on the lamentations that result from the Bodhisatta’s acts of generosity. The prominence afforded lamentations is continued in the fourteen *bāky* 7 texts from the corpus that narrate the life of Siddhattha Gotama. Most of these texts focus on moments when others are grieving the displacement, illness, or death of the Buddha. Taken collectively, these texts take a distinct approach to the life and lives of the Buddha, one that elevates the supporting characters in these narratives and highlights their emotional responses.

The first such text in the corpus is **paṅṭām mahāmāyā-7** (Queen Mahāmāyā’s admonitions), whose eleven stanzas narrate the Bodhisatta’s mother’s deathbed advice to her younger sister, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, to look after the Buddha-to-be as if he were her own son.<sup>139</sup> The next is **sathuppabbajjā-7** (The going forth of the Teacher), which extends to forty-nine stanzas. It gives a narrative account of the Buddha’s renunciation of his family in the palace, his pursuit of asceticism, along with a description of the five daily duties of buddhas and a sermon by the Buddha admonishing Ānanda and others to practice.<sup>140</sup> Third is **bimbāviyog-7** (Bimbā’s abandonment), whose twenty-four stanzas narrate the lament of Princess Yasodharā Bimbā upon realizing that the Bodhisatta has abandoned her.<sup>141</sup>

The next four texts all deal with the Bodhisatta’s practice of extreme asceticism. The first, **dukkarakiriyā A-7** (The Bodhisatta’s austerities) contains eighteen stanzas that give a third-person narrative account of the Bodhisatta’s austerities, beginning with his yogic manipulation of the breath and followed by his extreme reduction in food intake.<sup>142</sup> The text then describes how Māra, having witnessed the emaciated body of the Bodhisatta, informed his father Suddhodana about his son’s fate. It closes with his mother Mahāmāyā viewing her dying son from the heavens above, which flows directly into her lament in **daṃṇuoṅ**

<sup>139</sup> First printed in Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិទ្យាជ័យ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*, 82–83, but perhaps composed in the late nineteenth century. For an analysis and description of a contemporary performance, see Siyonn Sophearith ស៊ីយ៉ុន សុភារិទ្ធ, “Smūt paṅṭām nān mahāmāyā ស្នេហាបណ្ណាវិទ្យាសមាគមហាយ,” *KhmeRenaissance* 7 (2011–2012): 137–38.

<sup>140</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិទ្យាជ័យ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*, 3–8.

<sup>141</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិទ្យាជ័យ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*, 9–11.

<sup>142</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិទ្យាជ័យ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*, 12–14.

**mahāmāyā-7**. This latter text, **damṇuoñ mahāmāyā-7** (Queen Mahāmāyā’s lament), in turn provides a narrative account of a conversation between the Bodhisatta’s mother, Mahāmāyā, and the emaciated Bodhisatta after his practice of austerities, focusing on the lament of Mahāmāyā upon seeing her son near death.<sup>143</sup> Another text, **dukkarakiriya B-7** (The Bodhisatta’s austerities), provides a similar account of these mortifying practices in eighteen stanzas, giving a third-person narrative account of the Bodhisatta’s austerities, divided into four *brahmacārya* of restricting food, not washing the body, avoiding creating new karma, and rejecting all human interaction in the forest.<sup>144</sup> The last text on this theme is **braḥ aṅg kān’ tñ-7** (The Lord practices strictly), whose twelve stanzas furnish an account of the Bodhisatta’s ascetic practices, up to the time when he accepts the rice-milk from Sujātā.<sup>145</sup>

The next text, **braḥ aṅg phcāñ’ mār-7** (The Lord defeats Māra), gives a forty-three-stanza narrative account of the Buddha’s defeat of Māra’s armies under the bodhi tree.<sup>146</sup> This is followed chronologically by **bimbābilāp-7** (Bimbā’s lament), whose forty-eight stanzas provide a narrative account of Princess Yasodharā Bimbā’s lament upon the Buddha’s return to his father’s palace, including the Buddha’s sermon to her on impermanence.<sup>147</sup> Note that the entirety of the Buddha’s preaching career is skipped over, with the possible exception of this text and the five that follow on the Buddha’s passing away.

These five final *bāky* 7 narrative texts all draw from the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*. The first, **braḥ aṅg tāk’ braḥ janm saṅkhār-7** (The Lord sets his lifespan), narrates a thirty-three-stanza account of the Buddha’s decision to pass away into Nibbāna, including his conversation with Māra, his exhortation to his disciples, and a grieving Ānanda’s unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Buddha to live longer. The second, **damṇuoñ ānand-7** (Ānanda’s lament), narrates a 39-stanza account of a conversation between the Buddha and Ānanda, with the latter mourning his teacher’s impending death and the former admonishing him and all Buddhists to worship him through their practice of the Dharma.<sup>148</sup> This is followed sequentially by **catussamvejanīyatṭhān-7** (Four places to be stirred by), which gives a thirteen-stanza conversation between Ānanda and the Buddha on the four *samvega*-inducing places associated with the Buddha’s birth, awakening, first sermon, and *parinibbāna*, closing with a summary of the benefits of worshipping such places from afar.<sup>149</sup> Next comes **pañṭām braḥ buddh-7** (The Buddha’s admonitions), whose twelve stanzas recount the Buddha’s admonitions to Ānanda just prior to entering Nibbāna, exhorting him to remember and pass

<sup>143</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādharmasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត, 14–15.

<sup>144</sup> Jhīm Śum ឈឹម ស៊ឹម, *Gotamapravatti* គោតមប្រវត្តិ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār sumanasuvat(thi) បណ្ណាគារសុមនសុវត្ថិ, 1968), 10–13.

<sup>145</sup> Jhīm Śum ឈឹម ស៊ឹម, *Gotamapravatti* គោតមប្រវត្តិ, 13–16.

<sup>146</sup> Yin Van’ យិន វ៉ង់, *Prajuṃ dharm pad* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ, 15–20; Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṃ dharm pad niñ dhammasaṅveg* ប្រជុំធម៌ បទ និដ ធម្មសង្កេត, 18–22.

<sup>147</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādharmasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត, 16–21.

<sup>148</sup> Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādharmasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត, 22–26.

<sup>149</sup> Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Trairāta(n) piyā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃវគ្គនីបូជានិដ ត្រៃវគ្គនីប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និដ សំវេនីយធម៌, 47–49.

on the Dharma and to worship the Tathāgata through practice. The final *bāky* 7 text in this sequence is **parinibbānakathā-7** (The story of the Buddha’s Parinibbāna), whose eleven stanzas give an account of the Buddha’s entry into Nibbāna, including Ānanda’s encounter with a group of laypeople who have not yet been informed of the passing away of the Blessed One.

### 3.20 Khmer Miscellaneous (II-18, -r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

The eighteenth and final group of texts in the leporello corpus contains eight texts that are highly fragmentary, mix different poetic meters, or otherwise do not fit in the other seventeen categories above. Most of the texts in this group are anonymous compositions from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, with the exception of **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neh»-br/7** (Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “This discourse”). This text, composed by Ek Ñim in 1933, provides a complete translation of the *Girimānanda-sutta* (**Girimānanda-sutta-CP**) into Khmer verse, including the frame narrative and the ten “perceptions” (*saññā*) preached by the Buddha to Ānanda for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.<sup>150</sup>

Of the remaining seven texts, all but one are appropriate for chanting in end-of-life rituals. The exception is **khvān’ nāg-r** (Calling the souls of the ordinand), a prose text traditionally recited in ordination ceremonies. After an opening invocation to the Buddha, the text narrates how a *nāga* king, taking a human form by day, ordains as a monk. Once he falls asleep, however, the *nāga* returns to his serpentine body. A novice staying in the same residence, is frightened upon witnessing this transformation. The Buddha finds out about the incident and forbids further *bhikkhu* ordination of *nāgas*. The *nāga* king accepts this injunction but requests that future ordinands be known by the name “*nāga*” (Khmer *nāg*; Thai *nāg*)<sup>151</sup> to which the Buddha assents.

The text then gives an account of the vast, incomparable debt (*guṇa*) children owe their mothers, accrued since the time of gestation and early childhood, and the importance of ordaining to repay this debt. This is followed by instructions for the ritual of passing the candleholder (*babil*)<sup>152</sup> nineteen times around the ordinand, accompanied by the calling of the souls (*bralīn*). His souls are called back to his body from the mountains and the forests. The ordinand is then admonished to practice sincerely according to the Vinaya so as to save his relatives from the miserable fates of the four lower realms. The text concludes with a blessing to the ordinand, wishing that he remain in robes for 100 years, be free from all illness, conquer sensual desire, and eventually reach omniscience as a buddha who can ferry over living beings

<sup>150</sup> Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prèjā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamnī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់ សូត្រឱ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ, 1–16.

<sup>151</sup> នាគ; นาค

<sup>152</sup> For more on the shape and use of this object, see Līm Kannīthā លឹម កន្ទីដា, “Babil ពពិល,” *KhmeRenaissance* 3 (2007–2008): 25–28.

to the great city of Nibbāna.

The theme of repaying one's debt to one's mother is also central to **anak mtāy sañsār-k/4r** (My dear mother), presumably an excerpt of a longer, still unidentified text. A few other texts, such as **sakarāj salpāt-4r** (The year and repentance), **sakarāj khè thñai trailakkha(ṇ)-k/4r** (The year, the month, the day, and the Three Marks), **dhaṛm rapā-k/4r** (The Dharma of repentance), are also fragmentary and likely will eventually be identified as parts of longer texts found in other manuscripts. These each provide accounts of the passage of time, litanies of repentance, and prayers for absolution from evil deeds and various illnesses and deformities. The final fragmentary text in this group is **hai me namo-k/r4** (O! I pay homage), which describes, using specific toponyms and *kammaṭṭhāna* technical terms, what paths a person could take in the moments immediately after death, including the path to Nibbāna.

The longest text in the corpus is **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn** (Poem on *kammaṭṭhāna*). As will be discussed further in Chapter 7 (see *infra*, 403–406), this 336-stanza text was translated by a certain Mahāsaṅgharāja Sugandhādhipatī from a Siamese original in 1714. Like other end-of-life texts, particularly in the *trailakkha(n)* and *dhammasaṅveg* genres analyzed above and in greater detail in Chapter 8, **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn** focuses on the body's impermanence, funerary rites, and the fate of the corpse after death. After an account of the poem's translation and the motivations of the translator, the text describes the gestation and birth of human beings, an account of the loathsomeness of the body, including its many worms, the inevitability of growing old, and the horror and unpredictability of death. It then presents a scene in which a father passes away after admonishing his son to ordain as a monk. This is followed by an account of a funeral, including the disposal of the corpse in the forest, the attempts by the ghost to visit the village, and the villagers' use of rice flour to detect the presence of the departed in their midst.

The text then describes the suffering in the hells incurred by various sins, including boasting about one's status, being avaricious, consuming intoxicants, and violating the precept against sexual misconduct. The text continues by imploring everyone to memorize its contents and to correct any mistakes they encounter therein, along with an account of the benefits of studying this text and the Dharma in general. Then comes a series of exhortations to perform meritorious acts, including making and worshiping buddha images and stupas, cleaning temples, and sponsoring manuscripts of the Jātakas. The poem concludes with a simile of the Dharma illuminating the Three Worlds, just like the Sun and Moon illuminate the sky, and an assurance that those who study, copy, and practice this text will be reborn in the heavens.

### 3.21 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the broad contours as well as the particularities of the 195 texts of the leporello corpus. Above all, it demonstrates the prominence of end-of-life chants in Cambodian chanted leporellos. Studying a corpus of many shorter texts presents a quite different set of challenges from analyzing a single long text. There is no fixed narrative arc, no specific ritual, no one author, no single date of composition. Each text stands on its own, for



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performers unfolding a leporello or the contents of their memory are free to choose which precise set of texts to recite and how to recite them. As described in the following chapter, their choices are circumscribed, to some degree, by the flexible conventions concerning sequence, ritual, and melody. But by and large the texts contained in the leporellos represent an overlapping set of chanted repertoires, repertoires peculiar to each performer. The selection of texts for each manuscript depends on the particular knowledge, lineage, and interests of the scribes and sponsors. In aggregate, however, the corpus gives a view of a collective repertoire, namely the set of texts that Cambodian Buddhists tend to perform with elaborate, highly ornamented, melodic chanting styles.

As this overview of the corpus makes clear, most of these texts are either strictly for end-of-life ceremonies—including rites for the dying and for consecration—or, as in the case of the twentieth-century narrative texts, appropriate for such rituals along with many other kinds of ceremonies. Only a small fraction of the texts are intended for other rituals, such as the relatively recent calendrical rites of Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā. This corpus thus traces, if only in bare outline, the textual history of Cambodian melodic chant from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Older manuscript texts, especially those found in the oldest surviving leporellos of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, emphasize end-of-life rituals for the dying and elaborate consecrations of buddha images. These older texts fall within the doctrinal framework of pre-modernized Southeast Asian Buddhism, a framework that gave primacy to traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. Newer texts, including those found only in mid- to late-twentieth-century leporellos, reveal a modernized emphasis on canonical doctrine, short retellings of the life of the Buddha, and the new collective rites such as Māghapūjā and Visākhapūjā that developed under the influence of the Dhammayuttika-nikāya in the late nineteenth century in Cambodia.

The remaining chapters focus less on these newer texts and instead emphasize an earlier era of chants recited at the end of life, particularly those composed from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Parts II and III examine the localizing translations (Chapter 5–7) and the work of the dying (Chapter 8–9) as witnessed in these older texts from the leporello corpus. As the final portion of Part I, the following chapter shifts away from the semantic content of these texts to focus on the paratexts that surround them in the leporellos. These paratexts—including sequences, illuminations, and rituals instructions—show how leporellos weave together the end-of-life chants surveyed in this chapter into scripts for ritual performance.

## Chapter 4: Scripts for Performance

### 4.1 Introduction

This final chapter of Part I builds on the previous two chapters, which argued that Cambodian leporellos are communal manuscripts that contain chants for the end of life. In the present chapter, I use three different kinds of paratexts in the leporellos to demonstrate how these manuscripts function as scripts for performing end-of-life rituals. In other words, I aim to show that Cambodian chanted leporellos often circulate around lay and monastic communities because they provide an essential tool for attending to the sick, the dying, the dead, and the memory of those passed. The leporellos are structured, illustrated, and annotated in such a way that supports their use as scripts for performing these rites.

The three sets of paratexts I focus on are textual sequences, *mise-en-abyme* illuminations, and ritual instructions. For the first, I examine the various orders in which chanted texts, especially those in Pali, appear within each leporello, with an aim to uncover the standard sequences for performing the chants. For the second, I analyze painted or drawn *mise-en-abyme* (“painting within a painting,” but in this case “manuscript within a manuscript”) illuminations from the leporellos that depict a leporello in actual use for performing end-of-life chants. Finally, I consider the ritual instructions that annotate the pages of the leporellos, which provide instructions concerning how, when, where, and for what rituals to chant the various texts contained in each manuscript.

The Cambodian leporellos I study provide ample evidence for each of these three kinds of paratexts. However, in studying the patterns presented by their sequences, illuminations, and ritual instructions, I realized that, at least in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the creators of leporellos in Cambodia were directly or indirectly inspired by leporellos for end-of-life chanting in neighboring Siam. Although the vernacular textual content of these two leporello traditions differ, the sequences of Pali texts are often quite similar. Moreover, certain kinds of *mise-en-abyme* illuminations and some aspects of the ritual instructions in the Siamese leporellos are found in their Cambodian counterparts, sometimes with direct traces of Siamese influence. Therefore, if we want to more fully understand the paratexts of Cambodian leporellos and how they function as scripts for chanting in end-of-life rituals, we must study their Siamese parallels as well.

In bringing these Cambodian and Siamese leporellos under the same microscope, a few findings emerge that are ancillary to my main argument, namely that leporellos of this type serve to direct chanting performances, specifying the occasion, order, and manner of recitation. One such ancillary finding is that a careful juxtaposition of the paratexts in these manuscripts demonstrates that the scribes of Cambodian leporellos drew on a number of Siamese conventions regarding their sequences, illuminations, and ritual instructions. Another is that Siamese leporellos reference end-of-life liturgical practices no longer popular in modern

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Thailand, but for which evidence remains in Cambodia. In other words, if we want to understand such rituals in pre-twentieth-century Siam, we might have to turn to manuscripts and practices that survive today among the Khmer. Finally, I show that illuminated Siamese leporellos of this type, usually described as manuscripts for funerals, are better understood, like their Cambodian counterparts, as end-of-life manuscripts, since they function as scripts for chanting to the sick and the dying as well as for those who have passed away.

In analyzing each of the three kinds of paratexts I engage in this chapter, I draw on both the 70 Cambodian leporellos recorded in Appendix I as well as 36 Siamese leporellos. The Siamese manuscripts, which date from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, are all closely related to one another. They typically contain a number of Pali texts used in end-of-life ceremonies along with the Thai verse version of the Māleyyatthera narrative, *Braḥ mālāy klaan svat*.<sup>1</sup> They are all illuminated with color paintings and are fashioned out of handmade white *khoi*-bark paper. I selected this particular corpus as they were all either manuscripts I have seen and documented in person or that have been made freely available online in full digital facsimile.<sup>2</sup>

For each of these manuscripts, I transcribed the relevant colophons and ritual instructions and made a record of the precise textual contents and order. The complete digital facsimiles greatly facilitated this process, and wherever possible in this chapter I cite the folio number given by the excellent online viewing portals for these manuscripts created by Penn and the British Library, respectively.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these 36 manuscripts, I also consulted very

<sup>1</sup> พระมาลัยกลอนสวด. For a discussion and analysis of this text, see Bonnie Pacala Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint* (Tempe: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1995), 93–148. For editions of the text itself, see Deb Sundarāśārādūl เทพ สุนทรศารทูล, *Kāb(y) braḥ mālāy กาพย์พระมาลัย* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) braḥ nārāya(ṇ) สำนักพิมพ์ พระนารายณ์, 2536), Kram śilpākār กรมศิลปากร, *Samut mālāy leḥ supin klaan svat สมุดมาลัย และ สัปทนกลอนสวด* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākār กรมศิลปากร, 2555); Taakrāk Byāgśrī ดอกกรัก พยัคศรี, *Braḥ mālāy chpāp vāt taan khnāk ta. taan yāy haam a. mīōn nagar p̄atham ca. nagar p̄atham พระมาลัย ฉบับวัดดอนขนาท ดอนยายหอม อ.เมืองนครปฐม จ.นครปฐม* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre ศูนย์มานุษยวิทยาสิรินธร, 2556). A Khmer prose version of the same narrative appears in Gañ' Jhuoy คី ญูย, *Braḥ mālāy desanā ព្រះមាលីយេសេនា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār trairatā(n) បណ្ណការវត្តភ្នំ, 1964). A different Thai version is translation by Brereton in *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, 187–234. The Pali version is edited in Steven Collins and Eugène Denis, “Braḥ Māleyyadevattheravatthu,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18 (1993): 1–17; and translated in Steven Collins, “The Story of the Elder Māleyyadeva,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 18 (1993): 65–96. For an edition and analysis of the Pali commentary to the narrative, see Braḥ Mahā Bhirāṭhakara(ṇ) Aṃsumālī (Bāñnāvā) พระมหาภิรัฐภรณ์ อัสมาลี (พันนาว่า), “Māleyyavātthudīpanītikā: kār ūvac jāmraḥ leḥ śikṣā vigroh̄(h) = Māleyyavātthudīpanītikā: vicāraṇayuttaparisodhanañceva vīmaṃsāyattasikkhā ca มาลัยยวัตถุทีปนีฎีกา : การตรวจชำระและศึกษาวิเคราะห์ = มาลัยยวัตถุทีปนีฎีกาคณดสส : วิจารณ์ยวัตถุทีปนีฎีกา วิจัยยวัตถุทีปนีฎีกา วิจัยยวัตถุทีปนีฎีกา” (Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, 2549).

<sup>2</sup> One of these manuscripts is from the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie (EFEO PALI 39), three are from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum 77-5-5, 83-23-1, and 89-13-251), four are from the University of Pennsylvania Library (Ms. Coll. 990, items 2–5), and 27 are from the British Library (Add MS 15347, IO Pali 207, Or 6630, Or 13703, Or 14559, Or 14664, Or 14704, Or 14731–2, Or 14838, Or 14956, Or 15207, Or 15245–8, Or 15370–2, Or 15925, Or 16007, Or 16009, Or.16101).

<sup>3</sup> These portals may be found at [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/search.html?fq=collection\\_facet%3A%22Thai%20Manuscripts%22](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/search.html?fq=collection_facet%3A%22Thai%20Manuscripts%22) and <http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/thai.html>.

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similar manuscripts in the collections of the Harvard Art Museums (19 manuscripts), the Houghton Library at Harvard (3 manuscripts), and a private collection in Ithaca, New York (1 manuscript). Finally, I also consulted small images of Siamese leporellos in published articles, theses, and books, most prominently the Thai volume prepared by Puñtön Śrīvarabaca(n) and Prah̄sid(dhi) Sēndāp.<sup>4</sup> While I do not include these additional manuscripts in the analysis presented in this chapter, they confirm the observations gleaned from the set of 36 leporellos that I focus on.

I begin my analysis in section 4.2 by examining some of the differences and parallels between the Cambodian and Siamese examples, as shown in their colophons and cantillation marks, respectively. I then consider the sequence of chanted texts that appear in each set of manuscripts (4.3). For each set, I present and analyze a standard chanting order of eleven to seventeen texts to which most of the leporellos of each tradition conform. In the case of the Cambodian set, I show how a minority of texts reflect the Siamese order rather than the typical Khmer one. I argue that these sequences reflect the structures of the end-of-life rituals for which they serve as chanting guides.

I then analyze the illuminations that appear in these leporellos (4.4). I focus on presenting the small number of Cambodian illuminations that survive as well as a specific aspect of the Siamese illuminations, namely the *mise-en-abyme* scenes of chanting from leporellos for end-of-life rites. I contend that the Cambodian illuminations, while quite late and meager by comparison, follow many of the same principles that govern the content and placement of their Siamese counterparts. I also suggest that the primary function of the *mise-en-abyme* scenes in both traditions is to emphasize how these manuscripts and texts function in end-of-life rituals.

Finally, I take up the annotations and instructions that describe how to use a manuscript in a ritual (4.5). I argue that these paratexts transform a manuscript from a textual repository or art gallery to a script for ritual performance. Reading a manuscript as such a performative script reveals the directorial opinion of the scribe as to when certain texts should be chanted, by whom, in what order, in what style, and for what kind of ritual. I close this section by examining several extended examples of end-of-life ritual instructions included in Cambodian leporellos and some printed Khmer books that emerge from the leporello tradition. These detailed instructions, which have no known counterpart in Siamese leporellos, provide relatively comprehensive descriptions of how to perform the scripts provided by leporellos when attending to the sick, dying, and recently deceased.

Taken as a whole, the texts, illuminations, and paratexts in these manuscripts highlight the continuity between different forms of end-of-life rituals—including those for the elderly, the sick, the dying, and the dead, as well as the consecration rites that sometimes follow—and between Siamese and Cambodian expressions of them. This chapter presents evidence that rites for the not-yet-dead and the dead share ritual and performative continuities. The persistence of these continuities in both Cambodian and Siamese manuscript traditions connects to a theme more fully addressed in Part II (Chapter 5–7): Khmer and Tai Buddhist

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<sup>4</sup> Puñtön Śrīvarabaca(n) บุญเดือน ศรีวรพจน์ and Prah̄sid(dhi) Sēndāp ประสิทธิ์ แสงทับ, *Samut khaay*, สมุดข่อย.

manuscript cultures cannot be studied in isolation, as our analysis of each informs our understanding of the other.

#### 4.2 Paratexts in Cambodian and Siamese End-of-Life Leporellos

In this section, I address some of the salient differences and parallels between the paratexts of Siamese and Cambodian end-of-life leporellos. I first consider the differences between the number and quality of the illuminations in each set. The Siamese leporellos contain far more paintings than their Cambodian counterparts, and the Siamese illuminations are also considerably higher in level of detail, expense of materials, variety of colors, and diversity of subjects. I then look at a few colophons from Siamese leporellos to show how they tend to be the products of professional scribes and elite donors, in contrast to the more communal character of the Cambodian examples. Finally, I examine a set of shared conventions for cantillation marks in Cambodian and Siamese leporellos. Like the other paratextual parallels examined throughout this chapter, the Siamese examples illuminate key aspects of the Cambodian manuscripts and allow us to see how they function as scripts for performance.

Many magnificent illuminated leporellos from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siam survive today. These manuscripts feature collections of Pali and Thai chanting texts for the end of life in tandem with paintings of Buddhist narratives, cosmologies, and rituals. As these leporellos are prominent in both Thai and international collections of Southeast Asian manuscripts, they remain objects of continuing curiosity and the subject of a wealth of recent studies. The textual content, painted depictions of narratives, and fascinating circulation of a single exceptional manuscript is brought to life by Naomi Appleton, Sarah Shaw, and Toshiya Unebe.<sup>5</sup> Unebe, in a posthumously published article, provides a more detailed analysis of the textual contents of a number of such manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> Henry Ginsburg's work on manuscript illuminations moves toward an understanding of the artistic evolution of these leporellos.<sup>7</sup> Jo-Fan Huang's technical studies of the chemical composition of the paints used in these manuscripts further clarifies when and how they were created.<sup>8</sup> M.L. Pattaratorn Chirapravati's article on *pānsukūl* illustrations opens new perspectives on the Buddhist rituals

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<sup>5</sup> Appleton, Shaw, and Unebe, *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha: An Illustrated Chanting Book From Eighteenth-Century Siam*.

<sup>6</sup> Toshiya Unebe, "Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha's Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvātīmsa Heaven," *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 427–444.

<sup>7</sup> Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western Collections*; Ginsburg, "A Monk Travels to Heaven and Hell." See also Jana Igunma, "A Monk's Journeys to Heaven and Hell," *Southeast Asia Library Group Newsletter* 43 (December 2011): 39–52.

<sup>8</sup> Jo-Fan Huang, "A Technical Examination of 7 Thai Manuscripts in the 18th, 19th, and 20th Centuries" (Annual Student Conference of the Association of North American Graduate Programs in the Conservation of Cultural Property, University of Delaware, 2006).

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and practices depicted by and connected to these leporellos.<sup>9</sup> Bonnie Brereton and Jana Igunma engage some of the interpretations of Ginsburg and Barend Terwiel with regards to how some of these manuscripts feature provocative images of monks chanting while wearing costumes, taking intoxicants, and playing with laypeople.<sup>10</sup> Finally, Peter Skilling and Santi Pakdeekham are engaged in a digitization project of paintings and manuscripts from Phetchaburi province, and their research shows that such illuminated leporellos from rural Central and Southern Thailand during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are every bit as elegant as those in the capital and in overseas collections.



Figure 4.2.1: Two spreads from FEMC d.459, containing astrological texts, a rare example of color paintings in a Cambodian leporello

On several levels, Cambodian chanted leporellos differ markedly from these Siamese examples. Extant Siamese leporellos are often older; as mentioned in the introduction, no

<sup>9</sup> M. L. Pattaratorn Chirapavati, “Corpses and Cloth: Illustrations of the *Pamsukūla* Ceremony in Thai Manuscripts,” in *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 79–98. See also Jana Igunma, “Meditations on the Foul in Thai Manuscript Art,” *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Universities* 8, no. 1 (2015): 65–81.

<sup>10</sup> Bonnie Pacala Brereton, “Phra Malai Texts—Telling Them Apart: Preface or Performance,” *Journal of Mekong Societies* 13, no. 3 (2017): 1–18; Jana Igunma, “The Mystery of the ‘Naughty Monks’ in Thai Manuscript Illustrations of Phra Malai,” *Southeast Asia Library Group Newsletter* 48 (December 2016): 29–54; Barend Jan Terwiel, “Towards Understanding Thai Buddhism” (Lecture at the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, 2012).

known Khmer leporello of any genre survives from before the 1830s. Among the chanted leporellos in this dissertation, one undated example may date from the mid- to late- nineteenth century (**UB059**), with the remainder only from the late-nineteenth to early-twenty-first centuries. The Siamese leporellos are also in a larger format, generally measuring around 12 centimeters wide by 70 centimeters long, as opposed to the Cambodian leporellos, most of which measure around 12 centimeters wide by only 35 centimeters long. The most prominent difference, however, is in the number and quality of their illuminations. Illuminated examples of Khmer liturgical manuscripts are especially rare, and most of the illustrated leporellos cataloged in Appendix I date from the mid-1960s to the mid-1990s. Furthermore, with the exception of a few non-liturgical leporellos held at the Bibliothèque EFEO - Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān or elsewhere and cataloged by the EFEO and FEMC, the painted illuminations in Khmer leporellos are not even remotely comparable in terms of extent, detail, color palette, and technique (Figure 4.2.1 above). While there is some evidence that more copiously illuminated liturgical manuscripts were once used in Cambodia just as in Siam, such manuscripts have largely disappeared from public view in Cambodia today.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the considerable differences in the paintings themselves, Cambodian leporellos, as shown in Chapter 3, contain dozens of texts that find no direct counterpart in the Siamese corpus of illuminated manuscripts. This is particularly the case for the many Khmer verse texts that make up the majority of the distinct titles in the corpus. While many of these Khmer poems do have parallels with poems in Central Thai, a subject explored in Chapter 7, such parallels are not generally found in illuminated leporellos from Siam, which primarily contain Pali texts.

Finally, the relatively high cost of producing Siamese illuminated leporellos, including the frequent application of gold leaf and copious amounts of finely applied paint under the sponsorship of the elite contrasts with the “communal” character of Khmer leporellos, which are generally inexpensive and used by both monks and laypeople. Whereas many Siamese manuscripts of this type are specifically addressed for use by the ordained sangha, Khmer liturgical leporellos are frequently owned by *ācāry* or other laypeople for their own use. Khmer examples also contain far more signs of textual addition, modification, and graffiti. By contrast, Siamese chanted leporellos, particular those that survive in European and American libraries, show little evidence that they were tampered with since their creation, and many remain in excellent condition. This may be because certain such leporellos were created for the international art market instead of for ritual use, as some have suggested,<sup>12</sup> or more simply because many of the ones that survive in Western collections today were acquired in the nineteenth century. Therefore, unlike their Cambodian counterparts, they have sat undisturbed in boxes for much of the past 100 to 150 years.

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<sup>11</sup> My gratitude to Erik Davis for showing me some photos of one such illuminated end-of-life manuscript, photographed in Battambang, Cambodia, in 2006 (an image of one spread appears in Davis, *Deathpower*, 33). I also thank Matthew Trew and Sor Sokny for their efforts in 2016 to confirm if this manuscript was still in the monastery’s collection, which alas proved unsuccessful.

<sup>12</sup> Forrest McGill, cited in Susanne Ryuyin Kerekes and Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States,” *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 235.

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The colophons for the Siamese leprellos of this type also indicate that not only were they often sponsored by elite donors for use by monks, but also that they were produced by professional lay scribes and artisans, rather than by donors or monks, as is often the case for their Cambodian counterparts. For instance, a Thai-script colophon at the end of a mid-nineteenth-century Siamese leprello held at the Penn Museum (Penn Museum 83-23-1) emphasizes the donors and their aspirations. The scribe, by contrast, does not name himself and petitions only a for “a share of the benefits” (*svaṃ, ānisaṅ(s)*) (Figure 4.2.2 below):

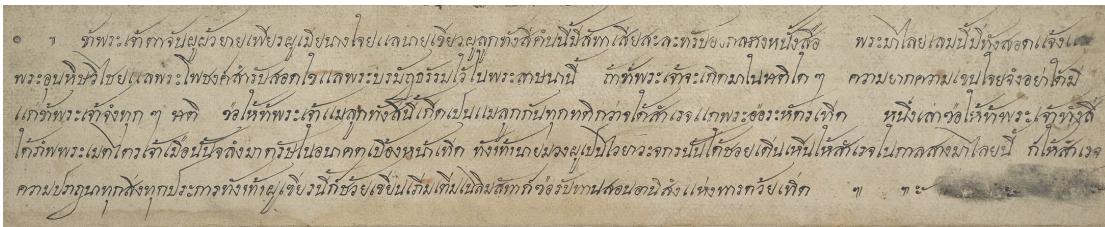


Figure 4.2.2: Detail of Penn Museum 83-23-1 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), spread B50, showing Thai-script colophon

Standardized edition in modern Thai orthography:

ข้าพระเจ้ตาจันผู้ฝัวยาศิเษรผู้เมียงนางใจและนายเขี้ยวผู้ลูกทั้งสี่คนนี้ มีศรัทธาเสียสละ  
ทรัพย์ออกสร้างหนังสือพระมาลัยเล่มนี้ มีทั้งสวดแจง พระอุณหิสวิชัย และพระโพชฌงค์  
สำหรับสวดไซ้ และพระปรมัตถธรรมไว้ในพระศาสนานี้ ถ้าข้าพระเจ้จะเกิดมาในชาติใดๆ  
ความยากความเข็ญใจจงอย่าได้มีแก่ข้าพระเจ้จางทุกๆ ชาติ ขอให้พระเจ้แม่ลูกทั้งสี่นี้  
เกิดเป็นแม่ลูกกันทุกๆ ชาติ กว่าจะได้สำเร็จแก่พระอรหัตเกิด หนึ่งเล่า ข้าให้ข้าพระเจ้ทั้ง  
สี่ได้พบพระเมตไตรยเจ้เมื่อนั้นจะลงมาตรัสในอนาคตเบื้องหน้าเกิด ทั้งข้านายมวงผู้เป็น  
ไวยารัจจรณัน ได้ช่วยเดินเห็นให้สำเร็จในการสร้างมาลัยนี้ ก็ให้สำเร็จความปรารถนาทุก  
สิ่งทุกประการ ทั้งผู้เขียนนี้ ก็ช่วยเขียนเพิ่มเติมเฉลิมศรัทธา ก็ขอรับทานส่วนอันสงส์  
แห่งท่านด้วยเถิด

Translation:

“We, servants of the Lord,<sup>13</sup> Mr. Cān and Mrs. Bīer, along with our children Ms. Cāi and Mr. Khīev, all four of us, had the faith to forsake our wealth to sponsor this *brah māḷāy* book, which includes the *svat cèn*, *brah unhisavijāy*, and *brah bojjhān(a)* for chanting to the sick, along with the *brah paramāt(th)*, to be established in the dispensation. In whatever life we should be born in, may we all never encounter poverty and hardship. May the four of us—wife and children included—be born together as parents and children, respectively, in every life until we reach arhatship. Moreover, may all four of us meet Lord Maitreya when he descends to awaken in the future.” The lay monk’s assistant Mr. Mvañ also helped to see this sponsorship through—may he achieve all of

<sup>13</sup> This is merely a literal rendering of a standard Thai first-person pronoun used when addressing the Buddha, royal figures, and others worthy of respect.



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his aspirations. As for me, the scribe, who assisted in the writing as an adornment to [their] faith, may I receive a share of the benefits accrued to them.

In some Siamese leprellos the professional scribe does not even ask for a portion of the merit. This is the case in EFEO PALI 39, a leprello from 1815 held at the Bibliothèque EFEO Paris – Maison de l’Asie. The extensive Khom Thai-script colophon again emphasizes the donor, in this case Princess Sumālī,<sup>14</sup> the 27th child of King Rāma I, and her extensive merit and aspirations. The scribe names himself, but does not publicly ask for a share of the merit, instead suggesting that his act was done out of duty, fealty, or devotion to the princess (Figure 4.2.3 below).

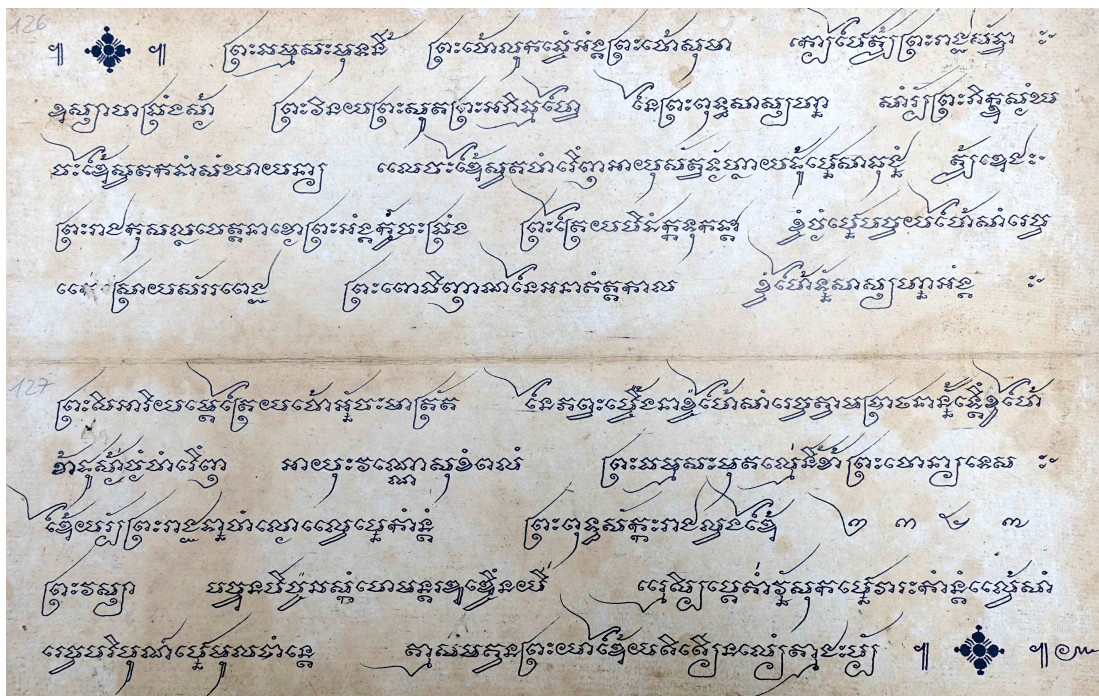


Figure 4.2.3: Detail of EFEO PALI 39, pages 126–127, showing Khom-script colophon

Diplomatic transcription of Khom Thai-script colophon:

*braḥ dhamm saḥmud nī<sub>2</sub> / braḥ cau<sub>2</sub> lūk dhema<sup>o</sup> aṅg cau sumā / kop<sup>o</sup> pai tway<sup>o</sup><sub>2</sub> braḥ rājjasāddā .:*  
*ussāh dhamṇi sān<sup>o</sup><sub>2</sub> / braḥ vinay braḥ sūt braḥ abhidham<sup>o</sup> hvai / nai braḥ buddhasāssahnā /*  
*sāmrāp<sup>o</sup> braḥ bhikkhusaṇṇi<sup>o</sup> gh ca dai<sub>2</sub> sūt kadām saṃghāyanāy<sup>o</sup> / lè caḥ dai<sub>2</sub> sūt cāmromṇi āyu sātu*  
*dān<sup>o</sup> hlāy phū<sub>2</sub> pēn<sup>o</sup> sādhujaṃn<sup>o</sup> tway<sup>o</sup><sub>2</sub> deji. braḥ rājakusallacettanā khauṇ braḥ aṃṅg ka<sup>o</sup><sub>a</sub> caḥ*  
*dhraṇṇi / braḥ traiy pūtaṃkk duk jāt / khama<sup>o</sup> caṃṇi pēn<sup>o</sup> paccay hai<sub>2</sub> sāṃrecc kē<sub>1</sub> srauy sārarabejj /*  
*braḥ bodhiñāṇ nai anāgatamttakāl khama<sup>o</sup> / hai<sub>2</sub> dān sāsahnā aṃṅg braḥ si āriy met<sup>o</sup> traiy cau<sub>2</sub> ān<sup>o</sup>*  
*ca mā trāt / nai hhabbah pōaṇ<sub>2</sub> nā kh<sup>o</sup>aa<sup>o</sup> hai<sub>2</sub> sāṃrecc gvām prāthanā nān<sup>o</sup> dōmṭ<sup>o</sup> khaa<sup>o</sup> hai<sub>2</sub> khā<sub>2</sub>*  
*phū sān<sub>12</sub> caṃṇi<sup>o</sup> cāmromṇi / āyuh vaṇṇo sukham balaṃ / braḥ dhamm saḥmut nī lem<sup>o</sup><sub>1</sub> nī<sub>2</sub> khā<sub>2</sub>*

<sup>14</sup> พระองค์เจ้าหญิงสมาลี

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*braḥ cau nāy<sup>o</sup> des ∴ daiy<sub>2</sub> räp<sup>o</sup> braḥ rājādān<sup>o</sup> cāmlauñ lèv<sup>o</sup> pen kāṇṇaṃt / braḥ buddh sākkaḥrājī  
kvañ dai<sub>2</sub> / 2357 braḥ vassā / paccun pī c<sup>o</sup>aa<sup>o</sup> chasaṃk<sup>o</sup> hemantaradū dōan yī1 / rēṃ<sup>o</sup> sip<sup>o</sup> pet  
gām1 vān<sup>o</sup> suk pēn<sup>o</sup> vārah kāṇṇaṃt lèv<sup>o</sup> sām<sup>o</sup> recc paripūrñ pēn<sup>o</sup> mūl pāṇṇet<sup>o</sup> / tām<sup>o</sup> saṃṇ gvañ braḥ  
yā daiy<sub>2</sub> tī tien leṃy<sup>o</sup> tām<sup>o</sup> jahpāp<sup>o</sup> .. # .. ~*

Standardized edition in modern Thai:

พระธรรมสมุดนี้ พระเจ้าลูกเธอองค์เจ้าสุมา[ลี] กอปรไปด้วยพระราชศรัทธาอุสสาห์ทรงสร้างพระ  
วินัยพระสูตรพระอภิธรรมไว้ในพระพุทธศาสนา สำหรับพระภิกษุสงฆ์จะได้สวดกระทำสังคายนา  
และจะได้สวดจำเรียวอายุสัตว์ทั้งหลาย ผู้เป็นสาธุชน ด้วยเดชพระราชกุศลเจตนาของพระองค์ก็  
จะทรงพระไตรปิฎกทุกชาติ ขอจงเป็นปัจจัยให้สำเร็จแก่สร้อยสรพชญพระโพธิญาณใน  
อนาคตกาล ขอให้ทันศาสนาองค์พระศรีอารยเมตไตรยเจ้าอันจะมาตรัสในภพเบื้องหน้า ขอให้  
สำเร็จความปรารถนานั้นเถิด ขอให้ข้าผู้สร้างจงจำเรียวอายุวิณโณสขังพลัง พระธรรมสมุดนี้เล่มนี้  
ข้าพระเจ้านายเทศได้รับพระราชทานจำลองเป็นกำหนดพระพุทธศักราชล่วงได้ ๒๓๕๗ พระวัส  
สา ปัจจุบัน ปีจอ ฉศก เหมันตฤดู เดือนยี่ แรม สิบเอ็ด ค่ำ วันศุกร์ เป็นวาระกำหนดแล้วสำเร็จ  
บริบูรณ์เป็นมูลบำเหน็จ ตามสมควรพระอย่าได้ติเตียนเลยตามฉบับ

Translation:

This book of the Dharma was sponsored by Princess Sumā[lī] [i.e. พระองค์เจ้าหญิงสุมาลี, 27th child of Rāma I] out of her faith and devotion, containing the *braḥ vināy*, the *braḥ sūtr*, and the *braḥ abhidhamm*, to be established in the dispensation of the Buddha for the use of monks to chant for the [re-]enactment of recitals (*saṅgāyanā*) [of the Tripiṭaka], as well to to chant for the extension of the lifespan of all living beings who are virtuous. As a result of her intention to cultivate merit, she has upheld the Tripiṭaka in every life—may this be a condition for the attainment of the flower of the omniscience of a buddha in the future. May she be born in time for the dispensation of Śrī Ārya Maitreya, the Lord who will awaken in times to come. May she attain her aspiration. May she, the sponsor, increase her lifespan, her complexion, health, and strength. As for this book of the Dharma, I, Mr. Deś, was bestowed the opportunity to inscribe it as a royal gift, and in year 2357 of the Buddha’s dispensation, year of the dog, sixth of the decade, in the winter season, the eleventh waning day of the second lunar month, a Friday [i.e. January 6, 1815 CE], it was entirely complete as an appropriate tribute [or for a suitable fee?].<sup>15</sup> Please don’t criticize [me, as I copied it] in accordance with the [old] manuscript.

Both of these passages follow many of the nine elements outlined in Khmer leporello colophons in Chapter 2. They each contain the name of the donor, a listing of the most important texts, a statement of the purpose of the manuscripts, a dedication of merit to the donor, and an expression of the donor’s aspiration. EFEO PALI 39 includes the additional elements of the date, the name of the scribe, and a quasi-apology for any mistakes. The passages also reveal that the scribes were separate from the elite donors and were probably lay

<sup>15</sup> I thank Thiti Jamkajornkeiat for his assistance in pointing out some of the possible valences of this phrase.

Chapter 4: Scripts for Performance

professionals.<sup>16</sup> We also know little about how such leporellos circulated in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siam, and to what extent, if ever, they were used by laypeople for rituals. The overall picture, however, suggests that such Siamese leporellos, at least those that made it to the West, were not created by or for the same kind of village community witnessed in Cambodian leporello colophons.

In spite of these substantial differences in their materiality, colophons, and sponsorship, there are some compelling parallels between Cambodian and Siamese end-of-life leporellos. These include the textual sequences, mise-en-abyme illuminations, and ritual instructions that are analyzed at length in subsequent sections of this chapter. Another such paratextual parallel exists in the cantillation marks that occur in both Siamese and Cambodian chanted leporellos. These merit further study in their own right, but for our purposes the key point is that we would not be able to understand these marks in Cambodian leporellos without reference to their older Siamese counterparts. There are two kinds of cantillation marks present in the leporellos, and each appears in both Siamese and Cambodian examples. One type are those, as studied by Fredrik Almstedt,<sup>17</sup> that contain the astrological numerals (in Siamese manuscripts) or other diacritical marks (in Cambodian manuscripts). An example of such marks appears in Figure 4.4.1.1 below (see *infra*, 186). The other kind are those that simply contain the Thai words *lan* (“fall”) and *khin<sub>2</sub>* (“rise”), which are found in both Cambodian and Siamese leporellos.

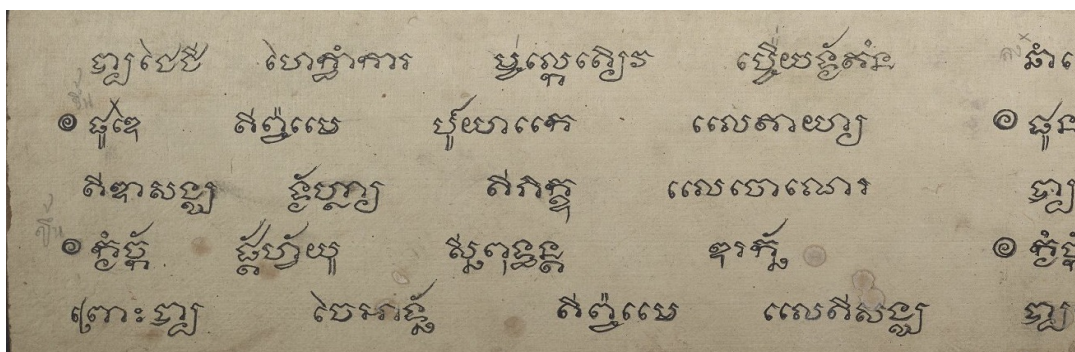


Figure 4.2.4: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), detail of spread B40, showing *lan* and *khin<sub>2</sub>* marks added in pencil for Braḥ mālay klaan svat

For the former type of cantillation mark, there is currently no way of matching them to contemporary performance practices; as far as I know, they do not provide a helpful guide for any of the extant Khmer or Thai recordings of such performances. Nevertheless, it is clear

<sup>16</sup> Other leporellos, however, seem to have been created by a monastic scribe, whose professional status is uncertain. See, for example, Or 13703, folio 40v, which contains the following colophon in Khom Thai: *hnān° sīa° dān guṅ rāk svān° vai<sub>2</sub> nai braḥ sāsna braḥ mahā möa°n phū raccaṅā tēmm khien thā<sub>2</sub> phūi° phūy°n jvāy sōm° plēn°*. Standardized in modern Thai orthography: หนังสือท่านคุณรักสร้างไว้ในพระศาสนาพระมหาเมื่องผู้จนาแต่มีเขียน ถ้าผิดเพี้ยนช่วยซ่อมแปลง (“This book was sponsored by Mr. Rāk to be established in the dispensation. Braḥ Mahā Mīön was the artist and scribe. If there are mistakes, please change them accordingly.”)

<sup>17</sup> Almstedt, “On the Origin of the Thai Tone Markers: A Vedic Influence on the System of Marking Tone in Thai,” 48–67.

that these marks comprise an internally consistent system within each manuscript, though not necessarily between manuscripts. Siamese leporellos, in particular, feature a relatively consistent system. While we do not currently know what each specific mark refers to, they parallel similar systems used in Japan and Tibet, and therefore almost certainly notate different musical characteristics of the melody to be chanted with a particular text. In other words, the marks likely indicate when the melody should rise or fall in pitch, what syllables should be emphasized or attenuated, what rhythm should be followed, and what vocal ornamentations should be applied, possibly including glissando, vibrato, glottal stops, and other techniques germane to contemporary Khmer-Tai melodic chant. Musical traditions in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand were transmitted entirely by rote prior to the twentieth century, as no native systems for notation existed for secular melodies. These cantillation marks are thus the only known example of traditional musical notation in these cultures.

Only the following texts have cantillation marks, which are almost always in red ink: **Ān trai A/C-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, *Unhissavijaya*, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. In almost all of the Siamese manuscripts with cantillation marks, the same marks occur over the same words in each text, suggesting that there was at least one established convention in place in the nineteenth century. In Cambodian manuscripts, a smaller subset of these same Pali texts contains diacritical cantillation marks, namely **Ān trai A-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. However, the form and position of these marks varies stridently from manuscript to manuscript, possibly indicating that no established convention was ever in practice, at least not by the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, the fact that a subset of the same Pali texts were annotated in this way suggests a continuity between the recitation styles of Cambodian and Siamese leporellos. In other words, in both cultures the same Pali texts were set aside for melodically complex chant in end-of-life contexts.

For the latter type of cantillation mark, namely those that use the Thai words *lai* and *khin<sub>2</sub>*, either in Thai, Khom Thai, or Khmer script, a smaller number of examples exist, but these examples, too, suggest a similar continuity. In Siamese manuscripts, they are found both in *Brah mālai klan svat* as well as in the three *Gilāna-suttas*. Figure 4.2.4 above shows an example of the former text in Penn Museum 89-13-251. Or 15207 is one of several leporellos where *lai* and *khin<sub>2</sub>* markers appear in **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**. In Cambodian leporellos, these marks are only found in **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (figure 4.2.5 below). No current performance practices conform exactly to the placement of these marks, as far as I aware. As mentioned in Chapter 3, *lai* and *khin<sub>2</sub>* have several possible meanings in this context. One is that they refer to the rise and fall in the pitch of the melody, and another is that they refer to when particular phrases start and stop. They may also refer to the number of monks who are supposed to be chanting at a given point in the text (i.e. one or many). More research is necessary to determine how these and other kinds of cantillation marks were intended to be performed.

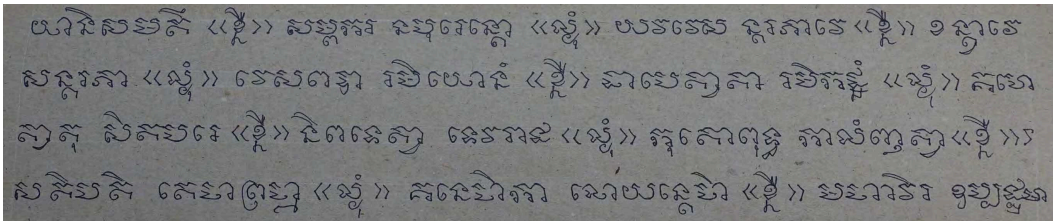


Figure 4.2.5: **UB010**, detail of spread 26b, showing *lan* (luṅṅ<sup>o</sup>) and *khin*<sub>2</sub> (khīn<sup>o</sup>) marks for **Buddhābhiseka-NP**

Despite these gaps in our knowledge, the cantillation marks still make clear that both Cambodian and Siamese leporellos were created for complex melodic chants, complex enough that a system of such marks was necessary to jog the memories of the performers and keep all of them chanting with the same rhythm, intonation, and ornamentation. This system, even though not entirely standardized, reflects how Cambodian scribes followed certain paratextual conventions from Siamese manuscripts. Moreover, we would not be able to understand why such marks appear in Cambodian manuscripts, especially those of the *lan* and *khin*<sub>2</sub> type, without witnessing them in earlier Siamese examples. These paratextual conventions, in turn, reinforce the understanding of end-of-life leporellos in both cultures as furnishing scripts for performance.

In the sections that follow, I examine other paratexts that appear in both Cambodian and Siamese manuscripts. Again, my aim in including Siamese examples in this discussion to help explain patterns and problems in the Cambodian material, as in the case of the cantillation marks. Despite the differences in their illuminations and trends of sponsorship and circulation, Cambodian and Siamese manuscripts of this type share numerous paratextual conventions whose significance only fully manifests under such comparison. This chapter thus uses the Siamese material to reveal facets of the paratexts of Cambodian leporellos that would not be otherwise apparent. Among the Cambodian paratexts that Siamese leporellos shed light on are the arrangement of texts, illustrations showing the manuscripts in actual use, and instructions that provide a framework for how to use leporellos as scripts for ritual performance.

### 4.3 Textual Sequences

One important paratext in both Cambodian and Siamese leporellos is the order in which the texts appear in a given manuscript. In contrast to most long-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*satrā/sāstrā*) in Cambodia, short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*) and leporellos typically contain more than one text. The order in which texts are presented in these manuscripts typically follows certain conventions. These conventions and their attendant variations, in turn, reflect aspects of the chanted performance of such texts, for instance in the case of the monastic recitation of texts arranged in accordance with half-month curricular cycles or in the formation of protective collections, including the *Sattaparitta*, the *Dvādasaparitta*, and the *Mahādibbamanta*, collections discussed further in Chapter 5. These collections are not merely lists of texts; they are ordered sequences for performance. While the same exact sequence of

these texts is not always followed in actual ritual practice, a dominant or ideal order nonetheless exists and is reflected in the manuscript traditions and the printed books that developed from them.<sup>18</sup>

Leporello manuscripts, particularly those intended for use in end-of-life and buddha-image consecration rituals, reflect this concern with ideal sequences of chants. All 70 of the Cambodian leporellos I study contain texts for one or both of these two closely related rituals. In the 36 Siamese leporellos examined in this chapter, only those containing texts for end-of-life rituals are represented. While leporellos for buddha-image consecration certainly exist in modern Thailand,<sup>19</sup> I am not aware of texts for such rituals appearing prominently in the genre of late-eighteenth- to early-twentieth-century illuminated manuscripts examined here. Nevertheless, despite the absence of consecration texts in the Siamese corpus, each tradition coalesces around a particular list of texts, with the two lists sharing considerable overlap in content.

These overlaps occur solely in the realm of Pali texts. Whereas the Siamese corpus is dominated by a single vernacular text, *Brah̄ māl̄ȳ klaan svat*, the Khmer corpus contains a much broader range of vernacular texts, three of which form part of the standard list. In terms of Pali texts, however, four of the most common are identical in the two traditions: **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Ān trai A-NP** (as well as its variants **Ān trai B-NP**, **Ān trai C-NP**, and **Ān trai D-NP**), **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, and **Sahassanaya-NP**. A further four texts are integral to the Siamese list but are relatively rare in Cambodian leporellos: a long verse recension of *Uṅhissavijaya*,<sup>20</sup> **Paṭhama-gilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiya-gilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatiya-gilāna-sutta-CP**. Finally **Isigili-sutta-CP**, while occasionally present, is rare enough in both traditions that we cannot easily include it in a standard list. The remaining Pali texts are limited to either the Khmer or Siamese leporello corpus, even if they tend to be also known to both cultures in the form of palm-leaf manuscripts, printed books, or stone inscriptions.

#### 4.3.1 Textual Sequences in Siamese Leporellos

In this subsection I demonstrate how the Siamese leporellos generally conform to a single order. One part of this sequence represents texts to recite for those who have just passed, while the other focuses on texts to chant for the sick and the dying. The 36 Siamese manuscripts I studied present, in terms of total distinct titles in the corpus, a single vernacular text (*Brah̄ māl̄ȳ klaan svat*) and 27 Pali texts. Each manuscript contains between one and twelve of these

<sup>18</sup> For more on the way contemporary Theravada monks select sequences of texts for recitation at funerals, see Rita Langer, “Chanting as ‘Bricolage Technique’: A Comparison of South and Southeast Asian Funeral Recitation,” in *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 21–58.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, Sam Bvaṅ, bhāktī สม พวงภักดี and Dāsānī(y) Bvaṅ, bhāktī ทัศนีย์ พวงภักดี, *Gāṃ svat brah̄ bhikkhuṭṭimok(kh) chp̄p̄ samt̄c brah̄ sāṅgharāj draṅ jāṃrah saapdān braam, dān, gāṃ ar̄th̄ pl̄è l̄h̄ svat brah̄ buddhābhisek คำสวดพระภิกขุปาฐิโมกษ ฉบับ สมเด็จพระสังฆราช ทรงชำระสอบทาน พร้อมทั้ง คำอรรถแปลและสวดพระพุทธธาภิเชก* (Brah̄ nagar พระนคร: Sāṃnāk nān sa. dharmabhāktī สำนักงาน ส. ธรรมภักดี, 2511).

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 5 for more on this long Pali text in verse and its differences from the closely related, medium-length, mixed-prose-and-verse **Uṅhissavijaya-NM**.

28 texts, with most recording between five and nine. All of them contain part of the sequence for chanting for the dead, while only some contain texts for reciting to the sick or dying.

Thirty of the manuscripts have fewer than five texts, generally in the order **Ān trai A-NP** or **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, particularly for nineteenth-century specimens.<sup>21</sup> Three older manuscripts, IO Pali 207, Or 14255, and Or 14526, each likely dating from the late Ayutthaya, Thonburi, or early Rattanakosin periods (mid-eighteenth through early nineteenth centuries), maintain the same order as above but replace *Brah mālāy klaan svat* with *Mahābuddhaguṇā*, a Pali text characteristic of eighteenth-century illuminated leporellos from Siam.<sup>22</sup> Other manuscripts present slight variations on this order, but still focus on chants for the dead.<sup>23</sup>

Each of these variants, despite their differences from the standard order for chanting for the dead, tend not to violate a few of its basic patterns. One, an *Abhidhammamātikā* passage (whether in the form of **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** or as part of **Ān trai A-NP**), if present, always precedes the performance of **Sahassanaya-NP** and *Brah mālāy klaan svat*. Second, while the Abhidhamma section of **Ān trai A-NP** may be split off and rearranged, the Vinaya and Sutta sections remain a bound pair. This pattern also follows the order described by Pāramin(d) Cāruvar for contemporary *brah mālāy* performances based on modern printed leporellos in Thailand, which begin with **Ān trai A-NP** followed by *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.<sup>24</sup> Thus, despite the variants, the basic order **Ān trai A-NP** or **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and *Brah mālāy klaan svat* or *Mahābuddhaguṇā* remains stable in leporellos from the late eighteenth through twentieth centuries and beyond.

<sup>21</sup> These are the five most common chants for the recently deceased in the corpus. For example, the leporellos Or 13912, Or 14389, Or 14559, Or 14664, Or 14731, Or 14956, Or 15257, Or 15370, Or 15371, Ms. Coll. 990, item 3, and Ms. Coll. 990, item 4 each contain two texts, beginning with either **Ān trai A-NP** or **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, and followed by *Brah mālāy klaan svat*. In a slight expansion of this basic formula, Or 6630, Or 14255, Or 14704, Or 14732, and Or 15258 each begin with either **Ān trai A-NP** or **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, then proceed to **Sahassanaya-NP**, and close with *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.

<sup>22</sup> For an edition of this text, often considered as consisting of two sections (*Mahābuddhaguṇā* and *Mahābuddhaguṇavaṇṇanā*), see Tanabe Kazuko 田辺 和子 and Shimizu Yōhei 清水 洋平, アユタヤ一期後期作製ワット・フアクラブー寺院所蔵の絵付折本紙写本 = *An Illustrated Folding Book from the Late Ayutthaya Period Preserved at Wat Hua Krabue* (Tokyo 東京: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会, 2016), 65–92.

<sup>23</sup> 89-13-251, for instance, rearranges the constituent parts of **Ān trai A-NP**, placing the Abhidhamma section before the Vinaya and Sutta sections, but otherwise conforms to the standard. Or 14115 and Or 16007 present a similar rearrangement of **Ān trai A-NP**, but place the Vinaya and Sutta sections after *Brah mālāy klaan svat* rather than before. Ms. Coll. 990, item 5 follows the pattern of Or 14115 and Or 16007 closely, but adds a repetition of the Abhidhamma section at the end. 77-5-5 places **Sahassanaya-NP** after *Brah mālāy klaan svat* as opposed to before. Or 16101 combines the variations of 77-5-5, Or 14115, Or 16007, and Ms. Coll. 990, item 5, by beginning with the Abhidhamma section of **Ān trai A-NP**, followed by *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, then the Vinaya and Sutta sections, and closing with **Sahassanaya-NP**. Ms. Coll. 990, item 2 follows Or 16101 but, like Ms. Coll. 990, item 5, repeats the Abhidhamma section at the end, right before **Sahassanaya-NP**. Finally, Add MS 15347 contains but a single text, *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.

<sup>24</sup> Pāramin(d) Cāruvar ปรมินท์ จารุวร, *Mālāy śrāddhā: balavāt khañ kār svat brah mālāy cāk tāñ, sanām vicāy มาลัยศรัทธา: พลวัตของการสวดพระมาลัยจากต่างสนามวิจัย* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Groñ kār pheyy brè, phal nān vijākār, gaṇaḥ ākṣaraśāstr culālanākara(ṇ) mahāvīdyālay โครงการเผยแพร่งผลงานวิชาการ คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2556), 79–85.

Other leporellos add a variety of other texts to this basic order. These texts, by contrast, are primarily those intended to be recited for the sick or the dying, rather than the dead. Or 14838, for example, adds a bound trio of *paritta* texts on the *bojjhaṅgas*, or factors of awakening (**Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**), following *Brah̄ mālāȳ klaan svat*. Penn Museum 83-23-1 builds on this pattern by adding the long Pali verse recension of the *Unhissaviḡaya* before closing with the *bojjhaṅga* trio.<sup>25</sup> These variants differ from those discussed previously in that they add a number of other chants for the sick or dying to the sequence, namely *Unhissaviḡaya*, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. All five of these texts are explicitly associated in terms of their content with extending life or healing illness. They thus stand in contrast to the strong funerary associations of **Ān trai A-NP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and *Brah̄ mālāȳ klaan svat*.

Some of the leporellos, therefore, are better conceived of as end-of-life rather than strictly funerary manuscripts, as they embrace texts for both the dying and the dead.<sup>26</sup> A further four manuscripts, containing nine to twelve texts each, expand the range of texts possible in such Siamese end-of-life leporellos.<sup>27</sup> These four leporellos do not contain either of the long central texts—*Brah̄ mālāȳ klaan svat* or *Mahābuddhagūṇā*—featured in the other 32 Siamese leporellos discussed in this chapter. In their place, they present variations on a common order of texts associated with illness and death.

Or 13703 offers a paradigmatic example. It opens with two funerary texts, **Ān trai A-NP** and **Sahassanaya-NP**, and follows these with a long sequence of texts for the ill or the dying, including **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, *Unhissaviḡaya* (preceded by two rare texts, *Itipi so dan̄ jāȳ* and *Gāthā buddhagūṇā*), and *Mahāsānti*. The sequence closes with a list of common *paritta* texts to recite according to the “powers” of different planetary deities, a practice known as *svat kām̄lān̄ devatā*.<sup>28</sup> Or 16009 expands on the portion between *Mahāsānti* and *svat kām̄lān̄ devatā* by

<sup>25</sup> Or 15246 modifies this order slightly, beginning with **Ān trai A-NP**, followed by **Sahassanaya-NP**, then a partial version of the *bojjhaṅga* trio (just **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** and **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**), then **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, and closing with *Brah̄ mālāȳ klaan svat*. Or 15925 presents another variant, in this case following the older convention of using *Mahābuddhagūṇā* instead of *Brah̄ mālāȳ klaan svat*. The order is as follows: **Ān trai A-NP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, *Mahābuddhagūṇā* (with a brief citation of the *Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā* following), **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** and **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**. Since *Mahābuddhagūṇā* appears to have not been a major part of Thai liturgical practices for some time, perhaps for at least the past century, it is difficult to conclude whether *Mahābuddhagūṇā* is more closely linked to funerals or to other kinds of end-of-life practices, such as extending life, healing illness, averting mortal dangers, or guiding the minds of those on their deathbed to focus on recollecting the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddha.

<sup>26</sup> Penn Museum 83-23-1, Or 14838, Or 15246, and Or 15925

<sup>27</sup> Or 13703, Or 15245, Or 16009, and PALI 39

<sup>28</sup> สวดกำลังเทวดา. Or 15245 expands on this formula, offering a longer array of funerary Abhidhamma texts (including the the *kusalā* and *bistāra* excerpts I discuss later on in Chapter 5) at the beginning alongside **Ān trai A-NP** and **Sahassanaya-NP**, before proceeding to a series of texts for the sick or dying, including **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, followed by **Isigili-sutta-CP**, and closing again with *svat kām̄lān̄ devatā*.



adding texts from the *Mahādibbamanta* collection discussed in Chapter 5, as its order demonstrates: **Ān trai A-NP**, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, *Uṇhissavijaya*, *Mahāsānti*, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, *Dibbamanta*, *Mahāmaṅgalacakkavāḷa*, *Mahāsāvam*, and *svat kāmḷān devatā*.<sup>29</sup> These four leporellos thus expand on the lists of Pali protective texts to be chanted for the sick and the dying discussed above. With the exception of *Brah̄ mālāy kḷaan svat* and *Mahābuddhagunā*, they also contain some of the most common funerary texts witnessed in Siamese illuminated leporellos of this type, including **Ān trai A-NP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, and **Sahassanaya-NP**.

Taken as a whole these 36 Siamese leporellos generally hold to a standard order of texts for end-of-life rituals, including rites for illness and for funerals:

[Texts recited primarily for the recently deceased]

1. **Ān trai A-NP**<sup>30</sup>
2. **Abhidhammātikā-NP**<sup>31</sup>
3. **Sahassanaya-NP**
4. *Brah̄ mālāy kḷaan svat*

[Texts recited primarily for the elderly, the sick, and the dying]

5. *Mahābuddhagunā*
6. **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**
7. **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**
8. **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**
9. **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**
10. **Isigili-sutta-CP**
11. *Uṇhissavijaya*
12. *Mahāsānti*
13. **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
14. *Mahājaya*
15. *Dibbamanta*
16. *Mahāmaṅgalacakkavāḷa*
17. *Mahāsāvam*
18. *svat kāmḷān devatā*

<sup>29</sup> Essentially the same sequence of texts appears in PALI 39, the principle differences being the displacements of **Isigili-sutta-CP** to the end and *Uṇhissavijaya* closer to the beginning: **Ān trai A-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, *Uṇhissavijaya*, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, *Mahāsānti*, *Mahājaya*, *Dibbamanta*, *Mahāmaṅgalacakkavāḷa*, *Mahāsāvam*, *svat kāmḷān devatā*, and **Isigili-sutta-CP**.

<sup>30</sup> This text consists of three sections: Vinaya, Sutta, and **Abhidhammātikā-NP**.

<sup>31</sup> Same as last section of **Ān trai A-NP**; occasionally other Abhidhamma abridgements are used here, as in Or 15245.

Twenty-three of the 36 manuscripts conform exactly to this order. A further ten manuscripts make just a single change to this order.<sup>32</sup> Only three manuscripts follow a significantly different order.<sup>33</sup> These exceptions aside, 33 of the 36 leprellos hew exactly to this sequence or make a single modification to it. While no manuscript contains all 18 texts of the idealized order I have generated, almost all of the manuscripts follow the logic of this order, which separates chants for the dead from those for the sick or dying. The ritual instructions discussed in section 4.5 below clarify that the texts are indeed written in the order in which they were intended to be recited, and for these specific types of end-of-life rituals.

Since *Mahābuddhagūṇā* and *Brah̥ mālāy kḷaan svat* are by far the longest texts included in these collections, we can think of this list as divided into texts that precede these two and texts that follow them. The texts that precede them—**Ān trai A-NP**, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**—are canonical excerpts, that is, they abridge and rearrange material from the Tipiṭaka, particularly from the Abhidhamma. In contemporary Cambodia and Thailand, these texts are associated with death as well as with three-seat *saṅgāyanā* sermons performed for major rituals, such as for the funeral of a monk or dignitary.

The texts that follow *Mahābuddhagūṇā* and *Brah̥ mālāy kḷaan svat*, by contrast, are largely protective texts recited for the sick and the dying. The first five (**Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, and **Isigili-sutta-CP**) are canonical, part of standard *paritta* collections, and are associated today with recitation for the sick. The next seven texts (*Uṇhissavijaya*, *Mahāsānti*, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, *Mahājaya*, *Dibbamanta*, *Mahāmaṅgalacakkavāla*, and *Mahāsāvam*) are non-canonical and closely linked to the *Mahādibbamanta* collection of protective texts. The final item on the list, *svat kāmḷān devatā*, is not a single text but rather a collection of standard canonical *paritta*. In Or 16009,<sup>34</sup> this collection is articulated as follows:

1 [the Sun]	<i>uddhetayañcakkhumā</i>	6 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	
2 [the Moon]	<i>yandunimittamavamaṅgalaṃ</i>	15 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	
3 [Mercury]	<i>yassānubhāvato</i>	8 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	
4 [Venus]	<i>sabbāsīsajjādīnaṃ</i>	17 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	108
7 [Saturn]	<i>yatoṃ</i>	10 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	
5 [Mars]	<i>ḥpurentambo</i>	19 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	117 <i>dī</i>
8 [Rāhu]	<i>kinnusantaramāno</i>	12 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>	

<sup>32</sup> Four of these place the Vinaya and Sutta sections of **Ān trai A-NP** after the Abhidhamma section (Or 14115, Or 16007, 89-13-251 and Ms. Coll. 990, item 5). Two place *Uṇhissavijaya* before **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** rather than after **Isigili-sutta-CP** (83-23-1 and PALI 39). Two others put *Brah̥ mālāy kḷaan svat* at the end rather than the middle (Or 14732 and Or 15246). Another puts **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** after **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** rather than before. The final single-change manuscript is one that places **Sahassanaya-NP** at the end (77-5-5).

<sup>33</sup> The sequences for two of these were discussed above (Or.16101 and Ms. Coll. 990, Item 2); each make two changes to the order. The most unusual sequence appears in Or 15372, which is also the only manuscript among those I surveyed that contains both *Mahābuddhagūṇā* and *Brah̥ mālāy kḷaan svat*. Its order is as follows: *Mahābuddhagūṇā*, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Tatiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, and *Brah̥ mālāy kḷaan svat*.

<sup>34</sup> Or 16009, f. 38v – f. 39r

## Chapter 4: Scripts for Performance

6 [Jupiter]	<i>yassānūsarane</i>	21 <i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup>
9 [Ketu]	<i>appasannehinā</i>	<i>cap</i> <sup>o</sup> 9

The ordinal numbers on the left refer to one of the nine planetary deities (*navagraha*)<sup>35</sup> connected with the particular paritta texts, and the cardinal numbers on the right refer to the number of recitations (*cap*) to be completed for each text according to the “power” (*kāmlān*) or “day” (*vān*) of the deity in question.<sup>36</sup> The titles of the *paritta* are given in a mnemonic *pratīka* (first word or line) format, with *uddhetayañcakkhumā* referring to the *Mora-paritta*, *yandunimittamaṅgalaṃ* referring to the *Pubbañha-sutta*, *yassānubhāvato* referring to the *Karaṇīya-metta-paritta*, *sabbāsīsajjādīnaṃ* referring to the *Khandha-paritta*, *yatoṃ* referring to the *Āṅgulimāla-paritta*, *purentambo* referring to the *Mittānisamsa-paritta*, *kinnusantaramāno* referring to the *Canda-/Suriya-paritta*, *yassānūsarane* referring to the *Dhajagga-paritta*, and *appasannehinā* referring to the *Ātānāṭiya-paritta*. The stray “108” on the right reflects the sum total of recitations for the first eight deities; the “117” reflects the total when the ninth is included. These texts, with the exception of the non-canonical *Pubbañha-sutta*,<sup>37</sup> are canonical *paritta* texts coupled with their standard non-canonical introductory verses. They are known in Cambodia as well, and essentially the same sequence of texts is found in **UB064** under the name *kāmlāṇi devatā*.<sup>38</sup>

The standard order thus consists of several distinct groups of texts, namely: A) canonical extracts associated with postmortem rituals, B) two long “core” texts, *Mahābuddhagaṇā* (predominant in eighteenth-century manuscripts) and *Braḥ mālāy klaan svat* (predominant in nineteenth-century examples), C) medium-length canonical protective texts associated with illness, D) medium-length non-canonical protective texts connected to the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, and E) the *svat kāmlān devatā* or *svat stoḥ groḥ(h)* collection of short canonical protective texts recited multiple times. If the first two groups are more closely associated with funerals and wakes, then the last three can be linked to averting danger, extending life, and cultivating a focused mind on the deathbed.

As for their recitation styles, the texts in groups A and C, as well as the *Unhissaviṅṅaya* from group D, are depicted with red cantillation marks in some manuscripts. Many of these texts are also melodically recited in Cambodia today. By contrast, most of the texts of the *Mahādibbamanta* and *svat kāmlān devatā/ svat stoḥ groḥ(h)* collections do not feature cantillation marks in Siamese manuscripts and are not recited melodically in Cambodia today. *Braḥ mālāy klaan svat*, as a vernacular Thai text, does not use the red cantillation marks reserved for Pali texts. However, most manuscript versions contain the names of specific melodies to be

<sup>35</sup> For more on the planetary deities (*nabagroḥ(h)* นพเคราะห์) and their role in Thai astrology, see Nerida M. Cook, “Astrology in Thailand: The Future and the Recollection of the Past” (The Australian National University, 1989), 140–154. On the *navagraha* (*nabagroḥ* នពត្រៃ៖) in Cambodia, see Ang Choulean អង់ ជួលន, “Nabagroḥ នពត្រៃ៖,” *KhmeRenaissance* 8 (2012–2013): 82–85.

<sup>36</sup> จบ; กำลั้ง; วัน

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of a bilingual Pali-Khmer version of this text, catalogued as **Yaṃ dunnimittam ca/yaṃ dunnimittam ca samrāy-r**.

<sup>38</sup> **UB064** 12b–15b, កម្មវិធីទេវតា

performed for particular passages. Finally, for *Mahābuddhagaṇā*, we do not have any evidence for its performance practice either way.

The order and grouping of texts in these Siamese leporellos also convey some information about which texts monks may have most frequently rehearsed and performed for various rituals. Part of the following chapter examines the set of Pali texts (*bhāṇavāra*) monks were once expected to memorize. The short protective texts in group E, *svat kāmḷāṇi devatā/ svat stoḥ groḥ(h)*, fall squarely within this category; they presumably would have been memorized by monks and novices in eighteenth and nineteenth century Siam and Cambodia and recited on many ritual occasions. Hence it is not surprising that these texts are referenced only in abbreviated form. A well-trained monk, prompted with just *uddhetayañcakkhumā (udetayam cakkhumā)*, could easily recite the rest of the *Mora-paritta* from memory. There would be no need for the manuscript to write the text out in its entirety; he would simply need to keep track of how many times to recite it, in this case six.

By contrast, the remainder of the texts on this idealized list are either part of special collections (such as the *Mahādibbamanta* collection) or part of the standard chanting repertoire but likely intended to be recited in a melodic fashion for special end-of-life rituals. In Cambodia today, when monks perform in an extremely melodic or melismatic style, they often keep a book or leporello manuscript in front of them even if they have previously memorized the text. This is presumably because the musical dimensions of recitation make it more likely that a monk might lose his place. The manuscript in this case serves as a prompt, perhaps not unlike a musical score to an accomplished musician who knows her piece well but may glance at the notes from time to time.<sup>39</sup> The sequences of texts in the Siamese leporellos thus serve as paratexts that help us see how these manuscripts functioned as scripts to guide chanting performances for the sick, the dying, and the dead.

#### 4.3.2 Textual Sequences in Cambodian Leporellos

The presence of such clearly delineated chanting sequences in the Siamese leporellos alerts us to similar paratexts in their Cambodian counterparts. In these Cambodian manuscripts, two distinct orders of chants appear for end-of-life rites and the closely related ritual of buddha-image consecration. The first order is quite distinct from the one sketched out above; I call it the “Khmer” order. The other found in Cambodian leporellos is quite close to that found in the Siamese leporellos, and for that reason I call it the “Siamese” order. The Khmer order is more common in Cambodian manuscripts than the Siamese one, but the presence of both sequences suggest that at least some compilers of Cambodian leporellos were inspired by Siamese exemplars. Each order helps us see chanted leporellos of this type as furnishing scripts for ritual performance.

The typical Cambodian leporello sequence of Pali and vernacular texts for end-of-life and consecration rituals can be distilled down to a list of eleven texts, divided into two sequential groups. Unlike my analysis of the primary Siamese order, this list contains only a

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<sup>39</sup> Alex von Rospatt suggests that the presence of a manuscript might also serve to legitimize the performance, assuring the audience that the texts in question are indeed the words of the Buddha or are otherwise worthy of respect.

core group of texts and does not consider the many texts in the manuscripts that do not easily fall into a sequential pattern, especially the extremely numerous vernacular texts associated with end-of-life rituals (many of which are analyzed in the deathbed contemplation program detailed in Chapter 8). The “end-of-life group,” therefore, contains only Pali texts, whereas the “consecration group” contains a mix of Pali and vernacular texts. For the purposes of my analysis here, variant recensions denoted with A, B, etc. are considered as a unit.

[End-of-life group, progressing through texts for the sick, the dying, and the dead]

1. **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**
2. **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**
3. **Ratanamālā-NV**
4. **Itipi so that A/B/C-NP**
5. **Abhidhammātikā-NP**
6. **Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP**

[Consecration group, following the steps for inaugurating a new buddha image]

7. **Buddhābhiseka-NP**
8. **yog-bn/yog-y/ch**
9. **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
10. **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**
11. **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**

Sixty-nine of the 70 leporellos contain one or more of these texts. 64 of the 70 have two or more. These eleven texts are in thus some sense the core of the leporello corpus, comprising 30% or 199 of the 653 total texts. A plurality of the leporellos (29 of 70) maintain this particular order.<sup>40</sup> For six of the remaining 41 manuscripts, we cannot determine whether they fit this order or not, since they contain none or just one of the texts from the list.<sup>41</sup> A further sixteen manuscripts make just one change to the idealized order.<sup>42</sup>

For the remaining 19 manuscripts, the idealized order is not followed in at least two respects. However, certain patterns still emerge, some of which reflect the Siamese order described above. For instance, except in one twenty-first-century printed leporello, **Sahassanaya-NP** always follows the Siamese convention of appearing right after **Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP** or **Abhidhammātikā-NP**. **Ratanamālā-NV** always appears after **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**, even if other texts intervene. Four texts in this group follow

<sup>40</sup> **UB001–2, UB004–5, UB007–12, UB016, UB025–29, UB033–36, UB038, UB041, UB043–44, UB046, UB048, UB051, UB053–54, and UB062**

<sup>41</sup> **UB059** contains none; **UB006, UB056, UB064, UB066, and UB069** feature just one.

<sup>42</sup> Seven leporellos move **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** to after **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (**UB014, UB024, UB026, UB049, UB055, UB063, and UB065**). Three move **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP** to after **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (**UB017, UB017, UB020**). Another two move **Ratanamālā-NV** to after **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (**UB032, UB037**). Two simply switch **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** and **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP** (**UB018–19**). One moves **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** to the beginning of the consecration group, before **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (**UB003**). Finally, another places **Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP** at the beginning of the end-of-life group instead.

the Siamese order directly, i.e. **Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP** or **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, **Sahassanaya-NP**, and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**.<sup>43</sup> Seven others follow this order, but omit **Sahassanaya-NP**<sup>44</sup> or **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**.<sup>45</sup> Another seven leprellos contain one or more texts from the Khmer order, but only one from the Siamese order, making comparison impossible.<sup>46</sup> Finally, only one manuscript deviates significantly from both the standard Khmer and Siamese textual sequences.<sup>47</sup>

The Cambodian leprello corpus, therefore, tends to reflect either the Khmer order (29 follow it exactly, 16 follow it with a single change) or the Siamese order (11 manuscripts). Thirteen of the remaining fourteen manuscripts contain too few texts from either the idealized Khmer or Siamese orders to properly classify them, leaving just a single manuscript that definitively follows neither convention.<sup>48</sup> For most Cambodian chanted leprellos, two idealized sequences—one Khmer, one Siamese—are necessary to understand why the texts appear in the order they do.

For the Khmer list, the precise division into “end-of-life” and “consecration” sequences reflects the twin ritual functions of these leprellos. Texts for end-of-life ceremonies do not tend to overlap with those of consecration rites and vice-versa. Some manuscripts exclusively contain texts from one or the other of these two ritual settings. Other manuscripts, however, contain both end-of-life and consecration sequences. These two sequences are not mixed together; rather, the typical pattern is that expressed by the idealized order: the end-of-life texts come first, followed by the consecration texts.

Even though end-of-life and consecration rites can be conceived of as quite distinct, the sequential placement of their respective texts in Cambodian leprellos reflects an order followed in some Khmer rituals. Many Khmer funerals and memorials, particularly if the sponsor has the means, include a buddha image consecration during the final night and morning of a multi-day ceremony. While consecration ceremonies can certainly occur outside of this setting, most notably for *sīmā*-establishing ceremonies for new *vihāras* or after the construction of a new main central image (*braḥ jī*, “sacred ancestor,” or its homophonous variant, *braḥ jī(v)*, “living deity”),<sup>49</sup> the idealized order in leprello manuscripts makes clear the link between end-of-life and consecration rituals. Indeed, the idealized Khmer list presents a

<sup>43</sup> **UB013, UB015, UB023, and UB067**

<sup>44</sup> **UB022, UB045, UB057, UB060, and UB068**

<sup>45</sup> **UB052 and UB058**

<sup>46</sup> **UB030–31, UB040, UB047, UB050, UB061, and UB070**

<sup>47</sup> The order of **UB039** is as follows: **Buddhābhiseka-NP, yog-bn/yog-y/ch, phcāñ' mār «yōñ khūm paṅgam»-k, Girimānanda-sutta-CP, Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP, Abhidhammātikā-NP, and Akāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP.**

<sup>48</sup> A few leprellos also combine aspects of the Siamese order of chants with the Khmer one. This is especially true of leprellos from Khmer-speaking areas in Northeast Thailand. **UB006**, a leprello from Vāt Tenamī(y) in Surin province, Thailand, comprises a variety of Khmer verse texts for end-of-life rituals recorded in Khmer script. Intriguingly, however, the first half of the manuscript follows the idealized order witnessed in Siamese leprellos, beginning with **Ān trai A-NP** and followed by *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, both in modern Thai script. **UB006**, along with other leprellos I witnessed but did not get a chance to fully document in the southern provinces of Northeast Thailand, explicitly fuses aspects of Khmer and Siamese end-of-life leprellos.

<sup>49</sup> ព្រះជី; ព្រះជីវ័, cf. Thai *braḥ pṛahdhān พระปรางค์*.

very clear ritual sequence that begins with illness, crescendos with death, and culminates in the consecration of a new image. As discussed in the previous chapter, this particular arc, from death to newly consecrated life, supports the idea that buddha images in Cambodia are closely related to rites for deceased ancestors.<sup>50</sup>

The first text of the Khmer list, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, expressly concerns the sick. The Pali text, as well as its numerous bilingual and Khmer versions found in the corpus, present the possibility that, just as the gravely ill monk Girimānanda was healed through a series of ten contemplations on the body and other key Buddhist teachings, so could the present invalid be cured by listening to the recitation of this text. The next three texts, **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**, **Ratanamālā-NV**, and **Itipi so that A/B/C-NP**, each attempt to praise the virtues (*guṇa*) and enumerate the innumerable perfections (*pāramī*) of the Buddha. As mentioned in Chapter 2, examples of *ānisaṃsa* for these texts extol their ability to extend life and expunge evil karma.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, these texts guard the perilous gap between life and death, guiding the mind of the dying to concentrate on the highest good. The following text, **Abhidhammātikā-NP**, marks the moment of death. Sometimes **Sahassanaya-NP** appears here as well, or else in tandem with the previous three texts marking the transition from life to death. The next text, **Ān trai A/B/C/D-NP**, is most closely associated with three-seat *saṅgāyanā* sermons, performed for some major ceremonies, including funerals. The tone of some performance styles for this text can be mirthful or even intentionally humorous, drawing on a variety of languages (Thai, Chinese, Cham, etc.) and secular music genres.

Once the rites of sickness, dying, and death are complete, the consecration of new buddha images may begin. This begins in the evening and continues all night through the next morning. The first text of this sequence, **Buddhābhiseka-NP**, echoes **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**, **Ratanamālā-NV**, and **Itipi so that A/B/C-NP** in its extensive praise of the Buddha's virtues and perfections, but also invokes this praise to make the image become “like the Buddha” himself (*etena saccavajjena buddho viya etāni buddharūpāni mahātejāni mahānubhāvāni bhavantu sabbadā*). Then **yog-bn/yog-y/ch** is recited to invoke and invite the perfections, relics, and radiance of the Buddha to come reside in the newly consecrated image.<sup>52</sup> The awakening of the Buddha is then celebrated twice: first in Pali via the protective text **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, drawn from the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, which augurs victory and lauds the Buddha's victory over Māra; second in the form of **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgam»-k**, a long narrative text in verse that invokes the biography of the Buddha from

<sup>50</sup> Ang Choulean អាំង ជួលាន, Preap Chanmara ព្រាប ចាន់ម៉ារ៉ា, and Śun Cān'tip ស៊ុន ចាន់ដឹប, *Taṃnör jīvit manuss khmèr mōl tām bidhī chlan vōy ដំណើរជីវិតមនុស្សខ្មែរ មើលតាមពិធីត្រូវដើម*, 88–9; Bizot, “La consécration des statues et le culte des morts,” 117–127; Thompson, “The Future of Cambodia's Past: A Messianic Middle-Period Cambodian Royal Cult,” 27; Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State: Territory, Sovereignty and Sexual Difference in the Inventions of Angkor*, 137–141.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, **UB015** 27a–27b (on **Ratanamālā-NV**), 86a–91b (on **Ākāravattā A-NP**); **UB021** 62a (**Itipi so that B-NP**); **UB028** 31a–31b (on **Ākāravattā A-NP**); **UB037** 24a–26a (on **Ākāravattā A-NP**). For a more in-depth discussion of *ānisaṃsa*, see Chapter 9 (*infra*, 546–560).

<sup>52</sup> Relics are generally not physically placed in the image, however. Alex von Rospatt points out that this has clear parallels with Tantric Buddhist rites of consecration for stupas, which also do not require the presence of actual physical relics.

the renunciation of life in the palace to his vanquishing of Māra's armies and daughters under the bodhi tree. This part of the ritual takes place in the early morning hours before dawn. The final text in the sequence, **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, discussed extensively in Chapter 9, worships the newly consecrated buddha image, resplendent on its throne, with lotus flowers. This adoration is followed by a long set of aspirations that mirror the Buddha's own vows as a bodhisatva.

The idealized Khmer list thus presents a complete arc of Buddhist life, beginning with a contemplation of old age and sickness, continuing with the rites that bind death and inaugurate new life, and concluding with the aspiration to become a buddha oneself. This sequence reflects the life narrative of Siddhattha Gotama, who begins his journey toward awakening in his final life in a contemplation of the four divine messengers (*devadūta*) of old age, sickness, death, and renunciation, before going forth himself as an ascetic and eventually attaining buddhahood. This standardized list, of course, vastly simplifies the complex array of texts present in a given Cambodian leporello, but is nevertheless a compelling way to frame the importance of the textual sequences present in these manuscripts. The order of texts in Cambodian leporellos is anything but random. The sequence itself conveys both the idealized steps of a complete end-of-life and consecration ritual as well as a microcosm of the Buddhist path from death, to life, and finally to nirvana.

Likewise, the sequence of texts in the idealized list for Siamese leporello is not random, but rather reflects the ritual structure and logic of end-of-life ceremonies. Unlike their Cambodian counterparts, end-of-life leporellos from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siam do not contain consecration sequences—though they do seem to contain distinct sequences for death and for illness. Since complete performances based on these manuscripts have declined in modern Thailand, it is difficult to discern exactly how these sequences were used prior to the twentieth century. The following sections explore evidence from manuscript illuminations and paratexts to address this issue.

#### 4.4 Illuminations

In this section, I look at mise-en-abyme illuminations from Siamese and Cambodian leporellos that show such manuscripts being used in end-of-life rituals. These illuminations build on the evidence examined in the textual sequences discussed above to show the specific ways that leporellos function as scripts for ritual performance. The Siamese leporellos contain much more detailed and frequent illuminations that help clarify the specific contexts of their ritual use. These examples, in turn, help us interpret the less frequent instances of mise-en-abyme illuminations in Cambodian leporellos.

##### 4.4.1 Illuminations in Siamese Leporellos

Siamese leporellos contain a wealth of illustrations, including some that depict such manuscripts in use. In these manuscripts, painted illuminations often appear on side panels that flank certain spreads, with written text in the middle panel or sometimes taking up an entire spread or half-spread. Generally no more than 5% or 10% of the spreads in a given



leporello are illustrated in this way; most spreads only contain written text. The most common illuminations are those that depict scenes from the last ten *jātaka* narratives of the Pali collection, known as the *Dasajāti* or *Mahānipāta*; the Māleyyatthera narrative (*braḥ mālāy*, a.k.a. Phra Malai, always in its *braḥ mālāy klaan svat* form); and various deities in postures of worship.

Scenes of *jātaka* narratives can be found with a variety of texts, such as *Mahābuddhaguṇā* and **Ān trai A-NP**. In these cases, the narrative illuminations are not directly tied to the semantic content of the adjacent text. Since *Mahābuddhaguṇā* deals with the virtues (*guṇa*) of the Buddha, and those virtues were cultivated in *jātaka* narratives, one could make a connection between text and image here, but the connection would be tenuous at best. This is largely the case as well for scenes of deities in worshipful postures, which often occur with **Ān trai A-NP**. These deities could be interpreted as worshipping the Buddha, his teachings, or even listening to the Abhidhamma being preached in the heavens, all of which could be loosely tied to **Ān trai A-NP**, but there are no specific anchors that would moor a passage in the text to a particular illumination.<sup>53</sup>

In the case of the Māleyyatthera narrative, however, the illuminations usually follow the progression of the narrative in the vernacular text of *Braḥ mālāy klaan svat*. In other words, as the narrative of text progresses throughout the manuscript, so do the illuminations.<sup>54</sup> However, the illuminations do not always provide a one-to-one match to the text, with the scene depicted sometimes showing up several pages before or after that particular episode appears in the written words of the leporello. The illuminations are generally the most iconic scenes, known from temple murals as well: the woodcutter’s offering of lotuses, Māleyyatthera visiting the hells, Māleyyatthera preaching to Indra before the Cūlāmaṇī cetiya, the future chaos of the world before the arrival of Maitreya, Māleyyatthera going on an alms round, etc. By and large, the scribes and painters who created these manuscripts seem to be following a set of unwritten conventions regarding the content, style, and placement of the illuminations for the Māleyyatthera narrative, which is broadly similar across the leporellos.

In addition to these three extremely common types of illuminations, there are also a few others. One kind are illuminations that closely follow the narrative of other texts beyond *Braḥ mālāy klaan svat*. An example of this occurs in Or 13703, folio 30r. On this spread, the text includes most of the following passage of the long verse recension of the *Unhissavijaya*. The excerpt below is from my complete edition and translation of the text, discussed in Chapter 5 (see *infra*, 252–270) and presented in full Appendix III (1494–1513); the portions in bold are included on the spread reproduced in Figure 4.4.1.1 below.

<sup>53</sup> One possible conclusion from Unebe’s article on the contents of Siamese chanted leporellos is that the illustrated deities are likely worshipping the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma and other texts in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven (Unebe, “Textual Contents of Pāli *Samut Khois*: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven”). Dendao Silpanon เด่นดาว ศิลปานนท์ (*Kēḥ raay braḥ mālāy แกะรอยพระมาลัย* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Museum Press, 2553), 46) instead suggests that these paintings of deities are paired with verses of praise to the Three Jewels. For images of such deities, see Ginsburg, *Thai Art and Culture: Historic Manuscripts from Western Collections*, 91; 98–99; 103.

<sup>54</sup> Dendao Silpanon เด่นดาว ศิลปานนท์, *Kēḥ raay braḥ mālāy แกะรอยพระมาลัย*, 47–55.



Figure 4.4.1.1: Or 13703 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 30r.

*vimānā s’otarivāna  
sakkassa santikam gato.  
vanditvā sādaraṃ sakkam  
vacanaṃ etad abravi:*

Having descended from his flying palace,  
he went into the presence of Sakka.  
**Having saluted Sakka reverently,  
he spoke these words:**

*“devarāja tuvaṃ setṭho.  
tānaṃ me patisaraṇam.  
ito va sattame dine  
cuto ito bhavāmi’haṃ.*

**“King of the Deities, you are the best.  
You are my safeguard and refuge.  
In only seven days hence,  
I will have passed away from here.**

*avāciniraye jāto  
dukkhaṃ anubhavāmi’haṃ.  
bahūvassasahassāni  
cīraṃ dukkhena jhāyisaṃ.*

**Born into Uninterrupted Hell,  
I will experience anguish,  
burning with anguish  
for the duration of many thousands of years.**

*nirayato tato cuto  
jātomhi sattajātisu—  
kaṅkho gijjho kummo ceva  
sunakho sūkaropi ca*

**Passing away from hell,  
I will be born among the destinies of creatures,  
as a heron, a vulture, a tortoise,  
a dog, a pig,**

*jaccandho badhiro c’eva—  
jāto sattasu mānuse*

as one blind from birth, and as one who is deaf.  
Born among creatures and among humankind,

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*bahudukkham anubhomi  
ekakāyapī jātiyā.*

I will experience much anguish  
in each birth.

This spread represents a case in which the illuminations match the Pali text almost exactly. On the left panel, the deity named Supatīṭṭhita (“Well-Established”), whose lifespan is coming to an end, goes to Sakka (Indra), typically depicted with green skin, to inform him of his fate to die in seven days. On the right panel, we see what Supatīṭṭhita says will happen to him after a long sojourn in the hells, that is to be reborn as a heron, a vulture, a tortoise, a dog, a pig (not pictured), a blind person, and a deaf person. This spread is thus a rare example of a narrative other than that of Māleyyatthera featuring a precise alignment between image and text.

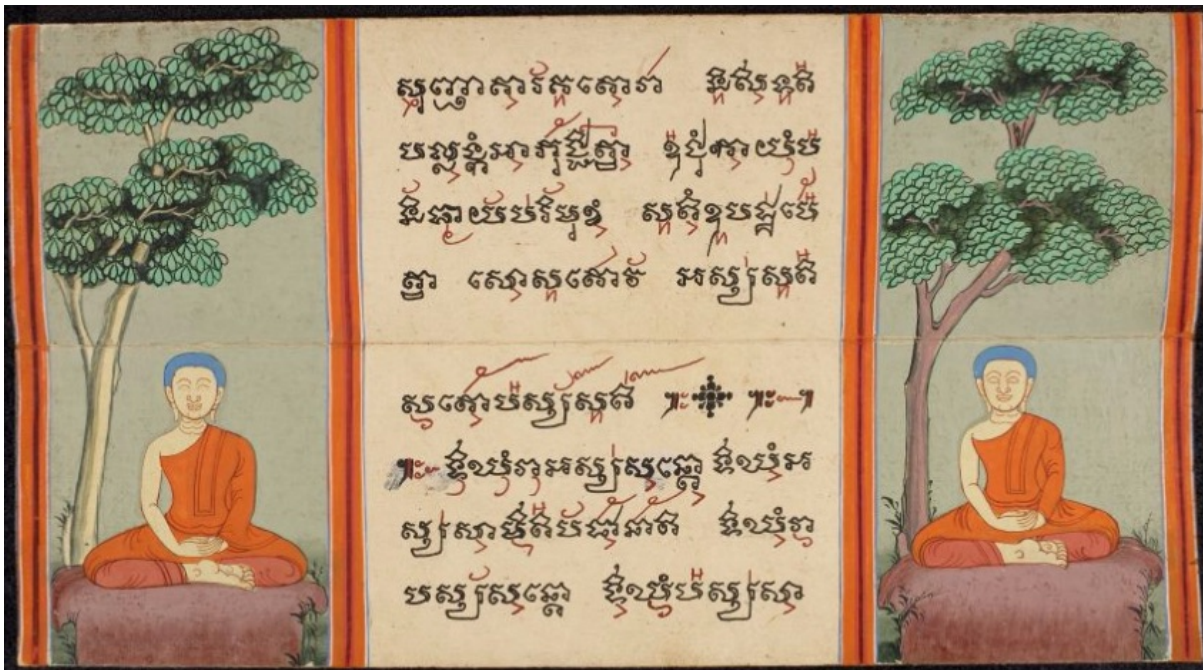


Figure 4.4.1.2: Or 13703 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 23r.

In the same manuscript, there is a series of illuminations featuring monks in various postures, some walking, some examining corpses, and some in seated meditation. The images of monks walking and examining corpses fit in with Pattaratorn Chirapravati’s analysis of corpse meditation and *paṇṣukūla* practices in similar leporellos.<sup>55</sup> In these cases, the text, either of **Āntrai A-NP** or **Sahassanaya-NP**, does not provide any immediate parallels to the images. However, folio 23r matches a depiction of a monk in seated meditation in each panel with a passage from **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (Figure 4.4.1.2 above).

The passage in question is the following, with the parts included on this spread once again in bold:

<sup>55</sup> Pattaratorn Chirapravati, “Corpses and Cloth: Illustrations of the *Paṇṣukūla* Ceremony in Thai Manuscripts.”

Katamā cānanda, ānāpānassati? Idhānanda, bhikkhu araṇṇagato vā rukkhāmūlagato vā **suñṇāgāragato vā nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upatṭhapetvā. So satova assasati satova passasati. Dīghaṃ vā assasanto ‘dīghaṃ assasāmī’ti pajānāti. Dīghaṃ vā passasanto ‘dīghaṃ passasāmī’ti pajānāti.**<sup>56</sup>

What, Ānanda, is the meditation on breathing? Here, Ānanda, a monk goes to a forest, or to the foot of a tree, **or to an empty room and sits down. He crosses his legs, makes his body erect, and establishes awareness in front of him. Aware, he breathes in; aware, he breathes out. Breathing in a long breath, he knows, “I am breathing in a long breath.” Breathing out a long breath, he knows, “I am breathing out a long breath.”**

The images on both the left and right panels show a monk sitting cross-legged in meditation beneath the root of a tree, exactly as described in the text.<sup>57</sup>

These depictions of passages from the *Uṇhissavijaya* and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** are notable in that they show how Siamese artisans illuminated a wide variety of scenes in leporellos, not just the better-known ones of the Buddha’s past lives and the Māleyyatthera story. In addition, the *Uṇhissavijaya* and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** are both placed in end-of-life contexts in the leporellos, rather than strictly funerary contexts, as is the case for *Brah̄ mālāy klan svat* and **Ān trai A-NP**. Other Siamese leporellos of this type shed light on both rituals for the sick and for the dead through the use of mise-en-abyme illuminations.

These illuminations show a “picture within a picture” or a “manuscript within a manuscript” in that they depict the ritual that the manuscript itself is used for, sometimes even including an image of the manuscript itself. Sixteen of the 36 leporellos I examined contained such mise-en-abyme illuminations, including Or 15371, Or 13703, Or 14115, Or 14559, Or 16007, Or 15372, Ms. Coll. 990, Item 3, Add MS 15347 Or 14664, IO Pali 207, Or 14838, Or 14732, Or 15925, Ms. Coll. 990, Item 5, Or.16101, Or 15246, and Penn Museum 89-13-251. Five of these, namely Or 14559, Or 16007, Or 15372, Or 15246, and Penn Museum 89-13-251 each include an image of a leporello with or without writing on it.

Terwiel and Igunma argue that many of these illuminations depict nineteenth-century

<sup>56</sup> *Āṅguttara-nikāya* 10.60

<sup>57</sup> One of the only differences between the left and right panels is the length and number of folds in the monk’s neck. It is possible, though admittedly rather unlikely, that this is an attempt to depict the inhalation and exhalation articulated in his passage of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, but the fact that trees are also different on the left and right panel might suggest that two separate stages of practice or even two individual monks are being depicted, rather than a single monk breathing in and breathing out. Nevertheless, the illuminations quite closely match the text on this spread, as in the case of the *Uṇhissavijaya*.

funeral scenes, particularly “wakes.”<sup>58</sup> During these wakes, the corpse lies in a coffin awaiting cremation, while monks and sometimes also laypeople recite the *Brah mālāy klaan svat*. Laypeople would also drink alcohol and play cards and board games throughout the night.<sup>59</sup> Figure 4.4.1.3 (below) is a typical depiction of such wakes, complete with monks clutching their throats while chanting from a manuscript (upper left panel), and depictions of both laypeople and monks playing games (lower right panel). The two monks in the lower left panel have both removed their upper robes (*cīvara*); the monk in the foreground appears to be wearing his on his head. If we follow Ginsburg’s and Igunma’s analyses, this spread would be one of many in such Siamese leporellos that show a contrast between the left and right panel, with the left panel possibly showing what is prohibited (monks chanting in extreme styles, joining in with the games, and wearing their robes improperly) and the right panel depicting what is proper (monks chanting normally and not participating the laypeople’s games).<sup>60</sup>

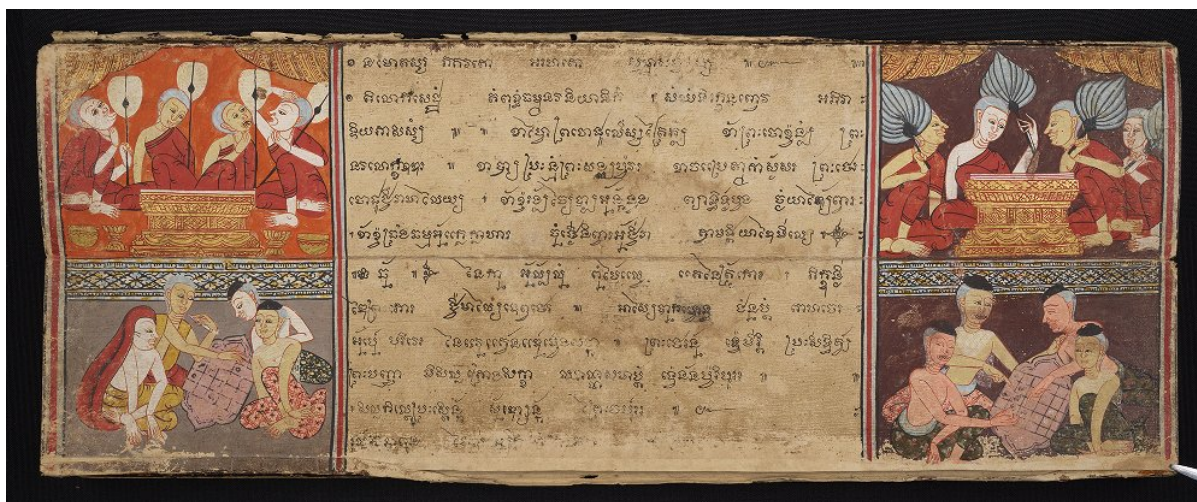


Figure 4.4.1.3: Ms. Coll. 990, Item 3 (Image under Creative Commons license, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania), spread A05, with wake scenes, including monks chanting from a manuscript and people playing games. The text in the central panel is the beginning of *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.

Figure 4.4.1.4 (below) offers another common depiction. The left panel shows four monks chanting from a white leporello propped up on a table, with two laypeople listening in reverent postures below. The right panel shows a coffin in the background, with additional laypeople listening in the foreground. The texts in both Figures 4.4.1.3 and 4.4.1.4 are associated with end-of-life rites, but only for those who have already died, particularly at funerals and wakes (*Brah mālāy klaan svat* and **Abhidhammātikā-NP**). For such rites, four monks are generally invited to chant, though in some cases four lay chanters may also be

<sup>58</sup> Terwiel, “Towards Understanding Thai Buddhism”; Igunma, “The Mystery of the ‘Naughty Monks’ in Thai Manuscript Illustrations of Phra Malai,” 30.

<sup>59</sup> On drinking and gambling during contemporary wakes in Northern Thailand, see Alan Klima, *The Funeral Casino: Meditation, Massacre, and Exchange with the Dead in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 231–290. For a parallel practice in Cambodia, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 63.

<sup>60</sup> Igunma, “The Mystery of the ‘Naughty Monks’ in Thai Manuscript Illustrations of Phra Malai,” 30–31.

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invited recite *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.<sup>61</sup>



Figure 4.4.1.4: Or 14559 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 2r, with wake scenes, including monks chanting from a manuscript on the left panel and a coffin visible in the left panel. The text in the central panel is **Abhidhammātikā-NP**.

Dendao Silpanon asserts that such scenes represent how these rituals actually took place, with monks chanting the *Brah mālāy klaan svat* in early leporellos but with late ones depicting laypeople doing the same after monks were prohibited from doing so by Rama I in 1802.<sup>62</sup> Terwiel contends that certain illuminations of this type, including those in Figure 4.4.1.5 (below) that show monks taking drugs are actual depictions of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century wakes, in which the monks chanted wildly and strove to attain states of ecstasy. Igunma counters this assertion, saying it is more likely that such scenes are depictions of what monks are not supposed to do. Brereton, arguing against both Terwiel and Igunma, suggests that the scenes depicted are neither ecstatic nor moralistic, but rather reflect how such

<sup>61</sup> For studies of two contemporary communities that continue to practice recitation of *Brah mālāy klaan svat* by groups of four laypeople (*svat garhās(th)* สวดคฤหัสถ์), see Paramin(d) Cāruvar ปรมินทร์ จารุวร, *Mālāy śrāddhā: balavāt khaan kār svat brah mālāy cāk lān, sanām vicāy* มาลัยศรีทธา: พลวัตของการสวดพระมาลัยจากต่างสนามวิจัย, 110–245. See also Onravadee Thanachan อรวดี ธนะจันทร์, “Svat garhās(th): karaṇīśikṣā nāk svat tāmpal phai, cām sīl āmbhō viṣeṣ jāy jān cānhvāt ān, daan̄ สวดคฤหัสถ์: กรณีศึกษานักสวดตำบลไผ่จำศีล อำเภอวิเศษชัยชาญ จังหวัดอ่างทอง” (Mahidol University, 2545); Neeranoot Nirootitart นิรันน นีรุตติศาสตร์, “Svat brah mālāy: karaṇīśikṣā gaṇaḥ nān rāṃ hnā₂ sab tāmpal dān̄ kvien āmbhō klēn cānhvāt raḥyaan̄ สวดพระมาลัย: กรณีศึกษาคณะนักรำหน้าศพ ตำบลทางเกวียน อำเภอแกลง จังหวัดระยอง” (Srinakharinwirot University, 2551).; and Brereton, “Phra Malai Texts—Telling Them Apart: Preface or Performance,” 14–15. Historical evidence for such practices are discussed in Trisilpa Boonkhachorn ตรีศิลป์ บุญขจร, *Vaṃkaḥm̄ frah̄bhed klaan svat bhāg klān: kār śikṣā jōn vigroh̄(h)* วรรณกรรมประเภทกลอนสวดภาคกลาง: การศึกษาเชิงวิเคราะห์, 5–6; and Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, 135–137.

<sup>62</sup> Dendao Silpanon เตนดาว ศิลปานนท์, *Kēh raay brah mālāy แกะรอยพระมาลัย*, 46.

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rituals were performed in the past and continue to be performed today.<sup>63</sup> Later on in this section as well as in section 4.5.1 below, I uncover some evidence that supports certain aspects of Igunma's position. Namely, I show how the texts depicted within certain paintings as well as the ritual instructions recorded in the leporellos indicate that at least some Siamesese scribes sought to critique what they thought were improper practices for monks at end-of-life ceremonies. This, of course, does not entirely negate the possibility that such scenes depict what wakes in the past were really like or how they were imagined to be by mid-nineteenth-century artists looking back on the past. As I shall demonstrate, the paratexts present in these manuscripts do in fact provide detailed evidence for how certain kinds of end-of-life chanting practices would have taken place in previous centuries.

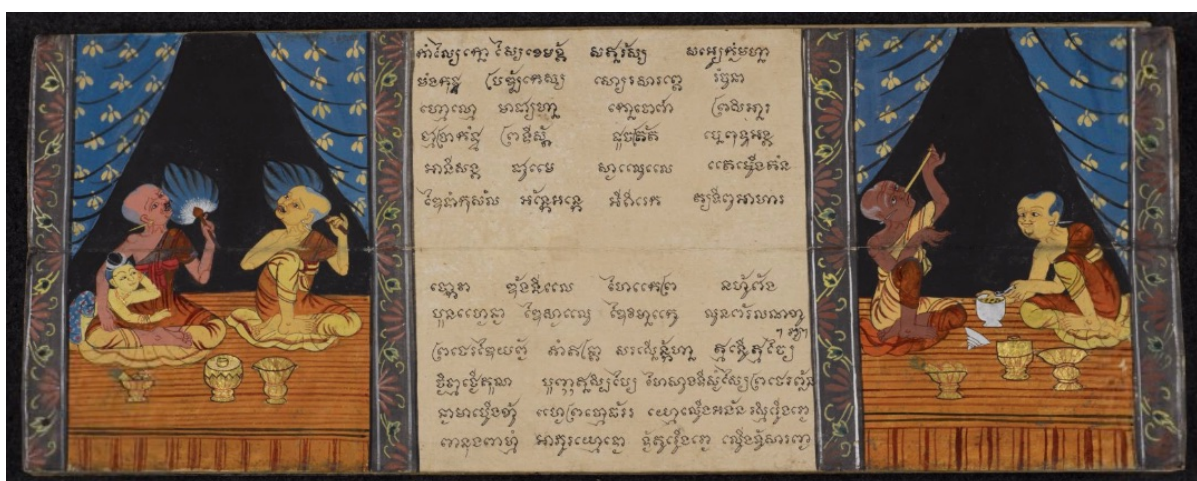


Figure 4.4.1.5: Add MS 15347 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 36v, with wake scenes, including monks holding their throats and partaking of drugs. The text in the central panel is the beginning of *Brah̄ mālaȳ klawan svat*.

Perhaps the most striking pieces of such evidence for specific performance practices in the illuminations come in the form of *mise-en-abyme* scenes that depict the manuscript itself, especially those that show writing on it. Figures 4.4.1.3–4 above include images of a leporello, but the manuscript is either at the wrong angle to be visible to us (4.4.1.3) or is depicted as blank (4.4.1.4). In some cases, such as Or 15372, folio 1r (Figures 4.4.1.6 and 4.4.1.7 below), an open spread of the manuscript is presented directly facing the viewer, though the text is upside down so that it is roughly in the correct orientation for the monks depicted as chanting from it.

<sup>63</sup> Brereton, “Phra Malai Texts—Telling Them Apart: Preface or Performance,” 8–15.

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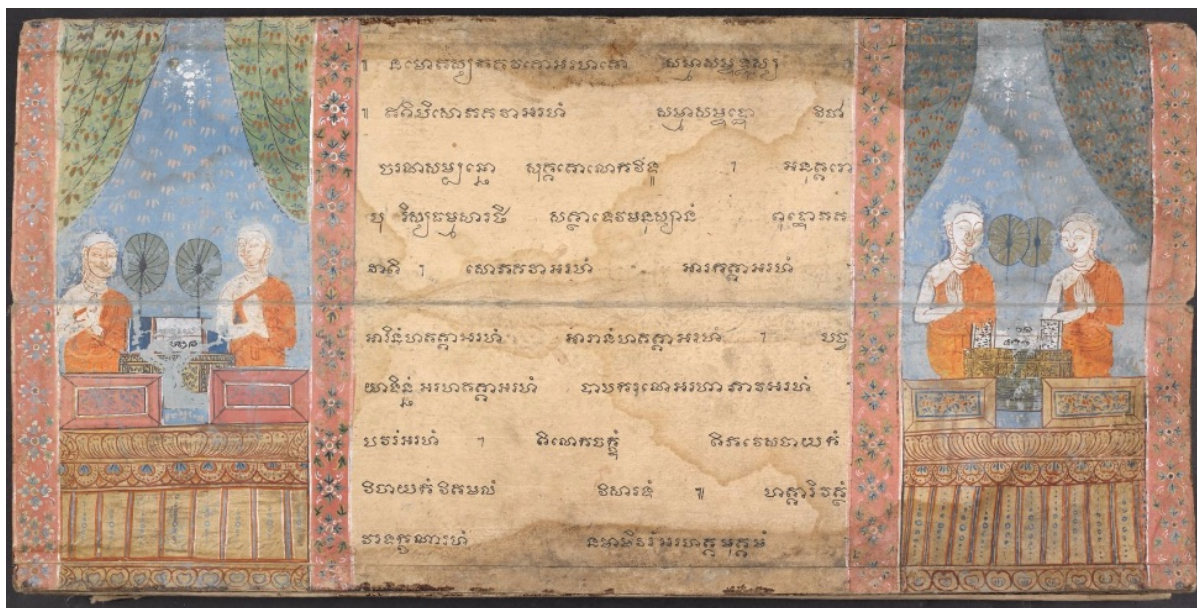


Figure 4.4.1.6: Or 15372 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 1r, showing monks chanting from two leporellos



Figure 4.4.1.7: Or 15372 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 1r, details of leporellos on the left and right, each bearing the words, *namo buddhāya*

In the detailed images of the manuscripts in Figure 4.4.1.7, both leporellos are depicted as having a portion of text in the middle and either a solid color (for the manuscript on the left) or stylized illuminations (for the one on the right) on the two side panels. In each case, the text on the manuscripts reads *namo buddhāya* (“Homage to the Buddha”), which is both a common element of praises of the Buddha as well as the beginning of the alphabet in the esoteric



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*kammatthāna* tradition (*namo buddhāya siddham*).<sup>64</sup> In the case of the right panel, the words are entirely oriented away from the viewer and toward the monks. For the left panel, however, the first part, *namo*, is facing the monks, whereas the second part, *buddhāya*, is facing the viewer. It is not clear whether this is intentional, an inadvertent error, or the result of a later restoration, as the word *buddhāya* is in a lighter color. In any event, the leporellos pictured in the illumination matches the form of the leporello that contains them, being divided into two side panels of images and a central panel of text. While the text, *namo buddhāya*, does not directly refer to any particular text contained in the leporellos, it is in the same script (Khom) and principal language (Pali) as the leporello texts and thereby evokes Buddhist chants.

Other leporellos, such as Penn Museum 89-13-251, show an image of a leporello that can be identified with a specific chanted text. Dated by its former owner to the 1870s, this manuscript was recently discussed by Kerekes and McDaniel, who claim that it is probably a mid-twentieth-century forgery due to its excellent condition, lack of annotations, an unusually graphic depiction of sexual intercourse, a supposedly unique invitation to the monks to take a break for tea,<sup>65</sup> and “cleverly hidden and glued page breaks.”<sup>66</sup> I cast doubt on this attribution on the grounds that these characteristics fall within the normal range of leporellos of this type from the nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Although my analysis stands whether or not this manuscript is in fact genuine, a close analysis of features reveals some fascinating paratextual materials that are unlikely to be forgeries.

As for the paintings, they are certainly detailed and well-executed, but nothing strikes me as particularly anachronistic. There is indeed one quite explicit scene of sexual intercourse (in the context of the frenzied violence and immorality predicted in the time before the arrival of Maitreya), but nineteenth-century Thai paintings, both on temple murals and on paper, include numerous such “erotic scenes” (*jññ sāvās*).<sup>68</sup> Depictions of nude men and women, including genitalia, appear in Siamese leporellos from the eighteenth and nineteenth

<sup>64</sup> Bizot and von Hinüber, *La guirlande de joyaux*, 195–207. *Namo buddhāya siddham* also precedes the alphabet even in certain non-esoteric Khmer-Tai contexts; see, for instance, Peera Panarut, “On a Quest for the Jewel: A Review of the Fine Arts Department’s Edition of Phra Horathibodi’s Chindamani,” *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* 18, no. 1 (2015): 29.

<sup>65</sup> Kerekes and McDaniel suggest that the tea-break instruction “is not found in other manuscripts and seems to have been a clever little joke.” See Kerekes and McDaniel, “Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States,” 236–237.

<sup>66</sup> Kerekes and McDaniel, “Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States.” 236.

<sup>67</sup> The work of forging such a manuscript would be monumental, especially copying out nearly 80 full spreads of the *Brah mālāy klaan svat* in elegant Khom Thai script. If this manuscript was the work of a forger, one must applaud his or her diligence in learning this old script so well and copying out such a long text with consistently well-formed letters.

<sup>68</sup> **เชิงสังวาส**. For more on such images, see Nivāt Kaañbier นีวัต กองเพียร, *Jññ sāvās: kāmarūṭṭhā nāi bhāb khien lām phrahñē dī, mī sien vañagatī daiy* **เชิงสังวาส: กามรูปในภาพเขียนตามประเพณี ที่มีเสียงวรรณคดีไทย** (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) mañjan สำนักพิมพ์มติชน, 2542); Khanittha Saengthong ขนิษฐา แสงทอง, “Bhāb saḥdaan<sub>2</sub> vithī jivī<sub>1</sub> taan jūjak nāi nān citrakārm samāy rātanakosind(r) taan taan<sub>2</sub>: karaññīkṣā vāt suvaññārām lēḥ vāt tāvatññārām kruñ dep mahānagar ภาพสะท้อนวิถีชีวิตตอนชุมชนในงานจิตรกรรมสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ตอนต้น : กรณีศึกษาวัดสุวรรณารามและวัดดาวดึงษารามกรุงเทพมหานคร” (Silpakorn University, 2553), 85–92; David K. Wyatt, *Reading Thai Murals* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2004), 72–77; and Harald Haack, *Der Liebe zur Freude: thailändische Erotik* (Dortmund : Harenberg, 1984).

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centuries.<sup>69</sup> The manuscript is in good condition, but shows signs of edge wear, fold wear, and minor wax damage throughout, suggesting that it once saw ritual use. The manuscript includes an invitation for the monks to stop and drink tea, but as I show in section 4.5 below, such ritual instructions are not unusual at all, being found in both Siamese and Cambodian leporellos of this period.

As is the case for many of the Cambodian manuscripts my research assistants and I restored, the folds were broken at several places in Penn Museum 89-13-25. Unfortunately, when the manuscript was reassembled, either in Thailand or after it came to the West, parts of the manuscript were flipped over or put in the wrong place, making the text appear discontinuous. This makes the manuscript appear out of order and incomplete, though as far as I can tell it is simply disordered rather than irrevocably damaged. As I have not yet examined the manuscript in person, I am unable to say for certain what exactly the “cleverly hidden and glued page breaks” may refer to, though it seems that the manuscript is simply out of order.

Most importantly, however, the manuscript is not free from annotation. Both emendations to the text and instructions for how to recite it appear to have been added later in pencil, in early- to mid-twentieth-century Thai script rather than Khom script. These annotations—unless they too are the work of a clever forger!—strongly suggest that the manuscript was used for ritual performance over a long period of time, possibly extending well into the twentieth century. I will return to the chanting instructions in this manuscript in section 4.5.1 below. As for the emendations to the text, they are particularly visible at the beginning of *Brah mālāy klaan svat* (spread B37, Figure 4.4.1.8 below). In this spread, the annotator adds a few items that make the manuscript more closely conform to twentieth-century published editions of *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, including adding several sentence-final marks<sup>70</sup> and some additional words, such as *phū<sub>2</sub>jī<sub>1</sub> vā<sub>1</sub>* (“who is named”) between *bra ther* (“the elder monk”) and *Mālāy<sup>o</sup>* (Maleyya).<sup>71</sup> In addition, the annotator adds “*dān<sub>2</sub> 4*” (“all four”) in modern Thai script to the word *khā<sub>2</sub>* (“I” in this context) in the original manuscript in Khom, changing the meaning from “I” to “all four of us.”<sup>72</sup> This emendation makes clear that the text is to be chanted not by a single person but by four at once.

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, the images printed on the following pages of Puññiön Śrīvarabaca(n) บุญเดือน ศรีวารพจน์ and Prahśid(dhi) Sēndāp ประสิทธิ์ แสงทับ, *Samut khaay<sub>1</sub> smudxoy*, all of leporellos in Thai collections: 122, 171 (both hell scenes), and 310 (same scene of pre-Maitreya violence and immorality, with two nude women, one with exposed genitals). See also Or 14027, folio 4v, Or 14838 folio 4v, and Or 15370 folio 79r for related scenes.

<sup>70</sup> ๗ in Khmer and Khom script.

<sup>71</sup> พระเถรผู้ชื่อว่ามัลลีย, cf. Deb Sundarāsārādūl เทพ สุนทรสารทูล, *Kāb(y) brah mālāy ภาพพระมัลลีย*, 1: *brah ther pavar / phū<sub>2</sub>jī<sub>1</sub> vā<sub>1</sub> mālāy* พระเถรบรรพชิตผู้ชื่อว่ามัลลีย.

<sup>72</sup> ข้างทั้ง ๔

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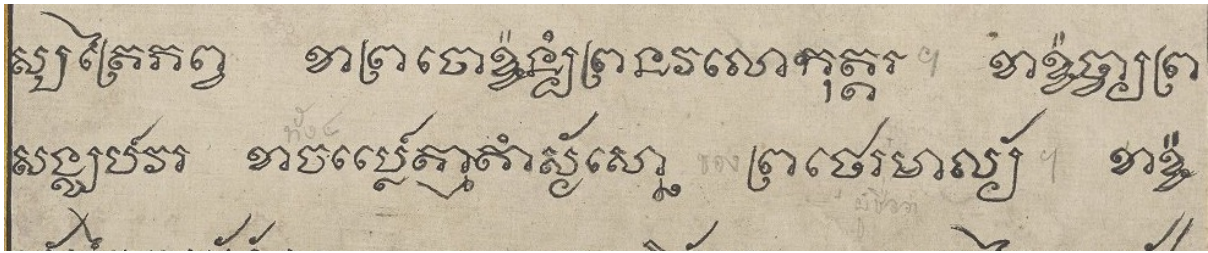


Figure 4.4.1.8: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), spread B37, detail of beginning of Braḥ mālāy klaan svat showing emendations in pencil

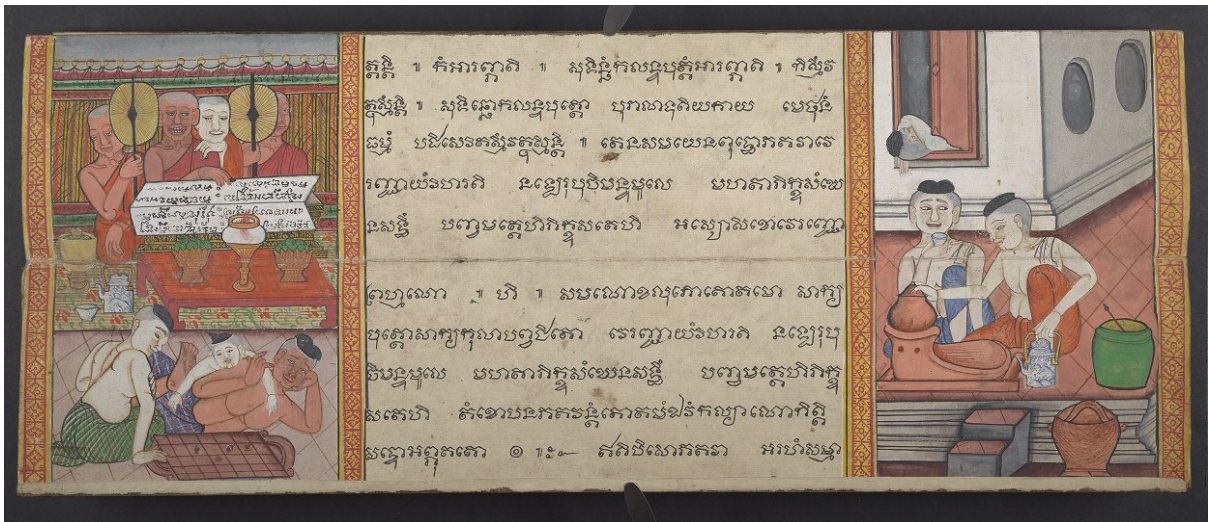


Figure 4.4.1.9: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), spread A06, showing leparello being chanted from in left panel

Perhaps the most striking detail of Penn Museum 89-13-251 is the depiction of a large white leparello with writing on it from which four monks are chanting (Spread A06, Figure 4.4.1.9 above). Like those of the previous manuscript I examined, Or 15372, this image of a leparello contains Khom script and is oriented toward the four monks. If we vertically flip the image, parts of it become legible (Figure 4.4.1.10 below). Most of it appears to be in Thai in Khom Thai script, but a few parts are in ordinary Thai script, which I have put in bold. For the portions that I cannot make sense of, I have placed them in italics. My tentative reading of this passage is as follows:

phu nǎn° gran° miey° tāy°	1 1	tak° narak° phai <sup>73</sup> phau tan° cep°
au mè yāy° pen° miey°	1 1	þva ra'an° jai sāmān° ta
miey° dān° nā jēm° ja'ay° la	1 1	<i>kājanātān<b>abaja</b>...</i>
<i>kakhagadhana</i> ,ssala	1 1	<i>kasakā<b>na</b>...</i>

<sup>73</sup> Strictly speaking, the manuscript reads *tankaraphkai* here, with the main consonants and ligatures flipped twice (*nk* instead of *kn*, and *phk* instead of *kph*).

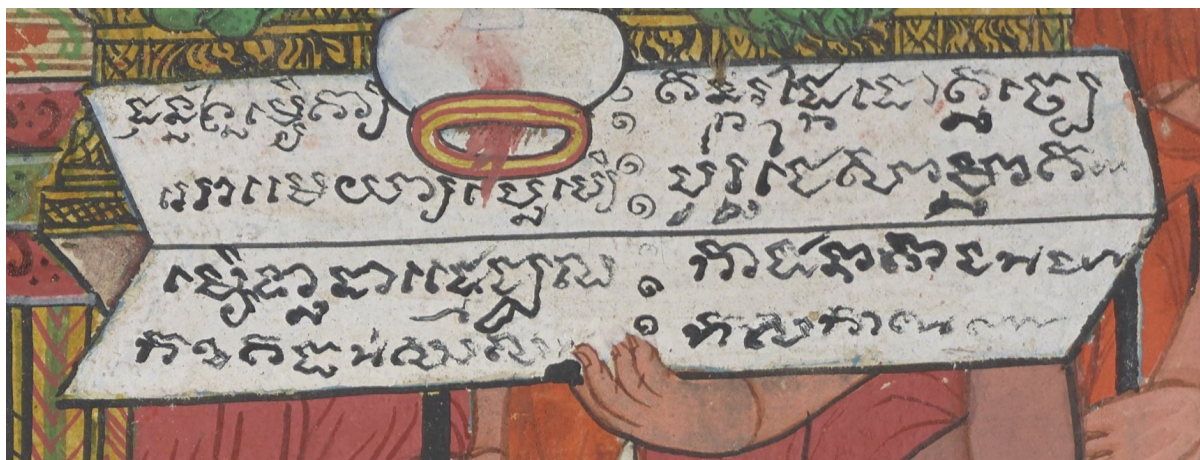


Figure 4.4.1.10: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), vertically flipped detail of spread A06

Not all of this passage makes sense or can be rendered into Thai. The parts that do seem clear can be put into standardized Thai script and orthography as follows:

ผู้นั้นครั้นเมียตาย	๑๑	ดคนรกไฟเผาตนเจ็บ
เอาเมียยายเป็นเมีย	๑๑	ปวดร้อนใช้สามาญ...
เมียทานหน้าแซมซ้อย...	๑๑	...
...	๑๑	...

With their order slightly rearranged, the intelligible portions translate as:

That man, when his wife died, took his mother-in-law as his wife. He fell into the hells, where the fires burned his body [and he] suffered from the intense<sup>74</sup> heat. His wife's lovely face...

This passage contrasts in several ways with that witnessed in Or 15372 above. First, the intelligible parts are in Thai rather than Pali. Clearly the image is intended to represent a spread from a vernacular leporello text. Second, much of the passage is indeed unintelligible, at least to me. It is possible that the illuminator did not know Khom Thai, or was merely making an imitation of it. One must also note that the size of the writing in this illumination is significantly smaller than in the text of the manuscript, making it much harder for the artist or scribe to write clearly. These are all possible explanations of the unintelligible passages, but they do not account for the intelligible ones. Third, the vernacular text is arranged in verse,

<sup>74</sup> Thai *jai*, *sāmāñ* ใช้สามาญ. The same phrase occurs elsewhere in classical Thai literature, including in *Mahājāli gāṃ hīvañ* ชสามาญ and *Lilīṭ braḥ laa* ชสามาญ. According to Jalatā Rīōnrāklikhiṭ ชลดา เรื่องรักลิขิต, in *Lilīṭ braḥ laa* the phrase *jai*, *sāmāñ* can be understood as *jai*, *sāmāñ* ใช้สามัญ, or “unusual, abnormal.” See Jalatā Rīōnrāklikhiṭ ชลดา เรื่องรักลิขิต, *Ān*, *lilīṭ braḥ laa chpāp vīgroḥ(h) lēḥ thaat gvām* อานลิลิตพระลอ ฉบับวิเคราะห์และถอดความ (Bangkok: Sāṃnāk bim(b) hēn, cūḷālaṅkara(ṅ) mahāvīdyālay) สำนักพิมพ์แห่งจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย, 2544), 143.

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specifically in a close imitation of *kāb(y) yānī 11* meter, comparable to the *brahmagīti* meter in Khmer.<sup>75</sup> The rhyme patterns are off, but the alternation between lines of five and six syllables remains intact. This meter is one of the most commonly used meters in *Brah mālāy klaan svat*. Fourth, unlike the simple *namo buddhāya* seen in Or 15372, this passage reads like an excerpt of a larger text, and fits thematically with several passages of *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, specifically the first section, where Māleyyatthera visits the hells and learns how and why the denizens are being punished there, including for various sexual improprieties, particularly incest.<sup>76</sup> The intelligible portions of the passage reflect this emphasis on such violations of Buddhist morality. Fifth, certain parts of this passage are directly excerpted from *Brah mālāy klaan svat*.

One such line is the phrase *tak° narak° phai phau tan° cep° / pva ra'an° jai sāmān°*. This line is directly pulled from the passage *tak narak bai phau tan / cep pvat raan<sub>2</sub> jai<sub>1</sub> sāmān*.<sup>77</sup> This translates as, “He fell into the hells, where the fires burned his body [and he] suffered from the intense heat.” In the manuscript of Penn Museum 89-13-251 itself, this line occurs on spread B38, with the spelling *tak narak / bai phau taṃn / cep° pvat ron° / jai sāmān°* (Figure 4.4.1.11 below):



Figure 4.4.1.11: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), detail of spread B38

The other such passage is the line *miey° dān° nā jēm° ja'ay°* (“His wife’s lovely face”).<sup>78</sup> In the Penn manuscript, this appears on spread B42, though spelled slightly differently (*miey° dān° nā jēm° phoy°* instead of *miey° dān° nā jēm° ja'ay°*) (Figure 4.4.1.12 below).

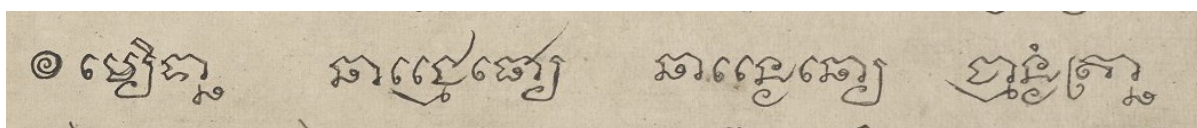


Figure 4.4.1.12: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), detail of spread B42

In sum, this mise-en-abyme depiction on spread A06 is obviously intended to be a representation of a leporello containing a Khom Thai version of *Brah mālāy klaan svat*, as it contains a two direct quotes as well as other intelligible and unintelligible words that are arranged in imitation of the *kāb(y) yānī 11* meter. The Khom Thai in this illumination is also in a different, far less careful hand than the text of the manuscript itself, suggesting that the

<sup>75</sup> ภาพยนตร์ยานี ๑๑

<sup>76</sup> Breerton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, 104–106.

<sup>77</sup> ดกรรทไฟเผาต่น เจ็บปวดร้อนไขสามาญ. See Kram śilpākār กรมศิลปากร, *Samut mālāy lèh supin klaan svat สมุดมਾਲย์ และ สุนันกลอนสวด*, 2; Deb Sundarāsārādūl เทพ สุนทรศารทูล, *Kāb(y) brah mālāy ภาพยนตร์พระมालย์*, 3.

<sup>78</sup> In standard orthography *mīe dān<sub>1</sub> hnā<sub>2</sub> jēm<sub>1</sub> jay<sub>2</sub>* (เมียท่านหน้าแจ่มช้อย). See Kram śilpākār กรมศิลปากร, *Samut mālāy lèh supin klaan svat สมุดมालย์ และ สุนันกลอนสวด*, 6; Deb Sundarāsārādūl เทพ สุนทรศารทูล, *Kāb(y) brah mālāy ภาพยนตร์พระมालย์*, 6.

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scribe and the illuminator were two different people. The illumination as a whole, as seen in Figure 4.4.1.9 above, thus provides evidence of the performance practice of these leporellos, including how they contained Pali and Thai texts, especially *Brah mālāy klan svat*; were chanted by four monks or laymen, often supplied with tea; and were used for wakes, during which laypeople possibly also drank tea and other beverages and played board games.<sup>79</sup>



Figure 4.4.1.13: Or 15372 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 38r



Figure 4.4.1.14: Or 15372 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), detail of leporello folio 38r

Another mise-en-abyme illumination from Or 15372, this time on folio 38r, provides an intriguing detail that gestures toward how such leporellos were used in ritual performance. This illumination once again depicts a wake with two monks chanting from a leporello while laypeople play a board game (Figure 4.4.1.13 above). The manuscript itself is faced toward

<sup>79</sup> For a description of a similar illustration of laypeople enjoying games and tea, see Kerekes and McDaniel, “Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States,” 236.

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the viewer. The upper portion of the visible spread contains the beginning of the common Pali chant, *namo tassa bhagavato [arahato sammāsambuddhassa]*. The bottom half contains a left-to-right arrangement of a series of numerals, namely numbers one through seven of the special ciphers known as *hān lekḥ* in Thai and *lekḥ atta* in Khmer, used for astrological calculations (Figure 4.4.1.14 above).<sup>80</sup> As discussed above in section 4.2, these numerals are also used as cantillation marks in Siamese leporellos. The presence of these numerals in this mise-en-abyme illumination suggest that the manuscript depicted is one with such cantillation marks for complex melodic chant, even though Or 15372 itself does not contain such marks. Their appearance in the leporello depicted on folio 38r suggests that the illuminator understood them to be a convention of manuscripts used for chanting performances at wakes.



Figure 4.4.1.15: Or 16007 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 4v

One final example of a mise-en-abyme illumination provides still further evidence for the performance practices associated with Siamese leporellos. This example comes from folio 4v of Or 16007 (Figure 4.4.1.15 above). This spread is once again divided into three panels, with a central panel of text (the beginning of *Brah̄mālāy kḥlaan svat*) and two paired illuminations on either side. Both sides seem to be variants of the familiar wake scene, with monks chanting from a leporello on a low table placed on top of a raised platform with a canopy. On the left side, two light-skinned monks in saffron robes are chanting, their fans held upright. On the right side, two dark-skinned laymen are chanting and making gestures and facial expressions, their fans askew. In both cases a layman sits on the ground, ready to flip the leporello page with a black stick.

I follow Igunma in reading these two scenes as contrastive, rather than forming one continuous scene. The key piece of evidence, however, lies not in their postures or countenances but rather in the words written in Khom script on the leporello in front of each,

<sup>80</sup> Almstedt, “On the Origin of the Thai Tone Markers: A Vedic Influence on the System of Marking Tone in Thai,” 64.

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which face the viewer rather than the performers (Figure 4.4.1.16 below). On the left side, the leporello reads *mahājeyya*. This almost certainly refers to the Pali text *Mahājaya* from the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, which occurs in such Siamese chanted leporellos.<sup>81</sup> On the right side, however, the depicted manuscript read *svat sāmrvat lè*.<sup>82</sup> *Svat* means “to chant” in this context, and *lè* is probably just a sentence-final particle. The crucial term is *sāmrvat*. This term is sometimes spelled *sāmrvac*, though it seems that *sāmrvat* is the favored orthography. The meaning and derivation of this term are uncertain.



Figure 4.4.1.16: Or 16007 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), left and right details of folio 4v

*Sāmrvat* occurs only in old texts discussing chanting styles, and is usually the object of the verb *svat*. It is possible that *sāmrvat* is a Khmer-style infixed nominal derivative of *svat*, in which case its most broad meaning is “what is chanted.” The expected infixed form would be *sāmrvat*, however, which does exist in Thai verse texts, usually with the same meaning as *svat*. Old Khmer *svat* (Modern Khmer *sūt*, *sūtr*, or *sūdhy*) also gave rise to the infixed form *smvat*, which in Old Khmer and in the Sukhothai inscriptions means “the one who chants,” but in modern Khmer has come to mean “to chant melodically” or “melodic chant” (*smūt*, *smūtr*, or *smūdhy*).<sup>83</sup> This is the meaning attested in the nineteenth century, including in the Three Seals Code (*kaṭ hmāy trā sām tvañ*), compiled in 1805, and the *Testimony of the King Who Entered a Wat* (*gām hai<sub>2</sub> kār khun hlvañ hā vāt*),<sup>84</sup> translated into Thai in the mid-nineteenth century from an eighteenth-century Mon original.

The latter text, when speaking of the circumstances regarding the composition of the *Mahājāti gām hlvañ* (a text discussed in Chapter 6), includes the following phrase: *svat sāmrvac*

<sup>81</sup> For more on this text, see Chapter 5 *infra*, 304–309.

<sup>82</sup> สวดสารวตแล

<sup>83</sup> សួត / សួត្រ / សួត្រៈ / សួត្រ / សួត្រ / សួត្រ

<sup>84</sup> For more on this document and its origin, see Chris Baker, “Note on the Testimonies and the Description of Ayutthaya,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 99 (2001): 72–80.



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*praḥsān sīen ot bān grām<sub>1</sub> grvañ lān<sub>1</sub> lān<sub>1</sub>*,<sup>85</sup> which translates as “chanted *sāṃrvat* that variously mixed the sounds of weeping and incorporated the sounds of wailing.” In this context, *sāṃrvat* seems to refer to melodic and expressive chanting styles that can be qualified as blended with the sounds of weeping and wailing.

As for the former text, the “Laws of the Sangha” (*kaṭ braḥ saṅgh*) portion of the Three Seals Code, promulgated during the reign of Rama I (1782–1809),<sup>86</sup> includes the following prohibition:

อนึ่ง ถ้าผู้ใดล้มตาย ห้ามอย่าให้เจ้าภาพนิมนตพระสงฆ์สวดพระมาลัย ให้นิมนตสวดแต่พระอภิธรรมและสวดสารวตไปตามปรกติ อย่าให้ร้องเป่นล้านา แยก จีน ฝรั่งเศส ญวน<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, should someone pass away, it is forbidden for the patron [of the funeral] to invite monks to chant (*svat*) the *Brah mālaīy*. They are only to chant the *Abhidhamma*, and to chant it in a normal *sāṃrvat*, without singing (*rañ<sub>2</sub>*) the songs (*lāṃnāṃ*) of the *khèk* (South Asian/Middle Eastern), the Chinese, the European, or the Annamite (*ñvan*).

This passage is one of the sources for Rama I’s oft-cited prohibition against monks chanting the Māleyyatthera narrative.<sup>88</sup> It confirms that during his reign (1782–1809), which corresponds to the date of some of the older Siamese chanted leporellos, monks were indeed chanting the *Brah mālaīy klan svat* as well as the *Abhidhammamātikā* at funerals, and chanting them in various melodic styles inspired by the secular music of different ethnic groups.<sup>89</sup> This passage uses *sāṃrvat* to mean “chanting style,” contrasting the normal, unadorned chanting style prescribed for monks with these proscribed melodic and expressive styles.

Returning to Or 16007, the illumination of a manuscript that reads *svat sāṃrvat lè* is probably meant to refer to chanting in these prohibited styles. This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that the right-hand panel that cites the word *sāṃrvat* is paired with two garishly depicted, dark-skinned laymen who appear to be chanting in an outrageous or humorous style. The *sāṃrvat* in question could refer to a melodic style used for the entirety of **Ān trai A-NP** or just the *Abhidhammamātikā* portion thereof. It also could refer to the melodic recitation

<sup>85</sup> สวดสารวตประสานเสียงโอดพันคร่ำครวญต่างๆ, quoted in Dhanit Yupho ธนิต อยุโพธิ์, *Tāṃnān deśa(n) mahājāti lèḥ hlè<sub>1</sub> grvñ<sub>1</sub> len<sub>1</sub> mahājāti pān hlè<sub>1</sub>* ตำนานเทศน์มหาชาติ และ แหล่งเครื่องเล่นมหาชาติ บางแหล่ง (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Bim(b) pēn anusara(n) nāi nān jhāpanakic śab nān sādhaḥkadhanaśār (sañā hvāñnāidhaṛm) ṇa meru vāt makuṭ kṣātriyārām พิมพ์เป็นอนุสรณ์ในงานฌาปนกิจศพ นางสาธกชนสาร (สง่า หวังในธรรม) ณ เมรุวัดมกุฏกษัตริยาราม, 2514), 21.

<sup>86</sup> On the compilation of this code, see Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *The Palace Law of Ayutthaya and the Thammasat: Law and Kingship in Siam* (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2016), 1–12.

<sup>87</sup> 4/227/6–9, pp. 1490–1491 in National Museum of Ethnology, *Text of the Three Seals Law*, (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1981).

<sup>88</sup> See, for instance, Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, 130–133.

<sup>89</sup> This form of chanting (*sīp saan bhāsā* สิบสองภาษา or *aak bhāsā* ออกภาษา) is also described in Thai literature of the time. See Skilling, “King Rāma I and Wat Phra Chetuphon: The Buddha-Sāsana in Early Bangkok,” 331–332. For further descriptions of this practice, see Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning a Popular Buddhist Saint*, 132–137.

of *Brah̄ mālāy klan svat*. This is contrasted with *mahājeyya*, i.e. the Pali protective text *Mahājaya* from the *Mahādibbamanta* collection that I study more closely in the following chapter. This particular spread of Or 16007 could be trying to critique those who “chant in melodic styles” (*svat sāmrvat lè*), and praise those who chant texts like the *Mahājaya* in a “normal” style instead. It also appears to reinforce a class hierarchy based on skin tone. But it could also simply depict two different approaches to chanting at funerals and wakes. What is most significant in these illuminations is the artist’s attempt to use these mise-en-abyme scenes to depict the performance practice of chanted leporellos, including a contrast between more and less melodic styles.

Taken as a whole, the mise-en-abyme illuminations in Siamese leporellos show that such manuscripts were recited at funerals and wakes; that these recitations included Pali texts as well as vernacular ones, especially *Brah̄ mālāy klan svat*; and that the style of recitation included melodic types of chant that were sometimes denoted with cantillation marks or described with the old term *sāmrvat*. These details, particularly those written on the manuscripts depicted in the illuminations, show that the artists were quite conscious of and sought to document or at least denote the set of performance practices associated with the leporellos they created.



Figure 4.4.1.17 (left): Or 13703 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 28r, text showing beginning of *Uṇhissavijaya*; Figure 4.4.1.18 (right): Or 13703 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 28r, detail of ill woman reclining while listening to chanting

In addition to rituals performed after someone has died, Siamese leporellos also provide evidence that they were recited in other end-of-life rituals, including those for the sick. Some of the best examples of this are two spreads from Or 13703 showing four monks chanting for ill women (Figures 4.4.1.17–18 above; and 4.4.1.19 below). Folio 28r is divided into three panels. The central panel provides the text of the end of a minor Pali text called *Brah̄ gāthā buddhaguṇ* and the beginning of the *Uṇhissavijaya*. Both texts are connected to end-of-life rituals for the sick and dying, with the *Uṇhissavijaya* focused in particular on the prolongation of life for those nearing the end of their natural lifespan. On the left and right panels, a total of four monks sit on a raised platform in the upper register, holding the fans used in chanting rituals. On the lower register, three laypeople sit on the floor with candles

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and other offerings. One laywoman in the left panel is reclining and visibly ill; a man appears to be massaging her stomach and legs.<sup>90</sup> Her palms are joined together as she listens to the chanting.



Figure 4.4.1.19: Or 13703 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 41r, ill woman lying down while listening to chanting, with the text giving the chants for the *svat stoḥ groḥ* ritual

Folio 41r paints a similar picture of end-of-life rites for the sick. In this spread, the upper register of the central panel contains the texts and instructions for the *svat kāmḷān devatā* or *svat stoḥ groḥ* ritual for an invalid. The lower register shows an ill woman lying down, her calves being massaged by another laywoman. As in folio 28r, her palms are pressed together in a gesture of reverent listening. The left and right panels again show a total of four monks clutching their fans in the upper register, and tables with various offerings in the lower register. Taken together, these two spreads from Or 13703 depict how chanting rituals for the healing and end-of-life care of the sick may have taken place in nineteenth-century Thailand. These illuminations, like those that feature leporellos in use for funerals and wakes, explicitly demonstrate how certain texts are tied to particular ritual contexts. These connections, which can also be seen in the textual sequences of the manuscripts, are confirmed by the ritual instructions discussed in section 4.5 below.

<sup>90</sup> Jana Igunma, in discussing this image’s connection to traditional massage and medical practices, notes that “in the background earthenware vessels contain traditional medicines, which were usually boiled in big pots and then taken throughout the day.” See Igunma, “Thai massage in the early 19th century,” blog entry from May 15, 2013, accessed September 3, 2017, <http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2013/05/thai-massage-in-the-early-19th-century.html>.

4.4.2 Illuminations in Cambodian Leporellos

The illuminations in Cambodian leporellos are not nearly as complex as those in their Siamese counterparts. Moreover, the most relevant illuminations in Cambodian leporellos are only found in manuscripts from the past fifty years or so. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, detailed black-and-purple and as well as full-color illuminations are found in a few nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century examples, but none of these illuminations are strictly tied to chanted leporellos. **UB070**, for instance, features intricate drawings of Buddhist cosmology as well as architectural ornaments for monastic buildings, but these illuminations only occur in the part of the manuscript not devoted to chanted texts. A few other manuscripts, such as **UB053**, feature simple black ink or pencil drawings (perhaps graffiti) added on a spread or two by a latter annotator.

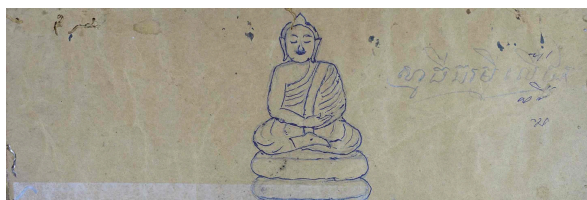


Figure 4.4.2.1 (left): **UB014** 2a, framing image of a seated buddha at the beginning of the manuscript; Figure 4.4.2.2 (right): **UB016** 32b, framing image of flowers at the end of the manuscript

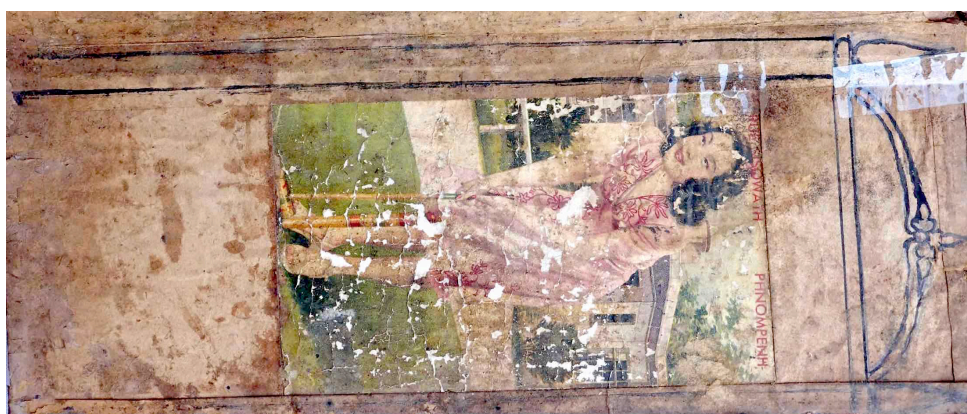


Figure 4.4.2.3: **UB057** 152b, closing doorframe and glued-in advertisement

Another handful of leporellos have what we might call “framing images” of buddhas, flowers, or animals to begin or end manuscripts or portions of manuscripts. Perhaps the best example of this was seen in the leporello unfolded in detail in Chapter 2, **UB015**, which begins with a seated buddha image. **UB014**, closely related to **UB015** in several respects, also begins with a seated buddha image, along with the caption *smādhī dharīmm lö thmar* (“meditating on a rock”) (Figure 4.4.2.1 above).<sup>91</sup> **UB016** provides a similar framing, but at the end of the manuscript and with floral arrangements instead of a buddha, and a caption that

<sup>91</sup> **UB014** 2a ស្នាដ៏ធារម្លើលើថ្ម

appears to name several types of flowers (Figure 4.4.2.2 above). A very simple depiction of a flower is also found in **UB020**, spread 51a, to begin a new side of the manuscript. **UB055**, spread 39a, ends a section with some black ink drawing of various animals. Finally, **UB057** closes with a very unusual framing image, namely an illustration of a doorframe, perpendicular to the manuscript, with a color-printed paper advertisement glued inside, featuring an image of a woman in a floral pink dress in front of a modern home, playing croquet on the lawn, with the printed caption: RUE SISOWATH PHNOMPENH (Figure 4.4.2.3 above). It is not clear whether the original creator of the leporello included this glued-in advertisement, and if so, what purpose it served, other than to mark the end of the manuscript.

Only four quite recent leporellos in the set, namely **UB027** (1965–1966), **UB042** (1972–1973), **UB060** (1994), and **UB062** (1999), consistently feature illuminations throughout the manuscript and in connection with the chanted text, rather than simply framing images. These manuscripts, all from Kandal province, also represent just two styles, for **UB027** and **UB042** were likely created by the same unknown scribe and artist (possibly just a single person), and **UB060** and **UB062** were written by the *ācāry* Sāṃṇ Hī and illustrated by the artist Hī Gīm-hai. These manuscripts contain three types of illuminations: 1) framing images of buddhas, flowers, and animals, 2) images that depict scenes from the narrative of particular chanted texts, and 3) mise-en-abyme and related illuminations that show a manuscript either in direct use or the actions that take place while a particular text is chanted.

The first type is the most common, and is essentially the same as the framing images discussed above. Instead of just one or two such images per leporello, however, in these four manuscripts many or even all of the texts feature such an image, either hand-drawn in colored marker or glued in as a prefabricated image. The second type is also reasonably common and may be executed in colored marker or with a premade image, just like the first type. The third type is the least common, with all extant examples drawn in with colored marker. Since examples of the first type have already been presented, I focus on the second two types.

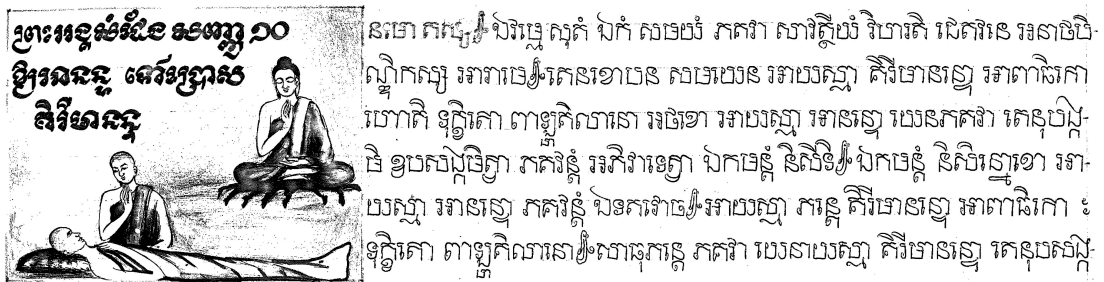


Figure 4.4.2.4: **UB060** 14a, illumination adjacent to beginning of *Girimānanda-sutta-CP*

The second type, namely narrative scenes, most frequently appear before or embedded within narrative texts on the life of the Buddha. For example, **UB027**, spread 61b, contains an illumination of the emaciated Bodhisatta in tandem with **dukkarakiriyā B-7**. **UB060**, spread 14a, at the beginning of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, includes a drawing of the Buddha

in the background, with Ānanda preaching to the invalid Girimānanda in the foreground (Figure 4.4.2.4 above). Spread 29a of the same manuscript pairs **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP** with an image of the first five disciples of the Buddha, the purported audience of this discourse. In **UB062**, several illuminations are integrated into the text of the **phcāñ' mār-k**. One occurs at the beginning of the text on spread 53b and contains the caption *brah̄ aṅg yāñ sāñ bhnuos* (“the Lord goes forth into renunciation”), which pairs with the opening section of **phcāñ' mār-k** on the Bodhisatta’s renunciation of his wife, child, and palace (Figure 4.4.2.5 below). Another occurs midway through the text, during the narration of Sujātā’s gift of milk-rice to the Bodhisatta, and depicts this same scene in black, red, yellow, blue, green, purple, and pink felt-tip marker. A caption reads, *nāñ sujātā thvāy cañhāñ'*, “Sujātā offers almsfood.”<sup>92</sup> These illuminations are all done in a simple style with inexpensive materials. They each depict a particular scene in the life of the Buddha.

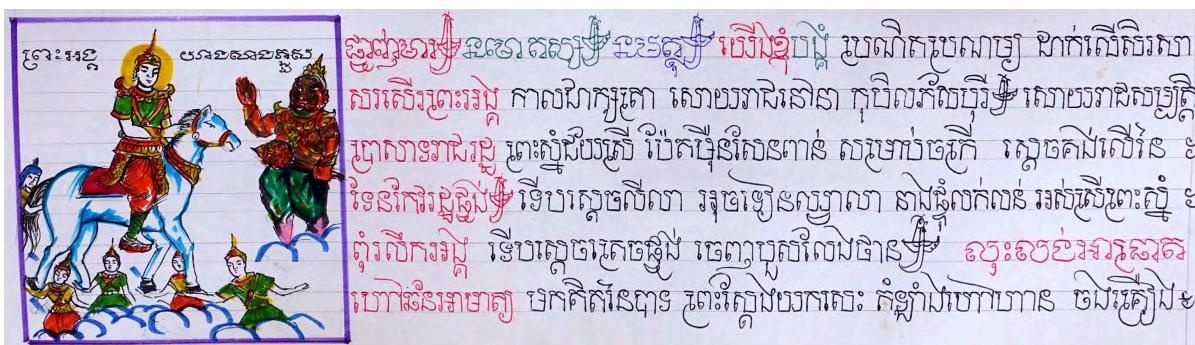


Figure 4.4.2.5: **UB060** 14a, illumination adjacent to beginning of **phcāñ' mār-k**

Another set of illuminations of this second type are found accompanying the text of **traī lakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** in **UB027**. Since **traī lakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** is partially a narrative history of the Buddhist dispensation and partially a reflection on the three marks and the importance of meditation, the illuminations do not align as neatly with the text as was the case in the texts on the life of the Buddha cited above. For instance, the beginning of **traī lakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** in **UB027** is framed by an illumination of a hunchbacked man walking with a cane near a path leading to a house.<sup>93</sup> This presumably relates to the first three stanzas of the text, which explain the three marks. The image of the old man may be linked to impermanence and suffering, even though no such figure is discussed in the text.

Other illuminations in **UB027**’s presentation of **traī lakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**, however, offer more direct depictions of parts of the text. For example, on spread 53a, the illuminator drew a sailing vessel between two large fish (Figure 4.4.2.6 below). The text at this point in the manuscript corresponds to stanzas 19–20 of **traī lakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**:

<sup>92</sup> **UB062** 55b

<sup>93</sup> **UB027** 49a

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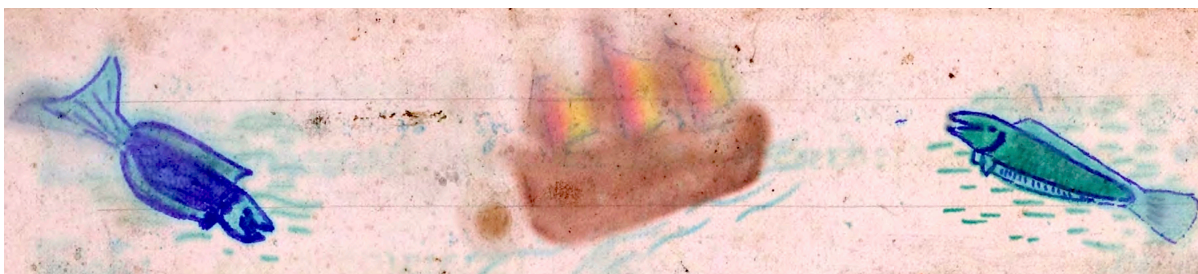


Figure 4.4.2.6: **UB027**, detail of 53a, ship flanked by two fish

១៩	19
កន្ទកាលប្រាកដ	The good eon
កើតសំពៅវិទ្ធ	gave five jewel ships,
ទាំងប្រាំប្រោងព្រាយ	each radiant
ទុកត្រាបួនបើក	four-sailed vessels,
ឆ្លងជលសាយ	to cross the sea
ទៅដល់ត្រើយនាយ	to the far shore,
ឥតភ្នឹកវាយោ ។	braving the wind
២០	20
ទន្ទេងទន្ទាំ	gracefully and
លលេលលាំ	sinuously,
ស្មើនសើអាបោ	sailing across
សមុទ្រធំធេង	the great ocean,
បែកផ្សែងសាគរោ	breaking through fog,
នាគម្ពត្រីពោ	flanked by serpents,
ពាសពេញត្រៀបត្រា ។	sea drakes, and fish.

Though only one three-sailed vessel is depicted, flanked by only two fish and not by “serpents” or “sea drakes,” the illumination still directly connects to a particular passage in the text. Similarly, on spread 54b, an illumination of a woman kneeling with her palms pressed together in front of her appears as the text discusses bowing and meditation (Figure 4.3.2.7 below), and on spread 55b one of Yama’s henchmen is seen molesting a human-like creature just as the text reaches stanza 36–37 (Figure 4.4.2.8 below). This passage narrates part of the process of death analyzed in Chapter 8, involving Yama’s guards binding the body of the dying:



Figure 4.4.2.7 (left): **UB027**, detail of 54b, woman kneeling in prayer; Figure 4.4.2.8 (right): **UB027**, detail of 55b, one of Yama's henchmen molesting a creature

<p>៣៦</p> <p>មនុស្សសែនពាន់កោដ្ឋ ចិត្តខេឌឺងឆោត មនោម្មះខ្លាខ្លាំង ខ្លះដល់ទៀបស្លាប់ ទើបកព្រះអរហំ យមបាលកើចកាំង ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ ។</p> <p>៣៧</p> <p>កាលរស់ពុំគិត រៀនធម៌ប្រព្រឹត្ត ពឹងពាក់អាត្មា លុះបាត់ស្មារតី ដល់ក្បែរយដន្ទា ឲ្យលោកភាវនា ជូនដំណើរទៅ ។</p>	<p>36</p> <p>Billions of beings are wracked with anger and awful pride. Some wait till death to seek arhatship. Seized by Yama's guards, they're bound five ways.</p> <p>37</p> <p>In life they failed to study the Dharma. Relying only on themselves, they lost awareness on their deathbed. Monks came to meditate to accompany their passing.</p>
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These illuminations, unlike those of **UB060** and **UB062** above, are the work of an untrained artist, and their plain, flat depictions of these scenes could have been executed in a few minutes. It is in some ways even more preposterous to compare them with the masterful brushwork found in the illuminated Siamese leporellos of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Both types of leporellos, however, contain static framing illuminations as well as more dynamic narrative illuminations that interact with the adjacent written text.

A few Cambodian leporellos also contain illuminations that can be fruitfully compared with the *mise-en-abyme* illuminations in their Siamese counterparts. In many cases, these illuminations do not feature a manuscript or even someone chanting, but rather what might be imagined to happen while the chanting is taking place. **UB042**, spread 13a and **UB027**,



spread 43a both contain similar images placed just before **Abidhammamātikā-NP** (Figures 4.4.2.9–10 below). This text is chanted specifically for the dead, including those who have just passed away. Each illumination includes a reposing corpse with hands folded in prayer. In **UB042**, the corpse lies inside a coffin. In **UB027**, this figure reclines instead on a mat. Beneath the corpse, a human-like form, apparently representing the mind or spirit that separates from the body at death, appears to be walking or floating away. In **UB042**, the accompanying caption says *āsūr rūp nau / citt dau dī dai* (“the foul body remains; the mind scatters away”).<sup>94</sup> Since the mind or spirit is assumed by Cambodians to depart after death, it is the chanting of **Abidhammamātikā-NP** that accompanies this process. These illuminations, while not showing any chanting or chanted leprellos per se, illustrate what is happening as the text in question is performed.



Figure 4.4.2.9 (left): **UB042**, detail of 13a, spirit departing from the corpse, with the subscript **m** of brah dhamm taking the form of a menacing serpent; Figure 4.4.2.10 (right): **UB027**, detail of 43a, spirit departing from the corpse

Two other illuminations show the texts they accompany being recited in their proper ritual context. Both of these illuminations come from **UB060**; they were originally in color, but I only had access to a black-and-white photocopy. On spread 4a, the illuminator added a small drawing at the beginning of **Itipi so that A-NP**, along with the caption, *sūtr bel kamlāmi tic* (“to chant when [the invalid’s] energy is low [i.e. when the invalid is close to death]”). The drawing shows the invalid reclining, with an *ācāry* sitting nearby, presumably chanting. A group of other laypeople appear to be sitting quietly in the background (Figure 4.4.2.11 below). As **Itipi so that A-NP** is used for just this purpose, namely guiding the dying to focus on the virtues of the Buddha until they pass away, the illumination captures the precise ritual function of this text.

On spread 1b, preceding **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, the illuminator included a slightly larger drawing that includes a buddha image in the background, two *ācārys* in the

<sup>94</sup> អានុរូបនៅ ចិត្តទៅទីផៃ

middle, and a corpse surrounded with candles and other offerings in the foreground (Figure 4.4.2.12 below). As in **UB042** and **UB027** above, this image depicts what happens as **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** is chanted. But rather than focusing on the departure of the mind from the body, the illumination in **UB060** shows the external ritual. The background represents the cast, sculpted, or painted buddha image erected when someone is dying or for funerary rituals. The corpse in the foreground is wrapped in a shroud and thrice-bound, once each at the neck, waist, and ankles. This binding of the corpse is one of many rituals performed immediately after death.<sup>95</sup> One *ācāry* appears to be sitting in meditation. The other, on the right with glasses, has a leporello laid out on a small table before him. He is presumably chanting **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** for the recently deceased corpse. This illumination thus captures a vivid scene, evidently familiar to the artist, of the chanting performed immediately after death.

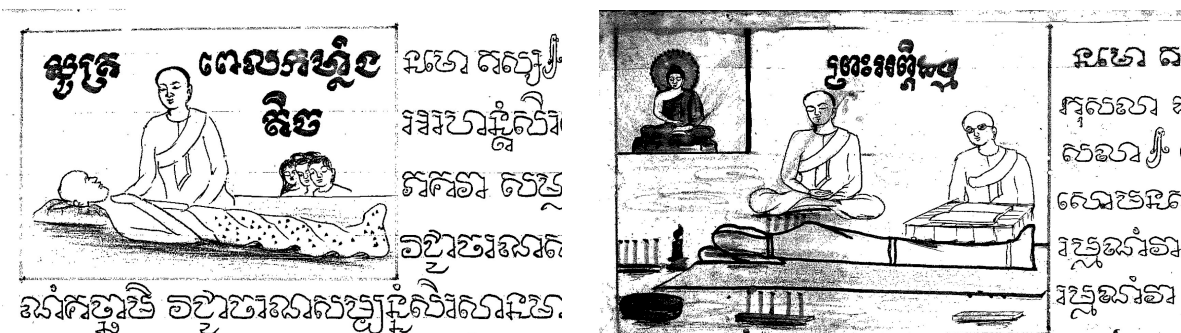


Figure 4.4.2.11 (left): **UB060**, detail of 4a, depicting the chanting of *Itipi so that A-NP* for someone close to death;  
 Figure 4.4.2.12 (right): **UB060**, detail of 1b, depicting the chanting of *Abhidhammamātikā-NP* for a thrice-bound corpse



Figure 4.4.2.13: Cover of 2002 reprint of Jāy M' ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādharmasāṅveg នានាធម្មសង្ខេប*.

Such realistic mise-en-abyme scenes are quite rare in Cambodian leporellos; **UB060** is

<sup>95</sup> Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 55; Li Suvīr សី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvō puny khmoc satavatsa(r) dī 19 niñ tōm satavatsa(r) dī 20 ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យខ្មោច សតវត្សរ៍ទី ១៩ និង ដើមសតវត្សរ៍ទី ២០*, 24–25.

the only instance known to me of a Cambodian manuscript that depicts a manuscript in use. However, several twentieth-century printed books containing collections of end-of-life and narrative texts for melodic *smūtr* chanting—essentially the contemporary replacement for leporellos in end-of-life rituals—do feature such mise-en-abyme illustrations on their covers. For example, a 2002 reprint of Jāy M"ai's 1942 *Prajuṃ dhammasaṅveg nānā* ("Collection of various [texts] on being stirred by the teaching") colorizes the original cover art (Figure 4.4.2.13 above).<sup>96</sup> In the background, a cloth image (*brah pat*)<sup>97</sup> of the Buddha hangs on the wall. In the foreground, three laypeople in white surround the invalid, who is reclining on white cloth, with a white shroud placed on top of him or her. Between the invalid and the cloth image, two monks sit, presumably chanting from an open book propped up on an offering stand (*bān*).<sup>98</sup> The overall image presents a mid-twentieth view of how monks might be invited to a home to chant for the sick or the dying, from a leporello or, in this case, from the book that contains the traditional contents of a leporello.

Other printed books in this genre sometimes have similar covers. For instance, Sēm Sūr's *Prajuṃ dharm pad* ("Collection of Dharma songs"), printed in the early 1970s, contains a very similar arrangement, with a cloth buddha image in the background and a table altar placed in front of it (Figure 4.4.2.14 below).<sup>99</sup> Two monks are chanting from a book placed on a wooden book stand,<sup>100</sup> while the invalid lays down surrounded by an *ācāry* and two other laypeople. No reading candle is visible near the book, but the nighttime setting is indicated through one closed blue shutter and one open shutter showing darkness outside. A slight variation on this basic theme is found on the cover of Gañ' V"ān'-nuon's 1992 *Prajuṃ kauwatār* ("Collection of *Ākāravattā* [texts]") (Figure 4.4.2.15 below).<sup>101</sup> Here the invalid is still surrounded by two laypeople, and his head is still oriented to be close to the cloth buddha image and altar. However, in place of the two monks, there are two laypeople, possibly *ācāry*s, chanting instead. The book appears to be placed on an offering stand, and a candle has been placed at the top of the book's spine for illumination.

<sup>96</sup> Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*, reprinted in Phnom Penh by Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍.

<sup>97</sup> For more on these objects, see Vittorio Roveda and Sothon Yem, *Preah Bot: Buddhist Painted Scrolls in Cambodia* (Bangkok: River Books, 2010); and Trent Walker, *Framing the Sacred: Cambodian Buddhist Painting* (Berkeley: Exhibit catalog, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2013), [http://ieas.berkeley.edu/events/pdf/2013.11.20\\_Catalog.pdf](http://ieas.berkeley.edu/events/pdf/2013.11.20_Catalog.pdf).

<sup>98</sup> ពាន, c.f. Thai *bān* พาน. This object is traditionally associated with leporellos in both Cambodian and Thailand. In fact a prominent symbol of the law (especially the constitution) in both countries is a leporello placed on top of a *bān*.

<sup>99</sup> Sēm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṃ dharm pad niñ dhammasaṅveg ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កេត*.

<sup>100</sup> Penny Edwards points out that this stand appears to be in the form of a *rehal*, an x-shaped folding book stand usually associated with the Qur'ān.

<sup>101</sup> Gañ' V"ān'-nuon គង់ វ៉ាន់នួន, *Prajuṃ kauwatār ប្រជុំកៅវតារ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār jñi nuon អ៊ុន ខ្មៅ ជ័ន ផាស ធម៌ បណ្ណាគារ ជីង ឆ្លូន ហ៊ុត ខាងជើងផ្សារធំថ្មី, 1961).

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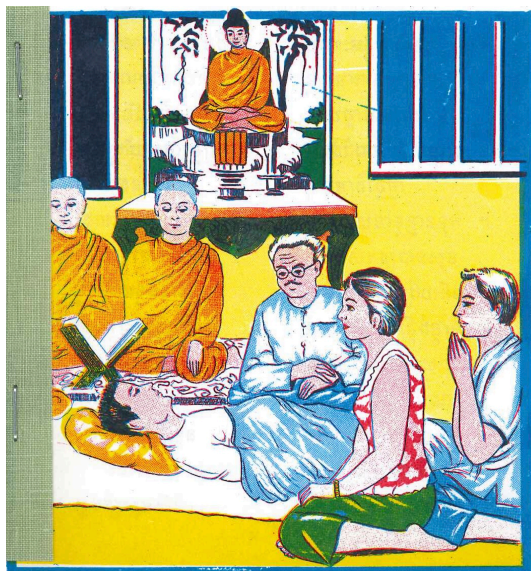


Figure 4.4.2.14 (left): Cover of *Sēm Sūr វិសេស សូត្រ, Prajñā dhārm pad niñ dhammasañveg* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្ខេប;  
 Figure 4.4.2.15 (right): Cover of *Gaṇ' V'ān'-nuon ភ្នំ វិសេស, Prajñā kauwatār* ប្រជុំភោគវិទ្យា

These book covers provide compelling *mise-en-abyme* illustrations that are missing, with a few exceptions, in Cambodian *leprellos* themselves. They show how, by the mid-twentieth century, the *leprello* had been at least partially replaced by the book for performances at end-of-life rituals. Second, they indicate that both monks and laypeople, often in a pair, are invited to perform the requisite chants. Third, they illustrate how these rituals were ideally performed at the home of the invalid or the dying, rather than at a monastery or hospital, and that a sacred space was created through the use of hanging cloth paintings, shrouds, and mats. Third, they indicate that these rituals were performed at night and by candlelight, under the supervision of an *ācāry*. Finally, they show how these rituals conform to traditional manuals for both end-of-life rites and *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation, including an offering known as the *diñ upacār*, consisting of an array of five candles, five bundles of incense, and five cigarettes.<sup>102</sup>

These cover illustrations, along with the illuminations in the *leprellos* themselves, confirm the arrangement of end-of-life rituals as discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover, the illuminations in Cambodian *leprellos* follow many of the same patterns found in their Siamese counterparts. They both include framing images, narrative episodes, and a few *mise-en-abyme* scenes featuring rituals being conducted and manuscripts in use. In the following section, I turn to the ritual instructions that show exactly when and how chanted texts in the *leprellos* are to be performed.

<sup>102</sup> Khmer ព្រឹត្តិបទ. On the use of this offering in rites for traditional *kammaṭṭhāna*, see de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammaṭṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer,” 475–476.

## 4.5 Ritual Instructions

### 4.5.1 Ritual Instructions in Siamese Leporellos

Siamese leporellos contain a variety of short notes addressed to their users. These notes may be written in Khom Thai or regular Thai script. The users they address are typically monks rather than laypeople. A few of these notes fall under the category of colophons discussed with regards to Cambodian leporellos in Chapter 2. In section 4.2 above, I discussed two examples of this sort of extended colophon; I present another similar colophon from a Siamese leporello in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 595–596). In addition to colophons like these, which contain almost all of the nine elements of Cambodian colophons outlined in Chapter 2, there are also a few isolated colophons that consist only of an appeal to take care of the manuscript. Like their Khmer counterparts, these colophons express the fact that scribes knew their manuscripts would be borrowed and circulated among various users, even if those users were mostly monastics.

Or 14526 provides an example of such a colophon. On folio 1r, a note in Thai script reads as follows:

ทาทานผู้โดยเอาไปแลวงระมัดไหยดียาไหโตไฟตักไสย

Should any of you respected ones take this manuscript away, please take good care of it; don't let a flaming torch fall on it.

This simple note recalls the first element in colophons from Cambodian leporellos that offer appeals to users to take care of a leporello, especially when borrowing it. Here the scribe is especially concerned about fire damage, perhaps from the candles and lanterns required for reading at night. The scribe also recognizes that his creation will circulate among different users and perhaps even different monasteries over the course of its life.

In addition to such appeals for care and extended colophons like those discussed at the beginning of this chapter, a few Siamese leporellos contain instructions to their users that orient them as to where they are in the manuscript. For instance, Or 14838 includes a short note, “This is the verso side, O respected ones!”<sup>103</sup> This note, likely addressed to monks, informs them that, if they are just starting their performance, they have mistakenly opened the verso side of the manuscript and should flip it back over to find the actual beginning on the recto side. Other manuscripts place instructions at the end of the recto or verso side, instructing the monks to continue on the other side. For instance, the end of the verso side of Or 14115 contains the first two sections of **Ān trai A-NP**, i.e. those excerpted from the Vinaya (*braḥ vināy*) and the Sutta (*braḥ sūtr*). The last section, namely **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (*paramatth*), is found at the beginning of the recto side. The scribe thus provides the following note at the end of the verso side: “The *braḥ sūtr* is finished. The *Paramat(th)* is on the

<sup>103</sup> Or 14838, folio 25r: *nī hnā<sub>2</sub> p̄lāy<sup>o</sup> ṇa dān<sub>2</sub><sup>o</sup> dān<sup>o</sup> hlāy<sup>o</sup> ey<sup>o</sup>*. Standardized in modern Thai: นี่หน้าปลายนะท่านทั้งหลาย เอ้ย

recto side. We humbly invite you to flip back to that side.”<sup>104</sup> These instructions help monks using the manuscript find the texts they may be looking for by clarifying their location on either the recto or verso side.

Such instructions regarding the proper orientation of the manuscript are not exactly ritual instructions, but they do show how the scribes sought to make their product usable for monks in ritual performance. These notes are careful to address their users in respectful terms, including pronouns and verbs generally reserved for monastics, including *niman(t)*, “to respectfully invite.” Closely related are instructions that inform performers what texts to chant next. These typically appear at the end of a text before the next one appears. A simple example comes from Or 14956. At the conclusion of **Abhidhammātikā-NP** and before *Braḥ mālāy klan svat*, the scribe inserts the following note in Khom Thai: *bra mālāyadevather t:a'a° pai* (“Continue with *braḥ mālāyadevather* [i.e. *Braḥ mālāy klan svat*]”).<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Or 16009, between *Mahāsāvaṃ* and *svat kāmḷān devatā*, includes the following note: *camp° braḥ catuwety. ca tāñ° kāmḷān° devatā t°aa° pai* (“Here ends the *braḥ catuwed* [i.e. *Mahāsāvaṃ*]. Continue with the recitation of the [planetary] deities [according to their] powers.”)<sup>106</sup> A somewhat more complex example from the same manuscript comes between the final Abhidhamma portion of **Ān trai A-NP** and the three *sattabojjhaṅga* texts, namely **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**. Here the manuscript reads, also in Khom Thai, as follows:

*cap° bra paramatth tē, dao nī₂ lēv°₂. sām̄tēñ bra abhidhamm lēv°₂ lām̄dāp nān°₂ ca dēñ bra sām̄dēñ  
braḥ bojjhaṅga taa° paiy°<sup>107</sup>*

จบพระปรมัตถแต่เท่านี้แล้ว ๑ สำแดงพระอภิธรรมแล้วลำดับนั้นจะแดงพระสำแดงพระ  
โพชฌงค์

Here ends the *braḥ paramat(th)*. Having performed the *Abhidhamma* [portion of **Ān trai A-NP**], then present the performance of the *braḥ bojjhañ(g)* [i.e. **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**, **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**, and **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP**].

This passage stands out for its emphasis on words like “present” (Modern Thai: *tēñ*) and “perform” (*sām̄tēñ*).<sup>108</sup> The main import of this note, however, is to instruct the performers to chant the texts in their proper sequence. Finally, Or 16009 also contains an instruction similar to those discussed above that serve to orient the performer to the manuscript. Upon finishing the recto side of the manuscript, a simple note in Khom Thai reads *klāp₂ pai* (“Flip over”).<sup>109</sup>

Or 13703 also contains instructions regarding the sequence of the texts and when to

<sup>104</sup> Or 14115, folio 49r, *c'ap° bra sūtr. . bra p°a°raḡmatth ay°ū gāñ° t'an° nim'an° blik klāp pai*. Standardized in modern Thai: จบพระสูตร ๑ ๑ พระปรมัตถอยู่ข้างต้น นิมนต์พลิกกลับไป

<sup>105</sup> Or 14956, folio 2v. In standardized orthography: พระมาลัยเทพเถรต่อไป

<sup>106</sup> Or 16009, folio 38v. In standardized orthography: จบพระจตุเวท ๑ จะตั้งกำลังเทวดาต่อไป ๑

<sup>107</sup> Or 16009, folio 6v

<sup>108</sup> แแดง; สำแดง

<sup>109</sup> Or 16009, folio 20r, i.e. กลับไป

flip over the manuscript, but is more forceful in its tone. For instance, after **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** and before *Itipi so daṅ jāy*, a Thai Khom-script note reads *ca svat t''a'a° fai ka<sub>1</sub> tū o dōt°* (“If you are going to continue chanting, do so!”).<sup>110</sup> This manuscript also contains a poetically phrased instruction of this type between the Vinaya and Sutta sections of **Ān trai C-NP**. This instruction, once again in Khom Thai, reads as follows:

*ca:ɸ° bra vinay tē<sub>1</sub> dau nī lè dān° ey° / blik pök phey° / hā bra sūt / rei° rīp° rūt yā ra<sub>1</sub>a° rān*

จบพระวินัยแต่เท่านี้แหละท่านเอ๋ย พลิกเบิกเผย หาพระสูตร เร่งรีบรุด อয়ারอรั้ง

Here ends the *braḥ vināy* [section of **Ān trai C-NP**], O respected ones! Flip and open [the leporello] to find the *braḥ sūtr* [section of **Ān trai C-NP**] quickly; don’t tarry too long!

This passage is divided into three syllable phrases that lend it rhythmic and euphonic qualities. In addition, some of these groups of three syllables are linked by rhymes, such as *ey°* and *phey°* as well as *sūt* and *rūt*. These poetic qualities soften the stern command to quickly proceed to the next chant in the sequence.

Another kind of instructions found in Siamese chanted leporellos are those that invite monks to stop chanting and take a rest, either for tea or to return to their monastery. In their simplest form, such instructions invite monks to rest after a text, rather than immediately beginning the next one. For example, Penn Museum 83-23-1 takes a contrasting approach to that of Or 13703. Instead of requesting monks to move swiftly between the Vinaya and Sutta portions of **Ān trai C-NP**, Penn Museum 83-23-1 invites them to take a break at this juncture: *caɸ° braḥ vinay tē<sub>1</sub> dau nī<sub>2</sub>. 0. nīman(t) bra phū<sub>2</sub> ɸen° cau<sub>2</sub> dān° sī braḥ aṅg / yut kon°<sub>1</sub>* (“Here ends the *braḥ vināy*. We humbly invite the four venerable masters to pause here”).<sup>111</sup> The note does not specify how long to rest for or what to do during this break.



Figure 4.5.1.1: EFEO PALI 39, detail of page 125, ritual instruction at end of **Isigili-sutta-CP**

Other leporellos, however, indicate that such breaks are for consuming hot water or tea, or even for returning to one’s monastery. In EFEO PALI 39, following the conclusion of **Isigili-sutta-CP**, the scribe provides the following invitation: *nīmaṅn° cau braḥ guṅ chān° nām jā dān° sāṃrān° dōt°* (“We humbly invite the most venerable masters of virtue to drink tea and take

<sup>110</sup> Or 13703, folio , i.e. จะสวดต่อไปก็ดูเอาเถิด

<sup>111</sup> Penn Museum 83-23-1, spread A04, i.e. จบพระวินัยแต่เท่านี้ ๑ ๐ ๑ นิมนต์พระผู้เป็นเจ้าทั้งสี่พระองค์ หยดก่อน

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a break”)(Figure 4.5.1.1 above).<sup>112</sup> Similar instructions are found in Or 15207. Between **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** and **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**, the scribe invites the monks to rest with the following note in Thai script: “Pause here, drink hot tea, and rest until well. Then begin the next chant.”<sup>113</sup> Between **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP** and **Tatīyagilāna-sutta-CP**, the scribe provides another invitation to rest, along with a statement of his personal aspiration:

Diplomatic transcription:

จ"บ๒บ่กแล้ว ฯฯ ยุคฉันนํารอนพอนใจขอยไปขอยยมา ฯฯ ขา ฯฯ ข"วสวนบุญด้วยเทิด  
ขอให้ทรรณพระชิวอารีเยเจ้าจมาคางหนนั้เท็ฏ ฯฯ ๐๗-<sup>114</sup>

Standardized edition:

จบบท ๒ แล้ว ฯฯ หยุดฉันนํารอนพอนใจคอยไปคอยมา ฯฯ ข้าพระเจ้าขอสวนบุญด้วยเทิด  
ขอให้ทรรณพระศรีอารีเยเจ้าจะมาข้างหน้านั้เท็ด ฯฯ

Translation:

Here ends the second chant. Pause here to drink hot water, rest, and wait for a while.  
May I receive a share of the merits. May I be born in time for Śrī Ārya[-Maitreya] in  
the future.

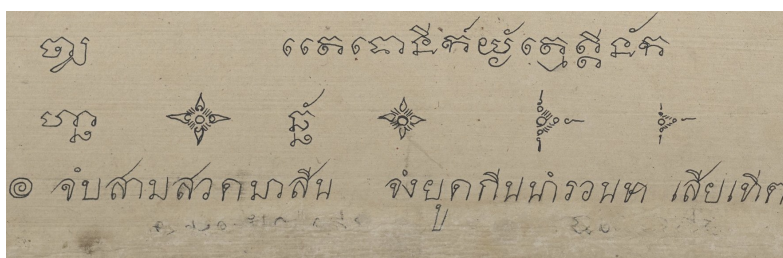


Figure 4.5.1.2: Penn Museum 89-13-251 (Image under Creative Commons license, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology), detail of spread B12, ritual instruction in middle of Braḥ mālay klaan svat

Another invitation in Thai script occurs in Penn Museum 89-13-251. As mentioned above, this invitation fits within the pattern established here; it is not solid evidence for reading the leporello as a forgery. This instruction reads *caṃḥ sām svat mā sīn / caṃḥ yūt kīn nāṃ ra'an jā / sīe dōt* (“Here ends the third chanting section. Please stop and drink hot tea”) (Figure 4.5.1.2 above).<sup>115</sup> It is not clear when this particular instruction was added, as some effaced writing in Khom script is visible underneath and the manuscript features numerous annotations in

<sup>112</sup> EFEO PALI 39, page 125, i.e. นิมนต์เจ้าพระคุณเงินนำชา ทานสำราญเท็ด

<sup>113</sup> Or 15207, folio 89r. Original Thai script: ยุค ฯฯ ฉันนํารอน ๑ ๑ พอนใจขอยไฮสบาย ๑ ๑ ๐๗- ๑ ๐ ๑ ๑ ชันบ'ษ ๒ ๑

<sup>114</sup> Or 15207, folio 90r

<sup>115</sup> Penn Museum 89-13-251, spread B12, i.e. จบสามสวดมาสิน จงหยุดกินนํารอนชาเสียด



modern Thai script. Nevertheless, the writing in both Khom and Thai scripts seems to be from the same hand.

Another manuscript, Or 14838, combines instructions for when to stop and drink tea with instructions for the monks to return to their monastery. At the conclusion of **Ān trai A-NP**, the scribe includes the following note: *cap' bra abhidhamm dān' cel' gāmbhī nimant lvañ bī pai vāt'* (“The *brah abhidhamm* is complete in seven books. We humbly invite the venerable monks to return to the temple.”).<sup>116</sup> Then, at the conclusion of *Brah mālay klaan svat*, the scribe adds a longer note, again in Khom Thai script (Figure 4.5.1.3 below):

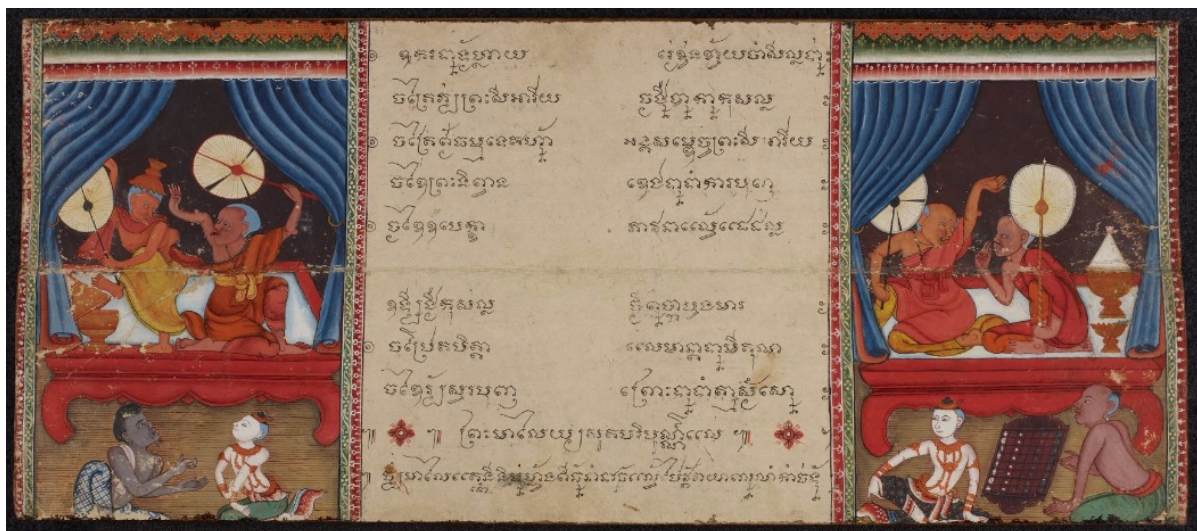


Figure 4.5.1.3: Or 14838 (Image © British Library Board, used with permission), folio 45r, ritual instructions at conclusion of *Brah mālay klaan svat*

*c'ap' mālai tè dau nī nim'an' hlvai<sub>2</sub> bī chān' nām jā chān' lèv'<sub>2</sub> pai vāt' vā yā len' lām kām c'a dān'*<sup>117</sup>

จบมาลัยแต่เท่านี้ นิมนต์หลวงพี่ฉันนำชา ฉันแล้วไปวัดวา อย่าเล่นสำ กรรมจะทัน

As in the case of Or 13703 above, this instruction is mix of polite and stern language, softened through the use of poetic devices. The passage above is actually best understood as a stanza of imperfect *kāby yānī 11* verse, as follows:

*c'ap' mālai tè dau nī  
nim'an' hlvai<sub>2</sub> bī chān' nām jā  
chān' lèv' vā yā len' lām kām c'a dān'*

<sup>116</sup> Or 14838, folio 4r, i.e. จบพระอภิธรรมทั้งเจ็ดคัมภีร์นิมนต์หลวงพี่ไปวัด

<sup>117</sup> Or 14838, folio 45r

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จบมลัยแต่เท่านี้  
นิมนต์หลวงพี่ฉันน้ำชา  
ฉันแล้วไปวัดวา  
อย่าเล่นลำกรรมจะทัน

Here ends [*Brah*] *mālāy*.

[We] humbly invite the venerable monks to drink tea.

After drinking the tea, return to the monastery.

Don't indulge in theatrical performances—karma will catch up to you.

What is perhaps most striking about this note is its direct connection to the illuminations on the left and right panels on either side of it (Figure 4.5.1.3 above). These images show four monks gesticulating wildly, almost dancing, with one monk wearing an offering tray (*bān*) on his head as a hat and another sticking out his tongue. Four laypeople are gathered below them on the floor, clapping their hands and playing games. In this case, the illumination depicts exactly what the scribe warns monks against doing: indulging “in theatrical performances.” Drinking tea and resting are permitted and encouraged, but the scribe makes clear that the monks should return to their own monastery after their chanting has been completed. Incidentally, this passage supports Igunma's interpretation that some paintings in Siamese manuscripts serve as moral warnings as to what monks are not supposed to do.

The instructions surveyed above suggest several things about the ritual function of Siamese leporellos. One, the texts are written in the manuscript in the order in which they are intended to be performed. The scribes admit, in other words, to the existence of an ideal or standard sequence of chants. Two, scribes assume that monks need clues to orient them to the manuscript, especially what side of the leporello they should be chanting from, and thus strive to make their leporellos easy to use in performance. Three, monks are expected to stop and rest from time to time, at particular moments in the sequence of texts. During these breaks, they are invited to drink hot tea, presumably for the sake of easing of their strained throats. Four, the rites performed with these manuscripts, namely funerals and rituals for the sick or dying, take place outside of the monastery and inside the homes of laypeople. Therefore the monks have to eventually return to their monastery, and the scribes try to make clear when they should do so. It seems that staying on after the key texts have been chanted was thought by some to pose a moral danger, particularly in terms of monks singing, dancing, acting, or otherwise engaging in comical theatrical performances.

A few other manuscripts provide clues as to their specific ritual use, especially for ceremonies for the old and the infirm. Sometimes these clues come in the form of colophons. I already cited two such colophons in section 4.2 above, including one from Penn Museum 83-23-1 and another from EFEO PALI 39. The latter notes that this leporello was created “for the use of monks to chant for the [re-]enactment of recitals (*saṅgāyanā*) [of the Tripitaka], as well to to chant for the extension of the lifespan of all living beings who are virtuous” (*sāmrāp° brah bhikkhusamñ°gh ca dai₂ sūt kadām saṃghāyanāy° / lè caḥ dai₂ sūt cāmṛomñ āyu sātṽ dāñ° hlāy phū₂ phen° sādhujamn°*), whereas the former indicates that it was intended to be used “for chanting to the

sick” (*sāmrāp svat khai*). A second, much shorter colophon in Penn Museum 83-23-1 adds the following information from the scribe in Khom Thai script: *khā<sub>2</sub> bra cau<sub>2</sub> khīen vai<sub>2</sub> sāmrāp<sup>o</sup> svat khai nāk<sup>o</sup> lè* (“I copied [these texts] to be chanted [for those with] high fevers”).<sup>118</sup>

In addition to these colophons, a number of ritual instructions in Siamese leprellos make clear the scribe’s intention as to their ritual use in end-of-life ceremonies. For instance, following Or 15246’s truncated presentation of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, the scribe includes the following note in Khom Thai on the second-to-last spread of the recto side: *hai sūt cāmṛōñ āyū dōt hai<sub>2</sub> sūt sattabhūjaṅg pen tan<sub>2</sub>* (“Chant [these texts] for the extension of the [invalid’s] lifespan, starting from the *sattabojjhaṅga* [i.e. from the three *Gilāna-suttas*]”).<sup>119</sup> Or 15207 contains a similar instruction in Thai script: *svan pen khai<sub>2</sub> nāk g<sup>o</sup>an phū nāi kè haiy svaṣ sām buj<sup>o</sup>an* (“For those who have a high fever and who are elderly, chant the three *bujan* [*bojjhaṅga*, i.e. the three *Gilāna-suttas*]”).<sup>120</sup> Both of these ritual instructions show how the three *Gilāna-suttas* and related texts were intended to be chanted for end-of-life ceremonies, particularly for the longevity of the old and the sick.

A number of other manuscripts include ritual instructions that emphasize the chanting of the *svat kāmlāñ devatā* collection of Pali texts instead. One such leprello is Or 13703. After the *Uḥhissavijaya* and *Mahāsānti*, two protective texts from the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, the scribe adds the following note before its presentation of *svat kāmlāñ devatā*:

*thā<sub>2</sub> ca svat stoḥ groḥ devatā ka<sub>1</sub> tū o thōt<sup>o</sup> svāt tām<sup>o</sup> kāmlāñ<sup>o</sup> devatā*<sup>121</sup>

ถ้าจะสวดสะเดาะเคราะห์ก็ดูเอาเถิด สวดตามกำลังเทวดา

If chanting for release from malevolent planetary deities (*stoḥ groḥ*), do so. Chant according to the power of the deities.

At the conclusion of the *svat kāmlāñ devatā* section, the scribe provides the following explanation:

*svat stoḥ groḥ cāmṛōñ<sup>o</sup> 122 devatā svey<sup>o</sup> āyū hai dos ca<sub>1</sub>p<sup>o</sup> dau<sub>1</sub> ni lè.*<sup>123</sup>

สวดสะเดาะเคราะห์จำเริญเทวดาเสวยอายุให้โทษ จบเท่านี้แหละ

Here ends the chanting for the release of malevolent planetary deities, for propitiating the deities that are reigning over a person’s lifespan [such that they] grant absolution.

A much more detailed explanation of how to chant this set of texts appears in Or 15245. This

<sup>118</sup> Penn Museum 83-23-1, spread B49, i.e. ข้าพระเจ้าเขียนไว้สำหรับสวดไขหนักแหละ

<sup>119</sup> Or 15246, folio 19r, i.e. ให้สวดจำเริญอายุเถิด ให้สวดตัดโทษฝังคเป็นต้น

<sup>120</sup> Or 15207, folio 88r. Diplomatic transcription in Thai script: สอนเปนไขถักค"นผุใญแก่ไทยสวษสามพุซ"

<sup>121</sup> Or 13703, folio 40v

<sup>122</sup> Written, unusually, as ข้าเฐฐ

<sup>123</sup> Or 13703, folio 41r

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ritual instruction appears as part of a long Thai-script colophon that describes why the ritual should be performed, what texts to chant, in what order, and how many times each one should be recited. As explained in 4.3.1 above, the titles of the *paritta* texts to be recited are provided in an abbreviated *pratīka* format.

Diplomatic transcription:

หนังสือเล่มนี้ ของพระอาจารย์ดี ผู้สร้างไว้ *nibbānaṣācayōtu* .:

ท่าจะสเดาะเคราะห์คนเป็น ใคอยู่ก็ดีมีเจ็บก็ดีท่ามีเคราะห์อยู่ แล้วสวจมลทุกวันตามกำลัง  
เทวดารักษาตัวเราตัวท่านหาโทษกะคนผู้นั้นมีได้เลย ตั้งเเยสันตางจนถึงยานีน้อย แล้วจับ  
เอาเทวดาด่าต่อไปเกิด

สวขอุศเท ๖ หนยันทุน๑๕หน ๑.พระ๓ ๑. ยัดसानุสะ ๖๕ เน ๘ หน ๐ พระ๔ ๑ สัพาสี ๑๗  
หน ๑. พระ๗ ยะโตหัม ๑๐ หน ๑. พระ๕ บูเรนตาโพ๑๗หน ๑. พระ๘ ยัดसानุพาวะโต ๑๒  
หน ๑. พระ๖ อัปป์เส้นเน ๒๑ หน ๑. พระ สักกัถวา ๙ หน แล้วว่ากินนุสันตระมาโน ะวราหุ  
ลุนนียัง ๑. ล ๑. สร้อยันดีแล้วสวจกระนี ๑.อิติปิโส ๑. สัพะโร ๑ โปะชังโค ๑. มะหากา ๑. สิริ  
ทิตติ ๑. นกัศคะตตะยัก ๑ หิริโอ ๑. จัม ๑. ~<sup>124</sup>

Translation:

This book belongs to Braḥ Ācār(y) Tī, its sponsor. *May it be a condition for Nibbāna.*

If you are going to release malevolent planetary deities, whether for a sick person or for a healthy person without pain, chant Pali protective texts (*manta*) every day in accordance with the power of the deities who are looking after our bodies, such that the deities cannot find any fault with this person. Chant from *ye santā* until the short version of *yānī*... , and then begin to recite according to the deities as follows.

Chant *uḍe* six times [the Sun] and *yan dun* fifteen times [the Moon]. Deity 3 [Mercury]: *Yātsānusa*... *ne* eight times. Deity 4 [Venus]: *Sābāsī* seventeen times. Deity 7 [Saturn]: *Yāto hām* ten times. Deity 5 [Mars]: *Purenām bo* nineteen times. Deity 8 [Rāhu]: *yātsānubāvāto* twelve times. Deity 6 [Jupiter]: *āppasēnne* twenty-one times. Deity [9 Rāhu]: *sākkātvā* nine times, then recite *kinnusāntaramāno varāhulūranīyāñ*... *suriyāntī*, then chant *karanī*... *ītipiso*... *sābaro*... *bojjhaṅgo*... *mahākā*... *siridīti*... *nakākkagāṭayāḥk*... *hirio*... Complete.

This extended colophon and ritual instruction explains the rationale behind the *svat kāṃlāñ devatā*, which may be performed in end-of-life rites for the old and sick, though also for the young and those of robust physical health but who suffer from other misfortunes. Such lengthy explanations of rituals and their purposes are rare in illuminated Siamese leporellos. Most of the instructions surveyed above were brief and to the point. A few make use of poetic

<sup>124</sup> Or 15245, folio 22v

language to address monastic users of the manuscript, while others seem to employ the minimum number of words necessary for communication. Most of these ritual instructions appear to assume that the performers already know the basics of the “how” and the “why” of the rituals, and so they tend to only provide reminders about what to chant next, when to turn the page, when to stop, when to rest for tea, and when to return back to the monastery. Taken as a whole, however, these ritual instructions build on the textual sequences and mise-en-abyme illuminations to create clear scripts for ritual performance. In other words, the paratexts in the leporellos themselves contain plenty of data for understanding how various end-of-life chanting rituals took place in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siam.

#### 4.5.2 Ritual Instructions in Cambodian Leporellos

When compared with their Siamese counterparts, the ritual instructions in Cambodian leporellos appear voluminous. However, many of these instructions concern rituals other than end-of-life and consecration rites. For instance, **UB054** contains instructions for conducting the ritual for renouncing one’s monastic vows.<sup>125</sup> **UB069** includes instructions for a few other monastic rites, including the implantation of ink dots (*bindukappa*) on monastic requisites and the formula for the confession of faults used by bhikkhus.<sup>126</sup> **UB070** provides detailed descriptions on how to conduct a variety of rituals, including those for rainmaking, building a vihāra, and various elaborate ritual labyrinths (Figure 4.5.2.1 below).<sup>127</sup> **UB040** and **UB066** include short instructions for how to conduct the calendrical rites of Māgha-pūjā and Visākha-pūjā (for example, **UB040** instructs, “When the full moon of the month of Visākha arrives, prepare offerings to the Buddha and chant this Pali text in accordance with the ancient custom.”)<sup>128</sup> In addition, a few leporellos provide instructions on how to conduct *hau braḷiṅ* rituals, including **UB054** and **UB068**. Although these rituals are connected to certain end-of-life rites, I have excluded them from my discussion here, as *hau braḷiṅ* (“Calling the souls”) texts and rituals have already been analyzed by Ang Choulean, Ashley Thompson, and Khing Hoc Dy, among others.<sup>129</sup>

Some of the ritual instructions in Cambodian leporellos are simple guides on how to perform the text, specifically how many times to chant certain sections. **UB054**, for instance, includes the instructions *sūt 9 taṅ* (“chant nine times”) seven times through its presentation of **Ākāravattā B-NP**.<sup>130</sup> This phrase informs the performer what parts of the text should be repeated when chanting and for how many times. **UB060** provides a similar instruction on how to use the abbreviating brackets in part of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. The manuscript

<sup>125</sup> **UB054** 43a–45b

<sup>126</sup> **UB069** 23a

<sup>127</sup> **UB070** 36b–37b; 74a–86b

<sup>128</sup> **UB040** 8b បើដល់ខែហវិសាខថ្ងៃបូរមី ឱ្យរៀបត្រីជីសក្ការបូជាច្បាត្រះហឿស្កតបាឡីយនេះតាមលំដាប់ច្បាប់បូជានុវេទនា ។

<sup>129</sup> Thompson, *Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text / Le rappel des âmes: texte rituel khmer*; Khing Hoc Dy យ៉ង់ ហុក ឌី, *kamnat’ bidhī hau braḷiṅ k’ṅnāt’ tī tī hōt’ t’rōvīṅ*, 20–33; Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī hau braḷiṅ tām rapiep khmèr purān*. ពិធី ហៅព្រលឹង តាមរបៀបខ្មែរមុកណា, 10–28; Ang Choulean អាំង ចូលាន, “Hau braḷiṅ oy anak jamāṅī ហៅព្រលឹងឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺ,” 134–36.

<sup>130</sup> **UB054** 2a–24b សូត ៩ តង់ i.e. សូត្រ ៩ ជង់

instructs the reader to “chant [this passage] twice—[chant it] once [with the words from the] upper [line], [and] once [with the words from the] lower [line].”<sup>131</sup> The instructions in both **UB054** and **UB060** are perhaps most comparable to the *svat kāmḷān devatā* instructions discussed in the previous section, in that they specify what texts or parts of texts the performer should repeat and for how many repetitions. The remainder of the ritual instructions in Cambodian leporellos fall into two categories, those for buddha image consecration ceremonies (section 4.5.2.1) and those for end-of-life rites (divided into two parts: 4.5.2.2, end-of-life instructions in leporellos, and 4.5.2.3, end-of-life instructions in twentieth-century printed books based on leporellos). Both of these categories can be divided into two further types, namely instructions that pertain to when and why to chant certain texts, and instructions for how to perform rituals that go beyond these core chanted texts. I now examine each of these four types in turn.

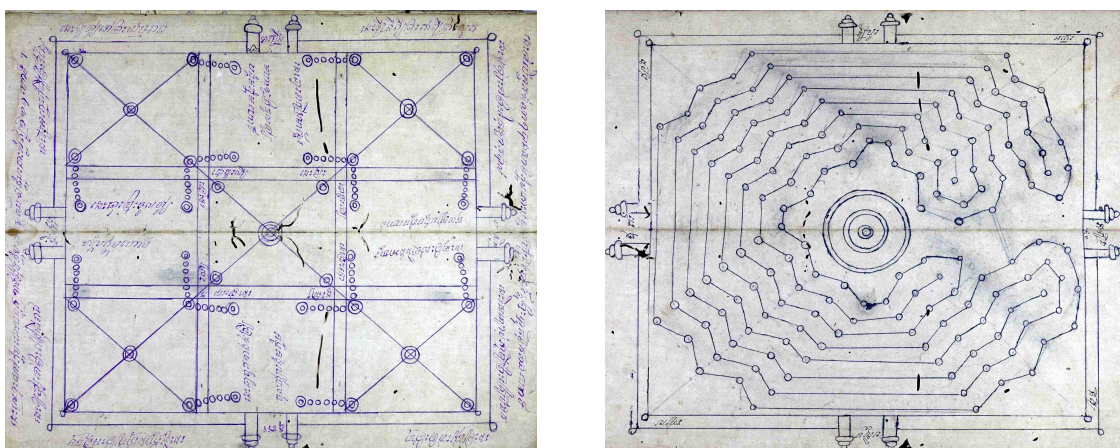


Figure 4.5.2.1: **UB070**, spreads 76 (left) and 78 (right), diagrams of various ritual labyrinths

#### 4.5.2.1 Leporello Instructions for Consecration Rituals

Ritual instructions concerning what texts to recite in buddha image consecrations as well as when to recite them appear in a number of leporellos. **UB051** offers a typical example. After the conclusion of **dhārm yog-bn** and before **dhārm yog-y/ch** and **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, the scribe includes the following instruction:

បើសូត្រព្រះធម្ម័យោក្ក ត្នាកិរិយ៉ារបតប្តាចប្ប័ ហៀរទើព្វឱ្យសំម្ពេង ។ ១៣៣ ឆមាមេត្តាកិរិយ៉ារបទ្ធ ។ ឱ្យថ្ងាវ័ជ្យព្រះ  
មុនទៀត<sup>132</sup>

<sup>131</sup> **UB060** 17a *sabbakāya* សូត្រពិដង លើម្តង ក្រោមម្តង

<sup>132</sup> **UB051** 12b

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Once you have chanted *brah dharmaṃ yoka* [**dhārm yog-bn**] in its melodic style, then perform *namo me* [**Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**] in its melodic style to offer the victory blessings of its sacred mantras.

A previously discussed leporello from the FEMC photographic archives contains similar instructions. After **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** and before **phcāñ' mār-k**, the manuscript says, “After finishing *namo me jāy*, continue by chanting *phcāñ' mār*.”<sup>133</sup> A more elaborate instruction is found between **dhārm yog-bn** and **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** in the same leporello:

័ ចប់ធម្មយោកហ្ស៊ី ឈុបសិន ត្រូវមន្តលោកធាន់តែធាន់បារីស្វារហ្ស៊ីនិមន្តនមោមេដៃ យាងពីពោះ ័ ឃ្ន<sup>134</sup>

After finishing *dharmaṃ yog*, take a break, and invite the monks to drink tea, smoke tobacco, and chew betel, and then invite them to continue with *namo me jāy* most mellifluously.

This note, just like those found in Siamese manuscripts, includes information not only about the proper sequence of performance, but also when to rest and partake of various refreshments, including tea. The phrase “most mellifluously” probably suggests not only an imperative to chant beautifully, but also an encouragement for monks to take a break for the benefits it may confer upon their tired vocal folds.

**UB046** contains both instructions regarding the sequence of the texts but also the ritual actions to be undertaken over the course of this sequence. After **Buddhābhiseka-NP**, a brief note reads, “Next is *dharmaṃ yog*, to be chanted in the *paṃnol* meter.”<sup>135</sup> A similar instruction follows **dhārm yog-bn**.<sup>136</sup> Two somewhat more complex instructions occur in the middle of **phcāñ' mār-k**. The first occurs right before the point in the text where Sujātā offers milk-rice to the Bodhisatta:

ចប់មួយរីក ដល់ត្រង់ណោះ ត្រូវថ្វាយមធុបាយាស់ ឲ្យរកស្រីពុំចារិចូលទៅថ្វាយ រួចហើយឲ្យសូត្រថាដូច្នោះ<sup>137</sup>

End of one section. Having reached this point, offer milk-rice [to the buddha image] by having a maiden come and offer it. Then chant the following.

Later on in the text, when the narration reaches Māra’s demands to retake the throne from the Buddha, an additional ritual instruction appears:

<sup>133</sup> FEMC manuscript of unknown provenance, FEMC photographic archives. Diplomatic transcription: ័ ចប់ ន:មោមេជ្រូតបុណ្ណោះ ត្រូវសូត្រផ្កាញមារត៍ទៅទៀត្រ ។:ឃ្ន

<sup>134</sup> FEMC manuscript of unknown provenance, FEMC photographic archives.

<sup>135</sup> **UB046** 9b តរធម៌យ៉ាកទៅខាងមុខ សូត្របទពំនោល

<sup>136</sup> **UB046** 16a តរធម៌ផ្កាញមារទៅខាងមុខទៀត ។ បទកាកគតិក ។

<sup>137</sup> **UB046** 21a

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ដល់ត្រង់ណោះ ឲ្យឈប់លេងមារដណ្តើមបាលីផ្គុំរួចហើយឲ្យសូត្រថាដូច្នោះ<sup>138</sup>

Upon reaching this point, stop for the performance of Māra threatening the throne.  
Once that is finished, continue chanting from here.

Both of these instructions concern what ritual activities are supposed to be performed outside of the chanting itself. These activities are essentially reenactments of the Buddha’s awakening, involving a young girl offering milk-rice and a man dressed as Māra threatening the image.<sup>139</sup> In this sense, they are quite clearly scripts for how to perform the ritual, even though these short notes leave out many details of how the milk-rice is to be prepared, how the girl should offer it, how the layman should threaten the Buddha, how he should dress up as Māra, and so on. A few other manuscripts provide ritual instructions that are likewise sparse on detail.

**UB008** provides instructions on when to bow during the chanting of **Buddhābhiṣeka-NP**, while **UB002**, **UB039**, **UB041** all provide brief notes on when to offer the milk-rice during **phcāñ' mār-k**.<sup>140</sup>

Other leporellos, however, contain much more elaborate descriptions of buddha image consecration rituals. These descriptions are more properly termed manuals (*kpuon* or *tamrā*)<sup>141</sup> and guide *ācāry*s and monks through virtually every step of the process.<sup>142</sup> Despite their detail, there are still omissions, things left opaque, and parts to be filled in by the oral tradition. Nevertheless, these manuals can be quite extensive in the leporellos. In **UB051**, for instance, a manual for this ritual fills 31 full spreads in small handwriting.<sup>143</sup> The length and complexity of these manuals prevents me from treating them more fully here. In essence, these manuals provide five main services. One, they provide the opportunity for the officiating *ācāry* or monk to choose between various variations on the ritual, including simple, moderately complex, and elaborate versions. Two, the manuals outline all of the offerings that need to be prepared. For many Khmer rituals, these lists can be quite long and involve many ingredients; consecrations are no exception. Three, they provide a sense of who will need to be involved in the ritual—monks, novices, *ācāry*s, other laypeople, and children—and what their specific roles entail. Fourth, they put the different elements of the ritual into their proper sequence, including noting when specific major texts, such as **Buddhābhiṣeka-NP**, **dhārm yog-bn**, and **phcāñ' mār-k** are to be recited, how they are to be chanted, and by whom. Fifth, they add and integrate a great deal of short Pali texts to be recited throughout the course of the ritual,

<sup>138</sup> **UB046** 33a

<sup>139</sup> Elizabeth Guthrie, “The Performance of the Māravijaya Episode During Buddhābhiṣeka,” *Udaya: Journal of Khmer Studies* 4 (2003): 11–19.

<sup>140</sup> **UB008** 37b–59a; **UB002** 68b; **UB039** 36b «ថ្វាយអណ្តាប់»; **UB041** 30b សូត្របីដងកាលព្រះអង្គចេញបព្វជា 1 ថ្វាយឧទក 2 ថ្វាយមជ្ជបាយស 3 ថ្វាយស្វាបាវី 4 ថ្វាយកន្តោ នាងសុជាតា នាងឱមាទៃ កាន់ស្វាបាវី នាងប៉ុន្នតាសី

<sup>141</sup> Khmer ក្បួន or តម្រា; Thai ตำรา

<sup>142</sup> For a translation of a comparable Thai manual for consecration, see Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand*, 50–60. See also Deb(y) Sārikapuṭr เทพย์ สาริกบุตร, *Buddhābhiṣek bidhī chpāp sampūra(n) พุทธอภิษেকพิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Śilpā paṇḍāgār ศิลปา บรรณาคาร, 2528).

<sup>143</sup> **UB051** 35a–66b. This particular manual was transcribed and put into modern orthography (with minor errors) in Li Suvīr លី ស៊ុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvō puny buddhābhiṣek bī samāy purāṇ* ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យពុទ្ធាភិសេក ពីសម័យបុរាណ, 33–60.



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generally by the *ācāry*.

Appendix I includes transcriptions and citations of most of these manuals, including the short Pali texts they contain. Many of these Pali texts are non-canonical and most are in a state of orthographic and grammatical decay, assuming that they ever conformed to the standards of the Pali grammatical treatises to begin with. My explanations and English renderings of these texts, which vary widely from manuscript to manuscript, are thus somewhat tentative. In some cases, these Pali texts take the form of a call and response between the monks and the *ācāry* or the assembled laypeople. In **UB007**, for instance, after the monks chant *idaṃbuddharūpampi mahiddhikaṃ mahātejaṃ mahabbalaṃ mahāyasaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ hotu yeva* (“May this buddha image be powerful, mighty, strong, dignified, and influential”), the head *ācāry* replies *buddho uppanno loke atthi atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ* (“A buddha has arisen in the world for the sake, the benefit, and the well-being of gods and humans”).<sup>144</sup>

In other cases, these short Pali texts consist of lines to be recited when performing specific ritual actions, such as ritually opening the eyes of the image, shaving its head, and inviting it to sit on its throne. These texts tend to be quite corrupt and difficult to piece back together, though the basic elements are generally clear. For instance, **UB062** instructs that the following text be recited five times before taking a needle and scraping out a bit of each of the eyes of the image: *namo tassa. namatthu. saromebuddhadve veñcalalā pakaraṃmikamṃabalavivaritvā dvenetto tecakkhu navipassati āyuvāṇṇaho itipiso ṇasvākhāto*.<sup>145</sup> This could be rendered as: “Homage to him! May there be homage! The Buddha is on top of my head...having opened the two eyes... longevity and good complexion...,” which, alas, makes little sense. It appears that this passage—or at least the first half of it—may be an almost entirely decayed version of a text that shows up in a different context in **UB068**:

*suromebaddhadevañca lalā tabrammadevattā haddayaṃnarāyakañca hattheparammī  
surāpādebissanūkañce vasappakammaṃpasiddhime*.<sup>146</sup>

If standardized and put into its proper verse format, this text reads and translates as follows:

<i>siro me buddhadevañ ca</i>	The Buddha is on top of my head,
<i>lalātabrahmadevatā</i>	Brahmā is at my brow,
<i>hadayaṃ narāyaṇañ ca</i>	Narāyaṇa [Viṣṇu] is in my heart,
<i>hatthe paramesūrā</i>	Parameśvara [Śiva] is at my hands,
<i>pāde bisanūkarañ ceva</i>	and Viśvakarman is at my feet—
<i>sabbakammaṃ pasiddhi me</i>	may all of my actions be efficacious.

<sup>144</sup> **UB007** 15a លោកអាចារ្យទាំងឡាយ មានលោកអាចារ្យធំជាប្រធានត្រូវចាំស្តាប់បាលីពុទ្ធាភិសេកដែលសង្ឃសូត្រថា: *idaṃbuddharūpampi mahiddhikaṃ mahātejaṃ mahabbalaṃ mahāyasaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ hotu yeva* ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យធំប្រកាសថា: *buddho uppanno loke atthi atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ*

<sup>145</sup> **UB062** 66a ឱសូត្រព្រះបាទ្យនេះថប់បើកព្រះនេត្រព្រះកាន់មុលក្តិះតាមទ្វារស្រែចំហើយឱ្យយកកន្ត្រៃនៅក្រាស់មកកាត់ព្រះកេសា ហើយយកកាបិតស្លាកោ មកសូត្រព្រះបាទ្យនេះកេសស្រែច។

<sup>146</sup> **UB068** 34a–34b

Then the manuscript instructs the *ācāry* to take a pair of scissors to ritually cut off the head hair of the image, after chanting the following phrase three times: *kessāmūlakessā kessaṃmūlakessaṃ sama:buddha: chahidesito* (vaguely translatable as “The head hair, down to its roots—the Perfect Buddha cut it off”).<sup>147</sup> After asking for forgiveness and paying respect to the images, the *ācāry* then chants the following text three times to invite the image to repose upon the throne: *ukāsa ahaṃ bhante ārādhanāni namantani asanā asanaṃ ahaṃ iti gatāgato* (roughly, “Permit me! I, O venerable, propitiate and invite you to come to [this] seat [from] that seat”).<sup>148</sup> These short texts in Pali add precision, respect, and legitimacy to the ritual actions that accompany them, and their usage is clarified by ritual instructions in Khmer.

In other manuscripts, an even more complex array of Pali phrases are used and intertwined with vernacular instructions, sometimes stretching out to multiple spreads. **UB017** provides an intriguing example, for it includes many such short texts, some of which are directly tied to a ritual action, whereas for others their very recitation is the principal ritual action. An important text in this regard is **Dhammakāya-NP**, which connects each of the bodily marks of the image with a particular dimension or wisdom (*ñāna*) of the Buddha’s omniscience. In **UB017**, the scribe presents the Pali of this text interwoven with Khmer instructions on which marks (*lakkhaṇa*) are being “implanted” (*pañcuḥ*) at any particular point.<sup>149</sup> This is followed by an injunction to then recite the following short text once the implantation process is finished: *lakkhaṇatathāgato dibbacakkhum[ ]visodhayi parayāpannādisotthānaṃ hitāya ca sukhāya ca buddhakiccaṃ visodheti mūlakessā chinditvā paṭipassaddhi* (very roughly, “the marks of the Realized One purify his divine eye... for the sake and well-being of beings, including those dependent on nourishment from others. The duty of the buddhas is purified. Having cut off the hair to the roots, there is calmness”).<sup>150</sup> Then the manuscript provides a rather different Pali phrase for the opening of the eyes from that witnessed in **UB062**: *buddhaṃ buddharūpaṃ vivaritvā dibbacakkhum vipassatīhomi* (perhaps meaning “Having opened [the eyes] of the buddha image, the divine eye sees...”).<sup>151</sup> These texts are directly connected to concrete ritual actions performed by the *ācāry*.

However, **UB017** also includes short Pali texts that are not connected to any physical gesture or activity. After the text for opening the eyes, the scribe includes an “aspiration [with regards to] the bodily relics [of the Buddha] (*adhīṭṭhān brah sārīrikadhātu*), as follows:

*sace ayaṃ buddharūpo yāva pañcavassa sahaṣṣāni devamanussāhitatthāya paṭiṭṭhahassati sabbā dhātuyo imassa buddharūpassa sarīre āgacchantūti adhiṭṭhāmi*<sup>152</sup>

<sup>147</sup> **UB062** 66a បាឡីនេះសូត្រព្រះបដិមកកំបិតកោត្រវាសដាក់ព្រះកេសស្រាប់ហើយ ឱ្យសូត្រស្នាណទោសគ្នាពាក្យសំដី ស្រាប់ហើយឱ្យវត្តាគ្នា។

<sup>148</sup> **UB062** 66a សូត្រព្រះបដិមកកំបិតព្រះគង្គលើអសនៈ។

<sup>149</sup> **UB017** 66b–68a

<sup>150</sup> **UB017** 68a បាលីនេះសូត្របន្ទាបព័បញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈ។

<sup>151</sup> **UB017** 68a បាលីបើកព្រះនេត ។

<sup>152</sup> **UB017** 68a បាលីអធិដ្ឋានព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ ។

Chapter 4: Scripts for Performance

I make this aspiration: should this buddha image be able to remain for the benefit of humans and gods for five thousand years, may all of the relics [of the Buddha] come into the body of this buddha image.

This aspiration parallels the structure of **dhārm yog-bn** and **dhārm yog-y/ch**, both of which invite the relics of the Buddha to reside in the image, even though no physical relics are actually placed inside of it.<sup>153</sup> **UB017** then continues with a series of other short texts and ritual instructions, including a list of various offerings to be made in connection with the implantation of the marks (*pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa*).<sup>154</sup> This is followed by a few short texts to be inscribed on palm leaves for protection from ogres and other malevolent beings, including *sabbe devā pisāceva ālavakādayopica khaggam tālapattam disvā sabbeyakkhā palāyanti* (“May all ogres, as well as all deities and goblins, including Ālavaka, see this palm-leaf sword and flee”).<sup>155</sup> A few other texts follow, some of which pertain to the annual calendrical rites of *Bhijum piṇḍ* for deceased ancestors. One concerns the offering of *pattapūr* (“almsbowl-full”)<sup>156</sup> rice to the Buddha: *ukāsa imaṃ ekapiṇḍam culāmaṇiṃ cettiyam tāvatimṣa bhavane uddisa abhipūjayāmi. {duti {tati yampi* (“Permit me! With this one portion of rice, I pay homage to the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. For a second time...for a third time...”). Another specifically concerns rice balls placed on a tray to be offered to *preta* before dawn: *sudinnam vattamepiṇḍam paratū pajjivikāñattinaṃ petānaṃ mepāpunātu* (roughly, “These rice balls are verily given by me. May my relatives who are living as *preta* be fulfilled”).<sup>157</sup>

This portion of **UB017** then closes with two additional short Pali texts that could pertain to any Cambodian ritual, not just *Bhijum piṇḍ* or buddha image consecration. The first one is a dedication of the merit of giving a gift: *ukāsa idaṃme dānaṃ mātāpitūnaṃ ñātisālohitaṇaṃ petānaṃ hotu* (“Permit me! This gift of mine—may it be for my parents and blood relatives who [might be] *preta*.”).<sup>158</sup> The second is a standard expression of the aspiration for Nibbāna, discussed previously in Chapter 2 and analyzed further in Chapter 9: *idaṃ vata mepuññaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ nibbānasankhātamaṃhotu anāgatekāle* (i.e. *idaṃ vata me puññaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ nibbānasankhātamaṃ hotu anāgate kāle*, “May this true merit of mine be for the destruction of the cankers, known as Nibbāna, in the future”).<sup>159</sup> These texts and the short notes that accompany them provide the users of the manuscript the content and the purpose of what to chant, though not the specific point in the ritual to deploy them. This is typical of Cambodian

<sup>153</sup> See Chapter 7 for further discussion of these invitations of relics (see *infra*, 415–429).

<sup>154</sup> **UB017** 68b–69a គ្រឿងរណ្តប បញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈ គឺ គ្រឿងបូជា ១ បាយសី ៥ ថ្នាក់ ១ គូរ បាក់ឆាម ១ គូរ ទឹកអប ១ គូរ ស្វារធម្ម ១ គូរ ពណ៌ លក្ខណៈ ដម្រ ៤ ផ្លែឈើ ៤ អង្ក ១ បាន ទៀន ១ ដមគ្រូ ១ សំពតស ៥ ហត្ថ ប្រាក ៥ បាទ ស្រេចហើយ យកម្ពុល ៣ មានជេសផ្កុំជាម្យត្រាស្រេចហើយ ប្រសិទ្ធិ បើកព្រះនេត្រ ៗ ទៀនដយ ១ ប្រវេង ១៩ ធ្លាប់ ទៀនធួព្រួញរស្មី ៦ ទម្ងន់ ១៣ ដំឡើង ប្រវេង ១៦ ធ្លាប់ ទៀនពពិល ៦ មួយទម្ងន់ ១ ដំឡើងប្រវេង ១២ ធ្លាប់ ៗ

<sup>155</sup> **UB017** 69a *ekapatto nokapattā sabbeyakkhā palāyanti*. នេះខាងស្តាម ៗ *sabbe devā pisāceva ālavakādayopica khaggam tālapattam disvā sabbeyakkhā palāyanti*. នេះខាងឆ្លេង ៗ បាឡីនេះសម្រាប់ ចាស្រីកន្លោតដោតស្លាក្នុង ៗ

<sup>156</sup> បត្តិបូរ, sometimes *pitpūr* បិត្តិបូរ. For more on this offering, see Chapter 5 (*infra*, 268).

<sup>157</sup> **UB017** 69a–69b នេះអប្បប័ន ដាក់ជើងស្រាបឲ្យអំប្រគមុនថ្ងៃវាស ៗ

<sup>158</sup> **UB017** 69b នេះ បាឡីទុទ្ធិសទាន ៗ

<sup>159</sup> **UB017** 69b បាឡីតាងសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា ៗ

manuals, which sometimes compile texts, especially short Pali ones, from various rituals together in a single manuscript.

Though the complexity and variation of ritual instructions for buddha image consecration deserves a more thorough study, even this cursory look at these paratexts show how leporellos function as scripts for performance by combining what is to be chanted with information about why, how, and when to chant it. Likewise, the ritual instructions for end-of-life rites, to which I now turn, serve a similar purpose in Cambodian leporellos.

#### 4.5.2.2 Leporello Instructions for End-of-Life Rituals

As is the case for consecration instructions, end-of-life instructions consist of two basic types: paratexts that explain the sequence, timing, and purpose for chanting particular texts, and more detailed accounts of particular rituals performed for the sick, the dying, and the dead. In their most basic form, these instructions simply note what text is to be chanted next in the sequence. **UB028** is one of several manuscripts that provides such instructions. For example, after **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy cakkhum-r**, the scribe adds a short note, “Continue by reciting (*jap*) *braḥ kauṭā* [**Ākāravattā A-NP**].”<sup>160</sup> In turn, right after **Ākāravattā A-NP** and **Itipi so that A-NP**, the scribe writes, “Continue by reciting the *braḥ dhamm* [**Abhidhammamātikā-NP**].”<sup>161</sup> This pattern continues for a few more texts.

However, at the conclusion of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**, a different kind of ritual instruction appears, this time expressing the purpose of chanting a particular text. Here **UB028** reads, “For chanting to cut through the kamma of the invalid.”<sup>162</sup> This accords with the content of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**, which is concerned with “taking leave” of one’s unwholesome karma, particularly at the end of life. Similarly, **UB060** calls **Itipi so that C** a text “for chanting when [the invalid] has little energy [i.e. is close to death] (*sūtr bel kammlāṇi tic*).”<sup>163</sup> **UB067** provides another such note, in this case at the conclusion of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**: “This is the *Girimānanda-sūtra*. In the case of someone being very weak from illness, chant this text.”<sup>164</sup> **UB011** also contains a few such instructions. As a note to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, the scribe writes, “If the energy of the person is weak [i.e. they are close to death], chant this text.”<sup>165</sup> Then, following **Itipi so that A-NP**, he adds the following explanation:

ឥតិបិសោថត សូត្រជូនដំណើរ បុគ្គល់ទាល់តែស្លាប់ ។ ហើយសូត្រព្រះអង្គិធម្មត៍ទៅទៀត។<sup>166</sup>

*Itipi so that* is to be chanted to accompany the journey of the person (*jūn taṃṇōr puggal*) until their death. Afterwards, chant the *braḥ abhidhamm* [**Abhidhammamātikā-NP**].

<sup>160</sup> **UB028** 15a ជប់ព្រះកៅវដាតទៅទៀត ។ ១២៣

<sup>161</sup> **UB028** 34a ជប់ព្រះធម្មតទៅទៀត ។ ១២៣

<sup>162</sup> **UB028** 55a សំរាប់សូត្រផ្តាច់កម្មអោយអ្នកជម្ងឺហោង ។ ១២៣

<sup>163</sup> **UB060** 4a

<sup>164</sup> **UB067** 39b នេះគឺវិមាននូសុតយោកក្រែងមានជម្ងឺរឺទូររឺទូរឲ្យសុតទៅហោង ។ ១២៣

<sup>165</sup> **UB011** 19b បើកម្លាំងបុគ្គល់ ក្សោយហើយសូត្រធម៌នេះចុះ

<sup>166</sup> **UB011** 20b

**UB016** includes a very similar set of instructions. At the conclusion of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, the scribe introduces **Ākāravattā C-NP** by writing: “This is *braḥ kovatā* [**Ākāravattā C-NP**]. This text is to be chanted when [the invalid’s] strength is weak.”<sup>167</sup> Then, on the verso side of the manuscript, the following introductory note for **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** appears: “This is the beginning of *braḥ abbhīdhamm* [**Abhidhammamātikā-NP**], to be chanted for a corpse that has just expired.”<sup>168</sup> Each of these instructions emphasizes the role of a particular text in end-of-life rituals, whether for eliminating karma, for accompanying someone who is ill and close to death, or for someone who has just passed away.

These instructions above are some of the pithier examples found in the set of leporellos. **UB045** also contains ritual instructions that note the purpose and timing of various end-of-life texts. However, the instructions are often quite extensive in this manuscript. For example, prior to the **Mahāsatipatṭhāna-sutta-CP**, the scribe includes this long explanation of its ritual function as well as a summary of its contents:

សតិបដ្ឋានសូត្រនេះ ជាព្រះសូត្រមួយដែលព្រះពុទ្ធជាឡាយគ្រប់ព្រះអង្គមិនដែលលះបង់ឡើយ ព្រះអង្គតែង ប្រាប់ឱ្យភិក្ខុសំដែង ដល់ភិក្ខុ ឬ បរិស័ទ មានជម្ងឺ ស្លាប់, បើស្លាប់ដោយគោរព និងមានផលានិសង្សច្រើន អាច ឱ្យជម្ងឺនោះជាស្បើយបាន ។ សូត្រនេះ ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់សំដែងអំពី « ការដក់សតិឱ្យហ្នឹងល្អក្នុងអារម្មណ៍ » ពិចារណារឿយៗ៖ ១- នូវរូបរាងកាយជាទីប្រជុំ នៃអាការៈ ៣២ ប្រការ មានសក់ដើមថា ជាសភាវៈមិនទៀង; ២- នូវ វេទនា គឺធម្មជាតិ ទទួលសោយនូវអារម្មណ៍ជាសុខ ឬជាទុក្ខ ជាធម្មជាតិមិនទៀង; ៣- នូវ ចិត្ត ជាធម្មជាតិ ជាធំ ប្រសើរដោយវិសេសជាអ្នកសំរេចនូវអំពើជាកុសល និងអកុសល; ៤- នូវអរិយសច្ចធម៌ទាំង ៤ ដែលជាធម៌អាច ញ៉ាំង មនុស្ស ទេព្តា គ្រប់រូបឱ្យរួចចាកទុក្ខទាំងពួងបាន ។ ឯមហាសតិបដ្ឋានសូត្រ ជាភាសាបាលី ដូចខាងក្រោម តទៅនេះ៖<sup>169</sup>

This *Satipatṭhāna-sūtra* is a discourse that all buddhas never dispense with. They always have monks preach it to other monks or to laypeople who are sick so that they can listen to it. Upon listening to it with reverence, they shall receive abundant fruits and benefits (*phalānisaṁs*) that can lead to the healing of their illness. The discourse is what the Lord preached concerning “the establishment of a firm and steady awareness on objects” and is for frequent reflection on the following: 1) on the body that is the collection of its 32 parts, beginning with the head hair, and that has an impermanent nature, 2) on the sensations, which are natural phenomena that receive pleasant or unpleasant feelings and are likewise impermanent, 3) on the mind, which is the most lofty and important natural phenomenon, being the one that decides to commit wholesome or unwholesome deeds, 4) and on the Four Truths of the Noble Ones, which are the teachings that can lead all humans and gods to be freed from all suffering. As for the *Mahāsatipatṭhāna-sūtra* in Pali, it runs as follows.

<sup>167</sup> **UB016** 8a នេះព្រះកោវតា ធម៌នេះសម្រាប់សូតទៅតាមកម្លាំងដែលក្សោយ

<sup>168</sup> **UB016** 19b នេះចាប់ដើមព្រះអង្គិធម្ម សម្រាប់ខ្មោចដែលស្លាប់ទៅត្រូវសូត្រធម៌នេះ

<sup>169</sup> **UB045** 21b–22a

The extended explanation, which including many details about the content of the text of **Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP** itself, follows the same pattern seen above in terms of articulating a purpose for the text (contemplating its teachings, cultivating awareness, and being healed through the merit it generates) and an occasion to perform it (when someone is sick and wishes to listen to it).

End-of-life ritual instructions of a length similar to or greater than those in **UB045** are found in a number of leporellos, but such instructions are of a different type. Namely, they do not merely comment on the purpose or use of a particular text, but rather, like the manuals for consecration rites, articulate a ritual program for the someone who is dying. In most cases, these instructions are fragmentary in the leporellos. More complete versions of end-of-life rites can be found in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*), particularly those titled *kpuon yogī* (“Manual for *ācāry*s who officiate funerals”) or *kpuon taṃṇōr puggal* (“Manual for the journey of the person [from life to death]”).<sup>170</sup> Much of these longer texts concern various funerary rituals. Here, however, I am more interested in rituals for people who are dying, as ritual instructions for these rites are better represented in the leporellos, though often only in excerpted or partial form. These instructions are addressed to the *ācāry* who is charged with preparing a person for death. Such an *ācāry* is usually referred to as an *ācāry yogī*, and such priests were traditionally understood to have training in *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation (hence their status as *yogīs*).<sup>171</sup>

A fragmentary set of instructions for how to conduct end-of-life rites for someone on his or her deathbed is found in **UB020**. These instructions are in Khmer, but like the consecration manuals discussed above, contain many short passages in Pali for recitation:

...ទៅព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ទាំងអស់យកសេចក្តីអម្ពិល ៤ បានឈោងយកព្រះនីពាន្តជាទីបំផុតទុក្ខ ហើយឱ្យខ្ញុំបាន  
ត្រាសជាពុទ្ធម្មអង្គទេស្តាព្រះសត្វឱ្យបានស្រស់សមស្រួល ដេញសេចក្តីប្រថ្នាវនេះឯងហោង ។ ២៣ ។ រឿងអា  
ចាបាឱ្យឱ្យស្រឡាទៅអ្នកដែលទៀតនិងស្លាប់នោះឱ្យសូត្រថា *i tipisobhagavā arahamkīṃkaraṇaṃ*  
*devaraṇaṃ tāvatiṃsa gacchanti* ។ ឯអ្នកជិតនិងស្លាប់ឱ្យកាន់ថា *o buddho* ។ បើស្បឡូលហើយទើបចាសូត្រ  
ថា *araham* ។ រឿងបាទីចារសុត្តាបាទនោះថា *cakkhusampassasattajāvedanābahake sotasamphassa*  
ត្រជៀក *ghānasamphassa* ច្រមោះ *jīvihāsamphassa* អន្តាត *kāyasamphassa manosamphassa* រឿងបាឱ្យឱ្យ  
ពហទិកសូត្រ *sakatoā buddharataṇaṃ osuththaṃ dhammarataṇaṃ saṅgharataṇaṃ* រឿងបាឱ្យស្រែប្បសូត្រ  
*sabbebuddhābalabbhatāmacē kāṇāñcayambalaṃ arahantāñcātejenarakkhaṃ bandhāmisabbaso* ។  
២៤ ។ ១ រឿងបាឱ្យបងប្អូនទុកសូត្រថា *ukāsaimamdhujam vālakacēttiyam tāvatiṃsabhavane*  
*iminānisandena digharataṃ athāya hitāya sukkhāya* ។ *duti tati* ។<sup>172</sup>

“...the Three Marks and the Four Truths of the Noble Ones, and stretch out to grasp Nibbāna, the end of suffering. May I be awakened as a Buddha and preach to save living beings, all nine hundred thousand uncountables strong, by means of this

<sup>170</sup> ក្បួនយោគី: ក្បួនដំណើរវប្បក្កល. See, for example, FEMC a.103 (*kpuon yogī*).  
<sup>171</sup> See Davis Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 32, for a contemporary view on this term.  
<sup>172</sup> **UB020** 48a–49a

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aspiration.” Then the *ācāry pālī* gives a *slā truoy* offering to the person who is about to die, chanting for them: *i tipisobhagavā arahamkīmkaraṇaṃ devaraṇaṃ tāvatimsa gacchanti*. As for the person who is about to die, he or she should chant: *buddho*.<sup>173</sup> If they have already stopped breathing, the *ācāry* chants: *arahaṃ*. As for the *pād*, as for the inscribing of the *survāh pād*, write: *cakkhusamphassa* ears *tājavēdanābahake sotasamphassa* ears *ghānasamphassa* nose *jivihāsamphassa* tongue *kāyasamphassa* *manosamphassa*. As for the Pali for offering a water blessing, recite: *sakatvā buddharataṇaṃ osuththaṃ dhammarataṇaṃ saṅgharataṇaṃ*. As for the Pali for wrapping the shroud, recite: *sabbebuddhābalabbhātāmacē kāṇāñcayambalaṃ arahantāñcaṭejenarakkhaṃ bandhāmisabbaso*. As for the Pali for raising the flag, recite *ukāsaimaṃdhujāṃ vālakacēṭṭiyāṃ tāvatimsabhavane iminānisandena digharataṃ athāya hitāya sukkhāya. duti tati*.

This passage—of which the incipit is missing in the manuscript—provides quite abbreviated instructions, and jumps quickly through a variety of different rituals, including an aspiration to achieve Buddhahood, a conferral of a *slā truoy* (a offering of candles, incense, and other offerings to be presented in worship of the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya once the deceased ascends to the heavens), a chant to be recited by the dying or for the dying, the inscription of a metal plate or leaf called *subarṇapātr* (*suvarṇapattra*),<sup>174</sup> and a few chants used after the person has died, including those for blessing the water used to wash the corpse, binding the shroud, and raising a white crocodile flag (*daṅ' krabö* or *daṅ' bralīn*).<sup>175</sup> These ritual instructions thus contain material to be used while people are still able to speak, while they are dying and possibly unable to speak, and for immediately after they pass away.

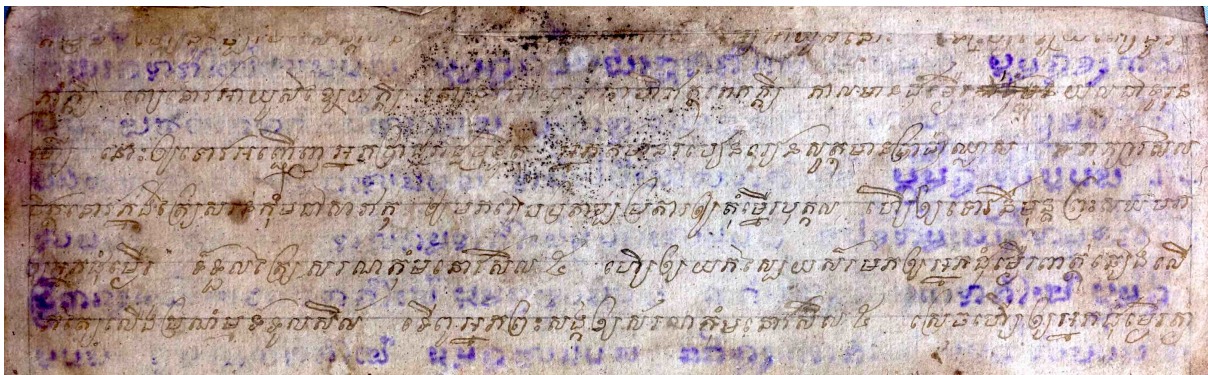


Figure 4.5.2.2.1: **UB068**, 31a, showing extensive water damage on the part of the manuscript dealing with end-of-life instructions

<sup>173</sup> On the valences of reciting *buddho* at the end of life and other circumstances, see Siyonn Sophearith ស៊ីយ៉ុន សុភារិទ្ធ, “Rak buddho ភកព្យុត្តា,” *KhmeRenaissance* 2 (2006–2007): 148–49.

<sup>174</sup> Lī Suvīr prefers the spelling *subarṇapāt* (i.e. *suvarṇapaṭa*). See Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvö puny khmoc satavatsa(r) dī 19 nīn tōm satavatsa(r) dī 20 ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យខ្មោច សតវត្សរ៍ទី ១៩ និង ដើមសតវត្សរ៍ទី ២០*, 18–19.

<sup>175</sup> ទង់ក្រពើ; ទង់ព្រលឹង. For two contrasting myths of the origins of these flags, see Sēm Sūr សែម សុរ, *Prajum dhaṛm kāvātār nīn sūtr brah dhāmm ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះជំងឺ*, 103–109. See also Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 56–57.

A few other leprellos provide some of these instructions, particularly regarding the engraving of the *subaṅṅapāṭr*.<sup>176</sup> But only one other leprello in the set provides substantial instructions for end-of-life rituals, namely **UB068**. This late-nineteenth or early-twentieth-century manuscript suffered severe water damage, and is illegible in many places (Figure 4.5.2.2.1 above). However, the legible portions reveal a detailed approach to how an *ācāry* should tend to someone who is dying:

Diplomatic transcription, divided into paragraphs for clarity:

នេះគឺអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ លោកស្រិតស្រង់តម្រង ដេរនូវច្បាប់ ..... អ្សអាយុសនោះ ..... ខ្សែយត្បោនូវក្នុងក្លី  
ត្បោនរោវអាយុសខ្សែយក្លី ត្បោនរោវអាយុស...ហិវាត្ថុពោតក្លី កាលមានជុំមើរយលជាទុរុសហើរ នោះឲ្យទៅ  
អញ្ជើញអ្នកប្រាជ្ញរាជបុន្ត អ្នកតំមានរបៀនរៀនសូត្រមានប្រាជ្ញាឃ្លាស រក្សារសិលចិត្តនោះក្នុងត្រៀមសរន់គុម  
ជាសាវត្ថ ឲ្យមករៀបប្រតាប្បប្រតារឲ្យតុម្ពើរបុគ្គល

ហើរឲ្យទៅនីមុនព្រះសិវិមកឲ្យអ្នកជុំមើរ ទីទួលត្រៀមសរណគុមនោះសិលថ ហើរឲ្យយកស្បែកសំរមកឲ្យអ្នកជុំ  
មើរពាក់ត្រៀមលើកន្សែលើប្រណិម្មទីទួលសិល ទើព្វអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃឲ្យសំរណគុមនោះសិលថ

ស្រេចហើរឲ្យអ្នកជុំមើរត្រាចិត្ត ការព្រះត្រៀមសរណគុមក៏បាន ក្នុងឥតិបិសោក៏បានគ្នាតែយក និងថ្នាំ *araham*  
ក៏បាននិងថ្នាំ *sammāsambuddho* ក៏បាន និងថ្នាំ *suggato* ក៏បាន ទោះយោប្បិចឯឲ្យសូតព្រះអង្គធម្មព្រះការតា  
ព្រះរត្ថមាលារឲ្យស្តាប់ក៏បាន

លុះតលជុំមើរនោះខ្លាំងលើង នោះឲ្យធ្វើរសូត្ររាជ្ជា បើរនិងយកម្សប្រាកស្តម្ពើរ ដែរឲ្យស្តើងក៏បាន ច្នានិងស្លឹក  
ក៏បាន ហើរយកឲ្យតាថ្នាំនេះ ៗ *cakkhusampattasattajā sottasampattasattajā ghānasampattasattajā*  
*jīvihā sampattasattajā kāyāsampattasattajā manosampattasattajā* .....នេះម្ខាង ទើព្វឲ្យ ត្រលបីមកច្នា  
ឯ..... *maggasampadā cattāro phalasampadā khi.... nam kusalādhammā imesa.... hontu*  
*imesattāpāpaccayo hontu ime satta atidukkhā hontu imesattayathāpaccayābhanti imesattā labhantā*  
ៗ : ហើរឲ្យតាត្រៀមលើរក្បាលតែក

លុះកុម្មាំងតិចឲ្យយកផ្កាទៀនធ្ម ធ្វើរជាស្នាត្រៀមមកបង្កាននៅត្បោនប្រណិមទើព្វផ្កាមថ្នាំ យើងធ្វើរឲ្យអ្នក  
យកទៅវ័យព្រះចុល្លាមុនៗត្រៀមត្រៀម ឲ្យតម្កលចិត្តជុំពោះទៅត្រៀមត្រៀម ហើរឲ្យការនាផ្កាបន្តរត្រៀមថ្នាំ ៗ  
*itipisobhagavā kimkaranam tāvatimṣa bhavanam gacchanti* ៗ ព តង

ហើរឲ្យយកស្បែកប្រាជ្ញា មកតម្កលលើរចង្ការឲ្យល្មមតែខ្យលចេញចូលត្រូវ ម្សនិសោតឲ្យយកក្រមួនទុំមួនប្រាត្រដូង  
ធ្នា ១ លុញជាទៀនប្រវែង១អង្កល្សី នេះហោរទៀនកាល ហើរឲ្យលុញទៀនឡើ ប្រវែង១ចំអាមបាន..... ហើរឲ្យ  
អ្នក ឲ្យតុំណើរនោះសូត្រថាត្រៀម ៗ *buddho araham* ៗ ឲ្យព្រមគ្នាកុំឲ្យនិយាយកុំឲ្យព្វមាត្រឆ្កែមាត្រាលើរ ឲ្យ  
ព្រឺតែរព្រះធារឲ្យបានស្តាប់ ត្រាបត្រងព្រះធារវិស្ស

<sup>176</sup> **UB053** 29b–30a; **UB055** 57a–57b



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លុះតលជុំម្លើរនោះ កុំល្ងាតិចផុតខ្យល់តើរចេញឱ្យហើរ ឱ្យអុចទៀនកាលឱ្យកូសថ្នាក់ប្តីអង្វើរ លុះតល្ងើងក៏ឱ្យ  
យកសុញ្ញវិញ លុះតល់ថ្នាក់ឱ្យឱ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃ ឱ្យពរទឹក តលថ្នាក់បីលើកលើដំបូងស្ប ហើរឱ្យយក  
សម្បុរក្រគ្រនៅប្រេងអំប្បវគ្រើនគន្ធពិរតោរ លាពសិត្តិ.....

.....សំសំ.....ប្រវែងហត្ថ២ តាកថ្នកទៅខ្នង ហើរឱ្យសំ.....ហត្ថ១ទៀត ប្រវែងហត្ថ.....ហើរ  
យក.....ហត្ថប្រវែងហត្ថ២មកពាក់ឆ្នៀង ហើរឱ្យយកសំពុតសំរ ប្រវែងហត្ថ ១២ មករុំ...ហើរខ្លាស់និងអម្ពុល  
១រៀកបាន ហាសិបក៏បានរួចហើរឱ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃទ្រង់ប្រាស្រ្តស្តី សូតក៏រណាកុសល្យាមាតិកា ។<sup>177</sup>

Translation:

This is what a wise person, polished, cleansed, and rectified in accordance with the law... whose lifespan is exhausted... who is eliminated in terms of karma, and in terms of lifespan... by illness. When the illness seems to render the person very weak, then one should invite a wise person—a royal scholar, someone who has studied extensively and possesses a keen intelligence, who keeps the precepts and maintains the triple refuge—to come and prepare various objects to accompany the journey of the person (*taṃṇōr puggal*).

One should also invite monks to come so that the invalid may receive the triple refuge and the five precepts. Take a white cloth for the invalid to sling around his or her [left shoulder] and raise his or her hands in reverence to receive the precepts. Then have the monks give the triple refuge and the five precepts.

Once this is complete, the invalid should make an intention to meditate on the triple refuge or on *itipi so*, or simple chant *arahaṃ* or *sammāsambuddho*, or even *sugato*. Or one can chant the *brah abhidhamm*, the *brah kāvatā*, or the *brah ratthamālār* for the invalid to listen to.

When the illness becomes especially severe, then the rite of *sūrbbār pād*<sup>o</sup> [*subaṅṅapātr*] should be done. Take a piece of gold, silver, or lead, and flatten it into thin sheet, or inscribe upon a leaf, using this as the *gāthā*: *cakkhussammappattasattajā sottasampattasattajā ghānasampattasattajā jīvihā sampattasattajā kāyyasampattasattajā manosampattasattajā*... This is for the first side. Then flip it over and inscribe... *maggasampadā cattāroṃphalasampadā khi*... *naṃ kusalādhammā imesa*... *hontu imesattāpāppaccayo hontu ime satta atidukkā hontu imesattayathāpaccayābhanti imesattā labhanti*. Then place it at the head of the bed.

When the invalid’s strength is weak, take flowers, candles, and incense, and make a *slā truoy* for the invalid to hold in his or her hands, with palms pressed together in reverence. Then explain to the invalid: “We are giving these to you to take to offer to the *Cuḷāmaṇī* [cetiya] in the *Trāyastriṃśa* heaven, so incline your mind toward *Trāyastriṃśa*.” Then whisper into his or her ear: *itipisobhagavā kiṃkaranamṭāvatiṃsa bhavanam gacchanti*. Recite this three times.

<sup>177</sup> UB068 30b–33a

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Then take the *sūbbāriṭṭipād*<sup>o</sup> and place it on the chin such that his or her inhalations and exhalations make contact with it. Then take a piece of wax weighing one *pād*<sup>o</sup> of silver and roll it out into a candle the length of a finger. This is the *kāl*' candle. Then roll out a *dis* candle, with a length equivalent to the distance between one's stretched thumb and middle finger... Then the people accompanying [the dying] should chant as follows: *buddho araham*. They should do this together. They should not talk and one should not hear the cries of dogs, cats, chickens, or ducks. [The dying] should hear only the sound of the Dharma and listen intently to its extraordinary teachings.

When the illness has progressed, the person has almost no energy left, and the breath has flowed out completely, take the *kāl*' candle and make three notches in it. When [it has burned down to] the first notch, take away the *subāriṭṭipād*<sup>o</sup>. When it reaches the second notch, invite monks to come and bless the water. When it reaches the third notch, lift up the corpse to wash it with soap, oil, powders, and fragrances...

...the length of four cubits and place it against the back, and then... one cubit more, the length of... and take... the length of five cubits and wrap it around the shoulder, and then take a white cloth, with a length of twelve cubits, and wrap it around... and then pin it together with fifty or one hundred needles. Then invite monks to come to perform *paṇṣukūl* by reciting [the Abhidhamma texts known as] *kāraṇā*, *kusalā*, and *mātikā*.<sup>178</sup>

The instructions for end-of-life rituals in this manuscript do not end here; they go on for several more spreads that outline the various rites that comprise a funeral. The passage presented here, however, focuses on the process of preparing for death and a few rites performed immediately after death. The first section begins by noting the occasion for end-of-life rituals, namely when someone is weak with illness. Then the invalid dresses in white and receives the refuges and precepts from a monk. After that, the core ritual begins, in which the invalid either contemplates a simple chant connected to the qualities of the Buddha or the Three Jewels, or listens to someone else, presumably the *ācāry* himself, chant various texts. The texts mentioned are some of the most prominent ones in the leporello corpus, namely **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP**, **Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**, and **Ratanamālā-NV**. Most of the end-of-life texts in the corpus, however, could in theory be recited for this part of the ritual, which, as discussed in the last chapter, can last for days or weeks. The passage then describes the fashioning of the *subaṇṇapātr*, as witnessed in other manuscripts, as well as the *slā truoy* offering for the dying to take to the Cūlāmaṇi cetiya after death. Then the rites for the last moments of life are described, emphasizing the importance of a quiet space where the dying can only hear the sounds of the Dharma. The passage continues with the use of timing candles to determine when to invite monks to chant and when to wash the body after death.

<sup>178</sup> For more on these texts, see Chapter 5 (*infra*, 280–286). On the *paṇṣukūl* rite, see François Bizot, *Le don de soi-même* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981); Erik W. Davis, "Weaving Life out of Death: The Craft of the Rag Robe in Cambodian Ritual Technology," in *Buddhist Funeral Cultures of Southeast Asia and China*, ed. Paul Williams and Patrice Ladwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 59–78; and Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 138–156.

The final part I have included here concerns the wrapping and binding of the corpse and the subsequent invitation of monks to come chant the set of excerpts from the Abhidhamma (different from **Abhidhammātikā-NP**) used in *paṇṣukūl* ceremonies for those who have died.

4.5.2.3 Printed Instructions for End-of-Life Rituals

Ritual instructions for end-of-life rituals also occur in printed collections of Dharma song texts. These mid-twentieth-century descriptions of chanting rites for end-of-life provide an instructive extension of the paratexts found within the leprellos themselves. In one notable case, these published books actually overlap with ritual instructions found within a leprello. **UB026**, a manuscript dating from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, quotes extensively from an otherwise unknown 1962 book by Cāp Bin. In fact, it seems that without **UB026**, we might not have any record of Cāp Bin’s book. However, though I have been unable to locate this particular volume of his, Cāp Bin is the author of numerous books containing Khmer chanted texts that were popular from the 1930s to the 1970s. Indeed, as mentioned in the previous chapter, eight of the 195 distinct texts contained in the 70 leprellos were authored by him.

**UB026** includes more than just texts from Cāp Bin’s 1962 book, the title of which remains unknown; it also contains the brief preface (*ārambhapaḍ*) he wrote to accompany it. This preface, apparently copied verbatim, expresses, in considerable detail, the ritual purpose of leprellos containing end-of-life texts. It mentions three texts in particular, namely the *Girimānanda-sutta* (**Girimānanda-sutta-CP**), *Ākāravattā* (**Ākāravattā A-NP**, as well as versions **B–E**) and *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma* (**Abhidhammātikā-NP**):

អារម្ភបទ ។ តាមប្រពៃណីខ្មែរយើង នៅពេលដែលមនុស្សចាស់ជរា មានអាពាធជាទំនួន ក្នុងគ្រួសារតែង  
ចាត់ចែង ចង់ឲ្យមានតាំងព្រះបដពុទ្ធរូប រៀបត្រៀងសក្ការៈ នៅដំណេកអ្នកអាពាធ ហើយនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃ សូត្រ  
ធម៌តាមថ្នាក់អាពាធ គឺ៖ ១- អាពាធនៅស្រាល តែងសូត្រគិរីមានន្ទ ២- អាពាធធ្ងន់ តែងសូត្រអាការវតារ  
សូត្រ(ដែលហៅកៅវតារ) ៣- ជិតដល់មរណៈ ឬធ្វើមរណៈកាលហើយ តែងសូត្រព្រះសត្តប្បករណាភិធម្ម (ដែល  
ហៅព្រះធម្ម) ។ ការនេះជាការចាំបាច់ ពុំដែលខាន។ បណ្តាថ្នាក់អាពាធទាំងនោះ ថ្នាក់នីមួយៗ កាលសូត្របាលី  
រួចហើយ តែងសូត្រសម្រាយធម៌បទផ្សេងៗ មានរឿងពុទ្ធប្រវត្តន៍និងព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ជាដើមដើម្បីឲ្យកើតសេចក្តី  
ជ្រះថ្លា និងសង្វេគទាំងអ្នកអាពាធ ទាំងអ្នកទ្រាំអាពាធ ជាកាកុសលដែលឲ្យផលជាសុខក្នុងលោកនេះនិងលោក  
ខាងមុខ។ ក្រាំងឬ សៀវភៅធម៌សម្រាប់សូត្រ មានអាការវតារសូត្រជាដើមនោះ ជារបស់ក្រ ព្រោះហេតុនេះ  
បានជាខ្ញុំព្យាយាមរៀបរៀងបោះពុម្ពឡើងដើម្បីងាយស្រួលដល់ព្រះសង្ឃអ្នកសូត្រនិងគ្រួសារអ្នករៀបចំ ដែល  
ត្រូវការ ។ ៣១-១-៦២- បណ្ឌិត្យបាប-ពិន ទុំនាមទុំម្ចាស់ខ្មែរពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ<sup>179</sup>

<sup>179</sup> **UB026** 24a–24b

## Chapter 4: Scripts for Performance

[Translation, with paragraph breaks and formatting added for clarity]

### Preface

According to our Khmer traditions, when someone is old and suffering from a severe illness, their family makes preparations, including hanging a cloth canopy [*bitān*],<sup>180</sup> setting up a buddha image, and arranging offerings in the space where the invalid is laying down.

They then invite monks to recite the Dharma in accordance with the severity of the illness:

- 1) if the illness is mild, then they recite the *Girimānanda-sutta*;
- 2) if the illness is severe, then they recite the *Ākāravattā* (known as the *Kauvatā*);
- 3) if they are close to death or have already died, then they recite the *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma*,<sup>181</sup> known as the *Braḥ dhamm*).

These rituals are necessary and cannot be abrogated. For each degree of the severity of the illness outlined above, after the Pali text has been recited, various vernacular versions of Dharma songs [*samrāy*<sup>182</sup> *dhaṛm pad*] are recited, including those on the life of the Buddha or concerning the Three Marks, in order to give rise to clear faith [*jraḥ thlā*, i.e. *pasāda*] and stirring [*saṅveg*, i.e. *saṃvegā*] in both the invalid and all those caring for the invalid, as an act of merit that provides blessings of well-being, both in this world and in worlds to come.

As leporellos (*krāṃnī*) or Dharma books (*sēv bhau dhaṛm*) that include texts such as the *Ākāravattā* are rare items, I decided to strive to edit and publish this book in order to make it easier for the monks, chanters, and families who prepare such rituals and might need them.

31-1-62.

Paṇḍit Cāp Bin,  
Khmer Mores and Customs [Commission], Buddhist Institute.

Cāp Bin's explanations copied out in **UB026** furnish a twentieth-century explanation of how to conduct rites for the sick, the dying, and the dead. By sketching the scene in which the

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<sup>180</sup> For more on this object and its use in Khmer rituals, see Siyonn Sophearith ស៊ីយ៉ុន សុភារិទ្ធ, *Pidan (Bitān) in Khmer Culture* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2008).

<sup>181</sup> i.e. **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**

<sup>182</sup> For more on this genre, see Chapter 6.

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chanting takes place, explaining how different Pali texts correspond to different stages of illness, noting how other vernacular texts may also be recited, and articulating how this ritual is intended to arouse *pasāda* and *samvega* in both the invalid and his or her family, thereby generating merit and well-being, Cāp Bin expands the explanations furnished in the colophons discussed in Chapter 2, including **UB060**. He is careful, however, not to promise that healing will result as a consequence of this ritual.

The *ācāryas* I interviewed agree with Cāp Bin on the arrangement of the rites and their various stages, but are divided as to whether such end-of-life rituals are intended to bring about healing or whether to put the mind of the dying in an appropriately easeful and pious state such that the next birth may be a fortunate one. Several monks and laypeople I discussed these rituals with insisted that many elderly people had recovered from their seemingly terminal illnesses and lived for weeks, months, or even years beyond medical expectations. The Dharma song teacher from whom I initially studied, Braṃ Ut, told me in a 2006 interview:

During the years after the war [i.e. in the 1980's, after the fall of the Khmer Rouge], it was as if there were no people who couldn't be healed. I would chant for them and they would live another three or four years, even people that had no hope for recovery, even people whose children had already gathered the firewood for their cremation. By listening to the chants, they would be transformed and come back to life. For example, there was one old woman who lived to the west of the temple. She had me chant for her three times. Each time she would live another three or four years. When her illness began, her children prepared for her cremation, but after listening to the Dharma she was healed. It wasn't until ten years later that she finally left this world.<sup>183</sup>

In conversations with me, Braṃ Ut was ambiguous about whether the power to heal came from the recitation of the text itself or from the merit accrued by the invalid who listened intently and respectfully to such recitation.

The modernist author and prolific compiler of chanting texts, Sèm Sūr, writing in a preface to his 1972 collection of chants for end-of-life rituals, takes a similarly ambiguous line, one reflecting the awkward place of non-canonical texts such as the *Ākāravattā* in an era of scriptural triumphalism and modernist reform. Sūr's book is essentially a traditional end-of-life leporello, but printed and bound in a stapled booklet format and coupled with extensive ritual instructions concerning how to chant these texts in an end-of-life context. His preface focuses on two key texts, *Ākāravattā* and *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma*, beginning with the former:

**១ - អាការវត្តសូត្រ** ជាធម៌សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សចាស់ទុំដែលមានជម្ងឺ ដោយព្យាបាលថ្នាំសង្កូវផ្សេងៗមិន  
ជាសះស្បើយទៅហើយ ។ ធម៌នេះមិនមែនជាថ្នាំទិព្វទេ ប៉ុន្តែជាគ្រឿងសំរាប់ចាស់ទុំ និងអ្នកមានជម្ងឺពិបាកណា

<sup>183</sup> Braṃ Ut ព្រះអ៊ិត. Personal interview, Kampong Speu province, August 2006.

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នឹក គិតទៅដល់រូបរាងកាយ ដែលមិនទៀងទាត់ដែលតែងមានទុក្ខ ហើយដែលតែងតែស្លាប់វិនាសបាត់បង់ ទៅវិញជាធម្មតា ប៉ុន្តែជូនអីកាលណាគេសូត្រធម៌នេះទៅ អ្នកជម្ងឺនឹងបានជាសះស្បើយឡើងវិញក៏មាន ។<sup>184</sup>

The *Ākārāvātā-sūtra* is a Buddhist text (*dharm*) for chanting for elderly people with illnesses that, despite being treated with various medicines and remedies, they fail to recover from. This text is not magical medicine (*thnām dibv*), but is an instrument for the elderly and the sick to contemplate and bear in mind, to reflect on the body, which is impermanent and always suffering, and which always dissolves in death according to its nature. However, sometimes this text is recited and the ill do in fact recover from their illness.

Sūr is at once eager to show that the *Ākārāvātā* works in a rational way in line with the logic of Buddhist modernism and yet is cautious enough not to disparage the traditional belief that the ill do in fact sometimes recover from their illness after hearing this text. But these two points of view may not, in fact, be diametrically opposed to one another. Both depend on the ideas raised by Cāp Bin in **UB026**, namely that *saṃvega*, or being shaken and stirred by death and impermanence, can lead to *pasāda*, the settling and stilling of the mind in luminous faith, or vice versa. Both states of mind are essential to progress on the Buddhist path; the latter is thought to be especially efficacious in the final moments of life for assuring a favorable rebirth. In the same preface, Sūr connects the *Ākārāvātā* to the *Sattappakaraṇābhīdhamma*, connecting the last text heard in life to the first text recited after death:

អាការវតាសូត្រ ដែលខ្មែរយើងហៅថា ការវតា និង សត្តប្បករណកិច្ច ដែលធ្លាប់ហៅថា “ព្រះធម្ម” ជាធម៌ សម្រាប់សូត្រក្នុងកាលវេលា ២ ផ្នែក តែទាក់ទងនឹងគ្នាដែរគឺ ៖<sup>185</sup>

The *Ākārāvātā-sūtra*, which we Khmer call the *Kāvātār*, and the *Sattappakaraṇābhīdhamma*, which is by convention called *Brah Dhamma*, are Buddhist texts for chanting in two separate but related occasions.

He goes on to describe the function of the latter text in similarly modernist terms:

២- សត្តប្បករណកិច្ច ជាធម៌សម្រាប់សូត្រនៅពេលដែលមនុស្សស្លាប់ទៅហើយ ។ ការសូត្របែបនេះ ហាក់បីដូចជានៅទំនៀមទំលាប់មួយដែលយល់ថា សូត្រដើម្បីសូត្រកំដៅសពឬសូត្រដើម្បីឲ្យខ្មោចស្លាប់ ។ ការសូត្រ នេះ ទោះបីគ្មានមនុស្សនៅស្លាប់ក៏ដោយ ក៏ចេះតែនាំគ្នាសូត្រឲ្យតែពួមានសម្លេងឡើងតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ តាមពិតព្រះ ធម្មនេះជាធម៌សំរាប់ឲ្យមនុស្សនៅរស់ពិចារណាវិញទេ ព្រោះអ្នកស្លាប់គ្មានខន្ធ ឬ ទទួលអ្វីសោះឡើយ គឺមានតែ អ្នកដែលនៅរស់នោះឯងទេដែលអាចស្តាប់ពិចារណាត្រិះរិះបាន ។<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṇḍha dharm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតា និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 2.

<sup>185</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṇḍha dharm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតា និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 2.

<sup>186</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṇḍha dharm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតា និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 2-3.

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*Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma* is a Buddhist text for chanting when someone has already passed away. This form of chanting seems to be a custom understood as chanting for accompanying [the dead] with chant or chanting for the departed to listen to. With regards to this chanting, even if no one is still alive to listen, people still gather together to chant just so that sounds may be heard. In fact this *Brah̄ Dhamma* is a text for the living to contemplate, since the dead have no aggregates and cannot receive anything, so it is only those who are living who can listen, contemplate, and reflect.

Sūr also insists that for the chanting of both of these texts, proper ritual protocols must be followed:

ដូច្នោះ ដើម្បីកុំឲ្យប្រឡងគ្នា ការសូត្រ អាការវត្ថាសូត្រ និង ព្រះសត្តប្បករណាកិច្ច លោកអ្នកនាងជាបុត្រជីតា ឬញាតិមិត្តនៃអ្នកជម្ងឺឬសព ត្រូវកំណត់ចំណាំនូវធម៌និងវិធីសូត្រធម៌ទាំងពីរនេះឲ្យបានច្បាស់លាស់ ដើម្បីកុំឲ្យ ធ្វើទៅដោយខុសឆ្គង តាមរបៀបនឹងក្បួនច្បាប់ដែលមានរួចមកហើយ ។ ប្រសិនបើលោក អ្នកដែលមានទីលំ នៅស្ថិតនៅឆ្ងាយពីអ្នកចេះដឹង ពីវិធីសូត្រនិងវិធីបុណ្យទាន ដែលជាអាចារ្យនោះ លោកអ្នកគ្រាន់តែយកសៀវភៅ នេះទៅមើលរបៀបក៏អាចនាំគ្នាធ្វើកើតដែរ ។<sup>187</sup>

Therefore, so as to clear up any confusion in regards to the chanting of the *Ākāravattā-sūtra* and the *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma*, all you ladies and gentlemen who are sons, daughters, relatives, or friends of the invalid or the deceased, must very clearly bear in mind both of these texts and the way to chant them, so that you will not do things mistakenly and [against] the forms and manuals that are already in existence. If you should happen to live far from someone knowledgeable in the rituals for chanting and the rituals for making meritorious offerings—that is, [far from] an *ācāry*—then you need only to take this book to read about the process [so as to] be able to perform it as well.

Sūr’s concerns that people will not have access to a trained *ācāry* when conducting these rituals reflect mid-twentieth-century anxieties over changing notions of Buddhist authority, particularly in urban areas where traditional *ācārys* were becoming scarce. Despite the strictness of its prescriptive approach, Sūr’s directions for how to conduct a chanting ritual of the *Ākāravattā-sutta* accord with how the *ācārys* I interviewed describe such rites being performed today, as well as with my limited observation of these rites.

As Sūr’s book has an extremely low circulation today, it is unlikely that the *ācārys* with whom I discussed this ritual were familiar with his account, and thus both my elderly interviewees and Sūr are likely drawing from their own memories regarding how this ritual was performed in the early and mid-twentieth century. The ritual has virtually disappeared in urban areas, as the terminally ill increasingly die in hospitals and not at home, and has become less common in the countryside as well.

<sup>187</sup> Sēm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Praṇuṇ dhaṁm kāvātār nin sūtr brah̄ dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវត្តា និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 3.

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Since this ritual is described neither in traditional manuscripts nor in anthropological literature, I translate Sūr’s instructions here in full. His instructions, considerably more detailed than even those of Cāp Bin in **UB026**, make explicit what was only implicit in many of leporello colophons describing the purpose of such manuscripts. In some ways, they provide a twentieth-century simplification of the older, more complex rites described in **UB068** above. Sūr’s words thus articulate, in an indirect way, how we might see chanted leporellos as communal manuscripts that provide scripts for end-of-life rituals. He begins by describing the conditions of terminal illness that would necessitate such rituals:

លោកអ្នកនាងពុទ្ធសាសនិកជនខ្មែរទាំងឡាយ កាលបើជីដូនជីតា ម្តាយឪពុក ស្វាមីភរិយា រឺញាតិមិត្ត បងប្អូន  
របស់លោកអ្នកដែលមានវ័យចាស់ជរា ហើយមានជម្ងឺដេកលែងក្រោករួចពីកន្ទេលព្យាបាលដោយថ្នាំផ្សេងៗ  
តាមវិធីពេទ្យហួហើយ ក៏នៅតែមិនជាលោកអ្នកនាងនឹកឃើញថា គ្មានសង្ឃីមចំពោះអាយុជីវិតនៃជនទាំងនោះ  
ថាមិនអាចនឹងរស់នៅបានយូរទៀតទេ ព្រោះគាត់ចាស់ជរា តែងមានជម្ងឺចាស់ទុំប្រចាំកាយដូច្នោះជានិច្ច ដូចដើម  
ឈើមួយដែលចាស់ណាស់ទៅហើយមិនអាចទទួលជីជាតិទឹកដើម្បីរស់ដូច្នោះឯង ។ កាលបើយ៉ាងនេះលោកអ្នក  
កនាងជាពុទ្ធបរិស័ទមានតែវិធីមួយទេ គឺត្រូវនិមន្តលោកសង្ឃមកសូត្រអាការវតារសូត្រជូនគាត់ ឲ្យគាត់បានស្តារ  
បំព្រះធម៌ នឹកព្រះពុទ្ធកុណ ធម្មគុណ សង្ឃគុណ ព្រមទាំងបានពិចារណាចំពោះរូបកាយតាមធម៌របស់ព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ដើម្បីធ្វើដំណើរទៅកាន់ភពថ្មីមួយទៀតជាទីប្រាថ្នា គឺ សុគតិភពនោះឯង ។<sup>188</sup>

All you Khmer Buddhist (*buddhasāsanikajan*) ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion in which your grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, husband, wife, or friends or relatives, older or younger siblings, who have reached an advanced age, and are too ill to get up from where they are lying down on a mat, who are treated with various medicines in accordance with methods of doctors but still do not recover, such that you realize that there is no hope for their [continued] life, and that they cannot live much longer, since they are elderly and are chronically afflicted with geriatric illnesses, comparable to a very old tree that can no longer receive nutrients and water for life—on such an occasion, all you ladies and gentlemen who are Buddhist laypeople have only one way, that is, you must invite venerable monks to come and chant the *Ākāravatāra-sūtra* for them, such that they can listen to the holy Dharma, recollect the august virtues of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha, as well as contemplate the body according to the Dharma of the Buddha, in order to make the passage to the next world that one desires, i.e., one of the fortunate destinies [of the human or heavenly realms].

In this passage, Sūr writes that monks should be invited to recite the *Ākāravattā*. However, most of my interviewees note that *ācāry*s often chant this text instead; in the following passage Sūr admits as much himself. After the above articulation of the circumstances in which one would need to perform such a ritual, he describes the stated purpose of his book: to be a “do-it-yourself” guide to perform the ritual in the absence of a qualified monk, *ācāry*, or elderly

<sup>188</sup> Sèm Sūr វៃសម សូរ, *Prajuṇḍha dhārm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 4.



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layperson. He follows this with a five-point set of rules to ensure the ceremony is conducted properly. These rules emphasize creating a peaceful place for the ill to the contemplate the Dharma:

លោកអ្នកនាងកាលបើបាននិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃ រឺអញ្ជើញលោកអាចារ្យ រឺក៏ចាស់ទុំក្នុងភូមិមកសូត្របានទុកជាការប្រសើរណាស់ ប៉ុន្តែពេលខ្លះមានការពិបាកចំពោះរឿងនេះ តើលោកអ្នកនាងត្រូវធ្វើយ៉ាងណាបើលោកអ្នកនាងចង់ធ្វើពិធីសូត្រជូនអ្នកជម្ងឺ? គឺមានតែលោកអ្នកនាងសូត្រដោយខ្លួនឯង ។ ទោះបីមានព្រះសង្ឃ រឺអ្នកជិតខាងដែលមិនសូវចេះដឹងវិធីនេះក្តី លោកអ្នកនាងត្រូវធ្វើដូចវិធីខាងក្រោមនេះ ដែលជាការគួរគឺ:

- ១ - ត្រូវរៀបចំកន្លែងអ្នកជម្ងឺឲ្យបានល្អស្អាតបាត ដើម្បីឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺមានបរិយាកាសស្រួលធូរស្រាលក្នុងចិត្ត ។
- ២ - ជញ្ជាំងជុំវិញ រឺដំបូលពិតាន បើរខេកខាតត្រូវរកកំណាត់សំពត់រឺក្រដាសបិទបាំងឲ្យជិតល្អ ។
- ៣ - ត្រូវរកផ្កាមកតាំងនៅក្នុងថ្ន រឺ ដប រឺ ប្រដាប់អ្វីមួយ ដែលអាចដាក់ផ្កានោះបានហើយ យកទៅដាក់នៅពីមុខព្រះពុទ្ធរូប ។
- ៤ - ត្រូវរកព្រះពុទ្ធរូបកញ្ចក់ រឺ ស៊ីម៉ង់តាមការគួរ ហើយរៀបចំអាសនៈឲ្យសមរម្យនៅជិតអ្នកជម្ងឺ ហើយយកព្រះពុទ្ធរូបទៅតាំងនៅលើអាសនៈនោះ ដោយមានផ្កានឹងទៀនធូប រឺ គ្រឿងសក្ការបូជាណាមួយតាំងនៅលើអាសនៈពីខាងមុខអាសនៈព្រះពុទ្ធរូប ។ អាសនៈ ដែលតាំងព្រះពុទ្ធរូបនេះ ត្រូវដាក់តាំងយ៉ាងណាឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺមើលឃើញផង អ្នកកំរើ រឺ អ្នកសូត្រធម៌អ្នកស្តាប់ទាំងអស់ងាយគោរពបូជាផង ។
- ៥ - ត្រូវរៀបចំកន្លែងសំរាប់ព្រះសង្ឃ រឺ គ្រហស្ថអ្នកសូត្រធម៌ឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺឲ្យបានស្រួល ជិតអ្នកជម្ងឺ ដើម្បីអ្នកជម្ងឺបានឮព្រះធម៌នោះច្បាស់ ។ អ្នកស្តាប់ដទៃកុំនិយាយពាក្យពេចន៍ រឺ រឿងរ៉ាវដែលមិនល្អ ឲ្យអ្នកជម្ងឺឮហើយក៏មិនត្រូវដៃដៃកត្តាឲ្យថ្លង់អ្វីខ្លាំងពេកដែរ ។<sup>189</sup>

Ladies and gentlemen, when you have invited monks, or invited an *ācāry*, or a elderly person in the village to come and chant, this is considered quite excellent, but sometimes there are difficulties with regards to this, and then what should you do if you want to perform such a ritual of chanting for the ill? The only option is that you, ladies and gentlemen, must chant yourselves. Even if there are monks or neighbors who are not so skilled in these rituals, you must perform it according to the ritual laid out below, which is the appropriate procedure:

1 - One should prepare the place of the invalid such that it is clean and spotless, so that the invalid can have a relaxed and peaceful atmosphere in their mind.

<sup>189</sup> Sēm Sūr សែម សូរ, *Prajñā dharm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 5-6.

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2 - If the surrounding walls, as well as the ceiling, are dilapidated, then one should take cloth or paper to cover them carefully.

3 - One should find flowers to place in a vase, a bottle, or another object into which flowers can be placed, and place it front of the buddha image.

4 - One should procure a buddha image made of glass or cement, as appropriate, and prepare a proper altar near the invalid, and take the buddha image and place it on that altar, with flowers and candles, incense and other offerings on the top of the altar, and in front of the buddha image. This altar, upon which the buddha image is placed, should be set up such that the invalid can see it, and such that the accompanying people or those who are chanting the Dharma as well as all of the listeners can easily pay respect to and worship it as well.

5 - One should prepare a place for the monks or laypeople who will chant the Dharma for the invalid, such that it is comfortable and near the invalid. The other listeners should not use words or discuss subjects that are not good such that the invalid could hear them, and should not converse with each other too loudly.

Sūr closes his account by expanding on the overall structure of the ritual, beginning with a communal homage to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha and the undertaking of the precepts. The chanting may continue for several days, and closes with a completion ceremony on the final day, or *puny chlañ*:

ការរៀបចំប៉ុណ្ណោះ ទុកជាការសមរម្យហើយ។ កាលបើព្រះសង្ឃរឺអ្នកសូត្រនិមន្តអញ្ជើញជួបជុំគ្នាហើយ ឧបាសក-  
សិកា ត្រូវនាំគ្នាសូត្រធម៌និមន្តព្រះរតនត្រ័យ រឺសមាទានសីលជាមុនសិន ។ ការថ្វាយបង្គំនិមន្តរតនត្រ័យ  
រាល់ពេលមុននឹងសូត្រ អាការវតារសូត្រ ឯការសុំសមាទានសីលគួរធ្វើតែថ្ងៃដំបូងក៏បានដែរ ។  
ការសូត្រអាការវតារសូត្រច្រើនធ្វើតាមថ្ងៃ រឺ ៧ថ្ងៃទើបត្រូវបញ្ចប់ ។<sup>190</sup>

Only this way of preparation can be considered appropriate and when the monks or the chanting people come and gather together, the laymen and laywomen should themselves chant the Dharma in veneration of the Triple Jewel or request the precepts first. This veneration should be completed each time before chanting the *Ākārāvātāra-sūtra*; as for requesting the precepts, this only needs to be done on the first day.

The chanting of the *Ākārāvātāra-sūtra* typically lasts three days or seven days before a completion ceremony is held.

My interviewees concurred with Sūr’s description, though they unanimously provided the additional detail that such rituals typically take place in the evening and may sometimes last until dawn. What is clear is that the *Ākārāvattā* and other end-of-life texts contained in chanted

<sup>190</sup> Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajanā dharm kāvātār nin sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះធម៌, 6.

leporellos once served to mark the transition between life and death in Cambodia. A significant number of Cambodians, particularly in the countryside, remain steadfast in their belief in the powers of such rituals to extend the life of the elderly as well as to bring ease and merit in the waning days and moments of life.

The most compelling parallel to the extended deathbed practices found in **UB068** appears in Sūr's ritual instructions concerning **Abhidhammātikā-NP** or, as he puts it, *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma* or *Braḥ dhamm*. Just as he gives an explanation of how the rituals for the sick and dying work in connection with **Ākāravattā A-NP** and **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, he offers a similarly in-depth exposition of how **Abhidhammātikā-NP** fits into end-of-life rites, specifically for the moments just before and just after death. Sēm Sūr, writing between 50 and 100 years after the scribe of **UB068** (who was indubitably copying a much older text), provides a mid-twentieth-century perspective on the traditional ritual:

ការសូត្រសត្តប្បករណកិច្ច  
(ព្រះធម្ម)  
និងមរណកិច្ច

សេចក្តីពន្យល់...

លោកអ្នកនាងទាំងឡាយកាលបើជីវិតដ៏តាមាតាបិតា ស្វាមីភរិយាឬញាតិណាម្នាក់របស់លោកអ្នកនាងមានជម្ងឺ បានសូត្រការវារ ឬព្យាបាលដោយឱសថផ្សេងៗ ហើយ មិនជាសះស្បើយសោះ ក៏ទទួលមរណភាពទៅ លោកអ្នកនាងត្រូវរៀបចំធ្វើបុណ្យបូជា (ដុត) ឬ បញ្ចុះ (កប់) សាកសបនោះជាកិច្ចចុងក្រោយបង្អស់ ។ ពិធីបុណ្យសពនេះមានច្រើនបែប ច្រើនយ៉ាងណាស់ គឺធ្វើតាមទំនៀមទម្លាប់ស្រុកភូមិផង តាមកាលៈទេសៈផង និងតាមទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិធនធានផង ។ ជាមួយនេះ មានរបៀបសូត្រធម៌ផ្សេងៗ ដែលព្រះសង្ឃក៏អាចធ្វើបាន គ្រហស្ថក៏អាចធ្វើបានដែរ ។ កិច្ចការកុសលទាំងអស់នេះគឺធ្វើឡើង ដើម្បីឧទ្ទិសមគ្គផលជូនចំពោះអ្នកធ្វើមរណភាពសំរាប់ធ្វើដំណើរ ទៅកាន់សុគតិភពនាបរលោក ។ ការសូត្រធម៌ក៏ជាកុសលចំពោះវិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធនៃអ្នកស្លាប់ តែក៏ជាកុសល និងធម្មសង្វេគចំពោះជនដែលរស់នៅផងដែរ ។

តាមធម្មតា កាលបើបុគ្គលមានជម្ងឺខ្លាំងខ្លាំងហៀបនឹងស្លាប់ គេត្រូវរៀបចំទៀនឥដ្ឋបឺនទុកឲ្យហើយស្រេច កាលណាបុគ្គលនោះស្លាប់ភ្លាមគេត្រូវអុជទៀនឥដ្ឋ នោះភ្លាមដែររហូតទល់អស់ហើយបើបានរៀបចំរួចហើយ ទុកជាមុន គេអាចសូត្រព្រះធម្ម ព្រមទាំងធម្មសង្វេគ និងព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ទាំងពេលបន្ទាប់នោះភ្លាម ទំរាំគេរៀបចំកិច្ចការផ្សេងៗ រួច ។ ដទៃពីនោះ គេត្រូវរៀបចំគ្រឿងបន្ទូងមួយផ្នែក មានចានឆ្នាំងប៉ាន់ពែង កាំបិតស្លាបព្រា ឬស្លាម្លូប្រហែល១កូនល្អី ដើម្បីទុកប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រប័ណ្ណកូលប្រសង្ឃកូលនៅពេលរៀបចំដាក់មឈូស ។

តមកកាលបើគេបានរៀបចំផ្ទះសម្បែងសម្រាប់តំកល់សព និងសំរាប់ទទួលភ្ញៀវធ្វើបុណ្យទានសមរម្យហើយ ។ កាលបើបងប្អូនកូនចៅញាតិមិត្តមកជួបជុំគ្នា ហើយព្រមទាំងព្រះសង្ឃក៏បាននិមន្តមកដែរ គេត្រូវរៀបចំផ្លុតទឹកសព ពោលគឺគេយកទឹកអប់ ឬ ទឹកធម្មតាទៅស្រោចស្រប់លើសាកសព ដុសលាងឲ្យស្អាតបាត ហើយកូនចៅ ឬបងប្អូនញាតិមិត្តខ្លះ បានទៅសុស្ស័រខាលាទោស ចំពោះសពជាចុងក្រោយបង្អស់ទៀតផង ។ តមកទើបគេស្លៀកពាក់ឲ្យបានសមរម្យ និងរៀប ដាក់ក្នុងមឈូស ហើយនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃបំណុលទស្សន៍យកបន្ទុក ដើម្បី

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បញ្ជូនកុសលចំពោះវិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធវិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធនៃសពជាលើកដំបូងបង្អស់ ។

បន្ទាប់ពីធ្វើពិធីនេះរួច បើពេលវេលាទំនេរចន្លោះពេលសូត្រមន្តទេសនាគេក៏សូត្រព្រះធម្មនិងធម្មសង្កេតក៏ដរាប  
ធីបុណ្យ ។ លុះដល់ពេលវេលាហើយគេក៏រៀបចំធ្វើពិធីនមស្ការសុំសីលនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រ មន្តទេសនាជាលំ  
ដាប់លំដោយតទៅ ។ កាលបើធ្វើពិធីទាំងអស់នេះរួចហើយ គេក៏សូត្រព្រះធម្មនិងធម្មសង្កេតនេះតទៅទៀត  
បើយប់គេផ្លាស់វេនគ្នាសូត្ររហូតទាល់ភ្លឺក៏មាន ។

ពិធីផ្គត់ទឹកសព, បំសុក្ខល, នមស្ការព្រះរតនត្រ័យ, សមាទានសីល, សូត្រមន្តទេសនា គេច្រើនធ្វើបន្តបន្ទាប់គ្នា  
ក្រោយពេលដែលគេរៀបចំចំណីអាហាររួច ។ ឯសាកសព គេអាចតំកល់ទុក១ថ្ងៃ១យប់ឬច្រើនថ្ងៃច្រើនយប់ជា  
ងនេះក៏បាន ។ ការសូត្រព្រះធម្ម និងធម្មសង្កេតច្រើនធ្វើបទបែបរលាក់រលែងផ្សេងៗ នៅជិតសាកសព ដើម្បីឲ្យ  
អ្នកស្តាប់កើតចិត្តស្រងេះស្រងោចកើតសង្កេតក្នុងចិត្ត ចំពោះរូបកាយនេះឯង ។<sup>191</sup>

Chanting the *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma*  
(*Brah dhamma*)  
and Death Rites

Explanation...

All you ladies and gentlemen, on the occasion in which your grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, husband, wife or other relative should fall ill, and the *Kāvaṭā* was recited or treatments of various medicines were administered, but still the illness was not allayed, and he or she passed away, you should prepare for the ceremony of cremating (burning) or interring (burying) the corpse as a final rite. This funeral ritual can take many forms and many formats, i.e. it is done according to local custom, according to circumstances, and according to wealth and resources. In addition, there are various forms of chanting that monks or laypeople can do. All of these meritorious acts are done in order to dedicate the paths (*magg*) and fruits (*phal*) to the person who has passed away to accompany his or her journey to a fortunate destiny in the next world. The chanting of these texts is a meritorious act for the consciousness aggregate (*viññāṇakkhandha*) of the deceased, but is also a meritorious act and an opportunity to be stirred by the Dharma for the living as well.

Normally, when an individual has a severe illness and is close to death, people should prepare five candles and five sticks of incense in advance. Immediately after the individual has died, people should light the candles and incense right away and have them burn down completely. If all is prepared in advance, people can chant the *Brah dhamma* and the *Dhammasaṃveg* and the *Trailakkha(ṇ)* both immediately after that and all the way until other rites are prepared. Outside of this, people should prepare the ingredients of an “offering to be abandoned” (*panhūṇ*), including plates, pots, tea accoutrements, eating utensils, and about a small basket’s worth of betel leaf and areca nut, to be placed in offering for the monks who recite the rag-robe chant (*paṃsukūladussa*) when preparing to place the corpse into the coffin.

<sup>191</sup>Sēm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajñā dharm kāvātār niñ sūtr brah dhāmm ប្រជុំធម៌ការវតារ និង សូត្រព្រះដ៏មួ*, 84-87.

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After that, once they have appropriately prepared the home for the placement of the corpse and for receiving visitors participating in the merit-making ceremony, and once siblings, children, grandchildren, relatives, and friends have all gathered together, along with the monks who have been invited, they should prepare to bathe the corpse, i.e. they should use perfumed water or regular water to pour over the dead body, scrubbing and washing it to make it clean, and then the children, grandchildren, siblings, relatives, and friends may approach it to ask for forgiveness for a last time. After that, they dress [the corpse] appropriately and wrap it up before placing it in the coffin, and then invite monks to recite the rag-robe chant (*paṃsukūladussa*) and take the “abandoned offerings” (*paṇluṇi*) in order to dedicate merit to the consciousness aggregate of the deceased for the first time.

Once this ritual is complete, if there are free intervals between *paritta* chanting and sermons, then people can chant the *Brah̄ dhamma* and the *Dhammasaṇveg* to accompany the ceremony. When the time comes, people prepare to do the ritual of veneration, requesting precepts, and inviting the monks to chant *paritta* and give sermons in accordance with the proper sequence. When all of these rituals are complete, they continue chanting the *Brah̄ dhamma* and the *Dhammasaṇveg*; if [they continue] during the night, they may take turns chanting until dawn.

The corpse-bathing ritual, the rag-robe chant, the veneration of the Triple Jewel, the requesting of the precepts, the chanting of *paritta* and the preaching of sermons—these are commonly performed one after the other, after the time in which the food is prepared. As for the corpse, they can keep it for one day and one night, or many more days and nights. The chanting of the *Brah̄ dhamma* and the *Dhammasaṇveg* is typically performed with tremulous, drawn-out melodies in close proximity to the corpse, in order for the listeners to give rise to a wistful stirring in their hearts with regards to their present physical body.

Sūr covers many of the same basic rituals as explained in **UB068**. He first notes what should be prepared in advance of the invalid’s death, including the use of candles for timing, as well as what chants, such as **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**, should be performed immediately after death. He then explains that while other funerary preparations are being made, laypeople may recite various Dharma songs. This is followed by a description of the bathing of the corpse, its binding in the shroud, and the invitation of monks to perform the *paṇsukūla* chants. These basic aspects do not seem to be changed much between the composition of the manual copied in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries (**UB068**) and the 1970s, and are largely in place today.<sup>192</sup>

Sēm Sūr’s explanation contrasts with those found in the leporellos, however, in its less prescriptive tone and the lack of strict sequences to be followed. He asserts that all kinds of Dharma songs are helpful to chant during the funerary preparations, and that these

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<sup>192</sup> For a detailed description of contemporary postmortem rites in Cambodia, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 53–79.

performances fill much of the time between the specific rituals involving monks. Finally, he also emphasizes the purpose of chanting in the mournful and melismatic *smūtr* style, specifically that this style allows the listeners to “give rise to a wistful stirring (*saiṅveg*) in their hearts with regards to the present physical body.” This emphasis on the value of funerals for the living as opposed to the dead is part of Sēm Sūr’s distinctively modernist approach to Buddhist rituals. He strives to make sure that death and transmigration are presented in canonical terms (such as the consciousness aggregate or *viññāṇakkhandha*) rather than local terms (such as the souls or *bralīn*).<sup>193</sup> What his explanations do make clear, however, is the flexibility performers have within the scripts handed to them through manuscripts and oral tradition. Ritual instructions, in both leporellos and the books that descend from them, are made to be in service of the performer and the context, rather than the other way around. These paratexts illuminate how the complex process of accompanying the journey of a person from life to death might be navigated.

#### 4.6 Conclusion

Cambodian leporellos for end-of-life rituals, including those containing chants for buddha-image consecration, contain both instructions concerning the propose and timing of individual chanted texts as well as a few extended explanations of how to perform certain rituals. These lengthy explanations set Cambodian chanted leporellos apart from Siamese manuscripts of the same type, which tend to provide only brief instructions, mostly concerning how and when certain texts are to be performed. In both cases, however, these ritual instructions are the cornerstone for understanding their function as scripts or musical scores for performance.

Moreover, in the Cambodian case, end-of-life and consecration manuscripts are structured in similar ways, and many manuscripts contain scripts for both kinds of rituals between their covers. Given the close association between buddha-image consecration and memorializing ancestors, as well as the overlap in performers of these two kinds of rituals, such similarities make perfect sense. Cambodian leporellos present a broad ritual continuity from sickness to death, and from death to the consecration of a new image. The Siamese leporellos explored in this chapter feature only part of this continuum, specifically rites for sickness and for death, as the illuminated examples of the eighteenth and nineteenth century do not contain texts for buddha image consecration.

Nevertheless, both Cambodian and Siamese chanted leporellos provide scripts that fit the vagaries of human life. One may intend, for instance, to perform a ritual with the aim of healing the sick, but things may turn for the worse and the invalid might pass away. Conversely, one might commence rituals for someone who is dying, with the expectation that funerary rites will follow, but then be surprised by the person’s recovery. In either case, a buddha-image consecration ritual may be performed, either immediately after someone’s death, or in conjunction with personalized or annual memorials to one’s deceased ancestor. The leporellos analyzed in this chapter are all flexible enough to contain these varying aims

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<sup>193</sup> On the distinction between *viññāṇa* and *bralīn*, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 42–46.

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and outcomes, and yet remain grounded in particular idealized sequences of texts to be chanted. The illuminations, particularly in the Siamese leporellos (but also in a few Cambodian ones), bring to life the settings in which they are to be performed. The ritual instructions, both those concerning particular chants as well as broader rites, bind together the texts and paratexts of the leporellos into flexible scripts for performance.

This chapter also lays the groundwork for a theme highlighted in the following three chapters on localizing translations: Khmer and Tai manuscript traditions cannot be studied in a vacuum or in isolation from one another. In fact, it is only in comparing the paratexts of Cambodian and Siamese leporellos that a number of their features become legible. For instance, the presence of both a “Cambodian” and a “Siamese” sequence of texts in Cambodian leporellos is only detectable when seen alongside the more unified sequence in Siamese examples. On the other hand, the end-of-life, rather than purely funerary, function of Cambodian leporellos highlights the presence of texts to be chanted for the sick alongside those for the dead in Siamese leporellos. The much more elaborate and developed illuminations in Siamese manuscripts provide not only clues as to their ritual performance but also how to interpret their more meager Cambodian counterparts. The ritual instructions present in both manuscript traditions contain many similar aspects, including notes regarding the proper textual sequence, when to stop for breaks and tea, and the purpose of individual chants within a broader ritual framework. Moreover, both manuscript traditions, through a careful study of their paratexts, reveal how they function as flexible scripts for performance in the continuum between old age, sickness, death, memory, and consecration. The cantillation marks and the performance styles they speak to, while still largely unstudied, reinforce the notion that Cambodian and Siamese leporellos will continue to illuminate each other.

In what follows in Part II, I provide the foundations for analyzing the textual contents of Cambodian leporellos. Unlike the three chapters of Part I, in which I have shown how these leporellos are communal manuscripts of end-of-life chants that comprise scripts for ritual performance, in the three chapters that follow I will examine the processes of transmission, transformation, and translation that shaped the texts in the corpus.

## *Part II: Localized Translations*



## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāraṇī to Pali Paritta

### 5.1 Introduction

In this second portion of my dissertation, I provide philological analyses of different genres of chanted texts in the leporello corpus. This chapter and the two that follow each engage a different process of translation by which Buddhist texts are localized into the Southeast Asian and especially Cambodian context. This chapter focuses on how a popular Sanskrit protective chant (*dhāraṇī*), the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, one of the most prominent ritual texts across medieval South, Central, and East Asia,<sup>1</sup> became the *Uṇhissavijaya*, a Pali protective chant (*paritta*) in Southeast Asia. The Pali text adopts the frame narrative from its Mahayana, Sanskrit antecedent but localizes the *dhāraṇī* in a Theravada context such that it is appropriate for Buddhist rituals in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. Although it surfaces just once in the 70 leporellos, the *Uṇhissavijaya* appears in many short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*) that record curricula of texts (*bhāṇavāra*) memorized by monks for ritual recitation, including many *paritta* texts and indeed most of the Pali texts in the leporello corpus. It also appears in an important Southeast Asian *paritta* collection known as the *Mahādibbamanta*, a collection that appears in some of the Siamese leporellos surveyed in the previous chapter. These collections reveal a variety of other Pali *paritta* that were also localized from Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts.

The semantic borders between the various Pali and Sanskrit terms for recited texts believed to confer magical efficacy or protection are hard to draw. By “magical,” I mean the assumed capacity for the text to perform work beyond the ordinary faculties of human beings. Terms such as *manta/mantra*, *vijjā/vidyā*, *gāthā*, *rakkhā/rakṣā*, and *sutta/sūtra* are widely used in both Theravada and Mahayana contexts to connote such texts.<sup>2</sup> When used to refer to magically potent chanted texts, it is not always possible to distinguish these terms. For example, a *sutta/sūtra* tends to refer to a canonical discourse of the Buddha, but may also be used for non-canonical protective discourses; a *gāthā* commonly means a stanza of verse, yet may also refer to magically potent prose texts.

In addition to these terms, there are also several terms that have tended to be treated as specifically “Mahayanist” or “Theravadin” in previous scholarship, namely the Sanskrit word *dhāraṇī* and the Pali word *paritta*. Mahayana texts often contain magically potent passages called *dhāraṇīs*, literally “what is held [in mind].”<sup>3</sup> Like mantras, the power ascribed to *dhāraṇīs* is generally phonological rather than semantic; in other words, how they sound when recited is

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* was frequently selected to be inscribed on pillars in Han regions of China and beyond, including in the Dali kingdom in Yunnan. See Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 145–154.

<sup>2</sup> On *dhāraṇī* and its various near-synonyms, including *mantra* and *vidyā*, see Pedro Manuel Castro Sánchez, “The Indian Buddhist *Dhāraṇī*: An Introduction to Its History, Meanings and Functions” (University of Sunderland, 2011), 35–38.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of such texts, see Hidas Gergely, “Dhāraṇī Sūtras,” *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism, Volume 1: Literature and Languages* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

more important than what the words literally mean. The word *dhāraṇī* (and its close relative, *dhāraṇa*) in this sense is not found in the Pali Tipiṭaka, and is very rare in Pali texts in general. Discussion of *dhāraṇīs* is thus generally limited to Mahayana Buddhist contexts. Likewise, the Pali term *paritta*, referring to a text—typically a canonical or non-canonical sermon of the Buddha—recited for the purpose of magical protection, is generally discussed only in a Pali and/or Theravada context. Its Sanskrit etymological equivalent, *paritrāna*, is not used in this sense; the functional equivalent *rakṣā* (cf. Pali *rakkhā*) is preferred.<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts usually contain the *dhāraṇī* itself along with a narrative or ritual frame. The part that might be recited repeatedly is usually the *dhāraṇī* itself. This is in contrast to Pali *paritta*, in which recitation of the entire text is necessary, rather than just a part of it.

This chapter proposes that some Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts, including the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, have been localized in Khmer-Tai contexts as Pali *paritta*. In other words, a genre of magical protection current in Mahayana Buddhist contexts has been adapted, transformed, and made suitable for a form of magical protection germane to Theravada Buddhism. In showing evidence for this localization, I focus on the product more than the process, as there is concrete evidence for the former but not for the latter.

Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts were largely composed in the first millennium CE.<sup>5</sup> The non-canonical Pali *paritta* I examine in this chapter likely date from the twelfth to eighteenth centuries CE, but in no case is it possible to pin down a precise date, author, or even place of composition more specific than mainland Southeast Asia. Thus while I can say with confidence that these non-canonical Pali *paritta* are newer than their Sanskrit antecedents, I have no explanation for how they were composed other than to note that Sanskrit Buddhist texts circulated in what is now Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand through at least the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and in some cases even later.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, with the exception of a few parts of the *Mahāḍibbamanta* collection, the Pali texts I examine in this chapter are not linguistically blended with Sanskrit; they are Pali chants, not hybrid Pali-Sanskrit ones. They provide evidence not for the incorporation of Sanskrit into existing Pali texts, but rather for the localizing translation of Sanskrit texts into a monolingual Pali format. The authors of these Pali *paritta* may have had access to Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts in the form of oral transmissions, written manuscripts, or even just the titles of then-lost texts. Since the manuscripts that transmit these Pali *paritta* are quite late (eighteenth century to the present), any articulations of the process by which they were originally created is purely speculative.

Though the processes of composition remain largely inaccessible, there is still much to say about the products. In this chapter, in addition to the *Uṇhissavijaya* (including **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**), I identify six other non-canonical Pali *parittas* that appear to have a

<sup>4</sup> Peter Skilling, “The *Rakṣā* Literature of the *Śrāvakayāna*,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 16 (1992): 110.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of the history of such texts, see Sánchez, “The Indian Buddhist *Dhāraṇī*: An Introduction to Its History, Meanings and Functions,” 28–33.

<sup>6</sup> For a particularly late example of a Sanskrit Buddhist text circulating in bilingual, Sanskrit-Thai manuscript form in Siam, see Dīpavāca(n) Śrīvāḍjavij(ñ) ที่ปวฉน ศรวัสรวรฉญ, *Suprītidharmarājātak gāṃ hloaṅ ḍprīdītharmarajatak ค่ำหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākar กรมศิลปากร, 2558).

connect to the titles, contexts, or structures of Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Though the connections between these six Pali texts and their possible Sanskrit antecedents are neither as clear nor as certain as the *Uṇhissavijaya*, when viewed in the aggregate, they present a powerful case for the localization of *dhāraṇī* into *paritta* in Southeast Asia.

The *Uṇhissavijaya* primarily circulates in three recensions in Cambodia: a medium-length Pali version that combines verse and prose sections (**Uṇhissavijaya-NM**) and two longer versions, one of which is entirely in Pali verse and another that mixes Pali prose, Pali verse, and Khmer prose. The middle-length version is a chanted *paritta* text that is extremely common in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts; this is also the version found in the leporello corpus. The long verse version is quite rare in Cambodian manuscripts,<sup>7</sup> and is the version present in the Siamese leporellos of the previous chapter. The long prose version is a preaching text (*satrā desa(n)*), to be read aloud from a long-format palm-leaf manuscript (*satrā/sāstrā*) by a monk giving a sermon (*desa(n)*).<sup>8</sup> The content of this version is similar but not identical to the long verse version. The colloquial Khmer name for all three recensions is *Jīvadān* or *Jīvidān* (“gift of life,” referring to a term from the Pali text) rather than *Uṇhissavijaya*.<sup>9</sup> With the exception of the unusual prose section in the medium-length version and a ritual portion of the long sermon text, all three versions of the *Uṇhissavijaya* that circulate among the Khmer are nearly identical in content to those transmitted in Lanna, Lao, and Siamese Buddhist cultures.

This chapter examines only two of the three versions outlined above: the long Pali verse recension and the medium-length Pali verse and prose recension. I begin with a summary comparison between a Chinese translation<sup>10</sup> of the Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* and the long Pali verse version. Here my intention is not to engage in a detailed analysis of these two texts but merely to point out some of the most salient parallels and divergences, especially the similarities in the frame narrative and the absence of a *dhāraṇī* in the Pali version

<sup>7</sup> The long verse version of the *Uṇhissavijaya* is held in a single long-format palm-leaf manuscript at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh (FEMC C.51). There is also at least one manuscript copy of the *Paramatthamaṅgala* in Cambodia, held at the National Museum (FEMC D.370), which contains a Pali prose version of the long recension of the *Uṇhissavijaya*, framed as an *ānisaṃsa* text. According to Olivier de Bernon, both of these manuscripts were likely brought to Cambodia from Siam for the first time by George Cœdès in the early twentieth century. It is likely, though not entirely certain, that the long verse version of the *Uṇhissavijaya* had never circulated in Cambodia prior to that time.

<sup>8</sup> Khmer សត្រាទេសន៍ / សាស្ត្រាទេសន៍

<sup>9</sup> Khmer ជីវិតាន / ជីវិតាន

<sup>10</sup> T.970; *zùishèng fú dǐng tuólúóní jìngchú yèzhàng zhòu jīng* 最勝佛頂陀羅尼淨除業障咒經. For an overview of other translations and transformations of the text in China, see Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, 158–166. I am not aware of a complete published edition of a Sanskrit version. For an edition of just the *dhāraṇī* portion, see Akira Yuyama, “An Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī Text from Nepal,” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 3 (2000): 165–175. The *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* is also closely related to the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana-tantra*. See, for instance, Jacob P. Dalton, “How Dhāraṇīs WERE Proto-Tantric: Liturgies, Ritual Manuals, and the Origins of the Tantras,” in *Tantric Traditions on the Move*, ed. David B. Gray and Ryan R. Overbey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 218.

(section 5.2). I follow with an analysis of the medium-length Pali mixed verse and prose version (hereafter **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**), which essentially drops the narrative portion and adds a prose section, perhaps to replace the missing *dhāraṇī* (section 5.3). I then examine the broader context of the medium-length version in Cambodian manuscripts, beginning with short-format palm-leaf manuscript collections of Pali texts commonly memorized by monks (section 5.4). These collections, known as *bhāṇavāra*, show that **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** may be paired with a variety of Pali *paritta* texts, especially the non-canonical **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP**, *Solasamaṅgala-gāthā*, and **Mahāmetti-NM** (section 5.5). I then examine another collection of non-canonical Pali *parittas* that includes the *Uṇhissavijaya* (in this case the long verse version), namely the five-part *Mahādibbamanta: Dibbamanta*, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, *Mahājaya*, *Mahāsāvaṃ*, and *Uṇhissavijaya* (section 5.6). Finally, I analyze five additional non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts that, like **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** and **Mahāmetti-NM**, bear striking parallels to Sanskrit Buddhist texts and *dhāraṇīs*, to wit: *Paññāpāramī*, **Chadisapāla-paritta-NM**, *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Dhāraṇī-paritta* and *Chalaṅkāra-paritta/Salākāravijjā-sutta* (section 5.7). Taken as a whole, these texts demonstrate the products, if not the process, of the localization of Sanskrit Buddhist *dhāraṇī* as Pali *paritta* in a Khmer-Tai Theravada context.

## 5.2 From the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (T.970) to the *Uṇhissavijaya*

The Pali *Uṇhissavijaya*, as the late Toshiya Unebe and others have long pointed out, owes its title and much of its frame narrative to the Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*.<sup>11</sup> Peter Skilling’s article, “Pieces in the puzzle: Sanskrit literature in pre-modern Siam,” lays out a number of texts, including the *Uṇhissavijaya*, that bear some connection to Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Since he focuses on narrative and didactic texts, Skilling deliberately eschews all references to possible school affiliations, for “a good story is a good story, and a good aphorism is a good aphorism.”<sup>12</sup> For chanted ritual texts, we could make a similar equation: “a good ritual is a good ritual,” or, more precisely, “a potent spell is a potent spell” or “a mighty title is a mighty title.” But if the new context into which the ritual text is implanted is doctrinally at odds with its original context, then we might expect this difference in school affiliation to have an impact on the resulting ritual text. The *Uṇhissavijaya* makes for a suggestive example: the title and narrative of the Sanskrit text remain largely intact, but the key part of the original text, and indeed the part most distinctive from a ritual or doctrinal perspective—that is, the *dhāraṇī* itself—seems to be omitted.

The word *Uṇhissavijaya* may be written a number of ways in Pali manuscripts, including *Uṇhīsavijaya*, *Uṇhisavijaya*, *Uṇhissavijayya*, *Uṇhissavijeyya*, etc. In each case, however, it provides a Pali rendering of the first part of the title of the Sanskrit text, *Uṣṇīṣavijaya*,

<sup>11</sup> For his comparative analysis of the two texts, see Toshiya Unebe 敵部俊也, “Tai ni tsutawaru Uṇhissa-vijaya to ‘Bucchō sonshō daranikyō’ タイに伝わるUṇhissa-vijayaと『仏頂尊勝陀羅尼經』,” *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 62, no. 2 (2014): 854–857.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Skilling, “Pieces in the Puzzle: Sanskrit Literature in Pre-Modern Siam,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 42.

“Superiority of the [Buddha’s] Crown” or “Victory of the [Buddha’s] Cranial Protuberance.” The title of T.970, one of several Chinese translations of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, renders *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* as *zuìshèng fǒ dǐng*, “Superiority of the Top of the Buddha’s Head.”<sup>13</sup> There can be no doubt that those who composed the Pali text were aware of the Sanskrit title of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* and endeavored to make an equivalent in Pali.

Perhaps the only significant differences in the titles of the two texts are the feminine ending of *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* in Sanskrit, and the addition of *dhāraṇī* and *sūtra* to the title. The Pali text is never called a *dhāraṇī* in manuscripts, though in a few manuscripts the term *Uṇhissavijaya-sutta* appears. The feminine ending in the Sanskrit is connected to the emergence of *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* as an eponymous powerful female deity who eventually becomes quite important in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, and East Asia, typically known as *zūn shèng púsà* (“Honored and Victorious Bodhisatva”) in Chinese.<sup>14</sup> No such deity is attested in Pali sources; *Uṇhissavijaya* simply refers to the name of the text. In Chinese translations, the title sometimes provides more detail than just *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. The complete title of T.970, for instance, is *zuìshèng fǒ dǐng tuólúóní jìngchú yèzhàng zhòu jīng*, “the *mantra* scripture for removing karmic hindrances [called] ‘the Dhāraṇī of the Superiority of the Top of the Buddha’s Head.’”<sup>15</sup> The Pali text, by contrast, seems to be unknown only by *Uṇhissavijaya*, *Uṇhissavijaya-sutta*, or *Jīvidāna*.

The frame narrative in *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, as transmitted by T.970, is roughly as follows<sup>16</sup>:

The Buddha was in Śrāvastī preaching to a vast assembly of arhats, bodhisatvas, and deities. At the same time, a deity in the Trāyastriṃśa heaven named Well-Established (Chinese *shàn zhù*;<sup>17</sup> Sanskrit *Supraṭiṣṭhita*) suddenly hears a voice from the sky (*hū wén kōng zhōng yǒu shēng huàn yán*)<sup>18</sup> predict that in seven days he will die and be reborn as various impure animals for the next seven lives. Terrified, Well-Established goes to Śakra, king of the gods, asking to be saved. Śakra recognized that the deity would indeed be reborn as a pig, a dog, a jackal, a monkey, a raven, a vulture, a hell-being, a blind person, a dwarf, and a finally human of low status due to his karma.<sup>19</sup> Śakra then goes to the Buddha for advice. When the Buddha assents to give an explanation of how to save Supraṭiṣṭhita, radiant light emerges from the top of the

<sup>13</sup> 最勝佛頂

<sup>14</sup> 尊勝菩薩。For more on this deity, see Lokesh Chandra, “Comparative Iconography of the Goddess *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*,” *Akadémiai Kiadó* 34, no. 1/3 (n.d.): 125–137.

<sup>15</sup> 最勝佛頂陀羅尼淨除業障呪經

<sup>16</sup> For a summary and discussion of a closely related Chinese translation of the text (T.967), see Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*, 166–170.

<sup>17</sup> T.970 357c16: 善住

<sup>18</sup> T.970 357c17–18: 忽聞空中有聲喚言

<sup>19</sup> The seven animals are as follows: 猪狗野干獼猴蟒蛇烏鶩等輩 (T.970 358a09–10). His fate as a hell-being and lowly human appear later in the text: 復入地獄受苦多劫。雖得人身矧陋卑賤。無目鹿醜衆惡纏裹。貧窮臭穢人所鄙棄。(T.970 358a29–b01)

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāraṇī to Pali Paritta

Blessed One's head (*shìzūn cóngyú dǐngshàng fàng dà guāngmíng*).<sup>20</sup> The Buddha then relates how Well-Established committed various evil acts in the past, including uttering cruel words toward his mother, that are now the cause of his impending descent from the heavens. Well-Established repents before the Buddha for these actions and, after a sermon on the dangers of unkind speech, the Buddha asserts that the deity's sin has been eliminated due to the depth of his repentance (*chànhuǐ ché gù zuì yì chúmùè*).<sup>21</sup>

The Buddha then teaches the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, declaring its power to eradicate one's evil karma, attract the company of bodhisattvas, lengthen one's life, avoid accidental death, help one achieve a pleasant and peaceful body, and be reborn in a pure land of a Buddha. The Buddha pronounces the words of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* itself, which consists of a litany of prayers and *mantras* asking for purity (*śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya... sarva-karmāvaraṇa-viśuddhe*), longevity (*āyuh-saṃdhāraṇī*), awakening (*bodhaya bodhaya... vimocaya vimocaya*), and the establishment of all buddhas within one's own mind (*sarva-tathāgata-hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite*).<sup>22</sup>

The Buddha then continues to praise the benefits of this *dhāraṇī*, including the benefits of memorizing, reciting, copying, and worshipping it (*shòuchí dúsong shūxiě gòngyǎng*).<sup>23</sup> He asserts that copying the *dhāraṇī* and enshrining it in a stupa or on a pillar will eradicate the evil karma of living beings who abide nearby. Yama and other deities then come to the Buddha and request to know how to make offerings to the *dhāraṇī*. The Buddha explains various rituals for reciting the *dhāraṇī*, including rites for reciting it for the dead, for longevity, and for healing from disease. He concludes by describing a *maṇḍala* rite (*màncháló fá*)<sup>24</sup> for the *dhāraṇī* and its benefits for making progress on the bodhisattva path. The text ends by narrating the exultations of the assembly upon hearing this sermon of the Buddha along with the Buddha's assurance that Well-Established will reach awakening.

The long Pali verse version contains many of these same elements. There is a deity named Well-Established (Pali *Supatitthita*) whose lifespan is about to come to an end in seven days, whereupon he will be born as a hell-being, a heron, a vulture, a tortoise, a dog, a pig, a blind person, and finally a deaf person. He petitions the king of the gods, Sakka, to save him. Sakka asks the Buddha for advice, who proclaims that there is a "Victory of the Cranial Protuberance" (*uṇhissavijaya*) and describes its many benefits, though without once stating what this *uṇhissavijaya* actually is. Parts of the latter portion of the text are shared with other non-canonical Pali *paritta*, including **Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV**. The text concludes with Well-

<sup>20</sup> T.970 358b08: 世尊從於頂上放大光明

<sup>21</sup> T.970 359a12–13 懺悔徹故罪亦除滅

<sup>22</sup> For an edition of the *dhāraṇī*, see Akira Yuyama, "An Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī Text from Nepal," 165–175. All quotations of Sanskrit terms in this sentence come from Yuyama's edition.

<sup>23</sup> T.970 360a20 受持讀誦書寫供養

<sup>24</sup> T.970 361b22–23 曼荼羅法

Established making an offering to the Sangha, his lifespan being subsequently extended, and the attainment of stream-entry by those in the assembly.

To examine the distinctive qualities of the long Pali verse version more closely, I provide a standardized edition of the text in parallel with a translation. For a complete edition and translation of the text, along with a critical apparatus, see Appendix III (*infra*, 1494–1513). My standardized edition of this text is based on four printed sources, two Khmer-script versions of the medium-length **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**,<sup>25</sup> and two Thai-script versions of the long Pali verse text.<sup>26</sup> I also consulted a long-format Pali manuscript version held in Phnom Penh,<sup>27</sup> though in general I found that this version provided little in the way of new readings. The two Thai-script texts (published in 1973 and 1928, respectively) are very close to one another and contain very few grammatical or orthographic infelicities. Whether they derive from a common source or whether the one printed in 1973 was simply copied, with some minor differences, from the one printed in 1928 is not yet clear to me. The newer publication includes a short preface that suggests that an original leporello-format manuscript of the text survives from the Ayutthaya period (1351–1767).<sup>28</sup> The older publication indicates more explicitly that it was part of a transcription of an Ayutthaya-period *Mahādibbamanta* text belonging to what later became the National Library of Thailand.<sup>29</sup> It is thus likely, but not entirely certain, that the 1973 text was copied from the 1928 version without consulting the leporello-format manuscript.

In these Thai-script versions, three prefatory paratextual elements: a short introductory note in Thai, the title in Pali, and the *namo tassa* formula of homage. These elements reflect the likely leporello source text, as they exactly parallel the paratexts surveyed in the previous chapter.

*dī nī<sub>2</sub> cāk sāmṭhēṇ brah uṇhissavijaiy taa<sub>1</sub> pai lao<sub>1</sub> / tām tē<sub>1</sub> dān<sub>1</sub> caḥ prot*

*uṇhissavijaya-suttaṃ*

<sup>25</sup> PDR = *Prajuṃ dhaṁ raṃtoḥ groḥ dāmi 12 chnāṃ* (Phnom Penh ក្នុងពេញ: Ācānd អាចិន្ត, 2000), 10–13; BK = Ek Ñiṃ ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kēv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt brik hñāc* ភណ្ណវារ កិច្ចវត្តត្រីកណ្ណ (Phnom Penh ក្នុងពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 40–44. See also PS = Kēv Ūc កែវ ឌឹច, *Parittasamodhān pālī bhikkusamādhāraṇī* (Phnom Penh ក្នុងពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 302–306.

<sup>26</sup> CP = *Brah mahādibamanī(r)* พระมหาพิพมณดร์ (Thonburi นครหลวงกรุงเทพธนบุรี: Bim(b) pēn anusara(n) nai nān braḥ rājadān blōṇ śab nān chavīvaṇṇ praḥkaapsāntisukh pa.ma., ca.ja. ṇa jhāpānasthān vāt makutaḥkṣātriyaṛām rājavaravihār พิมพ์เป็นอนุสรณ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นางฉวีวรรณ ประกอบสันติสุข บ.ม.,จ.ช. ณ ฌาปนสถานวัดมกุฏกษัตริยารามราชวรวิหาร, 2516), 24–31; SA = Damrong Rajanubhab สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าดิศวรกุมาร กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *Mahādibaman(t)* มหาพิพมณด (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: bim(b) nai nān braḥ rājadān blōṇ śab āṃmāty do braḥyā aṛgaṇi(dhi)niyam (samuy ābharāṇasiri) ca ma, ca ja, ra ja ba. พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ อำมาตย์โท พระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ (สมุย อาภรณ์ศิริ) จ ม, จ ช, ร จ พ., 2471), 28–36.

<sup>27</sup> FEMC C.51. Now held at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vāt Sārāvān, this manuscript was produced in Siam, likely in the late nineteenth century, and brought to Cambodia by the early twentieth century at the latest.

<sup>28</sup> CP 1.

<sup>29</sup> SA, ka.

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāraṇī to Pali Paritta

*namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*

Henceforth is the performance of the Victory of the Cranial Protuberance, if it is pleasing to you.

The Discourse on the Victory of the Cranial Protuberance

Homage to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Rightly Self-Awakened One!

The text proper commences with an homage to the Three Jewels and a declaration that the author will expound the *Uṇhissavijaya* just as it was preached by the Buddha. This suggests that there is an author who conceives of himself as separate from the *Uṇhissavijaya* as a sermon of the Buddha. Whether this is meant to imply he composed the text, translated it into verse, or adapted it from another text (such as the Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*) is not made clear.

<i>vanditvā sirasā buddhaṃ</i>	Having saluted with my head the Buddha,
<i>saddhammagāṇuttamaṃ</i>	the true Dhamma, and the lofty Sangha,
<i>uṇhissavijayaṃ nāma</i>	I shall declare this superb text,
<i>sattānaṃ āyuvaddhanaṃ</i>	just as preached by the Self-Awakened One
<i>vakkhāmi pavaram ganthaṃ</i>	for increasing the lifespan of living beings,
<i>sambuddhen'eva desitaṃ.</i>	named the “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance.”

The text then commences the frame narrative, beginning with the Buddha preaching the Abhidhamma to his mother in Tāvatiṃsa heaven. This is of course different than in the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text, which sets the frame narrative as beginning in the city of Śrāvastī. The Buddha’s preaching in Tāvatiṃsa is given special emphasis in Theravada and especially Khmer-Tai Buddhism. It is through this preaching that the Buddha is able to repay his debt of gratitude (*guṇa*) to his mother. As such, it one of the most important and certainly most celebrated moments in the Buddha’s teaching career in Khmer-Tai Buddhist texts and communities.<sup>30</sup> In this sense the *Uṇhissavijaya* localizes the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* in a Theravada milieu.

<i>ekasmiṃ samaye nātho</i>	At one time the Protector dwelt in
<i>tāvatiṃse surālaye</i>	the heavenly realm of the Thirty-Three Deities,
<i>pārichattakamūlamhi</i>	At the root of an Indian Coral Tree,
<i>paṇḍukambalanāmake.</i>	on that which is named Orange Blanket.
<i>vīharitvā padeseṣi</i>	He expounded the excellent discourse

<sup>30</sup> Peter Skilling, “Dharma, Dhāraṇī, Abhidharma, Avadāna: What Was Taught in Trayastriṃśa?,” *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 11 (2007): 37–60. See also Unebe, “Textual Contents of Pāli Samut Khois: In Connection with the Buddha’s Abhidhamma Teaching in Tāvatiṃsa Heaven.”



## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

<i>abhidhammakathaṃ varaṃ</i>	on the Abhidhamma
<i>sattappakaraṇaṃ nāma</i>	named the Seven-Fold Exposition,
<i>dharmasaṅgaṇī-ādikāṃ</i>	beginning with the Enumeration of Phenomena,
<i>sirimāyāpamukhānaṃ</i>	for the benefit and fortune of the deities,
<i>devānaṃ hitasampadaṃ.</i>	Sirimāyā foremost among them.

Unlike the Sanskrit text, which emphasizes the presence a vast assembly of arhats, bodhisatvas, and deities, the Pali text mentions only the Buddha’s mother before jumping into the main portion of the frame narrative. This narrative concerns the deity Supatitṭhita (“Well-Established”), who, like his namesake Supratīṣṭhita,<sup>31</sup> dwells in Tāvatiṃsa heaven (Sanskrit *Trāyastriṃśa*, “the heaven of the Thirty-Three Deities”). In T.970, Well-Established hears a “voice from the sky.” “Sky” in this case is Chinese *kōng*, probably for Sanskrit *ākāśa*, “space, sky, ether.” In the Pali text, another deity, “Sky-Wanderer” (Pali *ākāsacārī*) instead plays this role. It is possible, though not certain, that the Pali text makes this disembodied voice into an actual deity as a means of rendering the text more locally cogent. Either way, the predictions made are essentially the same. T.970 presents the order of rebirth as follows: a pig, a dog, a jackal, a monkey, a raven, a vulture, a hell-being, a blind person, a dwarf, and a human of low status. The Pali text is slightly different, placing hell at the beginning and shifting the order and identities of the animals somewhat: a heron, a vulture, a tortoise, a dog, a pig, a blind person, and a deaf person. Nevertheless, the overall import is the same: Well-Established will suffer painful and impure rebirths for a long time to come.

<i>devaputto tadā eko</i>	A junior deity,
<i>nāmena supatitṭhito</i>	Well-Established by name,
<i>tāvatiṃse nibbatta so</i>	reborn into the heaven of the Thirty-Three Deities,
<i>devehi parivārito</i>	experienced divine bliss
<i>dibbasukhaṃ anubhoti</i>	with an entourage of deities
<i>vimāne kanakepi ca</i>	in a golden flying palace,
<i>ajānītvā tadā devo</i>	unaware of the
<i>parikkhīṇāyum attano.</i>	exhaustion of his own lifespan.

<i>devaputto tadā eko</i>	A junior deity
<i>ākāsacārīnāma</i>	named Sky-Wanderer,
<i>parikkhīṇāyukaṃ tassa</i>	Having become aware of [Well-Established’s]
<i>ñatvā vacanam abravi:</i>	exhaustion of his lifespan, spoke these words:

<i>“mārisa sattame dine</i>	“Lord, in seven days,
<i>devalokā ito cuto</i>	fallen from the realm of the deities,

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps a pun on his impending fate of being not-so-well established in the heavens.

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*aviciniraye jāto  
anubhosi dukkhaṃ bahuṃ.*

born into Uninterrupted Hell,  
you will experience much anguish.

*cavitvā tato thānā  
uppanno jātisattasu—  
kaṅkho gijjho kummo ceva  
sunakho sūkaropi ca*

Having passed away from that level,  
you will appear among the births of creatures,  
As a heron, a vulture, a tortoise,  
a dog, a pig,

*jaccandho badhiro c'āpi—  
sattagatīsu jāyasi.  
bahudukkhaṃ anubhosi  
ekekāyapi jātiyā.”*

as one blind from birth, and as one who is deaf,  
born in the destinies of creatures.  
You will experience much anguish  
in each birth.”

*iti vatvāna so devo  
antaradhāyi tāvade.*

Having spoke thus,  
the deity [i.e. Sky-Wanderer] instantly disappeared.

The text continues with Well-Established's reaction to this prediction. The Pali includes a passage not found in T.970 concerning the five signs that portend the passing away of a deity.

*vacanaṃ tassa sutvāna  
kaṃṭhitahadayo va so  
atidukkho mahāsoko  
cintesi hadaye iti:*

Having listened to his words,  
[Well-Established], with a quaking heart,  
extreme anguish, and great sorrow,  
thought in his heart:

*“evanūpo upaddavo  
bhavissati idh'eva me.  
kiṃ meva saraṇaṃ hoti?  
kiṃ me tāṇaṃ parāyaṇaṃ?”*

“Even here such a calamity  
will come to me.  
What is my only refuge?  
What is my safeguard, my last resort?”

*attano nimittaṃ disvā  
saṃkilissanti vatthakā  
dibbapupphā milāyanti  
sedā muñcanti kacchato  
āsanā api uñhanti  
sarīraṃ duvaṇṇaṃ tadā.*

Having seen this image of himself,  
his raiments soiled,  
His divine flowers withered,  
beads of sweat leaked from his armpit,  
His seats grew hot,  
and his body discolored.

*pañca pubbanimittāni  
devānaṃ cutidhammatā:  
dibbapupphā milāyanti*

These five portents  
are the natural law of passing away for  
deities: their flowers wither,

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

<i>saṃkilissanti vatthakā</i>	their raiments soil,
<i>kacchato sedā muñcanti</i>	beads of sweat leak from their armpits,
<i>apī uñhanti āsanā</i>	their seats grow hot,
<i>kāyo dubbaṇṇako hoti—</i>	and their bodies become discolored—
<i>nimittāni bhavissare.</i>	these will be the signs.

This passage is followed by an account of Well-Established’s pleas to Sakka. The text here is very similar to T.970 with the exception of the effusive praise given to Sakka at the end. Note that this passage also contains the stanzas from this text discussed in the context of an illuminated Siamese leporello in the previous chapter.

<i>vimānā s’otarivāna</i>	Having descended from his flying palace,
<i>sakkassa santikaṃ gato.</i>	he went into the presence of Sakka.
<i>vanditvā sādaraṃ sakkam</i>	Having saluted Sakka reverently,
<i>vacanaṃ etad abravi:</i>	he spoke these words:

<i>“devarāja tuvaṃ setṭho.</i>	“King of the Deities, you are the best.
<i>tānaṃ me patisaraṇaṃ.</i>	You are my safeguard and refuge.
<i>ito va sattame dine</i>	In only seven days hence,
<i>cuto ito bhavāmi’haṃ.</i>	I will have passed away from here.

<i>avācīniraye jāto</i>	Born into Uninterrupted Hell,
<i>dukkhaṃ anubhavāmi’haṃ.</i>	I will experience anguish,
<i>bahūvassasahasāni</i>	burning with suffering
<i>cīraṃ dukkhena jhāyisaṃ.</i>	for the duration of many thousands of years.

<i>nīrayato tato cuto</i>	Passing away from hell,
<i>jātomhi sattajātisu—</i>	I will be born among the destinies of creatures,
<i>kaṅkho gījho kummo ceva</i>	as a heron, a vulture, a tortoise,
<i>sunakho sūkaropi ca</i>	a dog, a pig,

<i>jaccandho badhīro c’eva—</i>	as one blind from birth, and as one who is deaf.
<i>jāto sattasu mānuse</i>	Born among creatures and among humankind,
<i>bahudukkhaṃ anubhomi</i>	I will experience much anguish
<i>ekakāyapi jātiyā.</i>	in each birth.

<i>natthi me saraṇaṃ deva</i>	Deity, I have no refuge,
<i>natthi tānaṃ parāyanaṃ.</i>	no safeguard, no last resort.

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

<i>deva devagaṇasetṭha</i> <i>devarāja sujampati</i>	Deity, Best among the Assembly of Deities, King of the Deities, Lord of the Well-Born—
<i>tvam hi setṭho lokasmim</i> <i>tvam hi devo mahiddhiko</i> <i>tiloke maṅgalaṃ setṭho</i> <i>lokaṇṇapaṇ pavāhano.”</i>	you are the best in the world. You are indeed an awesomely powerful deity. You are the best blessing in the triple world. You are the remover of the sin of the world.”

The following passage concerning Sakka’s denial of his supremacy and his deference to the Buddha is largely absent in T.970. The Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text instead emphasizes Śakra’s contemplation on Well-Established’s predicament and his conclusion that only the Buddha can resolve it. The Pali instead emphasizes the supremacy of the Buddha.

<i>tassa taṃ vacanaṃ sutvā</i> <i>devarājā tad abravi:</i> <i>“nāhaṃ setṭho tilokasmim</i> <i>nāhaṃ devo mahiddhiko.</i>	Having heard his words, the King of the Deities spoke thus: “I am not the best in the triple world. I am not an awesomely powerful deity.
<i>loke na maṅgalaṃ setṭho</i> <i>lokaṇṇapaṇ pavāhano</i> <i>lokanāthaṃ tṭhapetvāna</i> <i>nāññaṃ passāmi maṅgalaṃ.</i>	There is no best blessing in the world or remover of the sin of the world, save for the Protector of the World— I do not see any other blessing.
<i>sabbakāruṇiko nātho</i> <i>sabbalokahitesino</i> <i>anāthassa sadā nātho</i> <i>so me nātho anuttaro.</i>	The Protector has compassion for all and seeks benefit for the whole world. He is always the Protector for the unprotected. He is my unsurpassed Protector.
<i>devānaṅca hitatthāya</i> <i>desayanto narāsabho</i> <i>abhidhammaṃ pavattento.</i> <i>so me nātho anuttaro</i>	The Bull among Men is preaching for the sake and benefit of the deities, setting the Abhidhamma into motion. He is my unsurpassed Protector.
<i>so ca setṭho tilokasmim</i> <i>so ca devo mahiddhiko</i> <i>tiloke maṅgalaṃ setṭho</i> <i>lokaṇṇapaṇ pavāhano.”</i>	He is the best in the triple world. He is an awesomely powerful deity. He is the best blessing in the triple world. He is the remover of the sin of the world.”
<i>sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā</i>	Having heard Sakka’s words,

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*so ca devo sasādaro  
gahetvā dīpadhūpāni  
sakkena gacchati tadā.*

the deity, filled with reverence,  
took up candles and incense  
and went together with Sakka

*narāsabho thito yena  
tena gantvāna sādaram  
dīpadhūpāni pūjētvā  
vanditvāva nisīdati.*

to where the Bull among Men was.  
Having arrived there, he reverently  
worshipped him with candles and incense,  
saluted him, and sat down.

The text then delves into the Buddha’s summary explanation of the evil actions performed by Well-Established in the past such that he is due to be reborn as various animals and as a human with various deficiencies in the future. While T.970 has a similar passage, again the contrast is striking. The Chinese translation of the Sanskrit provides a much more detailed narrative of the history of Well-Established, in particular a past life in which he verbally abused his mother, comparing her to various animals (the very animals he is to be reborn as), but also paid respect to a solitary buddha (Sanskrit *pratyekabuddha*). The merit of the latter led to his rebirth in the heavens, but the demerit of the former assures his rebirth in various states of woe.

The Pali text, by contrast, emphasizes the violence Well-Established committed against different species of animals, again the same animals he is to be reborn as. Khmer-Tai Buddhist texts frequently emphasize the slaying of living beings as the most prominent factor leading to rebirth in the lower realms.<sup>32</sup> In addition to violence against animals, this passage also notes that Well-Established reviled the poor, criticized monks, disrespected the Dhamma, and ignored mendicants.

*tadā devānamindo taṃ  
gāthāya ajjhabhāsi so:  
“eso sattadivasamhi  
devo bhante ito cuto  
gatīsu sattasu jāto  
patanto nirayaṃ bhusaṃ.  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ pubbe  
sattagatīsu jāyate?”*

Then the Lord of the Deities  
addressed him in verse:  
“This deity, venerable sir, will pass away  
in seven days hence.  
Born among the destinies of creatures,  
he will frequently fall into hell.  
What sin has he done in the past that  
he will be born among the destinies of creatures?”

*sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā  
sambuddho dīpaduttamo  
tassa pañhaṃ pabyākāsi:  
“tena pāpaṃ katampi ca*

Having heard Sakka’s words,  
the Self-Awakened One, Best of Bipeds,  
gave this explanation in response to his question:  
“He indeed has sinned.

<sup>32</sup> This theme is addressed further in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 611–614).

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*pubbe sakka kir'eso ca  
jāto nesādajēṭṭhako.  
katam pāṇātipātampī  
abhīṇham akarī tadā.  
tena kammavipākena  
kaṅko gijjho pi jāyate."*

Long ago in the past, Sakka,  
he was born as a chief among fishermen.  
He slew breathing beings.  
He did this often.  
By the ripening of this action,  
he will be born as a heron and as a vulture."

*"so jāto puna kummo pi  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ siyā?"*

"He is then to be born as a tortoise.  
What sin must he have committed?"

*"pubbe so sakka mānuse  
pakkhi-aṇḍaṃ viyojitaṃ.  
tena kammavipākena  
tasmā kummo bhavissati."*

"In a prior human birth, Sakka,  
he separated birds from their eggs.  
By the ripening of this action,  
he will be born as a tortoise."

*"sūkaro puna so jāto  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ pure?"*

"He is then to be born as a pig.  
What sin did he commit in the past?"

*"so hi pubbe manusso pi  
addho jāto mahaddhano.  
samaṇānaṃ yadā disvā  
yācakānaṃ akkosati.  
vatvā anādaraṃ vācaṃ  
dānaṃ na deti so tadā  
tasmā ten'āpi kammaṇa  
so jāto sūkaro bhavē."*

"In the past as as human,  
he was born rich and with great wealth.  
Whenever he saw mendicants  
or beggars, he reviled them.  
Having spoken irreverent words,  
he would not offer donations.  
Therefore by this action  
he will be born as a pig."

*"sunakho pana so jāto  
pubbe kammaṃpi kiṃ kataṃ?"*

"He is then to be born as a dog.  
What deed did he do in the past?"

*"jāto sakka manussesu  
garahitvā agāraṃ  
samaṇe brāhmaṇe c'āpi  
duvācaṃ bhāsayaī tadā.  
buddhadhammassa saṅghassa  
ajānītvā guṇaṃ tadā  
tasmā pi tena kammaṇa  
sunakho so bhavissati."*

"He was born among humans, Sakka,  
criticizing and not respecting  
mendicants and priests,  
speaking bad words  
without being aware of the virtue  
of the Buddha's Dhamma and the  
Sangha. Therefore by this action  
he will become a dog."

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāraṇī to Pali Paritta

“bhante so badhiro jāto  
pubbe pāpaṃ pi kiṃ kataṃ?”

“Venerable sir, he will be reborn as one who is deaf.  
What sin did he commit in the past?”

“eso daḷidde va kule pi jāto  
manussaloke pi apuññabhāvo.  
aññe manussā pi tadā pasannā  
suṇanti dhammaṃ sugatassa vācaṃ.  
eso daḷiddo pavisaṃ pi thānaṃ  
tadā nisinno pi ca ekamante  
suṇāti dhammaṃ viya no suṇāti  
sambahappalāpampi katheti vācaṃ  
hāpeti dhammaṃ va nīratthakaṃ pi  
teneva so badhirajātikova.”

“He was born into a poor family  
in the human realm, in a meritless state.  
When other faithful people listened  
to the Dhamma, the words of the Well-Gone One,  
the poor man entered the place,  
sat down to one side,  
and seemed to listen to the Dhamma but in fact  
did not listen, and instead talked nonsense  
and spurned the Teaching as without value.  
By this he become one born deaf.”

“jaccandho puna so jāto  
pubbe pāpaṃ pi kiṃ kataṃ?  
bhante pucchāmi taṃ tuyhaṃ.  
taṃ me akkhāhi pucchito.”

“He will be reborn as one who is blind from birth.  
What sin did he commit in the past?  
Venerable sir, I ask this to you.  
I am asking you; please respond to this.

“devinda eso na karoti puññaṃ.  
pubbe va jāto pi manussaloke.  
disvāpi so brāhmaṇayācakānaṃ  
na passate so viya tunhibhūto.  
gehaṃ pavattho pi nisīdi channe  
jaccandhajāto pi ca manusse.”

“Lord of the Deities, he did not make merit  
when he was born in the human realm in the past.  
Though having seen priests and beggars,  
he remained silent as if not seeing them.  
He entered his house and sat down while hidden.  
He will be born blind from birth among humankind.”

The remainder of the long verse version of the Pali *Uṇṇissavijaya* is different from the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. As mentioned above, perhaps the most blatant difference is the absence of a *dhāraṇī*, which one would assume is the *sine qua non* of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. Instead of articulating the *dhāraṇī* and its benefits, the Pali text simply enumerates its benefits. Many of these benefits, including avoidance of accidental or untimely death and the extension of one’s lifespan, are shared with T.970’s transmission of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. But it is not at all clear what the “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance” refers to in the Pali text if there is no *dhāraṇī* to confer the promised benefits.

tadā sakkopi devindo  
sambuddham pi ca yācīto:  
“devaputtānukampāya  
desetu dhammuttamaṃ.

Then Sakka, Lord of the Deities,  
implored the the Self-Awakened One:  
“May he preach the supreme Dhamma  
out of compassion for this junior deity.

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*kena taṃ paletī bhante  
kena so idha tiṭṭhati  
upajjati ca taṃ āyusaṃ  
kiṃ bhantetisucīrakoti*

How can he escape this, venerable sir?  
How may he remain here?  
What may come about, venerable sir,  
that is ‘long-lasting’ for his lifespan?”

*sattḥā anuttaro loke  
sambuddho dipaduttamo  
sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā  
gāthāyo ajjhabhāsi*

The Teacher, Unsurpassed in the World,  
the Self-Awakened One, Best of Bipeds,  
Having heard Sakka’s words,  
addressed these verses to him:

*atthi uṇhissavijayo  
dhammo loke anuttaro.  
sabbasattahitathāya  
taṃ tvaṃ gaṇhāhi devate.*

“There is a ‘Victory of the Cranial Protuberance,’  
a Dhamma unsurpassed in the world.  
Deity, learn this  
for the sake and benefit of all creatures.

*parivajjo— rājadaṇḍe  
amanussaggipāvake  
byagge nāge viṣe bhūte—  
akālamaraṇena vā*

It is the avoidance—in the case of  
capital punishment, non-humans, flames, fires,  
tigers, serpents, poisons, or spirits—  
of untimely death,

*sabbasmā maraṇā mutto  
thapetvā kālamāritaṃ.  
tass’eva ānubhāvena  
hotu devo sukhī sadā.*

or the liberation from all death,  
save for timely death.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

*suddhasīlaṃ samādānaṃ  
dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care.  
tass’eva ānubhāvena  
hotu devo sukhī sadā.*

May you practice the accepted pure ethical conduct  
and the well-practiced Dhamma.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

*likkhitaṃ cintitaṃ pūjama  
dhāraṇaṃ vācanaṃ guruṃ  
paresaṃ desanaṃ sutvā  
tass’āyu pavaddhati.*

Having written down, thought about, worshipped,  
memorized, recited, and respected [it],  
and having listened to others’ instructions [on it],  
one’s lifespan increases.

The next portion of the text is shared with other non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts, including **Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV**. It appears that the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya* borrowed these stanzas from the **Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV** or another related text.



## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*sakkatvā buddharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
hitaṃ devamanussānaṃ  
buddhatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe dukkhā vūpasamentu te.*

Having honored the jewel of the Buddha,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
beneficial to deities and humans—  
by the blessing and power of the Buddha,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

*sakkatvā dhammaratanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
parilāh'ūpasamanaṃ  
dhammatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe bhayā vūpasamentu te.*

Having honored the jewel of the Dhamma,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
appeasing fever—  
by the blessing and power of the Dhamma,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

*sakkatvā saṅgharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
āhuneyyaṃ pāhuneyyaṃ  
saṅghatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe rogā vūpasamentu te.*

Having honored the jewel of the Sangha,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
worthy of offerings and hospitality—  
by the blessing and power of the Sangha,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

These borrowed stanzas are followed by an additional set of verses that begin by continuing the theme of medicine from the previous passage, but then quickly transitioning to a focus on the importance of making a “gift of life” (Pali *jīvidāna*). It is not immediately clear what this “gift of life” refers to, though three possibilities stand out. One is simply that *jīvidāna* means something like a “life-extending gift,” that is a gift to the Sangha that is intended to increase the lifespan of the donor. That is essentially what happens in the text itself in the closing stanzas, in which Well-Established makes such a gift. Another related possibility is that *jīvidāna* means a “living gift” in the sense of a gift that is equal in height, weight, or some other measure to the living body of the donor. In the context of the text, in which Well-Established makes a gift of gold, grain, and other offerings equal to his own body weight, this could imply a gift equal in literal weight to the donor. In other contexts, a “living gift” could imply the gift of one’s own life, as lauded in various Jātaka tales in which the Bodhisatta gives up his body for the nourishment of another. The third possibility is that *jīvidāna* means “a gift of life” in the sense of “releasing life” or “liberating living beings,” that is freeing various animals from captivity, including those slated to be slaughtered for their meat.

According to Olivier de Bernon’s study of the Khmer and Pali preaching version of the *Uṇhissavijaya*, the bilingual sermon text specifies the precise parameters of the *jīvidāna* rituals. The key passage is translated by de Bernon as follows:

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

Should someone be suffering from fear or illness, he should bring a quantity of paddy weighing his own weight; he should prepare a candle of pure beeswax, measured after his own height, another candle measured after the height from his belt to his head, then as many little candles as the number of years in his age, measured after the span from the end of his thumb to the end of his middle finger. He should prepare perfumed oil, incense sticks, and garlands of jasmine flowers. He should arrange the paddy in the shape of a human body which he should wrap in a white cloth. Then he should invite the venerable monks to come and recite the *gāthā* of the *Uṇhissavijaya* one hundred and eight times, and he should concentrate on listening to their recitation. Thanks to the benefits (*ānisamsa*) acquired in listening to these *gāthā*, he will enjoy a long, peaceful, and happy life, knowing nothing else but happiness. He should free two- and four-footed creatures. Thanks to the benefits acquired in doing so, he will be free of the fear of death. The power of this august Dhamma is such that he will break away from any fear or illness in his body, and will remain strong and happy.<sup>33</sup>

This prescription of the rituals to be conducted in tandem with the recitation of the *Uṇhissavijaya* suggests that all three interpretations of *jīvidāna* are in play. The gift is for the extension of the lifespan, as that is the primary *ānisamsa* or benefit conferred upon the donor. The gift is also a gift that is equal in height or weight to the donor. Finally, the ritual involves the release of animal life. It is difficult to say whether these ritual dimensions were envisioned by the author of the long Pali verse version of the *Uṇhissavijaya* or whether they arose sometime later in Khmer or Tai communities in response to the question of how to interpret the term *jīvidāna*. Either way, the word *jīvidāna* appears to have gained particular currency in Cambodia, where, as mentioned above, it is the main title given to the various recensions of the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya*. It goes without saying that the *jīvidāna* rituals described here have no parallel in T.970, where *jīvidāna* or an equivalent is not mentioned at all. The Chinese translation of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāranī-sūtra* includes a much more substantial ritual portion, which focuses in particular on a complex *maṇḍala* ritual. The Pali version instead emphasizes the power of the gift itself, particularly the “gift of life.”

<i>bhesajjaṃ devamanussānaṃ</i>	The medicine of humans and gods,
<i>kaṭukaṃ tittakaṃ rasaṃ</i>	which tastes pungent, bitter,
<i>ambilaṃ lavaṇaṅc'eva</i>	sour, or salty,
<i>sabbabyādhīṃ vināseti.</i>	eradicates all illness.

<i>ekadvitīdinaṃ vā'pi</i>	For one, two, or three days,
<i>pañcasattadīnaṃ tathā</i>	or for five or seven days,
<i>yāva dukkhā na samenti</i>	as long as the anguish does not relent,
<i>jīvadānaṃ karontu te.</i>	may everyone make a gift of life.

<sup>33</sup> de Bernon, forthcoming, with minor corrections for grammar and clarity.

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ  
jīvadānānubhāvena  
hotu devo sukhiṃ sadā.*

For the one who gives the gift of life, there is longevity,  
complexion, happiness, and strength.  
By the power of the gift of life,  
may the deity always be happy.

*jīvadānañca yo datvā  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
sarīradukkhaṃ nāseti.  
bhesajjaṃ dānamuttaṃ.*

For one having given a gift of life,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
the supreme medicine,  
bodily anguish is destroyed.

*tasmā kareyya kalyānaṃ  
nicayaṃ samparāyikaṃ  
puññāni paralokasmiṃ  
patiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ.*

Therefore one should do what is virtuous,  
accumulating for the future  
the merits in the world to come  
which are established for breathing beings.

*iminā jīvadānena  
tumhākaṃ kiṃ bhavissati?  
dīghāyukā sadā honu  
sukhitā honu sabbadā.*

By this gift of life,  
what arises for you all?  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

*jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ.  
dīghāyukā sadā honu  
sukhitā honu sabbadā.*

To those who give the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

*yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ  
jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ  
sīlavantesu tādīsu  
nānādānaṃ varaṃ datvā*

One who gives respectfully  
the fruitful gift of life,  
giving various excellent gifts  
to those who possess ethical conduct,

*evaṃ mahiddhikā esā  
yadidaṃ puññasampadā  
tasmā dhīrā paṣaṃsanti  
paṇḍitā katapuññataṃ.*

this indeed is a great power,  
that is to say, the attainment of merit.  
Hence the wise ones, the learned ones  
praise meritoriousness.

*sukho vipāko puññānaṃ  
abhippāyo samijjhati  
khippañca pariyosāne  
nibbānaṃ samadhigacchati*

Happy is the ripening of merits.  
[One's] aspiration is fulfilled  
quickly and in the end  
one achieves Nibbāna.

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

<i>yo bhājanasahassāni</i>	One who gives a thousand vessels
<i>pūrāni varabhojanam</i>	full of excellent food
<i>dadeyyo sa parimāṇānam</i>	does not receive even
<i>ekapattam pi nālabhe</i>	one share of this measure.
<i>buddhuppādo sārīputto</i>	[There is the] arising of the Buddha, Sāriputta,
<i>ye caññe aggasāvākā</i>	and other lofty disciples;
<i>pattapūrānubhāvena</i>	by the power of [offering] a full almsbowl ( <i>pattapūra</i> ),
<i>mātāpitā pamuñcare.”</i>	parents are liberated.”

The closing stanzas of the text, like the end of T.970, suggest that Well-Established was relieved of his precarious situation and that others rejoiced and benefitted from the Buddha’s preaching. Both emphasize that Well-Established achieved a long lifespan. The similarities end there, however. In T.970, Well-Established recites the *dhāraṇī*, is freed from all of his evil karma, and receives a prediction from the Buddha that he will reach awakening. In the Pali text, Well-Established makes the offering of his own body weight, as discussed above. On the basis of this offering, his lifespan is increased. While the text notes that some achieve the fruit of stream-entry, it seems that for Well-Established the only benefit is the extension of his lifespan. The Pali text also emphasizes the importance of offering a “full almsbowl” (*pattapūra*) presumably of rice, as an offering to one’s deceased parents or other ancestors. This appears to be connected to contemporary Southeast Asian practices, particularly the annual Khmer rite of *Bhjuṃ piṅḍ* for feeding *preta* and transferring merit to one’s ancestors.<sup>34</sup>

<i>sakko dhammam pi sutvāna</i>	Sakka and the deity
<i>saddhim tena sasādaram</i>	Well-Established,
<i>supatīṭṭhitadevo pi</i>	having reverently listened to this Dhamma,
<i>pasanno buddhasāsane.</i>	were faithful in the dispensation of the Buddha.

<i>dhanadhaññañ ca hiraññaṃ</i>	Having set aside a measure equal to his own [weight] in
<i>vatthādikaṃ alaṅkāraṃ</i>	wealth, grain, gold,

<sup>34</sup> *Pattapūr* បត្តបូរ (from Pali *pattapūra*, often spelled *pitpūr* បីត្បូរ in Khmer) is an important technical term in Khmer. It refers to a special kind of sticky rice offering for deceased ancestors, particularly parents, who have possibly become *preta* or hungry ghosts. It is thus closely related to the annual rite of *Bhjuṃ piṅḍ* ភ្នំបីណូន. It is related to but distinct from *piṅḍ* បីណូន (rice balls, Pali *piṅḍa*), also quite important for the ritual feeding of ancestors in Cambodia. There is also another sense of *pattapūr* in Cambodia, namely non-sticky rice offered to the monks but in excess of the normal food and rice offered, particularly with the aim that it be for the nourishment of the *preta* (even if the monks consume it themselves). For more on this, see Nān Bhiōn ញាណ ភៀន, *Lamān damniem khmèr purān, bhāg 3 លំអានទំនៀមខ្មែរបុរាណ ភាគ ៣*, 2010, 12–13.). See also Siyonn Sophearith, “From Indian Śrāddhā to Khmer Pchum Ben ពីពិធីគ្រួសារ របស់សណ្តាមកបុណ្យភ្នំបីណូន” (Lecture in Khmer and English at the Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh, 2010).

Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*attanā pi tulaṃ katvā  
buddhādikaṃ gaṇasamghaṃ  
mahādānaṃ adāsi so  
vaḍḍhako tassa āyu ca.*

and ornaments such as clothing,  
[Well-Established] made a great gift  
to the Sangha led by the Buddha  
and his lifespan was increased.

*so dve buddhantare kappe  
puna āyū pi labbhate.  
buddhadhammassa saṅghassa  
ānubhāvena tena ca*

He received a lifespan lasting for two eons  
in between the arising of buddhas.  
By the power of  
the Buddha's Dhamma and Sangha,

*bhesajjasīladānassa  
ānubhāvena tena ca  
sabbe c'upaddavā tassa  
vinassanti asesato.*

and by the power of  
ethical conduct and giving that are like medicine,  
all of his calamities  
disappeared without remainder.

*sakko devānamindo pi  
saddhiṃ devaputtena ca  
sambuddham pi ca āpucchī  
sakatthānaṃ gato tadā.*

Sakka, Lord of the Deities,  
together with the junior deity,  
asked for permission from the Self-Awakened One  
and returned to his own abode.

*desanāpariyosāne  
sāttikā dhammadesanā  
sotāpattiṃ phalādāni  
pāpūṇiṃsu bahū janāti.*

At the conclusion of the instruction,  
the meaningful preaching of the Dhamma,  
many people attained the fruits  
of stream-entry and the rest [of the stages leading to  
arhatship].

Finally, just like at the beginning, the text as transmitted in Thai-script sources concludes with a few paratextual notes that situate the ritual context and importance of this text, especially as it would appear in an eighteenth-century Siamese leporello:

*iti uṇhissaviṇṇayasammataṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.*

*iti dibbamantakaṃ ca mahāṇṇāyānaṃ tathā  
atthi-uṇhissaviṇṇayā mahāpaññā sadā hont'ūti.*

*brah uṇhisaviṇṇayā nī / mīō<sub>1</sub> brah buddha cau<sub>2</sub> deśanā nai tāvatimṣā / prot supatitṭhitadevatā yān  
ayū<sub>1</sub> ceṣṭ vān caḥ tāy / tai<sub>2</sub> fān dhārmadesanā āyu nān<sub>2</sub> yīm khin<sub>2</sub> pai lau<sub>1</sub> / tarāp<sub>1</sub> dau<sub>1</sub> kāṃhmat āyu  
lè.*

Here ends the authorized “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance.”

This is the end of *Dibbamanta, Mahājaya*,  
and “There is a ‘Victory of the Cranial Protuberance’” (*atthi uṇhissavijayo*). May  
great wisdom always arise [for you].

This august “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance” was preached by Lord Buddha in  
the heaven of the Thirty-Three Deities to the deity Well-Established, who had only  
seven more days to live. After listening to the preaching of the Dhamma, his lifespan  
increased all the way to its maximum extent.

This comparison between the long verse recension of the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya* and the  
Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (as reflected in its Chinese translation in T.970) reveals  
several salient findings. First, the author or authors of the Pali text attempt to localize a  
Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text into a Theravada context by adopting its title, frame story, and elements  
of the benefits ascribed to the *dhāraṇī*. Second, the adoption is selective, and the Pali text  
changes or adds elements, particularly details of the narrative, to make it appropriate to a  
non-Mahayana context. Third, both texts identify how they might be ritually used, but while  
the T. 370 provides a great wealth of detail on how to conduct various Mahayana rites in  
connection with the *dhāraṇī*, the Pali text only hints at the offering of a “gift of life” and the  
benefits of such a rite. Fourth, part of the added portions in the Pali text are borrowed from  
existing non-canonical Pali *paritta*, further supporting the notion that the Pali *Uṇhissavijaya*  
represents a transformation of a *dhāraṇī* text into a *paritta* text.

### 5.3 In Search of the *Dhāraṇī*: *Uṇhissavijaya*-NM

Perhaps the most curious aspect of the long verse version of the *Uṇhissavijaya* is the missing  
*dhāraṇī*. What is the part of the text whose recitation guarantees the benefits described? Is it  
the whole text, frame narrative and all? Or only a part of it? One possible answer emerges in  
the medium-length Pali *Uṇhissavijaya* that circulates in Cambodia, or **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**.  
This mixed verse and prose version does not match either the long, middling,<sup>35</sup> or short  
recensions discussed by Skilling in relationship to the text in Thailand, all of which are entirely  
in verse.<sup>36</sup> Of these, it is closest to Skilling’s middling version, but with a prose section inserted  
between *sabbe rogā vūpasamento te* and *bhesajjaṃ devamanussānaṃ*, as well as a different set of verses  
at the conclusion, i.e. following *paṇḍitā katapuññatāṃ*. The varying conclusions do not strike me  
as particularly significant variants, as the verses in this section clearly come from other sources  
that are shared across Theravada Buddhist cultures. For instance, the verses at the conclusion  
of the **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** are slightly modified forms of those found at the end of  
**Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV** and **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**. Conversely, the verses at the end of  
the Siamese middling version are very close to those always recited in conjunction with the

<sup>35</sup> N.b. different from the “medium length” version from Cambodia.

<sup>36</sup> Skilling, “Pieces in the Puzzle: Sanskrit Literature in Pre-Modern Siam,” 34.

*Tirokuddakaṇḍa* in Cambodia.<sup>37</sup> Much more significant are the additional prose portions of **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**. These, too, are largely borrowed from other sources, in this case from canonical praises of the Three Jewels. But their placement in the middle of a non-canonical verse text deserves further scrutiny. Does it somehow stand in for the missing *dhāraṇī*?

To make the placement of this portion more clear, I compare **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** with the long verse recension analyzed in the previous section. The entire opening frame narrative of the long version is elided in **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**. We hear nothing of Well-Established, Sakka, or the Buddha. The text begins directly with the following verses.

There is a “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance,”  
a Dhamma unsurpassed in the world.  
Deity, learn this  
for the sake and benefit of all creatures.

It is the avoidance—in the case of  
capital punishment, non-humans, flames, fires,  
tigers, serpents, poisons, or spirits—  
of untimely death,

or the liberation from all death,  
save for timely death.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

May you practice the accepted pure ethical conduct  
and the well-practiced Dhamma.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

Having written down, thought about, worshipped,  
memorized, recited, and respected [it],  
and having listened to others’ instructions [on it],  
one’s lifespan increases.

Just as in the long version, these five stanzas are directly followed by those that are borrowed from **Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV**.

Having honored the jewel of the Buddha,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
beneficial to deities and humans—  
by the blessing and power of the Buddha,  
may all calamities disappear

<sup>37</sup> Kèv Ūc កែវ ឱច, *Parittasamodhān pālī* បរិក្ខេបសមាធានបាលី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 92.

and may your anguish be allayed.

Having honored the jewel of the Dhamma... [etc.]

Having honored the jewel of the Sangha... [etc.]

At this point, however, the prose section begins. Like the preceding stanzas, it is largely borrowed from other sources, in this case canonical reflections on the qualities (*guṇa*) of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha. This portion adopts the language and conventions of canonical prose *paritta* texts, particularly in its appeal for “safety and blessings” (*sothimaṅgalaṃ*). Moreover, the use of the qualities of the Three Jewels as a *paritta* is connected to the canonical **Dhajagga-sutta-CP**, one of the most common texts in Theravada *paritta* collections. The non-canonical *paritta* **Ratanamālā-NV** similarly focuses on the qualities of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha:

*tato buddharatanam anussarivā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam; iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānam buddho bhagavāti; so imam lokam sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakam sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajam sadevamanussaṃ sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti; so dhammam deseti ādikalyāṇam majjhakalyāṇam pariyoṣānakalyāṇam sāttham sabyañjanam kevalaparipuṇṇam parisuddham brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti; sādhu kho pana tathārūpānam arahataṃ dassanam hotīti – etena saccavajjena hotu te sothimaṅgalaṃ.*

*tato dhammaratanam anussarivā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam; svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ vedītabbo viññūhī ti – etena saccavajjena hotu te sothimaṅgalaṃ.*

*tato saṅgharatanam anussarivā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam; supaṭiṇṇo bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho ujuṇṇo bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho ñāyapaṭiṇṇo bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho sāmīciṇṇo bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho, yadidaṃ cattāri purisayugāni attha purisapuggalā, esa bhagavato sāvakaṣaṅgho, āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo, anuttaram puññakkhettaṃ lokassā ti – etena saccavajjena hotu te sothimaṅgalaṃ.*

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Awakened One—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans; the Blessed One is called ‘Worthy One,’ ‘Rightly Self-Awakened One,’ ‘Endowed with Knowledge and Conduct,’ ‘Well-Gone One,’ ‘Knower of the World,’ ‘Supreme One,’ ‘Leader of Trainable Men,’ ‘Teacher of Deities and Humans,’ ‘Awakened One,’ and ‘Blessed One’; having himself known and realized, he expounds to this world together with its deities, Māras, Brahmas, its mendicants and priests and to this generation with its deities and humans; he preaches the Teaching which is good in the beginning, good in the middle, and good in the end, endowed with meaning and form, and proclaims the entirely complete and pure holy life; it would be wonderful to have such a sight of the Worthy One”—by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.



## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Teaching—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans; well-expounded by the Blessed One is the Teaching, belonging to this present life, timeless, available to ‘come and see,’ leading [to liberation], to be perceived directly by the wise”—by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Order—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans; good in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, upright in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, methodical in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, masterful in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, to wit, the four pairs of humans and the eight individuals, such is the Order of the Blessed One, worthy of adoration, worthy of hospitality, worthy of offerings, worthy of homage, the supreme field of merit for the world” – by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.

The prose interlude is followed by almost the same passage that appears in the long verse version concerning the “gift of life.”

The medicine of humans and gods,  
which tastes pungent, bitter,  
sour, or salty,  
eradicates all illness.

For one, two, or three days,  
or for five or seven days,  
as long as the anguish does not relent,  
may they all make a gift of life.

For the one who gives the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
by the power of the gift of life,  
may the deity always be happy.

For one having given a gift of life,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
the supreme medicine,  
bodily anguish is destroyed.

Therefore one should do what is virtuous,  
accumulating for the future  
the merits in the world to come  
which are established for breathing beings.

By this gift of life,

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what arises for you all?  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

To those who give the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

One who gives respectfully  
the fruitful gift of life,  
giving various excellent gifts  
to those who possess ethical conduct—

this indeed is a great power,  
that is to say, the attainment of merit.  
Hence the wise ones, the learned ones  
praise meritoriousness.

At this juncture, however, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** ceases to resemble its long verse counterpart. The next three stanzas do not have parallels with other Pali *paritta*, as they remain connected to the concept of the “gift of life.”

*tena buddhānubhāvena* By the power of the Buddha,  
*tena dhammānubhāvena* by the power of the Dhamma,  
*tena saṅghānubhāvena* by the power of the Sangha,  
*sabbūpaddavā vinassantu* may all calamities be eradicated.

*tena dānānubhāvena* By the power of this giving,  
*tena sīlānubhāvena* by the power of this ethical conduct,  
*tena bhāvanānubhāvena* by the power of this cultivation,  
*tena saccānubhāvena* by the power of this truth,  
*jīvidānubhāvena* by the power of this gift of life,  
*sabbūddavā vinassantu.* may all calamities be eradicated.

*dukkharogabhayā verā* May manifold anguish, diseases, dangers, enmities,  
*sokā sattūcupaddavā* sorrows, enemies, and calamities  
*anekā antarāyāpi* be eradicated and destroyed  
*vinassantu asesato.* without remainder.

The remaining parts of **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** consist of stanzas borrowed from various non-canonical *paritta* texts, including **Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV**, **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP**, and other commonly recited chants. The only significant modification occurs in the final three stanzas, where the typical *parittassānubhāvena* (“by the power of this *paritta*”) is replaced with *jīvidānānubhāvena* (“by the power of this gift of life”). These stanzas engage the language of safety, protection, and blessings typical of most Pali *paritta* texts to a much more explicit degree than witnessed in the long verse version of *Uṇhissavijaya*.

*natthi me saraṇaṃ aṅṅaṃ*      There is no other refuge for me.  
*dhammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ*      The Dhamma is my excellent refuge.  
*etena saccavajjena*      By the power of these true words  
*hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ.*      may there be victorious blessings for you.

*natthi me saraṇaṃ aṅṅaṃ*      There is no other refuge for me.  
*saṅgho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ*      The Sangha is my excellent refuge.  
*etena saccavajjena*      By the power of these true words  
*hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ.*      may there be victorious blessings for you.

*yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke*      Whatever various different  
*vijjati vividhaṃ puthu*      jewels exist in the world,  
*ratanaṃ buddhasamaṃ natthi*      none are equal to the Buddha;  
*tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.*      therefore may you all be safe.

*yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke*      Whatever various different  
*vijjati vividhaṃ puthu*      jewels exist in the world,  
*ratanaṃ dhammasamaṃ natthi*      none are equal to the Dhamma;  
*tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.*      therefore may you all be safe.

*yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke*      Whatever various different  
*vijjati vividhaṃ puthu*      jewels exist in the world,  
*ratanaṃ saṅghasamaṃ natthi*      none are equal to the Sangha;  
*tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.*      therefore may you all be safe.

*bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ*      May there be every blessing.  
*rakkhantu sabbadevatā*      May all the gods watch over [you].  
*sabbabuddhānubhāvena*      By the power of all the buddhas,  
*sadā sotthi bhavantu te.*      may you always be safe.

*bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ*      May there be every blessing.

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāraṇī to Pali Paritta

<i>rakkhantu sabbadevatā</i>	May all the gods watch over [you].
<i>sabbadhammānubhāvena</i>	By the power of all [those buddhas'] Dhamma,
<i>sadā sotthī bhavantu te.</i>	may you always be safe.
<i>bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ</i>	May there be every blessing.
<i>rakkhantu sabbadevatā</i>	May all the gods watch over [you].
<i>sabbasaṅghānubhāvena</i>	By the power of all the [members of their] Sanghas,
<i>sadā sotthī bhavantu te.</i>	may you always be safe.
<i>nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ</i>	Warding off ominous constellations,
<i>pāpaggahanivāraṇā</i>	ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions
<i>jīvidānānubhāvena</i>	by the power of this gift of life,
<i>hantu tesam upaddave.</i>	may all of their dangers end.
<i>nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ</i>	Warding off ominous constellations,
<i>pāpaggahanivāraṇā</i>	ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions
<i>jīvidānānubhāvena</i>	by the power of this gift of life,
<i>hantu tesam upaddave.</i>	may all of their dangers end.
<i>nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ</i>	Warding off ominous constellations,
<i>pāpaggahanivāraṇā</i>	ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions
<i>jīvidānānubhāvena</i>	by the power of this gift of life,
<i>hantu tesam upaddave.</i>	may all of their dangers end.
<i>jīvadānapātho nitthito.</i>	Here ends the Passage on the Gift of Life.

The structure of **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** offers some striking departures from its long verse counterpart. The absence of a frame narrative or indeed any identifiable characters point to its radical reduction to what are perhaps just the most ritually efficacious passages. The addition of numerous stanzas from non-canonical *parittas* cement its generic identity as a protective text for recitation. The prose portion is clearly a later insertion, since none of the other recensions of the *Uṇhissavijaya* feature this passage. But as it appears without exception in both printed and manuscript versions in Cambodia, its consistent placement suggests that is not merely a random concatenation of sacred formulas.

**Uṇhissavijaya-NM** begins with a promise from the Blessed One's lips: "There is a 'Victory of the Cranial Protuberance,' / a Dhamma unsurpassed in the world." But in most versions of the text, this promise goes unfulfilled—there is no specifically identified Dhamma or "teaching," and no *dhāraṇī* is uttered. This was surely not lost on at least some Southeast Asian

readers of this text over the past few centuries. The genius of the Cambodian version is to add a tripartite prose section that stands in for the missing *dhāraṇī*. It is an incantation to be held in mind, indeed one that many monks and pious laypeople would have already “written down, thought about, worshipped, recited, memorized, and respected” (*likkhitam cintitam pūjam dhāraṇam vācanam gurum*; cf. Chinese *shòuchí dúsòng shūxiě gòngyǎng* in T.970). Furthermore, even though the Cambodian recension breaks the metrical flow of the text, the prose section connects directly with the three stanzas that precede it. Both the prose section and these three stanzas are concerned with honoring (*sakkatvā*) or recollecting (*anussarivā*) the jewels of the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha (*buddharatanam, dhammaratanam, saṅgharatanam*). The three preceding stanzas serve to announce the importance of paying respect to the Three Jewels, but it is the prose section that follows that literally conducts such reverence. In this sense, the prose section serves as the *dhāraṇī* at the heart of the text, the passage from which the promised blessings flow.

This is of course only one interpretation of what happened to the missing *dhāraṇī*. We might also consider that in the transition from *dhāraṇī* text to *paritta* text, the emphasis shifted to the protective power of the text as a whole. This is, after all, how *paritta* texts work; as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, one recites the entirety of a *paritta*, not merely a portion of one, for blessings and protection. By contrast, the key part to be chanted in a *dhāraṇī* text is the *dhāraṇī* itself; the frame narrative and the ritual instructions need not be recited daily nor inscribed on pillars. Thus the *dhāraṇī* of all of the Pali recensions of the *Uṇhissavijaya*, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** included, is in some sense the entire chanted text.

Whatever interpretation we follow, the result is nearly the same: the *Uṇhissavijaya* localizes a *dhāraṇī* text, with or without the *dhāraṇī* itself, into a Pali *paritta*. The Mahayana doctrinal and ritual elements fade away, replaced by a new emphasis on the unique supremacy of the Buddha, his preaching of the Abhidhamma to repay his debt to his mother, the importance of giving to the Saṅgha, and the power of recollecting the virtues of the Three Jewels. The benefits for the extension of life and the avoidance of accidental death remain, but the form and context are thoroughly localized.

#### 5.4 Uṇhissavijaya-NM in Bhāṇavāra Collections

The mixed-prose-and-verse **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** is rare in leporello manuscripts but extremely common in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts (*vān*), particularly those containing curricula of Pali texts memorized by monks (*bhāṇavāra*). This section shows how while these *bhāṇavāra* collections are more varied than we might assume, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** is often associated with another non-canonical *paritta* text that may be distantly related to Sanskrit protective texts, namely **Mahāmetti-NM**. Since the Pali texts for memorization in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts have not been studied in a systematic way before, I devote considerable attention to the details of these collections in this section. Readers who find this level of detail tedious may skip ahead to the following section in which I analyze several of the texts adjacent to **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in these manuscripts, including **Sabbadisāsua-mettāpharaṇam-NP**, *Solasamaṅgala-gāthā*, and **Mahāmetti-NM**. My aim in the present

section is demonstrate the relationship between **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** and the texts adjacent to it in diverse *bhāṇavāra* collections.

Most of the Pali texts in the leporello corpus are not, in fact, unique to leporellos. They are found in *bhāṇavāra* collections that circulate in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts. Such manuscripts tend to contain many texts per fascicle and/or many fascicles per bundle. In other words, the individual Pali texts they contain are best understood as part of curricular lists. These lists, including collections such as *Catubhāṇavāra*, *vān dhamm 21 khsè*, *vān kanlaḥ khè*, *Sattaparitta*, *Dvādasaparitta*, and *Mahādibbamanta*, gather together texts traditionally memorized by monks in Cambodia and Siam, including *Uṇhissavijaya*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, such lists are often referred to by the term *bhāṇavāra* or “sections for recitation.” I characterize these *bhāṇavāra* lists as “curricular” since they concern texts that a monk is expected to progressively memorize as part of his training for ritual performance. In other words, they constitute the primary curricula by which a monk is educated to be able to chant in a variety of ritual occasions. Such curricular lists include both *parittas* for protective rituals as well as texts recited at other occasions, including Abhidhamma texts for funerals, and texts recited only for a monastic audience, such as the Pāṭimokkha rules.

As many of these texts may be recited for end-of-life and occasionally for consecration rituals, it is not surprising that the leporello corpus contains many texts that belong to these curricular *bhāṇavāra* lists, including the following:

- Isigili-sutta-CP** (2 occurrences in the corpus)
- Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (35 occurrences)
- Tatīyagilāna-sutta-CP** (2)
- Dutīyagilāna-sutta-CP** (2)
- Dhajagga-sutta-CP** (1)
- Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** (3)
- Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** (2)
- Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP** (1)
- Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV** (2)
- Āṭānāṭiya-sutta-CM** (1)
- Parābhava-sutta-CM** (2)
- Maṅgala-sutta-CM** (1)
- Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM** (2)
- Atīṭappaccavekhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (1)
- Abhiṅhappaccavekkaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (2)
- Abhidhammamātikā-NP** (44)
- Ān traī A-NP** (9)
- Itipi so that A-NP** (12)
- Sabbadisāsu-mettāphāraṇaṃ-NP** (1)
- Sahassanaya-NP** (6)
- Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV** (1)
- Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** (8)
- Uṇhissavijaya-NM** (1)

**Chadisapāla-paritta-NM** (1)  
**Bhāsitovāda-NM** (1)  
**Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP** (1)  
**Mahāmetti-NM** (1)

I mention all 28 of these texts as part of a survey of curricular lists in the paragraphs that follow. Five of the non-canonical *paritta* texts among them provide key evidence for the localization of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts, obviously including **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** but also **Sabbadisāsu-mettāphāraṇam-NP**, **Mahāmetti-NM**, **Itipi so that A-NP**, and **Chadisapāla-paritta-NM**. Any one of these 28 texts could be the subject of an entire chapter, for they each take a distinct place in the complex and overlapping constellations of curricular lists as represented in traditional manuscripts.

Figuring out how such *bhāṇavāra* collections are arranged in the manuscript tradition proves to be a complicated task, however. Olivier de Bernon first raised the issue of the contents of these *bhāṇavāra* collections in his essay on the 1857 inscription of Vatt Tā Tok (K. 892). This inscription records the titles of a number of manuscripts donated to the monastery. One of these titles is *vān dhamm 21 khsè*, which he translates as “[Recitations of the] Dhamma (21 [short] bundles).”<sup>38</sup> I would translate *khsè* here as “fascicle” to avoid confusing it with *tum* for “bundle,” as the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* represents a single bundle divided into 21 fascicles. In his article, de Bernon also gives a listing of the contents of a typical *vān dhamm 21 khsè* collection, though the inscription itself provides no data other than the title *vān dhamm 21 khsè*. De Bernon, however, helpfully provides a list of what he thinks *vān dhamm 21 khsè* probably refers to. He presents this list in the form of the rather cryptic abbreviated Khmer titles for the texts found in these 21 fascicles.<sup>39</sup> Since these abbreviated titles are neither entirely standardized or precise, I provide standardized titles and citations for their contents.<sup>40</sup> Note

<sup>38</sup> Olivier de Bernon, “Circulation of Texts in Mid-Nineteenth Century Cambodia: A New Reading of Inscription K. 892 (Vatt Tā Tok, CE 1857),” in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. (Chiang Mai: Silksworm Books, 2012), 384.

<sup>39</sup> These short titles are a mix of local names for Pali texts, such as *saptaparakaraṇa* (cf. Pali *sattappakarāṇa*) and *bistāra* (cf. Pali *vitthāra*) for different variations of Abhidhamma texts, and titles that invoke the first few words of a text (Sanskrit *pratīka*), such as *kusalā* or *tirok[a]*. By and large this system remains in use today, though it is not always known or applied consistently. The term *bistāra*, for instance, can be a source of confusion, since the word is usually used only as a modifier indicating that the text in question is a non-abridged version. In this case, however, *bistāra* is used on its own to refer to the comparatively less-abridged (i.e. longer than *saptaparakaraṇa*, but still extremely short) version of the seven books of the Abhidhamma. In this sense, *bistāra* in this context means *saptaparakaraṇa-bistāra*.

<sup>40</sup> If the text is canonical, I provide the name of the relevant text, without abbreviation, along with the Pali Text Society numbering system as simplified by SuttaCentral ([http://www.suttacentral.net/sutta\\_numbering](http://www.suttacentral.net/sutta_numbering)). For the non-canonical texts, including those composed of canonical elements but difficult to cite precisely in the Tipiṭaka, I use the following printed texts, in descending order of preference: If it can be found in the Khmer-script *Parittasamodhān pālī* (Kèv Ūc កែវ ឱច, *Parittasamodhān pālī* បរិក្ខេបសមាធិនបាលី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997)), I use the abbreviation PS followed by the page number. If it cannot be found in *Parittasamodhān pālī* but can be found in *Bhāṇavār kiccavatt bṛik līnāc* (Ek Nīm ឯក ញឹម and Ras’ Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt bṛik līnāc* ភាណវារ កិច្ចវគ្គត្រីកល្យាច (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965)), I use the abbreviation BK followed by the page number. The same goes for two other traditionalist chanting books

that a number of texts found in the leporello corpus appear in this list as well (cited in boldface below), and that **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** occurs right after **Mahāmetti-NM** in Fascicle 6.

1. (i.e. Fascicle 1) *sarajjam*  
—Either the *Sattaparitta* or the *Dvādasaparitta* collection of *paritta* texts<sup>41</sup>
2. *sagge kāme*  
—Either the *Sattaparitta* or the *Dvādasaparitta* collection of *paritta* texts
3. *kusalā, mātikā*  
—The *Tikamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*<sup>42</sup>  
—The *Dukamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*<sup>43</sup>
4. *saptaparakaraṇa, bistāra, tiroka*  
—The abbreviated *mātikās* of the *Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalappaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yāmaca, and Paṭṭhāna*<sup>44</sup> [related to **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**]  
—The extended *mātikās* of the *Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalappaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yāmaca, and Paṭṭhāna*<sup>45</sup>  
—The *Tirokuddakaṇḍa*<sup>46</sup> together with an additional set of verses ending with *mātāpītā pamuñcare*<sup>47</sup>
5. *avijjā, saḥassaneyya*  
—*Paṭiccasamuppāda-pāṭha*, beginning with *avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā*<sup>48</sup>  
—*Saḥassanaya*, a set of excerpts from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*<sup>49</sup>  
[i.e. **Saḥassanaya-NP**]
6. *mahāmetrī, jīvidān*  
—*Mahāmetti-sutta*<sup>50</sup> [i.e. **Mahāmetti-NM**]

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in Khmer script: Nuon Saṃnān នួន សំណិន, *Gihīppatipatti gharāvāsadhārm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យកវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnam beñ រោងពុម្ពភ្នំពេញ, 2547), abbreviated GG; and P'o V"iñ ប៉ៅ វិញ, *Dhārm namaskār brah ratanatrāy* ធម៌នមស្ការព្រះរតនត្រីយ (Kandal កណ្តាល: Vatt Caṃbuḥ K'èk វត្តចំពុះកែក, 1997), abbreviated NRT. Finally, for texts not found in printed Khmer-script editions but found in the Thai-script *Svat man(t) bidhī*, I use the abbreviation SMB followed by the page number from Ca. Pārieñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī สวดมนต์พิธี* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) āṃnvay sā(san) สำนักพิมพ์ อำนวยศาสน, n.d.).

<sup>41</sup> PS 1–34; PS 35–74

<sup>42</sup> PS 75–77

<sup>43</sup> PS 93–99

<sup>44</sup> PS 102–104

<sup>45</sup> PS 77–89

<sup>46</sup> Khuddaka-pāṭha 7

<sup>47</sup> PS 89–92

<sup>48</sup> BK 118–119

<sup>49</sup> SMB 251–254

<sup>50</sup> PS 307–311



- Uṇhissavijaya*<sup>51</sup> [i.e. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**]
7. *dasadhamma, sāvattḥī*  
—*Dasadhamma-sutta*<sup>52</sup>  
—*Ahirāḥja-sutta*<sup>53</sup>
8. *mettāya, bahutabbakho*  
—*Mettānisamsa-sutta/Metta-sutta*<sup>54</sup>  
—*Mettānisamsa-gāthā/Mittānisamsa*, beginning with *pahūtabhakkho bhavati*<sup>55</sup>
9. *candaparitta, suriyaparitta, itipiso, bāhum, yathā, sabbabuddhā*  
—*Canda-paritta/Candima-sutta*<sup>56</sup>  
—*Suriya-paritta/Suriya-sutta*<sup>57</sup>  
—The formula *itipiso bhagavā araham... svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo... supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho*<sup>58</sup>  
—*Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā*<sup>59</sup>  
—The verses beginning with *yathā vārivahā pūrā*<sup>60</sup>  
—*Cullamaṅgalacakkavāla*, beginning with *sabbabuddhānubhāvena*<sup>61</sup>  
[related to **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP**]
10. *kassapa, moggallāna, cunda*  
—*Paṭhamagilāna-sutta/Mahākassapaṭtherabojjhaṅga-sutta*<sup>62</sup>  
[i.e. **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP**]  
—*Dutiyagilāna-sutta/Mahāmoggallānaṭtherabojjhaṅga-sutta*<sup>63</sup>  
[i.e. **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**]  
—*Tatīyagilāna-sutta/Mahākassapaṭtherabojjhaṅga-sutta*<sup>64</sup>  
[i.e. **Tatīyagilāna-sutta-CP**]
11. *sattabojjhaṅga*  
—Possibly the *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*,<sup>65</sup> but still unclear
12. *isigili*

<sup>51</sup> PS 302–307

<sup>52</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.48

<sup>53</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 4.67

<sup>54</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 11.15

<sup>55</sup> Jātaka 538

<sup>56</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 2.9

<sup>57</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 2.10

<sup>58</sup> PS 113 = *Buddhajayamaṅgala*

<sup>59</sup> PS 113–115 = *Buddhajayamaṅgala*

<sup>60</sup> PS 117

<sup>61</sup> PS 126–127

<sup>62</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.15

<sup>63</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.15

<sup>64</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.16

<sup>65</sup> PS 64–65

- Isigili-sutta*<sup>66</sup> [i.e. **Isigili-sutta-CP**]
13. *girimānanda*  
—*Girimānanda-sutta*<sup>67</sup> [i.e. **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]
14. *dhammacakkappavattana*  
—*Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*<sup>68</sup>  
[i.e. **Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP**]
15. *mahāsamaya*  
—*Mahāsamaya-sutta*<sup>69</sup> [i.e. **Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM**]
16. *namo me, sukho, parā, yassapā*  
—*Aṭṭhavīsati-buddha-gāthā*, beginning with *namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ*<sup>70</sup>  
—The set of verses beginning with *sukho buddhānuppādo*<sup>71</sup>  
—*Parābhava-sutta*<sup>72</sup> [i.e. **Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM**]  
—*Buddhapādaṅṅaṅṅā-gāthā*, beginning with *yassa pādesu jātāni*<sup>73</sup>
17. *dasapāramī, pak vat*  
*Dasapāramī*, beginning with *itipi dānapāramī sampanno so bhagavā*<sup>74</sup>  
*Pak vatt/Pak sakarāj*<sup>75</sup> perhaps also including *Bhāsitovāda*<sup>76</sup>  
[related to **Bhāsitovāda-NM**]
18. *ānatrai*  
—The *Ān traī*<sup>77</sup> set of excerpts from each of the three *piṭakas*, including an excerpt from the *Verañjakanda* of the Vinaya-piṭaka, the opening portion of the

<sup>66</sup> Majjhima-nikāya 116

<sup>67</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60

<sup>68</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 56.11

<sup>69</sup> Dīgha-nikāya 20

<sup>70</sup> SMB 72–73

<sup>71</sup> BK 119. The first verse corresponds to Dhammapada 14.16, the second to Dīgha-nikāya III 98 (end of the *Aggañña-sutta*), the third to Dhammapada 26.5, and the fourth to Dhammapada 15.8. For this text in Lanna and Lao contexts, see Louis Finot, “Recherches sur la littérature laotienne,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 17, no. 1, 1917, 1–218. For its use in Northern Thailand, see Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 92. In Cambodia, these verses are known colloquially as *pök aruṅ* or *sukho pök aruṅ* (“opening the dawn”), and during the annual fortnight-long festival of Bhum piṇḍ, these verses, followed by the *Parābhava-sutta* and *Buddhapādaṅṅaṅṅā-gāthā*, are recited by traditionalist monks each day at dawn (Kun Sopheap, personal communication). This fascicle, therefore, is largely dedicated to texts recited during this annual occasion.

<sup>72</sup> Sutta-nipāta 1.6

<sup>73</sup> PS 330–331

<sup>74</sup> GG 12–13; NRT 32–34

<sup>75</sup> PS 326–328; cf. Thai *bok wat* บอกรวัด

<sup>76</sup> PS 321–326

<sup>77</sup> Thai *svat cèṅ* สวดแจง

*Brahmajāla-sutta*,<sup>78</sup> and short excerpts from each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka<sup>79</sup> [i.e. **Ān trai A-NP**]

19. *āṭānāṭiyasūtra*  
—*Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*<sup>80</sup> [i.e. **Āṭānāṭiya-sutta-CM**]
20. *mahāsatipatthāna*  
—Mahāsatipatthāna-sutta<sup>81</sup> [i.e. **Mahāsatipatthāna-sutta-CP**]
21. *bhikkhupāṭimokkha*  
—The liturgy for reciting the 227 rules in the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha*<sup>82</sup>

This arrangement of *bhāṇavāra* texts in a bundle of *vān* fascicles may be more of an ideal representation of this genre than a verifiable description of actual manuscripts. De Bernon’s article indeed admits that other arrangements of *bhāṇavāra* texts exist, including one called *vān kanlaḥ khè*. According to de Bernon, “in traditionalist monasteries, the monks must recite (*sūtr*) the *sambuddhe* [i.e. **Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV**], *anekajāti* [i.e. **Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV**], and *paṇidhāna* [i.e. the introduction to the *Ratana-sutta*<sup>83</sup>] formulas each day at dawn, followed by the following formulas according to the days of the half-month of the waxing or waning moon.”<sup>84</sup> Again, as his article includes only the abbreviated titles, I provide standardized titles and citations for each of the texts that de Bernon includes in his list. In this and further lists in this chapter, I will only highlight **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** and closely related texts, such as **Mahāmetti-NM**. Note that in this case these two texts are separated from one another, with the latter appearing on Day 5 and the former on Day 7.

Day 1: *karuṇā, kusalā, mātikā*

- Selections from the *Atthasālinī*, beginning with *karuṇā vīya sattesu*<sup>85</sup>
- The *Tikamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*
- The *Dukamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*

Day 2: *vijjābhaga, saptaprakaraṇa, tirokudde*

- The *Suttantamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, beginning with *vijjābhāgino dhammo*<sup>86</sup>
- The abbreviated *mātikās* of the *Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalappaṇṇatti*,

<sup>78</sup> Dīgha-nikāya 1

<sup>79</sup> Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī កាលវិភាគ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 267–271; SMB 120–125. For an analysis of these collections in Thailand and as well as editions of the texts, see Skilling, “Chanting and Inscripting: The ‘Condensed Tripiṭaka’ in Thai Ritual.”

<sup>80</sup> Dīgha-nikāya 32

<sup>81</sup> Dīgha-nikāya 22

<sup>82</sup> PS 377–429

<sup>83</sup> PS 41

<sup>84</sup> de Bernon, “A New Reading of Inscription K. 892,” 385.

<sup>85</sup> SMB 45–46

<sup>86</sup> PS 100–101

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*Kathāvatthu, Yamaka, and Paṭṭhāna*<sup>87</sup>

—The *Tīrokuddakaṇḍa* together with an additional set of verses ending with *mātāpitā pamuñcare*

Day 3: *saggekāme, vanditvā, yesantā, yānī, khandha*

—Introduction to the *Sattaparitta* or *Dvādasaparitta* collection, beginning with *sagge kāme*<sup>88</sup>

—Perhaps the verse sometimes recited before *sagga kāme* in traditionalist monasteries, namely *vanditvā sirasā buddhaṃ / sasuddhammaṃ gunottamaṃ / hetū pi parittaṃ saṅkhepaṃ / pavakkhāmi yathābalaṃ. / ukāsa sagge kāme...*<sup>89</sup>

—Introduction to the *Maṅgala-sutta*<sup>90</sup>

—*Ratana-sutta*<sup>91</sup>

—Perhaps the *Khandha-paritta*<sup>92</sup>

Day 4: *bahū, evamme, yānīdhaṃ*

—The verses of the *Maṅgala-sutta*,<sup>93</sup> beginning with *bahū devā manussā ca*

—Perhaps the prose portion of the *Maṅgala-sutta*<sup>94</sup>

—Perhaps an extended (*dham*) version of the *Ratana-sutta*, i.e. perhaps including the longer version of the introduction beginning with *paṇidhānato paṭṭhāya*<sup>95</sup>

Day 5: *mahāmetrī, bahutabbakho, ajja, yathā, paṭisaṅkhā, parappa*

—*Mahāmetti-sutta* [i.e. **Mahāmetti-NM**]

—*Mettānisamsa-gāthā/Mittānisamsa*, beginning with *pahūtabhakkho bhavati*

—Text reflecting on the four requisites, beginning with *ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā*<sup>96</sup>

—*Dhātupaccavakkhaṇa-pāṭha*, beginning with *yathā paccayaṃ pavattamānaṃ*<sup>97</sup>

—*Taṃkhaṇikappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha*, beginning with *paṭisaṅkhā yoniso*<sup>98</sup>

—Unusual text reflecting on the four requisites, beginning with *paraṇaṭibaddhā me jīvika*<sup>99</sup>

<sup>87</sup> PS 102–104

<sup>88</sup> PS 1

<sup>89</sup> No known print sources; transcribed from an audio recording of a performance by the monks of Vatt Tamril វត្តដំរីល, Tboung Khmum province, Cambodia.

<sup>90</sup> PS 4–5

<sup>91</sup> Sutta-nipāta 2.1

<sup>92</sup> PS 49–50

<sup>93</sup> Sutta-nipāta 2.4, related to **Maṅgala-sutta-CM**

<sup>94</sup> Sutta-nipāta 2.4, related to **Maṅgala-sutta-CM**

<sup>95</sup> PS 41–46

<sup>96</sup> NRT 20–22

<sup>97</sup> PS 317–318

<sup>98</sup> PS 319–320

<sup>99</sup> NRT 27–28. This text is also found in Braḥ Pālāt Pāṭham Kittibhaddo พระปลัดปฐม กิตติภทฺโท, *Hnān sī svat man(t) vāt nōn sī, la. hān<sub>2</sub> sūn a. hnaaṅ hñai, ca. jalapuri* หนังสือสวดมนต์ วัดเนินสี ด. ห้างสูง อ. หนองใหญ่ จ. ชลบุรี (Chonburi ชลบุรี: Vāt nōn sī, วัดเนินสี, n.d.), 24.

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

- Day 6: *yassānubhāvato, karaṇī, sabbāsī, dasadhamma*  
—Introduction to the *Karaṇīyametta-sutta*<sup>100</sup>  
—*Karaṇīyametta-sutta*<sup>101</sup>  
—Introduction to the *Khandha-paritta* and the *Khandha-paritta*<sup>102</sup>  
—*Dasadhamma-sutta*
- Day 7: *jīvidāna, pūrentambodhi, udetañca apetayañca*  
—*Uṇhissavijaya* [i.e. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**]  
—Introduction to the *Mora-paritta*<sup>103</sup>  
—*Mora-paritta*<sup>104</sup>
- Day 8: *bāhuṃ, namo me, yandunni, ekannāmakūṃ, atthi-imasmīṃ*  
—*Jayamaṅgala-attha-gāthā*  
—*Atthavīsatisiddha-gāthā*  
—*Abhaya-paritta-gāthā*, beginning with *yan dunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañ ca*<sup>105</sup>  
—*Sāmaṇeraṇḍhā*<sup>106</sup>  
—*Dvattimsākāra*<sup>107</sup>
- Day 9: *dhajagga, appasa vipassa, yatohaṃ, sattabojjhaṅga*  
—*Dhajagga-sutta*<sup>108</sup>  
—Introduction to the *Ātānāṭiya-paritta* and the *Ātānāṭiya-paritta*<sup>109</sup>  
—*Aṅgulimāla-paritta*<sup>110</sup>  
—*Bojjhaṅga-paritta*<sup>111</sup>
- Day 10: *candaparitta, suriyaparitta, sāvathī, virūpakke*  
—*Canda-paritta/Candima-sutta*  
—*Suriya-paritta/Suriya-sutta*  
—Perhaps the prose narrative in the *Ahirāja-sutta*<sup>112</sup>  
—Perhaps the verses from the *Ahirāja-sutta*,<sup>113</sup> beginning with *virūpakkehi me mettaṃ*, a.k.a. the *Khandha-paritta*
- Day 11: *kassapa, moggallāna, cunda*

<sup>100</sup> PS 13

<sup>101</sup> Sutta-nipāta 1.8

<sup>102</sup> PS 49–50

<sup>103</sup> PS 51

<sup>104</sup> Jātaka 159

<sup>105</sup> PS 66–67

<sup>106</sup> Khuddaka-pāṭha 4

<sup>107</sup> Khuddaka-pāṭha 3

<sup>108</sup> Saṃyutta-nikāya 11.3

<sup>109</sup> PS 58–63, related to **Ātānāṭiya-paritta-NV**

<sup>110</sup> PS 64

<sup>111</sup> PS 64–65

<sup>112</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 4.67

<sup>113</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 4.67

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—*Paṭhamagilāna-sutta/Mahākassapatherabojjhaṅga-sutta*  
—*Dutiyagilāna-sutta/Mahāmoggallānattherabojjhaṅga-sutta*  
—*Tatiyagilāna-sutta/Mahākassapatherabojjhaṅga-sutta*

Day 12: *girimānanda*  
—*Girimānanda-sutta*

Day 13 *isigili*  
—*Isigili-sutta*

Day 14 *mahāsamaya*  
—*Mahāsamaya-sutta*

Day 15 *braḥ dhammacakkappavattanasūtra*  
—*Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*

Both of these arrangements of *bhāṇavāra* texts illuminate aspects of the context for the *Uṇhissavijaya* in Cambodia. First, while rare in contemporary printed books,<sup>114</sup> **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** appears in de Bernon’s account of the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and the *vān kanlaḥ khè* collections. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** and other related non-canonical texts, including **Mahāmetti-NM**, are typically excluded from important collections of Pali texts edited by twentieth-century reformers, some of the earliest examples being *Sattaparitta dvādasaparitta* (1934) and *Bhāṇavāra pālī* (1936), both printed by the Buddhist Institute.<sup>115</sup> Such texts are also generally absent from parallel collections in modern Thailand, including *Svat man(t) bidhī* (SMB) and *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvañ*.<sup>116</sup>

Other texts in these *bhāṇavāra* collections, however, do tend to reflect the content of modernist printed curricula, including the Buddhist Institute’s *Sattaparitta dvādasaparitta* and *Bhāṇavāra pālī*. Nearly all of the texts in *Sattaparitta dvādasaparitta* and many of those in *Bhāṇavāra pālī* are also present in the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and the *vān kanlaḥ khè*, indeed often in the same order. In addition, these *bhāṇavāra* collections have close parallels in the printed curricular chant collections of Thailand, as represented by SMB and *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvañ*. Skilling has demonstrated the great antiquity of *paritta* collections in the Pali tradition, with evidence for *bhāṇavāra* collections of *paritta* going back to at least the tenth century CE, including for the so-called *Catubhāṇavāra*, or “fourfold sections for recitation.”<sup>117</sup> Much of the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* collection maintains both the order and the content of the Khmer

<sup>114</sup> Indeed, I am aware of only two pre-1975 printed books from Cambodia that give the Pali text of the *Uṇhissavijaya*, namely the 1965 *Bhāṇavār kiccavatt briḥ līac* (BK) and the 1967 (reprinted in 1997) *Parittasamodhān pālī* (PS). Both of these books acknowledge that the *Uṇhissavijaya*, despite its non-canonical status, was popular enough at the time to justify its inclusion in their edited collections of liturgical texts.

<sup>115</sup> Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបវគ្គិ ទ្វាសសវគ្គិ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនា បណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971); Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនាបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារបាលី*.

<sup>116</sup> Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvañ สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakūṭ rājavidyalāy มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423).

<sup>117</sup> Skilling, “The *Rakṣā* Literature of the *Srāvakayāna*.” 118.

*Catubhāṇavāra* as represented in the 1936 edition of *Bhāṇavāra pālī*, with fascicles 7–9 representing the first *bhāṇavāra*, fascicle 10 the second, 12–13 the third, and 17, 19, and 20 the fourth. The *vān kanlaḥ khè* is somewhat more complex in its arrangement, but there are strong parallels between days 5–10 with the first *bhāṇavāra*, day 11 with the second, and days 12–13 with the third.

In addition to the *Catubhāṇavāra*, both of these *bhāṇavāra* lists also represent several other collections of chanted texts. Two such collections are the *Dvādasaparitta*<sup>118</sup> and its abridgment, the *Sattaparitta*.<sup>119</sup> Fascicles 1–2 of *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and days 3–4 of *vān kanlaḥ khè* bear close resemblance to parts of the *Dvādasaparitta* and *Sattaparitta*. Another element represented consists of texts connected to the Abhidhamma or otherwise recited on behalf of the dead. These include fascicles 3–5 of *vān dhamm 21 khsè* as well as days 1–2 of *vān kanlaḥ khè*.

All told, *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and *vān kanlaḥ khè*, despite their differences in organization, represent congruent expressions of the same body of chanted texts transmitted today in printed collections for the *Catubhāṇavāra*, the *Dvādasaparitta*, the *Sattaparitta*, and typical excerpts from the Abhidhamma. Not only are the texts themselves broadly parallel in these different collections, but the order in which they appear remains remarkably consistent.

Only a few texts stand out as exceptions to the patterns outlined above. First are texts such as the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* and the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* (fascicles 14 and 15 of *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and days 14 and 15 of *vān kanlaḥ khè*), which are not always counted as part of the *Catubhāṇavāra* or *Dvādasaparitta* collections in Cambodia but are nevertheless closely associated with them. Second are texts tied closely to the private practice of monastics, rather than public performance, such as the various chants for reflecting on the requisites in day 5 of *vān kanlaḥ khè*. Third are those in *vān dhamm 21 khsè* that are tied to periodical or irregular rituals, such as those in fascicle 16 used in the annual Bhjūṃ piṇḍ ceremonies, the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha* of fascicle 21 for the fortnightly recitation of the monastic rule, and the *Ān trai* of fascicle 18 for three-seat sermons (*saṅgāyanā grè 3*) on special occasions that reenact the First Council. What all of these texts have in common is that they are part of the standard curriculum monks were, and to some extent still are,<sup>120</sup> expected to memorize in its entirety to be able to perform all of the chants necessary for all of the auspicious (*maṅgala*), inauspicious (*avamāṅgala*), and calendrical rituals throughout the year.

Finally, another group of texts typically excluded from contemporary printed curricula, namely **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, must have also been part of the standard monastic curriculum before modernist, Tipiṭaka-centric reforms, given their prominence in manuscripts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Determining

<sup>118</sup> Known in Thailand as *Mahārājaparitta* or *sip sañ tāṃnān* สิบสองตำนาน.

<sup>119</sup> *Cullarājaparitta* or *cét tāṃnān* เจ็ดตำนาน.

<sup>120</sup> Most of my informants assert that monks today memorize far fewer texts than in the past. While most monks can still recite the texts of the *Sattaparitta* and *Dvādasaparitta* collections, far fewer can recite other parts of the *Catubhāṇavāra* from memory. Therefore ceremonies for reciting *paritta* only occasionally include texts beyond the ones in these two collections. The longer and more difficult to memorize texts seem to especially be in decline since 1975. Indeed, it seems that many, if not most, monasteries have abandoned the practice of reciting the monastic rule (the *Bhikkhupāṭimokkha* [*Bhikkhupāṭimokkha/Pāṭimokkha*]) each fortnight, as it is too difficult to find monks who know the entire text by heart. See also Nāṇatusita, *Analysis of the Bhikkhu Pāṭimokkha*, xlv–lii.

exactly how they fit into the overall structure of the liturgical curriculum, at least as represented by *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and *vān kanlaḥ khè*, presents some challenges. In the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* collection, which consistently groups related texts together, they appear side-by-side in fascicle 6, whereas in the rearranged *vān kanlaḥ khè*, **Mahāmetti-NM** falls on day 5 and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** on day 7. In either case, **Mahāmetti-NM** precedes the **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, not vice versa. In both collections, they are grouped near texts belonging to the first *bhāṇavāra* and to the *Dvādasaparitta/Sattaparitta*. Their position in these two *bhāṇavāra* collections suggests that **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** are like other *paritta*, associated with blessing and protection rather than death, and are closely linked to one another. In other words, these two non-canonical *paritta*, with connections to Sanskrit Buddhist texts, appear in a thoroughly localized context in *bhāṇavāra* collections.

The above analysis of these two *bhāṇavāra* collections moves us closer to understanding the position of **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** and its related texts. However, de Bernon's lists do not accord with any precise set of manuscripts I am aware of. As mentioned above, the two *bhāṇavāra* collections he outlines are perhaps best viewed as ideal lists of texts for memorization and recitation, lists that suggest one view of what such collections *should* look like, rather than what they *actually* look like in manuscripts, or at least in manuscripts as they survive today. The 141 liturgical fascicles of short-format palm-leaf manuscripts I was able to examine in the collections of the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh (fascicles FEMC D.204–D.210 and D'.238–D'.255, not organized into strict bundles), the Bibliothèque de la Pagode d'argent in the Royal Palace, Phnom Penh (FEMC A372–A472, in five large bundles), and Vatt Veluratanā, Kampong Cham province (B.04.03.04 FEMC 58–71, two incomplete bundles), suggest that surviving *bhāṇavāra* collections are more messy and variegated than witnessed in the idealized lists above. More specifically, *bhāṇavāra* collections in manuscripts show how **Mahāmetti-NM** and the **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** may occur in a variety of positions, though they tend toward appearing together alongside **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**, **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP**, *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, and **Mahāmetti-NM**.

This messiness is due in part to the extremely fragmentary nature of the corpus of Cambodian manuscripts extant today. But there are other factors at play as well, including the possibility that no precise standard for the content of *bhāṇavāra* collections ever existed. Many of the manuscripts I studied mix and match texts from different parts of the *Catubhāṇavāra*, the *Dvādasaparitta*, the *Sattaparitta*, and the Abhidhamma, and therefore do not follow the logical organization of the *vān dhamma 21 khsè*. Other manuscripts, while generally complete, do not follow the exact organization and structure of the de Bernon's ideal lists of the *vān dhamma 21 khsè* or *vān kanlaḥ khè* collections.

For instance, a single, thick, 96-folio *vān* fascicle held at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong in Vatt Sārāvān Tejo (FEMC D'.243), dating from 2461 BE/1917–1918 AD, contains 60 identifiable *bhāṇavāra* texts. In the manuscript itself, the texts are not labeled with the titles that appear below; I have provided these standardized titles to allow for easy comparison with my earlier presentation of de Bernon's lists. The following sequence reflects one of the many permutations possible for *bhāṇavāra* manuscripts in Cambodia. This



set of chanted texts follows many of the patterns witnessed in the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and the *vān kanlaḥ khè*. In what follows, I have continued with the standardized titles I used to discuss the two *bhāṇavāra* collections mentioned by de Bernon. The titles given in this manuscripts are often inconsistent or nonexistent, so I have not included them below. Texts 1–4 reflect the set of Abhidhamma texts present in de Bernon’s lists:

1. The *Tikamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*
2. The *Dukamātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*
3. The extended *mātikā*-s of the *Vibhaṅga*, *Dhātukathā*, *Puggalappaññatti*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Yamaka*, and *Paṭṭhāna*
4. The *Tirokuddakaṇḍa* together with an additional set of verses ending with *mātāpitā pamuñcare*

Texts 5–20 represent the bulk of the *Sattaparitta* collection, though with the unexpected addition of **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**:

5. Introduction to the *Sattaparitta* collection, beginning with *sarajjan*<sup>121</sup>
6. Introduction to the *Maṅgala-sutta*<sup>122</sup>
7. *Maṅgala-sutta*
8. *Ratana-sutta*
9. Introduction to the *Karaṇīyametta-sutta*
10. *Karaṇīyametta-sutta*
11. Introduction to the *Khandha-paritta* and the *Khandha-paritta*
12. Introduction to the *Mora-paritta*
13. *Mora-paritta*
14. *Uṇhissavijaya* [i.e. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**]
15. Introduction to the *Dhajagga-sutta*<sup>123</sup>
16. *Dhajagga-sutta*
17. Introduction to the *Āṭānāṭiya-paritta*
18. *Āṭānāṭiya-paritta*
19. *Aṅgulimāla-paritta*
20. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*

Texts 21–31 cover the first *bhāṇavāra*, 32–34 the second, 35–36 the third, with 37–38 in their usual place:

21. *Tisaraṇagamanam*<sup>124</sup>
22. *Dasasikkhāpada*<sup>125</sup>
23. *Sāmaṇeraṇha*

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<sup>121</sup> PS 1

<sup>122</sup> PS 4–5

<sup>123</sup> PS 18

<sup>124</sup> Khuddaka-pāṭha 1

<sup>125</sup> Khuddaka-pāṭha 2

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24. *Dvattiṃsākāra*
25. *Taṃkhaṇikappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha*, beginning with *paṭisaṅkhā yoniso*
26. *Dasadhamma-sutta*
27. *Ahirāja-sutta*
28. *Mettānisamsa-sutta/Metta-sutta*
29. *Mettānisamsa-gāthā/Mittānisamsa*, beginning with *pahūtabhakkho bhavati*
30. *Canda-paritta/Candima-sutta*
31. *Suriya-paritta/Suriya-sutta*
  
32. *Pathamaḡilāna-sutta/Mahākassapaṭṭherabojjhaṅga-sutta)*
33. *Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta/Mahāmoggallānaṭṭherabojjhaṅga-sutta*
34. *Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta/Mahākassapaṭṭherabojjhaṅga-sutta*
  
35. *Girimānanda-sutta*
36. *Isigili-sutta*
  
37. *Mahāsamaya-sutta*
38. *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*

Texts 39–43 mostly appear in *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and the *vān kanlaḡ khè*, albeit not in the same order:

39. Three texts reflecting on the four requisites mixed together, including *Dhātupaccavakkhaṇa-pāṭha*, beginning with *yathā paccayaṃ pavattamānaṃ*, *Patikūlapaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha*, beginning with *sabbaṃ paṇidaṃ cīvaraṃ*,<sup>126</sup> and another text reflecting on the four requisites, beginning with *ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā*
40. The formula *itipiso bhagavā arahaṃ... svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo... supaṭiṇanno bhagavato sāvakaṅgho*
41. *Abhaya-paritta-gāthā*, beginning with *yan dunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalaṃ ca*
42. *Jaya-paritta*, beginning with *mahākāruṇiko nātho*,<sup>127</sup> plus verses beginning with *bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ* and *nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ*<sup>128</sup>
43. *Cullamaṅgalacakkavāḡa*, beginning with *sabbabuddhānubhāvena*

The section from 44–48, with texts focusing on repentance and announcing the passage of time, represents a considerably larger section than its parallel in fascicle 17 of *vān dhamm 21 khsè*:

44. Traditional repentance texts beginning with *ukāsa iminā amhākaṃ* and *ukāsa accayo no me bhante*<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> PS 318

<sup>127</sup> PS 28

<sup>128</sup> PS 34

<sup>129</sup> Addressed further in Chapter 9 (see *infra*, 582–585).

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45. *Bhāsitovāda*,<sup>130</sup> beginning with *ukāsa yo pana bhikkhu*
46. Long section of Pali verses, with interwoven Khmer translation, beginning with *ye keci narapuggalā sabbadukkhā pamuñcare*
47. *Pak vatt/Pak sakarāj*, followed by *Pak vatt/Pak sakarāj* with interwoven Khmer translation, including extended section on the Buddha's relics
48. Further section of Pali verses for repentance and dedication of merit

Texts 49–60 differ considerably from the collections previously discussed, both in terms of content and arrangement. Moreover, the placement of **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** is strikingly different, with the former appearing only in this final section and the latter embedded within the *Sattaparitta* above, as if it in fact belonged to that collection of protective texts:

49. *Aṭṭhavāsatibuddha-gāthā*, beginning with *namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ*
50. *Sabbadisabuddhamaṅgala-paritta*, beginning with *padumuttaro ca purabbāyaṃ*
51. *Cullasabbadisabuddhamaṅgala-paritta*, beginning with *buddho ca majjhimo settṭho*
52. *Dasapāramī*, beginning with *itipi dānapāramī sampanno so bhagavā*
53. *Patīccasamuppāda-pāṭha*, beginning with *avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā*
54. *Anussati 10 pèp purāṇ*, beginning with *buddhānussati*<sup>131</sup>
55. The set of verses beginning with *sukho buddhānuppādo*
56. The set of verses beginning with *ākāsaṭṭhā ca bhummatṭhā*<sup>132</sup>
57. *Yo vo ānanda*<sup>133</sup>
58. *Mahāmetti-sutta* [i.e. **Mahāmetti-NM**]
59. *Parābhava-sutta*
60. *Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā*

Manuscripts like the 96-folio FEMC D'.243, no matter the complex circumstances that allowed for their precarious survival into the twenty-first century, bear witness to the range of variants possible in the content and order of Pali *bhāṇavāra* collections in Cambodia. These variations reflect not only a lack of imposed standardization but also possible influence of local traditions found in individual monasteries and lineages. The evidence surviving to the present might not allow for a detailed analysis of all of these local variants and their filiation, but they can at least serve as a reminder of the fluidity of monastic curricula. In the case of **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, neither of which are strictly bound to collections such as the *Sattaparitta*, the *Dvādasaparitta*, or the *Catubhāṇavāra*, this fluidity means that they may appear in different places in the sequence provided by each manuscript. Assuming that the sequence of the texts in the manuscripts correlates to either their order in performance (as in the case of *Sattaparitta* and *Dvādasaparitta* collections) or even just the order in which they are memorized (as suggested by the day-by-day structure of the *vān kanlaḥ khè*

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<sup>130</sup> PS 321–326

<sup>131</sup> GG 8

<sup>132</sup> PS 328–329

<sup>133</sup> PS 329

collection), the fluid positions **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** suggest that various monasteries performed and memorized these texts at different occasions and times.

Another factor that accounts for the discrepancy between the short-format palm-leaf manuscripts I examined and the texts listed by de Bernon is the frequent mismatch between the titles appearing on the covers of *bhāṇavāra* manuscripts and their actual contents. For instance, the *vān* manuscript FEMC A.455, belonging to the Royal Palace, Phnom Penh, bears the cover title *sāmaṇerapañhaṃ*, but upon reading through every folio one finds it contains the following eleven texts from the first section of the *Catubhāṇavāra* (i.e. *paṭhamabhāṇavāra*): *Tisaraṇagamama-pāṭha*, *Dasasikkhāpadapāṭha*, *Sāmaṇerappañhā-pāṭha*, *Dvattimsākāra-pāṭha*, *Taṃkhaṇikappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha*, *Dasadhamma-sutta-pāṭha*, *Ahirāja-sutta-pāṭha*, *Mettānisamsa-sutta-pāṭha*, *Mettānisamsagāthā-pāṭha*, *Candaparitta*, and *Suriyaparitta*. In this case, these titles are given at the conclusion of each text within the manuscript, albeit not on the outer first leaf, which simply reads *sāmaṇerapañhaṃ*. Why this manuscript bears the title *sāmaṇerapañhaṃ* instead of *paṭhamabhāṇavāra* is not clear. In this case, *sāmaṇerapañhaṃ* was not added by the FEMC catalogers but rather appears to be part of the original engraving of the palm-leaf. Nevertheless, when such a manuscript enters the FEMC catalog, generally the only title to appear would be *sāmaṇerapañhaṃ*, despite the numerous other texts present in the same fascicle.<sup>134</sup> One must exercise a degree of caution, therefore, when using a cover or catalog title to determine the actual contents of a given manuscript.

The same kind of discrepancy between inscribed cover titles, FEMC catalog titles, and the actual contents of a manuscript fascicle occurs in various short-format palm-leaf manuscripts bearing the title *Mahāmetrī* (the typical cover title for **Mahāmetti-NM**) and/or *Jīvidāna* (for **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**). For instance, the undated manuscript FEMC D'.210, held at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong, is missing its original cover, so both the new cover title and the catalog title have been supplied by the FEMC: *jīvadāna*, a common variant form of *jīvidāna*. But the surviving contents of this fascicle, though fragmentary, include a text known as *bistār*, i.e. the extended *mātikās* of the *Vibhaṅga*, *Dhātukathā*, *Puggalappaññatti*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Yamaka*, and *Paṭṭhāna*,<sup>135</sup> followed by the **Mahāmetti-NM** (given as *mettisuttaṃ* in the manuscript), and finally **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** (*jīvidāna*). But FEMC D'.210 is actually a somewhat atypical example. Most short-format palm-leaf manuscripts that include *jīvidāna* or *jīvadāna* in their title do not contain Abhidhamma texts, but instead a set of non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts.

A more representative example of a short-format palm-leaf manuscript fascicle with the cover title *jīvidāna* is FEMC D'.239, also from the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong, and dating to 2473 BE/1929–1930 AD. This manuscript bears the cover and catalog title of [*neh vān*] *mahāmetrī*, *jīvidān*, *soḷasamaṅgala*, though the manuscript itself contains five texts in the following arrangement: **Mahāmetti-NM**, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, *Mahāsāvam*, **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP**, and *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*. A similar manuscript comes from the collection of Vatt Velūratana, Kampong Cham province (B.04.03.04 FEMC 67), dating to

<sup>134</sup> For an account of the cataloging process of the FEMC, see de Bernon, Kun Sopheap, and Leng Kok-An, *Inventaire provisoire des manuscrits du Cambodge, Première partie.*, xix–xxxv.

<sup>135</sup> PS 77–89

2488 BE/1944–1945 AD. Though bearing the simple cover title of *mettisuttaṃ jīvidānaṃ*, the actual contents include **Mahāmetti-NM**, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**, *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, *Mahāsāvaṃ*, and finally a set of formulas for a *lōk rāsī*<sup>136</sup> ritual (“raising [auspiciousness] associated with astrological cycles,” a kind of blessing ceremony to increase or invite the return of good fortune) for those born in different zodiac years. The explicit evocation of a *lōk rāsī* ritual in this manuscript accords with the contemporary ritual use of the **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, as it is associated with rituals for both *raṃtoḥ groḥ*<sup>137</sup> (“releasing [astrological/supernatural] obstacles/possessions [Sanskrit *graha*]”) and *lōk rāsī*. Finally, the most voluminous manuscript of this type is one in the collection of the Royal Palace (FEMC A.463), which carries the cover leaf and FEMC catalog title of *mahāmedrī, jīvidāna*. The contents of this manuscript are as follows:

1. **Mahāmetti-NM**
2. **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**
3. **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**
4. *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*
5. *Cullamaṅgalacakkavāḷa*
6. Verses beginning with *Ākāśasatthā ca bhummatthā*
7. **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP**
8. Verse beginning with *hiri-ottappa-sampannā*
9. Verses beginning with *pubbanhe piṇḍapātaṅca*

[one blank folio side here]

10. Various Pali Dhammayuttika-nikāya chants for making offerings to the Three Jewels, including the verses beginning with *cintitaṃ sattasaṃkheyyaṃ, dhvō vatt* *līāc*,<sup>138</sup> and *dhvō vatt brik*<sup>139</sup>

Each of these four manuscripts pairs **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** with **Mahāmetti-NM**, always in the order **Mahāmetti-NM** first and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** second, the same order as in de Bernon’s idealized *vān dhamm 21 khsē*. However, with the exception of FEMC D'.210, these manuscripts also pair **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** with other protective texts, typically including **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**, *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, and *Mahāsāvaṃ*, as well as occasionally including other texts, such as *Cullamaṅgalacakkavāḷa* and **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-**

<sup>136</sup> Khmer លើកកសី

<sup>137</sup> Khmer រំដោះត្រោះ. On the parallel ritual in Thailand (*satoḥ groḥ(h)* สวดเคราะห์เคราะห์, see Va. Cīnapraṭṭiṣ(ṭh) ว. จีนประดิษฐ์, *Bidhikār satoḥ groḥ(h) taa<sub>1</sub> jahā<sub>1</sub> lēḥ srom tvañ tva<sub>2</sub> lan en chpāp sampūra(n)* พิธีการสวดเคราะห์เคราะห์ ต่อชะตา และเสริมดวง ด้วยตนเอง ฉบับสมบูรณ์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) haa samut klāñ 09 สำนักพิมพ์ หอสมุดกลาง 09, 2542).

<sup>138</sup> Thai *dām vātr ye<sub>gn</sub>* ท้าวตรีเย็น

<sup>139</sup> Thai *dām vātr jau<sub>2</sub>* ท้าวตรีเข้า

**NP.**<sup>140</sup> These are some of the texts the *Uṇhissavijaya* frequently appears together with, i.e. its “adjacent” texts.

**Uṇhissavijaya-NM** thus does not appear by itself in Cambodian *bhāṇavāra* collections in manuscripts, shorn of its ritual and curricular context—it needs to be read together with its adjacent texts. Some of these texts, such as the **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**, are quite common in Southeast Asia and have appeared already in Roman-script editions and English translation.<sup>141</sup> I instead focus on three texts that have received less attention and are rarely included in modern printed editions of chanted texts in Southeast Asia, namely the *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇam-NP**, and **Mahāmetti-NM**. While the first two do not appear to have any relationship with Sanskrit Buddhist texts, they are important for understanding the structure of the latter, whose title and content reflect aspects of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection of Sanskrit protective and *dhāraṇī* texts, especially *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*.

### 5.5 Three Non-Canonical Pali Paritta Texts Adjacent to Uṇhissavijaya-NM

The *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā* (Verses on the sixteen-fold auspiciousness) frequently follows **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in *bhāṇavāra* collections from Cambodian manuscripts. This text is important in the construction of *yantra* in Northern Thailand, where its numbers, syllables, and arrangement forms the basis for a magic square.<sup>142</sup> Like other protective texts included in Southeast Asian *paritta* collections, it invokes the power of various beings, objects, and doctrines. More specifically, it seeks protection by means of the “sixteen-fold auspiciousness” (*soḷasamaṅgala*), composed of sixteen lists of seemingly unrelated Buddhist doctrines, adding up to a total of 121 items. My standardized edition of the text is based a printed Khmer-script edition.<sup>143</sup>

<i>soḷasamaṅgalañceva</i>	The sixteen-fold auspiciousness—
<i>nava lokuttaradhammā</i>	[1] the nine supramundane states,
<i>cattaro ca mahādīpā</i>	[2] the four great continents,
<i>pañca buddhā mahāmuni</i>	[3] the five buddhas who are great sages,
<i>tepitakadhammakkhandhā</i>	[4] the teaching-divisions of the threefold canon,
<i>cha kāmāvacarā tathā</i>	[5] the six realms of desire,
<i>pañcadasabalāni ca</i>	[6] the five powers, [7] the ten powers,
<i>sīladasa mahabbalaṃ</i>	[8] the mighty ten precepts,

<sup>140</sup> Other texts are included as well, including various sets of verses beginning with *Ākāsaṭṭhā ca bhummatṭhā*, *hiri-ottappa-sampannā*, and *pubbaṅhe piṇḍapātaṅca*. In the case of FEMC A.463, a complete Dhammayuttika-nikāya daily liturgy is included, but since this appears only after the appearance of a blank folio side that can mark a new section, it is not necessarily related to the texts surrounding **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**.

<sup>141</sup> See, for instance, Phra Videsdhammakavi, *Legend of Paritta: Protective Chants and Background Stories*, 63–64.

<sup>142</sup> I am grateful to Javier Schnake for pointing this out to me.

<sup>143</sup> BK 33–34

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<i>terasadhutaṅgāni ca</i>	[9] the thirteen austerities,
<i>dvādasapāṭihāriyaṃ</i>	[10] the twelve miracles,
<i>ekameru sarā attha</i>	[11] the one Meru, [12] the eight seas,
<i>dvecandasuriyā tathā</i>	[13] the duo of the sun and the moon,
<i>sattabojjhaṅgaṅca seṭṭham</i>	[14] the seven excellent limbs of awakening,
<i>catuddasacakkavatti</i>	[15] the fourteen universal monarchs,
<i>ekādasabisaṇū ceva</i>	[16] and the eleven Viṣṇus
<i>etena maṅgalatejena</i>	—by this auspicious power
<i>sabbasattū vinassantu</i>	may all enemies be vanquished
<i>sabbalābhā bhavantu te.</i>	and may all gains arise for you.

Of the sixteen lists, five are cosmological: the four great continents, the six realms of desire, the one Meru, the eight seas,<sup>144</sup> and the duo of the sun and the moon. Many of the remaining lists consist of doctrinal categories: the nine supramundane states, the five buddhas (of the present aeon), the ten precepts, the thirteen austerities, and the seven excellent limbs of awakening. The list includes both the five “spiritual” *bala* or powers (*saddhā, viriyā, sati, samādhi, paññā*) and the ten “Tathāgata” *bala* or powers that pertain only to buddhas. Three of the lists remain obscure to me: the twelve miracles, the fourteen universal monarchs, and the eleven Viṣṇus. The twelve miracles surely cannot refer to the *dvādasabuddhakārya* known in the Tibetan tradition, but I am not aware of another list of twelve miracles. As for the fourteen *cakkavatti*, this appears to be a traditional number of kings for some dynasties in late Buddhist India, including the Pāla dynasty; I could not find any Pali texts to verify this, however.<sup>145</sup> As for the eleven Viṣṇus, this is simply my conjectural interpretation of the unusual term *bisaṇū* in the text. Conventionally there are only ten avatars of Viṣṇu, though eleven are described for Śiva. Though the interpretation of these lists remains difficult, the *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā* typifies a broader genre of protective texts by first invoking the potency of such lists before requesting, “by this auspicious power” (*etena maṅgalatejena*), boons of safety and prosperity. We will see a similar structure of creating a list and invoking the protective power of such a list in **Mahāmetti-NM** below.

Another text that occasionally follows **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in Khmer *bhāṇavāra* collections is **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP** (Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters). Like *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, this text also provides a basis for understanding the structure of **Mahāmetti-NM**. **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP** frequently appears in contemporary Cambodian rituals, especially the first half of the text on suffusing the various quarters of the universe with friendliness. Numerous variations exist; the one found in FEMC A.463 is among the longest witnessed in Cambodia, though in Thai liturgies parts of this text

<sup>144</sup> Presumably the eight seas between Meru itself, the seven mountain ranges around Meru, and the *cakkavāla* mountains.

<sup>145</sup> Deb(y) Sārikapuṭr เทพย สารีกบุตร, *Buddhābhisek bidhī chpāp sampūra(n) พุทธอภิเชกพิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์*, 301–314.

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can be embedded in even longer texts.<sup>146</sup> As the manuscripts present only minor variants, I have based my standardized edition of the text on a Khmer-script printed edition:<sup>147</sup>

*sabbe puratthimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe puratthimāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe dakkhiṇāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe dakkhiṇāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe pacchīmāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe pacchīmāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe uttarāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe uttarāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe uparimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*  
*sabbe heṭṭhimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī honu.*

*sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā sabbe puggalā sabbe attabhāvapariyāpannā sabbe itthiyo sabbe purisā sabbe ariyā sabbe anariyā sabbe devā sabbe manussā sabbe vinipātikā sacittakā sajjivakā ajīvaka averā honu sukhitā honu niddukkā honu abyāpajjhā honu anighā honu dighāyukā honu arogā honu sampattīhi samijjhantu sukhī attānaṃ pariharantu.*

*sabbe sattā alābhā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā ayaṣā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā nindā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā dukkhā pamuñcantu.*

*sabbe sattā laddhasampattito mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhalābhato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhayasato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhapasaṃsanato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhasukhato mā vigacchantu.*

*sabbe sattā kammassakā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammaṃpaṭisaraṇāti.*

[Section on friendliness]<sup>148</sup>

May all beings in the eastern quarter<sup>149</sup> be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southeastern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southwestern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the western quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the northwestern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the northern quarter be happy and free from enmity.

<sup>146</sup> One such example is the *Cakkavālametta bhāvanā* given in Ānandajoti Bhikkhu, *Safeguard Recitals* (Kandy: 2014), 194–196. A longer example is the long extract from the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* called the *mettā hñāi*, เมตตาใหญ่ (“Great [Text on] Friendliness”) in Thailand.

<sup>147</sup> BK 38–39

<sup>148</sup> The section headings in brackets are merely my own interpretation of the text—they do not appear in the manuscripts themselves. I add them here for analytical clarity as well as to highlight the way the text appears to go beyond its titular focus on *mettā* to invoke qualities of all four *brahmavihāras*.

<sup>149</sup> “Quarter” might seem more appropriate when there are four directions to work with instead of six or ten, as in many Buddhist texts—but “quarter” implies a geographic extent of space that “direction” does not and hence better fits the meaning of *disā* here.



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May all beings in the northeastern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the zenith quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the nadir quarter be happy and free from enmity.

May all beings, all breathers,<sup>150</sup> all creatures, all persons, all individuals, all women, all men, all noble ones, all non-noble ones,<sup>151</sup> all deities, all humans, all those subject to falling fates,<sup>152</sup> sentient, insentient, animate, and inanimate—may they be free from enmity, may they be happy, may they be free from suffering, may they be free from malevolence, may they be free from trouble, may they be of long life, may they be free from disease, may they prosper by means of [their] attainments, and may they maintain themselves happily.<sup>153</sup>

[Section on compassion]

May all beings be freed from lack.  
May all beings be freed from disrepute.  
May all beings be freed from blame.  
May all beings be freed from suffering.

[Section on sympathetic joy]<sup>154</sup>

May all beings not be separated from attainment gained.  
May all beings not be separated from profit gained.  
May all beings not be separated from fame gained.  
May all beings not be separated from praise gained.  
May all beings not be separated from happiness gained.

[Section on equanimity]

All beings are lord of their actions, heir of their actions, born of their actions, kin of their actions, and ward of their actions.

The basic sources for this text are the *Visuddhimagga* as well as passages from the suttas, such as the closing sentence on karma.<sup>155</sup> There are a few portions of the text, such as the section on sympathetic joy, for which I was not able to identify a canonical source. However, many chants throughout mainland Southeast Asia include these lines, so the content of the Cambodian version is hardly unique. Although the title of the text means “the suffusion of friendliness to all quarters,” only the first third of the text speaks of quarters (*disā*) and only the first two-

<sup>150</sup> Pali *pāṇa*. There does not seem to be much precision implied in distinguishing between *satta*, *pāṇa*, and *bhūta* here; all three can just mean “living being.”

<sup>151</sup> “Noble” and “non-noble” here refer to those who have attained or have not attained one of the four *ariya* paths (*maggā*), culminating in arhatship.

<sup>152</sup> Pali *vinipātika*, “of the nature to fall down,” here in the sense of destined to spend time in the lower paths (*apāyamukha*) before again achieving rebirth as a human or deity.

<sup>153</sup> Pali *sukhīn* here seems to be functioning adverbially; otherwise we can translate as “may they be happy and maintain themselves.”

<sup>154</sup> This section does not seem to have a canonical basis; passages on *muditā* in general seem few and far between in the Buddhist tradition.

<sup>155</sup> PTS *Visuddhimagga* 309–310; PTS *Aṅguttara-nikāya* III 74

thirds of friendliness (*mettā*). The final third of the text deals with the other three *brahmavihāras*, namely compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*). Taken as a whole, the content of **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇam-NP** reflects the emphasis on the protective power of *mettā* witnessed in many texts of the *Dvādasaparitta* and *Sattaparitta* collections of largely canonical *parittas*.

**Mahāmetti-NM** (Great text on friendliness), the text most closely associated with **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in Cambodian *bhāṇavāra* collections, contains aspects of both *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā* and **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇam-NP**. Its opening verses share affinities with the numerical symbolism expressed in *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, whereas its closing prose section extends *mettā* to various realms in a manner that recalls **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇam-NP**. **Mahāmetti-NM** does not appear to have any canonical sources. Moreover, unlike nearly every other non-canonical Pali *paritta* used in Cambodia, I have not been able to find any parallels to this text in Thai or Lao collections, with the exception of a partial version, bereft of the initial verse section, in manuscript EFEO PALI 75, a nine-fascicle Siamese palm-leaf manuscript from 1836 currently held at the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris – Maison de l'Asie.<sup>156</sup>

In spoken Khmer and in some manuscripts, **Mahāmetti-NM** is known by its Sanskritized title, *Mahāmetrī-sūtr*. Whether or not this reflects anything about the origins of the text is hard to say. It is possible that this spoken title might primarily be a euphonic distinction that implies little about the text's origins. Furthermore, there is no *Mahāmetrī-sūtra* in Sanskrit sources, to my knowledge. However, there are many protective texts that are prefaced by the qualifier *mahā*.<sup>157</sup> These include the protective texts of the Sanskrit *rakṣā* collection known as *Pañcarakṣā*: *Mahāpratisarā*, *Mahāmāyūrī*, *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*, and *Mahāśītavatī*.<sup>158</sup> One text among these, *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*, contains several mantra or *dhāraṇī* sections as well as an emphasis on the protective power of compassion and a mind filled with friendliness. One line of Skilling's edition of the text, for instance, reads *sarve satvāḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve bhūtāś ca kevalāḥ / sarve vai sukhinaḥ santu sarve santu nirāmayāḥ* ("May all beings, all breathers, all creatures without exception / be at ease and free from disease").<sup>159</sup> The evidence is too slim to link **Mahāmetti-NM** directly with *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* or any other Sanskrit Buddhist text, but its Sanskritized title in Khmer, the prefix *mahā*-, and the certain parallels with certain Sanskrit protective *dhāraṇī* texts are suggestive of possible connections, particularly when considering that **Mahāmetti-NM** is almost always paired with the localized *dhāraṇī* text **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in Cambodian *bhāṇavāra* collections.

**Mahāmetti-NM**'s opening verses share affinities with the numerical symbolism expressed in the *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, though I am not aware of this text being the basis for

<sup>156</sup> This partial version begins on fascicle 2, folio kai recto, line 2. An alternate version of the opening verses of the *Mahāmetti-sutta*, however, is found separately in EFEO PALI 75, namely on fascicle 1, folio khū verso, line 2.

<sup>157</sup> Skilling, "The *Rakṣā* Literature of the *Śrāvakayāna*," 125–129; Peter Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, Volume II, Parts I & II* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1997), 4–12.

<sup>158</sup> Skilling, "The *Rakṣā* Literature of the *Śrāvakayāna*," 138–144.

<sup>159</sup> Peter Skilling, ed., *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha, Volume I: Texts* (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1994), C.3.16, 615.

*yantras*. My edition of the text is largely based on two Khmer-script printed editions,<sup>160</sup> with variant readings added from Cambodian short-format palm-leaf manuscripts. Both the printed editions and the manuscripts treat the entire text as prose, hiding the metrical qualities of the first section. To facilitate scansion of these lines, I choose to treat the opening section on various *paritta* texts as verse, even though it does not strictly adhere to the rules of *anuttubha* meter. The subsequent portion in prose focuses on the suffusion of the universe with friendliness.

*metta*<sup>161</sup>-*suttaṃ ratanañ ca*  
*khandhāṭṭānāṭṭiyaṃ tathā*  
*dhajaggaṃ aṅgulimālañ ca*  
*disāpālañ ca sattamaṃ*  
*aṭṭhaviṣatibuddhañ ca*<sup>162</sup>  
*parittaṃ aṭṭha maṅgalaṃ*

*seyyathīdaṃ.*

*ekādasamāti-vuttaṃ*  
*māraṅgiyañ ca sākhañca*<sup>163</sup>  
*dhāranī-gīrīmānandaṃ*<sup>164</sup>  
*moggallānañ ca cundañ ca*  
*kassaṃpāṃ mora-parittaṃ*<sup>165</sup>  
*suriyaṃ candañ ceva*

*chaddantaṃ vaṭṭa-jātakaṃ*  
*rāhulañ ca parittāni*  
*sīrasā ca lokānañ ca*<sup>166</sup>  
*attano sāvakassa ca*

*mātāpitūnaṃ sabbāni*  
*catubbīsati*<sup>167</sup> *buddheneva*  
*pakāsītāni atthāya*  
*hitāya sukhāya lokassāti.*

*ime mātāpitāro paralokaṃ gantvā idha sāsane averā hontu sukhītā hontu niddukkā hontu abyāpajjhā*  
*hontu aṅghā hontu diḅhāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampattihī samijjhantu sukhī attānaṃ pariharantu.*

<sup>160</sup> BK 34–37; PS 307–311

<sup>161</sup> FEMC A.463; BK and PS read *metti*.

<sup>162</sup> BK reads *aṭṭhaviṣatī bojhaṅgañcaparittaṃ*.

<sup>163</sup> BK reads *sukhañca*.

<sup>164</sup> BK reads *isigilīgīrīmānandaṃ*.

<sup>165</sup> BK; PS reads *kassaṃpāṃ māraṃ khaṇutathāya*, and other manuscripts read *kassaṃpāṃ māraṅkaṇutthāya*.

<sup>166</sup> BK; PS reads *sīrasāni ca lokānañca hitatthāya*.

<sup>167</sup> BK; PS reads *catuwīsāni*.

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

*ime bhātu-bhaginī-ñāti-mitta-sālohitabandha-kula-sahāyakā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*ime rājāno devādhipatī saputtadārā sa-amaccā sarājaparivārā sasenāpatī sabalabāmānā sadāsadāsī  
hatthi-assa-goṇa-mahiṃsādayo<sup>168</sup> averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*imasmim gāme vā nigame vā janapade vā araṇṇe vā sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*ime manussā rattiṅca divaṅca itthī vā puriso vā kumāro vā kumārī vā ye ca vuddhā ye ca daharā ye ca  
bālā ye ca paṇḍitā addhāceva daḷiddā ca sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*ayaṃ suriyo ca ayaṃ cando ca varuṇo ca nāgo ca bhāradvājo ca supaṇṇo ca sahaṃpatī devā  
mahiddhikā mahānubhāvo ca sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*ime cātummahārājikā devā tāvatimśā devā yāmā devā tusitā devā nimmānaratī devā  
parinimmitavasavattī devā yāva brahmalokā brahmapārisajjā brahmapurohitā mahābrahmā  
paritābhā appamāṇābhā ābhassarā parittasubhā appamāṇasubhā subhakiṅhakā<sup>169</sup> vehapphalā  
asaññasattā<sup>170</sup> aviḥā atappā sudassā sudassī akanitthā<sup>171</sup> ākāsañācāyatanam viññāñācāyatanam  
ākāñcāñāyatanam nevasaññāñācāyatanam mahābrahmasaṅkhātā<sup>172</sup> pathavitalato yāva  
bhavaggaṃ samantato<sup>173</sup> ca avijjaṃ hitvā<sup>174</sup> yāva cakkavālesu pariyaṅtā itarā sabbe sattā appadā vā  
dipadā vā catuppadā vā bahuppadā vā pakkhīhi vā jalehi vā thalehi vā antalikkhehi vā sabbesattā  
averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*ime nīraye attha-nīrayesu sañjīvesu kālasuttesu saṅghātesu roruwesu mahāruruwesu tāpanesu  
mahātāpanesu avīcīsu mahā-avīcīsu<sup>175</sup> lohakumbhīsu mahālohakambhīsu simbalirukkhe vā  
khāranadiyo vā aṅgārāpabbate vā ayaṃ mahāpaṭhavīyo vā soḷasa-mahānīrayesu sabbe sattā  
lokantarānīrayesu sattā kāyakammena vā uppeto peto aḷeṇato asaraṇato mama paññānubhāvena  
mama mettānubhāvena mama mahākaruṇānubhāvena mama muditānubhāvena mama  
upekkhānubhāvena sabbe te nīrayakasattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.*

*mahāmettisuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.*

<sup>168</sup> Perhaps a *sa-* is needed as the beginning of this compound, otherwise it does not fit in well with the rest of the sentence.

<sup>169</sup> BK *subhakiṅhakā*, which is attested once in the *Ṭraibhūmi brah ruanī*, ไตรภูมิพระร่วง, but the more common reading is *subhakiṅhā*.

<sup>170</sup> BK *asaññasatta*. Whereas most Pali sources read *asaññasatta* for this realm, the *Ṭraibhūmi brah ruanī* reads *asaññīsat(v)* อสัณญีสัตว or *asaññībrahm* อสัณญีพรหม. For an English translation of the relevant passages, see Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* (Berkeley: Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, 1982), 254; 274.

<sup>171</sup> BK *akanitthakā*, but Pali sources and the *Ṭraibhūmi brah ruanī* agree on *akanitthā*. See Reynolds and Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, 50.

<sup>172</sup> BK *mahābrahmasaṅkhārā*, unattested. *Mahābrahmasaṅkhātā* appears in the cosmological text *Lokappadīpasāra*. I read *saṅkhātā* as Sanskrit *saṅkhyātā*, “reckoned.”

<sup>173</sup> Divided from BK *bhavaggasamantato*.

<sup>174</sup> BK reads *avijjāhitvā*.

<sup>175</sup> BK *mahā-avīcīsu* must be in apposition to *avīcīsu* here, rather than a ninth hell. Eight is the standard number and this list corresponds nicely to the *Ṭraibhūmībrah ruanī* (Reynolds and Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, 66).

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

The *Metta-sutta*, the *Ratana*,  
the *Khandha*, the *Ātānāṭiya* too,  
the *Dhajaḅga*, the *Aṅgulimāla*,  
the *Disāpāla* as the seventh,  
and the *Atthavīsati**buddha* [or the *Atthavīsati* and the *Bojjhaṅga*]  
[are] eight auspicious *parittas* [or the *Atthamaṅgala-paritta*].

To wit:

the *Ekādasamāti-vuttaṃ*,  
the *Māraṅga* [ya], and the *Sākha/Sukha*,  
the *Dhāranī/Isigili*, the *Girimānanda*,  
the *Moggallāna* and the *Cunda*,

the *Kassapa*, the *Mora-paritta/Mārā khaṅutathāya* [?]/*Mārākhaṅutthāya* [?],  
the *Suriya*, and also the *Canda*,  
the *Chaddanta*, the *Vatta-jātaka*,  
the *Rāhula*—these *paritta*

are for the weal of the worlds,  
of oneself, of the disciples,  
and of parents; all  
twenty-four of them were, by the Buddha himself,  
proclaimed for the sake,  
benefit, and well-being of the world.

These parents, having passed on to the other world, may they, here in the dispensation [of the Buddha], be free from enmity, may they be happy, may they be free from suffering, may they be free from malevolence, may they be free from trouble, may they be of long life, may they be free from disease, may they prosper by means of fortunes, and may they maintain themselves happily.

These brothers, sisters, relatives, friends, blood relations, clansmen, and companions—may they be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These kings, lords of the gods, together with their sons and daughters, their ministers, their royal retainues, their generals, their armies, their male and female slaves, and elephants, horses, oxen, buffalo, etc.—may they be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

Whether in this village, this town, this rural region, or this forest, may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

## Chapter 5: From Sanskrit Dhāranī to Pali Paritta

These humans, by day or by night, whether women, men, boys, or girls; whether they are old or young, foolish or wise, wealthy or impoverished—may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

The sun, the moon, the serpent Varuṇo, the eagle-man<sup>176</sup> Bhāradvāja, and the powerful and mighty [Brahma-]deity, Lord of the World—may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These deities in the retinue of the Four Great Kings, deities in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, deities in the Yama Heaven, deities in the Contented Heaven, deities in the Delighting in Magical Creation Heaven, deities in the Controlling the Magical Creation of Others Heaven, up to the Brahmā-world, [including] those in Brahmā's Retinue, those in Brahmā's Chaplains, those in Great Brahmā, those in Limited Radiance, those in Limitless Radiance, those in Streaming Radiance, those in Limited Splendor, those in Limitless Splendor, those in Complete Splendor, those in Vast Reward, those in Unconscious Beings, those in Undisturbed, those in Unbothered, those in the Beautiful, those in the Beautifully-Sighted, those in Unexcelled, the Sphere of Infinite Space, the Sphere of Infinite Awareness, the Sphere of Nothingness, the Sphere of Neither-Consciousness-Nor-Unconsciousness, that reckoned as Great Brahmā, from the surface of the earth to the peak of existence, and, having from everywhere abandoned ignorance, all the way to the other limits of the world-system, all beings with no feet, with two feet, with four feet, or with many feet, by wing, by water, by land, or by sky—may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These beings in the hells, in the eight hells, in Living, in Black String, in Crushing, in Howling, in Great Howling, in Burning, in Great Burning, in Uninterrupted (i.e. the Great Uninterrupted), in Copper Pot, in Great Copper Pot, or in the Caustic River in Silk-Cotton Tree, or on the great earth in Poker Mountain, or all beings in the World-Limit Hell, or beings endowed with bodily karma, hungry ghosts without safety and without refuge—by the power of my wisdom, by the power of my friendliness, by the power of my great compassion, by the power of my sympathetic joy, by the power of my equanimity, may all of these hell-beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

Here concludes the *Mahāmetti-sutta*.

The latter portion of **Mahāmetti-NM** presents a comprehensive review of the different classes of beings in the world that one might extend *mettā* toward, beginning with one's parents, moving on to one's relatives, the royal court, neighboring settlements, all sorts of human beings, protective worldly deities, and eventually all the way to the deities at the pinnacle of existence (*bhavagga*) and down through the denizens of the lowest hells. There are a few points in this part of the text that follow the terminology of the Thai cosmological

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<sup>176</sup> Pali *supaṇṇa*, connected to *garuḷa/garūḍa*.

treatise *Īraibhūmi brah ruānī*, (or its Khmer analogue) instead of the Pali Abhidhamma, reinforcing the sense that **Mahāmetti-NM** belongs to a Khmer-Tai milieu.

The most interesting part of this text, however, is the initial 20 lines of pseudo-*anuttubha* verse. These verses open with a list of *paritta* texts, which according to the text itself should number 24 (*catubbīsati*) but actually range between 22 and 24 depending on the recension. This particular list is not otherwise extant, though most of the texts in it are clearly identifiable and part of other common *bhāṇavāra* collections surveyed earlier in this chapter. The first eight or ten on the list are followed by *seyyathīdam* (Sanskrit *tadyathā*), which typically precedes lists or mantras, including in many Sanskrit *dhāranī* texts. Why the *seyyathīdam* appears here and not at the beginning of the text remains obscure, but it does serve the function of dividing the list into two parts.<sup>177</sup>

The first part of the list describes many of the texts included in the *Sattaparitta* collection, including the [*Karaṇīya*-]*metta-sutta*, the *Ratana*[-*sutta*], the *Khandha*[-*paritta*], the *Ātānātiya*[-*paritta*], the *Dhajagga*[-*paritta*], and the *Āṅgulimāla*[-*paritta*]. It also includes several texts that are not part of the *Sattaparitta*, including the *Disāpāla*[-*paritta*], a non-canonical *paritta* typically known as the *Mahāmegha-sutta* in Cambodia and the *Chadisāpāla-paritta* in Myanmar, a text addressed later in this chapter (**Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**). The last two lines of this section pose some difficulties. One recension reads *aṭṭhavīsatabuddhañca*, while another reads *aṭṭhavīsati bojjaṅgañca*. The first implies a single text, the *Aṭṭhavīsatabuddha-paritta* (either as the version included within the **Ātānātiya-paritta-NV** or as an independent text), while the second implies the *Aṭṭhavīsatabuddha-paritta* along with the *Bojjaṅga-paritta*. The last line of this section, *parittam aṭṭha maṅgalaṃ*, could also be interpreted in several ways. It could be a summary of the previous eight texts (assuming the *aṭṭhavīsatabuddhañca* reading and not the *aṭṭhavīsati bojjaṅgañca* reading, which would make nine) that reads “[are] eight auspicious *parittas*.” Or it could be referring to other texts, either one called the *Aṭṭha-maṅgala-paritta* or simply to the *Maṅgala-sutta*. The former interpretation, which treats this last line as a summary, makes better sense with the structure of the text. But the latter reading has the advantage of the number of *parittas* mentioned adding up to 24, the number of texts specified at the end of the verse section. A third possible reading is that *parittam aṭṭha maṅgalaṃ* is a kind of collective name for eight texts in the second part of the list, beginning with *Ekādasamāti-vuttam*.<sup>178</sup> This is attractive from a grammatical point of view, though it remains difficult to discern which of the texts that follow in the second part are the “eight” (*aṭṭha*) in question. No matter how the enumeration of the texts is resolved, the first part of the list contains both canonical *parittas* as well as a few non-canonical texts, some of which are particular to Southeast Asia, such as **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**.

The second part of the list, preceded by *seyyathīdam*, includes mostly texts from the *Dvādasaparitta* and the *Catubhāṇavāra* collections of *paritta* texts, but also possibly some non-canonical ones from Southeast Asia. The *Ekādasamāti-vuttam* probably refers to the *Mettānisamsa-sutta* from the first section of the *Catubhāṇavāra*. Other texts from this *bhāṇavāra*

<sup>177</sup> It is also possible, though metrically awkward, that *seyyathīdam* refers to the name of another, unidentified text, such as **Ākāravattā A-NP** or another *Ākāravattā* text, some of which begin with *seyyathīdam*.

<sup>178</sup> Alex von Rospatt kindly suggested this third possibility to me.

include the *Mora-paritta* (though some versions of the *Mahāmetti-sutta* replace *Mora-paritta* with *mārākhaṇuttāya* or the like), the *Suriya[-paritta]*, and the *Canda[-paritta]*. The second *bhāṇavāra* is represented by the *Kassapa[-ttherabojjhaṅga-sutta]*, the *Moggallāna[-ttherabojjhaṅga-sutta]*, and the *Cunda[-ttherabojjhaṅga-sutta]*, and the third by the *Girimānanda[-sutta]* and, depending on the recension, the *Isigili-sutta* as well (others imply the *Dhāraṇī[-paritta]* instead). The *Chaddanta[-paritta]* and the *Vatta-jātaka* [i.e. the *Vattaka-paritta*] belong to the *Dvādasaparitta* collection.<sup>179</sup> The remaining texts resist easy identification. *Māravijā*, surely a metrical compromise for *Māravijaya*, might refer to the *Jayamaṅgala-attha-gāthā*, which describes the Buddha’s victories over Māra and others. The *Sākha* or the *Sukha* could be the set of verses beginning with *sukho buddhānuppādo*,<sup>180</sup> or it could refer to another text. The *Rāhula* is probably not the *Narasīha-gāthā* of the Sri Lankan tradition (a *paritta* addressed to the Buddha’s son Rāhula), but more likely the *Rāhula-paritta/Isirāhula-paritta* found in FEMC A.464, closely related to the *Mahāsāvam* of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection (addressed in the following section). This same short-format palm-leaf manuscript also contains the **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** and the *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, both of which are related to the *Dhāraṇī-paritta* mentioned in some recensions of **Mahāmetti-NM**.

This list of 22–24 *paritta* texts, or perhaps two lists of eight to ten and fourteen texts each, respectively, echoes parts of the *Sattaparitta*, *Dvādasaparitta*, and *Catubhāṇavāra* lists cited above in my discussion of the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* and *vān kanlaḥ khè* collections of *bhāṇavāra* curricula. But the list of the *Mahāmetti-sutta* also contains texts that generally fall outside of these standard collections, including the **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** and possibly also the *Rāhula-paritta* and the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*. The unusual qualities of this list reflect its age of composition, likely well before the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reforms that enforced some degree of standardization onto the monastic curriculum. The inclusion of non-canonical *paritta* rarely recited today in Cambodia highlights the relationship between the **Mahāmetti-NM**, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, and other *parittas* with possible relationships to Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts. Such *paritta* texts include those found in manuscripts FEMC A.464 and EFEO PALI 75, addressed in more detail toward the end of this chapter. First, however, I turn to the the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, another important set of non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts that includes the *Uṇhissavijaya*, in this case in its long verse recension.

## 5.6 The *Mahādibbamanta* Collection in Cambodia

The *Mahādibbamanta* is one of the most distinctive collections of non-canonical *paritta* in Khmer-Tai cultures. Several Thai-script printed editions exist.<sup>181</sup> Padmanabh S. Jaini presents an edition and translation of the first text from this collection.<sup>182</sup> The entire five-text collection is addressed by Prapod Assavavirulhakarn in his contribution to a 2003 felicitation volume in

<sup>179</sup> PS 51–53

<sup>180</sup> BK 119

<sup>181</sup> For this chapter, I primarily consulted CP and SA.

<sup>182</sup> Padmanabh S. Jaini, “*Mahādibbamanta: A Paritta Manuscript from Cambodia*,” in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 503–26.



honour of Jaini.<sup>183</sup> In his chapter, Prapod asserts that there is evidence in central Thailand for the term *Dibbamanta*, if not the exact texts of the present collection, back to 1717. Certain parts of the collection can also be seen in Northern Thai chronicles. He argues, however—citing the work of Pou, Cousins, and Guillon—that there are “no records of Mahādibbamanta as such, as a single text or as a collection, in either Mon or Cambodian culture.”<sup>184</sup> Modern printed versions of the *Mahādibbamanta* contain five texts: *Dibbamanta* (the text edited by Jaini), *Jayamaṅgala* (i.e. **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**), *Mahājaya*, *Uṅhissavijaya* (in its long verse recension), and *Mahāsāvam*. I would argue that most of the five texts in this collection in fact exist in Cambodia as well, either in whole or in part.

The earliest evidence we have for the term *Dibbamanta* in Cambodia comes from IMA 12, a Middle Khmer inscription dating to 1628 CE, lines 11–16:

*hey devv ccov bov oy ārādhanā niman braḥ āriyyasāgh draṅ cittaparasuddhasil kīriyyāpatt sūt  
dibbaman braḥ pūritt no nā braḥ baṅ kambūjapūrāṅ mān anak braḥ dharmmakhittī mahāsāghārāj  
pūbit braḥ aṅg eṅ saṅtaeṅ dhar dessānā braḥ ambidhamm kān 3 mahājāt 2 ānnisā daṅ nisā braḥ  
camlāṅ pūn nisā phnūss*<sup>185</sup>

Once that had been accomplished, Ccov Bov (Cau Bau) invited [members of] the *ariyaśaṅgha* who were endowed with the four pure precepts and excellent conduct to recite [the] *Dibbamanta* [and] holy *paritta* in the Thousand Buddhas gallery of ancient Cambodia, with Anak Braḥ Dharmmakhittī Mahāsāghārāj Pūbit (Anak Braḥ Dharmakitti Mahāsaṅgharāja Pabitr) himself preaching the Dhamma, [including] the two fascicles of the Abhidhamma, two [fascicles] of the *Mahājāti* (*Vessantara-jātaka*), the *ānisaṃsa* for banners (*daṅ*), the *ānisaṃsa* for buddha images (*braḥ*), [the *ānisaṃsa* for] transferring merit/completing an act of merit (*camlāṅ puṇy*),<sup>186</sup> and the *ānisaṃsa* for

<sup>183</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” in *Jainism and Early Buddhism: Essays in Honor of Padmanabh S. Jaini*, ed. Olle Qvarnström, vol. 2 (Fremont, CA: Asian Humanities Press, 2003), 379–406.

<sup>184</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” 387–388.

<sup>185</sup> Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรตะริน, *Cārik nagar vāt samāy hlāṅ braḥ nagar ga. śa. 1566 – ga.śa. 1747 จารึกนครวัดสมัยหลังพระนคร ค.ศ. 1566 – ค.ศ. 1747* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: แคนคาร์โณ คาร์บิม(บ) จงเจริญการพิมพ์, 2542), 61.

<sup>186</sup> There is some confusion about what *nisā braḥ camlāṅ pūn* refers to in this context. In his article on *ānisaṃsa* literature in Cambodia, de Bernon treats it as a single text, meaning *ānisaṃsa braḥ camlāṅ puṇy*, «*Avantage de transférer ses mérites*» (de Bernon, “La littérature des «avantages» (*ānisaṅs*) dans les bibliothèques monastiques du Cambodge,” 79). Saveros Lewitz (Pou) also understands it as one text, but instead meaning «des mérites... des statues du Buddha» (Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16a, 16 et 16c,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient*, vol. 59 (1972), 227). Only Uraisi Varasarin understands the inscription as presenting four different *ānisaṃsa* texts: “แสดงผลอันสงสในการตัดธงสร้างพระ อานิสสงสผนวย การสงสอนุญ” (Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรตะริน, *Cārik nagar vāt samāy hlāṅ braḥ nagar ga. śa. 1566 – ga.śa. 1747 จารึกนครวัดสมัยหลังพระนคร ค.ศ. 1566 – ค.ศ. 1747*, 154). Although I find the order in which Varasarin presents these four texts confusing, I agree that the inscription mentions four *ānisaṃsa*. The broader context of the inscription, which explicitly mentions the offering of banners (*daṅ dhāmmadhvajj 2*), buddha images (*braḥ buddharūpp māss aṅg 2 prāk aṅg 3*), and ordination of male relatives (*ppūss kūṅ 2 anak*), as well as implying the dedication of merit (necessary for every act of merit-making), suggests that all four *ānisaṃsa* would have been preached. Thus I understand *nisā braḥ camlāṅ pūn* to mean *ānisaṅs braḥ [ānisaṅs] camlāṅ puṇy*, “the *ānisaṃsa* for buddha images (*braḥ*), [the *ānisaṃsa* for] transferring merit/completing an act of merit (*camlāṅ puṇy*).” Since there is a line break between *nisā braḥ* and *camlāṅ pūn*, it is reasonable to presume that an additional *nisā (ānisaṃsa)* was intended before *camlāṅ pūn (camlāṅ puṇy)* but was

[causing a relative] to ordain (*phnuos*).

Most of the texts in this passage, including the portions of the Abhidhamma, the *Vessantara-jātaka*, and the four *ānisamsa* texts, can be readily paired with texts still extant in the Khmer manuscript tradition. It is possible that the titles, if not the precise contents, of these texts have not changed much between the date of the inscription in the early seventeenth century and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when most of the surviving manuscripts in Cambodia were reengraved on palm leaves on the basis of earlier copies. But the line *sūt dibbaman braḥ pūritt* presents some challenges. Lewitz (Pou) and Varasarin both interpret this as referring to a compound, *dibbaman braḥ pūritt*, rather than two separate items, *dibbaman* and *braḥ pūritt*. However, since *dibbaman*, at least in the Siamese tradition, generally refers to a particular text or set of texts, it might be preferable to interpret this line as “to recite [the] *Dibbamanta* [and] holy *paritta*” instead of “to recite the holy *paritta* that are divine mantras.”

A later inscription from Angkor Wat, dated to 1696, provides another reference to the term *dibbamanta*. Line 22 of IMA 34 reads: *sūt braḥ dibvmuntr dhammacak mahāsūmayi*.<sup>187</sup> Here the inscription could refer to just two texts, the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* and the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, that are both labeled as *dibbamanta*, or “divine mantras.”<sup>188</sup> Or the inscription could be referring to three individual texts, the *Dibbamanta*, the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*, and the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*. But as references to the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* appear in other places, including line 12 of this very inscription, without *dibbamanta* as a qualifier, I am inclined to favor reading line 22 as referring to three distinct texts.

Just as in the Ayutthaya inscription from 1717 cited by Prapod, it is difficult to discern whether the *Dibbamanta* of these inscriptions refers to the *Dibbamanta* edited by Jaini or to the entire *Mahādibbamanta* collection of five protective texts. As both the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* and the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* are long *parittas* typically reserved for major ceremonies in Cambodia today, it is possible that the entire five-text *Mahādibbamanta* collection is implied, including the *Uṇhissavijaya*, as it might be more comparable in length and stature to the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta* and the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*. But this is only speculation.

Nevertheless, contrary to Prapod’s assertions, there is considerable evidence for parts of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection in Cambodia beyond IMA 12 and IMA 34.<sup>189</sup> For instance, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, the second text in the *Mahādibbamanta*, is a crucial part of the

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elided by the lapicide.

<sup>187</sup> Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรสาริน, *Cārik nagar vāt samāy hlāñ braḥ nagar ga. śa. 1566 – ga.śa. 1747 จารึกนครวัดสมัยหลังพระนคร ค.ศ. 1566 – ค.ศ. 1747*, 106.

<sup>188</sup> Prapod notes that in the introductory verses to some *paritta*, the term *dibbamanta* appears as a general synonym for *paritta*. See Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” 388.

<sup>189</sup> In addition to IMA 12 and IMA 34, which mention the term *dibbamanta* but do not quote from the actual text of the *Dibbamanta*, Nicolas Revire has astutely pointed out that a recently discovered inscription from Western Prasat Top in Angkor Thom (known as Monument 486), which likely dates, on paleographic grounds, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains the line *dakkhine kassapo buddho*, which appears to be borrowed from the *Dibbamanta* or one of its source texts. This new evidence may mean that the *Dibbamanta* circulated in Cambodia several centuries before IMA 12 and IMA 34. See Nicolas Revire, “Back to the Future: The Emergence of Past and Future Buddhas in Khmer Buddhism,” in *The Emergence of Theravada Buddhism in Cambodia: Southeast Asian Perspectives*, ed. Ashley Thompson and Hiram Woodward, forthcoming.

traditionalist rituals for buddha image consecration in Cambodia, particularly in Kampong Cham province. As discussed in the previous chapter, it usually appears in leporello manuscripts that contain a selection of Khmer, Pali, and Thai texts recited during the night of the consecration ceremony. The Pali **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** specifically falls between the Thai-language verse text **Dhārm yog-y/ch** and the Khmer-language verse text **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**. It is colloquially known by its opening line *namo me*, but the leporellos I consulted also end with *jayamaṅgala-parittam niṭṭhitam* (“the *Jayamaṅgala-paritta* is complete”), thus maintaining the same title as in the printed Thai edition (*Jayamaṅgala*).

*Mahājaya* is also known in Cambodia, though it is quite rare today. I have identified a single short-format palm-leaf manuscript from Vatt Velūratana in Kampong Cham as containing almost the entire text of the *Mahājaya*, albeit under the catalog title *jāy dham*.<sup>190</sup> The manuscript itself reads *mahā jāy° 2 ddham*. This version is almost identical to the printed Thai-script version, with the exception of the final section that begins *etena jayasaccena*, which is highly abbreviated in the Cambodian manuscript.

In addition to the *Mahājaya* found in this short-format palm manuscript from Kampong Cham, vernacular ritual texts bearing the formula *jaya jaya* (the distinctive pattern repeated at the beginning of each line of *Mahājaya*) are quite common, and are seen perhaps as far back as the seventeenth century in Cambodian literature, including in the verse novel *Hans yant*, dated by some to 1668.<sup>191</sup> A twelve-line section of this text is in a meter called *mahājāy*, with each line beginning with *jāy jāy* (i.e. *jaya jaya*) and featuring a very similar rhyme and metrical structure to the *Mahājaya* in the *Mahādibbamanta*.<sup>192</sup> Prapod rightly notes that the *Mahājaya* cannot be read without knowledge of Thai metrical structure and phonology; he even claims that parts of the texts are in Thai-Pali, while other parts are in Pali-Thai.<sup>193</sup> The *mahājāy* passage in *Hans yant* and the *Mahājaya* of the *Mahādibbamanta* are thus related in name, form, and content. Though the *Hans yant* passage is in vernacular Khmer, with few Pali case endings, its use of the term *mahājāy* seems to suggest that it is imitating the meter and content of the *Mahādibbamanta* text. Coupled with the contemporary inscriptional evidence from Angkor Wat and the witness of the manuscript from Kampong Cham cited above, this suggests that at least the *Mahājaya* section of the *Mahādibbamanta*, if not the entire five-text collection, was known in seventeenth-century Cambodia.

<sup>190</sup> B.04.03.04 FEMC 169

<sup>191</sup> For the dating of this text, see Señ Sobhā សេង សោកា, “Sāstrā lpèñ សាស្ត្រាវិស្សន៍” (Royal Academy of Cambodia, 2004), 105. Khing Hoc Dy notes that this dating is based on the research of Ras' Jhut and Jhun Khun (see Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, “Lamñam ṭom” លំនាំដើម in *Hans yant ហង្សយន្ត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Cedoreck, 1984), ka-kha).

Santi Pakdeekham argues that *Hans yant* is essentially the same narrative as the Central Thai *klon suat* กลอนสวด text *Suwañ kumār* สุวรรณกุมาร and that the former explicitly frames itself as a translation of a unnamed Siamese text, presumably *Suwañ kumār* itself (Santi Pakdeekham ตานติ ภัคดีคำ, *Sāstrā lpèñ: vāḍhanadhārm dāñ vañasīl(ḥ) bāḍhanākār lèḥ gvām sāmḅān(dh) kăp vāḍhanadhārm khmer ศาสตร์และบท: วัฒนธรรมทางวรรณศิลป์ พัฒนาการ และความสัมพันธ์กับวัฒนธรรมเขมร* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Samāgam miṭrabhāb daiy – kāmbūjā สมาคมมิตรภาพ ไทย – กัมพูชา, 2554), 150).

<sup>192</sup> The passage can be found in Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, *Hans yant ហង្សយន្ត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Cedoreck, 1984), 34.

<sup>193</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” 399–400.

While I have not found the entire text of Jaini's *Dibbamanta* in Cambodia, stanzas 17–38 can be found in a number of texts still recited today, including **Sabbadisāsū-mettāpharaṇaṃ-NP** (*sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā...*), *Sabbadisabuddhamaṅgala-paritta* (*padumattaro purabbāyaṃ...*), and *Cullasabbadisabuddhamaṅgala-parittaṃ* (*buddho ca majjhimo settho...*). Thus the first four texts in the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, including *Dibbamanta*, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, *Mahājaya*, and the long verse version of the *Uṅhissavijaya*, can be found in Cambodia in partial, complete, nearly complete, and complete form, respectively.

The last text of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, *Mahāsāvaṃ*, is hard to find in its full, expanded form in Cambodia. However, both FEMC A.463 and FEMC A.464 contain elements of this text, or at least its basic structure. In FEMC A.463, as well as in FEMC D'.239, one of the protective texts that appears following **Uṅhissavijaya-NM** is known as *Sāvaṃ* or *Indasāvaṃ*. This text, while much shorter than the printed Thai version of *Mahāsāvaṃ*, contains all of the actual words of the text up to the final narrative portion, which is not found in FEMC A.463 or FEMC D'.239. The length of the printed Thai-script *Mahāsāvaṃ* is due to writing out in full the results of combining the initial 24 terms (*sāvaṃ*, *gūṇaṃ*, etc.) with the names of sixteen different beings (*inda*, *cakkavatti*, etc.), followed by an invocation of the Three Jewels (*namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa*) and finally a short mantra (*seyyathīdam hulū hulū svāhāya*). The version in FEMC A.463 and FEMC D'.239 presents the initial 24 terms and then the first pairing (*indasāvaṃ*, etc.), but leaves out the other 23 repetitions. In this sense, with the exception of the final narrative portion, the *Mahāsāvaṃ* of the printed Thai-script *Mahādibbamanta* and the *Sāvaṃ/Indasāvaṃ* of these Cambodian manuscripts are expansions or contractions of the same text.

As for the final narrative portion of the *Mahāsāvaṃ*, which concludes by naming the text *Rāhula-paritta*, there is a close parallel in FEMC A.464. This first portion of this fascicle, part of the same bundle as FEMC A.463, contains five texts: **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**, *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Nagaradhāna-paritta*, *Chalaṅkāra-paritta*, and *Isirāhula-paritta*.<sup>194</sup> All five of these texts are non-canonical *paritta* texts that are still sometimes performed in rituals in Cambodia alongside **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṅhissavijaya-NM**. Only the *Chalaṅkāra-paritta* (i.e. the *Salākāravijjā-sutta*) is common in contemporary Thai and Lao ritual traditions, though all of these texts are found in the aforementioned 1836 Siamese palm-leaf manuscript EFEO PALI 75. The final text, the *Isirāhula-paritta*, contains the contracted version of the non-narrative portion of *Mahāsāvaṃ/Sāvaṃ* embedded within a narrative framework similar to that of the closing narrative of *Mahāsāvaṃ*. Both narratives invoke the figure of Rāhula as the audience of the Buddha's sermon, and both discuss the seer (*isī*) named Akkharasāriṇī.<sup>195</sup> It seems likely that these are simply different versions of the same textual tradition.

The five texts of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, therefore, exist in various forms in

<sup>194</sup> After one blank half-folio, a second portion of the fascicle contains another copy of **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** followed by a text titled *Catupārisuddhasīlavāṇṇanā*. This latter text is an expanded version of the text known as *Buddhā* or *Caturā rakkhā* in Northern Thailand. For a Thai-script print version, see Dvī Khīōn<sub>1</sub>kèv<sub>2</sub> ทวี เขื่อนแก้ว, *Svat man(t) chpāp bhāg hnū* สวดมนต์ฉบับภาคเหนือ (Sāndrāy district, Chiang Mai province อ. สันทราย, จ. เชียงใหม่: Rān<sub>2</sub> sēn dien ร้านแสงเทียน, 2531), 224–227.

<sup>195</sup> The feminine form of this name is puzzling. One also wonders if it is related to the Ākāśacārī (sometimes Ākāśadharaṇī) of the long verse version of the *Uṅhissavijaya*.

extant Cambodian manuscripts. Though the parallel texts are not always complete or exactly the same, both the Khmer and Siamese chanting traditions, especially before the reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, incorporated a wide variety of non-canonical *paritta* texts. In particular, these texts include those represented in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts containing the **Mahāmetti-NM** and **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, other related protective collections on palm-leaf such as FEMC A.464 and EFEO PALI 75,<sup>196</sup> and the celebrated *Mahādibbamanta* collection referenced in stone inscriptions dating back to the seventeenth (Cambodia) and eighteenth centuries (Siam). These collections and the texts they contain, including the *Solasamaṅgala-gāthā*, **Sabbadisāsu-mettapharaṇam-NP**, **Mahāmetti-NM**, *Dibbamanta*, **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**, *Mahājaya*, *Mahāsāvaṃ/Sāvam/Rāhula-paritta/Isirāhula-paritta*, **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**, *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Nagaradhāna-paritta*, and *Chalaṅkāra-paritta/Salākāravijjā-sutta*, form the immediate set of texts adjacent to the *Uṇhissavijaya*.

The fact that all of these texts are non-canonical, are largely excluded from modernist monastic curricula from the late nineteenth century on, and often have parallels with Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts suggest they might be localizations of these *dhāraṇī* texts. The *Uṇhissavijaya* and its adjacent Pali texts share several qualities in common: they generally lack explicit sources in the Pali canon or commentaries, emphasize the protection from danger and the promise of blessings attainable through their recitation, and appear to draw on concepts, terms, and titles that do not sit easily within a sanitized version of Theravada Buddhism. Prapod and others have astutely pointed out that many contemporary users of such texts do not see them as derived from Sanskrit-based Buddhism or Mahayana traditions.<sup>197</sup> But some elements of these texts make more sense if we imagine their authors as being aware of Sanskrit sutras and *dhāraṇīs*, some of which are associated with the Mahayana, and aiming to localize these elements into Pali *parittas*.

### 5.7 Non-Canonical Pali Parittas as Localized Sanskrit Dhāraṇī Texts

The *Uṇhissavijaya* is not the only Pali *paritta* with a title bearing a close resemblance to a Mahayana Sanskrit text. Peter Skilling points out that a Pali text called the *Paññāpāramī* also bears a striking similarity to Sanskrit texts, in this case to the Mahayana *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras. He insightfully links the statement in the printed S. Thammaphakdi version of the *Paññāpāramī* that one “who safeguards the verses of the *Perfection of Wisdom* (*gāthā-paññā-pāramī*) is one to be revered and worshipped (*sakkāra-pūjā*) by all humans and gods, just like a relic in a shrine (*phra dhātu-cetiya*)” with similar statements in the Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras.<sup>198</sup> Skilling notes that this text is popular in Lanna and Lao manuscript collections, but that “it is not yet clear whether the text existed in central Siam or in Cambodia, although the basic formula of thirty

<sup>196</sup> The first two fascicles of EFEO PALI 75 bear the title *Mahādibbamanta*, though the *Uṇhissavijaya* itself is not included. My thanks to Nicolas Revire for pointing this out to me.

<sup>197</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” 402.

<sup>198</sup> Skilling, “Pieces in the Puzzle: Sanskrit Literature in Pre-Modern Siam,” 38.

perfections (*pāramī*) certainly did.”<sup>199</sup> This formula appears in fascicle 17 of the *vān dhamm 21 khsè* collection under the title *Dasapāramī* and is common in other Cambodia *bhāṇavāra* collections. In addition to the basic formula, a single manuscript of the bilingual sermon text of the *Paññāpāramī* has been identified in Cambodia, housed at the National Museum.<sup>200</sup> Although this sermon version of the *Paññāpāramī* appears not to have been especially popular in Cambodia, it highlights the presence of this textual tradition beyond the Lanna and Lao context.

The *Paññāpāramī*, in both its basic Pali formula and in the single known sermon version, may have been imported wholesale from a Siamese, Lanna, or Lao context into Cambodia. Part of the evidence lies in the use of the term *that* in Khmer to describe a number of *itipi so* formulas found in Cambodian manuscripts. This term is particularly common in leporello manuscripts (viz. the texts **Itipi so that A-NP**, **Itipi so that B-NP**, and **Itipi so that C-NP**) but it also occurs in a short-format palm-leaf manuscript as part of a *bhāṇavāra* collection housed in the Royal Palace.<sup>201</sup> **Itipi so that A-NP**, for instance, runs as follows:

*itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ, arahaṃ vata so bhagavā, arahantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, arahantaṃ sirisā namāmi.*

*itipi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho, sammāsambuddho vata so bhagavā, sammāsambuddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, sammāsambuddhaṃ sirisā namāmi.*

*...vijjācaraṇasampanno...sugato...lokavidū...anuttaro...purisadammasārathi...satthā devamanussānaṃ...buddho...itipi so bhagavā bhagavā, bhagavā vata so bhagavā, bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, bhagavantaṃ sirisā namāmi.*<sup>202</sup>

The Blessed One is called the “Worthy One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Worthy One. To the Worthy One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Worthy One.

[and so on and so forth for the remaining nine titles of the Buddha]

Since this text repeats a version of the *itipi so* formula ten times, the word *that* probably means “ten,” “decade,” or “complete group [of ten]” in this context. This is exactly the same sense of the Tai word *dāt* or *dās*, both pronounced /<sup>h</sup>at/.<sup>203</sup> The latter orthography reflects one interpretation on its etymology as coming from Sanskrit *daśa*, “ten.” This word shows up in the term *paññāpāramī 30 dāt*, the typical name for the basic formula of *Paññāpāramī*. Though the Khmer vowel is different, the initial consonants of Khmer *that* and Tai *dāt* are pronounced identically (/<sup>h</sup>/), and it seems likely that the Khmer term is a direct borrowing of Tai usage;

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>200</sup> FEMC d.682 (Fonds Michel Tranet).

<sup>201</sup> FEMC A.426

<sup>202</sup> For a printed version in Khmer script, see BK 46–47.

<sup>203</sup> In Thai script, **ห้า** or **ห้า**; Lao **ห้า**

therefore, *itipi so* texts using the term *that*, such as *Paññāpāramī* and **Itipi so that A-NP**, retain traces of this Tai heritage in Cambodia.

In addition to *Uṇhissavijaya*, *Paññāpāramī*, and **Mahāmetti-NM**, a number of other titles of non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts share affinities with Sanskrit Buddhist texts. One example is the *paritta* known as the *Chadisāpāla-paritta* in Myanmar (**Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**).<sup>204</sup> In Cambodian short-format palm-leaf manuscripts, such as FEMC A.464, this text sometimes bears the title *Disāpāla-paritta* instead. However, the colloquial name for this text in Cambodia is *Mahāmegha-sūtr*, echoing the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text *Mahāmegha-sūtra*.<sup>205</sup> One way to explain this title comes from the opening lines of the text as transmitted in Cambodia:

*evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati gijjhakūṭe pabbate. tena kho pana samayena mahāmegho ahoṣi. tatra kho bhagavā āmantesi bhikkhavoti bhadanteti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca...*

Thus have I heard: at one time the Blessed One was dwelling near Rājagaha on Mt. Vulture’s Peak. At that time there was a great cloud. The Blessed One called out, “O monks.” “Venerable sir,” the monks replied to the Blessed One.” The Blessed One said...

The term *mahāmegho* (“great cloud”) in this passage most likely contributes to the Khmer colloquial title of this text. The Myanmar recension, at least as printed in the Burmese-script *Sīrimaṅgalāparitta* collection, makes no mention of a great cloud:

*evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati gijjhakūṭe pabbate. tena kho pana samayena bhagavā bhikkhū etad avoca...*<sup>206</sup>

It is possible that either the Myanmar recension excised this portion or that it was added in the Khmer recension. The Siamese manuscript EFEO PALI 75 agrees with the Khmer text, however.<sup>207</sup> Either way, the presence of the term *mahāmegho* and the Khmer title *Mahāmegha-sūtr* recall the important Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text by the same name. The textual similarity between the **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** and the *Mahāmegha-sūtra* does not appear to extend beyond this, and there is not enough evidence for the ritual use of the **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** in Cambodia or Siam to suggest whether or not it represents a parallel in terms of protection and rainmaking.

**Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**, **Mahāmetti-NM**, *Paññāpāramī*, and the various versions of the *Uṇhissavijaya* all share the qualities of being Pali protective texts whose titles (and, to some extent, content) appear to draw on Sanskrit Buddhist texts. To this list we might

<sup>204</sup> See Skilling, “The Rakṣā Literature of the *Śrāvakayāna*,” 123.

<sup>205</sup> For more on the Sanskrit text, see Cecil Bendall, “Art. X.— The Megha-Sūtra,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 12, no. 2 (1880): 286–311.

<sup>206</sup> Nuiṇ ṇaṃ tō Buddha sāsanā aphvaṃ, *Sīrimaṅgalā parit tō* (Rankun: Nuiṇ ṇaṃ tō Buddha sāsanā aphvaṃ, 1962), 353.

<sup>207</sup> EFEO PALI 75, folio 54a, *kaḥ*

also add the *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Dhāraṇī-paritta* (mentioned in **Mahāmetti-NM**), *Rāhula-paritta*/*Mahāsāvaṃ* (part of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection and possibly mentioned in **Mahāmetti-NM**), and *Chalanikāra-paritta*/*Salākāravijjā-sutta*. These texts all use Pali words that parallel Sanskrit terms for incantations believed to confer magical efficacy or protection, including *vidyā* and *dhāraṇī*. Some of these non-canonical *paritta* even deal explicitly with the concept of *dhāraṇīs* as found in Sanskrit Buddhist texts.

The *Ādhāraṇa-paritta* as transmitted in FEMC A.464, for instance, opens with a standard frame narrative (*evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā vesālīyaṃ viharati mahāvane kutāgārasālāyaṃ*) in which the Buddha addresses Ānanda (*atha kho bhagavā āyasmantaṃ ānandaṃ āmantesi*) and exhorts him to memorize, recite, recollect, and illuminate an incantation known as *Nagaradhāna* (*ānanda imaṃ nagaradhānaṃ dhārehi ānanda imaṃ nagaradhānaṃ vācehi ānanda imaṃ nagaradhānaṃ manasikarohi ānanda imaṃ nagaradhānaṃ pabhāsikarohi*). The Buddha explains the manifold powers of this incantation to free one from a long litany of dangers (*sāyaraṅjabhayena paramuñcissāmi corabhayena paramuñcissāmi aggibhayena paramuñcissāmi*, etc.) and possible sources of harm (*manussā... amanussā...etc.*) before finally introducing the *dhāraṇī* itself with *seyyathīdam*. The first *dhāraṇī* given is as follows: *jālo mahājālo jālaṃ mahājālaṃ jālīte mahājālīte jālītaṃ mahājālītaṃ. pugge pugge samputte puggaṃ puggaṃ samputtaṃ suttaṃ gamīti suttaṃ gamīti miggayittim*.<sup>208</sup> The Buddha then explains that the words of this *dhāraṇī* have been uttered by 700 myriads of buddhas (*ime kho ānanda imaṃ ādhāraṇaparittassa paḍaṃ sattasatte[hi] sambuddhakotīhi bhāsītā*). A second incantation is given, this one uttered by 90 myriads of buddhas instead.<sup>209</sup> The text closes with a standard end to the frame narrative for the Buddha's discourses (*idam avoca bhagavā idam vatvā sugato attamaṇo āyasmā ānando bhavagato bhāsītaṃ abhinandanti*).

A close relative of the *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, follows a similar structure. Here I follow the text as presented in EFEO PALI 75. After a standard opening narrative (*evam me suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati giṃjhakūṭe pabbate tena kho pana samayena āyasmā ānando bhagavantam abhivādetvā bhagavantam eva pucchī*), the Buddha assures Ānanda of the

<sup>208</sup> A very similar chant is given in BK 45, titled *Jāla-pāṭha*. Diplomatic transcription: *jālomahājālo jālaṃmahājālaṃ jālītimahājālīti jālītaṃmahājālītaṃ. muttimuttisampatti muttamuttansampattaṃ suttaṃgamīti suttaṃgamīti mīttayīti mīttayīti dīṭṭhalāntalā mantalārogatalākaraḷādubbala. rīṭṭirīṭṭi līṭṭilīṭṭi kīṭṭikīṭṭi mīṭṭimīṭṭi muttimūṭṭi cīṭṭicīṭṭi cutīcutī dhāraṇī dhāraṇī. imissaṃrājasīmāyaṃ khettesamantāsaṭṭhīyojanasatasahassāni buddhā dhammā saṅghā jālaparikkhette rakkhantu surakkhantu. jālapāṭho nīṭṭhito*. Standardized edition: *jālo mahājālo jālaṃ mahājālaṃ jālīti mahājālīti jālītaṃ mahājālītaṃ mutti mutti sampatti muttam muttam sampattaṃ suttaṃgamīti suttaṃgamīti mīttayīti mīttayīti dīṭṭhalā tantalā mantalā rogatalā karalā dubbala rīṭṭi rīṭṭi līṭṭi līṭṭi kīṭṭi kīṭṭi mīṭṭi mīṭṭi mutti mutti cīṭṭi cīṭṭi cuti cuti dhāraṇī dhāraṇī imissaṃ rājasīmāyaṃ khetṭe samantā saṭṭhīyojanasatasahassāni buddhā dhammā saṅghā jālaparikkhette rakkhantu surakkhantu. jālapāṭho nīṭṭhito*. My rendering into English: Net, great net; net, great net; blazing, great blazing; blazing, great blazing; liberation, liberation, liberation, attainment; liberated, liberated, attained; friendliness, friendliness; view, tantra, mantra, disease, weakness; empty, empty; anointed, anointed, glory, glory, friendliness, friendliness, liberation, liberation, understanding, understanding, vanishing, vanishing, incantation, incantation—within this royal boundary, everywhere throughout this land for six million leagues, may all the Buddhas, their Dhammas, and their Sanghas protect and preserve within this net-surrounded land. This concludes the passage on the net.

<sup>209</sup> de Bernon's article on the Middle Khmer phrase *brah buddh ammpāl khsāc* ("buddhas as numerous as [grains] of sand") illuminates other examples of large or even infinite numbers of buddhas mentioned in various texts from this period. See Olivier de Bernon, "Des buddha aussi nombreux que les grains de sable": Note sur une métaphore figée dans la langue khmère," *Aséanie* 7 (June 2001): 13–17. See also Peter Skilling, "The Sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhology," in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 128–154.



benefits of memorizing, studying, and establishing a *ceṭiya* for these *dhāraṇīs*, here rendered in Pali as *dhāraṇas* (*imāni dhāraṇāni yo dhāreti yo sikkhati. yo vā ceṭiyo paṭtheti*). Toward the end of the text, the Buddha provides the *dhāraṇa/dhāraṇī* itself, preceded by a simple homage to the Three Jewels and *seyyathīdaṃ* (*namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa seyyathīdaṃ ritti ritti litti litti kitti kitti mitti mitti citti citti mutti mutti cutti cutti dhāraṇi dāraṇīti sādhu ānanda imāni dhāraṇi dhārehi*), before finally closing in the standard way (*idam avoca bhagavā attamano āyasmā ānando bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanduti*).

The *Ādhāraṇa-paritta* and the *Dhāraṇī-paritta* marshall both the style and the vocabulary of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts to present them afresh as Pali *paritta*. The exhortation to memorize, recite, and revere these texts—even to go so far as building a *ceṭiya* for them—echoes not only the *Uṇhissavijaya* and the *Uṣṇīsajivijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* but also the *Paññāpāramī* and its Sanskrit parallels pointed out by Skilling. In both texts, the *dhāraṇī* portions are preceded by *seyyathīdaṃ*, a term witnessed above in the *Uṇhissavijaya*'s primary companion text in Cambodia, **Mahāmetti-NM**. In the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, *seyyathīdaṃ* is additionally preceded by *namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa*, which echoes the my interpretation, explored earlier in this chapter, that the **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** contains a prose homage to the Three Jewels to replace the lost Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*. The *Dhāraṇī-paritta* thus merges the Pali *paritta* usage of homages to the Three Jewels as a form of protection (seen most explicitly in **Dhajagga-sutta-CP**) and the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* tradition of emphasizing the power of sounds (such as *ritti ritti litti litti kitti kitti*) over their semantic meaning.

A very similar incantation can be found in *Rāhula-paritta/Mahāsāvam*. This text belongs to the *Mahādibbamanta* collection. It is also one of the named *parittas* in **Mahāmetti-NM** and a text that frequently follows **Uṇhissavijaya-NM** in Cambodian *bhāṇavāra* collections in short-format palm-leaf manuscripts. In FEMC A.464, this text is titled *Isirāhula-paritta*. This version begins with a very similar frame narrative to the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, in which Ānanda poses a question to the Buddha (*evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati giṃhakuṭṭe pabbate tena kho pana samayena āyasmā ānando bhagavantam abhivādetvā. bhagavantam eva pucchi*). The Buddha replies with a long list of benefits that accrue to one who memorizes, studies, recites, and establishes these *ādhāraṇas* (*imāni ādhāraṇāni yo dhāreti yo sikkhīti yo vāceti yo paṭtheti*). Then the monk Rāhula poses another question to the Buddha, who replies with a story about the great seer (*mahā-isi*) named *Akkharasāraṇī*. Then the portion found in the *Mahāsāvam* begins, namely the long incantation beginning with *sāvam guṇam*, etc., and a line that closely resembles the *dhāraṇī* in the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, but with *hulū hulū hulū svāhāya* instead of *ritti ritti litti litti*, etc. (*namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa seyyathīdaṃ hulū hulū hulū svāhāya*). In both this text and in the *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, it is ambiguous as to whether *namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa* is part of the *dhāraṇī* proper or is simply a necessary prequel to it.<sup>210</sup> The *tadyathā* (*seyyathā/seyyathīdaṃ*) of many Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs* shares a similar kind of ambiguity. For instance, in Chinese versions of Indic *dhāraṇīs*, the word *tadyathā* is often treated as part of the *dhāraṇī*

<sup>210</sup> These short incantations in both the *Dhāraṇī-paritta* and the *Rāhula-paritta/Mahāsāvam* can also be found in the conglomerate chanting text popular in Thai printed collections, *Yaṭ brah kṇ(d) brah trāi pītāk* ยอดพระกัณฑ์พระไตรปิฎก. For a Lao-script version, see Tvañjai Hlvañbaḥsī ດວງໄຊ ຫລວງພະສີ, *Sut yaṭ brah gāthā brah kṇ trāi pītāk* (sahpāp pè) ສູດຍອດພຣະຄຳຖາ ພຣະກັນໄຕອປິຕິກ (ສະບັບແປ) (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ: Naḥgaan sī brintūn ນະຄອນສີພອນນິຕິ, 2011).

and as such phonetically transcribed into Chinese (sometimes as *duōzhītā* or as *dányǐtā*) rather than translated according to its semantic meaning.<sup>211</sup> Similarly, in the *dhāraṇī* of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* as presented in T.970, *tadyathā* is phonetically rendered as *dázhītā*.<sup>212</sup> In the context of a Pali *paritta*, however, these questions may be moot, for in rituals these protective texts are recited in their entirety, not just the *dhāraṇī* portions.

Another protective text from FEMC A.464, titled *Chalaṅkāra-paritta* in the manuscript, follows a similar pattern. The text begins with a standard opening (*evam me suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvathiyāṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme*). The Buddha then begins to address Ānanda, eventually exhorting him to learn, memorize, and recite the *Chalaṅkāravij[ā]na-sutta* (*ugaṇhāhi ānanda imaṃ chalaṅkāravijānasuttaṃ. dhārehi ānanda imaṃ chalaṅkāravijānasuttaṃ vācehi ānanda imaṃ chalaṅkāravijānasuttaṃ*). After explicating the benefits of this *dhāraṇī*-like incantation (*vijjā* or *vijjāna*, cf. Sanskrit *vidyā*), the Buddha declares that it has already been proclaimed by six buddhas (*chahi ānanda bhagavato sammāsambuddhehi imaṃ chalaṅkārasuttaṃ sudesitaṃ hoti*). The Buddha then names each buddha (*katamehi cha buddhehi vipasissa pi nāma. ānanda bhavagato sammāsambuddhassa imaṃ chalaṅkāravijānasuttaṃ subhābhisitaṃ hotīti*, etc.), with the same short chant specified each time. The *dhāraṇī*-like incantation itself is preceded by *seyyathīdam* and followed by *etena saccavacanena suvatthi hotu* (*seyyathīdam ditthilā dandhalā maṇḍalā rogālā karalā dubbalāti. etena saccavacanena suvatthi hotū ti*). The Buddha announces that he is now the seventh buddha to proclaim the same incantation (*mayā pi sattamena ānanda etarahi sammāsambuddhena chalaṅkāravijānasuttaṃ sudesitaṃ hoti*). He then declares the benefits of one who learns, memorizes, and recites this incantation, including protection from dying from a long list of dangers (*yo ko ci ānanda nāmato vā gottato vā padato vā akkharato vā uggaṇhissati vā dhārisati vā vācessati vā so yāvajjvaṃ ahinārakkho ca hoti visavegena vā so kālaṃ na karissati satthena vā so kālaṃ na karissati*, etc.). The rest of the text outlines additional protective benefits from all manner of creatures, before eventually closing in the standard fashion (*idam avoca bhagavā āyasmā ānando bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandī*). Then, as a coda, the text narrates that Ānanda arose and was freed from his illness. The text closes by wishing that the audience be healed and blessed in the same way (*evam evāya[m pi] sarīro nidukkho nirūpaddavo nirogo nibhayo ni-antarāyo. bahūlābho bahūyaso bahūbhogo bahūpañño bhavatu sabbadā ti*).

The *Chalaṅkāra-paritta* (*Chalaṅkāra-vijjā-sutta/Chalaṅkāra-vijjāna-sutta*) is quite rare in Cambodia today, the text remains popular in Laos and in parts of Thailand, but under a different name, *Salākāravijjā*. Both names imply a Sanskrit etymology of *ṣaḍ + kāra + vidyā* (Pali *saḷ/chal + kāra + vijjā*), a “spell/incantation (*vidyā*) in six syllables.” This, in turn, recalls a Sanskrit term, *ṣaḍakṣaravidyā*, for the six-syllable mantra associated with Avalokiteśvara, typically *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*. A single inscription (K. 1154) of this mantra, dated to the tenth century by Saveros Pou,<sup>213</sup> has been studied by Peter Skilling, who notes that it is unique among inscriptions from Southeast Asia in this period for providing a mantra for an image of

<sup>211</sup> 多姪他 or 咀你也他. See Ryan R. Overbey, “Memory, Rhetoric, and Education in the Great Lamp of the Dharma Dhāraṇī Scripture” (Harvard University, 2010). 69.

<sup>212</sup> T.970 359b08 但姪他

<sup>213</sup> Saveros Pou, *Nouvelles inscriptions du Cambodge II & III* (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 2001), 129.

a bodhisatva.<sup>214</sup> Whether this mantra or other recitation practices associated with Avalokiteśvara were popular during this period is unknown, but K. 1154 provides one reason to suppose that the Pali term *chalakāra-vijjā* may be drawing on the *śadaḥsaravidyā* of Avalokiteśvara. The incantation of the *Chalāṅkāra-paritta*, at least in its Cambodian recension, consists of six words: *diṭṭhilā dandhalā maṅḍalā rogalā karalā dubbalā*. The *-lā* portion of each, curiously, is pronounced in Cambodia today in the Siamese fashion (IPA: *laː*), rather than the modern Khmer vowel modulation (IPA *liə*) expected in second-series consonants in contexts such as *dandhalā*.<sup>215</sup> This is usually a sign that the Khmer version of a Pali chant was transmitted from Siam in the past few centuries, rather than indicating the unusual persistence of an older Khmer pronunciation. No matter the origin of the text, it certainly parallels the case of the *Uṅhissavijaya*, **Mahāmetti-NM**, *Paññāpāramī*, and **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM** in transmitting a Pali title that invites comparison with Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Moreover, as in the case of the *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, and the *Rāhula-paritta/Mahāsāvam*, the *Chalāṅkāra-paritta* draws on the style and vocabulary of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* texts to fashion a novel Pali *paritta*.

### 5.8 Conclusion

This chapter examines the products of a process of localized translations in Khmer-Tai Buddhist cultures, specifically non-canonical Pali *paritta* texts that appear to draw on the titles, contents, and structures of Sanskrit Buddhist *dhāraṇī* texts. In a rather crude and imprecise sense, this localization concerns largely Mahayana texts being transformed in a Theravada Buddhist context. However, as Prapod and others have pointed out, a crisp distinction between even “Mahayana” and “non-Mahayana,” much less between “Mahayana” and the more recently adopted term “Theravada,” is difficult to make in mainland Southeast Asia.<sup>216</sup> Nevertheless, the Pali *paritta* texts I examine in this chapter evince both linguistic (Sanskrit to Pali) and doctrinal (Mahayana to Theravada) localization.

The Pali *Uṅhissavijaya*, in both its long verse version and its medium-length mixed prose and verse version, is perhaps the clearest example of this localization. The title, the frame narrative, the benefits, and perhaps even aspects of the importance of the *dhāraṇī* are maintained in the various Pali versions of the *Uṅṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. The medium-length **Uṅhissavijaya-NM** is not alone in Cambodian leprellos and short-format palm-leaf manuscripts in providing evidence of such localization. The curricular context of the **Uṅhissavijaya-NM** in *bhāṇavāra* collections shows its connections to a number of adjacent texts, such as **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇam-NP**, *Soḷasamaṅgala-gāthā*, and **Mahāmetti-NM**, the last of which suggests that it too is a product of the localization of a Sanskrit text.

<sup>214</sup> Peter Skilling, “An *Om Maṅḍapadme Hūṃ* Inscription from South-East Asia,” *Aséanie* 11 (June 2003): 15.

<sup>215</sup> Kun Sopheap pointed out the traditional pronunciation of this incantation for me.

<sup>216</sup> Prapod Assavavirulhakarn, “Mahādibbamanta: A Reflection on Thai Chanting Tradition,” 401–402. For a study of the term “Mahayana” and Mahayana texts, ideas, and practices in Siam, see Arthid Sheravanichkul, “Thai Ideas about Hīnayāna-Mahāyāna: Correspondence between King Chulalongkorn and Prince Narisranuvattiwong,” in *How Theravāda Is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2012), 415–440.

Moreover, the *Uṇhissavijaya* is also part of the *Mahādibbamanta* collection, some of whose texts also draw on Sanskrit Buddhist terms and concepts, including *dhāraṇīs*. Finally, another cohort of non-canonical Pali *paritta* closely related to **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**, including **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**, *Dhāraṇī-paritta*, *Ādhāraṇa-paritta*, *Rāhula-paritta/Mahāsāvam*, and *Chalāṅkāra-paritta/Salākāravijjā-sutta*, similarly draw on Sanskrit Buddhist *dhāraṇī* texts. Some of these Pali *paritta* even articulate specific *dhāraṇīs* and label them as such, providing the most concrete evidence of the localization of Buddhist Sanskrit terms and structures into a Theravada, Pali, Khmer-Tai context.

The following two chapters present forms of localized translations that are much more grounded in Khmer-Tai vernacular languages and cultures than the Pali texts that are the focus of this chapter. Even these Pali *parittas*, however, must be seen in the (likely) Khmer-Tai context of the authors who created them. While a few of these texts, such as **Chadisāpāla-paritta-NM**, may occasionally appear in Myanmar or in Burmese-script Pali texts, by and large the non-canonical Pali *paritta* studied here are limited to the cultures centered on the modern borders of Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. They are thus part of a distinct strand of Pali composition practiced by the Tai and, to a lesser extent, the Khmer. We know very little about exactly when, where, or by whom these texts were composed. The existing inscriptional and manuscript evidence suggests that most of them predate the eighteenth century. Moreover, some of them must have been composed at a time when knowledge of certain Sanskrit Buddhist texts, or even their titles, was still current among Khmer-Tai monastics and intellectuals. Further research is necessary to estimate when and how Sanskrit Buddhist texts circulated in mainland Southeast Asia in the centuries after the apex of Mahayana Buddhist patronage during the reign of Jayavarman VII at the height of the Angkorian empire. The next chapter examines another process of localized translations, not from Sanskrit to Pali, but from Pali to the vernacular, for which the Cambodian leporello corpus along with other Khmer and Tai manuscript traditions provide significant evidence.

## Chapter 6: Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter, like Chapter 5 before and Chapter 7 after, considers a process of localized translation that shaped a number of texts in the leporellos. Whereas the previous chapter dealt with the localization of Sanskrit protective texts into Pali ones in Southeast Asia, this chapter considers how Pali texts are rendered into the vernacular. More specifically, it analyzes bilingual Pali-vernacular texts as they appear in the leporello corpus and in other Khmer-Tai manuscripts. Such texts may be in prose or verse, though in this chapter I only consider texts in which the vernacular portions are in prose; vernacular verse translations from Pali texts are considered in the following chapter.

Bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts may be “fully bilingual” or “partially bilingual.” Fully bilingual texts have Pali and vernacular portions that are roughly equivalent in length and content, and for which the vernacular portion is a direct translation of the Pali. Partially bilingual texts, by contrast, contain Pali and vernacular portions that are unequal in length and content. In many cases, the vernacular portions are much longer than the Pali ones, and the vernacular may be an expanded rendering of the Pali or the Pali may simply be added to lend authority to a vernacular composition. In a few cases, the Pali portions are longer than the vernacular ones, as the vernacular portions may be abbreviated where repetitive or redundant. Whether fully or partially bilingual, the texts considered in this chapter reflect a central process for the localization of Pali grammatical features, lexical items, and source texts into Khmer-Tai vernaculars.

My central goal in this chapter is to demonstrate that the techniques of creating these bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts follow a set of strict conventions that are shared across the Khmer-Tai world. By and large, fully and partially bilingual texts are not the result of random, idiosyncratic, or inconsistent approaches to rendering Pali texts into Khmer-Tai vernaculars. The creators of these texts aimed to create systematic, accurate, and consistent bilingual texts that faithfully localize Pali scripture into the lexicon, syntax, and style of Khmer or Tai prose.

Two main techniques make this localization possible. The first is the addition of a specific set of technical particles in the vernacular to mark grammatical features of the Pali, including case, number, tense, mood, and commentarial glosses. The second is the creation of a novel system of syntactic rearrangement, such that Pali sentences, often in a SOV (SUBJECT + OBJECT + VERB) syntax, may be broken down into their component parts and reordered to fit the local SVO (SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT) syntax of Khmer and Tai languages. This chapter explores how these two techniques work in tandem to create bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts that make Pali texts intelligible in a local Southeast Asian context.

The practical use of these bilingual texts across the Khmer-Tai world is varied: some provide study aids for monks learning Pali, some are recited as sermons to the laity, and others are chanted as ritual texts, including in end-of-life contexts. There is no universal function of these texts; they are not uniformly created for pedagogical, homeletic, or apotrapiac ends. What they all share, however, is an intention to make Pali words and texts locally relevant to Khmer-Tai audiences by rendering them grammatically cogent, syntactically coherent, and lexically intelligible. In that sense, they localize Pali texts for Southeast Asians by bringing Pali words, phrases, and sentences into direct contact with the vernacular. Moreover, these bilingual texts are essential for constructing a world history of linguistics. They represent a rare premodern instance of sophisticated grammatical and syntactical analysis, rooted in the insight that not all languages are structured in the same way. This is all the more remarkable considering that philologists in Europe developed comparable techniques only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts are not particularly common in Cambodian leporellos. In the 70-leporello corpus addressed by this dissertation, they comprise just 4.4% of the total texts (29 of 653), though fully 10.3% of the distinct texts (20 of 195). Such texts are far more numerous in the long- and short-format palm-leaf manuscripts surviving in Cambodia today. Nearly all traditional sermon texts,<sup>1</sup> for instance, mix together Pali and vernacular phrases. The same is true for many other long-format palm-leaf manuscripts intended for doctrinal or linguistic study. Even among the ritual texts engraved on short-format palm leaf, a few bilingual Pali-vernacular texts surface. The low frequency of bilingual texts in leporellos reflects both the emphasis of this manuscript format on chanted texts as well as the preponderance of bilingual genres among those texts not intended for chanted recitation but rather for sermons or for monastic education.

The bilingual prose texts that do appear in the leporello corpus are largely texts used in specific end-of-life rituals, in particularly bilingual versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta* (twelve texts total), the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (one text), and various verses for recitation when monks retrieve the *paṇṣukūla* cloth from a corpse (two texts). Another group of texts may be chanted on a variety of ritual occasions, including but not limited to end-of-life rites, such as those concerned with repentance and absolution (four texts). A small number of texts are limited to other specific rituals, such as *Dhammakāya* for buddha image consecration (two texts). Finally, a further six texts are not, to my knowledge, typically associated with any specific ritual. With the exception of some modernist versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta* and the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*, all of these bilingual versions date before the twentieth century, though it is difficult to more precisely determine their period of composition.

In addition to the bilingual prose texts considered in this chapter, there are also eleven total (1.7%) bilingual verse texts in the leporello corpus, including ten distinct titles (5.1%). These texts interweave Pali verse texts stanza-by-stanza with Khmer verse translations, and a

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<sup>1</sup> *saṭṭhā desa(n) saṅgāsaṅgī* / *saṭṭhā desa(n) saṅgāsaṅgī*

few examples of them will be analyzed in the following chapter. Many of these Khmer verse translations are quite recent and can generally be attributed to twentieth-century Khmer authors, including Ukñā Suttantaprijā Ind, Sèm Sūr, Cāp Bin, and Dhammalikhit Uk. A further 36 Khmer verse texts in the corpus (5.5%), including thirteen distinct titles (6.7%), are explicitly framed as direct translations of Pali prose or verse texts, though they are presented independently from the Pali rather than being truly bilingual.

All of the texts discussed above are sometimes classified as *samrāy*<sup>2</sup> in Khmer. This broad term encompasses a wide range of vernacular texts that are more or less connected to Pali source texts. Depending on the context, *samrāy* may encompass fully or partially bilingual prose texts for end-of-life chant, sermons, doctrinal exegesis, and linguistic instruction; fully bilingual verse texts; and vernacular verse and prose texts that are explicitly framed as translations of Pali originals.

Derived from the verb *srāy*,<sup>3</sup> “to untie, unravel, untangle; to decode, translate, interpret, solve,” the term *samrāy* seems to apply only to translations from Pali (and occasionally also Sanskrit)<sup>4</sup> into Khmer, rather than from Tai, Chinese, French, or other languages. The term *samrāy* differs from the usage of *nissaya*, *nāmasadda*, and *vohāra* in Siamese, Lao, or Lanna contexts in that the Khmer is broad enough to cover the latter three terms. In this sense, the Khmer term *samrāy* is more parallel to *nissaya* in Burmese or perhaps even *sannaya* in Sinhalese. The closest parallel term in Tai languages might be simply *plè* (“to translate”),<sup>5</sup> though this does not capture the specific sense of a vernacular translation or bilingual composition of a real or imagined Pali source text.

Both fully and partially bilingual *samrāy* texts can either present the Pali in its original word order or in a syntactically rearranged form. I am not aware of a local name for the original-syntax texts, but the syntactically rearranged ones are known in Khmer as *samrāy lot prayog* or *prè lot prayog*,<sup>6</sup> or “translation [made by] leaping [around in each] sentence.” The same

<sup>2</sup> សម្រាយ, also written *samrāy* សំរាយ

<sup>3</sup> ស្រាយ

<sup>4</sup> I am not aware of any pre-twentieth-century bilingual Sanskrit-Khmer texts in the *samrāy* style. For an extraordinary Sanskrit-Thai example of a bilingual Buddhist text composed in the Ayutthaya period in Siam and transmitted in a leporello format, see Dīpavāca(n) Śrīvājavij(ñ) ทีปวิจารณ์ ศรีวัชรวิชัย, *Supprītidharmarājajātak gāṃ khvāi sūprītidharmarājajātak* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākār kramsilpakar, 2558). This text uses the same exact principles of technical particles and syntactic rearrangement witnessed in Pali-vernacular texts.

<sup>5</sup> Thai *plè* แปล, Lao *pè* ແປ; cf. Khmer *prè* ប្រែ

<sup>6</sup> សម្រាយលោកប្រយោគ or ប្រែលោកប្រយោគ. For examples of contemporary *prè lot prayog* texts, see Din Huot ទិន ហួត and Deb Pūt ទេព ប៊ុត, *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā prè lot prayog bhāg 1 ធម្មបទដ្ឋកថា ប្រែលោកប្រយោគ ភាគ ១*, ed. Uc Ras' អ៊ុច រស់ and Pū P'ū ប៊ូ ប៉ូ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍, 1998); and Śāp Vāsanā សាប វាសនា, *Prè lot prayog sambāndh pālī khmèr niñ veyyakara(n) ប្រែលោកប្រយោគ សម្ព័ន្ធបាលីខ្មែរ និងវេយ្យាករណ៍* (Moñ ṛssī district, Battambang ស្រុកមេនឌឫស្សី បាត់ដំបង: Vatt bo(dhi) វត្តពោធិ៍, n.d.). For similar approaches, see Yūr Ūn យួរ អ៊ុន, *Vidhī prè pālī វិធីប្រែបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1973); Juṃ Em ជុំ ឯម, *Merien prayog bhāsā pālī មេរៀនប្រយោគភាសាបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍, 2000); and Cāp-thai Khiev-saṃ ចាប់ថៃ ខៀវសំ, *Vidhī prè prayog pālī វិធីប្រែប្រយោគបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍, 2000).

technique is known in Central Thai as *yak śābd* or *plè yak śābd*,<sup>7</sup> “translation [made by] lifting words [and placing them in a new part of the sentence].” While the Pali original can be in either verse or prose, the resulting rearranged bilingual text for *samrāy/prè lot prayog* is always in prose. Finally, some texts labeled *samrāy* are non-bilingual translations of Pali texts. These fully vernacular texts can either be in prose or in verse, no matter the metrical structure of the original Pali; Khmer prose *samrāy* exist for Pali verse texts, and vice versa, in addition to Khmer verse *samrāy* for Pali verse and Khmer prose *samrāy* for Pali prose.

The variations outlined above in theory would yield a large number of types of bilingual *samrāy* texts based on the following parameters:

- Texts that are fully bilingual, partially bilingual with a Pali emphasis, or partially bilingual with a vernacular emphasis
- Texts that keep the original syntax or that are syntactically rearranged
- Texts combining Pali verse with Khmer verse, Pali verse with Khmer prose, Pali prose with Khmer verse, or Pali prose with Khmer prose

However, in Cambodian leprellos, and generally speaking in palm-leaf manuscripts as well, just four basic forms of *samrāy* account for most of the bilingual texts. These four are: 1) original-syntax fully bilingual prose, 2) syntactically rearranged fully bilingual prose, 3) partially bilingual prose, and 4) fully bilingual Pali/Khmer verse. In this chapter, I focus on only the first three prose forms of *samrāy*, as the following chapter takes up the dynamics of verse translations from Pali and Thai into Khmer. Since these three forms have close parallels elsewhere in the Theravada world, particularly among Cambodia’s Tai-speaking neighbors, I put the Khmer bilingual texts from the leprello manuscripts in conversation with their Siamese, Lao, and Lanna cousins, with a focus on rereading a few Pali-Lanna bilingual palm-leaf manuscripts previously studied by Justin McDaniel.<sup>8</sup>

My approach to the style and structure of these Pali-vernacular texts from Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand owes much to John Okell’s linguistic analysis of the bilingual *nissaya* texts of Burma. I disagree with McDaniel’s claims that bilingual forms such as *nissaya*, *nāmasadda*, and *vohāra* in Lanna and Laos take a idiosyncratic approach to rendering Pali into local vernaculars, one peculiar to individual translators, authors, and teachers. Instead, I argue that bilingual Pali-vernacular texts across the Khmer-Tai world follow a systemic set of

<sup>7</sup> ยกศัพท์; แปลยกศัพท์. For contemporary *plè yak śāb(d)* texts, see, for instance, Mahāmakūṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, *Gāṇṭhī brah dhāmapadāṭṭhakathā yak śāb(d) plè bhāg 8 คัมภีร์พระธรรมปทัฏฐกถา ยกศัพท์แปล ภาค ๘* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakūṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2535); and Puñsīp Insār บุญสืบ อินสาร, *Degñī kār plè dhāmapad prayog 1–2 lèh pa. dha. 3 chpāp sīp sār buddhasāsa(n) เทคนิคการแปลธรรมบท ประโยค ๑–๒ และประโยค ป.ธ. ๓ ฉบับสืบสานพุทธศาสตร์*, 2553. See also Braḥ Mahā Paṭhamabaṅ(ṣ) Nāmlvan<sub>2</sub> พระมหาปฐมพงษ์ งามล้วน, *Sīlpaḥ nāi kār plè bhāṣā pāli ศิลปะในการแปลภาษาบาลี* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Vāt Pavaraniveś vihār วัดบวรนิเวศวิหาร, 2532).

<sup>8</sup> Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Invoking the Source: *Nissaya* Manuscripts, Pedagogy and Sermon-Making in Northern Thai and Lao Buddhism” (Harvard University, 2003); McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*. Many of the manuscripts McDaniel cites are now freely available online at the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts, accessible at <http://www.lannamanuscripts.net>, based on the model of the Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (<http://www.laomanuscripts.net>).



conventions for using technical particles and syntactic rearrangement that keep the vernacular portions faithful to the grammar and content of the Pali. These bilingual texts reflect the deep respect with which Khmer and Tai translators in past centuries approached scriptures and commentaries. Whether they were creating a cogent “pony” or “trot” as a crutch for studying Pali texts, an elegant and coherent sermon, or an efficacious yet intelligible chant, these monks and lay paṇḍits localized Pali sources through a deliberate and systematic set of techniques.

This chapter explores shared conventions of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts to highlight the continuities of this literary style between Cambodia and the broader Tai world. I first address bilingual Pali-vernacular texts as they have been discussed in previous scholarship on Burmese, Sinhalese, Lanna, Lao, and Khmer traditions (section 6.2). The sections that follow analyze the three most common types of bilingual texts found in the leporello corpus in turn: original-syntax fully bilingual prose (6.3), syntactically rearranged fully bilingual prose (6.4), and partially bilingual prose, including an ingenious interlinear shorthand system (6.5). In each case, I focus on specific techniques used to ensure grammatical precise and locally cogent translations. These techniques of added particles and syntactic rearrangement localize Pali texts for Khmer-Tai audiences by presenting them in a coherent and intelligible form for studying, preaching, and chanting.

## **6.2 Studies of Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Texts**

Before delving into the particular techniques used in the creation of original-syntax fully bilingual prose, syntactically rearranged fully bilingual prose, and partially bilingual prose in Khmer-Tai contexts, we should first consider the diversity and range of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts in the broader Theravada world. Such texts appear across the sweep of Southern Asia, from the highlands of Sri Lanka to the delta of southern Vietnam. Though varying in age and popularity across different Theravada cultures, bilingual Pali-vernacular texts provide a key site for comparing the exegetical, homiletic, and pedagogical practices of Burmese, Khmer, Lanna, Lao, Mon, Siamese, and Sinhalese Buddhists, among other groups. These texts played a key role in early Pali studies by Western missionaries and scholars, including Burnouf, Duroiselle, Childers, and Rhys-Davids. According to William Pruitt, they used bilingual Pali-Burmese (*nissaya*) and Pali-Sinhalese texts (*sanna* or *sannaya*), either by dint of their own knowledge or through native collaborators, to produce some of the earliest English and French translations of Pali scriptures.<sup>9</sup>

Bilingual Pali-vernacular texts illuminate moments of cultural translation. The encounter between mid- to late-nineteenth-century Asian and European translators is just one instance of “intercultural mimesis” to which these texts bear witness.<sup>10</sup> Anne Blackburn posits that the textual practice of bilingual Pali-vernacular translations may shed light on the transmission of new ordination lineages from Sri Lanka to Burma in the twelfth century and from Siam to Sri Lanka in the eighteenth century, for both of these periods point toward the

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<sup>9</sup> Pruitt, *Étude linguistique de nissaya birmanes*, 47.

<sup>10</sup> Hallisey, “Roads Taken and Not Taken,” 33.

renewal and resurgence of bilingual Pali-vernacular compositions.<sup>11</sup> Justin McDaniel uses bilingual manuscripts, largely from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, to weave a narrative of the cross-pollinating pedagogical history of Buddhist traditions in Lanna and Laos.<sup>12</sup> Anne Hansen focuses on the role played by bilingual Pali-Khmer books on liturgy, monastic discipline, and lay morality in the formation of a Khmer Buddhist modernism both linked to and proudly independent of similar developments in Siam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>13</sup>

Many forms of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts remained completely unexplored. One such example are bilingual Pali-Vietnamese texts. These appear in connection to the little-studied Vietnamese monk Hộ Tông (Vānsarakkhita), whose World War II-era study in Phnom Penh of the bilingual Pali-Khmer publications of ascendent Cambodian modernist monks such as Juon Nāt (Chuong Nath), his own preceptor, seeded the development of Pali-Vietnamese texts that in turn paved the way for a mid-century blossoming of Theravada Buddhism in southern Vietnam.<sup>14</sup> One such text translated by Hộ Tông will be considered in the following chapter.

Despite the importance of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts for understanding the history and evolution of Theravada Buddhism, studies of these texts that move beyond the confines of a particular vernacular tradition are scarce. McDaniel's work on Lanna and Lao traditions engages in some fruitful comparisons with texts in contemporary Central Thailand.<sup>15</sup> Blackburn more boldly suggests that comparing Burmese and Lanna bilingual texts with those of Sri Lanka may yield new insights about the transmission of monastic lineages.<sup>16</sup> No detailed comparative study of the major Pali-vernacular bilingual textual traditions—including those of Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Lanna, Laos, and Siam—has yet emerged, however, and much basic research remains to be done on each of these traditions.

### 6.2.1 *Burmese Nissaya and Sinhalese Sannaya*

Studies of Burmese *nissaya* texts emphasize features of their technical conventions that parallel aspects of Khmer and Tai bilingual Pali-vernacular texts.<sup>17</sup> The most linguistically detailed

<sup>11</sup> Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice in Eighteenth-Century Lankan Monastic Culture*, 140.

<sup>12</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*.

<sup>13</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860–1930*.

<sup>14</sup> Quang Minh Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America” (Florida State University, 2007), 112.

<sup>15</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 139.

<sup>16</sup> Anne M. Blackburn, “Localizing Lineage: Importing Higher Ordination in Theravādin South and Southeast Asia,” in *Constituting Communities: Theravāda Buddhism and the Religious Cultures of South and Southeast Asia*, ed. John Holt, Jacob N. Kinnard, and Jonathan S. Walters (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 143.

<sup>17</sup> The Burmese tradition of bilingual texts, or *nissaya*, has received by far the most academic attention in Theravada studies, beginning with Tin Lwin, whose MA thesis presents four types of *nissaya* (verbatim, free translation, ornate, and translation with short notes) (Tin Lwin, “A Study of Pali-Burmese Nissaya” (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1961), 6–11, cited in D. Christian Lammerts, “Buddhism and Written Law: Dhammastha Manuscripts and Texts in Premodern Burma” (Cornell University, 2010), 229–230). Christian Lammerts, in his 2010 dissertation on Burmese legal manuscripts, presents Tin Lwin's categorization along with U Nyunt Maung's alternative tripartite division scheme (extended gloss, condensed gloss, and explanatory) (Lammerts, “Buddhism and Written Law,” 229). Pyi Phyoo Kyaw's dissertation includes a careful discussion of a distinctive kind of *nissaya* called *ayakauk* or *akauk* that presents the vernacular translations in

analyses of Burmese *nissaya* come from the work of John Okell and William Pruitt,<sup>18</sup> who both demonstrate how the vernacular portions of these bilingual texts precisely capture the grammatical structure of the Pali. Pruitt's work focuses on one particular tradition of *nissaya* manuscripts of the Buddhist monastic code or *pāṭimokkha*, followed by a close analysis of the various grammatical markers employed, including those notating case and mode, as well as a study of the system of abbreviations. John Okell's article on *nissaya* makes a more forceful set of arguments for defining certain linguistic characteristics of these texts.

For Okell, Burmese *nissaya* reflect how an ingenious system of Burmese particles was marshaled to produce vernacular translations with both semantic and grammatical correspondence to the Pali. His arguments mirror many of the same features present in Khmer and Tai bilingual texts:

From the grammatical point of view, the interest of *nissaya* is in the fact that they were intended not only to give the reader the meaning of the Pali text but also to enable him to construe its grammar. For the student, *nissaya* "could be a kind of grammar or manual as well as a dictionary. He can grasp syntactical construction of the language as he scans the lines and learns the meaning of a Pali word or phrase."<sup>19</sup> ...Clearly, the word-by-word arrangement alone imposes a close structural correspondence with Pali; but, more than this, a system was established whereby certain particles—and in Burmese it is the suffixed particles that bear the main burden of grammatical and syntactic relations—were conventionally employed to represent such features as number, case, tense and mood. ...Their position at the end of the word makes them curiously parallel to tense- and case-endings. As a result, the *nissaya* writers were able to represent, with remarkable accuracy, the inflections and syntax of Pali, an Indo-European language, in unrelated Burmese, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family and is largely monosyllabic.... The strength and widespread acceptance of the system can be gauged from the fact that the same grammatical conventions have been preserved unchanged for more than four centuries: there is nothing to distinguish a *nissaya* rendering of 1491 from one of 1910.<sup>20</sup>

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the form of an extended Abhidhamma exegesis (Pyi Phyo Kyaw, "*Paṭṭhāna* (Conditional Relations) in Burmese Buddhism" (King's College London, University of London, 2014), 192–196). Other scholars, including Erik Braun, Patrick Pranke, and Alexey Kirichenko, use *nissaya* texts in their analyses of the history of Buddhist practices and institutions, though without specifically analyzing their linguistic features (Erik Braun, "Ledi Sayadaw, Abhidhamma, and the Development of the Modern Insight Meditation Movement in Burma" (Harvard University, 2008), 318; Alexey Kirichenko, "Dynamics of Monastic Mobility and Networking in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Upper Burma," in *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. D. Christian Lammerts (Singapore: ISES–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015), 344–347). Kirichenko suggests that no fewer than seven different kinds of *nissaya* can be distinguished in Burmese manuscripts (Kirichenko, personal communication, January 22, 2017). Each of these forms presents a different approach with regards to the balance of Pali and Burmese, the use of prose or verse translation, the development of an ornamental or exegetical style, the partial or complete abbreviation of Pali and/or Burmese words, etc. Pyi Phyo Kyaw's study of the *ayakauk* form and Kirichenko's unpublished categorization system suggest that U Tin Lwin's and U Nyunt Maung's taxonomies may not be extensive enough to capture the full range of Burmese *nissaya*.

<sup>18</sup> John Okell, "Nissaya Burmese," *Lingua* 15 (1965): 186–227; Pruitt, *Étude linguistique de nissaya birmanes*.

<sup>19</sup> Tin Lwin, "A Study of Pali-Burmese Nissaya," 39.

<sup>20</sup> Okell, "Nissaya Burmese," 187.

Okell's article demonstrates the careful and systematic ways authors of certain Burmese *nissaya* crafted word-by-word or phrase-by-phrase Burmese translations that accurately reflect the grammatical case and syntax of the Pali originals.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he argues that it is difficult to discern what counts as a *nissaya* on account of the vast influence this genre had over Burmese literature in general. He summarizes this situation as follows:

Up to about the 20th century the pressure on writers to model their prose on Pali was strong; stylistic traditions had been established since the beginning by translated works, and students were expected to reproduce exactly what they had been taught. Pali was regarded as the model of correctness in language, so that the closer to Pali one's Burmese was the purer it seemed to be.<sup>22</sup> Burmese grammars were based on *nissaya* Burmese, and ordinary speech was disregarded by scholars.<sup>23</sup>

From this perspective, *nissaya* is more than simply a genre of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts. It is an approach to grammatical analysis, translation, and composition, guided by the principles and particles established for the semantically and grammatically precise translation of Pali texts, that may be used to create philologically exact vernacular translations, bilingual texts that expand and elaborate upon the Pali, or even vernacular texts that incorporate a few Pali words and may not even be based on a Pali original.<sup>24</sup>

*Sanna* or *sannaya* bilingual Pali-Sinhala texts from Sri Lanka also provide instructive parallels to those I examine from Khmer and Tai manuscript traditions. Anne Blackburn's analysis of Saraṇaṃkara's *Sārāṭhadīpanī* provides one model of how such texts work. The *Sārāṭhadīpanī* is a bilingual text, translation, and commentary on the standard liturgical curriculum known as the *Catubhāṇavāra*. Saraṇaṃkara's main approach in this *sannaya*, according to Blackburn, is to first present a section of Pali text, followed by a word-by-word or phrase-by-phrase gloss in Sinhala, with additional vernacular commentary added as appropriate.<sup>25</sup> For instance, in its

<sup>21</sup> While some parts of Okell's contentions, such as his insistence on the changelessness of their grammatical conventions as well as his lack of attention to the diversity of *nissaya* forms as outlined by Kirichenko, may need revisiting, his fundamental approach of highlighting how these texts both semantically and grammatically parse Pali texts remains sound.

<sup>22</sup> This is indeed parallel to the way in which Latin provided a source for grammatical prescriptivism, such as the oft-repeated prohibition against split infinitives, in English. My thanks to Peter Jenks for pointing this out.

<sup>23</sup> Okell, "Nissaya Burmese," 188–189.

<sup>24</sup> Since the principles that guide precise Pali-Burmese translations are visible even in such wholly vernacular texts, even they might properly be considered bilingual as well. The spectrum of bilingual Pali-Burmese texts thus stretches far and certainly deserves further study to elucidate the different possibilities for source texts (Pali canonical, Pali non-canonical, or non-Pali texts/original compositions), Pali/vernacular balance and/or abbreviation (evenly split between Pali and Burmese, Pali predominant with Burmese elided or abbreviated, Burmese predominant with Pali elided or abbreviated, or both Pali and Burmese abbreviated), style and extent of glossarial elaborations (strict translation, translation with added prose commentary, Abhidhamma-based exegesis, poetic verse translation), among other possible variations.

<sup>25</sup> Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice*, 107–122.

treatment of a section of the *Maṅgala-sutta*, the *Sārārhādīpanī* first presents the raw Pali verse: *phutthassa lokadhammehi / cittaṃ yassa na kampati / asokaṃ virajaṃ khemaṃ / etaṃ maṅgalamuttamaṃ*.<sup>26</sup> In Blackburn's text, she presents the Pali in bold and the added commentary in parentheses:

**Phutthassa lokadhammehi**, being crushed or destroyed by the elements of the world (eight, such as lobha, alobha); **yassa**, to someone (elder, new or middling [in seniority]); **cittaṃ**, mind; **na kampati**, doesn't shake (the mind of such a person has the defilements destroyed); **asokaṃ** without the affliction of grief (because the wind of grief is spirited away by the knowledge of the arhat path).<sup>27</sup>

As in many Burmese *nissaya*, the Pali text is divided up into syntactically meaningful portions and then glossed in the vernacular. Thus *phutthassa lokadhammehi* is glossed with "being crushed or destroyed by the elements of the world." This is then followed by the additional commentarial explanation that the "elements of the world" are a standard list of eight, beginning with *lobha*, *alobha*, and so on. Then the *sannaya* does something not discussed by Okell in the Burmese context. Instead of the expected *cittaṃ*, the *sannaya* presents *yassa* first, followed by *cittaṃ* and finally *na kampati*. This minor syntactical rearrangement serves to clarify the Pali phrase by placing *yassa* in closer proximity to *phutthassa*, with which it agrees in case and number. Presumably this rearrangement also makes the Sinhalese gloss easier to follow. Thus this particular *sannaya* provides several services: one, it glosses each syntactic constituent of the Pali into Sinhala; two, it provides additional commentary beyond the gloss; and three, it lightly rearranges or adds implied words to the Pali as needed to clarify the text. All of these commentarial services are in fact provided by the Pali-Pali *atthakathā* commentarial tradition, so the contribution of the *sannaya*, echoing the lost Sinhala commentaries from which the Pali *atthakathā* commentaries were supposedly translated, lies in providing these services in the local vernacular rather than in the language of the scriptures.

Blackburn's analysis of the *Sārārhādīpanī* focuses not on its linguistic features so much as how its contents shed light on the legitimation sought by its author, including "the subtle takeovers made possible by bilingual commentary and the ways in which acts of interpretation reflected a certain authority back on the interpreters."<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, her presentation of this *sannaya* gives at least a partial sense of how this approach to bilingual Pali-vernacular composition works in the Sinhalese context. Many of the functions of this *sannaya* are shared by Burmese *nissaya*, including the use of literal vernacular glosses alongside more elaborate commentary. Both Burmese and Sinhalese, like Pali, are SOV languages. Moreover, all three languages have ways to mark case, whether through morphology or through suffixes, and as such only minimal syntactical rearrangement is necessary to render Pali sentences into the

<sup>26</sup> Suttanipāta 2.4.

<sup>27</sup> Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice*, 122.

<sup>28</sup> Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice*, 118.

vernacular.<sup>29</sup> Blackburn's *sannaya* examples demonstrate this kind of rearrangement as well as other instances where minor implied Pali words are added to the text.<sup>30</sup>

### 6.2.2 *Khmer Samrāy and Lanna/Lao Nissaya, Nāmasadda, and Vohāra*

The other major languages for which bilingual Pali-vernacular textual traditions exist, including Khmer, Mon, and various Southwestern Tai languages (Central Thai/Siamese, Southern Thai/Pak Tai, Lao/Northeastern Thai, Lanna/Yuan/Northern Thai, Shan, etc.) are even more linguistically distant from Pali than Burmese or Sinhala, in that they are SVO rather than SOV languages.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Khmer, Mon, and Tai are isolating languages that neither possess morphological case endings nor have the need for regular case-marking particles. Like Burmese, but unlike Pali and Sinhala, they lack morphological changes for gender and number. The steps needed to create cogent bilingual Pali-vernacular texts for these languages, therefore, are by some measure more extensive than for their Burmese and Sinhalese counterparts.

Khmer bilingual texts are often referred to as *samrāy*, though, like the Burmese usage of *nissaya*, this term encompasses a wide variety of forms. Only a handful of scholars working on Khmer literature and Buddhism even discuss *samrāy* texts, and those who do only explain a small part of the total range of genres encompassed by this term. Judith Jacob, in her survey of Khmer literature, calls *samrāy* “popular Buddhist literature” and writes that they “are rough translations into Khmer from Pali with explanations or commentary. They are often interspersed with the passages of Pali, the ‘translation’ or ‘explanation’ usually being much longer than the original.”<sup>32</sup> Anne Hansen, citing Jacob, provides an enriched explanation of *samrāy* along much the same lines:

The *samrāy*, a vernacular genre important in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, generally consisted of a few lines of Pali followed by a Khmer translation that transmitted the ideas of the passage but not necessarily its literal wording. Commentary and canonical verses might be intertwined in the text, not always with clear demarcations, and in some cases, the Khmer translation might be significantly longer than its corresponding Pali passage.<sup>33</sup>

Neither author describes the specific techniques I analyze in this chapter. For Hansen, however, the examination of *samrāy* texts concerns not their linguistic structure but rather the role they played in the development of a modernist approach to Buddhist texts in Cambodia, as championed by Juon Nāt and Huot Tāt.<sup>34</sup> In her discussion of Huot Tāt's approach to

<sup>29</sup> Sinhalese and Pali are both Indo-Aryan languages; Burmese is Sino-Tibetan.

<sup>30</sup> Blackburn, *Buddhist Learning and Textual Practice*, 124.

<sup>31</sup> These are far and away the most common word orders in languages around the world; only a tiny fraction of languages follow a word order other than SOV or SVO.

<sup>32</sup> Jacob, *The Traditional Literature of Cambodia*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave*, 30n60.

<sup>34</sup> I.e. Chuon Nath ជួន ណាត and Huot Tath ហួត តាត.

*samrāy* texts, she further elaborates on some of their different types as well as their potential pitfalls for modernist approaches:

These *samrāy* texts were not strictly “canonical” in the formal sense of the term, and took different forms: Pali versions of texts rendered in verse, Pali *gāthā* or verses interspersed with translation and commentary from various sources, and vernacular renditions loosely based on Pali texts. The problem with these texts from the modernist perspective was that they did not differentiate between *Buddhabhāsita* (words spoken by the Buddha) and other kinds of words.<sup>35</sup>

This passage suggests several alternative ways of understanding *samrāy* that expand on the definitions cited above. For Hansen, *samrāy* can include Khmer verse translations of Pali texts (i.e. “Pali versions of texts rendered in verse”), Khmer prose translations of Pali verse texts with added vernacular commentaries (“Pali *gāthā* or verses interspersed with translation and commentary from various sources”) and finally Khmer prose translations that freely incorporate passages from Pali sources (“vernacular renditions loosely based on Pali texts”). Furthermore, Hansen suggests that, at least for Huot Tāt, *samrāy* might not make a clear distinction between *buddhavacana* and the words of the author.

Hansen also argues that modernist authors such as Huot Tāt were fashioning a new kind of bilingual text that differed from nineteenth-century models. She writes about the contrast between these types of *samrāy* in some detail:

Their translations of suttas were quite different from the older tradition of *samrāy* composition in Cambodia. Not only was the choice of texts different, favoring texts other than *jātaka*, but the methods and style of translation were altered as well. Instead of the loose, rambling translations that had been common in the nineteenth century, described previously, the modern *samrāy* were produced as “critical editions.” The editor of a given text compared different versions of the same sutta or Vinaya portion and corrected any mistaken Pali words or grammar he discovered in palm-leaf versions. Drawing on the grammatical method of translation... he produced a vernacular edition of the text containing Pali verses followed by a succinct and grammatically close Khmer translation and commentary.<sup>36</sup>

Whereas the old *samrāy* were “loose” and “rambling,” the new ones were “succinct” and “grammatically close” to the Pali source texts. Furthermore, the new ones aimed for philological accuracy and rigor according to the standards developed by Thai and European scholars. The fidelity of the translations were ensured by the “grammatical method of translation.” This method is described in the biography of Deb-Ū, a Khmer monk who studied at Wat Bovornives in Bangkok. Hansen translates this document as follows:

<sup>35</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave*, 103.

<sup>36</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave*, 152–153.

## Chapter 6: Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose

[The Thai teachers] had developed a grammar method that was conjoined to the teaching of the Pali commentaries. This replaced the [older] *Mūlakaccāyana* grammar, which was too long and took forever to learn, and in addition, was difficult to understand. By contrast, the new method of grammar was organized in a manner that made it possible to learn quickly, and it was easy for students to grasp its broad concepts. The method that was most frequently used for explaining and teaching textual translation was grammatical. As far as the method of translation went, once a section was close to translated, they taught [students to use a combination of] the grammatical method of parsing a sentence along with the “blotter” [or absorption] method in order to give the structure and meaning and not to alter the grammatical style. The system of parsing a sentence, they derived from the commentaries. For example, in the commentary to the *Dhammapada*, which scholars have previously translated, there are long and short passages of grammatical parsing in order for students to understand what is already clearly known and which words are supposed to be connected with other words. This style of teaching by using explanations of this sort is one that students appreciate. They understand more clearly how to translate Pali, in a more thorough manner.<sup>37</sup>

This passage suggests that much of the innovation in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century *samrāy* came from new pedagogical techniques for teaching Pali grammar being developed in Siam. These new methods involved first parsing a Pali sentence into its appropriate grammatical parts, and then recombining those elements to produce a readable sentence. While both Hansen and Deb-Ū leave out the precise details of how Pali sentences were disassembled and reassembled in bilingual *samrāy* form, the passage above points toward the techniques of grammatical particles and syntactic arrangement discussed in this chapter. Moreover, it seems clear that this method was derived from the methods of the monolingual Pali *aṭṭhakathā* and *tīkā* commentaries themselves.

Hansen’s approach to *samrāy* texts in her book is grounded in the printed and archival texts of the early twentieth century. These documents reveal the complex relationship emerging modernist scholars had to the *samrāy* texts of their forebears and related methods of bilingual translation, compositions, and language study in neighboring Siam. Her approach does not focus on palm-leaf or leporello manuscripts, however, and thus misses some of the intricacies and conventions of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts witnessed in Cambodian manuscript collections. The vast majority of the surviving manuscripts in Cambodia date from the same period as Hansen’s printed books and paper documents, and hence reveal a textual tradition already being reworked and reconciled with modernist ideas generated in nineteenth-century Siam and colonial-era Cambodia.

Extant Cambodian manuscript collections are uniquely recent in Southeast Asia; those of Burma, Laos, Lanna, and Central Thailand go much further back, including as far back as the fifteenth century, whereas only a handful of Khmer manuscripts predate the mid-

<sup>37</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave*, 92–93.



nineteenth century. Whether this lack of historical depth compromises the value of the Cambodian sources is hard to tell, however. Justin McDaniel, who has worked extensively on bilingual Pali-vernacular manuscripts from Laos and Lanna, presents a relatively static view of these texts over time, a position that matches Okell's assertion that "there is nothing to distinguish a *nissaya* rendering of 1491 from one of 1910."<sup>38</sup> McDaniel's studies present some of the only extensive analyses of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts published in the past few decades. They provide a vivid introduction to bilingual Pali-Lao and Pali-Lanna texts, based on his study of the manuscript collections in Laos and Northern Thailand.<sup>39</sup>

Arguing against the view that Southeast Asia was "full of poorly trained scribes, forgetful students, and bad artists," McDaniel presents a case for why these manuscripts are deserving of further study.<sup>40</sup> He contends that the bilingual manuscripts of Laos and Northern Thailand shed light on the workings of the premodern curricular canon, while also arguing that the pedagogical style of these manuscripts continues today in the teaching methods used by Buddhists in modern Laos and Thailand. His claims about the nature and function of these manuscripts are based on two main bodies of evidence: his accounts of contemporary monastic learning and his philological analysis of a dozen or so bilingual and partially bilingual Pali-vernacular manuscripts.

On the philological side, McDaniel's transcriptions and translations build toward his interpretations of the manuscripts as "idiosyncratic sermon and lecture notes" that proceed with a confusing, repetitive, and often random technique of "lifting words" (*yak sābd*)<sup>41</sup> from the Pali and providing vernacular glosses for them.<sup>42</sup> He emphasizes the way in which these manuscripts point to the creative, non-standardized ways with which Southeast Asian Buddhists engaged Pali texts and interprets the practice of idiosyncratically "lifting words" as a culturally rooted Lanna, Lao, and Siamese pedagogical and oratory style that can be seen both in bilingual manuscripts as well as in contemporary practice.

McDaniel divides bilingual Pali-Lao and Pali-Lanna manuscripts into three types—*nissaya*, *nāmasadda*, and *vohāra*—based on the titles of such manuscripts as well as their distinctive characteristics with regards to Pali/vernacular balance, with *nissaya* (and the nearly indistinguishable *nāmasadda*) hewing closer to the Pali and *vohāra* offering longer vernacular elaborations.<sup>43</sup> He provides selected excerpts and translations from each of these genres to demonstrate how they are constructed and also how they might have been used for sermons and teaching. McDaniel also notes five "commentarial services" provided by these bilingual manuscripts, including the "glossing of individual words," "grammatical explanation,"

<sup>38</sup> Okell, "Nissaya Burmese," 187.

<sup>39</sup> Justin McDaniel, "Invoking the Source: Nissaya Manuscripts, Pedagogy, and Sermon-Making in Northern Thai and Lao Buddhism"; McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*. He makes related arguments in "Some Notes on the Study of Pāli Grammar in Thailand," in *Embedded Languages: Studies of Sri Lankan and Buddhist Cultures: Essays in Honor of W.S. Karunatilake*, ed. Carol S. Anderson et al. (Colombo: Godage International Publishers, 2012), 69–108; and "The Art of Reading and Teaching Dhammapadas: Reform, Texts, Contexts in Thai Buddhist History," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 2 (2005): 299–337.

<sup>40</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 16.

<sup>41</sup> Thai ยกศัพท์, i.e. *yok sap*

<sup>42</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 122; 106.

<sup>43</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 131–142.

“clarification of word order,” acting “as a thesaurus of Lao or Northern Thai vocabulary,” and finally as an “implicit grammar” or “emergent text.”<sup>44</sup> For each of these services, he emphasizes the random and/or creative choices made by the authors, particularly in terms of which Pali words to gloss and how to gloss them, and how these choices support a supposed pedagogical function.

McDaniel’s interpretation of these manuscript is at odds with Okell and Pruitt’s depiction of parallel texts in the Burmese tradition, as these two scholars instead emphasize the systematic nature of the grammatical particles, abbreviations, and other conventions used to ensure the faithful translation of Pali texts into the vernacular.<sup>45</sup> In the sections that follow, I put different styles of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts in conversation with their parallels in Lao, Lanna, and Siamese manuscripts. This comparative analysis suggests that Okell’s contentions concerning the systematic and collaborative nature of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts are compelling, in both the Khmer and Tai contexts, than McDaniel’s emphasis on idiosyncratic pedagogies.

More specifically, I argue that both Pali-Khmer and Pali-Tai bilingual texts follow the same set of conventions and techniques for producing consistent and accurate translations of Pali sources. Both can be categorized on the basis of their relative balance between Pali and vernacular portions, both use parallel sets of technical particles to mark grammatical features of the Pali, and both sometimes employ techniques of syntactic rearrangement to produce fluid translations. Each of these features point to a concern with creating precise translations that are at once faithful to the Indian language of the scriptures and yet locally cogent in Southeast Asian vernaculars.

### 6.3 Original-Syntax Fully Bilingual Prose

#### 6.3.1 *Translations of Short Pali Verse Texts*

The most common form of bilingual text in Cambodian leporellos are those composed in a fully bilingual style, evenly balanced in content between Pali and Khmer, with syntactic constituents divided such that the original syntax of the Pali can be retained. This form

<sup>44</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 150–154.

<sup>45</sup> Alexey Kirichenko’s close examination of non-royal and village collections of manuscripts in Upper Burma, while largely corroborating the views of Okell and McDaniel about the static quality of some bilingual texts since the seventeenth century, posits that most of the circulating *pitakat nissaya* (i.e. *nissaya* of Pali canonical material) manuscripts were neither particularly idiosyncratic nor pedagogically focused. See Kirichenko, “Dynamics of Monastic Mobility and Networking,” 345–346: “The scale of variations in recopied manuscripts was quite low and besides incidental scribal errors the only notable difference in the resultant copies was the degree of abbreviation of vernacular text (Burmese glosses to Pāli expressions could have been reproduced in full or reduced to final grammatical markers in the syntagms; abbreviated versions thus focused more on grammar and syntax of original Pāli texts taking the meaning of many Pāli words and expressions as self-evident). Accordingly, as far as I could find, the earliest available *nissaya* manuscripts copied in the seventeenth century contain essentially the same text as modern printed editions of these *nissayas* published on the basis of nineteenth and twentieth century manuscripts. Thus, the production and circulation of *pitakat nissayas* in the villages reflected not so much personal textual or pedagogical interests of village monks (such as were likely reflected in *parabaik* and *palm-leaf* manuscripts that those monks made their personal use), but rather their collaborative engagement in creation and dissemination of current versions of the Buddhist canon.”

presents a coherent section of the Pali text followed by its gloss in Khmer, with no additional vernacular explanations added. The original Pali can be either in verse or prose, but the resulting bilingual text must take the form of prose in this case. In the leporellos, the longest and most common of such texts are bilingual versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta* and, more rarely, the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta*. In addition to these versions of long Pali prose texts, there are also a few original-syntax bilingual prose versions of short Pali verse texts.

These latter bilingual texts pose certain problems in interpretation, since their insistence on the original syntax of the Pali makes the resulting Khmer prose rather confusing and unnatural. Adding to the confusion is the rather free syntax of Pali due to its extensive inflectional morphology. Like poetry in Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin, Pali verse often does not even reflect the natural word order of Pali, much less of vernacular languages. Both Pali commentaries and vernacular translations need to rearrange the phrases of such verse texts to make them follow the appropriate native syntax for a given language. This includes the excerpt from the *Maṅgala-sutta*, a Pali text largely in verse, cited by Blackburn. In this example, Saraṇaṅkara renders the half-verse *phutthassa lokadhammehi / cittaṃ yassa na kampati* into the normal Pali prose order *phutthassa lokadhammehi yassa cittaṃ na kampati* to avoid separating *yassa* (“for someone”) from *phutthassa lokadhammehi* (“for [someone] who is is touched by the [eight] elements of the world”). An original-syntax bilingual text, however, would not make such concessions and would instead retain the exact word order of the Pali.

Some examples of Pali verse texts rendered into original-syntax fully bilingual prose come from the leporello **UB070**, a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century manuscript that includes a number of such short bilingual versions. One of these bears the title *juoc dīk vīlā e brīk* or “Morning Water-Pouring [Dedication of Merit].”<sup>46</sup> The first part of the original Pali text, if corrected to modern standards, would read as follows:

<i>ye keci khuddakā pāṇā</i>	Whatever breathing beings, be they small
<i>mahantāpi mayā hatā</i>	or great, have been killed by me,
<i>ye cāneke pamādena</i>	whatever multitude [of such beings], by my carelessness
<i>kāyavācāmaneh'eva</i>	through body, speech and mind—
<i>puññaṃ me anumodantu</i>	may they rejoice in my merit [and]
<i>gaṇhantu phalam uttamam</i>	may they attain the highest fruit.
<i>verā no ce pamuñcantu</i>	If there is rancor toward us, may they let it go, [and]
<i>sabbadosaṃ khamantu no</i>	may they forgive us for all our faults.

This short, non-canonical verse of absolution or repentance, common to Thailand and Cambodia, is rendered into a bilingual Pali-Khmer prose as follows (in the original, uncorrected orthography of the manuscript) in **UB070**. As in many examples from the leporellos, the Pali portions this text are set off visually from the vernacular parts, with the former in the “rounded” *mūl* script and the latter in the “cursive” *jriēn*:

<sup>46</sup> ជ្រូចទឹកវិលាឯព្រឹក (corrected form: *juoc dīk vīlā e brīk* ជ្រូចទឹកវិលាឯព្រឹក). The standardized title in Appendix II is

**Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r.**

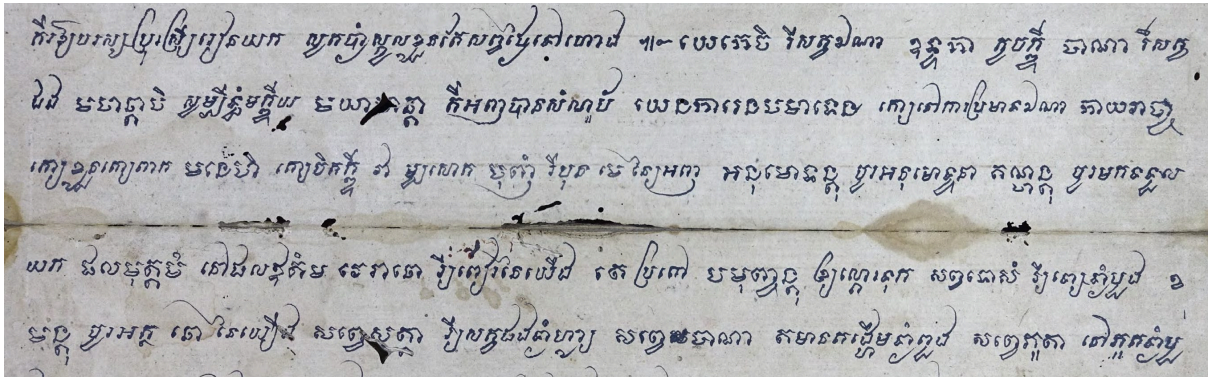


Figure 6.4.1.1: Detail of **UB070** 2a–3a *jruoc dik vīlā e brīk*, with Pali portions in *mūl* script and Khmer portions in *jriēn* script

*yekeci* វិសត្ថធិណា *uddakā* តូចក្តី *pāṇā* វិសត្ថធិណ៍ *mahantāpi* សូម្បីទ្ធិមក្តីយ *mayāhantā* គឺអញបានសំលាប់  
*yenakāreṇapamādena* ត្បោនៅការប្រមាទធិណា *kāyavācā* ត្បោខ្លួនត្បោពាក *manehi* ត្បោចិត្តិ *vā* ម្បសោត  
*puṇaṃ* វិបុន *me* នៃអញ *anumodantu* ចូរអនុមោទនា *ganhantu* ចូរមកទទួលយក *phalamuttamaṃ* នៅផល  
ឌីតម *verāno* រៀននៃយើង *te* ប្រតោ *pamuñcantu* ឲ្យល្អោះទុក *sabbadosaṃ* រៀនទ្រាំប្លង់ *khamantu* ចូរអត្ត  
*no* នៃយើង

This translates into English as the following, with Pali portions—i.e. the parts in *mūl* script in the manuscripts—in bold:

**any and all** as for any living being **be they small** whether small **breathing beings** as for all living beings **or even if great** even if great **have been killed by me** whom I have killed **by whatever forms of carelessness** by whatever carelessness **body, speech** through body, through speech **through mind** or through mind **or** on the other hand **merit** as for the merit **belonging to me** belonging to me **may they rejoice** may they rejoice **may they receive** may they receive **the highest fruit** the highest fruit **the enmities belonging to me** the enmities belonging to me **all these** instruct **may they be released** [may they be/to be] released from suffering **all faults** as for all faults **may they be absolved** may they be absolved **belonging to us** belonging to us.

With the exception of a few parts that remain inscrutable to me (e.g. “**all these** instruct”), the bilingual version retains all of the meaning of the original Pali, without adding any additional commentary. Most of the Khmer glosses are very close literal translations. But the syntax, kept to match the original Pali, poses some points of confusion. For instance, in the first line, *yekeci* is separated from its referent *pāṇā* for metrical reasons by the adjective *khuddakā*. It is difficult to translate the pronoun *yekeci* (“any and all”) without its contextual referent *pāṇā* (“breathing beings”), so the Khmer text supplies the word *satv* (“living being”)<sup>47</sup> to clarify the pronoun

<sup>47</sup> សត្វ

without changing the syntax. Moreover, whereas in Pali the order QUANTIFIER + ADJECTIVE + NOUN (“all small beings”) is standard, in Khmer this order should be reversed, and read NOUN + ADJECTIVE + QUANTIFIER (“beings small all”) instead. Likewise, in the final line, *sabbadosaṃ khamantu no*, the enclitic pronoun *no*, which could mean “for us” (dative) or “belonging to us” (genitive), is perhaps best construed, in both English and Khmer, as in relation to the *sabbadosaṃ*, i.e. *sabbadosaṃ no*, “all of our faults.” But since the *no* is separated metrically from *sabbadosaṃ* by the verb *khamantu* (“may they be absolved”), the Khmer version follows this syntax and reads, rather unnaturally, “as for all faults[,] may they be absolved belonging to us.” This would not make for a clear sentence in Khmer (or in English, for that matter), but it rigorously maintains the syntax of the original Pali. This passage thus demonstrates some of the ambiguities that result from keeping the original syntax when rendering, phrase by phrase, Pali verse into Khmer prose.

This passage also provides evidence for one of the most distinctive elements of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts among the Khmer and Tai: the use of technical particles to mark attributes of nouns (such as number and case) and of verbs (such as mood and tense). As Khmer, Lao, Lanna, Siamese, etc. are highly isolating languages, there is no morphological way to mark number, case, mood, or tense. These may be supplied by particles, but the typical structure of the vernacular language provides this information by context only. In other words, for a sentence of the form SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT, the morphology does not specify whether the subject and object are plural or singular, whether the verb is imperative or indicative, or whether it refers to the present, past, or future. All of this information is provided contextually or through optional particles or adverbs. Moreover, there is no morphological distinction between nouns in the subject (nominative) case or object (accusative) case, as witnessed for pronouns in English and French and for all nouns in Pali, Sanskrit, and Latin, etc. The regular conventions of Khmer and Tai syntax demand the SVO order such that it is usually immediately clear which noun is the subject and which the object. However, when translating from Pali, a highly inflectional language that morphologically marks number, case, mood, and tense, among other attributes, into Khmer or Tai, uncertainties easily arise, particularly when the original syntax of the Pali is maintained. The solution for these ambiguities lies in the creation and systemization of a set of technical particles. These particles mark grammatical attributes such that the Pali can be precisely rendered into the vernacular.

These particles are therefore similar in function to those described by Okell and Pruitt for Burmese *nissaya* texts, though somewhat more technical and less idiomatic. In Khmer and Tai, such particles are not entirely alien to the vernacular, but since they are generally not necessary, their usage in bilingual texts appears technical and indeed somewhat artificial. They produce a prose style in Khmer and Tai that is distinctly part of the literate register, though not necessarily literary in tone.<sup>48</sup> The technical particles and peculiar syntax of bilingual Pali-

<sup>48</sup> As is the case in Burma, in Thailand a good prose style in some contexts is judged by its fidelity to the precise structure of the vernacular portions of bilingual Pali-Thai texts. This can even be taken to the extreme that good Thai prose is composed in Pali first, then back-translated into Thai (Robert Bicker, personal communication).

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vernacular texts in Southeast Asia have long influenced vernacular prose composition, an influence that extended well into the twentieth century and beyond. Following Okell’s argument, these features of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts in ordinary vernacular represent a “systematic adaptation” of Pali grammar into Southeast Asian languages.<sup>49</sup> To grasp how vernacular prose is constructed in these languages, we must first understand the system of conventions used by bilingual Pali-vernacular texts.

Unlike in the case of Burmese, however, the bilingual Pali-vernacular texts of Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand have not been subject to extensive analysis by linguists. When reading through bilingual manuscripts preserved in Tham Lanna, Tham Lao, Khom Thai, and Khmer scripts, as well as modern Southeast Asian manuals for translating Pali, it became clear to me that a system of technical particles was in place, parallel to that described by Okell and Pruitt for Burmese. In the “Morning Water-Pouring [Dedication of Merit]” passage discussed above, nominatives are marked with *rī*, accusatives with *nūv*, instrumentals with *toy*, genitives with *nai* plurals with *phan* and imperatives with *cūr*:

<i>Function</i>	<i>Diplomatic Pali</i>	<i>Diplomatic Khmer</i>	<i>Standardized Khmer</i>	<i>Translation</i>
Nominative	<i>yekeci</i>	<i>rī satv e nā</i>	<i>rī satv e nā</i>	<b>as for/ [nom.]</b> any living being
Accusative	<i>phalamuttamaṃ</i>	<i>nau phal autamṃ</i>	<i>nūv phal uttam</i>	<b>[acc.]</b> the highest fruit
Instrumental	<i>kāyavāccā</i>	<i>toy° khluon toy° bāk</i>	<i>toy khluon toy bāk</i>	<b>through</b> body, <b>through</b> speech
Genitive	<i>no</i>	<i>nai yōn</i>	<i>nai yōn</i>	<b>of</b> us
Plural	<i>pāṇā</i>	<i>satv phan</i>	<i>satv phan</i>	<b>all</b> living beings
Imperative	<i>khamantu</i>	<i>cūr atth</i>	<i>cūr at'</i>	<b>may</b> they be absolved

Some of these particles are indispensable in Khmer, such as *toy* and *nai*. Others occur with regularity in formal registers or certain dialects, but are not universally required, such as *phan* and *cūr*. The two most technical particles, whose usage is most divorced from spoken Khmer, are *rī* and *nūv*. *Rī* is usually defined as a topicalizing marker (“as for...”), but here the function is clearly to mark the nominative case in the Pali. *Nūv* can mean “with” or “and” as a conjunction, but here the purpose is to mark the direct object, i.e. the accusative case in Pali.

If the precise function of these technical particles is not understood, we are liable to misread bilingual Pali-vernacular texts. McDaniel often translates some of these particles as “means” or “is known as.” He elides the function of a few of these markers together as follows: “In this example, there is also much less use of the Northern Thai words *reu*, *an wā*, or *yan* (“this means”) to indicate when a Pali word is being glossed.”<sup>50</sup> While it is true that these words are being used in a context of glossing a Pali word with a vernacular one, I contend that these Lanna words convey something much more specific: they inform the reader of the vernacular what case the Pali word is in, particularly whether it is in the nominative or in the accusative. This is an extremely helpful function of bilingual texts for understanding the

<sup>49</sup> Okell, “Nissaya Burmese,” 186.

<sup>50</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 142.

structure of the Pali, even though such markers are typically unnecessary in a text that is entirely in the vernacular.

An in-depth study of the origin and development of these case markers remains a desideratum, but what is most immediately apparent is that their usage in Khmer, Lao, Lanna, and Siamese contexts reflects a long history of mutual borrowing between these languages. In the previous paragraph, the Lanna McDaniel transcribes as *reu* is not exactly a single word.<sup>51</sup> It is a graphical shorthand that appears as *rī* or *rī̄*,<sup>52</sup> but should be read aloud as *ān vā*.<sup>53</sup> While *ān vā*, literally means something like “which (*ān*) is said (*vā*),” its function in bilingual Pali-vernacular texts is to mark the nominative case. If a plural nominative noun appears in Pali, then the marking becomes *ān vā* ... [noun]... *dāñ hlāy*,<sup>54</sup> with the latter abbreviated as *dlā* in Tham-script manuscripts. This same *dāñ hlāy* can be applied to plural nouns in other cases as well. In Khmer, an almost identical system is used, using the form *rī* ... [noun]... *dāmnī lāy*.<sup>55</sup> *Rī* appears in Old Khmer inscriptions as a topic or subject marker; its graphical use in Lao and Thai manuscripts suggests possible Khmer influence. Philip Jenner, in his dictionary of Old Khmer, has suggested that it is related to a particle in Old Javanese.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, Khmer *dāmnī lāy*/*dāmnī° hlāy* is at least partially (i.e. at least for the second syllable) a loanword from the Tai languages, probably most proximately from Siamese. Thus the marking of plural nouns in the nominative case in both Khmer and some Tai manuscript traditions requires the combination of technical particles derived from Old Khmer and old Tai dialects.

For the markers used to denote the accusative case, the situation is slightly different, as each language prefers a slightly different marker. Here there is congruency of function but not of etymology. In Lao and Northern Thai, the usual term is *yāñ*.<sup>57</sup> In Central Thai (and occasionally in Lao and Northern Thai), *jññī* is the preferred particle,<sup>58</sup> and in Khmer, *nūw* is the most frequent variant. While there are multiple ways to mark the accusative in the case of a direct object depending on the sense of the verb and its usual preposition in the vernacular, this group of markers (*yāñ*, *jññī*, and *nūw*) stands out due to its ubiquity and consistent application in instances where the vernacular language would not require or even desire a particle. Therefore, outside the realm of the Pali-vernacular bilingual texts, each of these

<sup>51</sup> McDaniel renders it as “or / ‘it is called’” (*Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 143).

<sup>52</sup> Lao ຣີ; Thai ฐี

<sup>53</sup> Lao ອັນວ່າ; Thai อันว่า. For a more complete listing of the graphical shorthands used in Tham Lao script, see Blahyā Hlvañ Maḥhāsenā (Phuy) ພະຍາຫຼວງມະຫາເສນາ(ຜູ້ຍ), *Pèp rien vai hlém<sub>2</sub> nīn<sub>1</sub> rien ān<sub>1</sub> hnāñ s<sub>1</sub> dām khien pén bāsā lāv* ແບບຮຽນໄວ ເຫຼັ້ມນີ້ງ ຮຽນອ່ານໜັງສືທັມ ຂຽນເປັນພາສາລາວ (Vientiane ອຽງຈັນ, 1951), 18–27. See also Bounleuth Sengsoulin, “Buddhist Monks and Their Search for Knowledge: An Examination of the Personal Collection of Manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang,” 192.

<sup>54</sup> Lao ທັງຫຼາຍ; Thai ทั้งหลาย

<sup>55</sup> Khmer រី, read aloud as *rī*, plus Modern Khmer ទាំងឡាយ or Middle Khmer ទាំងៗ *dāmnī° hlāy*.

<sup>56</sup> Philip N. Jenner, *A Dictionary of Angkorian Khmer* (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2009), s.v.; Philip N. Jenner, *A Dictionary of Pre-Angkorian Khmer* (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, 2009), s.v.

<sup>57</sup> Lao ຍັງ; Northern Thai ยั้ง; in Tham manuscripts it appears as *yāñ*° ยັง

<sup>58</sup> Thai ชึ่ง

particles, particularly when used to mark the accusative case, is associated with a formal register of the written language. If we follow Okell’s claims for Burmese, then the use of these particles in the formal register may reflect the influence of the conventions of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts.

Much more work needs to be done to explicate the specific usage of each of the particles along with the variants, and how these particles or markers have developed over time.<sup>59</sup> This chapter does not tackle the latter issue of the historical development of these particles, as such a project would demand a large dataset of the in-context usage of particles from datable manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> Instead, I present only a preliminary comparative table of some of the technical particles used for marking case, number, and mood in Pali texts,<sup>61</sup> along with a special glossing particle. This table (Figure 6.3.1.1 below) is based on my reading of Tham-script manuscripts from Lanna as found in the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts; Khmer leporello and palm-leaf manuscripts, largely from the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong; and a selection of printed books on Pali-vernacular translation techniques in Khmer, Lao, and Thai. For each grammatical function, I list the particle as it would be written in romanized Tham-Lanna, Thai transliterated of Tham, modern Tham Unicode, romanized Lao, modern Lao script, romanized Thai, modern Thai script, romanized Khmer, modern Khmer script, and finally notes on possible parallels in Old and Middle Khmer inscriptions.

This table puts the technical particles used in “Morning Water-Pouring [Dedication of Merit]” in their proper comparative context. Lanna, Lao, Thai, and Khmer texts do not agree on the particular words that should be used for marking different grammatical attributes. But they do agree on the set of grammatical attributes to be marked and show a broad consistency in applying these particles. Some particles, such as those of the accusative and genitive cases, are completely different in Khmer and Tai. Others, such as those for the instrumental case, are not only almost identical across languages but also share an Old Khmer parallel, pointing

<sup>59</sup> While McDaniel’s writings do not mention the specific functions of the nominative and accusative particles outlined above, he does note that one of the conventions of bilingual manuscripts is to notate the case and number of nouns: “most grammatical explanations are of the locative, ablative, or nominative plural using the words *nai* (in), *chāk* (from), or *xāk* (Lao), and *dang lāi* (all/many), respectively” (McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 151). I should note that the ablative marker *cāk* is spelled and pronounced identically in Northern Thai and Lao, except for tone in some dialects, and thus should not be differentially notated as *chāk* in Thai and *xāk* in Lao. The plural marker *dān hlāy* is not restricted to the nominative plural, either; it can be (and frequently is) used with any of the seven cases plus the vocative.

<sup>60</sup> Judith M. Jacob, while not focusing on bilingual Pali-vernacular texts, enumerates and describes various particles used in Khmer over time in “A Diachronic Survey of Some Khmer Participles (7th to 17th Centuries),” in *Cambodian Linguistics, Literature and History: Collected Articles*, ed. David Smyth (London: Routledge, 1993), 179–211.

<sup>61</sup> Case particles used in the contemporary translation of Pali into Khmer are described in Prāk’ Ghun ប្រាក់ ឃុន, *Pēp rien bhāsā pālī, bhāg 1 វិបស្សនកាលប្បវត្តិ ភាគ ១* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇḍāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាសារវត្តភ្នំ, 1998), 25–26.



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to a borrowing from Old Khmer into Siamese.<sup>62</sup> The same is likely true for the particle for marking Pali glosses. Still others, such as those for the ablative case and indicative mood, count both cross-linguistic parallels and radical disjunctures among their possible variants.

Figure 6.3.1.1: Comparative Table of Particles in Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Texts

Function	R. Tham	T. Tham	Tham	R. Lao	Lao	R. Thai	Thai	R. Khmer	Khmer	Notes
Nominative	<i>nī</i> or <i>nī̃</i>	นီ or ฐี	นီ or ฐี	<i>ān vā<sub>1</sub></i>	ອັນວ່າ	<i>ān vā<sub>1</sub></i>	อันว่า	<i>nī</i> or <i>nī e</i>	នី or ជី	Old Khmer <i>nī/riy</i>
Accusative	<i>yān<sup>o</sup></i>	ยัง	យ៉	<i>yān</i>	ຍັງ	<i>jīn<sub>1</sub></i> or <i>yān</i>	ซึ่ง or ยัง	<i>nūv</i>	នូវ	Old Khmer <i>nū</i>
Instrumental	<i>dūy<sup>o</sup></i> or <i>ḍvay<sub>2</sub><sup>o</sup></i>	ทวย or ท่วย	ฏ or ฎ	<i>ṭvay<sub>2</sub></i> or <i>toy</i>	ດ້យ or ດៃย	<i>ṭvay<sub>2</sub></i> or <i>toy</i>	ด้วย or โดย		ដោយ	Old Khmer <i>toy</i>
Dative	<i>kē<sub>1</sub></i>	แก่	កេ	<i>kē<sub>1</sub>, sū<sub>1</sub>,</i> or <i>thōn</i>	ແກ່, ສູ່, or ເຖິງ	<i>kē<sub>1</sub>, sū<sub>1</sub>,</i> or <i>thūn</i>	แก่, สู່, or ถึง	<i>tal'</i> or <i>camboḥ</i>	ដល់ or ចំពោះ	Old Khmer <i>tal/tāl</i>
Ablative	<i>cā</i>	จำ	ច	<i>cāk</i>	ຈາກ	<i>cāk</i>	จาก	<i>cāk</i> or <i>bī</i>	ចាក or ពី	Old Khmer <i>amvi/amvi</i>
Genitive	<i>hēn<sub>1</sub><sup>o</sup></i>	แห่ง	កេត្ត	<i>khañ</i> or <i>hēn<sub>1</sub></i>	ຂອງ or ແຫ່ງ	<i>khañ</i> or <i>hēn</i>	ของ or แห่ง	<i>nai</i> or <i>rapas'</i>	នៃ or របស់	Old Khmer <i>nai</i> ; cf. <i>ta</i>
Locative	<i>naī</i> or <i>yū<sub>1</sub></i>	ใน or ญ	ជន or ជ្ញ	<i>naī</i> or <i>yū<sub>1</sub></i>	ໃນ or ຢູ່	<i>naī</i> or <i>ayū<sub>1</sub></i>	ใน or อญ	<i>knuñ, e,</i> or <i>diep</i>	ក្នុង, ឯ, or ទៀប	Old Khmer <i>kamluñ</i> or <i>ai</i> ; cf. <i>nau</i> and <i>ta gi</i> ; also Old Khmer <i>nai</i>
Vocative	<i>dūrā<sup>o</sup></i>	ทुरา	ត្រូ	<i>tūlā</i>	ດູລາ	<i>tūrā</i>	ตุรา	<i>hai, nē, mnāl,</i> <i>pabitr</i>	ហៃ, នៃ, ម្កាវ, or បពិត្រ	Old Khmer <i>hai/heya</i> or <i>pabitr</i>
Plural	<i>dlā<sup>o</sup></i>	ท้ลา	ឃ្ល	<i>dān hlāy</i>	ອ້ງຫຼາຍ	<i>dān<sub>2</sub> hlāy</i>	ทั้ง หลาย	<i>dāmn lāy</i> or <i>phañ</i>	ទាំងឡាយ or ផង	Mid. K. <i>dāmn<sup>o</sup></i> <i>hlāy</i> ; Old Khmer <i>phon</i>
Indicative	<i>gaṃ</i> or <i>hā</i>	ค or ห้า	อ or คร	<i>yam<sub>1</sub>,</i> <i>kaṃ,</i> or <i>hāk</i>	ຍອມ, ກໍ, or ຫາກ	<i>yam<sub>1</sub>, kā,</i> or <i>hāk</i>	ยอม, กี่, or หาก	<i>ká</i> or <i>dōp</i>	កី or ទើប	Old Khmer <i>ka</i> ; Mid. Khmer <i>dep</i>
Imperative	<i>cān<sub>1</sub><sup>o</sup></i>	จึง	ចំ	<i>cān<sub>1</sub></i>	ຈິ່ງ	<i>cañ</i>	จง	<i>cūr</i>	ចូរ	Old Khmer <i>cur</i>
Pali gloss	<i>mvā<sup>o</sup></i>	ม้วา	ม้อ	<i>māk vā<sub>1</sub></i>	ມ້ວ່າ	<i>moḥ</i> or <i>moḥ</i> <i>vā<sub>1</sub></i>	เมาะ or เมาะว่า	<i>moḥ</i>	មោះ	Mid. K. <i>moḥ</i> ; Old Khmer <i>mah/maha</i>

Some particles are used widely in spoken vernaculars, especially the particles for the instrumental, dative, and ablative cases, which generally have the commonplace meanings “with/by,” “for/to,” and “from,” respectively. For instance, Thai/Lao *kē<sub>1</sub>* and Khmer *camboḥ*

<sup>62</sup> Uraisi Varasarin connects Thai *toy* โดย and *ṭvay<sub>2</sub>* ด้วย with Khmer *toy* ដោយ (*Les éléments khmers dans la formation de la langue siamoise*, 286–287). She also notes that Thai *nai* ใน (which has locative and genitive functions) may be derived from Khmer *nai* នៃ (*Les éléments khmers dans la formation de la langue siamoise*, 275).

are ordinary words meaning “for,” and the word *cāk* in all three languages means “from” or “to depart.” Other particles, including those for the indicative, accusative, and vocative cases, as well as for marking Pali glosses, are generally restricted to the specific technical demands of translating Pali into Khmer or Tai. In other words, they are rarely part of the spoken language. For example, ordinary Lao or Thai has no need for the particle *ān vā<sub>1</sub>* to mark the subject of the sentence or *jin<sub>1</sub>* to mark the object, as the strict SVO syntax of these languages makes the subject and object clear without recourse to such technical particles. Moreover, Khmer/Thai *moh* is restricted for glossing Pali words with other Pali words in bilingual Pali-vernacular texts; it cannot be used for vernacular glosses in ordinary speech. Still other particles, such as those for the indicative and imperative moods, may be freely used in the spoken language but are typically optional and implied by context alone. Their usage in bilingual Pali-vernacular texts is thus in the particular technical sense of marking certain grammatical features of the Pali.

There simply are not enough data at this point to make any definite claims about how these particles might be related to one another. We can tentatively assert that these systems were in contact with one another over the past several hundred years, as their current form reflects processes of mutual exchange. Whether these systems owe more to the structure of Burmese *nissayas* or to some unknown Old Mon and Old Khmer translation styles for Pali and Sanskrit in first-millennium Dvāravatī and Angkor is impossible to tell.

Despite these historical uncertainties, there is clear evidence for a shared set of conventions between these languages. This is particularly evident in the particles used for marking the nominative case and Pali glosses, as these particles are similar graphically (i.e. Khmer *rī* and the shorthand *rī* for *ān vā<sub>1</sub>* in Lao and Thai) or phonetically (*māk vā<sub>1</sub>*, *moh vā<sub>1</sub>*, *moh*, *mah/muh*), and are generally restricted to technical uses in bilingual texts. On the other hand, the particles used for the dative, genitive, and locative cases show considerable variation both within and between languages. These particles are freely used in the vernacular language and their variations meant that the creators of Pali-vernacular texts had some leeway in choosing which particles best fit the context. In other words, the system in place for annotating the grammar of Pali texts was not completely rigid and gave translators the appropriate palette to render the Khmer and Tai portions of these texts with intelligibility and eloquence. For instance, a Khmer translator could mark a Pali locative with *e* (“at”), *knui* (“within”), or *diep* (“near”), depending on the context. This flexibility allows for the shared set of conventions to help translators localize Pali texts into their native vernaculars.

In my translation of bilingual texts that use these technical particles, I make an effort to translate them with actual words rather than case markers in brackets, such [nom.] for the nominative case or [acc.] for the accusative case. I want my translations to reflect the effort the creators of these texts took to render Pali sources into coherent vernacular texts that highlight certain grammatical features, but without losing the sense of fluent prose in English. Thus I translate the nominative case markers *rī* and *ān vā<sub>1</sub>* as “as for [noun], [pronoun corresponding to that noun]...” (i.e. *ān vā<sub>1</sub> brah buddha cau<sub>2</sub>...*, “as for the Buddha, he...”),<sup>63</sup> rather than using

<sup>63</sup> อันว่าพระพุทธเจ้า

linguistic markers like SUBJECT or NOMINATIVE. While this makes some texts sound unwieldy in English, it underscores my point that such bilingual Pali-vernacular creations, despite their technical approach, are still locally cogent texts.

Other original-syntax fully bilingual versions of Pali verses in Cambodian leprellos use these particles in a similar manner to “Morning Water-Pouring [Dedication of Merit].” For instance, the same manuscript, **UB070**, provides a bilingual version of the famous Pali verse **Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r** with *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts again used to highlight the two different languages:

*aniccā vata saṅkhārā* Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things.  
*uppādayadhammīno* They have the nature to arise and pass away.  
*upajjīvā nirujjhanti* Having arisen, they disappear.  
*tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho.* Their complete stilling is bliss.

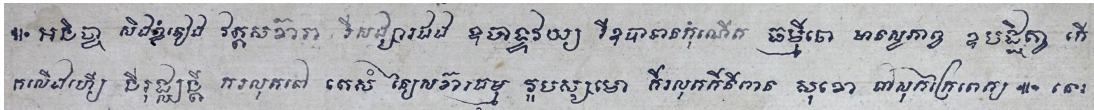


Figure 6.4.3.1: Detail of **UB070** 2a

The bilingual version reads as follows in the manuscript:

*aniccā* សឹងត្រូវទៀង *vatasāṅkhārā* វិសង្សារផង *uppādaya* វិឌុបាទានកុំណើត *dhammīno* មានសុភាព  
*upajjīvā* កើតលើងហើយ *nirujjhanti* ករលុតទៅ *tesaṃ* នៃរសខ្លាំងធម្ម *vūpassamo* ក៏រលុតក៏នីពាន *sukho* ជា  
 សុកក្រៃពេកៗ<sup>64</sup>

This translates as:

**impermanent** which are not permanent **alas, are all conditioned things** as for all conditioned things **to arise and pass away** as for clinging [and] birth **they have the nature** they have the essential nature **having arisen** having arisen **they disappear** they are extinguished **their** of all conditioned things **complete stilling** extinguish, go to Nibbāna **bliss** is great bliss.

A number of the same particles explained in the table above surface again in this passage, including *rī* (**rī** *upādān*, “**as for** clinging”) for the nominative, *phañ* for the plural (*sañ[kh]ār* **phañ**, “**all** conditioned things”), *ká* for the indicative (*kar* *lut dau/ká* *lut dau*, “[**indicative marker**] they are extinguished”) and *nai* for the genitive (*naiyo* *saṅkhāradhamm/nai* *saṅkhāradhamm*, “**of** all conditioned things.”

<sup>64</sup> **UB070** 2a

In addition, there are several particles in this passage that I did not incorporate into the table. These include the use of *höy* (“completed already”) for the absolutive indeclinable participle (*upajjivā*, *köt lön höy°/köt lön höy*, “having arisen”) and *sin* to mark adjectives (*aniccā*, *sin bvuṃ dien/sin bum dien*, “which are not permanent”).<sup>65</sup> I excluded these from the table because their cross-linguistic function is not yet entirely clear to me. In Pali-Khmer texts, *höy* tends to mark absolutive indeclinable participles, while *pān* is more common for the aorist.<sup>66</sup> This is somewhat paralleled by the Thai use of *lèv<sub>2</sub>* and *tai<sub>2</sub>*,<sup>67</sup> respectively, but in both Pali-Khmer and Pali-Thai texts the usage of these particles appears inconsistent. The *sin* particle, on the other hand, marks adjectives. This is quite important as Khmer and Tai word classes are more fluid than those of Pali or English; such a particle can help resolve ambiguities in the vernacular and more clearly mark the function of the Pali. In Lanna manuscripts, this function is expressed by the particles “*an°* or *tan<sub>1</sub>°* and in modern Thai either by *ān* or *jīn<sub>1</sub>*.<sup>68</sup>

As in the case of “Morning Water-Pouring [Dedication of Merit],” the Khmer text generally presents a quite literal rendering of each of the syntactic constituents in their original order, without any additional commentary. The lack of syntactic rearrangement means that an adjective such as *aniccā* appears at the beginning of the passage, whereas in Khmer (as in Tai) adjectives always follow the nouns they modify. The result is that the syntax of the Khmer portions does not follow the conventional order of the language, and would thus be confusing to a Khmer audience unfamiliar with Pali. This possibly indicates that such a bilingual text would have been useful for the study of the language as a “pony,” an interlinear gloss used by modern language students. This passage also provides a curious gloss for *uppādayadhammino* (“they have the nature to arise and pass away”). The bilingual version splits this compound into two parts, *uppādayaya* and *dhammino*, and translates the first part as “as for clinging [and] birth” and the second as “they have the essential nature.” It is hard to interpret this as anything other than a mistake on the part of the author or the scribe, probably due to a confusion between *uppādayaya* (“to arise and pass away” or “arising and passing away”) with two consecutive terms from the twelve *nidānas* of the *paṭicca samuppāda* series, namely *upādāna* (“clinging”) and *bhava* (“becoming”).

Such authorial or scribal errors are not uncommon in these short, original-syntax fully bilingual texts. Another example from the same manuscript, **UB070**, show errors in both the Pali and the vernacular portions. Here the verse is Dhammapada 3.9 (**Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ**

<sup>65</sup> *ហើយ; សិន៍ or sin សិន៍*

<sup>66</sup> *បាន*

<sup>67</sup> *แล้ว and ได้*

<sup>68</sup> cf. Lao *ān* อັນ and Thai *ān* อัน. In modern Central Thai, the distinction between *ān* and *jīn<sub>1</sub>*, when used as relative pronouns or particles to connect nouns with adjectives, is made on the basis of whether the noun is animate (*jīn<sub>1</sub>*) or inanimate (*ān*). In Tham Lanna manuscripts, this function of *jīn<sub>1</sub>* is replaced by *tan<sub>1</sub>°* *ตณ* (modern Thai/Lao *tan* *ตณ*). The Khmer word *sin* does not appear in modern dictionaries with this meaning, though Jenner notes that Old Khmer version, *syān/siyān/sīn*, etc., can be used as an anaphoric copula, which is close to its function in bilingual texts. It is likely, therefore, that the use of *sin* in bilingual Pali-Khmer texts is linked to both Thai *jīn<sub>1</sub>* and Old Khmer *syān*, though the exact history of the term remains unclear.

**kāyo-gāthā A/aciram vata'yam kāyo-gāthā A samrāy-r).** This verse would be expected to read as follows:

<i>aciram vat'ayam kāyo</i>	Soon, alas, this body
<i>pathavim adhisessati</i>	will lie on the earth,
<i>chuddho apetaviññāno</i>	thrown away, devoid of consciousness,
<i>nirattham'va kaliṅgaram</i>	useless as a rotten log.

The manuscript, however, reads:

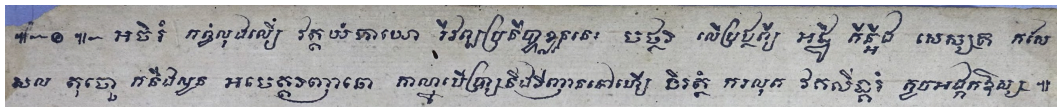


Figure 6.4.3.2: Detail of **UB070 2a**

*aciram* កំពុងលុះល្ងៃ *vattayaṃkāyo* វិវេចន៍ប្រតិបត្តិខ្លួននេះ *paththvi* លើប្រថុញ *aṭṭhi* គឺផ្តឹង *sessati* កសែសល  
*tuccho* កន្លែងស្ងួត *apettaviññāno* កាល្មាបើប្រាណ្ឌិវិញ្ញាណដោយ ចិត្ត ករណ៍ វិចលន្តិះ តូចអង្កត  
*ឱស្សៗ*<sup>69</sup>

**not long** not long at all **alas, this body** as for one’s own practice here **the earth** on the earth **bone** that is, bone **will lie** remains **empty** will be empty **devoid of consciousness** when it has become devoid of consciousness **useless** is extinguished **like a rotten log** like a charcoal log.

The use of technical particles in this passage is much the same as witnessed above. Some of the numerous Pali variants are simply legitimate alternatives, such as *tuccho* (“empty”) for *chuddho* (“thrown away”). The most obvious error, however, is reading *adhisessati* as *aṭṭhi sessati*. Since *adhi* and *aṭṭhi* are pronounced in a very similar way in Cambodia, Khmer possessing neither voiced aspirate stops (e.g. *dh*) nor retroflex aspirate stops (e.g. *th/tṭh*), the confusion is unsurprising. But breaking *adhisessati* (“will lie down”) into *aṭṭhi* and *sessati* (“bone will lie down”) is not the only error. *Sessati* is then glossed not as a future form of “to lie down,” but rather as “remains” (Pali *seseti*; Khmer *ses sal*). The final meaning of the Khmer translation is not vastly different than the Pali, but these errors garble the flow and logic of the verse. In addition, the phrase *vat'ayam kāyo* (“alas, this body”) is glossed as “as for one’s own practice here,” likely stemming from a confusion between *vata* (“alas”) and *vatta* (“liturgy, practice”).<sup>70</sup> These errors reflect the challenges faced by the authors and transmitters of Pali-vernacular texts in Southeast Asia. Sounds distinguished clearly in an Indic pronunciation of Pali often

<sup>69</sup> **UB070 2a**

<sup>70</sup> There is also the additional confusion that, in Khmer, *khlun* means “body” as well as being a common reflexive pronoun. Thus *ri vadhapraṇipād<sup>o</sup> khlun neh* វិវេចន៍ប្រតិបត្តិខ្លួននេះ could mean “as for one’s own practice” or “as for the practice of the body,” though the former is preferred.

become homonyms in Khmer and Tai pronunciation, leading to confusions like those witnessed above.

These confusions do not disrupt the style of original-syntax fully bilingual texts, however, since these texts tend to focus on the accurate glossing of individual words rather than coherent sentences. For instance, even though the author misreads *vata* as *vatta*, he still uses the correct technical particle *rī* marking this phrase as a nominative. He marks *atthi*, a misreading for *adhi*, appropriately as a noun, and *sessati* correctly as a verb. We might wonder whether these errors reflect a translator whose grasp of Pali was not yet complete or merely the accumulated errors of scribes over generations of copying. Nevertheless, these translations of short Pali verses, no matter what errors they contain, still hew closely to the principle of using technical particles to clarify and annotate the grammatical features of the Pali without altering its syntactic structure.

### 6.3.2 Translations of Long Pali Prose Texts

In addition to these bilingual versions of short Pali verses, the leporello corpus also contains original-syntax fully bilingual translations of much longer Pali prose texts, especially the *Girimānanda-sutta*.<sup>71</sup> These bilingual texts share many qualities with the translations of short Pali verse texts discussed previously: they maintain the original syntax of the Pali, they follow sections of Pali text with close Khmer glosses, and these glosses are either literal or contain a minimal amount of added commentary.

There are some significant differences, however, including the paucity of obvious errors and the division of the Pali into much longer phrases. Moreover, the system of technical particles is not used consistently to notate the grammatical features of the Pali. The markedly different style of these texts suggests that they may belong to a later era of translation, and indeed some of the bilingual versions appearing in manuscripts are copied directly from the published *samrāy* of Huot Tāt, first printed in 1934.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, they may simply reflect a different function for such bilingual texts; the passages considered in the paragraphs that follow are intended to be chanted aloud in end-of-life contexts. In this section, I focus on two bilingual versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta* that likely predate Huot Tāt's version but that nonetheless reflect many features of the new *samrāy* style discussed by Anne Hansen. These texts reflect an effort to make the vernacular portions of bilingual versions much more fluent and natural, to the extent that they can be recited and listened to without strain.

The first of these texts is cataloged in Appendix II under the title **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neh-r**. This text probably dates from the late nineteenth or possibly early twentieth centuries and appears in three early-twentieth-century leporellos.<sup>73</sup> All three of these leporellos come from Kampong Cham province, and it is possible this text is a local version particular to that region. The orthography in all three

<sup>71</sup> Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60

<sup>72</sup> Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt* សត្តបរិក្ខេ ទ្វាដសបរិក្ខេ.

<sup>73</sup> **UB014** 39a–60b braḥ girimānandasuttam; **UB015** 98b–91b (explicit missing), with final note: មិនទាន់ចប់ទេ នៅដៃដី; **UB057** 79a–106a braḥ girimānand prè(h)

manuscripts is similar and reflects the likely date of composition, as it clearly predates the orthographic reforms of the early twentieth century.<sup>74</sup>

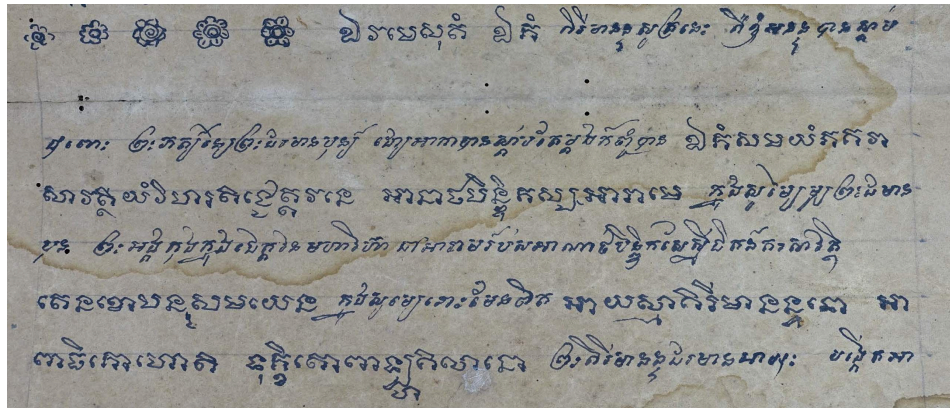


Figure 6.3.2.1: Detail of **UB014** 39b

The opening portion of this text in **UB014** includes a minor commentarial addition concerning Ānanda, plus one accidentally repeated Pali word (*ekam*), but otherwise provides a close translation of the Pali. Like **UB070** examined above, the Pali sections are in *mūl* script whereas the vernacular parts are in *jriem*:

*evamesutam ekam* គឺវិមានន្ទសូត្រនេះ គឺខ្ញុំអានន្ទបានស្តាប់ ជំពោះព្រះភត្យនៃព្រះមោនបុត្យ ដោយអាកាបានស្តាប់  
បំតែម្តងក៏ច្បាស់បាន *ekamsamayambhagavā sāvatti yaṃvihāraritjettavane ānāathapindikassaārāme* ក្នុង  
សូម្បែម្យព្រះដមានបុន ព្រះអង្គគុជក្នុងជេត្តវនមហាវិហារ ជាអារាមរបស់សណាមាថបិដ្ឋិកសៃដ្ឋីជិតនីករសាវត្ថិ  
*tenakhopanusamayena* ក្នុងសូម្បែនោះមែនពិត *tyasmāgūṇimānandado ābādhikohoti dukkhitobālhagilāno*  
ព្រះគឺវិមានន្ទដមានអាយុ៖ បង្កើតអាពាធមានតុក វេទនាក្នុងរាងកាយជាទុំមួនណាវៗ<sup>75</sup>

**thus have I heard** [extra *ekam* here] this *Girimānanda-sutta* is what I, Ānanda, heard in the presence of the Blessed One, by means of listening to it just once and committing it to memory **at one time the Blessed One was dwelling in Sāvattḥī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** at one time the Blessed One, the Lord was dwelling in the great temple (*mahāvihāra*) of Jetavana, the monastery (*ārāma*) of the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, near the city of Sāvattḥī **now at that time** at that time indeed **the elder monk Girimānanda was sick, in pain, severely ill** the elder monk Girimānanda was sick, in pain, and suffering severely in his body.

<sup>74</sup> It is possible that the inconsistent addition and subtraction of final -r in Khmer words in these manuscripts suggests that it was composed in eastern Cambodia, where the final -r sound was dropped earlier than in western dialects. On the other hand, the inconsistency in final -r may simply reflect the spelling conventions of the era.

<sup>75</sup> **UB014** 39a

Another bilingual version of the *Girimānanda-sutta*, cataloged in Appendix II under the title **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ-r**, takes a slightly different approach. This version is closer to Huot Tāt’s 1934 print version. Compared to the previous example, it is more literal and employs more of the technical particles. It appears in only two leporello manuscripts, both of which date from the mid-twentieth century.<sup>76</sup> Whether the composition of this version predates Huot Tāt’s is difficult to discern, for the overall approach is similar. The parallel opening passage in this leporello version (transcribed from **UB023**, with both languages in *mūl* script) differs slightly in its division of Pali phrases from that of **UB014**:

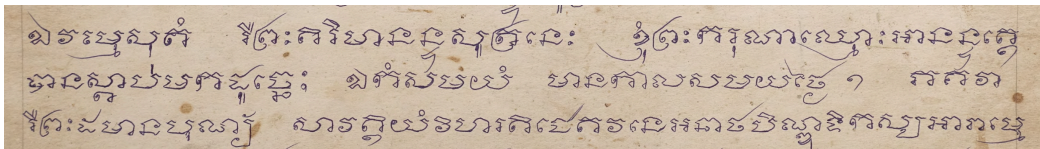


Figure 6.3.2.2: Detail of **UB023** 36b

*evammesutam* រឿព្រះគិរិមានន្ទសូត្រនេះ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាល្អោះអានន្ទត្ថេបានស្តាប់មកដូច្នោះ *ekaṃsamayaṃ*  
 មានកាលសមយថៃ ១ ភគវា រឿព្រះដមានបុណ្យ *sāvattiyam viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme* ព្រះ  
 អង្គគង់នៅវត្តព្រះដេត្តពន់ទាព្វន័គសាវត្ថី ជាអារាមនៃអាណាថប័ណ្ណកសេដ្ឋីសាងថ្វាយ *tenakhopanasamayena*  
 សមយត្រានោះសោតៈ *āyasmāgirimānando* រឿព្រះគិរិមានន្ទត្ថេរដ៏ មានអាយុៈក្នុងសយើន *abādhikohoti* អ្នកមាន  
 ជម្ងឺអាពាធ *dukkhīto bāḥatīlāno* ជាទុកទុរន់ធ្ងន់ពន់ប្រមាន<sup>77</sup>

**thus have I heard** as for this *Girimānanda-sutta*, I, servant of your grace, named Elder Ananda, heard it like this **at one time** at one time, one day **the Blessed One** as for the Blessed One, he **was dwelling in Sāvattḥī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** the Lord was dwelling in Jetavana, near Sāvattḥī, which is the monastery (*ārāma*) that the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika built as an offering **now at that time** now at that time **the elder monk Girimānanda** the Elder Girimānanda who was of long-standing ordination **was sick** was sick **in pain, severely ill** suffering to an exceedingly severe degree.

Both of these versions contrast with the almost word-by-word approach of the bilingual versions of short Pali verses discussed previously in that they divide the text into longer phrases. Whereas **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** (represented by **UB014**) includes quite long phrases, such as *ekaṃsamayaṃbhagavā sāvatthī yaṃvihararitijettavane anāthapiṇḍikassaārāme*, **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** (represented by **UB023**) demonstrates a more analytical approach by dividing such long phrases into two or three parts (*ekaṃsamayaṃ... bhāgavā...*

<sup>76</sup> **UB013** 49a–50b (explicit missing); **UB013** 51a–73a = *girimānandasūtt*; **UB023** 36b–60a *braḥ girimānandasūtr*

<sup>77</sup> **UB023** 36b



*sāvattiyam viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme*). The latter version includes more technical particles, such as *rī* (*bhagavā, rī braḥ ta mān puny* / *rī braḥ ta mān puny*, “**as for** the Blessed One”), but neither includes the full range found in the translations of short Pali verses. Both versions move toward presenting a natural text in vernacular Khmer, one that would read easily without the Pali portions at all.

The style of these versions, in other words, approaches what is sometimes called *prè rien sec kti* “translation [by means of] arranging the meaning”<sup>78</sup> in contemporary Cambodia, a form of Pali to Khmer translation that emphasizes producing natural sentences that read well in vernacular Khmer. Juon Nāt and Huot Tāt were among the early supporters of such a style. This style aims to make a clear distinction between what is and is not *buddhavacana*, or, in Hansen’s rendering of Huot Tāt, it clarifies “which verses are actual *Buddhabhāsita*.”<sup>79</sup> Huot Tāt’s 1934 *samrāy* version of the *Girimānanda-sutta* makes this aim explicit through the use of parentheses:

*evamme sutam* (សូត្រនេះឈ្មោះគិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ) គឺខ្ញុំ (ឈ្មោះអានន្ទ) បានស្តាប់មកហើយយ៉ាងនេះថា *ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattiyam viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme* សម័យមួយ ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគទ្រង់គង់នៅក្នុងវត្តជេតពន ជាអាណាមរបស់អនាថបិណ្ឌិកសេដ្ឋី ទៀបក្រុងសាវត្ថី *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā girimānando ābādhiko hoti dukkhito bālhaḡilāno* ក៏ក្នុងសម័យនោះឯង ព្រះគិរិមានន្ទដ៏មានអាយុលោកមានអាពាធ ប្រកបដោយទុក្ខវេទនា ជាជំងឺធ្ងន់<sup>80</sup>

**thus have I heard** (this sutra is called the *Girimānanda-sutta*), which I (named Ānanda) heard like this **at one time the Blessed One in was dwelling in Sāvattthī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** at one time the Blessed One was dwelling in Jetavana Temple, which is the monastery of the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika near the city of Sāvattthī **now at that time the elder monk Girimānanda was sick, in pain, severely ill** now at that very time, the elder Girimānanda was sick, was suffering, and was severely ill.

Huot Tāt’s version of this opening passage not only uses parentheses to highlight which portions of the translation are implied by the context rather than being strictly part of the Pali, but also divides the Pali solely by complete sentences rather than phrases. In this model of bilingual text, just like other texts discussed in this section, the original syntax is retained and the content of the Pali and vernacular portions are equally balanced. By contrast, however, the translation is particularly fluid and economical in its language, and eschews the use of technical particles such as *rī*. In these ways, Huot Tāt’s *samrāy* provides an example of the opposite end of the spectrum for original-syntax fully bilingual texts when compared to

<sup>78</sup> ប្រៀបធៀបសេចក្តី

<sup>79</sup> Hansen, *How to Behave*, 103.

<sup>80</sup> Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិវត្តិ ទ្វាទសបរិវត្តិ*, 145.

versions of short Pali verses. Four leporellos listed in Appendix I, each dating from the mid- to late twentieth century, include Huot Tāt’s bilingual version of the *Girimānanda-sutta*.<sup>81</sup>

It is tempting to consider that the progression traced so far, from the terse bilingual versions of short Pali verse texts to the fluent and increasingly modern bilingual version of the *Girimānanda-sutta*, represents an aspect of this form’s historical development, in line with that suggested by Hansen. But the picture of bilingual texts in Cambodia and in Southeast Asia becomes much more complex when we consider that the styles of the texts discussed above often coexist in the manuscripts, not only with each other but with other forms of bilingual texts. I turn now to one of these other forms, one that retains the fully bilingual style of the above texts but also incorporates techniques of syntactic rearrangement made possible through extensive use of the same set of technical particles for marking grammatical attributes.

## 6.4 Syntactically Rearranged Fully Bilingual Prose

### 6.4.1 Pali-Khmer Texts

This form of bilingual Pali-vernacular text is actually quite rare in Cambodian leporellos. I have identified only three such texts in the corpus, two from medium-length Pali prose texts and a third from a short Pali verse text. These texts are quite similar to the original-syntax fully bilingual versions of short Pali verse texts in that they favor close, phrase-by-phrase renderings of the Pali in the vernacular, clarified by ample use of grammatical particles. The primary distinguishing factor of these texts, therefore, is their use of syntactic arrangement. As noted in the case of original-syntax fully bilingual versions of short Pali verse texts, Khmer and Pali syntax do not easily line up such that fluent vernacular translations are possible without some rearrangement of the syntactic constituents. While Pali syntax, especially in verse, may be relatively free, Khmer and Tai rely on syntactic clues to produce comprehensible sentences. Syntactically rearranged fully bilingual texts take exactly this approach. In some cases, this rearrangement is relatively simple and requires only minor changes to the text. In other cases, particularly with Pali texts that feature long and complex syntactical structures, the process of rearrangement may drastically alter the word order of the original source.

An example of relatively simple rearrangement comes from the bilingual prose text **Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r**.<sup>82</sup> This text presents the basic *paṭicca samuppāda* formula: *aviccāpaccayā saṅkhāra, saṅkhārapaccayā viññāṇam*, etc. (“with ignorance as condition, conditional formations [arise], with conditional formations as condition, consciousness [arises]...”). In order to render this formula more clearly in Khmer, this bilingual versions inverts the syntax:

<sup>81</sup> **UB026** 30b–37b *girimānand sūtr*, including footnotes from the printed edition it was copied from, with an inserted piece of brown paper on spread 35 (now mostly torn away) and another on spread 37, each recording parts of the text initially skipped by the scribe (introduced by ខ្ញុំសរសេរខ្លះ សូមមើលបន្តិចម្តងទៅនេះ); **UB043** 2b–20b; **UB044** 9b–16a, 17b–28b *girimānandasūtr*; **UB045** 50a–69b *girimānandasūtr*

<sup>82</sup> **UB070** 6a–8a *prèr sec kḍiy iss avijār*

*saṅkhārā* រឿងសង់ [sic] ខន្ធគឺរតើមកុំណើតទ្វារប្បាជ *avijāpaccayā* មានអវិជ្ជាជាតើមហៃហៃ *viñāṇaṃ* រឿងញាតស្មា  
ត្រូវត្រៃត្រៃកើតឃើញ បុនបាបគុនទោស្ស *saṅkhārapaccayā* មានសទ្ធាជាហៃត

**conditional formations** as for the aggregate of conditional formations, that is the root of all births, they **with ignorance as condition** have ignorance as their root cause **consciousness** as for consciousness, the awareness of and reflection on merit, demerit, virtue, and fault, it **with conditional formations as condition** has conditional formations as its root cause

This syntactic rearrangement is made possible by moving the subject to a sentence-initial position and marking it with the particles *rī* for the nominative case and *dāṃṇī lāy* for the plural (*saṅkhārā*, ***rīy***<sup>o</sup> *saṅ rakhandh* ***dāṃṇī***<sup>o</sup> ***hlāy***<sup>o</sup>/***rī*** *saṅkhārakkhandh...* ***dāṃṇī lāy***, “as for the aggregate of conditional formations”). Likewise, at the end of the *paṭicca samuppāda* formula (*evametassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti*, “such is the origination of this entire mass of suffering”), this bilingual version flips around the syntax by marking the nominative with *rī* and moving it to the beginning instead of the end:

*samudayo* រឿងកើតឃើញ *tassa dukkhakkhandhassa* នៃកងដុកនោះ *hontī* មាន *kevalassa* មែនពិត  
*evam eva* ត្រូវនៅប្រការត្រូវចេះមែនពិត។

**origination** as for the action of arising **of this mass of suffering** of that accumulation of suffering **exists** exists **of this entire** indeed **just like this** by just these ways indeed

Aside from a minor discrepancy regarding the Pali word *kevalassa*<sup>83</sup> and the addition of *eva* after *evam*, this passage provides a careful rendering of the original text. Moreover, the syntactic rearrangement, made possible by the particles *rī*, *nai*, and *toy/toy nūv*, renders this sentence intelligible in Khmer. The subject, marked with *rī* (*samudayo*, ***rīy***<sup>o</sup> *kīrīy*<sup>o</sup> *ār paṅköt hōy/rī* *kīrīyā paṅköt hōy*), is moved to a sentence-initial position, followed by its genitive modifier, marked by *nai* (*tassa dukkhakkhandhassa/tassa dukkhakkhandhassa*, ***nai*** *kaṭṭh duk noḥ/nai* *kaṅ dukkh noḥ*), which in turn is followed by an unmarked verb (*hontī/honti*, *mān*).<sup>84</sup> Since the verb is stative, no object follows. The verb is modified by an adverb (*mèn bīt/mèn bit*) and an instrumental clause, marked by *toy nūv*, that follows it and completes the sentence. This arrangement corresponds to the typical structure of a Khmer sentence, though it required a complete rearrangement of the Pali.

The same process of syntactic rearrangement can be applied to Pali verse texts. One example comes from the bilingual text cataloged as **Yaṃ dunnimittam ca/yaṃ**

<sup>83</sup> Pali *kevalassa*, in the sense of “of this entire [mass of suffering]”; the Khmer, *mèn bīt* [i.e. *mèn bit*, “indeed, truly”], seems to render *kevalam* [“only; just”] instead.

<sup>84</sup> In standardized orthography: រកិរិយាបង្កើតហើយនៃកងដុកនោះមាន

**dunnimittam ca samrāy-r.**<sup>85</sup> This short liturgical text, also known as the *Pubbaṅha-sutta*, reads as follows when written out in full and corrected Pali:

*yaṃ dunnimittam avamaṅgalaṅca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinam akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*buddhānubhāvena vināsamentu* by the power of the Buddha, may they be destroyed.

*yaṃ dunnimittam avamaṅgalaṅca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinam akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*dhammānubhāvena vināsamentu* by the power of the Dhamma, may they be destroyed.

*yaṃ dunnimittam avamaṅgalaṅca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinam akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*saṅghānubhāvena vināsamentu* by the power of the Sangha, may they be destroyed.

The bilingual version compresses this text by combining the three stanzas together, as they only vary in their reference to the Buddha, the Dhamma, or the Sangha. It also provides some minor adjustments to the word order to clarify the text in Khmer:

*yadunnimittamca* ឃ្លីនីមីតដួរអាត្រកឯណាម្ប *avamaṅgulam* ជាអត្ថមន្ត្រីល *yo sadoca* ឃ្លីសំឡេងឯណាម្ប  
 ក្លឹយ *sakuṇassa* នៀសត្ថបាក្សីយ *amanāpo* ពុំបានជាទ្រឹតម្រេកត្រេកចិត *pāpaggaho* បើរនឹងស្តាបនឹងកានយ  
 កហៅជាល្មុក *dusupinam* ឃ្លីយុលសព្វជាអនីមីតដួរ *vināsamentu* ចូរឲ្យអន្តរាស្សទៅ *buddhānubhāvena*  
 ត្បោអនុភាពព្រះពុទ្ធដជាអម្ចាស *akantaṃ* ត្បោមែនពិត *dhammānubhāvena* ត្បោអនុភាពនៃព្រះធម្មគុនដ  
 ជាអម្ចាស *akantaṃ* ត្បោមែនពិត *saṅghānubhāvena* ត្បោអនុភាពនៃព្រះសមិគុន ដជាអម្ចាស *akantaṃ*  
 ត្បោមែនពិត

**any bad omen** as for any bad omen **inauspicious sign** that is an inauspicious sign **and any sound** and as for any sound **of a bird** of a bird **that is disagreeable** that is not agreeable to the mind **malevolent planet** if one should listen to it, pay attention to it, and call it repulsive **nightmare** as for a dream that is a vile portent **may they be destroyed** may they be destroyed **by the power of the Buddha** by the power of the Buddha, the Lord **ominous** truly **by the power of the Dhamma** by the power of the virtues of the Dhamma, the Lord **unpleasant** truly **by the power of the Sangha** by the power of the virtues of the Dhamma, the Lord **unpleasant** truly

<sup>85</sup> UB070 8a

There are some discrepancies here that merit further explanation. The author of this text clearly misread the adjective *akantaṃ* (“unpleasant, ominous”) as the adverb *ekantaṃ* (“surely, truly”), and therefore rearranged its position in this text as an adverb modifying *vināsamentu* rather than an adjective modifying *dussupinam*. He also read *pāpaggaḥo* not in reference to planets (Sanskrit *graha*) and their astrological alignment but rather as an additional modifier to *saddo*.

The rest of the text closely follows the Pali verses in content, but the structure has been slightly rearranged. For instance, *yo cāmanāḥo sakuṇassa saddo* is changed to *yo ca saddo sakuṇassa amanāḥo*, which fits the flow of the Khmer better: “and **as for** any sound **of** a bird **that is not** agreeable to the mind” (*rīy° samleñ e nā muoy° kḍīy nai° satv pāksīy bvaṃ pān jā dīy° tammrek trek cīt/rī samleñ e nā muoy ktī nai satv paksī bvaṃ pān jā dī tamrek trek citt*).<sup>86</sup> Finally, the instrumental clause that modifies the verb, beginning with *buddhānubhāvena*, is shifted to occur only after the verb *vināsamentu*, rather than the *buddhānubhāvena vināsamentu* structure of the original. Once again, these changes are made possible through the use of case-marking particles such as *rī*, *nai*, and *toy* as well as the imperative mood particle *cūr*, each of which clarifies the grammatical function of words in their new syntactic positions. Both the rearranged syntax and the technical particles serve to localize the Pali text into a Khmer lexical and grammatical context.

The examples above require only minor revisions to word order to accomplish the aim of producing a phrase-by-phrase translation of the Pali that reads naturally in Khmer. Other texts, such as **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**,<sup>87</sup> implement more drastic changes, both through adding Pali phrases implied by the original text and through dramatically rearranging the syntax. The Pali version of *Dhammakāya* usually begins with a long list of marks (*lakkhana*) on the Buddha’s body that are each paired with 27 different aspects of his wisdom or teachings, beginning with *sabbaññūtaññāṇappavarasīsam* (his excellent head is omniscient wisdom). This list is followed by a praise in verse of the radiant body of the Buddha *qua* the Dhammakāya. Finally, a short section in prose exhorts the meditator (*yogāvacarakulaputta*) to contemplate these marks of the Buddha.<sup>88</sup>

These three sections—the list of marks, the praise in verse, and the final prose exhortation—might be most easily conceived of as three separate sentences. The bilingual text of **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**, however, attempts to weave all three together. This text begins by pulling the key compound noun from the third section, *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam* (“the mark[s] of the Buddha [that consist] the Dhammakāya”), understanding it in the accusative case, and adding *ahaṃ namāmi* (“I venerate”) before it as the subject and verb. The long list of marks that follows is thus subsumed under *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam* and made part of the veneration:

<sup>86</sup> វិសម្បជនណាម្បក្ខិយន្សសត្វបាត្រិយពុំបានជាទីតម្រកត្រកចិត, i.e. វិសម្បជនណាម្បក្ខិយន្សសត្វបាត្រិយពុំបានជាទីតម្រកត្រកចិត

<sup>87</sup> **UB041** 49b–57b; **UB062** 68a–72a prè bāky adhippāy srāy tām bāky braḥ pālī sec kṭī tūcneḥ/sec kṭī pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇ braḥ sammāsambuddh jā mcāḥ nai yōñ evaṃ

<sup>88</sup> For an edition of the Pali text in Khmer script, see Bizot, *Le chemin de Lanka*, 297–298.

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*ahaṃ* វិទ្ធិព្រះករុណាជាអម្ចាះ *namāmi* ក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំឥឡូវដោយសេចក្តីគោរព  
*dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ* នៅព្រះលក្ខណនៃព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គមានព្រះធម៌ព្រះអង្គប្រៀបដោយព្រះញាណ  
ព្រះអង្គបានទ្រង់ព្រះនាមឈ្មោះព្រះធម្មកាយ *sabbatthūtañāṇa pavarasiṃhaṃ* មានព្រះសិរសាប្រសើរ គឺប្រាថ្នា  
ជ្រាបអស់សត្វលោកទាំងពុម្ភិចក្រវាឡ ឈ្មោះព្រះសព្វញ្ញតញ្ញាណ<sup>89</sup>

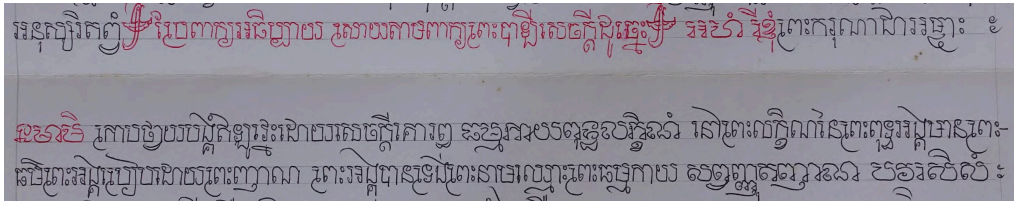


Figure 6.4.1.1: Detail of **UB062** 68a–68b

**I** as for me, servant of the grace of my Lord, **I venerate** now bow low in offering out of respect **the mark[s] of the Buddha [that constitute] the Dhammakāya** to the marks of the body of the Buddha, which includes the Dhamma of the Lord, likened to the Wisdom of the Lord, and which bears the name “Dhamma-body” **his excellent head is omniscient wisdom** including his excellent head which is the wisdom informed of all of the living beings throughout the 30,000 world systems, which is named “omniscient wisdom” [and so on for the remainder of the marks]

After the end of the 27-item list, each headed with the Khmer word *mān* (“including” in this context), the verse praising the marks of the Buddha appears in a rearranged form, though shorn of the subject and verb of praise, *name’haṃ* (“I venerate”), since they were already including at the beginning of the text in their expanded form *ahaṃ namāmi*. The text then concludes with the prose exhortation to the meditator, this time devoid of the object of meditation, since it too (*dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ*) was moved to the beginning of the text. The original prose exhortation reads as follows: *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ yogāvacarakulaputtana tikkhaṃñāṇena sabbatthūtibuddhabhāvaṃ paṭthentena punappunaṃ anussarittabbaṃ* (“the mark[s] of the Buddha [that constitute] the Dhammakāya should be contemplated again and again by one in the lineage of the *yogāvacara*, who is of sharp wisdom and who aspires to the state of an omniscient buddha”). The bilingual verse rearranges this as follows:

*yogāvacara kulaputtana* គឺព្រះយោគាវចរកុលបុត្រ *tikkhaṃñāṇena* មានប្រា  
ថ្នាព្រះអង្គភ្ញឺវត្តា *paṭthentena* កាលប្រាថ្នា *sabbatthūtibuddhabhāvaṃ* នៅសុភាពព្រះសព្វញ្ញតញ្ញាណ  
*anussarittabbaṃ* គប្បីរំលឹក *punappunaṃ* ឱ្យរឿយៗទៅហោង។<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> **UB062** 68a–68b. The manuscript uses red ink to mark out certain passages, which I have reproduced here in the transcription and translation. As was the case for **UB070** and **UB014** above, the Pali phrases are in *mīl* and the Khmer ones are in *jriēn*.

<sup>90</sup> **UB062** 72a

**by one in the lineage of the *yogāvacaras*** this is what one in the lineage of the *yogāvacaras* **by one who possesses sharp wisdom** who possesses within himself courageous wisdom **by one who aspires** when aspiring **to the state of an omniscient buddha** to the state of an omniscient buddha **should be contemplated** should be contemplated **again and again** again and again continuously

In addition to flipping the order of *punappunam anussarittabham* to *anussarittabham punappunam* and *sabbaññūbuddhabhāvam patthentena* to *patthentena sabbaññūbuddhabhāvam*, this closing passage also indicates how the whole bilingual text is to be read. By moving *name’ham/ahaṃ namāmi* and *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam* to the beginning of the text, the author weaves the three sections into a single sentence. The missing *dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇam* in the final section is referenced only by the word *gī* (“this is what” in this context), indicating that the object of contemplation for the meditator is the entire 27-item enumeration of the Dhammakāya. The skillful use of technical particles and drastic syntactic rearrangement in this bilingual version allow the author to create a coherent, if rather long, Khmer sentence that weaves together three distinct sections of the Pali text.

#### 6.4.2 Pali-Lanna Versions of the *Rasavāhinī* and the Dhammapada

The artful reordering of Pali sentences is not limited to bilingual Pali-Khmer texts. It is also a staple technique in Lao, Lanna, and Siamese manuscript cultures. In this section, I unpack the *Nisai madhurāssajambū* and several other manuscripts cited by Justin McDaniel to demonstrate how they neatly fit into the model described above for Pali-Khmer texts. Pali-Khmer, Pali-Lao, Pali-Lanna, and Pali-Siamese bilingual texts comprise a shared tradition of exchange concerning stylistic conventions, technical particles, and syntactic rearrangement. When these conventions and techniques are not recognized, however, such texts may appear to randomly “lift” Pali words or provide idiosyncratic glosses.

One such manuscript is a bilingual Pali-Lanna version of the *Jambudīpupatti* section of the *Rasavāhinī*, known locally as the *Madhurasajambū*. The *Rasavāhinī* or *Madhurasavāhinī* is a collection of Pali narratives in verse and prose, composed in Sri Lanka by Vedeha in the thirteenth century.<sup>91</sup> This particular manuscript of *Jambudīpupatti* section of the *Rasavāhinī* bears the title *Nisai madhurāssajambū* and dates to 1871 AD.<sup>92</sup> This is a syntactically rearranged, fully bilingual Pali-Lanna manuscript of the *Rasavāhinī*. McDaniel only cites a small passage from this text, but it is necessary to study the context of his chosen passage to discern the conventions at work and arrive at a satisfactory reading. This manuscript is laid out in a

<sup>91</sup> Oskar von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 191–192. For an edition of part of the *Rasavāhinī* and a study of the text as a whole, see Junko Matsumura, *The Rasavāhinī of Vedeha Thera, Vaggas V and VI: The Migapotaka-Vagga and the Uttarolīya-Vagga* (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1992). See also Junko Matsumura, “Remarks on the Rasavāhinī and the Related Literature,” *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 15 (1999): 155–172.

<sup>92</sup> นิสัย มธุรสสขมพญ, from Wat Phra That Chae Haeng วัดพระธาตุแช่แห้ง in Nan province, Thailand. Code number: 060811007\_00. Complete digitized microfilm images of this manuscript are available from the the Digital Library of Northern Thai Manuscripts at <http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/567>. In the online catalogue, this manuscript is given the title นิสัย มธุรสสขมพญ instead of นิสัย มธุรสสขมพ.

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similar way to the Pali-Khmer bilingual texts explored above and the *sannaya* text cited by Blackburn. My corrected edition of the Pali and Lanna portions of the first two *gāthās* (verses) of this text are as follows:<sup>93</sup>

[First *gāthā*]

Edition<sup>94</sup>

*namo tassatthu*  
*[sattthu]ppas(att)hacaraṇa[m saraṇam] janānaṃ*  
*brahm[ādi]molīmaṇ(i)raṇṇīsamā[va]han[t]aṃ*  
*paṅkeruhābhimudukomala(c)āru(v)aṇṇa[m]*  
*[v]andāmi cakka[varalakka]ṇa()san[n]idhānaṃ*

Translation

Homage be to that one!

To the praised feet of the teacher that are the refuge of all beings,  
to those that bring about the rays of the maṇi-jewels on the crowns of Brahmā and the rest,  
to those whose gentle and lovely hue is like the soft light of a mud-risen lotus,  
to those which are the respository of the excellent wheel marks—I bow.

<sup>93</sup> My edition places the monolingual Pali verses into proper stanzas and separates them from the bilingual portions. Following McDaniel's and Blackburn's conventions, I place the Pali words in the bilingual portions in bold but leave them untranslated, since I have translated them already in the stanzas above. The symbol [x] marks my additions to the Pali text, (x) my emendation of the Pali text, with () indicating a deleted *akṣara* or several deleted *akṣaras*. I only sparingly correct the vernacular Lanna text. However, for the Pali, I correct it according to my reading of the text, with priority given, whenever possible, to the readings witnessed by the vernacular translation rather than the Roman-script edition of the *Rasavāhinī* published by Gamdhi. See Sharada Gamdhi, *Rasavāhinī: A Stream of Sentiments* (Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1988). I also consulted a modern Thai-script version and translation, namely that of Sēn Manvidūr แสง มนวิฑูร, *Rasavāhinī, lem 1, รสวาหิณี เล่ม ๑* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: An(g)kār gā<sub>2</sub> khaaṅ gurusabhā องค์การค้ำของครูสภา, 2513). This version is in turn based on a Sinhala-script edition.

<sup>94</sup> Compare with Gamdhi, *Rasavāhinī*, 1:

*satthuppasatthacaraṇaṃ saraṇaṃ janānaṃ*  
*brahmādimolīmaṇīraṇṇīsamāvahantaṃ*  
*paṅkeruhābhamudukomalacāruvaṇṇaṃ*  
*vandāmi cakkavaralakkaṇamādadhānaṃ*



[Gloss of first *gāthā*]

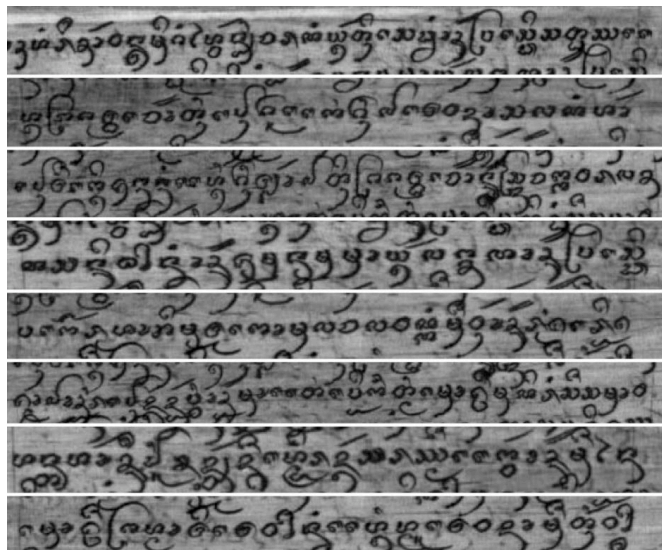


Figure 6.4.2.1: Details of Nisai madhurāssajumbū, folio 1.r, lines 1–3

Edition<sup>95</sup>

**ahaṃ** rī khā<sub>2</sub> อันว่าข้า **vandāmi** gaṃ hvai<sub>2</sub> nap° คไหวันบ **caraṇaṃ** yāñ° tin° ยังดิน  
**setṭhaṃ** ān<sub>2</sub>° prasöt° อันปรเสฏ **satthassa** [2] hèn° bra buddha câu<sub>2</sub> tan<sub>1</sub>° pèn° gūṭi  
kè<sub>1</sub> gāñ° lè devaḍā แห่งพรพุทธเจ้าต้นเปนคู่แก้คินแลเทวทา **sa(r)anaṃ** hă pèn° dī  
böñ° ห้าเปนที่เพิง **janānaṃ** hèn° gāñ° dlă° lè tin° bra buddha câu<sub>2</sub> năn<sub>2</sub>° sōḍ° แห่งค  
นทัลาและพรพุทธเจ้านั้นโสท **cakkavarala[k]khaṇasannidhānaṃ** ān<sub>2</sub>° jum num  
mā yāñ° lakkhaṇa ān<sub>2</sub>° prasöt° อันขมนุมมายังลกขณอันปรเสฏ [3]  
**paṅkeruhābhimudukomalac(āru)vaṇṇaṃ** mī vāñ° ān<sub>2</sub>° rumñ röan nām° lè aar<sub>1</sub>  
pèn° ḍāñ° ḍāa° pvā āa° mā tè<sub>1</sub> pōark tām<sub>1</sub>° มีวันอันรุ่งเรืองงามแลออรเปนทั้งท้อบัวอ  
มาแต่เบือรุดดิน **moḷīmaṇiraṃ(i)samāvahanta[m]** hă khin° yū<sub>1</sub> ḍvay<sub>2</sub>° ḍi hmöar  
ḍāñ° (ra)smī kè<sub>2</sub>° ān<sub>2</sub>° mī nai [4] mauḷi ห้าขึ้นอยู่ท่วยทีเหมือรทั้งรสมี้แก้วอันมีในเมาพี  
**brahmādīdevānaṃ** hèn<sub>1</sub>° hmū devaḍā mī tām<sub>2</sub>° vā<sub>1</sub> bra năn<sub>2</sub>° lè แห่งหมูเทวทามีต้น  
ว่าพหรันแล

Translation

<sup>95</sup> For this edition, I transliterate the Pali text into Roman script and the Lanna text into both Roman and modern Thai script. The Lanna transliterations in both scripts reflect the precise orthography of the text rather than its pronunciation or meaning in Central Thai. See “Conventions” at the beginning of the dissertation for more on my approach to transliteration.

**aham** As for me, I **vandāmi** now bow respectfully **caranam** to the feet **settham** that are excellent **sathassa** of the Lord Buddha, who is the Teacher for humans and gods, **sa(r)anam** thus being the refuge **jananam** of all men; regarding the feet of the Lord Buddha, they are **cakkavarala[k]khaṇasannidhānam** those that assemble the marks that are excellent, **paṅkeruhābhimudukomalac(āru)vaṇṇam** having a hue that shines beautifully and gently like to a lotus flower emerging from the mud, **moḷīmaṇiramṣ(i)samāvahanta[m]** rising up beautifully like the rays of the gems that are within the crowns **brahmādīdevānam** of the throng of deities led by those [Brahmā] deities.

[Second *gāthā*]<sup>96</sup>

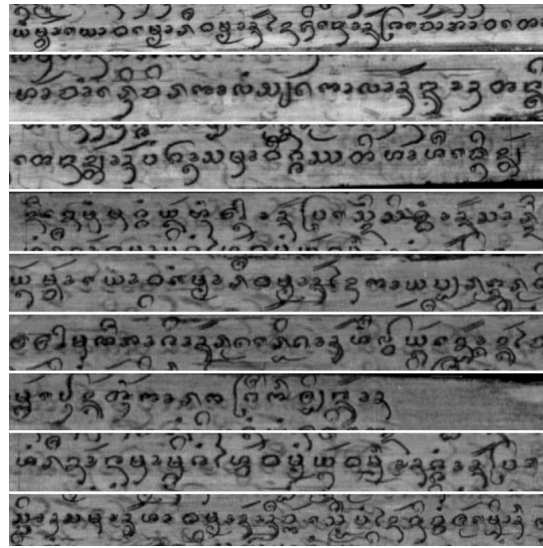


Figure 6.4.2.2: Details of Nisai madhurāssajumbū, folio 1.r, line 5–1.v line 3

Edition<sup>97</sup>

*s(i)ddham jīna cira kālam ata[n]dite]na  
yaṃ bh(ā)va(k)o samadhiga(cch)ati khemaṃ maggaṃ  
yaṃ ka(p)pa(r)ukkharucidā(na(m)aṅ(ī)va) bhā[5](t)i  
[taṃ] dhamm(am a)gga[m a]samaṃ (p)a(n)amā[mi] nicca[m]*

<sup>96</sup> McDaniel’s partial transcription of this *gāthā* is as follows: *khemimaggayam kampaṇiya rukkha rucei dāmana manīpabhābhīdhammāgga samam manamānicca*. He adds, “This verse makes little to no sense as it is, and although individual words like *rukkha*, *magga*, *abhidhamma*, can be isolated, without grammatical endings, it is a litany devoid of syntax” (McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 153; cf. McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 350).

<sup>97</sup> Compare with Gamdhi, *Rasavāhinī*, 1:  
siddham jīna cira kālam atanditena  
yaṃ bhāvako samadhigacchati khemamaggaṃ  
yaṃ kapparukkharucidānamaṇīva bhāti  
taṃ dhammamaggaṃ asamaṃ paṇamāmi niccaṃ

## Translation

To that completed tirelessly by the Victor over a long time,  
to the path of peace that the one who cultivates reaches,  
to that which shines like a *maṇi*-jewel that grants one’s wishes, like a *kalpavṛkṣa*<sup>98</sup>—  
to that Dhamma, which is the highest and unequalled, I bow down for all time.

[Gloss of second *gāthā*]

## Edition

**yam** mvā<sup>o</sup> ม้าว่า **yo dhammo** rī dhamm ān<sup>o</sup> dai อันว่าธมมอันไท **jine[na]** ān<sup>o</sup> bra  
cāu<sup>o</sup> อันพรเจ้า **bhāva(k)o** hā cāmron<sup>o</sup> ห้าจ่าเริน **cirakālam** syaṅ kāl ān<sup>o</sup> nān<sup>o</sup> สยยัง  
กาลอันนาน **atanditena** ḍvay<sup>o</sup> ān<sup>o</sup> pam gā(n) ท่วยอันบ่คาน **samādhigga(cch)ati**  
hā hī thōn<sup>o</sup> ḍvay<sup>o</sup> [folio 1.v 1] dī ห้าที่เถิงท่วยที **khemam maggam** yān<sup>o</sup> hān<sup>o</sup>  
dān<sup>o</sup> ān<sup>o</sup> prasōḍ<sup>o</sup> ยั้งหินทางอันปรเสฎฐ **siddham** ān<sup>o</sup> sāmriḍ<sup>o</sup> อันสำริท **ya(m)** mvā<sup>o</sup>  
ม้าว่า **yo dhammo** rī dhamm ān<sup>o</sup> dai อันว่าธมมอันไท **k()apparukkharuci**  
**d()ā(na)maṇī [va] bhā(t)i** ān<sup>o</sup> ruṅ rōān ān<sup>o</sup> hī lèv<sup>o</sup> yān<sup>o</sup> khauān<sup>o</sup> ḍān<sup>o</sup> cai māk<sup>o</sup>  
pūn<sup>o</sup> ḍān<sup>o</sup> tān<sup>o</sup> kārababriṅk dip<sup>o</sup> nān<sup>o</sup> อันรุงเรื่องอันที่แลวยังเข่าองทังใจมักเปนทัง  
ต้นการพพริรุกทิบ **a[2]ham** rī khā<sup>o</sup> อันว่าข้า **namāmi** gaṃ hvai<sup>o</sup> คไหว **dhammam**  
yān<sup>o</sup> dhamm ยั้งธมม **aggam** ān<sup>o</sup> prasōḍ<sup>o</sup> อันปรเสฎฐ **asama[m]** ān<sup>o</sup> hā dhamm  
ān<sup>o</sup> īn<sup>o</sup> cāk<sup>o</sup> smōa<sup>o</sup> pam ḍai<sup>o</sup> อันหาธมมอันอื่นจักเสมอบไท **niccam** dū mōāra<sup>o</sup> lè ṭṭ  
เมืออรอแล

## Translation

**yam** in other words **yo dhammo** as for any Dhamma **jine[na]** that the Lord  
**bhāvato** thus cultivates **cirakālam** for a long time **atanditena** by means of non-  
laziness **samādhigga(cch)ati** thus perfectly attaining **khemam maggam** the path  
that is excellent **siddham** [and] that is complete; **ya(m)** in other words **yo dhammo**  
as for any Dhamma **k()apparukkharuci d()ā(na)maṇī(va) bhā(t)i** that shines  
[and] that has given provisions according to [one’s] heart’s desire, like that divine  
*kalpavṛkṣa*; **aham** as for me, I **namāmi** now bow **dhammam** to [that] Dhamma  
**aggam** that is excellent **asama[m]** for which another comparable Dhamma cannot  
be found **niccam** [—to that Dhamma I bow] for all time.

McDaniel uses this passage to advance his argument that these bilingual manuscripts are highly irregular and unsystematic.<sup>99</sup> However, by backing up to the beginning of the first

<sup>98</sup> A wish-fulfilling tree.

<sup>99</sup> But the passage he chooses poses some problems, since he starts his excerpt in the middle of the second *gāthā* and ends it in the middle of the third *gāthā*. This unusual choice of excerpt explains why McDaniel asserts that “it is notable that the Pali sentence given seems to be abbreviated with the endings of individual words dropped off and a system of *sandhi* developed solely for this text” (McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 349). This makes it

*gāthā*, I show how the internal logic of the text functions consistently throughout. The structure of the text is as follows: the manuscript provides a *gāthā* from the source text—in this case a medieval Pali narrative text from Sri Lanka known as the *Rasavāhinī*—followed by a syntactical reordering of all of the Pali syntactic constituents from the *gāthā*, including selected implied words, with a Lanna gloss given for each syntactic constituent (or, in rare cases, multiple Pali syntactic constituents).<sup>100</sup> Many glosses of the phrases are also notated with technical particles to indicate their grammatical function. This structure is repeated for each of the *gāthās*.

The Pali is typical of medieval compositions from Sri Lanka, and while the *gāthās* in this manuscript show a large number of scribal errors, the composer of the *nissaya*<sup>101</sup> was likely not trying to clarify a “garbled text” or “manipulate Pali *sandhi* rules” but rather to simply composing a faithful, bilingual version of this particular Pali text.<sup>102</sup> McDaniel’s labeling of the Pali portion of the passage as “a litany devoid of syntax” derives mostly from his error of starting in the middle of the B *pāda* (quarter-stanza) of the second *gāthā*, rather than from the beginning of the manuscript.<sup>103</sup> As for the vernacular portion, he asserts that “this passage was not meant to be read as a connected or coherent narrative, but rather provides translations of rather disjointed Pali phrases.”<sup>104</sup> But this passage in fact makes the confusing syntax of the Pali *gāthās* appear in a natural, logical way to the Lanna reader.<sup>105</sup> This is the fundamental

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appear as if the passage lacks a logical structure. His transcription and translation are as follows (McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 350):

**khemam maggam** yang hon dang an brasoet **siddham**. an samret // **yam** mak wā **yodhammo** reu **dhamma** an Tai **kappayarukkhharuci dadama** kī bhā kī an rung rōen an hai laeo yang () Tang jai mak pen Tang ton **karabbi** dip nan **aham** ri khā **namami** ko wai **dhammam** yang **dhammā** **aggam** an **asamam** an hā **dhamma** an ēun ca sem bō Tai **niccam**. dang meua lae santi ni () yam **samgatatan** () **m pavaram visuddham**

“**khemam maggam** means the way that is excellent. ‘**Siddham**’ means completed. ‘**yam**’ means ‘tends to.’ That **dhamma**’ is known as any *dhamma* whatsoever. ‘**Kāppaya rukkhha ruci dadāma**’ means a forest that is brilliant that gave (), he concentrates his own (mind) (?) on that light. ‘I’ means I. ‘I honor’ means ‘to bow to the *dhamma*, that ‘*dhamma* which is known as the highest’ that which is excellent, ‘that which is incomparable’ [meaning] [one] is unable to find another *dhamma* which is better. ‘Permanent’ [means] all the time and peaceful. () ‘for that one which is well-joined, excellent, (and) pure.’”

<sup>100</sup> McDaniel, without mentioning the *Rasavāhinī*, instead claims the following: “I do not have, and actually doubt there exists, an ‘original’ Pali text for this *nissaya*. The source the *nissaya* was drawing on was either from a very poorly written Pali text, was written by the author of the *nissaya* him/herself to demonstrate his talent in clarifying garbled Pali or is a pedagogical technique designed to demonstrate several ways of writing Pali words or how to manipulate Pali *sandhi* rules” (McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 349–350). However, in a footnote on 280–281 of *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magical Monk: Practicing Buddhism in Modern Thailand* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), McDaniel does mention that the “*Madhurasachomphu*” is indeed connected to the *Rasavāhinī*.

<sup>101</sup> i.e. *nisai* (*nisāy* **นีสัย**), the term applied to this particular genre of bilingual text in Lanna manuscript collections.

<sup>102</sup> McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 349–350.

<sup>103</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 153; cf. McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 350.

<sup>104</sup> McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 350–351.

<sup>105</sup> Hence I cannot agree with McDaniel’s suggestion that this passage demonstrates the creativity of the author: “In the process of dividing words the author does not simply add endings, split up the Pali words and provide

function of syntactically rearranged, fully bilingual texts in Southeast Asia—to rearrange the syntax of the Pali and hyper-translate its inflections to make the text as clear as possible to the reader of the vernacular while still being faithful to the original Pali.

These bilingual texts are not always easy to understand, and part of their difficulty lies in their very hybridity—even as they localize the Pali into the vernacular, they move the vernacular toward the Pali. Nevertheless, even this hybrid vernacular maintains the fluency of a living language. The purpose of the technical particles used in these bilingual manuscripts is to provide an elegant way to clearly convey and link Pali sentences together so that their rearranged syntax becomes digestible in the vernacular.<sup>106</sup> If we translate even a single line in a disjointed manner, then it is extremely difficult to see the broader structure of the text.

Take, for example, the D *pāda* of the second *gāthā*: [taṃ] dhamm(ama)gga[m a]samaṃ (p)a(n)amā[mi] nicca[m]. With one exception,<sup>107</sup> McDaniel’s translation essentially conveys the meaning of the Lanna words.<sup>108</sup> Missing, however, is the sense that this passage forms a complete thought or clause. Each Pali word or phrase is treated as a separate clause or sentence, rather than forming a continuous whole. But if we transparently translate the clear syntax of the vernacular gloss, which manages to be both precisely literal and link the passage together using the appropriate particles, then a single coherent sentence results:

a[2]ham rī khā<sub>2</sub> อันว่าข้า namāmi gaṃ hvai<sub>2</sub> ค่ำไหว dhammam yān° dhaṃmm ยัง  
 ธรรม aggam ān<sub>2</sub>° prasöt° อันปรเสฏฐ asama[m] ān<sub>2</sub>° hā dhamm ān<sub>2</sub>° in° cāk° smöa°  
 paṃ dai<sub>2</sub> อันหาธรรมอันอันจักเสมอบข้า niccam dü möa<sub>2</sub>° lè ทั้เมื่อรู้อแล

vernacular translations. He adds Pali words that are not found in the Pali sentence he is glossing. Moreover, he not only adds Pali words and ignores others, he provides vernacular glosses for those Pali additions. Therefore, as he translates he is composing a new Pali text. This is more than a translation. . . . It is a commentary on the author’s own translation and not one of any “original” Pali source text (McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 154; cf. McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 351–352).

<sup>106</sup> McDaniel offers a different take on these grammatical markers: “the semantic resonance of the Pali or the Northern Thai gloss is not important here, but instead the way the author of the *nissaya* provides declension markers for Pali words without markers, most often placing them in the accusative singular masculine” (McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 351; cf. McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 153–154). Here he is referring to adding case endings to Pali words whose case endings were missing in the first citation of the word. I would attribute most of these “emendations” to mere scribal error, since scribal errors in the Pali portions of this and other similar manuscripts abound. But the case endings of the Pali are in fact intentionally marked in the Lanna gloss. These case markers are part of the broader system of particles used in Khmer and Tai manuscripts to aid in the precise translation of Indic texts.

<sup>107</sup> In the portion from “and peaceful onwards,” he mistakenly supposes that the beginning of third *gāthā* is still part of the the gloss of the second *gāthā*. The third *gāthā* from this manuscript is as follows:

Gamdhi’s edition	Edition of the MS
<i>santindriyaṃ sugatasūnūwaraṃ visuddhaṃ</i>	<i>santindriyaṃ sugatatanapavaraṃ visuddhaṃ</i>
<i>yaṃ dakkhiṇeya’matadaṃ sucipuṭṭhakkhettaṃ</i>	<i>yaṃ dakkhiṇeyamatagaṃ sucipuṭṭhakkhettaṃ</i>
<i>tānesitaṃ saraṇamuḍḍitasabbadukkhāṃ</i>	<i>tānosinaṃ raṇaṃ muḍḍitaṃ sabbadukkhā[m]</i>
<i>vandāmi saṅghaṃ anaghaṃ sirasā mahaggaṃ</i>	<i>(v)andāmi saṅgha(m) siras(ā) maha[g]ghaṃ</i>

<sup>108</sup> McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 350; see note 98 above for his transcription and translation.

Chapter 6: Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose

**ahaṃ** as for me, I **namāmi** now bow **dhammaṃ** to [that] Dhamma **aggam** that is excellent **asama[m]** for which another comparable Dhamma cannot be found **niccaṃ** [—to that Dhamma I bow] for all time

Punctuated version of vernacular portion only:

As for me, I now bow to [that] Dhamma that is excellent, for which another comparable Dhamma cannot be found[—to that Dhamma I bow] for all time.

The Lanna particles in this passage function in exactly the same way as in the Khmer texts analyzed above. The nominative particle *ān vā<sub>1</sub>* (written *rī*; cf. Khmer *rī*) indicates that the implied first-person pronoun *ahaṃ* is the subject of the sentence. It also serves the function of marking the beginning of a new sentence or independent clause. The particle *gam*,<sup>109</sup> similar to the related particle *hā*, serves the function of linking the subject to the primary verb. The particle *yān<sup>o</sup>* (cf. Khmer *nūv*) indicates that the Pali word *dhammaṃ* is declined in the accusative case. It also links the verb with its direct object. The particle *ān<sub>2</sub><sup>o</sup>* (cf. Khmer *sin*) tends to mark adjectival clauses in the same case as the preceding noun, in this case indicating that both *aggam* and *asamaṃ* are to be read as adjectival modifiers to *dhammaṃ*. Though there is no special particle used to indicate that *niccaṃ* is to be read as an adverb modifying *vandāmi*, the Lanna *dū möā<sup>o</sup>* obviously expresses an adverbial function. In addition, if it were meant to be read as an adjective along with *aggam* and *asamaṃ*, then it would require the insertion of the particle *ān<sub>2</sub><sup>o</sup>* before *dū möā<sup>o</sup>*. Finally, the final particle *lè* indicates that the sentence is complete.

These particles are not merely part of the gloss of each Pali word and its inflection. They also link each of the Pali words together into a coherent sentence. Note that the syntax has been significantly reordered from the original Pali, which proceeds as follows:

PRONOUN OF DIRECT OBJECT (*taṃ*) + DIRECT OBJECT (*dhammaṃ*) + ADJECTIVE MODIFYING DIRECT OBJECT (*aggam*) + ADJECTIVE MODIFYING DIRECT OBJECT (*asamaṃ*) + VERB (*namāmi*) [+ IMPLIED SUBJECT (*ahaṃ*)] + ADVERB (*niccaṃ*).

This syntactical structure is perfectly acceptable in Pali verse, as the inflections of the language make poetic texts quite flexible in terms of word order. But to make the sentence read well in Khmer, Lao, Lanna, or Siamese, the syntax need to be reordered to match the native structure of the vernacular:

IMPLIED SUBJECT (*ahaṃ*) + VERB (*namāmi*) + DIRECT OBJECT (*dhammaṃ*) + ADJECTIVE MODIFYING DIRECT OBJECT (*aggam*) + ADJECTIVE MODIFYING DIRECT OBJECT (*asamaṃ*) + ADVERB (*niccaṃ*).

<sup>109</sup> Or *gā*; cf. Thai *ká ṅ* and Khmer *ká ṅ*. On this particle in Thai and as an areal feature in mainland Southeast Asian languages, see Somsonge Burusphat, “An Etymological Speculation on the Sequential Indicator *ក្នុង* in Thai Narrative,” in *The Tai-Kadai Languages*, ed. Anthony V. N. Diller, Jerold A. Edmondson, and Yongxian Luo (London: Routledge, 2008), 431–444.

This reordering is made sensible by the insertion of specific technical particles that notate the function of each of the words in the sentence.

This particular style of bilingual Pali-vernacular text generated through syntactic reordering along with the addition of function-marking particles is known in Thai as *yak śābd* or *plè yak śābd* and in Khmer as *lot prayog* or *prè lot prayog*. Both of these sets of terms draw attention to the syntactic rearrangements required for this style. *Plè yak śābd*, literally “a translation [made though] lifting words,” describes the way that Pali words or phrases are lifted from their original syntactical position and placed into another. In other words, *plè yak śābd* means “a translation made through syntactic rearrangement.” The Khmer term, *prè lot prayog*, literally “a translation [made though] jumping/skipping phrases,” evokes the same process of syntactic reordering that requires the Southeast Asian reader to “jump” or “skip” back and forth through a Pali sentence in order to make its syntax meaningful in the vernacular.

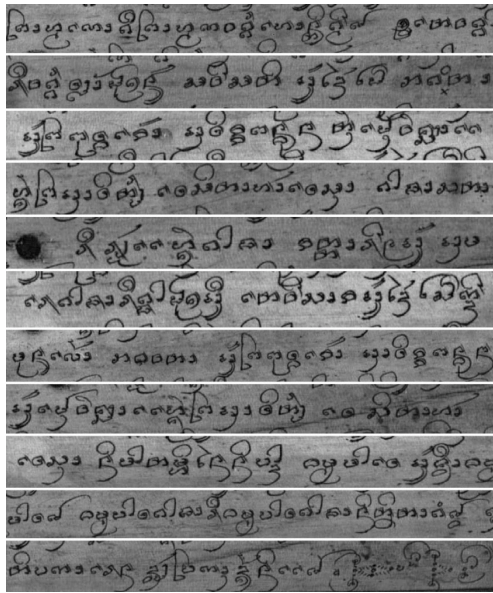


Figure 6.4.2.3: Details of *Sāp pādaḥ*, folio cau<sub>1</sub>v, lines 2–5

The *yak śābd* style appears in many other Pali-Lanna texts. For example, a Pali-Lanna manuscript of the *Dhammapada* from 1892 AD, entitled *Sāp pādaḥ*, provides a bilingual presentation of the root verses of the *Dhammapada* (Figure 6.4.2.3 above). At the end of the root text, additional verses in Pali detail the precise number of chapters (26) and stanzas (423) contained in the *Dhammapada*.<sup>110</sup> This passage runs as follows:<sup>111</sup>

<sup>110</sup> von Hinüber, *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*, 45.

<sup>111</sup> Lines 2–5 of the verso side of folio cau<sub>1</sub> of สัมปาพะ (i.e. a *nāmasadda* version of the *Dhammapada*) from Wat Pa Mueat วัดป่าเหมือด in Nan province, Thailand. Code number: 060602010\_02. Complete digital images of a microfilm of this manuscript are available online at <http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/488>.

Diplomatic transcription

[...] **ete vaggā** rī varḡg dā<sub>2</sub> phūn nān<sub>2</sub>° อั้นว่าวรุคคทัฬงนััน **savīsati** ān<sub>2</sub>° dai<sub>2</sub> 26 อั้นไต้ ๒๖ **bhagavatā**[3]ān<sub>2</sub>° bra buddha cau<sub>12</sub> อั้นพรพุทธเจ้า **adiccabandhunā** tan<sub>1</sub>° pen° va<sub>1</sub>nsā hèn<sub>1</sub>° bra ādirty ตันเปนวงสาแห่งพรอาทิตฺตย **desitā** hā<sub>1</sub> desnā<sub>1</sub> ห้า เทสนา **gāthāsata** rī raay<sub>2</sub>° hèn<sub>1</sub>° gāthā อั้นว่าร้อยแห่งคาถา **cattāri** 4 ān<sub>2</sub>° ๔ อั้น **apa**[4]**regāthā** rī gthā phūn īn° อั้นว่าคาถาฝูงอื่น **tevīsāca** ān<sub>2</sub>° dai<sub>2</sub> 23 kdī pu nān° lau<sub>12</sub> อั้นไต้ ๒๓ กขที่บุนั้นเล่า **bhagavatā** ān<sub>2</sub>° bra buddha cau<sub>12</sub> อั้นพรพุทธเจ้า **ādiccabandhunā** ān<sub>2</sub>° pen° va<sub>1</sub>nsā hèn<sub>1</sub>° bra ādirty อั้นเปนวงสาแห่งพรอาทิตฺตย **desitā** hā<sub>1</sub>[5] desnā<sub>1</sub> ห้าเทสนา **nipātamhi** nai nipād° ในนินบาท **dhammapāde** ān<sub>2</sub>° jīvā° dhammapād lè อั้นขีวามมบาทแล **dhammapādagāthā** rī dhammapādagāthā อั้นว่าคมมบาทคาถา **nitthitā** gaṃ lèv° ค์แลว **iti pakārena** ḍvay<sub>2</sub>° prakān° ḍān° ni lè ทวยปรกานทั้งนี้แล.

Translation

[...] **ete vaggā** as for all of those chapters, they, **savīsati** which number 26, **bhagavatā** [were] by the Blessed One, **adiccabandhunā** who is the Descendent of the Sun, **desitā** thus taught. **gāthāsata** As for the centuries of verses, **cattāri** [they which number] four, **aparegāthā** [and] as for the other group of verses, they, **tevīsāca** which number but only 23, **bhagavatā** [were all] by the Blessed One, **ādiccabandhunā** who is in the lineage of the Sun, **desitā** thus taught **nipātamhi** in the section **dhammapāde** which is named the “Dhammapada” **dhammapādagāthā** as for the Dhammapada verses, they **nitthitā** thus are complete **iti pakārena** hence in just this way.

The particles in the vernacular gloss neatly divide the passage into distinct sentences, each with a structure of their own. The first sentence, elided in McDaniel’s rendering,<sup>112</sup> describes

McDaniel’s transcription and translation of this passage appears in McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 283.

<sup>112</sup> His transcription and translation appear in McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 283:

**adiccabandhunā** ton pen **vaṅsā** haeng bra **āditya** (r) desitā hāk desanā gāthā satā reu rōb haeng **gāthā vattā** reu 2 (?) an **amaregāthā** reu **gāthā** fung eun **te visāga** (?) an Tai 43(?) ko Tī mu nan lao **bhagavato** an bra buddha cao **adikkhabandhunā** an pen **vaṅsā** haeng bra **āditya desitā** hāk **desanā nipatamhi** nai nipāt **dhammpāde** an jeu wā **dhammpāde** lae **dhammpādagāthā** reu **dhammpādagāthā nitthita** go laeo iti **pakārena** Tuai prakān Tang ni lae

**Adiccabandhunā** is the in the lineage of Bra Āditya. He **desitā** (taught) **desanā** (the teaching) **gāthāsata** (of the 100 verses)(?) or those things dealing with the **gāthāvattā**(?), that means 6(?) which is the **Amaregāthā** (the Verses of the Immortal)(?) or the **gāthā** (verses) of another group. The **tevīsāta** (23) (?), the 23 (?). The Lao (or *our* group if *lao* is actually *rao* which is phonetically correct or it could be our group of Lao people). **Bhagavato** (for the Lord Buddha). that is the Buddha. **Adiccabandhuna** is in the lineage of Bra Aditya. He **desitā** (taught) the **desanā** (teaching) in the **nipatamhi** (the *nipāta* or the canonical sections). [That is] in the sections of the **dhammpāda** which has the name **dhammpāde** and **dhammpādagāthā** which means **dhammpādagāthā**. [It is] **nitthitā** (finished). **Pakārena** [means] with this type.



one way of enumerating the *Dhammapada*, i.e. as consisting of 26 chapters. In what follows, *gāthāsātā*, *cattārī* and *aparegāthā* are not three competing names for the same text,<sup>113</sup> but rather components of the second sentence, which describes another way of dividing the *Dhammapada*, this time into 423 ([100 x 4] + 23) verses. Following the conventions of the *yak śābd* style, all of the Pali phrases in this passage are reworked and reordered from the root verses of the *Dhammapada*.

Based on his reading of this passage, McDaniel makes the following additional claims about this manuscript: that it is sourced from “an original work assigned to be completed at a monastery in Nan province to help others understand stories or at least the [g]ist of stories from the *Dhammapada* and some important Pali terms,” that it could be used pedagogically since it is “written with a straightforward vocabulary and a repetitive and easy to follow style,” that its style is “idiosyncratic enough to be seen as an original work,” and that it is likely a “sermon guide or perhaps a Pali language class reading and writing assignment” as opposed to “a reading guide since it does not follow any known Pali source in Northern Thailand or Laos or anywhere else.”<sup>114</sup>

McDaniel’s claims concerning how such a text might be used, including for studying Pali, are certainly plausible, but we should emphasize that the style and content of this passage is far from “idiosyncratic.” Although the translation and syntactic rearrangement of the Pali verses may be an “original work,” the Pali text itself goes little beyond the canonical *Dhammapada*. While the style is straightforward enough, its meaning only becomes clear when the conventions of the *yak śābd* genre are appreciated. Finally, there is nothing, to my knowledge, to suggest that it would have been a student’s sloppy “reading and writing assignment” as opposed to a faithful vernacular rendering of a scriptural text by a learned scholar.

The structure and conventions of syntactically rearranged fully bilingual Pali-vernacular texts are not so different in Cambodia and Lanna. Both employ the same kind of fixed set of grammatical markers to create a fluent vernacular text with a completely different word order than the original. These conventions are remarkably rigid and do not appear to be idiosyncratically applied at all, whether for pedagogical or other purposes. The strict use of technical particles parallels the Burmese *nissaya* tradition as described by Okell and Pruitt, but the drastic syntactic rearrangement appears to be a local innovation of the Khmer and Tai groups, for these languages require a radically different word order from that of Pali, Burmese, or Sinhala in order to read naturally in the vernacular. Fully bilingual texts are not the only Pali-vernacular texts that make use of these conventions, however. Partially bilingual texts, which are not balanced in content between the Pali and the vernacular sections, may employ them as well, as shown in the following section.

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<sup>113</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 143.

<sup>114</sup> McDaniel, “Invoking the Source,” 283–284. See also McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 143, where he claims that this passage is a colophon added by the scribe.

### 6.5 Partially Bilingual Prose

Partially bilingual texts abound in the long-format palm-leaf manuscripts of Cambodia, as many of these manuscripts could be classified as preaching texts (*saṭṭhā desa(n)*) and the homiletic style prevalent in pre-twentieth-century Southeast Asia was partially bilingual. Among the corpus of leporello manuscripts studied in this dissertation, however, partially bilingual texts are not particularly common. Most of the partially bilingual texts in this corpus are not composed in a homiletic style, since leporellos are not used for sermons. One possible exception is the text cataloged as **Braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r** (UB047 34b–42a *sūmū namassakā braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg knuñ anāgat' khāñ mukh jā min khāñ*), which appears to draw from homiletic manuscripts concerning the ten buddhas of the future. The style of this text parallels *saṭṭhā des* styles in that it is heavily biased toward the vernacular, with short phrases in Pali rendered by expansive Khmer prose narratives. However, only minimal technical particles are used.

Other partially bilingual texts in the leporellos are clearly intended for end-of-life recitation. These include versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta* that are entirely in Pali with the exception of one or two sections that give short glosses into Khmer. The text **Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvāṭṭimsākāra/dvāṭṭimsākār samrāy-r** provides a clear example of this:<sup>115</sup>

*evam me sutam...*[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]...*atthūmasmiṅkāye. kesā* សក់ លម៉ា  
 រោម *nakhā* ក្រូចក *dantā* ធ្មេញ *taco* ស្បែក *mamsam* សាច់ *nahārū* សរសៃ *atthā* ផ្លែដំ *atthimiñcam* ខួរក្នុង  
 ផ្លែដំ *vakam* ទាច *hadayaṃ* បេះដូង *yakanam* ថ្លើម *i* វាវ *pihakam* ក្រពះ *papphāsam* សួត *i* ពោះវៀនធំ  
*antagunam* ពោះវៀនតូច *udariyam* អាហារថ្មី *karisaṃ* អាហារចាស់ *puttam* ប្រមាត់ *semham* ស្បែក *pubbo*  
 ខ្លះ *lohitaṃ* ឈាម *sedo* ញើស *medo* គឺខ្លាញ់ខាប់ *assu* ទឹកភ្នែក *vasā* ខ្លាញ់រាវ *khelo* ទឹកមាត់ *siṅghānikā*  
 ទឹកសម្បូរ *lasikā* ទឹកអំលិល *muttanti. itī imasmimkāye...*[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]

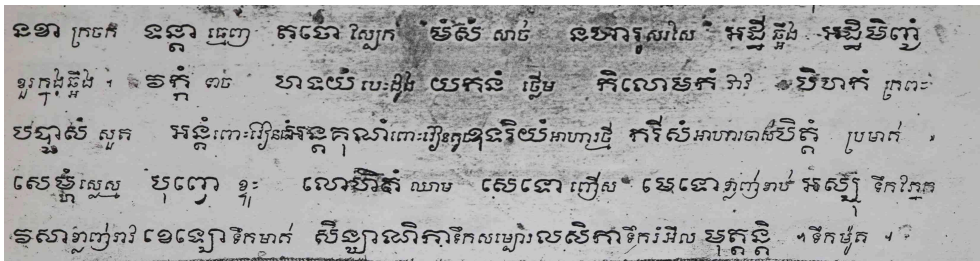


Figure 6.5.1: Detail of UB042 6a

Each of the 32 parts of the body, beginning with the head hair (*kesā*), is glossed with its equivalent in vernacular Khmer. Other than this short passage, however, the entire text is in Pali. A related example is **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy cakkhum-r**,

<sup>115</sup> UB042 3a–12b *sūtr girimānand*

which provides glosses for the section on not-self (*anattā*) as well as for the 32 parts of the body.<sup>116</sup> In both cases, no technical particles are used. Both of these texts probably date from the early twentieth century and reflect a modernist interest in making Pali texts recited for important occasions—such as the *Girimānanda-sutta* for end-of-life rituals—more accessible to the listener. Finally, in addition to those surveyed above, a few partially bilingual texts for repentance and absolution surface in Cambodian leprellos, including **Yaṃ akusalam/yaṃ akusalam samrāy-r**<sup>117</sup> and **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r**.<sup>118</sup> Both of these texts predate the reforms of the twentieth century, though only the former makes use of the system of grammatical particles and engages in syntactic rearrangement.

Given the paucity of partially bilingual texts in leprello collections, I focus this section on two different kinds of these texts transmitted in other formats. The first two subsections explore bilingual sermon versions of Buddhist narratives in Khmer-Tai. I begin by examining Pali-Siamese and Pali-Khmer versions of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, each of which feature literary expansions of the vernacular portions. I then analyze a Pali-Lanna version of another narrative text sometimes excerpted for sermons, namely the *Dhammapada-atthakathā*. This text is even more skewed toward amplifying the vernacular, with only Pali phrases remaining. In the third and final subsection, I examine a very different sort of partially bilingual text. Unlike the previous two, where the process of syntactic rearrangement is made evident through expanded vernacular translations, these bilingual texts are almost entirely in Pali. The sparse vernacular glosses appear only between the lines, and syntactic rearrangement is suggested through numbers and letters but not recorded in full. Whereas the first two types of partially bilingual texts examined here are explicitly homiletic, this last type was used in Siam and Cambodia in the nineteenth century for the monastic study of Pali.

### 6.5.1 Pali-Siamese and Pali-Khmer Versions of the Vessantara-jātaka

My discussion of syntactically rearranged fully bilingual texts dealt with texts known in contemporary Cambodia and Thailand as *prè lot prayog* and *plè yak sǎbd*, respectively. In Lao and Northern Thai manuscripts, texts of this form may have the term *sǎp°* or *nisai* in their title, usually either at the beginning or end. The former term seems to come from Sanskrit *śabda* (Pali *sadda*) and is directly connected to the modern *yak sǎbd* and *plè yak sǎbd*. In some cases, *nāma sǎp°* (i.e. *nāmasadda*) is used instead of *sǎp°* alone. The latter comes from Pali *nissaya*. But whether *sǎp°/nāma sǎp°* manuscripts represent a different genre than *nisai* manuscripts remains unclear.<sup>119</sup>

If *nisai/nissaya* and *sǎp°/śabd/nāmasadda* are practically one and the same, then those that bear *vohān°* (*vohāra*) in their titles are quite different. Simply put, these latter manuscripts contain texts that are partially, rather than fully, bilingual. They are partially bilingual in that

<sup>116</sup> **UB028** 2b–15a braḥ girimānandasūtr

<sup>117</sup> **UB011** 89a–89b dhaṛm (ra)pā

<sup>118</sup> **UB068** 27b–30b smā lā doḥ pāpakamm°

<sup>119</sup> On this point I agree with McDaniel: “The only significant difference between *nāmasadda* and *nissaya* manuscripts (Sanskrit: *nāmasabda*, Lao/ Thai: *nāmasab*) is that *nāmasadda* texts offer a more literal word-by-word translation of Pali source texts; however, this tendency is not consistent enough to state definitively that these two types of texts had significant differences” (McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 135).

they contain more vernacular than Pali content. In some cases, the vernacular translations are not as closely literal as their *nisai* and *sāp*<sup>120</sup> counterparts, with additional, often highly literary, vernacular explanations added; in other cases, the corresponding Pali passages are simply omitted. McDaniel points out that this genre of text is common in Central Thailand in addition to Northern Thailand and Laos.<sup>120</sup> I would add that it can be readily witnessed in Khmer manuscripts as well, though, like in Central Thailand, rarely with the term *vohāra* appended.

I concur with McDaniel that these partially bilingual texts have distinctive homiletic and euphonic qualities. In Cambodia and Central Thailand, this genre is closely associated with the sermons given by monks. Before examining a Lanna *vohān*<sup>o</sup> text studied by McDaniel, I turn to two representative examples that illustrate the range of partially bilingual sermon texts from Cambodia and Siam. The first is one of the oldest known texts in this genre, namely the *Mahājāṭī gāṃ hlvāṇ*, whose composition is thought to have begun under King Paramatrilokanāth of Ayutthaya in 1482.<sup>121</sup> The *Mahājāṭī gāṃ hlvāṇ* (“Royal Edition of the Great Birth”) is the most celebrated version of the *Vessantara-jātaka* in Central Thailand.<sup>122</sup> After an opening portion solely in Pali prose, the *Mahājāṭī gāṃ hlvāṇ* gives the beginning of the *atthakathā* prose commentary to part of the first *gāthā* of the root verses of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, followed by a syntactically rearranged partially bilingual gloss that makes elegant use of the Siamese set of grammatical particles:<sup>123</sup>

**phussatīvaravaṇṇābhethi idaṃ satthā kapilavatthum upanissāya nigrodhārāme viharanto pokkharavassam ārabba kathesi.**<sup>124</sup>

**satthā** ān vā<sub>1</sub> braḥ sarbēj(ṇ) buddh ayū<sub>1</sub> klau<sub>2</sub> อันว่าพระสรรเพชญ์พุทธอยู่เกล้า  
**upanissāya** cau<sub>2</sub> kū dha<sup>125</sup> stéc āsrāy เจ้าอุทธเสด็จอาศรัย **kapilavatthum** kè<sub>1</sub> bijāy  
kapilabās(tu) purī raṭanabīsāl แก่พิชัยกบิลพัสดุ์ **viharanto** dha stéc sin sāmrañ  
sāmrid(dhi) ธเสด็จสิงสาราญสาริทธิ **nigrodhārāme** nái bicitr nigrodhārām ในพิจิตร  
นิโครธาราม **ārabba** braḥ phū<sub>2</sub> phcañ peñcakāmabīsāy tāñ<sub>2</sub> haṛḍāy stéc chboḥ พระผู้  
ผจญเบญจกามพิชัย ดั่งหฤทัย เสด็จเฉพาะ **pokkharavassam** anugroḥ(h) kè<sub>1</sub>  
poṣkarabarśadhārā อนุเคราะห์แก่โภษขรพระพรชธรา **idaṃ dhammadeśanam**  
yaññ braḥ dhammadeśanā mādhūr ยงพระธรรมเทศนามาธุร

<sup>120</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 137–139.

<sup>121</sup> มหาชาติคำหลวง

<sup>122</sup> McDaniel notes this text is one that Thai literary scholars frequently cite as having “*vohāra* qualities” (McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 139).

<sup>123</sup> The diplomatic transcription is based on the Thai-script edition of the Royal Institute in Bangkok. My translation tries to be transparent to the syntactical and lexical choices of the text. The use of bold for the Pali words follows that in Rājapāṇḍīyasthān ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, *Bacanānukram śāb(d) vaṇṇagatī daiy samāy ayudhyā mahājāṭī gāṃ hlvāṇ chpāp rājapāṇḍīyasthān พจนานุกรมศัพท์วรรณคดีไทย สมัยอยุธยา มหาชาติคำหลวง ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Rājapāṇḍīyasthān ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน, 2549), 1.

<sup>124</sup> This portion reflects the typical formula used to begin the narration of each story in the *Jātaka-atthakathā*.

<sup>125</sup> The function of *dha* in this passage is discussed in Uraisri Varasarin, *Les éléments khmers dans la formation de la langue siamoise*, 271–272. She interprets it as a loanword from Old Khmer *ta*.

**gāthāsahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ** paripūra(ṇ) praḥtāp ni tvay<sub>2</sub> gāthā thīṇi sahās ākṣar  
arth pa e อันบริบูรณ์ประดับนี้ด้วยคาถา ถึงสี่หสิ อักษรอรชรเอ.

**“Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion”—this the Teacher, having resorted to Kapilavattu, dwelling in the Nigrodha Monastery, spoke regarding lotus-rain.**

**sathā** As for the Omniscient One, the Buddha above my head, he, **upanissāya** my Lord, went to reside **kapilavattum** in the victorious Kapilabastu, vast city of jewels, where he went to live and reside **nigrohārāme** in the exquisite Nigrodha Monastery; **ārabba** The Lord, he who vanquished the sphere of the five sensual desires, focused his mind on **pokkharavassam** the grace of the waters of the rains of lotuses **idaṃ dhammadesanaṃ** [and] to the sweet preaching of the holy Teaching **gāthāsahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ** completely ornamented by the verses numbering to one thousand verses of literary meaning, not one more.

At first glance, the style of this text might seem difficult to differentiate from the fully bilingual *yak śābd* texts explored earlier. Indeed, it employs the same case markers (*ān vā<sub>1</sub>, yañ [yañi]*, etc.) as those witnessed in *yak śābd* texts. Moreover, it rearranges the syntax of the Pali so that a phrase such as *sathā kapilavattum upanissāya* reads not in its Pali SOV order, but instead in a SVO order more natural to Thai (*sathā upanissāya kapilavattum*). On the other hand, the translation is not nearly as literal as in the *yak śābd* examples. There are significant details added to the vernacular text that do not appear in the Pali. For instance the Pali epithet *sathā* (“Teacher,” in reference to the Buddha) is glossed as “the Omniscient One, the Buddha above my head”; the bare Pali toponym *kapilavattum* (“in/at Kapilavastu”) is rendered more expansively as “in the victorious Kapilabastu, vast city of jewels, where he went to live and reside.” For this reason, I label this a partially bilingual text, since the vernacular overtly conveys more information than the Pali. The extra information draws from the author’s knowledge of other Buddhist texts as well as his literary sensibilities. The Pali itself is also embellished in a commentarial style, including such additions as *ārabba* (“regarding”/ “on the subject of...”) and *gāthāsahassapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ* (“ornamented by one thousand verses”).

Unlike many other partially bilingual texts, much of the *Mahājāṭī gāṃ hlvāṇi* is composed in a rhymed prose style called *rāy<sub>1</sub> yāv*.<sup>126</sup> This means that the last syllable of every line must

<sup>126</sup> Thai ร่ายยาว. *Rāy<sub>1</sub> yāv* is not the usual term for “prose” in Thai. The more typical term is *ray<sub>2</sub> kēv<sub>2</sub>* ร้อยแก้ว, used in opposition to *ray<sub>2</sub> krañ* ร้อยกรอง, which refers to poetry in general. *Ray<sub>2</sub> kēv<sub>2</sub>* can also refer to intoned recitation of prose, as opposed to intoned recitation of poetry, i.e. *ray<sub>2</sub> krañ* (see Kāmṅjāy Daāñhlaa<sub>1</sub> กำชัย ทองหล่อ, *Hlāk bhāsā daiy* หลักภาษาไทย (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ, 2459), 655–656). The term *ray<sub>2</sub> krañ* is interesting in that its two constituent parts, *ray<sub>2</sub>* and *krañ*, both mean to “to string together,” with the latter word derived from Khmer. There is no direct cognate in Khmer for Thai *ray<sub>2</sub> krañ*, for poetry in general is more often referred to as *bāky kāby* ពាក្យកាព្យ or *kaṃṇāby* គណព្យ. The parallels to Thai *ray<sub>2</sub> kēv<sub>2</sub>* in Khmer are more direct: *kaṃrañ kēv* គម្រង់កែវ and its less common synonym *r<sup>ay</sup> kēv* រយកែវ (Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Vacānānukram Khmèr* វចនានុក្រមខ្មែរ, 5th ed. (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1967), s.v. រយកែវ). *Kamrañ* is an infixed derivation of *krañ* meaning “that which is strung together,” and Khmer *r<sup>ay</sup>*, which only occurs in this compound, is clearly a borrowing from Thai since it always includes a diacritic to change its inherent vowel sound to match the

rhyme with some syllable in the next line. But what constitutes a line in this text? Despite its ordinary prose appearance, this passage is divided into rhyme-linked lines by the bolded Pali words. This highlights a central feature of many premodern bilingual texts in Southeast Asia: the inseparability of the Pali and vernacular portions. The vernacular text, with a few exceptions, is designed to flow in such a way that it would be comprehensible even without the Pali. In that sense, the Pali is dispensable. But in another sense, the Pali anchors the vernacular text, whether figuratively by invoking a root text or literally by dividing it into proper metric lines. Either way, when bilingual and semi-bilingual texts are recited, both the Pali and

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pronunciation of Thai *ray*<sub>2</sub>. It is tempting to view the Khmer term *r"ay kèv* as a direct borrowing from Thai *ray*<sub>2</sub> *kèv*<sub>2</sub>, with the former term later adopting a more Khmer form as *kamrañ kèv*. The problem with such a view is that Khmer *r"ay kèv/kamrañ kèv* is closest in meaning to Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *yāw*, a type of rhymed prose with no fixed line lengths, rather than Thai *ray*<sub>2</sub> *kèv*<sub>2</sub>, which refers to either regular prose or at most poetically embellished, but not necessarily rhymed, prose (for this secondary meaning of *ray*<sub>2</sub> *kèv*<sub>2</sub> as embellished prose, see Rājapāṇḍīyasthān **ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน**, *Bacānānukram chpāp rājapāṇḍīyasthān พจนานุกรม ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน (กรุงเทพฯ: Rājapāṇḍīyasthān **ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน**, 2542), s.v. **ร้อยแก้ว**: “prose that is sonorous, sweet, and suitable in terms of its sound and sense” [ความเรียงที่สละสลวยไพเราะเหมาะเจาะด้วยเสียงและความหมาย]). Regular prose in Khmer, in turn, is known as *bāky rāy* **ពាក្យរាយ**, which can be distinguished from poetry, *bāky kāby* **ពាក្យកាប្យ**, and from rhymed prose, *kamrong kaev* or, less commonly, *bāky ghloñ* **ពាក្យញោង**.*

The Khmer term *rāy* recalls the Thai term *rāy*<sub>1</sub>; indeed with the exception of the Thai tone mark, the two terms are spelled identically (cf. *รย* vs. **ร้อย**) and would have been pronounced similarly before the Khmer vowel split. There is also the related, and somewhat more complex, problem of the overlapping meanings of Thai *rāy* [ร้อย; not ร้อย] and Khmer *rāy*. It is not clear how the Khmer term, which can mean “to scatter,” “to expand,” and “separated” in addition to the senses it shares with Thai such as “list” and “report,” came to mean “prose” in compounds such as *bāky rāy*. To be sure, the etymology of Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> is equally unclear. One possible resolution to both etymological problems is to assume that prose is that which is “expanded” and “scattered” in contrast to the tightly woven forms of poetry, and hence *rāy* in Khmer came to refer to prose. Not all Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> is prose, since *rāy*<sub>1</sub> meters such as *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *subhāb* **ร้อยสุภาพ** are very closely related to *gloñ* **โคลง** verse, indeed consisting of an undetermined number of five-syllable lines joined by linking rhymes and closing with a stanza of *gloñ sañ* **โคลงสอง**, including the tone rules. *Rāy*<sub>1</sub> *porān* **ร้อยโบราณ** is the same, with the caveat that the tone rules need not be followed in the closing *gloñ sañ* stanza. But *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *yāw* is very close to regular prose, and despite the loose rhyming requirements, some texts that claim to be *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *yāw*, such as the bulk of Prince Damrong’s *Nirās nagar vāt* **นิราศนครวัด**, do not in fact contain linking rhymes for every line.

However, one of the numerous problems with taking Khmer *rāy* as the root of Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> or *rāy* is that Old Khmer *rāy* does not exist on its own in the corpus of pre-Angkorian or Angkorian inscriptions, except as a personal name or as part of prefixed terms conjecturally based on the root *\*rāy* (such as *anrāy*, “that which has been divided up or arrayed out.” Unless we take the uncanny similarity of Khmer *rāy* and Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub>/*rāy* as a mere coincidence, then Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub>/*rāy* may be related to Old Khmer *\*rāy* or perhaps Khmer writers were aware of the Thai sense of the term in formulating *bāky rāy* as a term for prose. As explained above, this may be analogous to the situation of Khmer *r"ay kèv/kamrañ kèv* and Thai *ray*<sub>2</sub> *kèv*<sub>2</sub>, which share the same orthographic and etymological form but refer to different styles of writing, and indeed the Khmer meaning of *r"ay kèv* seems parallel only to Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *yāw*. The Khmer term *kamrañ kèv* is an additional source of confusion, since it can mean both prose with linking rhymes (i.e. Khmer *r"ay kèv* and Thai *rāy*<sub>1</sub> *yāw*) and poetry of any verse form of Khmer that doesn’t fit neatly into the meter prescribed in Khmer textbooks. Several Khmer teachers under whom I studied, upon being unable to scan the verse form of a stanza of poetry, would declare it *kamrañ kèv*. The stanzas in question were usually hyper-metrical variants of the textbook meters, but a far cry from just prose with linking rhymes at the end of each line. Since, to my knowledge, only the rhymed prose meaning and not this sense of *kamrañ kèv* exists in classical Khmer literature, I would assume that it is a recent interpretation based on an overly strict interpretation of the standard Khmer meters and an oversight of the fact that “irregular” verse forms persist in some genres, such as traditional Khmer songs.

Chapter 6: Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose

vernacular portions are performed. The overlay of a coherent vernacular narrative against a fluid alternation between the Pali and Siamese portions forms a essential component of the text’s rhetorical power.

Other semi-bilingual texts are even more biased toward the vernacular side. One example comes from the best-known Khmer version of *Vessantara-jātaka*, edited by N̄"uk Thèm from palm-leaf manuscripts and published by the Buddhist Institute in Phnom Penh in 1966.<sup>127</sup> The composition itself likely dates from a century or more prior. This passage is the exact parallel to the excerpt above from the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvān*.<sup>128</sup>

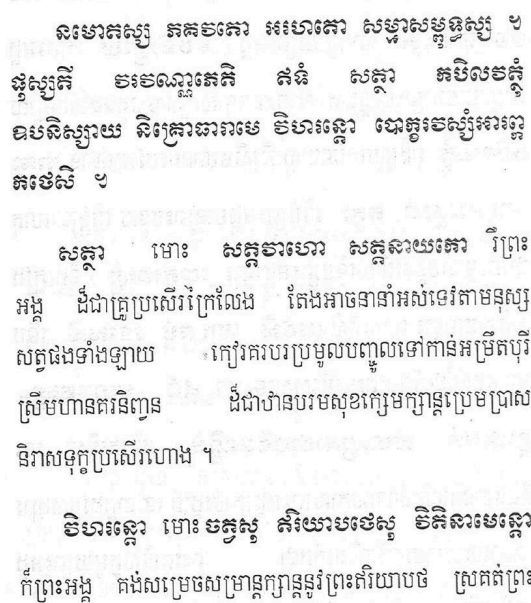


Figure 6.5.1.1: Detail of N̄"uk Thèm ញ៉ុក ថៃម, *Mahāvessantarajātaka វេស្សន្តរជានិកាយ*, 1

<sup>127</sup> N̄"uk Thèm ញ៉ុក ថៃម, *Mahāvessantarajātaka វេស្សន្តរជានិកាយ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2509), 1–3. My diplomatic transcription is based on this edition of the text, with the bold corresponding to the *mūl* script used to set off the Pali words.

<sup>128</sup> Sn̄ap Puñ-glay<sub>2</sub> ស្រាប បុណ្យគ្រឿង, while citing neither this exact passage of the Khmer text nor the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvān*, notes that the style of N̄"uk Thèm’s edition is quite similar to Thai versions of the *Vessantara-jātaka*. He writes, “The style of composition is *ray<sub>2</sub> kēv<sub>2</sub>* (*saṃrāy kēv*), which includes some rhymes, begins with the Pali *gāthā* before translating into Khmer in imitation of the Pali meaning. This style of composition is almost identical to that found in Thai versions of the *Mahāvessantara*, and what is most surprising is the following: as the technique of composition for both the Thai and Khmer *Mahāvessantara* is very similar, one doesn’t know whether the Khmer received it from the Thai or the Thai received it from the Khmer” (ลักษณะการแต่งเป็นร้อยแก้ว (สร้อยแก้ว) ที่มีถ้อยคำ สัมผัสกันบ้าง เริ่มด้วยการเดินคาถาบาลี แล้วแปลเป็นภาษาเขมรเลียนความในภาษาบาลี ลักษณะแต่งดังกล่าวเหมือนการแต่ง มหาเวสสันดรของไทยไม่ผิดเพี้ยน ซึ่งเป็นที่น่าแปลกกว่า มหาเวสสันดรของไทยและของเขมรในแง่เทคนิคการแต่งคล้ายกันมาก ไม่ทราบว่าจะเขมรรับไปจากไทยหรือไทยรับจากเขมรกันแน่). See Sn̄ap Buñglaay<sub>2</sub> ស្រាប បុណ្យគ្រឿង, *Vañakaṃ khmer วรรณกรรม เขมร* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk vañakaṃ lēḥ p̄rahvaṭiśāsṭ(r) kram śilpākār sāṃnāvārṇakamm and prāṭṭhāsāṭṭr kamm śilpākār, 2558), 351.

**phussatī varavaṇṇābheti idaṃ sathā kapilavatthum upanissāya nigrodhārāme viharanto pokkharavassamaṃ ārabha kathesi.**

**sathā** moḥ **satt[h]avāho sattanāyako** rī<sup>129</sup> braḥ aṅg tá jā grū prasōr kraī lēn tēn āc nā nāṃ as’ devatā manuss satv phaṅ dāṃṇī lāy kīer gar par pramūl pañcūl dau kān’ amṛit purī sī mahānagar nibbān tá jā ṭhān paramasukh ksem ksānt prem prās nirās dukkh prasōr hoī.

**viharanto** moḥ **catasu**<sup>130</sup> **iriyāpathesu vitināmento** ká braḥ aṅg gaī’ samrec samrānt ksānt nūv braḥ iriyāpath sragat’ braḥ aṅg noḥ mān puon buṃ oy° juon nūv sandiḥ tamriḥ citt nai devatā manuss satv phaṅ dāṃṇī lāy löy löy **nigrodhārāme** ká braḥ aṅg gaī’ ai tá ṭhān ārām nām mahānigrodhamahāvihār gī cau nigrodhakumār cāy vāy mās 12 koṭi tamliṅ sān thvāy braḥ aṅg **upanissāya** ká braḥ aṅg āsrāy yak braḥ piṅḍapāt saivāt santos pros phaṅ dāṃṇī lāy **kapilavatthum** ai tá sruk kapilabastupurī sī mahānagar rājatṭhān **ārabha** moḥ **ārammaṇaṃ katvā** döp braḥ aṅg mān braḥ pandūl dhvō oy° jā hetu jā ārammaṇ~ pantic höy döp braḥ aṅg chboḥ **pokkharavassamaṃ** niṅ bhlieṅ suarg muay jmoḥ pokkharabāsi **kathesi** moḥ **dhammaṃ desesi** döp braḥ aṅg samṭēn thlēn braḥ dharm visesadesanā **idaṃ mahāvessantarajātakam saḥassagāthapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ** pabitr öy neḥ niṅ nidāna ṭamṇōr ṭamṇāl braḥ aṅg trāc’ raṅgāt’ nau nā knuī vaṭṭasaṅsār tra-āl yon yak kaṃṇōt köt jā braḥ bodhisatv muay braḥ aṅg draṅ braḥ nāmakaraṇ~ pavar hau thā braḥ mahāvessantar mahāvessantarajātak neḥ tá praṭāp’ praṭā nūv braḥ gāthā noḥ puon bān’ **attano** moḥ **upalikkhitena** gī kaṃḷāṃṇī braḥ prājñā sabbaññūbuddh tá trās’ ṭiṅ nūv ñeyy dharm dāṃṇī buon braḥ aṅg āc samgāl’ ṭiṅ pān **ādigāthāpadena** ṭoy nūv ganlaṅ daṃṇaṅ ṭōm pad kaṃṇat’ aksar pavar braḥ gāthā neḥ ai tá jā ādi~ **phussatīvaravaṇṇābheti** neḥ eṅ gī tá jā pradhān ṭōm pad braḥ aṅg kat’ samgāl’ traṅ’ neḥ eṅ hoī.

**“Phussatī, she who possessed the light of an excellent complexion”—this the Teacher, having resorted to Kapilavatthu, dwelling in the Nigrodha Monastery, spoke regarding lotus-rain.**

**sathā** In other words, **satt[h]avāho sattanāyako** as for the Lord who is the supremely excellent teacher, who always leads all of the divine and human beings, herding and driving them to enter into the deathless city, the glorious metropolis of Nibbāna, to wit, the realm of supreme bliss and peace, wonderfully free from all suffering.

**viharanto** In other words, **catvasu iriyāpathesu vitināmento** when the Lord dwelt peacefully in all four of his postures, not entertaining any doubts or thoughts at all with regards to all divine and human beings, **nigrodhārāme** residing on the grounds of the monastery named Mahānigrodha Mahāvihāra, that upon which

<sup>129</sup> The text reads  $\tilde{r}\tilde{i}$  instead of the expected  $r\tilde{i}$ .

<sup>130</sup> The text reads *catvasu*.



Prince Nigrodhakumāra spent 120 million *tamḷiṇi* of gold building for the Lord, **upanissāya** he relied on alms and strove to compassionately offer all grace **kapilavatthum** in the vicinity of the city of Kapilabastu, the glorious metropolis and royal realm. **ārabha** In other words **ārammaṇaṃ katvā** the Lord then spoke, having first fashioned a speech with a cause and an object, and then he, with regards **pokkharavassam** to a heavenly rain called Pokkharabāsi, **kathesi** in other words **dhammaṃ desesi** thus preached a special sermon on the holy Teaching. **idaṃ mahāvessantarajātakaṃ saḥassagāthāpaṭimaṇḍitaṃ** O venerables! This shall be the recounting of the narrative of the time when the Lord was wandering in the wheel of transmigration and joyfully took rebirth as a bodhisatva by the excellent name of Mahāvessantara. This *jātaka* of Mahāvessantara, which is ornamented by verses numbering four thousand,<sup>131</sup> **attano** in other words **upalikkhitena** that is to say, [due to] the might of the holy wisdom of the Omniscient Buddha who awakened to all of those Teachings to be Known, he could know it **ādigāthāpadena** by the furrow and motif of the first line, set into excellent letters, of this very verse at the beginning—**phussatīvaravaṇṇābheti** — [and] this indeed is the leading first line that the Lord recorded just like this.

The most obvious difference between this passage and its parallel in the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlvai* is of course the length of its vernacular elaborations. The contrast between their glosses of *nigrodhārāme* (“in the Nigrodha monastery”) is particularly striking. The Siamese text reads, “in the exquisite Nigrodha Monastery,” whereas N̄uk Thēm’s edition gives: “residing on the grounds of the monastery named Mahānigrodha Mahāvihāra, that upon which Prince Nigrodhakumāra spent 120 million *tamḷiṇi* of gold building for the Lord” (*ká braḥ aṅg gan’ ai tá thān ārām nām mahānigrodhamahāvihār gī cau nigrodhakumār cāy vāy mās 12 koṭi tamḷiṇi sān thwāy braḥ aṅg*). The additions fill in background information from the commentarial tradition that enrich the context of the narrative.

Some of the conventions of fully bilingual texts are still in place, but they are not as precise in more strict *prè lot pravog* or *plè yak sǎbd* texts. Case marker particles such as *rī* (nominative), *nūw/chboh nīn* (accusative),<sup>132</sup> *toy* (instrumental), and *ai tá* (locative),<sup>133</sup> along with the plural marker *dāmnī lāy*, are used but not always consistently. Verb-preceding particles such as *ká* and *dōp* appear as well, though it is not clear whether they are used to mark Pali verbs or simply to notate the flow of the narrative.<sup>134</sup> Syntactic reordering is used to full effect, just as in *prè lot pravog* or *plè yak sǎbd*.

The Khmer passage stands out for an additional feature, namely the use of the technical particle *moḥ* to introduce the semantic unpacking or etymological gloss of a Pali

<sup>131</sup> One thousand is the typical number cited. I am not sure why the Khmer text reads “four thousand.” See Claudio Cicuzza and Peter Skilling, “The Number of Stanzas in the Vessantara-Jātaka,” in *Buddhist Asia 2: Papers from the Second Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in June 2004*, ed. Giacomella Orofino and Silvio Vita (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2010), 35–45.

<sup>132</sup> ព្រះនិវេសន៍

<sup>133</sup> ព្រះ

<sup>134</sup> ក៏ and ទើប

word by means of another Pali word, compound, or phrase. This unpacking is known as *khai sābd* or *khai sec ktī* in Khmer.<sup>135</sup> The parallel verb *khai* is used in Lao and Thai (as in *khai gatī*) in the same sense.<sup>136</sup> In Central Thai, including in texts such as the *Mahājāti gāṃ hlwai*, the particle used for this purpose is *moḥ* or *moḥ vā<sub>i</sub>*. In Northern Thai and Lao, the preferred particle is *māk vā<sub>i</sub>* (written in Tham script as *mvā<sup>o</sup>*). In all four languages, this particle is only used in this specific context; its technical meaning is not commonly known.

The function of this particle corresponds to the way that Pali *aṭṭhakathā* and *ṭīkā* commentaries unpack or explain Pali words whose context needs clarification or for which there is an interesting *nirutti* (Sanskrit *nirukti*), or etymological analysis. We first saw it used in the *Nisai madhurāssajambū* manuscript, where it was used to unpack a bare relative pronoun to reveal its implied referent (*yaṃ mvā<sup>o</sup> yo dhammo*).

In N"uk Thèm's edition of a Khmer version of the *Vessantara-jātaka*, however, the text uses the particle *moḥ* to unpack a much wider variety of words. These words include a noun in the nominative singular (*sathā*), a present participle in the nominative singular (*viharanto*), an indeclinable postposition (*ārabha*), a finite verb in the aorist third person singular (*kathesi*), and a noun in the instrumental singular (*attano*). For instance, the epithet *sathā* ("Teacher") is glossed in Pali as *satt[h]avāho sattanāyako*, "head of a caravan, leader of living beings." The verb *kathesi* ("he related") is glossed with the Pali phrase *dhammaṃ desesi* ("he preached the Dhamma"). The indeclinable *ārabha* is unpacked in Pali as *ārammaṇaṃ katvā* ("having made [it] an object [of mind]"). I have not been able to access a *ṭīkā* of the *Vessantara-jātaka* to ascertain the source of these clarifications. Some of them, such as ***sathā moḥ satt[h]avāho sattanāyako***, occur in other bilingual and semi-bilingual texts as well, including a *Dhammapada* manuscript whose analysis by McDaniel is explored in the following section. No matter the source of these Pali-Pali glosses, the authors of partially bilingual texts drew on their knowledge of the tradition to add relevant details to the text according to their literary or religious inclinations.

### 6.5.2 A Pali-Lanna Version of the Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā

The conventions of the syntactically rearranged partially bilingual sermon versions of the *Vessantara-jātaka* found in Siamese and Khmer examples appear in Lao and Lanna manuscripts as well. McDaniel analyzes one such partially bilingual *vohān<sup>o</sup>* manuscript of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* from Wat Sung Men,<sup>137</sup> Phrae province, Thailand, that dates to 1832 AD.<sup>138</sup> As in previous examples, he uses this manuscript to argue for the creative and idiosyncratic nature of the genre. In my view, however, this manuscript is broadly consistent with the Siamese and Khmer partially bilingual manuscripts discussed above. In other words, it takes a portion of a

<sup>135</sup> ខែសីហា or ខែសេចក្តី

<sup>136</sup> ไข; ไขคต

<sup>137</sup> วัดสูงเม่น

<sup>138</sup> Code number 070102076\_00, database title *Wohan thammapata mat ton* โวหารธัมมปาทยะ มัดตัน. Complete digital images of a microfilm of this manuscript are available from <http://lannamanuscripts.net/en/manuscripts/956>. The relevant passage is found from folio *ghao* recto, line 5 through folio *ghao* verso, line 4.

Pali text, provides a syntactically reordered and expanded gloss with judicious use of the appropriate grammatical particles, before moving on to the next portion of the text, which could be glossed in a similar way or provided solely in the vernacular.



Figure 6.5.2.1: Details of vohān° manuscript, phūk 3, ghau<sub>1,r</sub> line 5 through ghau<sub>1,v</sub> line 4

Edition

[f.ghau<sub>1,r</sub> 5][...]. **akkocchi maṃ avadhi maṃ ti imaṃ dhammadesanam sathā jetavane viharanto tissattheraṃ ārabha kathesi.** [f.ghau<sub>1,v</sub> 1] **so kirāyasmā bhagavato pitucchāputto mahallakakāle pabbajite buddhasāsane uppantalābhasakkāraṃ paribhuñjanto thulasuriro akkoṭitapacchākoṭitehi civarehi bhuyye[2]na vihāramajjhe uppaṭṭhānasālāyaṃ nis(ī)di.**

**sathā** mvā° มีวา **satthavāho nāyako** sabbañū bra buddha cau<sub>2</sub> tân° pén° nāy° nām hmū satt hī khām° bān<sub>2</sub>° cāk° dān<sub>2</sub>° plā ān<sub>2</sub>° mī cōn° gī vaṭṭasa<sub>1</sub>n°ān° [3] hī thōn° nibbān° ān<sub>2</sub>° sa(anti) nai je[ta]vaṇṇ ārām° prarāp° jōn° tīssathen° pén° hed° pén° ārammaṇ hēn° dhammadesnā lè gaṃ สัพพัญญุรพุทธเจ้าตินเปนนาย นำหมุสตัดหีขามพินจักท้านปลาอันมีโจนคิ้วฏสงงานหีเถิงนิพพานอันสนติในเขตวณณ อารามปรุวิบเชิงตีสเสถนเปนนทเปนนอารมมณแห่งมมเทศนาแลค **vada()**ti desnā yān° dhammapādadesnā ān<sub>2</sub>° nī ān<sub>2</sub>° saṃgī[4]tikācāryy hā khvèd kāt° hmāy° dṽay<sub>2</sub>° kalyāṇ gthā ādi pād° vā<sub>1</sub> เทศนายังมมปาทเทศนาอันนีสคิติกาจารย์ยห้าแขวทกิกู หมายถึงอุยกลยณคฤอาทินาทว่า **akko(c)chi maṃ avadhi maṃ** ni lè นิแล

Translation of Pali-Lanna portion

**sathā** in other words, **satthavāho nāyako** the Omniscient Lord Buddha—who is the one who leads the throng of living beings in order to cross beyond the part of the

forest that has thieves, that is, [beyond] the wheel of transmigration, in order to reach peaceful Nibbāna—was in the Jetavana monastery, set up the Elder Tissa as the cause and the object of the preaching of the Teaching, and then **vada(ti)** preached this sermon of the *Dhammapada* which the teachers of the [first] council thus established for memorization<sup>139</sup> with the felicitous verse that begins with the line that says **akko(c)chi mam avadhi mam** just so.

McDaniel’s analysis translation and analysis of this passage aim to demonstrate that the author did not hew closely to the Pali source but instead produced a variety of creative glosses and additions to the text.<sup>140</sup> For McDaniel, these features illuminate the salient characteristics of the *vohāra* genre, namely its conflation of multiple sources, including “unknown local sources”; its pedagogical use for instructing lay students “who did not have a strong understanding of Pali vocabulary”; and its “very creative” composition.<sup>141</sup> But, as in previous examples, ignoring the conventions of bilingual texts, including the use of long, coherent sentences held together with technical particles such as *mvā<sup>o</sup>*, can obscure the semantic logic of a text and lead to the conclusion that this passage reflects an idiosyncratic and creative understanding of the Pali.

This passage in fact exemplifies some of the clarity, fidelity, and eloquence partially bilingual texts can achieve through the use of syntactic reordering, appropriate grammatical particles, and—in contrast to fully bilingual texts—helpful vernacular elaborations that provide context for the narrative at hand. It makes its points in a single long, coherent sentence, not in seven disjointed, short sentences. The sentence begins with an etymological commentary on the epithet *satthā* using the particle *mvā<sup>o</sup>* reserved for Pali-Pali glosses. Hence

<sup>139</sup> Lanna *kwèṭ kaṭ<sup>o</sup> hmāy<sup>o</sup>* *แนวทักวิทยุหมาย ๘๘๘๘๘๘๘๘๘๘*, “to record, fix, or establish [a text] so as to facilitate memorization.” See Mājjhima Vīrasīl(ṭ) *มัชฌิมะ วิรสิล,* “Kār śikṣā varṇakaṛm lān<sub>2</sub> nā rīōñ<sub>1</sub> vessāntarajātak sāmṇvan mai<sub>2</sub> phai<sub>1</sub> cè<sub>2</sub> riev tèn การศึกษาวรรณกรรมล้านนา เรื่องเวสสันดรชาดก ส่วนวนไม้ไฟแจเรียวแดง” (Silpakorn University, 2549), 156n214.

<sup>140</sup> McDaniel’s transcription and translation appear in McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 140–141:

akkocchima avadhimanti imam dhammadesanam satthā jetavane viharanto tissattheram ārabha katesi  
so kirāyasmā bhagavato pitucchāputto mahallakāle pubbajite buddhasāsano uppanalābhasakkāram  
paribhūjanto thulasuriro akkoṭṭapacchakoṭitehi civarehi suyena vihāramajjhe uppaṭṭhānasālāyam  
nisidi //

satthā mak wā satthavāho nāyako sabbañu phra buddha cao ton pen nāyanāṃ mu satta hi mām kon cāk  
dān plā an mī con geu vaṭṭhansān hi ni thoeng nibban an satri nai jevaṇṇa ārāṃ brarob soeng tissathen  
pen hen ārammaṇa haeng dhammasesanā an ni an Sangitīkāthāyya hāk khwaet gāthā mai Tuai kalyaṇa  
gatha ādipai wā akkocchima avadhimam

The *Satthā* (the teacher) means a *satthavāho* (a caravan leader), a *nāyako* (a leader), a *sabbañu* (an all-knowing one), the Lord Buddha, that is, [one of] the group of *nāyanāṃ* (leaders), indeed *Satthā* (teacher) of me. The people who are from the forest are poor. That is *vaṭṭhansān* (those possessing head ornaments?), indeed. Nibban, the woman in the forest retreat of Jevaṇṇarāma, who is known to Tissa the Elder. She is the one who sees the dhamma sermon in the forest retreat. This is from the *Sangitīkāthāyya* (the collected verses), that is, the *Kivaetgatha* that means the verses of the *Kalyaṇa* (the verses of the good one). It explains the “akkocchima avadhimam.”

<sup>141</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 142.

the Buddha is not described as “[one of] the group of *nāyanāṃ* (leaders), indeed *Satthā* (teacher of me. The people who are from the forest are poor. That is *vatthansān* (those possessing head ornaments?), indeed” but rather as “the one who leads the throng of living beings in order to cross beyond the part of the forest that has thieves, that is, [beyond] the wheel of transmigration, in order to reach peaceful Nibbāna.” The vernacular gloss, though enriched by its commentarial additions, does not stray far from the Pali but rather serves to eloquently clarify it.

Hence there is no woman who “is the one who sees the dhamma sermon in the forest retreat” or “who is known to Tissa the Elder,” but rather the only Buddha, who “**vada()ti** preached this sermon of the *Dhammapada*” concerning the narrative of “the Elder Tissa” while residing “in the Jetavana monastery.” The commentarial nature of the expanded gloss is reflected in its attention to the received history of this scriptural text in terms of the First Council. Thus this passage does not come “from the *Sangitakāthāyya* (the collected verses), that is, the *Kīvaetgatha* that means the verses of the *Kalyāṇa* (the verses of the good one)” but rather from the *Dhammapada* itself, “which the teachers of the [first] council thus established for memorization with the felicitous verse that begins with the line that says **akko(c)chi maṃ avadhi maṃ** just so.” The text thus explicitly emphasizes its fidelity to the tradition and reveals the many layers of reverent intertextuality that characterize the Buddhist literary tradition as a whole.

The beginnings of such syntactically rearranged partially bilingual manuscripts often follow these same conventions. Indeed, Nuk Thè's edition of a Khmer preaching text of the *Vessantara-jātaka* discussed above includes a very similar expanded gloss of *satthā*. Moreover, just as some Khmer glosses of *evam me sutam*, including in the *Girimānanda-sutta*, discuss the exact role of Ānanda's memory, many partially bilingual sermon texts also begin by explicating the origin of the narratives they recount. These kinds of expanded glosses exactly mirror the structure and function of the *aṭṭhakathā* commentaries in Pali. They provide evidence of the reverence with which Khmer and Lanna authors held the scriptural and commentarial tradition bequeathed to them. McDaniel claims that this passage, on account of its perceived idiosyncrasies, “was designed for students, perhaps lay students, who were not studying Pali grammar and were not being trained to give sermons or lectures themselves.”<sup>142</sup> But this passage instead bears all the hallmarks of a sermon text to be read before a lay audience, and contains no elements that are specifically pedagogical in nature. Syntactically rearranged partially bilingual texts are thus distinguished not only by their technical conventions, but also by their artful richness and euphony of expression (*vohāra*).

### 6.5.3 Pali Manuscripts with Interlinear Commentaries

A few partially bilingual manuscripts found in Southeast Asian collections are, however, almost certainly intended for those studying Pali. These Khom-script manuscripts may be found in nineteenth- and some early twentieth-century manuscripts held in monastic and state libraries throughout Central Thailand and Cambodia. A number of otherwise monolingual Pali

<sup>142</sup> McDaniel, *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words*, 142.

manuscripts in these collections, especially those of the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* and other common commentarial texts, use a special system for annotating Pali texts to prepare them for vernacular translation and interpretation. The script used is a type of Khom Wat (*khaam hvät*) script known as *twā kṣien*.<sup>143</sup>

Brief vernacular glosses as well as a special system of numerical and alphabetic symbols appear in these texts. As far as I know, this system has not yet been described in the secondary literature, so I will provide my analysis of how it works here. The genius of this system is that it makes clear an intermediate step between original-syntax, monolingual Pali texts and the syntactically rearranged bilingual texts considered in this chapter. This bridge is achieved by making the process of syntactic rearrangement explicit through the use of numbers or letters.

If numbers are used, then the cipher for “1” indicates the portion of the Pali to be translated first into the vernacular, “2” the second, and so on. Occasionally, alphabetic symbols are used instead. In these cases, letters such as “ka,” “kā,” “ki,” “kī,” etc. are used instead of, or in addition to, numbers. Moreover, short glosses and technical particles may be added to clarify the meaning of a given word or its grammatical function in the sentence. This shorthand system of annotation is not identical to that found in bilingual Pali-vernacular texts, but the two are closely related. In all cases, the annotations are inked rather than inscribed onto the palm-leaf. They are likely the work of a later annotator, separate from the work of the original scribe of the monolingual text, and they appear to be notes added by those studying the texts, perhaps as a tool for learning Pali or preparing for a Pali examination.

The precision and convenience of this annotation system makes it one of the most sophisticated forms of vernacular grammatical analysis to emerge prior to the development of modern linguistics. A Khom-script *Dhammapada-atthakathā* manuscript in the Swift Family Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley provides a clear example of this system. This manuscript probably dates from late nineteenth century in Thailand; similar manuscripts abound in Cambodian collections, particularly in Phnom Penh. On folio *da recto*, lines 2–3, a Pali sentence from the *Dhammapada-atthakathā* is annotated in black pen above and below the main inscribed line of text.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>143</sup> ขอมหวัด; ตัวเกษียน. I thank Santi Pakdeekham for informing me of the Thai terms for these scripts. According to Santi, *twā kṣien* may also be called *twā tak jèk* ตัวดกแซก and were used by the nineteenth-century Cambodian Dhammayuttika-nikāya chief monk Samtec Braḥ Sugandhādhipatī Paññāsīlo P”ān สมเด็จพระสุทธานธิบดี บัญญาสืเลนาจารย์ (1857–1893) to create the modern Khmer *trieñ* ព្រៀន script. For more on the paleographic context of *khom hvät* and *twā kṣien*, see Kongkaew Veeraprajak กองแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, “Ākṣar khaam khaañ daiy อักษรขอมของไทย,” in *Sāy dhār hèn, guām git 2: sārāniban(dh) jōt jū kierti dān, phū; hñiñ varuṇyubā snidvañ(ś) na ayudhyā nīōñ, nai varokās āyu graḥ 72 pī sāyārañ hængkwām khīt ๒ : สารนิพนธ์เข็ดขุเกียรติ ท่านผู้หญิงวรุณยุพา สนิทวงศ์ ณ อยุธยา เนื่องในวโรกาสอายุครบ ๗๒ ปี*, ed. Vudhijāy Mūlaśil(p) วุฒิชัย มูลศิลป์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kaañ dun biō, vijākār varuṇyubā sanidvañ(ś) กองทุนเพื่อวิชาการวรุณยุพา สนิทวงศ์, 2544), 330–332.

<sup>144</sup> An image of this particular folio is available at <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/tx/hb7f59p4fx/files/hb7f59p4fx-FID435.jpg>. The entire manuscript is accessible at <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb7f59p4fx/?&brand=oac4>. The Pali sentence in question is given on page 200 of the Pali Text Society edition of the *Dhammapada-atthakathā*, and on page 275 of Burlingame’s translation. See Eugene Watson Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921).

Chapter 6: Bilingual Pali-Vernacular Prose

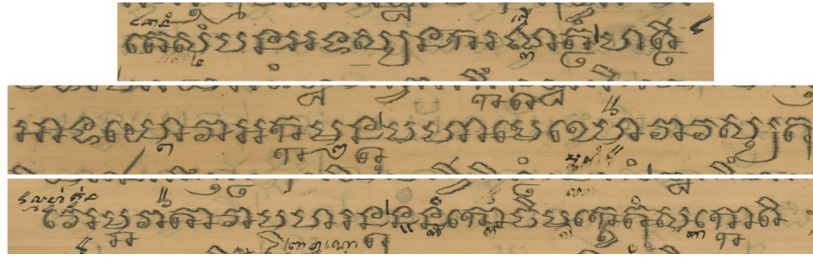


Figure 6.5.3.1: Details of interlinear tvā kṣien annotations in a Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā manuscript, folio da recto, lines 2–3

Here I have added spaces to make the main text more clear, placed the annotation above and below in bold and italics, and transliterated both the Pali main text and mixed Pali and Thai annotation into roman script:

*janānaṃ*                      *bö'a°* |    *rī*                      |    *rī*  
tesaṃ pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ hatthī-ādayo vā akkamantu mahāmegho vā pavassatu  
**4**                                      **3**                                      **1**                                      **2**

*rī lam° h'va° t'va°n rī*                      |  
verambhavātā vā paharantu na naṃ koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti.  
|| *kī ka ki*                      *kā*

This sentence translates as:

Let elephants and other [beasts] trample [upon a sacred footprint of the Buddha (*padacetiya*—implied from the previous sentence)] for the sake of making [the footprint] invisible to people, or let a great cloud pour down, or let a whirlwind blow—no one is able to erase it.

The system divides its symbols and annotations into two parts: those that appear above the line of Pali text and those that appear below, with each part assigned a distinct function. The annotations above the line divide the sentence into distinct clauses with vertical lines; provides glosses, both in Pali and Thai; and inserts technical particles such as *rī* (i.e. *ān vā*) to mark grammatical features such as case. The vertical line annotations cordon off clauses intended to be construed together, such as *tesaṃ pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ* and *na naṃ koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti*. The words written above typically provide glosses. For instance, the annotation clarifies the pronoun *tesaṃ*, “to them,” with the Pali dative/genitive plural noun *janānaṃ*, “to people.” The word *attha*, which can imply both “meaning” and “for the sake of,” among other senses, receives the Thai annotation *bö'a°*,<sup>145</sup> “for the sake of,” to resolve any possible ambiguity. A relatively rare word such as *verambhavātā* takes a Thai gloss, *rī lam° h'va° t'va°n*,<sup>146</sup> “a whirlwind,”

<sup>145</sup> เพื่อ

<sup>146</sup> อันว่าลมหัวด้วน

to make its meaning readily apparent. In addition to these glosses, the technical particle *rī* marks a number of words as belonging to the nominative case, such as *hatthī-ādayo* and *mahāmegho*. These glosses and particles clarify parts of the text for a Siamese reader who is still learning Pali, but fall short of providing a full translation.

The annotations below the line have a separate function. Instead of provided glosses or clarifications, they describe how the syntactic rearrangement should take place if the reader were to translate this passage into Thai (or Lao or Khmer, for that matter). The phrase *tesaṃ pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ hatthī-ādayo vā akkamantu* is thus reordered, via numerical annotations, to read *hatthī-ādayo vā akkamantu pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ tesaṃ*. It so happens that English, Thai, and Khmer syntax proceed in this same new order: first comes “let elephants and other [beasts]” (*hatthī-ādayo vā*), then “trample [upon a sacred footprint of the Buddha]” (*akkamantu*), next “for the sake of making [the footprint] invisible” (*pana adassanakaraṇatthaṃ*), and finally “to people” (*tesaṃ*). The same process is at work in the final phrase, *na naṃ koci makkhetuṃ sakkoti*, which the alphabetic annotations indicate should be rearranged to read *na koci sakkoti makkhetuṃ naṃ*, “no one is able to erase it.”<sup>147</sup>

This shorthand system of annotation represents an important transitional step between monolingual Pali and fully bilingual Pali-vernacular texts. Much more work needs to be done to elicit its complete history and interpretation, but even from this initial analysis a few conclusions can be drawn. As this system of annotation tends to appear only in texts such as the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* that formed the core of the Pali language curricula for nineteenth- and twentieth-century Khmer and Thai monks, it might properly be termed a “pedagogical” or “educational” system, or at the very least a kind of study guide for monks learning to translate and interpret Pali scriptures.

This is quite unlike the fully and partially bilingual texts surveyed in the earlier sections of this chapter, which generally come from leporellos for end-of-life chant and palm-leaf manuscripts for sermons. These are finished products for ritual performance, rather than fragmentary notes for classroom use or private study. Many of them can be recited aloud as they are, without further intellectual effort on the reader’s part. By contrast, the shorthand Khom Wat system described above requires considerable energy on the reader’s part to make a given sentence in Pali intelligible in the vernacular. On the other hand, they are an extremely efficient tool for the syntactic and lexical analysis of a Pali text.

If the interlinear annotation systems used in some *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* manuscripts represent one extreme, then the bilingual texts in Cambodian leporellos, probably copied down for direct ritual use in end-of-life and consecration rituals, fall on the other. Further research is needed to determine the full spectrum of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts in Southeast Asia and how they are used. This chapter provides a starting point for how to read, analyze, and categorize these texts. Moreover, it demonstrates the variety of ingenious ways fully and partially bilingual texts help to localize Pali texts within the lexicon, syntax, and style

<sup>147</sup> In modern Thai, the syntax would be the same: *na koci* ไม่มีใคร *sakkoti* สามารถ *makkhetuṃ* ลบ *naṃ* มันได้. A similar construction works in Khmer: *na koci* គ្មានអ្នកណា *sakkoti* អាច *makkhetuṃ* លុប *naṃ* វាបាន. For more on the syntactic parallels between Khmer and Thai, see Franklin E. Huffman, “Thai and Cambodian: A Case of Syntactic Borrowing?,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, no. 4 (October–December 1973): 488–509.



of Khmer-Tai vernaculars.

## 6.6 Conclusion

Bilingual Pali-vernacular prose, whether fully or partially bilingual, in its original syntax or in syntactically rearranged form, follows a distinct set of technical, grammatical, and stylistic conventions. These conventions are reflected in the small number of Pali-vernacular prose texts found in Cambodian leporello manuscripts just as in their much more numerous cousins found today in palm-leaf manuscripts from Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. These conventions include the use of a specific set of technical particles, the principles of syntactic rearrangement, Pali and vernacular additions inspired by Pali commentarial literature, and an interlinear shorthand system. All of these conventions serve to localize Pali texts into a cogent and fluid vernacular context.

Bilingual Pali-vernacular texts can be used for a variety of purposes, including exegesis of Pali treatises for doctrinal study, linguistic analysis of Pali texts for language training, homiletic transformations of Pali narratives for eloquent sermons, and intelligible versions of Pali chants. While any of these texts could be used pedagogically, they do not generally reflect, *pace* McDaniel, the creative or random tendencies of particular teachers or translators. McDaniel's work on bilingual Pali-vernacular texts was a pioneering foray into the academically unmapped forest of these sophisticated texts in Laos and Thailand, and his writings have blazed the trail for us. What I have aimed to show here is that the complex thicket these texts present is not one of idiosyncrasy, but rather a deeply intertextual and indeed reverential approach to translating the words of the Buddha and making them locally accessible.

This chapter has also obliquely addressed some aspects of traditional Pali learning in Southeast Asia, though a more complete investigation is needed. The use of technical particles and syntactic rearrangement speaks not only to the creation of bilingual texts, but also to the process by which Southeast Asians learned to read and translate Pali scriptures and commentaries. The set of conventions I unpack in this chapter cut across the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Khmer-Tai world, by providing evidence for a shared approach to analyzing, glossing, and translating Pali. Moreover, they provide a stunning example of the linguistic sophistication of those who developed this form of grammatical analysis in premodern Southeast Asia.

The Cambodian leporellos I study primarily serve as scripts for chanting performances. Thus the bilingual texts they contain are likewise intended for recitation in end-of-life rituals. This is certainly true for the bilingual texts that occur most frequently in Cambodian leporellos, including the various versions of the *Girimānanda-sutta*, common Pali verses for end-of-life rituals such as **Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā A/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā A samrāy-r**, and the consecration text **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**. For most of these texts, however, there is little contemporary evidence that they are to be recited in a particular style other than ordinary monotone chant (*sūtr rās'*). One exception is **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy cakkhum-r**, for which the

bilingual Pali-vernacular passages are to be recited in a melody distinct from the monolingual Pali sections that make up the bulk of the text. This differentiation in the musical qualities of the recitation serves to further highlight the ritual emphasis given to the inserted bilingual portions.

More research is needed to determine which kinds of recitation practices are associated with bilingual Pali-vernacular texts in Cambodia, including partially bilingual sermons traditionally read aloud from palm-leaf manuscripts. The performance of partially bilingual sermons in Central Thailand, especially partially bilingual versions of the *Vessantara-jātaka* and the related Māleyya narrative, have received more academic attention in recent years.<sup>148</sup> It may eventually be possible to speak of conventions in recitation practices for bilingual texts across Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, but for now the documented evidence for shared conventions remains limited to the way these texts are composed.

This chapter dealt with prose texts, including forms of rhymed prose such as Thai *rāyī yāw* and its Khmer counterparts, but did not address verse texts with fixed metrical structures that govern the placement of syllables, lines, and stanzas. The majority of texts contained in the leporello corpus are verse texts with such structures. Some of these Khmer verse texts are translations of Pali texts, others are translations or adaptations of Tai texts, and others still are uniquely Cambodian compositions. Many of the Khmer verse renditions of Pali texts are fully or partially bilingual and retain a number of the conventions for Pali-vernacular prose texts described in this chapter. The following chapter builds on this analysis of the conventions of bilingual prose to explore the style and structure of localizing translations of Pali and Tai sources into Khmer verse.

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<sup>148</sup> See, for instance, Brereton, *Thai Tellings of Phra Malai: Texts and Rituals Concerning of Popular Buddhist Saint*; Sengpan Pannyawamsa, “Recital Of The *Tham Vessantara-jātaka*: A Social-Cultural Phenomenon In Kengtung, Eastern Shan State, Myanmar,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 10, no. 1 (2009): 125–139.; Patrick Jory, *Thailand’s Theory of Monarchy: The Vessantara Jātaka and the Idea of the Perfect Man* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016); and Katherine Bowie, *Of Beggars and Buddhas: The Politics of Humor in the Vessantara Jātaka in Thailand* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017).

## Chapter 7: Translating Pali and Tai into Khmer Verse

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the processes of localization by which Pali and Tai texts have been translated into Khmer poems. Such Khmer chants in verse represent the majority of the texts in the leporello corpus, namely 341 of the 653 total texts or 117 of the 195 distinct texts. Many of these either explicitly translate Pali and Tai texts or implicitly draw inspiration from them. Unlike the texts in the previous chapter, which deploy specific technical particles and techniques of syntactic rearrangement to highlight their status as translations, the texts considered in this chapter are less forthcoming about their origins. A closer analysis, however, reveals three main processes at work. The first is the deliberate use of Pali words and phrases in otherwise vernacular texts, the second is the effacement of Tai toponyms in Khmer translation of Tai texts, and the third is the attempt to create what I call “performative parity” between the new translations in Khmer and their Pali and Tai sources. Taken together, these three processes highlight the dynamics of localization at play when Buddhist texts are refashioned in Khmer verse.

This chapter relies on concepts from translation studies to make inferences about the different choices made by the Cambodian poets who first put these texts into Khmer verse. Translation theorist Laurence Venuti, drawing on the thought of Friedrich Schleiermacher, posits two contrasting methods of translation: domesticating and foreignizing.<sup>1</sup> Though Venuti emphasizes the ethical distinctions between these two methods,<sup>2</sup> the binary remains productive beyond the ethical sphere. Foreignizing translations highlight the capacity of one language to influence another. In Walter Benjamin’s view, one productive possibility for translation is for the target language to be transformed by the source language.<sup>3</sup> As Steiner reminds us, “no language... imports without risk of being transformed.”<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, domesticating translations emphasize how a text is changed to fit a new language and culture.

All translators make choices regarding how much to domesticate the source text or foreignize the target text. Furthermore, what Reiss and Vermeer call the *skopos* or the aim of a translation is often shaped by artistic, political, cultural, or doctrinal concerns as much as

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<sup>1</sup> Laurence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 20–22.

<sup>2</sup> Venuti argues that the contemporary predominance of Anglophone culture demands a moral stance for more “foreignizing” translations from other languages into English, so as to force readers to make a journey toward the author rather than vice versa. In other words, contemporary translators and publishers of translations ought to translate literary texts into English in such a way that its identity as a translated text from another language and culture is not forgotten by the reader (Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility*, 20–22).

<sup>3</sup> Walter Benjamin, “The Task of the Translator: An Introduction to the Translation of Baudelaire’s *Tableaux parisiens*,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Laurence Venuti, trans. Harry Zohn, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 82.

<sup>4</sup> Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*.

ethical ones.<sup>5</sup> Thus this chapter considers the religious, aesthetic, and performative aims translators may have had in mind when creating localized renditions of texts in Khmer verse.

The Pali-vernacular bilingual texts considered in the previous chapter fall across a spectrum of greater or lesser foreignization. On one extreme, original-syntax fully bilingual Pali-vernacular texts mark the grammatical features of the Pali with technical particles but retain the source text's word order. Such bilingual texts force the reader to confront the Pali in all of its strangeness. Less foreignizing approaches appear in syntactically rearranged fully bilingual texts. Here the technical particles remain, but the word order is domesticated into the vernacular. The reader cannot forget that this is a translation from Pali, yet can enjoy the fluent prose resulting from syntactic rearrangement. Partially bilingual texts that privilege the vernacular and use only a few Pali phrases further domesticate the source text into the cultural world of the reader. On the one hand, these texts draw on the prestige and precision of the Pali, accentuating the foreign nature of the language. On the other, they often amplify and expand the vernacular portions of the text, adding context and explanations not present in the original.

This spectrum of more or less foreignizing approaches witnessed in Pali-vernacular prose stands in contrast to the Khmer verse texts that make up the majority of unique texts in the leporello corpus. Generally speaking, these Khmer verse compositions present fluent texts that obscure their sources. At first glance, these texts typically appear not as translations but rather as original Khmer compositions. Upon closer examination, however, many of these verse texts are in fact translations and adaptations of earlier Pali and Tai texts. In Venuti's terms, these Khmer verse translations seem to take a domesticating approach. The Khmer translators who composed them rely on a range of approaches to render these texts legitimate, consistent, and elegant in the eyes and ears of their audience.

On one end of the spectrum, the Khmer translators-cum-authors deliberately foreignize such texts by emphasizing particular Pali words, expressions, and stanzas. In some cases, they rely on the techniques used in bilingual Pali-vernacular texts to incorporate whole Pali phrases into their Khmer stanzas. In other instances, they simply include an inflected Pali word or two. In some cases, they add Pali words to a text originally composed in Khmer, lending it an aura of scriptural authority. These deliberate moments of foreignization in a fluent vernacular text serve to legitimate it through the use of specific technical terms, ritual invocations, and textual citations. On the other end of the spectrum, texts translated into Khmer verse from Tai source texts take a stridently domesticating approach that effaces the Tai terms, concepts, and especially toponyms of the originals. These translations domesticate foreign verse texts into the Khmer context to the extent that their Siamese, Lao, or Lanna origins are hidden in most manuscripts.

Beyond these examples of foreignization and domestication, a third translation process appears to be at work in many Khmer verse texts. This process cannot be adequately described as either foreignizing or domesticating, as it embraces aspects of each. Since many of the Pali and Tai originals are chanted texts, or at least were encountered as such by the

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<sup>5</sup> Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984).

Khmer scholars who translated them, their renditions into Khmer verse often attempt to replicate their length, meter, rhythm, and other performative qualities. In this sense, these Khmer versions aim for performative parity, that is, the capacity to perform the target text much in the same way as the source text. In Peter Low's terms, they craft "singable translations," i.e. translations that retain much of the singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm, and rhyme of the source text.<sup>6</sup>

Some authors seek performative parity by creating fully bilingual Pali-Khmer verse texts, where the Khmer portions match the Pali in structure and content, though with explanations and elaborations added as appropriate. Other authors match their Khmer translations to the structure and length of the Tai source texts. Still other Khmer verse texts bear traces of a multilayered process of translating to and from Khmer, Pali, Siamese, and Vietnamese, drawing on both domesticating and foreignizing approaches to create a relatively consistent performance practice across languages.

This chapter examines each of these three processes of translation in turn, beginning with foreignizing translations of Pali texts, then examining domesticating translations of Tai texts, and finally reflecting on translations that emphasize performative parity. In each case, I focus on only a limited number of examples that show these processes most clearly. Almost all of the texts in the corpus, however, are products of translation in more or less direct ways. They are attempts to make translocal Buddhist concepts locally cogent in Cambodia. In that sense they are, to borrow a term from Borges, "consubstantial" to Buddhism itself as a tradition predicated on the possibility of such translations. Like the previous two chapters, this chapter articulates the centrality of translation for the transmission and interpretation of Buddhist texts over the centuries.

## **7.2 Foreignizing Khmer Verse with Pali**

The most prominent foreignizing technique when rendering Buddhist texts into Khmer verse is to incorporate whole Pali syllables, words, and even phrases into the text. The inclusion of such elements from Pali in a Khmer text emphasizes the latter's dependance on the literary and doctrinal territory of the former. Although the text as a whole is still rendered in the local tongue, such Pali extrusions thrust the translocal context into plain view. They remind readers and listeners that the authority of the local text depends on its connection to a foreign tradition, removed from the immediacy of the vernacular. Pali syllables, words, and phrases that appear in Khmer verse texts are always the remnants of a source text. They appear even in cases when the Khmer text is not a direct translation of any particular Pali text. Most of the examples I analyze in 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 are original compositions in Khmer, while those I address in 7.2.3 are translations of Pali texts. No matter their source, however, the moments when Pali elements poke through the surface of a Khmer text highlight the foreignizing choices made by the author or translator.

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Low, "Singable Translations of Songs," *Perspectives* 11, no. 2 (2003): 87–103.

Perhaps most ubiquitous and also most ambiguous among such Pali ejecta in Khmer verse texts are isolated inflected Pali words and uninflected “heart” syllables (Khmer: *paṅtūl*; Thai *hwǎ caí*). These are typically technical doctrinal terms that appear at the beginning or middle of texts. They are also usually followed by a vernacular gloss. Another situation where Pali appears in a Khmer poem is an opening invocation in fully inflected Pali. These are typically quite short and only occur in the opening lines of a text, typically followed by an expanded vernacular gloss. A third type of Pali ejecta are integrated Pali phrases scattered throughout the Khmer text. These may appear with or without vernacular gloss, and sometimes include complete stanzas in Pali, usually fit into the constraints of the vernacular meter used for the rest of the text rather than Pali prosody. The subsections that follow analyze each of these three forms taken by Pali words and phrases in Khmer verse texts.

These foreignizing techniques are not unique to Khmer texts. Buddhist verse texts in Lao, Lanna, and Siamese frequently incorporate a variety of short inflected Pali words and phrases. By “inflected,” I refer to Pali words and phrase that appear not in their stem or citation forms but rather in declined or conjugated forms. Pali and Sanskrit loanwords contribute a significant percentage of the lexicon of these Southeast Asian languages. However, most of these loanwords are nouns or adjectives that are incorporated into Khmer and Tai in their citation form only. Indic participles occasionally appear as loanwords, and finite verb forms are rare. Therefore, despite the preponderance of Indic loanwords, inflected Pali words and phrases still stand out as distinctly “Indic” (locally referred to as *pālī-saṅskṛit* in Khmer and Tai contexts).

Nevertheless, ambiguity still arises between true inflected Pali words and regular loanwords. One complicating factor in making this distinction lies in the tendency for verse texts to modify the final vowel of Indic words for metrical or euphonic reasons. The final syllable of Indic words ending with a short *-a* vowel (e.g. *kamma*), and sometimes also short *-u* and *-i* vowels (e.g. *hetu* or *jāti*), are usually suppressed when used as loanwords, so these metrical and euphonic extensions stand out in pronunciation. Some of these modified Indic words have become standard loanwords themselves. For instance, Sanskrit *sneha* (“oiliness; love”) becomes both *sne(h)* and *snehā* in Khmer. The extension of final *-a* to *-ā* is the most common of these modifications. The switch from *-a* to *-ā* usually does not imply a change in number, gender, or case. The same is true for the common switch from *-i* to *-ī* (e.g. *ṛddhi* to *ṛddhī*). Less frequent and more confusing are changes from *-a* to *-o*, *-e*, *-assa*, or *-aṃ* (e.g. *buddha* to *buddho*, *buddhe*, *buddhassa*, or *buddhaṃ*). Since these changes could imply a shift in number, gender, or case, they require close examination to determine their grammatical relationship to other words in the sentence. In some instances, these endings are not merely metrical or euphonic; they reflect the appropriate Pali case ending for the grammatical function of the word in question. In other places, particularly when *-aṃ* replaces *-a*, they may emphasize the appropriate gender (typically neuter) of the Pali loanword rather than its case.

### 7.2.1 *Isolated Pali Words and Syllables*

Pali technical terms and syllables frequently appear in Khmer verse texts in isolated or inflected forms. In some cases, the poet makes clear that the Pali elements being used are

specific technical terms. For example, in **kāyagatā-k** (“Body-connected foundation of awareness”), stanza 25, line 1, the text reads *kāyā rī khluon* or “*kāyā*—as for the body[-contemplating foundation of awareness], it...”<sup>7</sup> The use of the particle for the nominative case (*rī*) between the vowel-lengthened version of the Pali word for “body” (*kāyā* < *kāya*) and one of its Khmer equivalents (*khluon*) establishes *kāyā* as a technical Pali term and *khluon* as the beginning of a Khmer gloss. The same structure appears in **bāky prakās mun ārāghanā dhammadesanā-br** (“Announcement prior to inviting to preach the Dhamma”), stanza 1, line 1: *ahaṃ rī khñuṃ mcās*’ (“*ahaṃ*—as for me, servant of the Master, I...”)<sup>8</sup> In both cases, the grammatical particle *rī*, drawn from the genre of bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts discussed in the preceding chapter, intervenes between the conspicuous Pali term and its Khmer equivalent.

In other texts in the corpus, however, Pali terms appear without the supporting edifice of such grammatical particles. For instance, in the first three stanzas of **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘Painful is this body!’, old version”) a number of Pali terms appear in inflected form, including *rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ* (“painful is [this] body” or “form is suffering”), *aniccam* (“impermanent”), and *anattā* (“no self”). Each term is followed by a stanza-long rumination on it:

<p>១</p> <p><i>rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ</i>  <i>ទុក្ខអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង</i>  <i>ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ</i>  <i>ពិត្តចដល់ធំ</i>  <i>ទុក្ខដ៏ក្នុងប្រាណ</i>  <i>ទុក្ខគិតស្រាកស្រាន្ត</i>  <i>ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ ។</i></p> <p>២</p> <p><i>aniccam</i> ពុំស្ថិតិ  <i>ពុំស្ថេរនៅនិត្យ</i>  <i>យីនយូរឡើយនៃ</i>  <i>ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច</i>  <i>អសោចពេកក្រៃ</i>  <i>ផ្អែងសាច់សសៃ</i>  <i>ជាព្រះធរណី ។</i></p> <p>៣</p> <p><i>anattā</i> សូន្យសោៈ</p>	<p>1</p> <p>Painful is this body!          Such pain, great pain,          beyond measure!          Whether young or old,          pain boils within,          without relief,          and leads to death.</p> <p>2</p> <p>Impermanent! Not long,          not long at all,          how transient!          Once dead, just your          foul corpse remains.          Flesh, bone, and sinew          all turn to earth.</p> <p>3</p> <p>No self! Nothing,</p>
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<sup>7</sup> *កាយវិទ្ធិន*; the manuscripts (UB014 and UB015) read *កាយវិទ្ធិន្ត*

<sup>8</sup> UB036 55b

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សុន្ទរូបសុន្ទរឈ្មោះ	no form, no name,
សុន្ទរសព្វសញ្ញា	no recognition,
សុន្ទរយសសក្តា	no fame, no rank
ធិការសោភ័	high or lofty;
សុន្ទរអស់ឥទ្ធិយ័	vitality
មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។	and wealth—all gone.

These reflections on the Pali terms are not direct glosses. They do not attempt to reduce the extruded Pali terms down to a single Khmer word or phrase. Instead, they hint at the broader semantic fields and doctrinal connotations of these key Pali words. The cool abstraction of *rūpam dukkham* transforms into how “pain boils within, / without relief.” The technical doctrine of *anattā* is brought to life as the total loss of all that is dear: “vitality / and wealth—all gone.” The Pali terms initiate each line, grounding the text in Buddhist scripture. The vernacular expansions make immediate the real-life consequences of the doctrine of the three marks of suffering, impermanence, and the lack of an abiding self.

Another text, **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, what a shock, what a fright!’”) includes the same set of Pali terms, once again foreignized through the use of Pali grammatical inflections. The use of inflected Pali reads as if the terms were lifted directly from a line of scripture or a monk’s sermon. These terms are immediately followed by direct glosses (“impermanent” for *aniccam*, “not-self” for *anattā*, etc.) and subsequently by more extensive reflections that hint at the broader semantic fields of the Pali terms. The first five stanzas of this text are as follows:

១	1
ឱ៖ឱគួរសង្វេគ	Alas, what a shock, what a fright!
អាសូរពេករូបរាងកាយ	Pity the bodies
ប្រុសស្រីផងទាំងឡាយ	of men and women,
តែងបែកធ្លាយជាធម្មតា ។	always falling apart, as is their nature.
២	2
ក្មេងចាស់មិនកំណត់	Whether they be young or old,
តាមដោយបទបាលីថា	they follow the Pali words
<i>aniccam</i> និង <i>dukkhā</i>	<i>aniccam</i> , <i>dukkhā</i> ,
<i>anattā</i> បីនេះមិញ ។	and <i>anattā</i> —just these three.
៣	3
<i>aniccam</i> ថាមិនទៀង	<i>Aniccam</i> means impermanent,
កើតហើយល្បឿងស្លាប់ទៅវិញ	as once born, we slip toward death.
<i>dukkham</i> ទុក្ខពោរពេញ	<i>Dukkham</i> means thoroughly painful,



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ឥតស្រាកស្រាន្តគ្មានទំនេរ។	without any rest or relief.
៤	4
anattā មិនមែនខ្លួន	Anattā means not-self,
មិនខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួនឥតខ្ចីមទេ	without continuity or essence,
សូន្យសោះទាំងយើងគេ	the complete erasure of self and other,
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ចោលទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ។	and the loss of all our belongings,
៥	5
មាតានឹងបិតា	our mother, our father,
បុត្រករិយាសឹងខ្មាយខ្ចាត់	our children, and our spouse—all shall be scattered away.
នេះឯងហោរិបត្តិ	This is the real crisis
គ្រប់រូបសត្វក្នុងត្រៃលោក។	for the beings in the three worlds.

In the second line of the second stanza, the Pali terms are explicitly introduced as just that: *pad pālī* (“Pali words”). These foreign terms are thus explicitly not domesticated into the text. The vernacular explanations are just as vivid as in the previous example; *aniccam* becomes “once born, we slip toward death” and *anattā* “the complete erasure of self and other.” The overall effect, however, is one that makes the Pali elements stand in sharp contrast to the vernacular ones.

Other texts make the position of Pali terms as foreign even more explicit. One way they accomplish this is through the use of verbs that mean “to translate” such as *prè*. A text that frequently employs *prè* in this function is **jäy bar 10-m** (“Victory blessings of ten kinds”). This chant, while not translated from any particular Pali text, invokes a concept of ten blessings or *bar* (Pali *vara*). To fit these blessings into a Pali mold, it calls the first blessing *ekabarā*, the second *dvibarā*, and so on and so forth. The move from *vara/bara* to *barā*, while not grammatically appropriate for a singular masculine *-a* noun in the nominative case in Pali, nevertheless sounds like Pali from the perspective of Khmer. Moreover, the poetic meter used in this text demands that *ekabarā* and the like are pronounced in four separate syllables, *e-ka-ba-rā*, in a fashion usually reserved for Pali texts in Cambodia. Each time *ekabarā*, *dvibarā*, etc. are mentioned, the text follows with the phrase *pālī prè thā*, meaning “Pali for [i.e. which translates as] ‘the first/second/etc. blessing,’” and then a vernacular account of the particular blessing invoked. For instance, stanzas 5 through 9 of **jäy bar 10-m** run as follows:

៥	5
ឥសីកស្សប	Kassapa, the seer,
លោកឲ្យពរដប់ពោធិ	bestowed these ten blessings of awakening
តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី	that were long established in him as a sage:
ekabarā បាលីប្រថាពរមួយ	Ekabarā, Pali for “the first blessing”—

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៦	6
ឲ្យមានកម្លាំង	may you have vigor
ស្មារតី ក្លាខ្លាំងក្រៃយ	and strong mental presence, without fear.
ចែងចប់ពរមួយ	Here ends the first blessing
តាមដោយបន្ទូលព្រះមុនី ។	in accordance with the words of the sage.
៧	7
<i>dvibarā</i>	<i>Dvibarā,</i>
បាលីប្រថាពរពីរ	Pali for “the second blessing,”
តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី	established by the sage—
ចម្រើនវុឌ្ឍិសុខសាន្ត	may your prosperity increase in bliss and peace.
៨	8
ធនធានរបស់	As for your wealth and riches,
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់ស្រែកឃ្មាន	may they never run out and may you never hunger or thirst.
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មាន	Whatever pain and fault might exist,
កុំឲ្យបៀតបៀនឡើយនៃ ។	may they never bother you.
៩	9
<i>tatibarā</i>	<i>Tatibarā,</i>
បាលីប្រថាពរបី	Pali for “the third blessing”—
សូមសុខសួស្តី	may you be happy and fortunate,
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន ។	endowed with merit that never leaves your being.

In this passage, the Pali words are not fossilized artifacts of a source text protruding into the Khmer, but instead deliberate invocations of the prestige foreignized Pali terms can lend a Khmer verse text. This is all the more striking in a text that is often considered “Brahmanist” rather than “Buddhist” in contemporary Cambodia, since it petitions for blessings not from the Buddha but from rather a Brahmanical seer or *ṛṣi* (Pali *īsi*).<sup>9</sup> Though this seer is not explicitly made a Buddhist figure, his blessings are nevertheless enumerated in Pali rather than Khmer or Sanskrit.

Moreover, in the final stanza of **jāy bar 10-m**, the text recalls a line from *Dhammapada-atthakathā* frequently recited by monks when offering blessings to the laity: *icchitam patthitam tumham khippam eva samijjhatu* (“whatever you wish and pray for, may it swiftly be

<sup>9</sup> On the contemporary usage of “Buddhist” and “Brahmanist” in Cambodia, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 217–226. For Davis, Buddhism depends on the maintenance of a Brahmanist other for its social power.

achieved”).<sup>10</sup> The last stanza of the Khmer text focuses just on two Pali words from this line: *icchitam* and *hippam*:

<p>២២  <i>icchitam</i> ប្រើថា          សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នារាល់ប្រាណ  <i>hippam</i> សូមឲ្យបាន          សម្រេចនិព្វានទៀងប្រាកដហោង ។</p>	<p>22  <i>Icchitam</i> (“what is wished for”) translates as          “the aspiration” of all beings.  <i>Khippam</i> (“swiftly”)—may you be able to          achieve Nibbāna, the real and true.</p>
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This stanza is not exactly a translation of the Pali line. Yet it clearly and concisely captures the two central concepts: “may what you wish for (*icchitam*) be swiftly (*hippam*) attained.” *Icchitam* is followed by *prè thā* (“translates as”), again an explicit marker of the foreign nature of the term. *Khippam*, however, receives no gloss at all, and the vernacular text that follows emphasizes a boon to simply “achieve” (Khmer *samrec*, Pali *samijjhatu*) one’s wishes rather than achieve them “swiftly.” In addition, the Khmer stanza makes a narrow interpretation of what *icchitam* means; rather than including all potential wishes or prayers, it focuses solely on the achievement of Nibbāna (presumably as an arhat). In incorporating not only isolated Pali words but also the echo of an entire line in Pali, this example goes beyond the texts that cite the Pali terms for the three marks. Thus this stanza highlights certain words as Pali and not Khmer, while connecting these words to the implied context of an entire sentence in Pali.

The incorporation of entire Pali phrases and sentences is the subject of the following two subsections. However, there is one additional example of more isolated Pali elements in Khmer verse texts to be addressed, namely that of individual Pali syllables. As discussed in Chapter 1, these “heart syllables” harness the potency thought to be latent in the phonology of Pali while also standing in for various aspects of Buddhist doctrine. According to some Khmer texts, these syllables are the literal components from which the universe, including the bodies and minds of living beings, are constructed. Some Khmer texts focus just on the syllables that pertain to particular doctrines or scriptures, for instance the heart syllables representing each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma (*dha, vi, dhā, pu, ka, ya, pa*, based on the first syllable of the titles of each of the books, viz. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī, Vibhaṅga*, etc.). Other texts attempt to account for all or at least a section of the letters in the Pali syllabic alphabet. While this set of sounds is essentially shared with vernacular Khmer, its isolation into specific syllables has the function of rendering each as a technical term in Pali. Each such syllable compresses a wealth of power and doctrines within it. Just as in the case of isolated Pali words, such syllables are

<sup>10</sup> The same Pali phrase shows up elsewhere in the leporello corpus. See, for example, **UB007** 36b: ព- ទីបំផុតនៃជាតិ សូមឲ្យបានសម្រេចមគ្គ-ផល ដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន *yaṃ yaṃ icchitam taṃ taṃkhippamevasamijjhatu* សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នារបស់ខ្ញុំនេះសូមឲ្យបានសម្រេច ដោយឆាប់រហ័សនូវនិព្វាន កុំបីឃ្លាតក្លាយជាប្រការ:ដទៃឡើយ។ Kourilsky, “La place des ascendants familiaux dans le bouddhisme des Lao,” 205.

then unpacked in Khmer.

One text of this type is **namo namassakār-br** (“*Namo* pays homage”). The first three stanzas give an explanation of the first syllables of the Khmer alphabet, beginning with *namo buddhāya siddham a ā i ī*:

<p>១  <i>namo</i> នមស្សការ  <i>គុណមាតាបិតាថ្ងៃ</i>  <i>bu</i> គុណធម៌វិស័យ  <i>ddhā</i> នោះនៃគុណញាតិផង ។</p>	<p>1  <i>Namo</i> pays homage  to the virtue of my precious parents.  <i>Bu</i> is the virtue of the Dharma.  <i>Ddhā</i> is the virtue of my relatives.</p>
<p>២  <i>ḥya</i> គឺគុណគ្រូ  ព្រះសព្វញ្ញថ្ងៃចែងចង  ទុកឲ្យមនុស្សសត្វផង  ថ្វាយបង្គំជាប្រក្រតី ។</p>	<p>2  The syllable <i>ya</i> is the virtue of my teachers.  The precious Omniscient One devised these  for all humans and other beings  to pay homage to every day.</p>
<p>៣  <i>si</i> ជាបរមត្ថ  <i>ddham</i> លោកចាត់ជាវិន័យ  <i>ī a ā i ī</i>  ទុកជានិយមព្រះសូត្រតែង ។</p>	<p>3  The syllable <i>si</i> is the Paramattha [i.e the Abhidhamma-piṭaka].  He established <i>ddham</i> as the Vinaya[-piṭaka].  As for <i>a</i>, <i>ā</i>, <i>i</i>, and <i>ī</i>,  they stand for the Sūtra[-piṭaka].</p>

In this passage, each Pali syllable is followed by an articulation of what *guṇ* (“virtue, legacy”) it represents. *Bu* captures the virtue of the Dharma, *ddhā* that of one’s relatives, and so on. These isolated Pali syllables are incorporated into the text as simple nouns; even a grammatical phrase like *namo buddhāya* (“homage to the Buddha”) is broken up into its constituent syllables, such that any semantic continuity is lost. The emphasis shifts to the Pali syllables as foreign technical terms, terms that require explanations in Khmer to be accessible to the listeners.

A similar approach appears in **akkharā 33-br** (“The thirty-three consonants”). Rather than starting from *namo buddhāya siddham*, this text focuses on the thirty-three consonants of Pali, beginning with *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, etc. Each of these consonantal syllables is connected to the *guṇ* of one’s father or mother. Stanzas 39–40 make clear which letters are the legacy of which parent:

<p>៣៩  អក្ខរាទាំងម្ភៃមួយ  បិតាឲ្យមកខ្ញុំនៃ  ពី <i>ka</i> ដល់ <i>dha</i> ថ្ងៃ</p>	<p>39  Twenty-one letters  were given to me by my father.  From <i>ka</i> to precious <i>dha</i></p>
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ចំណែកពីបិតាដែល ។	are from my father's side.
៤០	40
រី <i>na</i> ត្ថុអក្សរ ដល់	As for the letters <i>na</i> to
ត្រឹម <i>ha</i> ជាដំណែល	<i>ha</i> , these are the inheritance
ដំណើរមាតាដែល	from my mother, which
អ្នកប្រទានទុកឲ្យខ្ញុំ ។	she bequeathed to me.

The main body of the text, however, is focused on connecting each Pali syllable with a particular part of the body. This portion of the text begins in stanzas 10–12:

១០	10
<i>kāye</i> ប្រែថាខ្លួន	<i>Kāye</i> translates as “body.”
មានម្ហូររាល់រូបា	In other words, the following exists in all bodies:
<i>ka</i> កើតជា <i>kesā</i>	<i>Ka</i> is born as <i>kesā</i> ,
សក់សោតណាកំណត់មាន ។	that is, head hair, whose numbers are limited.
១១	11
ឯរោមប្រាំបួនកោដិ	Body hairs number nine hundred million,
ឯសក់សោតប្រាំបួនលាន	but head hairs number nine million.
រាល់គ្នាសឹងតែមាន	Everyone has just this much,
លោកកំណត់ប៉ុណ្ណឹងមក ។	as the masters decreed it so.
១២	12
<i>lomā kha</i> ពន្លឹក	<i>Lomā</i> is the sprout of <i>kha</i> ,
រោមសៀតសិកសព្វកាយា	that is body hair, which penetrates the whole body.
<i>ga</i> តាប់កើត <i>nakhā</i>	<i>Ga</i> is born as <i>nakhā</i> ,
ក្រចកណាទាំងម្ភៃ ។	namely the nails, twenty in all.

These stanzas set the pattern for the central portion of the text, up to stanza 37. The text introduces a Pali syllable (e.g. *ka*) and then pairs with a part of the body (head hair), which is first in Pali (*kesā*) and then in vernacular gloss, often with additional commentary (“Body hairs number nine hundred million, / but head hairs number nine million.”). These Khmer explanations are one layer removed from the Pali syllables themselves, since they are mediated by another foreignizing choice, that is, the use the Pali terms for the parts of the body. This choice, in turn, like that witnessed in **jăy bar 10-m** above, echoes an implied passage from the Pali scriptures.

In this case, the passage is the pericope, frequently occurring in the Pali canon, that enumerates the parts of the body, beginning, *atthi imasmim kāye kesā lomā nakhā...* (in this body,

[there are] head hairs, body hairs, nails...”).<sup>11</sup> The *kāye* in the Pali pericope is picked up in the first line of stanza 10. The locative form here is not remarked upon in the Khmer gloss, which translates *kāye* simply as “body” (*khluon*) rather than “in the body.” Nevertheless, the effect is the same as witnessed with *icchitam... khippam* above, with a well-known and frequently recited Pali passage invoked just by the presence of two sequential, albeit nonconsecutive, Pali words incorporated into the Khmer text, namely *kāye... kesā*. The foreignizing import is clear: the authors of this Khmer text draw on the authority of Pali syllables (such as *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, etc.), terms (*kesā*, *lomā*, *nakhā*, etc.) and even implied scriptural passages (*kāye... kesā*) to make their vernacular poem resound with the tenor and authority of the Pali texts it adapts and reshapes.

### 7.2.2 Opening Invocations in Pali

Moving beyond isolated Pali syllables and words, some Khmer verse texts incorporate whole Pali phrases. In this subsection, I consider Khmer texts that are generally not translations of Pali originals, but nonetheless incorporate these foreignized phrases as a means of legitimizing their vernacular content. The use of Pali phrases in these texts reflects both the prestige of Pali as the language of scripture as well as its efficacy as the medium of magical incantations.

One of the most common forms such Pali passages takes is as an opening invocation, typically either to the Buddha alone or to the Buddha along with the Dharma and the Sangha. In some cases, teachers, parents, and a variety of Brahmanical deities and local spirits may be invoked as well. In the leprelle corpus, these invocations tend to be quite short, no more than a line or two. But they draw on a long-established convention in Khmer and Tai literature that places such invocations at the beginning of texts.<sup>12</sup>

Santi Pakdeekham argues that an important innovation in classical Khmer literature was to compose these opening invocations (known as *praṇṇāmabaca(n)* in Thai) in Pali instead of the vernacular.<sup>13</sup> The beginning of *Marāṇamātā*, a Khmer verse novel attributed to Braḥ Dhammapaññā Uk in 1881,<sup>14</sup> provides a particularly voluminous example.<sup>15</sup> In this case the author has composed an invocation, using entirely Pali words, that fits within the syllable and

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**. See also my previous discussion of translations of this passage in Chapter 6 (see *supra*, 362–363).

<sup>12</sup> Such opening invocations are of course rooted in Indian practices, though they take on a particular set of conventions of Khmer-Tai literature. For Central Thai examples, see Trisilpa Boonkhachorn ตรีศิลป์ บุญขจร, *Vañṇakaṛm praḥbhed klan svat bhāg klāñ: kār śikṣā jññ vigroh(h) วรรณกรรมประเภทกลอนสวดภาคกลาง: การศึกษาเชิงวิเคราะห์*, 122–124.

<sup>13</sup> Santi Pakdeekham सानติ ปักดีคำ, “Raay<sub>2</sub> kraan pālī nai praṇṇāmabaca(n) khmer: navātakāṛm vaṇṇagaṭī khmer dī<sub>1</sub> mai<sub>1</sub> prākaṭ nai ‘khnep’ vaṇṇagaṭī daiy ร้อยกรองบาลีในประณามพจน์เขมร: นวัตกรรมวรรณคดีเขมรที่ไม่ปรากฏใน ‘ขนบ’ วรรณคดีไทย,” *Damrong: Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology ดำรงวิชาการ* 2, no. 4 (2546): 38–45. See also Chanchai Khongphianthum ขาญชัย คงเพียรธรรม, “Khnep kār praṇṇāmabaca(n) nai vaṇṇagaṭī khmer ขนบการประณามพจน์ในวรรณคดีเขมร (The Literary Convention of Invocations in Khmer Literature),” *Humanities Journal วารสารมนุษยศาสตร์ (มหาวิทยาลัยเกษตรศาสตร์)* 18, no. 2 (2554): 37–52.

<sup>14</sup> For the dating of this text, Sei Sobhā សេង់ សោត, “Sāstrā lpeñ សាស្ត្រាណុយ័ន.”

<sup>15</sup> Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Marāṇamātā មរណមាតា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2507), 1. For an alternative (Thai) translation of this passage, see Chanchai Khongphianthum ขาญชัย คงเพียรธรรม, “Khnep kār praṇṇāmabaca(n) nai vaṇṇagaṭī khmer ขนบการประณามพจน์ในวรรณคดีเขมร (The Literary Convention of Invocations in Khmer Literature),” 40.

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rhyme requirements of the Khmer *kākagati* meter. It comprises just the first three stanzas, after which the text continues in Khmer.

1	1
<i>namāmi'haṃ</i>	I bow down
<i>abhivandaṃ</i>	in homage to
<i>susambuddho</i>	the excellent Buddha,
<i>lokanātha</i>	Lord of the worlds,
<i>varaṇṇāno</i>	of excellent insight
<i>ñānuttamo</i>	and supreme wisdom,
<i>tam pi buddhaṃ.</i>	to that Buddha.
2	2
<i>namakkāra dhammo</i>	I pay homage to the Dhamma,
<i>guṇābhīyutto</i>	endowed with virtues,
<i>yathā dīpaṃ</i>	just like a lamp,
<i>dīpo loka</i>	like a lamp for the world,
<i>viya yānaṃ</i>	like a vehicle,
<i>sugambhīraṃ</i>	wonderfully deep,
<i>viya nāvā.</i>	like a vessel.
3	3
<i>namakkāraṃ</i>	I pay homage to
<i>saṅghaṇaṃ</i>	the virtues of the Sangha,
<i>santindriyā</i>	whose senses are stilled,
<i>anuttaraṃ</i>	who are the supreme
<i>khettaṃ janā</i>	field of merit
<i>lokaṇṇā</i>	for the people of the world.
<i>sadā sotthī.</i>	May there always be prosperity!

Although the words are in Pali, the grammar is resolutely Khmer. The author generally ignores the rules of Pali declension and conjugation to produce a text that fits the metrical demands of the *kākagati* meter.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the text is quite intelligible to Khmer readers with a decent exposure to Pali. Uk's invocation manages to domesticate Pali into a Khmer poem, rather than the other way around.

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<sup>16</sup> Saveros Pou calls this use of Pali in Khmer texts “khméro-pāli” (Saveros Pou, *Guirlande de cpāp'*, vol. II (Paris: Cedoreck, 1988), 207). For an example of such a passage, see Pou, *Guirlande de cpāp'*, vol. II, 232–233 (the Khmer-script text appears on page 40 of Saveros Pou, *Guirlande de cpāp'*, vol. I (Paris: Cedoreck, 1988)). For more on Pou's approach to “khméro-pāli” texts, see Saveros Pou, “Sanskrit, Pāli and Khmero-Pāli in Cambodia,” in *Choix d'articles de khmerologie / Selected Papers on Khmerology* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), 281–98.

By contrast, most of the short invocations in Pali appearing in texts in the leporellos are in perfectly grammatical Pali. For instance, **kāyagatā-k** (“Body-connected foundation of awareness”) begins with the following invocation:

၅	1
<i>namāmi 'ham</i>	I pay homage!
ខ្ញុំខ្ចិនសិរសំ	I lower my head
បង្គំវិន្ទា	and bow in veneration,
តាំងចិត្តប្រព្រឹត្តិ	making a vow to practice
គិតគុណសទ្ធា	and reflect on the virtues of faith.

The Khmer gloss that follows the simple Pali expression of homage to the Buddha continues with the same theme of humble veneration. A similar approach appears at the beginning of **sarasör brah pād stām-k** (“In praise of the Buddha’s right foot”):

၅	1
<i>ukāsa pādayugalam</i>	Permit me! To the pair of feet
<i>namāmi 'ham</i>	I bow down.
ខ្ញុំសូមខ្ចិនអង្គ	I humbly bend my body
ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវាទ	bowing low in prostration
ព្រះបាទពុទ្ធវរាស្ស	to the feet of the Descendent of the Buddhas
តាំងគូរតន្ត្រី	to that pair, bejeweled and
រឿងប្រដូរដ៏វិញ្ញា	brilliant with powerful radiance.

Once again, the Pali invocation works grammatically, even if doesn’t quite fit in the metrical constraints of the *kāyagatī* meter. The rhyme works (i.e. ...*lam* rhymes with ...*'ham*), but the first line has too many syllables. To solve this, we could consider the *ukāsa* as separate from the invocation itself, though that would still leave *pādayugalam* with five syllables instead of the requisite four. Nevertheless, the Pali and Khmer portions of this stanza work in harmony, with the Khmer elaborating upon the act of devotion initiated by the Pali. The two lines in Pali, for their part, serve to link this Khmer text to its translocal context. It is possible that connecting to a broader, Pali-based context was important for the Khmer poet who created **sarasör brah pād stām-k** since, as we’ll see later on in this chapter, this text was in fact translated from Siamese. In any case, the bilingual invocation connects the poem to the authority of Pali texts and the efficacy of Pali chants.

Another text whose invocation connects it to implied Pali texts is **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (“Taking leave of sins, beginning with ‘Venerable Blessed One!’”). This text and



its implied Pali source are discussed further in Chapter 9. The opening lines of the Khmer poem run as follows:

<p>១  <i>bhante bhagavā</i>  <i>ខ្ញុំទូលបាទា</i>  <i>បង្គំកត្តី</i>  <i>ទសករទាំងដប់</i>  <i>ដាក់លើសិរសី</i>  <i>ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី</i>  <i>ទាំងបីសូមជ្រាប ។</i></p>	<p>1                  Venerable Blessed One!                  I place myself below your feet,                  bowing in devotion,                  with my ten fingers                  raised above my head                  in offering to the Glorious [Jewels],                  all three—may they be thus informed:</p>
<p>២  <i>អញខ្ញុំនេះណា</i>  <i>លាទោសអាក្ខា</i>  <i>កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃ</i></p>	<p>2                  I now take leave                  of my own faults, beginning from                  when I was inside the womb.</p>

The placement of the Pali words of homage, *bhante bhagavā*, serves two functions here. One reflects the foreignizing choices made in texts analyzed above, namely the use of Pali, followed by a more extended gloss in Khmer, to ground a vernacular text in the words of the scriptures. The other function is similar to that witnessed in **akkharā 33-br** and **jāy bar 10-m**: the invocation of a commonly recited Pali text with an equivalent function. The Pali text being invoked in this case is a short chant used in repentance rites, specifically when asking for repentance (Sanskrit *pāpadeśanā*) and mutual rejoicing in merit (*puṇyānumodanā*) from the Buddha.<sup>17</sup> The chant is recited during ordination rites prior to asking for forgiveness and rejoicing from one’s preceptor. In fact, the chants recited before one’s preceptor and before the Buddha are almost identical, the only exception being the addition of *bhagavā* after *bhante* in the first sentence.

*ukāsa vandāmi bhante bhagavā. sabbam aparādham khamatha me bhante.  
 mayā kataṃ puññaṃ sāmīnā anumoditabbaṃ.  
 sāmīnā kataṃ puññaṃ mayhaṃ dātābbaṃ.  
 sādhu sādhu anumodāmi.*<sup>18</sup>

Permit me, O Venerable Blessed One, I pay homage! O Venerable, forgive all of my

<sup>17</sup> For a description of the role of repentance and rejoicing in merit in the Mahāyāna practice of *saptavidhānuttarapūjā*, see Sangharakshita, *Ritual and Devotion in Buddhism: An Introduction*, Second Edition (Birmingham: Windhorse Publications, 2000), 81–94.

<sup>18</sup> Nuon Samān នួន សំអាន, *Ghippatipatti gharāvāsadharm śīrībujjītibhūti yakkasatthā* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnam beñ ពោធិ៍សាត់, 2547), 17.

faults.

Whatever merit has been done by me should be rejoiced in by my Master.

Whatever merit has been done by my Master should be given to me.

Excellent, excellent, I rejoice!

Since **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** is a repentance text, indeed one of few vernacular repentance texts that survive, it makes sense that it would draw on the most commonly recited Pali text of the same function in Cambodia for familiarity as well as authority. Thus when the Khmer text opens with *bhante bhagavā*, it does not merely mean “O Venerable Blessed One!” alone. By its association with the Pali chant, it forms a synecdoche for the entire recited text: “Permit me, O Venerable Blessed One, I pay homage! O Venerable, forgive all of my faults...” Hence the foreignizing choice made by the Khmer poet not only appeals to a linguistic sphere beyond that of Khmer, but also connects the vernacular poem to a specific Pali chant on the same theme.

### 7.2.3 Integrated Pali Phrases

Not all of the Pali phrases incorporated into Khmer verse texts occur in the opening stanzas or function as invocations. They may appear in the middle of the text, integrated into its semantic structure. In most cases, the Pali phrases are explained through vernacular glosses and explanations. In a few cases, however, the Pali phrases appear without any translation or commentary, as if to be understood as seamless with the text’s syntax. In these cases, the Khmer poem in question is usually a translation of a Pali text, and the Pali phrases incorporated are excerpts from that source text. However, in some cases, the Pali words do not appear to come from any particular root text. They are simply added by the poet to ground the Khmer text in the language of the scriptures.

One such Khmer poem is **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhando»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with “The aggregate of form”). Stanzas 7, 12, and 31 each show cases of the inclusion of untranslated Pali phrases that are essential to the structure of the Khmer sentences:

៧	7
<i>ayam kāyo</i>	<i>This body</i>
<i>duraṃ gato</i>	<i>shall be taken far away,</i>
ចោលរូបសោស្តុន្យ	to be abandoned completely.
ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅដល់	The fire element heats up
ធាតុខ្យល់ក្នុងខ្លួន	the wind element in the body,
ដង្ហើមផ្លូវនា	which breathes more and more,
ចេញច្រើនចូលតិច ។	exhaling much, inhaling little.

១២ 12

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អង្គ <i>attano</i>	<i>Our own</i> body
<i>eko anātho</i>	<i>is alone and without refuge,</i>
ឥតគេជាគ្នា	without companions.
ព្រលឹងក្នុងខ្លួន	The souls in the body
ឥតសូន្យរូបា	are left without a material base.
ចតុក្ខុតា	The four great elements
លាអ្នកទៅហើយ ។	depart from us.

ព្យា	31
ហៃ <i>sādhuvo</i>	O <i>pious ones,</i>
<i>sādhunaro</i>	O <i>good people,</i>
ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡើយ	both men and women!
ចូរត្រង់ចូរត្រាប់	Hark, lend an ear,
ចូរស្តាប់អភិប្រាយ	listen to this explanation
ព្រះធម៌មិនងាយ	of the difficult Dharma,
ពន្លឹកបរមត្ថ ។	the sprout of the ultimate.

In each of these three stanzas, the Pali phrases are essential to the syntactical structure. We cannot understand the Khmer “to be abandoned completely” in stanza 7 without the Pali *ayam kāyo duram gato* (“This body / shall be taken far away”) that precedes it. Likewise the “body” in the first line of stanza 12 does not make sense without the inflected Pali words that surround it, including the genitive singular form of *attā* (*attano*) and the nominative singular forms of *eka* and *anātha* (*eko* and *anātho*, respectively) that surround it. The Pali phrases, in these cases, do not seem to be drawn from any particular Pali text. They are simply a foreignizing choice made by the poet to render these verses in way that connects them to Buddhism beyond the vernacular.

The Pali phrase in the stanzas above from **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhando»-k** almost seem selected at random. In other Khmer verse texts, very specific Pali phrases may be chosen to emphasize the grammatical structure of the text. This is much more often the case when the Khmer is a direct translation of a Pali source. One such example appears in the closing stanzas of **Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br** (“Stanzas on the eight victories, Pali with Khmer translation”), of which the Khmer verses are the work of Suttantapriyā Ind, likely composed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. This text is structured as nine stanzas in Pali, with each stanza followed by a four-stanza rendering into Khmer, making a total of 36 stanzas in Khmer. The ninth stanza in Pali and the last four in Khmer run as follows:

9  
*etāpi buddhajayamaṅgala-aṭṭhagāthā*

9  
*These are the eight verses of the blessings of the victories of the Buddha.*

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<i>yo vācano dinadine sarate-m-atandī</i>	<i>An intelligent and diligent person who recites and recalls them daily</i>
<i>hitvānanekavivīdhāni c'upaddavāni</i>	<i>eradicates all manner of calamities</i>
<i>mokkham sukham adhigameyya naro sapañño.</i>	<i>and achieves blissful liberation.</i>
ពព	33
<i>yo naro ជនឯណា</i>	<i>Yo naro—any person</i>
កបបញ្ញាប្រាសក្តិខ្លិល	endowed with intelligence, bereft of laziness,
ឧស្សហ៍សាងទាននៃសីល	who strives to cultivate charity and ethics,
សូត្ររំលឹកព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃ ។	and recites and recalls the precious Dharma
ព្រ	34
គាថាប្រាំបីបទនេះ	of these eight stanzas of verse
កំណត់ឈ្មោះពុទ្ធជ័យ	named “Victories of the Buddha,”
ខំសូត្រសព្វៗ ថ្ងៃ	striving to recite them every day,
កើតមង្គលជានិរន្តរ៍ ។	gives rise to blessings forever.
ព្រ	35
<i>so naro រឺជននោះ</i>	<i>So naro—as for such a person,</i>
បាទរដោះរោគអាសន្ន	he is freed from sudden diseases
ឧបទ្រពអនេកលន័	and all manner of calamities
មានប្រការផ្សេងៗ ផង ។	of various kinds,
ព្រ	36
នឹកដល់ធម៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត	and recollects that peaceful Dharma,
គីនិព្វានសុខកន្លង	that is, Nibbāna, of surpassing bliss,
លែងទុក្ខទាំង៤កង	freed from the four types of suffering
ដោយពុទ្ធជ័យមង្គលនេះ ។	by means of the “Blessings of the Victories of the Buddha.”

The Pali stanzas of the *Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā*, probably composed in twelfth- or thirteenth-century Sri Lanka, are composed in highly ornate verse. Ind’s Khmer stanzas neatly divide the Pali into two parts of two lines each. The relative-correlative structure is not explicit in Pali, which reads *yo... naro*, rather than *yo naro... so* (“any person who... he”) or *yo... so naro* (“anyone who... such a person”), etc. Suttantapriyā Ind not only makes the relative and correlative parts of the Pali stanza correspond to stanza 33–34 and 35–36, respectively, but he makes this choice explicit by adding the full Pali relative correlative structure into his vernacular text. In other words, he begins stanza 33 with *yo naro* (“any person who...”) and stanza 35 with *so naro* (“such a person...”). This foreignizing translation not only brings Pali phrases into the text but also adds Pali words that were only implicit in the original. In so doing, his translation references both the Pali words themselves and their grammatical analysis. This syntactical restructuring of the text, along with the use of the particle *nī* for the gloss *so naro*, echoes the techniques used in the fully and partially bilingual prose texts explored in the previous chapter (see *supra*, 317–378).

Sometimes Khmer verse texts, as seen in the case of the opening invocation to the verse novel *Marañamātā* above, incorporate whole Pali stanzas into their metrical structure. The *Marañamātā* excerpt did this by composing Pali in the Khmer *kāḅagati* meter. A text in the leporello corpus, **jāy bar puon-m** (“Victory blessings of four kinds”), does this by composing a single stanza in the *maṅḅukagati* meter. The passage in question appears in stanzas 5–7 of this text:

៥	5
ទើបព្រះឥសី	Then the seer
ចំរើននូវព្រះវុទ្ធិពរផង	gave these blessings of the Buddha:
សូមពរនេះផង	“May these blessings
បានដូចសេចក្តីព្រាថ្នា	be in accordance with your wishes.”
៦	6
អ្នកស្តាប់បន្ទូលហើយ	The listener received these words
អ្នកទទួលត្រេកអរ	and rejoiced
ភ្ញីតមាសពរ	as a result of a blessing
ពីព្រះឥសីចេស្តា	from the majestic seer:
៧	7
<i>āyu vannaṃ</i>	“May longevity, complexion,
<i>sukhaṃ balaṃ yāvā</i>	well-being, vigor,
<i>sirīmātā</i>	glory, and
<i>siddhī bhavantu te</i>	success come to you!”

The Pali stanzas here seem to draw from a number of common chanted blessings, yet are combined together into an original stanza that reads quite cogently in Pali while fitting the constraints of the *maṅḅukagati* meter. The stanzas that follow then unpack the meaning of these blessings in the vernacular. As in the case of **jāy bar 10-m**, a “Brahmanist” seer gives blessings articulated or enumerated in Pali. The Pali sprouts up prominently from the surface of this text in stanza 7, but the rest of the stanzas remain solely in the vernacular.

Other verse texts incorporate whole Pali stanzas, but rather than keeping them all in one stanza like **jāy bar puon-m**, instead spreads them out over many stanzas. One such text is **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br** (Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” translated into Khmer). This long verse text in the *brahmaḅgati* meter contains the complete text of Dhammapada 3.9 (**Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV**) within its stanzas. Dhammapada 3.9 reads thus:

<i>aciraṃ vat'ayaṃ kāyo</i>	Soon, alas, this body
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<i>pathaviṃ adhisessati</i>	will lie on the earth,
<i>chuddho apetaṃnāṇo</i>	thrown away, without consciousness,
<i>nirattham va kaliṅgaram</i>	useless as a rotting log.

However, instead of presenting the whole stanza at once, the Khmer poet broke it down into its four constituent *pādas* (quarter-stanzas, rendered as separate lines above). After citing the Pali for each line, the text gives a brief translation and then a detailed commentary in Khmer. The complete passage in question appears in stanzas 17–31 of **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**. Here I present only the stanzas pertaining to the first quarter of the Pali verse:

១៧	17
<i>aciraṃ vata</i>	<i>Aciraṃ vata</i>
<i>yaṃ kāyo</i> ឱកាយអើយ	<i>yaṃ kāyo</i> —alas how this body
មិនយីនយូរសោះឡើយ	shall not last long at all.
កាយនេះហើយគង់បែកធ្លាយ ។	This body shall be destroyed,
១៨	18
ដូចជាពពុះទឹក	like a bubble
ប៉្រែងឡើងហើយបែករាត់រាយ	that expands only to explode everywhere.
កាយនេះប្រេះបែកធ្លាយ	This body cracks and breaks apart,
ដូចពពុះទឹកនោះណា ។	just like that bubble.
១៩	19
ឱ៖ឱៗកាយអើយ	Alas, the body!
មិនយីនឡើយរាល់កាយា	No body can last for long.
ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា	Men and women are not different,
មិនយូរយារគង់បែកធ្លាយ ។	for before long they shall break apart.
២០	20
កាលបើវិញ្ញាណប្រាស	When consciousness departs,
ប្រែក្រឡាស់ក្រឡាភ្លាយ	then the body changes and transforms
ជាខ្មោចអសោចកាយ	into a putrid corpse,
អ្នកទាំងឡាយគេរអា ។	which all soon grow weary of.
២១	21
អសុភគេស្អប់ខ្ពើម	The foulness they despise,
ភ្លិនស្អុយធ្លើមគួរអនិច្ចា	as the vile stench makes them think of impermanence.
គេហៅអស់គ្នា	The people gather together
ស្រោចគង្គាខ្មោចចង្រៃ ។	to wash the inauspicious corpse.

This passage follows a precise structure. First the quarter-stanza of the Pali is deftly presented

as part of the Khmer poem (*aciraṃ vata / yaṃ kāyo*). This is followed by a close Khmer translation: “Alas how this body / shall not last long at all.” Then the text continues with a Khmer commentary on the import of the Pali quarter-stanza, beginning with “This body shall be destroyed / like a bubble / that expands only to explode everywhere.” The process, repeated for each of the four quarter-stanzas, mimics a sermon or a scholastic discourse that seeks to cite a particular canonical passage, translate it, and then offer a didactic interpretation. The choice to include the Pali for each quarter-stanza again affirms the connection between the vernacular poem and the Pali verse that inspired its creation. The listener is first forced to confront the crisp rhythm of the Pali but is then guided through a meandering vernacular explanation that bring its message home.

The final example of foreignizing Khmer verse texts through the use of integrated Pali passages comes from a 38-stanza poem in the *kākaḡati* meter, **caṅkūm kēv-k** (“The jewel canine relics”). This text appears to be a reworking and expansion of the Pali stanzas describing the Buddha’s relics contained within the bilingual Pali-Khmer verse text **Sārīrikadhātu-gāthā/sārīrikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4** (“Stanzas on the bodily relics, Pali with Khmer translation”). If we exclude the vernacular translations that appear between each of the five Pali stanzas, this text reads as follows:

<p>1  <i>mahāgotamabuddho</i>  <i>kusinārāya nibbuto</i>  <i>dhātuwitthārakam katvā</i>  <i>tesu tesu visesato.</i></p>	<p>1  The great Gotama Buddha  entered Nibbāna in Kusinārāya.  Once the extension of the relics was performed,  they were scattered in various places.</p>
<p>2  <i>uṅhīsaṃ ca tassa dāthā</i>  <i>akkhakā dve ca sattamo</i>  <i>asamkinnā vata satta</i>  <i>sesākinnā va dhātuyo.</i></p>	<p>2  His crown, his [four canine] teeth,  and his two clavicles, seven in all—  these seven remained whole.  The remaining relics were divided.</p>
<p>3  <i>mahantā pañca nāḷi ca</i>  <i>majjhimā ca cha nāḷiyo</i>  <i>khuddakā pañca nāḷi ca</i>  <i>samkinnā ti vidhāmatā.</i></p>	<p>3  The large pieces weighed five nāḷi.  The medium pieces weighed six nāḷi.  The small pieces weighed five nāḷi.  All were broken and divided.</p>
<p>4  <i>mahantābhinnamuggā ca</i>  <i>majjhimābhinnataṇḍulā</i>  <i>khuddakā sāsapamattā</i>  <i>evaṃ dhātuppamāṇikā.</i></p>	<p>4  The large relics were the size of split mung beans.  The medium relics were the size of split rice grains.  The small relics were the size of mustard seeds.  Thus were the sizes of the relics.</p>
<p>5  <i>mahantā suvaṇṇavaṇṇā</i></p>	<p>5  The large relics are the color of gold.</p>

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*majjhimā phalikappabhā* The medium relics have the radiance of crystal.  
*khuddakā bakulavaṇṇā* The small relics have the color of bakula flowers.  
*tā pi vandāmi dhātuyo.* To these relics, I pay homage.

These five Pali verses of **Sārīrikadhātu-gāthā/sārīrikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4** communicate much of the same content as **caṅkūm kèv-k**. Instead of simply translating these Pali stanzas into the vernacular, however, **caṅkūm kèv-k** weaves them together into a hybrid Khmer-Pali verse composition. As seen in previous examples, few of the integrated Pali passages are translated and some of them are even changed to fit the metrical constraints of the Khmer. Moreover, the choice of which Pali passages to include does not seem to follow any particular pattern. For instance, the first four stanzas of **caṅkūm kèv-k** essentially translate the first seven lines of the Pali text above:

១	1
<i>ahaṃ វន្តា</i>	<i>I salute.</i>
<i>ខ្ញុំសូមពណ៌នា</i>	I humbly describe
<i>សរសើរព្រះអង្គ</i>	and praise the Lord,
<i>កាលស្តេចនិព្វាន</i>	when he entered Nibbāna,
<i>សោយស្ថានវង្គ</i>	experiencing the highest state.
<i>គាល់គាប់នៅក្នុង</i>	[All were] gathered in fealty in
<i>នគរ kusinārāya ។</i>	the city of <i>Kusinārā</i> .
២	2
<i>dhātuvithā-</i>	<i>The extension of the relics</i>
<i>rikam katvā</i>	<i>having been completed,</i>
<i>ទេវតាទាំងឡាយ</i>	all of the deities
<i>នូវមនុស្សទាំងអស់</i>	and all of the humans
<i>សោមនស្សខ្ជល់ខ្ជាយ</i>	were happily concerned
<i>ប្រមូលចែកតាយ</i>	with gathering and distributing
<i>ព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា ។</i>	the precious relics,
៣	3
<i>ដោយសព្វបុរី</i>	to each of the cities,
<i>នគរប្រាំបី</i>	eight countries in all,
<i>វាល់លែចែកគ្នា</i>	to be completely distributed.
<i>unhiso ca-</i>	<i>The crown relic</i>
<i>ttāro dāthā</i>	<i>and the four canines,</i>
<i>ព្រះអគ្គសាស្តា</i>	the crown of the Teacher,
<i>ព្រះចន្ទីមកែវបួន ។</i>	the four crystal canines,
៤	4



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ព្រះធាតុដងកាំបិត	and the clavicle relics
ទាំងពីរនោះពិត	which number two;
ទីៗដោយខ្លួន	each of these [seven] remained whole.

Some lines in the Pali, such as *dhātuvitthāraṃ katvā* (*dhātuvitthā-* / *rikaṃ katvā*) and *uṅhīsaṃ ca tassa dāthā* (*uṅhīso ca-* / *ttāro dāthā*) reappear in the Khmer text with minimal changes. Others, such as *asamkinnā vata satta*, simply appear in a close Khmer translation instead (“each of these [seven] remained whole”). Some Pali passages integrated into the text, such as *uṅhīso ca-* / *ttāro dāthā*, received a clear vernacular gloss (“the crown of the Teacher, / the four crystal canines”). Other passages, including *dhātuvitthā-* / *rikaṃ katvā* (“The extension of the relics / having been completed”) are not rendered into Khmer at all. Some words almost float between the two languages. For instance, the toponym *Kusinārā* appears in inflected locative singular form (*kusinārāya*) in the Khmer text as well the Pali, but the Khmer text already makes the locative function clear through the preposition *knun* (“in”). The remainder of **caṅkūm kèv-k** continues in much the same pattern.

What effect does the poet hope to accomplish with this mixing of Pali and Khmer? His choices are undoubtedly foreignizing in the sense that the incorporation of Pali phrases into Khmer verse text make the language and style of the source text clear. He is perhaps drawing from the foreignizing approaches surveyed in the previous chapter for the creation of bilingual Pali-vernacular texts, in that he strives to balance fidelity to his sources with a fluent text in the vernacular. The poet himself doesn’t use the term “foreignizing,” of course, but we catch a glimpse into his motivations in stanzas 31–33:

២៨	28
<i>sirasam me</i>	<i>Having made</i>
<i>padumam kate</i>	<i>my head into a lotus</i>
សិរសានិងកាយ	My head and body
ខ្ញុំបូជាជួស	I offer in place of
ផ្កាល្អកទាំងឡាយ	lotus flowers.
ដៃខ្ញុំហួបហ្មាយ	My hands—I offer them respectfully,
លើកឡើងដាក់ដល់ ។	raised up high.
២៩	29
<i>cakkhuvayam</i>	<i>My two eyes,</i>
<i>dīpādīpam</i>	<i>lamps and lights</i>
ភ្នែកពីរសោតសល់	My two eyes true,
ជំនួសព្រះទីប	in place of candles,
ធំអុចក្តើងផ្តល់	large and lit in praise,
សូមបូជាដល់	in offering to

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ព្រះធាតុភក្តិវា ។	the relics of the Blessed One.
៣០	30
អ្នកភិក្ខុសុវណ្ណ	Bhikkhu Suvaṇṇa-
កេសរសោភ័ណ	kesara, the magnificent,
កបត្តីនៅនា	who resides in
វត្តឈូកសសីដ	Vatt Jhūk Sa, by
រំពឹងរចនា	resorting to the pattern
តាមព្រះអង្គកថា	of the commentaries,
សម្តែងទុកមក ។	expressed and recorded this.

In these lines, the poet, Bhikkhu Suvaṇṇakesara, is no longer relying on the Pali stanzas cited above. He instead offers a personal expression of his devotion to the relics of the Buddha. Even in this portion of the text, however, he uses Pali phrases, carefully crafted to fit into the rhyme patterns of the *kākaḡati* meter, to express his veneration. The Pali phrases are followed by close vernacular glosses that expand on the sense of the Pali and put it in the grammatical context of the Khmer sentence. *Cakkhuvāyamaḡ / dīpādīpaḡ*, for example, is rendered as “My two eyes true, / in place of candles, / large and lit in praise, / in offering to / the relics of the Blessed One.”

The core of this passage, however, lies in stanza 33. Here the poet declares that this poem is indeed his composition, but that in composing it he is “resorting to the pattern / of the commentaries” (*raḡbinḡ racanā / tāḡ braḡ atḡhakathā*). The “commentaries” (*braḡ atḡhakathā*) in these lines may simply refer to Pali source texts that his poem is adapted from, rather than the commentaries on the canon in a strict sense.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the poet makes clear to his audience that his composition did not arise out of nowhere. His foreignizing use of Pali phrases throughout the poem is thus drawn from his explicit reliance and reverence for Pali sources. Moreover, if by the “pattern of the commentaries” he means the style of citation, translation, and expanded interpretation, then Bhikkhu Suvaṇṇakesara’s poem, like **aciraḡ vata yaḡ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br** discussed above, is an exemplar of how the commentarial style may be imported into Khmer verse.

Texts such as **caḡkūḡ kēv-k** and the other poems explored in this section incorporate Pali syllables, words, invocations, and phrases into the strict confines of Khmer meter. In so doing, their authors make foreignizing choices that make explicit the connection between their Khmer poems and their Pali inspirations and antecedents. For these poets, we can assume that foreignizing choices in their translations and adaptations are indeed ethical choices, though not for the ethical reasons Venuti posits. Their goal is not to force their audiences toward Pali because they live in a world dominated by Khmer. Rather, they invoke the presence of Pali words and texts in their poems to connect them to the authority of Pali scriptures and to emulate the “pattern of the commentaries” by following the sequence of citation, translation, and interpretation. To foreignize their texts in this way connects them to

<sup>19</sup> Or, as Alex von Rospatt suggests, they may simply imply scriptural texts that are not considered *buddhavacana*.

the ethical purity concentrated in the Pali canon and its commentarial tradition.

### 7.3 Domestication of Tai Texts

While Khmer poets seem eager to make explicit their reliance on Pali words and texts, the same does not appear to be true for the Tai texts adopted and translated by the Khmer. Tai, in other words, generally did not enjoy the same status as a sacred language for Cambodian Buddhists. A great number of Khmer religious and literary texts were translated from Tai languages, above all Siamese, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A number of the Khmer translators of these works, particularly those of literary texts, make clear that their translations are from Siamese, rather than directly from Pali texts.<sup>20</sup> With regards to religious texts, such admissions are far less common. This is in all likelihood due to the fact that most pre-twentieth-century Buddhist texts in Khmer are by anonymous authors and translators, and neither they nor their scribes transmitted any information regarding their original sources. Santi Pakdeekham, Olivier de Bernon, Anant Lualertvorakul, and others have shown how many of the Khmer versions of the *Traibhūmi*, the *Paṭhamasambodhi*, and other major Buddhist texts in Cambodia are translations from Siamese.<sup>21</sup>

Among the texts in the leporello corpus, only one makes an explicit declaration that it was translated from a Tai language original, namely **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn** (“Poem on kammaṭṭhāna”). The opening stanzas of the poem confirm its status as an adaptation, if not a strict translation, of a Siamese work. After an initial homage to the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha, along with an aspiration to be free from illness and disaster, the translator provides the following information about his motivations and the origins of this text:

<p>៦          ដ្បិតខ្ញុំនូវចង់ស្រាលស្រេច          អស់អាថ៌បទបាលី          រៀនកាព្យពីសៀមខ្ចី          ឈ្មោះកម្មដ្ឋានប្រសើរជា ។</p>	<p>6          Since I wanted to be at complete ease          with all of the sacred scriptures,          I assiduously studied this poem from Siam,          titled <i>Kammaṭṭhāna</i>, most excellent.</p>
<p>៧          ដ្បិតពាក្យនេះជាល្ខើក</p>	<p>7          Since these words are in chanted verse—</p>

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ ภักดีคำ, *Sāstrā lpēi: vāḍhanadharm dān vāṇasīl(ḥ) bāḍhanākār lēḥ gvām sām̄bān(dh) kāp vāḍhanadharm khmer ศาสตราแลบง: วัฒนธรรมทางวรรณศิลป์ พัฒนาการ และความสัมพันธ์กับวัฒนธรรมเขมร*, 145–153.

<sup>21</sup> Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ ภักดีคำ, “Gvām sām̄ban(dh) dān braḥ buddhasāsanaḥ raḥhvānī syām samāy braḥ pād samtéc braḥ caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvā kāp kruñ kāmbūjā ความสัมพันธ์ทางพระพุทธรูปศาสนาระหว่างสยามสมัยพระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัวกับกรุงกัมพูชา,” *สงขลานครินทร์ ฉบับสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์ Songklanakarīn: E-Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities* 18, no. 3 (2555): 9–12. See also Anant Lualertvorakul อนันต์ เหล่าเลิศวรกุล, “Paṭhamasambodhikathā bhāṣā daiy chpāp samtéc braḥ mahāsamaṇa cau<sub>2</sub> kram braḥ pāramānūjit jinoras: gvām sām̄bān(dh) tān<sub>2</sub> sārattḥaḥ kāp vāṇakārm buddhappraḥvāṭī īnī ปฐมสมโพธิกถาภาษาไทยฉบับสมเด็จพระมหาสมณเจ้า กรมพระปรมานุชิตชิโนรส : ความสัมพันธ์ด้านสารัตถะกับวรรณกรรมพุทธประวัติอื่น,” 197–198.

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សៀមគេលើកជាភាព្យា	the Siamese having composed it as a poem—
ទើបខ្ញុំនឹងប្រែជា	I thus shall translate it
បទកាព្យខ្មែរឲ្យមហាជន ។	into Khmer verse, so that the masses
៨	8
បានដឹងបានស្តាប់ជាក់	might know, clearly listen,
ពេញចិត្តជាក់ភ្នែកមើលគន់	and be delighted to set their eyes upon it.
លើកទុកទៅជាបុណ្យ	I write this down to make merit
ឯក្រោយកុំប្រហែស ។	for the future; don't be careless.
៩	9
អ្នកផងក្រនឹងបាន	It is rare for people
ស្តាប់កមង្គានធម៌ពិសេស	to listen to the <i>Kammaṭṭhāna</i> , this extraordinary Dharma,
ព្រះពុទ្ធជងស្តេចទេសនា	which the Buddha himself preached
ស្មើតស្មើព្រះអង្គអញ ។	as a replacement for his own being.
១០	10
ធម៌នេះពិរោះពេក	This Dharma, lovely to hear,
សករាជ ១៦៣៥ [i.e. ឯក-៩-ត្រី-បញ្ច]	in 1635 of the Śaka era [1713 CE],
ខែផល្គុនម្សាញ់	month of Phalguna, year of the snake,
ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៤ កើតគត់	Sunday, on exactly the fifth waning day,
១១	11
កិរិកាឈ្មោះឯងណា	back at that precise date,
ទើបចៅពញ្ញាវង្សសន្មត	Cau Baññā Vaṅsā ordered
លោកឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ	for this Siamese text
សៀមមកឱ្យមហាសង្ឃរាជ ។	to be taken to the Mahāsaṅgharāja
១២	12
ព្រះសុគន្ធាធិបតី	Sugandhādhīpatī
ប្រែចេញពីពាក្យសៀមប្រាជ្ញ	to translate the words of the Siamese scholar,
លើកទុកទៅជាភាជន៍	making this text a container
តែងរងសត្វពុំឲ្យធ្លាក់ ។	to continuously support living beings so they might not fall
១៣	13
ចុះទៅចតុកបាយ	down into the four realms
នរកនាយឥតពំនាក់	or yonder hells, without a refuge,
ឲ្យបានទៅជឿជាក់	but instead surely go
យកកំណើតនៅសួគ៌នាយ ។	to take rebirth in the distant heavens.

These statements by the poet and translator reveal much about elite Buddhist life during a period of Cambodian history for which we have a paucity of contemporaneous sources. The

poet's name remains unknown to us, but the passage above suggests that his monastic title was Mahāsaṅgharāja Sugandhādhipatī. He was certainly one of the highest-ranking monks in the kingdom, possibly even the *saṅghanāyaka*, the head of the saṅgha.<sup>22</sup> Other monks with this title include Jīm (reign of Srī Dhammarājā II, seventeenth century, perhaps 1627–1632) and Pim (reign of Udayarājā II, 1758–1775). The first *saṅgharāja* of the Dhammayuttika-nikāya, P"ān (b. 1826, d. 1893), also held the title of Sugandhādhipatī, although not Mahāsaṅgharāja Sugandhādhipatī. Nevertheless, it seems that the translator of **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn** was neither of these three monks, but likely a fourth monk who held the title in the early eighteenth century and who, like P"ān, had either traveled to study in Siam or was otherwise proficient in Siamese. A Pali manuscript, probably from the eighteenth century, in the collection of Vatt Sārāvān, Phnom Penh, contains a colophon that indicates it was sponsored by a *saṅgharāja* of Cambodia who had gone to study in Ayutthaya.<sup>23</sup> A possible date on one fascicle is partially illegible but appears to 2288 BE, i.e. 1745 CE. It is plausible, though far from certain, that this *saṅgharāja* was the Mahāsaṅgharāja Sugandhādhipatī who translated **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn** into Khmer.

The translation appears to have been commissioned by a certain dignitary with the title of Cau Baññā Vaṅsā. This title was known in the chronicles of that period, though we again cannot tie it to a specific known individual. Whether Cau Baññā Vaṅsā sponsored the translation or simply instigated the process is not clear, but it does suggest an important role for powerful laypeople in the translation of Buddhist texts at that time.

In addition to pointing toward the identity of those involved in its production, this passage also speaks to the motivations for the translation. The translator emphasizes that the Siamese original of **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn** is an “extraordinary Dharma, / which the Buddha himself preached / as a replacement for his own being.” He notes that to enrich and complete his learning, he “assiduously studied” this chanted Siamese poem. In translating it, he seeks to maintain its status as a chanted poem, but in “Khmer verse, so that the masses / might know, clearly listen, / and be delighted to set their eyes upon it.” Moreover, he prays that his translation might cause living beings to avoid the hells and instead “take rebirth in the distant heavens.” Although it is a trope of Buddhist texts to praise their own benefits, this passage still makes a compelling case for the importance of translating this Siamese text into Khmer.

I have identified one text in Thailand that appears a source text for **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn**. This Siamese poem, titled *Nidān kammatṭhān* (“Narrative on *kammatṭhāna*”) appears in two separate leporello manuscripts from Vāt Pūr(b), located in the

<sup>22</sup> During this period, there were concurrently many monks with the title *saṅgharāja* or *mahāsaṅgharāja* in Cambodia. See Vong Sotheara វង់ សុផាន់, “Tuonādī brah saṅgh khmèr nau satavats dī 16–19 តួនាទីព្រះសង្ឃខ្មែរនៅសតវត្សរ៍ទី ១៦–១៩,” in *Kamrañ siksākathā khmèr uddis pragen brah dhammārāmo p"unṅ sumbhāj កម្រងសិក្សាភាសាខ្មែរ ឧទ្ទិសប្រគល់ ព្រះធម្មារាម ប៉ុណ្ណ សុផាន់*, ed. Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Panṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2011), 160.

<sup>23</sup> FEMC A.68.

provincial capital of Nakhon Ratchasima in Northeast Thailand.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, in both manuscripts the text is incomplete and thus parallels only part of the first third of the Khmer text. In one of the leporellos, the scribe readily admits that the work was still incomplete:

*braḥ kaṁmathān yān̄ taa<sub>1</sub> fai hmat samut sie lèv<sub>2</sub> dān<sub>1</sub> öy cép ev té<sub>1</sub> nā.*<sup>25</sup>

Respected ones, [the text on] the holy *kammatthāna* continues on, but [I have] already run out of [space in this] leporello [and my] lower back really hurts.

A rigorous comparison between the Khmer and Siamese versions will have to wait until a more complete text of *Nidān kaṁmathān* can be located. Nevertheless, the model of **lpök kammatthān-br/bn** is important to bear in mind when considering other Khmer verse texts in the leporello corpus for which Tai-language antecedents exist.

The two such poems I analyze in this section are **sarasör braḥ pād stām-k** (“In praise of the Buddha’s right foot,” in 7.3.1)<sup>26</sup> and **dhaṁm yog-bn** (“The Dharma of union,” in 7.3.2). The former appears to be a translation of a Siamese text that likely dates from the late Ayutthaya period, namely *lāy lākṣa(n) braḥ buddhapād pīñ<sub>2</sub> khvā* (“The symbols on the Buddha’s right foot”).<sup>27</sup> The latter is a translation of **dhaṁm yog-y/ch** (“The Dharma of union”), a Siamese text that probably dates from the early Ayutthaya period. While *lāy lākṣa(n) braḥ buddhapād pīñ<sub>2</sub> khvā* remains extant in various recensions in Central Thailand today, a manuscript for **dhaṁm yog-y/ch** in Thailand has yet to be identified. The subsections that follow explore each of these two pairs of texts and translations in turn.

### 7.3.1 Domestication of the Buddha’s Footprints

We do not have evidence for when or by whom **sarasör braḥ pād stām-k** was translated from Siamese. We can be fairly confident, however, that the Khmer text is indeed a translation of a Siamese original, since *lāy lākṣa(n) braḥ buddhapād pīñ<sub>2</sub> khvā* is nearly identical in structure and content. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose the Siamese text would instead be a translation of the Khmer, as the direction of cultural influence, especially textual influence, in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries flowed almost exclusively from Siam to Cambodia and not vice versa. The anonymous Siamese text in question has not yet been

<sup>24</sup> The two leporellos were given the code numbers 3 and 12, respectively, by their catalogers. For a fascicle edition of these two leporellos, plus a transliteration into modern Thai of the latter manuscript, see Viñā Visabéñ วิณา วิสเป็ญ, *Samut braḥ mālāy vāt pūi(b) āmbhō mīñ cāñhvāt nagar rājasīmā สมุดพระมาลัย วัตบูรพ์ อำเภอมือง จังหวัดนครราชสีมา* (Mahasarakham: Mahāvidyālay mahāsāragām มหาวิทยาลัยมหาสารคาม, 2558).

<sup>25</sup> พระกรรมฐานยังต่อไปหมดสมุดเสียแล้วท่านเอย เจ็บเอวเต็มทีนา ฯ. See Viñā Visabéñ วิณา วิสเป็ญ, *Samut braḥ mālāy vāt pūi(b) āmbhō mīñ cāñhvāt nagar rājasīmā สมุดพระมาลัย วัตบูรพ์ อำเภอมือง จังหวัดนครราชสีมา*, 212.

<sup>26</sup> There is also a Khmer text known as **sarasör braḥ pād chveñ-k** (“In praise of the Buddha’s left foot”). This text is exclusively focused on the description of the marks on the Buddha’s footprints, but follow a different list than the standard one (referred to as “right foot”). Since I have not been able to find an exact Tai-language parallel to **sarasör braḥ pād chveñ-k**, I do not analyze it in this chapter; a complete edition and translation is available in Appendix II (see *infra*, 1254–1261). For a partial translation, see Bizot, “La figuration des pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge,” 417–419.

<sup>27</sup> ลายลักษณะพระพุทธรบาทเบืองขวา

critically edited; I present a tentative standardized edition in Appendix III, along with a complete translation.

My edition of the text is based on three sources from Central Thailand, one print and two oral.<sup>28</sup> Just like many of the texts in the Cambodian leporello corpus, the three recensions of this text vary markedly from one another. The two oral versions, particularly that of Hlvan Pū<sub>1</sub> Biśtū Dhammacārī (b. 1923), seem older than the printed text. In all three versions, there has been enough metrical decay that at first glance it is hard to determine that the text is in fact composed in the *kāby śurāṅganāṅ(g) 28* meter, the Thai equivalent of the Khmer *kākagati* meter. My edition restores the text to *kāby śurāṅganāṅ(g) 28* so that it can be much more readily compared with the *kākagati*-meter text of **sarasōr braḥ pād sṭām-k**.

Both the Siamese text and its Khmer translation begin with a few stanzas that present “virtual” offerings to the Buddha and his feet. This is a common trope in Siamese Buddhist texts. Instead of offering literal incense, candles, lotuses, and the like, the first-person subject of the chant offers his or her own speech, eyes, and head. The Siamese text opens:

๑	1
กราบไหว้บังคม	I bow down in homage
พระพุทธบาทบรม	to the excellent feet of the Buddha,
ทั้งคู่เรืองรอง	the glorious pair,
สิบนิ้วสะพรั่ง	with my ten fingers as a blossom
ต่างรูปเทียนทอง	in place of incense and golden candles;
নয়เนตรทั้งสอง	with my two eyes
ต่างประทีปทูลถวาย	in place of offered lamps;
๒	2
ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ	with the hair on my head
ต่างดอกปทุมเมศ	in place of lordly lotuses,
บัวทองพรรณราย	golden and shining;
วาทจาเพราะพร้อง	with lovely words,
ต่างฆ้องกลองถวาย	in place of gongs and drums;
ดวงใจขำหมาย	with my mental sphere’s intention,
ต่างรสสุคนธา	in place of fragrant tastes.

The parallel passage in Khmer presents essentially the same set of offerings, with only minor differences:

๒	2
ខ្ញុំយកសិរសា	I raise my head

<sup>28</sup> For details on these sources, along with my complete edition and translation of the text, see Appendix III (*infra*, 1514–1530).

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ថ្ងាយតាងបទុមា	in place of lotus flowers;
ទសន្តិក្ខី	this decade of digits
តាងទៀនសុវណ្ណា	in place of golden candles;
នេត្រាទាំងទ្វី	this couple of eyes
ទុកតាងរស្មី	in place of the rays
ប្រទីបព្រោងព្រាយ ។	of a lamp burning bright.
៣	3
ខ្ញុំយកវាចា	I take my speech
ចែងចេញពណ៌នា	to express, describe,
សរសើរព្រះលាយ	and praise the Marked
លក្ខណ៍ក្រិកតាងធូប	Lord, raised in place of incense,
ក្រអូបសព្វសាយ	whose scent disperses wide,
ដួងចិត្តខ្ញុំថ្ងាយ	with my mental sphere offered
តាងរសគន្ធា ។	in place of fragrant tastes.

Instead of words standing in for music, the Khmer poem offers words in place of incense, but otherwise the translator faithfully captures the Siamese list of offerings. Both texts then enumerate the various *mangala*, or auspicious symbols, on the soles of the Buddha’s feet. The identification of these symbols in different Pali lists, many totaling 108, is subject to an extensive study by Claudio Cicuzza.<sup>29</sup> A number of different Khmer lists are translated and compared by François Bizot.<sup>30</sup> My focus here, however, is not on the content of these lists but rather how the Khmer translation relates to its Siamese source. In the Siamese text, the enumeration begins in stanza 4 and lasts until stanza 22; in Khmer, it runs from 5 to 19. The sequence in the two lists is not at all the same, and neither list conforms exactly to any Pali text. Nevertheless, the content is quite similar. For instance, stanzas 17–18 in Siamese read:

១៧	17
អំពូនពិសាខ	there is the Sun and
ពិសាខរិទ្ធិពិសាខ	the shining moon,
ចរិតិយាចរិតិយា	advancing by chariot,
វិសាខវិសាខ	circling around the ecliptic,
វិសាខវិសាខ	with light illuminating the sky;
ពិសាខពិសាខ	the host of stars
ពិសាខពិសាខ	adorning the heavens;
១៨	18

<sup>29</sup> Claudio Cicuzza, *A Mirror Reflecting the Entire World: The Pāli Buddhapādamaṅgala or “Auspicious Signs on the Buddha’s Feet”* (Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> Bizot, “La figuration des pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge.”



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ทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสี่	the four great continents;
ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี	and the minor islands,
นับได้สองพัน	numbering two thousand;

Stanza 11 of the Khmer captures the same content, albeit somewhat more concisely:

๑๑	11
ព្រះអាទិត្យព្រះចន្ទ	the Sun and the Moon,
រះរឿងរឿង	rising resplendently and rapidly;
ឯកភក្តី	the single sky
កណ្តាលហ្វូងផ្កាយ	amidst the host of stars,
ពណ្តាយរស្មី	ever radiant their rays;
ទ្វីបបួនធំបី	the four great continents;
ទ្វីបតូចពីរពាន់ ។	the two thousand minor islands;

The Khmer poet, however, also displays a sensitivity to how these auspicious symbols appear on actual images of the Buddha’s feet in Cambodia and Siam. Thus he is careful to appropriately render each term such that his audience could relate to the images they were familiar with. For example, when rendering the Thai term for “mirror,” (*ven<sub>1</sub>*), he bears in mind that this refers to the auspicious sign known as the *sirivaccha* in Pali, literally “glorious calf.”<sup>31</sup> This is usually depicted as a teardrop-shaped mirror in Siam but as a candleholder (Khmer: *babil*) of the same shape in Cambodia. The Siamese text reads:

๕	5
มีทั้งฉัตรแก้ว	there are crystal parasols;
พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว	excellent swords;
หอกทองไพพรรณ	golden, multicolored spears;
มีนางช้วน	there are maidens lifting mirrors,
อ่อนแอ้นเอนวัลย์	with lithe forms, thin as vines,
มือถืออุษบัน	with hands clutching flowers
สอดสร้อยสังวาลย์	wreathed into girdling garlands;

The parallel passage in Khmer deftly replaces “mirrors” with “candleholders”:

๗	7
មានផ្ចិតតាលបត្រ	palm-leaf fans;

<sup>31</sup> On the interpretation of *sirivaccha* as a mirror in certain texts from Siam, see Cicuzza, *A Mirror Reflecting the Entire World: The Pāli Buddhapaḍamaṅgala or “Auspicious Signs on the Buddha’s Feet,”* 119.

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នូវផ្លិតមេរហ័តក៍	peacock-feather fans;
វិជនីសុវណ្ណ	golden fans;
លំពែងពេជ្រថ្លា	adamantine pikes;
ឆីតាដៃកាន់	girls grasping
ពពិលសោភ័ណ	lovely candleholders;
មកុដកែវសោភ័ណ	the lovely jewel crown;

One could read this as a domesticating choice on the part of the the Khmer poet, as the candleholder would have likely been a well-known ritual item in Cambodia at the time.<sup>32</sup> It could just as easily, however, be understand as the translator trying to render *sirivaccha* accurately into Khmer, knowing the Siamese word *vèn<sub>1</sub>* was merely a gloss for the Pali term. The stanzas that come after the enumeration of the marks discuss how the Buddha did not ordinarily leave footprints behind when he walked (stanzas 24–27 in the Siamese and 20–24 in the Khmer); they only appear at five special sites.<sup>33</sup> Once again, the Khmer passage is nearly identical to the Siamese one. In the subsequent passage, which describes the locations of the five footprints, the Khmer translator alters their toponyms to fit a Cambodia model. The Siamese text enumerates these as follows:

๒๘	28
พระศรีศาสดาจารย์	The Teacher, the Lord,
เสด็จเข้านิพพาน	entered Nibbāna,
สิ้นแล้วตัณหา	all craving exhausted,
ยังแต่รอยบาทหงส์	but footprints remained
อันทรงพระกรุณา	that exuded compassion;
บรรจบครบห้า	in total five pairs
ประดิษฐานโดยมี	were established, including:
๒๙	29
พระบาทหนึ่งปรากฏ	one pair of footprints appeared
อยู่เขามบรรพต	on top of the mountain of
สุวรรณโมลี	Suvarṇamolī;
พระบาทสองนั้นไชรั	a second pair of footprints
อยู่ในกรุงศรี	in the glorious city,
ประเทศธานี	the capital
อโยธยานคร	of the kingdom of Ayutthaya;

<sup>32</sup> On the history of this object, see Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State: Territory, Sovereignty and Sexual Difference in the Inventions of Angkor*. See also, Lim Kannīthā លឹម កន្ទីថា, “Babil ពពិល”; and Ang Choulean អាំង ជូលាន, *Brah Ling ព្រះលិង្គ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Reyum រ៉ៃយ៉ុំ, 2004), 12.

<sup>33</sup> On the location of these sites in different Buddhist traditions, see John S. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 85–90.

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๓๐ พระบาทสามนั้นโสด อยู่เขารมโกฏี ลังกาवर พระบาทสี่ทศพล อยู่บนสิงขร เหนือเมืองนคร นพรัตน์บุรี ๓๑	30 a third pair of footprints on Paramakūṭa [Sumanakūṭa?] in lovely Laṅkā; a fourth pair of the Ten-Powered Lord on top of the peak to the north of Nabarāta(na)purī. 31 the fifth pair of footprints are established on the edge of the waters of a river, the place of worship for the lords of the nāgas, fish, and crocodiles, who bow to it without end.
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Two of the five footprints in the list are within the Tai cultural sphere, with the second close to “the capital / of the kingdom of Ayutthaya,” i.e. in what is now Saraburi, Central Thailand, and the fourth “to the north of Nabarāta(na)purī,” that is to say, near modern Chiang Mai in Northern Thailand. In the Khmer version, however, the poet makes the domesticating decision to eliminate those Siamese toponyms:

๒๕ ព្រះទសពលញាណ ជិតចូលនិព្វាន ទ្រង់មានមេត្តា ទេព្យសួគ៌សព្វ គន្ធាសុភ គ្រឿននាគទេព្យ មនុស្សសត្វប្រុសស្រី។ ๒๖ ទើបប្រោសប្រទាន ព្រះបាទប្រាំប៉ាន ទុកឱ្យវិនិយ័ បាទមួយនៅនា ចមប្រជុំគិរី	25 The Ten-Powered Lord, about to enter Nibbāna, was filled with goodwill for deities in all the heavens, gandharvas, titans, garuḍas, nāga, gods, humans, and animals, both male and female, 26 so, to save them, he bestowed five sites for his footprints to be worshipped. One pair of footprints is on the summit of the mountain
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សុវណ្ណមាលី ជាទីបរិសុទ្ធ ។ ២៧	of Suvanṇamālī, a pure place. 27
ព្រះបាទសោភា មួយនិគ្សនៅនា សុវណ្ណបព័ត បាទមួយនៅនា លង្កាប្រាកដ លើភ្នំសន្មត សុមនកូដគាប់ ។ ២៨	Another beautiful pair of footprints remains on [Mount] Suvanṇapabbata. Another pair of footprints are on the real Laṅkā on the mountain called Sumanakūṭa, ever fitting. 28
ព្រះបាទសោភ័ណ មួយនៅសច្ចព័ន្ធ គិរីស្រែចស្រាប់ អ្នកនគរស្រុក យោនយកសម្រាប់ រករៀបប្រដាប់ គ្រឿងគ្រប់បូជា ។ ២៩	Another marvelous pair of footprints is on Saccabandha Mountain, all ready for the local people to take up materials and gather up objects as offerings for worship. 29
ព្រះបាទសោភី មួយនៅនទី នាមនម្មទា ព្រះអង្គជាន់ទុក លើកំពស់សុធា ទុកឲ្យមច្ឆា ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវន្ទ ។	Another lovely pair of footprints exists at what is called Nammadā [River], [where] the Lord stepped into the mud of the earth so that the fish could bow down in reverence.

The Khmer poet may have been aware of the Tai practice of identifying local sites as among the five places where the Buddha left footprints behind. Nevertheless, he chose to eliminate those toponyms in his translation, instead returning to the standard Pali names for those sites. Thus Saraburi becomes Suvanṇapabbata, and Chiang Mai returns to Saccabandha.<sup>34</sup> This kind of domestication is not about replacing Tai locales with Khmer toponyms; the poet makes no effort to identify particular places in Cambodia where the Buddha could have left behind footprints. In other words, unlike the Siamese text, he makes no claim that the Buddha actually visited his own locality. This choice signals a return to a Pali chant, known in both Tai and Khmer contexts, that pays homage to the five footprints:

<sup>34</sup> In some sources, Saccabandha is identified with Saraburi instead. See Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 91–92.

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*suvaṇṇamālike suvaṇṇapabbate sumanakūṭe yonakapure nammadāye nadiyā pañcapādavaram thānaṃ  
ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato.*<sup>35</sup>

I pay homage from afar to the five excellent sites of the Buddha’s footprints: at  
Suvaṇṇamālika, at Suvaṇṇapabbata, at Sumanakūṭa, at Yonakapura, and in the river  
at Nammadā.

The Khmer text, looking back to this and other similar Pali lists, refuses to accept the Siamese interpretation that Suvaṇṇapabbata lies near Ayutthaya and that Yonakapura is equivalent to Yonakaraṭṭha, i.e. Chiang Mai. It thus purges the Siamese text of Tai beliefs to render it appropriate to a Cambodian context. Part of the local context that the Khmer poem speaks to is an understanding that, particularly in the nineteenth century, Cambodians were living at the edge of the Buddhist dispensation, both temporally and spatially. Not only was Buddhism thought to be in decline and the arrival of Metteyya nigh, but the land of Cambodia itself was located at the fringes of the Buddhist world. In this interpretation, the Buddha may have never come to Cambodia at all, and thus five sites of the Buddha’s footprints lie too far away for Khmer pilgrims to reach.<sup>36</sup>

The closing stanzas of the Siamese and Khmer versions of the poem drive home this point. The Siamese text ends with a declaration that the five sites remain active sites of worship:

๓๒		32
พระบาทห้าแห่ง		The five footprint sites
พระพุทธเจ้าสำแดง		that the Lord Buddha made appear
ย่างเหยียบไว้นั้น		by stepping on them
เป็นที่วันทา		are places for worship
เทวาทุกชั้น		by all levels of deities,
มนุษย์คนธรรพ์		humans, gandharvas,
ครุฑธิดาขอสรา		garuḍa lords, and titans.
๓๓		33
ลายลักษณ์เลิศไตร		The marks that exceed the triple world

<sup>35</sup> Sēm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajuṃ bhāṇavāra bises pālī prè ប្រជុំគណករពិសេស- បាលី- ប្រែ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār bhnam beñ 59 p"āsdār បណ្ណគារ ភ្នំពេញ លេខ ៥៩ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1966), 303. Perhaps *pañcapādavalañjam* would be preferable *pañcapādavaram* to here?

<sup>36</sup> Some Cambodians were evidently aware that there were such sites in neighboring Siam, however, and the chronicles report how certain Cambodian monks in Siam pay homage at these sites during their studies there. Detailed accounts of Khmer pilgrimages, however, are vanishingly rare. One of the only surviving documents from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries to record Khmer pilgrims attempting to visit Buddhist sites in Siam, Burma, and India is analyzed and translated in Olivier de Bernon, “Journées to Jetavana: Poetic and Ideological Elaborations of the Remembrance of Jetavana in Southeast Asia,” in *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond*, ed. Peter Skilling and Justin Thomas McDaniel, vol. 1 (Bangkok: Institute of Thai Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2012), 177–93.

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បុរាណេវ	are worshipped
អង្គធានាវេនា	by women and men of all stripes,
ថ្ងៃយប់ក្រែង	morning and evening, by the rooster's call.
រាល់ពេលវេលា	All day, all the time,
ខិតខំដាំដុះ	they strive to cultivate
ដោយមិនបោះបង់	continuously and without end.
៣៤	34
គ្រានោះស្រាវជ្រាវ	Whoever recites the marks
បានប្រយោជន៍	receives merit measuring
ប្រាំបួនម៉ឺនបួន	eighty-four thousand strong,
ដូចជាបានជួបព្រះ	as if having met the Buddha,
ព្រះពុទ្ធជ្រាវជ្រាវ	the Lord endowed with the Dharma,
ដូចដែលបានពន្យល់	as explained herein
រួចរាល់ហើយ ។	completely.

The Khmer text, by contrast, laments that it is not possible to actually pay homage to the sites in person:

៣០	30
ព្រះទេវតាពញាណ	The Ten-Powered Lord
ប្រោសប្រតិស្ឋាន	saved [beings] by establishing
ព្រះបាទសោភ័ណ	these beautiful pairs of feet,
ទាំងប្រាំបួនដួង	five in all, supreme,
ឲ្យដល់ប្រាំពាន់	to last for the complete
វស្សាគ្រប់គ្រាន់	five thousand years
ទើបស្ដេចនិព្វាន ។	before going to Nibbāna.
៣១	31
ឱអស់យើងខ្ញុំ	Alas, how all of us
អតីតពេកពុំ	are so unfortunate in not
ទាន់ព្រះទ្រង់ពញាណ	being born on time for the Lord of Wisdom,
ទាន់តែសាសនា	but only on time for his dispensation!
ព្រះបាទប្រាំប៉ាន	As for the five sites of his footprints,
នោះសោតពុំបាន	we cannot even
ទៅទៀបឲ្យដល់ ។	go near to witness them.
៣២	32
ក្រញក្រាបកបកាយ	We bend our bodies low,
បង្គំពីឆ្ងាយ	bowing down from afar,

សូត្រសរសើរដល់	chanting in praise to
ព្រះបាទប្រាំប៉ាន	the five sites of his footprints.
សូមមានមង្គល	May there be blessings,
សូមសុខស្នូស្នីសល់	happiness, abundant fortune,
តេជះជោគជ័យ ។	power, success, and victory.
ពព	33
សូមឈ្នះលោកា	May greed be defeated,
ទោសោមោហា	so too hatred, delusion,
ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ	calamity, misfortune,
គ្រោះកាចទុក្ខសោក	danger, pain, and sorrow,
ទាំងរោគាក៏យ	even illness and fear.
សូមសុខសព្វថ្ងៃ	May there be happiness every day
រៀងរូចនិព្វាន ។	until Nibbāna.

The Khmer poet was faced with a Siamese passage that affirms that the contemporary worship of the Buddha’s footprints still continues. In order to domesticate the poem for a Cambodian audience, he transforms these stanzas into a lament that such worship is impossible, as their kingdoms’s place at the edge of the dispensation prevents Cambodians from directly paying homage to such sites. Not only are eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Cambodians temporally removed from the Buddha (“only on time for his dispensation”), they are physically far from the sites where he once tread (“we cannot even / go near to witness them”). The force of this domesticating choice reminds the audience that they may, and indeed should, venerate the Buddha’s footprints, but only indirectly and from afar. They must worship them via their own body and mind rather than through external offerings, and at home rather than abroad. The domestication of the Siamese text is thus both literal as well as figurative.

### 7.3.2 Domestication of the Buddha’s Relics

The final example in this chapter of a Tai-language poem being subjected to a domesticating Khmer translation comes in the form of the consecration chant **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** and its adaptation as **dhaṛm yog-bn**. As mentioned above, **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** is a Siamese-language text that dates from the early Ayutthaya period but for which the only surviving exemplars appear to be in Cambodian manuscripts, including both leporellos and long-format palm-leaf manuscripts. Even more extraordinary is the fact that some monasteries, particularly in Kampong Cham and Tboung Khmum provinces, still recite **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** today, albeit with a Khmer pronunciation of the Siamese words. For these monasteries, **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** is “the Siamese *dhaṛm yog*” and **dhaṛm yog-bn** is “the Khmer *dhaṛm yog*.” When asked why the former is called “Siamese” (*siem*), most monks and laypeople I spoke with in those provinces did not claim that **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** was actually in Siamese (*bhāsā siem*).

They instead said that it was in an older, now incomprehensible form of Khmer that people call “Siamese” only out of ignorance.

This misunderstanding is apparently neither new nor unique to people in Cambodia’s eastern provinces. A Khmer-script palm-leaf manuscript held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France<sup>37</sup> contains a selection of texts recited in buddha-image consecration rituals, including **dhārm yog-y/ch**. In Au Chhieng’s 1953 catalog of Khmer manuscripts in this collection, he transcribes the first few lines of **dhārm yog-y/ch**, the first text in the manuscript, but makes no indication that the language is not Khmer. However, he does note that the manuscript contained “annotations en français à l’encre rouge et violette.”<sup>38</sup>

It is not recorded where, when, or by whom these French annotations were done. The script seems typical of the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, which would also roughly correspond with the time of acquisition by the Bibliothèque nationale de France or the École des Langues orientales. The annotator is able to successfully identify a number of words that are shared in both Khmer and Siamese. For instance, on page *ñgha* recto, he or she correctly notes that *bises* (“special”) means “distingué” and that *jhnah* (“to conquer”) translates as “vaincre.” However, for words that must be understood in their Siamese sense, he gives French glosses as if they were Khmer words, resulting in nonsensical translations. For example, on the same leaf he or she reads *hai* (actually Siamese *hai<sub>2</sub>*, “to give”) as Khmer *hai*, glossed as “hô!” (“O!”) and *ban'* (in fact Siamese *ban<sub>2</sub>*, “to escape”) as Khmer *bāndh*, glossed as “allier” (“to unite”). This annotator, too, fails to recognize **dhārm yog-y/ch** as a Siamese text in Khmer script, and thus its semantic import is lost.

Of course, **dhārm yog-y/ch** is a chanted ritual text, and for the few monasteries in eastern Cambodia that still recite it, the meaning of the specific words is less important than the continuity of performing a text believed to be quite old. This belief accords with reality, though with the caveat that the text is old not because it is composed in an archaic form of Khmer but rather because it matches the style of Ayutthaya-era Siamese compositions. Nevertheless, Cambodians have transmitted this text for generations in homage to its antiquity, efficacy, and beauty. A colophon from the most recent leporello copy of **dhārm yog-y/ch I** consulted, **UB009** from Kampong Cham province,<sup>39</sup> emphasizes the importance of transmitting these old texts into the future:

អត្ថបទធម៌ធម្មប្បដិយោគ និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក គាថាបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈនេះ ដែលខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាបានចម្លងមកនេះ ដែលមានភាពងាយស្រួលដល់បច្ចុប្បន្នតាមដាន អ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោយទាំងឡាយ ដែលមានបំណងសិក្សារៀនសូត្រធម៌ យោគៗហើយក្នុងការចម្លងក្រាំងនេះឡើង ដោយមានគោលបំណងដូចតទៅ៖ ១-បំណងថែរក្សាក្បួនច្បាប់ បុរាណទុកឱ្យគង់វង្សយូរអង្វែង ៗ ២-ដើម្បីជាជំនួយដល់បព្វជិតអ្នកបួសក្នុងសាសនាទូទៅ ទុកជាក្បួនច្បាប់ឱ្យ កាន់តែសំបូរឡើង សំរាប់សិក្សារៀនសូត្រឡើង ៗ ៣-និងចង់ឱ្យបព្វជិតបានសិក្សាចេះចាំ និង ប្រតិបត្តិតាមមា គ៌ានៃ ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាឱ្យបានរៀងរហូតគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា៖ អត្ថបទធម៌ដែលខ្ញុំចម្លងនេះ តាម

<sup>37</sup> BNF Indochinois 409 (*Catalogue du fonds khmer* no. 310)  
<sup>38</sup> Au Chhieng, *Catalogue du fonds khmer*, 256.  
<sup>39</sup> This manuscript belongs to the monastic library of Vatt Sudassanārām a.k.a. Jroy Thma វត្តជ្រោយថ្ម, Jroy Thma village ភូមិជ្រោយថ្ម, Pijñ Kuk commune ឃុំបឹងកុក, Kampong Cham city ក្រុងកំពង់ចាម, Kampong Cham province.



ច្បាប់ដើមទាំងស្រុង ដោយគ្រាន់តែសម្រួលត្រង់ចំនុចខ្លះឱ្យត្រឹមត្រូវទៅតាមភាសាបាលី ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យ  
លោកអ្នកចេះដឹងទាំងឡាយ មេត្តា ខិត្តិ អភ័យទោស រាល់ចំនុចខ្លះខាតទាំងឡាយ មេត្តាជួយកែតម្រូវ ដោយអនុ  
គ្រោះផង ។<sup>40</sup>

The Dharma texts of *dhammapatīyog* (**dhārm yog-y/ch**), *buddhābhisek* (**Buddhābhiseka-NP**), and *gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa*: (**Dhammakāya-NP**) that I, servant of your grace, copied here, are meant to make things easier for those in the next generation who wish to study, memorize, and recite the *dhārm y"og*. Thus in the act of copying this leporello, I had the following goals: 1) to conserve the ancient texts so that they might last for a long time, 2) to be of aid to monastics in the dispensation so that more manuals and texts may be available for study, memorization, and recitation, and 3) to help monastics study, remember, and practice in accordance with the Buddhist path so that it might last the full five thousand years. Please be informed: the Dharma texts that I have copied here are done verbatim according to the original manuscripts, with only some minor editing in a few places to correct the Pali. In addition, I humbly implore all knowledgable people to have kindness and patience, and to forgive me for any mistakes; please kindly correct them as a favor to me.

The monk ʽet Sī, who wrote this passage, makes no admission that **dhārm yog-y/ch** is a Siamese text. He instead emphasizes that it is among the “ancient texts” (*kpuon cpāp’ purān*) he seeks to preserve and encourages others to memorize and perform. Moreover, while noting that he corrected the Pali as appropriate, his new leporello is otherwise a diplomatic transcription of the original manuscript he worked from. This extended colophon gives a sense of how a Siamese text, even one perhaps composed as early as the sixteenth century, might have been copied down and performed in Cambodia for hundreds of years. That ʽet Sī and other copyists do not read or recognize the language of **dhārm yog-y/ch** proved to be no obstacle to its preservation. Written in Khmer script in all known manuscripts, the Siamese-language text seems somehow like it might be in some old variety of Khmer, an interpretation probably also shared by the unknown French annotator of the copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the nineteenth century, however, a number of Cambodian intellectuals were quite aware that **dhārm yog-y/ch** was not in Khmer at all and therefore could not be understood by its performers or listeners. In 1869, a few of them worked together under the guidance of a certain high-ranking monk with the title Braḥ Dhammalikhit<sup>41</sup> at Vatt Uṇṇālom, the new seat of the Mahānikāya when the capital was moved from Oudong to Phnom Penh in 1866, to render **dhārm yog-y/ch** into Khmer. The resulting translation, **dhārm yog-bn**, is the one found throughout Cambodia today. Although certain monasteries in Kampong Cham and

<sup>40</sup> UB009, 2a

<sup>41</sup> This title presumably referred at that time to the second-highest-ranking monk in the Mahānikāya. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, the chronicles and other extant records do not mention who exactly held this rank in 1869. He would have been second in rank to Nil Dieṅ (1824–1913) after the latter’s promotion by King Ang Duong to *saṅgharāja* of the Mahānikāya sect in 1857. Nil Dieṅ studied in Siam before his return to Cambodia; we do not know if this was also the case for the Braḥ Dhammalikhit in question.

Tboung Khmum still perform the original Siamese **dhārm yog-y/ch** for buddha-image consecration, even in these provinces the Khmer translation, **dhārm yog-bn**, is much more common in leporello manuscripts. In most parts of Cambodia, the Siamese **dhārm yog-y/ch** and the process of its translation into Khmer have been entirely forgotten.

Braḥ Dhammalikhit and his collaborators wrote an eleven-stanza preface to their translation. I have only identified one manuscript, **UB051**, a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century specimen from Kampong Cham, that preserves this preface. This manuscript is also unusual in that it mixes **dhārm yog-bn** and **dhārm yog-y/ch** together. It seems that in the three or more decades that passed between Braḥ Dhammalikhit's translation and the compilation of this manuscript, his preface had not yet been forgotten. The preface appears twice in **UB051**, with only a few minor orthographic variations. The stanzas of the preface clarify the circumstances and motivations behind the creation of the Khmer text of **dhārm yog-bn**:

<i>UB051 31a–31b</i>	<i>Standardized</i>	<i>Translation</i>
១ រឿព្រះពុទ្ធសាស្ត្រា ព្រះពុទ្ធ ពីរព័ន្ធកុំណត់ និងបួនរយព្រះវសារ	១ រឿព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាប្រាកដ ពីពាន់កុំណត់ និងបួនរយព្រះវសារ ។	1 When in the Buddhist era two-thousand four-hundred
២ ឆ្នាំពីរតន្តបន្ទាមណារ កាដិកម្សារ ប្រាំមតន្តប្បកើតតិចី។	២ ឆ្នាំពីរដណ្តប់ឆ្នាំណា កត្តិកមាសា ប្រាំដណ្តប់កើតតិចី ។	2 and twelve years had elapsed, in the month of Kattika, on the full moon day,
៣ ក្នុងពារប្រហស័ស្ស ជាសុខសិរី នៅព្រឡាម្សាញឯកសក្ខ	៣ ក្នុងពារព្រហស្សតិសម្ពី ជាសុខសិរី នៅព្រឡាម្សាញឯកសក្ខ ។	3 being a Thursday, most auspicious, in the year of the snake, first of the decade,
៤ គិតប្រែធម៌យោកឲ្យជាក	៤ គិតប្រែធម៌យោកឲ្យជាក	4 [we] sought to carefully translate the “Dharma of union”
ឲ្យត្រូវគ្នាគ្នាអត្ថ តាមអតីត ត្នាបតបូរាន ។	ឲ្យត្រូវតាមអត្ថ តាមអាថ៌តាមបទបុរាណ ។	in accordance with the letter, meaning, and meter of the ancients,
៥ ត្បីទុប្បវាតែរពីមុនមាន សឹងស្តាប់ពុំបាន លាវខ្មែរលាវសៀមផង	៥ ដ្បីទុប្បវាតែរពីមុនមាន សឹងស្តាប់ពុំបាន លាយខ្មែរលាវសៀមផង ។	5 since that of olden times was now incomprehensible, mixed with Khmer, Lao, and Siamese,

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៦	៦	6
មិនច្បាស់ស្បែកជាម្តង គិតលើកថែងចង ជាពាក្យខ្មែរឲ្យស្តាប់បាន ។	មិនច្បាស់អស់ពាក្យជាម្តង គិតលើកថែងចង ជាពាក្យខ្មែរឲ្យស្តាប់បាន ។	with the words no longer clear at all. [We] thus sought to compose a poem in Khmer that could be understood,
៧	៧	7
ព្រះធម្មលិក្ខិតជាប្រធាន កាលគង់នៅស្ថាន នៅវេលាប៉ាលមក្នុងពេញ	ព្រះធម្មលិខិតដ៏ជាប្រធាន កាលគង់នៅស្ថាន នៅវេលាប៉ាលមក្នុងពេញ ។	with Braḥ Dhammalikhit as [our] leader, residing at that time at Vatt Palom [Uṇṇālom] in Phnom Penh,
៨	៨	9
មានព្រះឡែហាស្រលេញ គិតលើកប្រែចេញ ឲ្យច្បាស់អស់អារាវាចារ	មានព្រះទ័យហាស្រឡាញ់ គិតលើកប្រែចេញ ឲ្យច្បាស់អស់អាថ៌វោហារ ។	who had the compassionate thought to translate it into verse, elucidating both its substance and style,
៩	៩	9
ទុកឲ្យមហាជនគ្រូពន្លាវ សូត្រថ្វាយបូជា អង្គីសេកអង្គព្រះជិនស្រី	ទុកឲ្យមហាជនគ្រប់គ្នា សូត្រថ្វាយបូជា អភិសេកអង្គព្រះជិនស្រី ។	so that all the people might chant it in offering for the consecration of the body of the Glorious Victor.
១០	១០	10
ទោះខុសសលត្រង់ណាក្តី លោកដឹងសេចក្តី ជុំម្រងឲ្យទានផងវ៉ា	ទោះខុសសល់ត្រង់ណា លោកដឹងសេចក្តី តម្រងឲ្យទានផងវ៉ា ។	Whatever mistakes should remain, may those who understand the text please correct them as a favor to us,
១១	១១	11
ធម៌នេះចូលស្ថិតវត្តណាវ ទាលអ្សសាស្តា ប្រាំមួយពាន់សារទៅហោង ។	ធម៌នេះចូលស្ថិតវត្តណា ទាល់អស់សាសនា ប្រាំពាន់វស្សាទៅហោង ។	so that this Dharma might be established in monasteries until the exhaustion of the five-thousand-year dispensation.
១២ ។ ។		

The lunar date corresponds exactly to November 18, 1869 CE. The preface is somewhat ambiguous about whether anyone besides Braḥ Dhammalikhit was involved in the translation; because he is cast as the “leader” (*pradhān*), it seems reasonable to assume others contributed as well. The motivation for the translation, stated in stanzas 5 and 6, is clearer: the text “of olden times” (*purāṇ tē bī mun mān*) had become “incomprehensible” (*ṣṇ stāp’ bum pān*) due to being a mix of Khmer, Lao, and Siamese (*lāy khmèr lāv siem phan*). Their translation aims, therefore, to make the text understandable to Cambodians of their time. It is not entirely clear what is meant by “Lao” in this context. Did Braḥ Dhammalikhit identify specifically Lao, Lanna, or other non-Siamese Tai elements in the text? Or was the Siamese it contained sufficiently distant in time from other, more recent Siamese texts being translated into Khmer in the

nineteenth century that the specter of other non-Siamese Tai languages needed to be invoked to explain it? It is also possible that *lāv siem* is a kind of stock phrase, used here to mean “Tai languages” rather than specifically Lao and Siamese. Either way, the authors of the preface are clear that their new text is a translation into Khmer.

More specifically, in stanza 9 they are emphatic that their aim is “to translate it into verse, / elucidating both its substance and style” (*git lōk prè ceñ / oy cpās' as' ārth vohār*). This accords with their previously stated goal, in stanza 4, to translate it “in accordance with the letter, / meaning, and meter of the ancients” (*oy trūw tām akkha(r) / tām ārth tām pad purān*). In other words, they claim to have created a translation that respects both the literal words and sense (*akkhara* and *ārtha*) of the Tai text along with its poetic style and structure (*vohāra* and *pada*). With regards to Venuti’s spectrum of foreignizing/domesticating, Braḥ Dhammalikhit and his collaborators seem to want to have it both ways: a completely comprehensible translation that nevertheless accurately captures the letter and form of the source.

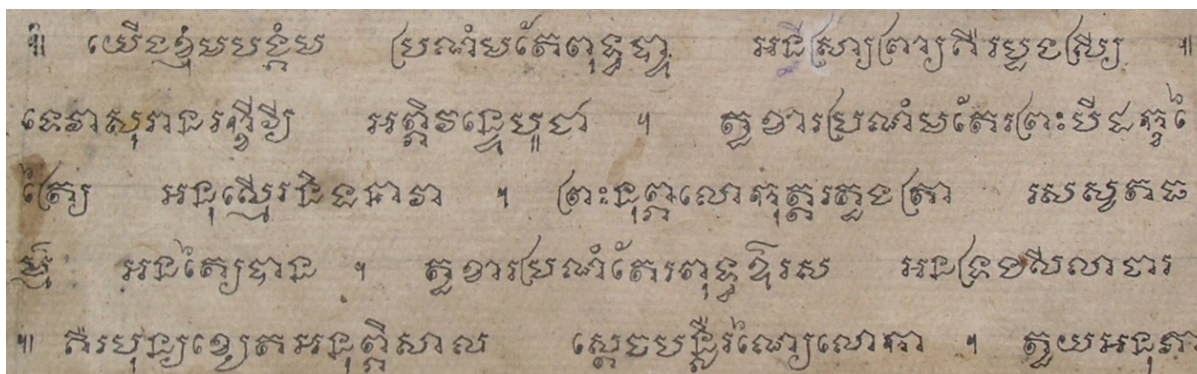


Figure 7.3.2.1: Detail of **UB008**, spread 3b, detail of opening of **dhārm yog-y/ch**

In what follows, I analyze the overall structure of **dhārm yog-y/ch** in comparison its Khmer translation, **dhārm yog-bn**. I also compare a few specific passages as representative examples. The Siamese text alternates between two meters: stanzas 1–6 are in *kāby yānī 11* (cf. Khmer *brahmagīti*), stanzas 7–28 in *kāby chpāñ 16* (cf. Khmer *baṃmol*), 29–30 in *kāby yānī 11*, 31–45 in *kāby chpāñ 16*, 46 in *kāby yānī 11*, 47–63 in *kāby chpāñ 16*, and 64–71 in *kāby yānī 11*, and 69–71 in *kāby chpāñ 16*. The Khmer text, by contrast, is in the *baṃmol* meter throughout. The Siamese texts opens with a four-stanza invocation:<sup>42</sup>

<i>UB008</i>	<i>Standardized</i>	<i>Translation</i>
๑	๑	1
យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំបង្គំ ប្រណាំង	ฉันหมยหมยบังคมประณม	I humbly bow and fold my hands before

<sup>42</sup> To provide a sense of how the text looks in Khmer script, for this passage I present a diplomatic transcription of the Khmer-script text of one leporello witness (**UB008**) in the left column; my standardized edition in Thai script, based on four Khmer-script leporellos (**UB007** 20a–25a dhammapaṭiyog; **UB008** 3b–11b dhārm y’ok; **UB009** 21b–26a; and **UB051** 13a–14b namo me), in the middle column; and finally my translation in the right column.

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តែពុទ្ធាអនិស្រាយព្រាយគឺរូងស្រី ។	แต่พุทธบาทภายปวงศรี	the Buddha's feet, illustrious and bright,
ទេវាសុរាសត្រីរិ	เทวาสุรารักษิ	which gods and titans protect,
អត្ថិវន្តេបូជា ។	อภิวันทบูชา	reverence, and worship.
២	๒	2
គូខារប្រណិមិត្តេព្រះបិដក្ខត្រៃ	คู้ข้าประณมพระไตร	I humbly fold my hands before the Triple Basket,
អនុស្សើរិន័នាវា ។	ปิฎกเสมอนิงนาวา	likened to a ship,
ព្រះនុព្វលោកុត្តរត្ថិដ្ឋត្រៃ	นพโลกุตตรดวงตรา	the ninefold supramundane states whose seal is the
រសសុត្តជ័យ្យ្យ អនុត្រៃបាណ ។	รสสูตรธรรม อันใดปาน	taste of the discourses and teachings, incomparable.
៣	๓	3
គូខារប្រណិមិត្តេពុទ្ធខិរស	คู้ข้าประณมพุทธโอรส	I humbly bow before the offspring of the Buddha,
អនុស្សើរិន័នាវា ។	อันทรงศีลศีลจารย์	who uphold the precepts as teachers of virtue,
គិបុណ្យខេត្តអនុត្តិសាល	คือบุญเกษตรอันพิศาล	who are the vast field of merit
ស្តេចបន្តិណ្ណលោកា ។	เสด็จบันลือในโลกา	that moves to illuminate the world.
៤	๔	4
គូយអនុភាពអនុខារ	ด้วยอำนาจพุดข้า	By the power of my
អត្ថិវន្តេសាស្តា ។	อภิวันทศาสดา	veneration of the Teacher,
ទោសានុទោសទុកទាយ	โทษานุโทษา	may sins, both great and small,
អន្តរាប្បជ័យហិតហា ។	อันตรายจงเหือดหาย	and disasters disappear.

The first five stanzas in Khmer capture much of the same content:

១	1
យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំប្រណម	We humbly bow in prayer
ពុទ្ធានុត្តម	before the excellent feet
នៃព្រះបរមជិន្រ្ទ ។	of the most perfect and glorious Victor,
២	2
ទេព្យមនុស្សយត្តិករី	which deities, humans, ogres, and poets
មូលមកកក្កិ	gather round in devotion
បង្គំបូជាសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	to worship every day.
៣	3
បង្គំព្រះបិដកត្រៃ	We bow down to the holy Triple Basket,
នព្វលោកជ័យថ្ងៃ	the precious nine supramundane states,
បិដុចនូវកលនាវា ។	likened to a ship.
៤	4
បង្គំពុទ្ធខិស្នសាស្តា	We bow down to the mouth of the Teacher
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា	which expounds and preaches,
ទូន្មាននៃសត្វផងគ្រប់ ។	guiding all living beings.

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๕	5
ដោយតេជៈខ្ញុំគោរព	By the power of my respect,
សូមជៀសឧបទ្រព	may I escape from all calamities
ចង្រៃកុំបំបៀតបាន ។	and misfortunes—may they not harm me.

The Khmer translation is close to the Siamese text with a few exceptions. In the second stanza, the Khmer replaces “gods and titans protect” (*devāsuraṅgurakkhā*) in the Siamese with “deities, humans, ogres, and poets” (*debtā manuss yakṣ kavī*), though it is possible that “poets” is a misreading for *kinnarī* here. In the third stanza, the Khmer text uses the same metonym for the Dharma as in the second stanza of the Siamese, namely the nine supramundane states (Khmer *nabbalok[uttara]dharma*; Siamese *navalokuttara[dharma]*; Pali *navalokuttara*).<sup>43</sup> In the fourth stanza, all known witnesses of the Khmer text refer to the “[Buddha]-lips/mouth of the Teacher” (*buddha-oṣṭh sāsā*). The Siamese here reads *buddha-oras*, meaning “the offspring of the Buddha,” i.e. the Sangha. This of course fits the context much better, such that the opening stanzas pay homage to the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha, rather than the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Buddha’s lips! It is not clear if this is an original error in the Brah̄ Dhammalikhit translation or one added by later scribes. Nevertheless, the error seems to be accidental rather than an intentional attempt to fit the Siamese into a Khmer context.

Other choices made by the Khmer translators, however, do show signs of domestication. Stanzas 5–32 in the Siamese and 7–28 in the Khmer consist of series of invitations to various physical relics of the Buddha to come reside in the buddha image.<sup>44</sup> The Siamese passage runs:

๕	5
ดูข้าตั้งจิตให้	I humbly make the intention
ทรงศีลทรงสวาทยาย	to uphold the precepts and recitation,
อัญเชิญพระธาตุอันภาสาย	inviting the illustrious relics
เสด็จในโลกาสืบฐาน	that travel everywhere in the world.
๖	6
รทนาพระปิ่นเกล้า	I beseech the Highest Lord
จงเลลาอย่าให้นาน	to come quickly

<sup>43</sup> The four paths and four fruits, from stream-entry to arhatship, with Nibbāna as the ninth.

<sup>44</sup> Theravada consecrations outside of Cambodia do not ordinarily involve such direct invitations of particular physical relics. In Thailand, the powers of the reliquaries (*ceṭiya*), qualities (*guṇa*), and perfections (*pāramī*) of the Buddha may be petitioned to be invested in the image, but this is different than inviting the relics themselves to enter the image. See Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand*, 162–163. For consecration in Vajrayāna contexts, no physical relics are required, but the invitation of a deity (Tibetan *lha*; Sanskrit *deva*) or personal deity (*yidam*; *iṣṭadevatā*) is central to the ritual. See Yael Bentor, ed., *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), 54–56. Whether traditional Khmer-Tai consecration texts were influenced by earlier Vajrayāna practices in present in late-first- and early-second-millennium Southeast Asia remains an open question.

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เสด็จสู่พระอันพิศาล	to the lovely image,
พุทธรูปอันใสศรี	the buddha image that shines in radiance.
๗	7
พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันมี	The relics of the Lord that lie
ในพพรัตน์บุรี	in Chiang Mai ( <i>nappārāta(n)purī</i> ),
คือพระหนุศาสดา	that is, the chin of the Teacher—
๘	8
พระธาตุพระเจ้าลีลา	may the relics of the Lord move
เสด็จสู่พระประติมา	into the holy image,
จงพระหนุเพ็ญมพราย	including his resplendent chin.
๙	9
พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันมาย	The relics of the Lord that measure
แปดโทททั้งหลาย	eight <i>dona</i> in all:
อันมีในแควนสิงหน	those in the Sinhalese realm,
๑๐	10
มีในผืนแผ่นดินสาทุก	those on the earth in great countries,
อันมีในแผ่นดินตำบล	in small countries,
กษัตริย์ท้าวภักทกิตติ	or guarded by serpents—
๑๑	11
อัญเชิญมุลมุงขุมชิด	I invite them to assemble together
คืบควรรพิพิธ	and crowd around, variegated and
เป็นรุ่งเรืองฉาย	lustrous in their radiance.
๑๒	12
เขี้ยวบนหนขวาพรายๆ	The upper-right canine, shining bright,
ทันดานหันตาย	and the major and minor teeth,
รับไว้ในเจดีย์สวรรค์	are kept in a heavenly cetiya.
๑๓	13
เขี้ยวซ้ายซ้ายบนมีพรรณ	The upper-left canine, whose hue
กษในเสนเรียงราล(ราญ)	shines everywhere,
ธรับไปไว้ในเมืองลังกา	is kept in the kingdom of Laṅkā.
๑๔	14
เขี้ยวใต้มือขวาศาสดา	The lower-right canine of the Teacher,
เสด็จชนสมปทา	which travels for the benefit of people,
ธรับไปไว้ในคนธบุรี	is kept in Gandhāra.
๑๕	15
เขี้ยวซ้ายซ้ายต่ำพระมนี	The lower-left canine of the Sage
กษเคนทรธิบดี	is kept by king of the serpents,
ธรับไปไว้ในนาคพิภพ	in the nāga realm.

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The parallel passage in Khmer contains almost all of same elements, including identical locations of all of the tooth relics, but leaves out the invitation to the chin relic in Chiang Mai:

៦	6
យើងខ្ញុំតាំងចិត្តប្រធាន ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យទាន ចាំសីលមេត្តាការវនា ។	We humbly make a vow to make merit, practice generosity, keep the precepts, and cultivate goodwill.
៧	7
អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា នៃព្រះសាស្តា ស្តេចគង់នៅស្ថានណាក្តី ។	We invite the holy precious relics of the Teacher, in whatever worlds they now reside.
៨	8
សូមស្តេចនិមុនមកឆ្លើយ ឆាប់ៗ វៃយៗ កំប្លីឱ្យនូវយូយា ។	May they come here quickly, swiftly, and rapidly; may they not take long.
៩	9
ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបសោភា ព្រោងព្រាយភ្លឺថ្លា រចនានូវពណ៌រស្មី ។	May they enter into the buddha image, shining bright and resplendent, ornamented with colors and rays.
១០	10
ព្រះធាតុនៃព្រះជិនស្រី នៅសព្វបុរី នៅនៃកោះកែវលង្កា ។	The relics of the Glorious Victor— in all cities, on the isle of Laṅkā,
១១	11
នៅក្នុងជម្ពូទីបា នៃស្ថាននានា សួគ៌ាកុដ្ឋនាគក្តី ។	in Jambudvīpa, in various realms, in the heavens, or with serpents and nāgas—
១២	12
អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុជិនស្រី រូសរាន់ឃ្មាតឱ្យ ចូលមកក្នុងព្រះបដិមា ។	we invite these relics of the Glorious Victor to quickly enter into the sacred image.
១៣	13
ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំសោភា ខាងលើនោះណា ស្ថិតត្រៃត្រីជ័រសួគ៌ស្រី ។	The beautiful jewel canine on the top right side resides in the glorious Trāyastriṃsa Heaven.
១៤	14
ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំពិសី	The precious jewel canine



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ខាងក្រោមនោះភ្នំ	on the bottom right side
ស្ថិតនៅកោះកែវលង្កា ។	resides on the isle of Laṅkā.
១៥	15
ចង្កូមកែវធ្វើលើសាស្តា	The Teacher’s top left jewel canine
ទៅស្ថិតនៅនា	went to reside in
នគរគន្ធាបុរី ។	the kingdom of Gandhāra.
១៦	16
ចង្កូមធ្វើក្រោមជិនស្រី	The Glorious Victor’s bottom left canine,
ល្អល្អ៖ពិសី	so beautiful and precious,
ស្ថិតនៅពិភពនាគា ។	resides in the realm of the nāgas.

The omission of the Chiang Mai relic may have been an accident or oversight, but it is hard not to see it as a deliberate omission on the part of the Khmer translators, one that parallels the rejection of the footprints in Saraburi and Chiang Mai in the Khmer translation of the Siamese *lāy lākṣa(n) brah̄ buddhapād pīṅn̄<sub>2</sub> khvā*. If that is the case, it is likely a domesticating choice on the translators’ part to ground the text in a Cambodian understanding of the relics’ locations. The Khmer text of **dhārm yog-bn** is predicated on the relics of the Buddha *not* being in Cambodia, or indeed anywhere nearby—that is precisely why they must be invited from a great distance, including from Laṅkā and Gandhāra, to enter into the image. Once again we see the Khmer domestication of a text that emphasizes Cambodia’s place at the very edge of the Buddha’s dispensation, where relics and footprints are not accessible.

By stanzas 40–47 in the Siamese and 36–43 in the Khmer, a verse-by-verse comparison shows that the two texts as not as tightly synced as before. In these passages, however, both texts speak to the triple robe worn by the buddha image, clothed just like the innumerable buddhas of the past and future.<sup>45</sup> The Siamese text of this passage, however, also makes reference to what appears to be a toponym, “the land of *raṭṭh sarbej(ñ) saiyā*”:

៤០	40
พระไตรจีวรอุฬารยิ่ง	The most lofty triple robe
กระมุทเมืองมิ่ง	with heavenly lotuses,
ยิ่งจำปาทาหิม	best of frangipani and pomegranate.
៤១	41
พระมงกุศนี้งฟ้าเหลี่ยมหลิม	His crown is pointed, sharp,
จงสำหรับเรืองริม	and resplendent.
ในพระสบงจราลจรวล	His lower robe blazes red.

<sup>45</sup> On conceptions of the infinite numbers of past and future Buddhas in Cambodia and Siam, see Olivier de Bernon, “Des buddha aussi nombreux que les grains de sable”: Note sur une métaphore figée dans la langue khmère,” *Aséanie* 7 (June 2001): 13–17; and Peter Skilling, “The Sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhology,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 128–54.

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<p>៤២          ឯងប្រកបប្រដាប់គ្រប់គ្រាន់          ឯងប្ររតិបត្តិ          ឯងគឺជាប្រដាប់</p>	<p>42          May there be a densely ornamented          array of lovely cloth          upon the holy image.</p>
<p>៤៣          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>43          I invite the relics to come from the land of <i>ratth sarbej(ñ) saiyā</i>          for consecration and worship,          and to bestow prosperity and blessings.</p>
<p>៤៤          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>44          I invite the relics to come with the joy          of the Ten-Powered Lords,          with exaltations all around.</p>
<p>៤៥          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>45          The Lords of the future, innumerable,          who are recollected each day          for their buddha-virtues as buddhas-to-be,</p>
<p>៤៦          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>46          [these] lords of the future,          more numerous than the sand grains in the ocean,          shall wear the triple robe,          the lofty vestment of the buddhas,</p>
<p>៤៧          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងឱ្យសេចក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>47          flying everywhere together with their retinues,          just like Śrī Ārya [Maitreya],          loftily swathed in clothes.</p>

The Khmer text, while including most of the rest of the same content, omits this toponym entirely:

<p>៣៦          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>36          including the lower robe, carefully ornamented,          the upper robe,          the <i>saṅghāṭi</i> robe, the undershirt, and the belt,</p>
<p>៣៧          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ          ឯងស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយ</p>	<p>37          whose yellow radiance is marvelous          and looks like          a golden crystal,</p>

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<p>៣៨          ពុំនោះដូចផ្កាចំប៉ា          ពុំនោះសោតណា          ដូចផ្កាទទឹមល្អក្រៃ ។</p>	<p>38          or like a frangipani flower,          or, moreover,          like a gorgeous pomegranate blossom.</p>
<p>៣៩          បាំងផ្ចិតនិស្សិតគ្របត្រៃ          ចិវថ្វាថ្វៃ          ផ្ចិតផ្ចង់អំនរថ្វាត់ថ្វាយ ។</p>	<p>39          The image is covered with fans and wrapped          in the precious triple robe,          carefully and joyfully offered.</p>
<p>៤០          បល្ល័ង្កមាលមាសពណ្ណរាយ          រស្មីព្រោងព្រាយ          អញ្ជើញពុទ្ធរូបតង់ថ្វាត់ ។</p>	<p>40          Upon the resplendent golden throne,          bright with radiance,          we invite the buddha image to swiftly sit.</p>
<p>៤១          យើងខ្ញុំអភិសេកពុទ្ធវត្ថន៍          ឲ្យបរិបូរវិសិ          ជាម្ចាស់ក្រុងត្រៃលោកា ។</p>	<p>41          We consecrate the jewel of the Buddha          to be complete and to remain          as the sovereign of the triple world.</p>
<p>៤២          ព្រះពុទ្ធពីមុនក្តីណា          សល់សែនសំខ្យា          ច្រើនក្រៃលើសខ្យាចំសមុទ្រ ។</p>	<p>42          The buddhas of the past,          one hundred thousand uncountables strong,          more numerous than the ocean's sand grains,</p>
<p>៤៣          ទាំងព្រះសិរាហ្សប្រាកដ          ជាអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធ          បានត្រាស់ទៅមុខក្តីណា ។</p>	<p>43          along with the glorious Ārya Maitreya,          the buddha who will          awaken in the future.</p>

Again, it is possible that the Khmer translators unintentionally omitted the reference to *raṭṭh saṅbej(ñ) saiyā*, either as a mistake or because it could not easily fit in their rhyme pattern. The referent of *raṭṭh saṅbej(ñ) saiyā* (“the country of the reclining Omniscient One”) is admittedly not clear; it might be the name of a temple with a reclining buddha image, or a reference to the land ruled by a king of Ayutthaya (nine of whom were named *brah sṛī saṅbej(ñ)*). Whatever the case may be, the Khmer translators did not include it in their text, again supporting the notion that they sought to domesticate their translation by eliminating parts of the text that seem to make reference to Siam.

Both texts than continue by enumerating many offerings to be made to the image as well as a series of aspirations. Here, once again, the Siamese and Khmer versions are closely parallel. The former closes with these verses:

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៦៨ សរវណ្ណានម័សការ ព្រះគ្រីយ័រយមេត្រី សេតិជ្ជត្រីសម្មវិច្ឆិ ធម្មវរ្ម័ន្តរាជានុ ៦៩ ឡង្គេតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ ឡង្គេតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ ក៏តិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ ៧០ ឡង្គេតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ សេតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ បតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ ៧១ ធម្មវិយាគារយ័ តិយ័តិយ័តិយ័ សម្មតិយ័តិយ័តិយ័	68 May I be able to pay homage to Glorious Ārya Maitreya, who will achieve full awakening as the king of the jewel of the Teaching. 69 May sadness fade and disappear and may malevolence gradually fade away. 70 May the whole throng of living beings experience bliss, shine bright, and achieve the liberation that is the great Nibbāna. 71 The Dhammayogā, expounded with wisdom, succinct and fit for recitation, is complete in all of its parts.
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The last three stanzas of the Khmer version conclude in much the same way:

៦៩ យើងខ្ញុំសូមទាន់សាសនា នៃព្រះភគវា នាមព្រះសិវាប្បមេត្រី ។ ៧០ ឲ្យបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបី ពីព្រះជិនស្រី កុំបីឲ្យមានឃ្លាតឃ្លា ។ ៧១ ព្រះធម្មបដិយោគា សង្ខេបវណ្ណនា និរ្មិតាចប់ហោង ។	69 We ask to be born in time for the dispensation of the Blessed One named Glorious Ārya Maitreya 70 to achieve the three attainments from the Glorious Victor and never be separated from them. 71 The <i>Dhammapatīyogā</i> succinctly expounded, is complete and finished.
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What is perhaps most remarkable about the conclusion to the Khmer version is that it maintains exactly the same number of stanzas as the Siamese version. Seventy-one is not, it seems, a number of special significance, but Braḥ Dhammalikhit and his collaborators crafted, on purpose or otherwise, a Khmer text that matches that Siamese text in both meter and length. While **dhaṛm yog-y/ch** includes a few stanzas in *kāby yānī 11*, the majority of the

text is the *kāby chpāñ* 16 meter. This is the exact Siamese equivalent of the Khmer *baññol* meter, which is used throughout the Khmer text of **dhārm yog-bn**.

The resulting translation, therefore, in spite of its domesticating elision of Siamese toponyms, closely mirrors the content as well as the form of the source text. This allows for the Khmer text to be performed in essentially the same way as the Siamese one, with elaborate, melismatic *smūtr* melodies that take about two hours to chant the entirety of the 71 stanzas. At a few of the monasteries in Cambodia where the Siamese version was still performed in 2008, I recorded the melodies used and found that they are indeed very similar to those used for the Khmer version. Moreover, the monks who knew the Siamese version had also studied the Khmer version, and could recite both with their respective melodies. The next section engages translations where the source and target text may likewise achieve performative parity.

#### 7.4 Performative Parity

The two consecration texts discussed above are not the only examples of texts and translations exhibiting this quality of performative parity in the corpus. Many other Khmer poems found are crafted such that they can match the performative qualities of their Pali and Tai source texts. These qualities may include the overall length of the text, the syllable count per line, the metrical pattern of short and long syllables, the rhyme pattern, the potential style of melodic chant, and the occasion for performance. Maintaining these qualities in the target text reflects an effort by the translator to create a poem that not only mirrors the content of the original but also the way it is performed. This section traces a number of such efforts involving Pali, Siamese, Khmer, and Vietnamese texts connected to those in the leporellos.

##### 7.4.1 Mirroring Pali Verse in Khmer

A significant number of bilingual Pali-Khmer verse texts in the corpus contain Khmer stanzas that carefully reflect many aspects of their Pali portions. These compositions typically present a single Pali stanza followed by its translation into one or more Khmer stanzas. A stanza of Khmer verse is generally less semantically dense than a Pali stanza; it often takes two to six Khmer stanzas to express the meaning of a single Pali one. This leads to a discrepancy between the amount of time spent chanting in Pali and Khmer when a bilingual verse text is performed. Some Cambodian translators, however, have managed to compress their translations of each Pali stanza down to a single stanza in Khmer such that the lengths of the source text and its translation are more evenly matched.

Sèm Sūr's **Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Sèm Sūr-7** (“Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation”), likely composed in the early 1970s, is one example of such a composition. His text first presents a common Pali stanza recited on behalf of the dead:

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<i>Sèm Sūr 197X</i>	<i>Translation</i>
P4	P4
<i>aniccā vata saṅkhārā</i>	<i>Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things.</i>
<i>uppādavayadhammino</i>	<i>They have the nature to arise and pass away.</i>
<i>upphajj[i]tv[ā] nirujjhanti</i>	<i>Having arisen, they disappear.</i>
<i>tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho</i>	<i>Their complete stilling is bliss.</i>

He then renders that stanza into Khmer, compressed into just four lines:

១៣	13	
សង្ខារទាំងឡាយមិនទៀងទៀយ	Formations are impermanent,	
តែងកើតមកហើយវិនាសទៅ	always arising and passing away.	
កើតស្លាប់រលត់មិនសល់នៅ	Arising, then passing away, they are completely extinguished.	
សង្ខារអស់ទៅទើបសុខា ។	Once formations have been exhausted, then comes bliss.	

All of the basic elements of the Pali text are captured in the Khmer, and indeed each line in the Khmer matches the meaning of the corresponding line in the original stanza. Later on in **Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Sèm Sūr-7**, he renders the verse from Dhammapada 3.9 (**Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV**) into another single stanza:

<i>P8</i>	<i>P8</i>	
<i>aciraṃ vatayam kāyo</i>	<i>Soon indeed this body</i>	
<i>pathaviṃ adhisessati</i>	<i>will lie on the earth,</i>	
<i>chuddho apetaṃhiññāṇo</i>	<i>thrown away, without consciousness,</i>	
<i>nira[tthamva] kalīṅgaram.</i>	<i>useless as a rotting log.</i>	
២៤	24	
កាយនេះមិននៅយូរយារឡើយ	This body does not remain for long.	
បាត់វិញ្ញាណហើយដូចអុសខ្មៅ	Once consciousness is lost, it is like blackened charcoal.	
គេតែងយកចោលក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ	People always dispose of it in the deep woods,	
ឬគេយកទៅដុតកប់ដី ។	cremate it, or bury it in the ground.	

Sèm Sūr’s translation in this case does not capture all the elements of the Pali text. The second line, *pathaviṃ adhisessati*, is left untranslated. Moreover, the last two lines in the Khmer are his interpolations; they do not appear in the Pali stanza as such. Constrained by the metrical patterns of the *bāky* 7 meter, his translation does not read as a precise literal translation but nevertheless captures the approximate length of the Pali stanza, such that when the bilingual text is recited, the Pali and Khmer portions occupy roughly equal allotments of

time. On the other hand, the Khmer *bāky* 7 stanza fills 28 syllables, whereas the Pali *anuṭṭhubha* stanza requires 32. The difference in the syllabic length per line and per stanza makes it difficult to perform both with the same melody. In the Khmer tradition of recitation, the choice of melody depends on the number of syllables as well as how those syllables are divided into rhythmic groups.

Other bilingual Pali-Khmer verse compositions attempt to solve this problem by matching the number of syllables per line or per stanza. In **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** (“Stanzas of the homage octet, Pali with Khmer translation”), the translation achieves performative parity for the Pali and Khmer portions of the text by matching the Pali *anuṭṭhubha* meter with the Khmer *bāky* 4 meter. One half-stanza (two lines) of *anuṭṭhubha* contains eight syllables per stanza, or sixteen syllables in total, equivalent to one stanza (four lines) of *bāky* 4, which contains four lines of four syllables each. The melodic line used to perform this text repeats every sixteen syllables, so the same melody may be used to intone the Pali and Khmer portions of the text. Each half-stanza in Pali is paired with two stanzas in Khmer:

<p>1  <i>namo arahato sammā-  sambuddhassa mahesino</i>  ១  សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ  ឆ្ពោះព្រះអរហន្ត  សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធកតិវន្ត  កាលស្វែតរកធម៌  ២  គឺពោធិញ្ញាណ  ប្រសើរបរ  បានត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌  ដោយអរិយមគ្គ ។</p>	<p>1  <i>Homage to him, the Worthy One  to the Perfect Buddha, the Great Seer.</i>  1  I humbly bow in homage  to the Worthy One,  the Perfect Buddha, the Blessed One,  who, when in search of the Dharma,  2  that is, the omniscience of awakening,  most excellent and supreme,  attained enlightenment and knew the Dharma  by means of the Noble Path.</p>
<p>2  <i>namo uttamadhammassa  svākkhātasseva tenidha</i>  ៣  សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ  ព្រះធម៌ឧត្តម  ដែលព្រះបរម  សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធសម្តែង  ៤</p>	<p>2  <i>Homage to the highest Teaching,  well proclaimed in this world by him.</i>  3  I humbly bow in homage  to the lofty Dharma,  which the supreme  Perfect Buddha taught  4</p>

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ដោយប្រពៃពិត	with true excellence,
ប្រាកដជាក់ស្តែង	certain and clear;
ព្រះធម៌នោះឯង	it is this Dharma that is
ទុកក្នុងសាសនា ។	established in the dispensation.

While the vernacular translations elaborate slightly on the content expressed in Pali, they nevertheless form an accurate reflection of the source text. More importantly, their division into four-syllable lines makes it possible to recite both the Pali and Khmer portions with the same melody. The melody most commonly heard today for this text is known as the *samrāy* melody.<sup>46</sup> For instance, the second Pali half-stanza, *namo uttamadhammassa / svākkhātasēva tenidha*, is broken into four groups of four syllables each: *namo utta / madhammassa / svākkhātasē / va tenidha*. This is paired with stanzas 3 and 4 in the Khmer, the first of which reads *sūm thwāy paṅgam braḥ dhārm uttam țèl braḥ param sambuddh samtèn*. This too is broken into four groups of four syllables each: *sūm thwāy paṅgam / braḥ dhārm uttam / țèl braḥ param / sambuddh samtèn*. Each sixteen-syllable segment of text, whether in Khmer or Pali, can be performed with the same melody.

In what follows, I document these melodies in Western-style staff notation. My transcriptions are only approximate, capturing the bare outlines of the melody, rhythm, and vocal ornamentation. The melodies I transcribe are based on those I learned from Bruṃ Ūt and Köt R"ān during my studies of *smūtr* or *dhārm pad* performance in Kampong Speu province, Cambodia in 2005–2006. Given that each performer may choose a different starting pitch depending on vocal range, I have centered each melody around a tonal center that keeps most notes on the staff and demands a minimum of accidentals.<sup>47</sup> My main goal in these transcriptions is to show exactly how the syllables of these texts are distributed over the contours of the melody. They allow us to witness the use of extensive melismas (where a single syllable is sung over many notes) as well as clearly defined vocal phrases (marked by an apostrophe to indicate breaths) in the performance of these texts, as well to easily compare how different texts may be set to the same melody.

The Pali portion of the first half-stanza of **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** is performed as follows:

<sup>46</sup> V"en Sun វ៉ែន សុន and Y"ān' Pūrin យ៉ាន់ បូរិន, *Rapāyakāra(n) pūk sarup laddhaphal nai kār svāv jrāv pad smūtr kāṃṇāby* របាយការណ៍ប្លុកសរុបលទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវបទស្នត្រកំណាព្យ, 4.

<sup>47</sup> For details of the different musical scales and tonalities used in *smūtr* or *dhārm pad* performance, see Trent Walker, “Quaking and Clarity: Saṃvega and Paśāda in Cambodian Dharma Songs” (Stanford University, 2010), 78–84.



na - mo ut - ta - .....  
 ma - dham-mas - sa .....  
 svāk-khā - tas - se - .....  
 va te - ni-dha .....

Figure 7.4.1.1 Samrāy melody used when performing the second Pali half-stanza of **Namō-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namō-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4**

The Khmer translation is then intoned with the same melody:

sūm thvāy paṅgam .....  
 braḥ dharm ut - tam .....  
 ṭèl braḥ pa - ram .....  
 sam - buddh samtèn.....

Figure 7.4.1.2 Samrāy melody used when performing the third Khmer stanza of **Namō-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namō-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4**

The *samrāy* melody, as a form of *smūtr* chanting, does not exhibit a strict rhythmic pulse but rather an expansive, melismatic arc to each phrase. Therefore, no matter the stress or accent pattern of any particular set of four syllables in Pali or Khmer, the melody may be performed

in the same way. What is most important is that each syllable falls on the proper pitch assigned to it over the course of the melody. Since the translator made the syllable counts equal (or rather in an even 1:2 ratio) for each portion of the text, performative parity is achieved.

However, *smūtr* melodies, while ideal for Khmer, inflict a certain violence on Pali verse. Khmer words are generally either monosyllabic or “sesquisyllabic” (an unstressed minor syllable followed by a stressed syllable).<sup>48</sup> In the four-syllable *bāky* 4 meter, the natural stress pattern is thus iambic, with each the four lines being in iambic dimeter (unstressed-stressed-unstressed-stressed):

x / x /  
*sūm thwāy paṅgaṃ*

x / x /  
*braḥ dhaṛm uttam*

x / x /  
*tēl braḥ param*

x / x /  
*sambuddh samtēṇi*

Pali meters, by contrast, generally depends on distinctions between *garu* (“heavy,” or metrically long) and *laghu* (“light,” or metrically short) syllables. In Tai and Khmer chanting practices, the metrical contrast between a *garu* and *laghu* syllable is more salient than the quality of being stressed or unstressed. From a musical perspective, if a *garu* syllable (x) lasts one quarter-note, then a *laghu* syllable (/) lasts one eighth-note, exactly half the duration. For the parallel Pali passage to the Khmer stanza above, the stress falls in a different pattern:

x / / x  
*namo utta*

x / / x  
*madhammassa*

/ / / /  
*svākkhātasse*

x / x [/]  
*va tenidha*

Some Khmer translators, aware of the problems in combining the stress-based patterns of Khmer with the metrical contrasts of Pali, sought to create Khmer verse texts that matched the rhythmic qualities of Pali chant. In so doing, they may have been drawing inspiration from the *chān(d)* (cf. Pali *chandās*) meters in Siamese poetry, which rigorously apply *garu/laghu*

<sup>48</sup> Becky Butler, “Approaching a Phonological Understanding of the Sesquisyllable with Phonetic Evidence from Khmer and Bunong,” in *Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: The State of the Art*, ed. N. J. Enfield and Bernard Comrie (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 443–499. See also Pittayawat Pittayaporn, “Typologizing Sesquisyllabicity: The Role of Structural Analysis in the Study of Linguistics Diversity in Mainland Southeast Asia,” in *Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: The State of the Art*, ed. N. J. Enfield and Bernard Comrie (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 500–528.

distinctions to an essentially monosyllabic Tai language.<sup>49</sup> In the context of a bilingual Pali-Khmer chanted text, the assimilation of the Khmer into a Pali metrical pattern allows for a different kind of performative parity to emerge.

One example of this kind of translation choice appears in **Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br** (“Stanzas from the *Samantapāsādikā*, Pali with Khmer translation”). This anonymous bilingual text, perhaps from the eighteenth or nineteenth century, takes Buddhaghosa’s opening stanzas from his commentary on the Vinaya, the *Samantapāsādikā*, and interweaves them with Khmer verse translations. In so doing, the translator adopts the metrical patterns of the Pali *indravajrā*<sup>50</sup> meter to the Khmer *brahmagīti* meter. The first stanza in Pali is rendered by four in Khmer:

<p>1  <i>yo kappakoṭṭhi pi appameyyaṃ</i>  <i>kālaṃ karonto atidukkarāni</i>  <i>khedaṃ gato lokahitāya nātho</i>  <i>namo mahākāruṇikassa tassa.</i></p> <p>១          ព្រះពុទ្ធជាទីពឹង          ពំនាក់នឹងសព្វសត្តា          ព្រះអង្គកាលប្រាថ្នា          ធ្វើកសាងអស់កាលយូរ ។</p> <p>២          រាប់ដោយកោដិកប្បា          ច្រើនគណនាហួសគិតគួរ          បាន(បានត្រាស់)ជាសព្វញ្ញ          ត្រាស់ជាគ្រូលើកពស្ថាន ។</p> <p>៣          ធ្វើកម្មជាកម្រ          មនុស្សនិកររាប់ពុំបាន          តោកយ៉ាកលំបាកប្រាណ          ព្រោះប្រាថ្នាដល់សព្វសត្ត ។</p> <p>៤          ខ្ញុំខ្លិនកាយវាចា          ចិត្តប្រាថ្នាបង្គំថ្លាត់          ព្រះពុទ្ធករុណាសត្វ          នោះជាទីពឹងសព្វកាល ។</p>	<p>1  <i>He who for uncountable myriads of eons</i>  <i>practiced austeries and toiled</i>  <i>for the sake of the world, our Protector—</i>  <i>homage to him of great compassion.</i></p> <p>1          The Lord, who is the          refuge of all beings,          vowed to cultivate          merit for a long time—</p> <p>2          myriads of eons          beyond count or concept—          to reach omniscience          as the world’s great teacher,</p> <p>3          through deeds that exceed          what humans can number,          braving pain and toil          for the sake of all life.</p> <p>4          I bow my body,          speech, and mind to the Lord          Buddha, merciful,          the refuge for all time.</p>
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<sup>49</sup> Hudak, *The Indigenization of Pali Meters in Thai Poetry*, 45–95.

<sup>50</sup> There is some inconsistency in how the Sanskrit term *indravajrā* is rendered in Pali texts. I have opted to use Sanskrit names for Pali meters in this section.

Each half-stanza of the Pali *indravajrā* meter is metrically equivalent to one stanza of *brahmagāti* in Khmer. The Pali meter may be conceived as having eleven syllables per line:

/ / x // x x / x / /  
*yo kap-pakoṭṭhi pi appameyyaṃ*

/ / x // x x / x / [ / ]  
*kālaṃ karonto atidukkarāni*

The Khmer meter consists of four lines of five, six, five, and then six syllables, respectively, such that a full stanza of *brahmagāti* has 22 syllables, equivalent to one half-stanza of *indravajrā*. The translator went further, however, in establishing a rhythmic equivalent to the Pali meter by choosing unstressed Khmer syllables to occupy the short *laghu* positions and stressed ones in the *garu* positions:

/ / x / /  
*braḥ buddh jā dī bīn*

x x / x / /  
*baṃnāk' nīn sabv sattā*

/ / x / /  
*braḥ aṅg kāl prāthnā*

x x / x / /  
*dhvō kasān as' kāl yūr.*

Not all of the Khmer words fit perfectly into this structure. For instance, *baṃnāk'* is naturally a sesquisyllabic pattern of unstressed-stressed, rather than two unstressed syllables in a row. But most of the other words fit their standard inflection pattern when applied to this Pali meter. Unlike the melismatic *smūtr* melodies used for many texts in the leporello corpus, a style of rhythmically precise chant (known as *sūtr*) is used for performing this text. By placing the Khmer within the confines of the *indravajrā* meter, the translator creates a bilingual text in which both the Khmer and Pali portions may be recited in the same style:

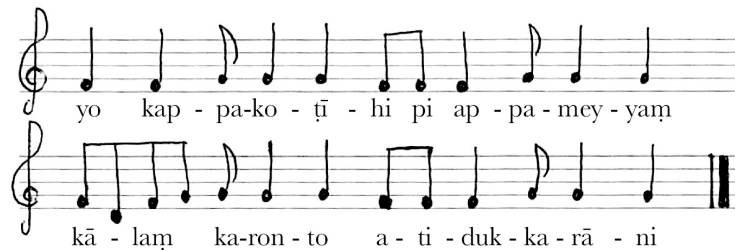


Figure 7.4.1.3 First Pali half-stanza of *Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br*



Figure 7.4.1.4 First Khmer stanza of **Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrūy-br**

The remaining stanzas of this text continue in a similar vein, with the Khmer again assimilated to the Pali rhythm in recitation. Some sets of stanzas, such the second Pali stanza and its translation into Khmer, are essentially the same in content but markedly different in the sequence in which the content is presented:

<p>2  <i>asambuddhaṃ buddhanisevitaṃ yaṃ</i>  <i>bhavābhavaṃ gacchati jīvaloko</i>  <i>namo avijjādikilesajālaṃ</i>  <i>viddhamasino dhammarassa tassa.</i></p> <p>៥          សត្វកើតតែងស្លាប់បង់          ព្រោះចំណង់កម្មជាគោល          ឲ្យវិលវល់អន្ទោល          ក្នុងភពតូចនិងភពធំ ។</p> <p>៦          ហេតុតែមិនដឹងធម៌          បរិសុទ្ធស្អាតសុខុម          ព្រះពុទ្ធតែងសេពសម          ចិត្តខ្ញុំសូមនមស្សការ ។</p> <p>៧          នូវព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃថ្កុត          វិសេសសុទ្ធនោះឯងណា          កាត់បង់នូវអវិជ្ជា          នឹងបណ្តាញកិលេសហើយ ។</p>	<p>2  <i>Unawakened to the Dharma the buddhas practice,</i>  <i>living beings cycle through various worlds;</i>  <i>homage to that excellent Dharma, which destroys</i>  <i>the net of defilements, beginning with ignorance.</i></p> <p>5          They're born, then they die,          since they're tied to karma,          caught in a vortex          of realms great and realms small,</p> <p>6          blind to the Dharma—          sublime, perfect, and pure,          practiced by buddhas—          with my mind I bow down</p> <p>7          to that most precious,          special, and pure Dharma          that cut through ignorance          and dispelled defilement.</p>
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Other sections, such as the fourth Pali stanza and its translation, have roughly the same sequence, but not all of the Pali text is translated and the Khmer also adds additional content for clarity or elaboration:

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<p>4  <i>icc'evam accantanamassaneyyam  namassamāno ratanattayam yaṃ  puññābhisandam vipulam alatham  tassānubhāvena hatantarāyo.</i></p> <p>១១  ខ្ញុំសូមមស្សការ  លើកហត្ថាឱនសិរសី  បង្កំគុណទាំងបី  ខ្ពស់លើលុបត្រៃលោក ។</p> <p>១២  សូមបុណ្យកងកុសល  ឱយបានដល់យើងខ្ញុំណា  ពេញពោរស្មើផារា  ដូចជលសាធំទូលាយ ។</p> <p>១៣  សូមឱយកំចាត់បង្ក  អពមន្តលទាំងឡាយ  ឱយចៀសចេញចាក់ឆ្ងាយ  ក្តីអន្តរាយកុំបីមាន ។</p> <p>១៤  ដោយកម្លាំងអានុភាព  បុញ្ញលាភជាប្រធាន  កងបុញ្ញរាសីមាន  សូមបានក្សាន្តកុំមានមោះ ។</p> <p>១៥  ដោយគុណមស្សការ  ត្រៃតនាប្រសើរខ្ពស់  សូមអានិសង្ឃនោះ  ដាក់ដល់ឋាននិព្វានហោង។</p>	<p>4  <i>Worshipping the Three Jewels, which should be  constantly worshipped in just this way,  I received a vast stream of merit—  by the power of the Three Jewels, may calamities be destroyed.</i></p> <p>11  I humbly bow down,  palms raised up, my head low,  to the Three Worthies,  higher than all Three Worlds.</p> <p>12  May all the merit  be upon all of us,  full like the wide earth  and vast like the ocean.</p> <p>13  May it bring an end  to all our misfortunes—  may they stay away  and may we all be safe.</p> <p>14  By the mighty force  led by gaining merit,  may fortune, blessings,  and joy come without end.</p> <p>15  By means of homage  to the highest Three Jewels,  may this benefit  take us to Nirvana.</p>
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In this example, the second line of the Pali text does not appear in the Khmer. In addition, the last two stanzas in the Khmer elaborate upon the previous two, but are not present in a strict sense in the Pali verse. This and other bilingual Pali-Khmer verse texts occasionally take such liberties in translation. What remains constant in this text, however, is the rhythm in which it is to be recited, which unify the Pali and Khmer portions into a performed whole.

7.4.2 *Invitations for Sermons across Languages*

The principle of performative parity appears not just in the translation techniques at work in bilingual Pali-Khmer verse texts. It also appears in the ways that Khmer verse texts drew inspiration from Tai-language texts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as how they inspired the creation of new Vietnamese-language texts in the twentieth century. The examples of these cross-linguistic attempts at performative parity I engage in this subsection center around the verses recited by a layperson to invite a monk to preach.

When inviting a monk to give a sermon in contemporary Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, it is customary for a layperson to first recite a poem in Pali and/or in a vernacular tongue (Thai, Lao, etc.). This stanza recalls the moment when the Buddha, just awakened and reluctant to teach the Dharma, is invited by the Brahmā deity named Sahampati to preach the contents of his awakening so that sentient beings may benefit. The form of the stanza shared across all three countries today generally reads as:

<i>brahmā ca lokādhipatī sahaṃpatī</i>	Brahmā Sahampati, Lord of the World,
<i>katañjalī andhivaraṃ ayācatha</i>	palms folded together, petitioned the Unexcelled One:
<i>sant’idha sattā ’pparajakkhajātikā</i>	“There are, here below, beings with but minor defilements—
<i>desetu dhammaṃ anukamp’imam pajam</i>	preach the Dhamma; have compassion for this generation.”

Skilling shows the ways in which this verse has been transformed from its canonical source in the *Buddhavaṃsa* to this metrically complete verse in the twelve-syllable *indravaṃśa* meter with the stress pattern / / x / / xx / x / x /.<sup>51</sup> I will not repeat the details of his argument here. The key point to observe about this transformation is that the stanza has been altered such that it may be performed in a consistent meter through each of the four lines. This, in turn, facilitates the performance of this stanza with a consistent melody. In Thailand and parts of Laos today, one of the melodies applied to this text contains just three pitches:

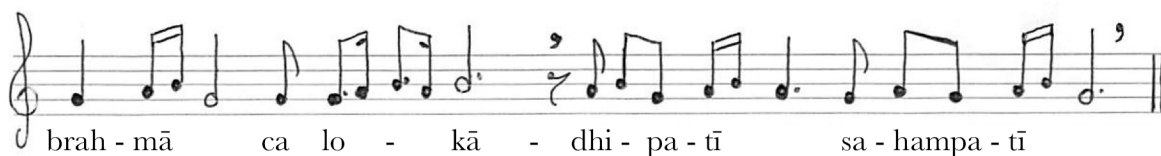


Figure 7.4.2.1: Melody of the first line in Pali

This melody, repeated in almost the same way for each of the four lines, accentuates the long *garu* syllables over the short *laghu* ones, further highlighting the transformation of this canonical verse into a performable chanting text.

<sup>51</sup> Peter Skilling, “Ārādhanā Tham: ‘Invitation to Teach the Dhamma,’” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 80–89.

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In some parts of Thailand today, this verse is recited in both Pali along with a translation into a vernacular Tai language. There are many such translations in circulation today; the work of editing and tracing their origins falls outside of my current argument. At least three circulate in lay chanting books and on Thai Buddhist websites. One version<sup>52</sup> reads thus:

๑	1
สหมัมบดีพรหม	Sahampatī Brahma,
วรมขจรชจาย	most prominent and renowned,
เป็นใหญ่ ฌ โลกผาย-	the highest in the world, went
จรเฝ้าพระศาสดา	to bow down before the Teacher.
๒	2
ทำอัญชลีแล้ว	Having pressed his palms together,
มนแผ้วและพร้องกลา	he cleansed his mind and intoned these words,
ทูลพระพรอา-	humbly asking for a noble blessing
รยต่อพระทศพล	from the Ten-Powered Lord:
๓	3
อ้างเหตุประเภทสัตว์	“According to the division of beings
อุบัติ ฌ โลกสกล	who are born in the universe,
สัตว์ที่มีมิดมน	beings whose minds are dull,
มลให้กิเลสประลัย	polluted and wracked with defilement
๔	4
มีอยู่ ฌ โลกหล้า	still exist in earthly realms
คณนานะสุดจะไซ	in numbers incalculable.
ขององค์พระจอมไตร	Please, may the Lord of the Three Worlds,
มนเกื้อประกอบกรุณ	whose heart of succor is endowed with compassion,
๕	5
ทรงเทศนาโปรด	preach so that they might be saved,
สละโศดประสาทนสุนทร	cast off ignorance, and achieve goodness,
ปวงสัตว์จะสบคุณ-	such that beings can reach the virtues of
ณนิพพานสรายุหทัยฯ	Nibbāna and pacify their minds.”

<sup>52</sup> This particular version may be found at [http://www.buddha-dhamma.com/index.php?lay=boardshow&ac=webboard\\_show&No=1422137](http://www.buddha-dhamma.com/index.php?lay=boardshow&ac=webboard_show&No=1422137)



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This version elaborates on aspects of the Pali text, but does not add much new content. Another version, found in the previously cited *Hñāñ sī svat buddhaman(t) bidhī chpāp sampūra(n)*,<sup>53</sup> reframes the text as not merely a translation of the Pali verse about the Buddha being invited to preach by Sahampati in the past, but also as an explicit invitation for a living monk in the present to give a sermon:

๑	1
สหัมบดีพรหม	Sahampatī Brahma,
เป็นบรมในโลกา	foremost in the worlds,
มีฤทธิ์และเดชา	possessed force, might,
นุภาพในคณาพรหม	and power among the Brahma-deities.
๒	2
ทำอัญชสีวาท	Having pressed his palms together
สถิตอาสน์ ณ ที่สม	he sat respectfully on his throne
ควรแล้วก็บังคม	and bowed in homage
ธูลีบาทพระศาสดา	to the dust beneath the feet of the Teacher.
๓	3
ขอพระบวรเลิศ	“May the Lord who exceeds excellence,
สุดประเสริฐมโหฬาร	the best of the best, magnificent,
ว่าปวงประชาอา-	be informed that living beings
สว่น้อยก็ยังมี	whose defilements are few still exist.
๔	4
เชิญองค์พระสัมพุทธ	May the Lord, the Perfect Buddha,
บริสุทธิ พระอินทรีย์	whose senses are purified,
โปรดปวงประชาชี	save the mass of living beings,
ให้ลูทางเกษมสันต์	that they might attain peaceful bliss.”
๕	5
จึงองค์มุนีปราชญ์	Then the Lord, the wise Sage,
วรนารถพระทัยบาน	the great Protector, whose heart was open,
รับพรหมก็โดยฐาน	assented to the Brahmā-deity on the grounds
พระการุณยะภาพมี	of his holy compassion.
๖	6

<sup>53</sup> Braḥ Grū Vimala’āṛthavādī พระครูวิมลอรธวาที, *Hñāñ sī svat buddhaman(t) bidhī chpāp sampūra(n)* หนังสือสวดพุทธมนต์พิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์, 262–263.

นิมนต์พระคุณท่าน We invite you, O Venerable,  
 ผู้เปรียบปานพระชินสีห์ you who are comparable to the Victor,  
 โปรดเผยพระธรรมชี้ to save by preaching the Dharma that teaches  
 ให้กระจ่างสว่างเทอญ so as to illuminate and enlighten.

In this version, the first four stanzas translate the Pali verse. The fifth stanza narrates what happens next; i.e. the Buddha assents to Sahampati’s request. The sixth stanza provides the justification for using both the Pali stanza and its Siamese translation in the ritual of inviting a monk to preach. By proclaiming that the monk before them is “comparable to the Victor,” the lay audience invites him to give a sermon for the same reason that the Brahmā deity invited the Buddha: to compassionately save living beings.

All the Tai-language versions known to me are in the Siamese *kāby yānī 11* meter, equivalent to the Khmer *brahmagīti* meter. This 5–6–5–6 arrangement in 22 syllables per stanza is not an exact match to the Pali *indravaṃśa* meter, with its twelve syllables per line. However, since the Pali meter is divided in a pattern of five ( / / x / / ) then seven ( x x / x / x / ) syllables, one stanza of *kāby yānī 11* or *brahmagīti* is roughly equivalent to a half-stanza of *indravaṃśa*. The Siamese translators seem to take this rough equivalent into account when choosing the *kāby yānī 11* meter, for when the Siamese versions are recited, typically right after the Pali version, the same melody may be used:



Figure 7.4.2.2: Melody of first half-stanza in Siamese

Thus the Siamese translation maintains its performative parity with its Pali parent text, despite the slight difference in meter and the addition of new content specific to the ritual of invitation. Pali and vernacular are once again brought together in a unitary whole to be recited with a single melody.

Skilling’s aforementioned article on the Pali stanzas for sermon invitations notes that a second Pali stanza appears in the oldest extant chanting book in Siam to contain the Pali invitation, the *Svat man(t) plè chpǎp haa brah samut vajirañān*. This compilation dates to the first and second reigns of the Rattanakosin period (1782–1824). Skilling cites only the Pali version of this second verse, composed in a mix of the eleven-syllable *indravajrā* (lines 1–3) and *upendravajrā* (line 4) meters.<sup>54</sup> This stanza, not traceable to other known Pali texts, reads as follows:

<sup>54</sup> Skilling, “Ārāḍhanā Tham: ‘Invitation to Teach the Dhamma,’” 88–89.

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*saddhammabheriṃ vinayañca kāyaṃ*      The true Dhamma is a drum, the Vinaya its frame,  
*suttañca bandhaṃ abhidhammacammaṃ*      the Suttas its straps, the Abhidhamma its leather head—  
*ākoṭayanto catusaccadaṇḍaṃ*              by striking [this drum], whose mallet is the Four Truths,  
*pabodha neyye parisāya majjhe*              awaken those fit to be led in the midst of the assembly.

In *Svat man(t) plè chpăp haa braḥ samut vajirañāṇ*, this stanza and the previous one from the *Buddhavaṃsa* appear together, along with their translation into Siamese. Instead of a verse translation, however, this chant collection includes a syntactically rearranged, word-by-word prose translation of the type analyzed in the previous chapter:

*brahmā* อันว่าท้าวมหาพรหม *sahampati* ชื่อ สหัมบดีพรหม *lokādhipatī* เป็นใหญ่ในโลก *katañjali* มี  
ประนมพระกรกระทำแล้ว *ayācatha* อาราธนา *adhivaraṃ* ซึ่งพระพุทธองค์ผู้ประเสริฐยิ่ง *vacena* ด้วย  
คำ *iti* ดังนี้ *bhante bhagavā* ข้าแต่สมเด็จพระพุทธองค์ผู้ทรงสวัสดิภาคย์ *sattā* อันว่าสัตว์ทั้งหลาย  
*apparajakkhajātikā* มีธุลีคือราคาทิกิเลสอันน้อยในปัญญาจักขุเป็นสภาวะ *santi* มี *idha loke* ในโลก  
นี้ *bhagavā* อันว่าพระพุทธองค์ผู้ทรงสวัสดิภาคย์ *upādāya* อาศรัยแล้ว *anukampaṃ* ซึ่งอนุเคราะห์  
*imaṃ paṇaṃ* ซึ่งสัตว์นี้ *desetu* จงเทศนา *dhammaṃ* ซึ่งพระธรรม *tvam* อันว่าพระองค์ *ākoṭayanto* จง  
บันลือ *saddhammabheriṃ* ซึ่งกลองคือพระสัทธรรม *vinayañcakāyaṃ* มีตัวกลองคือพระวินัย  
*abhidhammacammaṃ* มีหนังหุ้มคือพระอภิธรรม *suttañcabandhaṃ* มีเชือกเรียงซึ่งหนังคือพระสูตร  
*catusaccadaṇḍaṃ* ด้วยไม้ตีกลองคือพระจตุราริยสัง *majjhe* ในท่ามกลาง *parisāya* แห่งจตุพิธบรรพ  
สัง *neyye* ยังโพธิ์ไนยสัตว์ *pabodha* จงให้ตรัสรู้<sup>55</sup>

**brahmā** as for the Lord Mahābrahm **sahampati** named Sahampatūbrahm, **lokādhipatī** who is foremost in the world, **katañjali** he had pressed his palms together **ayācatha** to invite **adhivaraṃ** the Buddha who is most excellent **vacena** with words **iti** like so: **bhante bhagavā** “I am servant of the Lord Buddha, the Blessed One. **sattā** As for all beings, they **apparajakkhajātikā** whose nature is such that they have dust, that is to say, defilements such as lust, only to a small degree in their eyes of wisdom, **santi** exist **idha loke** in this world. **bhagavā** As for the Lord Buddha, the Blessed One, **upadāya** having resorted to **anukampaṃ** compassion, **ākoṭayanto** please sound **saddhammabheriṃ** the drum that is the True Dharma, **vinayañcakāyaṃ** whose body is the Vinaya, **abhidhammacammaṃ** whose wrapped skin is the Abhidhamma, **suttañcabandhaṃ** whose leather binding strings are the Sūtra, **catusaccadaṇḍaṃ** with the mallet that is the Four Noble Truths, **majjhe** in the midst **parisāya** of the four-fold assembly **neyye** to the beings who can be awakened, **pabodha** that they may be awakened.”

Although the content of these two stanzas complement each other nicely, I have not yet

<sup>55</sup> Damrong Rajanubhab สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าดิศวรกุมาร กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *Svat man(t) plè chpăp haa braḥ samut vajirañāṇ svadmanṭṭaple* ฉบับหอพระสมุดวชิรญาณ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: dī. raḥlik nai kār braḥ rājadān blōn śab braḥ mahā rājamaṅgalatilak (puññiōn punṇako pa.dha. 5) lēḥ braḥ deb visuddhiñāṇ (upal nandako pa.dha. 9) ṇa meru hlvañ hnā<sub>2</sub> blāp blā isāriyābhara(ṇ) vāt debasirindrāvāsa ที่ระลึกในการพระราชทานเพลิงศพ พระมหารัชมงคณดิลก (บุญเรือน ปุณณโก ป.ศ. ๕) และ พระเทพวิสุทธิญาณ (อุบล นนทโก ป.ศ. ๙) ณ เมรุหลวงหน้าพลับพลาอิศริยาภรณ์ วัดเทพศิรินทราวาส, 2542), 336–337.

encountered a Tai-language text that renders both of them into verse. Several such Khmer poems surface in the Cambodian leporello corpus, however.

The first, **Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br** (“Stanzas for inviting the preaching of Dhamma, Pali with Khmer translation”), appears only in a single leporello (**UB069**), dated to 1928. The text itself is probably considerably older, however, and likely was composed in the early to mid-nineteenth century. It seems to have been all but forgotten in contemporary Cambodia.<sup>56</sup> The presentation is bilingual in that it leads with the first Pali stanza, followed by a nine-stanza Khmer translation in the *brahmagāthī* meter, then the second Pali stanza, again followed by a Khmer translation, this time in eight stanzas. The use of the *brahmagāthī* meter (5-6-5-6), which matches the syllable count of the second Pali stanza as well as the Siamese *kāby yānī 11* meter witnessed above in the Tai-language verse versions of the first Pali stanza, suggests that the Khmer translator seeks performative parity with at least the Pali texts, if not also the Siamese ones.

In comparison to the extant Siamese versions, however, the translation of the first stanza is considerably more expansive:

<p>១ រីព្រហ្មដ៏ជាធំ ក្រែលែងព្រហ្មផងនានា ទើបលុតព្រះជង្គុរ លើកហត្ថានមស្សការ ។</p>	<p>1 As for the foremost Brahmā, greater than all the other Brahmā deities, he lowered himself to his shins, his hands raised in reverence:</p>
<p>២ បពិត្រព្រះអង្គអើយ ព្រះគុណអើយសូមមេត្តា ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា ទ្រង់ករុណាសម្តែងធម៌ ។</p>	<p>2 “Venerable! O Lord! O virtuous one, I humbly beseech you to save beings, both humans and gods— please, O Lord, preach the Dharma.</p>
<p>៣ ត្បិតសត្វទន្ទឹងណាស់ ចាំព្រះបានត្រាស់នឹងត្រេកអរ នឹងបានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ ហើយនឹងករុណាចាកទុក្ខ ។</p>	<p>3 For beings are waiting anxiously, awaiting your awakening so they can rejoice, flock to listen to the Dharma, and be free from suffering;</p>
<p>៤ ត្បិតសត្វផងនានា មានអវិជ្ជាពោលគឺលាមក</p>	<p>4 for all living beings are ignorant, that is to say, filthy,</p>

<sup>56</sup> Perhaps by all save Kun Sopheap (“the omniscient Pheap”), who encountered it once in a palm-leaf manuscript and committed it to memory. My edition is based on a comparison of his oral version and the witness of **UB069**. A partial version, including just the first nine stanzas and first published in 1915, appears in Suos(ṭi) ស្នូត, *Uposathakathā ឧបោសថកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār M<sup>ṛ</sup>i Sukh បណ្ណាគារ ម៉ី សុខ, 1954), 182–184.

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ដូចធូលីផងដីកក់	as if dust and mud
កករល្អក់ជាប់នៅត្រា ។	forms a muddy sediment stuck in their eyes.
៥	5
ព្រោះតែមោហៈធំ	Since their delusion is great,
មករុំស្រាបរូបកាយ [មករូបរុំជុំកាយ]	wrapping tight around their bodies,
ឲ្យអាប់អង់ប្រាជ្ញា [បាត់បង់អប្បប្រាជ្ញា]	clouding their wisdom,
ពុំឲ្យឃើញព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ។	they cannot see the Three Marks;
៦	6
ងងឹតងងល់ងប់	[they are] completely enveloped in darkness
ហើយជ្រួលជ្រប់ដូចមនុស្សខ្វាក់	and crouched over like the blind,
រលើហើយរលាក់	confused and convulsed,
ដូចអន្ទាក់រឹបជាប់ក [ដូចអន្ទាក់ទ្វាក់រឹតក] ។	as if strangled by a noose.
៧	7
នឹងរកអ្នកណាមួយ	To find even one person
នឹងមកជួយស្រាយក៏ក្រិ	who could help release them is hard;
មានប៉ុន្តែព្រះសទ្ធិម៌	there is only the Dharma
ទើបនឹងមកជួយស្រាយបាន ។	that could help liberate them.
៨	8
ហេតុនោះព្រះអង្គអើយ	For this reason, O Lord,
ព្រះគុណអើយសូមព្រាសព្រាណ	O virtuous one, please rescue beings,
ត្បិតព្រហ្មខ្ញុំរាប់អាន	for I, Brahmā, respectfully
ចូលមកថ្កានអារាធនា ។	come to invite [you to preach]
៩	9
ព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃវិសេស	the most precious Dharma,
លត់កិលេសនូវតណ្ហា	which extinguishes defilement and craving
នាំចិត្តឲ្យជ្រះថ្លា	and leads the mind to clear faith,
សោមនស្សគ្មានសៅហ្មង ។	joy, and the absence of worry.

The Khmer translation for this passage adds many details concerning the extent of the ignorance of living beings, including their confusions regarding the three marks. Indeed, these details overshadow the force of the third line in the original Pali: “There are, here below, beings with **but minor** defilements” (*sant’idha sattā ‘pparajakkhajātikā*). The Pali stanza works on the principle that there are in fact a few beings whose defilements are small (*appa + rajās +* adjectival *ka = apparajakkha*) or whose eyes contain only a little dust (*appa + rajās + akkha = apparajakkha*) such that they might actually comprehend the Buddha’s sublime Dharma. Sahampati is arguing that it is for the sake of those wise beings that the Buddha should preach. The Khmer stanzas, by contrast, imply that all living beings are mired in extreme

ignorance.

Perhaps in response such infelicities in this Khmer version, in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century Suttantapriṇā Ind composed a new translation of the two Pali stanzas into Khmer. His text, **ārāḍhanā dhammadesanā-br** (“Invitation to preach the Dhamma”), first published in the 1926–1927 issue of *Kambuja Suriyā*,<sup>57</sup> follows the precedent of **Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br** as well as the possible Tai-language precedents cited above in that it follows the 22-syllable *brahmagāthi*. This, again, allows for performative parity between the Pali and Khmer sections. Ind’s translation departs from the previous Khmer one in that he treats both Pali stanzas as a single unit. His translation of these stanzas not only succeeds in wedding the Pali stanzas together, but also introduces a number of explanatory concepts that go beyond the Pali source texts. Some of these concepts, including the three marks, appear to be derived from the old Khmer verse version, but others, such as the four assemblies and five Māras, are Ind’s distinctive contributions:

<p>១ ត្រានោះសហម្បតិ ព្រហ្មជាតិសូរលោកា ចូលគាល់ព្រះសាស្តា លើកហត្ថាសីរោរាប ។</p> <p>២ ហើយពោលពាក្យទូលថា សូមករុណាស្តេចទ្រង់ជ្រាប ត្បិតសត្វអន់ទន់ទាប ទុព្វលភាពបាបក្រៃត្រាស់</p> <p>៣ ទន្ទឹងព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃ ជានិស្ស័យបច្ច័យច្បាស់ ឥឡូវទ្រង់បានត្រាស់ ត្រេកអរណាស់ពុំកន្តើយ ។</p> <p>៤ សត្វខ្លះត្រាស់ដោយកាម មិនយល់តាមត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ឡើយ ឥឡូវយល់ខ្លះហើយ ដោយអំណាចព្រះមានបុណ្យ ។</p>	<p>1 At that moment Sahampati Brahmā, Lord of the Worlds, went to pay respect to the Teacher, raised his hands to his head,</p> <p>2 and humbly spoke these words: “Please, Compassionate Lord, may you be informed that since living beings are soft, weak, frail, and weighed down by sin,</p> <p>3 they wait for the precious Dharma as their clear refuge and reliance. Now that you have awakened, they rejoice and are not remiss.</p> <p>4 Some creatures are laden with lust, not understanding the Three Marks at all. But now there are some who can understand by means of the power of the Meritorious One.</p>
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<sup>57</sup> Suttantapriṇā សុត្តន្តបិដក Ind ឥន្ទ, “Ārāḍhanā dhammakathik oy samtèn dhaṁm អាវាធនាធម្មកថិកឲ្យសម្តែងធម៌,” *Kambuja Suriyā* កម្ពុជសុរិយា 1 (1926–1927): 34–37.

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៥	5
បើបានស្តាប់ទេសនា បញ្ញាក្លាខ្លាំងលើសមុន សូមព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ ទ្រង់និមន្តត្រាស់ទេសនា ។	If they could listen to your sermons, their wisdom would strengthen more and more. Please, Meritorious One, I humbly invite you to preach.
៦	6
ប្រោសសត្វបំបាត់សោក ទាំងរាគពោគរូបតណ្ហា ងងឹតប្រែជាជ្រះថ្លា កើតបញ្ញាកិរិយាយល្អ ។	Save living beings and destroy their sorrow, the sickness of their passion, and their craving for the flesh, such that their darkness transforms into bright faith and gives rise to ever more abundant wisdom.
៧	7
ត្រៃលោកគោកត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ សង្សារចក្រវិលមិនដល់ អវិជ្ជាជាបុលគល់ ជាបច្ច័យនៃសង្ខារ ។	The three worlds are the barren land of the Three Marks. The wheel of cyclic existence whirls without end. Ignorance is the root cause and supporting condition of mental formations.
៨	8
នាំសត្វឲ្យសោកសៅ លិចលង់នៅក្នុងសង្សារ បញ្ចមារមោហន្ទការ រឹតរុំហ៊ុំជុំជាប់នៅ ។	It pushes living beings into sorrow and drowns them in cyclic existence. The Five Māras and blind delusion envelop and enwrap them till they're stuck fast.
៩	9
ហេតុនេះសូមព្រះអង្គ ប្រោសស្រោចស្រង់ដាក់សំពៅ ចំឡង់សត្វឆ្ពោះទៅ កាន់ត្រើយត្រាណនិពាន្ធនាយ ។	For these reasons, Lord, may you please save, rescue, and place living beings on a boat to ferry them across to the far shore of yonder Nibbāna,
១០	10
ដូចកល់ប្រទីបធំ សាយត្រស៊ុក្តីព្រាងព្រាយ បំភ្លឺសត្វទាំងឡាយ ឲ្យសប្បាយក្សាន្តកិរិយា ។	which is like an immense light, radiating out with branches of shining rays to illuminate all living beings so that they may be well, peaceful, and joyous.
១១	11
ព្រះសទ្ធម្មជាស្តរជ័យ ព្រះវិន័យជាពងធំ ព្រះសូត្រជាខ្សែរុំ ព្រះអភិធម្មជាស្បែកដាស ។	The true Dhamma is the victory drum, the Vinaya the great shell, the Sutras the binding strings, the Abhidhamma the stretched skin.
១២	12

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<p>អរិយសត្វជាអន្ធិង់ សំរាប់ទូងឲ្យឮច្បាស់ សត្វលោកងោកងុយណាស់ ឮស្តរដាស់ក្រោកឡើងបាន ។ ១៣ បរិសទី៤ជំពូក ដូចផ្កាឈូកក្នុងជលសារ ខ្លះផុសចាំសូរ្យធាន រះនឹងរីកដោយរស្មី ។ ១៤ ព្រះធម៌ជាសូរ្យសែង រះឡើងចែងចាំងរស្មី បំភ្លឺលោកទាំងបី ឲ្យយល់ផ្លូវស្ថានសុខា ។</p>	<p>The Noble Truths are the mallet for beating the drum so all can hear it clearly. The living beings in the world are dazed and sleepy; when roused by hearing the drum, they can wake up. 13 The four kinds of assemblies are like lotus flowers in the water. Some will sprout up, waiting for the sun's orb to rise, and then bloom by means of its rays. 14 The Dharma is the sunlight that rises and gleams with its radiance, illuminating the three worlds to make clear the path to the realm of bliss.”</p>
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Unlike the older Khmer version, Ind's new text makes it clear in stanza 4 that, despite the depth of creatures' ignorance, "now there are some who can understand / by means of the power of the Meritorious One." In stanza 13, Ind invokes the notion of the four kinds of assemblies (*parisād 4 jambūk*). This appears to be in reference to the Pali word *parisā* (Sanskrit *pariṣad*) in the second Pali stanza (*pabodha neyye parisāya majjhe*). The old Khmer version essentially elides part of the Pali. The Thai prose translation cited above makes a similar interpretation of *parisā*, again dividing it into four assemblies: “**majjhe** in the midst **parisāya** of the four-fold assembly **neyye** to the beings who can be awakened **pabodha** that they may be awakened.” The usual sense of a four-fold assembly is that of the whole Buddhist community: monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. Ind, however, explains the meaning of *parisā* in this context by means of analogy, specifically comparing the “four kinds of assemblies” to four kinds of lotus flowers, some of which “will sprout up, waiting for the sun's orb / to rise, and then bloom by means of its rays.”

In making this comparison, Ind seems to be drawing on the meaning of the term *neyya* in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (AN ii 135), in which it is the third member of a list of four kinds of individuals (*puggala*), namely *ugghatitaññū*, *vipañcitanñū*, *neyya*, and *padaparama*. The *Puggalappaññatti* (148–151) explains that in this context *ugghatitaññū* means one who awakens just by hearing the Dharma uttered (*ugghaṭita*); the *vipañcitanñū* one who awakens after hearing the Dharma explained in detail (*vitthārena atthe vibhajyamāne dhammābhisamayo hoti*); the *neyya* (“one fit to be led”) is one who gradually awakens by serving a spiritual mentor and listens to his teaching, asks questions, and contemplates appropriately (*uddesato paripucchato yonisomanasikaroto kalyāṇamitte sevato bhajato payirupāsato anupubbena dhammābhisamayo hoti*); and the *padaparama* is one who is not of the nature to awaken at all in this life, despite much audition, recitation, and memorization of the Dharma (*bahumpi suṇato bahumpi bhaṇato bahumpi dhārayato*



*bahumpi vācayato na tāya jātiyā dhammābhisamayo hoti).*

Ind’s references to Pali literature do not stop there, however. He then seems to follow the lead of Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya, the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, which in its exegesis of the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* (3.5–6)<sup>58</sup> connects the four types of lotuses with the four kinds of individuals:

*Tattha yāni accuggamma thitāni, tāni sūriyarasmisamphassaṃ āgamayamānāni thitāni ajja pupphanakāni. Yāni samodakaṃ thitāni, tāni sve pupphanakāni. Yāni udakānuggatāni antoudakapōsīni, tāni tatiyadvase pupphanakāni. Udakā pana anuggatāni aññānīpi sarojappalādīni nāma atthi, yāni neva pupphissanti, macchakacchapabhakkhāneva bhavissanti, tāni pāliya nārūlhāni aharitvā pana dīpetabbānti dīpitāni.*

*Yatheva hi tāni catubbidhāni pupphāni, evameva ugghatitāññū, vipaṇcitāññū, neyya, padaparamoti cattāro puggalā.*<sup>59</sup>

Those that, having risen out [of the water], lie waiting to be touched by the rays of the sun, blossom today. Those that, sitting on the surface of the water, blossom tomorrow. Those that do not rise out of the water but remain nourished underneath the water, blossom the day after tomorrow. There are also those lotuses, which likewise do not rise above the water and in fact never blossom at all, becoming merely the food of fish and turtles—these are not mentioned in the text, but having mentioned them, however, these that should be explained are explained thus.

Just as there are these four types of flowers, in the same way there are the four individuals, viz. *ugghatitāññū*, *vipaṇcitāññū*, *neyya*, and *padaparama*.

Ind’s text is thus more than a simple rendering of the Pali text into Khmer verse. He draws on the resources of Buddhist canonical and commentarial texts to explain the meanings he senses

<sup>58</sup> The canonical passage, which mentions only three types of lotuses, reads as follows in Walshe’s translation (Maurice Walshe, *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 214): “And just as in a pool of blue, red or white lotuses some are born in water, grow in the water, and, not leaving the water, thrive in the water; some are born in the water and reach the surface; while some are born in the water and, having reached the surface, grow out of the water and are not polluted by it, in the same way, monks, the Lord Buddha Vipassī, surveying the world with his Buddha-eye, saw some beings with little dust in their eyes...” The Pali of the VRI edition reads: *seyyathāpi nāma uppaliniyaṃ vā padumīniyaṃ vā puṇḍarīkīniyaṃ vā appekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake saṃvaddhāni udakānuggatāni anto nimuggapōsīni. Appekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake saṃvaddhāni samodakaṃ thitāni. Appekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udake jātāni udake saṃvaddhāni udakā accuggamma thitāni anupaliṭṭāni udakena. Evameva kho, bhikkhave, vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho buddhacakkhunā lokam volokento addasa satte apparajakkhe.*

<sup>59</sup> William Stede, *The Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini, Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Dīgha-Nikāya, Part II* (London: Pali Text Society, 1931), 468–469. For a reflection on the relationship between the four individuals and the simile of the lotus pond, see Supak Mahavarakorn, “The *Pokkharāṇī Pond* in the *Jātakatthakathā*: A Treasure of Perfection,” *Rian Thai: International Journal of Thai Studies* 3 (2010): 283–301. On the relationship between the four individuals and the three types of bodhisattas, see Daniel M. Stuart, *The Stream of Deathless Nectar: The Short Recension of the Amatarasadhārā of the Elder Upatissa: A Commentary on the Chronicle of the Future Buddha Metteyya, With a Historical Introduction* (Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation and Lumbini International Research Institute, 2017), 167n32.

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are pregnant within the terse Pali stanzas. In a few short verses, his text engages with the wide intertextual inheritance of his time, including the Pali and Siamese chants whose metrical structure it mirrors.

The remaining stanzas of Ind's translation, from 15 to 22, then proceed in a new direction, one not found in the original two Pali stanzas. In this part of the text, he provides a summary of what happened after Sahampati's entreaty, namely the Buddha's entire teaching career, and then, like the Siamese poem cited above, returns to the present context of inviting a monk to preach:

<p>១៥ សហម្មតិព្រហ្ម ឱនបង្គំអាវាធនា សម្តេចព្រះភគវា ដោយតាថាយ៉ាងនេះឯង ។</p>	<p>15 Sahampati Brahmā bowed down to invite the Lord, the Blessed One, by means of these very verses.</p>
<p>១៦ ព្រះពុទ្ធទ្រង់អនុកូល ព្រមទទួលនឹងសំដែង ដោយតុណ្ណិភាពថ្លែង តាមការគុណករុណា ។</p>	<p>16 The Buddha consented and expressed his approval with silence, in accordance with the qualities of his compassion.</p>
<p>១៧ ទើបក្រោកចាកទីនោះ កក្រាឆ្ពោះព្រៃមិត្តទាយ យាងចេញចរលើលា ពីទីនោះដោយព្រះបាទ ។</p>	<p>17 Then he arose from that spot and headed toward the forest of the Deer Park, moving by walking from there by foot.</p>
<p>១៨ ញ៉ាំងសត្វចូលពុទ្ធចក្រ មានបញ្ចវគ្គីយ៍ជាអាទិ៍ ឲ្យផឹកអម្រិតជាតិ រសនិព្វានតាមធម្មតា ។</p>	<p>18 He caused living beings to enter the wheel of the buddhas, with the Group of Five as the first, by having them drink the ambrosial flavor that is the taste of Nibbāna, naturally.</p>
<p>១៩ ចាប់ផ្តើមពីនោះឯង ទ្រង់សំដែងធម៌ទេសនា ធ្វើពុទ្ធក្រិស្ណា អស់វស្សាសែសិបប្រាំ ។</p>	<p>19 From that moment on, he preached sermons on the Dharma, performing the work of buddhas for forty-five monsoon seasons in all.</p>
<p>២០ ពុំថយពុំបន្ទុះ ប្រយោជន៍យូរអង្វែងឆ្នាំ</p>	<p>20 He never stepped back or relented. The benefits extended for many long years.</p>

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សម្រេចបុណ្យកម្ម ដល់សព្វសត្វទាំងកតត្រ័យ ។	He actualized meritorious actions for all the beings in the Three Worlds.
២១	21
ហេតុនេះឥឡូវនេះ យើងខ្ញុំនេះសាទរក្រៃ បពិត្រព្រះគុណថ្ងៃ សូមនិមន្តប្រោសទេសនា ។	This is why right in this moment we are filled with such great joy. Venerable, precious Virtuous One! We humbly invite you to save us and preach.
២២	22
អនុគ្រោះពួកបរិស័ទ ដែលជាប់ខាតដោយមោហា ឲ្យកើតមានបញ្ញា ប្រាកដនាទីនេះហោង ។	Rescue those in the assemblies who are still caught in delusion, so that they might give rise to wisdom here in this place!

These verses have no precedent in the two Pali stanzas translated by the old Khmer invitation text. Their only precedent seems to be from Siam, namely in the verse text mentioned above but also in a Pali composition by King Rama IV, in which he also extends the meaning of the first Pali verse of invitation through eight stanzas of his own devising. The final stanza of his text reads:<sup>60</sup>

*sādhu ayyo bhikkhusaṅgho* It would be good if the noble sangha of monks  
*karotu dhammadesanaṃ* were to give a sermon on the Dhamma  
*ayañca parisā sabbā* and for this entire assembly  
*aṭṭhikatvā suṇātu taṃ* to pay attention and listen to it.

King Rama IV's text, the anonymous Siamese poem, and Ind's text all include this petition for a monk or monks to give a sermon. Ind's poem thus not only fits the metrical form of its Pali and Siamese antecedents but also mirrors their function as an explicit ritual invitation for a monk to preach.

The quest for performative parity, however, is not limited to the Khmer verses of Ind's composition. In addition to translating the two standard Pali verses and adding an additional eight verses, it appears he also back-translated these extra eight Khmer stanzas into Pali, such that his entire Khmer text has a Pali verse parallel. Although these Pali verses are rarely recited in Cambodia today in full, their placement at the beginning of Ind's published text in *Kambuja Suriyā* suggests that they are intended to be recited first, as a preamble to the Khmer verses.

<sup>60</sup> Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(i) chpāp hlwañ* สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง, 401. The entire text appears on 399–401.

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1	1
<i>evaṃ sahaṃpatī brahmā</i>	Thus the Brahmā Sahampatī
<i>bhagavantam ayācatha</i>	requested the Blessed One.
<i>tuṅhībhāvena taṃ buddho</i>	By means of silence, the Buddha,
<i>kāruṇṇenādhivāsaya</i>	having resorted to compassion,
2	2
<i>tamhā vuṭṭhāya pādena</i>	from that spot arose and by foot
<i>miḅadāyaṃ tato gato</i>	went to the Deer Park.
<i>pañcavagyaḅayo neyye</i>	As for those to be led, beginning with the Group of Five,
<i>am[ta]ṃ pāyesi dhammato</i>	he had them drink of the Deathless, naturally.
3	3
<i>tato pabhūti sambuddho</i>	From that complete beginning, the Perfect Buddha
<i>anūnā dhammadesanaṃ</i>	for <i>māgha</i> [forty-five?] rainy seasons
<i>māghavassāni desesi</i>	preached sermons on the Dhamma
<i>sattānaṃ atthasiddhakam.</i>	to fulfill the aims of living beings.
4	4
<i>tena sādhu ayyo bhante</i>	Hence, it would be excellent, O venerable,
<i>desetu dhammadesanaṃ</i>	were you to preach a sermon on the Dhamma—
<i>sabbāyidha parisāya</i>	please have mercy on
<i>anukamṅam'pi kātave</i>	this whole assembly here.

While presented as part of the source text for Ind's poem, it seems likely that these verses are actually his own composition, as they do not appear to be cited anywhere else in Cambodian or Siamese sources. Their unusual syntax and verb tenses, in addition to some unusual lexical items, such as *māgha* for “forty-five,” also suggest a back-translation from Khmer. Their inclusion in Ind's text completes the parallelism he seeks between the Pali and Khmer sections of the text, such that both can be performed in sequence and with similar melodies.

This ideal of Pali-vernacular bilingual chanting texts that could be performed as seamless wholes was continued in the transmission of Cambodian (not Kampuchea Krom) Theravada Buddhism to ethnic Kinh (i.e. Việt) communities in what is now southern Vietnam. This process began in Cochinchina in the 1940s and continued through the Republic of Vietnam era. The leading figure in this transmission was Hộ Tông (Vāṃsarakkhita (1893–1981), who ordained under the leading Cambodian modernist monk Juon Nāt (1883–1969) and returned to what is now Saigon in 1940 to propagate Pali-based Buddhism there in Vietnamese.<sup>61</sup> In the process, he translated a number of Cambodian publications into Vietnamese, including most of the now-standard chants recorded in Juon

<sup>61</sup> Mark W. McLeod, “The Way of the Mendicants: History, Philosophy, and Practice at the Central Vihara in Hồ Chí Minh City,” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4, no. 2 (2009): 70; Hoang Trong So, “On the Form of Existence of Theravāda Buddhism in Vietnam,” *Pārigaku Bukkyō Bunkagaku* パーリ学仏教文化学 (*Journal of Pali and Buddhist Studies*) 13 (December 1999): 1; Quang Minh Thich, “Vietnamese Buddhism in America” (Florida State University, 2007), 112.

Nāt and Uṃ Sūr’s 1935 *Traipraṇām saṅkhep niṃ gihivinaṃ saṅkhep*.<sup>62</sup> Hộ Tông’s translations generally follow the Pali quite closely. However, he does not make it clear whether he was translating from the Pali or from the Khmer.<sup>63</sup> His publications and other modern Theravada publications in Vietnamese never admit to being translations from the Khmer, as far as I am aware. They are instead implicitly framed as translations of Pali texts directly into Vietnamese. Given that the appeal of a modern Theravada Buddhism for mid-twentieth-century urban Vietnamese probably lay in its claims of being both ancient and universal, this elision makes sense.

When subject to closer examination, however, it becomes clear that many of Hộ Tông’s translations come through the medium of Khmer. One pertinent example of this is his *Bài thỉnh pháp sư*, or “Verses for inviting a preacher of the Dharma.” Hộ Tông presents this text in Pali followed by a Vietnamese verse translation in the *song thất lục bát* (7-7-6-8) meter. The Pali text he presents is precisely that of Ind: the two original Pali stanzas followed by the four stanzas composed by Ind. While Hộ Tông’s *song thất lục bát* poem is presented as the translation of a Pali text into Vietnamese, it in fact reads as an ingenious rendering of Ind’s Khmer text, including all of Ind’s distinctive additions:<sup>64</sup>

1	1
<i>Thuở Phật mới đạt thành quả vị.</i>	When the Buddha had just achieved the fruit of awakening,
<i>Có Xá hãm bát tí Phạm thiên</i>	the Brahmā deity Sahampati,
<i>Cả trong thế giới các miền,</i>	foremost in all of the worlds,
<i>Thanh cao quan chúng cần chuyên đạo màu.</i>	the eminent viewer of those diligently seeking the wondrous Path,
2	2
<i>Hiện trước Phật để đầu đánh lễ,</i>	appeared before the Buddha, lowered his head, bowed down,
<i>Bạch xin Ngài tế thế độ nhơn.</i>	and addressed him: “Please, Master, save the world, ferry over humans.
<i>Chúng sanh trong khắp cõi trần;</i>	Living beings throughout this dusty world
<i>Tối mê điên đảo không phân tội tình.</i>	are crazed and deluded, their sins undifferentiated.
3	3
<i>Cầu Phật Tổ cao mình ái truyết,</i>	They pray to you, Gautama Buddha, wise one who has forsaken lust,

<sup>62</sup> Various editions exist, including Vaṅsarakkhita Bhikkhu = Hộ Tông, *Lễ bái tam-bào* (Saigon/Gia-Định: Theravada phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ/Pháp-quang-tự, 1959); *Lễ bái tam-bào, cư-sĩ luật tóm tắt = Tīratana paṇāma, gihivinaṃ saṅkhepa* (Saigon/Gia-Định: Theravada phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ/Thạnh mậu, 1963); and *Kinh nhật tụng: Theravada, phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ* (Bumpass, VA: Saddhamma Meditation Society - Tâm Pháp Thiền Viện, 2011).

<sup>63</sup> This is the case for his other publications as well, including Vaṅsarakkhita Bhikkhu = Hộ Tông, *Dasa pāramī: thập độ* (Saigon: Theravada phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ, 1961); *Quý-vương vấn-đạo = Yakkha pañhā* (Saigon: Theravada phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ/Long-giang, 1965); and *Luật xuất-gia tóm tắt (Pabbajita vinaya saṅkhepa)* (Saigon: Theravada phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ, 1966), all of which appear to be translations of Khmer sources by Cambodian modernist monks.

<sup>64</sup> My presentation of the Vietnamese poem is based on Vaṅsarakkhita Bhikkhu = Hộ Tông, *Kinh nhật tụng của cư sĩ*. Riverside, CA: Thích Ca Thiền Viện, 2004, 68–70, with the following emendations: *dắt dừ* for *dắt diu*, *biến đổi* for *vấn dôi*, *phá tường* for *vet đường*, *trời ló* for *trời lối*, and *thỉnh dự* for *thành dự*. See also Vaṅsarakkhita Bhikkhu = Hộ Tông, *Kinh nhật tụng: Theravada, phật-giáo nguyên-thuỷ*, 26–27; My gratitude to Quyên Nguyen for her feedback on my English translation.

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*Hiển uy linh tình thức đất dừ  
Hoàng khai đạo pháp cao siêu,  
Tu hành theo đặng kết nhiều thiện duyên  
4*

*Thế Tôn được mãn viên đạo quý,  
Tôi hết lòng hoan hỷ tán dương  
Nhưng vì hoàn cảnh đáng thương,  
Không đành bỏ mặc, lạc đường làm thinh.  
5*

*Chúng sanh vốn đa tình lắm bậc,  
Không thông đâu chơn thật giả tà.  
Vô thường khổ não chấp ta  
Ngày nay sơ ngộ thiết tha nhờ Ngài.  
6*

*Xin mở lượng cao dày răn dạy,  
Chuyển pháp luân diễn giải diệu ngôn.  
Chúng sanh nghe đặng pháp môn,  
Thoát vòng khổ não dập dồn bấy lâu.  
7*

*Giải thoát những nguồn sầu cấu thúc,  
Diệt tham lam ái dục bao vòng  
Tối tăm sẽ được sáng trong,  
Phát sanh trí tuệ hiểu thông tình tường  
8*

*Thông thấu lẽ vô thường biến đổi  
Ba tướng trong ba cõi mỏng manh.  
Vô minh duyên của các Hành,  
Cội căn dặt dẫn chúng sanh luân hồi.  
9*

*Biển trần khổ nổi trôi chìm đắm,  
Bị ngũ ma vây, nắm chuyển di,  
Vây nên cầu đấng Từ Bi,  
Tạo thuyền Bát nhã trái đi vớt người.  
10*

*Đưa qua chốn tốt tươi yên tịnh,  
Bờ Niết Bàn chẳng dính trần ai;  
Như đèn rọi suốt trong ngoài,  
Chiếu tia sáng khắp các loài hân hoan.*

to manifest your spiritual powers of mindfulness to show,  
propagate, and expand the Path of the most sublime Dharma,  
the practice of which creates meritorious affinities.

4  
To the Blessed One, who has perfected the precious Path,  
I, with all my heart, joyfully offer my praise.

But as their circumstances are pitiable,  
please don't give up, let go, lose the way, or stay silent.

5  
Living beings are naturally lustful to the extreme,  
not knowing the false from the true—  
impermanence, suffering, and not-self—  
but today they are partially awakened and ardent due to you, Master.

6  
Please commence, out of boundless compassion, to teach.  
Turn the wheel of the Dharma and expound it with efficacious words.

Living beings who listen can attain the Dharma Gate and  
escape the cycle of suffering, amassed since time unknown.  
7

Liberate them from the many sources of sorrow and fetters.  
Destroy their greed and craving completely.  
Their darkness shall be transformed to inner light,  
giving rise to wisdom, understanding, and clarity

8  
that penetrates the principles of impermanence and change,  
of the Three Marks in the Three Worlds, ever fragile.  
For ignorance is the condition of all mental formations,  
the original cause that keeps living beings in cycle existence,

9  
on the vast ocean of suffering, floating and sinking,  
scattered and squeezed by the Five Māras.

Thus [they] pray for the Compassionate One  
to fashion and float a boat of Wisdom to rescue humankind  
10

and ferry them to the place of delight and utter quiet,  
the far shore of Nirvāṇa, beyond all worldly bonds,  
as if filled with light throughout, both outside and in,  
radiant and bright with all manner of bliss.

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11 <i>Pháp ví trống khai hoàn rầm rộ, Luật ví như đại cổ hoàng dương Kinh như dây buộc trên rương Luận như mặt trống phá tường vô minh</i>	11 The Dharma is like a drum, booming triumphant. The Vinaya is like the drum barrel of proclamation. The Sutras are like the tuning strings on the drum shell. The Abhidhamma is like the drum face destroying ignorance.
12 <i>Tứ diệu đế đó hình dùi trống, Giống khua tan giấc mộng trần gian. Chúng sanh tất cả bốn hàng, Như sen trong nước mình quang luống chờ.</i>	12 The Four Wondrous Truths take the form of the drum's mallet, beating to break apart the dreams of the dusty world. Living beings of all four types are like lotuses in the water, their wisdom lying in wait.
13 <i>Trời ló mọc đặng nhờ ánh sáng, Trở hoa lành rải tản mùi hương Pháp màu ánh sáng phi thường, Chiếu khắp ba cõi rõ đường an vui.</i>	13 The sunrise, thanks to its light, makes the tender flowers bloom, their fragrance wafting out. The wondrous Dharma, with its exceptional radiance, illuminates the entire Three Worlds, clearing the path to joy.”
14 <i>Phạm Thiên vẫn ngậm ngùi khẩn khoản. Phật nhận lời nhưng chẳng dĩ hời. Quyết lòng mở đạo dạy đời, Nhắm vườn Lộc Giả Ngài dõng chơn sang</i>	14 The Brahmā deity continued to beseech him out of compassion. The Buddha accepted without even a whisper, making up his mind to widen the Path and teach the world. Aiming for the Deer Park, the Master traveled by foot.
15 <i>Thuyết pháp độ các hàng đệ tử, Có năm Thầy tinh dự pháp từ Đó là nhóm Kiều Trần Như, Được nếm hương vị Hữu dư Niết Bàn.</i>	15 He preached the Dharma for all the assemblies of disciples, [beginning] with five clever monks who heard the word of the Dharma, that is to say, the group of Kodañña, who tasted the flavor of Nirvāṇa with Remainder.
16 <i>Rồi từ đó mở mang giáo pháp, Bốn mươi lăm hạ giáp vẹn toàn. Một lòng chẳng thối không mòn. Những điều lợi ích hằng còn lâu năm.</i>	16 Having completed that, he expanded the teaching of the Dharma for forty-five monsoon seasons in all, single-mindedly, not letting up or being worn down, the benefits continuing for many years.
17 <i>Cả tam giới thừa ân phổ cập, Đám mưa lành rưới khắp thế gian. Bởi nhân cố, tích rõ ràng, Thỉnh Ngài thuyết pháp nơi đàng từ bi.</i>	17 All of the three worlds received universal blessings, with rain gently sprinkling down on the whole realm. Thus for these reasons, amassed evidently, I humbly invite the Master to preach the Dharma out of compassion
18 <i>Chúng sanh ngồi khắp chốn nì, Tối mê cầu được trí tri vẹn toàn. (Lay)</i>	18 for the living beings seated all around here, such that their darkness can be completely transformed into wisdom. (Bow)

Hộ Tông's text captures not only the broad contours sketched out by the Pali stanzas but also the many details added by Ind. The three marks, the four assemblies, and the five Māras all appear. Even the part added by Ind in Pali and Khmer is faithfully rendered; indeed both texts are typically performed using just this excerpt, rather than the whole text, namely from stanzas 15–22 in the Khmer or 14–18 in the Vietnamese. Although in my translation the Vietnamese reads as somewhat more verbose than the Khmer, Hộ Tông does not add much in the way of substantial details to Ind's text, though occasionally he adds adjectives and verbs that double those already present so as to fulfill the syllable, tone, and rhyme constraints of the *song thất lục bát*. While this meter is not exactly parallel to the *brahmagāthi* meter, it has the virtue of being easily chanted in Vietnamese in addition to imparting a classical style to the text. In so doing, Hộ Tông's poem successfully achieves a measure of performative parity with its Khmer antecedent: it, too, may be recited in the same ritual of invitation and with similar ease. Moreover, the Vietnamese poem succeeds in completely domesticating the Khmer text, to the extent that the audience would not have the slightest clue that it was translated from Khmer rather than Pali.

Looking back to the first Pali stanza from the *Buddhavamsa*, the chant for inviting a monk to preach has passed through many transformations. Each of these transformations appears to be driven by a quest to find performative parity with the source texts while making it come alive in a new vernacular context. Siamese translators worked it into a vernacular verse format that preserves many of the metrical qualities of the *Buddhavamsa* stanza. At some point, perhaps by the late eighteenth century, a second Pali stanza was added, and both stanzas were subsequently translated into a bilingual verse format in Cambodia that allowed for the Pali and vernacular portions to stand on equal terms. In the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, Ind reworked the translation such that it spoke directly to the ritual at hand, and in the process composed extra Pali stanzas to be chanted alongside his new Khmer text. Finally, in the 1940s and 1950s, Hộ Tông presented the text anew in a bilingual Pali-Vietnamese format that maintained the Siamese and Khmer contributions of a ritual text for inviting a monk to give a sermon. The pattern in each of these transformations is that the quest for performative parity in new vernacular tends to lengthen and elaborate the text, with Ind's and especially Hộ Tông's versions standing out as exceptionally complex in comparison to the single verse from the *Buddhavamsa*.

## 7.5 Conclusion

This chapter concludes Part II of this dissertation, which examines three different kinds of localized translations, including the reincarnation of Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* as Pali *paritta* (Chapter 5), the grammatical techniques of bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts (Chapter 6), and the processes behind the translation of Pali and Tai texts into Khmer verse (Chapter 7). This attention to genres and processes of translation emphasizes one of my central claims: there is no Buddhism apart from translation. To understand Buddhist texts, we must situate them in an ongoing process of transformation within and across languages and cultures. Moreover, to



appreciate the way Buddhist texts communicate with their audience, we should investigate the layers of translation that brought them into existence and the motivations behind those translations.

This chapter thus considered a range of choices made by the authors and translators of Buddhist texts in Cambodia. On the one hand, I examined the foreignizing ways Pali elements are incorporated into Khmer verse texts. On the other, I considered the domesticating choices that hide the Tai origins of many Khmer Buddhist verse texts. Both foreignizing and domesticating techniques came to light in my investigation of translations that aim for performative parity between source and target texts. Many more of the texts in the leporello corpus could be investigated in this way, for they are each wedded to the processes of translation that led to their current shape as Khmer poems inked onto folded-paper manuscripts.

Part III of this study steps away from the histories, techniques, and aims that shaped the production of leporello texts and moves toward an engagement with their doctrinal content. In other words, I focus on what they say more than how they say it. The insights from Parts I and II remain relevant, however. The texts of the leporello corpus should still be considered in light of their circulation as part of communal manuscripts that provide scripts for end-of-life rituals. We should still be cognizant that the doctrines in these texts are not only “local cultural statements,” to borrow a term from Wolters,<sup>65</sup> but also products of translocal practices of translation. As such, they are not limited to the Khmer language nor to various conceptions of “Cambodia” as a cultural space. What animates my interest in the two chapters that follow is the possibility that Cambodian leporello texts, largely penned or translated in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, may speak to more general human concerns about death. In particular, I investigate what these texts present as the work of the dying: the inner labor of people in their final days and moments.

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<sup>65</sup> O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Revised Edition (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Cornell University, 1999), 67.

*Part III: The Work of the Dying*

## Chapter 8: End-of-Life Contemplations

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter gathers, arranges, and analyzes many short excerpts from Khmer verse texts in the leporello corpus to explore the question of what the dying are expected to contemplate in their final months, days, or even moments. These texts provide a programmatic approach to one major facet of the work of the dying in Cambodia, namely the work of contemplating the fearsome process of aging, illness, death, and rebirth.

These are not exactly “deathbed” texts in the usual sense of the term. They were not necessarily strictly for those who are about to die in a matter hours or moments, but rather for those, by dint of illness or age, who recognize that their turn will arrive before too long. Hence, when I refer to them as “deathbed” texts in the chapter, I am considering the deathbed as an extended process rather than a brief moment before death. Some of these texts may have even been authored for those ostensibly nowhere near death. Many of these texts, for instance, articulate practices appropriate for all ages; they provide guidance on how to live an ethical life, let of go of attachments, and cultivate the mind through various meditation practices. Their compilation and transmission in leporellos for end-of-life rituals, however, suggests that these texts were called into service as chants to recite for the old and infirm. In this chapter, I assert that the function of the manuscripts that transmit them compels us to imagine these texts as end-of-life chants, recited for those who are months or days from death.

There are several groups of texts that appear in the leporellos as end-of-life chants. First are those considered in this chapter: vernacular poems that contemplate the extended process of passing away. Second are those analyzed in the following chapter, namely vernacular poems (and a few short Pali texts) that detail prayers of absolution and aspiration that may be articulated by the dying as they reach the end of their lives. Third are the Pali texts that focus on the recollection of the Buddha’s qualities (*guṇa*, *lakṣhaṇa*, or *pāramī*). As I do not devote a whole chapter to this group of texts, I will consider them briefly here.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, recollections of the Buddha are the most commonly emphasized part of Cambodian deathbed practices. These practices often involve listening to the recitation of a number of different Pali texts. Such texts include the various forms of the *Ākāravattā* (**Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**), which enumerate the Buddha’s manifold perfections, along with other texts based on the *itipi so* formula, such as **Itipi so that A/B/C-NP**, **Itipi so 10 dis-NP**, and **Rāp’ thān-NP**. A closely related practice is the simple enunciation of a Pali epithet of the Buddha such as *buddho* or *araham*, as mentioned in the deathbed ritual instructions discussed in Chapter 4. These epithets may be uttered by the dying or, if they are no longer able to speak, chanted or whispered into their ear by an *ācāry*.

I have elected not to write a chapter on this mode of Pali-based recollection, even

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though it is as important in Cambodian end-of-life rituals as the vernacular contemplations and prayers discussed in this and the following chapter. My reasons for this choice are threefold. First, since there are few vernacular texts that describe the recollection of the Buddha's qualities in detail, there is not enough textual evidence to warrant extensive discussion.<sup>1</sup> Second, this practice does not demand much in the way of doctrinal complexity in Cambodia; listening to or reciting the Buddha's names or qualities is simply a way to focus the mind on wholesome thoughts in the karmically efficacious final moments of life.<sup>2</sup> Third, since there are many parallels between these recollections and other end-of-life practices throughout the Buddhist world, both within and beyond Southeast Asia, the Cambodian materials are less of a distinct contribution.

In a single Sanskrit compound, contemplating the Buddha's names or qualities is *buddhānusmṛti* (Pali *buddhānussati*), "recollection of the Buddha." In East Asia, for instance, *buddhānusmṛti* (Chinese *nianfo*; Japanese *nembutsu*)<sup>3</sup> is the *sine qua non* of deathbed practices; the imperative of reciting Amitābha Buddha's name in the final seconds of life is perhaps the most prominent example.<sup>4</sup> This is not to say that Khmer *buddhānusmṛti* practices are the same as East Asian ones. But they do share the same principle: having a calm mind focused on the Buddha's name at the moment of death is held to be the most certain path to a fortunate rebirth.

By contrast, the contemplations explored in this chapter have more abundant Khmer sources, more doctrinal twists and turns, and fewer parallels in other Buddhist contexts, particularly outside of Southeast Asia. There is no single Sanskrit or Pali term to describe them. They include aspects of *marāṇasati* ("recollection of death"), *kāyagatāsati* ("recollection connected to the body"), and *aśubhakammaṭṭhāna* ("meditation on the foul"), all three of which are subject to extensive treatment in Buddhaghosa's fifth-century-CE *Viśuddhimagga*. The *Viśuddhimagga* does not recommend them specifically as deathbed practices,<sup>5</sup> however, and the Khmer

<sup>1</sup> The few such vernacular texts present in the corpus include two on the names of the ten buddhas of the future (**Brah̄ buddh 10 brah̄ aṅg/brah̄ buddh 10 brah̄ aṅg samrāy-r** and **namassakār brah̄ buddh 10-k**). Many other Khmer texts in the leprellos offer praise to the Buddha, but do not list his names or qualities as such. Most of the texts in the corpus that list the Buddha's names and/or qualities are thus in Pali. In the following chapter, I analyze a vernacular commentary to the *Ākāravattā* (**ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**), which engages only the benefits, rather than the substance, of the Pali text.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of the importance of the last thought in various Buddhist traditions, see Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*, 13–22. For Theravada perspectives, see Greene's discussion of Buddhaghosa in "Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism," 248–249; and Bhikkhu Bodhi, ed., *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma: The Abhidhammattha Sangaha of Ācariya Anuruddha* (Onalaska, WA: BPS Pariyatti Editions, 1999), 219–226. Note that these Theravada sources emphasize the ways in which the last thoughts before life are determined by past one's past kamma and in turn shape one's future rebirth destination.

<sup>3</sup> 念佛, 念仏

<sup>4</sup> Stone, "By the Power of One's Last Nembutsu: Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan."

<sup>5</sup> Greene, however, links *aśubhabhāvanā* to deathbed practices in Eric M. Greene, "Death in a Cave: Meditation, Deathbed Ritual, and Skeletal Imagery at Tape Shotor," *Artibus Asiae* 73, no. 2 (2013): 265–294. The ancient

contemplations studied here contain many details not reflected in Pali canonical or commentarial sources.

The *Girimānanda-sutta* (**Girimānanda-sutta-CP**) and its many vernacular versions<sup>6</sup> in the leporello corpus are among the most frequently recited in contemporary Cambodian deathbed rituals. We can imagine this family of texts as one possible source for the vernacular deathbed contemplations studied here. The *Girimānanda-sutta* contains contemplations on the parts of the body, the inevitability of illness, and the awareness of the breath, all of which are reflected in the Khmer texts for end-of-life practices studied here. However, the *Girimānanda-sutta* itself says little about the process of dying and death, being focused on the healing of the sick rather than the transition from one life to the next.<sup>7</sup>

The vernacular poems that offer a gritty, gruesome, and sometimes even terrifying approach to the end of life are known by various Khmer names in the corpus. The two most common are *trailakkha(n)* and *dhammasaṅveg*. As witnessed in Chapter 3, texts with these titles are particularly numerous in Cambodian chanted leporellos. The distinctions between *trailakkha(n)* and *dhammasaṅveg* texts are not clearly defined. Both are genres of end-of-life texts that focus on contemplating death, dying, and what to do on one's deathbed. *Trailakkha(n)* texts tend to emphasize the three marks (Khmer *trailakkha(n)*) of impermanence, suffering, and not-self, at least in their opening stanzas. *Dhammasaṅveg* texts, on the other hand, tend to include fearsome or “stirring” (*saṅveg*; cf. Pali *saṃvega*) scenes of corpses decaying in charnel forests.

Both genres are most common in the *kākaḡati* meter. *Trailakkha(n)* poems in this meter include **trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāṃṅ as'»-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakḡhandho»-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukḡhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukḡhaṃ» purāṅ-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukḡhaṃ» saṅkhep-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukḡhaṃ dukḡh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k**, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukḡhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k**, and **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k**. *Dhammasaṅveg* poems in the same meter include **dhammasaṅveg «guor git anicca»-k**, **dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k**, **dhammasaṅveg «oḡ o rūpā»-k**, **dhammasaṅveg «o aṅg anicca»-k**, and **dhammasaṅveg «oḡ o anicca»-k**. In addition, there are two *dhammasaṅveg* texts in the *brahmagāti* meter, **dhammasaṅveg «ukāsa pabitr öy**

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*tridaṅḡaka* liturgy, mentioned in various Vinaya traditions, may also be linked to contemplations of impermanence for both funerals and deathbed practices. See Dalton, “How Dhāraṅis WERE Proto-Tantric: Liturgies, Ritual Manuals, and the Origins of the Tantras,” 206–208.

<sup>6</sup> Such vernacular versions include the following texts: **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḡ»-r**, **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «rī braḡ gimānandasūtr neḡ»-r**, **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḡ jhmoh»-r**, **Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhuṃ/cakkhuṃ samrāy-r**, **Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattiṃsākāra/dvattiṃsākār samrāy-r**, **girimānand samrāy rī sūtr-br**, and **girimānand samrāy sūtr neḡ-br/7**.

<sup>7</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, modern writers such as Anālayo advocate for the *Girimānanda-sutta* as a deathbed meditation. See Anālayo, *Mindfully Facing Disease and Death: Compassionate Advice from Early Buddhist Texts*, 208–241. In the main *aṅḡhakathā* to the *Girimānanda-sutta*, very few commentarial explanations are given. However, in the *Sāratthasamuccaya*, extensive commentarial materials are compiled together to explain the discourse. None of the commentaries specify a use for deathbed contemplation or healing, however. See Bhikkhu Ñāṅamoli, *The Girimānanda Sutta: Ten Contemplations with the Comementary from the Sāratthasamuccaya* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1972).

**sappurus**»-br and **dhammasaṃveg** «oḥ o guor saṃveg-br», and four *trailakkha*(n) texts in the *bāky* 7 meter, namely **trailakkha**(n) «aniccā rūp yōn min diēn bit»-7, **trailakkha**(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7, **trailakkha**(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7, and **trailakkha**(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7.

Beyond these nineteen texts, there are also a handful of others in the corpus that share a similar function as vernacular poems to be recited to aid the dying in contemplation. These include the *kākagati* text **kāyagatā-k**, the *brahmagāthi* text **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**, the mixed-verse texts **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn** and **hai me namo-k/r4**, and seven *bāky* 7 texts: **khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy-7**, **baṅnaṅ pañcakkhandh-7**, **bicāraṅ pañcakkhandh-7**, **sādhāraṇadharm-7**, **sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7**, **sukhumalakkhaṇa-7**, and **saṃvegavatthu 8 y"ān-7**. As discussed above, not all of these texts were specifically composed for recitation to the dying. Based on what the paratexts tell us about the function of the leporellos, however, I endeavor to read them as chants for the deathbed.

Regarding the age of these texts, the same patterns outlined in Chapter 3 hold true: the *kākagati* and *brahmagāthi* texts in the corpus are generally older, often composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,<sup>8</sup> and *bāky* 7 texts are typically newer compositions, including many from the 1930s through 1960s.<sup>9</sup> In this chapter, I focus almost exclusively on older *kākagati* and *brahmagāthi* texts, some of which were likely translated or adapted from Tai-language originals.<sup>10</sup> This is because these texts reveal a more distinctive approach to the end of life, one that is locally grounded in vernacular traditions rather than Pali texts. Moreover, they point to a mode of dying and death that probably remained current in Cambodia—and also in Laos and Thailand—up through the beginning of the twentieth century.

This mode can be summed up as follows: The old and sick ideally die at home, surrounded by family and village elders. Those with the necessary means may also invite an *ācāry* who specializes in end-of-life rituals and maybe a handful of monks. Once the rites for dying and death are complete, the corpse is carried off to a charnel forest, beyond the

<sup>8</sup> Saveros Pou dates a *kākagati* text in a very similar genre and style, *Cpāp' mahāpaṭṭhān*, to the eighteenth century or earlier. See Pou, *Guirlande de cpāp'*, Vol. II, 207.

<sup>9</sup> All three of these meters continue to be used up to the present; an old meter does not necessarily imply an old composition.

<sup>10</sup> While only **lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn**, discussed in the previous chapter, claims a direct descent from a Tai-language source text, the *trailakkha*(n) and *dhammasaṃveg* texts in the Khmer corpus bear striking similarities to the *ḥlan* *sāṅkhār* vernacular poems in Siamese and Lao and to the *gām*, *raṃ*, *sāṅkhār* poems in Lanna. For Siamese examples, see Braḥ Grū Vimala'āthavādi พระครูวิมลอรธาวาทิ, *Hnān sī svat buddhaman(t) bidhī chpāp sampūra(n)* หนังสือสวดพุทธมนต์พิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Vāt phai<sub>1</sub> lieu<sub>2</sub> วัดไผ่ล้อม, 2538); and Puṅṅāg Binicabal บุญนาค พิณิจพล and Braḥ Puṅṅāg Nāgavaro พระบุญมี นาคโว, *Gām klan-sarabhāñ braam<sub>2</sub> dān<sub>2</sub> klan kavī vithidharm* คำกลอน-สรภัญญ์ พร้อมทั้งกลอนกรวีธิธรรม (Nong Khai หนองคาย: Sāṅṅāk bim(b) lūk sa. dharmabhāktī สำนักพิมพ์ ลูก ส.ธรรมภักดี, n.d.). For Lao examples, see Maḥḥādaaṅgām Hliem,puññhōñ มຫາທອງຕໍາ ຫລໍຽມບຸນເຮືອງ, *Mamrahkāt vātdaḥṇadām lāv lān<sub>2</sub> jān<sub>2</sub>* ມໍຣະດົກອັດທະນະທັມລາວລ້ານຊ້າງ (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ: Ganah ṣikṣā sān(gh) sūn(y) kāñ ጠະສິກສາສິງ ສູນກລາງ (คณะศึกษาด้านสงฆ์สงฆ์), 2546), 567–569. For Lanna examples, see Puṅṅit Vājraśāsī(r) บุญคิด วัชรศาสตร์, *Gām rāṃ, sāṅkhāradharm, tāmrā tū tōḥ en* คำร่ำสังขารธรรม ต่าราดตัวเอง (Chiang Mai เชียงใหม่: Dhārā daan kār bim(b) ธาราทองการพิมพ์, 2550).

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boundaries of the village and monastery, where it decays and becomes food for scavengers.<sup>11</sup> This mode of dying probably declined precipitously in the past century due to the increasing medicalization of dying and the dwindling use of charnel forests for the dead.<sup>12</sup> Some Cambodians today are still able to die at home (as opposed to the hospital), though rarely with the same rites as described in these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century texts, but corpses in Cambodia today are almost always buried or cremated rather than left to decay in the open.<sup>13</sup>

In this chapter I argue that part of the work of the dying in Khmer texts is to contemplate this premodern mode of dying and death. In other words, the task faced by the dying is to come to terms with the fact of death's arrival, the process of dying itself, the horrible fate of the body after death, and the deathbed practices that might secure a favorable rebirth. The work of the dying, then, is to be aware of death in all of its gory details and possibilities. These contemplations must be seen in context with and in contrast to the *buddhānusmṛti* practices discussed above. While the latter emphasize a calm mind, focused on the radiant qualities of the Buddha, the former invoke woe, fear, and lamentation for the rotten bodies of human beings.

To restate an argument I have made elsewhere, the stirring or *saṃvega* of these fearsome contemplations could in some sense pave the way for the stilling or *prasāda* (Pali *pasāda*) of *buddhānusmṛti*.<sup>14</sup> Rather than emphasizing simple *buddhānusmṛti* practices as the logical conclusion of these stirring contemplations, however, these texts tend to conclude with two kinds of exhortations. The first is to perform the foundational practices of generosity (*dāna*), ethics (*sīla*), and mental cultivation (*bhāvanā*) before it is too late. The second is to engage in the advanced practices of traditional Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation, including techniques that purport to be efficacious in the moment of death and its immediate aftermath. These texts thus present a complete program for those facing the prospect of death, even if their demise is not yet imminent. Chanted in elaborate *smūtr* melodies, these texts guide the dying in their work of contemplating the end of life. Though others who are present may benefit from their teachings, these texts focus squarely on the work—that is, the burdens and obligations—of those preparing to pass away. Each of the sections that follow engages sequentially with one of the steps of this program of contemplation.

The first five sections, from 8.2 to 8.6, analyze passive contemplations on the end of the life. “Chased by old age” (8.2) examines reflections on the uncontrollable and deleterious

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<sup>11</sup> On the charnel forest in Thailand, see Phra Khrū Anusaranaśāsanakiarti and Charles F. Keyes, “Funerary Rites and the Buddhist Meaning of Death: An Interpretative Text from Northern Thailand,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 68, no. 1 (January 1980): 10; and Klima, *The Funeral Casino*, 173–174.

<sup>12</sup> Erik Davis notes that in Cambodia today, “the idea of the forest cemetery retains a great deal more power in the imagination than practice” (Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 50). He also says that he encountered only one temple (in Kandal province) in his fieldwork in Cambodia which had forested area set aside for the disposal of bodies (Erik W. Davis, personal communication, January 8, 2018).

<sup>13</sup> On older practices of leaving the dead outside to decay or offering human corpses to animals for consumption (including as an act of generosity on the part of the deceased), see Bizot, *Le don de soi-même*, 14–15. See also Leclère, *La crémation et les rites funéraires au Cambodge*, 72–73.

<sup>14</sup> Walker, “Saṃvega and Pasāda: Dharma Songs in Contemporary Cambodia.”

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effects of aging on the body. “Hounded by death” (8.3) considers the contemplations on death that follow, which emphasize the inevitability but also the unknowability of death’s arrival, as well as a few rites conducted near the moment of death. “Menaced by Yama” (8.4) reflects on depictions of a painful dying process as mediated by Yama, the Lord of Death, and his four guards. This process also involves the binding of the five attachments and the cessation of the three winds. “Discarded in the forest” (8.5) analyzes the descriptions of corpses being thrown away in the charnel woods, which emphasize the graphic decay of the body as well as its loneliness in being far from village life. “Abandoned by civilization” (8.6) looks at extensions of the previous contemplation that give voice to the suffering of the departed, both in terms of the trials of the charnel forest as well as the pain of being cut off from human civilization.

The final two sections transition from passive contemplations on the process of dying and death to more active exercises. The first, “Foundational practices” (8.7), considers the admonitions to practice the three foundations of merit (*puññakiriyavatthu*), namely generosity (*dāna*), ethics (*sīla*), and mental cultivation (*bhāvanā*). The second, “Traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* for the end of life” (8.8), studies a few texts that draw from local Khmer-Tai meditation practices to control both the state of one’s mind at death as well as its ultimate destination.

Taken together, these seven contemplations present a sequential program for facing the terror as well as the meritorious possibilities of the deathbed. I should note that not all the texts in this genre contain all the steps of this program. In fact, no single text contains all seven steps, and the order in which the steps are presented sometimes varies as well. In calling these steps constitutive of a “program,” I am drawing attention to the threads that sew the many texts in this genre together as poems appropriate to recite to the dying. Most of the leporellos contain not one but several *trailakkha(n)* and *dhammasaṅveg* chants between their covers. No single title is therefore prescribed for the deathbed. Rather, the leporellos present the collective force of many texts. Together these texts represent the complete steps of the idealized program of contemplations this chapter explores. Unlike the end-of-life prayers considered in the following chapter, these contemplations are concerned much more with the present (preparing for death and observing the process of dying) and the immediate future (the fate of the body after death) than with the distant future or past. They focus on how to relate to the processes of dying and death as they unfold.

Since this program of deathbed practice has not yet been described, in this chapter I quote extensively from the relevant primary sources to weave a composite and comprehensive picture of how these texts work. I specifically engage with excerpts from seventeen of the Khmer poems listed above as well as from the Khmer verse narrative *Supīn kumār*. These verse texts do not exactly speak for themselves; they require an analytical framework to make them legible as components of the deathbed program I describe here. But the gravity and specificity of their words speak volumes, and cannot be vividly rendered through paraphrase alone. I therefore endeavor to ground my argument in the distinct and explicit words that many Cambodians would have once listened to, contemplated, and worked with in their final months and days.



### 8.2 Chased by Old Age

Khmer deathbed chants all emphasize the pain and precariousness of *samsāra*. The human condition, they assert, is not marked by happiness or security, but rather by the corrosive and pernicious effects of birth, old age, illness, and death. This view is, of course, in complete agreement with the Buddhist tradition as a whole, which sees *samsāra* as a futile exercise in repeated suffering. One deathbed text, **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br** (“Stanza beginning with ‘Soon, alas, this body,’ translated into Khmer”), presents the human predicament thus:

៣៨	38
ប្រៀបដូចបុរសមួយ	[Your situation] is like this: there is a man
មានប្រាណព្រួយហើយភិតភ័យ	who is worried in his body and filled with fear
នឹងចោរបួនចម្រើ	for the four terrible thieves,
ដេញពីក្រោយតាមប្រាកដ ។	who chase and follow him close.
៣៩	39
ប្រឹងរត់ភិតភ័យកាន់កាន់	He tries to run, though shaking with fright.
លុះដល់ប្រាំងមាត់សមុទ្រ	Once he arrives at the shore of the sea,
ទឹកហូរខ្លាំងចំហុត	the water flows far too swiftly,
រកអ្វីឆ្លងពុំបានឡើយ ។	and he cannot find a means to cross.
៤០	40
លុះឃើញសាកអសុក	When he catches sight of a foul corpse,
អណ្តែតមកជិតបង្កើយ	floating right in front of him,
លោតឱបខ្មោចនោះហើយ	he leaps to embrace it,
អុំហែលឆ្លងសមុទ្រធំ ។	rowing and swimming his way across the great ocean.
៤១	41
លុះដល់ត្រើយហើយណា	Once he arrives on the far shore,
លាងអាត្មាស្អាតរៀបចំ	he cleanses himself and prepares
ចូលកាន់ទីស្រុកធំ	to enter the vast country
គឺអមតៈមហានិព្វាន ។	that is deathless Nibbāna.

This simile of being chased by four thieves is then unpacked in the following passage:

៤២	42
នឹងប្រែជាសេចក្តី	If we translate the meaning
តាមបាឡិវៀងនិទាន	in accordance with the Pali narrative,
ចោរបួននោះមែនមាន	the four thieves are indeed

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គឺជាកើតនិងជរា ។	birth, old age,
៤៣	43
ព្យាធិនិងមរណា	illness, and death—
បួននេះជាក់ប្រាកដជា	these four exactly are
ចោរបួនដែលពណ៌នា	the four thieves explained above,
ដេញបុរសជាអស្ចារ្យ ។	who chased the man so fearsomely.
៤៤	44
សមុទ្រជាអន្ទង់	The ocean is the great abyss,
នាំសត្វផុសក្នុងសង្សារ	that leads creatures to sink in saṃsāra.
ទឹកគូចគិតណា	The whirlpool current is craving,
ដែលចង់សត្វវិញ្ញតនៅ ។	which binds creatures tightly in place.
៤៥	45
អសុភក្តិរាងកាយ	The foul corpse is this very body,
ដែលអន្តរាយវិនាសទៅ	that will be completely destroyed,
គ្មានខ្លឹមសារគង់នៅ	that has no abiding essence
ឲ្យស្ថិតស្ថេរចំរើកាលឡើយ ។	to endure for a long time.
៤៦	46
កុំលង់គឺព្យាយាម	Don't drown, in other words, strive hard.
សូមអានតាមសម្ពុទ្ធហើយ	Study in accordance with the Perfect Buddha
ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃអម្ចាស់អើយ	and the Noble Sangha, our masters,
លោកបរិសុទ្ធប្រសើរក្រៃ ។	who are pure and most excellent.
៤៧	47
បរិសុទ្ធគឺវិញ្ញាណ	“Pure” means that for this consciousness—
ដែលកើតមានក្នុងភពត្រៃ	which has arisen in the triple world
ច្រើនជាតិអសង្ខេបយូរ	across infinite lifetimes
នឹងត្រូវរាប់ពុំបានឡើយ ។	beyond count or concept—
៤៨	48
នគរកែវអមតៈ	the deathless crystal city
និព្វានជាក់ប្រាកដហើយ	of Nibbāna has clearly manifested,
ទុក្ខសោករោគផងស្បើយ	suffering, grief, and illness have been relieved,
លែងវិលកើតស្លាប់ទៀត ។	and there is no further return to birth and death.

This simile and its explanation, for which I have not been able to identify a canonical source, present the doctrinal basis for much of the contemplative program that follows: saṃsāra is dangerous; humans are constantly chased by birth, old age, illness, and death; and the body is a rotten corpse but also the vehicle by which we can escape saṃsāra and reach Nibbāna.

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Many Khmer chants, rather than rehashing this background picture of the human predicament, instead give a distinct emphasis on the aging process, presenting it not as one characterized by a dignifying rise in social rank but rather as a terrifying loss of personal control over the appearance and function of the body. These texts present old age as a force that chases us to our certain death, like the thieves in the excerpt above. For those already preparing for death, the damage inflicted by age on the body may already be vividly apparent. These poems therefore ask their audience to face this reality before the very final moments of life. An earlier passage from the same text, **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**, makes this point in forceful terms:

៥	5	
ព្រះពុទ្ធទ្រង់ជ្រាបច្បាស់		The Buddha clearly stated
ថាការវៈមាន <i>jarā</i>		that the state of <i>jarā</i> [old age]
តម្រួតទាំងអស់គ្នា		dominates all of us.
ឫទ្ធិ <i>jarā</i> វាងមិនបាន ។		The force of aging cannot be evaded.
៦	6	
ជាទុក្ខនិង <i>jarā</i>		The states of suffering and old age
ប្រជុំគ្នាទៅក្នុងប្រាណ		merge together in the body.
សត្វលោកគ្មានគិតអាន		Creatures in the world fail to reflect on this,
ស្មាន <i>jarā</i> ថាមិនអស់ ។		assuming that “old age” means “not yet dead.”
៧	7	
<i>jarā</i> ក៏ជាទុក្ខ		Old age is indeed suffering,
ពុំបានសុខក្នុងលោកិយ៍		preventing happiness in the worldly realm.
កុំឲ្យថាមិនអស់		Don’t call it “not yet dead,”
ព្រះជិនស្រីខ្លាច <i>jarā</i> ។		for even the Glorious Victor feared old age.
៨	8	
<i>jarā</i> វាមានឫទ្ធិ		Old age is mighty—
បញ្ចូលចិត្តទាំងអស់គ្នា		everyone must grasp this.
មិនឲ្យស្គាល់ <i>jarā</i>		Don’t just get to know old age
ត្រាទុក្ខវាសម្លៀក ។		when you’re in pain—then it’ll be hidden.

According to this text, old age is not so much a danger in and of itself but only when we deny its power, i.e. when we think that aging merely means we are not dead yet. The exhortation is for the afflicted to accept the reality of aging and the power it has over human life. Other texts, such as the mid-twentieth-century **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** (“The Three Marks, beginning with ‘Impermanent is this life,’ version C”), speak of aging not as an abstract force but as an active process with vivid effects on our bodies:

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<p>១ អនិច្ចាសផ្ទារូបយើងអើយ បានកើតឡើងហើយមិនទៀងទាត់ តែងតែប្រទះក្តីវិបត្តិ ប្រែប្រួលប្រាសប្រាត់ជាប្រក្រតី ។</p>	<p>1 Impermanent is this life! Our bodies, once born, are merely transient, always facing the tide of ruin, having the nature of change and loss.</p>
<p>២ ដើមឡើយអ្នកអើយក៏ក្រូចរូងផង សមរូបសមទ្រង់អង្គប្រុសស្រី ល្អល្អះអស់អង្គសាច់សខ្ចី រូបអើយមិនគួរប្រែប្រួលសោះ ។</p>	<p>2 Originally your face was lovely and clear, your body beautiful and handsome, your skin elegant and bright— oh, this body, how it shouldn't change!</p>
<p>៣ ប្រែធ្មេញក៏បាក់ភ្នែកងងឹត សាច់ឈាមជ្រើស្ងួតសក់ក៏ស្ងួត ប្រែទាំងកម្លាំងមិនតាំងនៅ សាច់ឈាមក្រៀមទៅដល់រូបស្លាប់ ។</p>	<p>3 But your teeth change and fall out. Your eyes go blind. Your skin shrivels up and your hair goes white. Your energy changes and doesn't remain the same. Your flesh and blood dry up and your body dies.</p>
<p>៤ អនិច្ចាសផ្ទារមិនបានទៀង រាល់រូបទុក្ខទៀងតែងតាមជាប់ គួរកុំបណ្តោយឲ្យអក័ព្វ ទុក្ខឈឺទុក្ខស្លាប់ទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។</p>	<p>4 How impermanent is life! It is not stable. Pain stalks the body close; don't allow misfortune in. The pain of illness and death strikes all of us.</p>
<p>៥ ទុក្ខនេះទុក្ខតាំងពីដូនតា មាតាបិតាទុក្ខធ្ងន់ក្រៃ ទុក្ខតាំងពីកើតចេញចាកផ្ទៃ ទុក្ខនេះធ្ងន់ក្រៃដល់មរណា ។</p>	<p>5 This suffering extends to all our ancestors, with our parents bearing intense suffering. Suffering begins from the moment we leave the womb; it becomes most intense when arriving at death.</p>

We lament that the body “shouldn’t change,” for we are smitten by its beauty, but in fact it does change, and before long the process of aging leads to death. This passage also asserts that not only is suffering omnipresent in human life, “it becomes most intense” in our final days. Death, in other words, is not a peaceful affair but an extremely painful one. This theme recurs frequently in subsequent steps of the deathbed program.

In addition to pain, the aging process is marked by a terrifying loss of agency over the body’s appearance and functions. The *kākagati* text **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāmn»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘Painful is this body! The body’s pain binds tight’”) puts the consequences of old age in vivid, locally cogent terms:

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<p>៤          រីងសម្លេង          កាលដើមរលីង          ក្រឡាប់លុះស្អក          ភ្នែកភ្លឺស្រស់ភ្នែក          ឃើញសុះសព្វប្រក          លុះប្រែឡប់ឡក          ងងឹតសូន្យសុង ។</p>	<p>4          As for your voice,          it used to be clear,          but now is hoarse.          Your bright eyes          once saw in all directions,          but now they've changed          and all goes dark.</p>
<p>៥          សក់ខ្មៅរលីង          រលើបលាបប្រេង          រលង់រលង់          លុះប្រែជាស្លូវ          មើលទៅសស្កង          សស្កុះចប់ចុង          ដូចផ្កាបបុស ។</p>	<p>5          You had glossy black hair,          coated in oil,          smooth and shiny;          now it turns gray,          or even completely white,          hoary down to the tips,          like a <i>papus</i> flower.</p>
<p>៦          ធ្មេញរឹងពឹងពាន          ទំពារអ្វីបាន          មិនលាន់ឮឱ្យ          លុះប្រែហើមសាច់          បន្តិចរង្កោះ          រង្កើត្រូវចុះ          ជ្រុះចេញពីមាត់ ។</p>	<p>6          Your teeth once snugly gnashed together,          capable of chewing anything          without a sound,          but now the gums swell up          and the teeth are shaky          and loose, sliding down and          falling out of your mouth.</p>
<p>៧          នឹងបរិភោគ          ចំណីអាហារ          ពិតពុំរលាត់          ទាល់តែនឹងឃ្នាន          មិនហ៊ានអាចអត់          ខំប្រឹងសង្កត់          សង្កិនលេបទៅ ។</p>	<p>7          When partaking of          different kinds of food          you can't bite through anything.          Fearing you'll go hungry          and not wanting to starve,          you strain to chomp,          mash, and swallow.</p>
<p>៨          ត្រចៀកទាំងសង          ប្រែជាថ្នងផង          មិនមាននឹងនៅ</p>	<p>8          The two ears          can no longer hear;          they do not remain the same.</p>

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ស្បែកសាច់ជ្រីវជ្រីត Your tight, supple skin  
 ស្ងួតទ្រោមចេញទៅ is now loose and slack;  
 ច្នៃតើនឹងត្រូវ if this is the case,  
 ថាល្អត្រង់ណា ។ where can beauty be found?

These stanzas present what was presumably a relatable image for the Cambodian elderly in an era before modern vision and dental care. Indeed, such an image is not so distant from the realities faced by many elderly, rural Cambodians today. Moreover, this passage implicitly asks the dying to finally let go of this body, for the beauty we once saw in it was but fleeting and temporary. In a subsequent passage from the same text, the dying are encouraged to reflect not merely on the fact of old age, but on how the changing body reflects the Buddhist teaching of *anattā*:

៩	9
ប្រដាប់ក្នុងខ្លួន	The parts of the body,
ដែលមានប៉ុន្មាន	however many there are,
សឹងជាអនត្តា	are all not the self.
ពិតពុំមែនសោះ	They do not really
ជារបស់អាត្មា	belong to you.
ស្រឡាញ់ឥតការ	To love them is useless,
ឥតកេរកោះត្រឺយ ។	for they're not a legacy or a refuge.
១០	10
ស្រឡាញ់សក់ល្អ	You love your beautiful hair,
ខំប្រឹងអង្វរ	trying hard to entice it,
ថាឱសក់អើយ	saying, “Oh hair,
សក់កុំអាលស្លូវ	don't turn gray so quickly.
សក់នៅនេះហើយ	Just remain like this.”
សក់ពុំស្តាប់ឡើយ	But your hair doesn't listen
រឹងរឹតតែស្លូវ ។	and only grows whiter and whiter.
១១	11
ល្អងលោមទន្តា	Wooing your teeth,
អង្វរថែថា	you entice them thus:
ធ្មេញអើយអ្នកនៅ	“Oh teeth, stay as you are.
កុំអាលរង្វោះ	Don't get loose
ជ្រុះចុះចេញទៅ	or fall out too soon.”
ធ្មេញមិញមិននៅ	But your teeth don't stay
ដូចដោយពាក្យថា ។	as per your command.

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<p>១២ អង្វរទៅភ្នែក ស្នាក់ស្ទើរយំស្រែក បន់ស្រន់ទេវតា ឲ្យជួយសូមពរ អង្វរទៅថា សំណេះចរថា ភ្នែកអើយអាណិត ។</p>	<p>12 Entreating your eyes, you continue to wail and cry, praying to the gods to offer a blessing. To entice the eyes you entreat them thus: “Dear eyes, take pity on me.</p>
<p>១៣ អ្នកនៅនឹងយើង កុំអាលចចើង ចេញចោលឲ្យងងឹត ភ្នែកសោតពុំស្តាប់ ក្រឡាប់រឹងរិត ស្រវឹងបាំងជិត មើលមិនយល់អង្គ ។</p>	<p>13 Stay with me. Don’t be rude and leave me in the dark.” But your eyes don’t listen. Instead they are increasingly blinded and obscured, unable to see forms.</p>
<p>១៤ ឃាត់ត្រចៀកជាក់ ត្រចៀកអើយអ្នក អាណិតកុំថ្លង់ អាសូរខ្ញុំវី មេត្តាបង្ខំ ត្រចៀកមិនចង់ មិនចាំអង្វរ ។</p>	<p>14 You try to restrain your ears, saying: “Dear ears, please! Pity me; don’t go deaf. Have mercy on me. Be kind and help.” But your ears don’t care and won’t listen to your pleas.</p>

These one-sided conversations between us and our bodies drive home, in a more specific way, a point repeatedly made about the teaching of *anattā* in the canon: since the body and the senses cannot be controlled, they do not ultimately “belong” to us and are “not the self.”<sup>15</sup> The force of old age is such that we lose agency over what we thought was ours. The dying are reminded that as the body slides toward death, its functions can no longer be easily kept in check.

Later on in the same text, the exhortations become more gender-specific, encouraging people, especially women, to reflect on the way in which clothing, hair products, and jewelry mask the foulness of the body and its aging process. The tone here is not one of “ascetic misogyny,” in which male monastics deconstruct women into their elemental components of skin, flesh, bones, organs, and all manner of bodily fluids as an antidote to desire.<sup>16</sup> Instead the

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP**.

<sup>16</sup> Alan Sponberg, “Attitudes Toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism,” in *Buddhism, Sexuality, and*

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focus is on the dying person herself, to reflect on the decay that lurks beneath the body's outer beauty so as to prepare for death:

<p>៣០          រូបនេះហេតុតែ          ជារបស់ផងគេ          ទើបយាត់មិននៅ          ដូច្នេះគួរគិត          គំនិតឲ្យជ្រៅ          ឲ្យជ្រះឃើញផ្លូវ          កុំឲ្យវាយមាយ ។</p> <p>៣១          គួរគិតរូបអង្គ          ស្អាងស្អិតផ្គិតផ្គង          ស្លៀកហូលជរជាយ          ពាក់អាវព្រៃផ្កា          ក្រមាលៀងលាយ          ញញឹមពព្រាយ          ថាខ្លួនគ្រាន់បើ ។</p> <p>៣២          កាត់សក់លាបប្រេង          កោរកាត់រលីង          បញ្ជើចបញ្ជី          ពាក់អស់គ្រឿងមាស          ឱកាសប្រសើរ          ប្រាណាច្រាសចុះដើរ          បង់បោយញាងញាង ។</p> <p>៣៣          សម្អាតឥតឈប់          តែរូបអសុភ          អាក្រក់សៅហ្មង          មិនគិតពីកាយ          រលាយឡើយហោង          ហេតុនោះអ្នកផង</p>	<p>30          This body, since it is naught but          the property of others,          cannot be controlled.          Hence you should reflect          and ponder deeply          to clearly see the path;          don't be careless.</p> <p>31          You should reflect on your body.          You clean it carefully,          slip on a lace-hemmed skirt,          a floral-pattered silk shirt,          and a blended yellow scarf.          You smile brightly          and think you're not too bad.</p> <p>32          You cut your hair and apply oil,          shaving off parts entirely,          so as to fawn and coax.          You put on all kinds of gold jewelry,          glittering and gorgeous,          and go out for a walk,          swinging your arms gracefully.</p> <p>33          You never stop preening,          but this body is foul,          filthy, and sullied.          You don't think how          the body will decay.          Hence, good people,</p>
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*Gender*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezon (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 18–24. See also Liz Wilson's arguments on similar forms of contemplation as a kind of "self-objectification" by Buddhist nuns in *Charming Cadavers: Horrific Figurations of the Feminine in Indian Buddhist Hagiographic Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 157–164.



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ខំពិចារណា ។ strive to contemplate.

After these reflections on the foulness of the body, the text urges the dying to reflect on the attachments that keep us bound to saṃsāra:

៣៤	34
ឲ្យល្អិតក្នុងខ្លួន	Reflect carefully within yourself,
ប្រាកដមែនមួន	truly and correctly,
ហើយឲ្យខុស្សាហ៍	and then strive hard
ប្រៀនប្រដៅចិត្ត	to train your heart
កុំគិតភ្ញៀវភ្លា	to not think audaciously
ស្រើបដោយតណ្ហា	or be aroused by desire
ភ្នាំងភ្លេចស្មារតី ។	and forget to be mindful
៣៥	35
ភ្លេចគិតរូបកាយ	or forget to contemplate the body,
គិតតែសប្បាយ	thinking only of pleasure
នឹងរូបប្រុសស្រី	with male or female bodies,
នឹងមាសនឹងប្រាក់	or of gold and silver,
នឹងសក្តិយសថ្មី	of rising to new ranks,
នឹងសេះដំរី	or of horses, elephants,
ក្របីគោផង ។	buffalo, and cattle.
៣៦	36
តែគិតអស់នោះ	All these thoughts—
លោកហោគិតខុស	the Master says they're wrong
ពុំត្រូវឡើយហោង	and not correct at all.
ទាំងអស់នោះណា	All these thoughts
ទុកជាចំណង	are attachments
ចំណាំចាំចង	that tie and bind
កនិងចង្កេះ ។	your neck, your waist,
៣៧	37
ចំណងកង្កើង	and your ankles,
ចងរូបរូបយើង	binding tight around your body.
កម្រហេះ	It is difficult to loosen
រហូតពីកាយ	or free yourself from them,
មិនងាយទេម៉្លះ	not easy at all.
ក្រណាស់អ្នកចេះ	Very rare are those who can
ស្រាយចំណងបាន ។	release themselves from these binds.

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The last two stanzas speak of our attachments as literal cords that bind the body in three different places. This is in reference to the Cambodian funerary practice of binding corpses at the neck, the waist, and the ankles.<sup>17</sup> It also anticipates the three- or five-way binding of the body by Yama’s guards, detailed in section 8.4 below. Though this text could apply to Buddhists in any stage of life, when addressed to those preparing for death, its exhortations take on a heightened significance. The dying, in other words, are asked to imagine their desires and attachments regarding the body as the cotton strings that will soon bind their stiff corpse. It is of course very “difficult to loosen /or free yourself from” these binds, since the cold bodies of the dead do not so much as twitch, and whatever rebirth follows this life is but a pernicious trap. In the closing sections on active deathbed practices, however, this and other texts do suggest ways that the dying might “release themselves from these binds” before death even arrives.

### **8.3 Hounded by Death**

Along with old age, a number of Khmer texts also emphasize how human beings are constantly chased and hounded by death. The dying are asked to squarely face their own impending demise and not to turn their attention away from it. A variety of aspects of death surface in these contemplations: its certain inevitability (we surely will die), its temporal unknowability (we don’t when we will die), its locational uncertainty (we can’t be sure where we will die), and its inescapable disgust (our bodies will rot away after death). In each case, the dying are exhorted to take the onslaught of death as clear evidence that the body is not worth being attached to.

Some texts, such as **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccam rūpam»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘The body is impermanent!’”), highlight the temporal unknowability of death:

១១	11
អាស្សរូបកាយ	Pity this body!
កើតហើយអន្តរាយ	It comes to be then goes to ruin
មិនដឹងត្រាវាបំ	numberless times.
មកកើតមិនដឹង	We are born unawares,
ទៅក៏មិនប្រាប់	and depart without telling anyone.
រូបរបស់ខ្លួនស្រាប់	Our very own body
មិនដឹងស្លាប់ថ្ងៃណាៗ	knows not the day of its death.
១២	12
គួរឲ្យជិនណាយ	You should tire of it,
ដ្បិតរូបរាងកាយ	for this body

<sup>17</sup> Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 55.

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ស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា	will die, as is its nature.
ខំតែសង្វាត	Try hard to strive
បង្វែងរកតែធម៌អាថ៌	and be stirred by the Dharma
និងនាំអត្តា	to lead yourself
ទៅស្ថានសួគ៌សុខៗ	to the blissful realm of the heavens.

Since we cannot know when we will die, these stanzas argue, we should “tire” (*jin nāy*; cf. Pali *nibbindati*) of the body and be “stirred” (*saniveg*) by these teachings on its impermanence. An earlier passage in the same text emphasizes that death is uncontrollable and ultimately inevitable:

៧	7
ចិត្តមិនចង់ស្លាប់	The mind does not want to die.
ឃាត់រូបមិនស្តាប់	It commands, but the body won't listen.
ចេះតែស្លាប់ទៅ	It can only die
ចាកចោលសម្បត្តិ	and leave behind all attainments,
ព្រាត់ម៉ែព្រាត់ឪ	parted from parents,
ព្រាត់កូនព្រាត់ចៅ	parted from children,
ព្រាត់ជេរសន្តាន ។	parted from relatives.
៨	8
ឃាត់ដូចម្តេច	How can we stop it?
ឃាត់មួយរំពេច	We try to stop it for a moment,
មិនព្រមឈប់ខាន	but it doesn't agree to stop,
រូបទៀងតែស្លាប់	for the body is certain to die.
តាំងពីបូរាណ	Ever since times of old,
កំណត់ស្មើម៉ាន	whatever the limit of our life is,
ស្លាប់ស្មើនោះឯង។	we die at that limit.
៩	9
រូបកាយកើតមក	The body is born,
ជីវិតឈប់ជ្រក	and life stops by to take refuge in it,
ដូចផ្ទះសម្បែង	just like in a house.
តែសង្ហារអស់	But soon the fabrications
ជីវិតទៅឯង	that compose life fade away
ចោលរូបច្រខ្លាំង	and abandon this swollen body,
ថ្វាយព្រះធរណី។	offering it to the earth.

This passage highlights a theme commonly witnessed in similar Khmer texts: the mind (*citt*)

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cannot finally control the body (*rūp* or *rūp kāy*), and the moment of death marks the severance of the the mind from the body. *Citt* here seems to suggest what texts in the corpus variously refer to as the *brahīn* (“souls”) or the *viññāṇakkhandh* (“the consciousness aggregate”).<sup>18</sup> These poems are not scholastics treatises; they rarely draw sharp distinctions between terms we might understand as categorically separate, such as *citt*, *brahīn*, or *viññāṇakkhandh*. Rather, emphasis is on the divide between the decaying, impermanent body, and the mind, souls, or consciousness aggregate that splits from the body at death. The latter, in particular, is thought to transmigrate at death to seek out a new life; the body is merely where “life stops by to take refuge [...], / just like in a house.” When the conditions that sustain life collapse, they simply “abandon this swollen body, offering it to the earth.” The body has a fixed limit on its lifespan and life cannot endure beyond that point; the mind must go elsewhere.

Two stanzas of **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘The body is painful, the body is impermanent’”) remind their audience that this separation is not easy for the mind:

២៥	25
រូបពុំអំពល់	The body frets not.
ព្រាត់ព្រាសចិត្តខ្លួន	In parting, only the mind worries.
ចិត្តពុំសប្បាយ	The mind is unhappy,
ទង្គឹះខ្សឹកខ្សួល	sobbing with grief,
ក្តៅក្តួលក្នុងកាយ	choked with rage;
កាន់ការរសាយ	searching for calm,
ឃ្នេងឃ្នោងក្នុងចិត្ត	the mind rocks back and forth,
២៦	26
ហេតុដ្បិតព្រាត់ព្រាស	for it is parted,
ព្រាត់ក្មេងព្រាត់ចាស់	parted in youth, parted in old age,
ព្រាត់ស្លាប់មែនពិត	parted inevitably in death,
ព្រាត់ខានឃើញមុខ	parted, never to be seen again,
កើតទុក្ខក្នុងចិត្ត	as pains boils within the mind.
យើងអើយអាណិត	How pitiable,
អនិច្ចារូបទៅ។	the transience of the body!

The separation spoken of in these stanzas reflects a contemplation addressed later in this chapter, namely the lament of the corpse after the body’s death. The emphasis here, however, is on pondering how this painful separation is an inexorable process that cannot be controlled. In addition to contemplating the temporal unknowability and inevitability of death, this text also reflects on its locational uncertainty. Death comes again and again in *saṃsāra*, but we don’t know where we will be each time death arrives:

<sup>18</sup> Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 43

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២៩ ក្នុងរូបនេះឯង កើតហើយវង្វេង ត្បិតតែងហ្នឹងសៅ វិលកើតហើយស្លាប់ ពុំបានរស់នៅ កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ គ្មានខានគ្រប់គ្នា ។ ៣០ ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយដី ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយព្រៃ នៅឯអធ្វា ស្លាប់បងស្លាប់ប្អូន ស្លាប់ដូនស្លាប់តា ស្លាប់ម្តាយមីងមា អនិច្ចារ្យរូបអើយ ។	29 Once you are born in this body, you grow confused due to your defilements. You cycle between birth and death, not continuously living. Once born, you die; none find relief from this. 30 Some die in the dirt. Some die in the woods, or along the road. Your brothers die, your sisters die, your grandparents die, your parents, aunts, and uncles die— impermanent indeed is this body!
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Another text, **Ipök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn** (“Poem on kammaṭṭhāna”), translated from Siamese in 1713 CE, makes clear that death can strike at any moment. The circumstances of death are thus rarely dignified:

៥៦ មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រសាយ សំពត់ខ្លាយខ្ចាត់ទៅហើយ អាក្រក់ក្រៃជាត្រើយ គេយង់យល់អស់រូបតោម ។ ៥៧ មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ដដែល គ្មានកន្ទេលនឹងក្រាលក្រោម គេខ្ពើមដូចអាចន់នោម ដេកនៅដីដូចក្តីឆ្មា ។ ៥៨ ខ្លះស្លាប់ត្រីវាចឹក នៅក្នុងទឹកដូចមច្ឆា	56 Some people die with their clothing slipped off, their skirts scattered here and there. How awful, that in the end, they see the body as such, devoid of beauty. 57 Some people die just as they are, without even a mat spread beneath them. The living detest them like shit and piss, laying on the earth like a dead dog or cat. 58 Some people die with fish nibbling on them in the water, as if they too were a fish.
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ខ្លះនៅស្រែចម្ការ                      Some people die in the middle of fields and farms.  
 ស្លាប់លំបាកនៅលោកិយ ។      Dying is not easy in the worldly realm.

Death reveals that the body was always “devoid of beauty,” for human corpses may appear no different than that of animals. Death’s presence is destructive and distressing; “dying,” the text reminds its audience, “is not easy.” In an earlier passage from the same text, the listeners are encouraged to contemplate the gruesome ways death renders a once-living body unrecognizable:

<p>៥០                  យើងផងតែងនឹងស្លាប់                  ដេកផ្ការផ្កាប់ដោយតែជួន                  ហើមពួរអស់ទាំងខ្លួន                  សឹងតែស្អុយក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។</p>	<p>50                  We all shall pass away,                  lying face down or face up, as the case may be,                  with our whole body’s ligaments swollen,                  and the internal organs emitting a foul stench.</p>
<p>៥១                  សង្សារកុំប្រលោម                  ថារូបឆោមល្អដ្ឋល់ក្តើង                  ស្អិតស្អាងមើលខ្លួនយើង                  ក្សិណពិបាកជរាមរ ។</p>	<p>51                  Within saṃsāra, don’t comfort yourself                  by thinking that your body is lovely and beautiful,                  preening and cleaning yourself,                  for in an instant you might face old age and death.</p>
<p>៥២                  មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ពិបាក                  ខ្លួនរលាកជ្រុតពិសពរ                  ជុំស្អុយដង្កូវវារ                  យល់មិនទៀងក្នុងឥន្ទ្រិយ ។</p>	<p>52                  Some people die in difficulty,                  their bodies blistered due to evil venom,                  rank and foul, writhing with worms—                  such is the impermanence of the body.</p>
<p>៥៣                  មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ហាមាត់                  ធ្មេញស្មាញខ្នាត់យល់អប្រិយ                  ភ្នែកស្ទើតជាខ្មោចខ្ចី                  ភ្នែកត្នាតចឹកអស់រូបឆោម ។</p>	<p>53                  Some people die with their mouths open,                  teeth bared and scattered, a fearsome sight,                  eyes rolled back, having immediately become a corpse,                  with crows and vultures pecking apart the loveliness of the body.</p>
<p>៥៤                  ស្បែកប៉ោងជាសសខ្មៅ                  មានដង្កូវរុយបែងរោម                  ឈាមហូរធ្លាក់ទៅក្រោម                  គួរឃើញមពេកក្តាត់ណា ។</p>	<p>54                  The skin swells and stretches, black and white,                  with maggots and flies laying eggs in the hair                  and blood oozing down the body—                  how loathsome and disgusting indeed!</p>

These reflections on death not only recount the inevitability of death, which could strike us “in an instant,” but also the miserable fate of human corpses, a theme addressed in more

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detail later in this chapter. The dying are encouraged to reflect on the fact that death is not something that merely happens to other people. The same strictures of mortality and biological decay apply to the living, too, and the results are “loathsome and disgusting indeed.”

A few texts take a different approach to the contemplation of death. Like the citation of the thrice-bound corpse mentioned in the previous section, these chanted poems make explicit references to particular Cambodian ritual actions performed near the moment of death. The allusion to these practices makes the impending moment of death seem all the more real for the listener; not only will I die, but my corpse will be bound with string around my neck, wrists, and ankles. One such practice is the tradition of placing a coin in the mouth of someone who is dying or who has just passed away.<sup>19</sup> The following passage from **dhammasañveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Permit me, O Venerables and good people!’”) cites this practice:

<p>១៤          កាលរស់នៅជាមនុស្ស          គ្រប់ស្រីប្រុសគ្មានភិតភ័យ          លុះដល់ពេលនឹងក្ស័យ          ទើបគិតភ័យភ្ញាក់អង្គព្រាណ ។</p>	<p>14          While they are alive,          men and women feel no fear.          But when soon to pass away,          they wake up to their body in terror.</p>
<p>១៥          លុះដល់ពេលខ្លួនស្លាប់          គ្មានយកទ្រព្យទៅផងបាន          តែទ្រព្យញាតិសន្តាន          គេដាក់មាត់ឲ្យកុសល ។</p>	<p>15          For once you die,          you can't take anything with you,          save that which your family          places in your mouth for merit.</p>

Even though the coin is offered for the merit (*kusal*) of the deceased, once the body is cremated, the coin is typically retrieved by the family; it does not stay with the cremains. Thus even it does not fill the coffers of the dead, but instead recirculates back into the economy of the living, as articulated in these two stanzas from **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘The aggregate of form’”):

<sup>19</sup> On this practice in Cambodia, see Kong Vireak គង់ វីរៈ, “Jamñiö niñ kār pratipatti dāk’dañ niñ sec-ktū slāp’ ជំនឿនិងការប្រតិបត្តិទាក់ទងនឹងសេចក្តីស្លាប់” (Royal University of Fine Arts, 1995), 42. For different explanations of why a coin is placed in the mouth as well as who is supposed to retrieve it, see Cak’ Kan ចក់ កន, *Nānādharmasāṅgaha: នានាធម្មសង្គហៈ*, 2001, 1–3; and Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvō puny khmoc satawatsa(r) dī 19 niñ jōm satawatsa(r) dī 20 ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យខ្មោច សតវត្សរ៍ទី ១៩ និង ដើមសតវត្សរ៍ទី ២០*, 14–17. On a similar practice among Tai groups, see Barend Jan Terwiel, *The Tai of Assam and Ancient Tai Ritual, Volume 1: Life-Cycle Ceremonies* (Gaya, India: Centre for South East Asian Studies, 1980), 153.

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៣២	32	
ក្រហើយសែនក្រ	How difficult, profoundly difficult	
ក្រក្រែនឹងធម៌	is this Dharma!	
មរទៀងសព្វសត្វ	Death is constant for all beings.	
សូន្យទ្រព្យធនធាន	You'll lose all your riches,	
សូន្យយានសម្បត្តិ	all your vehicles and valuables,	
កែវកងមណីវត្ថុ។	jewels, bracelets, and wish-fulfilling jewels.	
សឹងឃ្លាតខាននៅ។	You'll be parted from all that,	
៣៣	33	
តែស្វាមួយម៉ាត់	except from one mouthful of betel,	
រលួយបង់បាត់	which melts and disappears	
ពីខ្លួនដោយផ្លូវ	from the body after	
ប្រាក់ស្ទឹងបង់មាត់	the silver coin is placed in your mouth.	
សឹងខូចខាននៅ	You'll even be cleft from that coin,	
បើគេដាក់ទៅ	since if they place it in,	
គេរើសយកវិញ។	they'll snatch it back.	

The dying, in effect, are being told that even the final offerings of betel nut and a coin will either disappear or be stolen away from them; there is nothing external upon which they can rely. The dying face death alone, “parted from all” their riches and relatives.

Another ritual cited in some texts is the final recitation of *buddho* or *arahaṃ*, spoken to or by the dying as their last breaths fade away. The mention of this *buddhānusmṛti* practice, discussed in Chapter 2 as well as in the introduction to this chapter, reminds listeners that death will surely be upon them when they are asked to repeat *buddho* three times on their deathbed. One such citation of this practice occurs in **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7:**

៦	6	
ទុក្ខព្រោះព្យាធិបៀតបៀនកាយ	There is suffering due to illness menacing our bodies.	
ជំងឺទាំងឡាយសព្វសារពើ	All kinds of sicknesses	
តែងមូលប្រមូលធ្លាក់មកលើ	gather around and befall us,	
នឹងរើបំរះពុំរួចឡើយ។	and we cannot wriggle our way out of them.	
៧	7	
ត្រូវឈឺក៏ឈឺឃាត់មិនស្តាប់	We are forced to be ill. We can't tell our illness to stop.	
ត្រូវស្លាប់ក៏ស្លាប់ឥតស្រណោះ	If we must die, then we die. Death has no pity for us;	
មិនព្រមនឹងស្តាប់បង្គាប់សោះ	it doesn't listen to our commands,	
តែងតែអាឡោះអាលីយពេក។	even in our grief and pining.	



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<p>៨          សរសៃឈាមសាច់ ផ្តាច់គ្មានសល់          ទឹកដីភ្លើងខ្យល់បួនចំណែក          គួរឲ្យអាសូររូបពន់ពេក          ឥតទីពឹងផ្អែកលើអ្នកណា ។</p>	<p>8          Our fibers, flesh, and blood shall be destroyed, with nothing          remaining of the four elements of water, earth, fire, and wind.          You should reflect on your body, worthy of pity,          for it cannot be a refuge for you.</p>
<p>៩          រូបដេកស្ងួតស្ងៀមដូចជាឧស          ធាតុទាំងបួនប្រាសពីកាយ          ព្រលឹងក៏ចេញចោលរូបា          រូបអើយកំព្រាបាត់មាត់ឈឹង ។</p>	<p>9          The body will lie motionless, like a log.          All four elements shall leave the body.          The souls will depart from the body.          Oh, how orphaned the body will be, in utter silence!</p>
<p>១០          អាចារ្យឲ្យធម៌ថាពុទ្ធា          រូបដេកជ្រុះដោយគ្មានដឹង          ឲ្យធម៌បីមាត់ស្ងាត់មាត់ឈឹង          ព្រលឹងចេញទៅតែឯកា ។</p>	<p>10          The <i>ācāry</i> will give you the Dharma to recite—<i>buddho</i>—          as your body lays in isolation, unconscious.          Having given this word three times, your mouth will fall silent.          Your souls will depart, leaving the body all alone.</p>

Beyond their evocation of the *buddhānusmṛti* practice for the final moments of life, these stanzas also reflect a number of aspects of death addressed throughout this section. Such aspects include the inevitability of illness, old age, and death (“If we must die, then we die”); the uncontrollability of death (“it doesn’t listen to our commands”), the lack of dignity in death (“The body will lie motionless, like a log”), and the separation of the mind, the souls, and/or the consciousness aggregate (Pali *viññānakkhandha*) from the body at the death (“The souls depart from the body”). The dying are hence urged to reflect on what will surely befall them in the near future.

**8.4 Menaced by Yama**

Other texts extend the contemplation on these themes by enjoining the dying to examine the painful process of dying itself. There are two aspects of the dying process that Khmer texts tend to emphasize. One is the binding of the body by the guards (*yamaṭṭāl*, sometimes also *yamabhūṭāl* or *yamabhūṭāl*) of Yama (*yamarāj* or *yamarājā*), the Lord of Death or the Lord of Time (*maccurāj* or *brah kāl*). This binding is often depicted as consisting of five bonds, typically explained as our attachments to our children, spouse, possessions, parents, and in-laws. The other is the confluence or cessation of the three breaths or winds (*khyal*, *vāt*, or *vātā*), usually understood as inhalation (*assāsa*, though sometimes *passāsa*), exhalation (*passāsa*, though sometimes *assāsa* instead), and *nisvāsa* (the held breath or the abdominal breath), which occurs at the moment of death.

In some texts, only three bonds, usually children, spouse, and possessions, are mentioned. This is true for **dhammasaṅveg «oh o rūpā»-k** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, the body’”):

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<p>ចិត្តចង់ចេតនា តែកូនប្រពន្ធ ។ ១២ ពុំគិតអាត្មា លុះដល់មរណា វិនាសបាត់បង់ អស់ទាំងទ្រព្យផង នូវកូនប្រពន្ធ ពុំបានមូលមុន ទៅផងជាមួយ ១៣ មុខគួរអាសូរ ខ្លួនអើយឯកោ កណ្តោចកណ្តែង ទៅរងវេទនា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង យម្ពុបាលពុំក្រែង ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ ។ ១៤ នេះហៅចំណង ប្រពន្ធកូនចង់ ឲ្យតែវេទនា មិនទៅកំដរ ឲ្យបានជាគ្នា ព្រោះអវិជ្ជា វាមកគ្របបាំង ។ ១៥ ខំរកឲ្យបាន របស់ធនធាន ពុំមានឲ្យខ្លះ ទោះបីទ្រព្យគេ យកខាងតែឈ្នះ របស់ឯងពេញផ្ទះ ខ្លួនប្រាសព្រាត់ចោល ។</p>	<p>You only thought of your children and wife, 12 but never considered yourself. For when you die, all is lost, all of your riches along with your children and wife. You can't gather what you had and take it with you. 13 Thus it is pitiable that you will be alone, lonely and isolated, enduring suffering, orphaned and solitary. But Yama's guards won't hesitate to bind you in five ways. 14 These are called the attachments of wife and children, which bind you into suffering, for they won't go along to accompany you. Ignorance comes to conceal all in darkness. 15 You tried hard to gain money and things, so as to lack nothing. You even tried to win over that of others. Your house bulges with stuff, but none of it you'll see again.</p>
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Although only “wife and children” are explicitly named as part of the five bonds, these stanzas

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also clearly speak to the bond of one’s possessions, such that our “house bulges with stuff” from which we’ll be forever parted. This passage, like many in the corpus, mentions Yama’s guards, but does not clearly articulate their role in the dying process. It assumes that the audience is familiar with Yama, his guardians, and the parts they play in a Khmer imagining of what happens at death.

One of the most evocative Khmer descriptions of Yama and his henchmen appears in the verse novel *Supin kumār*. This 287-stanza text, a complete edition and translation of which appear in Appendix III (see *infra*, 1531–1577), narrates the tale of a boy, Supin (“Dream,” in reference to a dream his mother has before his birth), who wishes to ordain as a monk. His father dies before he expresses this wish, but his mother, fearful of being left alone, resists and seeks to prevent him from ordaining. Supin, however, ordains as a novice against her wishes. One day his mother goes to the forest to gather firewood. Exhausted, she lies down for a nap. Yama’s guards, having been asked by their master to survey the realm, chance upon Supin’s mother, bind her, and bring her before Yama for judgment, after which she is cast into the hells. Seeing the red blaze of the infernal flames, she recalls her son’s ochre robes and is saved from her ordeal. She later has Supin re-ordained as novice and eventually as a bhikkhu, which allows his father to take rebirth in the heavens as well.

The narrative was probably translated from a Siamese original sometime in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.<sup>20</sup> According to the preface to the 1958 edition of the text, transcribed from a palm-leaf manuscript and published by the Buddhist Institute, *Supin kumār* was once a foundational part of the curriculum for children studying in Cambodian monasteries:

...គ្រប់វត្តអារាមនៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា តែងតម្រូវឲ្យកុមារអ្នកនៅវត្តរៀនអក្សរ ហាត់អានសឹងគ្រប់គ្នា ក្រោយពេល ដែលកុមារបានរៀនមើលច្បាប់ក្រុម កេរ្តិ៍កាល ពាក្យចាស់ ច្បាប់ប្រុស ច្បាប់ស្រី ត្រីនេតិ ជាដើមរួចហើយ ដើម្បីឲ្យ កុមារចេះអក្សរចេះរឿងនិទាន ដែលអនុវត្តទៅតាមជំនឿ និងប្រពៃណីរបស់ខេមរជន ។<sup>21</sup>

[*Supin kumār* is a text that] nearly all Buddhist monasteries in Cambodia tended to use for children in the monastery who are learning the alphabet to practice their reading—after they had already learned to read the *Cpāp' kram*, [*Cpāp'*] *kertikāl*, [*Cpāp'*] *bāky cās'*, *Cpāp' prus*, *Cpāp' srī*, [*Cpāp'*] *trīneti*, etc.—so that they could increase their literacy and learn narrative tales that follow the beliefs and traditions of the Khmer people.

The relevant passages concerning Yama and his guards would thus have once been widely

<sup>20</sup> For printed versions of the Siamese text, see Khun Ādeśagatī ขุนอาเทศคดี, Jvan Bejrkèṅ ขวาน เพชรแก้ว, and Vijjier ṇa Nagar วิเชียร ณ นคร, *Supin sāṃnvan kau*; *vaṅnakārm khaaṅ kavī jāw mōṅ nagar śrī dhaṅmarāj* สบีนสำนวนเก่า: วรรณกรรมของกวีชาวเมืองนครศรีธรรมราช (Nakhon Si Thammarat นครศรีธรรมราช: Vidyāläy grū nagar śrī dhaṅmarāj วิทยาลัยครุนครศรีธรรมราช, 2520); and Kram śilpākar กรมศิลปากร, *Samut mālāy lēḥ supin klaan svat* สมุดมालย์ และ สบีน กลอนสวด (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākar กรมศิลปากร, 2555).

<sup>21</sup> Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Riṅṅ supin kumār* រឿងសុបិនកុមារ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1959), ka.

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studied and heard in Cambodia. Though *Supin kumār* is by no means an end-of-life text, its presentation of the role of Yama help us understand seventeenth- through nineteenth-century Khmer-Tai views of the process of dying.

The first mention of Yama occurs on stanza 92 of the Khmer text of *Supin kumār*, while Supin’s mother is napping in the forest. In this passage, Yama commands his four guards to seek out sinners, bind them, make them confess, write their sins down on dog skin, and bring them back to him to be cast into the hells:

៩២	92
លំដាប់នោះណា ព្រះយមរាជា ត្រាស់បន្ទូលហៅ យមបាលទាំងបួន ហើយប្រើសំដៅ ថាព្រះស្តេចទៅ មើលមនុស្សលោកនាយ។	Now at that time, Yama, [Death’s] Lord, gave orders to his four guardians, commanding them thus: “Go survey the human realm.
៩៣	93
ចូរព្រះស្តេចមើល សព្វដោយដំណើរ មនុស្សផងទាំងឡាយ នៅស្រុកតូចធំ និគមស្រុកនាយ ក្នុងក្រៅបន្ទាយ ឲ្យគ្រប់ហោងណា។	Go everywhere in your travels: all the people in every land, all towns, within and without walls, in every place.
៩៤	94
ទោះអ្នកណាខ្ជិល ពុំរក្សាសីល ចំរើនភវនា ពុំដែលធ្វើបុណ្យ ឲ្យទានឡើយណា មានតែបូស្សា កំណាញ់តិរិយ។	The indolent, who keep not rules nor meditate, who never make offerings at all, those envious, stingy, heathen—
៩៥	95
ព្រះស្តេចចាប់ចង ធាក់ដំរាយផង ឲ្យអស់សេចក្តី ទោះតូចទោះធំ	seize them, bind them, kick them, strike them, till they confess. Though small or great,

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ទោះប្រុសទោះស្រី កុំមានប្រណី វាដល់តិចឡើយ។ ៩៦	male or female, have no mercy for them at all. 96
សរសេរត្រាឈ្មោះ អស់អ្នកបាបនោះ ដាក់ស្បែកឆ្កែហើយ ព្រះស្តែងនាំមក កុំឲ្យយូរឡើយ ចោលវាឲ្យហើយ ក្នុងភ្លើងនរក។	Write down the names of those sinners upon dog skin. Bring them forward. Don't wait too long. Dump them quickly into hells' fires.

For those who perform meritorious actions, he asks them to record their names as well, such that they may be assured of attaining the heavens:

៩៧ ទោះអ្នកឯណា ចាំសីលការនា បំរើម្តាយអាពុក ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យទាន តាមដោយទំនុក បំរុងចង់សុខ សម្បត្តិនិព្វាន។ ៩៨	97 Those who keep rules; who meditate; serve their parents; who make offerings; who thus ensure that they'll win joy, Nibbāna's prize; 98
ដាំពោធិ៍បោសប្រាស ចូកស្មៅដម្រះ អាវាមវត្តស្ថាន បំរើព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌សង្ឃបាទ បំបួសខ្លួនប្រាណ កូនចៅកវិយា។ ៩៩	who plant Bo trees; sweep, groom, and clean the temple grounds; serve the Buddha, Dharma, Sangha; ordain themselves their kids, their wife— 99
រឺអ្នកទាំងនោះ តែងនឹងបានឆ្ពោះ សម្បត្តិសួគ៌ា ព្រះស្តែងសរសេរ ឈ្មោះអ្នកនោះណា	all such people are destined to reach the heavens. Write down the names of those people,

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<p>នឹងមាសដំត្រា យកគ្នាប្រណិប័តន៍។ ១០០</p>	<p>stamp your seal, and carry this out.” 100</p>
<p>ក្ស័ណៈនោះយមបាល ស្តាប់ព្រះឱង្ការ ព្រះយមរាជប្បាថ ក្រាបលាហើយជ្រែក ប្រឹចតិឡើងស្តាត់ ដើរមើលរដ្ឋាត់ សព្វជួរព្រៃផង។</p>	<p>Yama’s guardians, having heard his royal edict, bowed and went off to comb and check lands far and wide, even the woods.</p>

In these stanzas, Yama is depicted as a kind of emperor who rules over the realm of death, with his guards as his functionaries who carry out justice in accordance with the law of karma. The narrative then returns to Supin’s mother, napping in the forest. The guards find, seize, and bind her violently:

<p>១០៤ នាងដេកលក់ទៅ យមបាលសំដៅ យល់នាងជាម្តង ថាគ្នាយើងអើយ ចាប់ស្រីនេះចង យើងនាំទៅផ្តង ថ្វាយព្រះយមរាជ។</p>	<p>104 As she slumbered, the guardians soon caught sight of her and said, “We should seize and bind her. We’ll take her to give to Yama.”</p>
<p>១០៥ ចាប់នាងចងខ្ជាប់ ឆក់តូលក្រឡាប់ កើតដោយអំណាច នាំនាងយកទៅ ថ្វាយព្រះយមរាជ ស្តេចមានអំណាច តែងដឹងមនុស្សផង។</p>	<p>105 They seized, they bound, they threw her down with all their might. They took her to give to Yama, the mighty king, who knows humans.</p>
<p>១០៦ យមបាលក្រាបទូល ព្រះយមឥសូរ ប្រសើរកន្លង យើងខ្ញុំទៅរក</p>	<p>106 His guardians told their Lord Yama, the most supreme, “We went out, sought,</p>

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ឃើញស្រីមួយហោង and found this cruel  
 កាចក្រែកនឹង woman to bind  
 ខ្ញុំចង់មកថ្វាយ and give to you.”

Having been brought before Yama, the Lord of Death commands his scribe (*anak smer*) to extract a confession from Supin’s mother. The demeanor of the scribe reflects the vile cruelty witnessed above from Yama’s guards:

១០៩ អ្នកស្នេរគំរាមសោះសា ដាល់តប់ហើយថា ពះវាស្រីបាបអប្បលក្ខណ៍។	109 The scribe roughly menaced, struck her, and said, “Damn you, wicked woman!
១១០ ហង់ប្រាប់ដោយពិតកុំលាក់ បុណ្យបាបឲ្យជាក់ ហង់លាក់ហើយត្រូវទោសធ្ងន់។	110 Tell the truth, bitch, don’t hide merit or sin. Lie and you’ll be punished.”
១១១ នាងនោះភិតខ្លាចពេកពន់ ឈឺខ្លួនទ្រោមអន់ ញ័រដូចគេវាយត្រីណា។	111 She felt such dread and fright that, in pain, she shook like a beaten fish.
១១២ ហេតុបទឃាត់កូនកំព្រា ពុំឲ្យបួសជា កុសលផលបុណ្យនោះឯង។	112 Since she stopped her poor son from ordaining and earning those good boons,
១១៣ បាបនោះមកបំផ្លាញផ្លូវ ពុំឲ្យគិតក្រែង ជាបុណ្យរង្វើនស្មារតី។	113 this sin confused her such that she disdained merit and lost her mind.
១១៤ ឈឺហើយខ្លួនរលាមស្រដី ថាខ្ញុំជាស្រី ពុំដឹងពុំស្គាល់បុណ្យបាប។	114 Coughing up blood she said, “I’m a woman who knows not good from bad.
១១៥ ពីក្មេងរៀនរាបដរាប ម្តេចហៅបុណ្យបាប នោះខ្ញុំពុំស្គាល់ឡើយណា។	115 When I was young I did not learn ‘merit’ or ‘sin’—I know nothing.”

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១១៦ អ្នកស្មៅខេរខឹងមហិមា តប់ហើយលាន់ថា ពីរដងបីដងពុំឮ។	116 The seething scribe then struck her and shouted: “Again! I can’t hear you!”
១១៧ ពាក្យនោះនឹងប្រាប់ថាធ្វើ បុណ្យបាបអំពើ នោះខ្ញុំពុំបានដឹងឡើយ។	117 “What I said was: ‘to make merit’ or ‘to sin’ —these I don’t understand!”

The scribe makes a record of her confession and presents this to Yama, who in turn commands his guards to bind her and throw her down to the hells:

១១៩ ក្សិណនោះព្រះយមរាជា ត្រាស់បន្ទូលថា យកវាចេញទៅឲ្យឆាប់។	119 Then King Yamarājā gave this command: “Take her away quickly!
១២០ ចាប់ចងដាក់ជ្រួលឲ្យខ្ជាប់ លើកបោះឲ្យឆាប់ ក្នុងភ្លើងនរកនោះណា។	120 Bind her in iron fetters and cast her now in the fires of the hells.”
១២១ យមបាលបង្គំក្រាបលា ឆក់ខ្លាំងមហិមា ដោយព្រះបង្គាប់ម៉ូឡើង។	121 The guardians bowed and left. They captured her as per his high decree.
១២២ បណ្តើរនាងទៅយល់ភ្លើង នរកនេះឡើង ពន្លឺកពន្លឺអស្ចារ្យ។	122 Soon she could see the flames of the hells rise with brilliant blazing light.

These passages from *Supin kumār* highlight the savage violence of those in Yama’s entourage and the terror they could inspire in the living beings forced to encounter them at the end of their lives. This text also continually reiterates the motif of Yama’s guardians binding the dying, be it with “iron fetters” or by other means. *Supin kumār* thus presents a compelling Khmer-Tai vision of the horrific process of death, particularly for those who commit grave sins during their lives.

One way to read texts such as *Supin kumār* is that they use this portrait of Yama and his brutal henchmen as a warning to the living, such that they might, in fear, take heed and reform their behavior. *Supin kumār*, after all, is not a deathbed text at all; it is a text to educate



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the young as well as a first sermon to memorize, perhaps even for newly minted novice monks to recite for the benefit of their parents on the occasion of their ordination.<sup>22</sup> Such a reading of the function of *Supin kumār* is in fact suggested in stanzas 7–8. The sangha needs to be addressed first, as they would be present for the ordination ceremony as well:

៧	7
បពិត្រសង្ឃផង ចូរអ្នកស្តាប់ហោង ដំណើរនិទាន សុបិនកុមារ និយាយមែនមាន ពិតពីបុរាណ ដោយព្រះតាថា។	Noble sangha, please listen to the story of <i>Supin kumār</i> , a true tale told in the past by the Protector.
៨	8
អស់សង្ឃនូវថេរ ភិក្ខុសាមណេរ គួរត្រេកសទ្ធា បានបូសចំរើន មាតាបិតា ជាច្បាប់អាត្មា អស់សាមណេរផង។	You elders, monks, and novices should rejoice in the boon monkhood gives your parents in this code for us novices.

However, this interpretation Yama and his guards as admonishing the living must be modified when we reflect these violent figures in texts recited for end-of-life rituals. Here the function of describing Yama and his henchmen can be more precisely articulated as preparing the dying for what they might face in the immediate hereafter. While in *Supin kumār* it remains ambiguous whether Supin’s mother is really dying or merely having a feverish nightmare, the Khmer deathbed texts make clear that the arrival of Yama’s guards is a sign to watch out for at the end of life.

One text describing Yama’s guards is **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘Painful is this body!’ old version”), which portrays a deathbed scene gone wrong:

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<sup>22</sup> *Supin kumār* was probably used in other contexts as well; for its portrayal as a recitation text in early nineteenth-century Siamese literature, see Rama II พระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธเลิศหล้านภาลัย, *Pad laḥgar naak sǎn(kh) daan* บทละครนอก สังข์ทอง (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram silpākār กรมศิลปากร, 2540), 194–196. My thanks to Santi Pakdeekham for showing this text to me.

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ខ្លះដល់ទៀបស្លាប់ ទើបរកព្រះអរហំ យមបាលកើចកាំង ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ។ ៣៧	Some wait till death to seek arhatship. Seized by Yama’s guards, they’re bound five ways. 37
កាលរស់ពុំគិត រៀនធម៌ប្រព្រឹត្តិ ពឹងពាក់អាត្មា លុះបាត់ស្មារតី ដល់ក្ស័យជន្ម ឲ្យលោកការវេនា ជូនដំណើរទៅ។ ៣៨	In life they failed to study the Dharma. Relying only on themselves, they lost awareness on their deathbed. Monks came to meditate to accompany their passing. 38
រូបស្លាប់នៅអាយ ចិត្តចុះទៅឆ្ងាយ កើតកាយរស់នៅ ស្ថានរកភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងសន្ទៅ រោលខ្លួនប្រាណ រងទុក្ខវេទនា។ ៣៩	The body dies here, but the mind goes far, born anew in the flames of hell, burning bright, roasting till red with suffering. 39
លុះយូរពន់ពេក បាបខ្លាំងអនេក អនន្តសំខ្យា ខ្លួនប្រាសសឹងភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងខ្លោចផ្សា ស្រែកយំកាលា ហាលជានិច្ចនៅ។	For a long time, for many sins, uncountable, you’ll roast in flames, burning in pain, screaming and in turmoil forever.

This passage argues that the presence of monks at one’s deathbed is not enough. The following stanzas suggests that one needs to find a *kammattthāna* teacher to guide the mind at this crucial time, for otherwise “it will be too late” and Yama’s guards will swoop in:

៤០ គិតហើយគួរខ្លាច គួររកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ មួយមកប្រដៅ	40 Think and be scared. Find someone wise to guide you to
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<p>ឲ្យដឹងព្រះធម៌ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធសម្រេង កាលខ្លួននឹងទៅ ទើបបានអរហត្ត ។</p> <p>៤១</p> <p>ធ្វើបុណ្យមួយពាន់ បុណ្យតាមមិនទាន់ បាបនោះវាខ្លាំង យមបាលប្រចាំ ចាប់ចិត្តកើចតាំង ទាំងចិត្តវិតតាំង នាំទៅព្រងើយ ។</p>	<p>know the Dharma, the right, the deep. Then when you go you'll reach arhatship.</p> <p>41</p> <p>It will be too late to do one thousand good deeds; your sin will be too strong. Yama's guards wait to seize your mind and bind it tight to goad you without a care.</p>
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The text goes on to explain that, while alive, the body is held in balance by the four elements of water, earth, fire, and wind. As the moment of death approaches, the mind begins to separate from the body. It is at this point that Yama and his guards arrive to bind the body and disrupt the equilibrium of the elements:

<p>៦១</p> <p>រូបក្ខន្ធជាខ្លួន មានទ្វារប្រាំបួន ឃ្លៀង រក្សា បឋវីអាបោ តេជោចត្វា បួនជួយរក្សា រួមរស់សព្វថ្ងៃ ។</p> <p>៦២</p> <p>ចិត្តចេញចោលទៅ រូបក្ខន្ធនៅ ដូចអុសវិសៃ អាសូររូបពេក ចិត្តបែកទីទៃ ព្រះកាលក្រោងក្រៃ នាំទៅតិរច្ឆាន ។</p> <p>៦៣</p> <p>ព្រោះចិត្តឥតបុណ្យ ពុំស្គាល់ទោសគុណ</p>	<p>61</p> <p>Your body is the form aggregate. It has nine doors. <i>The wind</i> protects it, along with earth, water, and fire. These four protect our living body each day.</p> <p>62</p> <p>The mind discards the the body that remains behind like a charred log. Pity this body! The mind splits away, and seething Lord Time leads it to be born an animal,</p> <p>63</p> <p>since your mind lacks merit, and knows neither fault nor virtue,</p>
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ពាសកាចសាមាឡ	being wicked and mean:
ខ្ញុំរូបក្ខន្ធមក	“You only borrowed this body,
កត់កាន់ជាប្រាណ	taking it as your life.
ឯងកាន់ពុំបាន	You can’t hold on to it
រាប់ជាតិអស់ខេយ្យ ។	for numberless lives.
៦៤	64
ចិត្តមីនរឹងរូស	You stubborn beast!
អញធ្វើប្រទុស្ត	I’ll menace you.
រូបមីនសព្វថ្ងៃ	Your body
ចង់ <i>pañcakkhandho</i>	is bound by <i>the five aggregates</i> .
មីនវេទនាគ្រៃ	You’ll suffer so much
ចង់អស់សសៃ	as I bind together your vessels,
ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។	all thirty-two ( <i>sām sip san</i> ).
៦៥	65
ឲ្យមីនថ្ងូរខ្លាំង	I’ll make you wail
ឲ្យអស់កម្លាំង	until you’re exhausted
អត់អាហារផង	and famished.
ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅលន់	The fire element will heat up
ពេកពន់កន្លង	to an extreme degree.
យមបាលព្រួតចង	My guards will bind you
ចិត្តមីនក៏ន្តកាំង ។	and you’ll be stupefied.”

In this passage, Yama and his entourage are portrayed with the same kind of violence as in *Supin kumār*, but the discussion of the process of dying is much more technical and features a multilingual presentation. The binding process is focused on “the five aggregates” (Pali *pañcakkhandho*) and the “thirty-two” (Siamese *sām sip san*) “vessels” (Khmer *sarasai*, “vessels, fibers, ligaments, sinews”).<sup>23</sup> Even the vulgar or familiar second-person pronoun in these stanzas is not the typical Khmer *en* or *hèn* but rather the Siamese *min*.<sup>24</sup> In stanza 65, as the balance of the elements shifts, we learn that “the fire element will heat up / to an extreme degree.” The key element of wind (Pali *vāyo*) is mentioned only in stanza 61, but in other texts the disruption of this element plays a key role in specialized descriptions of the dying process.

One such example appears close to the end of **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k**. This poem also gives a technical description of the moment of death

<sup>23</sup> សាមសិបសង; សសៃ

<sup>24</sup> Khmer ឯង, អ្នក; Siamese มីน. The latter is typically paired with *kū* កូ (cf. Khmer *añ* អញ). Although *min* មីន is largely obsolete in Cambodia today, according to the Buddhist Institute dictionary it was formerly used in Khmer by judges when addressing criminals: សម័យពីដើម ចៅក្រមហៅចៅរដល់ចាប់បានមកថា មីន ដែរ: មីនបានឫនគេមែនឬទេ? មីនត្រូវធ្វើយ ឲ្យត្រង់មក, មីនកុំលាក់ (Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Vacanānukram Khmèr វចនានុក្រមខ្មែរ*, s.v. *min* មីន).

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(Pali *maraṇaṃ kāle*).<sup>25</sup> Instead of framing it as the body being bound by Yama’s guards, however, this text discusses the confluence of the winds:

<p>៣៤  នេះនឹងនិយាយ  ធម្មជាតិទាំងឡាយ  យើងគេគ្រប់គ្នា  <i>maraṇaṃ kāle</i>  បើរង់ស្លាប់នោះ  គ្រប់រូបស្រីប្រុស  <i>vāyo</i> ខ្យល់បក់ ។</p>	<p>34  This will be the explanation  of the nature of all life,  including ourselves and all others.  <i>In the moment of death,</i>  if you are waiting for it,  the <i>wind element</i> strikes  the bodies of all beings.</p>
<p>៣៥  ខ្យល់ព្រះវិន័យ  បក់ឡើងដល់ផ្ទៃ  ឧទរប្រញាប់  ភ្លើងនេះទឹកចិត្ត  ធ្លាក់ចិត្តដល់ផ្កាប់  លំបាកទៀបស្លាប់  ស្លាប់ហើយវេទនា ។</p>	<p>35  The wind of the Vinaya  blows up to the abdomen,  rushing to the belly.  The fire element burns in the heart,  turning the heart upside down.  Difficult are the moments near death,  and painful those after death.</p>
<p>៣៦  ខ្យល់ព្រះអភិធម្ម  ខាងលើប្រជុំ  បក់ចុះផ្សព្វគ្នា  ធ្លាក់គ្របខ្ទប់ចិត្ត  បិត្តមានហឫទ័យ  ចិត្តអើយវេទនា  កាលគ្រាប្រជុំខ្យល់ ។</p>	<p>36  The wind of the Abhidhamma  gathers above  then blows down all at once,  descending to suffocate the heart  within the chest.  How much the heart suffers,  when all the winds come together!</p>

This passage discusses just two winds, that of the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma, rather than the expected three. The wind of the Vinaya (*khyal' braḥ vināy*), in this context, presumably refers to the breath of inhalation (Pali *assāsa*). The wind of the Abhidhamma should mean the breath held in the abdomen (*nivāsa*). The wind of the Sutta(s) (*khyal' braḥ sūtr*), correlated with the breath of exhalation (Pali *passāsa*), is left unmentioned. Note how the directions for these breaths appear counterintuitive if we imagine a person standing up; an inhalation does not usually “blow up to the abdomen,” while the abdominal breath wouldn’t “blow down” to

<sup>25</sup> As seen in examples in the previous chapter, such “Pali” phrases often don’t make grammatical sense in Pali. I am hesitant, therefore, to correct it to the more sensible *maraṇakāle*, “in the time of death.” Both extant witnesses of **trailakkha(ṇ)** «**rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ**»-**k** agree on the perplexing -ṇ in *maraṇaṃ kāle*; **UB028** reads *maraṇaṃ kalle* and **UB033** reads *maraṇaṃ kalle*.

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“suffocate the heart.” For someone lying down on their deathbed, however, whose heart is burned by “the fire element” and turned “upside down,” the relative vectors of the winds make more sense. As a whole, this passage paints an arresting image of the pulmonary and cardiac functions of the body beginning to cease in the last moments of life.

Other texts, including **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhandho»-k**, present the end of life not so much as a painful confluence of three winds but rather as a draining away of these winds from the body via the extremities of someone reclining on her deathbed:

១	1
<i>rūpakkhandho</i> មានធាតុ <i>āpo</i> <i>tejo pathavi</i> <i>jihvā cakkhindriya</i> <i>sotindriye</i> រាល់រូបតន្ត្រីយ៍ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	The aggregate of form comprises the elements of <i>water</i> , fire, earth, the tongue, the eye, and the ear sense organs, the bodies and organs of all men and women.
២	2
គួរគិតអនិច្ចា រូបយើងមរណា ពិបាកក្នុងកាយ បម្រើព្រះយម គេដំគេវាយ គេចង់រូបកាយ ទាំងប្រាំប្រការ ។	Reflect on their impermanence, for our body will die, causing pain in the body. Yama’s guards will beat and strike us. They will bind our body in five ways.
៣	3
ខ្យល់បក់ថយឡើង ថយពីបាតជើង ថយពីហត្ថា ហត់ហើយសន្ទប់ ខំទប់ហើយថា លោកអើយមេត្តា រង់ផ្តាំកូនខ្ញុំ ។	The wind element blows, then drains away, draining from the soles of our feet, draining from our hands. First we are winded, then we pass out, striving to stave off death, saying: “Please, masters, kindly wait for me to counsel my children.”

This passage, like several of the previous, uses technical Pali terms to describe what happens at death. These stanzas present a dying process that begins with the binding of the body by Yama’s guards as paralysis sets in and continues with the wind element flowing down the body and out through the “soles of our feet” and “hands.” The dying struggle to stay alive, but Yama’s guards (here called *nimmit kammā*, “emanations of karma”) aggressively fight back:

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៤	4
និម្មិតកម្មា	Emanations of karma
ក្រែវក្រោធហើយថា	shake with anger and exclaim:
វីយគ្នាឃើងដំ	“Damn you! We’ll beat you,
មីងចោរកំណាច	you nasty thief.
អាចលាព្រះយម	You can escape Lord Yama
ថាឯងនេះខំ	only if you strive
រកដួងកែវណា ។	to find the jewel orbs.
៥	5
លុះដល់កំណត់	When your time is up,
មីងឯងសន្មត់	you must make a promise
ហើយអញប្តេជ្ញា	and I’ll make my pledge.
ឥឡូវមីងកុំ	Don’t you try
ប្រកែកអោ	to argue or contest this.
មីងផ្តាំនរណា	We don’t consent
ឃើងពុំព្រមឡើយ ។	to you counseling anyone.”
៦	6
មច្ចុរាជស្តាប់	The Lord of Death listens
ចុះស្តុះប្រញាប់	and moves quickly
គ្រប់ទ្វារអស់ហើយ	to all of the doors,
គ្រប់ទ្វាររូបហើយ	all of the doors of our body,
ស្រែកយំល្ហើយៗ	as we cry out in mourning:
ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ	“Oh, Mother and Father!
អាណិតជួយ	Have pity and save me!”

As explained in the closing sections of this chapter, the only sure route to escape Yama’s guards at death is to find the “jewel orbs” or “crystal spheres” (*tuon kèu*) within one’s own body.<sup>26</sup> Otherwise they will swiftly invade “all of the doors of our body.” The text then continues to describe how the process of dying accelerates through the disequilibrium of the elements, the struggle for air, and the eventual cessation of the three winds:

៧	7
<i>ayaṃ kāyo</i>	<i>This body</i>
<i>duraṃ gato</i>	<i>shall be taken far away,</i>
ចោលរូបសោះសូន្យ	to be abandoned completely.

<sup>26</sup> As mentioned in the introduction and discussed further at the end of this chapter, these “jewel orbs” represent the different stages of realization on the path to Nibbāna.

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<p>                     ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅដល់                      ធាតុខ្យល់ក្នុងខ្លួន                      ដង្ហើមផ្លូវ។                      ចេញច្រើនចូលតិច ។                      ៨                 </p>	<p>                     The fire element heats up                      the wind element in the body,                      which breathes more and more,                      exhaling much, inhaling little.                      8                 </p>
<p>                     ហត់អើយហត់ណាស់                      ខំតែប្រែប្រាស                      ស្តីព្រឹត្តិចៗ                      ហៅបងហៅប្អូន                      សួរអើយគិតម្តេច                      បានធូរបន្តិច                      ផ្តាំកូនប្រពន្ធ ។                      ៩                 </p>	<p>                     Winded, oh how winded!                      Striving to turn and escape,                      we speak muffled words,                      calling out to our siblings:                      “My dears, what do you think?”                      We recover slightly,                      then give counsel to our children and wife.                      9                 </p>
<p>                     អំពើកម្មផល                      ដង្ហក់យកខ្យល់                      ទុរទុរន់                      ទុរៈក្នុងខ្លួន                      មាំមួនពេកពន់                      គេអាណិតលន់                      ជួយឃាត់ពុំបាន ។                      ១០                 </p>	<p>                     The fruits of our karma:                      we gasp for air,                      our body grows ever                      more weak and feeble,                      extremely frail.                      Others may pity us,                      but cannot stop this process.                      10                 </p>
<p>                     អស់ញាតិបងប្អូន                      ម្តាយប្រពន្ធកូន                      បន់ស្រន់ខ្សែវា                      បន់តែបង់មាត់                      ឥតឃាត់កម្មបាន                      កម្មត្រូវគ្រប់ប្រាណ                      រាល់រូបប្រុសស្រី ។                      ១១                 </p>	<p>                     All our kin, siblings,                      mother, wife, and children                      pray hoarsely,                      praying only by placing objects in our mouth.                      Karma can't be stopped,                      for karma affects all beings,                      all creatures, male and female.                      11                 </p>
<p> <i>nivāsavāta</i>  <i>assāsavāta</i>  <i>passāsa</i> នៃ                      ខ្យល់ចេញមិនចូល                      រមួលសរសៃ                      ហាសិបបួននៃ                      ដង្ហើមមរណា ។                      ១២                 </p>	<p> <i>The held-breath,</i>  <i>the in-breath,</i>  <i>and the out-breath—</i>                      wind leaves but no longer enters.                      The vessels are twisted,                      all fifty-four of them,                      in the dying breath.                      12                 </p>



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<i>អង្គ attano</i>	<i>Our own body</i>
<i>eko anātho</i>	<i>is alone and without refuge,</i>
ឥតគេជាគ្នា	without companions.
ព្រលឹងក្នុងខ្លួន	The souls in the body
ឥតសូន្យ្យុបា	are left without a material base.
ចតុក្ខតា	The four great elements
លាអ្នកទៅហើយ ។	depart from us.

These stanzas use Pali technical terms to articulate the terror that accompanies various stages of dying. What begins with the disruption of elemental balance eventually leads to all “four great elements” departing from the body. The coin and other mouth-placed offerings occur before the final cessation of the three breaths, when “wind leaves but no longer enters.” Some of the details differ; instead of the typical count of 32, this text postulates that 54 “vessels are twisted” in the moments before death. These differences aside, this and other similar texts tend to provide remarkably uniform descriptions of what happens to the body and mind at death. Their articulation of these moments appears to serve as a guide for those on their deathbed. They help them know what to expect in advance as well as aid them in preparing their minds by cultivating skillful thoughts.

To those ends, these texts are also unflinching in their description of dying as a painful and loathsome process. One final example of this step in the contemplation program serves to illustrate this. Like other texts, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k** portrays the process of dying as heralded by the violent entry of Yama’s henchmen, who painfully bind and immobilize the body, again in five ways (head, neck, arms, legs, and lower back):

១៥	15
សេនាព្រះបាទ	The soldiers of the King
មច្ចុរាជនរោថ	of Death, the Lord of Men,
មកដល់ឈូន	storm in loudly.
ចូលចោមចាប់កាយ	They enter to seize your body,
ប្រញាយអ្វីអរ	grappling noisily,
ចាប់ក្បាលចាប់ក	grasping your head and neck,
ចាប់ជើងចាប់ដៃ ។	clutching your arms and legs,
១៦	16
ចាប់ខ្នងចង្កេះ	snatching your lower back,
ពិតពុំរេបះ	and never letting go
ពុំរេបូតឡើយនៃ	or loosening at all.
ខ្លះចាប់ដើមទ្រូង	Some grip your chest,
បេះដូងក្នុងផ្ទៃ	gripping the heart within your bosom.

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<p>ខ្លះចាប់សរសៃ ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។ ១៧</p>	<p>Some grasp your vessels, thirty-two in number. 17</p>
<p>ប្រូតគ្នាចោមចាប់ បានហើយប្រញាប់ យកខ្សែមកចង ខ្លះដឹកពីមុខ ខ្លះដឹកពីខ្នង ពីឆ្វេងស្តាំផង ប្រជែងជើងគ្នា ។ ១៨</p>	<p>They band together to seize you. Having caught you, they hurry to use ropes to bind you. Some lead us from the front, some lead us from behind, from the left or the right, struggling with each other. 18</p>
<p>ញញាក់បុកបែន រូបយើងឈឺណែន ទល់ទុក្ខវេទនា លំបាកពេកពន់ ទុរន់ទុរា ទុក្ខទោសវេទនា ជានិច្ចនិរន្តរ៍។</p>	<p>Crumpled and pummeled, how much your body hurts then! You bear such terrible pain, such extreme misery, and grow weak and feeble, bearing such suffering continuously.</p>

The text then follows with a detailed description of the last moments of life. These stanzas track the development of phlegm and mucus in the throat, choking off the breath, eventually spreading to clog the nose, and finally turning “black and sticky, / extremely disgusting”:

<p>១៩ កាន់តែចង្អៀត ក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងទៀត ស្មោះឡើងដើមក បួនធាតុថយចេញ ប្រដេញចាប់ចរ មាត់មិញច្រហា អរកដកខ្យល់ ។ ២០</p>	<p>19 You feel increasingly compressed and feverish in your chest. Phlegm rises to your throat. The four elements back off, having being chased away. The mouth is stuck open, struggling to breathe. 20 As for your nose, it grows stiff and clogged, as the breath can't reach it. With the remains of tears, you're confused all over,</p>
<p>រីន្ទច្រមុះ តានតឹងតុញតុះ ដង្ហើមមិនដល់ រលាបទឹកភ្នែក ច្របូកច្របល់</p>	<p></p>

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ប្រាណាប្រែកខ្យល់	gaspings for air
គិតឱ្យតែស្រួល ។	in order to find ease.
២១	21
ឃ្មុំ ធាតុវាយ	The wind element
ថយសព្វសរសៃ	retreats from all your vessels,
រមិចរមូល	which writhe and twist.
ត្រឡប់ភ្នែកស្ទើត	The eyes roll back.
ប្រាណាប្រឹងប្រែប្រួល	The body struggles and contorts.
ក្នុងកាយរំជួល	You shake and quake inside,
ប្រដេញដល់ក្ស័យ ។	hounded to your death.
២២	22
សម្បុររប្រែភ្លាម	Your mucus soon changes
ខ្មៅជិតជាំជាម	to become black and sticky,
អាត្រក់ពេកក្រៃ	extremely disgusting.
គេយកទៅបូជ	They pick you up
ចោលក្នុងព្រៃផ្ស	and dispose of you in the woods
មិនមានអាល័យ	without a care
អាឡោះឡើយណា ។	or a single regret.

These stanzas, in addition to their vivid description of the horrors of passing away, also point to the subsequent contemplation in the deathbed program, namely reflecting on how the corpse is disposed of in a charnel forest. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this treatment of the corpse is now essentially obsolete in Cambodia, but it remains a part of how death is imagined through the recitation of these Khmer poems for the dying.

### 8.5 Discarded in the Forest

Certain texts focus not on the disposal of the body in the woods but rather on all of the other aspects of Cambodian funerals. This is particularly the case for some of the newer poems in the corpus, such as **trailakkha(៧) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7**. Stanzas 15–26 of this text offer a detailed account of the rites performed for the dead in mid-twentieth-century Cambodia. Indeed, almost all of the practices described therein—with the exception of the corpse being abandoned in an actual forest—neatly parallel those documented in Erik Davis’ analysis of contemporary Cambodian funerary rituals.<sup>27</sup> This poem, of course, is not a manual on how to conduct a funeral; the aim of its detailed account is to present the dying with a vivid contemplation on what will happen to their body after death.

The relevant passage begins with a description of the rites conducted at home after someone has passed away, including the *smūtr* recitation of excerpts from the Abhidhamma

<sup>27</sup> Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 53–76.

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(**Abhidhammātikā-NP**) and rites of merit transference via the *pamsukūl* and *tār* ceremonies.<sup>28</sup>

១៥	15
បងប្អូនកូនចៅមកជួបជុំ សោកយំសែន ស្តាយស្នើរគ្រប់ប្រាណ ម៉ែនៅក្មេងទេម្តេចចែកឋាន កូនពុំទាន់បានសងគុណថ្ងៃ ។	Your siblings and children will gather around, weeping and wailing, filled with regret. “Our mother was so young—why did she pass away? I didn’t even have the chance to repay my great debts to her.”
១៦	16
អាចារ្យយកក្បួនសូត្រព្រះធម្ម សូត្រព្រះធម៌អមខ្មោចតាយាយ សូត្រជូនបុគ្គលទៅឋាននាយ តែដេកព្រងើយគ្មានដឹងសោះ ។	The <i>ācāry</i> takes up a manuscript and recites the [Abhi]dhamma, intoning the Dharma to accompany the corpse. He chants to accompany the individual to the next realm, but the corpse lies down idly, without awareness.
១៧	17
អ្នកស្រុកជិតឆ្ងាយមកកុះករ នៅកំដរបុណ្យពីរឬបីថ្ងៃ ធ្វើបុណ្យជូនម៉ែគ្មានស្តាយអី បង្សុកូលរាល់ថ្ងៃដារបញ្ជូន ។	People from near and far crowd around to participate in the ritual for two or three days, making merit to offer to Mother, without any regrets, performing <i>pamsukūl</i> and <i>tār</i> each day for her.

The text then narrates the ritual of communally taking the corpse in a procession from the home to the monastery and from the monastery to the “charnel forest” (*p̄ā chā*, from Siamese *p̄ā<sub>1</sub> jā<sub>2</sub>*).<sup>29</sup> In this case, however, the “charnel forest” might not be an actual forest, but rather an area just outside the monastery that has been set aside “for burial or for cremation”:

១៨	18
លុះថ្ងៃគំរប់បញ្ចប់បុណ្យ និមន្តព្រះសង្ឃគំរប់បួន សូត្រព្រះមាតិកានាំតាដូន នឹងជូនម៉ែឪហែទៅវត្ត ។	On the last day of the ceremony, four monks are invited to recite the [Abhidhamma-]mātikā as they accompany Mother or Father to the monastery.
១៩	19
ព្រះសង្ឃមួយអង្គសូត្រអភិធម្ម ហែនាំខាងមុខមណ្ឌសនៃ អាចារ្យការវនាកាន់ទង្គជ័យ នាំសំដៅព្រៃទីប៉ោតា ។	One monk chanting the Abhidhamma leads the procession from in front of the casket. The priest meditates while holding the flag of victory as they move toward the woods, the charnel grounds,
២០	20

<sup>28</sup> For more on these latter two rites in Cambodia, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 138–156. See also Li Suvir លី សុវិរ, *Puny tār bistār បុណ្យដារពិស្តារ*.

<sup>29</sup> ប៉ោតា; ឋាន

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<p>ត្រូវកប់គេកប់ឬត្រូវដុត តាមចិត្តកូនចៅដែលត្រូវការ ឬតាមបណ្តាំពីមេបា ដែលមានវាចាផ្តាំទុកមក ។</p> <p>២១</p> <p>កូនចៅហែអមគ្គារមណ្ឌល មុខតែងក្រៀមក្រោះហើយយំសោក ម៉ែចែកឋានទៅលែងវិលមក រកកូនស្រីប្រុសដូចសព្វដង ។</p>	<p>for burial or for cremation according to the wishes of the children, or according to the guidance of the ancestors who have made their instructions clear.</p> <p>21</p> <p>Your children process to accompany your casket, their faces mournful and full of tears. “Mother has passed away, and won’t return to visit her children like before.”</p>
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The next few stanzas make clear that “the middle of the forest” is only meant symbolically, for they describe the role of the *anak bluk*,<sup>30</sup> men who by the twentieth century were specifically tasked with lighting the cremation pyre, an act that would have occurred in the crematorium located at the edges of or just outside the monastery:

<p>២២</p> <p>ដល់ព្រៃអ្នកពួកទាំងបួននាក់ គេរៀបទុកដាក់តាមបំណង លុះធ្វើកិច្ចរួចស្រេចហើយហោង ញាតិកូនចៅផងវិលវិញទេ ។</p> <p>២៣</p> <p>ចោលខ្មោចឲ្យនៅតែឯក រងទុក្ខវេទនាកណ្តាលព្រៃ កូនចៅគ្មាននៅកំដរអី យកសត្វបក្សីធ្វើជាគ្នា ។</p>	<p>22</p> <p>Once they arrive at the forest, the four <i>anak bluk</i> prepare everything according to what has been requested. When the rituals have been completed, your relatives and children simply return home,</p> <p>23</p> <p>leaving your corpse all alone to suffer in the middle of the forest. Your children won’t accompany you, so only the birds will be by your side.</p>
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The final stanzas in this passage narrate what happens after the cremation of the corpse, including the washing of the cremains, petitioning for forgiveness, binding them in an urn, conferring the urn to a monastery for safekeeping, and the performance of a final *paṇsukūl* ritual:

<p>២៤</p> <p>បើដុតរើសឆ្អឹងមួយកញ្ចប់</p>	<p>24</p> <p>If you are cremated, your bones will fill one box.</p>
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<sup>30</sup> Here I follow the lead of the Buddhist Institute dictionary (Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Vacanānukram Khmèr វចនានុក្រមខ្មែរ*, s.v. *bluk* ពួក), which favors this spelling over the more common *bhluk* ភ្នុក on the grounds that *bluk* ពួក is closer to its Siamese root, *pluk* ปลุก (“to awaken”). The *anak bluk*, according to this dictionary, are so-called since these men, in former times, would shout to the corpse, asking it “to awaken” and listen to the Dharma). For more on the role of the *anak bluk* (spelled *anak bhluk* in this case) in contemporary Cambodia, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 32; 68–70.

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<p>មកព្រោះទឹកអប់ស្ងួតស្រាវលា ទោះខុសប៉ុន្មានសូមមាតា អត់ទោសខុសឆ្គងឲ្យកូនផង ។ ២៥</p>	<p>They'll cleanse them with perfumed water and profess repentance: “Should I have made any mistakes, may you, Mother, forgive all of my faults and wrongdoings.” 25</p>
<p>រួចហើយនាំគ្នាហែទៅវត្ត រើសផ្លឹងដាក់កោដ្ឋទូលតម្រង់ ដល់វត្តប្រគេនទៅព្រះសង្ឃ សូមធ្វើបាតុផងនឹងព្រះគុណ ។ ២៦</p>	<p>They then process back to the temple, gathering the bones, placing them in an urn, and carrying them on their head. Having arrived at the temple, they offer them to the monks, saying, “Please take care of these remains, Venerable, and 26</p>
<p>ទុកដាក់លើកុដិបូចេតិយ កូនចៅប្រុសស្រីក្រាបមិនន្ត ព្រះសង្ឃបង្សកូលបីបួនអង្គ បញ្ចប់បុណ្យផងថ្ងៃនោះណា ។</p>	<p>place them in your dwelling or in a cetiya.” Your children will bow to invite the three or four monks to perform the <i>pañsukūl</i> ritual to complete the ceremony on that day.</p>

This poem highlights how the forest as a haunted site retains its symbolic power even after most of the rituals for the dead were relocated in and around the monastery. Older texts, by contrast, speak to a real jungle, not a symbolic one. They describe a rite that has now mostly faded from Cambodian practice and memory: the literal hauling off of dead bodies to the wilderness, where they become food for wild beasts.

One such text is **dhammasañveg «oḥ o rūpā»-k** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, the body’”), which offers some precise details for the dying to contemplate what others will do to their bodies after death. These include the binding of the corpse upon a bamboo cross; the subsequent release of those knots, allowing the body to slide down to the ground; and the tying of a second set of ropes specifically for carrying the corpse over a greater distance:

<p>រូបស្លាប់ចង្រ្កាង គេក្រង់ចាងណាង ទ្រៀសពីរដំបូ ។ ៦</p>	<p>Your body will lie dead on its back upon a cross fashioned from four pairs of bamboo 6</p>
<p>យកមកព័ទ្ធជុំ រឹតឲ្យជិតជុំ រូបឥតស្នើថា រូបពុំកក្រើក កម្រើកឡើយណា រៀងរាល់រូបា រមែងដូចគ្នា ។</p>	<p>bound together taut and tight. Your body can't complain and won't budge or move at all. All bodies are just like this.</p>

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៧	7	
គេហៅកូនចៅ		Others will gather
អស់ទាំងញាតិដៅ		all of your kin
ឲ្យស្រាយចំណង		to release the binds,
បើកជញ្ជាំងចេញ		open the fence,
ដាក់ទៅដីហោង		and place your body on the ground.
ហើយគេយកកង		They will then take one loop [of rope]
មួយដាក់ខាងក្បាល ។		and place it at your head.
៨	8	
មួយដាក់ជើងផង		They will place another at your feet,
យកស្មែងនោះហោង		and take the carrying pole and
សឹក XXX		insert it...

Unfortunately, the only extant witness to this text, **UB067**, probably dating from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, is missing the remainder of stanza 8. However, from subsequent stanzas that do survive, it is clear that the body, after being hoisted between each end of a wooden pole, is then hauled off into the forest to be abandoned.

Another text, **dhammasañveg «guor git aniccā»-k** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘We should reflect on the impermanence’”), picks up the contemplation from there by describing the remote location where our body might be jettisoned:

៨	8	
ហើយគេយកខ្មោច		They’ll take that corpse,
រូបយើងអសោចី		your foul body,
ទៅចោលក្នុងព្រៃ		and discard it in the woods,
សំសានស្មានស្ងាត់		in the quiet charnel grounds,
ស្រដាត់ត្រជែង		dense and brambly,
ត្រជែងក្នុងព្រៃ		in the overgrown jungle,
គិរិបព្វតា		up in the hills.
៩	9	
ស្រងេះស្រហោច		How you’ll ache and yearn,
កណ្តែងកណ្តោច		so lonesome and forlorn,
ហោចហុងព្រឹក្សា		lonely in that forest,
ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ជ្រងំ		still and silent,
ទុគ៌មសោះសា		deep and remote,
ជ្រងំជ្រោយបព្វតា		in the crannies of the hills,
តែឯកអង្គប្រាណ ។		your body all alone.

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This emphasis on the loneliness of hills and jungles occurs frequently in Khmer deathbed chants. The dying are pressed to imagine how “lonesome and forlorn” their bodies will be, abandoned in forests “still and silent, / deep and remote.” Moreover, as witnessed in subsequent stanzas of **dhammasaṅveg «oh o rūpā»-k**, in death the body crosses over the divide between animals and humans, between wilderness and civilization, or, in Khmer terms, between the cultured world of rice cultivation (*sruk*) and the cultureless domain of the forest (*brai*):<sup>31</sup>

១៨	18
រូបអើយសាមាន្យ មកបានតិរច្ឆាន កំដរជាគ្នា ក្នុងព្រៃក្ស័រព្រៃធំ ទុត៌មអធ្វា	How low is your body, that wild beasts will accompany it in the vast forest, far from any roads.
អស់គេរាល់គ្នា គេស្អប់រូបហើយ។	All of the other people will detest your body.
១៩	19
ហៅសែនអាសូរ ឮមាត់សត្វថ្មី សព្វសូរល្អែងល្អោច រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង កណ្តែងកណ្តោច ក្នុងព្រៃត្រមោច លន្ទោចឆ្ងាយក្តាត់។	How pitiable it will be, hearing the sounds of beasts, their voices hair-raising, your body all alone, solitary and lonely, in the forlorn forest, distant and dejected.

The dead, in other words, are asked to imagine death as the erasure of their humanity, though by no means the end of anguish, loneliness, and fear. Unlike the previous section on the dying process, this step in the contemplation program concerns a future beyond the ken of reportable experience. Nevertheless, as the subsequent section on the lament of the corpse shows, Khmer texts do not hesitate to ruminate on what it is like to be dead. The contemplation on death is not restricted to mortality as a future certainty, but as a plausible present to inhabit, to feel, and be moved by.

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<sup>31</sup> For more on this binary in Cambodian culture, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism’s Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 82–114; Penny Edwards, “Between a Song and a Prei: Tracking Cambodian History and Cosmology through the Forest,” in *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, ed. Anne Ruth Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 137–162; and David P. Chandler, “Songs at the Edge of the Forest: Perceptions of Order in Three Cambodian Texts,” in *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, ed. Anne Ruth Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 31–46.



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Other texts on the abandonment of bodies in the forest read, in classical Buddhist terms, not so much as *maraṇasati* (“awareness of death”) texts but as *asubhakammaṭṭhāna* (“meditation on the foul”) exercises. This is true for stanzas 23–29 of **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṇ»-k**. The passage in question begins with a similar description to those discussed above, with the body abandoned to the forest where it is quickly surrounded by all manner of fearsome creatures:

២៣ រូបនៅមួយប្រាណ ក្នុងព្រៃសំសាន ម្នាក់ឯងឯកា មានតែសត្វទោច សំពោចឆ្មាបា ចចកស្វានស្វា ឌីឡរមៀមម៉ុ។ ២៤ ខ្លែងស្រាកខ្លែងខ្មោច ស្រែកឡើងឮល្ងោច ក្នុងព្រៃទុគ៌ម ទិទុយន្ទាតក្អែក ស្រៀវស្រែកយាសយំ គូកហើរមកទុំ លើមែកព្រឹក្សព្រៃ។ ២៥ យំឡើងឮលាន់ គួរឲ្យស្អុតស្អន់ រន្ធត់ភិតភ័យ អស់សត្វនោះឯង ជញ្ជែងរញ្ជៃ រញ្ជឹកសព្វថ្ងៃ ចោមជាបរិវារ។	23 The body stays with your vitality ( <i>prāṇa</i> ) in the charnel woods, completely alone, with only gibbons, civets, flying squirrels, wolves, dholes, dogs, night birds, brown owls, 24 wood owls, and osprey, squawking and shrieking in the remote forest. Spotted owls, vultures, and crows hoot and crow, calling each other to perch in the branches of the trees. 25 They scream noisily, giving rise to terror, fear, and shock. All of these creatures hastily peck and gnaw at you each day, surrounding you as your entourage.
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The poem then transitions, however, to a contemplation on the progressive stages of decay, from a bloated corpse to a mere skeleton:

២៦ ខួបបីបួនថ្ងៃ	26 After three or four days,
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ហើមជើងហើមដៃ	your hands and feet swell up.
ហើមអស់អាត្មា	Your whole body bloats.
ភ្នែកល្បឿនខ្លោតខ្លាត	Your eyes bulge and jut out.
អណ្តាតនោះណា	Your tongue
ធ្លាក់គ្របចង្កា	falls out to cover your chin.
ដៃលាត្រញាង ។	Your arms splay out,
២៧	27
ក្រញូរក្រញើត	protruding and crooked,
ក្រញើងពើងពើត	helter-skelter, as if in awful pain.
ក្រញាងសក់ច្រាង	Your disheveled hair sticks up,
ក្រញូរក្រញើង	irked and indignant.
ពោះប៉ោងប៉ុនប៉ូង	Your belly balloons like a jug.
ជើងយាសង្វាង	Your legs splay out,
ដូចជាចេញយក្ស ។	as if miming an ogre.
២៨	28
ទឹកឈាមទឹកខ្មុះ	Blood, pus, and
ទឹកសម្បុយនោះ	and other vile fluids
ហូរចេញសស្រាក់	flow out and drip
ពីទ្វារប្រាំបួន	from all nine holes,
ផ្លូវៗ ឥតអាក់	continuously and without end.
ជង្គុំវត់ត្រាក់	Worms burble within,
រុករូបនោះនៃ ។	pockmarking your body.
២៩	29
រុយរោមចោមចុះ	Flies gather and swarm,
ស៊ីសម្បុយនោះ	feasting on the fowl.
រញឹករញៃ	Before too long,
សួតសាច់អស់ទៅ	your lungs and flesh are gone,
ផ្លឹងនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	and only bones remain in the forest,
កប់កក់កប់ដី	buried in dirt and mud,
រលួយបាត់ទៅ ។	decaying and decomposing.

A more extensive reflection on the decay of corpses appears in **dhammasañveg «oh o aniccā»-k** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, how impermanent!’”). In this case, the text divides the process of decomposition into several stages, namely three, seven, and nine days after death. After 72 hours of putrefaction, the body swells, the face is disfigured, the limbs splay out, and any remaining shred of beauty is lost:

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២	2
ឱអនិច្ចាកាយ	Alas, how impermanent is the body!
ហេរូបរលាយ	A decaying body,
លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ	three days after death,
លោហិតលោហើម	bulges with blood and pus.
ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ	The skin turns ghastly pale,
ហើមម្រាមជើងដៃ	and the swollen fingers and toes
ត្រញែងត្រញាង ។	splay out awkwardly.
៣	3
មើលភ្នែកសោតស	The teeth gleam pure white.
ហាមាត់ច្រហ	The mouth gapes open,
ហើមទាំងសងខាង	swelling on both sides.
ខមលៀនអណ្តាត	The tongue sticks out.
ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	The body, hideous
សក់សោតត្រញាង	with its hair stiff and disheveled,
ត្រញាសដេកដី ។	lies on the ground.
៤	4
ធ្មេញស្មាញសសុស	The bared teeth shine white.
វិទ្ធុច្រមុះ	Blood flows fresh
ឈាមហូរថ្មីៗ	from the nostrils.
ចង្កាខាតខ្ទេច	The chin sinks back,
ស្មាញស្មើចអប្រិយ	revealing an awful grimace.
ប្រាណប្រុសប្រាណស្រី	Be the body male or female,
គ្មានល្អត្រង់ណា ។	nothing beautiful can be found.
៥	5
មើលថ្ពាលចិញ្ចើម	The forehead and eyebrows
សំបោរសម្បើម	are smothered with mucus
ខាតដាច់ពីគ្នា	and cleft in twain.
ត្រចៀករូញរឹត	The ears shrink back,
ក្រពិតដូចខ្លា	like those of a tiger.
ករលស្មើស្មា	The neck swells to the shoulders
រូបរាងស្ងួតស្អឹង ។	as the body lies stiff.
៦	6
ពោះធំកំប៉ោង	The abdomen bloats
ជើងដៃកែងកោង	and the limbs twist and curl,
រាងរូបស្ងួតស្អឹង	yet the body lies still.

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ដើមទ្រូងច្រអោង ស្រទាង់រូបរឹង រូបឲ្យរំពឹង គួរឲ្យអនិច្ចា ។	The chest bulges, stretched out and stiff. The body should be contemplated and seen for its impermanence.
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Then the text asks the dying to contemplate their body one week after it has been abandoned in the forest. By this stage, the body begins to disintegrate and animals feast on it voraciously:

៧ លុះប្រាំពិលថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ រហូតចេញពីគ្នា រលួយរលេះ រមេះកាយា រុយរោមហើមហា រូបពុំកម្រើក ៨ សព្វសត្វខ្នាតក្អែក វាហូរវាហែក ដង្កូវរវើក វាស៊ីវាម ផឹកឈាមរដើប រូបពុំកម្រើក ហាមាត់ដាច់បរ ។ ៩ អស់ទាំងម្រឹគា ចចកស្វានស្វា បបួលគ្នាចរ ទៅស៊ីសាច់ខ្មោច អសោចីរីករ ក្នុងព្រៃសាគរ សុសសេនសព្វស្ថាន ។	7 After seven days, the swelling rips the sinews apart, and they loosen and separate, melting, decaying, and sliding off the body. Flies swarm on the bulges and fissures, but the body doesn't move. 8 All manner of vultures and crows come peck and claw. Worms thrive, feasting and writhing, ferociously drinking blood. The body doesn't move, its mouth agape. 9 All of the beasts— jackals, dholes, and monkeys— call out to each other to come eat the flesh of the corpse, putrid and disordered, There, amidst the vast forest, they crowd together from all around.
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Finally, after nine days, the body is decapitated and most of the hair and flesh has rotted away:

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លុះប្រាំបួនថ្ងៃ	After nine days,
ហើមដាច់សរសៃ	the swelling rips the sinews apart,
ក្បាលចេញពីប្រាណ	and the head splits from the body,
រលួយរលេះ	rotten, decayed,
រេះរុះអន្តរាគមន៍	withered, and destroyed.
សក់សោតពុំមាន	The hair is gone,
សាច់សិនរលួយ ។	and the flesh has decayed.
១១	11
គង់តែរាងឆ្អឹង	Only the skeleton remains
ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងាត់ឈឺង	in the utterly silent forest,
រកញាតិណាមួយ	where no relative,
មាតាបិតា	parent,
ភរិយាមកជួយ	or wife to help
នៅកំដរមួយ	or accompany it
នោះគ្មានទេណា ។	can be found.

The stages and timetable of decay in these passages do not correspond to any particular canonical or commentarial text. They encompass, for instance, some of the ten types of corpse meditation outlined by Buddhaghosa in the *Visuddhimagga*, but hardly any one-to-one correlations can be made. The main thrust of **dhammasañveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k** and related texts is, moreover, not about contemplating a corpse belonging to someone else. When recited in a end-of-life context, these texts are concerned with foulness not so much as an antidote to desire, or even as a path to the liberative knowledge leading to arhatship, but rather as a way to contemplate one’s own imminent death. The corpse under reflection is the dying person’s own, and its abandonment and decay in the forest is presented as a logical next step after the three winds have ceased and the funerary rituals have been conducted.

**8.6 Abandoned by Civilization**

A number of texts in the *trailakkha(n)* and *dhammasañveg* genres extend this contemplation on the forest disposal and decomposition of the corpse to include an imagined subjective experience of the dead. These typically take the force of a lament, in which the *khmoc* (“corpse”) rues and regrets his banishment from human civilization in the forest. The Khmer term *khmoc* appears to be derived from *khūc*, “to perish.”<sup>32</sup> It literally connotes “that which has perished,” but is typically understood as encompassing the senses of “corpse” and “ghost”—the bodies of the dead in their inanimate and animate aspects.

There are some twentieth-century laments of the corpse in Khmer verse, including the appropriately named **khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7** (“The corpse cries out in remorse”). These

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<sup>32</sup> ខូច, ខ្មោច

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texts tend to emphasize the dead bemoaning their lack of social participation in village life, rather than decrying their marginality in being confined to the forest. One such text is **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7**, which narrates the lament of a mother who, having passed away, feels abandoned by her children. The key passage begins with an exhortation to those on their deathbed to reflect on how their descendants will end all affective ties to the body of the deceased:

<p>២៧ លោកអ្នកទាំងឡាយចូរស្តាប់ចុះ កូនចៅស្រីប្រុសយើងគ្រប់គ្នា ស្រឡាញ់តែរស់ម្តាយសុខជា លុះធ្វើមរណាប្តីបួនថ្ងៃ។</p>	<p>27 All you good people, please listen— all of your children and grandchildren will only love you, their mother, while you are still alive and well. Once you have been dead for three or four days,</p>
<p>២៨ គេដុតអើសន្តឹងមួយកញ្ចប់ ប្រែជាខ្លឹមស្អប់ដាច់អាល័យ មិនទុកលើផ្ទះខ្លាចចង្រៃ កូនដាច់អាល័យពីម៉ែឪ។</p>	<p>28 and having cremated you, your bones filling one box, they instead detest you, without any pity. They won't keep you at home, lest misfortune arise. Children cut off their feelings toward their parents completely.</p>

These prefatory reflections are followed by the lament proper, in which the mother bewails how her offspring now detest her body, refusing to “hold on to and take care of” it after her death:

<p>២៩ មិនគួរអីខ្លាចម៉ែឪឯង ធ្លាប់បីបន្លែងរាល់វេលា លុះម្តាយរលត់អស់សង្ហារ កូនថាចង្រៃទុកមិនបាន។</p>	<p>29 “Why must you be afraid of your own mother? I used to hug and entertain you all the time. But once my life was extinguished, you said that I was inauspicious and couldn't be kept around.</p>
<p>៣០ បើស្លាប់ស្រស់ៗនៅរូបខ្លាច ក្រែងមានអសោច៍ក្នុងភូមិឋាន ដុតហើយអើសន្តឹងតែមួយបាន កូនគ្មានទុកដាក់ថែរក្សា។</p>	<p>30 When I had just died and become a corpse, you feared I would pollute the village. Once you cremated me and gathered a plate of my bones, you wouldn't hold on to and take care of them.</p>
<p>៣១ ដាច់ចិត្តយកទៅទុកឯវត្ត ទោះបីក្រខ្សត់តាមវាសនា អាងវត្តព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រធម៌អាថ៌ យិតយោងមាតាទៅស្ថានសួគ៌។</p>	<p>31 You cut off your attachments and went to leave them in the temple, no matter how poor your fortunes were. You relied on the monastery and the monks to chant the Dharma to help me reach the heavens.”</p>

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In older texts, however, such laments focus not on the ritual acts that comprise a Cambodian Buddhist funeral, such as cremation and the transference of merit, but on the forlorn isolation of the corpse. While modern texts may speak of the potential pollution of bones and other remains, texts composed in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries seem implicitly acknowledge that corpses are impure because they undergo the fetid process of putrefaction in the forest. The corpses in these text lament not so much their social rejection by the living, but rather their very real isolation on the far side of the civilized-uncivilized divide.

A poem that presents such a lament is **dhammasañveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Permit me, O Venerables and good people!’”). The context for the lament is set in the following passage, which compels the dying to imagine that the fate of their bodies, three days after they have been left to rot in the forest:

<p>៥ លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់បានបីថ្ងៃ ភ្ញាក់ស្មារតីដឹងអង្គព្រាណ ជាខ្លួនបែកចែកឋាន នឹងញាតិសន្តានគ្មានទៅផង ។</p>	<p>5 Three days after your death, you’ll wake up to your body, knowing that you’ve passed on and that your family won’t be joining you.</p>
<p>៦ ឮតែសត្វម្យ៉ៃមមុំ ទីធុយវាយំឮអីដកង ខ្លាំងស្រាកស្រែករំពង ស្វានស្វាផងយំទ្រហឹង ។</p>	<p>6 You’ll only hear owls hooting, their cries resounding all around. Other birds will screech and scream, while wild dogs and monkeys howl and wail.</p>
<p>៧ ស្រណោះអាឡោះកាយ ស្រែកហៅម្តាយស្ងាត់សូន្យឈឹង ទ្រហោរកទីពឹង ជាពិនឹងពំនាក់ណា ។</p>	<p>7 You’ll rue and regret your body’s fate, screaming for your mother in desolate silence, wailing for a refuge, for shelter, for protection.</p>
<p>៨ អនាថអាណិតខ្លួន រូបកូតទាំងបួនហើយទ្ធាញថា ចោលកូននៅកំព្រា រងទុក្ខវេទនាតែម្នាក់ឯង ។</p>	<p>8 You’ll pity your body and its four elements, crying: “You abandoned me, Mother, and now I’m orphaned. I face this anguish all alone.”</p>

The text insists that the dying will in fact “wake up to [their] body” after death. This claim appears strange at first glance; how does a dead body, one from which the mind has already parted in search of a new birth, return to consciousness? And who exactly is the one who is conscious of the corpse? The text is silent on these matters. Whatever problems it poses for normative Buddhist doctrine, this passage presents itself as a contemplation for the dying, one in which they are invited to enter the subjectivity of the animate aspect of a *khmoc* as it

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bemoans its cold, inanimate aspect. Ruining its desolate fate, the *khmoc* continues its lamentations, crying out for its mother:

<p>១០          កាលរស់ចេះស្នេហា          ដល់ខ្លួនមរណានោះបង់ទៅ          មិនគួរឡើយលោកម៉ែឪ          កប់កូននៅជិតព្រៃអាយ ។</p>	<p>10          “While I lived, you loved me.          But once I died, you threw me away.          It’s not right, Mother,          for you to bury me in these woods.</p>
<p>១១          ទោះស្អប់កូនប៉ុន្មាន          គួរទុកកូននៅជិតម្តាយ          គ្រាន់កូនបាននិយាយ          សុំទឹកបាយម្តាយភោគ្តា ។</p>	<p>11          Even if you despise me,          you should keep me close, Mother,          close enough to          ask for food and drink.</p>
<p>១២          ហេតុតែគ្មានអាឡោះ          មិនស្រណោះកូនឡើយណា          ចោលកូននៅឯកា          កណ្តាលព្រៃណាតែម្នាក់ឯង ។</p>	<p>12          But since you neither miss          nor pine for me,          you abandoned me          in this forest, all alone.”</p>
<p>១៣          ស្រណោះអាឡោះកាយ          ស្រែកហៅម្តាយឮក្លែងៗ          ស្លាប់ប្រាសចាកកន្លែង          តែលំបាកពន់ពេកក្រៃ ។</p>	<p>13          Wistful for your own body,          you’ll wail for your mother.          Dead and far from home,          you’ll face the worst hardships.</p>

The dying are asked to reflect on how their impending death constitutes a state of total abandonment, one in which the people who once loved us most now “neither miss / nor pine for” us. The “mother” in these passages is presumably the mother of the deceased, who is presumably long dead herself. The corpse is depicted as nevertheless crying for her out of attachment and desperation. The *khmoc*, freshly dead, reverts to the cries of an infant for its mother. These passages offer no clear warning to the living, for being disposed of in the forest is presented as a natural consequence of death, regardless of the ethical quality of one’s actions while alive. To be shunned from human society is not the fault of the dead; it is rather the fate of all who perish.

Other older Khmer poems expand on the scope of the laments attributed to corpses. One of the longer such passages appears in **trailakkha(្រ)** «**rūpakkhandho**»-**k**, stanzas 13–25. The first few stanzas suggest that the four elements that comprise the form aggregate, even when cleft from the other four aggregates of sensation, perception, mental formations, and



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consciousness, maintain an unconscious—yet still animate—state after death. After the body is abandoned “deep into the forest,” the four “elements” (*bhūt*, cf. Sanskrit *bhūta*, both in the sense of the four basic elements of earth, water, fire, and wind [*catubhūta*] and in the sense of a malevolent wandering ghost)<sup>33</sup> “miss their home too much” and seek to find a way back to the human world of the village:

១៣		13	
	ភូតបួននោះណា		Those four elements
	ពុំដឹងអាត្មា		are unconscious
	សើចលេងព្រងើយ		and laugh carelessly.
	គេសែងរូបទៅ		People haul the body
	ដល់ព្រៃជ្រៅហើយ		deep into the forest.
	គេកប់ស្រួចហើយ		Having buried it,
	គូសដីជើងភ្នែក ។		they carve a cross into the earth.
	១៤	14	
	វិភូតទាំងបួន		As for those four elements,
	លេងយូរភ្លេចខ្លួន		they play and forget themselves,
	អាសយផ្ទះពេក		but soon miss their home too much.
	ដើរចេញពីព្រៃ		They walk out from the forest
	ឃើញដីជើងភ្នែក		and see the cross in the earth.
	ដល់ផ្លូវបំបែក		They arrive at a crossroads,
	គេស្រាស់បន្ទា ។		but the people have blocked it with thorns.
	១៥	15	
	ឈរឈប់រេរា		They stop and hesitate,
	រំពឹងគិតគ្នា		pausing to think together,
	នេះហើយនរណា		“Who has declared
	ថារូបយើងស្លាប់		that my body is dead?
	គេកាប់បន្ទា		They chopped down brambles
	គូសខ្វែងដីក្រ		and drew a cross in the earth,
	មិនឲ្យទៅឡើយ ។		preventing me from leaving.
	១៦	16	
	បែររាប់ម្រាមដៃ		If I count my fingers
	ឃើញតែបួននៃ		I see only four.
	បាត់មួយទៅហើយ		One is gone already;
	រូបស្លាប់មែនពិត		the body had indeed died.”

<sup>33</sup> Saveros Pou and Ang Chouléan, “Vocabulaire khmer relatif au surnaturel,” *Seksa Khmer* 10–13 (1987–1990): 80.

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This passage recalls a number of traditional Khmer practices for keeping spirits of the dead at bay, including marking crosses in the earth and blocking paths with thorns and brambles.<sup>34</sup> The spirit of the dead, here represented by the four elements or *bhūt*, somehow remain animate and able to recall their former constitution as a living human in a social world. They bemoan their state of isolation and rejection, crying out for their (presumably dead) parents in this juncture between lives:

<p>កាំងកិតស្រែកអើយ ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ ចោលកូនអសារ។ ១៧ ស្អប់រូបកូនណាស់ មិនទុកលើផ្ទះ កប់បៀតទៅវា នៅជិតរបង នោះផងមិនថា ម្តេចចោលអសារ ក្នុងព្រៃសូន្យឈឹង។ ១៨ ម៉ែអើយកូនខ្លាច សត្វផងសឹងកាច សាហាវជុំខ្លួន ទីទុយខ្លែងស្រាក ភ្នែកជុំកំភ្លួន អាសូររូបខ្លួន ឥតគេដង្ហា។ ១៩ ព្រៃស្ងាត់ជ្រងំ ខ្លាតូចខ្លាធំ ខ្លាដំបងណា ចចកដំរី ឆ្កែព្រៃស្វានស្វា ឱរូបកូនណា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង។</p>	<p>In fear, the [four elements] cry out, “Oh Mother and Father! You’ve thrown me away. 17 You must hate me, since you don’t keep me at home, or bury me near your fence. You didn’t say that you’d discard me completely in the utter void of the woods. 18 Oh Mother, I’m scared! All kinds of fierce and savage animals surround me, including owls with bulging eyes. I pity my own body, without any companions. 19 The forest is still and silent, with tigers—small, large, and massive— wolves, elephants, wild dogs, dholes, and monkeys. Oh, how my body is orphaned and alone!”</p>
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<sup>34</sup> Other techniques are detailed in **lpök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn**, including the use of rice flour to detect the footprints of *khmoc* from the forest entering the village at night (stanza 200).

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Confined to the forest, the four *bhūt* return to a state of nature, one ruled by animals rather than humans. As the body begins to decompose, the animate aspects of the *khmoc* look with pity upon the decay of the inanimate. These stanzas echo the contemplation on the foul aspect of corpses in the previous section, but are invested with the emotional tone of lamentation and a sense of affective attachment between the animate *bhūt* and their former bodily abode:

២១ អង្គុយជិតនៅ ប្របមាត់រណ្តៅ អនិច្ចារូបថា ឱរូបហើយហើម សម្បើមនេត្រា ករុញស្មើស្មា ភ្នែកលៀនស្មើរធ្លាក់ ។	21 Sitting near the edge of our grave, they pity the body thus: “Oh how this body swells up. The eyes bulge. The neck slips to the shoulders, and the eyes protrude and fall out.
២២ ជើងដៃក្រញាង រាងរុញស្រទាង ឈាមហូរសស្រាក់ គ្រប់ទ្វារប្រាំបួន ពាសខ្លួនប្រឡាក់ ហូរហូសធ្លុះធ្លាក់ ដាបដល់ធរណី ។	22 The limbs splay awkwardly as the body stretches out. Blood flows forth from all nine orifices, staining the entire body, gushing out to soak the earth.
២៣ លុះប្រាំពិលថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ នៅផ្ទៀងទទេ រលួយរលេះ ធ្លាក់ចុះឥតឯ គ្មានសល់ទំនេរ ដល់រូបយើងអើយ ។	23 After seven days, swelling separates the vessels, leaving only bones, completely decayed. All falls away, with nothing remaining of my own body.”

Even after most of the physical components of the corpse have completely decomposed and disappeared, however, the anguish of the animate corpse (or *bhūt*) remains. Bereft of nourishment, the four *bhūt* wander, like a *preta* or hungry ghost, seeking offerings from the living:

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<i>catubhūto</i>	As for <i>the four elements</i>
សល់តែ <i>dukkho</i>	only <i>suffering</i> remains.
ស្រែកយំខ្លើយៗ	They cry out mournfully
ច្រើនខែច្រើនថ្ងៃ	for days and months,
ក្រក្រខ្មាសស្បើយ	miserable without relief,
អត់ឃ្នានពេកអើយ	famished and starving.
យកស្នូបទទួរៗ	They cover their body with a shroud
២៥	25
ដើរស្នូមភូមិគេ	and walk to beg from other villages,
ដើរស៊ីតែតែ	eating only spirit offerings
ជាអំឡុងយូរ	for a long time,
លុះសុសអស់ផ្លែឆ្អឹង	until the bones turn white.
រំពឹងគិតគូរ	Reflect carefully
អន្ទោល <i>jāto</i>	on this cycle of <i>birth</i>
អស់សែនជាតិទៅៗ	that has lasted one hundred thousand lives.

This extended contemplation is framed as a necessary reflection on saṃsāra for the dying. Whatever terrible fate they may be about to encounter in death, disposal, decay, and lonely mendicancy, this destiny is not new. It is the fate of the previous “one hundred thousand lives” as well. The injunction for the dying is to “reflect carefully,” to consider each of the steps in the contemplative program professed by these texts. The dying are admonished to reflect on the inexorable march of aging, the impending arrival of death, the misery of dying, the terror of the forest, the foulness of decay, and the isolation of being cut off from human society. The first set of contemplative obligations for the dying are complete; their work is to contemplate this whole mess, from aging to postmortem isolation. What remains, then, is how to train one’s physical, verbal, and mental actions in light of this fearsome fate.

**8.7 Foundational Practices**

The first set of active exercises advocated in deathbed texts are the canonical three foundations of merit, or *puñṇakiriyavatthu*. These consist of the basic set of practices for all Buddhists and for laypeople in particular: generosity, charity, or giving (*dāna*); ethics, virtue, or the moral precepts (*sīla*); and mental cultivation, development, or meditation (*bhāvanā*). In the Cambodian context, the first typically means giving alms to monks, though possibly also to nuns and the poor, or otherwise forsaking one’s wealth for the sake of the Three Jewels or the weal of the world. The second implies requesting the five, eight, or ten precepts and abiding by their ethical guidelines. The third can refer to various forms of meditation, but the development of goodwill or lovingkindness (*mettā*) and the silent recitation of short Pali texts, especially *buddhānussmṛti* passages, are among the most frequently implied in the leporello corpus.

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Deathbed texts rarely provide any details on these three practices, however. They are simply accepted as the essential foundations of merit with which the dying would have presumably been well acquainted. Some texts, such as **dhammasañveg «oḥ o guor sañveg»-br** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, what a shock, what a fright!’”), which first surfaced in printed form in the 1930s, implore the dying to practice these foundations, lest they slide into the hells:

<p>៩ ស្លាប់ទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង កូនចៅតែងរៀបចំឲ្យ ប្រវែងដីបណ្តោយ តែបួនហត្ថសម្រាប់កប់ ។</p>	<p>9 Once you die, you’ll be alone. Your children will prepare a stretch of earth, measuring just four cubits, in which to bury you.</p>
<p>១០ ប្រសិនបើដុតវិញ ផ្លឹងនោះមិញមួយកញ្ចប់ កូនចៅគេខ្ពើមស្អប់ មិនហ៊ានខ្ទប់ទុកលើផ្ទះ ។</p>	<p>10 If you are cremated, your remains will fill one box, but your children will detest them and won’t dare keep them at home.</p>
<p>១១ ដូច្នោះកុំប្រមាទ គួរសង្វេគរករៀនលះ ចិត្តបាបឲ្យស្រឡះ កម្មអាក្រក់ទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ។</p>	<p>11 So don’t be careless, and instead be stirred. Let go of your sinful thoughts completely, along with whatever evil karma you have done.</p>
<p>១២ បុណ្យបាបរបស់ខ្លួន លាក់បំបាំងទុកមិនបាន ស្លាប់ទៅតាមប្រាណ ល្អអាក្រក់ចាត់ដោយឡែក ។</p>	<p>12 Whatever your merits or demerits, you can’t hide them away. Once you die, they’ll follow your being, with good and bad quite distinct.</p>
<p>១៣ មនុស្សណាគ្មានទានសីល ការវិនិច្ឆ័យជាអនេក មនុស្សនោះចាត់ដោយប៉ែក ពួកនរកជាដាច់ខាត ។</p>	<p>13 Those lacking generosity, ethics and cultivation, whose idleness is limitless, are subject to slide into the various hells without reprieve.</p>

Those who do manage to maintain these practices in the final months and days of their lives, on the other hand, are assured of eventually reaching Nibbāna:

<p>១៤ មនុស្សណាមានសីលទាន</p>	<p>14 Those with ethics and generosity,</p>
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<p>មិនមានខ្លួនប្រឹងសង្វាត          ឧស្សាហ៍ខំឱហាត          តាមដោយខ្នាតព្រះចមត្រៃ ។          ១៥</p>	<p>who are not lazy but instead work hard          to persist and persevere,          following the example of the Lord of the Three Worlds,          15</p>
<p>មនុស្សនោះដោះខ្លួនបាន          រួចចាកស្ថានទុក្ខចង្រៃ          បានស្ម័គ្រប្រសើរថ្លៃ          ហើយនឹងបានព្រះនិព្វាន ។          ១៦</p>	<p>such people liberate themselves          from the realms of pain and woe,          achieve the most wondrous heavens          and finally reach Nibbāna,          16</p>
<p>ជាស្ថានបំផុតលោក          ទុក្ខក៏យោគទាំងប៉ុន្មាន          ឥតមកប៉ះពាល់បាន          សុខក្សេមក្សាន្តប្រសើរហោង ។</p>	<p>the realm beyond the worlds,          where no pain, fear, or illness          can have any effect,          where there's naught but bliss and peace.</p>

Other texts emphasize that these foundational practices can specifically change the course of the normally painful process of death. Rather than being bound by Yama and his guards upon breathing their last, such people are instead blessed by the Lord of Death, as articulated in this passage from **trailakkha(n) «rūpakkhandho»-k**:

<p>២៧          ឱអ្នកនាងអើយ          រូបរស់នៅឡើយ          គួរគិតអនិច្ចា          ត្រង់កម្មវិបាក          កម្មកាត់ច្នៃណា          ត្រូវគ្រប់រូបា          ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។</p>	<p>27          O good people!          While your body is still alive,          you should think of impermanence          and the effects of karma,          for whichever way karma cuts,          it slices the bodies          of all men and women.</p>
<p>២៨          គួររកកាន់សីល          ភាវនាកុំខ្លួន          ឧស្សាហ៍ស្វាធាយ          មានទ្រព្យធនធាន          ដាក់ទានចែកចាយ          កុំគិតកុំស្តាយ          កុំលោភពេកពន់ ។</p>	<p>28          You should hold the precepts          and cultivate without laziness,          steadfastly reciting texts.          Whatever wealth and riches you have,          give them as offerings to distribute to others.          Don't think back with regret.          Don't be too greedy.</p>
<p>២៩          ចូលរៀនបរមត្ថ</p>	<p>29          Come and study the ultimate (<i>paramattha</i>),</p>

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ខន្តីពាក្យសត្យ	forbearance, and true words.
ឧស្សាហ៍ធ្វើបុណ្យ	Strive to make merit
កត្តិញ្ញតា	with gratitude
ស្នេហាតបគុណ	and love to repay your debts.
ចូរស្រឡាញ់បុណ្យ	Adore making merit,
ជាធនទៅមុខ ។	as it is your investment for the future.
៣០	30
ព្រះយមឲ្យពរ	Yama will give his blessings.
ឥន្ទព្រហ្មសាទរ	Indra and Brahma will rejoice
ចម្រើនឲ្យសុខ	and increase your happiness
ឡើងទីសួគ៌ស្ថាន	as you rise to the heavens
ខុសខាននរក	and avoid the hells,
ចៀសចាកភូមិភព	escaping from the world
ក៏យចតុរាជយ ។	and the dangers of the four lower realms.

In addition to exhorting the dying to engage in these foundational practices for a painless passing and the swift attainment of Nibbāna, some Khmer poems urge those on their deathbed to rely only on themselves and not count on the aid of others. This emphasis on self-reliance reminds the dying that there is no guarantee that their relatives will perform the rites to transfer merit to the deceased. The best course, therefore, is to maintain the practice of generosity, ethics, and mental cultivation oneself, as expressed in **dhammasañveg «o añg aniccā»-k** (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘Alas, the body, how impermanent!’”):

៨	8
ទ្រព្យអម្បាលមាណ	Whatever riches you have,
ញាតិសាច់សន្តាន	your kith and kin
ដែលជួយខ្លាយខ្លល់	may anxiously try to
ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យខ្មោច	make merit for your corpse
ហើយឧទ្ទិសផល	and dedicate the benefits to you,
មិនងាយនឹងដល់	but it is not easy for this to happen
ដូចបំណងឡើយ ។	in accordance with your wishes.
៩	9
ជនជាបណ្ឌិត	People who are learned
រមែងចេះគិត	always know to plan ahead
ធ្វើទុកឲ្យហើយ	and make merit beforehand.
ខ្លួនត្រូវរំពឹងខ្លួន	You must be your own refuge;
កុំពឹងគេឡើយ	don't rely on others,

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ក្រែងគេកន្តើយ ខ្លួនខកខានបាន ។ ១០	lest they are negligent and nothing remains for you. 10
មាសប្រាក់ធនធាន ដែលខ្លួនធ្លាប់មាន ទាំងអម្បាលមាណ លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ យកទៅមិនបាន សូម្បីត្រាង់ប្រាណ គ្មានយកទៅឡើយ ។ ១១	Gold, silver, and riches that you once possessed, no matter how much— once you pass away you can't take any of it with you. You can't even take your own body. 11
បើសង្ឃឹមគេ នឹងភ្លាត់ទទេ នេះជាទៀងហើយ ត្រូវធ្វើបុណ្យទៅ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ទានសីលជាត្រើយ នឹងនាំអាត្មា ។ ១២	If you place your hopes on others they may forget them entirely— this is a lasting fact. You must make merit; don't be negligent. Generosity and ethics are the refuge that will guide your being. 12
ការនាំលឹក ឲ្យចិត្តចេះនឹក សមាធិបញ្ញា មានសីលជាបាត ទ្រទ្រង់ជ្រះថ្លា នឹងបានសុខា ពិតប្រាកដហោង ។	Cultivate and recollect so that your mind knows how to recall. Concentration, wisdom, and ethics are the foundations that support a heart of clear faith, such that you can achieve bliss that is real and true.

This passage does not deny the importance of one's family in assuring a fortunate state in the hereafter. However, these stanzas exhort the dying to take refuge in their own practice of generosity, ethics, and mental cultivation, as it is through these foundations alone that they will be able to reach the bliss of Nibbāna “that is real and true.”

A number of other texts emphasize the importance of mental cultivation, or meditation, above all else. In some cases, the form of meditation advocated is to develop insight into the impermanence of the body and all material existence (*rūpa*). One passage from **trailakkha(ṇ) «rāl' rūp dāmaṇ as'»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘All bodied beings’”) places this form of mental cultivation alongside the more foundational practices of



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merit-making and faith in the Three Jewels:

៥	5
រូបអើយធារធំ រលកប៉ុនភ្នំ ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់សន្លែ ក្រអួកឆ្លងរួច សមុទ្រឆ្នោះនៃ លិចលង់ច្រើនក្រៃ លំបាកណាស់ណា ។	The body is huge, with waves large as mountains, fearsomely tall. Rare is one who can cross it. The same goes for the ocean. Many more drown within it— how miserable!
៦	6
រូបគិតទៅចុះ ធម៌នេះមិនខុស គួរគិតអនិច្ចា អ្នកស្អាងក្រាស់ក្រៃ ប៉ុនប៉ងប្រាថ្នា មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា ទើបបានឆ្លងរួច ។	The body—think about it; the Dharma isn't wrong. Think of impermanence. If you cultivate immensely and make wishes and aspirations with a heart of clear faith, then you can cross it.
៧	7
រូបខំរក្សា បានរៀនធម៌អាថ៌ ទោះបីតិចតួច កុំទៅពាយងាយ និយាយធម៌ខូច យោងខ្លួនមិនរួច ធ្លាក់ទៅនរក ។	Take care of this body, so as to learn the Dharma, even if only a little. Don't be negligent and say that the Dharma's useless, as it won't be able to carry you, and you'll fall into the hells.
៨	8
ព្រះកែវទាំងបី ដាក់លើសិរសី ដម្កល់ដាក់ទុក លោកយោងរូបបាន រួចពីនរក ឲ្យបានសោយសុខ សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។	The Three Jewels: place them on your head, raise them up respectfully. These Lords can carry you to escape the hells and to enjoy bliss and the attainments of merit.
៩	9
ព្រះធម៌វិសុទ្ធ	The pure Dharma is

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វិសេសប្រាកដ	marvelous indeed,
ប្រសើរពេកពន់	excellent beyond measure;
បៀមបិតឲ្យជិត	cradle it close.
ខិតិតឲ្យឆ្ងន់	Reflect on it seriously;
ស្រឡាញ់ព្រះគុណ	adore its virtues
លើសលើជីវិត ។	even more than life.

These stanzas emphasize the importance of reflecting on impermanence, cultivating merit, and making aspirations in one’s final days. The Buddha and especially his Dharma are praised as treasures to be adored “even more than life.” The dying are thus exhorted not only to rely on themselves but also on the Three Jewels, who can carry them “to escape the hells / and to enjoy bliss.”

Finally, some texts advocate for a vigorous practice of traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* on the deathbed, but only with the support of the three foundational practices. The more advanced techniques of *kammaṭṭhāna* therefore depend on the basic exercises of generosity, ethics, and cultivation. One such text, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k**, does not provide explicit meditation instructions but instead admonishes those who have already studied *kammaṭṭhāna* over the course of their lives to not neglect the foundational practices in their final days. In order to release the attachments by which we would ordinarily be bound, perhaps by Yama’s guards, at the end of life, the text argues that we must engage in *kammaṭṭhāna* practice:

៣៨	38	
ឯកិច្ចនឹងស្រាយ		As for the work of loosening
ចំណងទាំងឡាយ		these attachments,
ឲ្យស្រឡះប្រាណ		to be completely free,
មានតែរករៀន		you have only to come study
របៀនកម្មដ្ឋាន		the lessons of <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i> ,
ឲ្យចេះចាំបាន		so learn and remember them,
គ្រប់សែសិប្រាំ ។		forty-five in all,
៣៩	39	
ឲ្យច្បាស់ក្នុងចិត្ត		so that you are clear in your mind,
ហើយខំប្រព្រឹត្តិ		striving to practice
ប្រឹងប្រែងចំណាំ		and trying to recall
ចំណេះពីគ្រូ		the teachings of your master,
អាសូរផ្អែផ្អា		who pities and admonishes you
ខំឲ្យឈ្នះកម្ម		to try to vanquish the karma
កម្មកើតព្រោះចិត្ត ។		that arises from your mind,

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៤០ ឲ្យលះធម៌ច្រាំ ធម៌ដែលជាកម្ម កុំឲ្យមកជិត មកដល់អង្គកាយ ចោលឆ្ងាយកុំគិត យកមកឲ្យជិត ឲ្យជាប់នៅខ្លួន ។ ៤១	40 to let go of five mental states, mental states that are karma, and not allow them to come near your own being. Cast them off; don't think of keeping them close, as they'll get stuck to you. 41 Having achieved the virtues of the Jewels, clutch them tightly and make them secure. Don't give in to foolishness, forsake the manuals, forget your mind, be vindictive, or think of tricks and games.
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This passage is clearly addressed to those who have already studied *kammatthāna* under the guidance of a master. The dying student would have already learned to eliminate the five hindrances (Pali *nīvaraṇa*, here cited as “mental states that are karma”) and achieved the “virtues of the Jewels” (*gun kèṅ*). In this context, the latter probably imply the technical sense of the “jewel orbs” (*tuon kèṅ*) of *kammatthāna* meditation rather than the ordinary sense of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. In other words, having achieved the goals of the practice in the past, the dying should be careful to maintain their progress as death closes in.

In a subsequent passage, those on their deathbed are reminded that “the wise men of old” (*anak prājñ purāṇ*) maintained such progress even after first achieving the jewel orbs within:

៤១ អ្នកប្រាជ្ញបុរាណ លោករៀនធម៌បាន លោកកាន់កោតក្រៃជ័ លោកតាំងសម្រេច ឲ្យដាច់សង្វែង សង្វាតខំខ្លាំង តែការកុសល ។ ៤៣ វិការមិនគាប់	42 The wise men of old could learn the Dharma, hold it respectfully, and make a vow to achieve it, being completely detached and striving vigorously to do good deeds. 43 Evil deeds they forsook
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លុះលះមិនរាប់	beyond number.
យកមកដម្កល់	They took up [the Dharma]
ទុកដាក់នៅកាយ	and established it in their body,
ប្រឹងហ្វាយមគ្គផល	striving to achieve the paths and the fruits.
លោកកាត់កង្វល់	These masters cut off their doubts
អំពើទោសទុក្ខ ។	and their actions of sin and pain.
៤៤	44
លោកប្រួមព្រួញ	The masters sharpened their arrow,
ព្រួញចិត្តនឹងនួន	the arrow of the mind, and made it firm.
នឹកតែទៅមុខ	They thought only of progressing
រំពៃរំពឹង	in their reflections and contemplations,
ជញ្ជឹងរកស្រុក	meditating to find the country,
រកភូមិដែលសុខ	the land of bliss,
ក្រែងដល់មិនដល់ ។	lest they never arrive.

The dying are consequently admonished to safeguard these treasures within and not treat them carelessly:

៤៥	45
បើអ្នកណាបាន	Should you be able
រៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន	to learn the august <i>kammattthāna</i> ,
ប្រសើរស្មគ៌សល់	that would be most excellent,
បានដឹងច្បាស់ហើយ	Once you have mastered it,
អ្នកអើយកុំឆ្ងល់	don't doubt it, good people.
ខិតិតដម្កល់	Try hard to establish it
ឲ្យខ្ជាប់ក្នុងខ្លួន ។	firmly in your body.
៤៦	46
ដូចកលមាសប្រាក់	It is just like gold or silver
រកបានទុកដាក់	that you would find and then
លបលាក់បំពួន	hide in a secret cache
នៅនាទីស្ងាត់	in a quiet place.
ប្រយ័ត្នថែថូន	You'd be careful and take care of it,
រក្សាឲ្យមួន	protecting it steadfastly
ទុកចិញ្ចឹមកាយ ។	as the support for your body.
៤៧	47
បើបានហើយណា	Once you had found it,

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មិនមើលព្យាបាល៍ if you didn't take care of it,  
 ដាក់ចោលខ្ពស់ខ្ពាយ throwing it away or scattering it around,  
 ចំណេរទ្រព្យនោះ after a while those riches  
 នឹងលុះអន្តរាយ would disappear  
 វិនាសខានបាយ and be destroyed and dispersed,  
 ប្រាកដពុំឃ្នាត ។ truly and without fail.

The danger, according to these passages, is that one would neglect one's practice at the end of life, thereby negating the progress already made. The simile here reminds the dying to forsake carelessness and protect their inner practice:

៤៨ 48  
 ដូចអ្នកដែលបាន This is just like someone who achieves  
 ព្រះធម៌ប្រោសប្រាណា the holy Dharma and saves himself,  
 ហើយឥតមារយាទ and yet does not conduct himself properly,  
 អាងតែខ្លួនបាន relying only on what he has achieved  
 មិនមានខ្មីឃ្នាត but failing to be zealous,  
 សង្កេតសង្វាត to be stirred, to strive,  
 ខ្វះខំរក្សា ។ and to endeavor to maintain it.

៤៩ 49  
 នឹកថាខ្លួនបាន He assumes that since he  
 រៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន studied the august *kammatthāna*,  
 សម្រេចអាចារ្យ became a master,  
 កម្មពៀររលាយ and melted away vengeful karma  
 ខ្ពស់ខ្ពាយហើយណា completely,  
 ធ្វើធ្វេសកាយ he can be careless in his body  
 ដោយគិតមិនដល់ and not think things through.

៥០ 50  
 តែគិតខុសហើយ But to think like this is wrong,  
 បាបមិនលែងឡើយ for one never escapes sin.  
 ណាអ្នកកុំឆ្ងល់ Don't doubt this, good people!  
 បានជាបាបនោះ You take on this sin  
 ពីព្រោះមិនស្គាល់ since you aren't aware  
 មិនគិតដម្កល់ and don't care to maintain  
 កាយគិតឲ្យត្រូវវា ។ your body and mind correctly.

The text then enumerates a long list of standards to follow that may help to maintain one's

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progress in *kammatthāna* throughout one’s life, including at its very end. The essential point, however, is simply to be heedful in one’s engagement in the three foundational practices of generosity, ethics, and mental cultivation. Those who can keep up these fundamental exercises in the closing chapter of life are assured a fortunate rebirth:

<p>៥៦</p> <p>រៀនស្តាប់ទេសនា យកធម៌ជាអា- រម្មណ៍មគ្គផល រៀនសមាទានសីល កុំខ្ជិលសល់វិល់ រៀនសាងកុសល ចាយទ្រព្យជាទាន ។</p> <p>៥៧</p> <p>រៀនកតញ្ញ ឲ្យដឹងគុណគ្រូ មេបាព្រៀងលាន រៀនកាន់អំណត់ រៀនអត់រៀនឃ្លាន រៀនកុំបំពាន បំពោតគេឯង ។</p> <p>៥៨</p> <p>រៀនទោសឲ្យស្គាល់ ដរាបរៀងរាល់ គម្ពីរសម្តែង កាន់បានគ្រប់ហើយ អ្នកអើយកុំស្វែង កុំស្នើបស្សរក្រែង ទៅមុខឡើយណា ។</p> <p>៥៩</p> <p>បើពិតចំពោះ រៀនបានដូច្នោះ កុំគិតសង្កា ចង់បិតឋានព្រហ្ម ឬឋានទេវតា ឬឋានមនុស្សា សឹងសំរិទ្ធិ ។</p>	<p>56</p> <p>Learn to listen to sermons. Take up the Dharma as your meditation object, to find the paths and the fruits. Learn to take the precepts. Don’t be lazy and indolent. Learn to cultivate merit and distribute your wealth as charity.</p> <p>57</p> <p>Learn to be grateful, to know your debts to your teachers, ancestors, and neighbors. Learn to be patient, to be poor, to be hungry. Learn to not abuse or swindle others.</p> <p>58</p> <p>Learn faults so that you are aware of them completely at all times. Uphold all of the scriptures and teachings. Good people, you need not be worried or feel uneasy for the future,</p> <p>59</p> <p>for, if you can learn all this, truly and honestly, you need not entertain doubts— if you wish to reside in the Brahmā realm, or the realm of the heavens, or in the realm of humans, your wish shall be fulfilled.</p>
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Thus **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k** and other deathbed texts teach that after one has contemplated the stages of old age, dying, death, and decay, it is necessary to take up the active practices of the foundations of merit to achieve one's final wishes. The practice of advanced *kammaṭṭhāna* techniques alone is not enough to painlessly pass through the vicissitudes of the deathbed. Such meditation practices must rely on the continued maintenance of the foundations of *dāna*, *sīla*, and *bhāvanā*.

### 8.8 Traditional *Kammaṭṭhāna* for the End of Life

A number of deathbed texts do provide explicit instructions on how to train the mind as the body dies. These instructions are typically drawn from Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation and vary widely in their content and level of specificity. As discussed in Chapter 3, the meditation techniques presented in these texts is not necessarily drawn from the specific tradition of *mūlakammaṭṭhān* manuals analyzed by de Bernon and others; they instead seem to draw from a wider understanding of traditional Khmer-Tai meditation practices. The overall thrust of these passages, however, is to emphasize how *kammaṭṭhāna* techniques, when properly grounded in contemplation of the dying process and the three foundations of merit, can assure a safe passage through the vexing hour of death.

Some poems, such as **aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**, provide only a few details concerning what meditation techniques to engage in on the deathbed:

៣៥	35
ពុទ្ធាសិប្បាសប្រទាន	The Buddha's words save by offering
ធម៌នេះមានជាបង្គោល	this Dharma as your anchor.
ចិត្តកាចជាកំរោល	Cruel and violent thoughts
គួរលះចោលកុំទុកវា ។	should be forsaken; don't hold on to them.
៣៦	36
ទីពឹងពិន័យប្រាណ	The places of refuge for your life
រៀនកម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សនា	are studying <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i> and <i>vipassanā</i> ,
បរិកម្មចាំការនា	meditating on the preparatory exercises [ <i>parikamma</i> ],
ការអវិជ្ជាខ្លាចវាចូល ។	and warding off ignorance, lest it enter.
៣៧	37
សង្រួមកាយឲ្យនឹង	Calm your body and make it steady.
ស្មារតីប្រឹងចិត្តឲ្យមូល	Focus your awareness to concentrate the mind.
ដង្ហើមដកឲ្យស្រួល	Breathe in and out with ease,
ចាំទទួលសិទ្ធិវិវេ ។	waiting to quickly win success.

Other texts, including **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**, offer more thorough

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explanations of how to train the mind. In the following passage, the dying are encouraged to meditate with zeal and diligence, such that they are “glad and eager, / not seeking sleep” as they contemplate the attainments of the heavens (*devānussati*):

<p>៤៣</p> <p>តាមដោយសំណាង ក៏ពូជព្រាងបានសាង ទើបនឹងភ្ញាក់ប្រាណ ចិត្តថ្លាត្រចេះ ស្រឡះវិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តអ្នកស្រែកឃ្លាន ពិតពុំនិទ្រា ។</p> <p>៤៤</p> <p>បើយប់ស្ងួនស្ងាត់ អង្គុយប្រតិបត្តិ ផ្ទះចិត្តការនា នឹកតែធម៌ថ្លៃ ប្រពៃជ្រះថ្លា ចូរខំឧស្សាហ៍ យូរបន្តិចទៅ ។</p> <p>៤៥</p> <p>នឹកថាឥន្ទ្រា អស់ទាំងទេវតា រូបល្អឥតសៅ បានពិមានវត្ត ស្ថិតនៅប្រាលរត្នោត ស្រីស្នាក់គាល់ហោ រាប់សែនសហស្ស ។</p> <p>៤៦</p> <p>នឹកថាមហាចក្រ មានវិទ្ធិសក្តិ សន្តិវត្តកែវថ្លា ស្រីទេពអប្សរ បរិវារញ្ញា ស្រីវត្តឧត្តរា មកជាមហេសី ។</p>	<p>43</p> <p>In accordance with what you cultivated in the past, you may awake with a clean mind, your consciousness clear, glad and eager, not seeking sleep.</p> <p>44</p> <p>In the quiet night, sit practicing, upright in meditation. Recall the Dharma, sublime and still. Be diligent for a good while.</p> <p>45</p> <p>Think how Indra and all the gods, lovely in form, have radiant jeweled palaces, with maidens waiting by the thousands.</p> <p>46</p> <p>Contemplate how a Universal Monarch has rank and power, complete with the seven jewels and lovely apsaras, foremost maidens, jewels among women, as his consorts.</p>
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The text then assures that those who can meditate in this way, including on the recollections of the “Triple Refuge” (in this context, *buddhānussati*, *dhammānussati*, and *saṅghānussati*), shall receive marvelous rewards in the hereafter:

<p>៤៧          ចិត្តនីកភ្នំកអរ          ចិត្តទន់សាទរ          ទូលាយហឫទ័យ          ងងឹយក៏បាត់          អរក្កាត់ពេកក្រៃ          ការនាព្រះត្រៃ          សរណគមន៍ ។</p>	<p>47          Contemplate and enjoy trance,          with your mind soft and joyful,          with your heart expansive.          Drowsiness will disappear          and great bliss will arise.          Meditate on the          Triple Refuge.</p>
<p>៤៨          បើបានធម៌ហើយ          ចិត្តកុំខ្លាចឡើយ          សម្បត្តិឥន្ទព្រហ្ម          សម្បត្តិមហាចក្រ          សិទ្ធិសក្តិឧត្តម          បានហើយឲ្យនាំ          សន្សំតទៅ ។</p>	<p>48          Once you achieve the Dharma,          don't fear at all,          for the treasures of Indra, Brahmā,          and a Universal Monarch          of peerless power,          are already yours          to maintain for the future.</p>
<p>៤៩          យកសង្ឃជាញាតិ          កុំឲ្យចិត្តឃ្នាត          ឲ្យចិត្តនឹងនៅ          រក្សាព្រះត្រៃ          បិដកក្នុងក្រៅ          ហើយលោកប្រដៅ          តាមធម្មក្រឹត្យា ។</p>	<p>49          Take the sangha as your family.          Don't stay far away,          Keep your mind close.          Protect the Triple          Basket, inner and outer,          and let the monks instruct          you in the duties of the Dharma.</p>
<p>៥០          ព្រះធម៌សេដ្ឋី          ព្រោះជាកម្លាំង          ដឹងដោយប្រាជ្ញា          បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះបាន          ដល់ស្ថានសួគ៌ា          ទាន់ព្រះសិរ អារ្យ</p>	<p>50          The Dharma is supreme,          since it is the force          known by wisdom,          from the present life,          up through the heavens,          until Śrī Ārya [Maitreya]</p>

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ក្នុងគ្រាគ្រាយនៃ ។ arrives in the future.

Moreover, those who can maintain the teachings of both the exoteric (“outer,” the standard Pali canon) and the esoteric (“inner,” the Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* texts) Tipiṭaka,<sup>35</sup> as well as receive continuous instruction in the Dharma from monks, are assured of a painless death, free from the binds of Yama’s guards:

៥១ យមបាលទាំង៤ ដែលនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ប្រចាំសព្វថ្ងៃ ចាប់ចិត្តពុំបាន សឹងខានអរក្រៃ អរឲ្យពរថ្ងៃ ដល់អ្នកនោះណា ។	51 Yama’s four guards, who dwell inside your body each and every day, can’t seize your mind and thus rejoice and joyfully offer you a blessing.
៥២ កាលសត្វអស់កម្ម ព្រះយមរាជផ្តាំ ដោយចិត្តកុមារា អស់ចិត្តកុមារី ក្សត្រីក្សត្រា បានរួចទុក្ខា ពីនរកនាយ ។	52 When our karma runs out, Lord Yama exhorts us via Cittakumāra and Cittakumārī, the prince and princess, to escape from the pain of yonder hells:
៥៣ ហើយឲ្យចិត្តក្សត្រី រងរៀនឲ្យបាន បីដកក្នុងកាយ ទើបអស់បាបផង ចំណង់សាយ រួចរូបសប្បាយ ផុតទុក្ខរាល់គ្នា ។	53 “Make you mind calm. Study until you achieve the Triple Basket within, so that you are free of sin, and freed from attachment, to finally reach bliss, beyond all suffering.”
៥៤ ចិត្តអស់កម្ម អរនឹងបណ្តាំ ឱវាទនោះណា	54 If our karma is exhausted we rejoice in these words of exhortation,

<sup>35</sup> On another set of terms for this distinction (*phlūw knui* ផ្លូវក្នុង, “chemin intérieur,” vs. *phlūw krau* ផ្លូវក្រៅ, “chemin extérieur”), see Bizot, *Le Chemin de Lanikā*, 33–34.

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លីលាមកកើត	and joyfully take rebirth in time
ទាន់ព្រះសាសនា	for the dispensation [of Maitreya].
ព្រះយមរាជា	Lord Yama exhorts
ផ្ដាំឲ្យធ្វើបុណ្យ ។	us to make merit.
៥៥	55
ឲ្យចិត្តចងចាំ	Bear this in mind.
កុំភ្លេចបណ្ដាំ	Don't forget these words.
រំលឹកព្រះគុណ	Recollect the holy virtues.
កុំឲ្យចិត្តភ្លាត់	Don't let your mind
វិញ្ញាណពីបុណ្យ	be parted from merit,
ទើបដល់អស់ជន្ម	so that in death
បានស្ថានសួគ៌ ។	you may attain the heavens.
៥៦	56
អស់ហើយនៅនិរត្ត	Life ends, but still
បុណ្យព្រៀងមកស្ថិត	merit endures,
ឲ្យចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា	generating faith.
ពុំស្ដាយជីវិត	You won't regret your life,
ក្រអែបចក្ដីណា	no matter how miserable,
លែងតែអាត្មា	as long as you
បានព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ។	achieve the precious Dharma.

Instead of being bound by Yama and his henchmen, this passage assures the dying that Yama will instead offer his blessing. Moreover, following the lead of Khmer-Tai *kammatthāna* texts, Yama engages in conversation with the two personifications of the mind, “Cittakumāra / and Cittakumārī, / the prince and princess.” It is these two who must travel through the “city of the body” (*nagar kāy*) to seek out the jewel orbs that can lead to “the city of Nibbāna” (*nagar nibbān*). When “the Triple Basket within” (*pitak knuñ kāy*) is achieved, that is, when the *kammatthāna* practices are mastered, then the dying may “finally reach bliss, / beyond all suffering.” According to the text, this is the best way to die, such that with the achievement of Nibbāna, “you won't regret your life, / no matter how miserable.”

In another passage from the same poem, **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**, the dying are enjoined to practice meditation in such a way that the mind becomes “luminescent,” with “each breath seen clear”:

៣១	31
ក្នុងចិត្តព្រះថ្លា	Make your mind as

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ដូចចិត្តសូរិយា	bright as the sun,
ព្រោងព្រាយរស្មី	luminescent.
ដល់ក្ស័យខ្លួនស្មោះ	When you die at last,
ចិត្តផ្កោះទៅខ្ចី	your mind will leap to
កាន់ស្ថានពិសី	reach the fine realm
ពិសេសសួគ៌ា ។	of the heavens.
៣២	32
ឲ្យខំរៀនចិត្ត	Study your thoughts.
ចេះរិះគន់គិត	Learn how to reflect
ចិត្តនៅត្រង់ណា	on every mental state:
ចិត្តបុណ្យចិត្តបាប	good states, bad states,
ចិត្តរាបចិត្តថ្លា	calm states, bright states,
ចិត្តផងខ្លោចផ្សារ	states of woe, and
ចិត្តស្រាតាផល ។	the state of the fruit of stream-entry.
៣៣	33
ចិត្តមួយសោក័ណ	One lovely mental state
បែកបានមួយពាន់	breaks into one thousand
ប្រាំរយសោតសល់	five hundred states—
គឺត្អូកិលេស	such are your defilements.
មិនចេះស្តប់ស្តល់	Never content,
ឲ្យភ្លេចកុសល់	you forget how
សាងបុណ្យសំភារ ។	to make merit.
៣៤	34
អ្នកប្រាជ្ញស្គាល់ចិត្ត	The wise know their mind.
ចូលមកសណ្ឋិត	There they abide
ដូចផ្កាបូទេមា	like a lotus,
ជាឯកចិត្ត	single in mind,
ពុំភ្លេចចេញទ្វារ	never leaving
ប្រាំបួនទៅនា	through the nine doors,
មូលមួយមណ្ឌល ។	always focused.
៣៥	35
ចិត្តជាត្រចង់	With a bright mind,
ត្រចះពេញវង្ស	like the full moon,
អាណាប្រាណយល់	knowing the breath,
វាយោដើរឈ្នុង	each breath seen clear,
ធូតតកង្វល់	relaxed, at ease,

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ចិត្តមូលមកដួល់      the focused mind  
 ទើបបានអរហំ ។      can reach arhatship.

According to this passage, the path to “the fruit of stream-entry” (*srotāphal*) and “arhatship” (*araham*) entails maintaining a bright and focused mind at the end of life. Beyond this, the text provides little in the way of detailed guidance in *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation.

More specific instructions appear in other poems to be recited on the deathbed. One such text, **hai me namo-k/r4** (“O! I pay homage”), only appears in fragmentary and highly corrupted form in a single leporello (**UB011**). Although clearly drawing on the Khmer-Tai *kammaṭṭhāna* tradition of mapping the path to Nibbāna onto specific roads, trees, and other geographic features, most the referents have no parallels in known *kammaṭṭhāna* texts. I present it here only as an example of what a *kammaṭṭhāna* guide to the postmortem landscape might look like.

The text begins by noting that the monks chant **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (which begins “*kusalā...*”) to guide the dying through what awaits them after death (Khmer *jūn ṭamnör puggal*, “to guide the journey of the dying and/or dead individual”). The text then unpacks a fantastic landscape of roads, trees, rivers, and mountains, some of which lead to the hells and others of which lead to “Paramanātha,” presumably a reference to Nibbāna:

រឿបរបស់                      As for his body and belongings,  
 រូបរស់ទៅក៏                      even if he strives to live,  
 មានតែនឹងស្លាប់              they will surely perish,  
 កាយកម្មវេរា                      along with his actions and karma.  
 សូត្រ *kusalā*                      The monks will chant “*kusalā...*”  
 ដោយនាដំណើរ              to guide the way.

សង្ឃសូត្រជូនទៅ              The monks will chant to accompany him  
 ចម្លងខ្សាច់ជ្រៅ                  to cross the deep sand  
 ដល់ផ្លូវសេកសៃ                  to arrive at Sek Sè,  
 ដល់ថ្មសំប៉ាន                      and then arrive at the sampan rock,  
 មានជ្រៃក្រៃអែ                      where there is a *kra'è* fig tree.  
 ផ្លូវទៅអាត្មើយ៍                  The road to the Southeast  
 នរកទេហោង                      goes only to the hells.

ផ្លូវទៅភ្នំសាន                      The road to the Northeast  
 ស្មុគ្រ៍ទេពពិមាន                  leads to the palaces of the heavens,  
 ហៅឋានត្រៃភព                      called the place of the Three Realms,

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ជួបនឹងត្រៃលោក      where one meets the Three Worlds.  
 ផ្លូវបែកប្រសប់      The road divides skillfully,  
 ឯជើងត្រៃភព      and to the north of the Three Realms  
 ហៅស្ទឹងអរុណ      is called the Aruṇa river.

ផ្លូវនន្ទទេវី      The road of Nandadevī,  
 ក្រោមដើមព្រះជ្រៃ      beneath the fig tree,  
 បែកទៅឦសាន      splits off to the Northeast,  
 ស្រះទេពនិម្មិត      with the divinely created lake,  
 ឆ្វេងព្រៃហេមពាន      to the left and the Himavant forest,  
 ចម្ងាយមែនមាន      truly far away,  
 ហុកសិបយោជន៍ហោង      at sixty *yojanas*.

ផ្លូវច្រកកណ្តាល      The middle road leads out  
 ដើរចេញឆ្លងវាល      and takes one across the universe;  
 ឈ្មោះ កាវតា      it is called “Kāvata.”  
 មានភ្នំនោះបី      There are three mountains,  
 ក្រវែក្រមហិមា      astoundingly massive,  
 ផ្លូវស្នូត្រីជ័រ      and the road to the Trāyastriṃsa,  
 យាមាតុសិត      Yāma, and Tusita heavens.

មានផ្លូវមួយចំ      There is one road that leads directly  
 ដើរទៅលើភ្នំ      to the summit of the mountain,  
 ឈ្មោះបរមនាថង      called the realm of the Paramanātha.

Without extant parallels, I am unable to further explicate the details of this text. What is significant about this passage, however, is the way the process of dying is extended beyond the binding by Yama’s guards and the cessation of the three winds. For those with *kammatthāna* training, the texts suggests that they may navigate a complex inner geography in order to successfully reach Nibbāna.

Other *kammatthāna* texts for the deathbed, such as **kāyagatā-k** (“Body-connected foundation of awareness”), provide a more legible geography for how meditation practices may be applied at the end of life to reach Nibbāna. In this text, Ayutthaya (*nagar braḥ sṛī aiyudhyā*), the former capital of Siam, is both the ground from which the tree of our body sprouts and Nibbāna itself. In other words, Ayutthaya is “the city of the body” as well as the “city of Nibbāna.” The tree, whose limbs represent our head, arms, and legs, provides the material basis for “two royal progeny” (*braḥ bīr aṅg*), i.e. Cittakumāra and Cittakumārī:

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១៥	15	
ដើមដុះខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់	A tree grows tall,	
មានជីវិតរស់	vibrant and alive,	
លូតលាស់ត្រឈៃ	verdant and lush,	
មានឫសចាកចុះ	with roots reaching down	
ជាតិរស់ដល់ដី	to thrive in the land	
ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី	known as the Glorious City [of Ayutthaya],	
ដួលព្រះពីរអង្គ ។	which supports two royal progeny,	
១៦	16	
សឹងស្ថិតទុកនៅ	who reside there.	
ភ្លឺផ្ទេកសន្ទៅ	[The tree] blazes with refracted radiance,	
ជាមហាបញ្ចង់	shining bright,	
ប្របផ្លូវនិព្វាន	close to the path to Nibbāna.	
ដម្កល់ដាក់អង្គ	It supports two royal progeny,	
តែងនឹងដម្រង់	always sustaining them.	
នគរកិរម្យ ។	The blissful city	
១៧	17	
មានគុម្ពពីរណា	has a pair of bushes,	
ប្រដាប់ទ្វេហារ	each ornamented.	
ដុះស្និតប្រប់គុំ	Leaves grow near the	
ទាំងគូល្អស្រស់	pair of lovely bushes,	
លូតលាស់ត្រឈៃ	verdant and lush,	
ត្រសាយសុខុម	growing beautifully	
ក្រោមផ្លូវនិព្វាន ។	beneath the path to Nibbāna.	

Certain parts of this geography are linked to specific meditation practices, which are in turn connected to different parts of the body. For instance, the two gates of Ayutthaya refer to the right and left nostrils, associated with Cittakumāra and Cittakumārī, respectively. These gates are the focus of *ānāpānasati* (“awareness of in-and-out breathing”), here defined as “the method / for conscious knowing”:

១៨	18	
មានទ្វារទាំងពីរ	There are two gates	
តាំងជាវិធី	erected as the method	
ដំណឹងវិញ្ញាណ	for conscious knowing,	
បើកចេញបើកចូល	opening for exhalation and inhalation,	
ប្រមូលក្នុងឈាន	concentrated in trance,	

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ក្រោមស្ថាននិព្វាន	beneath the realm of Nibbāna,
នគរព្រះស្រី ។	the Glorious City [of Ayutthaya].
១៩	19
ទ្វារមួយសម្រេច	One gate is known
ហៅទ្វារអ្នកស្តេច	as the gate for the prince
នគរបុរី	of the city.
តាំងជាវិធី	It is erected as the method
សម្រាប់ដែនដី	for the land
ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី	known as the Glorious City
ឲ្យយុធាណា ។	of Ayutthaya [Aiyudhyā].

The poem then goes to explain how to practice the foundations of awareness (*satipatthāna*) within this very tree or city that is our body. Drawing on the technical language of the *kammatthāna* tradition, including the various “marks” (*lakkhaṇa*) and “counterpart signs” (*paṭibhāganimitta*) to be perceived, this passage teaches the dying to cultivate a radiant inner luminosity:

២២	22
វិព្រះ <i>kāyā</i>	The body[-contemplating foundation],
បទដើមនោះណា	the first [foundation of awareness],
សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ	is endowed with marks.
ព្រះ <i>satipatthānaṃ</i>	The foundations of awareness
តាំងជា ៤ ថ្នាក់	comprise four stages.
ចំណាំឲ្យជាក់	Remember them well
ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក់ស្តែង ។	so as to see them clearly.
២៣	23
មានភាគយល់ជាក់	There is a counterpart sign ( <i>[paṭi]bhāga[nimitta]</i> )
តាមដោយលក្ខណៈ	in accordance with the marks,
មាត្រាសម្តែង	the standard taught.
ដូចព្រះអាទិត្យ	It is like the sun,
រឹងប្លន្ទិចវៃញ្ជង	powerful and resplendent,
រស្មីសូរ្យសែង	its shining solar rays
ចាំងសាករ ។	glistening on the ocean.
២៤	24
រស្មីភ្លឺណោះ	Those bright rays
ព្រោងព្រាយព្រាតព្រោះ	blaze and scintillate
ក្នុងចក្ខុទ្វារ	within the ocular door,



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កើតជាស្រវាំង ចាំងសព្វនានា ដូចកែវវេហា ជាក់នឹងខ្លួនឯង ។ ២៥	dazzlingly bright, blinding everywhere, like the jewel of the sky appearing within oneself. 25
<i>kāyā</i> វិទ្ធិន ដឹងស្គាល់សំនួន ស្មារតីតាក់តែង ឲ្យអ្សធន់ចិត្ត នឹងនួនជាក់ស្តែង ក្នុងកាយអង្គឯង ពុំភ្លឹកឡើយណា ។ ២៦	The body[-contemplating foundation of awareness]— know it, recognize it, remember it, and establish it, right here, firmly in mind, stable and clear, within this very body. It is not an out-of-body experience. 26
ព្រះ <i>satipatthānam</i> ទុកជាទីតាំង ដូចដែនសិលា នឹងនៅខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន មាំមួនសោះសា ក្នុងដួងចិត្តា <i>nagarakāyaṃ</i> ។ ២៧	This foundation of awareness is established as a base, like a stone platform, stable and fixed, strong and mighty, within the sphere of the mind, the city of the body. 27
ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក់ជា ដូចសាគរ ជន់ជោរព្រៀបច្រាំង កង្កៀបរលក បោកមកត្រូវខ្លាំង ត្រង់អង្គ <i>kāyaṃ</i> ប្រាកដជាក់ស្តែង ។	See with perfect clarity, just like how the ocean floods fully against the shore, with ripples and waves crashing heavily, directly against the body, manifest and clear.

These stanzas constantly remind the listener that the aim of the practice is to find the marks and counterpart signs “within this very body.” The text insists that the development of these lights within “the sphere of the mind, / the city of the body” takes place consciously and within one’s own being. The technique, in other words, does not point to what is known in Khmer as *bhlik*, a kind of out-of-body state sometimes associated with near-death

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experiences.<sup>36</sup> Instead, the aim is for the dying to “see with perfect clarity” and presence within their own body.

Related to the mindful cultivation of inner light, another emphasis in *kammaṭṭhāna* poems for the end of life is “grasping” (*kān*), “achieving” (*samrec*; *pān*) or even “absorbing” or “clutching in the mouth” (*pīem*) the jewel orbs within.<sup>37</sup> In some texts, three jewel orbs are mentioned. While their names correspond to the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha, they imply the Three Jewels as luminous spheres within the body rather than outside of it. One such text is **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k**, which explains the function of these jewels at the end of life:

<p>៣៧</p> <p>អ្នកណាភ័ព្វមាន គេបានរៀន សូត្ររៀនគ្មានឆ្ងល់ ការនាត្តារដ្ឋវ ទៅតាមកុសល រៀមកែវព្រះធម៌ តម្កល់ក្នុងចិត្ត ។</p> <p>៣៨</p> <p>កាន់កែវទាំងបី ហោះក្លាមភ្លឺក្រៃ រស្មីសក្តិសិទ្ធិ ចំកំពូលត្រដែងកែង ព្រះអភិធម្មដូចចិត្ត កុសលសណ្ឋិត ឋានត្រៃត្រីដ្ឋវ ។</p> <p>៣៩</p> <p>អស់ជនប្រុសស្រី ស្តាប់ធម៌នេះចុះ ឲ្យដុះប្រាជ្ញា ខំរៀនឲ្យដឹង គ្រាន់ពីងអាត្មា មុខជាមរណា យូរឆាប់មិនខាន ។</p>	<p>37</p> <p>Those who are fortunate have learned their lessons by reciting and studying them beyond doubt, meditating to clear the path that follows merit, clutching the jewel of the Dharma and lifting it up within their mind.</p> <p>38</p> <p>Having grasped the Three Jewels, they soar off in a flash of light, with powerful radiance, to reach the pinnacle of the four-faced tower of the Abhidhamma just as they vowed, with merit inhabiting them all the way to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven.</p> <p>39</p> <p>All you good people! Listen to this Dharma to sprout your wisdom. Strive to learn and master it as your own refuge at the time of death, which may be near or far, but is always inevitable.</p>
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<sup>36</sup> For a contemporary account and analysis of *bhlik* (spelled *bhlyk* in this case) in a Cambodian funerary context, see Davis, *Deathpower: Buddhism's Ritual Imagination in Cambodia*, 39–41.

<sup>37</sup> កាន់; សម្រេច; បាន; រៀម

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In other words, for those skilled in *kammaṭṭhāna* practice who have already clutched and lifted up the jewel orbs, in the moment of death they are able to grasp “the Three Jewels” and “soar off in a flash of light” to attain their wish of a heavenly rebirth. This passage exhorts the dying to “strive to learn and master” these jewel orbs within as a secure refuge for the difficult and unpredictable “time of death.”

Other *kammaṭṭhāna* poems for the deathbed describe the jewel orbs in a different way, enumerating four such luminous spheres instead of three. According to **kāyagatā-k**, these four jewels are named *maṇijoti*, *maṇiratna*, *maṇipaduma*, and *vaidūrya* (spelled *bidūrya* in Khmer). Each has its own characteristic spectrum of colors and degree of luminosity, and are described as being bestowed upon living beings by our mother, our father, the *Mahāpaṭṭhāna* (the seventh book of the Abhidhamma), and the Thrice-Omniscient Lord (*trāisarvajña*, i.e. the Buddha), respectively. The first jewel is explained as follows:

<p>៤២ រីកែវទាំង ៤ ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន យើងនេះឯងណា ឈ្មោះកែវមណីជោតិ រស្មីជ្រះថ្លា ខាងឯមាតា ប្រទានឲ្យខ្ញុំ។</p>	<p>42 There are four jewels that reside within our very own bodies. One is called the <i>maṇijoti</i> jewel, with clear rays. Our mother bestowed it upon us.</p>
<p>៤៣ ឈ្មោះកែវបរមគ្គ នោះឯងលោកចាត់ ជាទីសុខុម ឈ្មោះកែវទឹកដប់ ព្រះទានឲ្យខ្ញុំ ទុកជាសុខុម កែវព្រះមាតា។</p>	<p>43 [The <i>maṇijoti</i>] is [also] called the ultimate (<i>paramattha</i>) jewel. The master established it as the place of bliss. It is called the pure jewel that was given to us as a place of bliss, the jewel of our mother.</p>
<p>៤៤ ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ កែវជាបច្ច័យ ដូចផ្កាយតារា រលើបរលង់ មានចុងជ្រះថ្លា ហាក់ដូចទង់ផ្កា កាលបូណ៌ព្រឹកឯង។</p>	<p>44 The virtues of this precious jewel, a jewel that is a condition (<i>paccaya</i>) [for Nibbāna] are like the stars, blazing bright, whose tails shine clear, just like flower stems in the fullness of the morning.</p>

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The third jewel, in turn, is articulated like this:

<p>៤៩          កែវមណីបទុម          ប្រមូលផ្គុំផ្គុំ          ស្រស់ស្រែចចិញ្ចែង          រស្មីក្រហម          អមចុងដូចផែនដី          ពណ៌ច្រើនកន្លែង          ប្រាំពីរប្រការ ។          ៥០</p>	<p>49          The <i>maṇipaduma</i> jewel          gathers together          lovely and resplendent          red rays,          accompanied by smoke-like tails          of many colors,          up to seven.          50</p>
<p>លោកប្រទានមក          ឲ្យយើងខ្ញុំរក          កែវព្រះប្រាជ្ញា          ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន          ពឹងពន្យុបា          ខាងឯព្រះមហា          បដ្ឋានឲ្យមក ។          ៥១</p>	<p>The Master bestowed it          on us for us to find it.          This jewel is the wisdom          that resides within our self,          hidden within our body.          The <i>Mahāpatthāna</i>          gave it to us,          51</p>
<p>ឲ្យអស់យើងខ្ញុំ          ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ          ជាពុទ្ធពន្ធក          ដូចព្រះទិព្វទី          តែងនាំទៅមក          កែវថ្លៃពន្ធក          ជំនិះជាយាន ។          ៥២</p>	<p>to all of us,          to bow down to in veneration,          as it is the sprout of a buddha.          It is like the Lord in the heavens,          who always leads us back and forth.          It is a precious jewel, a sprout,          a vehicle in which to ride.          52</p>
<p>កែវជាវិធី          នាំទៅដល់ទី          ឆក់កែវនិព្វាន          ឈ្មោះកែវបទុម          ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទាន          ឲ្យទុកជាយាន          ជាស្ពានស្នូត ។</p>	<p>This jewel is the method          that leads us to arrive at          the jeweled city of Nibbāna.          It is called the [<i>maṇi-</i>]<i>paduma</i> jewel,          which was kindly granted to us          as a vehicle,          as a bridge to the heavens.</p>

Each of the four jewels, in other words, resides within our bodies and provide a sure “vehicle” to reach “the jeweled city of Nibbāna” (*nagar kèṅ nibbān*). Each jewel, moreover, is worthy of

reverence since “it is the sprout of a buddha,” i.e. a bodhisatta or buddha-to-be. The implication for those who are on their deathbed is that the practice of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation allows for the attainment of these jewel orbs within and therefore a swift passage to the heavens, Nibbāna, or even buddhahood.

### **8.9 Conclusion**

The seven steps of this deathbed contemplation program—from the transformations of old age to the inevitable force of death, from the painful process of dying to the fearsome fate of corpses, and from the foundations of merit to the jewel orbs of *kammaṭṭhāna* practices—present one component of the work of the dying. Even if not all of these texts were originally composed for deathbed practices, their presence in leporellos for end-of-life chanting suggests how to interpret them as chants to guide the elderly and the sick as they prepare for death. The vernacular poems studied in this chapter reveal a wide range of approaches to contemplating the end of life, both passive and active. The crux of the obligation they articulate for the deathbed is this: reflect on the process of aging, dying, and death as it occurs and as it is about to occur, and then skillfully apply wholesome practices and meditative techniques to navigate the thorny passage that opens in the moment of passing away.

While none of the individual poems discussed in this chapter constitute a complete program, as a collective they illustrate a largely sequential, if not entirely systematic, set of deathbed practices. Some of these practices, such as the contemplations of old age and death and the admonitions to practice *dāna*, *sīla*, and *bhāvanā*, have many parallels across the Buddhist tradition. They are thus translocal expressions of Buddhist ideas that happen to find currency in Cambodia as well. Other aspects, such as the particular way the process of death is described—complete with Yama’s guards and the three winds—as well as the specific *kammaṭṭhāna* techniques recommend for the dying, exhibit a distinctive, local approach to the end of life. Many of these more local characteristics emerge from a Khmer-Tai milieu, though until more work is done on deathbed practices in Laos and Thailand, it is difficult to determine how much of what is uncovered in this chapter is peculiar to Khmer expressions of Buddhism.

The burden of contemplating the process of dying as it occurs is only one aspect of the work of the dying addressed in texts from the leporello corpus, however. Another key aspect concerns the prayers of absolution and aspiration to be made in response to the end of life. A few passages in the texts explored in this chapter made reference to wishes to be free of certain forms of suffering and to achieve particular boons in the next life, but the work of forming and articulating such prayers is largely separate from the seven-step contemplative program. They are primarily found in a different group of texts in the leporellos and form the principal concern of the following chapter.

## Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

### 9.1 Introduction

“I want to be Ānanda,” Sokheng<sup>1</sup> declared, her eyes aglow. “Wherever the Buddha goes, I want to be there too. To wait on him, to care for his body.” Her friend Ratana, the proprietor of the Buddhist bookstore where we were chatting, interjected with a smile, “That’s because you desire to serve, to be an attendant. When people learn about the eighty chief disciples (*aggasāvaka*) they sometimes develop a clear faith (*graḥ thlā*)<sup>2</sup> to be reborn as one of them in the future.”

“What about you, sister?” Sokheng asked her older companion, straightening her back as she spoke. “I wish to be the Lord’s companion,” Ratana replied. “You mean the Consort of the Omniscient (*kansai sarbejñ*)?”<sup>3</sup> I suggested, never one to miss a chance to deploy this old epithet. “Yes, the Consort of the Omniscient, Princess Bimbā,” she confirmed.<sup>4</sup> “When I was young, I remember my parents taking me to the monastery for the first time. I was struck by the beauty of the paintings in the *vihāra*, especially the scene of the Lord taking leave of Princess Bimbā. I loved his perfect beauty, the 32 Marks of a Great Man (*mahāpurusalakkhaṇa*). And I loved her face and lovely form. When the Lord left the palace, he gazed on that beautiful face one last time. From that moment I knew I wanted to be her.”

I asked if such aspirations were normal in contemporary Cambodian society. “No, not at all!” exclaimed Sokheng. “Only among those of us who study the Dharma.” “So it is due to your karmic affinity (*upanissaya*)?”<sup>5</sup> She confirmed, “Yes, our aspiration arises because of our karmic affinity for a particular disciple or even for the Buddha.

The question of aspiration, particularly the aspiration to become a buddha or chief

<sup>1</sup> “Sokheng” and “Ratana” are pseudonyms given to protect their identity.

<sup>2</sup> ជ្រះថ្លា, i.e. Pali *pasāda* or *saddhā*

<sup>3</sup> កន្សែងស្រី, cf. Old Khmer *tai* or *kantai*, “woman; wife”

<sup>4</sup> In Khmer-Tai contexts, Princess Yaśodharā, the wife of Siddhārtha Gautama, is typically referred to as “Princess Bimbā” instead (*nān bimbā* នាងពិម្ពា).

<sup>5</sup> *Upanissaya*, and the related term *nissaya*, are frequently invoked in Cambodia to describe bonds of karmic connection. The former (Khmer *upanissāy* ឧបនិស្ស័យ) generally refers to one’s affinity for making progress on the Buddhist path specifically, whereas the latter (Khmer *nissāy* និស្ស័យ) may refer to one’s affinity for Buddhism but also for a particular place, skill, teacher, partner, family member, or friend. *Nissāy*, from the Pali sense of “dependence,” can sometimes take a distinctly interpersonal take on karmic connections, whereas *upanissāy* remain focused on one’s innate aptitude for the Dharma. Khmer texts assert that the Buddha preached to beings with the proper *upanissāy* to grasp his teachings and reach Nibbāna, i.e. to those who have cultivated for many lifetimes already and have made the aspiration to encounter a buddha. On the other hand, monks who are ready to disrobe and return to lay life may declare that their “karmic affinity [for monkhood] is exhausted” (*as’ nissāy* អស់និស្ស័យ). For a different analysis of *nissāy*, see Erik W. Davis, “Imaginary Conversations with Mothers about Death,” in *At the Edge of the Forest: Essays on Cambodia, History, and Narrative in Honor of David Chandler*, ed. Anne Ruth Hansen and Judy Ledgerwood (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 234–236.

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disciple in the future, had vexed me, for while prominent in Cambodian leporellos and stone inscriptions, I rarely heard contemporary discussions on it. Theravada Buddhists are typically described as ultimately seeking Nibbāna, either in the near future or in the distant time of the buddha-to-come, namely Metteyya or Śrī Ārya Maitreya.<sup>6</sup> In both cases, the goal is to become liberated from saṃsāra as an arhat.

Sokheng's and Ratana's aspirations, even if expressed amidst the jocular banter of good friends, are much more specific. Sokheng admires not so much the memory of Ānanda but his physical presence next to the Buddha. Ratana is moved by the outer beauty of the Bodhisatta and his consort. Both paths lead to Nibbāna and both of them, as I later confirmed, see their attraction to the physical dimensions of these beings as merely the first step to the final stage of wisdom. Nevertheless, the embodied dimensions of their aspirations pose striking parallels with those expressed in leporello texts. Contrary to my assumption that the upper echelons of the Buddhist path are primarily conceived as abstract and mental, they and other Cambodian Buddhists over the past centuries locate their aspirations within their own bodies.

This chapter works through a number of texts, including those recited at end-of-life rituals, that take a personalized, embodied approach to both absolution from the unwholesome and aspiration to the highest good. Two Khmer verbs are particularly relevant here: *lā* and *sūm*.<sup>7</sup> The first word means “to take leave of,” but by extension connotes “to be absolved of.” The second term usually means “to request,” but can also take on the sense of “to aspire.”<sup>8</sup> The corresponding nouns derived from these verbs are *lpā* (“absolution”) and *saṃṇūm* (“aspiration”).<sup>9</sup> The former includes dimensions of *khamā dos* (“to repent faults,” cf. Pali *√kham*, “to endure; to forgive,” and Pali *dosa*, “fault”), *smā lā dos* (“to repent and be absolved of faults,” cf. Sanskrit *√kṣam*/Pali *√kham*), and *lā pāp* (“to take leave of sins” and, in some circumstances, “to absolve to not to re-commit confessed sins”).<sup>10</sup> *Lpā* also encompasses some of the absolutional aspects of *adhittān* (cf. Pali *adhittāna*, “resolution” or “vow”). *Samṇūm*, by contrast, embraces the aspirational aspects of *adhittān*, namely *phsañ saccā* or *saccā praṇidhān* (“to make a solemn aspiration,” cf. Pali *sacca*/Sanskrit *satya*, “truth,” and Sanskrit *praṇidhāna*, “aspiration”) and *prāthnā* (“to wish, to pray, to aspire,” cf. Sanskrit *prārthanā*, “wish, entreaty,

<sup>6</sup> Asanga Tilakaratne, *Theravada Buddhism: The View of the Elders* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 45.

<sup>7</sup> លា; សូម

<sup>8</sup> *Sūm* សូម is often distinguished from the verb *sum* សុំ, “to ask for; to request” as the former can function not only as a verb but also as a polite pre-verbal particle with the supplicatory sense of “please...” or with an optative sense of “may....” In my translations of Khmer texts in this study, I often render the construction *khñum sūm* ខ្ញុំសូម as “I humbly...” to express the supplicatory sense of this particle, especially when no precise request is specified, as in *khñum sūm gorab* ខ្ញុំសូមគោរព, “I humbly pay homage” or perhaps “May I please offer my respect.” The *sūm* សូម particle, of course, is derivative of the verbal senses of *sūm* and *sum*.

<sup>9</sup> ល្បា; សំណូម. See also Pou's discussion of these terms in Saveros Pou, “Les inscriptions modernes d'Angkor Vat,” in *Choix d'articles de khmerologie / Selected Papers on Khmerology* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), 89–91.

<sup>10</sup> ខមាទោស; ស្មាលាទោស; លាបាប

Pali *patthāna*”).<sup>11</sup>

*Lpā* and *samṇūm* are Cambodian expressions of two aspects of the work of the dying: letting go of the sins and sorrows of this life, and praying for a meritorious and blissful future. In this regard, they are not different from deathbed practices of repentance and prayer found throughout the Buddhist world; to repent for one’s faults or to pray for a better future are not at all distinctly Cambodian (or even necessarily Buddhist) acts. They have parallels, for instance, with the practices of *pāpadeśanā* (confession of sins) and *puṇyānumodanā* (rejoicing in merits) common to many Mahayana liturgies. As with these Mahayana formulations, *lpā* and *samṇūm* are not limited to dying. Indeed, many of the texts I examine in this chapter may be recited on other occasions besides the end of life. Given the context of their appearance in leprellos chanted for the sick and the dying, however, in this chapter I emphasize reading these texts in the deathbed context.

*Lpā* and *samṇūm* in Khmer texts reveal a particular interest in the body as the locus of karmic cause and effect. *Lpā* or absolution, in this sense, connotes release not only from one’s sins but also from the consequences of those sins upon the body: pain, illness, and disfigurement. *Samṇūm* or aspiration, correspondingly, connotes prayer not only for the accumulation of merit (Pali *puññasambhāra*) but also for the physical manifestations of that merit: bliss, well-being, and beauty. We can also conceive of *samṇūm* and *lpā* as acquisitional (seeking to gain something) and apotropaic (seeking to avoid something) prayers, respectively. In Khmer terms, aspiration may be signaled positively by the phrase “I pray to have...” (*sūm oy mān... / sūm mān...*)<sup>12</sup> and absolution negatively by “I pray to not have” or “I pray to be free from...” (*sūm kuṇ oy mān... / sūm kuṇ mān... / sūm lā... / sūm cies phut ambī... / sūm ruoc phut ambī... / sūm chlañ phut ambī... / sūm raṅtoḥ...*, etc.).<sup>13</sup> Many Khmer texts, including inscriptions, colophons, and end-of-life chants, express such prayers with respect to both the mental and physical qualities of the petitioner.

The Khmer poems that engage in the logic of apotropaic and acquisitional prayers, or absolutions and aspirations, do so in a way that inextricably binds these two polarities together. Absolutions require aspirations and vice versa; apotropaic and acquisitional prayers depend on one another for support. When recited in an end-of-life context, these poems take on a heightened significance. In wishing to be free from illness, the dying may also aspire to a future existence of health and well-being. In praying to be free from confusion and forgetfulness, those on their deathbed may hope for superb wisdom and memory in their next life. In letting go or taking leave of the sufferings of ordinary human existence, some may make a vow to achieve the bliss, radiance, and compassion of a buddha.

This chapter argues that deathbed absolutions and aspirations, including those focused on the

<sup>11</sup> អធិដ្ឋាន; ផ្សំសត្វ; សត្វប្រណិព័ត្តិ; ព្រាហ្មណ៍. On the importance of *patthāna* in Theravada ritual practice, see Lily de Silva, “Paritta: The Buddhist Ceremony for Peace and Prosperity in Sri Lanka,” *Spolia Zeylanica: Bulletin of the National Museums of Sri Lanka* 36, no. 1 (1981): 132–135.

<sup>12</sup> សូមឲ្យមាន; សូមមាន

<sup>13</sup> សូមកុំឲ្យមាន; សូមកុំមាន; សូមលា; សូមចៀសផុតអំពី; សូមរួចផុតអំពី; សូមឆ្លងផុតអំពី; សូមរំលោភ



body, form a second aspect of the work of the dying alongside the contemplations and practices of the previous chapter. Unlike the seven-step program examined in that chapter—which focused on what the dying should reflect on, observe, and cultivate in the present and the immediate future—the absolutions and aspirations explored here extend from the deep past to the distant future. In some cases, chants of absolution function as a kind of life review for the dying, allowing them to reflect on, repent for, and take leave of all the sins they have acquired over a lifetime. In other cases, chants of aspiration enumerate the physical and mental qualities the dying hope to achieve in the future, usually on the model of the characteristics of a chief disciple, a bodhisatta, or a buddha. The work of the dying, therefore, requires attention beyond the present moment of pain and the immanent dissolution of the body. It also demands that those on their deathbed imagine the course of life that brought them to this moment and the sweep of future existences that will hopefully lead them to their highest goals. Moreover, the work of absolution and aspiration are firmly wedded to one another; Khmer deathbed texts invite the dying to concurrently let go of the past and reach out to the future, to seek release from suffering and win the highest bliss.

Each of the sections that follow take up a different set of texts in connection to absolution and aspiration. In addition to bilingual Pali-Khmer prose and Khmer verse chants in the leporello corpus, I draw on colophons from Siamese leporellos, Pali and Tai (in this case, Lao) texts for repentance; excerpts from a Khmer verse novel; and stone inscriptions from late-fourteenth- through early-eighteenth-century Siam and Cambodia. These sources, while they expand my inquiry into absolutions and aspirations beyond end-of-life contexts, support and contextualize the primary claims I make about the work of the dying as reflected in Khmer deathbed chants.

“From *ānisaṃsa* to *adhittāna*” (9.2) traces the connections between passages in leporello texts that extol the benefits (*ānisaṃsa*) of certain practices and those that articulate prayers (*adhittāna*) for absolution and aspiration. I emphasize that the *ānisaṃsa* passages that give examples of what people hope to achieve or be free from provide the necessary context for understanding what they might seek to absolve or aspire to at the end of life. “From repentance to absolution” (9.3) puts Khmer, Lao, and Pali chants of absolution in conversation with their canonical antecedents. I aim to show how Khmer-Tai texts for absolution emerge from Pali notions of repentance but also go beyond them by seeking to eliminate evil karma entirely. “From arhatship to buddhahood” (9.4) considers the range of goals aspired to in leporello texts and colophons, including various boons, the attainment of arhatship, birth in the time of Maitreya, the pursuit of the bodhisatta path, and the achievement of buddhahood. It then considers these aspirations in light of leporello colophons and stone inscriptions that provide evidence of a longstanding emphasis on the attainment of buddhahood among Khmer-Tai Buddhists. “From separate to combined absolutions and aspirations” (9.5) studies a number of leporello texts and colophons that incorporate prayers to achieve certain soteriological goals as well as prayers to be absolved from various sins and miseries. The absolution portions of these combined prayers reveal a distinct emphasis on the body as a site for negotiation in end-of-life contexts. Finally, “From chanted poem to stone inscriptions” (9.6) examines **padum thvāy phkā** «**khñuṃ phguṃ**

**amrām ṭap'»-br** (“Lotus flower offering, beginning with ‘I unite my ten fingers’”), which I argue is the oldest Khmer poem in the leporello corpus. I show how this text combines absolutions and aspirations, including for buddhahood, as well as how it inspired two inscriptions carved on the walls of Angkor Wat that date from 1684 and 1701 CE. In addition to revealing the former inscription to be the earliest physically surviving Khmer poem, I show how the combination of absolutions and aspirations proved a popular formula for Khmer Buddhists from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, both in deathbed chants and in texts for memorializing the dead.

## 9.2 From *Ānisaṃsa* to *Adhiṭṭhāna*

Peter Skilling, in a forthcoming survey of *ānisaṃsa* texts in both Thai and Mahāyāna contexts, suggests that *adhiṭṭhāna* functions alongside *ānisaṃsa* as “the elements of the mentality of Buddhist merit making.”<sup>14</sup> Following this line of thinking, I suggest that *ānisaṃsa* texts can illuminate the structure and function of absolution and aspiration texts, both of which can be considered expressions of *adhiṭṭhāna*. The Pali term *adhiṭṭhāna* (cf. Sanskrit *adhiṣṭhāna*) has the root meaning of “basis” or “support.” However, in both Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist texts the sense of the term is expanded to include the meanings of “resolution,” “vow,” “ownership,” and, particularly in connection with *dhāraṇī* practices, “magical transformation.”<sup>15</sup> Related terms in Pali include *paṭṭhāna*, *paṇidhāna*, and *paṇidhi*.<sup>16</sup>

The senses I am concerned with here are “resolution” and “vow.” These English words speak to the internal (“resolution”) and external (“vow”) dimensions of *adhiṭṭhāna*. As one of the ten *pāramīs* in Pali, *adhiṭṭhāna* typically refers to an internal sense of resolve and determination to engage in meritorious deeds or actions for the welfare of other beings. In various textual traditions, this *pāramī* is associated with the *Temiya-jātaka* and the *Nemi-jātaka*.<sup>17</sup> But there are also external expressions of such inner resolutions, which we might conceive of as “vows.” This sense of *adhiṭṭhāna* connotes the prayers one might utter quietly or in a full, public voice to assert one’s commitment to perform a certain act of merit and therefore receive various boons. This sense of *adhiṭṭhāna* is linked closely to *saccādhīṭṭhāna*, the determination (*adhiṭṭhāna*) to fulfill a vow (in this case, *sacca*). “The mentality of Buddhist merit making,” as Skilling puts it, is the need for an act of merit to be accompanied by an oral or written statement that describes the merits performed, enumerates to whom they should be dedicated, and presents the vow or prayer of the one who performs such merits to be awarded the appropriate *ānisaṃsa*, that is to receive certain benefits (*saṃṇām*) or to be freed from certain infelicities (*lpā*).

<sup>14</sup> Skilling, “*Ānisaṃsa*: Merit, Motivation and Material Culture.”

<sup>15</sup> On the sense of *adhiṭṭhāna/adhiṣṭhāna* as a “foundation” and its importance in Theravada and Mahayana maps of the Buddhist path, see Daniel M. Stuart, “A Less Traveled Path: Meditation and Textual Practice in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna* (Sūtra)” (University of California, Berkeley, 2012), 165–167.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Skilling, “Some Literary References in ‘La Grande Inscription d’Angkor’ (IMA 38),” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 79.

<sup>17</sup> Appleton and Shaw, *The Ten Great Birth Stories of the Buddha: The Mahānipāta of the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, vol. 1, 5.

The vow or prayer functions of *adhittāna*, whether framed as absolutions, aspirations, or both, are thus predicated on the benefits or *ānisaṃsa* of particular deeds. As Skilling and others elucidate, *ānisaṃsa* texts articulate the benefits of particular actions, including reciting certain texts, copying scriptures, fashioning buddha images, and many forms of material donation to the Sangha. People perform such meritorious actions on the basis that the karmic benefits of such deeds will accrue to them and may be subsequently dedicated (*uddisa*) to others, particularly to one’s parents, teachers, and sick, dying, or deceased relatives, or to oneself. The external *adhittāna* is necessary in this system to provide the intentional and ideational structure for directing the *ānisaṃsa* of a given act.

9.2.1 *Ānisaṃsa and Adhittāna in Leporello Texts*

To understand the function of absolution and aspiration in the leporello corpus, therefore, we must first examine the kinds of *ānisaṃsa* these texts present. In other words, before we grasp how these texts articulate particular boons, we have to know what boon they draw from and why. Backing up even further, the ideology of *ānisaṃsa* and *adhittāna* depends on the foundational teachings of merit (*puñña*) and demerit or sin (*pāpa*). Simply put, certain actions are said to result in merit for the actor, and others in sin. Many texts in the leporello corpus frame the karmic consequences of actions in such terms. For example, the opening stanzas of **sarasōr prīthabī-k** (“In praise of the earth”) first articulate the virtues (*guṇ*) of the Earth and the benefits that accrue to those who can repay their debts (also *guṇ*) to her, including rebirth in the heavens and eventual awakening:

<p>១ នេះនឹងស្រដី សរសើរប្រើថពី ពិសេសពន្រាយ អ្នកតែងធានា សត្វផងសម្បាយ បក្សីទាំងឡាយ អម្រឹតឈើផង ។</p>	<p>1 This shall express praise for the Earth, most wonderful and resplendent, who always supports all living beings, including birds, beasts, and trees.</p>
<p>២ បារមីក្រៃក្រាស់ ទំហំធំណាស់ ឥតឯរំលង ពីរសែនយោជន៍ហើយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនផង ជាម្តាយសត្វហោង ធ្ងន់ឥតប្រមាណ ។</p>	<p>2 This thick mass of perfections, whose size is immense and cannot be overcome, measures two hundred and eighty thousand <i>yojanas</i>, and is the mother of all beings, with a mass beyond measure.</p>
<p>៣</p>	<p>3</p>

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អ្នកតែងឆ្កើងជួល គេសង់មណ្ឌល គេនៅជាស្ថាន ឥតឯយកទោស កំរើកខ្លួនប្រាណ ទោសនោះប៉ុន្មាន ក្តីដោយគេធ្វើ។	She always supports what people build as cities to live in as their homes, without becoming angry and moving her body, no matter how many faults that people may incur.
៤	4
គេជីករណ្តៅ គេសង់ផ្ទះនៅ ហើយគេដើរលើ ហើយគេធ្វើស្រែ គេភ្ជួរប្រសើ គេដុះនោមលើ ឥតឯខឹង	People dig holes. They build homes to dwell in, and they walk upon her. They cultivate rice, and plow the fields. They shit and piss on her, but she does not grow angry.
៥	5
អ្នកណាសងគុណ អ្នកនោះបានបុណ្យ ទៅកើតត្រៃត្រីជ័រ វិមានឆ្លាក់ឆ្មៅ រចនាស្រេចស្រឡី អ្នកនោះរំលង ជាតិទៅបានត្រាស់។	Whoever should repay their debts [to her], that person gains merit, and shall be reborn in Trāyastriṃśa, in a beautifully adorned palace, decorated with spires. That person shall cross over birth to reach awakening.

The text then goes on to describe the opposite case: the consequences for those who are mean and do not repay their debts to the Earth. They, in turn, shall suffer physical torments, being cast into the hells:

៦	6
រឺងអ្នកកាច ប្រមាទកំណាច នេះឯងត្រៃត្រាស់ វាហិនវាហៃ ក្ស័ណក្ស័យទ្រព្យអស់ បានបាបនោះត្រាស់ នរកធំជ្រៅ។	As for being a mean person, careless and cruel, this is a grievous [sin], ruinous indeed, leading to the loss of all wealth; such a sin is grave, leading to hells vast and deep.

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៧	7
ព្រះបន្ទូលថ្លែង បីដូចអំបែង ចាក់ទឹកកម្ដៅ វាវែងជ្រួតជ្រាប ស្ងួតទឹកនោះទៅ អំបែងនោះក្ដៅ ចំណេរនៅឆ្ងាយ ។	The Lord expressed it thus: It is like a roasting pot into which water is placed and heated, being thoroughly soaked. Once the water completely evaporates, the pot remains hot for a long time to come.
៨	8
នេះនឹងឧបមា ភ្លើងគឺវេរា បាបឯងសម្បាយ ទឹកនោះគឺទ្រព្យ របស់ទាំងឡាយ រីអំបែងធ្លាយ គឺអង្គឯងហោង ។	In this simile, fire is like all of our vengeful sins. The water is like all of our possessions. As for the broken pot, it is like our body.

This passage, like many other texts, makes a clear distinction between the felicitous *ānisaṃsa* promised for the completion of meritorious actions and the miserable consequences faced by those who commit sins.

Other Khmer verse texts focus on a more specific description of the *ānisaṃsa* they promise for particular acts. In many cases, benefits articulated by these *ānisaṃsas* can be understood as apotropaic and acquisitional. In this context, apotropaic means leading to absolution from particular sins or karmic consequences of sins, including pain and illness, and acquisitional means fulfilling aspirations for various goals. One text that includes an *ānisaṃsa* passage focused on apotropaic or absolutional benefits is **atthadisabuddhamaṅgal-br** (“Eight-direction maṅḍala of the Buddha”). The closing stanzas of the text articulate these benefits as freedom from pain, suffering, fear, and affliction. In this case, the benefits accrue to those who can memorize the contents of this particular text:

៧	7
អ្នកណាបានដឹងយល់ ពុទ្ធមង្គលចាំឲ្យបាន រក្សាទុកក្នុងប្រាណ គ្រាន់សិក្សាថ្វាយបង្គំ ។	Anyone who knows and understands this <i>Buddhamaṅgala</i> , and can recall it, maintain it in their body so as to study and pay respect to it,
៨	8
គម្ពីរព្រះសម្ដែងថា អ្នកឯណាមួយខិតខំ	the scriptures say that such a person who strives

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ប្រណិប័តន៍នីកប្រណម្យ	to pay homage and bow in honor of it
ឲ្យគួរសមជាប្រក្រតី ។	respectfully on a regular basis
៩	9
ទុក្ខសោកវេទនាជាតិ	shall no longer have any pain,
ការឧត្តរាភាពសាវ័ន្តិក	sadness, illness, or bad omens.
ភាវ័យភ័យភ័យភ័យ	Fear, distress, and danger
ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបៀន ។	shall no longer torment him.
១០	10
សួស្តីជ័យជំនះ	He shall have prosperity and victory,
មានតេជៈរក្សាប្រាណ	with powers protecting his body,
ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបៀន	such that none can afflict it,
រៀងរាល់ព្រះនិព្វាន ។	all the way until Nibbāna.

Other texts emphasize the acquisitional or aspirational benefits that are generated by the person who can memorize and recite them. One such text is **akkharā 33-br** (“The thirty-three consonants”). The final stanzas promise boons for those who “strive hard to learn, remember, / and appropriately respect” this entire text and the teachings it contains. The benefits described focus not on freedom from physical pain and danger but rather the achievement of a beautiful and divine body as a king:

៤១	41
អក្ខរាសាមសិបបី	As for these thirty-three letters,
អ្នកកិត្តិយ៍មានយោបំ	a venerable monk with discretion
យោបល់គិតសន្សំ	and reflection should cultivate them
លើកបង្គំគុណទៅហោង ។	and pay respect to their virtues.
៤២	42
ប្រសិនអ្នកនាងណា	Should any man or woman
បានឧស្សាហ៍រៀនចាំចង	strive hard to learn, remember,
គោរពតាមគន្លង	and appropriately respect
ធម៌នេះហោងហោមហាថ្ងៃ ។	this Dharma, it is most precious,
៤៣	43
ថ្លៃដ៏ប្រាប់ពុំបានទេ	precious beyond description.
ក្នុងគម្ពីរលោកស្រី	In the scriptures, the Master says
បើបានសូត្រសព្វថ្ងៃ	that if one recites it daily,
ជាប្រក្រតីកុំឲ្យដាច់ ។	continuously without a lapse,
៤៤	44
អ្នកនោះទៅឯភ្នែក	then in the future one shall be

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ល្អឯងឯកស្រស់ស្រួលស្រេច	superbly beautiful and filled with ease,
នឹងបានកើតជាស្តេច	born as a mighty king
មានអំណាចមួយរយជាតិ។	for one hundred lives,
៤៥	45
កបទ្រង់កបកាយ	and endowed with a body
មាត់សោតណាទិព្វពុំឃ្លាត	and speech that are divine, not straying
រូបល្អសស្អាងស្អាត	from a lovely and attractive form
គ្រប់ទាំងជាតិមួយរយណា។	for each of those one hundred lifetimes.

Other texts, such as **sarasör brah pād sṭām-k** (“In praise of the Buddha’s right foot”) include *ānisamsa* passages that incorporate both apotropaic and acquisitional boons. While earlier portions of this text were examined in Chapter 7 in the context of Khmer verse translations of Tai-language texts, the final stanzas that include the *ānisamsa* passage are not found in the Siamese original. They seem to have been added by the poet who rendered the text into Khmer. For this reason, it is not surprising that the benefits described therein echo the absolutions and aspirations articulated in the Khmer poem analyzed at the end of the present chapter, namely **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**. The apotropaic benefits described include freedom from the suffering of the four lower realms of the hells, hungry ghosts, animals, and titans. The acquisitional benefits include those focused on the body, such as a “complete” figure, “more beautiful than all of humankind,” as well as those promising certain virtues, ranks, powers, and skills. The final boon promised is that of Nibbāna:

៣៤	34
អ្នកណាឧស្សាហ៍	Whoever strives
រៀនលាយលក្ខណា	to study the marks
ព្រះពុទ្ធបាទបាន	on the Buddha’s feet successfully,
ចេះចាំជាក់ជឿង	who clearly memorizes them
ទាត់ទៀងមែនមាន	flawlessly and truly,
ព្យាយាមប្រុងប្រាណ	and who endeavors with his body
សូត្រសព្វវេលា។	to chant them at all times,
៣៥	35
អ្នកនោះស្មើបាន	that person is like one who gets to be
ទាន់ព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ	in time for the Lord of Wisdom
កាលគង់ធរមាន	as if [the Buddha were] still alive;
នឹងបានលះលាក់	he gets to leave behind
ចៀសចាកចតុរា-	and depart from the four
បាយបាបវេរា	states of woe, rancor,

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កម្មកាចអាក្រក់ ។	and evil karma;
៣៦	36
បានមួយសែនក័ល្យ	he, for one hundred thousand eons,
នឹងមិនដែលស្គាល់	shall never know
ទុក្ខទោសលាមក	suffering or vile faults,
ពុំរងវេទនា	never enduring the torments
នៅឋាននរក	of the hells,
សឹងសេពសោយសុខ	instead always enjoying bliss
សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។	and enjoying his attainments and merit;
៣៧	37
បរិបូណ៌រូបរាង	his figure shall be complete;
សាយសព្វសព្វាង្គ	in his entire body
សារពើល្អលន់	every spot will be beautiful,
ល្អរលើសមនុស្សផង	more beautiful than all of humankind,
ហ្មត់ហ្មងត្រូទន់	stainless and supple,
ប្រទេសគួគន់	with [body] parts most agreeable,
គួរគិតស្នេហ៍ស្នាល ។	most charming and lovable;
៣៨	38
ចិត្តសោតដឹងបុណ្យ	as for his heart, it shall know merit,
ដឹងបាបដឹងគុណ	know sin, know virtue,
ដឹងគួរដឹងការ	know duty, know work,
ដឹងការកេរ្តិ៍កោះ	know how to protect one's inheritance,
ដឹងដោះដឹងសារ	know how to make excuses,
សឹងសីលាចារ្យ	and, replete with virtuous conduct,
ដឹងអត្ថបាលី ។	know the meaning of the scriptures;
៣៩	39
កើតកបអម្បរ	[he'll be] born into a lineage
អម្បាលត្រកូល	in which the entire clan
ត្រកាលជាតិ	is of lofty birth,
ជាតិខត្តិយេស្សរ	in the ruling warrior caste,
វិសេសធិបតី	uniquely in control,
ធិបតីន្ទបុទ្រី	lords among rulers, mighty
បូទានុភាព ។	and mightily powerful;
៤០	40
សព្វសឹកពៃរី	[before him,] all rancorous enemies
ទាំងទសទិសទី	in the ten directions



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ប្រុងប្រឹងប្រាណាប្រាប	shall prepare their bodies in subjugation,
ក៏ន្តទាំងកិតក៏យ	out of fear and fright,
ក្រែងក្រែក្រញក្រាប	cowardly crouching down,
រុញរារៀងរាប	fearfully submitting to
រុងរឿងម៉ឺងម៉ល់ ។	his resplendent majesty;
៤១	41
ប្រុសប្រាជ្ញឆ្លៀវឆ្លាត	[and he shall be] wise with a sharp mind,
ចេះសព្វសិល្បសាស្ត្រ	skilled in all magical arts
សារពើតតត្វល់	completely without doubt,
លង់លុះនិព្វាន	until he reaches Nibbāna—
សឹងបានដោយផល	all this is achieved by the fruit
សូត្រសរសើរដល់	of chanting the praise of
ព្រះពុទ្ធបាទហោង ។	the Buddha’s feet.

The benefits described in the texts above are glamorous, bold, even audacious. This is very much in keeping with the overall tenor of *ānisamsa* texts in Khmer-Tai Buddhism, which promise extravagant and extraordinary benefits for all kinds of meritorious actions, from the mundane to the superhuman. Moreover, they describe the kinds of benefits that form the necessary context for the absolutions and aspirations discussed in this chapter. *Lpā* and *saṃṇūm* texts in the leporello corpus articulate prayers to achieve the kinds of benefits articulated in these *ānisamsa* texts. They include petitions to be freed from sins and the suffering they cause as well as petitions to attain the highest goals of the Buddhist path, such as supreme human and heavenly births, arhatship, and even buddhahood.

As the remainder of this chapter illustrates, articulations of various absolutions and aspirations abound in end-of-life texts in the leporellos. Far rarer are descriptions of why one should engage in *adhittāna* at the end of life. Most leporello texts do not frame *adhittāna* explicitly as a deathbed practice. However, the paratextual context of chants in the leporellos compels us to imagine them as being recited to those preparing for death. One of the deathbed chants explored in the previous chapter, **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘The body is impermanent!’”), provides some reasons for why aspirations, in particular, are so important on the deathbed. The relevant passage begins by explaining how to orient one’s mind in preparation for death. In addition to encouraging the development of “faith, / kindness, and compassion,” these stanzas note that one should aspire (*prāthnā*) solely for Nibbāna, since “aspiration for this world / only leads to suffering and sorrow.” Moreover, one’s resolution or intention needs “to be perfectly clear,” lest one “descend from this realm” to states of woe:

១៦	16
រៀនចេះជ្រះថ្លា	Learn how to have clear faith,

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មេត្តាករុណា	kindness, and compassion;
អាសូរសព្វសត្វ	pity all creatures.
កុំឲ្យល្អក់ល្អៀង	Don't be biased
ចិត្តិថ្មីមប្រមាត់	in your heart, liver, or gallbladder,
កំបាយកំបាត់	strewing sins
អកុសលព័ត្រាណា។	all around your body.
១៧	17
រាល់រូបនេះណា	All bodies
បានតែប្រាថ្នា	have only to aspire
រកផ្លូវនិព្វាន	to find the road to Nibbāna.
ប្រាថ្នាក្នុងលោក	Aspiration for this world
ទុក្ខសោកគង់មាន	only leads to suffering and sorrow.
គួរគិតសន្និដ្ឋាន	You should reflect on your intention
ជៀងជាក់គ្រប់គ្នា។	to be perfectly clear.
១៨	18
កើតជាមនុស្សហើយ	Born as a human being,
កុំគិតកន្តើយ	don't be heedless
ភ្លេចសីលភ្លេចទាន	and neglect giving or taking the precepts.
តែភ្លេចបាត់សោះ	If you neglect them, all is lost,
នឹងចុះចាកស្ថាន	and you'll descend from this realm
កើតទៅតិរច្ឆាន	to be born as an animal,
គ្មានផ្លូវកសាង។	where there is no path to cultivate.
១៩	19
រូបសត្វទាំងអស់	The bodies of all beings
បានកើតជាមនុស្ស	who are born as humans
ហៅមានសំណាង	are known as fortunate.
គួរគិតត្រេកអរ	You should rejoice
ហើយខំសំអាង	and strive to cultivate,
ឲ្យចិត្តភ្លឺស្វាង	so that your mind is clear
សាងទៅមុខទៀត។	and can cultivate for the future.

The text continues to admonish the dying to make the Three Jewels their secure refuge, and to maintain the foundational practices of generosity, ethics, and mental cultivation. In terms of how to orient the mind on the deathbed, the text exhorts its audience to “let go of craving and want” for the things of this world, and instead “crave only the Dharma,” i.e. aspire to realize the teachings and achieve Nibbāna:

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<p>២០ ទីពឹងព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌មាំមួន គួរកាន់មារយាទ ប្រតិបត្តិព្រះសង្ឃ ឧបដ្ឋាកជាញាតិ កុំឲ្យឃ្លៀងឃ្លាត ផ្លូវសីលនិងទាន។</p>	<p>20 The refuge of the Buddha and the Dharma is firm and strong. Take care of your behavior and have respect for the Sangha. Serve them as your kin. Don't separate yourself from the path of precepts and giving.</p>
<p>២១ សម្បត្តិនៅអាយ កាន់ចិត្តជិនណាយ លែងលោភចង់បាន លោកលុះតែធម៌ ជាខ្លឹមប្រធាន នឹងនាំយោងប្រាណ ទៅស្ថានប្រពៃ។</p>	<p>21 The treasures of this world— maintain your mind to disdain them. Let go of craving and want. Crave only the Dharma, the supreme essence, that will carry your being to excellent realms.</p>
<p>២២ មានទ្រព្យរបស់ ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យអស់ កុំទុកធ្វើអ្វី សន្សំធ្វើទាន ឲ្យមាននិស្ស័យ ជាផលបង្កើយ កម្រៃទៅមុខ។</p>	<p>22 Whatever riches you have, make merit with them completely. Don't save them for something else. Save them for making gifts in order to have karmic affinity, as the fruit and condition for future profit.</p>

The strength of one's vows or resolutions (*adhittāna*) on the deathbed is thus framed as essential to ensuring the achievement of the various *ānisaṃsa*. Such prayers serve to orient the mind toward the highest goals of absolution and aspiration and away from the entanglements of the worldly realm.

A number of Khmer verse chants in the leporellos combine *ānisaṃsa* and *adhittāna* together by explicating apotropaic or acquisitional benefits of certain practices alongside vows to achieve those benefits. A relatively straightforward example appears in the closing stanzas of **namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k** (“Homage to the ten buddhas of the future”). After a short *ānisaṃsa* describing the apotropaic benefits of reciting and practicing in accordance with the text in question, a simple aspiration for Nibbāna concludes the poem:

<p>៣២ វិជនណា។</p>	<p>32 As for any person</p>
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មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា with a heart of clear faith,  
 ពេកក្រៃកន្លង excellent and surpassing,  
 បានថ្វាយបង្គំ who bows in homage  
 ទូទៅពុទ្ធធវរ to all of these  
 ១០ អង្គនេះហោ ten Buddhas  
 ដូចបានរៀបរាប់ ។ as enumerated above,  
 ៣៣ 33  
 ជននោះបានផល that person will receive fruits  
 ច្រើនឥតធ្វើមដល់ in great quantity, beyond compare,  
 ប្រសើរគួរគាប់ wonderful and excellent,  
 មិនធ្លាក់នរក and shall not fall into the hells  
 អស់សែននៃកប្ប for one hundred thousand eons,  
 ជាមនុស្សមានក័ត្ត as a fortunate human  
 វាសនាខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ។ with incredible luck.  
 ៣៤ 34  
 ខ្ញុំសូមមស្ការ I humbly pay homage  
 ព្រះសាស្តាចារ្យ to the Teachers,  
 ទាំង ១០ ព្រះអង្គ all ten Buddhas.  
 សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបាន May I achieve  
 ឋានធិឧត្តម្ម the highest realm  
 បានសុខយូរលង់ of lasting bliss:  
 គីរិញ្ញានហោ ។ Nibbāna.

A more complex example is that of **jāy kūn go-m** (“Victory blessings of the calves”). This blessing text articulates a detailed set of benefits that focus on rebirth in the lofty and luxurious realms of the heavens, complete with ornate palaces, celestial music, and female servants. The central thrust of this passage is that those so blessed will receive “their wishes according to their hearts” (*tām citt paṃṇaṅ prāthmā*):

១៩ 19  
 ទោះទើបនឹងរៀន Even if you have newly studied  
 អស់ទាំងកម្មដ្ឋានរក្សា all of the *kammaṭṭhāna* and protect  
 សីលធម៌គ្រប់គ្នា all manner of virtues,  
 រង់ចាំព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី ។ awaiting the new dispensation,  
 ២០ 20  
 នឹងមានជន្មា you shall win long life,  
 មួយម៉ឺនឆ្នាំណាប្រាកដ reaching ten thousand years true,

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ត្បិតអ្នកកំបាំងបាត់ ដង្ហែព្រះអង្គមកហោង ។ ២១ មកលើកព្រះសាសនា ក្សេមក្សាន្តគង់រាល់យើងហោង សម្បូររាស្ត្រផង សឹងនាំទៅកាន់សួគ៌ា ។ ២២ គង់លើប្រាសាទ កែវភ្លឺព្រោងរចនា វិមានថ្លៃថ្លា ពីព្រេងប្រសើរសក្តិសម ។ ២៣ នឹងស្តាប់ភ្លេងធំ សូរសព្ទរង្វើយល្ងង់ ក្នុងស្ថាននោះឯង រនាំងរាំងននមាសម័យ ។ ២៤ សឹងតែពេជ្ររតន៍ គ្រប់គ្រឿងនូវមុដប្រពៃ កញ្ញាស្រីថ្លៃ ល្អៗ ប្រសើរពេកពន់ ។ ២៥ គង់គាល់បម្រើ គ្រប់អស់សារពើផងក្តី ពុំព្រួយស្រងឹ តាមចិត្តបំណងប្រាថ្នា ។	since hidden people will parade the Lord forth 21 and raise up the holy religion, lasting peace and bliss for us all, plentitude to the people, who are led to reach the heavens, 22 sit in palaces, adorned with sparkling jewels, in precious floating mansions, from times of old most fitting and excellent, 23 where they shall listen to majestic music, with sounds resounding and melodious, in that place bedecked with screens and curtains fashioned of gold, 24 arrayed with diamonds and gems, complete with ornaments and splendid crowns, with elegant maidens, lovely and beautiful beyond compare, 25 who shall serve them in all manner of things, so that they are not afraid to express their wishes according to their hearts.
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After the enumeration of these benefits, the text continues with a clearly stated aspiration to achieve rebirth in such heavenly abodes after death:

២៦ យើងចង់ទៅឋាន តុសិតវិមានថ្លៃថ្លា បានដូចចិត្តា គ្រប់អស់ទាំងគ្នាយើងហោង ។	26 We pray to go to the realm of Tusita, with its lovely floating mansions, in accordance with the wish held by all of us together.
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២៧	27	
សូមអស់ទេវតា	May all of the gods	
នៅឆកាមាសោឡសហោង	throughout the six sensual heavens and sixteen Brahma realms,	
ទាំងឥន្ទព្រហ្មធីន៍	including Indra and Brahma,	
ចុះមកឲ្យសាធុការ ។	come to offer their benediction	
២៨	28	
ឲ្យសុខក្សេមក្សាន	for perfect well-being	
បរិបូណ៌ត្បិទបានត្រេកអរ	and ease, since we have joyfully	
ទទួលព្រះពរ	received the blessing	
ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រែចំហោង ។	of the Lord, the Master.	

The *ānisaṃsa* portion of the text is thus followed by a publicly announced *adhittāna* prayer for the same acquisitional benefits. In this case, the aspiration is articulated in first-person plural terms, rather than the more typical singular expressions of *adhittāna*. The effect is much the same, however: one person or a group of people makes an external petition to achieve their wished-for boons.

A few texts connect *ānisaṃsa* passages with both apotropaic and acquisitional benefits. One such poem is **caṅkūm kēv-k** (“The jewel canine relics”). Toward the end of this composition, the poet announces the benefits that accrue to those who “copy, study, / and chant” this text. These benefits includes the “triple bliss,” more commonly expressed as the three attainments (*sampatti*), viz. those of humans, the heavens, and Nibbāna:

៣៤	34	
បើអ្នកឯណាដែរ	Should anyone,	
ទោះប្រុសទោះស្រី	male or female,	
ចម្លងរៀនយក	copy, study,	
សូត្រថ្វាយបង្គំ	and chant this in offering to	
ព្រះពន្ធពន្ធក	the sprouts of the buddhas,	
ខ្ពស់ដូចពពក	lofty as the clouds,	
អ្នកនោះឯងណា ។	that person shall	
៣៥	35	
បានសុខទាំងបី	achieve the triple bliss:	
សុខក្នុងលោកិយ	bliss in the world,	
សុខក្នុងទេវតា	bliss among the deities,	
សុខក្នុងនិព្វាន	and the bliss in Nibbāna,	

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បានពុំមរណា      They shall achieve an undying  
 សុខយ័នយូរយារ      bliss, long-standing  
 ជាអស្ចារ្យខ្លាំង ។      and marvelously mighty.

This *ānisaṃsa* passage is then followed by a series of absolutions and aspirations by the poet. In these closing stanzas, he prays to be free from greed, anger, and delusion and to attain a human birth in the time of the future buddha, Maitreya, so as to study under him and achieve arhatship:

៣៦	36
ខ្ញុំសូមសរសើរ	I humbly praise
រៀបរាប់ពោលពី	and enumerate
ព្រះធាតុ <i>buddham</i>	the relics of the Buddha, including
ព្រះចង្កូមកែវកប	the crystal canines, which
គង់កោះកំបាំង	reside on islands or are hidden away,
គ្រប់គ្រឿងទោះទាំង	along with other objects,
បរិក្ខារទិវខាត់	including all of his requisites.
៣៧	37
អរឱនកាយក្រោម	I rejoice and bend my body low,
ប្រណិប័តន៍ប្រណម្យ	with palms joined in reverence
ដោមដាក់ថ្វាយថ្វាត់	and raised up in offering.
សូមបរិបូណ៌បាន	May I completely achieve
សុខសួគ៌សម្បត្តិ	the bliss and treasure of the heavens.
លះលោកកុំគិត	May I abandon greed and think no more
<i>doso moho</i> ។	of anger and delusion.
៣៨	38
សូមកើតទៅទៀត	May I be reborn
ត្រង់ត្រូវជួបជាតិ	in exactly the right life
តើបពាន <i>buddho</i>	to encounter the Buddha.
សូមស្តែងស្តាប់ធម៌	May I listen to him preach the Dharma
ចូលចិត្តដឹងដល់	and understand it such that I achieve
មោក្ខមគ្គផល	the paths of liberation and their fruits.

*niṭṭhitam* ចប់រោង ។ *Finished*—the end.

The above examples demonstrate the ways in which *ānisaṃsa* descriptions of benefits form the basis of prayers for absolution and aspiration. What the Khmer poems in the leporello corpus seek to escape from or attain is thus grounded in the moral world framed by *ānisaṃsa*, in which those who performed meritorious deeds are promised abundant and exceptional results.

### 9.2.2 *Ānisaṃsa and Adhiṭṭhāna in Hun's ānisaṃs ākāravattā-br*

Perhaps the most extensive example of this intertwining of *anisaṃsa* and *adhiṭṭhāna* in the leporello corpus is **ānisaṃs ākāravattā-br** (“Benefits of the *Ākāravattā*”). This 62-stanza verse text, of which only a single witness survives,<sup>18</sup> presents a verse translation and reworking of prose versions of the *ānisaṃsa* of the *Ākāravattā* (**Ākāravattā A/B/C/D/E-NP**) by an otherwise unknown Hun from Kañ Mās province (today in Kampong Cham), likely in the nineteenth century. The core of Hun’s text is an explication of the benefits of hearing, reciting, and copying the *Ākāravattā*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the various forms of the *Ākāravattā* are closely associated, to the extent of sometimes being synonymous, with Cambodian deathbed rituals. The recitation of this Pali text is the most important *buddhānusmṛti* practice at the end of life, one that completes the seven-step contemplation program addressed in the previous chapter. Hun’s verse composition, drawing on the heritage of existing Pali, bilingual Pali-Khmer, and monolingual Khmer prose *ānisaṃsa* texts for the *Ākāravattā*, celebrates and justifies the recitation of this *buddhānusmṛti* chant for end-of-life rituals.

A few other leporellos, namely **UB017**, **UB028**, and **UB037**, also contain *ānisaṃsa* texts describing the benefits of the *Ākāravattā*.<sup>19</sup> The longest of these is **UB037**, which includes material not found elsewhere. **UB017** and **UB028**, on the other hand, are shorter and seem to draw more directly from the extended Pali text<sup>20</sup> as well as the bilingual Pali-Khmer version of the *Ākāravattā* represented in a few palm-leaf manuscripts, such as FEMC b.251. Hun’s composition, in turn, draws on a similar text that is represented by the witnesses of **UB028** and FEMC b.251. A comparison of the opening portions of the *ānisaṃsa* in each of these three sources reveals the way that both Hun’s poem and the short prose version of **UB028** draw on the longer explication of FEMC b.251.

The version in **UB028** is the most concise of the three. It begins as follows:

<sup>18</sup> **UB015** 86a–91b

<sup>19</sup> **UB017** 18b; **UB028** 31a–31b; **UB037** 24a–26a

<sup>20</sup> The only extended version in monolingual Pali that has been edited at present is a Siamese manuscript edited and translated by Jaini. See his “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand.” Because there are significant variants between the manuscript studied by Jaini and the bilingual Pali-Khmer prose texts extant in Cambodia, including FEMC b.251, I have largely excluded it from my analysis here, providing citations to its readings only in the footnotes. It is clear that the transmission of FEMC b.251 is faulty when compared with the manuscript edited by Jaini, but Khmer authors such as Hun are clearly drawing from a vernacular version rather than one in monolingual Pali.



Diplomatic transcription:

នេះនឹងសំដែងផល្លា អានិសង្សនៃអ្នកចំរើន ព្រះកោវដានេះ ។ ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលនឹងព្រះមហា សារបុត្តថែវថា  
ហៃសារបុត្តឆ្លើយ រឺព្រះកោវដានេះ អង្គីព្រះត្រ័យបីដក់ឡើយ សឹងកើតដោយនៅប្រាជ្ញា តថាគតឯងជាប្រធាន  
ដើម្បីនឹងបំបាត់ កាយកម្ម វិចីកម្ម មនោកម្ម ព្វដ៏លង្វែកសាសនានឹងបំបាត់ទោសផង ព្វដ៏អាឱតកាល អាណាគត  
កាល បច្ចុប្បន្នកាល ដោយនៅប្រាជ្ញាតថាគតហោង ហៃសារបុត្តឆ្លើយ នរុបុត្តលឯណាមួយ បានមកសំដែង អា  
ចំព្រះកោវដានេះហើយ និងរន្តោះរង្គោះ អស់បាបកម្មរិវាដទាំងឡាយនោះ សឹងរន្តោះអស់ហោង ។

Standardized edition:

នេះនឹងសំដែងផល្លានិសង្សនៃអ្នកចំរើនព្រះកោវដានេះ ។ ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលនឹងព្រះមហាសារបុត្តត្រូវថា ហៃសារបុ  
ត្តឆ្លើយ រឺព្រះកោវដានេះ [ឥត]អង្គីព្រះត្រៃបិដកឡើយ សឹងកើតដោយនូវប្រាជ្ញាតថាគតឯងជាប្រធាន ដើម្បីនឹង  
បំបាត់កាយកម្ម វិចីកម្ម មនោកម្ម ព្វដ៏លង្វែកសាសនានឹងបំបាត់ទោសផង ព្វដ៏អតីតកាល អនាគតកាល បច្ចុប្បន្ន  
កាល ដោយនូវប្រាជ្ញាតថាគតហោង ហៃសារបុត្តឆ្លើយ នរុបុត្តលឯណាមួយ បានមកសំដែង អាចំព្រះកោវដានេះ  
ហើយ នឹងរន្តោះរង្គោះអស់បាបកម្មរវាដទាំងឡាយនោះ សឹងរន្តោះអស់ហោង ។

Translation:

What follows is the exposition of the fruits and benefits of the person who recites this holy Kauvaṭā. The Lord declared to the great elder Sāriputta, “O Sāriputta! As for the holy Kauvaṭā, it is not in fact in the Tipiṭaka, but arose by means of the foremost wisdom of the Tathāgata in order to eliminate physical karma, verbal karma, and mental karma. In the interval between dispensations of buddhas it will eliminate all faults, [including those] in the past, the future, and in the present, by means of the wisdom of the Tathāgata. O Sāriputta! Any individual who expresses the meaning of this holy Kauvaṭā will liberate and loosen all of that sinful karma and rancor such that it is completely liberated.”

When compared to the version transmitted in EFEO-FEMC b.251, it becomes apparent how **UB028**'s version simplifies much of the phrasing and structure of its possible source tradition. Much of the context for why and when the Buddha composed the *Ākāravattā* is omitted in the leporello version. In the palm-leaf version, the explanation of past, present, and future karma is also considerably longer and more convoluted. At certain points, however, such as the assertion that the *Ākāravattā* is not in the Tipiṭaka but rather emerges from the wisdom of the Buddha himself, the two texts converge almost completely:

Diplomatic transcription:

នេះនឹងសំគេង ផលអនិសង្ស នៃអ្នកតបានចំរើនវិញ ។ ព្រះបន្ទូលថាហ្សែសារបុត្តថែវហើយ តថាគតបានត្រាស្ស  
ប្រាជ្ញាសារព័ជ្ជញ្ញាណ ប្រសើរដ្ឋឥតគ្រូ នោះនាកាលថ្ងៃឯនាមិញ កាលថ្ងៃនោះហោង ១ នាឥស្សរេវេត្តាអំពុល

Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

នូវព្រហ្ម ស្រម្មសម្មណ្ណព្រហ្មផងសឹងមោក្ខជ្យា បង្កម្ពតថ្នាក់គ្នា ករពួកអការវត្តារស្ថាននេះឱ្យ ជាពុំនាកពុំនួន ជាគ្រូ  
នៃលោកផោង ។ ហើយកេងឱ្យជាផ្លូវឱ្យខ្សែ សារពេហទុក្ខ ក្បែរនៃ សត្តផោងនាអន្ទោល ទៅមកពួកសង្សារ នេះ  
តរហូលរះចូលនិព្វានហោង ។ ១ រីអការវត្តារស្ថាន ទ្វារបូង នោះមិញអង្គី ក្នុងព្រះត្រៃបិដកលើ សិលតកើត ក្រលាប  
ត្បាញនូវ ប្រាជ្ញានៃព្រះអង្គ ឯងហេតមាន ប្រាជ្ញាប្រធាន តើម្មបិបាត កាយកម្ម នៃតថាគត្តមានពួកលង្វែក  
សាស្ត្រានេះហោង ១ និស្សម្បិ វចិកាយុត្តិ មនោកាយុត្តិ សឹងតែប្រាជ្ញាឯងអាចឱ្យយល់នូវកាយ កម្មនៃតថាគត្តហើយ  
កប់បម្បាត្តទោស្យផង ពួតអត្តិតកាល កាលគឺកន្លែងទៅហើយ នោះហោង ។<sup>21</sup>

Translation:

This is the exposition of the fruits and benefits of the person who recites [this text]. The Lord declared to the great elder Sāriputta, “O Sāriputta! When the Tathāgata awakened to the wisdom of omniscient knowledge, supremely excellent, on that very day, all of the devas, brahmās, śramaṇas, and brahmins came to pay homage to and bow down to him. The Tathāgata then raised up this *Akāravattārasūt* to be the highest refuge of all the worlds. The Tathāgata composed it as the path that leads to the destruction of all forms of suffering and danger for living beings in the back-and-forth (*andol*) of [birth and death] in saṃsāra, until they finally enter Nibbāna. As for the *Akāravattārasūt* as a whole, it does not exist within the Tripiṭaka at all, but rather emerged from the the wisdom of the Tathāgata himself, whose wisdom is supreme, in order to eliminate physical karma with regards to the Tathāgata during the interval between dispensations of buddhas, as well as verbal and mental karma, which wisdom grasps as physical karma as well, with regards to the Tathāgata, eliminating all faults in the past, that is, in times gone by.<sup>22</sup>

In the parallel passage in Hun’s **ānisans ākāravattā-br**, the overall structure is simplified to read more like **UB028**’s leporello version. However, a number of details correspond to the

<sup>21</sup> FEMC b.251 (Collection of the National Museum, Phnom Penh), folio khi verso, line 2 – folio khī recto, line 3.  
<sup>22</sup> By contrast, Jaini’s edition of the manuscript reads as follows: *yañca Sāriputta rattim tathāgato anuttaram sammāsambodhim abhisampanno yañca rattim sadevakassa samārakassa sabrahmakassa samaṇabrāhmaṇiṇiṃ paj<j>āya sadevamanussāya tñāṃ leṇaṃ parāyanaṃ sabbathā pi nivāraṇe samatthaṃ imaṃ Akāravattārasuttaṃ anussarāmi sabbadukkhahayagāminiyā magge saṃsāre saṃsarivā yāva anup<p>ādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā ethantare sabbam tathāgatassa kāyakammaṃ nānapubbaṅgamaṃ nānā(e)na pavattitaṃ tathā vacīkammaṃ pi manokammaṃ pi. atītaṃsena ap[p]aṭīhataṃ tathāgatassa kāyakammaṃ nānadassanaṃ tathā vacīkammaṃ manokammāni paccuppannaṃse ap[p]aṭīhataṃ tathāgatassa kāyakammaṃ nānadassanaṃ tathā vacīkammamanokammāni. anāgatamse ap[p]aṭīhataṃ tathāgatassa kāyakammaṃ nānadassanaṃ tathā vacīkammamanokammāni (Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” 206). He translates this as: “Oh Sāriputta, since the night when the Tathāgata attained Supreme Awakening, and the night when he became the refuge, the cave, and the support of the world consisting of gods, Māras, Brahmās, and human beings with the recluses and Brahmans, I recall this *Ākāravattārasutta* to be capable of preventing [rebirth in hells]. This is because, from the time he was wandering in saṃsāra practising the path that leads to the destruction of all suffering, until he enters the Nibbāna which leaves no substratum of life behind, all the physical, vocal, and mental activities of the Tathāgata are preceded by knowledge, are conducted by knowledge. The physical, vocal and mental activities of the Tathāgata, as well as his knowledge and vision, are not obstructed by either the past, present or future [kammās]. [By virtue of which this sutta is capable of removing all evils]” (Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” 217).*

palm-leaf version, including how the Buddha’s “wisdom is supreme” (*prajñā pradhān* in both texts) and is comparable to a ship (*smö yān* in Hun’s text; *smöh pān jīḥ lōh brahmayān hoṇ* in the palm-leaf version).<sup>23</sup> While it is not clear what precise texts Hun drew from in his composition, it is clear that his poem attempts to make the benefits of the *Ākāravattā* fit into the mold of a literary composition. Stanzas 10–16 reflect these sensibilities in turning the somewhat disjointed prose passages cited above into a coherent poem:

<p>១០ ខ្ញុំនឹងគិតចាត់ចែង បារសម្តែងតាមពុទ្ធជីកា ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ទេសនា អ្នកដែលបានសូត្រចំរើន ។</p>	<p>10 I intend to arrange and express the Buddha’s words, when the Lord preached about the one who recites</p>
<p>១១ អាការវត្តារនេះ ខំរើរគិតក្រវើន ផលានិសង្សច្រើន បំបាត់ទុក្ខទោសទាំងឡាយ ។</p>	<p>11 this <i>Ākāravatā</i> and strives to ponder it, to whom benefits [<i>phalānisaṅs</i>] will accrue to destroy all pain and sin.</p>
<p>១២ ព្រះអង្គមានពុទ្ធជីកា នឹងព្រះសារីបុត្រឆោមធាយ ដ្បិតធម៌នេះអ្នកអាយ ឈ្មោះអាការវត្តារ ។</p>	<p>12 The Lord Buddha said to the illustrious Sāriputta, “Since this Dharma, dear friend, called <i>Ākāravatā</i>,</p>
<p>១៣ សូត្រនេះមិនគឺត្រៃ បិដកថ្ងៃទេអ្នកណា សឹងកើតពិប្រាជ្ញា អញ្ជាតថាគតនេះឯង ។</p>	<p>13 this discourse is not in the precious Three Baskets, dear friend, it emerged from the wisdom of the Thus Come One,</p>
<p>១៤ ហេតុប្រាជ្ញាប្រធាន ទុកស្មើយានឥតកោតក្រែង ជ្រៅខ្ពស់ធំចិញ្ចែង តែងបំបាត់ទុក្ខសោករោគ ។</p>	<p>14 as this wisdom is supreme, likened to a fearless ship, deep, lofty, great, and shining, ever destroying pain, sorrow, and illness.</p>
<p>១៥ ក្នុងសាសនាអញនេះ អ្នកណារិះបានបរិភោគ ផ្អែមត្រៃថ្លៃក្នុងលោក</p>	<p>15 In my teaching, whoever reflects on and consumes the sweetest taste, unique</p>

<sup>23</sup> FEMC b.251, folio khī verso, line 4: ស្មើហបាន ជិះលើហព្រហ្មយានហោង

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ជាវិសេសផ្តាច់កម្មពៀវ។	in this world, cuts off evil karma
១៦	16
អតីតអនាគត	from both past and future,
បានរំលត់ក៏យរោគា	extinguishing fear and disease,
បច្ចុប្បន្នឥតវេរា	with a present freed from rancor,
សេពសោយសុខគ្រប់ប្រការ។	with all forms of well-being enjoyed.”

This passage, like its prose antecedents explored above, makes a bold case for the *ānisaṃsa* of the *Ākāravattā*: it can “destroy all pain and sin” and “[cut] off evil karma / from both past and future.” The benefits, therefore, are to negate or absolve karma and its effects. Moreover, as Hun’s text declares, the *Ākāravattā* can even counteract the sins of the present life, “forever / vanquishing unwholesome acts” and guarding those who recite it “at all times without fail”:

១៧	17
ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលទៀត	The Lord further declared
ឥតបង្ហើតក្នុងកាយា	without any avarice in his being,
ថាហៃធម្មសេនា	“O solider in the Dharma!
[បា]សារីបុត្តត្ថេរអើយ	O dear Elder Sāriputta!
១៨	18
[នរ]អ្នកឯណា	As for anyone who
បានឧស្សាហ៍ធម៌នេះហើយ	can be zealous with this Dharma,
ល្អណាស់ណាអ្នកអើយ	this is excellent, O friend!
អ្នកនោះពុំត្រូវទោសបាប។	That person won’t be subject to fault and sin.
១៩	19
ស្មើបានជិះលើយាន	It is as if he rides a vehicle
ដើរជាស្ពានជាដរាប	or walks a bridge, forever
ឈ្នះអកុសសបាប	vanquishing unwholesome acts
បានបរិបូណ៌ដូចប្រាថ្នា។	and achieving abundance as wished.
២០	20
ទោះបានសូត្រតែម្តង	Even if he only chants it once,
ទេវតាផងមករក្សា	the deities will all protect him,
[ជិតព័ទ្ធជុំខ្សែរាវ]	nobly guarding him
ជាប្រក្រតីពុំដែលដាច់។	at all times without fail.
២១	21
កំចាត់អស់ចង្រៃ	All inauspicious things will be averted.
ជួយសព្វថ្ងៃខំបីបាច់	They will watch over him every day,
រក្សាដូចញាតិសាច់	as if kept safe by relatives,

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ថែទាំមើលសត្រូវផង ។ taking care to watch for enemies.

A later passage in the text goes even further, declaring that even those who have violated the five precepts shall be freed from such evil karma. These stanzas, like the previous, draw on the prose versions of the *ānisaṃsa* of the *Ākāravattā*.<sup>24</sup> However, for the third through fifth precepts, they include commentaries from Hun, not found in any source text, that suggest that one should not engage in such precept-breaking, even if the recitation of the *Ākāravattā* absolves such unwholesome karma:

៣៦	36
ទោះទោស[ចតុរា-] បាយបាបណាទៅឯមុខ ចៀសចាកចេញពីទុក្ខ ទៅសេពសុខសោយសួគ៌ា	Even if one’s sins would lead to the four unfortunate destinies in the future, one will be freed from suffering and go to experience bliss in the heavens.
៣៧	37
បើអ្នកឯណាមួយ មានចិត្តព្រួយប្រោះកម្មពៀរ ធ្វើខុសខាតសទ្ធា កម្មវេរាបាបទាំងប្រាំ ។	If any one person has a fearful heart due to evil karma, for having done wrong or lost faith with the five evil actions—
៣៨	38
គឺ <i>pāṇātipāta</i> ធ្វើប្រមាទឲ្យមានកម្ម <i>adinnā</i> ពៀរចងចាំ លួចទ្រព្យគេពុំបានឲ្យ ។	to wit: killing animals, or carelessly creating karma; stealing, or weaving karma, taking from others what is not given;
៣៩	39
<i>kāmesu micchā</i> ចិត្តប្រាថ្នាខុសមុខក្រោយ សូមចៀសចាកបណ្តោយ ឲ្យវិនាសបាត់សូន្យសោះ ។	sexual misconduct, or the mind’s perverted desires (let go of them entirely, so that they can completely disappear);
៤០	40
គឺ <i>musāvāda</i> សូមលាក់លាក់ស្រែណោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវចិត្តស្មោះស្មោះ លាក់ហាក់មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។	false speech, (avoid it and don’t pine for it; make one’s mind right and honest, leaving behind lying to people);

<sup>24</sup> In this case, Hun is drawing from the bilingual Pali-Khmer prose recensions, since the monolingual Pali text studied by Jaini does not detail the five precepts. The relevant parallel in FEMC b.251 is found on folio *khū* verso, lines 1–3.

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២១	41
<i>surāmeraya</i>	taking intoxicants
សូមទម្លាក់ចោលខ្នាត់ខ្នាយ	(please drop it and let it go
រលីងក្នុងអង្គកាយ	completely from your being
ឲ្យសប្បាយនឹងធម៌ថ្លៃ ។	to be content with the precious Dharma)—
២២	42
បើអ្នកណាបានស្តាប់	if anyone listens
ខំត្រង់ត្រាប់ឥតសង្ស័យ	and strives to listen without doubt,
យកធម៌ជាបង្ខំយ	taking up the Dharma as one's dependent condition,
ជាទីពឹងពុំឃ្លាតឃ្លា ។	as one's ever-present refuge,
២៣	43
នឹងបានចៀសចាកបាប	he will be freed from sin,
ស្អុយឆ្កេះឆ្កាបឲ្យវេទនា	from the fetid fetor that leads to despair.
បបាត់អស់វេរា	He will destroy all evil karma
បានសួគ៌ាប្រាសលែងទុក្ខ ។	and achieve the heavens, freed from suffering.

These commentarial asides by Hun suggest that while he celebrates the benefits of the *Ākāravattā*, he does not want to leave his audience with the impression that his text gives carte blanche for all manner of immoral behavior. His additions to the text have the function of moderating the extraordinary claims typically made by *ānisaṃsa* texts. Hun's goal in rendering his *ānisaṃsa* sources into a verse text to be recited in end-of-life rituals was not merely to put prose texts into a metrical format. He also aims to create a literary composition, one that appeals to the moral and aesthetic sensibilities of the reader. Thus he presents the radical absolution of the *ānisaṃsa* sources in conversation with his own, more evenhanded moral stance.

Hun's appeal to the aesthetic values of his audience are also apparent in the way he structures his poem. As presented in Chapter 3, almost all of the texts in the leporello corpus are anonymous compositions. Any notion of an author or translator simply recedes into the background. But Hun's **ānisaṃs ākāravattā-br** is a personal composition, one that reveals much about its author and his aspirations. The inclusion of a short autobiography and a series of personal prayers of absolution or aspiration may be rare in the chanted texts of end-of-life leporellos, but it is typical of longer Khmer verse compositions, especially classical verse novels (*sāstrā lpèñ* or *pralom lok purāñ*).<sup>25</sup>

To make Hun's adoption of these literary conventions more clear, I compare passages

<sup>25</sup> សាស្ត្រាវិល្លុដ៍; ប្រលោមលោកបុរាណ. On these verse novels, see Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ ภัคดีคำ, *Sāstrā lpèñ: vāḍhanadhārm dāñ vañṇasīl(ḥ) bāḍhanākār lèḥ gṃām sāmḃān(dh) kāp vāḍhanadhārm khmer ศาสตราและบท: วัฒนธรรมทางวรรณศิลป์ พัฒนาการ และความสัมพันธ์กับวัฒนธรรมเขมร*; Santi Pakdeekham, “Literary Elements of the Sāstrā Lbaeng,” *Manusya: Journal of Humanities* Special Issue No. 15 (2008): 84–92; and Sen Sobhā សេង សោភា, “Sāstrā lpèñ សាស្ត្រាវិល្លុដ៍.”

from his text with excerpts from the prologue to Padumatthera Som's (1852–1932)<sup>26</sup> 1915 CE version of the verse novel *Dum Dāv*. For a complete edition and translation of the first 29 stanzas of Som's text, see Appendix III (see *infra*, 1578–1582). Both Som's prologue to *Dum Dāv* and Hun's outer frame for **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** (stanzas 1–9 and 49–62, i.e. excluding the account of the benefits of the *Ākāravattā* in stanzas 10–48) follow the same general pattern of containing a summary autobiography and invocation to the Three Jewels, followed by a series of personal prayers.

After a short introduction describing his motivations for creating his own verse version of the *Dum Dāv* narrative, Som provides his audience with an elaborated account of his name:

៤	4
នាមនាមតាំងជាថ្មី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយគន់គិតគ្នេរ គិតគ្នាន់ក្នុងអង្គផ្លូវកាយ គិតយកមកផ្ទេរផ្ទៀងផ្ទៀងទុក ។	My appellation I appoint anew in worldly realms, and after careful thought and contemplation in my own being, shall be confirmed and verily conveyed
៥	5
ឲ្យអស់មហាជនជាតិប្រុសស្រី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយដឹងទៅមុខ គ្រាន់ជាលំហែកែអផ្សុក វិតក្កកាលណាក្លារីករាយ ។	to the public, born male or born female, in this earthly domain, to know henceforth; for the weary, merely a mirthful rest, to relish and rejoice in times of worry.
៦	6
យើងនឹងថ្ងែងនាមតាមបញ្ហា ដើមថាតាមឈ្មោះចំពោះងាយ តួ ស រាប់រៀបរៀបនិយាយ ទើបទាយប្រកបរាប់រៀងទៅ ។	I will recount my name as a riddle beginning with my simple moniker: the letter S described just as we speak. The letters after it are foretold by
៧	7
ទាញយាវ ស សព្វប្រកប ម បាំងឈើលើ ស ទើបបានត្រូវ ឈ្មោះដើមដូចនឹងពីម៉ែឪ ឥឡូវនាមបែកចែកដោយគុណ ។	pulling down an A, the S chased by an M, and with an E to flank the S it's done. This was the name given by my parents, though now, by grace, my epithets expand.

He follows this simple name-riddle<sup>27</sup> with a longer account of his monastic career and the titles and ranks he has acquired. In the process, he reveals the importance of having a

<sup>26</sup> Li Dhām-teñ លី ធាមតេង, *Anak nibandh khmèr ṭèl m̄n jhmoh lp̄i អ្នកនិពន្ធខ្មែរដែលមានឈ្មោះល្បី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Samāgam anak nibandh khmèr សមាគមអ្នកនិពន្ធខ្មែរ, 1972), 9.

<sup>27</sup> In Khmer script, this process of spelling his given name, សោម Som, can be rendered thus: *sa s* → *sā* សា → *sām* សាម → *som* សោម. The effect can be approximated in the following way: S → S<sub>∪</sub> → S<sub>∪</sub>M → S<sub>∪</sub><sup>∧</sup>M ≈ SOM. Though a “riddle,” Som’s wordplay here does not seem to be intended to be particularly challenging to resolve.

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powerful patron, in this case the ranking monk of the capital (*saṅghanāyaka*).<sup>28</sup> Such a patron, Som reveals, could prevent abuse at the hands of the Vietnamese functionaries (“*thầy* civil servants” and their “*boy* lackeys”) employed by the French protectorate:

<p>៨          ចូលមកសំណាក់សំណាងមាន          ព្រះគុណឲ្យទានទុកជាទុន          ជាទីគ្រាន់បានប្រាណរស់ជន្ម          ដោយបុណ្យរតីនីត្រៃសព្វថ្ងៃពឹង ។</p>	<p>8          After I came into his lineage          my master kindly gave me a stipend,          enough to nurture my own breath of life          by grace of the refuge of the Three Jewels.</p>
<p>៩          ចូលមកសំណាក់បួសគង់នៅ          ទីវត្តកំព្រាស្មោះសរភ្លើង          កាត់សង្សារវដ្តវាសវាងនឹង          នឿយព្រួយព្រោះប្រឹងប្រាថ្នាផល ។</p>	<p>9          Under him I went forth, remained in robes          at warm and welcoming Kambrau Temple,          transcending transmigration’s long detours          and bearing angst and anguish for the goal.</p>
<p>១០          នាមនោះចំពោះឧបដ្ឋាយិចារ្យ          ដូចផ្កាក្រអូបជុំប្រាសខ្យល់          ព្រះបទុមត្ថេរវប្បបានផល          កំណត់កុសលសាសនីលទាន ។</p>	<p>10          The name given by my own preceptor,          still fresh its scent though weather to the wind,          Braḥ Padumattar, the Elder Lotus, came to fruit          through merit made through deed and charity.</p>
<p>១១          ស្តេចសង្ឃមេត្តាត្រាប្រណី          សម្រេចលើដីលោកិយគ្មាន          នាយកខាងសង្ឃក្នុងក្រុងមាន          សង្ឃផងស្រែកឃ្នានមានបញ្ញា ។</p>	<p>11          The sangha patriarch, compassionate,          excelled by none in this dusty domain,          the head monk in the capital, always          was flanked by monks thirsting after wisdom.</p>
<p>១២          ចូលទៅដែនក្រុងផ្ទះស្មោះស្ម័គ្រ          ប្រាថ្នាពឹងពាក់តាមប្រាជ្ញា          រៀនសូត្របាលីអត្ថបញ្ញា          ចិត្តាផ្តាប់ផ្តុនបុណ្យបារមី ។</p>	<p>12          I came to the city in devotion,          praying for the refuge of his insight,          to study scriptural exegesis,          and to propitiate the patriarch,</p>
<p>១៣          ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទានឲ្យមានឈ្មោះ          ចំពោះជាបានដូចសេចក្តី          ប្រាថ្នាការងារឬគិតអ្វី          ប្រណីប្រោសប្រាណប្រទានមក ។</p>	<p>13          who kindly then bestowed this name          on me just as I did attest above.          Whatever thought I had or work I sought          he would out of compassion grant.</p>
<p>១៤</p>	<p>14</p>

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps *saṅghanāyaka* Kè Uk (Mahānikāya, Vatt Uṇṇālom, Phnom Penh) or *saṅghanāyaka* Iem (Dhammayuttika-nikāya, Vatt Padumavatī, Phnom Penh).



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តាំងព្រះឧបជ្ឈាយ៍ងារព្រះស-	He made me the ranked preceptor Braḥ Sai-
ង្សវង្សគង្គីនីងពឹងពន្ធក	ghavans, and I relied on his favor,
ពន្ធលោកិយនិស្ស័យជ្រក	his light, and shelter of affinity.
ចូលមកកាលណាបោះត្រាឲ្យ ។	When I came, he stamped his seal for me.
១៥	15
កាន់ដើរកសិទៅឆ្ងាយជិត	Embarking out for alms, afar or near at hand,
មិនមានភ័យភិតនឹងថីបោយ	I feared not <i>thây</i> civil servants nor <i>boy</i> lackeys,
ប្រកាន់តែករទីដើរដោយ	who charge us with their crimes and <i>chercher</i> claims of land
គ្មានកាតបោះញោយឲ្យលើកដី ។	without a proper <i>carte</i> , for wont of embankments.

Hun’s text, likely dating from at least a few decades earlier, makes no mention of the colonial regime. Like Som, however, he feels compelled to present his name as a sort of simplistic riddle before moving on to his autobiography. Hun’s riddle, however, contains only a shadow of the literary elegance of Som’s:

៤៩	49
ឯនាមឈ្មោះខ្ញុំណា	As for my own name,
ក្នុងអក្ខរាដើមថ្កើងថ្កាន	in its original powerful letters:
អក្សរ ហ ក ល្យាណ	the lovely letter “h,”
បំបែក ហ រុក ន ប្រកប ។	cleft by a “u” and finished with an “n,”
៥០	50
ប្រាកដដោយអក្ខរ	manifest in script and
ប្រកបថាតាមរបប	spelled according to the method,
របៀបយើងប្រកប	the way we spell;
ឈ្មោះថាហ៊ុនកុំសង្ស័យ ។	my name is “Hun”—don’t doubt it.

Hun then continues with an account of his life and monastic career. In the absence of a powerful patron after the death of his father, “a rural government official” or provincial-level mandarin (*anak srè mantri*), Hun faces his own difficulties after choosing to disrobe:

៥១	51
កំណើតនៅស្រុកព្រៃចារ	Born in Brai Cār district
ញាតិការប្រសើរក្រៃ	to an excellent family
ក្នុងខេត្តជើងព្រៃថ្ម	in precious Jōn Brai province,
ជាកូនអ្នកស្រែមន្ត្រី ។	the child of a rural government official,
៥២	52
ខ្ញុំបានបូសសូត្ររៀន	I ordained and studied

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ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាខំឃ្នាតខ្លី សរសេរតាមបាលី ដោយប្រាជ្ញាល្ងង់ខ្លៅ ។	within the Buddhist religion, striving to quickly write according to Pali with my uneducated mind.
៥៣	53
មកនៅវត្តព្រៃចារ ញាតិកាឥតឃ្នាសៅ តាមគ្រូលោកប្រដៅ ឲ្យសូត្ររៀនតាមលំអាន ។	I came to stay in Brai Cār Monastery, where the laypeople were not disruptive, following what my teacher taught me to chant and study according to tradition.
៥៤	54
ហេតុតែអកុសល វាមកផ្តល់ឲ្យព្រួយប្រាណ ប្រឹងប្រែងបំប៉ន សឹកចាកចេញជាបាសក ។	Due only to my unwholesome states, which caused me to suffer inside, I struggled to change but could not contain them, so I disrobed and became a layman.
៥៥	55
មករកទទួលទាន តាមស្រែកឃ្នានគ្មានកុហក មកនៅភូមិប្រាកដ ឈ្មោះភូមិអូរប្រទីក្រៃ ។	I began to make a living according to need, without deceit, settling in the great village named Ū Pradī.
៥៦	56
ខ្លួនខ្ញុំនេះណា ឥតមាតាបិតាថ្លៃ ពឹងពាក់នៅប្រាស្រ័យ តែនឹងបងក្រលំបាក ។	As for me, I am bereft of my precious parents. I now take shelter with my elder sibling; such are my difficulties.

This abbreviated account of his life sets the author in his place and time: in a rural monastery of a relative prosperous distinct along the Mekong and likely before 1884, when Jön Brai province was officially dissolved as part of a French reorganization of the provincial administration.<sup>29</sup> While not as eloquent as Som’s autobiography, it nevertheless helps to present **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** as a self-conscious literary composition.

Hun’s use of a name-riddle and a brief autobiography are not the only conventions he borrows from classical verse novels. He also includes an account of his personal prayers, prefaced by the obligatory words of homage to the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha. Som’s prologue to *Dum Dāv* works within this same convention. After a brief note on the date he completed his text and the motivations he had in writing it, Som offers a few solemn stanzas of veneration to the Three Jewels:

<sup>29</sup> On the establishment of these and other reforms in 1884, see David P. Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, Fourth Edition (Boulder: Westview Press, 2008), 176–177.

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សូមលើកករដ្ឋង់នមស្ការ ដល់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធស្ស ។ ២០	I humbly raise my palms in reverence to the Perfectly Awakened Buddha; 20
នូវគុណព្រះធម៌ធំទូលាយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ខ្ពស់ ជ្រៅច្រើនក្រអើនត្រាប់ព្រាសព្រោះ សត្វមនុស្សដាក់ដល់ថ្នល់និព្វាន ។ ២១	to the immense virtues of the Dharma, eighty-four thousand strong, so vast and deep, which rouse, revive, and rescue living creatures that they might tread the path toward Nibbāna; 21
នូវគុណព្រះសង្ឃអង្គសាវ័ក លោកភ័យផ្អើលភ្ញាក់មិនស្រេចឃ្លាន ចាកសង្សារវដ្តប្រាកដមាន ទុកដាក់ធ្វើទានមានសង្ឃស- ។ ២២	to the virtues of the Sangha disciples, who, beyond fear and fright, no longer crave; who have truly transcended transmigration; who receive requisites with a common 22
ម្មតិបិតធួនថែក្នុងសាសនា ប្រៀបដូចកេត្រារិះរៀបចំ រករៀនគន្ថជុរៈដាក់ឧត្តម ប្រឹងខំក្រែងខុសថ្លោះវិន័យ ។	agreement to make the dispensation last; who can be likened to a well-sealed ship; who, peerless in their scriptural knowledge, strive to not stray from Vinaya strictures.

He follows these with further invocations (stanzas 23–27) to other beings worthy of praise, including his preceptors, parents, Vaiśravaṇa, the liturgies for ordination (*kammavācā*), traditional meditation (*kammaṭṭhāna*), the four elements, the main celestial bodies, Yama, and various deities in the heavens. Som then closes his prologue with an expression of a personal prayer of absolution from “life’s vicissitudes” (*dukkh sukḥ knuṇ prāṇ*) and “illness inside” (*rogā byādhi... knuṇ kāyā*):

២៨	28
សូមសុំតេជះលោកទាំងគ្រប់ ជាម្លប់គ្រាន់ជ្រកកោនសម្រាន្ត សម្រេចចៀសទុក្ខសុខក្នុងប្រាណ ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្តគិតប្រាថ្នា ។ ២៩	May the glory of all these mighty ones, whose shade and shelter is silent and serene, grant me freedom from life’s vicissitudes according to my heart’s aspiration. 29
ទោះទាំងរោគាព្យាធីអ្វី កុំបីឲ្យមានក្នុងកាយ សូមជ្រះស្រឡះអង្គរូបា ភ្លឺថ្លាត្រចង់ដូចរង្វង់ខែ ។	Whatever sicknesses may come my way, may they never cause me illness inside. May my body be clear and unclouded, ever lustrous like the round of the moon.

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Som’s prayers are framed as petitions to the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha, and all the other worthy ones to whom he just offered his reverence. Hun’s text follows a similar pattern. He begins by paying homage to the Three Jewels and asking for *ānisaṃsa* from “the power of [his] remembrance” of them:

<p>១ ខ្ញុំតែងជាបទព្រហ្ម ក្រាបបង្គំព្រះសាស្តា ព្រះទ័យទ្រង់ករុណា តែងសន្តោសប្រោសសត្វផង ។</p>	<p>1 I compose this in the <i>brahma[ḡīti]</i> meter, prostrating before the Teacher, whose heart is compassionate, ever kind in enlightening beings.</p>
<p>២ បង្គំព្រះធម្មា អាចការពារដូចរបង ពាំងព័ទ្ធពីក្រៅហោង ពុំឲ្យមានទុក្ខទោសភ័យ ។</p>	<p>2 I bow to the Dharma capable of protecting like a wall, sealing us in from the outside to ward off pain, harm, and danger.</p>
<p>៣ បង្គំព្រះសង្ឃសុទ្ធ លោកលំអុតក្នុងព្រះទ័យ ទ្រង់សីលល្អប្រពៃ ជាសារីកព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គ ។</p>	<p>3 I bow down to the Sangha, those monks modest in mind, who uphold the precepts perfectly, the disciples of Lord Buddha.</p>
<p>៤ តេជៈខ្ញុំរំលឹក រាល់យប់ព្រឹកខំតម្រង់ ក្រូញក្រាបសូមអានិសង្ស ជាទីពឹងដល់និព្វាន ។</p>	<p>4 By the power of my remembrance, earnestly focused each day and night, I humbly ask for the blessings (<i>ānisaṃsa</i>) to be my refuge till Nibbāna.</p>

Hun then follows this initial prayer with a much more impressive vow or resolve. Rather than simply seeking freedom from suffering or illness, or even a final goal of Nibbāna, Hun boldly announces his vow “to be enlightened as a buddha” and to “save living beings / so that they are far from worry”:

<p>៥ មួយសោតខ្ញុំនេះណា សូមសច្ចាប្រណិធាន ទេវតាជាពេជ្រញាណ ដែលស្ថិតនៅសព្វទិសា ។</p>	<p>5 Moreover, may I now make this solemn prayer: “May the omniscient gods residing in all quarters</p>
<p>៦</p>	<p>6</p>

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សូមជួយជាសាក្សី	assist me as my witness,
ស្តាប់សំដីខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នា	listening to my uttered wish
ពាក្យពិតខ្ញុំសច្ចា	the true words that I vow
ឲ្យបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ។	to be enlightened as a buddha.
៧	7
ទាំងគុណព្រះមាតា	The virtues of my mother
ព្រះបិតាជាចំហុត	and of my father, ever precise,
ឧបដ្ឋាយិកែលំអុត	and of my preceptor, to whom I bow;
គុណអាចារ្យគុណញាតិផង ។	and of teachers and relatives—
៨	8
សូមលោកជួយប្រាកដ	may they help me truly
តាមដោយបទខ្ញុំបំណង	as per my aspiration.
ប្រាថ្នាឲ្យបានសង	I vow to repay my debts
គុណលោកលុះសូរេចផល ។	to them when I reach the fruit
៩	9
ឲ្យបានស្រង់ស្រោចសត្វ	and to save living beings
ឲ្យខ្លាញ់ខ្លាត់ពីកង្វល់	so that they are far from worry,
ចៀសចាកចោលអកុសល	abandon and cast off evil acts,
សោយសេពសុខដូចប្រាថ្នា ។	and enjoy bliss as they wish.”

Later, in the closing stanzas of his composition, Hun restates this *adhittāna* as a prayer to fulfill the above vow:

៥៩	59
ហេតុចិត្តខ្ញុំស្មោះស្មាន	Since my heart is true
ចង់ស្រែកក្បួនក្នុងអង្គកាយ	and seeks peace in my own being,
កុំឲ្យឃ្នាឃ្នាតឆ្ងាយ	may I not be distantly cleft from
សូមប្រាថ្នាជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ។	my wish to become a buddha.
៦០	
ឲ្យបានដូចសច្ចា	May I attain according to this vow
ខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នាខំក្រាបលុត	that I pray earnestly, bowing low.
សូមបានជាព្រះពុទ្ធ	May I become a buddha
ទៅឯមុខតាមនិស្ស័យ ។	in the future according to my affinities
៦១	61
អានិសង្សជួយជូនទៅ	for the benefits that ferry across,
ដូចសំពៅកេត្រាថ្ងៃ	like a precious great vessel,

នាំសត្វអស់ខេយ្យ            that lead incalculable numbers of living beings  
ដាក់ដល់ត្រើយគឺនិព្វាន ។    to arrive at the far shore, that is, Nibbāna.

Hun's vow and prayer to attain buddhahood is not unique in the leporello corpus; subsequent sections of this chapter demonstrate the importance of this aspiration, particularly in the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries, among the Tai and the Khmer. What is most significant for my argument is the way in which Hun's **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** reflects broader themes in leporello texts. More specifically, his composition draws on an existing *ānisaṃsa* tradition but reframes it as a verse text that draws on the literary conventions of his time, including the incorporation of personal prayers and aspirations. Hun's poem thus echoes the pattern witnessed in other end-of-life chants discussed in this section: absolutions and aspirations are typically contextualized with, or even rely upon, statements extolling the karmic benefits of certain texts and practices. The motivation for engaging in external *adhittāna* at the end of life is necessarily grounded in the ideology of *ānisaṃsa* that precedes it.

### 9.3 From Repentance to Absolution

In addition to serving as an extended example of how *adhittāna* passages are often structured together with *ānisaṃsa* ones, Hun's **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** also provides a particularly stark example of the power Khmer Buddhists ascribe to certain texts to absolve them of their sins and faults. The mode of absolution extolled in **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** is not without controversy, however. Hun's added commentary on the importance of not violating the five precepts suggests that even the author of that text found its sweeping elimination of evil karma hard to accept in undiluted form. Some contemporary Cambodian Buddhists find the possibility that evil karma could be eliminated by the recitation of a single text more than a little far-fetched if not downright heretical. This section puts early Pali texts for repentance in conversation with later Southeast Asian examples that combine repentance with complete absolution. My goal is not to trace a linear history of this movement from repentance to absolution, for that would require many more sources, but to reflect on the distinct approach to one's unwholesome deeds that emerges in a number of Pali, Lao, and Khmer texts.

#### 9.3.1 Repentance in the Pali Canon

Pasteur Avenue begins near Wat Phnom, the hill temple and site of the mythical founding of Phnom Penh. It passes by monuments inscribing a tumultuous twentieth century for Cambodia: the imposing fortified compound of the US Embassy; the massive black vaults of the former Banque de l'Indochine; a once-flowing stream buried in a colonial park-building project; the iconic dome of the post-independence Central Market; a string of seedy bars dating from the 1992–1993 UN protectorate; and the famed Lycée Sisowath, which nourished the intellectual lives of several generations of Khmer communists, republicans, writers, and engineers alike. The traffic flow of the street is partially interrupted by a complex intersection near the Independence Monument, Sihanouk Boulevard, and one of the oldest monasteries in

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the city, Wat Lanka. As two-stroke scooters and medium-duty box trucks slow before this intersection, observant passengers will notice a yellow sign nailed to a roadside tamarind tree: “Lord Jesus is the road to escape from sin” (*brah̄ yesū jā phlūw ruoc bī pāp*).<sup>30</sup>

The metal-on-bark Gospel stands out on this stretch of asphalt between two of the oldest Buddhist monuments in the capital. Khmer Christians, a small minority in the country, use the Pali word *pāpa* (Khmer *pāp*) to translate the concept of “sin.” Translators of Buddhist texts into English, by contrast, sometimes shy away from the term, given its association with Christianity. When asked about terms used in a Khmer Christian context, such as *ruoc bī pāp* (“escape from sin”), *jamrah̄ pāp*, (“purify sin”) or *lān̄ pāp* (“wash away sin”), many Khmer Buddhist modernists would insist that such extirpation is not possible in Buddhism.<sup>31</sup> They leap to cite the Buddha’s words, such as verse 165 of the Dhammapada:

*attanā va kataṃ pāpaṃ      attanā sankilissati*  
*attanā akataṃ pāpaṃ      attanā va visujjhati*  
*suddhī asuddhī paccattaṃ      nāñño aññaṃ visodhaye.*<sup>32</sup>

By oneself alone is sin performed; by oneself is one defiled.  
By oneself alone is sin not performed, and such by oneself is one purified.  
Purity and non-purity exist within oneself; no one can purify another.

Such insistence that Buddhism permits no easy escape from the consequences of one’s past unskillful actions or *akuśalākarma* certainly has a canonical basis. In the *Soḷasaniṭṭā* of the Therīgāthā, for instance, the nun Puṇṇā chides a brahmin for believing that he can use water to wash away his sins.<sup>33</sup> But these canonical accounts overlook the ways in which Buddhists, including those in Cambodia, seek rapid deliverance from their ethical failings, real or imagined, often with water as a metaphor or as a primary ritual substance. Many Khmer Buddhists regularly seek to be “showered” or “bathed” (*sroc dīk* or *crūc dīk*)<sup>34</sup> by monks who pour water over them while reciting incantations. These rituals are thought to “wash away sin and misfortune” (*lān̄ pāp caṅrai*).<sup>35</sup> From this perspective, the Christian sign nailed to the tree in Phnom Penh is not so far-fetched in its rhetoric. The changes wrought by colonialism, independence, revolution, and the collapse of the Soviet Union changed Cambodian Buddhism as much as they reworked the cityscape along Pasteur Avenue. What has not changed is the human desire to escape from and even wash away the consequences of one’s actions.

<sup>30</sup> ព្រះយេស៊ូជាផ្លូវរួចពីបាប

<sup>31</sup> រួចពីបាប; ជម្រះបាប; លាងបាប

<sup>32</sup> Sūriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala Thera, *The Dhammapada* (London: Pali Text Society, 1914), 24.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Hallisey, *Therīgāthā: Poems of the First Buddhist Women* (Cambridge, MA: Murty Classical Library of India and Harvard University Press, 2015), 122–127.

<sup>34</sup> ស្រោចទឹក; ច្រូចទឹក. On this ritual in Cambodia, see Sar Mien សរ ម៉ឺន, *Bidhī crūc dīk ពិធីច្រូចទឹក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Vatt Unṅālom វត្តឧណ្ណាលោម, 1997).

<sup>35</sup> លាងបាបចម្រៃ

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Buddhists rarely live up to their own ideals. The example raised time and again in conversation with Cambodians is that of killing animals. The material circumstances of many Cambodians compel them to slay living beings for protection or for sustenance. Most nevertheless say such killing is *pāp* and requires extirpation lest they face dire consequences in the future. To borrow an idea from Olivier de Bernon, this section grapples with Buddhist texts that help people “avoid the consequences of being Buddhist.”<sup>36</sup>

Rites for repentance and absolution exist on a continuum; there is no easy way to divide them into strict categories. Both involve confession, or at least acknowledgment, of one’s evil karma (*pāpadesānā*). The crux of the distinction I am making here is that repentance texts need not petition for the elimination of the consequences of one’s unwholesome actions. Absolution texts, however, intend to do just that. Texts for both repentance and absolution have been little studied in Theravada Buddhist contexts. Very few repentance texts exist in Pali, in contrast to those in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese, where Mahayana repentance practices find particularly elaborate expression. Some of the texts in the leprelo corpus incorporate aspects of the canonical Pali modes of repentance, but also combine the straightforward confession of faults with striking prayers to be freed of the karmic results of those faults.

We might also distinguish between texts of repentance and absolution that are concerned with the ritual purity of communities, and texts concerned with the karmic fate of particular individuals.<sup>37</sup> The former might include the confession of monks prior to the recitation of the monastic rule (Pali *pāṭimokkha*), where the primary goal is the collective purity of the sangha. By confessing one’s sins aloud to another monk, each *bhikkhu* helps to ensure that the sangha is free from defilement and from potential criticism by the laity. In Cambodia, one expression of a collective rite for purification by the sangha is the complex, multi-day *mahāparivāsakamm* ritual studied by de Bernon.<sup>38</sup> This rite, practiced annually by a few monastic communities today, ensures that the body of the sangha is purified from any violations of the monastic rule. The forms of repentance and absolution discussed in this chapter, however, are concerned less with communities and more with individuals. In particular, they focus on how a person can rid him or herself of the evil karma he or she has accrued, so as not to suffer deleterious consequences in the future.

With regards to individual repentance in the Pali canon, I am indebted to the work of Christian Haskett, who analyzes the main pericope found in the suttas in context with parallels in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts.<sup>39</sup> The basic Pali repentance pericope is as follows:

*accayo maṃ bhante accagamā yathābalaṃ yathāmūlhaṃ yathā-akusalaṃ yo ’ham ... tassa me*

<sup>36</sup> Olivier de Bernon, personal communication.

<sup>37</sup> My thanks to Alex von Rospatt for helping me understand these distinctions.

<sup>38</sup> Olivier de Bernon, “Le rituel de la « grande probation annuelle » (mahāparivāsakamma) des religieux du Cambodge,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 87, no. 2 (2000): 473–510.

<sup>39</sup> Christian P. B. Haskett, “Revealing Wrongs: A History of Confession in Indian Buddhism” (University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2010), 79–98.



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*bhante bhagavā accayaṃ accayato paṭiggaṇhātu āyatim saṃvarāya.*<sup>40</sup>

It was a transgression, O Venerable One, and I transgressed, when foolishly, deludedly, and unskillfully I [did such-and-such an act]. O Venerable One, may the Blessed One accept my transgression as a transgression for the sake of restraint in the future.

In the suttas, the Buddha replies in a standard fashion, as follows:

*yato ca kho tvaṃ mahārāja accayaṃ accayato disvā yathādhammaṃ paṭikarosi taṃ te mayaṃ paṭiggaṇhāma. vuddhi h'esā mahārāja ariyassavinaye, yo accayaṃ accayato disvā yathādhammaṃ paṭikaroti āyatim saṃvaram āpajjati ti.*<sup>41</sup>

Since you, having seen your transgression as a transgression, expiate<sup>42</sup> in accordance with the Dhamma, we accept it. There is indeed progress in the discipline of the Noble Ones [for] one who, having seen a transgression as a transgression, expiates it in accordance with the Dhamma, and practices restraint in the future.

A different formula is used by monastics in the fortnightly *uposatha* confession, which we can understand as a collective form of repentance. One monastic says to another:

*“ahaṃ, āvuso, ithannāmaṃ āpattiṃ āpanno, taṃ paṭidesemi”ti. tena vattabbo — “passāsi”ti. “āma passāmi”ti. “āyatim saṃvareyyāsi”ti.*<sup>43</sup>

“I, O Friend, have incurred such-and-such a downfall. I confess it.” The other monk says, “Do you see it?” The first replies, “Yes, I see it.” The second says, “You should practice restraint in the future.”

The basic principle at work is that faults may be accepted, though not necessarily karmically counterbalanced, if those in error confess their mistakes, recognize them as such, and make a commitment to “practice restraint in the future.” The main thrust of these short formulas for repentance, therefore, is the restoration of individuals who have erred as a means of restoring the whole community’s purity. To “expiate” (*paṭikaroti*) a fault in this context means to confess it, recognize it, make amends for it, and promise to do better in the future. There is no promise or petition for the effects of karma to be canceled out or absolved.

The Pali canon essentially has nothing further to add about repentance. Certainly, there is nothing like what we see in the second chapter of Śāntideva’s *Bodhicāryāvatāra*. This chapter presents a true *pāpadeśanā*, and we see much more elaborate liturgies of repentance based on it in Sanskrit currently in use in Nepal, mainly embedded into *ādikarmika* texts.<sup>44</sup> In

<sup>40</sup> Ca. Pārieṇ ๑. เปรียบญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī svadmanatthī*, 173.

<sup>41</sup> Slightly modified from Haskett, “Revealing Wrongs: A History of Confession in Indian Buddhism,” 80.

<sup>42</sup> Literally “counteract”; Haskett suggests “make amends.”

<sup>43</sup> See Uposathakkhandha 92, āpattiṃ paṭikamma vidhi; cf. Ca. Pārieṇ ๑. เปรียบญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī svadmanatthī*, 175.

<sup>44</sup> Alex von Rospatt, personal communication.

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these contexts, *pāpadeśanā* is always followed by a vow not to commit any of the confessed sins again. Repentance was taken even further in Tibetan and especially Chinese contexts, where robust rituals of repentance emerge.<sup>45</sup> But there is no evidence to suggest that these rituals ever had much influence in Theravada contexts. With regards to repentance in Theravada Buddhism, Richard Gombrich says,

If you have done, said or thought a wrong, doctrine says, nothing can simply cancel that out. But what you must do is be aware of what you have done and resolve to do better. There is no liturgy for repentance, only the rational exhortation to learn from one's mistakes.<sup>46</sup>

From the canonical perspective, Gombrich's argument makes sense. However, when we examine the texts currently in use by monastics in Southeast Asia, a different picture emerges, one that includes petitions to be forgiven for or even absolved of faults.

### 9.3.2 Absolution in Khmer-Tai Buddhism

In the daily chanting used in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand, chants of homage to the Buddha typically conclude with the following verse:

*uttamaṅgena vande 'ham  
pādapaṃsum varuttamaṃ  
buddhe yo khalito doso  
buddho khamatu taṃ mamaṃ*<sup>47</sup>

I bow down with my head  
to the most excellent dust beneath the [Buddha's] feet.  
Whatever fault I have incurred with regards to the Buddha,<sup>48</sup>  
may the Buddha forgive that for me.

Similar verses are used when paying homage to the Dhamma and the Sangha. The verb used for “forgive” here, *khamati* (Pali  $\sqrt{kham}$ /Sanskrit  $\sqrt{kṣam}$ ), implies “tolerance,” “forbearance,” and

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<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, those discussed in Bruce Charles Williams, “*Mea Maxima Vikalpa*: Repentance, Meditation and the Dynamics of Liberation in Medieval Chinese Buddhism, 500–650 CE” (University of California, Berkeley, 2002); Eric M. Greene, “Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism” (University of California, Berkeley, 2012), 259–294; and Eric M. Greene, “Atonement of *Pārājika* Transgressions in Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhism,” in *Rules of Engagement: Medieval Traditions of Buddhist Monastic Regulation* (Bochum/Freiburg: Projektverlag, 2017), 369–408.

<sup>46</sup> Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2006), 109.

<sup>47</sup> Ca. Pāriṣāṇī ๑. เปรียบญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī สวดมนต์พิธี*, 27.

<sup>48</sup> One wonders exactly what kind of faults (*doso*) are being referred to here. Is it possible that the faults in question pertain only to mistakes in the intoning of the liturgy of worship that precedes this passage? In other words, perhaps these passages are primarily a means of correcting any inadvertent mistakes in chanting in praise of the Buddha, the Dharma, and Sangha. My thanks to Alex von Rospatt for pointing out the possible parallels here to Mahayana practices of asking for forgiveness for mistakes in recitation.

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even “forgiveness” much more than *patiggaṇhāti* (“accept”) in the canonical formulas cited above. The canonical formulas, moreover, spoke of “transgressions” (*accaya*, cf. Sanskrit *atyaya*, “passing over; transgression”) and “downfalls” (*āpatti*, a term only applied to lapses with regards to the monastic rule), rather than “faults” (*dosa*). *Dosa* (from Sanskrit √*duṣ*, “to become bad or impure”) is much closer to *pāpa* in terms of implying an error that not only violated communal rules but also has deleterious moral consequences for one’s being. Pali and vernacular texts for repentance and absolution from Khmer-Tai cultures tend to use *dosa* and *pāpa* rather than the more rule-centered *accaya* or *āpatti*.

Another Pali term occasionally used for “fault” or “sin” in Southeast Asian Buddhist contexts is *aparādha*. This term, which is quite close in meaning to *dosa*, appears in the chant recited for paying respect to one’s preceptor, similar to the one cited for venerating the Buddha in Chapter 7 (see *supra*, 393–394). In Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand this chant is recited as part of monastic ordination ceremonies in the Mahānikāya, though in some monasteries in Cambodia it is also regularly intoned for daily rituals of worship:

*ukāsa vandāmi bhante. sabbam aparādham khamatha me bhante.  
mayā kataṃ puññaṃ sāmīnā anumoditabbam.  
sāmīnā kataṃ puññaṃ mayham dātabbam.  
sādhu sādhu anumodāmi.*<sup>49</sup>

Permit me, O Venerable, I pay homage! O Venerable, forgive all of my faults.  
Whatever merit has been done by me should be rejoiced in by my master.  
Whatever merit has been done by my master should be given to me.  
Excellent, excellent, I rejoice!

This chant employs the same root verb, √*kham*, as the passage cited above, only replacing *dosam* (“fault”) with *sabbam aparādham* (“all faults” or “all offenses”). Intoning these lines invokes a bond of dependence between the student and his master. Before the master and student can rejoice in each others’ merit, the student must first seek forgiveness for all of his faults.

Other Pali chants recited today in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand make an even more explicit petition to seek absolution from one’s sins. One such chant uses the term *pāpa* to refer to these evil actions, and petitions the Buddha to destroy them:

*yo doso mohacittena buddhasmiṃ pakato mayā khamatha me kataṃ dosam sabbapāpaṃ vinassatu.*<sup>50</sup>

Whatever fault with regards to the Buddha has been committed by me in a mind of confusion, may you forgive me for that committed fault [and] may all *pāpa* be destroyed.

The final clause, “may all *pāpa* be destroyed,” could be rendered in a number of ways. It

<sup>49</sup> Ca. Pāriēñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī สวดมนต์พิธี*, 192.

<sup>50</sup> Ca. Pāriēñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī สวดมนต์พิธี*, 37.

might mean “may all of the karmic consequences of my evil actions be cancelled,” that is, rendered inert (*ahosikamma*). This is the most likely reading, even though it contravenes the principles outlined by Gombrich and by the Dhammapada verse cited above. One could instead interpret it as “may all of my evil actions be destroyed [such that I never perform such actions again],” but that strikes me as unlikely.

In the canonical Pali repentance pericope, the purpose of confession is to practice future restraint (*āyatim samvarāya*). In Mahayana contexts, there is great merit in promising to no longer perform transgressions after having confessed them.<sup>51</sup> Mahayana repentance texts also frequently petition the Buddha and other deities to forgive us for our transgressions.<sup>52</sup> But I am not familiar with texts that call outright for the karmic consequences of evil actions to be destroyed. Many practices, especially in Mahayana contexts, are explicitly performed in order to counteract evil karma, yet they do not seem to employ the simple formulation “may all *pāpa* be destroyed.”<sup>53</sup>

Part of what is happening in the passage cited above is that *pāpa* is being understood in a different way in Buddhist Southeast Asia. In my reading, *pāpa* is not an unavoidable consequence of one’s actions but rather an obstacle that can be overcome by ritual means. In this sense, *pāpa* is closely linked to other “obstacles,” particularly the *grahas* and *vera/verā*. The former, discussed in Chapter 4 (see *supra*, 178–180) are planetary deities, sometimes nine in number, that interfere in human life. They are known as *groḥ* in Khmer, as in *groḥ thnāk* (“accident”) or *ramtoḥ groḥ* (“to release [from the influence of malevolent] planets”).<sup>54</sup> The latter, *vera*, means “rancor” or “enmity,” and is often conceived of in the plural as *verā*. Such *verā* refer to beings, both human and non-human, who we may have harmed in the past and thus bear violent grudges against us. The term is commonly known as *bier* or *kamm bier* in Khmer or *cau<sub>2</sub> kām nāy ver* (literally “Lord Karma and Sir Enmity,” reflecting a mutuality of rancorous karmic debts between beings across lifetimes) in Siamese.<sup>55</sup> Many Khmer rituals are explicitly about overcoming *groḥ* and/or placating and sharing merit and goodwill (*mettā*) with other beings such that any possible *bier* or grudges can be averted.

In a number of Southeast Asian texts, *pāpa* is treated as a similar kind of obstacle to be overcome or absolved. One such example is a short and rather terse bilingual Pali-Khmer end-of-life text in the leporello corpus, **Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r** (“Passage beginning with ‘Whatever evil actions,’ bilingual version”). Since only a single witness survives, my standardized edition necessarily emends the text to make both the

<sup>51</sup> Haskett argues that this is in fact a feature of all Buddhist confession (Haskett, “Revealing Wrongs: A History of Confession in Indian Buddhism,” 27). For an analysis of the vow not to recommit faults (*punarakaranaṣamvaram*), see *ibid.*, 221.

<sup>52</sup> Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values and Issues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27.

<sup>53</sup> Certain Mahayana texts do petition buddhas and bodhisattvas to “take away” (*pravāhayati*) our evil karma, however. See Haskett, “Revealing Wrongs: A History of Confession in Indian Buddhism,” 232.

<sup>54</sup> គ្រោះថ្នាក់; រំលោភគ្រោះ

<sup>55</sup> ពៀរ; កម្មពៀរ; เจ้ากรรมนายเวร. In Lao, the equivalent term is *cāu<sub>2</sub> kām nāy ven* เจ้ากรรมนายเวร. On the etymology of *ven* វេន in Khmer, see Antelme, *La réappropriation en khmer de mots empruntés par la langue siamoise au vieux khmer*, 111.

sequence and the Pali more understandable:<sup>56</sup>

Diplomatic transcription:

១១១ ឧកាសៈ បូពិត្ថិយយាម្ណា:កុសាម្ណំ វិអំពើយោ ហម ពីកាលខ្លួនក្មេងនៅឡើយ *brahmbuddhagunnam* វិព្រះ  
ពុទ្ធនោះមានគុណ *dhammagunnam* វិព្រះធម៌នោះមានគុណ *dhammagunnam* វិព្រះសង្ឃនោះមានគុណ  
*saṅghagunnam uppanantenavā uppenṇa:vā dhammenṇa:vā saṅghenṇavā catup"ādevā* វិសត្វជើងពីក្តី  
*ba:hup"ādevā* វិសត្វជើង [the following is crossed out with a red line: ច្រើនក្តីធ្វើដំបៅទៅ *p"ānatipā*  
១១១៧] ១១៧ ៤ក្តី *dhvepādevā* វិសត្វជើងច្រើនក្តី *pāṇātipātā* នូវបានសម្លាប់អាយុជីវិតគេក្តី *adinnā* នូវបាន  
លួចទ្រព្យគេក្តី *kāmmesumicchācār"ā* នូវបានលួចកិរិយាគេក្តី *sur"ā* ផឹកស្រាហៅជាបាបធ្ងន់ អ្នកក្តីយលាក់  
ជាត្រើយ ទោសខ្ញុំនោះហើយ ពុំដល់តិចឡើយ *yatiyati* ក៏បញ្ចប់អាណាគតកាល កន្លងរំមួងទៅហើយ នៃព្រះ  
កម្មជាននៃខ្ញុំហោង ១១៧<sup>57</sup>

Standardized edition:

*ukāsa* បពិត្រអើយ *yam akusalam* វិអំពើយោ ហម ពីកាលខ្លួនក្មេងនៅឡើយ *brahmbuddhagunam* វិព្រះពុទ្ធ  
នោះមានគុណ *dhammagunam* វិព្រះធម៌នោះមានគុណ *dhammagunam* វិព្រះសង្ឃនោះមានគុណ  
*saṅghagunam uppannan tena vā buddhena vā dhammena vā saṅghena vā dvepāde vā* វិសត្វជើងពីក្តី  
*catupāde vā* វិសត្វជើងបួនក្តី *bahupāde vā* វិសត្វជើងច្រើនក្តី *pāṇātipātā* នូវបានសម្លាប់អាយុជីវិតគេក្តី  
*adinnā* នូវបានលួចទ្រព្យគេក្តី *kāmesu micchācārā* នូវបានលួចកិរិយាគេក្តី *surā* ផឹកស្រាហៅជាបាបធ្ងន់  
អ្នកអើយ [ត្រៃលក្ខណ៍] ជាត្រើយ ទោសខ្ញុំនោះហើយ ពុំដល់តិចឡើយ *āyatim* ក៏បញ្ចប់អនាគតកាលកន្លងរំ  
លងទៅហើយនៃកម្មជាននៃខ្ញុំហោង ។

Translation:

**Permit me**, O Venerable! **Whatever evil actions** as for any actions **which I** from when I was still young **toward the virtues of the Buddha** as for the Buddha, who possesses virtues, **towards the virtues of the Dhamma** as for the Dhamma, which possesses virtues, **toward the virtues of the Sangha, which have arisen, by this, or by the Buddha, or by the Dhamma, or by the Sangha, in regards to bipeds** as for bipeds, **in regards to quadrupeds** as for quadrupeds, **or in regards to many-footed creatures** as for many-footed creatures, **killing of living beings** with regards to having slain the lives of others, **taking what is not given** with regards to having stolen the property of others, **sexual misconduct** with regards to having stolen others' wives, **alcohol** drinking alcohol is a grave sin (*pāp*). O good people, the Three Marks are the far shore. As for my faults, may they not have any effect at all **in the future** and may they cease in the future, completely passed over in my *kammaṭṭhāna*.

<sup>56</sup> These changes includes restoring the proper sequence to the various beings with two, four, or many feet as well as reading the nonsensical *yatiyati* as the indeclinable *āyatim* (“in the future”).

<sup>57</sup> UB011 89a–89b

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As a partially bilingual Pali-Khmer prose text (see Chapter 6 *supra*, 362–373), not all of the Pali portions feature vernacular equivalents and vice versa. Nevertheless, when the Pali and Khmer phrases are seen together as part of a single whole, rather than strict translation of each other, a legible text emerges. This text presents a petition to be absolved from all manner of evil actions, here denoted as *akusala*, *dosa*, and *pāpa*. These actions include *pāpa* with respect to the Three Jewels and various categories of living beings, as well as from violating the five precepts. The text prays for these evil actions to “not have any effect at all” and “cease in the future” by means of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation practice. The ritual practice of meditation and prayer at the end of life is presented as a way to absolve the obstacles of past evil deeds such that they are rendered inert (*ahosikamma*) or even completely effaced.

In some cases, this understanding of sin-as-obstacle is paired with the more prosaic understanding of transgression-as-lesson witnessed in the canonical pericope. For example, a contemporary chant from Laos, titled *gāraḥvaḥ braḥ rātnatrai* (“Reverence to the Three Jewels”),<sup>58</sup> includes both canonical and non-canonical understandings of repentance. This chant, recited to petition for absolution from the Three Jewels, includes a section in Pali followed by a section in Lao. The section in Pali begins with a version of the canonical pericope but then adds a portion (highlighted below in bold) that petitions for all *pāpa* to be destroyed:

Diplomatic transcription:

*ukāsaḥ ātcahyo no bānte ātcaḥgaḥmā yaḥṭhābāle yaḥṭhāmulaḥhe yaḥṭhā aḥkusahle yohān bānte  
duttḥacitto paḥmādaḥcitto aḥgāraḥvo aḥsāmpāttī, so tīsu butdādisu rātnāṭayesu kāyenaḥvā  
vācāyahvā maḥnaḥsā vā paḥmādaḥmaḥkāsin tātssa me bānte butdo dāmmo sāṅgo ātcahyān ātcahyaḥto  
paṭṭiggaṅhātu āyatim sānvaḥrāyaḥ **kāyaḥkammañ vaḥcikkammañ maḥnokammañ  
sāpbaḥpāpāñ vinātsaḥtu nippānaḥ pātcahyo hotu no.**<sup>59</sup>*

Standardized edition:

*ukāsa accayo no bhante accagamā yathābāle yathāmūlḥe yathā-akusale yo ‘haṃ bhante duttḥacitto  
paṃādacitto agāraḥvo asampatti so tīsu buddhādisu ratanattayesu kāyena vā vācāya vā manasā vā  
paṃādam akāsiṃ tassa me bhante buddho dhammo saṅgho accayaṃ accayato paṭṭiggaṅhātu āyatim  
saṃvarāya **kāyakammaṃ vacikkammaṃ manokammaṃ sabbapāpaṃ  
vinassatu nibbānapaccayo hotu no.***

Translation:

Permit me! I transgressed, O Venerable One, when foolishly, in confusion, and

<sup>58</sup> ຄຳອະວະພຣະອິດນະໄຕຣ

<sup>59</sup> Maḥhādaaṅgāṃ Hliemṃpuñhīōñ ạຫາທອງຄຳ ຫລ່ຽມບູນເຮືອງ, *Gū, mī bidī* ຄູ່ມີພິດີ (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ: Śīkṣā sâṅ(gh) sūn(y) kān ສຶກສາສິງສູນກລາງ (ศึกษาสงฆ์สุนย้งการ), 2546), 11–12.

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unskillfully, with a mind that was deluded, a mind that was careless, disrespectful, and confused, I was negligent in body, speech, and mind with regards to the Three Jewels, the Buddha foremost among them. May the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha accept my transgression as a transgression for the sake of restraint in the future. **All bodily karma, verbal karma, and mental karma—may all of this *pāpa* be destroyed, and may this be a condition for our attainment of *nibbāna*.**

The added portion, grafted directly onto the canonical pericope, speaks not of repentance for transgressions but rather of absolution from all forms of evil karma. The Lao portion of the text, which follows immediately after the Pali, completely ignores the canonical pericope, as if it couldn't be translated into the vernacular, or as if the meaning of Pali was solely phonetic as opposed to semantic. The Lao instead reads as an expanded translation of the non-canonical added portion of the Pali, further expounding on all of the possible forms of *pāpa* one can be absolved from:

Diplomatic transcription:

ບາບເພາະໂລພະ ບາບເພາະໂທສະ ບາບເພາະໂມຫະ ບາບເບືອນະກັມ ບາບເວອານະກັມ ບາບປັດຈຸບັນນະກັມ  
ບາບປີນີ ເດືອນນີ ວັນນີ ຍາມນີ ຂໍແດ່ພຣະພຸທະເຈົ້າ ພຣະທັມມະເຈົ້າ ພຣະສັງຄະເຈົ້າ ຈົ່ງກຳຈັດເສຍໃຫ້ໝົດ ໃຫ້  
ສິ້ນຈາກຂັນທະສັນດານ ແຫ່ງຂ້າພະເຈົ້ານະກາລະປັດນີເຖີນ ຈັດຕາໂຣທັມມາ ວູດທິທັມ 4 ປະການຄື: ອາຍຸ  
ວັນນະ ພະລະ ອະໂຣຄະຍະ ຖ້ວນ 5 ປະຕິພານະ ຖ້ວນ 6 ອະທິປປະໄຕຍະ ຖ້ວນ 7 ຈົ່ງສະເດັດ ເຂົ້າບຳລຸງ ຍິ່ງຂັນ  
ທ໌ ທັງ 5 ແຫ່ງຂ້ານ້ອຍ ຕາບເທົ່າເຂົ້າສູ່ພຣະ ນິບພານ ແດ່ກໍຂ້າເຖີນ ນິບພານະ ປັດຈະໄຍ ໂຕຕູ ເມ (ຈິບແບບຍ໌)

*pāp boḥ lobhaḥ pāp boḥ dosaḥ pāp boḥ mohāḥ pāp porānaḥkāṃ pāp verānaḥkāṃ pāp  
pāp cupannaḥkāṃ pāp pī nī tīn nī vān nī yān nī kham tē brah budah cāu brah dāmmaḥ cāu  
brah sāṅgaḥ cāu cān kāmāt sēy hai hmāt hai sin cāk khāndaḥsāntān hēn khā baḥ cāu naḥ  
kālah pāt nī thōn cattārodhammā vutdidhām 4 pāhkān gī : āyu vannaḥ sukhaḥ bahlah ahrogahyah  
thvan 5 pāḥtibānaḥ thvan 6 aḥdīppāḥāiḥya thvan 7 cān saḥtēt khāu pāmḥuḥ yān khān(d) dān 5  
hēn khā naay 2 tāp dāu khāu sū brah nīpān tē kam khā thōn nīpānaḥ patcahyo hotu me (cāp  
pèp yaṃ)<sup>60</sup>*

Translation:

*Pāpa* due to greed, *pāpa* due to anger, *pāpa* due to ignorance, *pāpa* of ancient karma, *pāpa* of hostile karma, *pāpa* of present karma, *pāpa* of this year, this month, this day, this hour—may the Lord Buddha, the Lord Dhamma, and the Lord Sangha eradicate them all completely and without remainder from the continuum of the [five] aggregates belonging to me, your humble servant, in this very moment! Four qualities increase, that is, longevity, complexion (i.e. beauty), happiness, and strength; if five, then well-being too; if six, then eloquence too; if seven, then mastery too—may [these qualities] enter into and protect my five aggregates until I reach Nibbāna. May this be a condition for my attainment of Nibbāna.

<sup>60</sup> Maḥhādaaṅgāṃ Hliem, puñhīōn ມຫາທອງຄຳ ຫລຽນບຸນເຮືອງ, *Gū, mī bidī* ຄູ່ມືພິດີ, 12.

This Lao “translation” is extraordinary in that it contravenes a canonical understanding of repentance by positing one’s sins as obstacles that can be removed through a petition to the Three Jewels. The second half of the Lao passage picks up on the aspiration for Nibbāna in the Pali but expands it into an *ānisaṃsa*-like enumeration of the benefits that accrue to someone who petitions for the absolution of their evil karma. The phrase *nibbānapaccayo hotu* (“may [this act of merit] be a condition for [the attainment of] Nibbāna” is not tied to any particular meritorious action in the Lao portion. It is simply an aspiration to attain Nibbāna on the basis of having prayed to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha to have one’s sins absolved.

This Pali and Lao chant is not the only Southeast Asian Buddhist text to radically combine the canonical repentance pericope with a local understanding of *pāpa* as obstacles to be dissolved. Very similar texts, in Pali and the vernacular, appear in end-of-life rituals in Cambodia. The most prominent such example in the leporellos is a long series of end-of-life chants in both Pali and Khmer called **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** (“Absolution of faults and sinful karma, bilingual version”),<sup>61</sup> discussed below.

### 9.3.3 Absolution in *Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r*

Since the text is quite corrupt in its transmission, I present only the standardized edition here (a complete diplomatic transcription appears in Appendix II *infra*, 1029–1033). This text opens with a short prologue that explicitly introduces the text as one that an *ācārya yogī* (a lay priest who conducts end-of-life rituals)<sup>62</sup> should recite for someone who is severely ill and on their deathbed.

សិទ្ធិការ្យនេះនឹងស្រដៀងអ្នកគួរធ្វើជាយោគី នឹងរៀបឲ្យដំណើរបុគ្គល មួយសោតថាបើជម្ងឺនោះឈឺលំបាក  
ណាស់ក្រែងមានកម្មពៀរនោះឲ្យសូត្រស្នាណាទោសបាបកម្មនោះថាដូច្នោះ ៖

Success (*siddhikāry*)! This is an explanation about what a person who is suited to be a funerary priest (*yogī*) should do to prepare for the “journey of the person [from this life to the next]” (*taṃṅōr puggal*). For one, if the person is suffering from severe illness and there is concern that hostile karma is involved, then you should recite the “Absolution of Faults and Sinful Karma” (*smā lā dos pāpakamm*) as follows:

What follows is a series of passages in Pali that recall a number of the canonical and non-canonical chants of repentance and absolution examined above. The first passage, to the extent it is legible (the sole leporello witness suffered severe water damage), includes aspects of the canonical pericope as cited in the first part of the Pali-Lao just discussed:

*ukāsa accayo no bhante accagamā yathābāle yathāmūlhe yathā-akusale yena mayam dutthacittā  
pamādacittā [illegible] tumhesu kāyena vācā manasā pamāda [illegible] tesu no bhante accayam*

<sup>61</sup> The sole witness appears in **UB068** 27b–30b.

<sup>62</sup> For more on this role, see Chapter 4 *supra*, 230.



## Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

*accayato paṭiggaṇhatha sabbadosaṃ khamantu no āyatiṃ bhante saṃvarāya [illegible] ratanattaye  
garugāraḥva [illegible] kusalacetanā amhākaṃ dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya yāva magganibbānaṃ  
pariyosonāya.*

Permit me! I transgressed, O Venerable, when foolishly, in confusion, and unskillfully, with a mind that was deluded, a mind that was careless, disrespectful... with regards to... the [Three Jewels], by means of body, speech, and mind... , with regards to the [Three Jewels], O Venerable, accept our transgression as a transgression and forgive all of our faults, O Venerable, for the sake of restraint in the future... deep reverence to the Three Jewels... by means of the meritorious intention... for our long-term benefit and happiness until the path of Nibbāna [is attained] in the very end.

The canonical pericope is expanded and localized through the added petition to “forgive all of our faults” (*sabbadosaṃ khamantu no*). The text then follows with a non-canonical passage, in highly unusual syntax, that petitions for the consequences of all evil actions to be rendered inert (*ahosikamma*):

*atītaṃ anāgataṃ paṇcuppannaṃ me dosaṃ verā-kammaṃ pāpaṃ sabbaṃ uppañjantu no  
ahosikammaṃ saṃvaro'ti.*

May all of my past, present, and future faults, enmities, and sins become inert and restrained.

This is followed by a passage that recalls a non-canonical chant recited in contemporary Southeast Asia for asking forgiveness from the Buddha, cited and discussed earlier (*yo doso mohacittena buddhasmiṃ pakato mayā khamatha me kataṃ dosaṃ sabbapāpaṃ vinassatu*). In this case, however, the text expands its petition for forgiveness to include the Dharma, the Sangha, teachers, parents, and various deities:

*yo doso mohacittena buddhasmiṃ dhammasmiṃ saṅghasmiṃ garūpañjhāyācāriyasmiṃ mātāpitāsmiṃ  
vrikṣādeva-bhummadeva-ākāsadeva-sahasakoṭi-asamkheyyaṃ anantacakkavāle pakato kāyakammaṃ  
vacīkammaṃ atītaṃ me dosaṃ khamāmi 'haṃ.*

Whatever fault—with regards to the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, masters, preceptors, teachers, parents, and thousands of myriads of uncountables of tree deities, soil deities, and sky deities across the limitless universe—has been committed by me in a mind state of confusion, I forgive myself for that committed fault of past bodily or verbal action.

In addition to adding to the list of beings one could have wronged, this passage is notable for changing the expected “may you forgive me for that committed fault” (*khamatha me kataṃ dosaṃ*) to “I forgive myself for that [committed] fault” (*me dosaṃ khamāmi 'haṃ*). Although potentially no more than an error in the transmission of this text, this change points to a radically different approach regarding the consequences of unwholesome actions. Not only has the focus shifted from repentance to absolution, but petitioners are able to issue a pardon

for themselves.

The text then offers a Pali parallel to the Lao portion of the Pali-Lao absolution text discussed above (*pāp bauḥ lobhaḥ pāp bauḥ dosaḥ pāp bauḥ mohah*, etc.):

*pāpalobho pāpadoso pāpamoho pāpacoro pāpacakkhu pāpasotā pāpaghanā pāpajivhā pāpakāyā  
pāppacittā pāpassatthā pāpa-uṇṇā pāpapāṇātipātā pāpādinā pāpakammesu-micchācārā  
pāpamusāvādā pāpasurāmerayyamajjappamādatthānā pāpasanḥādiseso pāpapārājikā  
pāpamedhunadhammaṃ sabbapāpaṃ sabbakammaṃ vinassanti asesato.*

*Pāpa* due to greed, *pāpa* due to anger, *pāpa* due to ignorance, *pāpa* of the eyes, *pāpa* of the ears, *pāpa* of the nose, *pāpa* of the tongue, *pāpa* of the body, *pāpa* of the mind, *pāpa* with regards to a bodhi tree, *pāpa* with regards to [the Buddha’s] eyebrow hair (*uṇṇa*),<sup>63</sup> *pāpa* from killing living beings, *pāpa* from stealing, *pāpa* from sexual misconduct, *pāpa* from lying, *pāpa* from drinking intoxicants, *pāpa* from [violating the Vinaya rules that require] a meeting of the Sangha, *pāpa* from [violating the Vinaya rules that amount to] defeat, *pāpa* from [violating the first rule meriting defeat for monastics, i.e.] engaging in sexual intercourse, all *pāpa*, all karma—may they be eradicated without remainder.

Just like the Lao text, which asks to “eradicate [all *pāpa*] completely and without remainder” (*kāṃcāt sēy hai<sub>2</sub> hmāt hai<sub>2</sub> sin<sub>2</sub>*), this text seeks the complete absolution of the consequences of all sinful actions. The explicit end-of-life context of this passage makes it clear that the enumeration of sins refers to evil actions that a person might have committed over the course of his life, including harming Buddhist objects, violating the five precepts of a layperson, and even violating the gravest monastic rules. The point, however, is not necessarily to confess and seek repentance for faults one has committed, but rather to pray that all possible karmic obstacles be absolved at the end of life.

**Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** then continues these same themes in Khmer. The vernacular portion begins with an invocation for all buddhas to “pacify all my unskillful karma” (*ramṇāp’ as’ akusalakamm*):

*ukāsa ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថ្វាយកាយសន្តានចិត្តសន្តានជីវិតទៅព្រះពុទ្ធជាអម្ចាស់ទាំងឡាយ ព្រះអង្គចូលនិព្វាន  
កន្លងរំលងទៅហើយច្រើនលើសជាងដីឧបាទាំង ៤ សមុទ្រ [illegible] សូមព្រះអង្គមកតាំងនៅលើសិរសាដួង  
ចិត្ត សូមមានប្រទ្ធិអាណាព្រាហ្មណ៍អស់អកុសលកម្ម ។*

Permit me! I, servant of your grace, humbly offer my body, my mind-stream, and my life-stream to all of the Lord Buddhas, who have already entered Nibbāna in numbers greater than the sands of the four oceans... May the Lords be established upon my head and in my heart. May their power and influence pacify all my unskillful karma.

This is followed by an invitation to the Five Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* and their associated five elements and five *guṇa* (mother, father, king, kin, and preceptor), praying that their power may vanquish all sinful karma and enemies in the ten directions.

<sup>63</sup> I am not sure why the Buddha’s *uṇṇa* (Sanskrit *ūṇā*) would be mentioned in this context.

Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

Prayers of absolution take a variety of forms in this text. The most common formula is *sūm smā lā dos as' pāp nūv kamm*, “to humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of my faults and all sinful karma.” This construction combines a term for asking for forgiveness, *smā* (from Sanskrit *√kṣam*, cf. Pali *√kham*), with a verb for petitioning for absolution frequently used in Khmer, *lā* (“to take leave,” the root of *lpā*, “absolution”). Many passages in the Khmer section of **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** invoke this formula:

*ukāsa* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមស្នាលទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្មអំព្វីសហស្សកោដិអស់ខេយ្យអនន្តជាតិសង្សារ ក្រែងបានប្រមាទដោយនូវកាយកម្ម វចីកម្ម មនោកម្ម ។ សូមស្នាលទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្ម ក្រែងបានប្រមាទព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះធម៌ដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះសង្ឃដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ នូវគ្រូឧប្បជ្ឈរាជ អាចារិយោ មាតាបិតា ។

Permit me! I, servant of your grace, humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of my faults and all sinful karma from one thousand myriads of uncountable eons in infinite saṃsāra, lest I have been negligent in bodily karma, verbal karma, and mental karma. I humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of faults and all sins and karma, lest I have been negligent with regards to the Lord Buddha, the Lord Dharma, and the Lord Saṅgha, or my preceptors, teachers, and parents.

The text follows this same formula for asking for absolution and taking leave with regards to all manner of sins, including those incurred against kings, wise men, Indra, Brahmā, Yama, the Four Great Kings, Death, Water, Earth, Fire, Wind, Rain, Vaiśravaṇa, the Sun, the Moon, virtuous persons, the elderly, quadrupeds, bipeds, footless creatures, and fish. It closes by expressing a vow to practice meritorious deeds on the deathbed, including the cultivation of *mettā*, and a final petition for Three Jewels to act as a sword to cut through “all unskillful karma”:

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូត្រមុនចម្រើនមេត្តាការវនា ផែផលបុណ្យគុណជូនទៅឲ្យបានមគ្គផល ឲ្យបានដល់សម្បត្តិទាំង ៣ ប្រការ ទៀងទាត់ដរាបលុះដល់និព្វានហោង ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះធម៌ដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះសង្ឃដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ មកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វថ្ងៃ មកកាត់អស់អកុសលកម្មពីបរមជាតិក្តី ក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នជាតិនេះ ក្តី អនាគតទៅឯភ្នែកនោះក្តី ដរាបរៀងរាល់ព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។

I, servant of your grace, chant protective texts and cultivate the meditation on goodwill, spreading out the fruits of the merit and virtue so as to attain the paths and the fruits, and to surely attain the triple treasures for all time, all the way until Nibbāna. I, servant of your grace, humbly invite the Lord Buddha, the Lord Dharma, and the Lord Saṅgha to come serve as the precious divine sword that cuts through all unskillful karma from former lives, from the present life, and from future lives to come, all the way until the attainment of Nibbāna.

After the text proper concludes, the scribe provides a short ritual instruction for how to use

this text with the dying: “Recite this nine times. May this absolve faults, all sins, and karma.”<sup>64</sup>

The text of **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r**, as a bilingual deathbed chant, captures many of the themes raised in this section. After a vernacular prologue that frames it as a text to recite for the dying, text launches into a version of the canonical Pali repentance pericope. Instead of continuing with the model of confessing and seeking to make amends for transgressions, however, the text weaves together a number of non-canonical Pali chants used in various forms throughout Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. These chants, as opposed to the canonical repentance passages, seek absolution from any possible negative karmic consequences of one’s actions. They seek, in other words, to avoid the karmic consequences that are understood to be part and parcel of a lived human life. They do not pretend that those on their deathbed have lived morally perfect lives, and so endeavor to allow these individuals to absolve and take leave from their accumulated sins. The vernacular portion of **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** reinforces and solidifies the text as one of absolution rather than repentance, as it petitions the Three Jewels to slice through all of one’s evil karma so as to be freed from inauspicious consequences in the next life.

The end-of-life texts that focus on “taking leave of” (*lā, lpā*) one’s sins need to be contextualized in this broader movement from repentance to absolution. The Khmer authors who composed the verse texts for absolution and aspiration (examined in greater detail in subsequent sections of this chapter) were working within the moral and ritual framework of texts such as **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** and its cousins elsewhere in the Khmer-Tai Buddhist world. They recognized that the deathbed was a potent place and time for the practice of not only confessing the evil deeds committed over lifetime but also petitioning for the swift and remainderless eradication, through one’s own prayers as much through the power of the Three Jewels.

#### 9.4 From Arhatship to Buddhahood

The previous section aimed to provide a foundation for understanding how absolution functions as part of the work of the dying; this section focuses instead on aspiration. Rather than looking at what end-of-life texts petition for freedom from, I examine what they articulate aspirations for. These include a range of soteriological ends, from more worldly boons to Nibbāna and buddhahood itself. As was the case for the previous section, I place these expressions of aspiration in Cambodian leporellos in conversation with a wide range of texts from the Khmer-Tai Buddhist world, including manuscript colophons and stone inscriptions, to show how deathbed prayers are supported by broader trends in Buddhist culture.

##### 9.4.1 Aspirations in Colophons and Inscriptions

Aspirations are frequently articulated in the colophons of manuscripts. In Chapter 2, I analyzed seven of the nine components of colophons as found in Cambodian leporellos: 1) appeals to take care of the manuscript; 2) names of donors and/or scribes; 3) location; 4)

<sup>64</sup> នេះឲ្យសូត្រ៩តំរង់ សូមស្តារណាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្មនោះហោង ។។។

time/date; 5) contents; 6) purpose; and 7) apologies for mistakes and appeal for correction. In this section and the next, I consider the final two aspects—8) dedication of merit, including names of dedicatees and 9) aspiration/absolution—as evidence for how Cambodian Buddhists express their prayers in the context of end-of-life texts and rituals.

Of the 70 manuscripts I studied, 35 contain colophons that included the eighth and ninth components as outlined above. However, since each manuscript may contain multiple colophons, I count a total of 53 colophons that include a dedication of merit (Khmer *uddis*, cf. Pali *uddisati*, literally “to point out” but in this context “to allot”) and/or a statement expressing an *adhittāna* (either aspirations only or aspirations and absolutions together) of the scribes or sponsors.

Within these 53 colophons, seventeen instances of *uddisa* can be found. These concern the scribe’s or sponsor’s dedication of the merit gained by copying or paying someone to copy a manuscript. A few examples, such as that found in **UB017**, are in Pali: *ukāsa idaṃme dānaṃ mātāpitūnaṃ nātisālohitānaṃ petānaṃ hotu* (“Permit me! May this gift of mine be for my parents and blood relations [who have become] hungry ghosts.”<sup>65</sup> Most, however, are in Khmer, such as that found in **UB047**:

...ហើយយើងខ្ញុំទាំងគ្នា សូមឌីទិសកុសលទាំងអស់ដែលយើងខ្ញុំបានកសាងនេះ សូមជូននឹងថ្វាយ សូមឲ្យបានដល់លោកអ្នកគុណខ្ញុំនៅកុសលទាំងអស់នេះ ដល់ មាតា បិតា ជីដូន ជីតា គ្រូរ ឧប្បណាយាបាប្យ ព្រមទាំងញាតិទាំងប្រាំពីរសន្តាន សូមលោកអនុមោទនាទទួលឲ្យបានស្មើគ្នា ទៅហោង<sup>66</sup>

... and all of us humbly dedicate (*uddis*) these meritorious deeds (*kusal*) that we have accumulated to be offered to those to whom we owe debts (*gun*), [giving] all of these meritorious deeds to our mothers, fathers, grandmothers, grandfathers, masters, preceptors, teachers, and all relatives up to the seventh generation. May you all rejoice (*anumodanā*) and receive [these merits] equally.

A few of the colophons specify that the merits to be allotted or shared are those leading to the “[four] paths and [four] fruits” (*magg phal*) and culminating in arhatship. **UB060** contains one such colophon:

ខ្ញុំសូមឌីទិសជូនមគ្គផលដល់វិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធលោកអ្នកមានគុណទាំងឡាយមានមាតាបិតាស្វាមីតាជូនមាមីដបងប្អូនកូនចៅញាតិការទាំង៧សន្តាន សូមលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់អនុមោទនាទទួលយកមគ្គផលដូចខ្ញុំឌីទិសជូនទៅនេះ<sup>67</sup>

I humbly dedicate the paths and fruits [resulting from these meritorious deeds] to the [departed] spirits (*vinñāṇakkhandh*) of all those to whom I owe debts, including my mother, father, husband, grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, children, grandchildren, and relatives up to the seventh generation. May you all rejoice and receive the paths and fruits that I have dedicated in offering to you.

<sup>65</sup> **UB017** 69b

<sup>66</sup> **UB047** 51a–51b

<sup>67</sup> **UB060** 1a

Finally, in a few instances, the scribe dedicates the merit both to someone else and to him- or herself. This is the case for **UB004**: “By means of the power of the benefits of the Dharma (*dhammānisaṇsa*), I humbly dedicate these auspicious merits (*kusal rāsi*) to the Venerable [Sirisuvanṇo Bin Səm] as well as to myself, the scribe.”<sup>68</sup>

These dedications of merit sometimes appear on their own without any further aspiration or absolution. In some cases, the scribe or sponsor prays for certain benefits to accrue to the dedicatees, most often the “three attainments,” “three treasures,” or “three felicities” (*sampatti 3 prakār*). These are typically defined as the felicities of the human realm (*sampatti manuss*), the heavenly realms (*sampatti devatā*), and Nibbāna (*sampatti brah nibbān*).<sup>69</sup> In these cases, the aspiration for the attainment of these three *sampatti* is simply part of the dedication of merit.

In other colophons, however, a separate set of aspirations, or absolutions mixed with aspirations, appears. These are separate from the act of *uddisa* and reflect the personal prayers of either the scribe or the sponsor, though those belonging to the scribe are more common in the leporellos I examined. The aspirations and absolutions in these colophons can be divided into many categories based on their content, with each colophon containing up to eight different acquisitional and/or apotropaic goals. Of the 120 total goals articulated in the 53 colophons, 107 are aspirations for positive ends. Only 13 are absolutions to avoid unfortunate fates, including freedom from illness (5, *byādhi*), [evil] karma (4, *kamm*), embarrassment (2, *dōs dāl*), the four lower realms (1, *caturāpāyamukh*), misfortune (1, *cairai*), and loss of mindful awareness on one’s deathbed (1, *vaṇṇen smārati kṇuṇi bel tēl chlan kāt’ dau kān’ lok khān nāy*).<sup>70</sup> Absolutions rarely appear by themselves but instead tend to occur in combination with aspirations. In this section, I consider only the range of aspirations in these colophons; instances where aspirations and absolutions are combined will be analyzed in the following section.

A few aspirations occur only once in the set of leporellos. These include vigor (*bala*), beauty (*vaṇṇa*), eloquence (*patibhāṇa*),<sup>71</sup> peace (*santibhāb*),<sup>72</sup> right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*), and an alternative three *sampatti*, different from those discussed above (*bhog* [“fortune”], *paññā* [“intelligence”], and *drabya* [“wealth”]).<sup>73</sup> Another group of aspirations occurs only twice or thrice, such as prayers for the longevity of the Buddhist dispensation (*ciram tiṭṭhatu buddhasāsanam*),<sup>74</sup> for personal long life (*āyu*), or for the four or five *buddhabar* (*āyu* [longevity]),

<sup>68</sup> **UB004** 2a: ដោយអំណាចធម្មទាននិសង្ស សូមឧទ្ទិសកុសលរាសីចំពោះបុព្វការីជនរបស់លោកព្រមទាំងរបស់រូបខ្ញុំជាអ្នកចម្លង

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, **UB001** 2b: ម្យ៉ាងទៀតលោកអ្នកបានកសាង សូមបានសម្រេចសំបុត្រព្រះគោតមសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធស្យាទ ទេវតាទ ព្រះនិពាន្ត១ កបិអាកំខានឡើយ។

<sup>70</sup> ព្យាធិ; កម្ម; ទើសទាល់; ចតុកបាយមុខ; ចង្រៃ; វង្វែងស្មារតីក្នុងពេលដែលលូតលាស់ទៅកាន់លោកខាងនាយ.

<sup>71</sup> See **UB004** 2a: ម្យ៉ាងទៀត សូមឲ្យបានព្រះអង្គនិងរូបខ្ញុំជាអ្នកចម្លងមានបដិភាណក្នុងវិជ្ជាទាំងពួងគ្រប់ជាតិៗតរៀងទៅ

<sup>72</sup> See **UB009** 2a: សូមឱ្យសព្វសត្វ ទាំងពួងក្នុងលោកបានសន្តិភាព ។

<sup>73</sup> For the latter, see **UB058** 31b: ខ្ញុំសូមផ្សងសេចក្តីកើតឡើយកាល្ហា មានភូតសម្បត្តិបញ្ញាកសម្បត្តិ ទ្រាពូសម្បត្តិ ដូចប្រដូ

<sup>74</sup> See **UB009** 2a: *ciram tiṭṭhatu buddhasāsanam* សូមឱ្យព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ស្ថិតស្ថេរគង្គវង្សយូរអង្វែងរហូតដល់ ៥០០០វស្សា ។

*vanṇa* [beauty], *sukha* [happiness], *bala* [energy], and *paṭibhāṇa* [eloquence]).<sup>75</sup>

Note that most of the above aspirations are not soteriological goals per se but are concerned with worldly achievements and talents. Aspirations to reach Nibbāna or to attain buddhahood are particularly common in leporello colophons. The former includes wishes for three *sampatti* (*manussa-*, *devatā-*, and *nibbāna-sampatti*), which appear eight times in my sample, or simple prayers that mention Nibbāna as the ultimate goal.<sup>76</sup> One variant of the latter is to invoke a Pali phrase found in **UB067**: *nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ* (“Nibbāna is the highest bliss”).<sup>77</sup> Also quite common, appearing no fewer than twelve times, is the Pali phrase *nibbānapaccayo hotu* (“may this [act of merit] be a condition for [my attainment of] Nibbāna”).<sup>78</sup> These three styles of aspiration are essentially the same, as they all pray for the final attainment of Nibbāna as one’s highest goal.

Some colophons express a more specific aspiration for the future. This is typically articulated by a wish to meet the Three Jewels in lives to come (five colophons) or to encounter the future Buddha Maitreya when he awakens in the future (seven colophons). The former is expressed in **UB035**: “May I aspire to meet with the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha in future lives, and may I achieve wisdom and mindful awareness in every life from now on.”<sup>79</sup> A colophon from **UB032** provides an example of the latter: “We all humbly pray that, in future lives, we are born in time for Si Ā Metrī [Śrī Ārya Maitreya] and are able to achieve the highest levels of the Dharma without fail.”<sup>80</sup> **UB049** includes a colophon that describes the role of Maitreya Buddha in times to come: “I humbly pray [to be born] in time for Lord Si Ā Metrī, the Lord who will awaken to lead all beings to attain Nibbāna, to peace and bliss, so that no trace of pain or fear remains.”<sup>81</sup>

This aspiration is ubiquitous among Buddhists in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. In some texts, for example a mid-seventeenth-century Khmer inscription from Vatt Adhvā, Siem Reap (K. 261 E), the petitioner makes it clear what role he or she wishes to have in the time of Maitreya. In lines 16–20 of this inscription, the monk Udayapaññā, having declared his pious act of restoring old buddha images and donating new ones, makes the following aspiration:

<sup>75</sup> For the latter, see **UB004** 2a: ឲ្យបានប្រកបដោយពុទ្ធពរទាំង៥ប្រការ ។

<sup>76</sup> For example, in **UB043** 94b, Nuon Sun-tī expresses her aspiration as follows: សូមប្រាថ្នាសម្រេចព្រះនិព្វានហោង (“I humbly aspire to attain Nibbāna”).

<sup>77</sup> **UB067** 21a: *nibbānaṃ paramaṃsukkhamaṃ*. In some cases, this phrase is combined with *paccayo hotu*, cf. **UB012** 65a: *nibbānaṃ paramaṃsukkhamaṃ paccayohontu*.

<sup>78</sup> In some cases this is shortened to *paccayo hotu* and/or combined with the three *sampatti*. See, for instance, **UB008** 59a–59b: សូមឱ្យបានសម្បត្តិប្រការសម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោក្យ ១ សម្បត្តិក្នុងជានិព្វាន ១ សម្បត្តិក្នុងជានិព្វាន ១ *paccayohontu* ។ ២៣ ។

<sup>79</sup> **UB035** 67b ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នាជួបនឹងព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធសម្រេចព្រះនិព្វាន កើតអណាគុតសូមមានដំប្រេះប្រាជ្ញា [in pencil] ស្មារដី [in black ink] រៀងរាល់សព្វជាតិទៅហោង

<sup>80</sup> **UB032** 44b: យើងខ្ញុំទាំងអស់គ្នាសូមប្រាថ្នាថា ជាតិអគតសូមឲ្យយើងទាំងអស់គ្នាបានទាន់ព្រះសិរិមេត្រីហើយឲ្យបានសម្រេចនៅធម៌ជាន់ខ្ពស់កុំបីខានឡើយ ។ ២៣

<sup>81</sup> **UB049** 35a: ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នា ទាន់ព្រះសិរិមេត្រីជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះអង្គបានត្រានាំសត្វទាំងឡាយដាក់ដល់និព្វាន ខ្សែមខ្សានសប្បាយ ឥតមានទុក្ខកែដល់តិចឡើយណា ។

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*pubiṭṭ riy añ khñāṃ sot sūm pān dan saṅṃmatec braḥ si-āryametri bovadhistr jā ārahan i stāṃm  
braḥ aṅg hoñ riy saṃmaner yas chlāk braḥ jheh neh sūm pān jā ārahan e chvīn braḥ aṅg hoñ*<sup>82</sup>

My lord! As for me, may I be born in the time of Lord Śrī Ārya Maitreya Bodhisattva as the arahant on the right of the Lord. As for the novice Yasa who carved this wooden buddha image, may he be the arahant to the left of the Lord.

Udayapaññā seeks not merely to be born in the time of Maitreya, but to be one of his leading disciples, presumably Śāriputra, whereas the *sāmaṇera* Yasa aspires to be another leading disciple, perhaps Mahākāśyapa. Like Sokheng and Ratana, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Udayapaññā and Yasa aspire to be specific Buddhist figures of consequence in the future. The ultimate goal is arhatship, rather than buddhahood, in these examples.

Other colophons from the leporellos use the stock phrase *anāgate kāle*, meaning “in the future,” which generally refers to the attainment of either arhatship or buddhahood in a lifetime to come.<sup>83</sup> When the meaning of arhatship is intended, other Pali stock phrases may be added before *anāgate kāle*, such as *idaṃ vata me puññāṃ āsavakkhayaṃ nibbānasankhātāṃ hotu* (“This is indeed my merit. [By means of this merit], may [I] reach the destruction of the cankers known as ‘Nibbāna’” [in the future]).<sup>84</sup> Another similar stock phrase that may be used in conjunction with *anāgate kāle* is the previously mentioned *nibbānapaccayo hotu*.<sup>85</sup>

However, in many other colophons, the phrase *anāgate kāle* does not refer to a wish for the attainment of arhatship in the future but rather to a vow to reach buddhahood. This is most frequently witnessed in the stock phrase *buddho homi anāgate kāle*, “May I become a buddha in the future.”<sup>86</sup> A longer version of this formula may be found in a Pali inscription from Siam, attributed to the high-ranking monk *santeḥ braḥ mahāther* Cuḍāmaṇī in 1376 CE:

*iminā puññakammena buddho homi anāgate  
saṅsārā mocanattāya sabbe satte asesato*<sup>87</sup>

By this act of merit, may I become a buddha in the future  
for the sake of liberating all beings without remainder from saṃsāra.

<sup>82</sup> Saveros Pou, “Inscriptions en khmer moyen de Vat Athvea (K. 261),” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 64 (1977): 162.

<sup>83</sup> In a few cases, the meaning of *anāgate kāle* is completely ambiguous. For example, **UB006** 58b reads: “I humbly aspire to have wisdom, happiness, and longevity, *aṅā kate kale [anāgate kāle]*.” (សម្រាថ្នាខ្ញុំមានប្រាថ្នា មានសាចក្តីយ សុ ភ្នួស្ស្សយ អាចូស្តយ្យេនយុវ អណា កតេកលេខា). The scribe may be aspiring to simply have wisdom, happiness, and longevity in the future, or to have these three boons and eventually attain Nibbāna in the future.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example, **UB013** 78b: *anāgatekāle mahappaññā* ។ បានប្រែថ្ងៃ *idaṃ vatame puññāṃ āsavakkhaya vahaṃ nibbānasa[nikhātāṃ hotu anā gate] kāle* (In the future [may I achieve] great wisdom. This translates as: *This is indeed my merit. [By means of this merit], may [I] reach the destruction of the cankers known as ‘Nibbāna’ in the future.*). See also **UB017** 69b: *idaṃ vata me puññāṃ āsavakkhaya vahaṃ nibbānasa[nikhātāṃ hotu anāgatekāle]*.

<sup>85</sup> **UB067** 21a: *am’āgūtēkallē nibbānapaccayo honti. nibbāmaṃparamamsukkhāṃ.*

<sup>86</sup> **UB015** 15b, **UB037** 24a: *buddhohomi anāgatekāle*; **UB057** 27a: *buddhohomi anāgatekāle.*

<sup>87</sup> Kongkaew Veerapajak กองแก้ว วีระประจักษ์, “Cārīk lān daañ samtéc braḥ mahāther cuḍāmaṇī จารึกลานทอง สมเด็จพระมหาเถรเจ้าชาวมณี,” *Sīlpākār* ศิลปากร 27 (July 2526): 81–85.



This inscribed verse is one of many that fill out the necessary context for the bare phrase *buddho homi anāgate kāle*. Such verses make clear that the aspiration for buddhahood on the basis of meritorious action is clearly distinct from arhatship, for it involves leading other beings to liberation from the cycle of *saṃsāra*.

As Peter Skilling, Jeffery Samuels, and others have long pointed out, such aspirations for buddhahood are not limited to Mahayana Buddhists. Many Theravada Buddhists in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia have prayed to become fully awakened buddhas over the centuries. Samuels demonstrates how this aspiration cuts across the diversity of Theravada Buddhism, and was very much part of the soteriological system advocated by Pali texts (such as the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpīṭaka*) and articulated by many kings and monks in Sri Lanka.<sup>88</sup> Skilling shows how closely the notion of kings as bodhisattvas is woven into royal ideology in Siam, including the division of bodhisattvas into the three types of “strong in wisdom” (*paññādhika*), “strong in faith” (*saddhādhika*), and “strong in energy” (*viriyādhika*).<sup>89</sup> Thus there should be little surprise that the aspiration to attain buddhahood shows up frequently in both colophons and chanted texts in Cambodian leporellos.

A number of stone inscriptions in Khmer show the enduring currency of such aspirations over the centuries.<sup>90</sup> For instance, in a Khmer-language inscription from Sukhothai in 1361 CE (K. 413 B, face II, lines 48–51), King Lithai is quoted as vowing to achieve buddhahood:

*adhithāna rohh neh nu phala punya ti añ pvas ta sāsana brah buddha kamraten añ ruw neh añ vvaṃ  
trṣṇā cakrabarttisampatti indrasampatti brahmasampatti añ trṣṇā vvaṃ leñ añ aṃpān jā brah buddha  
pi nām satva phon chlon traibhaba neh guh*<sup>91</sup>

[He made] the following aspiration: “As for the fruit of the merit from my ordination in the religion of the My Lord the Buddha, I thirst not for the treasures of a wheel-turning monarch, of Indra, or of Brahma; I thirst only that I may become a buddha to lead all beings to pass beyond the triple world.”

Without mentioning buddhahood specifically, another mid-seventeenth-century Khmer inscription from Vatt Adhvā, Siem Reap (K. 261 B) makes a series of bodhisattva-like commitments to aid living beings in *saṃsāra*. Lines 20–23 present a vow to liberate beings from the hells, and lines 27–32 articulate a wish to save people born into poverty:

<sup>88</sup> Jeffery Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Reevaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition,” *Philosophy East & West* 47, no. 3 (July 1997): 399–415.

<sup>89</sup> Peter Skilling, “King, *Sangha* and Brahmans: Ideology, Ritual and Power in Pre-Modern Siam,” in *Buddhism, Power and Political Order*, ed. Ian Harris (London: Routledge, 2007), 182–215. See also Peter Skilling, “Three Types of Bodhisattva in Theravādin Tradition,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 90–103.

<sup>90</sup> Such inscriptions could also be productively compared with similar vows expressed in other contexts, such those discussed in Vincent Tournier, “Mahākāśyapa, His Lineage, and the Wish for Buddhahood: Reading Anew the Bodhgayā Inscriptions of Mahānāman,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 57 (2014): 1–60.

<sup>91</sup> Pou, “Inscriptions dite de Brai Svây ou «Bois des Manguiers» de Sukhoday,” 344.

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*pubiṭ ri 'añ khñam sot raṃlān pañajākhān aṃbiy manūsaloḥ neḥ doḥ dov ket no sūr niy oy 'añ pān tah iss satv narok phoṅ daṃṇi hlāy... doḥ yopi manūsaloḥ neḥ ksat vipāk caṅ mās prāk oy 'añ pān daṃmalāk mās prāk aṃmabiy sor nāy oy dān gey hoṅ doḥ añ ciyot aṃmabiy sor ktiy mok ket nu nā manūsaloḥ neḥ ktiy sthān nā-nā ktiy oy cit 'añ khlān traṅ gūsal sabv-sabv jāt kaṃmanet hoṅ<sup>92</sup>*

My lord! As for me, when my five aggregates break apart from this human world, even if I am born into the heavens, may I liberate beings in all of the hells... For those born in this human realm who are poor and face difficulties for want of gold and silver, may I cause gold and silver to fall down from the heavens in offering to them. If I should pass away from the heavens and take birth in the human realm or in various other realms, may my heart thirst for wholesome deeds in every life.

Such aspirations to act like a bodhisatva appear in numerous leporello colophons. One example from **UB012** shows a number of aspirations, including for the three *sampatti*, to meet Maitreya, and to acquire the qualities of a bodhisatva, as expressed in figures from *jātaka* narratives:

*ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នា សម្បត្តិបីប្រការ សម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោក សម្បត្តិទេព្វារ និងសម្បត្តិមហាព្រះនិព្វាន កុំម្នីអាក់ខានឡើយ  
ៗ សូមបានចិត្តបុណ្យដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរ សូមឱ្យចិត្តនោះល្អដូចនាងមេទ្រី សូមឱ្យមានតិរិះ ដូចនាងតម្រា  
សូមឱ្យមានប្រាជ្ញាដូចព្រះមហេស្វទ្ធ សូមជួបនឹងអង្គព្រះសេអាមេត្រីយ៍ កុំម្នីឃ្នាំងឃ្នាតឡើយ ។<sup>93</sup>*

I humbly wish for the three *sampatti*: the treasures of humans, the treasures of the gods, and the treasures of great Nibbāna; may I not fail [to achieve them]. May I have a heart of merit like Prince Vessantara, a heart of kindness like [Vessantara’s consort] Princess Madrī, intelligence like [Mahosatha’s consort] Princess Amarādevī,<sup>94</sup> and wisdom like Prince Mahosatha. May I not fail to meet Se Ā Metrī(y).

Although not explicitly linked to buddhahood in this passage, such prayers to take on the qualities of Śākyamuni Buddha in his former lives and the attributes of his consorts. These prayers reflect an aspiration to take up the path of the bodhisatva or that of his constant partner in saṃsāra, the future Princess Yaśodharā Bimbā.

A few colophons in Cambodian leporellos express the aspiration for buddhahood in a different way by invoking the term *buddhabhūmi*. This term, rare in Pali literature, directly connotes the “ground” or “level” of buddhahood. In **UB062**, for instance, the scribe aspires to reach this state of omniscience in the future: “I, the scribe, humbly pray (*adhittān*): in a future life, may I not fail to awaken to the wisdom of omniscient knowledge (*prajñā sārabejñatā ñāṇ*, i.e. *prajñā-sarvajñatā-ñāṇa*) on the level of buddhahood within this world.”<sup>95</sup> The emphasis

<sup>92</sup> Pou, “Inscriptions en khmer moyen de Vat Athvea (K. 261),” 162.

<sup>93</sup> **UB012** 65b–66b

<sup>94</sup> The text reads *nān tāṃmrār* នាងតម្រា, a common variant for Amarādevī in many Khmer colophons.

<sup>95</sup> **UB062** 76b ខ្ញុំជាងសូមអធិដ្ឋាន; អនាគតជាតិ: ខ្ញុំសូមត្រាស់ប្រាថ្នាសារពេជ្ជតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកិច្ចដំលោកកុំបីឃ្នាតឡើយ ។

on the all-knowing qualities of a buddha's wisdom make clear that this aspiration aims beyond that of arhatship.

Although relatively rare in Cambodian leporello colophons, the term *buddhabhūmi* appears in both Pali and vernacular Siamese in a fascinating Thai-script colophon from Or 15207, one of the leporellos from Siam examined in Chapter 4. On folio 91r, the scribe, the elderly and solitary Grandfather (i.e. Mr.) *Īn<sub>1</sub>*, makes an extraordinary admission: he took a knife to draw blood from his forehead to mix with the ink he used as an act of offering to the words of the Buddha, including the Māleyya narrative. For this gift of the body, again echoing ideals from *jātaka* narratives concerning the bodhisatva's career, he aspires to reach *buddhabhūmi*:

Diplomatic transcription:

เดือนแปดปลาย ขึ้น ๑๓ คำ วัน ๖ ปีมะเมีย จุลศักราชพัรสองรอยสีสับซี่ปีมะเมียจัด  
 วาศฯ ฯ ขษาฯ ดาอึงอยู่เอกาอะนาถา อยู่มาลป่าหนองสองตอน อายุขษาฯได้ ๖๖ ปีมะ  
 เมียเดือนแปดปลายขึ้น ๔ คำ วัน ๔ ขษาฯ หมีส้าทา เอามัดสับเอาเหลือษที่หน้าภาค ขษาฯ  
 เปนน้ำกะสายหลายมีก จารึกคำของพระศรีอาน ดรั้งสังแก่พระมาไหล มาถึงฉ่าวโลกา  
 ไหยเร่งทำกุส”น ขษาฯ ก็คิดถึงด”ล จึงข”วรีจากเอาเหลือษในกาย เป็นน้ำกะสายกับมีก  
 จารึกคำของพระไวย ข”วให้ ขษาฯ ไดไปบวชในสำนักพระศรีอานริย เมิวพระองค์  
 หล”งมาดรั้ง ขษาฯ จะข”วปร”นนี้บัต กว่าจะถึงกาลกำหนด พระองค์เข้าสู่พระณีพาน  
 ข”วให้ ขษาฯ ตั้งปะณิธาน ความปราถนา จะข”วเป็นพรพุทธม ด”วพระองค์ ข”วพระองค์  
 ให้ภอนแก่ ขษาฯ ข”วให้ข”วให้สำเร็จไปค่างหน้านั้นเทภู ฯ *pācāhyo hotu budabhūma  
 a, nāga, iekāle*

Standardized edition:

เดือนแปดปลาย ขึ้น ๑๓ คำ วัน ๖ ปีมะเมีย จุลศักราช พันสองร้อยสี่สิบสี่ ปีมะเมียจัดवासัก  
 ขษาฯ ดาอึง อยู่เอกาอนาถา อยู่บ้านป่าหนองสองตอน อายุ ขษาฯ ได้ ๖๖ ปีมะเมียเดือนแปด  
 ปลาย ขึ้น ๔ คำ วัน ๔ ขษาฯ มีศรัทธาเอามัดสับเอาเลือดหน้าผาก ขษาฯ เป็นน้ำกัใส่ลาย  
 หมึก จารึกคำของพระศรีอารยตรัสสังแก่พระมาลัยมาถึงชาวโลกา ให้เร่งทำกุศล ขษาฯ ก็  
 คิดถึงตน จึงบริจาควเอาเลือดในกาย เป็นน้ำกัใส่กับหมึกจารึกคำของพระไวย ฯ ขอให้ขษาฯ  
 ได้ไปบวชในสำนักพระศรีอารย เมิวพระองค์ลงมาดรั้ง ขษาฯ จะขอปรนนิบัติ กว่าจะถึงกา  
 ละกำหนด พระองค์เข้าสู่พระนิพพาน ขอให้ขษาฯ ตั้งปะณิธานความปราถนา จะขอเป็น  
 พระพุทธภูมิ ต่อพระองค์ ขอพระองค์จึงให้พรแก่ขษาฯ ขอให้ขษาฯ ให้สำเร็จไปข้างหน้าเถิด  
 ฯ *paccayo hotu buddhabhūmi anāgate kāle*

Translation:

The latter eighth month, the thirteenth waxing day, sixth of the week, year of the horse, one thousand two hundred and forty-four of the Lesser Era (Cullasakarāja), year of the horse, fourth of the decade [equivalent to Friday, 28 July 1882 CE]—I,

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servant of the Lord, Mr. In<sub>1</sub>, alone and without protection in Pā<sub>1</sub> Hnaa<sub>1</sub> Saan<sub>1</sub> Taan<sub>1</sub> village, at the age of 66 years, year of the horse, the latter eighth month, fourth waxing day, fourth of the week, had the faith to take a knife and slice open my forehead to take the blood and pour it into the ink for writing the words of Śrī Ārya [Maitreya] preaching to the monk Māleyya [and through him] to the people of the world to hurry up and make merit. I, servant of the Lord, reflecting upon myself, hence decided to offer the blood from my own body to be poured into the ink for recording the words of the Lord. May I, servant of the Lord, be able to ordain as a monk under Śrī Ārya [Maitreya] when he descends to awaken [in the future]. May I serve him until the time he passes away into Nibbāna. May I make a vow based on my aspiration to achieve the level of buddhahood (*buddhabhūmi*) after the Lord [Śrī Ārya Maitreya passes into Nibbāna]. May the Lord offer me a blessing [i.e. a prediction for buddhahood], and may I achieve it in the future. *May this [act of merit] be the condition [for the achievement] of the level of buddhahood in the future.*

The scribe's aspiration is quite specific: not only does he seek to be reborn in the time of the next buddha, he seeks to ordain as a monk under Maitreya, serve him throughout his life, not attain arhatship (as would be the expected path), and finally receive a blessing and prediction from Maitreya that he will be awakened in the future as a buddha. Unlike an unusual inscription discussed later in this chapter (see *infra*, 637–641), this colophon is typical in that it does not specify *which* future buddha In<sub>1</sub> hopes to be, however; it only states that he aspires to achieve buddhahood “after the Lord” or “in continuation from the Lord” (*taa<sub>1</sub> brah<sub>1</sub> aṅg*).<sup>96</sup> He could therefore hope to be the buddha immediately after Maitreya or the buddha after some unknown number of buddhas after Maitreya, in an even more distant future. The key point for the scribe, it seems, is not so much when he will awaken but that he will be assured by Maitreya that such a day will indeed arrive.

The colophons of Cambodian leporellos, especially when supplemented and clarified in the context of other Khmer-Tai Buddhist manuscripts and epigraphy, contain a wide spectrum of approaches to dedicating merit and making personal aspirations. In large measure, this spectrum is reflected in the chanted end-of-life texts of the leporellos themselves. The appearance of passages for *uddisa* and for aspiring to reach Nibbāna, to meet Maitreya, and to become a buddha oneself points to the importance of such aspirations in deathbed contexts.

### 9.4.2 Aspirations in End-of-Life Texts

A few leporello texts provide examples of how to dedicate merit to others, including to all beings, after the performances of a wholesome deed. In the case of **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**, this allotment of merit to all beings, “tiny or titantic,” occurs in the context of recommending the recitation of the *Ākāravattā* for the elimination of evil karma. Stanzas 25–29 show how this act of *uddisa* is intended to share the benefits with others, particularly those with whom we have vengeful karma (*vera*) from the past:

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<sup>96</sup> ต้อพระองค์

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<p>២៥ បើបីតិរិកចង់ស្តាប់ ឮសូរសព្ទមានចេតនា គិតកាត់ចិត្តឫស្សា ដាក់សិរសាឱនបង្គំ ។</p>	<p>25 If you rejoice, desire to listen to and hear the words with intention, then set aside jealousy, lower your head, bow down,</p>
<p>២៦ យកទៀនធូបភ្លឺផ្កា អស់បរិក្ខារគ្រឿងតូចធំ រំលឹកដល់ឥន្ទព្រហ្ម គុណមាតាបិតាផង ។</p>	<p>26 take up candles, incense, and flowers, all the major and minor implements, and recollect Indra, Brahma, and the virtues of mother and father,</p>
<p>២៧ ដ្បិតលោកមានគុណក្រៃ ឥតឧបមេយ្យថ្លៃកន្លង ឥឡូវខ្ញុំនេះហោង បានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃ ។</p>	<p>27 since they have manifold virtues, peerless and extremely precious: “Now I have listened to this precious Dharma.</p>
<p>២៨ សូមផលនេះជូនត្រង់ កាត់តម្រង់តាមបង្ខំយ តិចច្រើនសូមនិស្ស័យ ឲ្យលោកបានដូចបំណង ។</p>	<p>28 May these fruits be given to you directly according to conditions, whether great or small, may I seek dependance, such that your aspirations may be achieved.</p>
<p>២៩ សព្វសត្វតូចធំក្តី ចូរមេត្រីកុំគិតចង់ ទោសឡើយនឹងខ្ញុំហោង ចូរទទួលផលនេះណា ។</p>	<p>29 All beings, tiny or titanic, may they be my allies and seek no revenge for my own faults. May they receive these fruits.”</p>

Beyond the sharing of merit, many more poems in the *leporellos* articulate various personal aspirations, including for arhatship and buddhahood. Some texts, such as **sira: on-br** (“Bowling my head”), express a prayer to be born in the time of Maitreya (Metteyya) Buddha:

<p>១០ ខ្ញុំបានគោរពហើយ ព្រះគុណអើយខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នា ទាន់ព្រះមេត្តេយ្យា ត្រាស់ឯក្រោយដោយប្រពៃ ។</p>	<p>10 Having offered my respect, Lord of Virtues, I pray to be born in time for Metteyya, who will marvelously awaken in the future.</p>
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<p>១១          ពាក្យបំផុសបំណងណាត់          កុំបីភ្លាត់ណាម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ          សូមទាន់ព្រះមេតេយ្យ          គ្រាន់អាស្រ័យទៅនិពាន។</p>	<p>11          As for my words of prayer,          may they not be forgotten, Precious Master.          May I be born in time for Metteyya          such that I might be able to reach Nibbāna.</p>
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Other leprelo texts work within a framework of buddhahood as the ultimate goal. One such text is **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r** (“The Dhamma-body, bilingual version”), discussed briefly in Chapter 6 (see *supra*, 349–351). The closing lines of this text make clear that the desired soteriological aim is to become a buddha oneself: “the state of an omniscient buddha should be continuously contemplated by meditator of keen wisdom when making an aspiration.”<sup>97</sup> In this case, the implication is that certain *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation practices can lead directly to buddhahood.

Other end-of-life texts, however, such as **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** (“The three marks, beginning with ‘Painful is this body!,’ old version”), suggest that becoming a buddha is a difficult process that requires the gift of one’s own body:

<p>៦៦          អង្គុត្តិកទាន          អង្គពោធិញ្ញាណ          ចិត្តភ្លឺភ្លាខ្លាំង          មួយសែនបានមួយ          ជាត្រួយអរហំ          ប្រោសសត្វទូទាំង          សែនចក្រវាឡ។</p>	<p>66          Those who give of their own bodies (<i>ajjhātikadāna</i>)          to become Awakened Lords          must have brave minds.          One of one hundred thousand          can be the sprout of a buddha,          saving beings across          myriads of worlds.</p>
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A later passage in the same text celebrates that the future Buddha Maitreya, who, having given of his own flesh while a bodhisatva, will enjoy a radiant and luminous body:

<sup>97</sup> Translation reworked from the original in bilingual Pali-Khmer prose: *yogāvacara kulaputtana* គឺព្រះយោគាវចរកុល បុត្រ *tikkhaṃñāṇena* តិក្ខ្នញ្ញាណេន មានប្រាជ្ញាព្រះអង្គភ្លឺភ្លា *patthentena* កាលប្រាជ្ញា, *sabbāññibuddhabhāvaṃ* នៅសុភាពព្រះសព្វញ្ញ ពុទ្ធជាម្ចាះ *anussarītabbhaṃ* គប្បីវិញ *punaḥpunam* ឱ្យរៀយទៅហោងៗ សេចក្តីបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាម្ចាះនៃយើងចប់តែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ឯវា។ (**by one in the *yogāvacara* lineage** this is what one in the *yogāvacara* lineage **by one who possesses sharp wisdom** who possesses within himself courageous wisdom **by one who aspires** when aspiring **to the state of an omniscient buddha** to the state of an omniscient buddha **should be contemplated** should be contemplated **again and again** again and again continuously).

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១១៣	113
ព្រះអង្គគង់នៅ	The Lord will remain,
ព្រះរូបឥតសៅ	his body unsullied,
ល្អស្រស់ប្រពៃ	beautiful and lovely,
ជ្រាបសព្វដោយញាណ	informing all with insight,
សត្វមាននិស្ស័យ	including beings with the karmic affinity
ជាព្រះវេនេយ្យ	that allows them to be trained,
មនុស្សស្នូតនាយ ។	both humans and gods.
១១៤	114
ប្រះពុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់	The [future] Buddha, our Master,
មានសម្ភារណាស់	has a vast store of merit.
រស្មីធាធាយ	His bright radiance
ផ្សាយដូចលតា	will spread out like the growing
រុក្ខាវល្លិវាយ	vines of plants,
ប្រោសសត្វសម្ភាយ	saving all beings,
សប្បាយសាន្តសុខ ។	such that they might find peace and bliss.

A few other end-of-life texts in the corpus share this emphasis on the soteriological importance of sacrificing one’s body in addition to material things. One poem, **dhammasañveg** «**dhammasañveg**»-k (“Stirring teachings, beginning with ‘These are the stirring teachings’”), provides a set of instructions on what to do on one’s deathbed as well as a model vow to make before passing away. The text first exhorts its listeners not to wait until the very last moment to make such a vow:

១៥	15
កាលណានឹងបាន	When it comes time for
គេចោមជុំប្រាណ	others to gather around your body,
ធម្មចូលមិនដល់	the Dharma can’t penetrate you,
រូបមានជម្ងឺ	for your body is ill,
ឈឺកើតកង្វល់	sick and anxious,
រសាប់រសល់	tossing and turning,
កម្លាំងតិចផ្នែក ។	your energy exhausted.
១៦	16
ប្រឹងខំពីក្មេង	Strive hard from a young age;
កុំគិតសើចលេង	don’t just laugh and play.
គិតតែសង្វេគ	Reflect on and be stirred by
គ្នងត្រៃលក្ខណញាណ	the wisdom of Three Marks;

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មានជាបង្អែក            they are your reliance.  
 កុំគិតឱ្យបែក            Don't dare to break  
 ពីព្រះបន្ទូល ។        from the Buddha's words.

This is then followed by a series of resolutions and aspirations to recite as one approaches the end of life:

១៧	17
ខ្ញុំសូមសច្ចា	“I humbly vow
ស្អាងសូមប្រាថ្នា	to cultivate. I make this prayer
តាមព្រះបន្ទូល	in accordance with the august words
ព្រះអង្គស្រងើសត្វ	of the Lord, who blesses creatures,
ខ្ចាត់ចេញប្រមូល	who gathers those who are scattered,
ទ្រង់ព្រះអនុកូល	who is endowed with compassion,
អាសូរសត្វផង ។	and pities all living beings.
១៨	18
សូមសីលបារមី	May the perfections of conduct,
គុណព្រះជិនស្រី	the virtues of the Glorious Victor,
មកជួយតម្រង់	come to help rectify me,
ខ្ញុំភ័យខ្មុមខ្មាច	for I am afraid and fearful,
ចិត្តកាចមិនត្រង់	my mind mean and dishonest—
សូមឱ្យព្រះអង្គ	may the Lord
ទ្រង់ប្រោសមេត្តា ។	save me out of kindness,
១៩	19
ឱ្យខ្ញុំលាក់កាត់	so that I can abandon and cut off
អស់ទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ	all wealth and riches,
ទាំងសាច់ឈាមណា	as well as my flesh and blood,
កុំឱ្យសល់នៅ	such that none remains,
ខូចទៅអសារ	as they would only spoil, lacking essence.
ស្អាងសូមប្រថ្នា	I vow to cultivate and humbly wish
តាមព្រះធម្មនៅ ។	to live according to the Dharma
២០	20
កុំឱ្យឃ្នាឃ្នាត	and never be separated from it
រៀងរាល់សព្វជាតិ	in every life
ពីនេះតទៅ	from now on,
កុំឱ្យរញ្ជា	and never be hesitant [to give up]
របស់នោះកូរ	any of my belongings,



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ខិតខំចូលទៅ      ever striving to enter  
និព្វាននោះហោង ។      yonder Nibbāna!

These prayers make clear that the path ahead for the petitioner involves forsaking his or her “flesh and blood” in addition to “wealth and riches.” Since the path to Nibbāna or to buddhahood is conceived of as taking many lives, this passage emphasizes the importance of maintaining vows that extend across lifetimes, including a vow to practice unfettered generosity. The few examples cited here provide a glimpse into the ways end-of-life texts in Cambodian leporellos work within the framework of aspirations shared by other Buddhist texts from Khmer and Tai cultures, including colophons and inscriptions. These aspirations may include the attainment of Nibbāna, a birth in the time of Maitreya, and the achievement of buddhahood.

**9.5 From Separate to Combined Absolutions and Aspirations**

Thus far I have considered absolution and aspiration as separate obligations for the deathbed. They indeed draw from different bodies of resources within the Buddhist tradition, with the former emerging out of Pali repentance practices and the latter connected to the range of soteriological goals articulated in the Theravada tradition. However, in the Cambodian context these apotropaic and acquisitional aspects of *adhithāna* tend to work in tandem. In what follows, the colophons and chants I analyze weave together absolutions and aspirations, including a particular emphasis on the body as a key locus for cultivating one’s mind at the end of life. This is especially the case in leporello colophons and in a number of important end-of-life texts, including **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (“Taking leave of sins, beginning with ‘Venerable Blessed One!’”), the focus of subsection 9.5.2. below.

*9.5.1 Combined Absolutions and Aspirations in Leporello Colophons and Chants*

Leporello colophons, including those pertaining to scribes as well as to sponsors, often combine absolutions and aspirations when articulating a personal prayer. Often this combination involves adding an absolution to be freed from karma that would cause illness alongside a range of acquisitional aspirations. **UB057** provides a couple of examples of this sort of synthesis:

ខ្ញុំសូមក៏បង្គំមព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម្ម៍ព្រះសិរិ ខ្ញុំសូមជួបរកំឱ្យខ្ញុំឃ្នាត់លើខ្ញុំសូមកុំឱ្យមានពេទ្យាភ្នែកធីលើ ៧៧<sup>98</sup>

I humbly bow down to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha—may I meet them without fail and may I never face any sicknesses or illnesses.

ខ្ញុំសូមអធិត់អាណាគិតជាតិទៅមុខខ្ញុំសូមជួបនឹង ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម្ម៍ព្រះសិរិ ។ ៧៧ ០ សូមឱ្យមានស្រ័យស្រួល ដែ

<sup>98</sup> **UB057** 76b

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លក្សាធូរោត្តរំកុំឱ្យមាន សូមសេចក្តីសុក្រំ ០៣៩<sup>99</sup>

I humbly aspire, in past lives and in future lives to come, to encounter the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. May I be filled with prosperity, never have any illness, and achieve bliss.

In these passages, the prayer to be free of illness is perhaps secondary to the emphasis on an aspiration to encounter the Three Jewels.

Other colophons, however, give greater weight to absolution. One of the colophons written by the scribe of **UB070**, an abbot in what is now Kampong Cham province, left the following prayer to posterity:

នេះក្រាងលោកត្រូវចោរ អត្តិការវេត្តកង្រាវ ក្នុងឧទ្យានជាមុន្តិលសោភាណំ បានសសីព្រះធម្ម៍ ព្រះមហា  
ល្បីព្រះមាតុគុន ព្រះការជា ព្រះរត្នមាលា ចប់បបួរបិបុណល្វេ ។ ខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នាស្មារលាអូបាបពៀរ ដែលខ្ញុំ  
បានធ្វើមកអំពីអាព្វិត្តជាតមុនក្តី ក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នជាតនេះក្តី យសូមផល្លាដែលខ្ញុំសូមស្រីក្រាង ព្រះធម្មទ្រាំសូម  
ព្រះគុនរក្សារ ទ្រទ្រង់សូមឲ្យរួចអំពីអាព្យកូមទ្រាំ ហើយដែលខ្ញុំសូមស្រីស្មារលាទ្រាំ នៅក្នុងក្រាងនេះពាក្យខ្ញុំសូមឲ្យ  
ជាប់ លុះតលតែស្បជីវិតក្រាងនោះហោង ។<sup>100</sup>

This is a leporello belonging to the Venerable Abbot of Tluk Jrau Monastery [Kampong Chan province], whose monastic name is Maṅgalasobhana. He has completed the writing of the sacred teachings of the *Brah Mahāl"aiy"* [Māleyya], *Brah Mātugun* ["The Preaching of the Abhidhamma"], *Brah Kāvātā* [Ākāravattā], and *Brah Ratnamālār* [Ratanamālā]. I humbly wish to take leave of all sins and hostilities that I have incurred, whether in past lives or in the present life. May the fruits of writing this leporello, and of all of the sacred teachings and their virtues, protect and support me. May they allow me to escape from the four lower realms. And finally, with regards to that which I have written in absolution of faults within this very leporello, may my words hold fast all the way until the end of the life of this leporello.<sup>101</sup>

This passage makes clear that Maṅgalasobhana aimed for his act of merit to primarily absolve him from various “sins (*pāp*) and hostilities (*bier*)” incurred throughout his present and past existences, including those that would lead to rebirth in the four lower realms (*apāyabhūmi dāṃṇi* 4). He includes a brief aspiration, namely that the fruits (*phalā*) of writing this leporello will “protect and support” him. The emphasis, however, remains fixed on absolution. His final prayer for the longevity of his stated absolutions (*smā lā dos*) highlights this emphasis.

<sup>99</sup> **UB057** 151b

<sup>100</sup> **UB070** 36a

<sup>101</sup> That this colophon ties the longevity of its *adhittāna* to the physical survival of a fragile manuscript rather than to something more permanent, such as the sun or the moon, is remarkable in and of itself. I am not aware of similar statements in other manuscripts. In Angkorian inscriptions, benedictions and imprecations are sometimes phrased as lasting “as long as the sun and moon” (*yāvat sūryasa candrasya tāvat...*). For more on such passages, see Chhom, “Le rôle du sanskrit dans le développement de la langue khmère: Une étude épigraphique du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” 163–164.

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Some colophons present a more even balance between absolution and aspiration. One example of this is a colophon from **UB002**, which expresses the prayers of the sponsor, Mrs. Khiev, for herself and her family. She aspires for boons in the future, but also seeks to be absolved from the effects of “vengeful karma or enmity” (*kamm bier verā*):

*nibbānaṃsamppaccayohotu* ។ អ្នកកូសាងក្រាំងនេះមាន៖ លោកយាយ ខៀវ ព្រំទាំងបុត្រីបុត្រាទាំងប្រុសារបង្កើត  
ទាំងស្រុង ឱ្យបានសេចក្តីសុខសេចក្តីយចម្រើន ក្នុងជាតិនេះក្តីយ ជាតិមុខក្តីយ កុំឲ្យមានខ្លះខាតអ្វីឡើយ ហើយបើ  
ក្រែងមានកាំពៀរវែក នឹងសត្វជើង៤ ឬសត្វមានស្លាបទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ក៏សូមរុំដោះរួចអំពីវា [blue ink] កម្មពៀរទាំ  
ងនោះឲ្យអស់ ឲ្យបានជួបសំបុត្រិទាំងប្តីគឺសំបុត្រិមនុស្សលោកទេវតានិងព្រះនិព្វានទៅហោង ។<sup>102</sup>

*May [this act of merit] be a condition for Nibbāna!* The sponsors of this leporello include Mrs. [“Grandmother”] Khiev and all of her children and children-in-law. May they achieve happiness and prosperity without fail in this life and in lives to come. Whatever vengeful karma or enmity they might have with regards to four-legged or feathered creatures, may they be liberated from all of that vengeful karma completely and may they encounter only the three felicities, that is, those of humans, the gods, and Nibbāna, from now on.

A few colophons, in addition to including both absolutions and aspirations, show a marked emphasis on the end of life. One such colophon appears in extended form in **UB007**, in which the aging layman Nañ Āñ, concerned about his future, pens the following set of prayers:

ខ្ញុំក៏បានទទួលសរសេរចម្លងដោយសេចក្តីសោមនស្សរីករាយជាអតិបរមាក្នុងការកុសលនេះដោយវិរិយៈភាពនៃ  
ការប្រឹងប្រែងសរសេរចម្លងធម៌ទុកក្នុងក្រាំងនេះ ខ្ញុំសូម៖

១- បើដរា ព្យាធិ ញាំញីរាងកាយរបស់ខ្ញុំឲ្យគ្រាំគ្រា ទុរនទុរាទ្រុតទ្រោម សូមកុំឲ្យវង្វេងស្មារតី ក្នុងពេលដែលធ្ងន់  
កាត់ទៅកានលោកខាងនាយ ។

២- រៀងរាល់ជាតិ ដែលត្រូវច ង្កើត ទៅកានកតតូចកតធំណាៗ សូមឲ្យមានចិត្តស្មោះត្រង់ល្អ ជាសម្មាទិដ្ឋិ គឺប្រា  
ជ្ញាយលឃើញត្រូវ ឃើញច្បាស់ក្នុងសច្ចធម៌មានទុក្ខសច្ចជាដើម ជាគម្ពីរភាព ។

៣- ទីបំផុតនៃជាតិ សូមឲ្យបានសម្រេចមគ្គ-ផល ដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន *yam yam icchitam tam  
tamkhippamevasamijjhatu* សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នារបស់ខ្ញុំនេះសូមឲ្យបានសម្រេចដោយឆាប់រហ័សរាន់ទាន់ចិត្ត កុំបីឃ្លាត  
ក្លាយជាប្រការៈដ៏ទៃឡើយ។<sup>103</sup>

I received the chance to copy [this leporello] with inexpressible joy and elation for this meritorious deed. By means of my zealous exertion in striving to copy the Dharma texts in this leporello, I pray:

<sup>102</sup> **UB002** 77a–77b

<sup>103</sup> **UB007** 36a–36b

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1) Should old age and illness ravage my body, leaving it weak and decrepit, feeble and infirm, may I not lose mindful awareness in the moment of passing away into the next world.

2) In every life in which I wander through worlds great and small, may my mind be honest and endowed with right view, that is, with the insight to see correctly and clearly into the true nature of things, including the first truth of suffering, in a profound way.

3) In my final birth, may I achieve the paths and fruits that lead to Nibbāna. *Whatever I wish for, may it quickly be realized.* Whatever I aspire to, may I achieve it quickly to my heart’s content, not failing or changing in any respect whatsoever.

In the first of his three *adhithāna*, Naṅ Āṅ seeks to be absolved from any karmic obstacle that would cause him to become confused and “lose mindful awareness” (*vaṇveṇ smāratī*) on the deathbed, particularly in the last moments of his life. His adherence to the Buddhist doctrine of the karmic salience of one’s final thoughts is striking here. In the next prayer, the scribe reflects his belief that he will continue to transmigrate in *samsāra*, yet hopes that in this wandering he may continue to train his mind to incline toward a correct perception of the world. In his final prayer, he makes explicit his aspiration for Nibbāna. Noteworthy here is his citation and translation of the Pali phrase for blessing and sealing aspirations, discussed previously in Chapter 7 (*icchitam patthitam tumhaṃ khippam eva samijjhātu*). Naṅ Āṅ’s eloquent and extended prayers in this colophon reflect an engagement with a range of Buddhist orientations to end-of-life rituals and texts.

A number of colophons combine absolutions with some of the more specific soteriological goals discussed in the previous section, including rebirth during the time of Maitreya Buddha. A colophon from **UB014** contains a prayer for freedom from illness alongside an aspiration to meet Maitreya and achieve diamond-like wisdom:

សូមតែរផល្លាអនីសង្ឃទៅឯមុក កើតជាតិកាលណារក់ឲ្យមានរោគ្តារណាធ្វើ ឲ្យបានសេចក្តីយសក្ខត្របប្រការឲ្យ  
បានទាំងអង្គព្រះសិអាព្រះជួនក្រៀម ទោះកើតជាតិកាលណាឲ្យមានប្រាជ្ញាមុត្តថ្វារដូចប្រឌាខ្លីពេជ ឲ្យបានសំរេច  
ដូចសេចក្តីយប្រថ្នារខ្ញុំហោង ។ ១៣៣<sup>104</sup>

I pray only [to receive] the fruits and benefits [of this act of merit] in the future—in whatever life I take birth, may I not face any illnesses. May I experience all kinds of bliss and be born in time for the Lord Si Ā, the Buddha to come. In whatever life I take birth, may I have wisdom, sharp and shiny, like an adamant blade, so that I can achieve all of my aspirations.

A similar combination of absolution and aspiration appears in part of the main colophon from **UB028**, the entirety of which was discussed in Chapter 2. In this passage, the sponsor,

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<sup>104</sup> **UB014** 97a

Mrs. V"āt, articulates her prayers to be free of various unpleasant karmic consequences as well as to emulate the qualities of the Buddha and Yaśodharā Bimbā in one of their past lives (the *Mahosatha-jātaka/Mahosadha-jātaka*). To underscore how her wishes alternate between absolutions and aspirations, I have placed the former in boldface:

សូមផល្លាអនិសង្ស ទៅខាងមុខ កុំអោយខ្ញុំជួបនឹងសេចក្តីកងទុក្ខ ពីត្រឹមនេះទៅមុខកុំបីជួបឡើយ ខ្ញុំសូមជួប  
បតែសេចក្តីសុខ ហើយចម្រើនផង ។ សូមចៀសភ័យ ចៀសទុក្ខវិជុកក្នុងប្រាណ កុំមានអាការៈ បាបទល់ទុក្ខ វេទនា កុំបី  
ជួបឡើយ ។ សូមសងគុណមាតាបិតាភ្នំប្រិយ សូមលោកបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបីប្រការដូចចិត្ត កុំអោយក្រក្រី សូម  
បានដូចសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នាហោង ។ កើតជាតិអនាគតកាល សូមតម្រេះដូចនាងអម្រា សូមប្រាជ្ញាដូចព្រះមហោសថ  
ច្បាស់នឹងព្រះធម៌ជាន់ខ្ពស់ សំរេចព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។<sup>105</sup>

May the benefits continue into the future, **and may I not face the various forms of suffering from now on**. I humbly pray to only encounter well-being and prosperity. **May I be free of danger, pain, and suffering in the body, and may I be free of rancorous sins that lead to pain—may I never encounter them**. May I repay my debt to my dearest parents, and may they achieve the three attainments in accordance with their wish, **may they never be in poverty**, and may they achieve everything they aspire to. In whatever life I may be born in the future, may I have intelligence equal to Amarā[devī, i.e the consort of Mahosatha], may I have wisdom equal to Mahosatha, clarity in the highest levels of the august Dharma, and achieve Nibbāna.

The equal weight given to absolutions and aspirations in this colophon, as well as the skillful way they are woven together, emphasize the inseparability of these two modes of *adhittāna*.

A few scribes or sponsors composed their combined absolutions and aspirations in verse, even when the remainder of the colophon was in prose. The use of verse in these prayers highlights their ritual importance in the fashioning of end-of-life manuscripts. Even if they are not intended to be recited except by the scribes or sponsors themselves, they borrow from the diction and poetic sensibility of deathbed chants, some of which they would likely have memorized before or during the process of copying such texts onto the pages of leporellos. Thus it is no surprise that the following two examples echo the content and structure of a number of stanzas from the seventeenth-century poem **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** (“Lotus flower offering, beginning with ‘I unite my ten fingers’”), the focus of the next section of this chapter.

The first such colophon appears on the very first spread of **UB039**, after a short prose section in which the sponsors introduce themselves and provide an account of their act of merit.<sup>106</sup> Composed in the *kākaḡati* meter, it includes a series of absolutions and aspirations mixed together:

<sup>105</sup> **UB028** 55b–56a

<sup>106</sup> **UB039** 1b

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១	1
ខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នា	I humbly pray:
កើតជាតិណាៗ	in whatever life I am born,
សូមជួបព្រះពុទ្ធ	may I meet the Buddha.
សូមមានប្រាជ្ញា	May I have wisdom
ដូចព្រះសារីយ្យបុត្រ -	like that of Śāriputra,
ចាកធ្លុះមោះមុតិ	piercing and sharp,
ដូចព្រះនាគ្គសេន -	like that of Nāgasena.
២	2
សូមអោយអង្គអាច	May I have power
មានវិជ្ជាអំណាច	and magic might
ដូចព្រះមោគ្គលាន	like Moggallāna.
ត្រង់ពាក្យមិនចេះ	As for there being words I don't know
នឹងពាក្យខ្មាន	and responses I can't give,
កុំបីកើតមាន	may such situations
ដល់ខ្ញុំឡើយណា	never arise for me.
៣	3
សូមបានសម្រេច	May I succeed
អោយបានកាត់ផ្តេច	such that I can chop through
វាលវត្តសង្សារ	the fields of saṃsāra
ឆ្លងផុតទុក្ខភ័យ	and cross over all forms
សព្វគ្រប់ប្រការ	of anguish and fear
ដាក់ដល់ត្រើយមហា	to reach the far shore
ព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។ ១៧៧ ។	of great Nibbāna.

Although these stanzas do not make an explicit aspiration to be a particular disciple of Maitreya, their comparisons to the famous monks Śāriputra (Sāriputta), Nāgasena, and Moggallāna recall the prayers seen in an inscription in the previous section. Moreover, they are similar to aspirations (witnessed in this and the previous section) to emulate particular qualities of famous Buddhist figures, such as the Bodhisatva and his consort from *jātaka* narratives. The acquisitional wishes here are combined with absolutions to be free from being dumbfounded by words or questions, the negative counterpart of aspirations for eloquence and memory.

Another colophon in verse that interweaves absolutions and aspirations appears in the middle of **UB018**.<sup>107</sup> In this non-metrical verse composition (*kamrañ kēv*), the scribe, Mr. (“Grandfather”) Sīm Uon, presents a series of prayers that appear to be of his own

<sup>107</sup> **UB018** 33a–34b

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composition.<sup>108</sup> In the first seven stanzas, he pays respect to the Three Jewels, declares that he will make an aspiration (*phsaṅ saccā*), asks for blessings from deities, and expresses his wish to achieve various boons. These boons are particularly focused on the felicities (*sampatti*) of the human and heavenly realms:

<p>១ ខ្ញុំសូមលើកហត្ថា ឡើងប្រណាម ក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះវត្តនៈត្រ័យ ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ ប្រសើរក្រៃ សូមភ្ជាប់និស្ស័យក្នុងពុទ្ធសានសា ។</p>	<p>1 I raise my hands in prayer, bowing low in offering to the Three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, most excellent. May I establish a karmic affinity for the Buddha's dispensation.</p>
<p>២ ខ្ញុំអ្នកសរសេរចម្លង- សូមផ្សងសច្ចារ- ព្រះឥន្ទព្រះព្រហ្មទេវតា សូមអោយពរជ័យ-</p>	<p>2 I, the scribe, make this aspiration: may Indra, Brahmā, and other deities offer me their victorious boons.</p>
<p>៣ ខ្ញុំកើតគ្រប់ជាតិ- ក្នុងលោកីយ៍- សូមមានស្មារតី ប្រាជ្ញាខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ។</p>	<p>3 In whatever life I am born in this world, may I have the highest awareness and wisdom.</p>
<p>៤ សូមអោយបាន អាយុយឺនយូរ- សុខភាពល្អបរិបូណ៌ កំលាំងពលខ្លាំងក្លា រូបរាងកាយ ល្អស្អាតប្រពៃ-។</p>	<p>4 May I achieve longevity, robust health, vigorous energy, and a beautiful body.</p>
<p>៥ សូមបានសេចក្តីសុខ ទាំងយប់ទាំងថ្ងៃ ឧប្បទ្រពចង្រៃ កុំបីកើតមាន-សូមមានសេរីសួរស្តី-វាសីភ្លឺថ្លា</p>	<p>5 May I find happiness every day and night, and may all misfortunes be averted. May I have prosperity and brilliant good fortune.</p>
<p>៦ មានសម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោក និងសម្បត្តិទេវតា បានដូចប្រាថ្នា កុំបីខានឡើយ ។</p>	<p>6 May I have the felicities of the human world as well as those of the heavens just as I pray for without fail.</p>

<sup>108</sup> កម្រងកែវ

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<p>៧          ផ្លូវលោកផ្លូវធម៌-          ចេះចាំបានល្អ ពុំមានភ្លាំងភ្លើច          រៀនសូត្រអ្វីៗ- ចេះចាំស្គាល់ជានិច្ច          សូមបានសំរេច ដូចសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា</p>	<p>7          In realms secular and religious,          may my memory be excellent and not forget anything.          Whatever I study, may I know it well forever.          May I achieve according to my wish.</p>
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Then, in the final three stanzas, he shifts his focus to absolution. He first petitions to be freed from all suffering in the human realm. Then he prays to be spared the karmic retributions that would lead to rebirth in one of four lower realms.<sup>109</sup> He subsequently pleads to be released from “sin (*pāpa*) and the pain of vengeful karma (*kammaverā*).” Finally, he aspires to cultivate the Buddhist path such that he might be born in time for Maitreya, and, in the process, avert rebirth in the lowest of the hells, Avīci:

<p>៨          សូមអោយឆ្លងផុត អំពើស្មោកត្រោក-          ទុក្ខសោកកោត្តាលីប៉ាត់-          ភិតភ័យវិបត្តិ-          ខ្វល់ខ្វាយក្នុងចិត្ត-          ៩          ក្រខ្យង់អត់ឃ្មានកុំមកជិត          សូមអោយឃ្មាតឆ្ងាយអំពើអបាយមុខ          បាបកម្មវេរាជាទុក្ខ          គ្រប់ជាតិខាងមុខសូមកុំអោយជួប ។          ១០          សូមអោយមានឧប្បនិស្ស័យ          ធ្វើបុណ្យសាងសីលទានជាយានអាត្មា          បានទាន់សាសនា-ព្រះសិរិអាមេត្រី-          ឆ្លងអវចីយបានសុខប្រសើរហោង ។<sup>109</sup></p>	<p>8          May I cross over beyond all impurities,          beyond pain, sorrow, and grave illness,          beyond fear and danger,          beyond lack and worry,          9          beyond poverty and hunger—may they not come close.          May I stay far away from the four lower realms,          from sin and the pain of vengeful karma,          in every life to come—may I never meet them again.          10          May I have the karmic affinity such that          making merit and holding the precepts are my own vehicle          to arrive in time for the dispensation of Lord Si Ā Metrī,          crossing over Avīci hell and attaining the highest bliss.</p>
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Sīm Uon’s prayers, while perhaps not as elegantly expressed as those in other colophons analyzed in this section, present a particularly voluminous example of absolutions and aspirations functioning together.

A number of verse compositions in the leporello corpus exhibit a similar blending of apotropaic and acquisitional prayers. One example appears in the closing stanzas of **Cetiya vandana-gāthā/cetiya vandana-gāthā samrāy-br** (“Stanzas in homage of cetiyas, Pali with Khmer translation”), which combines prayers to be free from suffering with

<sup>109</sup> The manuscript reads *ambō apāyamukh* អំពើអបាយមុខ (“actions [that would lead to rebirth in the four] lower realms”), probably in error for *ambī apāyamukh* អំពីអបាយមុខ (“from the [four] lower realms”).



aspirations to meet Maitreya:

៤	4
ដោយតេជៈនៃគុណ ព្រះមានបុណ្យប្រសើរខ្ពស់ ដែលតែងតែរំលោះ រំដោះទុក្ខភ័យអន្តរាយ ។	By the might of the virtue of the Blessed Lord, who always frees us from pain, fear, and danger,
៥	4
សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបានសុខ ឃ្នាតចាក(ទុក្ខ/ផុត)ផងទាំងឡាយ សត្រូវទោះជិតឆ្ងាយ សូមឱ្យក្លាយមកជាមិត្ត ។	may I be well and free from all suffering; enemies far and near— may they all become friends;
៦	6
សូមទាន់ព្រះអរិ- យមេត្រីយថ្ងៃវិសិដ្ឋ សូមបានឃើញធម៌ពិត សមដូចចិត្តប្រាថ្នាហោង ។	may I meet Ārya- Maitreya, most precious, and see the Dharma— may my wishes come true!

Another example comes in the form of **padum thvāy phkā «yōñ khñuṃ mān cittaṅgā»-br** (“Lotus flower offering, beginning with ‘Our hearts are filled with joy’”). This nineteenth- or twentieth-century poem, inspired by its older counterpart **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām tap'»-br**, articulates wishes to be freed from “fault and pain” (*dos dukkh*) with a “truthful aspiration” (*saccā praṇidhān*) to reach Nibbāna:

៥	5
ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ទាំងអស់គ្នា តែកំព្រាទាំងប្រុសស្រី ព្រាត់ព្រាសក្នុងលោកិយ ព្រាត់ស្វាមីព្រាត់ភរិយា ។	We, servants of the Master, are but orphans, male or female, torn apart in this worldly realm, bereft of husband, bereft of wife.
៦	5
តែងជួបនឹងឈឺចាប់ នឹងកើតស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា មានក្តីទុក្ខក្តៅផ្សា រកអ្នកណាជួយពុំបាន ។	We always encounter pain and the natural course of birth and death. We bear the sting of suffering, and cannot find someone to help us.
៧	7
យើងខ្ញុំសូមបូជា ក្នុងមាលាល្អកល្យាណ	We humbly offer these garlands, most exquisite,

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<p>ឆ្ពោះរត្នទាំងបីឋាន  ឲ្យខ្ញុំបានផុតទោសទុក្ខ ។  ៨  ផុតចាស់ផុតឈឺចាប់  ផុតក្តីស្លាប់តទៅមុខ  ឲ្យខ្ញុំបានសោយសុខ  ក្នុងសម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន ។  ៩  ពាក្យពោលប៉ងប្រាថ្នា  ធ្វើសច្ចាប្រណិធាន  សូមមគ្គផលនិព្វាន  ឲ្យខ្ញុំបានប្រាកដហោង ។</p>	<p>to the Three Jewels,  so that we might be free from fault and pain,  8  free from old age, free from suffering,  and free from death in the future,  and so that we might savor the bliss  in the attainment of Nibbāna.  9  Regarding these words of prayer,  that we now make as our truthful aspiration,  may the paths, the fruits, and Nibbāna  be truly achieved by us.</p>
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This passage invokes a number of elements present in the colophons, inscriptions, and chanted texts witnessed in the past few sections. First, the petitioners declare that they have witnessed something of the three marks of impermanence, suffering, and not-self in the world. This is the “stirring” or “religious motivation” (*saṃvega*) that urges them to perform an act of merit. In this case, the act of merit is the offering of lotus flowers to the Buddha. From this act of merit, which should entail its own *ānisaṃsa* or benefits, they make a two-part prayer: an absolution to be free of sin, fault, pain, and suffering, and an aspiration to reach Nibbāna.

*9.5.2 Combined Absolutions and Aspirations in **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k***

One of the most common and important deathbed poems in the leporello corpus also combines absolution and aspiration, but follows a different structure than the one outlined above. Instead of offering a motivation to make merit, **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** presents a long litany of absolutions (stanzas 1–64), followed by a short series of aspirations at the end (stanzas 65–72). The absolutions are different than many of those discussed above, which tended to focus on averting the negative effects, such as illness and suffering, believed to be attributable to one’s karma. A few texts cited so far, such as **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**, also include absolutions to be free from the deeds (*kamma*) of specific sins, such as violating the five precepts, rather than their consequences (*vipāka*), such as suffering, etc. The absolutions of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** present a much longer and more diverse list of sins, beginning from in the womb, continuing through childhood to one’s years as a novice and then a fully ordained monk, and finally as a pious layperson at the end of life.

When recited in a deathbed context,<sup>110</sup> this list of sins enacts a kind of life review for the dying. More specifically, it offers the dying a chance to reflect back on any actions in their

<sup>110</sup> This text is not only recited for the dying, however. According to de Bernon, it is also an essential text for repentance in the liturgical sequence of certain traditional *kammaṭṭhāna* practices (de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammaṭṭhān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer,” 748).

lives they fear were sinful or could lead to karmic retribution in the future. The format, therefore, performs the functions of both repentance, in terms of acknowledging past faults, and absolution, in terms of praying to be freed from the consequences of those faults. The chant then closes by moving on to express end-of-life aspirations for Nibbāna and emulating the path of the Bodhisatva to buddhahood.

In the structure of this life review, or litany for repentance and absolution, two aspects of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** are particularly striking. The first noteworthy feature is that many of the “sins” described are unavoidable for various reasons. Some are outside the realm of human control, for instance sins committed against our mothers while in the womb or during infancy. Others are theoretically within conscious control, but are not plausibly avoidable given the historical norms of Cambodian culture. These include killing animals for food, beating troublesome cats and dogs, shouting at one’s students, erecting shrines to non-Buddhist deities, consulting astrologers, and drinking liquor to ward off evil spirits. The text asks for absolution from these acts, but it is certainly not making an argument for the listeners to be vegetarian, to never berate their pupils, to avoid respecting tutelary deities, or to contravene traditional practices for averting malevolent ghosts.

Returning to an argument stressed at the beginning of section 9.3 above, some Cambodian texts aim to excuse Cambodians for the things they do that they know are sinful from a Buddhist perspective, but must do anyway. From a classical South Asian perspective, the text echoes the *prāyaścitta* texts of the Brahmanical tradition even more than the *pāpadeśanā* texts of Mahayana Buddhism, it seeks to “destroy evil karma without any need to experience its results at all.”<sup>111</sup> Moreover, the litany of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** asks for deliverance from sins but makes promises about not recommitting such actions in the future. In so doing, it violates the basic principles of both Mahayana *pāpadeśanā* texts and the early Pali pericope discussed above, in which it is not the confession itself but rather the vow of future restraint that eliminates sin.<sup>112</sup>

The second striking aspect appears in stanzas 38–48, which focus on the consequences of evil karma, but in a far more specific and body-centered way than witnessed previously in this chapter. These stanzas petition for absolution from all manner of illnesses and deformities that could manifest in future lives as a result of actions in this life or previous lives. They show how the body is viewed as a site for the results of one’s karma and as a locus for prayers of absolution on the deathbed.

As discussed above in Chapter 7 (see *supra*, 392–394), the opening line of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**, *bhante bhagavā*, recalls a Pali absolution text regularly recited in Southeast Asia, beginning with *ukāsa vandāmi bhante bhagavā*. It signals to the listeners that what follows mimics the rite of asking the Buddha to forgive our faults. Stanzas 2–11 articulate a wish to “take leave of” (*lā*) or be absolved of sins incurred while still in utero. The karmic debts here are toward one’s mother bearing the pains of pregnancy:

<sup>111</sup> Greene, “Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism,” 283.

<sup>112</sup> Haskett, “Revealing Wrongs: A History of Confession in Indian Buddhism,” 104.

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២	2
អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I now take leave
លាទោសអាត្មា	of my own faults, beginning from
កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃ	when I was inside the womb.
អ្នកម្តាយទ្រង់គភ៌	When my mother
អញខ្ញុំនេះនៃ	was pregnant with me,
ទន់អស់សរសៃ	all thirty-two parts
ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។	of her body went slack.
៣	3
លោកម្តាយជាទុក្ខ	My mother was in pain,
ពុំដែលបានសុខ	never at ease,
ដល់តិចឡើយហោង	not even in the slightest,
ខ្លាចក្រែងគ្រោះកាច	fearing malevolent forces.
មាតានោះផង	My mother
លោក តែងនឹងរង	always bore
ទម្ងន់នោះណា ។	this heavy task.
៤	4
លុះបានមួយខែ	After one month,
ឈាមនោះមកប្រែ	the blood morphed into
ជាដុំហើយណា	a solid mass.
លុះបានពីរខែ	After two
បីខែសោះសា	or three months,
កើតបញ្ចសាខា	five limbs formed
នៅលើទងសុក ។	on top of the placenta.

In stanzas 12–27, the text petitions for release from the sins of infancy and early childhood, especially those incurred through fighting with our parents:

១២	14
លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
លោកម្តាយរក្សា	my mother took care of me,
ឥតមានទ្រគោះ	without any animosity,
តែងនឹងឱបក្រុង	always hugging me close,
បីបំបៅដោះ	nursing me from her breast.
ដៃអញខ្ញុំនោះ	My hands, however, were
គក់ទ្រង់លោកម្តាយ ។	always beating my mother's chest.

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<p>១៥ អញខ្ញុំនេះលា ក្រែងមានវេរា អំពើទាំងឡាយ កាលលោកដេកលក់ ជាសុខសប្បាយ អញខ្ញុំពាយងាយ យំឲ្យលោកភ្ញាក់។</p>	<p>15 I now take leave, lest there be any hostility remaining, of all of my evil actions. When she was sleeping soundly and peacefully, I bothered her and cried until she woke up.</p>
<p>១៦ ហេតុបទអញខ្ញុំ មានវេរាកម្ម តែងតាមជៀងជាក់ កាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង តែងយំទោក បាបនោះអប្បល្មើក្ខណ៍ ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា។</p>	<p>16 Hence I have hostile karma that is sure to follow me. When I was young I always cried, hit, and kicked. I humbly take leave of this wicked sin.</p>
<p>១៧ លាបាបមួយនោះ ក្រែងមានទ្រគោះ ឈ្លោះនឹងមាតា ហើយខ្ញុំលាបាប ប្រមាថបិតា លាបាបនោះណា លាទោសនោះផង។</p>	<p>17 I take leave of the sin of fighting with my mother, lest there be any hostility. I take leave of the sin of being careless towards my father. I take leave of those sins and take leave of all those faults.</p>

Thus far, the faults described are essentially unavoidable facets of fetal and early child development. Nevertheless, the text treats them as seriously as those pertaining to later phases of life.

Other sins described are essentially unavoidable in the Cambodian context. For instance, in stanza 19 the text asks for absolution for the fault of “slaying fish”:

<p>១៩ អញខ្ញុំប្រមាទ កាលជាទេសាទ សម្លាប់មច្ឆា អស់ទាំងបាបនោះ ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា</p>	<p>19 I was negligent when I was a fisherman, slaying fish. I humbly take leave of all of those sins;</p>
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កុំមានវេក ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច ម៉េច  
អំពើនោះឡើយ ។ from those actions.

Fish and fish products are the staple proteins of a traditional Cambodian diet; it is not plausible for a Khmer text of this period to be advocating for vegetarianism or even abstaining from fishing for one’s own meals as an actual practice. Yet the Buddhist notion that killing animals is sinful remains. Moreover, since living beings were harmed, there is the danger that vengeful karma or “hostilities” (*verā*) may remain. The solution proposed by the text is not to avoid taking the lives of animals in the first place. That would be impossible on two counts: one, this is primarily a deathbed text, and thus speaks to a life already lived; and two, failing to fish or eat fish would place one outside the mainstream of Cambodian society. Thus the text proposes a prayer for absolution for these unavoidable faults.

The text goes on to articulate prayers to take leave of the sins of insulting gods and people of high social rank (stanzas 21–23). This is followed by a review of those faults when one was a novice monk (*sāmaṇera*), including lying to one’s master and “even cursing others’ mothers” (stanzas 24–28). The life being reviewed and imagined here is, obviously, a male one. In stanzas 29–37, the text describes sins incurred while a *bhikkhu* or fully ordained monk. These include berating and cursing one’s students:

២៨	29
កាលនៅជាភិក្ខុ	When I was a fully ordained monk,
ប្រដៅរំលឹក	I instructed, reminded,
ជេរពោលអស់គ្នា	and cursed everyone,
ខំឲ្យរៀនសូត្រ	striving to make them study
តែងភូតមាយា	by lying deceitfully.
អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I tended to
បានជាជេរទៅ។	curse at them.
៣០	30
អញខ្ញុំនេះខឹង	I was angry
ធ្វើមុខក្រញឹង	and snarled
សម្រក់សម្រៅ	and glared menacingly,
ក្រហមទាំងមុខ	my face all red,
សំឡឹងជេរទៅ	staring and cursing at them
បទសិស្សផងខ្លៅ	to make them do as I wished,
ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្ត។	since my students were ignorant.
៣១	31
សិស្សឥតប្រាជ្ញា	As for the unintelligent students
អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I tended to

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ជេរថាចំហុត      curse at them fiercely,  
 ឲ្យចេះសាស្ត្រា      so that they would learn the treatises  
 ចេះទាំងសំបុត្រ      and the letters,  
 ឲ្យចេះផ្គង់ផ្គត់      so that they would carefully learn  
 កំណត់សិក្សា ។      the curriculum of study.

Again, these faults are portrayed as essentially normal behavior for one in the position of teaching the young. Nonetheless, since lying and cursing at others violate monastic rules, the text petitions for their absolution. The text then follows with more faults incurred during one's time as a monk, including beating animals, consulting astrologers, and drinking alcohol:

៣២                      32  
 លាមួយប្រើសត្វ      I take leave of another: I angrily  
 ខឹងខំវាយវាត់      beat and whipped animals  
 ពុំមានមេត្តា              without compassion.  
 បរហើយវាយដំ      I rode them and beat them,  
 ប្រំណក់ខ្លួនវា              trampling and kicking them  
 ពុំមានមេត្តា              without compassion.  
 ខ្ញុំលាទោសនោះ ។      I take leave of those faults.

៣៣                      33  
 លាបាបមួយណា      I take leave of this sin:  
 កាលមានរោគា              when I was sick, I asked  
 ឲ្យហោរគន់គ្រោះ          an astrologer to examine malevolent forces.  
 ត្រូវសត្វជើងពីរ          I was under the influence of two-footed  
 ជើងបួនរំដោះ              and four-footed creatures, and needed to be liberated  
 ទើបបានស្បើយគ្រោះ      in order to be healed from these forces,  
 ដោយហោរគេថា ។      in accordance with the astrologer's words:

៣៤                      34  
 រឺពេទ្យមេមត់              “As for a healer or medium,  
 ទោះឆុតពុំឆុត              be he effective or ineffective,  
 យកឲ្យសែនលា              take to him an offering for taking leave.  
 បង្គាប់ថាត្រូវ              Instruct him that you are under the influence  
 សត្វដូចហោរថា              of animals, according to an astrologer,  
 ត្រូវប្តូរនឹងស្រា              and that you must take tobacco and liquor  
 យកមកឲ្យផឹក ។          and drink it.”

៣៥                      35  
 រឺបាបនោះណា              With regards to those sins,

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ដោយច្បាប់លោកថា	according to the law declared by the Master,
យមភូបាលបំផឹក	Lord Yama forces one to drink
នូវទឹកទង់ដែង	molten bronze [in the hells].
គួរស្រែងពន្លឺក	One should be extremely afraid
បាបជ្រុតតែផឹក	of the sin of having drunk
ស្រាខុសវិន័យ។	alcohol in violation of the monastic rule.
៣៦	36
លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of the sin of
ត្បិតខ្ញុំផឹកស្រា	having drunk liquor,
បាបនោះឯងនៃ	of that very sin.
ខ្ញុំពឹងសម្ភារ	I rely on his accumulated merit
ពឹងបារមីក្រៃ	and supreme perfections—
សូមអម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	may the Precious Master
ករុណាប្រោសហោង។	have compassion and save me.
៣៧	37
លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of these sins,
ក្រែងមានវេរា	lest hostilities remain
អំពើឆ្គាំឆ្គង	from my wrong actions:
វាយដំផ្លែឆ្មា	I beat cats and dogs,
មាន់ទានោះផង	ducks and chickens too,
វាយស្រែកកង	hitting them until they shrieked and wailed,
ក្រែងមានវេរា។	and fear that vengeful karma may remain.

In this passage, the text seeks absolution for faults incurred by trying to rid oneself of worldly misfortunes. Fearing that one is under the possession of vengeful spirits of animals or malevolent planets (*groh*), one goes to an astrologer (*horā*), who in turn directs one to see a healer (*bedy*) or medium (*me mat*) to make “an offering to taking leave” (*sèn lā*).<sup>113</sup> Since this process involves drinking alcohol while still under monastic vows, a second “taking leave” or absolution is required, this time at the end of life, to pray to be freed from the sin of imbibing liquor. Again, the text is not advocating for eschewing traditional approaches for treating maladies. Drinking alcohol is framed as necessary in this context, but nonetheless a sin requiring expiation.

In stanzas 38–48, the text moves in a different direction. Instead of asking for absolution from various sinful acts, it petitions “to take leave” of the consequences such sins are thought to wreak upon on the body. Among the karmic results this passage seeks to avoid are various diseases, deformities, and other conditions deemed aesthetically disquieting:

<sup>113</sup> គ្រោះ; ហោរា; ពេទ្យ; មេមត់; សែនលា



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៣៨	38
អញខ្ញុំលាថ្នង់	I take leave of deafness.
លាអស់ខ្មៅល្ងង់	I take leave of all ignorance and folly,
លំបាកកំព្រា	the difficulties of being an orphan.
ខ្ញុំលារៀងទៅ	I take leave of them forever.
សព្វជាតិនានា	In each and every life,
កើតមកសព្វគ្រា	whenever I am reborn,
កុំត្រាយលំឡើយ ។	may I never encounter them.
៣៩	39
ខ្ញុំលាប្លង់ស្រែង	I take leave of leprosy, ringworm,
ដំបៅក្រញែង	ulcers, shaking,
ក្រញែងឥតត្រើយ	unrelieved ankylosis,
កញ្ជោតកំបាក់	leg-length discrepancy, broken limbs,
ខ្វិនខ្វាក់នោះឡើយ	amputation, and blindness.
លាទាំងខ្លួនខ្លើយ	I take leave of intersexuality,
គមគាក់ពើតពើង ។	kyphosis, and throbbing pains.
៤០	40
លាខ្លួនកំប្រោន	I take leave of excessive timidity,
ដំណើរក្រញោន	muteness,
សក់ប្រាញកឆ្នើង	frizzy hair, matted hair,
ក្រង់ក្រង់យ	a blocked nose,
ក្រញឹកក្រញើង	excessive irritation,
ស្មេញស្មាញពើតពើង	and grimacing with sharp pains—
កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ ។	may I never encounter them.
៤១	41
លារូបអាក្រក់	I take leave of an ugly body,
ជើងធំលស្នក់	big feet and legs, stocky and swollen,
ប្លង់ជើងប្លង់ដៃ	leprosy on the feet and hands.
លាក្នែកស្រលៀង	I take leave of strabismus,
ស្រសៃវិស័យ	abnormal vision,
ឡើងបាយស្លឹតស្លៃ	and various kinds of
បាំងស្បែកខ្ញុំលា ។	cataracts—I take leave of all these.
៤២	42
លាមួយធ្មេញបាក់	I take leave of broken teeth,
ច្រមុះសោតធ្លាក់	a sunken nose,
ញ័រញាក់ចង្កា	a shaky chin,

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ហាមាត់សំញញ កំប៉ិញដូចស្វា បើនឹងឆីស្វា ខិបខុបវិស័យ ។ ៤៣	an open-mouthed grimace, like a monkey if eating betel nut, and an aquiline nose. 43
លាមាត់សម្ងាត់ ដំបៅរលាក សជើងសដៃ ខ្មៅមុខដូចចៀស អសុរសចង្រៃ រៀចស្តួចជើងដៃ អញខ្ញុំសូមលា ។ ៤៤	I take leave of a scarred mouth, ulcers, blisters, white feet, white hands, a black face, as if to be avoided, disgusting and inauspicious, and crooked hands and feet— I take leave of all these. 44
ហើយលាតម្លែក ត្រង់លាចម្នែក គង់តែលលាដ៏ ដើរទៅងើលងាល ប៉ើលប៉ាលសិរសា ហេតុតែលលាដ៏ រលីងសក់សើ ។ ៤៥	And I take leave of baldness, unusual baldness at the front of the head, hair only remaining on the forehead, walking here and there with a head that seems to float due to the forehead being free of thin hairs. 45
លាជើងកំបាក់ ដើរទៅខ្លីចខ្លាក់ ទាបខ្ពស់ពក្ខី លាទាបកន្លែល ទំលែទំលើ ទំលួនមើលស្នី មើលខាងខ្ញុំលា ។ ៤៦	I take leave of broken legs, walking unevenly, and being short or foolishly tall. I take leave of being short and stocky, like the Damlè, Damlö, or Damluon people, with eyes looking up or looking to the sides—I take leave. 46
លាប្លង់ណ្តៅ ប្លង់ដែកប្លង់ខ្មៅ ប្លង់ភ្លើងស្រែងផ្កា ស្រក់អណ្តែង កញ្ចុសមាត់ណា កើតប្រើសប្លង់ផ្កា កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ ។	I take leave of impetigo, iron leprosy, black leprosy, deforming leprosy, mycosis, catfish gill disease, <i>kañjus mān'</i> disease, sambar deer disease, and Javanese leprosy— may I never encounter them.

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៤៧	47
លារូបអាត្រក់ ជំងឺផ្តិតផ្តក់ ព្យាធិរឹងរែ លាអស់រោគា ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ បៀតបៀននោះនៃ កុំឲ្យជិតដល់ ។	I take leave of an ugly appearance, diseases, and emaciating illnesses. I take leave of all sicknesses, calamities, misfortunes, and disturbances— may they not follow me.
៤៨	48
លាដៃក្រញាង ក្រញាងសងខាង សរសៃរូបរិត លាអស់ដំបៅ នូវមាត់ក្រពិត ច្របូញដួញជិត ខ្ញុំលាកុំយល់ ។	I take leave of splayed fingers, inflexible on both sides, and choked veins. I take leave of ulcers, and scarred lips that are wrinkled and protruding. I take leave; may I never encounter them.

Very similar passages occur in other end-of-life texts, including in **lā pāp «muoy sot khñum lā»-k** (“Taking leave of sins, beginning with ‘In addition, I take leave’”):

៥	5
លាហត់ផ្តើកៗ ជើងដៃរលស្តឹក ឃ្នងជើងឃ្នងដៃ មុខខ្មៅដូចធ្លាក់ អាសូរចង្រៃ ចាំងជើងចាំងដៃ ខ្ញុំសូមលាហោង ។	I take leave of exhaustion and paralysis, limbs bruised and numb, leprosy on the arms and legs, a dark face, as if fallen into miserable misfortune, and white spots on feet and hands— I humbly take leave of them.
៦	6
មួយសោតខ្ញុំលា ព្យាធិរោគា ក្អកហិតនោះផង ហល់ហកជើងដៃ សរសៃឈឺខ្នង រិបាបនោះហោង អញខ្ញុំសូមលា ។	In addition, I take leave of illness and sickness, coughs and asthma, bloating and relapse in my limbs, pain in my tendons and back. As for all these sins, I humbly take leave.

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៧	7
លាក្បាលតម្លែក ត្រងើលចម្លែក គង់តែលលាង ងើទៅងើលងាល បើលប៉ាលសោះសា	I take leave of a bald pate, bizarrely smooth, with some hair fringing the forehead; and a swinging gait, swaying back and forth—
អញខ្ញុំសូមលា កុំបំភើតឡើយ	I take leave of them. May they not arise.
៨	8
លាបាបខ្លួនឯង ក្លង់ក្លង់ ខ្លិនខ្លាក់ខ្លេខ្លើយ លាទាំងត្រចៀកថ្មង់ ក្នុងអង្គស្រួចហើយ កុំឲ្យខ្លះឡើយ សូមជ្រាបហ្មត់ហ្មង់។	I take leave of all my sins— being crooked, bent, crippled, blind, intersexual, and deaf. May my body be whole and not missing anything; such is my detailed petition.

My translations of both of these texts are tentative and require attention from specialists in Cambodian medicine; indeed, such enumerations of maladies need to be checked against the few surviving premodern medical treatises as well as contemporary folk traditions. What these stanza do make clear, however, is that such painful or unattractive conditions of the body were considered misfortunes and karmic consequences in their own right.

In petitioning to “never encounter them” again in future lives, these stanzas reveal a particular anxiety of the deathbed: even if I return to the human world in the next life, I might be beset by illnesses and deformities. Just as the texts in the previous chapter focused on the body as a site for present-moment contemplation, this passage highlights the importance of the dying body for absolutions regarding the past and aspirations for the future. The body is precarious, not only because it is subject to disease, aging, and death in this life, but also because future existences could bring new calamities to our skin, flesh, and blood.

The text then returns to consider the kinds of sins that might potentially lead to such troubles in a future body, and petitions for their absolution. The life review process in stanzas 49–56 focuses on violations of the five precepts, the supposition being that one has returned to lay status in midlife. Then, in stanzas 57–64, it petitions for taking leave of sins incurred by disrespecting various religious festivals and the sanctity of monasteries and Buddhist rituals. This section also includes prayers to be free of the faults of being an inattentive listener during

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chanting rites and sermons, worshipping tutelary deities (*khmoc āraks*),<sup>114</sup> and not appreciating the virtues of the Buddha:

៦២	62	
លាបាបទោសធ្ងន់	I take leave of this sin, a grave fault:	
ឮលោកសូត្រមន្ត	when hearing the monks recite protective texts	
ថ្ងៃឯជម៌ទេសនា	and preach the Dharma,	
ខ្ញុំមិនបានស្តាប់	I did not really listen.	
ស្នាញស្នប់ចង្កា	I rested my chin on my palm,	
និយាយតែគ្នា	chatting with those around me,	
គិតទៅឯទៀត ។	thinking of other places.	
៦៣	63	
លាបាបអបលក្ខណ៍	I take leave of this wicked sin:	
យកខ្នាចអារក្ស	erecting a ceremonial hall for the	
ដំកើងរោងរៀប	the ghost of a tutelary spirit,	
បង្កិនតែទ្រព្យ	ruining only one's wealth,	
បង់ហើយបង់ទៀត	losing it once and losing it again.	
អាសារបង់ម្សៀត	This is worthless and beyond the pale,	
ធ្លាក់ដល់ចតុរា ។	causing one to fall to the four lower realms.	
៦៤	64	
លាបាប មួយនេះ	I take leave of this sin:	
ខ្ញុំខឹងជឿលក្ខិះ	I was angry and criticized	
អ្នកបានរក្សា	those who protect	
សីលគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ	the precepts and virtues of the Buddha	
ហើយមិត្តទ្រុស្តថា	and was a false friend who said	
រាបស្មើក្រឡា	these virtues were as flat as the flat	
ប្រើថពីសូមលា ។	of the earth—may I take leave.	

Thus ends the portion of the text devoted to absolution. The text then transitions to focus on a series of aspirations in its final stanzas. The prayers articulated here explicitly state a wish to achieve Nibbāna, presumably as an arhat, but there is also an undercurrent of comparison with the Buddha and with the path of the bodhisatva. This suggests that buddhahood itself is the desired goal. Stanzas 65–67 presents an aspiration to hold the precepts and uphold virtue, a feat that is compared to the buddhas of the past:

<sup>114</sup> Ang Chouléan, *Les êtres surnaturels dans la religion populaire khmère*, 115–124. This passage of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** is quite striking in that it goes against our expectations that pre-modern forms of Buddhism would have always accommodated the worship of local spirits, rather than judging such traditional practices as sinful or heretical, as seen here.

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៦៥	65
ខ្ញុំសូមសំណាក់ ព្រះអង្គវេល័ក្ខណ៍ រុងរឿងថ្លៃថ្លា សូមម្ចាស់អត់ទោស ប្រោសប្រស័ករុណា ណែនាំអស់មហា ជនផងនានា ។	I humbly aspire to the lineage of the Lord, of excellent characteristics, resplendent and bright. May the Lord forgive my faults and save me with compassion. May he lead the throng of beings, one and all.
៦៦	66
រឺសីលទាំងប្រាំ សូមចិត្តចង់ចាំ កុំភ្លេចឡើយណា ទាំងសីលប្រាំបី សូមក្តីរក្សា អស់អញ្ញការនា កុំភ្លេចរាល់ថ្ងៃ ។	As for the five precepts, may my mind remember them and never forget. The eight precepts, too— may they be guarded with my whole being, cultivated every day without a lapse.
៦៧	67
ដូចព្រះពុទ្ធផង ពីពោះកន្ទង់ ខ្លឹមព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ សឹងសារសីលសុទ្ធ ព្រិតព្រហ្មប្រពៃ នាំសត្វក្រាស់ក្រៃ ដាក់ដល់និព្វាន ។	just like all of the buddhas, who, with the mellifluous pith of the precious Dharma, and the essence of the pure precepts, the excellent holy vows, lead the multitude of beings to reach Nibbāna.

Then, in stanzas 68–69, the text petitions for rebirth in the luxurious realm of Tusita:

៦៨	68
សូមពឹងសម្ភារ តេជះបារមី ថ្លៃជាប្រធាន សូមឲ្យអញខ្ញុំ កើតនៅភិមាធិ កែវកបស្វគ៌ឋាន តុសិតសួគ៌ា ។	May I rely on their accumulated merit, the power, and the perfections, ever precious and preeminent. Please allow me to take rebirth in flying palaces in the bejeweled heavenly realm of Tusita,

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៦៩ កបន្ទវក្លេងភ្លាត់ ល្ខេងល្ខើយស្រដាត់ ស្រីផ្ការបរិពារ ជាសម្រាប់ដូច ទេវបុត្តិទេវតា បម្រើត្រៀបត្រា នៅសួគ៌ាល័យ ។	69 accompanied by music, so beautiful and lovely, with an attractive entourage provided, just like that of the major and minor gods, waiting on me all around in this heavenly realm.
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Finally, the concluding three stanzas contain a series of aspirations in which the petitioner seeks to emulate the example of the Buddha by defeating Māra and that of Vessantara by giving away the “riches of kingship” and his “children and wife”:

៧០ សូមព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ សូមឲ្យខ្ញុំបាន ផ្ដាញមារក្រាស់ក្រៃ កុំបីមកជ្រែក ឲ្យចាលចាញ់ដៃ សូមឲ្យបានក្ស័យ កិលេសតណ្ហា ។	70 May the Wisdom-Filled Lord help me to defeat mighty Māra, prevent him from intruding, and smash him down. May I be able to destroy defilement and craving.
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៧១ ខ្ញុំសូមបានកាត់ ឥសូរសម្បត្តិ ទាំងបុត្រកិរិយា កាន់ឲ្យជាទាន សូមកាត់សង្សារ រួចចេញពីមហា ជម្រៅក្រាស់ក្រៃ ។	71 I pray to be able to forsake the riches of kingship and even my children and wife, so as to present them as gifts. May I cut off saṃsāra and escape from this vast and immensely deep pit.
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៧២ រឺល្បាសំណូម តេជះខ្ញុំសូម បានដូចប្រាថ្នា សូមបានមគ្គផល រួចដល់សួគ៌ា ហើយបានព្រះមហា	72 As for my absolutions and aspirations, by the force of my humble prayer, may they come true according to my wish. May I achieve the paths and the fruits all the way until I reach the heavens and finally attain great
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និព្វានស្រួចហោង ។ Nibbāna at last.

The final stanza unambiguously states that the composition that precedes it includes both “absolutions” (*lpā*) and “aspirations” (*saṃñūm*), and intones a prayer for each to come true. The integral text of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** thus captures the theme of this section: the combination of absolutions and aspirations is central to the obligations that Cambodian deathbed texts place on the dying. In addition to contemplating the present process of the dissolution of the body, those in their final days are urged to examine the past, particularly to expiate any sins they may have committed over their life, as well as the future, so as to wish for freedom from bodily calamities as well as for the spiritual felicities of humans, the heavens, and Nibbāna and/or buddhahood.

### 9.6 From Chanted Poem to Stone Inscriptions

In the final section of this chapter, I turn to another text that combines absolutions and aspirations. Parts of this poem, **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** (“Lotus flower offering, beginning with ‘I unite my ten fingers’”), are still recited today for offering lotus flowers to the Buddha, particularly in the context of a buddha image consecration ceremony. Since such ceremonies are closely associated with memorializing the dead in Cambodia, they form part of the cycle of chanted end-of-life texts recorded in the leporellos. Few texts in the leporello corpus, particularly those composed before the twentieth century, have secure composition or translation dates. Therefore much of the context for what I discuss as the work of the dying in this and the previous chapter I must simply assign to the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, without further precision. In this section, however, I compare **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** with two dated Khmer inscriptions from Angkor Wat, IMA 31 (1684 CE) and IMA 38 (1701 CE).

Both inscriptions are carved on the walls of Angkor Wat. They are among the forty or so major inscriptions at Angkor Wat from the Middle Period. These inscriptions were made by pious Buddhist donors as expressions of faith and prayers for the future. These inscriptions are collectively known as the “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor” (IMA) and date from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Both of these inscriptions have been studied before, by Étienne Aymonier, Mahā Bidūr Krassem, Saveros Pou, Uraisri Varasarin, and Vong Sotheara, among others.<sup>115</sup> Saveros Pou and Uraisri Varasarin in particular have published complete

<sup>115</sup> Étienne Aymonier, “Les inscriptions du Bakan et la grande inscription d’Angkor,” *Journal Asiatique* Ninth Series, Vol. 15 (January–February 1900): 143–175; Étienne Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III: Le groupe d’Angkor et l’histoire* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 282–324; Mahā Bidūr Krassem, *Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor* (Paris: Cedoreck, 1984); “Les inscriptions modernes d’Angkor Vat,” in *Choix d’articles de khmerologie / Selected Papers on Khmerology* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2003), 69–92; Uraisri Varasarin ឌុវៃស្រី វរាសារិន, *Bacanānukram śāb(d) cārik nāgar vāt samāy hlāñ brah nāgar* พจนานุกรมศัพท์จารึกนครวัด สมัยหลังพระนคร (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: กาญจนาภรณ์, 2542); Vong Sotheara វង់ សុទ្ធារ៉ា, *Silācārik nai prades kambujā samāy kaṅṭāl* សិលាចារឹកនៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម័យកណ្តាល (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Griḥsthān poḥ bumb phsāy nāgar vatt គ្រឹះស្ថានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយនគរវត្ត, 2012).



transliterations and translations (into French and Thai, respectively) of all the IMA texts.<sup>116</sup> They worked from the earlier transcriptions of the texts into modern Khmer script by Mahā Bidūr Krassem as well as rubbings of the inscriptions held in the EFEO collection in Paris. In studying these inscriptions, I examined the work of those mentioned above, and checked their interpretations against the rubbings of the EFEO, new images published recently in a joint Apsara/Center for Khmer Studies/Yosothor project,<sup>117</sup> and my own photographs of the stone inscriptions themselves.<sup>118</sup> The inscription from 1701 CE, known to scholars as IMA 38, has been celebrated as the “grande inscription d’Angkor.”<sup>119</sup> This is because of this inscription’s impressive length and prominence. The inscription’s author, the government official and pious layman Jayanand, is celebrated in Cambodia as a great poet as well as the first person to commit a poem in Khmer to stone.<sup>120</sup>

In studying **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br** in comparison with IMA 31 and IMA 38, however, I argue that the former inscription, long thought to only be in prose, contains six stanzas in verse that are borrowed directly from **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br**. Thus these stanzas from IMA 31, attributed to Samtec Braḥ Paravidū in 1684 CE, should be considered the first Khmer verse text recorded on stone, as well as the earliest physical evidence for poetry in Khmer.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Saveros Lewitz, “Textes en kmer moyen: Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 2 et 3,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 57 (1970): 99–126; Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 4, 5, 6 et 7,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 58 (1971): 105–123; Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 1, 8 et 9,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 59 (1972): 101–121; Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16a, 16 et 16c,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 59 (1972), 221–249; Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 et 25,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 60 (1973): 163–203; Saveros Lewitz, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 60 (1973): 205–242; Saveros Pou, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 35, 36, 37 et 39,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 61 (1974): 301–337; Saveros Pou, “Inscriptions modernes d’Angkor 34 et 38,” *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 62 (1975): 283–353; Uraisi Varasarin อุไรศรี วรศาริน, *Cāriṅ nagar vāt samāy hlāñ braḥ nagar ga. śa. 1566 – ga.śa. 1747 จารึกนครวัดสมัยหลังพระนคร ค.ศ. 1566 – ค.ศ. 1747* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Cañ carōñ kār bim(b) จงเจริญการพิมพ์, 2542).

<sup>117</sup> Ang Choulean អង់ ជូលាន, ed., *Inscriptions of Angkor Wat: Ancient, Middle, and Modern Periods សិលាចារឹកអង្គរវត្ត ៖ សម័យបុរាណ, កណ្តាល, ថ្មី* (Siem Reap សៀមរាប: APSARA Authority / Center for Khmer Studies អាជ្ញាធរអប្សរា / មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលខេមរសិក្សា, 2013).

<sup>118</sup> In a few cases, the photographs of the inscriptions clarified obscure parts in the rubbings, allowing me to propose improved readings for a number of passages. Despite these exceptions, I generally concur with most of the transliterations proposed by Pou and Uraisi. However, there are some instances where my translations and interpretations diverge. This is particularly the case with regards to passages that appear to be closely related to the text of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br**.

<sup>119</sup> Aymonier, *Le Cambodge III: Le groupe d’Angkor et l’histoire*, 313–324.

<sup>120</sup> Lī Dhām-teñ លី ធាមតេង, *Aksar-sāstr khmèr អក្សរសាស្ត្រខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār señ-nuon-huot បណ្ណាគារសេង-ផ្លែន-ហួត, 1960), 78–79; Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, *Diḥḥabhāb dūdau nai aksar-sāstr khmèr ទិដ្ឋភាពទូទៅនៃអក្សរសាស្ត្រខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2003), 11–20.

<sup>121</sup> I should note that some Middle Khmer texts preserved on palm-leaf manuscripts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as the first half of the Rāmakerti, were originally composed earlier than 1684 CE. On the dating of *Rāmakerti I* and certain didactic poems (*cpāp*) to this period, see Pou, *Études sur le Rāmakerti (XVI–XVII siècles)*, 51–60; and Pou, “La littérature didactique khmère: Les cpāp,” 202–204. IMA 31 therefore represents only the oldest physical evidence for Khmer poetry, not the oldest poem extant in Khmer. There are

Jayanand and Samtec Braḥ Paravidū were likely both familiar with **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, and consciously or unconsciously incorporated its stanzas into their inscriptions. That places the date for **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** earlier than 1684, perhaps in the middle of the seventeenth century or earlier. The evidence for the philological argument outlined above will unfold as I examine the structure of combined absolutions and aspirations in each of these three texts. I begin with the earliest of the three, **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**.

9.6.1 Absolutions and aspirations in **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**

This 39-stanza text is framed as an act of merit, in this case offering lotus flowers to a buddha image (stanzas 1–4), followed by an adoration of the Buddha upon his jeweled throne (*ratanaṭṭhāna*, stanzas 5–10). Since these acts of offering and adoration are associated with marvelous benefits or *ānisaṃsa*, the text then presents its *adhittāna*: a long series of aspirations and a few absolutions (stanzas 11–36). It closes with a final recapitulation of the offering of lotus flowers and a prayer for the petitioner’s boon to come true (stanzas 37–39).

The traditional melody, sometimes called *laṃ-on thvāy phkā*, repeats every eleven syllables, or every half-stanzas in the *brahmagītī* meter. It is one of the most complex melodies included in contemporary *smūtr* or *dhārm pad* performance. Each half-stanza, depending on how many melismatic ornamentations are added by the performer, may take up to a minute or a minute and a half to perform, meaning that the full 39 stanzas could take nearly two hours to perform. Figure 9.6.1.1 below transcribes a typical melody for each half-stanza. In contemporary rituals, rarely are more than the first three or four, or sometimes up to ten, stanzas heard. This means that only the initial offering of the lotus flowers, or occasionally the adoration of the Buddha upon his throne, is familiar to Cambodians today. The absolutions and aspirations that follow have fallen into disuse, and are generally found only in old leporellos and palm-leaf manuscripts.

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also Khmer-language texts recorded in Thai-script manuscripts from Thailand that may be older (see, for instance, Puññiṅ Śrīvarabaca(ṇ) บุญเดือน ศรีวารพจน์, *Gāṃ chān(d) tuṣṭī sāṃvey, gāṃ chān(d) klaam; jāññ₂ grāññ₂ kruñ kau; lèḥ gāṃ chān(d) gajakaṛṇ fṛahyūr* คำฉันท์ดุขฎีสังเวย คำฉันท์กล่อมช้าง ครั้งกรุงเก่า และคำฉันท์ชกกรรมประยูร (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākar กรมศิลปากร, 2545); and Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ รักดีคำ, “‘Tuṣṭī sāṃvey klom; jāññ₂’ khaañ khun debakavī: mun maañ bhāṣā lèḥ varṇagatī khmer ‘ดุขฎีสังเวยกล่อมช้าง’ ของขุนเทพกวี: มุมมองภาษาและวรรณคดีเขมร,” *Damrong: Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology ดารงวิชาการ* 3, no. 5 (2547): 111–127). I should also note that during the pre-Angkorian and Angkorian periods, Khmer poets recorded magnificent poems in Sanskrit in their stone inscriptions; all of the inscriptions in the Old Khmer language from those periods, however, are in prose.

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Figure 9.6.1.1: Lam-on thvāy phkū melody for first half-stanza of *padum thvāy phkū* «*khñuṃ phguṃ amrām tap'*»-br

The initial offering is somewhat ambiguous as to whether real lotus flowers are to be offered or whether the shape of the hands cupped in prayer acts as a substitute for such floral offerings. This offering is presented to the Buddha, here known by the strange epithet *śrī kālā*, “blessed Kālā,” of uncertain meaning:

១	1
ខ្ញុំផ្គុំអម្រាមដប់	I unite my ten fingers
បរិបូណ៌គ្រប់នូវក្រូចក	complete with their nails,
ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក	just like the petals
ល្អកមាសមួយល្អពន្លាយ ។	of a golden lotus, beautiful and brilliant.
២	2
បទុមក្រព័រីក	These lotus buds burst into bloom—

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មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ	with a happy heart I offer them.
បទុមក្រពុំថ្វាយ	These lotus buds I offer,
ស្បង្កីដកាយកបកេសរ	lotuses complete with their stalks and pollen.
៣	3
តេជះខ្ញុំថ្វាត់ថ្វាយ	By grace of this offering
ស្បង្កីដកាយកបបវរ	of most excellent lotuses and their stalks,
លុតលើកទាំងទសករ	raised up with my ten fingers
ប្រណមដោមដាក់សិរសី ។	and carefully placed on my head,
៤	4
ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ	I prostrate myself beneath his feet
អភិវាទវរវន្ទីយ៍	in devoted veneration,
ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី	an offering to the blessed
វត្ថុដ៏ត្រៃស្រីកាលា ។	Triple Jewel and blessed Kālā.

The emphasis on devotion is continued through six stanzas that serve as a paean to the Buddha on his “adamantine throne” of awakening, beneath the “golden boughs” of the bodhi tree, the soles of the Blessed One’s marked feet somehow visible to the bowing devotee:

៥	5
រុងរឿងបល្ល័ង្កពេជ្រ	How resplendent his adamantine throne,
ពិចិត្រវិចន៍ចារអេខា	artfully inscribed with designs
ក្បូរក្បាច់រចនា	and ornamental carvings,
បរិបូណ៌បួនដណ្តប់ហត្ថ ។	fully fourteen cubits in height!
៦	6
ព្រះអង្គភតិវា	The Lord, the Blessed One
ស្តេចគង់នាបល្ល័ង្កវត្ថុ	reposes on this jeweled throne
ត្រាស់យល់កំណើតសត្វ	witnessing the births of beings,
សត្វអមរនិករកាយ ។	the multitudes of animals and angels.
៧	7
រុងរឿងព្រះរស្មី	How dazzling his radiance,
ឆពណ៌ពីប្រះព្រោងព្រាយ	six-colored rays blazingly arrayed,
ឆ្លាស់ឆ្មុះៗ សព្វសាយ	illuminating and expanding everywhere,
សាយរវាយវាលជុំ ។	expanding and encircling all around!
៨	8
ពោធិព្រឹក្សាសាល	The hardwood bodhi tree—
ភ្លឺវន្ទាលៗ ទុំ	how vivid and vibrant its radiant hue,
ស្លោមស្លឹកៗ ត្រសុំ	with foliage lush and luxuriant

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<p>ត្រសាយទៅនៅមែកមាស ។ ៩</p>	<p>throughout its golden boughs. 9</p>
<p>ព្រះបាទព្រះលាយលក្ខណ៍ កបកងចក្រដូចជួរដេរដាស ស្នូស្នីក៏លាយលាស់ [?] លើសកន្លង់ភូមិភពត្រៃ ។</p>	<p>His feet bear special markings, replete with wheels arranged in rows, and with symbols of prosperity proliferating far beyond the triple world.</p>
<p>១០ ខ្ញុំទូលល្អងធូលី ព្រះបាទស្រីសព៌េជ្ជថ្ងៃ ថ្ងៃងសាសង់សូម៉ៃ សរសើរព្រះអង្គនរោថ ។</p>	<p>10 On my head I place the dust beneath the feet of the blessed Omniscient One, intoning utterances in praise of the Lord, the Refuge of Men.</p>

These stanzas of praise are then followed by the core series of absolutions and aspirations, which cover a range of wishes, including prayers to emulate the buddhas on the bodhisatva path; to be free of all manner of suffering and poverty; to match the qualities of the Buddha’s great disciples; to have extraordinary physical attributes and mental powers, articulated in imitation of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities; and finally to receive a prediction from Maitreya of one’s future buddhahood.

The aspirations to emulate the Buddha in his acts of generosity and compassion come first, in stanzas 11–16:

<p>១១ អនេកកប្បកាលកើត ដោយកំណើតសព្វៗ ជាតិ សូមទាន់ព្រះពុទ្ធប្បាទ បានបម្រើឲ្យអស់ក្តី។</p>	<p>11 For the limitless eons in which I am born, for each birth in every life may I be present for the arising of Buddhas to serve them wholeheartedly.</p>
<p>១២ ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមណី ដូចជាតិកសេដ្ឋី មហិមាឥតដ្ឋីមបាន ។</p>	<p>12 May I be rich with wealth, precious gems, gold, and wish-fulfilling jewels like Jotikasetṭhī, mighty and beyond compare.</p>
<p>១៣ ខ្ញុំសូមករុណាសត្វ សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន សោះសាពន់ប្រមាណ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។</p>	<p>13 May I be compassionate toward all creatures. May I make offerings resolutely and unreservedly from my whole being, just like Prince Vessantara.</p>

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១៤	14
សូមដូចព្រះតេមិយ ចិត្តអត់គេតតឯហ្នង សូមចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសម្មាញ់ទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។	May I be like Prince Temiya, with a heart of forbearance and purity. May my heart be surpassingly good, beloved by men and women.
១៥	15
ទោះទោសអ្នកនឹងស្លាប់ ទល់ទុកខ្លាបឥតប្រណី សូមដោះរង្គោះក្តី ជីវិតសត្វរស់រូបា ។	Even if some commit crimes that would lead them to be killed or to face constant pain without mercy, may I liberate them from that judgment, such that those beings might live.
១៦	16
ជីវិតខ្ញុំសូមផ្លូវ ដូចអប្សរព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ខ្ញុំសូមរឹងធានា ជីវិតសត្វពន្យារក្រប ។	May I exchange my life for those of others, just like those in the Buddha's lineage have resolved. May I guarantee the lives of living beings as a refuge to all.

In this passage, the text echoes a number of other aspirations witnessed in this chapter, namely the vow to tread the path of the bodhisatva by cultivating limitless charity, measureless forbearance, and selfless compassion. The stanzas above reference figures from the *jātakas*, as well as from the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*,<sup>122</sup> to provide a basis for comparison for the petitioner's high aspirations. As seen in numerous examples cited earlier, these verses also equate the bodhisatva path with the vow to give up one's own body to save the lives of others, in this case expressed as "May I exchange my life [for those of others]" (*jīvitī kñum sūm phtūr*).

Only a few absolutions appear alongside the aspirations in this text, such as those to be free from poverty and bereavement:

៣៣	33
ត្រង់ខ្យត់ត្រង់ពិបាក ត្រង់ព្រាត់ព្រាកខ្ញុំសូមលា ត្រង់ទល់ទុក្ខកំព្រា នោះកុំត្រាយលំដល់ម្តង ។	As for poverty, difficulties, and separation, may I be free of them. As for the pain of bereavement, may I not face it even once.

Another set of absolutions are expressed amid prayers that aspire to the physical and mental qualities of some of the Buddha's great disciples:

<sup>122</sup> For the reference to Jotika-seṭṭhī of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* in IMA 38, which borrows from this passage in **padum thvāy phkā «khñum phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, see Peter Skilling, "Some Literary References in 'La Grande Inscription d'Angkor' (IMA 38)," in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 77–78.

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<p>២៧          សូមប្រាសវៃលង់ទុក្ខក៏យ          ព្យាធិខ្មែក្រៀមក្រំ          សូមរូបល្អឧត្តម          ដូចរូបព្រះមហាកថាយន៍ ។</p>	<p>27          May I be free from pain, danger,          sickness, fever, and despair.          May my form be supremely beautiful,          like that of Venerable Mahākaccāyana.</p>
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Just as witnessed in previous texts from this chapter, Śāriputra and Mahākāśyapa (Mahākassapa) are among the disciples that these prayers articulate a wish to emulate:

<p>២៣          សូមដូចព្រះសារីបុត្រ          ប្រាជ្ញាមុតស្រួលស្រាយ          វិទ្ធិបុណ្យសម្ភារ          ដូចព្រះមោគ្គល្លានហោង ។</p>	<p>23          May I be like Venerable Śāriputra,          with wisdom sharp and clear,          and with might and stores of merit,          just like Venerable Moggallāna.</p>
<p>២៤          ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី          ព្រតព្រឹទ្ធិខ្ជាប់កន្លង          ស្រគត់ឥន្ទ្រិយផង          ដូចព្រះមហាកស្សបសោត ។</p>	<p>24          May I possess mindfulness          my austerities developed and uninterrupted,          my senses entirely pacified,          just like Venerable Mahākassapa.</p>

Other verses reflect aspirations not seen in other texts in this chapter. These aspirations reflect a wish to emulate the qualities not of figures from Buddhist literature, but rather from the Brahmanical tradition that once flourished in Cambodia. The deities invoked include Viśvakarman (Khmer: Bisṅukār), Śiva (Parameśvara), and Viṣṇu (Narāyaṇa):

<p>១៧          សូមចេះសារពើការ          ល្អត្រកាលភ្នែកសាយសព្វ          សូមចេះៗ សព្វគ្រប់          ដូចជំនាញព្រះពិស្ណុការ ។</p>	<p>17          May I be skilled in every way,          with extraordinary eyes extending everywhere.          May I be skilled in everything completely,          just like the craft of Lord Viśvakarman.</p>
<p>១៨          សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃកេទ          សិល្បសាស្ត្រសេដ្ឋតតទើសទាល់          ធុតតាបជាអស្ចារ្យ          ដូចព្រះបរមេស្វរហោង ។</p>	<p>18          May I know the entirety of the three Vedas          and magical arts to perfection, with total ease and          stunning efficaciousness,          just like Lord Parameśvara.</p>

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<p>២៨ ខ្ញុំសូមមានកម្លាំង ខ្លាំងខ្លាំងទូទាំងឡាយ ដូចនូវព្រះនរាយណ៍ វិទ្ធិម៉ឺងក្រៃវិស័យ ។</p>	<p>28 May I be filled with strength and overwhelming vigor, like mighty Lord Narāyaṇa, with a power beyond this sphere,</p>
<p>២៩ រុងរឿងនូវបរិពារ ស្រីស្រីផ្ការច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រៃ សល់សែនកោដិកម្រៃ កម្រាស់លើសគង្គាហោង ។</p>	<p>29 resplendent with my retinue of amorous maidens numbering into the thousands and millions, vaster even than the Ganges,</p>
<p>៣០ បម្រើជាប្រក្រតី នរនារីតតឯងផ្តង ជាងដៅប្រុសប្រាជ្ញផង [?] ច្បាប់ទម្លាប់បរិបូណ៌បាន ។</p>	<p>30 constantly serving me, faultless men and women, along with many wise men to complete all rules and customs.</p>

Other aspirations invoke Indra and Brahmā. Prayers referencing the latter deity include the following stanzas that aspire to have a voice as melodious and rich as that of Brahmā:

<p>១៩ ខ្ញុំសូមមានប្រាជ្ញា ឆ្លើយប្រស្នាដោះសាសន៍ សឹងចូលចិត្តអ្នកផង ព្រីក្រលួចកួចសព្វគ្រប់ ។</p>	<p>19 May I be filled with the wisdom to respond to riddles with answers that are admired by everyone and hair-raisingly mellifluous.</p>
<p>២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង សូមត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌សាយសព្វ ប្រាំពិលឆ្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃបិដករត់មាត់ទេ ។</p>	<p>20 When I am still young, may I awaken to the extensive Dharma, in seven years achieving fluency in the Tripitaka,</p>
<p>២១ សម្លេងក្រាងក្រអៅ ពីពោះទៅទូសព្វតែ រន្ធត់ទាំងចិត្តគេ ដូចសម្លេងព្រះព្រហ្ម ។</p>	<p>21 with a voice rich and resonant, melodiously echoing all around, to enthrall others' hearts, like the voice of Lord Brahmā,</p>
<p>២២ កាលខ្ញុំសម្តែងធម៌</p>	<p>22 so that when I preach the Dharma</p>



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ជាអស្ចារ្យទេព្យា	it will astound the deities above,
ចុះចាកពីសួគ៌ា	to entice them down from the heavens
ចូលមកថ្វាយសាធុការ។	to come express their exultation.

In addition to invoking a comparison with Brahmā, these aspirations reflect a wish to achieve mnemonic and homiletic skills that amaze humans and gods. These skills in the study and propagation of the Dharma prefigure the final set of aspirations in the text, in which the petitioner prays to meet his highest goals in the time of Maitreya. These goals include being able to skillfully respond to the inquiries of the future Buddha’s leading disciples (*aggasāvaka*), and receiving a prophecy from Maitreya that one will indeed reach buddhahood in the future:

៣៥	35	
សូមបានសេពនឹងអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	May I be associated with the wise,	
ឥតចិត្តកាចកលឫស្សា	have a heart free from cruelty and envy,	
ចេះធម៌អាថ៌ប្រស្នា	know the Dharma scriptures and their riddles,	
ជួបមេត្រីសព្វជាតិហោង។	and meet with love in every life.	
៣៦	36	
សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ្យ	May I encounter the blessed Lord Ārya-[Maitreya],	
ធ្វើយប្រស្នាអស់អគ្គផង	and answer the questions of the Agga[sāvakas],	
បរិបូណ៌ដូចបំណង	completely in accordance with my wish.	
សូមបានទាន់ពុទ្ធព្យាករណ៍។	May I receive a prophecy from the Buddha.	

The final three stanzas of the text come full circle to the initial (perhaps symbolic) offering of lotus flowers. The last stanza here echoes that of **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** by praying for one’s absolutions and aspirations to quickly come to fruition:

៣៧	37	
តេជៈអញ្ញខ្ញុំថ្វាយ	By the power of my offering	
ស្បង្កីជកាយកបកេសរ	these lotuses, both stalk and pollen,	
រីករោយបុស្សាករ	with flowers bursting into bloom,	
កោមលមាសមានរស្មី។	gold lotuses infused with radiance,	
៣៨	38	
ទសង្ក័លីស្អាត	with these ten clean fingers	
អភិវាទវរវន្តិ	in devoted veneration,	
លុតលើកលើសិរសី	raised up to my head,	
ផ្គុំប្រណមក្រាបប្រណិបត្តិ។	united, and prostrated to the ground,	

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ពាស៍	39
បូពិត្រីសំណូម	O Lord, as for these boons
នេះខ្ញុំសូមប្រញូក្តាត់	for which I so fervently pray,
សូមធុតចំហុតថ្ងាត់	may they immediately come true,
រៀងរួចដល់និព្វានហោង។	from now on until I reach Nibbāna!

The arc of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** thus captures many of the themes discussed in the past few sections of this chapter. One, it begins with an act of merit that promises a certain *ānisamsa*. Two, it articulates a range of personal vows and prayers, both apotropaic and acquisitional, that reflect how absolution and aspiration may be combined. Three, it includes many wishes for the future that involve the attainment of extraordinary physical and mental qualities, as well as freedom from illness and other forms of suffering. Four, it renews its prayers at the end as a way to seal or magnify the power of its absolutions and aspirations.

Whatever the origins of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** in Cambodia, I should note that many of its vows have been expressed elsewhere in the Theravada world, including in colophons from Pali texts composed in Sri Lanka. One such example is the colophon found in certain manuscripts of the *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa*, a short chronicle composed sometime before 1266 CE.<sup>123</sup> We don't know, unfortunately, when the Pali colophon was authored or by whom. In all likelihood, however, it predates **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, and may have served as the basis for some of the aspirations articulated in the Khmer text. My translation of the text follows, alongside the edition of Godakumbura:<sup>124</sup>

Godakumbura 1956, 33–34	Translation
1	1
<i>puññenānena pappomi</i>	By means of this merit, up until
<i>nibbutiṃ yāva tāva'haṃ</i>	the point when I reach Nibbāna,
<i>uppañjeyyaṃ kule suddhe</i>	may I be born into a good, pure,
<i>saddhe aḍḍhe mahaddhane</i>	faithful, rich, and prosperous family;
2	2
<i>asesadesabhāsāsu</i>	in the tongues of all regions,
<i>sakalāsu kalāsu ca</i>	in all of the practical arts,
<i>kusalo lokapaṇḍicce</i>	in worldly wisdom, and in fooling
<i>caṇḍanimadane pi ca</i>	the wicked, may I be skilled;

<sup>123</sup> C.E. Godakumbura, ed., *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa* (London: Pali Text Society, 1956), x.

<sup>124</sup> Godakumbura, ed., *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa*, 33–34. I modify his punctuation and adopt some of the variant readings provided in the footnotes. For an alternative translation, see James D'Alwis, *The Attanagalu-Vansa* (Colombo, 1866), 145–146. For a brief discussion of this passage, see Steven Collins, “What Is Literature in Pali?,” in *Literary Cultures in History*, ed. Sheldon Pollock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 656–657.

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3  
*piṭakesu ca vedesu  
nekavyākaraṇesu ca  
takkādisu pana ‘ññesu  
satthesu ca visārado*  
4  
*kavī cāgamako vādī  
paravādappamaddano  
ekassutidharo ‘neka-  
sahassānam pi ganthato*  
5  
*ganthasatasahassam pi  
sutamattena dhāraye  
atthavyañjanato vā pi  
sahassanayato pi ca*  
6  
*vasāsīhassa pakkhittā  
yathā kañcanapāṭiyā  
silālekhe ‘va me niccam  
sutam sabbam na nāsaye*  
7  
*mahiddhiko mahātejo  
kataññū kusalo balī  
dhūtimā jāṭisampanno  
bhavyyaṃ jāṭijāṭiyaṃ*  
8  
*paro pi maṃ na hiṃseyya  
na hiṃseyyaṃ paraṃ pi ca  
adaṇḍena asatthena  
dame ‘haṃ sabbapāṇinaṃ*  
9  
*kudīṭṭhipāpamittaṃ ca  
na seveyyaṃ kudācanaṃ  
pāṇakaṃ anumattaṃ pi  
na haṇeyyaṃ kadāci pi*  
10  
*nipuṇaṃ duddasaṃ pañhaṃ  
yena kenaci pucchito  
muhuttena pakāseyyaṃ*

3  
in the Piṭakas, the Vedas,  
in the many grammars,  
and in the other sciences,  
such as logic, may I be confident;  
4  
may I be a poet, an exegete, a preacher  
who wins over my opponents,  
and one who memorizes many  
thousands of stanzas upon a single hearing;  
5  
may I bear in mind thousands of stanzas  
by merely listening to them,  
both in their literal meaning  
and their thousands of significations;  
6  
just as a lion’s fat stored  
in a golden vessel or a stone  
inscription [is well-preserved],  
may I always retain what I hear;  
7  
may I be mighty, powerful,  
grateful, skilled, strong,  
brave, and of lofty birth  
in all of my lives;  
8  
may no one harm me  
and may I harm no one;  
without stick or sword,  
may I subdue all living beings;  
9  
may I never be friends  
with heretics or sinners;  
may I never kill a living being,  
no matter how small;  
10  
whatever riddles, be they clever or  
obscure, I may be asked,  
may I resolve them instantly,

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<p><i>tosento sakalam pajam</i> 11 <i>atekiccā pi ye rogā</i> <i>te mayā pekkhitakkhaṇe</i> <i>nissesā vyapaḡacchantu</i> <i>udabindū va pokkharā</i> 12 <i>dasikasuttamattam pi</i> <i>yam kiñci mama santakam</i> <i>rājacora'ppiyā sattā</i> <i>agginā udakena vā</i> 13 <i>na vinassantu me bhogā</i> <i>mā gayha(tu) dayha(tu) vyhatu</i> <i>rogavyādha'ntarāyā tu</i> <i>na pappontu kadāci mam</i> 14 <i>devā manussā asurā</i> <i>gandhabbā yakkharakkhasā</i> <i>te pi mam parirakkhantu</i> <i>bhave saṃsarato mama</i> 15 <i>adinnam paradāraṇ ca</i> <i>surāpānavihimsanam</i> <i>asaccaṃ supinenā pi</i> <i>na bhaṇeyyam kudācanam</i> 16 <i>pañcānantariyam kammaṃ</i> <i>pañcaduccaritam pi ca</i> <i>manasā pi na cinteyyam</i> <i>sabbakālam ito paraṃ</i> 17 <i>na kareyyam na kāreyyam</i> <i>na cinteyyam kudācanam</i> <i>pāpakam aṇumattam pi</i> <i>tathā dukkhaṇ ca paṇiṇam</i> 18 <i>niraye vā tiracchāne</i> <i>pete asurayoniyam</i></p>	<p>delighting all people; 11 with just a single glance, may I cause all incurable diseases to fall away, like drops of water from a lotus; 12 whatever things I own, even as small as a thread, may kings, thieves, enemies, fire, and water 13 never destroy them, seize them, burn them, or wash them away; may diseases, illnesses, and dangers never reach me; 14 may gods, humans, titans, gandharvas, ogres, and demons protect me during my travels through saṃsāra; 15 may I never steal, take others' wives, drink intoxicants, slay [living beings], or speak falsehoods, not even in a dream; 16 from now on, may I never even think of committing the five sins of immediate retribution or the five types of misconduct; 17 may I never do, cause another to do, or think of committing even the most minuscule sin or harming a living being; 18 may all of the suffering of the hells and the realms of</p>
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<i>yaṃ yaṃ hi dukkhaṃ taṃ sabbam</i>	animals, hungry ghosts, and titans
<i>na phuseyyaṃ kudācanaṃ</i>	never come to me;
<i>pūretvā bodhisambhāre</i>	having fulfilled the merit required for awakening,
<i>buddho hessaṃ anāgate ti.</i>	may I become a buddha in the future.

Further research is needed to determine if the aspirations articulated in this colophon show up elsewhere in Sinhala, Pali, or Southeast Asian literature. For the moment, it seems clear the **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** was working from this passage above or from a very similar text, since many of the aspirations included are quite similar. Other than **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** and the inscriptions based on it, however, there does not appear to be any trace of the *Hatthavanagallavīhāravamsa* or its colophon preserved in Cambodia.

### 9.6.2 Aspirations in Samtec Braḥ Paravidū's IMA 31 of 1684 CE

The structure of prayers presented by **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** must have proved popular enough in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries such that two inscriptions from 1684 and 1701 would borrow extensively from it. The former inscription follows a formula shared by many of the Middle-period inscriptions at Angkor Wat: an opening declaration of faith, a praise of the Three Jewels, a statement of religious motivation (*samvega*), an enumeration of meritorious deeds, and finally a set of apotropaic and acquisitional expressions of *adhittāna*.

Here I only provide a corrected Roman-script edition and translation of the key passages for understanding IMA 31 in relationship to **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**. The first relevant passage appears after Samtec Braḥ Paravidū (“His Eminence Holy Paravidū”) declares his supreme “threefold-right-conduct faith” (*trībidhasucaritasaddhā*) and bows down to the “triply pure pair of holy and blessed excellent feet of the blessed Sākyamuni, blessed Gotama, supreme Lord, our Venerable Master” (*srīvarapādayuggal vimal trai nai samtec braḥ srī sākyamuṇī srī gotam paramapabitr kamratèn yōi*). His words of homage complete, Samtec Braḥ Paravidū declares his motivation for making merit near the end of his life:

*samtec braḥ paravidū khñuṃ amcās' krèn pān dhvō nūw ambō akusal añvāl' nūw catuttimsa yodhā  
dvāsattḥi dṛṣṭi tamas nūw catuddasa cetasik rakḥ nūw rūḥ kāy sthit ai ta saṅsār pī it khliṃ asār  
jarābyādhi phaṅ sīn ta pīet pīen nai.*

*dōp samtec braḥ paravidū mok git jañjīn rambīn āñit aniccā āyukkḥayakammakḥay nā ni as'  
janmābidhi dau paralok nāy pī tūc jhmuoñ dhlāy sambau it e baṃnāk' kraī lèn nai samtec braḥ  
srīratna ta trai paramapabitr.*

I, your humble servant His Eminence Holy Paravidū, for fear of having committed all

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sorts of demeritorious actions, including the thirty-four armies,<sup>125</sup> the sixty-two wrong views, and the obscurations of the fourteen demeritorious mental factors, recalled that the body remains in the cycle of saṃsāra without a pith, that is, without an essence, ever troubled by old age and sickness.

Thus His Eminence Holy Paravidū came to consider and reflect, to pity and sense the impermanence of the destruction of the lifespan and the destruction of karma—that is to say, the exhaustion of the process of this birth and the journey to the next world—just like a merchant, whose vessel is rent asunder, who is without the most powerful protection of Their Eminences, the Holy Blessed Three Jewels, Supreme Lords.

The first part of this passage conveys a summary of the faults and sins Samtec Braḥ Paravidū seeks to absolve himself from. The second reflects his contemplation on the present situation of having a mortal body in the vicious whirlpool of saṃsāra. Now fifty-seven years of age, he reflects (in the third person) on the precariousness of the present and on the sum total of the merits he has achieved over the course of his life:

*luḥ ṭal' śubhamastu maṅgalā jaiyātirek 1606 sāk jūt naksatr 9 roj kattik budhabārasāraṇā adhyāsrāy  
nai samtec braḥ paravidū mān cit tamlā saddhā cāp' ṭōm aṃbī 16 chnāṃ luḥ ruoc rāl' rapāl ṭal' ilūw  
neh braḥ janm pān 57 hōy braḥ aṅg rēn kāt' sralāñ saddhā mak gaṇanā trā as' samnāñ sāñ jā aṃbō  
kusal phal puny aṃbī mun mak luḥ ruoc ṭal' ilūw neh.*

Hence now in this year of 1606 of the Śāka era—may it be prosperous, auspicious and exceptionally successful—the year of the rat, the ninth waning day of Kārttika, the Wednesday day of the cycle, the mental disposition of His Eminence Holy Paravidū possessed a heart of clear faith, beginning from the age of 16 continuously up to the present age of 57 years, and the holy lord increasingly cut off affections and out of faith enumerated all of the accomplishments he had made in terms of meritorious actions from the past all the way up to the present.

The following section of the inscription then enumerates those many merits in detail:

*braḥ aṅg sāñ braḥ māś braḥ prāk' aṅg 100 nūw braḥ chlāk' thmī 34 aṅg nūw braḥ antaradhān pañ'  
aṃbī mun mak aṅg 100 nūw braḥ sīhñ aṅg 1 as' samnāñ braḥ aṅg dāṃñ ampāl noḥ pān jā 235.*

*hōy mak drañ' saddhā ṭāṃ nūw braḥ śrīratnamahābodhi 30 ṭōm hōy braḥ aṅg sāñ braḥ cetiy khsāc'  
samrec sāñ braḥ buddh braḥ dharm braḥ saṅgh phcañ nūw kathūñ oy jā dān 5 toñ jūk antūñ jūk sraḥ  
jamrah phlūw sañ' sbān oy dān 5 toñ braḥ aṅg oy dān bhlon oy dān dik oy dān sambat' oy bhojanāhār  
trakāl bisā oy dān kandel āsanā oy dān grīñ pāy grīñ dik grīñ slā mlū kāt' traicīvar oy dān kāt'  
dañ kāt' bitān sāñ kambī [gambīr] thwāy braḥ mahāsrīratnatrai paramapabitr dāṃñ pī khmī sañ'  
sālā 5 pañcām oy jā dān.*

<sup>125</sup> Translation tentative; I am unsure what *catuttimsa yodhā* refers to in this context or if it might be a misspelling of some other term.

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*höy braḥ aṅg mān maitrī karuṇā āsūr as' me pā poi p-ün kūn cau nūv ñāti aṃpāl saivāt mak khcī  
paccayavatthu braḥ aṅg as' dāṃṇi lāy jā jañḅiṇi 7 höy braḥ aṅg ramil möl yal jā dāṃṇan' ban' pramāṅ  
as' ñāti santān dāṃṇi aṃpāl noḥ braḥ aṅg smoḥ chboḥ draṅ' sāddhā lōk oy jā dān as' ñāt santān  
dāṃṇi jañḅiṇi 7 noḥ srec hoṇ.*

The Holy Lord made 100 gold and silver buddha images, 34 newly carved buddha images, [replaced] 100 buddha images that had disappeared in the past, and one *sīhī* buddha image—the total accomplishment of the Holy Lord was 235 images.

After that, he was filled with faith and planted 30 Great Bodhi trees of the Blessed Jewels. The Holy Lord built a sand *ceṭiya* and then sponsored the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha in offering *kathīna* robes five times, digging wells, digging ponds, clearing roads, and building bridges five times, offering fire, offering water, offering cloth, offering delicious meals, offering mats and seats, offering cooking ware, offering water vessels, offering containers for betel leaf and areca nut, cutting triple robes, offering and cutting flags, cutting ceiling cloths, and making manuscripts in offering to the Holy Great Blessed Triple Jewel, all three Supreme Lords, and hurrying to built five pavilions to be put in place for charity.

Then the Holy Lord had kindness, compassion, and pity for all of his parents, siblings, children, and grandchildren, who all strived to borrow requisites and provisions from the Holy Lord to the measure of seven weights, and the Holy Lord examined and saw that this was an extremely important duty for all of his relatives, and so he freely and out of faith offered all seven weights as charity for all of his relatives.

The text, up this point, has been entirely in prose. Since the inscription is not broken up into paragraphs or metrical lines, it is difficult to tell at first glance that what follows after this enumeration of meritorious deeds is largely in verse. In this section, Samtec Braḥ Paravidū establishes his vow to emulate the path trod by the buddhas of the past and to eventually reach buddhahood in the future. When paragraph and line breaks are added, it becomes clear that much of this section is in the *brahmagāthī* meter and borrows directly from stanzas 11–16 of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**. For this section, in lieu of a corrected edition, I provide a diplomatic transcription that respects the orthography of the inscription:

<i>pubītr neḥ gī saṃḅmān saṃtēc braḥ paravidū ilūv braḥ aṅg</i>	Lord! These are the accomplishments of His Eminence Holy Paravidū. Now may the Holy Lord,
<i>sūm kōt sabv2 jāt</i>	in every life,
<i>sum dānd buddhaṃād</i>	be born in time for the Buddha's feet,
<i>cām paṃmrōh oy is sēc ktī //</i>	to protect and serve them with my whole being.

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*khñuṃm sūm mān drabv dhan*      May I be rich with wealth,  
*kèṃ ratn taṇ māṣ muṇī*              precious gems, gold, and wish-fulfilling jewels  
*tūc jotikasesthi*                          like Joṭikasesthī,  
*mulhīmā ayit phdīm pān*              mighty and beyond compare.

*khñuṃm sūm kunnā satv*              May I be compassionate toward all creatures.  
*sūm citr kāṅt amṇoy dān*              May I make offerings resolutely and  
*s”oh sā ban pṛamān*                      unreservedly from my whole being,  
*tūc braḥ vesantar hoṇ*                      just like Prince Vessantara.

*khñuṃm sūm tūc teme*                  May I be like Prince Temiya,  
*citr at geh ayit e hm”oṇ //*              with a heart of forbearance and purity.  
*sūm citr khñuṃm l-ah kanloṇ*              May my heart be surpassingly good,  
*jā saṃlèṅṅ daṃṇi pṛus daṃṇi śrīy*      beloved by men and women.

*doh dos anak niṇ slāṅp*                  Even if some commit crimes that would lead them to be killed  
*dul dukkh khjāp ayit pṛāni*              or to face constant pain without mercy,  
*sūm toḥ riṅgoḥ kī*                          may I liberate them from that judgment,  
*jīvīt pān rasñ rūppā*                      such that those beings might live.

*jīvīt khñuṃm sūm phtūr*                  May I exchange my life for those of others,  
*tūc amṇpūr braḥ pṛāthnā*              just like those in the Buddha’s lineage have resolved.  
*khñuṃm sūm roṇ dhāraṇā*              May I guarantee the  
*jīvīt satv bvumṇāṅk grup //*              lives of living beings as a refuge to all.

Since Samtec Braḥ Paravidū (or whoever wrote IMA 31 on his behalf) was drawing on **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br**, not the other way around, it comes as no surprise that his text is corrupt in a few places. First, he cuts off the beginning of stanza 11, such that only three lines remain. In what should be the third line of this stanza, the inscription reads *sum dānd buddhapād* (“may I be born in time for the Buddha’s feet”) instead of the expected *sūm dān’ buddhuppād* (“may I be present for the arising of Buddhas”). Finally, in the line “beloved by men and women” (*jā saṃlèṅṅ daṃṇi pṛus daṃṇi śrīy*), the second *dāṃṇi* is unnecessary and hypermetrical.

In addition to these verse aspirations borrowed from **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br**, Samtec Braḥ Paravidū also includes some personal aspirations of his own, this time in prose. These are quite striking in that they represent an unequivocal declaration of his intention to seek buddhahood. Moreover, Samtec Braḥ Paravidū does not seek to become just any buddha in the future; he specifically aspires to be the eleventh buddha



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of the future, i.e. the tenth after Maitreya:<sup>126</sup>

*pabitr brah mahāsīratnatrai paramapabitr khñuṃ sūm paṃbeñ bodhisambhārapāramī ambī neḥ dau  
ruoc rāl’ dāl’ anāgatakāl luḥ tal’ bodhisatv 10 brah aṅg paṃbeñ bodhisambhārapāramī pān trās’  
prajñā sarbvejñatāññā jā brah buddh pariṇāṃ cūl nibbān jā surec hōy e kroy noḥ en añ khñuṃ sūm oy  
pān trās’ prajñā sarbvejñatāññā jā brah buddh caṃhut nāṃ satv phaṅ tūc ganlañ brah buddh ambī  
purān rīeñ mak noḥ en hoñ //*

Lord, the Holy Great Blessed Triple Jewel, Supreme Lord! May I fulfill the perfections for the accumulation of awakening from now all the way up into the future, until the time when ten bodhisattvas have fulfilled the perfections for the accumulation of awakening and have become awakened to wisdom and the insight of omniscience as buddhas. Once they have all completely entered Nibbāna, may I after that become awakened to wisdom and the insight of omniscience as a buddha capable of leading all living beings, exactly like the path of buddhas that extends from the past.

Finally, like a number of texts witnessed in this chapter, the inscription closes with a prayer to seal his vows and assure that Samtec Braḥ Paravidū’s aspirations indeed come true:

*pabitr brah mahāsīratnatrai paramapabitr añ khñuṃ jhmoḥ samtec brah paravidū pabitr prāthnā  
tucneḥ sūm oy pariṇāṃ prākat kaṃnat’ kuṃ pī mān ghlāt ghlā löy pabitr sūm chut2 tūc saccādhittān  
neḥ hoñ.*

Lord, the Holy Great Blessed Triple Jewel, Supreme Lord! I, named Eminence Holy Paravidū, Lord, make this aspiration like so. May it be fulfilled according to its delineation and may it not fall away. Lord! May it come to be, come to be according to this truthful resolve.

IMA 31 thus provides one example of how the framework of combined absolutions and aspirations found in **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** and other texts featured in ideas of merit-making and *adhittāna* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Samtec Braḥ Paravidū borrows from the parts of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** that most suit his temperament, but goes beyond the original text by adding his own personal aspirations and connecting them to the acts of merit he enumerates. Although the inscription is not a “deathbed text” per se, it certainly reflects the perspective of an older person who is looking back on his life and contemplating his sins and virtues. The inscription’s secure date allows us to imagine such absolutions and aspirations as constituting an aspect of the work of the dying back to at least the seventeenth century in Cambodia.

<sup>126</sup> He likely chooses to be the eleventh since ten buddhas of the future are already named and described. See, for instance, *Anāgatasavaṇis អនាគតសាវណ្ណ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1963), *ja-jha*.

9.6.3 Aspirations in Jayanand's IMA 38 of 1701 CE

IMA 31 is not the only such inscription that helps us ground the ideology of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ʔap'»-br** in the historical milieu of the late Middle Period. Jayanand's extraordinary 152-stanza poem in three meters is the other inscription that draws extensively from this chanted text. Although the identification of verses from **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ʔap'»-br** embedded in IMA 31 mean that it, and not IMA 38, is the oldest Khmer poem surviving on stone, IMA 38 is still the oldest surviving physical copy of a *complete* verse text in Khmer.

Moreover, it provides a compelling case for understanding how absolutions and aspirations function together, for the second and third major sections of the text, in the *bhujang līlā* and *kākaḡati* meters respectively, are explicitly devoted to expressions of *lpā* (stanzas 46–104) and *saṃṇūm* (stanzas 105–152). The text is far too long to treat in its complete form here, so in this subsection I present a number of key passages, in standardized editions and translations only, to illuminate how it unites absolutions and aspirations together for presenting a personal account of Jayanand's motivations, sorrows, merits, and prayers as he looks back over his life after the death of his wife and children.

In the first 45 stanzas of the text, all in the *brahmagāthī* meter, Jayanand sets the stage for the absolutions and aspirations that follow. He begins, as is customary in inscriptions from this period, by announcing the precise date. From stanzas 3–10, he follows the model of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ʔap'»-br** by presenting an offering of lotus flowers, followed by a praise of the Buddha upon his adamant throne. Here Jayanand copies many lines verbatim from the chanted source text. To demonstrate how extensive his borrowings are in this part of the inscription, I present a comparative edition and translation of stanzas 3–8 of IMA 38 alongside stanzas 1–6 of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ʔap'»-br** below:

Standardized editions:

<i>IMA 38</i>	<i>padum thvāy phkā</i>
ពា	១
ពីដើមនេះឯងណា	ខ្ញុំផ្គុំអម្រាមដប់
ដោយគាថាព្រះបាលី	បរិបូណ៌គ្រប់នូវក្រចក
លើកសរសើរពុទ្ធី	ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក
បទមុនីព្រហ្មគីតិ ។	ឈូកមាសម័យល្អពន្រាយ ។
២	២
អញខ្ញុំថ្វាយបុព្វា	បទុមក្រព័រីក
ព្រះកគវាសព័ជ្ជស្ថិត	មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ
ត្រាស់យល់កំណើតសត្វ	បទុមក្រព័រីថ្វាយ
ស្តេចគង់គិតផ្កាញាមារនៃ ។	ស្បង្គីជកាយកបកេសរ

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<p>៥          បទុមក្រព័ស្តាត          ថ្វាយព្រះបាទសព័ជ្ជថ្ងៃ          លុតលើកទសករក្រៃ          ផ្ទង់ប្រពៃដាក់សិរសី ។</p> <p>៦          ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ          អភិវាទវរវន្តិ          គិតថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី          រតនត្រៃស្រីកាលា</p> <p>៧          រុងរឿងបល្ល័ង្កពេជ្រ          ពិចិត្រស្រចរចនា          ឆ្លាក់ឆ្លៅជាភ្នំផ្កា          បរិបូណ៌បួនដណ្តប់ហត្ថ ។</p> <p>៨          ដាំត្បូងសឹងគ្រប់ពណ៌          ល្អអស្ចារ្យឆ្លុះប្រវាត់          កើតផ្សំពោធិសត្វ          ព្រះគង្គស្ថិតឈ្នះមារផង ។</p>	<p>៧          តេជះខ្ញុំថ្លាត់ថ្វាយ          ស្បង្ក័ជកាយកបបវរ          លុតលើកទាំងទសករ          ប្រណមដោមដាក់សិរសី ។</p> <p>៤          ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ          អភិវាទវរវន្តិយ័          ថ្លាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី          វត្តដ៏ត្រៃស្រីកាលា ។</p> <p>៥          រុងរឿងបល្ល័ង្កពេជ្រ          ពិចិត្រវិចន័ចារអោ          ក្បូក្បាប់រចនា          បរិបូណ៌បួនដណ្តប់ហត្ថ ។</p> <p>៦          ព្រះអង្គកតកា          ស្តេចគង្គនាបល្ល័ង្កវត្ត          ត្រាស់យល់កំណើតសត្វ          សត្វអមរនិករាយ ។</p>
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Translations:

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>IMA 38</i></p> <p>3          Right here at the beginning,          following the verses of the holy texts,          [I] chant, in praise of the Buddha,          an old <i>brahmagāthi</i> melody:</p> <p>4          I humbly offer flowers          to the Omniscient Blessed One, who sits          knowing and seeing the births of beings,          the Lord who meditates, conquering Māra.</p> <p>5          These lovely lotus buds          I offer to the precious feet of the Omniscient One, of most excellent lotuses and their stalks,</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>padum thvāy phkā</i></p> <p>1          I unite my ten fingers          complete with their nails,          just like the petals          of a golden lotus, beautiful and brilliant.</p> <p>2          These lotus buds burst into bloom—          with a happy heart I offer them.          These lotus buds I offer,          lotuses complete with their stalks and pollen.</p> <p>3          By grace of this offering          I offer to the precious feet of the Omniscient One, of most excellent lotuses and their stalks,</p>
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raised up with my ten fingers  
and carefully placed on my head.

6

I prostrate myself beneath his feet  
in devoted veneration,  
an offering to the blessed  
Triple Jewel and blessed Kālā.

7

How resplendent his adamantine throne,  
artfully inscribed with designs  
and carvings of flowers,  
fully fourteen cubits in height,

8

inlaid with precious stones of various colors,  
marvelous and dazzling,  
arising in tandem with the Bodhisatva,  
upon which the Lord conquered Māra!

raised up with my ten fingers  
and carefully placed on my head,

4

I prostrate myself beneath his feet  
in devoted veneration,  
an offering to the blessed  
Triple Jewel and blessed Kālā.

5

How resplendent his adamantine throne,  
artfully inscribed with designs  
and ornamental carvings,  
fully fourteen cubits in height!

6

The Lord, the Blessed One  
reposes on this jeweled throne  
witnessing the births of beings,  
the multitudes of animals and angels.

In the stanzas that follow (11–15), Jayanand composes verses of his own to declare what acts of merit he is performing in connection with this inscription, including sponsoring cetiyas and buddha images in and around Angkor Wat. Then, in stanzas 16–22, Jayanand returns once more to the model of **padum thvāy phkā «khñum phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** as he formulates his aspirations for what he hopes to achieve as a result of his meritorious deeds. Again, to make clear how he borrows and rearranges material from the older chanted text, I present standardized editions and translations of the parallel passages side by side:

Comparative editions:

*IMA 38*

*padum thvāy phkā*

១៦  
ថ្វាយហើយខ្ញុំទូលផ្តឹង  
សូមឲ្យដឹងអស់អាថ៌ផង  
ជាតិស្សុរញ្ញាណហោង  
កុំកំបាំងភ្នាំងភ្លេចឡើយ ។

១៧  
កើតបានប្រាំពិលធ្នាំ  
ប្រាជ្ញាចាំហើយចេះឆ្លើយ

២០  
ពីកាលខ្ញុំនៅភ្លេង  
សូមត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌សាយសព្វ

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អស់អាថ៌ធម៌គ្រប់ហើយ ត្រៃបិដករត់មាត់ទេ ។	ប្រាំពិលឆ្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃបិដករត់មាត់ទេ ។
១៨	
ឥតខុសឆ្គងដល់តិច ថ្ងៃឯពាក្យពេចន៍ស្រេចឯងឯ ទោះឆ្លើយទៅនឹងគេ ដោះប្រស្នាអ្វីក្រៃទាល់សល់ ។	
១៩	១៨
សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃភេទ សិល្បសាស្ត្រសេដ្ឋឥតទើសទាល់ ឆុតតាបំជាអស្ចារ្យ ដូចព្រះបរមេសូរនៃ ។	សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃភេទ សិល្បសាស្ត្រសេដ្ឋឥតទើសទាល់ ឆុតតាបំជាអស្ចារ្យ ដូចព្រះបរមេសូរហោង ។
២០	៣៦
សូមទាន់ព្រះស្រីអារ្យ មានបរិពារច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រៃ ជារយពាន់ម៉ឺននៃ ល្អប្រពៃដោយប្រថ្នា ។	សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអារ្យ ឆ្លើយប្រស្នាអស់អគ្គផង បរិបូណ៌ដូចបំណង សូមបានទាន់ពុទ្ធព្យាករណ៍ ។
២១	
សេពជិនស្រីទៅបួស ឡើងផលផ្លូវសល្អថ្ងៃថ្នា សំណាក់ព្រះសាសនា បានព្រះពុទ្ធនិទ្ធិនាយទុក្ខ ។	
២២	
ព្រះស្រីអារ្យទាយថា អ្នកនេះណាត្រាស់ឯមុខ ជាព្រះពុទ្ធសោយសុខ ត្រាស់ធម៌ទុកនាំសត្វនៃ ។	

Translations:

*IMA 38*

*padum thvāy phkā*

16

Having made these offerings, I humbly make [my wishes] known.  
May I gain knowledge of all texts  
and memory of past lives,  
and may I never be blocked and forget them.

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17

When I will be just seven years old,  
may I absorb wisdom and know how to converse  
in all kinds of Dharma texts,  
with fluency in the Tripiṭaka,

18

without even the smallest mistake  
and with complete eloquence,  
and, even while debating with others,  
solving riddles without the least distress.

19

May I know the entirety of the three Vedas  
and magical arts to perfection, with total ease and  
stunning efficaciousness,  
just like Lord Parameśvara.

20

May I be born in the time of the blessed Ārya[-Maitreya]  
and be surrounded by a massive retinue,  
numbering in the hundreds and thousands,  
lovely and beautiful, according to my wish.

21

May I serve the Victor by ordaining and  
building up the excellent fruits of ordination  
in the lineage of the dispensation,  
and may I receive a prediction from the Buddha.

22

May the blessed Ārya[-Maitreya] predict as follows:

“This man shall be awakened in the future  
as a buddha and partake of bliss.

He shall awaken to the Dharma and use it to guide living beings.”

20

When I am still young,  
may I awaken to the extensive Dharma,  
in seven years achieving  
fluency in the Tripiṭaka,

18

May I know the entirety of the three Vedas  
and magical arts to perfection, with total ease and  
stunning efficaciousness,  
just like Lord Parameśvara.

36

May I encounter the blessed Lord Ārya[-Maitreya],  
and answer the questions of the Agga[sāvakas],  
completely in accordance with my wish.  
May I receive a prophecy from the Buddha.

Jayanand’s aspirations slightly expand on the model of **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, but all of the essential points remain the same, including the desire to achieve extraordinary mental skills in both Buddhist and Brahmanical fields and to receive a prediction of buddhahood from Maitreya in the future.

In stanzas 23–27, Jayanand provides a brief autobiography, similar to that witnessed in **ānisaṅsa ākāravattā-br** and the prologue to *Duṃ Dāv* discussed in section 9.2 above. In this précis about his life, he recounts the names of his children and wife as well as some of the ranks and administrative positions he has held over the years. By 1701, however, when

Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

Jayanand has this inscription made, both of his children have passed away. He first laments the pain that he and his wife felt in losing their children, along with a prayer of absolution to never again face such bereavement in the future:

<p>២៨  វិអ្នកនេះទាំងពីរ  ដោយរមិលយល់អស្ចារ្យ  ជាតិនេះព្រះពុទ្ធារ  កើតទុក្ខព្រាត់ជាទាយាទ ។</p>	<p>28  As for the two of us,  from a glance it seemed extraordinary:  in this life of widespread fame  there arose the pain of being cleft from our children.</p>
<p>២៩  ជាតិនេះពុំបរិបូណ៌  ប្រាស់ពុំមូលច្រើនឃ្លាតឃ្លា  ទោះកើតសព្វៗជាតិ  កុំត្រាឃ្លាតដល់តិចឡើយ ។</p>	<p>29  This life was not whole;  separate, not complete, ever bereaved.  In every life to come,  may I not face bereavement.</p>
<p>៣០  វិបាកនេះផងគ្នា  មកច្រើនត្រាពុំត្រាស្មើយ  អំពីជាតិនេះហើយ  ខ្ញុំរៀនត្រង់វិបាកប្រាណា ។</p>	<p>30  The totality of these karmic results  were continuous and unrelenting.  As for this life,  I am punished with these results on my being.</p>
<p>៣១  ទោះវិលដំជាតិនេះទៅ  វិលមកនៅកើតរូមស្ថាន  ត្រង់ទុក្ខអាស្រូវប្រាណា  កុំត្រាមានភិតពិរ ។</p>	<p>31  But should this life end,  and I be reborn in the same place [as her],  as for distress and disgrace,  may they not be a menace (<i>bairī</i>, cf. <i>vera</i>).</p>

Loss of his children, however, was not the only bereavement Jayanand faced, for his wife also passed away before 1701. He narrates that it is this grief that motivates him to build a *cetiya*, on the east side of Angkor Wat, to inter the ashes of his wife and children:

<p>៣២  កាលឥតនឹងប្រពន្ធ  សោកលើសលន់ទន់ឥទ្ធិ  ហើយកព្រះចេតិយ  ទុកជាតុនីបីនឹងកូន ។</p>	<p>32  When I was bereft from my wife,  my sorrow collapsed my senses entirely,  and I built a holy <i>cetiya</i>  to inter her with our children, three sets of relics in all.</p>
<p>៣៣  វិកូនទាំងពីរអង្គ</p>	<p>33  As for you, my two children,</p>

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អាពុកផ្ទះធ្វើបុណ្យជូន your father devotedly made merit for you,  
 បង្កប់ម្តាយនិងកូន burying your mother with you,  
 អ្នកឥមឧងនូវមួយស្ថាន little Im and Ūñ, in the same place.

Jayanand then goes on to enumerate all of the meritorious deeds he conducted in response to their deaths, including restoring 130 buddha images, all gilt in gold; sponsoring two cloth paintings (*braḥ pat*) of buddhas and leading an elaborate consecration (*chlan*) ceremony for the cetiya and the images (stanzas 34–44).

On the basis of the merit and benefits of these pious acts, Jayanand then articulates the prayers of absolution and aspiration that comprise the remainder of his inscription. He closes the *brahmagāti* portion of the composition with a summary of what will follow, specifically divided into sections for various *lpā* and *saṃṇūm*:

៤៥	45
សូត្រពីនេះទៅហើយ	Now that this has been recited ( <i>sūtr</i> ),
សូត្របង្ហើយចុះទៅល្អា	I will proceed with reciting my absolutions ( <i>lpā</i> ).
សូត្ររួចអស់នេះណា	When those have been recited,
សូត្រសំណូមសម្រេចហោង ៗ ១ ៗ	I will recite my aspirations ( <i>saṃṇūm</i> ) to conclude.

His use of the verb “recite” (*sūtr*, cf. Old Khmer *svat*) here reminds us that Jayanand’s inscription was presumably meant to be publicly intoned at the ceremony for consecrating his various donations. His poem is thus an end-of-life chant, though not a deathbed chant, in several senses. One, it was composed for an act of memorializing those who had passed away. Like the chants for buddha-image consecration that appear in many leporellos, his poem ritually connects the dedication of new buddha images with the memorialization of the dead. Two, Jayanand, like Samtec Braḥ Paravidū before him, composed his inscription as a way of looking back over his years in the world, reflecting on the hazards of saṃsāra, and formulating prayers of absolution and aspiration, some based on **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br**, to orient his mind in his remaining years. His composition is thus a poem that is acutely aware of the finality of human existence, of the end of life, and of the importance of *adhittāna* in one’s final days.

Jayanand’s absolutions are quite extensive, stretching from stanzas 46–104 and covering a wide range of unfortunate consequences of evil karma he hopes to avoid. While not directly borrowed from any extant text, such as **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap’»-br** or **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**, the content of these absolutions are quite similar:

៤៦	46
នេះបទកុដង្កីលីលា	This is in the <i>bhujang līlā</i> meter,



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លើកដោយកាព្យ ជាល្អទាំងឡាយ ។ ៤៧	composed as a poem, for all of my absolutions. 47
លាអស់លោកទោសសម្បាយ លាក់យអន្តរាយ ព្រាត់ព្រាយប្រាសគ្នា ។ ៤៨	I take leave of greed and all my faults, of danger and destruction, and separation and bereavement. 48
ខ្ញុំក្រាបទូលព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះអើយខ្ញុំលា ត្រង់នាទុក្ខសោក ។ ៤៩	I humbly bow before the Buddhas. O Lords! I take leave of suffering and sorrow. 49
ខ្ញុំលាត្រង់កំណើតថោក កើតមកអស់លោក សើចង្រៀលសន្តាន ។ ៥០	I take leave of lowly births, in which everyone would laugh at and insult my lineage. 50
ខ្ញុំលាសព្វជាតិពៀរស្តាន ក្តីអាស្រូវប្រាណ កុំមានឡើយណា ។	I take leave of vengeful karma in all lives as well as disgrace— may they never appear.

Finally, in stanzas 105–152, Jayanand provides another list of aspirations in the *kākagati* meter, much more extensive than those articulated in the opening *brahmagīti* portion. In this section of the inscription, a number of his aspirations do seem to be directly borrowed from **padum thvāy phkā «khñum phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**, albeit transposed from *brahmagīti* into *kākagati*. For instance, stanzas 12–14 of the older text—verses also copied directly into IMA 31—are reworked in Jayanand’s poem as stanzas 141, 126, and 124, respectively:

Standardized editions:

<b>padum thvāy phkā</b>	IMA 38
១២	១៤១
ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមណី ដូចជាតិកសេដ្ឋី មហិមាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។	ខ្ញុំសូមទ្រព្យធន មាសប្រាក់វត្ថុតន់ កែវមណីជាតិជ្រះ ខៀនព្រៃកាសា ចៀមព្រៃពេញផ្ទះ ពួកពិតានម្លះ ដូចជាតិកសេដ្ឋី ។

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<p>១៣ ខ្ញុំសូមកុណាសត្វ សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន សោះសាពន់ប្រមាណ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។</p>	<p>១២៦ ខ្ញុំសូមឲ្យបាន កាត់អំណោយទាន ដូចព្រះមុនី ព្រះវេស្សន្តរ នូវនាងមទ្រី ឲ្យទានជាលិ ក្រីស្តានោះហោង ។</p>
<p>១៤ សូមដូចព្រះតេមិយ ចិត្តអត់គេតតឯហ្ន៎ សូមចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសម្មាញ្ញទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។</p>	<p>១២៤ ខ្ញុំសូមអំណត់ ចិត្តល្អស្រគត់ ដូចព្រះតេមិយ ព្រះវររិសា ឲ្យល្បឿនតតធ្វើ ព្រះអង្គអត់គេ ឆទសន្តាំគត់ ។</p>

Translations:

*padum thvāy phkā*

IMA 38

12  
May I be rich with wealth,  
precious gems, gold, and wish-fulfilling jewels  
like Joṭikaseṭṭhī,  
mighty and beyond compare.

141  
May I be rich with wealth,  
gold, silver, precious gems,  
and wish-fulfilling jewels, shining bright;  
with cotton, silk, *kasa* cloth, and  
wool; and a house full of rugs,  
mattresses, and canopies,  
like Joṭikaseṭṭhī.

13  
May I be compassionate toward all creatures.  
May I make offerings resolutely and  
unreservedly from my whole being,  
just like Prince Vessantara.

126  
May I be able  
to make offerings resolutely  
like the Lord in the past,  
as Prince Vessantara,  
along with Princess Madrī,  
giving away Jāli  
and Kṛṣṇā.

14  
 May I be like Prince Temiya,  
 with a heart of forbearance and purity.  
 May my heart be surpassingly good,  
 beloved by men and women.

124  
 May I be forbearing,  
 with a kind and soft heart,  
 like Prince Temiya,  
 whose father  
 tested his [feigned] paralysis,  
 but who remained forbearing  
 for a full sixteen years.

Though the additional syllables of the *kākaḡati* meter (28 per stanza versus 22 for *brahmagīti*) allow Jayanand to incorporate a few more details of these aspirations in his version, the basic sense of both sets of verses is the same. Jayanand's composition, like that of Samtec Braḡ Paravidū seventeen years prior, adopts and reshapes the structure of absolutions and aspirations in **padum thvāy phkā «khñuḡ phguḡ amrām ṭap'»-br** to fit his own narrative of faith, bereavement, contemplation, charity, and prayer as he reconciles the death of his loved ones with his own limited life.

### 9.7 Conclusion

The work of the dying, as expressed in Cambodian leporellos, is not limited to *buddhānusmṛti* practices or even to the seven-step contemplation program outlined in Chapter 8. These practices concern the present mind and body of someone on their deathbed, but speak little to their possible anxieties for the past and the future. As they lie down at the juncture between births, the dying are faced with a second set of obligations. These obligations were the focus of this chapter, and may be expressed as the determination to reshape the sins of the past and prefigure the boons of the future. The body—with its potential for illness and health, deformity and beauty, fantastic strength and terrifying weakness—emerges as a central site for prayer and negotiation. According to some Buddhist understandings of karma, our sins are inscribed on our bodies, and absolution of grievous faults also relieves us of the miserable fates of sickness and disfigurement. Conversely, a body of splendor and vigor is seen as the fruit, or *ānisaḡsa*, of our meritorious deeds and the determinations (*adhittāna*) we make in conjunction with them. If the last chapter concerned the body in the present, then this chapter focused on the body in the past and future.

The work of end-of-life absolutions and aspirations—both for the deathbed and in memory of the deceased—follows particular structures in the Cambodian context. Working backwards through the themes discussed in this chapter, certain seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inscriptions take the apotropaic and acquisitional prayers of chanted poems such as **padum thvāy phkā «khñuḡ phguḡ amrām ṭap'»-br** and **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** as their basis for formulating a personal response to the vicissitudes of saḡsāra as life draws to a close. These chanted poems, in turn, work on the principle that absolutions and aspirations function best in tandem, a formula witnessed in other end-of-life texts and

## Chapter 9: End-of-Life Absolutions and Aspirations

numerous leporello colophons. The aspirations these texts articulate draw on the range of worldly and supramundane goals germane to the Theravada tradition, including various felicities, a future encounter with Maitreya, the achievement of arhatship, and the attainment of buddhahood. All of these aspirations, including the highest one of vowing to tread the bodhisatva path, were not limited to the royal or ecclesiastical elite in seventeenth- through nineteenth-century Cambodia, as they appear time and again in the inscriptions, chanted texts, and manuscript colophons considered in this chapter. As for formulas for absolution, while grounded in Pali canonical expressions of repentance, they reflect a broader Khmer-Tai transformation of Buddhist attitudes toward evil karma. Instead of sins as moral lessons or dents in the ethical integrity of a monastic community, these local Pali and vernacular texts see our faults as obstacles that can be ritually expiated through the elocutionary force of saying “I take leave of them; may I never encounter them again.” Finally, to return to the beginning of this chapter, absolution and aspiration comprise different dimensions of the work of *adhittāna*, the act of determination or prayer that seals the *ānisaṃsa* conferred by various meritorious deeds.

The texts and colophons from the leporellos examined in this chapter reflect this locally structured and profoundly intertextual approach to making end-of-life absolutions and aspirations. Though many of the prayers discussed above may be applied beyond the deathbed context, their frequent appearance in leporellos—specifically those crafted as communal manuscripts providing performative scripts for chanting to the sick, the dying, and the dead—highlight their importance in what those at the end of their lives are expected to do to ensure a peaceful passing and a fortunate hereafter. In addition to reflecting on the horrors of the human body as it transitions from one life to the next, the dying are called to take stock of their past, clear their karmic record, and hope for a future that grows ever more peaceful and blissful, until the spell of *saṃsāra* finally breaks.

## Chapter 10: Conclusion

This study began with the premise that Cambodian manuscripts illuminate questions relevant to the broader study of Buddhism. How do Buddhists circulate their texts within particular communities? How do they translate scriptures to make them locally cogent? How do they draw on scriptural resources to prepare for death? Cambodian leporellos provide a detailed array of responses to these inquiries. They contextualize manuscripts within particular performance practices and communities of circulation. They also locate Cambodia and the Khmer language as a node of exchange between Sanskrit, Pali, Tai, and Vietnamese textual worlds. Finally, they articulate a distinct set of contemplations and prayers in response to the end of life.

In Chapter 2, I drew on the paratextual information encoded in leporellos to show how they function as communal objects, circulated between scribes and donors, authors and copyists, and monastics and laypeople. In unfolding a single manuscript, I showed how each leporello tells a specific story of its compilation, circulation, performance, and repair. By analyzing the colophons, I demonstrated how their appeals for care, apologies for mistakes, and articulations of purpose situate leporellos as objects of active circulation and annotation between the village and the monastery. This analysis of Cambodian leporellos as constantly passing through the hands of different curators and performers showed how Buddhist manuscripts are not merely static repositories of texts, but are witnesses to the lives the people who created, shared, and chanted them.

In Chapter 3, I delved in the corpus of ritual texts transmitted in Cambodian leporellos. My overview of the Pali, Pali-Khmer, Khmer, and Thai texts in this corpus highlighted the broader range of texts that may be intoned in end-of-life rites. Moreover, my presentation of this corpus put, for the first time, the contents of one particular “practical canon” on display. This corpus, with its complex webs of intertextuality, brings to life one example of the rich vernacular textual worlds present in every Buddhist society.

In Chapter 4, I examined the sequences, illuminations, and ritual instructions in leporellos to demonstrate precisely how these manuscripts function as scripts for end-of-life performances. By bringing Cambodian leporellos into conversation with their counterparts in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Siam, I bore witness to the importance of analyzing Khmer-Tai manuscript traditions comparatively. The Siamese leporellos clarified a number of the paratexts presents in the Cambodian examples, but the latter were also essential in interpreting the ritual function of the former.

In Chapter 5, I showed how a number of Pali protective texts that circulate in Khmer-Tai communities, including in Cambodian leporellos, draw on the model of Sanskrit antecedents. My analysis of this process of translation—by which Sanskrit *dhāraṇīs* became Pali *parittas*—revealed a key historical process in the adoption of Theravada Buddhism in

## Chapter 10: Conclusion

Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand. I also highlighted the ways in which *dhāranās*-cum-*parittas* such as the *Uṇhissavijaya* are embedded within curricula of chants on short-format palm-leaf manuscripts. In so doing, I demonstrated how Pali ritual texts are best studied alone in concert with other adjacent chants.

In Chapter 6, I engaged the exceptionally sophisticated techniques of translation and grammatical analysis deployed in bilingual Pali-vernacular prose texts, both in Cambodian leporellos and palm-leaf manuscripts from the broader Khmer-Tai world. My study revealed a new way of reading and understanding these bilingual texts as remarkably faithful to inherited Pali traditions. In particular, I established how these texts deploy a carefully structured style, based on technical particles and syntactic rearrangement, to provide grammatically precise and locally cogent translations. My argument showed how bilingual Buddhist texts allow us to unpack the specific processes by which scriptures are translated in different contexts.

In Chapter 7, I revealed the particular choices made by Cambodian authors and translators as they fashioned Pali and Tai texts into Khmer verse. In particular, I showed how Khmer verse texts were crafted through processes of foreignization, domestication, and performative parity. In other words, the creators of these texts added inflected Pali words and phrases into Khmer texts, removed Tai toponyms from Khmer translations of Tai poems, and matched the syllabic and melodic qualities of chants across Pali, Tai, Khmer, and Vietnamese renditions. This analysis of Khmer poems demonstrated how Buddhist verse texts are often the product of competing ideological and aesthetic choices on the part of their translators.

In Chapter 8, I explored how Khmer poems in leporellos, when viewed as deathbed chants, reveal a seven-step program of contemplation for the end of life. My analysis of this program, which invites reflection on the process of dying as it unfolds, brought to light a distinct way of preparing for one's own death. In particular, I showed how Cambodians adopted an array of Buddhist doctrines and practices to passively contemplate the stages of passing away and actively cultivate one's conduct and mind at the end of life. This presentation of Cambodian leporello texts highlighted how Buddhist texts, even if not originally intended for deathbed use, take on a heightened significance when recited to those preparing for their own demise.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I investigated a further dimension of the work of the dying by analyzing the prayers of absolution and aspiration in the leporello corpus. My discussion of these prayers, not all of which were composed for end-of-life rituals, demonstrated how they might be interpreted as a practice of reviewing the past and reflecting on the future while on the deathbed. Moreover, I showed how these prayers reveal a distinct focus on the body as a site for both absolution of evil karma and aspiration for the highest goals of Buddhist life. My study of leporello texts on these themes required us to rethink how Theravada Buddhists relate to their past actions as well as the future goal of buddhahood.

This dissertation introduces a rich set of manuscripts, a broad corpus of texts, and several novel approaches to the study of Buddhism. Each chapter emerges from my reading of a particular set of leporello texts or paratexts, but I also aim to bring those materials in

## Chapter 10: Conclusion

conversation with broader contexts, particularly from elsewhere in the Khmer-Tai world. I therefore engage in the study of numerous palm-leaf manuscripts and inscriptions that illuminated problems in the interpretation of the leporellos. In so doing, I aim to contribute to the study of precolonial Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia by showing the leporellos I focus on fit into regional patterns.

Cambodian leporellos containing chants for end-of-life rituals are, of course, only one small set of manuscripts in the larger Khmer-Tai and Theravada spheres. Many more collections and genres remain entirely unstudied. I hope that my project provides a basis for analyzing similar groups of manuscripts and ritual texts in other Buddhist cultures. These materials allow us to ground the study of Buddhism in the fears and hopes of individual Buddhists in particular times and places. They force us to confront Buddhist teachings not as abstract doctrines but as active currents that circulate between communities, withstand constant new translations, and shape human responses to the vagaries of life and death.

# Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

## Introduction

This catalog records the date, provenance, materials, condition, dimensions, and contents of each manuscript, presented in the following format:

Catalog numbers:

Running UB (“Unfolding Buddhism”) catalog number in **bold** (starting from **UB001** and up to **UB070**), plus any additional catalog numbers (FEMC, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy, EFEO – Paris, or BNF)

Provenance:

Date produced (single year, multiple years, range of years, or estimated period), collection (private collection, monastic library, or name of particular academic library) in location (name of monastery, village, commune, province, and country).

Materials:

Writing implements (traditional ink and/or modern pencils and pens of various colors) in scripts (*mūl*, *jrieni*, Thai) on paper (traditional white or black *snāy* bark paper, modern papers of various colors and thicknesses) ruled with pencil, diluted ink, or scores,<sup>1</sup> reinforced with adhesives (glue, cellophane tape, paper, plastic, staples) and covers (layered paper, thick wood, thin wood, hard cardboard).

Condition:

Extent (none, minor, moderate, severe) of fold and/or edge wear and extent of wax, fire, water, mold, and/or insect damage, cleaned and/or repaired by whom, year.

Dimensions:

Length by width in centimeters, number of lines per spread, complete in/fragment of number of spreads folded in a M-, W-, N-, И-, or НИ- fashion.

Contents:

Summary of recto and verso contents by spread number, including covers, titles, texts, and colophons.

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<sup>1</sup> Incised lines produced through etching or notching the paper of the leporello itself.



## Appendix I: Introduction

The information regarding the catalog numbers, provenance, materials, and condition of the manuscripts is largely self-explanatory. For the dimensions and contents, however, I have adopted some distinctive conventions for this catalog that merit further explanation.

First, note the use of the term “spreads” as opposed to “pages.” One “spread” of a leporello consists of two parts, an upper “a” portion and a lower “b” portion divided by the fold line. These upper and lower portions are sometimes treated as individual “pages.” I have adopted a pagination based on spreads rather than pages for several reasons. Chief among these is that focusing on spreads captures the way the manuscript would be opened, read, and performed, namely one spread or two pages at a time, rather than multiple spreads.<sup>2</sup>

The length by width dimensions of each manuscript refer to the dimensions of the cover, or one half-spread. The number of lines per spread indicate the range of the total number of written lines of text on the combined “a” (top) and “b” (bottom) portions (i.e. pages) of each spread. The “recto” side of the leporello is the first half of the manuscript, counted from the recto cover until the last spread before the verso cover. The “verso” side begins with the verso cover and continues back to the spread before the recto cover.<sup>3</sup>



Figure I.1: (top to bottom) M-, W-, N-, and H-folded modern Thai and Khmer leporellos of various lengths, with recto covers on the left and verso covers on the right

<sup>2</sup> Additional reasons include: one, many leporellos feature diagrams, illustrations, and occasionally text that cross the fold line. Two, some of the manuscripts I was only able to access in photocopied form, and as such only the spread count of the photocopy, as opposed to the page count of the inaccessible manuscript, is verifiable. Three, while pagination of any kind is rare in traditional Cambodian leporellos, a number of manuscripts do notate each spread with a running number. The catalog is thus based on the principle of counting the viewable spreads of each manuscript, including the recto and verso covers, which each count as a separate spread even though they are only half the width of a normal spread.

<sup>3</sup> I use “recto” and “verso” in recognition that, when unfolded, leporellos have a front and back side. Moreover, establishing which side the scribe intended to be performed first is especially important for chanted manuscripts. Others prefer “Face A” and “Face B” when describing leporellos, and paginate by page rather than by spread. See Appleton, Shaw, and Unebe, *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha: An Illustrated Chanting Book From Eighteenth-Century Siam*, xv–xvi. For an appraisal of this method, see Justin Thomas McDaniel, “Review of *Illuminating the Life of the Buddha: An Illustrated Chanting Book from Eighteenth-Century Siam*,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 30, no. 2 (2013): 278.

## Appendix I: Introduction

The folding arrangements of leporellos are more complicated than at first glance. My catalog acknowledges these complications by recording the four main ways leporellos may be folded. For these folds, I use the notation M, W, N, and И as a shorthand to describe their distinctive characteristics. Each of these symbols represents a schematic of what the leporello looks like when the viewer faces the manuscript on its outer right edge, such that the recto cover is on the left and the verso cover is on the right, and then gently expanded, like an accordion, so that the arrangement of the folds can be seen (Figure I.1).<sup>4</sup> I am not aware of this aspect of leporellos being described elsewhere. Recording these folding arrangements, however, is not merely in service of codicological obscurantism or pseudo-topology. They are an essential tool for checking the correct pagination of manuscripts and for facilitating the repair of manuscripts torn at the fold creases.<sup>5</sup>



*Figure I.2: Mech Khoeun and the author repairing an unfolded leporello at the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong*

<sup>4</sup> From this angle, M-folded manuscripts look like  $\wedge\wedge$ , or  $\wedge\wedge\wedge$ ,  $\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$ ,  $\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$ , and so on and so forth, depending on the total number of spreads. W-folded manuscripts look like  $\wedge\wedge\wedge$  (or  $\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$ , etc.), N-folded ones like  $\wedge\wedge$ , and И-folded ones like  $\wedge\wedge$ . Each of these folds results in a different way of opening the recto cover, either “forwards” such that only a single leaf is raised, or “backwards” such that two leaves are raised at once, as well as different balance between the total number of spreads on the recto and verso sides. These characteristics can be summarized as follows:

M fold: “forwards” or “thin” recto cover; # of recto spreads = # of verso spreads + 1  
W fold: “backwards” or “thick” recto cover; # of recto spreads = # of verso spreads – 1  
N fold: “forwards” or “thin” recto cover; # of recto spreads = # of verso spreads  
И fold: “backwards” or “thick” recto cover; # of recto spreads = # of verso spreads

<sup>5</sup> There are a few cases of manuscripts in this catalog with more complex folding arrangements that cannot be resolved through repair, such as **UB004**, which I have notated as being complete in 57  $\mathbb{N}\mathbb{H}$ -folded spreads. This peculiar arrangement can be described as  $(\wedge^*4) + | + (\wedge^*23)$ , yielding 28 recto spreads and 29 verso spreads. **UB004** was likely originally M-folded, with 29 recto spreads and 28 verso spreads, but broke at the  $\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge$  point before being written upon, and was then incorrectly put back together, thus resulting in 28 recto spreads and 29 verso spreads.

## Appendix I: Introduction

Our team conducted many such repairs in 2016 and 2017. The simplest repairs involved using matte-finish cellophane tape (as used by the FEMC) to repair folds that were partially torn and in danger of complete separation. Some leporellos with layered paper covers also required fresh glue between the layers to keep them from falling apart. For leporellos that were more extensively damaged or disordered, we unfolded them on large mats or on clean tile floors to reveal their textual content and areas needing repair. I then reviewed the textual context of each manuscript or manuscript fragment and determined where the manuscript could be joined together again. Unlike palm-leaf manuscripts, leporellos rarely contain pagination of any kind, and hence I had to ensure the textual continuity at each of the broken seams as well as notating, whenever possible, the number of spreads missing between seams in cases of loss. Once the appropriate places for repair and reordering had been identified, we worked together to use cellophane tape to restore the leporellos as close to their original state as possible (Figure I.2). Khoeun would then use a soft-bristle brush to gently clean any excess dirt, mold, or insect remains from the spreads of the manuscript before the photographing process could begin. For each leporello, Sopheak photographed the recto cover first (the first spread), followed by second and third pages of the manuscript (the second spread), then the fourth and fifth pages (the third spread), all the way until the verso cover, and then the same fashion on the verso side all the way back to the recto cover. The manuscripts were photographed using either a Sony RX100 Mark IV or, when the former was under repair, a Canon EOS Rebel T6 EF-S, driven directly by a laptop computer. Sopheak checked the images as they were being shot for focus and other errors, and Khoeun rechecked, adjusted, and cropped the images upon completing a manuscript.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For the palm-leaf manuscripts, this meant the length and width of the first complete leaf, and for the leporellos, the length and width of the recto cover. We followed a slightly different procedure for photographing palm-leaf manuscripts as opposed to leporellos: Sopheak first photographed just the recto side of the first leaf, followed by two leaves per image for the rest of the manuscript up to the verso side of the last leaf, beginning with the verso side of the first leaf and the recto side of the second leaf, then the verso side of the second leaf and the recto side of the third leaf, and so on and so forth. I chose this arrangement because it efficiently created images that needed to be cropped but not reordered when producing a digital version. Photographing more than two leaves at a time necessitates the additional labor of cropping and reordering the images in the digital version as well as incurring a greater risk of jumbling the proper sequence of the leaves.

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Table 1: Leporello Locations Arranged by UB Code

FEMC-VS = Bibliothèque EFEO - Preah Vancarat Ken Vong (Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh); EFEO-Paris = Bibliothèque EFEO - Maison de l'Asie, Paris; Monastic = Monastic library;  
Private = Private lay collection

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Collection	Country	Province	District	Commune	Village	Monastery
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	Khsac' Kantāl	Sīdhar	Brai Pāpni	N/A
UB002	N/A	2005	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrañh'	Vatt Adhvā
UB003	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB004	N/A	1986	Monastic	Thailand	Sa Kaew	Unknown	Site II camp	Jamruñ	Vatt Prāsād Sīrī
								Raddhisen	
UB005	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Gaṅ Bīst	Jairuk	Kā Yāv	N/A
UB006	N/A	1996	Monastic	Thailand	Surin	Surin capital	Denamī(y)	Denamī(y)	Vāt Denamī(y)
UB007	N/A	1993	Private	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāmīn Au	Tamril	Tamril	N/A
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāmīn Au	Tamril	Tamril	Vatt Tamril
UB009	N/A	2010	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kampong Cham	Pñ Kuk	Jroy Thma	Vatt Sudassanārām
						Cham			a.k.a. Jroy Thma
UB010	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB011	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB012	N/A	2003	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Brah Ang Gaṅ
									Juñ a.k.a. Vatt Brah Ang Khmau
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Koḥ Sūdin	Jihèr	Unknown	Vatt Jihèr
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōñ Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown

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UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jön Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	N/A
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Uṅṅ	Ksem Ksānt	Unknown	Vatt Ang Braliṅ
UB017	FEMC 040- B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Krūc Chmār	Rakā Khnur	Rakā Khnur Krom	Vatt Nāgavān a.k.a. Rakā Khnur Krom
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Eḷakārām a.k.a. Babè Krom
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Babè Lö
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Thluk Trapèk	N/A
UB021	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB022	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB025	FEMC PP03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	R̥s̥s̥ K̥v̥	Jroy Caiivār	Gien Ghlāmp̃	Vatt Sirīmaṅgal Gien Ghlāmp̃
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sanduk	Tāmp̃ Krasāmp̃	Jhō Lyṅ	N/A
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Ang Sirī	Vatt Ang Sirī
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrāñ'	Vatt Adhvā
UB029	N/A	1995	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Ang Sirī	Vatt Ang Sirī
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

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UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB032	N/A	1973	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Ang Sirī	Ang Sirī	Vatt Ang Sirī
UB033	N/A	1964	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Ang Sirī	Ang Sirī	Vatt Ang Sirī
UB034	N/A	1962	Private	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	N/A
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōṅ Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Thmī	Thmī	N/A
UB037	FEMC 097- B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Brai Cār	Brai Cār	Brai Cār	Vatt Braḥ Dandim a.k.a Brai Cār Knuṅ
UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Uṭuṅ	Ksem Ksānt	Unknown	Unknown	Vatt Ang Braliṅ
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Srī Sandhar	Phdaḥ Kaṅṭal	Ū Lāv	Vatt Prāsād Vaṭṭi a.k.a. Tpūṅ	Vatt Prāsād Vaṭṭi a.k.a. Tpūṅ
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cpār Ambau	Brèk Thmī	Cambuḥ K'èk	Cambuḥ K'èk	Vatt Cambuḥ K'èk
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB043	N/A	1988	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB044	N/A	1989	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB045	N/A	1991	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	Private	Cambodia	Kandal/Siem Reap	Bañā Ī/Sūtr Nigam Raluos	Damnap' Dham/ Khnār Bodh(i)	Añcāñ/ Ramṭeri	Añcāñ/ Ramṭeri	Vatt Deb Santivān a.k.a Vatt Ang Khnā/ Unknown
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rām Au	Tamrīl	Tamrīl	Tamrīl	Vatt Tamrīl

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UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Thma Sa	N/A
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kaṅ Mās (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Vatt Rakā Ār Krom (?)
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB051	FEMC 116- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Trabāṃṅi Gar	S'āṅ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āṅ
UB052	FEMC 125- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Trabāṃṅi Gar	S'āṅ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āṅ
UB053	FEMC 127- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Trabāṃṅi Gar	S'āṅ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āṅ
UB054	FEMC 129- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Trabāṃṅi Gar	S'āṅ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āṅ
UB055	FEMC 130- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōṅ Brai	Trabāṃṅi Gar	S'āṅ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āṅ
UB056	FEMC D.269	1850–1875 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kaṅ Mās	Sūr Gaṅ or Rakā Ār	Pṅ Trāv or Svāy Sranoh	Vatt Pṅ Trāv or Vatt Svāy Sranoh

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UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sdon	Brah Tamrī	Kaṅṅol Thmī	Vatt Kaṅṅol Thmī
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB060	N/A	1994	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cpār Ambau	Brèk Thmī	Cambuh K'èk	Vatt Cambuh K'èk
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	S'ān	Trøy Slā	Bodhi	N/A
UB063	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB064	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB065	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB066	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Padhāy	Me Brūn	Tāmñ Srī	Vatt Trabāmñ Dā a.k.a. Tāmñ Srī
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Padhāy	Me Brūn	Tāmñ Srī	Vatt Trabāmñ Dā a.k.a. Tāmñ Srī
UB069	FEMC 128- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jón Brai	Trabāmñ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a. S'ān
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kaṅ Mās (?)	Khcau (?)	Thluk Jrau (?)	Vatt Thluk Jrau (?)



Appendix I: Tables

Table 2: Leporello Locations Arranged by Date

FEMC-VS = Bibliothèque EFEO - Preah Vanarat Ken Vong (Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh); EFEO-Paris = Bibliothèque EFEO - Maison de l'Asie, Paris; Monastic = Monastic library;  
Private = Private lay collection

UB code	Other codes	Date	Collection	Country	Province	District	Commune	Village	Monastery
UB056	FEMC D.269	1850–1875 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jéi Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	N/A
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB037	FEMC 097- B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jéi Brai	Brai Cār	Brai Cār Knuñ	Vatt Brah Dandim a.k.a Brai Cār Knuñ
UB040	FEMC c.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB055	FEMC 130- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jéi Brai	Trabāññ Gar	S'āñ	Vatt Bochiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Pādhāy	Me Brññ	Tāññ Srī	Vatt Trabāññ Dā a.k.a Tāññ Srī
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Pādhāy	Me Brññ	Tāññ Srī	Vatt Trabāññ Dā a.k.a Tāññ Srī
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kañ Mās (?)	Kheau (?)	Thluk Jrau (?)	Vatt Thluk Jrau (?)
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāññ Au	Tāññril	Tāññril	Vatt Tāññril

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UB017	FEMC 040- B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Krŭc Chmār	Rakā Khmur	Rakā Khmur Krom	Vatt Nāgavān a.k.a. Rakā Khmur Krom
UB021	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB022	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB051	FEMC 116- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōñ Brai	Trabāññ Gar	S'āñ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ
UB052	FEMC 125- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōñ Brai	Trabāññ Gar	S'āñ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ
UB053	FEMC 127- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōñ Brai	Trabāññ Gar	S'āñ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ
UB054	FEMC 129- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōñ Brai	Trabāññ Gar	S'āñ	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōñ Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown
UB024	FEMC c.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōñ Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kañ Mās	Sūr Gañ or Rakā Ār	Piñ Trāv or Svāy	Vatt Piñ Trāv or Vatt Svāy Sranoh

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UB069	FEMC 128- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jōi Brai	Trabāṃni Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Koḥ Sūdin	Jhèr	Unknown	Vatt Jhèr
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā L̄	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Thmī	N/A
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kaṅ Mās (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Vatt Rakā Ār-Krom (?)
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sdoñ	Brah Tāṃṃ	Kaṅṭol Thmī	Vatt Kaṅṭol Thmī
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā L̄	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Thluk Trapèk	N/A
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB034	N/A	1962	Private	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	N/A
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sanduk	Tāṃṃ Krasāṃṃ	Jhō Lvñh	N/A
UB033	N/A	1964	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā L̄	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā L̄	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB032	N/A	1973	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅā L̄	Bhnaṃ Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	Private	Cambodia	Kandal/Siem Reap	Baṅā L̄/Sūtr	Damnap'	Āñcāñ/ Raṃṭeñ	Vatt Deb Santivān a.k.a Vatt Āng Khnā/ Unknown
UB025	FEMC PE03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Nigam Raluos	Bodh(i)	Gien Ghlāṃṃ	Vatt Sīrīmaṅgal Gien Ghlāṃṃ
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Jroy Caivār	Unknown	Unknown

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UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	Khsac' Kaṅṅāl	Śidhar	Brai Pāmi	N/A
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Uṅṅ	Kscm Ksānt	Unknown	Vatt Aṅṅ Braiṅ
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Srī Sandhar	Phdaḥ Kaṅṅāl	Ū Lāv	Vatt Prāsād Vatiṅ a.k.a. Tṅṅ
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cṅpār Aṅṅbau	Brèk Thmī	Cambuḥ K'èk	Vatt Cambuḥ K'èk
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅṅā L̄	Bhnam Pāt	Thma Sa	N/A
UB004	N/A	1986	Monastic	Thailand	Sa Kaew	Unknown	Site II camp	Jamruṅ Rddhisen	Vatt Prāsād Sirī
UB043	N/A	1988	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn̄ a.k.a. Vatt Pūrb
UB044	N/A	1989	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn̄ a.k.a. Vatt Pūrb
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅṅā L̄	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Eḷakārām a.k.a. Babè Krom
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅṅā L̄	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Babè Lō
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rām̄ Au	Tamril	Tamril	Vatt Tamril
UB045	N/A	1991	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sālā Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn̄ a.k.a. Vatt Pūrb
UB007	N/A	1993	Private	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rām̄ Au	Tamril	Tamril	N/A
UB060	N/A	1994	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cṅpār Aṅṅbau	Brèk Thmī	Cambuḥ K'èk	Vatt Cambuḥ K'èk
UB029	N/A	1995	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Baṅṅā L̄	Bhnam Pāt	Aṅṅ Sirī	Vatt Aṅṅ Sirī
UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Uṅṅ	Kscm Ksānt	Unknown	Vatt Aṅṅ Braiṅ
UB006	N/A	1996	Monastic	Thailand	Surin	Surin capital	Denamī(y)	Denamī(y)	Vat Denamī(y)
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	S'ān	Trøy Slā	Bodhi	N/A

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UB003	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB005	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Gaṅ Bisī	Jairuk	Kā Yāv	N/A
UB064	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB066	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB012	N/A	2003	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Braḥ ṅg Gaṅ Jum a.k.a Vatt Braḥ ṅg Khmau
UB063	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB065	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB010	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB011	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrāñ'	Vatt Adhvā
UB002	N/A	2005	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrāñ'	Vatt Adhvā
UB009	N/A	2010	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kampong Cham	Piñ Kuk	Jroy Thma	Vatt Sudassanārām a.k.a. Jroy Thma

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Table 3: Leporello Locations Arranged by Location

FEMC-VS = *Bibliothèque EFEO - Preah Vancarai Ken Vong (Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh)*; EFEO-Paris = *Bibliothèque EFEO - Maison de l'Asie, Paris, Monastic* = *Monastic library*;  
 Private = *Private lay collection*

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Collection	Country	Province	District	Commune	Village	Monastery
UB037	FEMC 097- B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Brai Cār	Brai Cār Knuñ	Vatt Brañ Dandim a.k.a Brai Cār Knuñ
UB051	FEMC 116- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB052	FEMC 125- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB053	FEMC 127- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB069	FEMC 128- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB054	FEMC 129- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB055	FEMC 130- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Jön Brai	Trabāpn̄ Gar	S'ān	Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān
UB009	N/A	2010	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kampong Cham	Piñ Kuk	Jroy Thma	Vatt Sudassanārām a.k.a. Jroy Thma

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UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Kaŋ Mās	Sūr Gaŋ or Rakā Ār	Pjŋ Trāv or Svāy Sraŋoh	Vatt Pjŋ Trāv or Vatt Svāy Sraŋoh
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Koh Sūdīn	Jhèr	Unknown	Vatt Jhèr
UB017	FEMC 040- B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Krūc Chmār	Rakā Khnur	Rakā Khnur Krom	Vatt Nāgavān a.k.a. Rakā Khnur Krom
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Pādhāy	Me Brīn	Tāpnī Srī	Vatt Trabāpnī Dā a.k.a. Tāpnī Srī
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Pādhāy	Me Brīn	Tāpnī Srī	Vatt Trabāpnī Dā a.k.a. Tāpnī Srī
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Cham	Srī Sandhar	Phdah Kāñtāl	Ū Lāv	Vatt Prāsād Vattī a.k.a. Tpuū
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōn Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	N/A
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōn Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Jōn Brai (?)	Brai Cār (?)	Unknown	Unknown
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kaŋ Mās (?)	Khcau (?)	Thluk Jrau (?)	Vatt Thluk Jrau (?)
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Cham (?)	Kaŋ Mās (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Rakā Ār (?)	Vatt Rakā Ār Krom (?)
UB005	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Gaŋ Bīsī	Jahrūk	Kā Yāv	N/A
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Utuŋg	Ksem Ksānt	Unknown	Vatt Aŋg Braiñ
UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kampong Speu	Utuŋg	Ksem Ksānt	Unknown	Vatt Aŋg Braiñ
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sanduk	Tāpnī Krasāmñ	Jhō Lvñ	N/A
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kampong Thom	Sdon	Brah Tamrī	Kaŋtōl Thmñ	Vatt Kaŋtōl Thmñ
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnampāt	Aŋg Srī	Vatt Aŋg Srī

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UB029	N/A	1995	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB032	N/A	1973	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB033	N/A	1964	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Āng Sirī	Vatt Āng Sirī
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Thluk Trapèk	N/A
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Thma Sa	N/A
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Private	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Bhnam Pāt	Thmī	N/A
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Babè Lō
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Kandal	Bañā Ī	Jrai Lās'	Babè	Vatt Eḷakārām a.k.a Babè Krom
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	Khsāc' Kanṭāl	Śīdhar	Brai Pāpñi	N/A
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal	S'ān	Troy Slā	Bodhi	N/A
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Kandal (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	Private	Cambodia	Kandal/Siem Reap	Bañā Ī/Sūtr Nigam Raluos	Damnap' Dham/ Khnr Bodh(i)	Añcān/ Raṇṭen	Vatt Deb Santivān a.k.a Vatt Āng Khnā/ Unknown
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cpār Ambau	Brek Thmī	Cambuḥ K'èk	Vatt Cambuḥ K'èk
UB060	N/A	1994	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Cpār Ambau	Brek Thmī	Cambuḥ K'èk	Vatt Cambuḥ K'èk
UB063	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB064	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB065	N/A	2003	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB066	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A



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UB025	FEMC PF:03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Rssī Kèv	Jroy Caiivār	Gien Ghlāmū	Vatt Sirmāṅgal Gien Ghlāmū
UB034	N/A	1962	Private	Cambodia	Phnom Penh	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	N/A
UB012	N/A	2003	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Brah, Ang Gañ Jun a.k.a Vatt Brah Ang Khmau
UB003	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB010	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB011	N/A	2004	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Gok Cak	Unknown	Vatt Ind Deb
UB043	N/A	1988	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sāla Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB044	N/A	1989	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sāla Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB045	N/A	1991	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Sāla Kamrök	Vatt Pūrb	Vatt Rājapūrn a.k.a Vatt Pūrb
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrañ'	Vatt Adhvā
UB002	N/A	2005	Monastic	Cambodia	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Siem Reap	Kakrañ'	Vatt Adhvā
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Siem Reap (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB007	N/A	1993	Private	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāpn̄ Au	Tamril	Tamril	N/A
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāpn̄ Au	Tamril	Tamril	Vatt Tamril
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Monastic	Cambodia	Tboung Khmum	Ū Rāpn̄ Au	Tamril	Tamril	Vatt Tamril
UB021	EFEO C.AMB. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB022	EFEO C.AMB. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	EFEO-Paris	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB056	FEMC D:269	1850–1875 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

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UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	FEMC-VS	Cambodia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
UB004	N/A	1986	Monastic	Thailand	Sa Kaew	Unknown	Site II camp	Jamruṃ Raddhiṣṇ	Vatt Prasād Siri	
UB006	N/A	1996	Monastic	Thailand	Surin	Surin capital	Denami(y)	Denami(y)	Vät Denami(y)	

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Table 4: Leporello Dimensions Arranged by UB Code

*Width = width in cm; Length = length in cm; W/L = ratio of width to length; Lines = lines per spread; Spreads = # of spreads; Folding = folding arrangement*

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Width	Length	W/L	Lines	Status	Spreads	Folding
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979-2000 (?)	15	45	0.33	8	Complete	37	W
UB002	N/A	2005	11	38	0.29	10	Complete	77	M
UB003	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	12	33	0.36	12	Complete	81	W
UB004	N/A	1986	11	26	0.42	12-14	Complete	57	NI
UB005	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	12	34	0.35	12	Complete	60	M- or N-
UB006	N/A	1996	15	40	0.38	14	Complete	66	N or I
UB007	N/A	1993	10	36	0.28	12-15	Complete	36	I
UB008	N/A	1900-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	10	Complete	78	M or N
UB009	N/A	2010	10	35	0.29	9-12	Complete	39	W
UB010	N/A	2004	12	34	0.35	10-14	Complete	81	M
UB011	N/A	2004	11	38	0.29	12-14	Complete	90	I
UB012	N/A	2003	12	33	0.36	10	Complete	67	M
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944-1945	11	35	0.31	8-10	Complete	79	M
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925-1960 (?)	12	34	0.35	10	Complete	119	M
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875-1925 (?)	12	36	0.33	10	Complete	115	M
UB016	N/A	1979-2000 (?)	13	29	0.45	12-14	Complete	32	N
UB017	FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.V1.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	10-12	Photocopy	69	Unknown
UB018	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	14	39	0.36	10	Complete	70	I
UB019	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	15	39	0.38	10	Complete	79	W
UB020	N/A	1961-1962	12	39	0.31	10	Complete	99	W
UB021	EFEO CAMB. O. 353	1900-1925 (?)	12	36	0.33	10	Complete	80	N
UB022	EFEO CAMB. O. 404	1900-1925 (?)	14	36	0.39	12	Fragment	78	N

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UB023	FEMC d.940	1962		11	39	0.28	10-12	Complete	70 W
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925-1960 (?)		12	32	0.38	10	Fragment	58 W
UB025	FEMC PP.03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979-1990 (?)		9	28	0.32	12	Photocopy	54 Unknown
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962-1975		11	37	0.3	10	Complete	50 N
UB027	N/A	1965-1966		15	32	0.47	10	Complete	73 Unknown
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004		11	38	0.29	10	Complete	56 И
UB029	N/A	1995		11	37	0.3	10	Fragment	32 Unknown
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900-1925 (?)		12	35	0.34	10	Fragment	27 W
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875-1925 (?)		12	35	0.34	10	Three fragments	29 И
UB032	N/A	1973		12	36	0.33	10	Complete	46 И
UB033	N/A	1964		13	33	0.39	10	Fragment	60 Unknown
UB034	N/A	1962		15	35	0.43	12	Fragment	69 M
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925-1960 (?)		13	34	0.38	10	Complete	99 M
UB036	N/A	1960-1975 (?)		12	36	0.33	10	Complete	64 И
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875-1925 (?)		12	35	0.34	10	Complete	65 W
UB038	N/A	1995-2010 (?)		12	33	0.36	8-14	Complete	80 И
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979-2000 (?)		10	36	0.28	10	Photocopy	91 Unknown
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875-1925 (?)		14	37	0.38	12-14	Fragment	25 M
UB041	N/A	1979-2000 (?)		10	36	0.28	12-14	Photocopy	58 Unknown
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972-1973		12	35	0.34	10	Photocopy	49 Unknown
UB043	N/A	1988		14	38	0.37	12-14	Complete	97 M
UB044	N/A	1989		14	38	0.37	12-15	Complete	100 N
UB045	N/A	1991		13	35	0.37	12-26	Complete	95 M
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991		12	35	0.34	10	Complete	65 M
UB047	N/A	1990-2005 (?)		14	38	0.37	12	Complete	98 N
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983		14	42	0.33	10	Complete	83 W
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960-1975 (?)		11	36	0.31	10	Fragment	35 M

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UB050	FEMC d.947	1960-1975 (?)	11	36	0.31	10	Complete	61	W
UB051	FEMC 116-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 2	1900-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	12-14	Photocopy	67	Unknown
UB052	FEMC 125-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 11	1900-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	12-14	Photocopy	41	Unknown
UB053	FEMC 127-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 13	1900-1925 (?)	12	36	0.33	10	Photocopy	30	Unknown
UB054	FEMC 129-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 15	1900-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	10	Photocopy	45	Unknown
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 16	1875-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	12-14	Photocopy	78	Unknown
UB056	FEMC D.269	1850-1875 (?)	11	33	0.33	10	Complete	35	Unknown
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925-1960 (?)	15	35	0.43	10	Complete	154	Unknown
UB058	N/A	1960-1975 (?)	11	36	0.31	10	Three fragments	20	N
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875-1925 (?)	11	34	0.32	12-14	Complete	45	M
UB060	N/A	1994	12	40	0.3	12	Photocopy	55	Unknown
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979-1995 (?)	11	36	0.31	10	Fragment	14	N
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	12	40	0.3	12	Complete	75	M
UB063	N/A	2003	12	25	0.48	12	Complete	55	W
UB064	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	12	25	0.48	16	Complete	94	N
UB065	N/A	2003	12	31	0.39	14	Complete	83	W
UB066	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	12	31	0.39	12	Complete	37	W
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875-1925 (?)	14	34	0.41	12	Fragment	95	W
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875-1925 (?)	12	35	0.34	12	Fragment	73	W
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	12	36	0.33	12-14	Photocopy	25	Unknown
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875-1925 (?)	14	37	0.38	14	Complete	94	N

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Table 5: Leporello Materials Arranged by UB Code

*Implements = writing implements used; Ruling = method used for ruling paper prior to writing*

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Production	Implements	Paper	Ruling	Covers
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white paper	Pencil	Thin wood
UB002	N/A	2005	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Painted card stock covers
UB003	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB004	N/A	1986	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Printed covers
UB005	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB006	N/A	1996	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Printed covers
UB007	N/A	1993	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Layered white card stock
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB009	N/A	2010	Printed text affixed to handmade manuscript	Printed text	Modern white thin paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock	None	None
UB010	N/A	2004	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB011	N/A	2004	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Layered cardboard

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UB012	N/A	2003	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Hard cardboard
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, paint	Traditional white snāy paper	Scores	N/A
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB017	FEMC 040- B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Card stock
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB021	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB022	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB024	FEMC c.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A

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UB025	FEMC PP03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker, pencil	Modern textured white paper	Pencil	N/A
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Card stock
UB029	N/A	1995	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, pencil	Modern off-white card stock	Pen	Card stock
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB032	N/A	1973	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB033	N/A	1964	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB034	N/A	1962	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	N/A
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Black crocodile skin
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Scores	N/A
UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen, marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Hard cardboard



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UB039	EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB040	FEMC c.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB042	EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB043	N/A	1988	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB044	N/A	1989	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB045	N/A	1991	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern off-white card stock	Scores	N/A
UB051	FEMC 116- B.06.03.01; EFE0- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A

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UB052	FEMC 125- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB053	FEMC 127- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Unknown	N/A
UB054	FEMC 129- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil, Diluted ink	N/A
UB055	FEMC 130- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	Layered paper
UB056	FEMC D'269	1850–1875 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional gambodge ink and gold leaf	Traditional black snāy	N/A	Layered paper
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Hard cardboard
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern off-white and brown card stock	Scores	N/A
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A
UB060	N/A	1994	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Thin wood
UB063	N/A	2003	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard

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UB064	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB065	N/A		2003	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB066	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB067	FEMC d.952		1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB068	FEMC d.953		1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14		1928	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A
UB070	FEMC d.954		1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A

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Table 6: Leporello Materials Arranged by Date

*Implements = writing implements used; Ruling = method for ruling paper prior to writing*

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Production	Implements	Paper	Ruling	Covers
UB056	FEMC d.269	1850–1875 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional gambodge ink and gold leaf	Traditional black snāy paper	N/A	Layered paper
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, paint	Traditional white snāy paper	Scores	N/A
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Scores	N/A
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	Layered paper
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Thick wood

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UB017	FEMC 040- B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Card stock
UB021	EFEO C.AMB. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB022	EFEO C.AMB. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Diluted ink	N/A
UB051	FEMC 116- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A
UB052	FEMC 125- B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB053	FEMC 127- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Unknown	N/A
UB054	FEMC 129- B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil, Diluted ink	N/A
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Layered paper
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	N/A
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, pencil	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Layered paper

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UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Hard cardboard
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Traditional white snāy paper	N/A	N/A
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen, pencil	Traditional white snāy paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Black crocodile skin
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern off-white card stock	Scores	N/A
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern off-white and brown card stock	Scores	N/A
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink, modern pen	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB034	N/A	1962	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Traditional ink	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	N/A
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB033	N/A	1964	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker, Modern pencil	Modern textured white paper	Pencil	N/A
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	N/A

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UB032	N/A	1973	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB025	FEMC PP03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white paper	Pencil	Thin wood
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	N/A
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Mid-twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper	Pencil	Thick wood
UB004	N/A	1986	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Printed covers
UB043	N/A	1988	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB044	N/A	1989	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock

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UB047	N/A		1990–2005 (?)	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Card stock
UB045	N/A		1991	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Thick wood
UB007	N/A		1993	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Layered white card stock
UB060	N/A		1994	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Unknown
UB029	N/A		1995	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen, pencil	Modern off-white card stock	Pen	Card stock
UB038	N/A		1995–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen, marker	Modern off-white card stock	Pencil	Hard cardboard
UB006	N/A		1996	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Printed covers
UB062	FEMC d.951		1999	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white card stock	Pencil	Thin wood
UB003	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB005	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern marker	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB064	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB066	N/A		2000–2010 (?)	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB012	N/A		2003	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Hard cardboard
UB063	N/A		2003	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard



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UB065	N/A		2003	Printed text affixed to mass-produced manuscript	Modern printed text	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Hard cardboard
UB010	N/A		2004	Handwritten text on mass-produced blank manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Hard cardboard
UB011	N/A		2004	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Pencil	Layered cardboard
UB028	FEMG d.942		2004	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	N/A	Card stock
UB002	N/A		2005	Handwritten text on handmade manuscript	Modern pen	Modern white and gray card stock	Scores	Painted card stock covers
UB009	N/A		2010	Printed text affixed to handmade manuscript	Printed text	Modern white thin paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock	None	None

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Table 7: Leporello Conditions Arranged by Date

*Edge = edge wear; Fold = fold wear; Wax = wax damage; Fire = fire damage; Water = water damage; Mold = mold damage; Insect = insect damage*

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Edge	Fold	Wax	Fire	Water	Mold	Insect
UB056	FEMC D'.269	1850-1875 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Severe	Severe	Severe
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	Severe
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Severe	None	Severe
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 16	1875-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Severe	Severe	Severe
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Severe	Severe	Severe
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB008	N/A	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB017	FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB021	EFEO C.AMB. O. 353	1900-1925 (?)	Minor	Minor	None	Moderate	Moderate	None	None
UB022	EFEO C.AMB. O. 404	1900-1925 (?)	Minor	Minor	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB051	FEMC 116-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 2	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB052	FEMC 125-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 11	1900-1925 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB053	FEMC 127-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 13	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB054	FEMC 129-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 15	1900-1925 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925-1960 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	None	Minor
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925-1960 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Severe	Severe	Severe
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925-1960 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	None	None	None

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UB057	FEMC d.948		1925–1960 (?)	Severe	Severe	None	None	Moderate	None	Moderate
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14		1928	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB013	FEMC d.937		1944–1945	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB036	N/A		1960–1975 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	None	None
UB049	FEMC d.946		1960–1975 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB050	FEMC d.947		1960–1975 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB058	N/A		1960–1975 (?)	Severe	Severe	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB020	N/A		1961–1962	Severe	Severe	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB023	FEMC d.940		1962	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB034	N/A		1962	Moderate	Moderate	Severe	None	Severe	Severe	Severe
UB026	FEMC d.941		1962–1975	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	Minor	None
UB033	N/A		1964	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB027	N/A		1965–1966	Moderate	Moderate	Severe	None	Severe	Severe	None
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64		1972–1973	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	None	None
UB032	N/A		1973	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
UB046	N/A		1979 and 1991	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB025	FEMC PP.03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56		1979–1990 (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Minor	None	Minor	None	None
UB061	FEMC d.950		1979–1995 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	Minor	None
UB001	FEMC d.936		1979–2000 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	Minor	None	Minor	Minor	Minor
UB016	N/A		1979–2000 (?)	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45		1979–2000 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB041	N/A		1979–2000 (?)	Unknown	Unknown	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB048	N/A		1982 and 1983	Severe	Severe	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB004	N/A		1986	None	Moderate	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB043	N/A		1988	None	None	None	None	None	Minor	None
UB044	N/A		1989	Minor	Minor	None	None	None	Minor	None
UB018	N/A		1990–2005 (?)	Minor	Minor	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	None
UB019	N/A		1990–2005 (?)	Minor	Minor	Minor	None	Minor	Minor	None

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UB047	N/A		1990-2005 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB045	N/A		1991	None	None	None	None	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB007	N/A		1993	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	None
UB060	N/A		1994	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB029	N/A		1995	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	Moderate	Moderate	None	None	Moderate
UB038	N/A		1995-2010 (?)	Minor	Minor	Minor	None	Minor	Minor	None	None	None
UB006	N/A		1996	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	None	None
UB062	FEMC d.951		1999	None	None	None	None	None	None	Minor	None	None
UB003	N/A		2000-2010 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB005	N/A		2000-2010 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB064	N/A		2000-2010 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB066	N/A		2000-2010 (?)	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB012	N/A		2003	Minor	None	None	None	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate	None	None
UB063	N/A		2003	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB065	N/A		2003	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB010	N/A		2004	None	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	None	None
UB011	N/A		2004	Minor	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB028	FEMC d.942		2004	Minor	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
UB002	N/A		2005	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	None	None
UB009	N/A		2010	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None

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Table 8: Leporello Contents Arranged by UB Code

Total = # of Appendix II-listed texts contained; Pali = # of Pali texts; P/K = # of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts; E.L. = # of end-of-life texts; Con. = # of consecratory texts; Cal. = # of calendrical texts; Nar. = # of narrative texts

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Total	Pali	Khmer	P/K	Thai	E.L.	Con.	Cal.	Nar.	Focus
UB001	FEMC.d.936	1979-2000 (?)	4	2	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB002	N/A	2005	9	7	2	0	0	6	3	0	0	0 End-of-life, consecratory
UB003	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	2	5	2	0	0 Consecratory, end-of-life, calendrical
UB004	N/A	1986	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB005	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	8	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB006	N/A	1996	12	1	10	0	1	12	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB007	N/A	1993	5	3	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	0 Consecratory
UB008	N/A	1900-1925 (?)	5	3	1	0	1	0	4	1	0	0 Consecratory
UB009	N/A	2010	7	3	3	0	1	0	7	0	0	0 Consecratory
UB010	N/A	2004	8	6	2	0	0	5	3	0	0	0 End-of-life, narrative
UB011	N/A	2004	21	7	13	1	0	16	5	0	0	0 End-of-life, consecratory
UB012	N/A	2003	9	7	2	0	0	5	4	0	0	0 End-of-life, consecratory
UB013	FEMC.d.937	1944-1945	7	5	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB014	FEMC.d.938	1925-1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	11	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB015	FEMC.d.939	1875-1925 (?)	12	5	5	2	0	11	0	0	0	0 End-of-life
UB016	N/A	1979-2000 (?)	10	3	7	0	0	9	0	0	1	1 End-of-life, narrative
UB017	FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900-1925 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	3	6	0	0	0 End-of-life, consecratory
UB018	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	16	3	13	0	0	6	0	0	10	10 End-of-life, narrative
UB019	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	18	3	15	0	0	6	0	1	11	11 End-of-life, narrative, calendrical

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UB020	N/A	1961–1962	12	4	8	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB021	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	8	6	2	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB022	EFEO C.A.M.B. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	10	7	3	0	0	0	7	0	0	3	End-of-life, narrative
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	7	3	3	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB025	FEMC PP.03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	9	2	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	8	2	3	3	0	0	8	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	14	5	9	0	0	0	5	0	4	5	End-of-life, narrative, calendrical
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	7	4	2	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB029	N/A	1995	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB032	N/A	1973	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB033	N/A	1964	8	4	4	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB034	N/A	1962	9	3	6	0	0	0	8	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	5	2	2	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	Consecratory
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	9	3	6	0	0	0	7	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	5	4	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	27	2	25	0	0	0	11	0	0	14	End-of-life, narrative
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	18	10	8	0	0	0	8	3	7	0	End-of-life, consecratory, calendrical
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	4	4	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	End-of-life, calendrical
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	11	2	8	1	0	0	7	0	0	4	Consecratory, narrative
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	7	2	4	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB043	N/A	1988	12	4	6	2	0	0	12	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB044	N/A	1989	22	6	12	4	0	0	14	0	0	8	End-of-life, narrative

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UB045	N/A	1991	20	16	1	3	0	20	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	9	5	4	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	Consecratory, calendrical
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	21	2	17	2	0	7	0	0	14	0	End-of-life, narrative
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	7	4	3	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	5	0	0	3	0	End-of-life, narrative
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB051	FEMC 116-B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	6	3	2	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	Consecratory
UB052	FEMC 125-B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB053	FEMC 127-B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB054	FEMC 129-B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	7	4	3	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB056	FEMC D'.269	1850–1875 (?)	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Consecratory
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	6	6	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	End-of-life, narrative
UB060	N/A	1994	15	4	11	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	11	3	7	1	0	0	7	0	4	0	Consecratory, narrative
UB063	N/A	2003	6	4	2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB064	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	22	15	7	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB065	N/A	2003	22	4	18	0	0	16	2	0	4	0	End-of-life, consecratory, narrative
UB066	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	14	3	5	6	0	0	2	12	0	0	Calendrical

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UB067	FEMC d.952	1875-1925 (?)	15	7	7	1	0	11	4	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875-1925 (?)	8	5	2	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	4	3	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875-1925 (?)	10	3	0	7	0	10	0	0	0	0	End-of-life



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Table 9: Leporello Contents Arranged by Date

Total = total number of Appendix II-listed text contained; Pali = # of Pali texts; P/K = # of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts; E.L. = # of end-of-life texts; Con. = # of consecratory texts; Cal. = # of calendrical texts; Nar. = # of narrative texts

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Total	Pali	Khmer	P/K	Thai	E.L.	Con.	Cal.	Nar.	Focus
UB056	FEMC D.269	1850-1875 (?)	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Consecratory
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875-1925 (?)	12	5	5	2	0	11	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875-1925 (?)	5	2	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875-1925 (?)	5	4	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875-1925 (?)	4	4	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	End-of-life, calendrical
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 16	1875-1925 (?)	7	4	3	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875-1925 (?)	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875-1925 (?)	15	7	7	1	0	11	4	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875-1925 (?)	8	5	2	1	0	8	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875-1925 (?)	10	3	0	7	0	10	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB008	N/A	1900-1925 (?)	5	3	1	0	1	0	4	1	0	Consecratory
UB017	FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900-1925 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	3	6	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB021	EFEO C.AMB. O. 353	1900-1925 (?)	8	6	2	0	0	4	4	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB022	EFEO C.AMB. O. 404	1900-1925 (?)	10	7	3	0	0	7	0	0	3	End-of-life, narrative
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900-1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB051	FEMC 116-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 2	1900-1925 (?)	6	3	2	0	1	0	6	0	0	Consecratory

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UB052	FEMC 125-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB053	FEMC 127-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB054	FEMC 129-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	5	2	2	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Consecratory		
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative		
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	7	5	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	9	3	6	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative		
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	End-of-life, narrative		
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	12	4	8	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	7	3	3	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB034	N/A	1962	9	3	6	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative		
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	8	2	3	3	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB033	N/A	1964	8	4	4	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life		
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	14	5	9	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	End-of-life, narrative, calendrical	
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	7	2	4	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life	
UB032	N/A	1973	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life	
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	9	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	0	Consecratory, calendrical

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UB025	FEMC PP03.03.03; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 56	1979-1990 (?)	9	2	7	0	0	0	7	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979-1995 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979-2000 (?)	4	2	1	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB016	N/A	1979-2000 (?)	10	3	7	0	0	0	9	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979-2000 (?)	18	10	8	0	0	0	8	3	7	0	End-of-life, consecrative, calendrical
UB041	N/A	1979-2000 (?)	11	2	8	1	0	0	0	7	0	4	Consecratory, narrative
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	7	4	3	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB004	N/A	1986	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB043	N/A	1988	12	4	6	2	0	0	12	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB044	N/A	1989	22	6	12	4	0	0	14	0	0	8	End-of-life, narrative
UB018	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	16	3	13	0	0	0	6	0	0	10	End-of-life, narrative
UB019	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	18	3	15	0	0	0	6	0	1	11	End-of-life, narrative, calendrical
UB047	N/A	1990-2005 (?)	21	2	17	2	0	0	7	0	0	14	End-of-life, narrative
UB045	N/A	1991	20	16	1	3	0	0	20	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB007	N/A	1993	5	3	1	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	Consecratory
UB060	N/A	1994	15	4	11	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB029	N/A	1995	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB038	N/A	1995-2010 (?)	27	2	25	0	0	0	11	0	0	14	End-of-life, narrative
UB006	N/A	1996	12	1	10	0	0	1	12	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	11	3	7	1	0	0	0	7	0	4	Consecratory, narrative
UB003	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	0	2	5	2	0	Consecratory, end-of-life, calendrical
UB005	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB064	N/A	2000-2010 (?)	22	15	7	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	End-of-life

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UB066	N/A		2000-2010 (?)	14	3	5	6	0	0	0	2	12	0	Calendrical
UB012	N/A		2003	9	7	2	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB063	N/A		2003	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB065	N/A		2003	22	4	18	0	0	0	16	2	0	4	End-of-life, consecratory, narrative
UB010	N/A		2004	8	6	2	0	0	0	5	3	0	0	End-of-life, narrative
UB011	N/A		2004	21	7	13	1	0	0	16	5	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB028	FEMC d.942		2004	7	4	2	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB002	N/A		2005	9	7	2	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB009	N/A		2010	7	3	3	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	Consecratory

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Table 10: Leporello Contents Arranged by Focus

Total = total number of Appendix II-listed text contained; Pali = # of Pali texts; P/K = # of bilingual Pali-Khmer texts; E.L. = # of end-of-life texts; Con. = # of consecratory texts; Cal. = # of calendrical texts; Nar. = # of narrative texts

UB Code	Other codes	Date	Total	Pali	Khmer	P/K	Thai	E.L.	Con.	Cal.	Nar.	Focus
UB066	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	14	3	5	6	0	0	2	12	0	Calendrical
UB056	FEMC D' 269	1850–1875 (?)	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	Consecratory
UB008	N/A	1900–1925 (?)	5	3	1	0	1	0	4	1	0	Consecratory
UB051	FEMC 116-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 2	1900–1925 (?)	6	3	2	0	1	0	6	0	0	Consecratory
UB035	FEMC d.945	1925–1960 (?)	5	2	2	1	0	0	4	0	0	Consecratory
UB007	N/A	1993	5	3	1	0	1	0	5	0	0	Consecratory
UB009	N/A	2010	7	3	3	0	1	0	7	0	0	Consecratory
UB046	N/A	1979 and 1991	9	5	4	0	0	0	4	5	0	Consecratory, calendrical
UB003	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	2	5	2	0	Consecratory, end-of-life, calendrical
UB041	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	11	2	8	1	0	0	7	0	4	Consecratory, narrative
UB062	FEMC d.951	1999	11	3	7	1	0	0	7	0	4	Consecratory, narrative
UB015	FEMC d.939	1875–1925 (?)	12	5	5	2	0	11	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB031	FEMC d.944	1875–1925 (?)	5	2	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB037	FEMC 097-B.06.06.01	1875–1925 (?)	5	4	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB055	FEMC 130-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 16	1875–1925 (?)	7	4	3	0	0	7	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB068	FEMC d.953	1875–1925 (?)	8	5	2	1	0	8	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB070	FEMC d.954	1875–1925 (?)	10	3	0	7	0	10	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB030	FEMC d.943	1900–1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	End-of-life

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UB052	FEMC 125-B.06.03.01; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 11	1900–1925 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB053	FEMC 127-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 13	1900–1925 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB054	FEMC 129-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 15	1900–1925 (?)	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB014	FEMC d.938	1925–1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB024	FEMC e.XXX	1925–1960 (?)	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB057	FEMC d.948	1925–1960 (?)	11	3	7	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB013	FEMC d.937	1944–1945	7	5	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB050	FEMC d.947	1960–1975 (?)	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB058	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB020	N/A	1961–1962	12	4	8	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB023	FEMC d.940	1962	7	3	3	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB026	FEMC d.941	1962–1975	8	2	3	3	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB033	N/A	1964	8	4	4	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB042	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 64	1972–1973	7	2	4	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB032	N/A	1973	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB061	FEMC d.950	1979–1995 (?)	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB001	FEMC d.936	1979–2000 (?)	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB004	N/A	1986	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB043	N/A	1988	12	4	6	2	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB045	N/A	1991	20	16	1	3	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB060	N/A	1994	15	4	11	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB029	N/A	1995	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB006	N/A	1996	12	1	10	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB005	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB064	N/A	2000–2010 (?)	22	15	7	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	End-of-life

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UB063	N/A	2003	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB028	FEMC d.942	2004	7	4	2	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life
UB040	FEMC e.XXX	1875–1925 (?)	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, calendrical
UB039	EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 45	1979–2000 (?)	18	10	8	0	0	0	0	8	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecrative, calendrical
UB067	FEMC d.952	1875–1925 (?)	15	7	7	1	0	0	0	11	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB017	FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.VI.6; EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44	1900–1925 (?)	9	5	4	0	0	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB021	EFEO CAMB. O. 353	1900–1925 (?)	8	6	2	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB048	N/A	1982 and 1983	7	4	3	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB012	N/A	2003	9	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB011	N/A	2004	21	7	13	1	0	0	0	16	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB002	N/A	2005	9	7	2	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	End-of-life, consecratory
UB065	N/A	2003	22	4	18	0	0	0	0	16	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	End-of-life, consecratory, narrative
UB059	FEMC d.949	1875–1925 (?)	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB022	EFEO CAMB. O. 404	1900–1925 (?)	10	7	3	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	End-of-life, narrative
UB069	FEMC 128-B.06.03.01, EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14	1928	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB036	N/A	1960–1975 (?)	9	3	6	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative
UB049	FEMC d.946	1960–1975 (?)	8	3	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	End-of-life, narrative
UB034	N/A	1962	9	3	6	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB025	FEMC PP03.03.03; EFEO- FEMC Photocopy 56	1979–1990 (?)	9	2	7	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	End-of-life, narrative
UB016	N/A	1979–2000 (?)	10	3	7	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	End-of-life, narrative
UB044	N/A	1989	22	6	12	4	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	End-of-life, narrative
UB018	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	16	3	13	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	End-of-life, narrative
UB047	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	21	2	17	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	End-of-life, narrative

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UB038	N/A	1995–2010 (?)	27	2	25	0	0	11	0	0	14	End-of-life, narrative
UB010	N/A	2004	8	6	2	0	0	5	3	0	0	End-of-life, narrative
UB019	N/A	1990–2005 (?)	18	3	15	0	0	6	0	1	11	End-of-life, narrative, and calendrical
UB027	N/A	1965–1966	14	5	9	0	0	5	0	4	5	End-of-life, narrative, calendrical



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Table 11: Leporello Scribes, Donors, and Dedictees Arranged by UB Code

*Lay priest* = ācāry, *lay followers* = buddhāparisād, *layman* = upāsaka, *laywoman* = upāsikā, *abbot* = cau adhikār, *vice-abbot* = grū sūtr stān, *assistant vice-abbot* = grū sūtr chveni, *lay Dhamma teacher* = paṇḍit dhammācāry, *professional scribe* = smāen, # of Scr. = number of scribes, # of Don. = number of donors, # of Ded. = number of dedictees

UB Code	Date	Scribe(s)	# of Scr.	Donor(s)	# of Don.	Dedictee(s)	# of Ded.
UB001	1979–2000 (?)	Lay priest	1	Lay priest, man, monks, lay followers, and person	Many	Donors and ancestors of donors	Many
UB002	2005	Man	1	Woman and her sons, daughters, and in-laws	Many	Scribe and donor	Many
UB003	2000–2010 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB004	1986	Person	1	Abbot	1	Ancestors of donor and scribe	Many
UB005	2000–2010 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB006	1996	Thai man	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB007	1993	Layman	1	Vice-abbot and assistant vice-abbot	2	Scribe	1
UB008	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	Man and woman	2	Donors	2
UB009	2010	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	Parents and brother of scribe, all Khmer ancestors	Many
UB010	2004	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB011	2004	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB012	2003	Man	1	Man and woman	2	Scribe	1
UB013	1944–1945	Novice and monk	2	Laywoman and layman	2	Donor (layman)	1
UB014	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	1	Person	1	Scribe	1
UB015	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	Scribe (first scribe only)	1
UB016	1979–2000 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB017	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB018	1990–2005 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB019	1990–2005 (?)	Man	1	Person	1	N/A	N/A

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UB020	1961–1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB021	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	Male dignitary (anak ukhā)	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB022	1900–1925 (?)	Person	1	Monk	1	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB023	1962	Person	1	N/A	N/A	Man and woman (at least of whom died)	Man and woman (at least of whom died)	2		2
UB024	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB025	1979–1990 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB026	1962–1975	Person	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB027	1965–1966	Man and woman	2	N/A	N/A	Scribes	Scribes	2		2
UB028	2004	Man	1	Woman, her siblings, and her descendants	Many	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB029	1995	Man and woman	2	Laymen/ laywomen, their children	Many	Scribes	Scribes	2		2
UB030	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB031	1875–1925 (?)	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB032	1973	Lay priest	1	Laymen and laywomen	15	Donors	Donors	15		15
UB033	1964	Lay priest	1	People	Many	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB034	1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB035	1925–1960 (?)	Person	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB036	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB037	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB038	1995–2010 (?)	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB039	1979–2000 (?)	N/A	N/A	Lay priest and laywoman	2	Donors	Donors	2		2
UB040	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB041	1979–2000 (?)	Lay priest and monk	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB042	1972–1973	N/A	N/A	Lay priest, laywoman, and their friends and relatives	Many	Donors	Donors	Many		Many
UB043	1988	Woman	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	Scribe	1		1
UB044	1989	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB045	1991	Lay Dhamma teacher	1	Man, woman, and their children	Many	Relatives of scribe and scribe's wife, all relatives	Relatives of scribe and scribe's wife, all relatives	Many		Many

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UB046	1979 and 1991	Man and woman	2	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB047	1990–2005 (?)	N/A	N/A	Man, woman, and their children	Many	Parents, grandparents, teachers, relatives, and all who take care of the manuscript	Many	Parents, grandparents, teachers, relatives, and all who take care of the manuscript	Many
UB048	1982 and 1983	Person	1	Layman and laywoman	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB049	1960–1975 (?)	Monk	1	Abbot	1	Scribe	1	Scribe	1
UB050	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB051	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB052	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB053	1900–1925 (?)	Person	1	Man	1	N/A	1	N/A	N/A
UB054	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB055	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB056	1850–1875 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB057	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1	Scribe	1
UB058	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1	Scribe	1
UB059	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB060	1994	Lay priest and artist	2	Woman, children, and grandchildren	Many	Parents, husband, grandparents, and relatives of donor; scribe	Many	Parents, husband, grandparents, and relatives of donor; scribe	Many
UB061	1979–1995 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB062	1999	Lay priest and artist	2	Man and woman	2	Scribe	1	Scribe	1
UB063	2003	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Ancestors of donors	Many	Ancestors of donors	Many
UB064	2000–2010 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB065	2003	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Ancestors of donors	Many	Ancestors of donors	Many
UB066	2000–2010 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB067	1875–1925 (?)	Professional scribe	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1	Scribe	1
UB068	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB069	1928	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB070	1875–1925 (?)	Abbot and monk	2	Abbot	1	Scribes	2	Scribes	2

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Table 12: Leporello Scribes, Donors, and Dedicatees Arranged by Date

*Lay priest* = ācāry, *lay followers* = buddhaparisaḍḍā, *layman* = upāsaka, *laywoman* = upāsikā, *abbot* = cau adhikāṇ, *vice-abbot* = grū sūr śtām, *assistant vice-abbot* = grū sūr chveṇ, *lay Dhamma teacher* = paṇḍit dhammācāry, *professional scribe* = smīten, # of Scr. = number of scribes, # of Don. = number of donors, # of Ded. = number of dedicatees

UB Code	Date	Scribe(s)	# of Scr.	Donor(s)	# of Don.	Dedicatee(s)	# of Ded.
UB056	1850–1875 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB015	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	2	N/A	N/A	Scribe (first scribe only)	1
UB031	1875–1925 (?)	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB037	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB040	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB055	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB059	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB067	1875–1925 (?)	Professional scribe	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB068	1875–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB070	1875–1925 (?)	Abbot and monk	2	Abbot	1	Scribes	2
UB030	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB008	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	Man and woman	2	Donors	2
UB017	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB021	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	Male dignitary (anak ukhā)	1	N/A	N/A
UB022	1900–1925 (?)	Person	1	Monk	1	Scribe	1
UB051	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB052	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB053	1900–1925 (?)	Person	1	Man	1	N/A	N/A
UB054	1900–1925 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB014	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	1	Person	1	Scribe	1
UB024	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB035	1925–1960 (?)	Person	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1

Appendix I: Tables

UB057	1925–1960 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB069	1928	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB013	1944–1945	Novice and monk	2	Laywoman and layman	2	Donor (layman)	1		
UB036	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB049	1960–1975 (?)	Monk	1	Abbot	1	Scribe	1		
UB050	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB058	1960–1975 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1		
UB020	1961–1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB023	1962	Person	1	N/A	N/A	Man and woman (at least one of whom died)	2		
UB034	1962	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB026	1962–1975	Person	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB033	1964	Lay priest	1	People	Many	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB027	1965–1966	Man and woman	2	N/A	N/A	Scribes	2		
UB042	1972–1973	N/A	N/A	Lay priest, laywoman, and their friends and relatives	Many	Donors	Many		
UB032	1973	Lay priest	1	Laymen and laywomen	15	Donors	15		
UB046	1979 and 1991	Man and woman	2	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB025	1979–1990 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB061	1979–1995 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB001	1979–2000 (?)	Lay priest	1	Lay priest, man, monks, lay followers, and person	Many	Donors and ancestors of donors	Many		
UB016	1979–2000 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB039	1979–2000 (?)	N/A	N/A	Lay priest and laywoman	2	Donors	2		
UB041	1979–2000 (?)	Lay priest and monk	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB048	1982 and 1983	Person	1	Layman and laywoman	2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB004	1986	Person	1	Abbot	1	Ancestors of donor and scribe	Many		
UB043	1988	Woman	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1		
UB044	1989	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Appendix I: Tables

UB018	1990–2005 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB019	1990–2005 (?)	Man	1	Person	1	N/A	N/A
UB047	1990–2005 (?)	N/A	N/A	Man, woman, and their children	Many	Parents, grandparents, teachers, relatives, and all who take care of the manuscript	Many
UB045	1991	Lay Dhamma teacher	1	Man, woman, and their children	Many	Relatives of scribe and scribe's wife, all relatives	Many
UB007	1993	Layman	1	Vice-abbot and assistant vice-abbot	2	Scribe	1
UB060	1994	Lay priest and artist	2	Woman, children, and grandchildren	Many	Parents, husband, grandparents, and relatives of donor; scribe	Many
UB029	1995	Man and woman	2	Laymen/laywomen, their children	Many	Scribes	2
UB038	1995–2010 (?)	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB006	1996	Man (nāy)	1	N/A	N/A	Scribe	1
UB062	1999	Lay priest and artist	2	Man and woman	2	Scribe	1
UB003	2000–2010 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB005	2000–2010 (?)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB064	2000–2010 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB066	2000–2010 (?)	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB012	2003	Man	1	Man and woman	2	Scribe	1
UB063	2003	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Ancestors of donors	Many
UB065	2003	Man	1	N/A	N/A	Ancestors of donors	Many
UB010	2004	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB011	2004	Man	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
UB028	2004	Man	1	Woman, her siblings, and her descendants	Many	Scribe	1
UB002	2005	Man	1	Woman, her children, and in-laws	Many	Scribe and donor	Many
UB009	2010	Monk	1	N/A	N/A	Parents and brother of scribe, all Khmer ancestors	Many

**UB001**

FEMC d.936

Late twentieth-century, formerly in the private collection of *lok grū* Kūv Nuon and *upāsikā* Cān' Y''ān, Brai Pāṃn village, Sīdhar commune, Khsāc' Kaṅṅāl district, Kandal province, Cambodia, donated by *lok grū* Kūv Nuon and *upāsikā* Cān' Y''ān to the Bibliothèque EFEQ – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo in 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black marker and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and thin wood covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and minor wax, water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

45 x 15 cm, 8 lines per spread, complete in 37 W-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Thin wood cover

2a–2b Colophon: សូមមេត្តាជួយថែរក្សាបានស្អាតល្អផង អាចារ្យគួនបានចំឡង់ក្រាំងនេះ [blue pen] អាចារ្យគួនព្រមទាំងលោកពុទ្ធបរិសត្ថចំណុះជើងវត្តព្រៃបាំងកំពង់ចម្លងព្រែកកំភ្លើងនឹងភូមនា។ ឯទៀត ។ល។ មានសទ្ធាចូលបច្ច័យកសាងព្រះធម៌កៅវតានេះដកល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាផងនឹងសំរាប់សូត្រជរាពាតផង។ ហេតុនេះខ្ញុំសូមឧទិសមហាកុសលលោកអ្នកដ៏មានគុណទាំងឡាយមានមាតាបិតាជិដូនជិតាញាតិកាទាំងពលសន្តានទាំងអស់គ្នាសូមទ័ទួលយកអដ្ឋមនុញ្ញផលដែលកើតអំពីសន្តានចិត្តដសប្បវសលោកអ្នកជាកយោភាពតរាងទៅ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀតលោកអ្នកបានកសាង សូមបានសម្រេចសម្បត្តិពាប្រការគឺសម្បត្តិមនុស្ស១ ទេវតា១ ព្រះនិពាន១ កប៊ីអាក់ខានឡើយ។

2b–18b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = dhaṛm kauvatā (to be continued)

Verso

19 Thin wood cover

20a [blank]

20b–22a **Ākāravattā A-NP** (continued) = dhaṛm kauvatā

22b–27a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm

27b–36a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k** = braḥ trailakkh pūr''āṅ

36a–37a **Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7** = samvejanīyadharm (just *aciraṃ* section; incipit and explicit missing)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

37a–37b Colophon: លោកតាព្រះនាមសែមគង់វត្តព្រៃបាំងបានក៏សាងក្រាំងកៅវតានឹងព្រះធម្ម ។ [blue ink] ព្រំទាំងព្រះសង្ឃគ្រប់អង្គមានសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាជួយឧប្បថមកសាងព្រះធម៌ ។ លីលាងអ៊ុំមចូលកន្លោះ ។

**UB002**

2005, monastic library of Vatt Advhā, Kakrāñ' village, Siem Reap commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and painted card stock covers with blue and yellow paint and red and green ink.

Minor edge wear and minor wax and water damage.

38 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 77 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover in yellow paint, with *braḥ gīrīmānand* in green marker.
- 2a–10b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ gīrīmānand
- 10b–22a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ dhammakāvātā
- 22b–30b **Rāp' thān-NP** = rāp' ththān
- 31a–32b **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that
- 33a–36a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm
- 36b–39b **Ān trai B-NP** = ān trai(y)
- 39b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisek (to be continued), with *luṅṃ°/khīn°* cantillation marks

Verso

- 40 Card stock cover in blue paint.
- 41a–55a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisek (continued), with *luṅṃ°/khīn°* cantillation marks
- 55a–61a **dharm yog-bn** = braḥ dharm yok
- 61b–77a **phcāñ' mār «yōn khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = braḥ dharm phcāñ' mār, with food offering instructions on 68b and a short Pali portion on 80a: *pañcamāri canināththo puttōsambodhī muttamamcatusaccaṃ mārasenam phall'āyanti.*
- 77a–77b Colophon: ខ្ញុំមហាទតារមបានចម្លងក្រាំងនេះចប់ថ្ងៃចន្ទ ១២ កើតខែមិគ្គស័រ ព-ស ២៥១៨ ព្រះវស្សា ត្រូវនឹងគ.ស ២០០៥ ឆ្នាំ ។ *nibbānaṃsamppaccayohotu* ។ អ្នកកូសាងក្រាំងនេះមាន៖ លោកយាង ខៀវ ព្រំទាំងបុត្រី



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

បុត្រាទាំងប្រសារបង្កើត ទាំងស្ប ឱ្យបានសេចក្តីសុខសេចក្តីយចម្រើន ក្នុងជាតិនេះក្តីយ ជាតិមុខក្តីយ កុំឲ្យមានខ្វះខាត អ្វីឡើយ ហើយបើក្រែងមានកាំពៀរវេរា នឹងសត្វជើង៤ ឬសត្វមានស្លាបទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ក៏សូមរុំដោះរួចអំពី [blue ink] កម្ម ពៀរទាំងនោះឲ្យអស់ ឲ្យបានជួបសំបុត្រិទាំងប្រាំសំបុត្រិមនុស្សលោកទេវតានិងព្រះនិព្វានទៅហោង ។

**UB003**

Early twenty-first century, monastic library of Vatt Ind Deb, Gok Cak commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on early twentieth-first-century mass-produced blank leporello of modern white and gray card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and hard cardboard covers with printed designs in black and gold.

No visible wear or damage.

33 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, complete in 81 W-folded spreads

Recto

- 1 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in black and gold
- 2a–5b **Parābhava-sutta-CM** = parābhavasūtr, followed by នេះចប់ធម៌បរាដែលភិក្ខុសូត្រ ថ្វាយអ្នកកាន់បិណ្ឌហោង
- 5b dhārm sūtr thvāy pind: *ukāssa imānidhippā imādhūppā imānipijā imāgandhā imānimālā imānipindipattāni.*
- 6a–8a **thvāy pāy piṇḍ-br** = dhārm sūtr thvāy pāy piṇḍ,
- 8a Ritual instruction: នេះចប់ធម៌សំរាប់នេនសូត្រថ្វាយបិណ្ឌពេលព្រឹកដែលឧបាសកត្រូវ ឡប់យកបាយបិណ្ឌពីព្រះវិហារមកវិញ ត្រូវសាមណេរពីរអង្គសូត្ររាល់ព្រឹកទាល់តែរួចបិណ្ឌទៅហោង ។
- 8b–12b **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = dhārm thvāy phkā
- 12b Ritual instruction: នេះចប់ធម៌ថ្វាយផ្កាហើយហោង ។ បើនឹងគិតកាន់បិណ្ឌនោះដល់លោក នមស្សការរួចឲ្យឧបាសកចាប់បាយបិណ្ឌនូវបាយបិណ្ឌរ ។ លោកសូត្រដល់ផ្នត់ក្រាចរួចលោកឈប់ ឯចំណែកពួកឧបាសកលើកបាយបិណ្ឌនិងបាយបិណ្ឌនូវទឹកម្សៅនោះស្អុយលើដី រួចអោយធម៌ថ្វាយទាំងអស់គ្នា ។
- 13a–13b dhārm thvāy pāy pitpūr
- 13b–22a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtr
- 22a–34a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = dhārm kāvatā
- 34a–40 **phcāñ' mār «yōn khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ' mār (to be continued)

Verso

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 41 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in black and gold
- 42a [blank]
- 42b–49a **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ mār (continued)
- 49a–63a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisek, with luṅṃ<sup>o</sup>/khīn<sup>o</sup> cantillation marks
- 63b–68b **dhaṛm yog-bn** = dhaṛm yok
- 69a–77a **Rāp' thān-NP**
- 77b–81b [blank]

**UB004**

1986, formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Prāsād Sirī, Jaṃruṃ R̥ddhīsèn, Site II refugee camp, Sa Kaew province, Thailand, currently in the monastic library of Vatt Rājapūrṇ a.k.a Vatt Pūr̥b, Vatt Pūr̥b village, Sālā Kaṃrök commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on late-twentieth century mass-produced Thai leporello by the Bangkok printing house Sa Dhammabhāktī of modern off-white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, plastic laminate, and printed covers with red, green, and gold designs and text in Thai.

Moderate fold wear and moderate mold and water damage.

26 x 11 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, complete in 57 NI-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Printed cover with red, green, and gold designs, a central image of three stupas, and the following text in Thai: **ສມຸດຂ່ອຍປັນທຶກສຳຄັນປະຈຳຕົວທລອດຊີພ**
- 2a Colophon: **ព្រះគូសិរីសុវណ្ណោ ជាចៅអធិការវត្តប្រាសាទសិរី ជំរុំបុទ្ធិសែន បានឱ្យខ្ញុំចម្លងធម៌ទាំងអស់នៅក្នុងក្រាំងនេះ ដើម្បីជាប្រយោជន៍ដល់ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទទូទៅ ។ ដោយអំណាចធម្មទានានិសង្ឃ សូមឧទ្ទិសកុសលភាសីចំពោះបុព្វការីជនរបស់លោកព្រមទាំងរបស់រូបខ្ញុំជាអ្នកចម្លង ឲ្យបានប្រកបដោយពុទ្ធពរទាំង៥ប្រការ ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀតសូមឲ្យបានព្រះអង្គនិងរូបខ្ញុំជាអ្នកចម្លងមានបដិកាណាក្នុងវិជ្ជាទាំងពួងគ្រប់ជាតិៗតរៀងទៅ ។ [signature] ម៉ក់-ខន.**
- 2b–19a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānandasūtr prè
- 19b–28b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānand pālī (to be continued)

Verso

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 29 Printed cover with red, green, and gold designs, a central image of a three-headed elephant and a Dhamma wheel, and the following text in Thai: ส.ธรรมภักดี ฉบับสำนักงาน และ โรงพิมพ์ ถนนข้าวสาร จังหวัดพระนคร
- 30a [blank]
- 30b–32b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānand pālī (continued)
- 33a–47b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāravattasūtr hau tām damlāp' thā <<kauvatār>>
- 48a–53a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm
- 53b Colophon: បានចម្លងចប់នៅថ្ងៃ ២ ឃុំ ២ ព.ស. ២៥២៩ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី ២៧ មករា ១៩៨៦ ។ សូមបញ្ជូនទៅវិទ្យាស្ថានជាសហស្សគុណ ចំពោះព្រះគ្រូសិរីសុវណ្ណោ ជាម្ចាស់ធម្មទាន និងរូបខ្ញុំបានជាអ្នកចម្លងឲ្យបានសព្វជាតិទៅហោង ។ [signature] ម៉ក់-ខុន.
- 54–57 [blank]

UB005

Early twentieth-first century, formerly in private collection of *ācāry* Braṃ Ut (1945–2009), Kā Yāv village, Jañruk commune, Gañ Bisī district, Kompong Speu province, Cambodia, incomplete black-and-white photocopy, 2006, scan of photocopy by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern black marker in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on early twentieth-first-century mass-produced blank leporello of modern white and gray card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and hard cardboard covers with printed designs (missing from photocopy).

No visible wear or damage.

34 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, likely complete in 59–60 M- or N-folded spreads (only 50 present in photocopy).

Recto

- 1 Cover (missing from photocopy)
- 2a Table of contents: ៖ << មាតិកាធម៌ >> ៖ .ការវតា. ៖ គិរីមានន្ទ & ព្រះអភិជម្ព ៖ ៖ ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ & លាបាប ៖ – << នាវាធម្មសង្កេត >> –
- 2b–16b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kāvaṭā, with brackets
- 17a–24a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtr
- 24a–27a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm
- 27b–29b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā rūp yōñ min dieñ bit»-7** = trailakkha(ṅ) abhidhamm (explicit missing)  
[likely 2–4 spreads missing here]

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Verso

- 30 Cover (missing from photocopy)  
31a [blank]  
31b–44b **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** = braḥ trailakkha(ṇ)  
45a–49a **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = dharma lā pāp  
49b–51a **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = dharma aniccā rūp  
51a–52b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br**  
[likely 7–9 spreads missing here]

**UB006**

1996, monastic library of Vāt Denamī(y), Denamī(y) village, Denamī(y) commune, Surin capital district, Surin province, Thailand, photographed by Cheymongkol Chalermasukjitsri, 2012.

Modern black pen in Thai and *mūl* scripts on late twentieth-century mass-produced Thai leporello by the Bangkok printing house Sa Dhammabhāktī of modern white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and printed covers with red, blue, yellow and gold designs and text in Thai.

Minor edge wear and minor wax, fire, water, and mold damage.

Approximately 40 x 15 cm, 14 lines per spread, complete in 66 N- or II-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Upside-down printed cover with red, blue, yellow and gold designs, a central image of a three-headed elephant and a Dhamma wheel, and the following text in Thai:  
**ส.ธรรมภักดี ฉบับสำนักงาน และ โรงพิมพ์ ถนนข้าวสาร และถนนบ้านตะนาว**  
2a [blank]  
2b–5b **Ān trai A-NP** = pālī braḥ vināy, pālī braḥ sūtr, pālī braḥ sattaṭṭhapaṇābhidhamm (Thai script)  
5b–32b braḥ mālāy gāṃ suat = gāṃ suat braḥ mālāy (Thai script) (explicit missing; ends with **อุบถัมภ แล้วคำชู บให้ครู ได้ยากใจ ทรงศีล ครองวินัย**, then a marginal note that adds **ยังไม่ทันจบ**)  
32b–33b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k**, with the incipit **สาคูรั้ว**

Verso

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 33 Upside-down printed cover with red, blue, yellow and gold designs, a central image of a three-headed elephant and a Dhamma wheel, and the following text in Thai:  
**ส.ธรรมภักดี ฉบับสำนักงาน และ โรงพิมพ์ ถนนข้าวสาร และถนนบ้านตะนาว**
- 34a [blank]
- 34b–58b **lpök kammatthān-br/bn**
- 58b Colophon: សេសវ ចប់នូវថ្ងៃ អាទិត្យ ខែស្រាប ២ រោង ឆ្នាំជូត ផ.ស. ២៥៣៩ ណាយ កោន ភ្នំ វៃន នូវស្រុក ទានមីយ៍ សសេរ ថ្ងៃ វត្តទានមីយ៍ សម្រាប់ប្រាជ្ញាឱ្យមានប្រាចញា មានសាចក្តីយ សុភ័យស្រាយ អាយុស្រស់យីនយូរ អណា កតេកលេៗ ណាយ កោន បណាវ៉ាន
- 58b–59b **dhammasañveg «oḥ o guor sañveg»-br**
- 59b–60b **aciram vata yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**
- 61a–61b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**
- 62a–63a **saṃvegavatthu 8 y"añ-7**, up to ខ្ញុំថ្ងៃដំនាមបទព្រះបាទឡី (incipit and explicit missing)
- 63a–64b **sakarāj khè thñai trailakkha(ṅ)-k/4r** = sakrāj khmèr thgāiy traiy lāk
- 64b–65a **lā pāp «muoy sot khñum lā»-k** = sakrāj khmèr thgāiy traiy lāk
- 65a–65b **anak mtāy sañsār-k/4r** = sakrāj khmèr thgāiy traiy lāk
- 65b–66b **dhammasañveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br** = sakrāj khmèr thgāiy traiy lāk
- 66b Colophon: តាក់ដើងតាក់តាក់សោះសិង្ហឆ្នាំ បើអ្នកណាបានមើលហើយជួយបំពេញចែងចែងខ្ញុំមែនផង (“កោន ផ្ទាំងវៃន”)

**UB007**

1993, private collection of a lay *ācāry* in T̄amril village, T̄amril commune, Ū Rāmñ Au district, Tboung Khmum province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2011.

Modern black marker and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and layered white card stock covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate wax, water, and mold damage.

Approximately 36 x 10 cm, 12–15 lines per spread, complete in 36 II-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Layered white card stock cover, with black geometric designs and the title: គ្រាំង ធម៌ ពុទ្ធាភិសេក នឹង តាថា បញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណ
- 2a [blank]
- 2b Title: ពុទ្ធាភិសេក នឹង តាថា បញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណ

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

3a–13b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhiseka

14a–15a **Dhammakāya-NP** = gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa:

15a–18a Ritual instructions and liturgy for consecration: លោកអាចារ្យទាំងឡាយ មានលោក

អាចារ្យធំជាប្រធានត្រូវចាំស្តាប់បាលីពុទ្ធាភិសេកដែលសង្ឃសូត្រថា: *idaṃbuddharūpampi mahiddhikam mahātejam mahabbalaṃ mahāyasam mahānubhāvaṃ hotu yeva* ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យធំប្រកាសថា: *buddho uppanno loke atthi atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ* (ប្រែថា) ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធទ្រង់បង្កើតហើយក្នុងលោក ដើម្បីសេចក្តីចំរើន ដើម្បីជាប្រយោជន៍ ដើម្បីសេចក្តីសុខដល់ទេវតានិងមនុស្សទាំងឡាយ។ អនុមោទនាៗបីដង ។ វាយគង្គរគាំដៃ ផ្ទៃស្នែង ក្មេងដូតត្រី ឲ្យកងរំពងឡើង តាមថ្នាក់បាលីពុទ្ធាភិសេកទាំងអស់ ។ ពេលដែលព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រពុទ្ធាភិសេកចប់ហើយ ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យរៀបចំសូត្របាលីអធិដ្ឋានបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈដូច្នោះ *atthārasadhātuyo dvādasāyatānāni*

*dvattimsamahāpurisalakkhaṇāni chabbannaraṅsiyo atthuttarasatamaṅgalāni asītyānubyañjanāni navambuddharūpamhi tiṭṭhantisabbakālaṃ yāvasāsanaṃ*. សូមព្រះធាតុទាំងឡាយ ១៨ផង. សូមអាយតនៈទាំងឡាយ ១២ផង. សូមមហា.បុរិសលក្ខណៈទាំងឡាយ៣២ផង សូមរស្មីទាំងឡាយ៦ពណ៌ផង. សូមមង្គលទាំងឡាយ ១០៨ផង. អនុព្យញ្ជនៈ៨០ផង. ប្រតិស្ឋានតាំងនៅក្នុងគូអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដ៏រាបគ្រប់ ៥០០០ព្រះវស្សា ។ ត្រូវសូត្រ ៣ដង ។ អនុមោទនា ។ វាយគង្គរគាំដៃ ផ្ទៃស្នែង ក្មេងដូតត្រី ឲ្យកងរំពងឡើង ។ ត្រូវសូត្របន្តទៅទៀតថា: *caturāsīti sahasa dhammakkhandhā sattatimsabodhipakkhiya dhammānavambuddharūpamhi tiṭṭhantu sabbakālaṃ yāvasāsanaṃ*. សូមព្រះធម្មក្ខន្ធទាំងឡាយប្រាប់មុនបួនពាន់ផង សូមពោធិបក្ខិយធម៌ទាំងឡាយ៣៧ ផង. ប្រតិស្ឋានតាំងនៅក្នុងព្រះអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដ៏រាប ៥០០០ព្រះវស្សា ។ សូត្រ៣ដង.អនុមោទនា.ត្រូវសូត្របន្តទៀត-ដូច្នោះថា: *sabbaññittatāna pavarasīlaṃ nibbānārammaṇa pavaravilasīlakesam catutthajjhāna*

*pavaralalātaṃ vijjara samāpatti pavara unṇākāsam navambuddharūpamhi tiṭṭhantisabbakālaṃ yāva sāsanaṃ* សូមព្រះសព្វញ្ញត្តញ្ញាណប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ព្រះមូលី សូមអារម្មណ៍ព្រះនិព្វានប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ព្រះសិសៈដើងសក់, សូមព្រះចតុត្ថជ្ឈានប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ព្រះលលាដ៏ថ្លាស់. សូមវិជ្ជុរិសមាបត្តិញ្ញាណប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ឧណ្ណភាប្រជុំចិញ្ចើម, តាំងនៅត្រង់ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដ៏រាប ៥០០០វស្សា ។ សូត្របីចប់-អនុមោទនា,វាយគង្គរគាំដៃ ផ្ទៃស្នែងដូតត្រី ឲ្យកងរំពង ។ ត្រូវសូត្របន្តទៅទៀតដូច្នោះថា: *nilakasīnasobhā tikkanta pavara bhamayu kalamdibbacakkhu*

*buddhacakkhu dhammacakkhu cakkhudvayaṃ dibbasota ṇānasotadvayaṃ gotrabhūṇāna pavara otaṅga ghānaṃ navam buddharūpamhi tiṭṭhatu sabbakālaṃ yāva sāsanaṃ*. សូមមីលកសំណ ប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ កម្មទាំងគូ (ចិញ្ចើម) សូមទិព្វចក្ខុ បញ្ញាចក្ខុ សមន្តចក្ខុ ពុទ្ធចក្ខុ ធម្មចក្ខុ ប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ចក្ខុទាំងពីរ(ព្រះនេត្រ) សូមទិព្វសោតញ្ញាណប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់សោតទាំងពីរ(ត្រចៀក)សូមគោត្រក្ខញ្ញាណប្រតិស្ឋានត្រង់ឧត្ត(ច្រមុះ) តាំងនៅក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដ៏រាប ៥០០០វស្សា ។ សូត្រចប់អនុមោទនា វាយគង្គរគាំដៃ ផ្ទៃស្នែង. ដូតត្រី ឲ្យកងរំពងឡើង, ដល់ម៉ោង ២ព្រឹកត្រូវនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រពាហ៍ ៣៨ ចប់ ជយន្តោ ៧ចប់, លោកអាចារ្យត្រូវនាំពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្ធ. ក្រោយរហ័ព័ទ្ធព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី ហើយបន្ទិលពពិលឲ្យគ្រប់ចំនួនដែលព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រនោះ, រួចហើយលោកអាចារ្យប្រកាសបាលីឲ្យពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្ធថាតាមដូច្នោះថា:

*soparamattha dalahadayo .la. yathārūcayā lokatthamsodheti tasseva sammāsambuddhasa idaṃ buddharūpam mahiddhikam mahātejam mahāyasam mahānubhāvaṃ hotu yāvasabbakālaṃ yāvasāsanantaradhānā*. ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ-អង្គនោះទ្រង់មានព្រះទ័យលើផ្ទៃនៃបរមត្ថ ។ល។ រូបរបស់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធនោះឯងទ្រង់មានវិទ្ធិច្រើន មានតេជៈច្រើន

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

មានយសច្រើន មានអនុភាពច្រើនគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដំរាប៥០០០ព្រះវស្សា ។ អនុមោទនា ។ វាយគង់រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងឲ្យ  
 កង់រំពង ។ *saddhammapana bhagavā jānatā passatā .la. idambuddharūpampi tādisameva mahātejam bhavatu  
 sabbadā.* ព្រះសម្មម្ម ដែលព្រះសម្មទ្រង់ជ្រាបឃើញច្បាស់ ។ល។ សូមព្រះពុទ្ធរូបប្រាកដជាយ៉ាងនោះគ្រប់កាលទាំង  
 ពួង ។ អនុមោទនា វាយគង់រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែង ។ *ariyasāṅgho pana bhagavato .la. sammāsambuddhassa  
 idambuddharūpampi hātejaṃtādi sameva sunara mahiddhikam bhavatusabbadā.* អរិយសង្ឃជាសាវ័ករបស់ព្រះ  
 ដ៏មានព្រះភាគ ។ល។ សូមព្រះពុទ្ធរូបនេះ របស់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាត្រូវនៃអរិយសង្ឃនោះឯង មានតេជៈច្រើន មានវិទ្ធិ  
 ច្រើន ជាងសាធុជនបែបនោះគ្រប់កាលទាំងពួង ។ បន្ទាប់មកត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យ សូត្ររំលឹកនូវព្រះញាណគីកា  
 លត្រាសដឹងនៃព្រះសម្មទ្ធជូច្នោះថា: *pathamayāme pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇaṃ bhagavato udapādi majjhima yāme  
 catūpapātāñāṇaṃ bhagavato udapādi pacchima yāme āsavakkhañāṇaṃ bhagavato udapādi nemittakanāmaṃ  
 bhagavato udapādi* ព្រះសម្មទ្ធបានសម្រេច នូវបញ្ជីវាសានុស្សតិញ្ញាណ ក្នុងពេលប្រលប់ បានសម្រេចនូវវចនុបបា  
 តញ្ញាណក្នុងពេលកណ្តាលអាស្រ័យ បានសម្រេចអាសវក្ខញ្ញាណ ក្នុងពេលជិតភ្នំ ព្រមជាមួយនោះនេមិត្តកនាមក៏បាន  
 កើតឡើងដល់-ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគថា *araham sammāsambuddho .la. bhagavāti.* អនុមោទនា វាយគង់ រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែង  
 ដូតន្ត្រី ឲ្យកង់រំពង ។ បន្ទាប់-ទៅទៀត ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យ ហៅកុមារ កុមារី ដែលជាកូនទេវតានោះ ឲ្យក្រោកឈរឡើង  
 ម្តងៗគ្នា កាន់គ្រឿងសក្ការៈទាំងឡាយថ្វាយចំពោះព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី. គូទី១. ជាតំណាងនាគ. គូទី២. ជាតំណាងគ្រុឌ. គូ  
 ទី៣. ជាតំណាងទេវតា. គូទី ៤ ជាតំណាងព្រហ្ម ។ លោកអាចារ្យ នាំសូត្របាលីថា *«jayohi buddhassa sirīmato ayam!  
 ព្រះពុទ្ធសិរីទ្រង់ឈ្នះហើយ,» mārasa ca pāpimato parājayo!* «មានមានចិត្តបាប-ចាញ់ព្រះអង្គហើយ!»។ សូត្រឲ្យថា  
 តាមព្រមៗគ្នាបីដង ។ សូត្របណ្តើរ បាចសាចសុគន្ធបូជាបណ្តើរ ។ បន្ទប់មកពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្ធសូត្រធម៌-នមស្ការព្រះរតន៍  
 ត្រ័យ ដូចទម្លាប់សព្វដង ។ សន្មតថាចំបពិធីពុទ្ធាភិសេកសង្ខេបត្រឹមតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ *saceme ayam buddharūpo  
 devamanussānaṃ hitthāya patitthahissati.* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះសារីរិកជាតុទ្រង់ប្រតិស្ថាននូវនគរនានា  
 សូមនិមន្តយាងចូលមកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីនេះ ។

18a Colophon: នៅថ្ងៃ១ ១៦ ១០ ឆ្នាំរកាបញ្ចស័ក {ព.ស. ២៥៣៧} {គ.ស. ១៩៩៧ អ្នកចម្លង ឧបាសក  
 លាង-អាង ។

18b Short annotation in blue pen: *sabbadhātuyo imassa buddharūpassa sarīre āgacchantūti  
 adhitthāmi.*

Verso

- 19 Layered white card stock cover, with black geometric designs and title ក្រាំង ធម្ម  
 ប្បដិយោគ
- 20a–25a **dhārm yog-y/ch** = dhammapattiyog
- 25a–27a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
- 27a–35b **phcāñ' mār «yön khñum paṅgam»-k**
- 35b Colophon: ចម្លងចប់នៅថ្ងៃ១០ ឆ្នាំរកាបញ្ចស័ក {ព.ស. ២៥៣៧} គ.ស. ១៩៩៧ អ្នកចម្លង  
 ឧបាសក លាង-អាង នៅភូមិដំរិល ឃុំដំរិល។

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

36a–36b Extended colophon, titled *ārambhakathā*: បុព្វហេតុដែលនាំឲ្យកើតជាគ្រឿងពុទ្ធាភិសេកនឹង ធម្មប្បដិយោគនេះ, ដោយលោកគ្រូសូត្រឆ្លង ច័ន្ទ-ផល្លា បានពិធពរឲ្យខ្ញុំសរសេរចម្លង ចេញពីគ្រឿងលោកគ្រូចៅអធិ ការព្រះនាម មៀង គង់នៅវត្តព្រៃនគរក្រៅ ឃុំដូន្តី ស្រុកត្បូងឃ្មុំ ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម លោកបានចម្លងប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃវត្តដំរិល ទុកសម្រាប់ប្រើប្រាស់ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនារៀងទៅ, តែគ្រឿងនោះឥឡូវនេះចាស់គ្រាំគ្រាវហែកប្រើការលែងចងកើត ។ បានជាលោកគ្រូសូត្រឆ្លង ចាត់ចែង ឲ្យខ្ញុំសរសេរចម្លងចេញតទៅទៀត ទុកសម្រាប់ព្រះសង្ឃវត្តដំរិល ជាពិសេ សព្វះដេដៈគុណធំចៅអធិការព្រះនាម-ឡឿង-ធៀម ប្រើប្រាស់រៀងតទៅទៀត ។ ខ្ញុំក៏បានទទួលសរសេរចម្លងដោយ សេចក្តីសោមនស្សរីករាយជាអតិបរមាក្នុងការកុសលនេះដោយរិយៈភាពនៃការប្រឹងប្រែងសរសេរចម្លងធម៌ទុកក្នុង គ្រឿងនេះ ខ្ញុំសូម:

១- បើជរា ព្យាធិ ញាំញីរាងកាយរបស់ខ្ញុំឲ្យគ្រាំគ្រា ទុរនទុរាទ្រុតទ្រោម សូមកុំឲ្យរងឆ្នើស្មារតី ក្នុងពេលដែលឆ្លងកាត់ទៅ កានលោកខាងនាយ ។

២- រៀងវាលជាតិ ដែលត្រាំច រង្កេត ទៅកានភពតូចភពធំណាៗ សូមឲ្យមានចិត្តស្មោះត្រង់ល្អ ជាសម្មាទិដ្ឋិ គឺប្រាជ្ញាយល ឃើញត្រូវ ឃើញច្បាស់ក្នុងសច្ចធម៌មានទុក្ខសច្ចជាដើម ជាគម្ពីរភាព ។

៣- ទីបំផុតនៃជាតិ សូមឲ្យបានសម្រេចមគ្គ-ផល ដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន *yam yam icchitam tam tamkhippamevasamijjhatu* សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នារបស់ខ្ញុំនេះសូមឲ្យបានសម្រេចដោយឆាប់រហ័សវាន់ទាន់ចិត្ត កុំបីឃ្លាតក្លាយជាប្រការៈដទៃឡើយ។

ជំនួយក្នុងការស្ថាបនា លោកគ្រូសូត្រស្តាំ. ហឹម-ជឹម ជួយកូឡុក ២ ដប លោកគ្រូសូត្រឆ្លង.ច័ន្ទ-ផល្លា ជួយសម្ភារៈធ្វើ គ្រឿង លុះត្រាតែបានសម្រេចជាស្ថាពរ ។

ដំរិលនៅថ្ងៃសៅរ៍ ២រោចខែកទ្របុត្តរកាបញ្ចស័ក ព.ស ២៥៣៧,គ.ស១៩៩៧ អ្នកចម្លង ឧបាសក ណង់-អាង នៅ ភូមិដំរិល

**UB008**

Early twentieth-century, monastic library of Vatt Taṃril, Taṃril village, Taṃril commune, Ū Rāṃñ Au district, Tboung Khmum province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2008.

Traditional black and purple ink, modern blue, black, and red pen, and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, modern white paper, and thick black wood covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate wax, water, and mold damage.

Approximately 35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 77–78 M- or N-folded spreads.



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Recto

- 1 Thick black wood cover
- 2a [blank]
- 2b Two small titles in modern red and black pen, each reading: *yog*
- 3a [blank]
- 3b–11b **dhārm yog-y/ch** = dhārm y'ok
- 11b–16a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
- 16a–33b **phcāñ' mār «yöñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ mār
- 34 [blank]

Verso

- 35 Thick black wood cover
- 36a Title in modern blue pen: *buddhāvisēk*
- 36b–37a [blank]
- 37b–59a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhiseka, including instructions on when to bow
- 59a–59b Colophon in traditional purple ink: អ៊ុំងប៉ាងឈាននាងជុតសាងទុកសំរាប់ក្នុងព្រះសាស្តា  
រសូមឱ្យបានសំប្បាតទ្វារប្រការសំប្បាតមនុស្សលោកៗ ១ សំប្បាតក្នុងថានស្ទីរ ១ សំប្បាតក្នុងថានព្រះនិព្វាន ១  
*paccayohontu ។ ២១ ។ «អ៊ុំងប៉ាងឈាននាងជុត» «ត្រងពុទ្ធាភិវៃសក»* [in blue ink] វត្តមៀន
- 60a dhārm subhonto: *subhonto mahāther'o mahākāy'o mahādevo nilavaṇṇo mahātejjo  
val'assantu val'āhakā abhiṇḍaṇaiya pajjannadimkā kassaṇā sāyakākam sokāyar'anta sokāyamañjhe  
sokāpam'ā chayachaññā mekuṭṭikā tassayasukhamcittam mesusim'āhitam vimuttamkatāpivirā mivassuhakāti,*  
with the colophon សំរាប់ប្បវត្តន៍យកធម្មនេះសូតឱ្យភ្លេង ។
- 60b [blank]
- 61–77/78 [not photographed; presumably blank]

**UB009**

2010, monastic library of Vatt Sudassanārām a.k.a. Jroy Thma, Jroy Thma village, Piñ Kuk commune, Kampong Cham city, Kampong Cham province, photographed by Trent Walker, 2011.

Color and black-and-white printed text in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white thin paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and cellophane tape.

No visible wear or damage.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Approximately 35 x 10 cm, 9–12 lines per spread, complete in 39 W-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Cover with color printed text: ពុទ្ធាភិសេក និង ភាថាបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈ ចម្លង និង វាយកំលាំងដោយកក្ក កោសលប្បញ្ញោ ដេតសី គង្គក្នុងវត្តសុទ្ធសុទ្ធសុទ្ធារាម (ជ្រោយថ្ម) ឃុំបឹងកក ក្រុងកំពង់ចាម ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម ព.ស ២៥៥២ គ.ស ២០១០

2a Extended colophon, titled *arambhakathā*: អត្ថបទធម៌ធម្មប្បដិយោគ និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក ភាថាបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈនេះ ដែលខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាបានចម្លងមកនេះ ដែលមានភាពងាយស្រួលដល់បញ្ជូនតាមដាន អ្នកជំនាន់ក្រោយទាំងឡាយ ដែលមានបំណងសិក្សារៀនសូត្រធម៌យោគ។ ហើយក្នុងការចម្លងក្រាំងនេះឡើង ដោយមានគោលបំណងដូចតទៅ: ១-បំណងថែរក្សាក្បួនច្បាប់បុរាណទុកឱ្យគង្គវង្សយូរអង្វែង ។ ២-ដើម្បីជាជំនួយដល់បញ្ជូនអ្នកបួសក្នុងសាសនាទូទៅ ទុកជាក្បួនច្បាប់ឱ្យកាន់តែសំបូរឡើង សំរាប់សិក្សារៀនសូត្រឡើង ។ ៣-និងចង់ឱ្យបញ្ជូនបានសិក្សាចេះចាំ និង ប្រតិបត្តិតាមមាគ៌ានៃ ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាឱ្យបានរៀងរហូតគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា: អត្ថបទធម៌ដែលខ្ញុំចម្លងនេះ តាមច្បាប់ដើមទាំងស្រុង ដោយគ្រាន់តែសម្រួលត្រង់ចំនុចខ្លះឱ្យត្រឹមត្រូវទៅតាមភាសាបាលី ។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យលោកអ្នកចេះដឹងទាំងឡាយ មេត្តា ខន្តី អភ័យទោស រាល់ចំនុចខ្លះខាតទាំងឡាយ មេត្តាជួយកែតម្រូវ ដោយអនុគ្រោះផង ។ ☞ សូមជូនកុសលផលបុណ្យនេះដល់: -ញោមស្រីឧបាសិកាធីត ពៅ និង ញោមប្រុស ឧបាសក ខាន ដេត និង ព្រះតេជៈគុណបវរវប្បញ្ញោ ដេត ខឿន ព្រមទាំងញាតិការ និង បុព្វបុរសខ្មែរគ្រប់ចំនាន់ទទួលបាននូវចំណែកបុណ្យកុសល ហើយបានសេចក្តីសុខចំរើន កើតទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ សប្បាយ ជួបប្រទះនូវពុទ្ធពរាប្រការគឺ អាយុវណ្ណៈ សុខៈ និង ពលៈ កុំបីឃ្លៀងឃ្លាតឡើយ ។ *ciram titthatu buddhasāsanam* សូមឱ្យព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ស្ថិតស្ថេរគង្គវង្សយូរអង្វែងរហូតដល់ ៥០០០វស្សា ។ សូមឱ្យសព្វសត្វ ទាំងពួងក្នុងលោកបានសន្តិភាព ។ វត្តសុទ្ធសុទ្ធារាម(ជ្រោយថ្ម) ថ្ងៃច័ន្ទ ទី ១១ ខែ មករា ឆ្នាំ ២០១០ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃ ១១រោង ខែ មាយ ទោស័ក ឆ្នាំខាល ព.ស ២៥៥២ ។

2b-13a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisek

13b-14b **Dhammakāya-NP** = gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa:

15a-18b Ritual instructions for consecration: លោកអាចារ្យទាំងឡាយ មានលោកអាចារ្យធំ ប្រធានត្រូវចាំស្តាប់បាលី ពុទ្ធាភិសេក ដែលព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រថា: *idam buddharūpappi mahiddhikam mahātejam mahabbalam mahāyasam mahānubhāvam hotuyeva*. ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យធំប្រកាសថា: *buddho uppanno loka atthi atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānam* ប្រែថា: ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ទ្រង់កើតហើយក្នុងលោក ដើម្បីសេចក្តីចំរើន ដើម្បីជាប្រយោជន៍ ដើម្បីសេចក្តីសុខ ដល់ទេវតា និង មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។ អនុមោទនា។ បីដង ។ វាយគង្គ រតាំង ផ្ទៃស្នែងក្លែងតូរតត្រីឱ្យគង្គវង្សឡើង តាមថ្នាក់បាលីពុទ្ធាភិសេក ទាំងអស់ ។

ពេលដែលព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រពុទ្ធាភិសេក ចប់ហើយត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យរៀបចំ សូត្របាលីអធិដ្ឋានបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈដូច្នោះ *atthārasadhātuyo dvādasāyatanāni dvattimsamahāpurisalakkhaṇāni chabbannāraṇsī yo atthuttara sattamaṅgalāni asītyānubyañjanāni navam buddharūpamhi titthanti sabbakālam yāva sāsana*. សូមព្រះធាតុទាំងឡាយ ១៨ ផង សូមអាយតៈទាំងឡាយ ១២ផង សូមមហាបុរិសលក្ខណៈទាំងឡាយ ៣២ផង សូមស្មីទាំងឡាយ

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

៦៣៧៧ ផង សូមមង្គល១០៨ ផង អនុព្យញ្ជនៈ៨០ផង ប្រតិស្ថានទាំងនៅក្នុងតួអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដរាប គ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា ។ សូត្រ ៣ ដង ។ អនុមោទនា វាយគង រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងក្លែងតួរតន្ត្រី ឱ្យកងរំពងឡើង ត្រូវសូត្របន្ត ទៅទៀតថា: *caturāsīti sahasradhammakhandhān sattatimsabodhipakkhiyadhammā navam buddharūpamhi tittthantu sabbakālam yāva sāsana.* សូមព្រះធម្មក្ខន្ធទាំងឡាយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ ផងសូមពោធិបក្ខិយធម៌ ទាំងឡាយ ៣៧៧៧ ប្រតិស្ថានទាំងនៅក្នុងតួអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដរាបគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា ។ សូត្រ ៣ ដង អនុមោទនាត្រូវ សូត្របន្តទៀតថាដូច្នោះ: *sabbaññuttanāna pavarasīlam nibbānārammaṇa pavaravilasīlakesam catutthajjhāna pavaralalātam vijjara samāpatti pavara unnākālam navam buddharūpamhi tittthati sabbakālam yāva sāsana.* សូមព្រះសព្វញ្ញត្តញ្ញាណ ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់ព្រះមូលី សូមអារម្មព្រះនិព្វានប្រតិស្ថាន ត្រង់សីសៈដើងសក់ សូមព្រះចតុត្ថជ្ឈាន ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់ព្រះលលាដថាស្ត សូមវិជ្ជុវិសមាបត្តិញ្ញាណ ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់ឧណ្ណភាប្រជុំចិញ្ចើម តាំងនៅត្រង់ ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួង ដរាប ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សា សូត្រ ៣ ចប់ អនុមោទនា វាយគង រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែង ក្លែងតួរតន្ត្រី ឱ្យកងរំពងឡើងត្រូវសូត្របន្តទៅទៀតថា: *nilakasīna sobhātātittakkanta pavarabhamayuggalam dibbacakkhu buddhacakkhu dhammacakkhu samantacakkhu paññācakkhu cakkhudvayam dibbasotañānasotadvayam gotrabhūñāna pavarautanagajhānam navam buddharūpamhi tittthatu sabbakālam yāva sāsana.* សូមនិលកសិណប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់កម្ពុទាំងគុ (ចិញ្ចើម) សូមទិព្វចក្ខុ ពុទ្ធចក្ខុ ធម្មចក្ខុ សមន្តចក្ខុ បញ្ញាចក្ខុ ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់ចក្ខុទាំងពីរ (ព្រះនេត្រ) សូមទិព្វសោតញ្ញាណ ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់សោតទាំងពីរ(ត្រចៀក) សូមគោត្រកញ្ញាណ ប្រតិស្ថានត្រង់ឧត្តង្គ(ច្រមុះ) តាំងនៅត្រង់ ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួងដរាប ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សា សូត្រ៣ដង ចប់ អនុមោទនា វាយគង រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងក្លែងតួរតន្ត្រី ឱ្យកងរំពងឡើង ម៉ោង ៤ ព្រឹកនិមន្ត ព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រ ៣៧ ចប់ ជយន្តោ ៧ ចប់ លោកអាចារ្យត្រូវនាំពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ ក្រោកឈរហ៊ុំព័ទ្ធ ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី បង្វិលពពិល ឱ្យគ្រប់ចំនួនដែលព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រ នោះ រួចហើយលោកអាចារ្យប្រកាសបាលី ឱ្យពួកបរិស័ទថាតាមដូច្នោះថា: *so paramatthadaladahadayo .la. yathā ruciyā lokattham sodheti tasseva sammāsambuddhasa idam buddharūpam mahiddhikam mahātejam mahāyasam mahānubhāvam hotu sabbakālam sāsananataradhānā.* ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់មានព្រះទ័យលើផ្ទៃ នៃបរមត្ថ ។ល។ រូបរបស់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធនោះឯង ទ្រង់មានវិទ្ធីច្រើន មានតេជៈច្រើន មានយសច្រើន មានអានុភាពច្រើនគ្រប់ កាលទាំងពួង ដរាប ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សា សូត្រ៣ ចប់ អនុមោទនា វាយគង រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងក្លែងតួរតន្ត្រី ឱ្យកងរំពងឡើង ត្រូវ សូត្របន្តទៀតថា: *saddhammo pana bhagavā jānata passatā .la. idam buddharūpamhi tādisameva mahātejam bhavatu sabbadā.* ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធដែលព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ឃើញច្បាស់ ។ល។ សូមព្រះពុទ្ធរូបប្រកដយ៉ាងនោះ គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួង ដរាប ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សា សូត្រ ៣ចប់ អនុមោទនា វាយគង រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងក្លែងតួរតន្ត្រី ឱ្យកងរំពងឡើងត្រូវសូត្របន្ត ទៅទៀតថា: *ariyasaṅgho pana bhagavā .la. sammāsambuddhassa idam buddharūpamhi mahātejam tādisameva sunaramahiddhikam bhavatu sabbadā* អរិយសង្ឃសាវ័ករបស់ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគ ។ល។ សូមព្រះពុទ្ធរូបនេះ របស់ ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាគ្រូនៃអរិយសង្ឃនោះឯង មានតេជៈច្រើន មានវិទ្ធីច្រើន ជាសាធុជន បែបនោះ គ្រប់កាលទាំងពួង ។ បន្ទាប់មកត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យ សូត្ររំលឹកនូវព្រះញាណ គឺកាលត្រាស់ដឹងនៃព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធដូច្នោះថា: *pathamayāme pubbenivāsānussatiṇam bhagavato udapādi pacchima yāme āsavakkhañānam bhagavato udapādi nemittakanāmam bhagavato udapādi* ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធបានសម្រេចនូវ បុព្វេនិវាសានុស្សតិណ ក្នុងពេលព្រលប់ បានសំ រេចនូវបុព្វបុណ្ណាណ ក្នុងពេលពាក់កណ្តាលអាធ្រាត្រ បានសំរេចអារក្ខញ្ញាណក្នុងពេលជិតភ្លឺ ព្រះជាមួយនោះ នេមិ

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ត្រកនាម ក៏បានកើតឡើងដល់ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភគវា araham sammāsambuddhasa .la. bhagavāti. អនុមោទនា វាយគង់រតាំងផ្ទៃស្នែងតូរតន្ត្រី កងរំពងឡើង ។ បន្ទាប់ទៅទៀត ត្រូវលោកអាចារ្យហៅកុមារ កុមារី ដែលជាកូនទេវតានោះ ឱ្យក្រោកឈរឡើង ម្តងៗគ្នា កាន់ត្រៀងសក្ការៈទាំងឡាយ ថ្វាយចំពោះព្រះពុទ្ធរូប គូរទី១ ដំណាងនាគ គូរទី២ ដំណាងគ្រុឌ គូរទី៣ ដំណាងទេវតា គូរទី៤ ដំណាងព្រហ្ម ។ លោកអាចារ្យ នាំសូត្របាលីថា jayo hi buddhassa sarimato ayam ព្រះពុទ្ធមានសិរិទ្ធដ៏ឈ្នះហើយ ។ mārasa ca pāpimato parājayo មានមានចិត្តបាប ចាញ់ព្រះអង្គហើយ ។ សូត្រឱ្យថាតាមព្រមៗគ្នា ពង្ស ។ សូត្របណ្តើរ បាចសាចសុគន្ធបណ្តើរ ។ បន្ទាប់មកពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ សូត្រធម៌នមស្សការព្រះរតនត្រ័យ ដូចម្ខាស់សព្វដង សន្មតថាចប់ពិធី ពុទ្ធាភិសេក សង្ខេបត្រឹមប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ sace me ayam buddharūppo devamanussānaṃ hi tiṭṭhāya patitṭhahissati. ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាណាធនា នូវព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ ប្រតិស្ឋាននូវនគរនានា សូមនិមន្តយាងចូលមកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្មីនេះ ។

18b Colophon: អ្នកកសាង ដោយព្រះភិក្ខុ កោសលប្បញ្ញោ ដេត សី បានកសាងក្រាំងនេះ នៅ ព.ស ២៥៥៤ និង គ.ស ២០១០ ។ ហើយបុណ្យកុសលនៃការកសាងក្រាំងនេះ សូមឧទ្ទិសចំពោះញោមប្រុស-ស្រី ព្រមទាំងបងប្អូន ញាតិកាទាំង ៧ សន្តាន ឱ្យទទួលបានកុសលទាំងអស់នេះ បានគ្រប់ៗគ្នា ។ (ចប់ដោយបរិបូណ៌)

19 [likely blank; not photographed]

Verso

20 Cover with color printed text: ធម្មបដិយោគ ចម្លង និង វាយកំព្យទ័រដោយភក្ខុ កោសលប្បញ្ញោ ដេតសី គង់ក្នុងវត្តសុទស្សនារាម (ជ្រោយថ្ម) ឃុំបឹងកុក ក្រុងកំពង់ចាម ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម ព.ស ២៥៥៤ គ.ស ២០១០

- 21a Same extended colophon as in 2a
- 21b–26a **dhārm yog-y/ ch**
- 26a–28a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
- 28a–38a **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgam»-k**
- 38b **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = thvāy phkā padum caṃboḥ braḥ sammāsambuddh
- 39a **madhupāyās-k** = dhārm sūtr thvāy grīön phseñ 2 nau bel jit bhīṅ
- 39b [blank]

UB010

2004, monastic library of Vatt Ind Deb, Gok Cak commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mass-produced blank leporello of modern white and gray card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and hard cardboard covers with printed designs decorated with red, yellow, blue, and green.

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Minor fold wear and minor wax, fire, and mold damage.

34 x 12 cm, 10–14 lines per spread, complete in 81 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Cover with printed designs decorated with red, yellow, blue, and green, bearing the title: ក្រាំងការវតារ
- 2a Colophon: ។ ន ។ ត្រូវការទន្សាយព្រហស្សតី ឲ្យស្អាតគឺមានន្ទដូចតទៅ ។ ។ ។
- 2a–9b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = gīrīmānandasūtr/dharm girimānand
- 9b–19a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = itipi so that [ចប់មួយហើយ], with brackets
- 19a–20a **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that
- 20b–23a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = dharm ān trai/brah gambir abhidhamasūtr
- 23a–25b **Ān trai B-NP** = ān trai
- 25b–41a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = dharm buddhābisek, with luṃṃ°/khṃṃ° cantillation marks
- 41a Colophon: សូមអរគុណ និងសូមអរព្រះគុណ ។ ។ ។
- 41b [blank, except for a the letter *sa* in the bottom right corner]

Verso

- 42 Cover with printed designs in gray and white
- 43a–48b **dharm yog-bn** = dharm yokkh
- 48b Colophon: សូមអរគុណ និងសូមអរព្រះគុណ ។ សូមអភ័យទោសចែកអត្ថាភាពផង បើសរសេរទៅលើសពាក្យខ្លះសូមឱ្យបន្ថែមចែកផង។
- 48b–63b **phcāñ' mār <yöñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ>-k**
- 63b Colophon: ចប់ដោយបរិបូណ៌ហើយ សូមអរគុណ និងសូមអរព្រះគុណ
- 64a Ritual instruction and mantra: ឱ្យសូត្រផ្កាញ៉ាមរ តទៅទៀតថាដូច្នោះ ។ *pañcamāri caninātho pattosambodhī muttamam catuseccam mārasenam phalālantim sibhacasu evamhontu suggato nāripakham ricaraniyekhāto ithāne paccakhudisam kathesi 2 kimñ'karanam devānam rakhantu.*
- 64a Colophon: នេះព្រឹក ចប់ហើយ ។ ចម្លងចប់ទៅថ្ងៃទី 17 ធ្នូ 2004 ព ស សូមអភ័យទោសចែកអត្ថាភាពផងពីព្រោះខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាត្មាភាពសរសេរអក្សរមិនបានស្អាតទេ បើមានពាក្យលើឬខ្លះសូមឱ្យបំពេញចែកផង អ្នកសរសេរគឺកិក្ខុ ពុទ្ធដោត្តោ គង់នៅវត្តនាមរូប ។ សូមអរគុណ និងសូមអរព្រះគុណ ។
- 64a Graffito: [red ink] ស្នេហ៍អូនមិនភ្លេច ស្រលាញ់អូនមិនភ្លេច [/red ink]
- 64b Colophon: សូមខន្តីអភ័យទោសចំពោះអ្នកមើលបើអក្ខរៈព្យញ្ជនៈមិនគ្រប់ឬខ្លះ ឬមួយជាលើសសូមអោយកែសំរួលចែកផង សូមអរគុណ និងសូមអរព្រះគុណ
- 65a–81b [blank]

**UB011**

2004, monastic library of Vatt Ind Deb, Gok Cak commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern blue, red, and black pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and layered cardboard covers with designs in orange, brown, red, and silver marker and red and blue pen.

Minor edge wear and minor water damage.

Approximately 38 x 11 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, complete in 90 *II*-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Cover with designs in orange, brown, red, and silver marker and red and blue pen, bearing the title: ធម៌កោវិដា, and an upside-down graffito: 8

2a–8b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānand

9a–19b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ dhaṛm kau/dhaṛm kauṭār/braḥ dhaṛm kauvaṭār

19b Ritual instructions: បើកម្ចាស់បុគ្គល ក្សេមយហើយសូត្រធម៌នេះចុះ

19b–20b **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that

20b Ritual instructions: ឥតិបិសោថត សូត្រជូនដំណើរ បុគ្គលទាល់តែស្លាប់ ។ ហើយសូត្រព្រះអង្គិ ធម្មត៍ទៅទៀត។

20b–23b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm

23b–26b **Ān trai B-NP** = ān trai

26b–41b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhā bhisekkh/buddhābhisek, with luṅṅ°/kh̄ṅṅ° cantillation marks

41b–45b **dhaṛm yog-bn** = dhaṛm y’ok/dhaṛm yok (to be continued)

Verso

46 Cover with designs in orange, brown, red, and silver marker and red and blue pen

47a–49b **dhaṛm yog-bn** = dhaṛm y’ok/dhaṛm yok (continued)

49b–53b **phcāñ' mār «yöñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ' mā/phcāñ mār (to be continued)

54a **madhupāyās-k** = dhaṛm aṅṅāp', with brackets

54a–65b **phcāñ' mār «yöñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ' mā/phcāñ mār (continued)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 65b–69b **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = dhaṛm pūdaṃ/dhaṛm pūdaṃ thvāy phkā  
 69b–72a **Bhāsitovāda-NM** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 72a–73b **sarasōr prīthabī-k** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 73b–75a **sakarāj khè thnai trailakkha(ṇ)-k/4r** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 75a–75b Unidentified Pali repentance text, as follows: *yodosomahājītēna buddhasmimṇiadhmmasmiṇṇa saṅghasmimṇa grūvauppaṃjñhācārīyariyosmimṇaṇapakkhato khamatiyo khamattamedosaṃ sabbapāpaṃ sabbakammaṃ vināsanti asesatto ។ ចប់ ។ ០ ។*  
 75b–79b **dhaṛm rapā-k/4r** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 79b–81b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 81b–82b **anak mtāy saṅsār-k/4r** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 82b Unidentified fragment on Ānanda attaining arhatship, as follows: *ទើបព្រះមហា អានន្តជាតិជាបួនតន់ អានុចស្នូនត្រង់បានលុះអរហ័ត្ត សូរេចហើយហោង yāvanibbānaṃ sampacca:yohontu asesato ។ ០ ។ 82b–84b* **hai me namo-k/r4** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 84b–88b **sakarāj salpāt-4r** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 89a–89b **Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r** = dhaṛm (ra)pā  
 89b Colophon: [red ink] *តែបុណ្ណោះ។ លោកតាប៉ុញវត្តអង្គម៉ោលបានសរសេរចប់ថែអាទិត្យ (crossed out ១៥ above ។ កើត។) ១៥ រោងខែកាត្រីកុល។ [red ink] ព-ស។ [red ink] ២៥៥១ វេលាមោង៧ ២០ នាទីព្រឹក។ បើមានលើសលោះខុះព្យញ្ជៈត្រង់ណាសូមអត់ទោសជួយបំពេញ។ [red ink]*  
 90a Graffito: *ពេជ សៀម ភូមិវិទី*  
 90b [blank]

UB012

2003, monastic library of Vatt Braḥ Aṅg Gaṇ Juṃ a.k.a Vatt Braḥ Aṅg Khmau, Gok Cak commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern purple and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on early twentieth-first-century mass-produced blank leporello of modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and hard cardboard covers with printed black and white designs decorated with blue, green, yellow, brown, pink, and red marker.

Minor edge wear and moderate water and mold damage.

33 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 67 M-folded spreads

Recto

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 1 Cover with printed black and white designs decorated with blue, yellow, brown, pink, and red marker
- 2a [blank]
- 2b-11a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = gīrīmānand
- 11a-23a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = kauṭār/kauvaṭār
- 23a-24b **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that
- 24b Ritual instruction: សូត្រមនុស្សចាស់កម្លាំងតិច
- 24b-27b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm
- 28a-30b **Ān trai B-NP** = ān trai
- 31a-34a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābisèk/buddhābisek (to be continued)
- 34b [blank]

Verso

- 35 Cover with printed black and white designs decorated with blue, yellow, brown, and green marker
- 36a-44b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābisèk (continued)
- 45a-50b **dhārm yog-bn** = [no title given, but last line of text reads *braḥ dhammipattimārayoggā*]
- 51a-65a **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = [no title given, but last line of text reads *mahāmār vijāy*]
- 65a Colophon: *nibbānnaṃ paramamsukkhāṃ paccayohontu.*
- 65b-66b Colophon: [blue pen] ចារ្យចប់ នៅថ្ងៃសៅរ៍ ១៣ រោជ ខែមាយា ឆ្នាំមមី ព.ស ២៥២៦. ត្រូវនឹង ថ្ងៃទី 1 . . ឆ្នាំ 2003 ។ \* ក្រាំងគីរីមានន្ទ \* កៅដារ \* ពុទ្ធាតីសៃក \* យ៉ាកផ្កាញាមា \* អានត្រៃយ៍ គ្រប់ទ្វារអស់ ។ ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថុ សម្បត្តិបីប្រការ សម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោក សម្បត្តិទេព្វារ និងសម្បត្តិមហាព្រះនិព្វាន កុំម្នីអាក់ខានឡើយ ។ សូមបានចិត្ត បុណ្យដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរ សូមឱ្យចិត្តនោះល្អដូចនាងមេទ្រី សូមឱ្យមានតំរិះ ដូចជានាងតំម្រា សូមឱ្យមានប្រាជ្ញាដូច ជាព្រះមហាសុទ្ធ សូមជួបនឹងអង្គព្រះសេអាមេត្រីយ៍ កុំម្នីឃ្នាំងឃ្នាតឡើយ ។ *buddhamraksā dhammamraksā saṅghamraksā* គ្រប់ពេលវេលា គ្រប់រាត្រី ឲ្យជួន ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សាបរិបូរទៅហោង ។ ២៣ អ្នកដែលកសាង ក្រាំងនេះ [purple pen] តា.ចាន់ នឹង យា. ប្រៀវ នៅភូមិ អង្គរក្រៅ. [blue pen] II អ្នកសសេរ លោកតា ម៉ើយ [signature] . វត្តព្រះឥន្ទ្រទេព
- 67a Colophon: [purple pen] សូមជួយរក្សាឲ្យបានយូរ

**UB013**  
FEMC d.937



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

1944–1945, with some additions in the late twentieth century, formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Jihèr, Jihèr commune, Koḥ Sūdin district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, or formerly in the private collection of *upāsikā* Srun [Kampong Cham province?], purchased at Duol Dambūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink, modern red and blue red pen, and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with *jār bnau* or *jār jriēn* glue, modern white paper, and thick black and red layered wood covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage, paginated and repaired with modern paper and wood covers by *upāsak* Jāñ, Brèk Ramṭeñ village, Brèk Ramṭeñ commune, Srī Sandhar district, Kampong Cham province, late twentieth century, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

35 x 11 cm, 8–10 lines per spread, complete in 79 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Thick black and red layered wood cover  
2a Colophon: [red pen] ក្រាំងកៅស៊ូរាបស័ខុបាសិកាស្រុន  
2b–10a **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vināy, braḥ sūt, braḥ saṅganīy, braḥ vībhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalapaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu, [braḥ paṭṭh]ān  
10a–17a **Sahassanaya-NP** = braḥ saḥassaṇaiy  
17a Colophon: [purple ink] ៗ នេសវិនបាតចំម៉ង់ ៗ  
17a–39b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = (to be continued)  
40a Title: [crossed out] braḥ apbhidhamm  
40b [blank]

Verso

- 41 Thick black and red layered wood cover  
41a [blank]  
41b [illegible graffito]  
42a [blank]  
42b–48a **Ākāravattā B-NP** = (continued) (explicit missing)  
48a Colophon: [pencil] មិនទាន់ច្បុះទេហត្បុះផ្គុះពោល ០៣៣  
48b [blank]  
49a–50b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** (explicit missing) [purple pen]

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 50b Title and ritual instruction [red pen]: (ឥតិបិសោថត) សូត្របុគ្គលដែលកំឡាំងតិច
- 51a–73a **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī brah girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** = girimānandasūt
- 73b Colophon: ភិក្ខុ វ៉ាន វត្តដំរីហែរ យុដំរីហែរ ស្រុកកោះសូទិន ខេត្តកំពង់ចាម បានរចនាទុក ព្រះពុទ្ធសាស្ត្រាន ២៤៨៨ ព្រះវស្សា
- 74a Title and ritual instruction [blue pen]: (ឥតិបិសោថត) សូត្របុគ្គលដែលកំឡាំងតិច
- 74a–78a **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that
- 78a–78b Colophon: ឧបាសក (ជាង) នៅភូមិព្រែករំដេងកើតជាអ្នកជួសជុលក្រាំងរំហែកសៀវភៅធម៌ជាច្រើនចំនួនជាង១០០ក្បាលហើយ ចំណែកសៀវភៅ[ចាំង/ចង/បិត]ក្របដាក់សាច់សំពត់ប្រហមដោះក្រឡះដែក[ចេញ]ដាក់ក្រឡះ[ស្អាត]ក្រហមច្រេះលែងស៊ីលែងរំហែកក្របប្រើមុននិងរំហែកៗ សាច់សៀវភៅខាងក្នុងមុនពីព្រោះសុទ្ធសាច់សំពត់ ។ *anāgatekālemahappaññā* ។ បានប្រែទេ *idaṃ vatame puññāṃ āsavakkhaya vahaṃ nibbānasa[nkhātāṃ hontu ānā gate] kāle ...*
- 79a Colophon: ទើបនឹងរៀនសសេរម្យតងទៀ [purple ink] អក្សរមិនល្អរឿប [ទើបនឹងរៀនសសេរម្យតងទៀ

**UB014**  
FEMC d.938

Mid twentieth century, original provenance unknown but close to UB015 of which it seems to be a partial copy, purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and layered paper covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and minor water and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with glue and cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

34 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 119 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Layered paper cover
- 2a Illustration in black ink and pencil of a buddha seated in meditation, with the caption ស្នាដ៏ធម៌លើថ្ម
- 2b–20a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = ākāvaṭāsūt, with the following incipit:  
[*mūl* script] *namatthuratanattayassa*

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- [jriēn script] *sātāgīriyakkho asurindo cātumahārājā sako mahābraṃ*  
 [mūl script] *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*  
 20a–35a **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ kēv ratnamālā  
 28a Ritual instruction: ព្រះគាថានេះទ្វា ៥៦ ឲ្យរុំពួកគុនព្រះពុទ្ធដជាអំម្លោះ សព្វថ្ងៃប្រសើហ្នា  
 សហោង ។  
 33a Ritual instruction: នេះគុនព្រះធម្ម័ដរអំម្លោះទ្វា ៣៨នេះឯង ឲ្យសូតចម្រើនរុំពួកគុនព្រះធម្ម  
 ៣៨ ចប់ ៀ  
 35a Ritual instruction: [purple ink] នេះគុនព្រះសយិដរជាអំម្លោះទ្វា ១៤ប្រការ ប៊ូបទនេះ ឈ្មោះ  
 ព្រះកែវវត្តមាលា ឲ្យសូតរុំពួកគុនព្រះពុទ្ធដជា [black ink] អំម្លោះ គុនព្រះធម្មដជាអំម្លោះ គុណព្រះសយិដជាអំម្លោះ  
 សព្វថ្ងៃរីឯបាបអំពីជាតមុនក្តី បច្ចុប្បន្នឲ្យរំណេះក្តី នឹងត្នាពុំទានលើយ  
 35b–39a **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅghanīy, braḥ  
 vibhaṅgapakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ dhātukathāpakaraṇ, braḥ pugalapaññatipakaraṇ saṅkhep,  
 braḥ kathāvatthupakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ yamakapakaraṇ saṅkhep braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇ  
 saṅkhep  
 39a–60b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** =  
 braḥ girimānandasuttaṃ

Verso

- 61 Layered paper cover  
 62a–67a **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k** = braḥ traiy lākkh  
 67b–68b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = dha'mmasaṅvèk (incipit missing;  
 last three stanzas only)  
 68b–70b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = dha'mmasaṅvèk  
 70b–73a **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dha'mmasaṅvèk  
 73a–97a **saṃvegavatthu 8 y"ān-7** (incipit missing)  
 97a Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមជុំរាប់ស្សលោកអ្នកដែលបានមកសូតសំម្តែងក្នុងក្រាំងនេះសូមរំណិតកុំថាស្ស  
 ត្បិតខ្ញុំសំសេរចម្លែងនៃភ្នែកវិធីតមើលឃើញព្រិលៗ មិនត្រឹមត្រូវតាមបន្ទាត់ មិនសូវឡើយរស ទ្វេ ត្នាច្បាប់គ្រឿងច្រើនត  
 ក្នុង សូមតែរផល្ល្លាអនិសង្ឃទៅឯមុក កើតជាត្តិកាលណារកុំឲ្យមានពោគ្តារធារាជ្ជី ឲ្យបានសេចក្តីយសុក្ខគ្រូបប្រការឲ្យបាន  
 ទាំងអង្គព្រះសិអាព្រះជាន់ក្រៀម ទោះកើតជាត្តិកាលណាឲ្យមានប្រាជ្ញាមុត្តថ្វារដូចប្រខាន្តីពេជ ឲ្យបានសំរេចដូចសេចក្តី  
 យប្រថ្នារខ្ញុំហោង ។ ៀ  
 98a–107b **kāyagatā-k** = braḥ kāyagatā  
 107b Ritual instruction: ទុកសំរាប់សូតមនុស្សជារាជានិមមរណៈ  
 107b–118b **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāmṇ»-k** =  
 lākkh'ñāṇ  
 118b Colophon: [purple ink] ប៉ែនហ៊ុនបានក៏សាងក្រាំងនេះសំរាប់លោកអ្នកដែលមានមរណភាព  
 119 [blank]

**UB015**  
FEMC d.939

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown but close to **UB014** of which it seems to be a partial parent manuscript, possibly formerly in the private collection of *ācāry* Hun (active in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century), Brai Cār district, Jōn Brai province (now part of Kampong Cham province), Cambodia, purchased at Duol Daṃbūñ market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink, yellow and white paint, and pencil in *mūl*, *jr̥ien*, and Thai scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with scores, reinforced with glue, modern off-white paper, and white thread.

Severe fold and edge wear, moderate fire, water, and mold damage, and severe insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 115 M-folded spreads, with no “covers”; spread 1 (recto) is simply the beginning of a backwards section, written later, that continues directly on spread 115b (verso), and the verso “cover” (spread 59) is simply part of the a text that starts on spread 54a and ends on 66b.

Recto

- 1 “Cover”: beginning of reversed portion that proceeds from 1, 115b, 115a, 114b, etc. all the way back to 91b; see below.
- 2a Illustration of a crowned buddha being worshipped by two monastics, in yellow and white paint with traditional black ink.
- 2b–15b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāraṇvattā, with the following incipit:  
  - [*mūl* script] *namatthuratanattayassa*
  - [*jr̥ien* script] *sātāgīriyakkho asurindo cātumahārājā sakko mahābrahmā*
  - [*mūl* script] *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- 15b Colophon: *buddhohomi anāgatekāle*. ក្រាំងកោវតា វត្តមាលា សហស្សវណ្ណ ល្បាវ គិរីមាត់ន្ទ ខ្លាំ  
ននាគ្គ ព្រះត្រៃលាភ្នំ ព្រះជំម្ន ។ ៛
- 16a–26b **Ratanamālā-NV** = ratn'amālār/braḥ kèṅ ratn'amālā
- 21b Ritual instruction: ព្រះតាថានៃទ្រាំ ៥៦ ឲ្យពុទ្ធកុំនព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាះ សព្វថ្ងៃប្រសើរដ្ឋហ្ន៎  
សហោង ។
- 25a Ritual instruction: នេះគុំនព្រះជំម្នដរជាអម្ចាះទ្រាំ ៣៨នេះឯងហោង

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- 27a Ritual instruction: [purple ink] នេះគុនព្រះសង ដរជាអំប្លោះទ្វា ១២
- 27a–27b *Ānisaṃsa*: នេះគុនព្រះសង ដរជាអំប្លោះទ្វា ១២ ព្រះភាថាទ្វាប្បិបទនៃឈ្មោះព្រះកែវវត្តមាលា ឲ្យសូតរំលឹកគុនព្រះពុទ្ធដរជាអំប្លោះ គុនព្រះធម៌ដរជាអំប្លោះ គុនព្រះសមិដរជាអំប្លោះ សំព្វថ្ងៃរឹងបាប្បអំព្យជ្ជាតមុននាគ្គីបាបក្នុងបំប្លែងឲ្យឡើងវិញនិងនឹងត្រូវទុំទ្វាឡើយ បើលែងជាតអំព្យបំប្លែងនេះទៅៗ កើតឯដុះសិតសួរស្នាប្រសើរដ្ឋបើនឹងថយុតចុះ មកច្បាប់ប្រដ្ឋិសន្ធិយ ទៅផ្ទះព្រះមហាឧបត្រនឹងបានសោយរាជសំប្បវត្ត ជាម្ចាស់សេសប្រទេស ក្នុងសក្តិលជុំព្វវិញ មន់ស្សីលោកយើងនៃឯង ថាបើពុំបានរៀនសូតឡើយ ទោះបានស្តាប់លោកសូតស្វាតាយនឹងល្អោះទុកសោករោគក្បែរថ្ងៃយ ឧប្បទ្រព្វផងទ្វាពុំបានមកដិតដលឡើយ បើបរស្សបុគ្គលឯណា១ យកព្រះធម៌នៃទុកដកលាញ់ប្រដ្ឋិមសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេស្សណាហោង ។ រីឯអ្នកនោះឯងក៏នឹងបានមគ្គផលដល់សំប្បវត្តទ្វាប្បិប្រកាសហើយមានទេវដារវិសេស្សតែងមករក្សាសព្វថ្ងៃ ពុំដែលដៃចឡើយ លុះសំម្រេចជុន្មា ក៏នឹងបានដូចសេចក្តីពុំឃ្លាតឡើយ ព្រះភាថាទ្វា ១០៨ ជាសំម្រេចតែងនឹងចម្លងស័ក្តិផងទ្វាហ្វឺ ទៅដាក់ដល់និព្វានហោង ។ ៀ
- 28a–31a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅgapakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ dhātukathāpakaraṇ, braḥ pugalapaññattipakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ kathāvatthupakaraṇ saṅkhèp, braḥ yamakapakaraṇ saṅkhep braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇ saṅkhep
- 31a Ritual instruction: ព្រះអង្គជំនុំកិច្ចឲ្យព្រះធម៌ដើម សូតបុគ្គលបានស្ងៀម
- 31a–35b **Sahassanaya-NP**, with final note [black ink]: ដោយបរិបូទោនិលេះ = saḥassaṇai
- 36a–44b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānandasutaṃ, with up and down *go mūtr* cantillation marks
- 44b Colophon: ចំបបក្ខរណសង្ខេបស្រេច ល្អើះ ឧបស្ស
- 45a–53b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = lpār [cap' lpār lvēḥ]
- 54a–58b **khvān' nāg-r** = khvā'n nāggapakaraṇ saṅkhèp (to be continued)

Verso

- 59–66b **khvān' nāg-r** = khvā'n nāggapakaraṇ saṅkhèp (continued)
- 66b Colophon: ឲ្យសូមប្រថ្នាដូចនឹងព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសមិកើតអណាគុត្តជាតសូមដំរើះប្រដ្ឋាកុំឲ្យទើសទាលសំលដំពាក់
- 67a–86a **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** = braḥ traiy lā'kkh saṅkhèp pakaraṇ
- 86a–91b **ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br** = phal' ānisa'n(s) akāra(v)tāsūt
- 91b–115b Remainder of reversed portion that proceeds from 1, 115b, 115a, 114b, etc. all the way back to 91b; see below.

Reversed portion (1,115b–91b, upside-down with respect to the rest of the manuscript)

- 1, 115b–107b **kāyagatā-k** = braḥ kāyagatār
- 107b Ritual instruction: ទុកឲ្យសូតមនុស្សជាវាទនឹងមរណៈ

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107b–99a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k**, with final note: ប្រែហើយហោងឯរ៉ាចប់តែបង្កើនហោង ៧៣

98b–91b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** (explicit missing), with final note: មិនទាន់ចប់ទេនៅវែង

**UB016**

Late twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Ang Braliṅ, Ksem Ksānt commune, Uṭuṅg district, Kampong Speu province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black, red, and green marker and modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern gray and white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with off-white thread and decorated card stock covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and minor water damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

29 x 13 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, complete in 32 N-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover, decorated with designs with black and red marker
- 2a–8b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānand
- 8b Ritual instructions: នេះព្រះកោវតា ធម៌នេះសម្រាប់សូតទៅតាមកម្លាំងដែលក្សេយ
- 8b–12b **Ākāravattā C-NP** = braḥ kauvatā
- 12b–16b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = (to be continued)

Verso

- 17 Card stock cover, decorated with designs with black, green, blue, and red marker.
- 18a–19b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (continued)
- 19b Ritual instructions: នេះចាប់ដើមព្រះអង្គធម៌ សម្រាប់ខ្មោចដែលស្លាប់ទៅត្រូវសូត្រធម៌នេះ
- 19b–22b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ apbhidhamm
- 22b–27a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k**
- 27a–28a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**
- 28a–29a **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k**
- 29a–30b **sukhumalakkhaṇa-7**
- 30b–31a **baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7** (incipit and explicit missing)
- 31a–32b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**

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32b Illustration of lotus flowers and other flowers in blue and black pen and green, red, and yellow marker, with the graffito: រឿគោក អង្កាញ ត្នោត

**UB017**

FEMC 040-B.04.10.01.VI.6 krāṃṇi buddhābhisek  
EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 44

Early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Nāgavān a.k.a. Rakā Khnur Krom, Rakā Khnur Krom village, Rakā Khnur commune, Krūc Chmār district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with off-white thread and decorated card stock covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and minor water damage.

35 x 12 cm, 10–12 lines per spread, photocopy of 69 spreads.

Recto

1 Layered paper cover, bearing the title ពុទ្ធាភិសេក វគ្គនាគវ័នរកាខ្មុរក្រោម, along with the FEMC catalog info affixed with black ink on white stickers

2a [blank, except for a small graffito: វាវ]

2b–5a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ saṅgaṇī capp' lēv°, braḥ vibhaṅg capp' lēv°, braḥ dhātukathā capp' lēv°, braḥ puggalapaṇa(ti) capp' lēv°, braḥ kathāvattu capp' lēv°, braḥ yam capp' lēv°, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān capp' paripūra(ṇ) lēv°

5a–18a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvatār

18b Ānisaṃsa: នេះនឹងសម្តែងផលអនិសង្ឃ នៃព្រះកោវតារនេះ ព្រះបន្ទូលថា ទោះបីបុគ្គល ទោះបីបុគ្គល ឯណា បានសំសេរបានច្នៃបាន រៀន; សូត្រ; បានទន្ទេញ បុគ្គលនោះត្រូវទោសបន្ទាន់ ។ នឹងដោះបាប់ទ្វារ ឃ្លា ស្មើបាន ជិះលើយានឆ្លងរួចអំពីបាបហោង បើបុគ្គលឯណាបានសូត្របានទន្ទេញតែម្តង អ្នកនោះទេវតាមករក្សា ដល់៤ខែពុំមាន ឧប្បទ្រព្យមកបៀតបៀនបានឡើយ រៀនតែអកុសលកម្មមកពីព្រេងនាវនឹងរួចចាក់ចេញពុំរួចឡើយ ទោះបីបុគ្គលឯ ណាមួយ បានធ្វើនៅអំពីរ អកុសលកម្មបាបបញ្ចវេកទ្វារ ៥ ។

18b–34b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = braḥ buddhābhisek [nèḥ sec kḍiy braḥ buddhābhisek capp' lveev]

34b–40b **dhārm yog-bn** = dharīmm yok, with a final note: ច្បាប់ប្តូរ លេខខ្នាត បាល់តូសូត្រ

០ ៗ: ៗ: ០ ៗ: ០

40b **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** = jayamaṅgalaṃ (to be continued) [middle missing]

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

[1 or more spreads missing here]

Verso

[1 spread of verso cover missing here]

41a [blank]

41b–44a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** = jayamaṅgalaṃ (continued) [middle missing], with final note: ថ្មប ល្អើ

44a–58b **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ'mār, with final note: នឹងសំ ម្តែងក្នុងធម្ម័យ៉ាកផ្កាញ័រមានតែរបុណ្ណៈ

59a–63b **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = thvāy° phkā

63b–64a **hau braliñ-k** (explicit missing)

64b [blank]

65a–66a Various mantras

66b–68a **Dhammakāya-NP**, with Khmer ritual instructions to implant the each of marks on the image

68a Mantra and ritual instruction: *lakkhaṇatathāgato dibbacakkhuṃvisodhayi parayāpannādisotthānaṃ hitāya ca sukhāya ca buddhakiccaṃ visodheti mūlakesā chinditvā paṭipassaddhi.* បាលីនេះសូតបន្ទាបពិបព្យុះព្រះលក្ខណៈ ។

68a Mantra and ritual instruction: *buddhaṃ buddharūpaṃ vivaritvā dibbacakkhuṃ vipassatihomi.* បាលីបើកព្រះនេត ។

68a Mantra and ritual instruction: *sace ayam buddharūpo yāva pañcavassa sahasāni devamanussāhitatthāya paṭiṭṭhahassati sabbā dhātuyo imassa buddharūpassa sarīre āgacchantūti adhiṭṭhāmi.* បាលីអធិដ្ឋានព្រះសារីរិកនាគ ។

68a–68b Mantra (explicit of **Dhammakāya-NP**) and ritual instruction: *aññesaṃ devamanussānaṃ buddho ativirocati yassa tamuttamattādīñānaṃ sabbaññitūādhikaṃ dhammakāyamatabuddhaṃ nametaṃ lokanāyakaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakkhaṇaṃ yogāvacarakullaputtana tikkhaññena sabbaññibuddhabhāvaṃ paṭṭhenta punappunaṃ anussaritabbaṃ.* នេះនមស្សការ សសើរចង់ព្រះ ធម្មកាយ សសើរក្នុងអង្គព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ ជាអម្ចាស់វិសេសណាសហោង ។

68b–69a Ritual instructions: ត្រៀងរណ្តប បព្វៈព្រះលក្ខណៈ គឺ ត្រៀងបូជា ១ បាយសី ៥ ថ្នាក់ ១ គូរ បាក់តាម ១ គូរ ទឹកអប ១ គូរ ស្វារធម្ម ១ គូរ ពពិលការ ជម្រ ៤ ផ្ទៃឈើ ៤ អង្ក ១ បាន ទៀន ១ ជមគ្រូ ១ សំពតស ៥ ហាត្ត ប្រាក ៥ បាទ ស្រេចហើយ យកម្ពុល ៣ មានជេសផ្តុំជាម្យគ្នាស្រេចហើយ ប្រសិទ្ធិបើកព្រះនេត្រ ។ ទៀនជយ ១ ប្រវេង ១៩ ធ្នាប់ ទៀនឆព្វល្អ័រធី ៦ ទម្ងន់ ១៣ ដំឡឹង ប្រវេង ១៦ ធ្នាប់ ទៀនពពិល ៦ មួយទម្ងន់ ១ ដំឡឹងប្រវេង ១២ ធ្នាប់ ។

69a: Mantra and ritual instruction: *ekapatto nokapattā sabbeyakkhā palāyanti.* នេះខាងស្តាម ។ *sabbe devā pisāceva ālavakādayopica khaggaṃ tālapattam disvā sabbeyakkhā palāyanti.* នេះខាងឆ្នែង ។ បាឡីនេះសម្រាប់ ចាស្តិកត្នោតជោតស្តាភ្នម ។



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69a Mantra and ritual instruction: *ukāsa imaṃ ekapiṇḍaṃ culāmaṇiṃ cettiyam tāvatimsa bhavane uddisa abhipūjayāmi. {duti {tati yampi. នេះបាលីឧទិសបាយបត្យា ។*

69a–69b Mantra and ritual instruction: *sudinnaṃ vattamepiṇḍaṃ paratū pajjivikāñattinaṃ petānaṃ mepāpunātu ។ នេះវេទ្យបិទ ជាកដើមស្រាបឲ្យប្រែតម្កនថ្ងៃវាស ។*

69b Mantra and ritual instruction: *ukāsa idaṃme dānaṃ mātāpitūnaṃ ñātisālohitānaṃ petānaṃ hotu. នេះ បាឡីឧទិសទាន ។*

69b Mantra and ritual instruction: *idaṃ vata mepuññaṃ āsavakkhayāvahaṃ nibbānasāṅkhātamaḥhotu aṅāgatekāle. បាឡីតាងសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា ។*

**UB018**

Late twentieth century or early twenty-first century, written by *lok tā* Sīm Uan, Duol Saṅkè village, Duol Saṅkè commune, R̥ssī K̥v district, Phnom Penh, donated by Sān S̄in to the monastic library of Vatt Eḷakārām a.k.a Babè Krom, Babè village, Jrai Lās' commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black marker and modern black, red, and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern gray and white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced card stock covers, stamped in blue and red ink with the seal of the monastic library of Vatt Eḷakārām.

Minor fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoen, 2016.

39 x 14 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 70 H-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Card stock cover, bearing label in black marker: *វត្តពពៃក្រោម កុកៈសកៈហោសានស៊ីន ភូមិទួលសង្កែ ក្រុង ១១*

2a–2b Table of contents, with titles and spread numbers as follows: *mātikādhaṃ* 01 braḥ dhaṃ akāvātā, 18 braḥ dhaṃ gīrīmānand, 29 braḥ bodhisatv pubbajā, 35 braḥ dhaṃ abhidhamm, 39, braḥ dhaṃ dhammasaṃveg, 42 braḥ dhaṃ saṅkhār min dieṃ, 46 dhaṃ braḥ trailakkha(ṇ), 50 braḥ nān sirimahāmāyā, 44 daṃnuoñ stec ṭaṃrī sar, 52 nibbānasūtr, 55 bimbāviyog, 58 daṃnuoñ suvaṇṇasām, 59 daṃnuoñ braḥ nān sabbadrā, 61 paṇṭām braḥ bodhisatv, 63 daṃnuoñ braḥ nān medrī, 34, daṃnuoñ mātā suvaṇṇasām

3a–20a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ dhaṃ akāvātāsūtr

20a–30b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ dhaṃ gīrīmānandsūtr pālī

31a–32a **satthuppabbajjā-7** = braḥ bodhisatv ceñ sān pubbajā

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- 32b [blank]
- 33a–34b Colophon : ខ្ញុំសូមលើកហត្ថា ឡើងប្រណម ក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះវត្តនៈត្រ័យ ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ ប្រសើរក្រៃ សូមភ្ជាប់និស្ស័យក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ ខ្ញុំអ្នកសរសេរចម្លង-សូមផ្សងសច្ចា-ព្រះឥន្ទព្រះព្រហ្មទេវតា សូមអោយពរជ័យ-ខ្ញុំកើតគ្រប់ជាតិ-ក្នុងលោកិយ៍-សូមមានសួរតិ ប្រាជ្ញាខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ។ សូមអោយបាន អាយុយិនយូរ- សុខភាពល្អបរិបូណ៌ កំលាំងពលខ្លាំងក្លា រូបរាងកាយ ល្អស្អាតប្រពៃ-។ សូមបានសេចក្តីសុខ ទាំងយប់ទាំងថ្ងៃ ឧប្បទ្រព ចង្រៃ កុំបីកើតមាន-សូមមានសេរីសួរស្តី-រាសីភ្លឺថ្លា មានសម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោកនិងសម្បត្តិទេវតា បានដូចប្រាជ្ញា កុំបីខានឡើយ ។ ផ្លូវលោកផ្លូវធម៌-ចេះចាំបានល្អ ពុំមានភ្នាំងភ្លេច រៀនសូត្រអ្វីៗ- ចេះចាំស្ងាត់ជានិច្ច សូមបានសំរេច ដូចសេចក្តីប្រាជ្ញា សូមអោយឆ្លងផុត អំពើស្មោគគ្រោក-ទុក្ខសោករោគ្តាល័យប្តាត់-ភិតភ័យវិបត្តិ-ខ្វល់ខ្វាយក្នុងចិត្ត-ក្រខ្សត់ អត់ឃ្លានកុំមកជិត សូមអោយឃ្លាតឆ្ងាយអំពើអបាយមុខ បាបកម្មវេរជាទុក្ខគ្រប់ជាតិខាងមុខសូមកុំអោយជួប ។ សូមអោយមានឧប្បនិស្ស័យ ធ្វើបុណ្យសាងសិលទានជាយានអាត្មា បានទាន់សាសនា-ព្រះសិអាមេត្រី-ធ្វើអវិច្ច័យបានសុខប្រសើរហោង ។ ॐ

- 35a Name in large black letters: SAN; stamp in blue ink of with the seal of the monastic library of Vatt Eḷakārām.
- 35b [blank]

Verso

- 36 Card stock cover, bearing label in blue marker: មីងស្រុនសេងហ៊ុន
- 37a–38a **daṃnuoñ mtāy suvaṇṇasām-7** = daṃnuoñ mātā braḥ suvaṇṇasām
- 38b [blank]
- 39a–43a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhaṛm abhidhamm
- 43a–45b **dhammasañveg «oḥ o guor sañveg»-br** = braḥ dhaṛm dhammasañveg
- 46a–48a **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ dhaṛm saṅkhār min dien
- 48a–49b **daṃnuoñ chaddant-7** = daṃnuoñ stec ṭaṃrī sar
- 50a–53b **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** = dhaṛm braḥ trailakkha(ṇ) (shortened version)
- 54a–56a **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = braḥ nān sirimahāmāyā
- 56b–58b **parinibbānakathā-7** = nibbānasūtr
- 59a–61b **bimbāviyog-7** = bimbāviyog
- 62a–63b **daṃnuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7** = daṃnuoñ braḥ suvaṇṇasām
- 63b–65a **daṃnuoñ subhadrā-7** = daṃnuoñ braḥ nān sabbadrā
- 65b–66b **pacchimabuddhavaṇṇa A-br** = paṇṭaṃ braḥ bodhisatv
- 67a–68a **daṃnuoñ madrī-7** = daṃnuoñ braḥ nān medrī (first section)
- 68b [blank]
- 69a Colophon: ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ ស៊ីម-អ៊ិន ជាអ្នកសរសេរចម្លង នៅផ្ទះលេខ 292 ក្រុមទី ១១ ផ្លូវរោងចក្រ កាត់ដេរ ភូមិ ទួលសង្កែ - សង្កាត់ ទួលសង្កែ - ខ្នងប្រាសាទស្រីកែវ ភ្នំពេញ ១១
- 69b [blank]

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- 70a Name in large black letters, upside-down: SAN; stamp in red ink of with the seal of the monastic library of Vatt Eḷakārām, also upside-down.
- 70b [blank]

**UB019**

Late twentieth century or early twenty-first century, written by *lok tā* Sīm Uan, Duol Saṅkè village, Duol Saṅkè commune, R̄ssi K̄v district, Phnom Penh, donated by Sān S̄in to the monastic library of Vatt Babè Lö, Babè village, Jrai Lās' commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue, red, pink, green, and yellow marker and modern black, red, and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern gray and white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced card stock covers and plastic laminate.

Minor fold and edge wear and minor wax, water, and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

39 x 15 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 79 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover, wrapped in plastic laminate and decorated with designs in blue, red, pink, and green marker
- 2a Colophon, with designs in blue, red, pink, and green marker: សរសេរចម្លងដោយ លោកតាស៊ីម-អ៊ូន
- 2b Colophon: សារ: ស៊ីនភូមិទួលសង្កែ ជាវប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃវត្តពពៃលី
- 2b-4b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = braḥ dhaṛm dhammasaṅveg
- 5a-6b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ dhaṛm saṅkhār min dien
- 7a-9a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k** = dhaṛm braḥ trailakkha(ṅ)
- 9a-10a **ārāadhanā dhammadesanā-br** = pad brahm ārāadhanā dhaṛm desanā
- 10b-14b **satthuppabbajjā-7** = braḥ bodhisatv yān dau pabbajjā
- 15a-17b **bimbāviyog-7** = braḥ nān bimbā viyog
- 18a-21a **dukkarakiriyā A-7** = braḥ bodhiñāṅ dhvö dukkarakiriyā (first half), with final note បន្តទៅទំនួញព្រះនាងស៊ីមហាមាយា
- 21b-34f **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = daṃnuoñ braḥ nān sirimahāmāyā (second half)
- 24a-28b **bimbābilāp-7** = braḥ nān bimbā bilāp
- 29a-30a **pacchimabuddhavacana A-br** = pañṭaṃ braḥ bodhiñāṅ

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- 30b–32b **parinibbānakathā-7** = bodhiñāṇ yān cūl nibbān  
 33a–35a **sukhumalakkhaṇa-7** = braḥ dhaṛm sukhumalakkhaṇa:  
 35b–37b **sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7** = braḥ dhaṛm sāmaññalakkhaṇa:  
 38a Colophon: ម្ចាស់ក្រាំងជារប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃវត្តព្រៃលើសាន: សឹម ភូមិទួលសង្កែ  
 38a–39b **daṃnuoñ chaddant-7** = daṃnuoñ stec ṭaṃrī sar

Verso

- 40 Card stock cover, wrapped in plastic laminate and decorated with designs in blue, red, pink, yellow, and green marker  
 41a Title and inscription: ព្រះធម៌អការវត្តសុត្រ rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ anattā-mettā karuṇā muditā upekkhā កើត ចាស់ ឈឺ ស្លាប់  
 42b–59a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ dhaṛm akāvatāsūtr  
 59a–70a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ dhaṛm gīrīmānandsūtr  
 70a–74b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhaṛm abhidhamm  
 75a–79b **aṭṭhavīsati-buddha-gāthā samrāy-4** = namassakār caṃboḥ braḥ buddh  
 28 braḥ aṅg

**UB020**

1961–1962, private collection *lok tā* M’ān Bhū, Thluk Trapèk village, Bhnāṃ Pāt commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black ink and modern blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, modern white and off-white notebook and scratch paper, and thick wood covers.

Severe fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

39 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 99 W-folded or 100 N-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Thick wood cover cover with large illegible writing in red paint.  
 2a–11b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girīmānand pālī, with final note ចប់តែបុណ្ណៈ  
 ល្ងវ ៗ  
 11b–16b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k** = braḥ aniccaṃ dhamm

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 16b–20b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = kambī braḥ saṅghanī, kambī braḥ vībhaṅg, kambī braḥ dhātukathā, kambī braḥ pugalapaṇāti, kambī braḥ kathāvattu, kambī braḥ yak, kambī braḥ mahāpaththān
- 20b–22b **dhammasaṅveg «oh o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅvek
- 23a–37b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = dhaṛm sāñ ṭap'/braḥ gīrīmānand summrāy° prèr
- 37b–39b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṇ) ṭoy saṅkhèpp khliy°
- 39b–41a **sikkhāpad prāmpī-br** = sil dāmi° prāmpīy ṭoy saṅkhèp
- 41b–47b **aciram vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**  
[1 spread missing here?]
- 48a–49a Ritual instructions and mantras for those close to death: ទៅព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ទាំងពួង អរិយសេចក្តីម្នាក់ៗ បានឈោងយកព្រះនិព្វានជាទីបំផុតទុក្ខ ហើយឱ្យខ្ញុំបានត្រាសជាពុទ្ធម្យអង្គទេស្ឋាប្រោះសត្វឱ្យ បានស្រែនអសង្ខ័យ ដោយសេចក្តីប្រថុយនេះឯងហោង ។ ៚ ។ រឿងអាចាបាទីឱ្យស្វាទ្រូទៅអ្នកដែលទៀតនិងស្វា បនោះឱ្យសូត្រថា *i tipisobhagavā arahamkimkaraṇaṃ devaraṇaṃ tāvatimsa gacchanti* ។ ឯអ្នកជិតនិងស្វាបឱ្យ ភាវនាថា *o buddho* ។ បើស្បឱ្យលហើយទើបអចាសូត្រថា ។ *araham* ។ រឿងបាទិវារសុត្តាហបាទនោះថា *cakkhusampassasattajāvedanābahake sotasamphassa* ត្រជៀក *ghānasamphassa* ច្រមោះ *jivihāsamphassa* អន្តាត *kāyasamphassa manosamphassa* រឿងបាទីឱ្យពហទិកសូត្រ *sakatvā buddharataṇaṃ osuththaṃ dhammarataṇaṃ saṅgharataṇaṃ* រឿងបាទីប្រែស្តប្បសូត្រ *sabbebuddhābalabbhatāmace kāṇāñcayambalaṃ arahantāṇāñcatejenarakkhaṃ bandhāmisabbaso* ។ ៚ ។ ័ រឿងបាទីបងហូតទុនសូត្រថា ។ *ukāsaimamdhujam vālakacettīyaṃ tāvatimsabhavane iminānisandena digharataṃ athāya hitāya sukkhāya* ។ *duti tati* ។
- 49b Colophon: លោកអាចារ្យស្រី នាង ហឺប នៅភូមិថ្មកត្របែក

Verso

- 50 Thick wood cover cover
- 51a Illustration of a flower in black ink, with the colophon: ២,៥០៥ សសេរក្នុង ឆ្នាំខាលចី ត្វាសត្វ
- 51b–69a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ akāravatā
- 69a–77a **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ buddhagaṇ (first part)
- 77b [*cha*]pañāsa buddhagaṇā mahiddhikā anantaḡu ṇasampano sabbaloke hipijito ahaṃ vandā mi sabbadā. នេះសសេរគុណព្រះពុទ្ធជាម្លោះ ។ ៚
- 77b–84a **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ dhammaguṇ (second part)
- 83a–84b *atṭhatimsa dhammagāththā dhammaguṇā* [l/s]ugāmbharā etenadha mmena sothitēj yamaṅgulaṃ. នេះចប្បសសេគុណព្រះធម្មត្វា ៣៨ តែបុណ្ណះឯវ័ ។
- 84b–85b **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ saṅhagaṇ (third part)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 85b *chapañāsa buddhaguṇā dhammaguṇā atthatiṃsa samhaguṇā catudassa sarateti dinedine namāmiham.* ព្រះ សសេត្តិណាព្រះសិរីតៃបុណ្ណះល្វើវី ៗ ័
- 85b–92a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** = rūppakhandh  
92a–99b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (explicit missing)

**UB021**

EFEO CAMB. O. 353

Early twentieth century, possibly purchased by the EFEO in 1926, now held at the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie, France, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Traditional black ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts, with annotations in gray, red, and blue pencil, on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and layered paper covers.

Minor fold and edge wear and moderate fire and water damage.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 80 N-folded spreads.

Note: Grégory Mikaelian kindly help correct my transcription of the notes and colophons for this manuscript, though we both admit that a number of the readings of the roman-script Khmer terms are tentative.

Recto

- 1 Layered paper cover, off-white, with the stamp of the EFEO and another illegible stamp in red ink, and the EFEO catalog information in blue colored pencil: Krang opphisêk préah 353.
- 2a Note in gray pencil: acheté a Tromuch 12 \$ 50 ° le 27.11.26 M. du Lon Luc vongsā kreach Krang opphisek Preah
- 2b–9a **dhārm yog-bn**
- 9a–12a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**
- 12a Note in pencil in French: Conversion de Sithat ) le Buddha actuel
- 12b–40a **phcāñ' mār «yön khñum paṅgam»-k**
- 40b [blank]

Verso

- 41 Layered paper cover, off-white, with the stamp of the EFEO in red ink
- 42a [blank]

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 42b Note in pencil: texte pali abrégé 7 en ព្រះធម៌ ៧ គម្ពី ៧ v à la fin fo. 13.
- 42b–48b **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vinai, braḥ sūt pīṭak, (braḥ saṅganī, vibhaṅg, dhātukathā, puggal, kathāvatthu, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaran), braḥ abbhīdhamm dāṃṇī° 7 kāmmbīy° saṅkhēp
- 48b–58a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāravattāsuttaṃ, with brackets
- 58b–60a **Dvattiṃsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP** = (tacapañcaka, vakkapañcaka, pañcasapañcaka, matthaluṅkapañcaka, medanaka, muttanaka, ), braḥ dvattiṃsākārakammaththān, with final note: ឲ្យការនាសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេសហ្នាសហោង ។
- 60a–62a **Itipi so that B-NP** = itipi so ththat
- 62a Ānisaṃsa: បើបុគ្គលប្រុសស្រីកំឡាំងតិចឲ្យសូត្រឥតបិសោដ្ឋតនេះប្រសើរដ្ឋពេក្យំណា្យហោង បើនឹងរៀនថ្ងៃបង្កើតព្រះសព្វថ្ងៃបានផលច្រើនពេក្យំហោង ។
- 62a–64a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (explicit missing)
- 64b Colophon: [pencil, first line erased] សំបុត្រអ្នកកេរកញ្ញា [crossed out: យាម] សំបុត្រអ្នកកេរកញ្ញាប្រសើរស្បៀសំមមហាកមហាថ្ងៃកូរសំម[កថិវាងនា][?] [in black ink] សំបុត្រ ... សំបុត្រ
- 65a–79b [blank]
- 80a–80b Note, upside-down, in white chalk: ... សំបុត្រអ្នកកេរកញ្ញា ...

**UB022**  
EFEO CAMB. O. 404

Early twentieth century, purchased [by the EFEO?] in the early twentieth century, now held at the Bibliothèque de l'EFEO Paris - Maison de l'Asie, France, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Traditional black ink and modern blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts, with annotations in black pen and pencil, on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, modern white and off-white notebook and scratch paper, and layered paper covers.

Minor fold and edge wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage.

36 x 14 cm, 12 lines per spread, fragment of 78 N-folded spreads, with several spreads unaccounted for.

Recto

1 Layered paper cover, with the EFEO catalog number (404) in black pen and the the graffito យ យ្យ in pencil.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 2a–6b        **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vinaiy° puripuṇā lev°, braḥ sūttapiṭak saikhèp lev°, braḥ saṅgañīy° capp lev°, braḥ vibhaṅg capp lev°, braḥ dhāttu capp lev°, braḥ puggalapañatti, braḥ kaththāvatthu capp, braḥ yakamakka capp lev° leḥ, braḥ mahāpaththān capp lev° (incipit missing)
- 6b–29b        **Ākāravattā B-NP** = dhaṛmm ān traiy° braḥ dhamm kauvatāṛ
- 30a–38a        **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = g̃rīmānand
- 38a            Colophon: *nībānapaccayohontu*
- 38a            Start of unknown sutta in pencil: *evamme suttaṃ ekkamaṣamayaṃ*
- 38b            [blank]
- 39a–40b        **Pathamagiḷāna-sutta-CP** (explicit missing)
- [several spreads missing here]

Verso

- 41–51b        **Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM** = braḥ mahāsamaya (incipit missing)
- 51b–56b        **Isigili-sutta-CM** = isilī, divided into three *pad*, starting with *evam me...* (*nèh pad I*), then *ariṭṭho...* (*pad mṭaṅ diet*), and finally *ye sattasārā...*
- 56b–62a        **sarasōr braḥ pād sṭām-k** = braḥ pād khān sṭām (lev°)
- 62a–66a        **sarasōr braḥ pād chveṅ-k** = dhaṛmm braḥ pād chveṅ lèv° paiy°
- 66a–75b        **dasajāti-bn** = braḥ dhaṛm doḥ jātti (cap' lèev° p"ai)
- 75b            Colophon: គីករឿន លោកត្រូវហើងប្រើខ្ញុំព្រះកុណារច្ចុះន្ទេងជម្ងុំទៅជាតទុកឱ្យក្នុងរឿនទន  
 ផែញ ខ្ញុំព្រះកុណារប្រស្នារ កើតជាតកាលណាសូមឲ្យមានប្រាច្ឆ័យ ខ្ញុំសូមអះឲ្យមានដំរះដូចនាងតំមត្រារ
- [incomplete?]
- [one or more spreads missing here?]
- 76a            Note: ចបធម្មកៅតាហៀ ៗ ២៣
- 76a–77a        **Itipi so that A-NP** = dhamm itipi so that
- 77b–78b        [blank]

**UB023**

FEMC d.940

1962, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Daṃbūñ market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue and red pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock mass-produced blank leporello ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and card stock covers with printed designs in black and yellow.

Moderate edge and fold wear and minor water damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

39 x 11 cm, 10–12 lines per spread, complete in 70 W-folded spreads, with one extra spread on the verso side.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and yellow  
2a [blank]  
2b–19b **Ākāravattā Ā** = braḥ kauvatā/ākāravatāsūtr  
19b–24a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm (braḥ saṅgaṇī lvev, braḥ vībhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalapaññatti, braḥ kathāvattu, braḥ yamakk, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān)  
24b–28b **Sahassanaya-NP** = braḥ saḥassaṇaiy  
29a–34b **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** (explicit missing), with final note: ស្នេហ៍តែបុណ្ណៈសិនឯវាង

Verso

- 35 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and yellow  
36a Colophon: [crossed out: តាយួនយាយ តាយួន] តាយួនបានអនិជ្ជកម្ម ដប់ កើត ខែកើត  
36b–60a **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy rī braḥ girimānandasūtr-r** = braḥ girimānandasūtr  
60b Colophon: ឧបាសក៍យួន ឧបាសិកាហាន់ អ្នកក៏សាង ក្នុងឆ្នាំថោះនព្វសក់ សាសនាកន្លងទៅបាន ២៥០៦ ព្រះវស្សា ៗ ៧៧ បរិបុណ្ណ និដ្ឋិតា  
61a–62b **oḥ guor saṅveg-br** = dhammasaṅvek pad brahmagīti/dhammasaṅvek  
62b–70b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = gīrīmānandasūtr prè pad brahmagit/bāky kāby thleñ sec kṭī girimānandasūtr  
70b Colophon: ៗៗ (យ) ស) ចម្លងឱយតាយួនយាយហាន់ ។

**UB024**

FEMC D.XXX

Mid twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue or black pen (faded) in *mūl* script on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Moderate edge and fold wear and severe water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 58 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Blank cover  
2a–2b [blank]  
3a–17a **Akāravattā Ā** (incipit missing)  
17b [blank]  
18a–21b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī lēv°, braḥ vibhaṅg lēv°, braḥ dhātukaththā lēv°, braḥ puggala lēv°, braḥ kathāvatthu lēv°, braḥ gambī yamak, [braḥ mahā]paṭṭhān lēv°  
21b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (to be continued)  
22a–22b [blank]  
23a–29b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (to be continued)

Verso

- 30 **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (continued) (explicit missing)  
31a–58b [blank]

**UB025**

FEMC PP.03.03.03

EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 56

1980–1990, copied by Kun Sopheap (Gun Subhāb) and donated to the monastic library of Vatt Sirīmaṅgal Gien Ghlāṃṇī, Gien Ghlāṃṇī village, Jroy Cañvār commune, R̥ssī K̥v district, Phnom Penh municipality, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheap, 2016.

Modern pen *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern card stock ruled with pencil.

Minor water and wax damage.

Original dimensions unknown (photocopy 28 x 9 cm), 12 lines per spread, photocopy of 54 spreads, with no covers included.

Recto

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 1a Note in large letters: វត្តគៀនឃ្លាំង វត្តលោកតាពៅ  
1b–15b **Ākāravattā A-NP**  
16a–19b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ saṅgaṇī, braḥ vībhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā,  
braḥ puggal, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān  
20a–23a **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** (explicit missing)  
23a–27b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = rapā sūtr smā lā dos (to be continued)

Verso

- 28a [blank]  
28b–31b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = rapā sūtr smā lā dos (continued)  
32a–37a **namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k** = namassakār braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg trās'  
e mukh neḥ  
37b–47b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānand prè kāby (explicit  
missing)  
48a–53a **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k** = panlèr aṭṭhuttarasatamaṅgal  
53a–54b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**

**UB026**

FEMC d.941

Likely between 1962 and 1975, originally in the private collection of Yin Ket, Jhō Lvīn village, Tāmṇ Krasāmṇ commune, Sanduk district, Kampong Thom province, Cambodia purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock mass-produced blank leporello ruled with pencil and modern brown and white paper, reinforced with glue, paper clips, and card stock covers with printed designs in black and yellow.

Moderate edge and fold wear and minor water and mold damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Trent Walker and Mech Khoeun, 2016.

37 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 50 N-folded spreads, plus two inserted sheets on brown paper secured with paper clips.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and yellow

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 2a–3a [blank]
- 3b–23b **Akāravattā B-NP** = ākārāvātārasūtr
- 23b Colophon: បានចម្លងតាមក្រាំង ព្រះតេជះគុណព្រះនាម គុដ-ឱ បួសសំណាក់វត្តញ្ជៃ-ឃុំញ្ជៃ-ស្រុកសន្ទុកខេត្តកំពង់ធំ លោកបានដក់ស្រង់តាមក្រាំងបូរណជាយូរអង្វែងហើយ
- 24a–24b Extended note and ritual instructions, titled អារម្ភបទ, likely copied from the preface to an otherwise unknown 1962 book by Cāp Bin: អារម្ភបទ ។ តាមប្រពៃណីខ្មែរយើង នៅពេលដែលមនុស្សចាស់ជរា មានអាពាធជាទំមួន ក្នុងគ្រួសារតែងចាត់ចែង ចងពីតានតាំងព្រះបដេពុទ្ធរូប រៀបគ្រឿងសក្ការៈនៅដំណេកអ្នកអាពាធ ហើយនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃ សូត្រធម៌តាមថ្នាក់អាពាធ គឺ: ១- អាពាធនៅស្រាល តែងសូត្រគិរីមានន្ទ ២-អាពាធធ្ងន់ តែងសូត្រអាការវតារសូត្រ(ដែលហៅកៅវតា) ៣-ជិតដល់មរណៈឬធ្វើមរណៈកាលហើយ តែងសូត្រព្រះសត្តប្បករណភិធម្ម (ដែលហៅព្រះធម្ម) ។ ការនេះជាការចាំបាច់ ពុំដែលខាន។ បណ្តាថ្នាក់អាពាធទាំងនោះថ្នាក់នីមួយៗ កាលសូត្របាលីរួចហើយ តែងសូត្រសម្រាយធម៌បទផ្សេងៗ មានរឿងពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិនិងព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ជាដើមដើម្បីឲ្យកើតសេចក្តីជ្រះថ្លា និងសង្វេគទាំងអ្នកអាពាធ ទាំងអ្នកទ្រាំអាពាធ ជាកាកុសលដែលឲ្យផលជាសុខក្នុងលោកនេះនិងលោកខាងមុខ។ ក្រាំងឬ សៀវភៅធម៌សម្រាប់សូត្រ មានអាការវតារសូត្រជាដើមនោះ ជារបស់ក្រ ព្រោះហេតុនេះបានជាខ្ញុំព្យាយាមរៀបរៀងបោះពុម្ពឡើងដើម្បីងាយស្រួលដល់ព្រះសង្ឃអ្នកសូត្រនិងគ្រួសារអ្នករៀបចំ ដែលត្រូវការ ។ ៣១-១-៦២- បណ្ឌិត្យចាប-ពីន ទុំនាមទុំម្ចាស់ខ្មែរពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ
- 24b–25b **Trairatanappanāma Pali/samrāy-br** = Trairatanappanāma buddharatanappanāma , with the note: បាលីបទឥន្ទវដ្តរ សម្រាយបទព្រហ្មគីតិ
- 25b **Icchevamaccanta verse Pali/samrāy-br** = bāky prakās sūm sec kṭi sukh (to be continued), with the note: បាលីបទឥន្ទវដ្តរ សម្រាយសម្រាយបទព្រហ្មគីតិ
- 25b Note: ឆ្លងទៅម្ខាង

Verso

- 26 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and yellow
- 27a [blank]
- 27b **Icchevamaccanta verse Pali/samrāy-br** = bāky prakās sūm sec kṭi sukh (continued)
- 28a–30b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = sattappakaraṇābhidhamm dhammasaṅgiṇī
- 30b–37b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoḥ-r** = girimānand sūtr, including footnotes from the printed edition it was copied from, with an inserted piece of brown paper on spread 35 (now mostly torn away) and another on spread 37, each recording parts of the text intially skipped by the scribe (introduced by ខ្ញុំសរសេរខ្លះ សូមមើលបន្តរដ្ឋចតទៅនេះ )
- 44a–47a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k** = dhaṛm sāvapād pad kākagatī/dhaṛm trāy lakkhaṅ, with the note: ខ្ញុំបានដក់ស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបូរណជា

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

យូរអង្វែងកាលណាសមកហើយ លោកដាក់ឈ្មោះហៅថា (ធម៌សាវតុទ) តែពិនិត្យរៀនសូត្រទៅ ហៅធម៌ត្រ័យលក្ខណា ក៏បាន

- 47a–48a **sādhāraṇadhārm-7** = sādhāraṇadhārm prè pad bākṃy (7)
- 48a–49a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k** = braḥ trai lākkha(ṅ) pad kākagati, with the introductory note : ស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបូរណ៍; and the same note again as a footnote after the fourth stanza.
- 49a Colophon: អ្នកចម្លង (យីន-កេត) ភូមិឈើល្វីង ឃុំតាំងក្រសាំង ស្រុកសន្ទុក ខេត្តកំពង់ធំ
- 49b–50b [blank]

**UB027**

1965–1966, monastic library of Vatt Aṅg Sirī, Aṅg Sirī village, Bhmaṅ Pāt commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue, red, green, pink, orange, brown, turquoise, and yellow marker and pencil in *mūl* and *jriṅ* scripts on modern white paper (of unknown type but similar in texture traditional *snāy* paper) ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue.

Moderate edge and fold wear and severe wax, water, and mold damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Trent Walker and Mech Khoeun, 2016.

32 x 15 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 73 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement, with two half-spreads missing.

Recto

- 1 Blank cover
- 2a Illustration in red, green, yellow, orange, pink, and blue marker of two praying figures on mats and three offering vessels
- 2a–13b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = sūtr girimānand
- 13b Note: បាត់យសដ្ឋិតខ្លួល បាត់ទានញ្ញាណសីល ដ្ឋិតសេពសុរា ប្រមាទបាត់បុណ្យ ខឹងបាត់ប្រាជ្ញា លេញលេងជឿលថា បាត់ឥរិយាបថ
- 14a Illustration in red, green, yellow, orange, pink, and blue marker of a man lying in repose, flanked by a pair of birds in fruit trees, with the partially illegible caption *sābācadīp* or *ābādhabhīp*
- 14a–14b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = ākāravattā (to be continued)
- 15a 1 half spread missing here
- 15b–28a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = ākāravattā (continued)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 28b–34a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānand samrāy saññā [ṭap']  
saṅkhèp
- 34a Colophon: ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា ខ្ញុំបាទឈ្មោះ គង់.សារិននិងនាងគង់វណ្ណត បានចារក្រាំងនេះ បើ  
មានការខ្វះខាតសូមជួយជួសជុលផង. ទីលំនៅនៅ ផ្ទះលេខ ១៣ អូ ផ្លូវលេខ ៨១-១២២ សង្កាត់លេខ ២ ក្រុងភ្នំពេញ ។  
សូមរក្សា
- 34b–35a **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV**= māghapūjā
- 35a–35b **namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** = prè ghloṅ 8 bāky
- 36a–36b **Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV** = pad gāthā māghapūjā
- 36b–37b **māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7** = prè ghloṅ 8 bāky
- 37b–38a Final note: *thātu ciraṃ buddhasānanam* សូមឲ្យព្រះសាសនា បិតនៅអស់កាលដ៏យូរអង្វែងទៅ  
ហោង! *thātu ciraṃ satam dhammo* ធម៌របស់សប្បុរស សូមបិតនៅអស់កាលដ៏យូរទៅហោង!
- 38b–39b [blank]
- Verso
- 40 Blank cover
- 41a–41b [blank]
- 42a Illustration of a horse in orange marker, with the colophon: ឆ្នាំ មី អដ្ឋស័ក ព្រះពុទ្ធ  
សករាជ ពិ ពាន់ប្រាំបួន
- 42b Illustration of lotus flower and two herons, one catching a fish, in blue, black,  
red, yellow, and pink marker, with a table of contents as follows (severe water damage): mātikā  
dhaṛm [girimānand] sūtr [ākā]ravattā [saññā ṭap'] prè ... lakkhaṇañāṇ dukkhara:kiriya  
sirimahāmāyā ...
- 43a Illustration in blue, turquoise, red, and yellow marker of a corpse in repose,  
with hands in prayer, and a white human-shaped spirit [?] moving away, with captions largely  
effaced by water damage, with only the following still legible: ទ្រព្យលោះពុំបាន ... អាសូររូប
- 43a–48a **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** = abhidhamm/ān trai/brah dhammasaṅgaṇī,  
[illegible], [illegible], [puggala]ppañña[ti], kathāvatthu, [illegible], mahāpaṭṭhān), with an  
illegible colophon
- 48b Note: មានរក្សាខ្យល់ ដូចសំពត់ព័ទ្ធពីក្រៅ អ្នកប្រាជ្ញរក្សាខ្មៅ ... សំប៉ាន ។ ផ្តែជាអោយបាយធំ ដេក  
នៅដីចាំធនធាន គ្រឿង... កេរ្តិ៍គម្ពីរទុកប្រាជ្ញាបា...
- 49a Illustration in pink, black, green, and orange marker of a hunchbacked old  
man walking with a stick near a path leading to a house
- 49a–50a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) (to be  
continued)
- 50a Illustration in pink, red, and blue marker of a *preta* with a long nose and tongue  
and pendulous breasts
- 50b–60b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = lakkhaṇañāṇ (continued)  
(explicit missing)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 53a Illustration in blue, turquoise, green, brown, red, and yellow of two fish and a large sailing vessel in the ocean
- 54b Illustration in green, pink, brown, and black marker of a woman praying
- 55b Illustration in green, pink, and blue marker of a white inhabitant of the hells being tormented by a red mace wielded by a blue and green creature with a long tongue
- 59a Illustration in turquoise, blue, pink, and green marker of a man in green clothes being chased by a blue creature (*preta?*) with a long tongue
- 59b Illustration in green, pink, and blue marker of a tall creature (*preta?*) with a canine head
- 61a 1 half spread missing here
- 61b Illustration in pencil and blue, yellow, red, and orange marker of the bodhisattva practicing austerities, similar to such images in Gandharan art
- 62a–64b **dukarakiriyā B-7** (largely illegible due to water damage)
- 64b Instruction: ... គឺទុក្ខរកិរិយា ហើយ... តទៅព្រះអង្គកាន់តំនឹងឡើយ ជាបទ...
- 64b Illustration in blue marker of the bodhisattva's head with an extremely thin neck, with two pieces of graffiti in modern blue pen: តិមហ្វយ and, as a caption to the illustration, សួន~ស៊ីម
- 65a–66b **braḥ aṅg kān' tiñ-7** = braḥ aṅg kān' tiñ (largely illegible due to water damage)
- 66b Colophon, illegible except for ចំណេះទន់ទាប
- 67a **dukarakiriyā A-7** (incipit missing; last stanza only)
- 67a–68b **daṃṇuoñ mahāmāyā-7**
- 69a–70b **parinibbānakathā-7**
- 71a–72b sambuddhe samrāy-7 (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 72b Colophon: «.សូមចារជូន ទុករៀនក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាតទៅ។» ខ្ញុំសូមអភ័យទោសដល់ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ ទាំងឡាយ ក្នុងការចម្លងសៀវភៅក្រាំងនេះ ក្រែងពុំសមរម្យមានការខ្វះខាតនូវសព្វបាលីណាមួយសូមអធ្យាស្រ័យ ដល់ខ្ញុំផង ហើយការចម្លងនេះក៏ពុំបានស្អាតល្អនៅឡើយដែរ - ។.
- 73a–73b [blank]

**UB028**  
FEMC d.942

2004, formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Adhvā, Kakrāñ' village, Siem Reap commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, purchased at Duol Daṃbūñ market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvāñ Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheap, 2016.

Modern black and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and painted card stock covers with yellow, orange, and green paint.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Minor edge wear and minor wax damage.

38 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 56 II-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover with designs in yellow and orange paint, with the title with *krāṃṇi girīmānandasūtr* in green paint
- 2a Colophon: «តម្កល់ទុកក្នុងវត្តអធ្វារ»
- 2b–15a **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy cakkhum-r** = braḥ girīmānandasūtr
- 15a Ritual instruction: ជប់ព្រះកៅវជាតទៅទៀត ។ ១៣៣
- 15a–28b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvaṭā/braḥ kauvaṭāsūtr, with brackets (to be continued)

Verso

- 29 Card stock cover with designs in yellow and orange paint
- 30a [blank]
- 30b–31a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvaṭā/braḥ kauvaṭāsūtr, with brackets (continued)
- 31a–31b Ānisaṃsa: នេះនិងសំដែងផល្លា អាទិសង្ឃនៃអ្នកចំរើន ព្រះកៅវនេះ ។ ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលនិងព្រះមហា សារបុគ្គលិកថា ហែសារបុគ្គលិក រឺព្រះកៅវនេះ អង្គីព្រះត្រ័យបីដក់ឡើយ សិនកើតដោយនៅប្រាជ្ញា តថាគតឯង ជាប្រធាន ដើម្បីនិងបំបាត់ កាយកម្ម វិចីកម្ម មនោកម្ម ពួងលង្វែកសាសនានិងបំបាត់ទោសផង ពួងអាឌិតកាល អាណាគតកាល បច្ចុប្បន្នកាល ដោយនៅប្រាជ្ញាតថាគតហោង ហែសារបុគ្គលិក នរុបុគ្គលឯណាមួយ បានមកសំដែង អាចំព្រះកៅវនេះហើយ និងរន្លោះរង្លោះ អស់បាបកម្មវិវាដហទាំងឡាយនោះ សិនរន្លោះអស់ហោង ។
- 31b–34a **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so that
- 34a Ritual instruction: ជប់ព្រះធម្មតទៅទៀត ។ ១៣៣
- 34a–38b **Abhidhammamatikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm (gambīr braḥ saṅghanī para: braḥ abhidhamm lev, gambīt braḥ vībhaṅg lev, gambīr braḥ dhātukathā lev, gambīr braḥ puggalappaññati lev, gambīr braḥ kathāvatthu lev, gambīr braḥ yamaka: lev, gambīr braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān)
- 38b Ritual instruction: ជប់អានត្រៃតទៅទៀត ។ ១៣៣
- 38b–42b **Ān trai B-NP** = ān trāy (ān trāy gambīr braḥ vināy lev, ān trāy gambīr braḥ sūtr lev, ān trāy gambīr braḥ abhidhamm)
- 42b Ritual instruction: ជប់ត្រៃល្អិតទៅទៀត ។ ១៣៣



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- 43a–51a      **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k** = trai lakkh/  
dhaṛm braḥ traḥ lakkh
- 42b            Ritual instruction: ជប់ធម៌ស្នាលាតទៅទៀត ៗ ១៧
- 51a–55a      **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = dhaṛm smā lā, with extra verse at incipit but  
much shorter overall.
- 55a            Colophon [signature of scribe, Jhuan Dhū] THOU
- 55a            Ritual instruction: សំរាប់សូត្រផ្កាចំកម្មអោយអ្នកជម្ងឺហោង ៗ ១៧
- 55b–56a      Extended colophon: ៗ ជុបចប់នៅថ្ងៃ ពុធ ៨ រោច ទី ១៤ ខែ បុស្ស ខែ មករា ឆ្នាំ មមែ ព.ស  
២៥៤៧      គ.ស ២០០៤ ៗ ៗ លោកយាយ «វ៉ាត» ព្រមទាំងបងប្អូន កូនចៅ បានកសាង ក្រាំង គីរីមានន្ទសូត្រ  
មួយក្រាំង សន្សំកុសលតម្កល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ៗ សូមថ្ងៃ ៥០០០ ព្រះវស្សាបរិបូរហោង ៗ ៗ ម.អ.ខ. ទុក្ខ!  
គុណគិតរូបំ រូប្យាមៃៗ ទើបខ្ញុំគិតសាងធម៌ព្រះពុទ្ធថ្ងៃ មានទាំងគីរីមានន្ទ កៅវ៉ា ឥតិបិសោថត ព្រះធម្ម អានត្រ័យ  
ត្រ័យលក្ខ ស្នាលាផងនៃ គុណគិតសង្កែក ក្នុងខ្លួនពន់ពេក ខំរកច្បាប់ធម៌នេះ ជួលគេចម្លង ទុកសំរាប់ញោមញាតិប្រើ  
តទៅមុខ សំរាប់សូត្រសូមផល្លាអនិសង្ស ទៅខាងមុខ កុំអោយខ្ញុំជួបនឹងសេចក្តីកងទុក្ខ ពីត្រឹមនេះទៅមុខកុំបីជួបឡើយ  
ខ្ញុំសូមជួបតែសេចក្តីសុខ ហើយចំរើនផង ៗ សូមចៀសភ័យ ចៀសទុក្ខវិជុកក្នុងប្រាណ កុំមានវេរា បាបទល់ទុក្ខ វេទនា កុំ  
បីជួបឡើយ ៗ សូមសងគុណមាតាបិតាភ្នាប្រិយ សូមលោកបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបីប្រការដូចចិត្ត កុំអោយក្រក្រី សូមបា  
នដូចសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នាហោង ៗ កើតជាតិអនាគតកាល សូមតម្រះដូចនាងអម្រា សូមប្រាថ្នាដូចព្រះមហោសថ ច្បាស់និង  
ព្រះធម៌ជាន់ខ្ពស់ សំរេចព្រះនិព្វានហោង ៗ ម្យ៉ាងទៀត សូមបែរក្រោយ អោយ ស័ព្ទសាធុការ កូនចៅ រកស៊ីកើតមាន ត្រ  
ជាក់ត្រជុំដូចទឹកអម្រិត មូលមាតាបិតា វង្សត្រកូលដៅសន្តាន កុំបីឃ្នាត ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ នេះហោង ៗ មាន  
ខុសគួររក្សាព្រះនាមមួយ ព្រះករុណាខ្ញុំបាទ សូមមេត្តាជួយកែចែកផង ៗ ឈួន-ធ្ល ៗ ៗ ចម្លងក្នុងវត្តពោធិ៍បន្ទាយជ័យ  
ៗ
- 56b            [blank]

UB029

1995, monastic library of Vatt Ang Sirī, Ang Sirī village, Bhnām Pāt commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue pen and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock and ruled with modern blue pen, reinforced with glue and card stock covers.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate water and insect damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

37 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 31–33 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement, with most of the verso spreads blank.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Recto

1 Card stock cover with colophon, probably initially written in pen but now only the scores remain: ឧបាសក លិម ឧបាសិកាសយ ឧបាសកយិប ឧបាសិកាចៃមព្រមទាំងបុត្រ បានក៏សាងក្រាំងនេះ ទុកសម្រាប់វត្ត អង្គសិវិ ខ្ញុំសូមឧទ្ទិសផ្សាយជូនព្រះមាជាបីជាទាំងអស់និងរូបរបស់ខ្ញុំដែលជាកូន ខ្ញុំនេះ ... ឈ្មោះជឿន ប្រពន្ធឈ្មោះចន សាងក្នុងឆ្នាំ ១៩៩៥

2a–10b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānand  
Ritual instruction: នេះព្រះកៅវជាសូត្រតទៅ

11a–15b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = braḥ kauvaṭā (short version)

15b–16b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = lpā smā lā pāp lā doḥ lā pramād satv tūc ddhamṃ niṃ māṭāpīṭā grū ācāry braḥ ādit braḥ cand' braḥ agī gaṅgā tī dik (explicit missing)

Verso

17 Card stock cover with square frames in blue pen

18b–end [blank; not photographed]

**UB030**

FEMC d.943

Early twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Dambūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with diluted ink.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate water and mold damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 27 W-folded spreads.

Recto

1–13b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = (incipit and explicit missing) (to be continued)

Verso

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 14 **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** = (incipit and explicit missing) (continued)  
15a–15b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvatāsūt (incipit missing)  
15b **Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV** (in purple ink)  
15b Colophon: *nībānapaccayohontu*  
16a–27b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (explicit missing)

**UB031**

FEMC d.944

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with white thread.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016, digitally repaired by Trent Walker, 2016.

35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, one fragment of 29 W-folded spreads, another fragment of 36 H-folded spreads, and an additional fragment of one double-sided half spread, with 7 spreads likely missing between the first two fragments and one spread missing between the second and third fragments, i.e (first fragment: [14\* \ /]) + (missing: [7\*\ /]) + (second fragment: + \ + [17 \* \ /]) + (missing: / \) + (third fragment /), thus implying an original arrangement of at least 81 W-folded spreads.

Fragment 1 Recto

- 1 [blank]  
2a–11a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvatāsūt (incipit missing)  
11a–15b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (explicit missing), with unusual marks that may or may not be cantillation marks  
16–22 [7 spreads missing]

Fragment 2 Recto

- 23–34a **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

34a–40b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkh (lvèv) (middle missing) (to be continued), with opening *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*

41 [1 spread missing]

Fragment 3 Recto

42 **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkh (lvèv) (to be continued)

Fragment 3 Verso

43 **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkh (lvèv) (middle missing) (to be continued)

44 [1 spread missing]

Fragment 2 Verso

45–58b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkh (lvèv) (continued)

58b Colophon: ahaṃ អញ ។ កំ ក្រាំងប្រជុំកោវតារព្រះត្រៀលក្ខិកន្តេរប្រគេនពុំសូវប្រព្រៃ ល្អខ្លះ អាក្រកខ្លះ ខុះត្រូវស្នើហត្ថារមានចិត្តសទ្ធារសសេរយកបុន ។ ឡី ។ *nībānapācay'ohotu* នេះហោវព្រះត្រៀល្អចប្ប ល្ងែង ។

58b–62b **hau braliṅ-k** = hov braliṅ capp lvèn (to be continued) (middle missing)

63–69 [7 spreads missing]

Fragment 1 Verso

70–77a **hau braliṅ-k** = hov braliṅ capp lvèn (continued)

77a Colophon: នេះលោកជ្ជោតសារ្យមុល្លថ្មៃគុម បានសរសេរព្យលោកសំមរ៉ាបសារស្នាវ ជារកុសលតី ទៅវហោង អក្សនេះនៃមិនសូវប្រព្រៃ វេលជើងសិជតក្នុងវេលសកសិជត្តង ខុះត្រូវត្រាត្រៀ

77b–83b [blank]

**UB032**

1973, monastic library of Vatt Aṅg Sirī, Aṅg Sirī village, Bhmaṃ Pāt commune, Bañā L̄ district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Modern blue marker in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock lined with pencil.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun and digitally repaired from two fragments by Trent Walker, 2016.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 46 H-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Cover with designs in pencil
- 2a Title: ក្រាំងគិរិមានន្ទសុត្ត
- 2b–11b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasutt/brah girimānandasūtr
- 11b–23b **Ākāravattā A-NP** (explicit mostly effaced)

Verso

- 24–28a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = brah abhidhamm dāmaṇi mūl (incipit mostly effaced)
- 28a–42b **Ratanamālā-NV** = ratamālā buddhaguṇ, dhammaguṇ ratamālā, ratamālā saṃguṇ
- 42b Colophon: អ្នកសរសេរឈ្មោះអាចារ្យ នៅ- [ម្ស] ។ សរសេរចប់នៅថ្ងៃ២៤[១២] ព្រះវិហារ  
បញ្ចស័ក.ព.ស.២៥១៧ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃទី ២៧ ខែមិថុនា ឆ្នាំ ១៩៧៧ ពេលម៉ោង ១១.៣០ នាទី ថ្ងៃត្រង់ ។
- 44a Sarasōr mahāsamayāsūtr = sarasōr mahāsamayāsūtr, as follows: *mahāsamaya suteca atthomaṅgala suttake samacitte rāhulovāde dhammacakkapparābhavā devatāsamittitatha appamāyā anappakādhamaṅgala samāyā cettha gaṇanāto asamkheyyo.*
- 44b Colophon: វាយនាមសប្បុរសជនអ្នកមានសទ្ធាជារក្រាំងគិរិមានន្ទសុត្តនេះគឺ:  
១- ឧបាសក ចាន់-ឌឹម នឹង ឧបាសិការ ម៉ី- ជា  
២—" ម៉ូវ- ឈីន —" ចាន់- អ៊ឹម  
៣—" ចាន់- អឿន —" ម៉ុច  
៤—" ធួ- សាន —" ចាន់- ប៉ូ  
៥- ឧបាសក ឃឹម- ប៉ុន នឹង ឧបាសិការ ចាន់- លា  
៦—" ចាន់- លន —" សុំ- សឿម  
៧—" ឈុំ- ចុន —" ចាន់- លាប់  
៨—" ចាន់- ឡុច

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យើងខ្ញុំទាំងអស់គ្នាសូមប្រាថ្នាថា ជាតិអតីតសូមឲ្យយើងទាំងអស់គ្នាបានទាន់ព្រះសិរិមេត្រីហើយឲ្យបានសម្រេចនៅ  
ធម៌ជាន់ខ្ពស់កុំបីខានឡើយ ។ល។

46a–46b [blank]

**UB033**

1964, monastic library of Vatt Aṅg Sirī, Aṅg Sirī village, Bhmaṅ Pāt commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue marker in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock lined with pencil.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape and modern white paper by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

33 x 13 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 60 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement, with 4 half-spreads missing.

Recto

- 1–6a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānan' (to be continued) (middle missing)
- 6b [missing]
- 7a–10b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānan' (continued)
- 10b–18b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauṭā (to be continued) (middle missing)
- 19a [missing]
- 19b–23b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauṭā (continued)
- 23b–30b **Ratanamālā-NV** = namassakā braḥ buddhagun 56 me /rattamālā (buddhaguna only)
- 30b Table of contents: ព្រះគិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ម្សត្តក កៅជាម្សត្តក ។ [in blue pen] រត្តមាលាពួក ។ ស្ថាណម្សត្តក ។ ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខញ្ញាណម្សត្តក ។ ព្រះធម៌ម្សត្តក ។

Verso

- [at least 1 spread missing here]
- 31–34a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dham (incipit missing)
- 34a–42b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = (to be continued) (middle missing)
- 43a [missing]
- 43b–45b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = (continued)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 45b–52a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k** = braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṇ ṭoy° saṅkhep  
 52a–55a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** = braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṇ ṭoy° saṅkhep (to be continued) (middle missing)  
 55b [missing]  
 56a–57a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** = braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṇ ṭoy° saṅkhep (continued)  
 57a–59b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāmaṅ »-k** = braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṇ ṭoy° saṅkhep  
 59b–60a Colophon: ចបនៅថ្ងៃ ៗ អង្គារ ១១ កើត ខែហេតុត ឆ្នាំ ១៩៦៤ អាចាយ ៗ លោកអាចារយ្យវៃន មានសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លា បានផ្ដើមផ្ដួច បបួលអស់ញាតិមិត្តទ្វាប្បា ក៏រសាងគ្រាន់ព្រះគិរីមានន្ទសូតនេះទុកសម្រាប់ ត្រីសាស្ត្រ ទៅអាណាគត់ កុំណាត់ដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន ជាទ្វិសម្រេច ៗ ៗ ៗ បាន ក៏រសាង គ្រាន់នេះក្នុងឆ្នាំមថ្ងៃ ៗ ១៩៦៤  
 60b [blank]

UB034

1962, private collection of *ācāry* Gaṅ' Sār'an, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and blue ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue.

Moderate edge and fold wear and severe wax, water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

35 x 15 cm, 12 lines per spread, fragment of 69 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 [blank]  
 2a Colophon: ៖ ផ្ដាំមខាលសក្ដីរាជ ១៩៦៤ ឈ្មោះ [illegible, effaced] គិរីមានន្ទ កៅវតារ ព្រះធម្ម ភន្តែកត្តារ ៗ ព្រះត្រៀលក្ខញ្ញាន ជៀកូនគោរ [illegible, whited out] យោវោអានន្ទ អនីច្ចាសង្ហារ  
 2b–11a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = g<sup>ṛ</sup>īrīmāranand/g<sup>ṛ</sup>īrīmānand  
 11a Colophon: *nībbānnapacay*"ohontu  
 11a–24b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = kovatār/dhar kauvatā  
 25a–27b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm (kāṃmbīy braḥ saṅganī, kāṃmbīy braḥ vibhaṃṅg, kāṃmbīy braḥ dhāttukathā, kāṃmbīy braḥ puggul, kāmbī braḥ kathāvatthu, kāṃmbī braḥ yāgg, kāṃbīy braḥ mahāpathān)  
 28a–35b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = bhantè bhaggavār (explicit missing)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

[at least 3–4 spreads missing here]

Verso

[at least 3–4 spreads missing here]

36–52b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkhañān/  
braḥ traiy° lakkh (incipit missing)

53a–56a **jāy kūn go-br** = jaiy° kūn gor

56a–64b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = dhamm bhantèr

65a–68a **pacchimbuddhavacana B-br** = yo vo ānand'/dhaṛmm yaṃnuoñ ānand

68a–69b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7** = aniccā saṅkhār

**UB035**

FEMC d.945

Mid twentieth century, original provenance unknown but likely close to UB014 and UB015, purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and layered paper covers.

Moderate fold and edge wear and minor insect damage, cleaned and repaired with glue by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

34 x 13 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 99 M-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Blank layered paper cover

2a Colophon: [in pencil] វិស័យ ប៊ុន ពានសសេរ

2b–21b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhāsek srec' do ni leḥ le lee

21b–29a **dhaṛm yog-bn** = braḥ dhaṛmm yok

29a–32b **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** = braḥ dhaṛmm

33a–50a **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ mār (to be continued),

50a Note: ផ្កា

50b [blank]

Verso



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 51 Blank layered paper cover
- 52a–52b **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ mār (continued)
- 53a–67b **khvān' nāg-r** = khvān nāg pakaraṇ
- 67b Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នាជូនប្រិយជនព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ម្តងសិរី កើតអណាគុតសូមមានជម្រះប្រាជ្ញា  
[in pencil] ស្មារដី [in black ink] រៀនរាល់សព្វជាតិទៅហោង ។ ័ ័ ័ ័ [in pencil] ័ ប៉ែនហ៊ិន កែវ ័ ។  
ប៉ែន ហ៊ិន - កែវ បានសរសេរ
- 68a–99b [blank]

**UB036**

Mid or late twentieth century, private collection of *me bhūmi* Sū Say, Thmī village, Bhmaṃ Pāt commune, Bañā L̄ district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock lined with pencil, reinforced with glue, masking tape, red thread, and a black crocodile skin verso cover.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate wax and water damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

32 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 64 H-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1–12b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtr
- 13a–22b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) rapiēp samāy jān' tōm
- 23a–32a **Ākāravattā D-NP** = akāravatā (to be continued)
- 32b Graffito: អស្ថ

Verso

- 33 Black crocodile skin cover
- 34a–45a **Ākāravattā D-NP** = akāravatā (continued)
- 45a–50a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm dāṃṇ prāṃbīr gambīr
- 50b–51b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) saṅkhep pad bāky prāṃbīr
- 52a–53b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅveg pad brahmagit
- 54a–55a **sikkhāpad prāṃpī-br** = sikkhāpad prāṃpī pad brahmagit

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- 55b–56a      **bāky prakās mun ārāḍhanā dhammadesanā-br** = bāky prakās mun ārāḍhanā dhārm
- 56a–58a      **ārāḍhanā dhammadesanā-br** = bāky ārāḍhanā dhārm desanā pad brahmagit
- 58b            [blank]
- 59a            Graffito: ព័ន្ធរកនោះណា
- 59b–63b      [blank]
- 64a            Note/graffito: តាអាចាយុង ភូមិថ្មីកំម្ពុត់ព្រាយ

**UB037**

FEMC 097-B.06.06.01

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Braḥ Dandim a.k.a Brai Cār Knuñ, Brai Cār Knuñ village, Brai Cār commune, Jön Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, currently held at the FEMC, Vatt Uṇṇālom, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with scores, reinforced with glue and modern off-white paper.

Severe edge and fold wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage, repaired by the FEMC with cellophane tape and traditional white *snāy* paper.

35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 65 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1                    Cover with FEMC catalog info on white stickers and title in modern blue pen: *ākāravatā ratanamālā*  
[unknown number of spreads missing here]
- 2a–9a            **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = braḥ girimānandasutaṃ (incipit missing)
- 9a–17b          **Ākāravattā A-NP** = ākāravatāsūt, with the following incipit:  
[*mūl* script] *namatthuratanattayassa*  
*namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*  
[*jriēn* script, purple ink] *sātāgiriyaḅkko asurindo cātumahārājā sakko mahābrahmā*
- 24a              Colophon: ចបល្អក ៗ ០ ០ buddhohomi anāgatekāle.
- 24a–26a        Ānisaṃsa [in purple ink]: ៗ ០ នឹងសំម្ពៃងផល់អាទិសង្ឃអាការវតាសូត ៗ រឿនឹងសំម្ពៃងពើ  
កុសល់ផល់បុន្យអនិសង្ឃន្យអ្នកដបាន ចំរម្រើន ៗ អាការវតាសូតនេះព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលនិងព្រះមហាសារបុត្តថៃរ ថាហ្សែ  
បាសារបុត្តថៃររឿ រឿអាការវតាសូតនេះមិនគឺក្នុងព្រះត្រៃបិដកលើ គឺកើតដេរព្រះប្រាជ្ញាជាប្រធានដើម្បីនៅបំប៉ាន់ក្ស

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ក្នុងវិចិត្រមនោក្ខំពងលុដវេកសាស្ត្រនេះហោង តែងនិងបំប័ត្រទេវផង ពងអាណាគតបច្ចុបនេះ ដេរ្យនោវប្រាថ្នានៃរដ  
ថាគុតហោង ។ ហ្សសារបុត្តថៃរៀនរូបុត្តលណ១ ។ បានមកសំប្លែងអាការវតាទេះក៏បុត្តលនុះពុំត្រូវទេរៀន ទ្រូរ  
បាប ទ្រាំហ្សលើរស្មើជិះលើរយានហោងឆ្លង...អំពីបាបហោង ថាបើបានសុត្រម្តងទេវដារមករក្សារ ។ ដល់ ៥ ខែរពុំឲ្យ  
មានឧប្បទ្រពបៀតបៀនលើរ ហៃតុរៀតៃក្នុំព្យបូរននិងឃ័តពុំបានលើរ ។ ហេតុក៏ម្នើតក្នុំនុះជាខ្មៅពេក ទោះអ្នកឯ  
ណា១បានសូតរៀនប្រាសសេរក្តី មានចិត្រប្រថ្នាទន្ទេញក្តីទោះយកអាត្មាខិនលំទោនទៅធ្វើទំនុកអំរុង ឆ្នាំសាធុការមកបូ  
ជានៅទៀនធុកក្តីផ្ការ មានចិត្រប្រថ្នារប្រក្រតិប្បហ្សរពុំឲ្យដាច់ ទោះទៅប្រថ្នារត្រៀពិតសំប័តក្តីសិនបានដូចប្រថ្នា  
រហោង ។ ទោះពុំនុះសោតិបើពុំបានរៀនលើរឲ្យប្រាទុកតែងនិងសំពោះ បើពុំបានប្រាសលើរឲ្យបានស្តាប់បើពុំបានស្តាប់ឲ្យ  
ដើរចូលទៅក្រោមផ្ទះនៃរៀនអ្នកដបានសូតស្វាតព្យាបនោះឲ្យលើកុំបំផងអញ្ចលី ប្រណុំហ្សើដើរអំភ្លាងទៅរយកព្រះស្រ្យរត្ត  
ត្រៀមទ្រាំ ជាអំប្លោះទុក្ខក្នុងចិត្រហ្សើអ្នកនុះនិងបាន ផលកុសលច្រើនមុហិមារ ។ អាចយ័តបាបពងចតុរ្យព្យ  
ទាំង៤ ជុំពុំនុះហោង ទោះបើអ្នកឯណា១បានធុត/ក/អំពើបញ្ចវេរ្យទ្រាំ គឺបាណាទិបាតា អទិនាទានា កម្មេសុមិច្ឆា  
មុសាវាទា សុរាមេរយៈ ហ្សើអ្នកនុះបានព្រកជ័រមនេនឲ្យមានចិត្រសាទ្ធារដើរផ្ទៃ ទំនុកដេរ្យនៅចិត្រនោវខ្លួនដេរ្យពាក្យ  
ហ្សើដម្រងចិត្រ កាត់អុំអក្ខកុសលនៃរៀនអាត្មាធ្វើខនេះស្រេចហ្សើមកដល់ហ្សើបានស្តាប់ព្រះជ័រម អាការវតាសូតនេះ  
ហ្សើយកព្រះ {ពុទ្ធុជ័រម {ស័យ ជាពុំអ្នកសព្វថៃ ហ្សើអ្នកនុះនិងល្លោះរូបអំពីបាបទ្រាំពងបានទៅកើតត្រៀពិតសំប័ត  
ហោង ។ រៀនព្រះជ័រមអាការវតាសូតនេះជាសត្រូវនិងបាបដូចយុប្បនិងថៃហោង ។ ទោះពុំនុះសោតដូចក្លិនគុនពិដោរ  
និងល្លោះហោង ដូចត្រដាក់និងក្តៅហោងទោះពុំនុះសោតព្រះអប្បមាដូចទិកមន្តត័រិសៃស ។ មករំលុតអុំបា  
បនោះហោង បើបានមកស្តាប់ត្រាប់ត្រងរៀនកាលឯណាហ្សើ បាបអុំអកុសលនុះរុតខ្នាតចេញដូចទិករមៀលអំពីស្លឹក  
លូកហោង ។ រៀនស្រដៀសដៃដល់អនិសងអាការវតាសូតនេះ មេញស្រេចនោវប្រការម្លៃសហោង ។ ១ ។ ។

។ ១១

- 26b–30b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅgīni, braḥ vibhaṅg pakaraṇ, braḥ dhātukathā pakaraṇ, puggalapañatti, braḥ kathāvatthu pakaraṇ, braḥ yamak pakaraṇ (explicit missing)  
[unknown number of spreads missing here]
- 31a–32b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (to be continued) (incipit and middle missing)

Verso

- 33–34a [blank]  
[unknown number of spreads missing here]
- 34b–36a **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (continued) (middle missing)  
[unknown number of spreads missing here]
- 36b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (continued)
- 37a–45a **Ratanamālā-NV** = g'an braḥ dhār(m) 38, g'an braḥ saṅgh jā aṇṇmācāḥ yōn thnai. 14 (middle missing)  
[1 spread missing here]
- 45b–53a **Ratanamālā-NV** = g'an braḥ dhār(m) 38, g'an braḥ saṅgh jā aṇṇmācāḥ yōn thnai. 14

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 53a Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថូរឲ្យបានទានព្រះសិរិមេត្រីហោង។ អាណាគុតតទៅឯមុខខ្ញុំសូមឲ្យមានប្រាជ្ញាស្មារតីត្រូវលែងអ្នកផងទាំងអស់ កុំទទើសទាល់ជុំពាក់លើហោង ។។
- 53b–63b Astrological/divination treatise in prose [in purple ink]
- 64a–65b [blank]

**UB038**

Late twentieth or early twenty-first century, monastic library of Vatt Ang Braḷiñ, Ksem Ksānt commune, Uṭuñg district, Kampong Speu province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black pen and orange, yellow, red, pink, green, purple, and blue marker in *mūl* and *jriēñ* scripts on modern white and gray card stock mass-produced blank leporello ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and hard cardboard covers decorated with printed designs and text in black, gold, white, green, and yellow.

Minor edge and fold wear and minor water damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

33 x 12 cm, 8–14 lines per spread, complete in 80 II-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and gold, with the printed title: ប្រជុំ ធម៌បទ នានាធម្មសង្កេត
- 2a–2b Colophon in large writing in red, orange, purple, green, and blue marker: វត្តអង្គ ព្រលឹង -ឃុំក្សេមក្សាន្ត-ស្រុកឧដុង្គ-ខេត្តកំពង់ស្ពឺ រៀបរៀងដោយ ភិក្ខុ ជឿម-សុខុម
- 3a–8b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtt, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- 8b–19b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = saññā 10/ girimānand prè (incipit missing)
- 20a–20b **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** = braḥ aṅg ceñ pabbajjā
- 20b–23b **bimbāviyog-7** = bimbāviyog
- 23b–25b **dukkarakiriyā A-7** = dukkarakiriyā
- 25b–27a **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = daṃnuoñ nāñ sirimahāmāyā
- 27a–31b **braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār-7** = braḥ aṅg phcāñ mār
- 31b–36a **bimbābilāp-7** = bimbābilāp
- 36b–40a **daṃnuoñ ānand-7** = daṃnuoñ ānand
- 40b [blank]

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Verso

- 41 Card stock cover with printed designs in white, green, and yellow.
- 42a–45a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ abhidhamm 7 gambīr, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*
- 45b–48a **baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7** = baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh (explicit missing)
- 48b–50a **sukhumalakkhaṇa:-7** = aniccā dī 1, dukkhā dī 2, anattā dī 3
- 50b–51a **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṇ)
- 51a–52a **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṇ)
- 52b–54a **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅveg
- 54b–55a **daṃnuoñ madrī-7** = daṃnuoñ nān medrī viyog niṅ putr
- 55a–55b **daṃnuoñ nān kesanī juop niṅ putr-7** = daṃnuoñ nān kesanī juop niṅ putr
- 56a–56b **daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapas' jān kèv-7** = daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapas' jān kèv
- 57a–57b **kumārabilāp-7** = kumārabilāp
- 58a–59a **sira: on-br** = sira: on
- 59a–60b **aṭṭhamahāṭṭhān samrāy-4** = aṭṭhamahāṭṭhān
- 60b–61b **ṭāk' dan' sāsana-7** = pravatti baṛṇ dan' sāsana
- 62a–70a **satthuppabbajjā-7** = braḥ bodhisatv yān sān phnuos
- 70b–72b **saṃvegavatthu 8 y''ān-7** = trailakkha(ṇ) aniccā (incipit and explicit missing)
- 72b–76a **khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7** = khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy
- 76a–77b **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** = pad phcāñ' mār kāl braḥ aṅg ceñ
- pabbajjā
- 77b–79b **raṃḷk guṇ mātāpitā-7** = raḷik guṇ mātāpitā
- 80a Final note: *sattedhāre tīti dhammo sabhāvo* = ប្រែថា សភាវៈឯណាដែលទ្រទ្រង់នៅសត្វ ទាំងឡាយ អោយរួចចាកទុក្ខសភាវៈនោះឯង អោយឈ្មោះថាធម៌ ៧ នាក់ដែលប្រាថ្នាធម៌ល្អិតល្អន់ចិត្ត ហើយខំប្រិប ត្តិនិងបានចំរើន នាក់ដែលស្អប់ធម៌ទ្រុស្តធម៌ឥតកើន ឥតកើតចំរើនវិនាសទៅមុខ ៧
- 80b [blank]

UB039

EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 45

Late twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Prāsād Vaṭṭī a.k.a. Tpūñ or possibly in private collection in Ū Lāv village, Phdaḥ Kaṅṭāl commune, Srī Sandhar district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by the FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with tape and thread.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

No visible wear or damage.

Approximately 36 x 10 cm, 10 lines per spread, photocopy of 91 spreads.

Recto

1a Table of contents/colophon, written on an inserted sheet of gridded notebook paper: ៖មានពុទ្ធាភិសេក យោក ផ្កាញមារ៖។ គិរីមានន្ទ-កោវដារ-អព្ពិធម្ម-ធម្មសង្ខេប-សហស្សណោ អានត្រ័យ ព្រះសូត្រ-ព្រះវិន័យ-ព្រះអព្ពិធម្ម-វិសាខបូជា ពហូទេវា សុតជាបទ្រវិសាខ - មានសកក្កត្វាទាំងបីបទ - គិរីមានន្ទ្រសូត្រប្រៃ-សញ្ញា ១០ - ឥមិនានមានទាំងបាឡី-ទាំងសម្រាយ សូមខមាសទោសចំពោះសព្វសត្វទាំងឡាយផង - *yekecikhuddakāpāṇā* - ជាដើម

1b Colophon: ៖លោកអាចារ្យ ម៉ក់ - ផាន់ - នឹងយាយឧបាសិកា ក៏នយោងតិម បានជួលគេសរសេរ អស់ឈ្នួលប្រាំបួនពាន់រៀល = ៩០០០រ។ ដំកល់ទុកក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ក្នុងភូមិអូលាវ - ខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នាកើតជាតិណាៗ សូមជួបព្រះពុទ្ធ សូមមានប្រាជ្ញាដូចព្រះសារីយ្យបុត្រ - ចាកផ្ទះមោះមុតិដូចព្រះនាគ្គសេន - សូមអោយអង្គអាច មានវិជ្ជា អំណាចដូចព្រះមោគ្គលាន ត្រង់ពាកមិនចេះនឹងពាកថាគ្មាន កុំបំភើតមានដល់ខ្ញុំឡើយណា សូមបានសម្រេចអោយ បានកាត់ផ្តេចវាលវត្តសង្ឃ ធ្វើផុតទុក្ខក៏យសព្វគ្រប់ប្រការ ដាក់ដល់ត្រើយមហា ព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។ ៖ ។

- 2a-19b **Buddhābhiseka-NP**
- 20a-25b **dhārm yog-bn**
- 26a-39b **phcāñ' mār «yön khñum paṅgaṃ»-k**
- 36b Ritual instructions: «ថ្វាយអណ្តាប់»
- 40a-43b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā rūp yön min dien bit»-7**
- 43b-44a **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV**
- 44a-44b **Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV**
- 44b-45b **Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV**
- 46a-48a **mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4**
- 48b-52a **aṭṭhavīsati buddha-gāthā samrāy-4** = kār niñ sūtr namassakār caṃboḥ braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg
- 52a-53b **Maṅgala-sutta-CM** = mahāmaṅgalasūtaṃ
- 53b-54b **Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV** = sakkatvā pī pad
- 54b Colophon: មាយបូជា ឬ ពិសាខបូជា ចប់បរិបូណ៌សមគួរ ទៅតាមច្បាប់ដើមតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ យើង សូមរំលឹកថា បាលីមាយបូជានេះមិនមែនប្រែបែបនេះទេ ប៉ុន្តែធ្លាប់សូត្រមកដូច្នោះ ខ្ញុំបាទក៏ចម្លងទុកទៅ។ ៖ ។

Verso

- 55a-64b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**
- 64b-80a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānandasūtr prè jā sañvāk' pad brahmagit / bāky kāby thlèn sec kṭi girimānandasūtr

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 80a–81b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = trai lakkha(ṇ)/ trai lakkha(ṇ) ṭoy  
saṅkhep  
81b–83b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅveg jā pad  
brahmagit  
83b–85a **Ān trai B-NP** = braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtr, braḥ abhidhamm  
85a–89a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ saṅganī, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā,  
braḥ puggalapaññatti, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamaka:, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān  
89a–91b **Ākāravattā A-NP** (explicit missing)

**UB040**

FEMC D.XXX

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Cās' market, Siem Reap, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional purple ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with diluted ink, reinforced with black and white thread.

Severe edge and fold wear and severe water and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

37 x 14 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, fragment of 25 M-folded spreads

Recto

- 1 **Ākāravattā B-NP** (incipit and explicit missing) (continued from 25b)  
2a–8b **Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV** = pālīy sūtr visākhapūjā, with *cap' leev* several times  
throughout  
8b Ritual instruction: បើដល់ខែហរិសាខថ្ងៃបូរមី ឱ្យរៀបគ្រឿងសក្ការបូជារដ្ឋាព្រះហឿសូតុបា  
ឡីយនេះតាមលំដាប់ច្បាប់បូរមីន ៧  
9a–13b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (explicit missing)

Verso

- 14–25b **Ākāravattā B-NP** (incipit and explicit missing) (to be continued on 1)

**UB041**

Late twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Caṃbuḥ K'èk, Caṃbuḥ K'èk village, Brèk Thmī commune, Cpār Aṃbau district, Phnom Penh municipality, Cambodia, photocopied by Trent Walker, 2006, photocopy scanned by Trent Walker, 2015.

Modern pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern paper ruled with pencil.

Minor water damage.

Approximately 36 x 10 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, photocopy of 58 spreads plus at least 6 spreads omitted in original photocopy.

Recto

- 1a–17b        **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = dhārm buddhābhisek/buddhābhisek, with the incipit *namatthu*
- 18a–25a       **dhārm yog-bn** = dhārm y"ok, with the incipit *namatthu*
- 25b–38b       **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = dhārm phcāñ' mār, with the incipit *namatthu* (explicit missing)
- 30b            Ritual instructions: សូត្របីដងកាលព្រះអង្គចេញបព្វជា 1 ថ្វាយឧទក 2 ថ្វាយមធុបាយស 3 ថ្វាយស្វាបារី 4 ថ្វាយកន្តោ នាងសុជាតា នាងឱមាទៃ កាន់ស្វាបារី នាងប៉ុន្នទាសី
- 39–44           [omitted from original photocopy]
- 45a–45b       Ritual instruction for consecration (incipit missing) (to be continued)

Verso

- 46a–47b       Ritual instruction for consecration (continued)
- 47b–49b       **Dhammakāya-NP**
- 49b–57b       **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**
- 58a            braḥ ovād-br = braḥ ovād/braḥ bhikkhu nin. bhen riep rien
- 58b            [blank]
- 59a–60a       **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām tap'»-br** = pūduṃ thvāy phkā (short version)
- 60a            Colophon: នេះចប់បូជ័យថ្វាយផ្កាចំលងមកពីអាចារ្យមានវត្តតំរីស «រកាកោង»ស្មៅដោយភិក្ខុ ប៉ៅ វិញ ។
- 60a–60b       **sattamahāṭṭhān samrāy-4** = sattamahāthān pre pad bāky 8
- 61a–62a       **aṭṭhamahāṭṭhān samrāy-4** = aṭṭhamahāthān pre pad bāky 8
- 62a–62b       **sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k** = buddhapād 5 ṭhān pad kākagati (short version)
- 63a–63b       **catussaṃvejaniyaṭṭhān-7** = catussaṃvejaniyaṭṭhān pad bāky-7



64a–64b **madhupāyās-k** = thvāy cañhān' madhup"āy"ās'

**UB042**

EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 64

1972–1973, original provenance unknown but likely by the same scribe as UB027, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with tape.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate wax and water damage.

Original dimensions unknown (likely approximatey 35 x 12), 10 lines per spread, photocopy of 49 spreads.

Recto

1a Illustration of a reclining buddha

1b Caption: ព្រះសមណគោតម

2a Illustration of two butterflies and colophon: ផ្កាតូរ៉ូបញ្ចូស័ក ព្រះពុទ្ធសករាជពីរពាន់ប្រាំ រយដប់ប្រាំពីរ

2b Yantra with the syllables *su, na, bu, ddham, u, ma, a, mi, ma, hi, su, tam, i, su, na,* and *a*, and table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ប្រាប់មេ គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ លក្ខណញ្ញាណ ព្រះអាការវត្តា នមោ នមស្សការ ព្រះអភិធម្មពមេ ព្រះពុទ្ធមង្គល ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ កន្ថេកគវាល្យា

3a Illustration of a pair of birds in fruit trees

3a–12b **Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvātiṃsākāra/dvātiṃsākār samrāy-r** = sūtr girimānand

13a–13b Illustration of a recling corpse and a spirit moving away from the corpse, with the caption: ព្រះធម្ម [with the ជើងម in the form of a snake menacing the corpse] អាស្សរូបនៅ ចិត្តទៅទីទៃ រូបនេះកើតមកហើយ តែងតែរងទុក្ខក្នុងដប់ពីរកង ព្រោះហេតុនេះបានជាយំនូវគ្រាដែលប្រសូត្រចេញភ្លាម ។

14a–18b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ dhamm (braḥ dhammasaṅganī, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalappaññatti, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān)

19a–24b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ trai lākkkh(ṅ)/lakkhaṅañān, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (explicit missing)

Verso

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 25a [blank]
  - 25b Title: ព្រះអាការវត្តាសូត្រដប់ប្រាំពីរមេ១៧
  - 26a Illustration of a diving heron, perhaps clutching a necklace
  - 26b–42b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ ākāravattāsūtr ṭap' prāṃbīr me 17/kauvatā
  - 43a–45b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = lpā lā pāp, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (short version)
  - 46a–47a **aṭṭhadisabuddhamaṅgal-br** = braḥ buddhamaṅgal pūjā astāḍiḥ
  - 47a–48a **namo namassakār-br** = namo namassakār
  - 48b [blank]
  - 49a–49b Colophon: សូមជួយថែរក្សា - កុំឲ្យប្រឡាក់ - កុំឲ្យរលែក - កុំឲ្យទទឹកទឹក - កុំឲ្យភ្លើងឆេះ - កុំឲ្យភ្លើងលេង
- អរគុណទុកជាមុនចំពោះលោកអ្នកដែលបានជួយថែទាំក្រាំងនេះ ។ លោកអាចារ្យ ទ្រី - គឹមឡេង-និងឧបាសិកា ស៊ឹម-អេង ព្រមទាំងញាតិមិត្តជិតឆ្ងាយទាំងអស់បានមូលមតិគ្នា ផ្តួចផ្តើមគំនិតជាវក្រាំង (ធម៌ចាស់ទុំ) នេះឡើងសម្រាប់ចែកជូនប្រើប្រាស់រៀងទៅ ។
- សូមកុសលផលបុណ្យទាំងឡាយដែលកើតមានមកពីចិត្តសុទ្ធជ្រះថ្លា របស់លោកអ្នក នាងទាំងអស់នេះជួយយិតយោង អស់លោក អ្នក នាង ឲ្យជួបតែនិងសេចក្តីសុខគ្រប់ៗ ជាតិ សានសុខ ពោល គឺ ព្រះនិព្វាន ជានិច្ចនិរន្តរ៍ តរៀងទៅ ។ ឯតម្លៃក្រាំងដែលបានជាវ មកនេះមានចំនួនទឹកប្រាក់ ៣០០០ រៀល ។

**UB043**

1988, monastic library of Vatt Rājapūrṇ a.k.a Vatt Pūrḥ, Vatt Pūrḥ village, Sālā Kamrök commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern blue and red pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, staples, and thick wood covers decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, red, and white paint.

No visible wear and minor mold damage.

Approximately 38 x 14 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, complete in 97 M-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Thick wood cover, decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, and red paint, with title in white paint: ព្រះអភិធម្ម ១៩៨៨

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 2a Colophon: ឧបាសិកា ប៉ែនយាក-ឧបាសិកាលីង. ឧបាសិកា.បុក. ឧបាសិកា-សិវ័  
ឧបាសិកា.ហេង. ឧបាសិកា.ទូច. លោកធនព្រមភរិយា ឧបាសិកា.សៀន. ឧបាសិកា.ឡុញ. ឧបាសិកា.ណក នួន ណាល់
- 2b–20b **Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoh-r**  
21a–37a **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** = girimānand sūtr jā pad  
37a–47b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = gīrīmānand sūtr 1 pèp diet/  
gīrīmānandasūtr  
48a–49b **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/ anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r** = anattalakkhaṇasūtr  
prè/anattalakkhaṇasūtr (to be continued)

Verso

- 50 Thick wood cover, decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, and red  
paint, with title in white paint: អការវត្តា
- 51a–60b **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/ anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r** = anattalakkhaṇasūtr  
prè/anattalakkhaṇasūtr (continued)  
60b–66b **anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7** = anattalakkhaṇasūtr prè jā kāby/  
anattalakkhaṇasūtr  
66b–67b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = trai lakkha(ṇ) pad bāky prāmbīr  
68a–69b **dhammasaṅveg «oh o guor saṅveg»-br** = [trai lakkha(ṇ)] sūtr muoy pèp  
diet  
69b–71b **khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy-7** = khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy  
71b–86b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kāvatāsūtr  
87a–88b **Itipi so that A-NP**, with the *Tisaraṇagamana* as the incipit (with brackets)  
89a–92a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = sattappakaraṇābhidhamm/braḥ abhidhamm  
92b–94b **Ān trai C-NP** = ān trai braḥ vināy, gāmbīr braḥ sūtr  
94b Colophon: សរសេរចប់នៅថ្ងៃ 22-8-88 - នាងខ្ញុំនួនស៊ិនរី— សូមប្រាថ្នាសម្រេចព្រះនិព្វានហោង  
95a–97b [blank]

UB044

1989, monastic library of Vatt Rājapūrṇ a.k.a Vatt Pūrḅ, Vatt Pūrḅ village, Sālā Kaṃrök  
commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent  
Walker, 2016.

Modern blue and red pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled  
with pencil, reinforced with glue, staples, and thick wood covers with writing in red paint.

Minor fold and edge wear and minor mold damage.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Approximately 38 x 14 cm, 12–15 lines per spread, complete in 100 N-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Thick wood cover with a label in red paint: រាជបូជ
- 2a Title in large script: គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រ
- 2b–9a [blank]
- 9b–16a **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoḥ-r** = girimānandasūtr (to be continued)
- 16b–17a [blank]
- 17b–28b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoḥ-r** = girimānandasūtr (continued)
- 28b–39a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānand sūtr jā pad/girimānand
- 39a–40b **trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = trai lakkha(n) dī 1
- 40b–42a **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = [trai lakkha(n)] sūtr muoy pèp diet
- 42b–44b **khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy-7** = khmoc yaṃ stāy kroy
- 44b Colophon: «មានវៃជំពូយទៅទៀត ខ្ញុំសូមស្នេះតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ» តាស៊ីប ។
- 45a–49a **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kāvatār/kāvatā (to be continued)
- 49b–50b [blank]

Verso

- 51 Thick wood cover
- 52a–53a [blank]
- 53b–66a **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kāvatār/kāvatā (continued)
- 66b Unusual page number: 111<sup>5/0</sup> (scribe initially skipped 66b (should have been 112) in the pagination, so had to add in 111<sup>5/0</sup> after the fact)
- 66b–68a **Itipi so that A-NP** = itipi so tḥat, with the *Tisaraṇagamana* as the incipit (with brackets)
- 68a–71a **Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** = sattappakaraṇābhidhamm/brah abhidhamm
- 71b–74a **Ān trai C-NP** = ān trai braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtr
- 74a Colophon: 20-8-89 Ta Sip
- 74b–76a Various liturgical texts recited prior to reciting paritta texts, including Parittabhāsanāyācana-gāthā/parittabhāsanāyācana-gāthā samrāy (parittabhāsanāyācanagāthā bāky ārādhanā braḥ bhikkhusaṅgh sūm oy<sup>o</sup> camrön braḥ paritt), Sagge kāme ca rūpe-gāthā (bāky prakās añjōñ babuok devatā dī 1 nīn dī 2 knuñ cakravāl), and Samantā cakkavāḷesu-gāthā/samantā cakkavāḷesu-gāthā samrāy-r ((sec ktī prè) añjōñ babuok devatā knuñ cakravāl dī 2), as follows: ។ បវត្តកាសានាយាចនតាថា ។ ពាក្យអាណនាព្រះគិក្ខុសង្ឃ សូមឲ្យ

ចំរើនព្រះបរិត្ត ។ vipattippattibāhaya sabbasampattisiddhiyā sabbadukkhavināsāya parittam  
 brūtha maṅgalam. vipattippattibāhaya sabbasampattisiddhiyā sabbabhayavināsāya parittam  
 brūtha maṅgalam. vipattippattibāhaya sabbasampattisiddhiyā sabbarogavināsāya parittam  
 brūtha maṅgalam. សូមព្រះករុណាទាំងឡាយ ចំរើននូវព្រះបរិត្តជាដ៏យមង្គលដើម្បីនឹងការពារបញ្ចៀសនូវវិបត្តិ  
 គឺសេចក្តីអន្តរាយទាំងពួង ដើម្បីនឹងឲ្យបានសម្រេចនូវសម្បត្តិគ្រប់យ៉ាង ដើម្បីនឹងញ៉ាំង ទុក្ខ ភ័យ ភាគ ទាំងអស់ឲ្យ  
 វិនាសបាត់ទៅ ។ ល ។ ចប់ ។ ។ ពាក្យប្រកាសអញ្ជើញពពួកទេវតា ។ ទី ១ និង ទី ២ ក្នុងចក្រវាឡ ១ sagge kāme  
 carūpe girisikharataṭe cantalikkhe vimāne dīpe raṭṭhe cagāme taruvangahane gehavatthumhi  
 khette bhummā cāyantu devā jalathalavisame yakkhagandhabbanāgā tiṭṭhantā santikeyam  
 munivaravacanam sādhavome suṇantu. dhammassavanakālo ayambhadantā  
 dhammassavanakālo ayambhadantā dhammassavanakālo ayambhadantā. (សេចក្តីប្រែ) ១ ០  
 អញ្ជើញពពួកទេវតាក្នុងចក្រវាឡ ទី-២ ។ samantā cakkavāḷesu atrāgacchanta devatā saddhammam  
 munirājassa suṇantu saggamokkhadam ។ ១៣ ទេវតាទាំងឡាយក្នុងចក្រវាឡទាំងឡាយ ដោយជុំវិញសូម  
 អញ្ជើញមកប្រជុំក្នុងទីនេះ ចូរស្តាប់នូវព្រះសទ្ធម្មជាធម៌អាចឲ្យនូវស្ថានសួគ៌ នឹងព្រះនិព្វាន (របស់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ)  
 ជាស្តេចនៃអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ ។ ចប់ ។ រត្ត

76a–76b **Cetiya vandana-gāthā / cetiya vandana-gāthā samrāy-br** = namaskār  
 pūjanīyavatthu jā dī gorab

76b–79a **Samantapāsādikā-gāthā / samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br** =  
 namaskār brahḥ ratanatrāy yokappakoṭṭhi pi prē jā kāby 1 piep diet

79a–82a Various liturgical texts, as follows: pasatṭhā hontu sabbepi pāṇano  
 buddhasāsane. សត្វទាំងឡាយទាំងពួង ចូលជ្រះថ្លាក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ល។ sammādhāraṃ paveccanto  
 kāladevo pavassatu vuddhivbhāvāya sattānaṃ samiddham netu pedaniṃ.. ប្រែថា សូមឲ្យភ្លៀង បង្កូរ  
 នូវទឹកដោយប្រពៃ ចូលបង្កុះចុះក្នុងកាលដ៏គួរ ចូរបណ្តាលឲ្យផែនដីសំរិទ្ធិ គឺថាឲ្យមានដ៏ជាតិល្អឡើង ដើម្បីឲ្យកេតសេច  
 ក្តីចំរើន ដល់សត្វទាំងឡាយ ។ ល ។ mātāpitā ca atrajam niccam rakkhanti pattakam. មាតាបិតាក្តី បីបាច  
 រក្សា ជានិច្ច នូវកូនតូចជាកូនបង្កើតយ៉ាងណាមិញ ។ evaṃ dhammena rājāno pajam rakkhantu  
 sabbadā. ប្រែថា សូមព្រះបរម ក្សត្រទាំងឡាយ រក្សានៅប្រជាជន ដូចជាមាតាបិតា បីបាចរក្សាកូនដូច្នោះ ឲ្យបានសព្វ  
 កាលទៅហោង្គ ១៣ ចប់មួយវត្ត មួយយូរ ។ ចប់ ផ្សាយមេត្តាធម៌ មួយបែបទៀត ។ ដូចតំទៅនេះ សេចក្តីប្រែ ថា ០  
 sabbe sattā averā hontu sukhito hontu. សូមឲ្យសត្វទាំងឡាយទាំងពួងកំមានពៀរនឹងគ្នា សុមឲ្យបាននៅ  
 សេចក្តីសុខ។ niddukhā hontu abyā pajjhā hontu. សូមកុំឲ្យមានទុក្ខ សូមកុំឲ្យបៀតបៀនដល់គ្នានឹងគ្នា ។ ល ។  
 anīghā hontu dighāyukāhontu. សូមកុំឲ្យមានសេចក្តីព្រួយលំបាក សូមឲ្យមានអាយុវែងៗ។ arogā hontu  
 sampattī hi samijjhantu. សូមកុំឲ្យមានរោគ សូមឲ្យសម្រេចដោយសម្បត្តិគ្រប់យ៉ាង ។ sukhī attānaṃ  
 pariharantu. សូមឲ្យរក្សានូវខ្លួនជាសុខស្រួលចុះ ។ dukkhapattā ca niddukkhā bhāyappattā ca  
 nibbhayā sokappattā ca nissokāhontu sabbepi pāṇino មួយទៀត សត្វទាំងឡាយទាំងពួង ដែល  
 ដល់ហើយនៅសេចក្តីទុក្ខ សូមឲ្យសត្វបាត់សេចក្តីទុក្ខទៅ ដែលដល់ហើយនូវភ័យ សូមឲ្យជាសត្វបាត់ភ័យទៅ ដែល  
 ដល់ហើយនៅសេចក្តីសោក សូមឲ្យជាសត្វបាត់សេចក្តីទៅ ០ ។ គ្រប់ទាំងទិស្សទីទាំងអស់នោះទៅ ។ ចប់ ukāsa

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

sirisakyamunisabbaññubuddhassa balavappaccūsasamaye kusiṇāya yakagasālānamantare amumhi sappasaṃvaccare gimhautumhi visākhamāse sakkapakkhe paṇṇarasiyā tithiyaṃ bhumma vāre bhummayāme anurādhanakkattadivase paribbānaṃ ahosi anupādisāya nibbānadhātuyo. សេចក្តីប្រែថា ។ ខ្ញុំសូមគារព សម្តេចព្រះសិរីសក្យមុនី សព្វញ្ញពុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់ ទ្រង់បរិនិព្វានហើយ ដោយអនុបាទិសេសនិព្វានជាតុ ក្នុងចន្លោះសាល្យព្រឹក្សទាំងគួរ ជិតក្រុងកុសិនារា ក្នុងបច្ចុស សម័យដ៏មានកម្លាំង ក្នុងថ្ងៃ នៃនក្ខត្តបុក្សឈ្មោះអនរាជាក្នុងថ្ងៃអង្គារ យាមអង្គារ ជាតិបីពេញបោណ៍ម៉ឺនាងភ្នែត ខែវិសាខក្នុងគីម្ភរដូវ ឆ្នាំម្សាញ៉ាង ណោះហោង ។ ល ។ តពីនេះទៅត្រូវបកសករាជប្រាប់ខែថ្ងៃ ឆ្នាំដែលកន្លងហើយ នឹងបច្ចុប្បន្នអណាគត់ដល់ចប់ ។ ចប់ ។

- 82a–84a        **catussaṃvejanīyaṭṭhān-7** = catussaṃvejanīyaṭṭhān pad bāk' 7
- 84a–84b        **Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** = sattamahāththān gī pad pathyāvatt
- 84b–85b        **sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4** = [sattamahāththān gī pad pathyāvatt]  
sec kī prè pad bāky 8
- 85b              **Aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** = aṭṭhamahāthhān
- 85b–87a        **aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4** = aṭṭhamahāthhān
- 87a–88a        **sarasōr brah pād sṭāṃ** (just last part) = buddhapād prām thān
- 88a–91a        **Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7** =  
samvejanīyadharm
- 91a              Illustration of a pair of flowers
- 91a–94b        **māravijāy paricched-br** = māravijāy paricched pad brahmagit
- 95a–96a        **sādhāraṇadharm-7** = sādharmaṇadharm pad bāky 7
- 96b–98a        **sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7** = pad bīraṇcāraṇā pañcakkhandh
- 98a–100a       **bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7** = pad bīraṇcāraṇā pañcakkhandh
- 100b             [blank]

**UB045**

1991, monastic library of Vatt Rājapūrṇ a.k.a Vatt Pūrḅ, Vatt Pūrḅ village, Sālā Kaṃrōk commune, Siem Reap municipality, Siem Reap province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2016.

Modern blue and red pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, staples, and thick wood covers decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, red, and white paint, stored in a protective sack made of orange monastic robes.

No visible wear and minor mold damage.

Approximately 35 x 13 cm, 12–16 lines per spread, complete in 95 M-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Thick wood cover, decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, red, and white paint, with the label: កៅវតារ នឹងព្រះសូត្រផ្សេងៗ

2a Colophon: ខ្ញុំ បណ្ឌិតធម្មាចារ្យ ឡាយ-សាំង អតីតលេខាធិការនៅមន្ទីររដ្ឋសភា ក្រុងភ្នំពេញ <1958-1975> ស្រុកកំណើត ភូមិកោះថ្មី ឃុំខ្ពស់ ស្រុកស្អាង ខេត្តកណ្តាល សព្វថ្ងៃ នៅភូមិវត្តបូព៌ សង្កាត់៤ ខេត្តសៀមរាប ជាអ្នកសរសេរ «ដប់» ក្រាំងនេះ ។ ចាប់ផ្តើមសរសេរពីថ្ងៃ ៥រោច ខែ អស្សុជ ចប់នៅថ្ងៃសៅរ៍ ៩រោច ខែ កត្តិក ឆ្នាំ មមៃ ត្រីស័ក ព.ស ២៥៣៥ «27-10-91 – 30-11-91»។ ព្រះពុទ្ធទ្រង់សំដែងថា - dhammadānam sabbadānam jināti ធម្មទានឈ្នះ អស់ទានទាំងពួង ។ - dhammaraso sabbarasam jināti រស់នៃធម៌ឈ្នះអស់រសទាំងពួង ។ - tanhakkhayā sabbadukkhā jināti ការអស់ទៅ នៃតណ្ហា ឈ្នះអស់សេចក្តីទុក្ខទាំងពួង «ciram tittḥatu buddhasāsanā សូមព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា បិតនៅគ្រប់ ៥០០០វស្សា»

2b Ritual instruction: ១ តអំពីនេះនឹងសំដែង បាប ព្រះវិន័យ ព្រះសូត្រ ព្រះអភិធម្ម សង្ខេប ដែលលោករួមទុក ឱ្យព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រក្នុងកាលចប់ សន្តិទេសនា នោះតាមលំដាប់តទៅ ។

2b-9a **Ān trai A-NP** = pāṭh braḥ vināy braḥ sūtr braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ vināy braḥ sūtr braḥ abhidhamm saṅkhep

9a Ritual instruction: ខ្ញុំយល់ឃើញថា អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានទាំង ១០នេះ មានគុណសម្បត្តិសំខាន់ណាស់ ដល់ឧបាសកឧបាសិកា ជាពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ អ្នកមានសទ្ធាឥតកំរើកក្នុងគុណព្រះរតនត្រ័យ, ទើបខ្ញុំដកស្រង់មកដម្កល់ទុកក្នុងក្រាំងនេះ ដើម្បីឱ្យលោកអាចារ្យ សូត្រស្វាធាយឱ្យអ្នកមានអាពាធស្តាប់ បានផលានិសង្សច្រើន

9a-15b Meditation instruction: អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន ១០ ៖ ១- ពុទ្ធានុស្សតិ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវពុទ្ធានុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានតាមឱ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាក្នុងគុណព្រះពុទ្ធមិនឱ្យមានកម្រើក ហើយចូលទៅរកទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ដកលំស្មារតីរលឹកដល់គុណព្រះពុទ្ធចាប់ដើមអំពី « **ឥតិបិ សោ ភគវា អរហំ ។ល។ ពុទ្ធា ភគវាតិ ។** ហើយត្រូវស្រង់យកគុណមួយមកពិចារណាថា « **សោ ភគវា ឥតិបិ អរហំ ។ល។ សោ ភគវា ឥតិបិ ភគវា ។**

២- ធម្មានុស្សតិ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវ **ធម្មានុស្សតិ-កម្មដ្ឋាន** តាមឱ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា ក្នុងគុណរបស់ព្រះធម៌កុំឱ្យមានកំរើក ហើយចូលទៅរកទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ដកលំស្មារតីរលឹកដល់គុណ របស់ព្រះបរិយត្តិធម៌និងព្រះនព្វលោកុត្តរធម៌ ចាប់ដើមអំពី « **ស្វាគ្ហាតោ ភគវា ធម្មោ ។ល។ បច្ចុត្តំទេទិតព្វោ វិញ្ញហិ** » ។ ហើយត្រូវស្រង់យកគុណមួយមកពិចារណាឱ្យដឹងសេចក្តីច្បាស់លាស់ក្នុងគុណនោះ។។

៣- **សង្ឃានុស្សតិ** កាលបើ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវ សង្ឃានុស្សតិ-កម្មដ្ឋាន តាមឱ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា ក្នុងគុណព្រះសង្ឃកុំឱ្យមានកំរើក ហើយចូលទៅរកទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ដកលំស្មារតីរលឹកដល់គុណ ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ ចាប់ដើមអំពី « **សុបដិ បន្ទោ ភគវតោ សាវកសង្ឃោ ។ល។ អនុត្តរំ បុញ្ញក្ខេត្តំ លោកស្ស ។** ហើយត្រូវស្រង់យកគុណមួយ មកពិចារណាឱ្យដឹងសេចក្តីច្បាស់លាស់គ្រប់គុណនោះ។ ។

៤- សីលានុស្សតិ កាលបើ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវ សីលានុស្សតិ-កម្មដ្ឋាន គាប្បីជម្រះសីលរបស់ខ្លួន ឱ្យបរិសុទ្ធ ហើយចូលទៅរកទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍។ ដំកល់ស្មារតីរលឹកដល់សីលគុណរបស់ខ្លួនថា « **អហោ វត មេ សីលានិ អណ្ណានិ**

**អច្ចុទ្ធានិ អសពលានិ អកម្មាសានិ ភុចិស្សានិ វិញ្ញបសន្តានិ អបរាបដ្ឋានិ សមាធិសំវត្តនិ កានិ »** ឱហ្ន៎! សីលទាំងឡាយ របស់អញ មិនមានដាច់ មិនមានធ្លុះ មិនមានពពាល មិនមានពព្រះ រួចអំពីខ្ញុំរបស់តណ្ហា គួរឱ្យអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ មានព្រះពុទ្ធ ជាដើមលោក

ពោលសរសើរ តណ្ហានិងទិដ្ឋិពាល់ត្រូវមិនបាន ប្រព្រឹត្តទៅព្រមដើម្បីឱ្យបានសមាធិ ។

៥- ចានានុស្សតិ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា ណា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវចានានុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានគាប្បីឱ្យមានចិត្តយាងចុះ ក្នុង ការបរិច្ចាគទានជាប្រក្រតី, គាប្បីចែករំលែកឱ្យទានអស់កាលជានិច្ច; ពេលដែលប្រារព្ធនិងចំរើនត្រូវអធិដ្ឋានថា« តាំង ពីពេលនេះជាដើម បើមានចិត្តបដិគ្គា ហកៈអ្នកទទួលយកនូវទាន តែអញពុំទានបានឱ្យ ទោះបីទំព័រនូត ដោយ៉ាង ហោចជាមុនអញនឹងមិនបរិភោគខ្លួនឯងឡើយ» កាលបើឱ្យទាន ដល់លោកមានគុណវិសេសអង្គ-ណាមួយ ទោះបី តិចក្តី ច្រើនក្តី រួចហើយត្រូវចូលទៅរកទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ដំកល់ស្មារតីរលឹកដល់ ចាតគុណ របស់ខ្លួនថា

« **លោកា វត មេ សុលទ្ធិំ វត មេ យោហិ មច្ឆេរមលបរិយុដ្ឋិតាយ បជាយ វិតមលមច្ឆេរេន ចេតសា វិហារាមិ មុត្តាតោ បយតបាណិ វោស្សត្តរតោ យាចយោតោ ទានសំវិភាគរតោ** » ប្រែថា « អានិសង្ស ៥ ប្រការ ដែលព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគទ្រង់ សរសើរថា ជាលាភរបស់ ទាយកអ្នកឱ្យនូវទាន អានិសង្សទាំងនោះជាលាភរបស់អញពិត ពុទ្ធសាសនាក្តី ភាពជា មនុស្សក្តី ដែលអញបានហើយនេះ ឈ្មោះថាបានដោយប្រពៃពិត ព្រោះថាពួកសត្វទាំងអស់ កំពុងមានមន្ទិលគឺសេចក្តី កំណាញ់គ្របសង្កត់ជាប់ជានិច្ច ហើយអញម្នាក់ឯង មានចិត្តប្រាសចាកមន្ទិល គឺសេចក្តីកំណាញ់ បានលះបរិច្ចាគទាន មានដែលានសំអាត ដើម្បីឱ្យនូវទេយ្យធម៌ដោយគោរពដៃដងសព្វៗកាល ជាអ្នកត្រេកអរក្នុងកាលៈបរិច្ឆេទ គួរដល់កិរិយា សូម ពេញចិត្តក្នុងកិរិយាចែករំលែកឱ្យទាន»។

៦- ទេវតានុស្សតិ កាលបើ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើននូវ ទេវតានុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន គាប្បីតាំងខ្លួនឱ្យដំកល់ នៅក្នុងគុណមានសទ្ធាជាដើម ហើយចូលទៅរកទីស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ដំកល់ស្មារតីរលឹកដល់សទ្ធាទិគុណរបស់ ទេវតាទុកជាបន្ទាល់ ហើយរលឹកដល់សទ្ធាទិគុណ ណាស់ខ្លួនថា « ទេវតាទាំងឡាយក្នុងជាន់ ចាតុមហារាជ មានទេវតា ទាំងឡាយ ក្នុងជាន់ តាវតិស្ស ជាន់យាមា ជាន់តុសិត ជាន់និម្មានរតី ជាន់បរិនិច្ឆតវស្សវតី មានទេវតាទាំងឡាយប្រព្រឹត្ត ទៅក្នុងពួកព្រហ្ម មានទេវតាទាំងឡាយ លើសអំពីនោះទៅទៀត ក៏មាន ទេវតាទាំងឡាយអម្បាលនោះ ប្រកបដោយ « **សទ្ធា សីល សុត ចាត បញ្ញា** » មានសភាពយ៉ាងណា ទើបច្បួនអំពីមនុស្សលោកនេះ ទៅកើតក្នុងទេវតា និងព្រហ្មលោក នោះៗ បានសទ្ធា សីល សុតចាក បញ្ញា មានសភាពយ៉ាងនោះរបស់អញ ក៏មានព្រម»។

៧- មរណានុស្សតិ កាលបើ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើន នូវមរណានុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន គាប្បីចូលទៅកាន់ទី ដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ហើយធ្វើទុកក្នុងចិត្តដោយឧបាយថា « **មរណំ ភវិស្សតិ ជីវិតត្រ័យំ ឧបច្ចុដ្ឋិស្សតិ** សេ ចក្តីស្លាប់គង់តែនឹងមាន ជីវិតត្រ័យំ មុខជានឹងដាច់បង់ទៅ» ឬថា « **មរណំ មរណំសេចក្តីស្លាប់** » ដូច្នោះក៏បាន ។

៨- កាយគតាសតិ ទុត្តិសាការកម្មដ្ឋាន គឺកម្មដ្ឋានដែលត្រូវដំកល់ស្មារតីចុះក្នុងអាការៈ ៣២ ដែលមាននៅក្នុងកាយគឺ « **កេសា លោមា នខា ទន្តា តចោរលា អស្សុ វសា ខេឡោ សង្សារណិកា លសិកា មុត្តំ** » ដោយពិចារណាធ្វើទុកក្នុងចិត្តថា ជាបដិកូល មុខគួរឱ្យខ្លើមរអើមហៅថា « **កាយគតាសតិកម្មដ្ឋាន** »។



៩- **អាណានស្សតិ** កាលបើឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចំរើន នូវអាណានស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន គាប្បិធ្វើនូវបុព្វ កិច្ច មានជម្រះសីលរបស់ខ្លួនឱ្យបរិសុទ្ធជាដើម. ហើយរៀនយកនូវកម្មដ្ឋានក្នុងសំណាក់នៃអាចារ្យដែលជាកល្យាណមិត្ត ជាមុន ហើយចូលទៅកាន់សេនាសនៈដ៏សមគួរ អង្គុយនៅឱ្យស្រួល រលឹកដល់គុណព្រះត្រ័យវិគ្គ ញ៉ាំងចិត្តឱ្យជ្រះថ្លា ជាមុន ហើយចំរើននូវ អាណានស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន គឺកិរិយារាប់នូវខ្យល់**អស្សាស បស្សាស** រាប់ដង្ហើមចេញ-ចូល»។

១០- **ឧបសមាទស្សតិ** កាលបើឧបាសក-ឧបាសិកា មានប្រាថ្នាដើម្បីចម្រើននូវឧបសមាទស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋាន គាប្បិចូលទៅ កាន់ទីដែលស្ងាត់ចាកអារម្មណ៍ផ្សេងៗ ហើយរលឹកដល់គុណព្រះនិព្វាន ដែលជាគ្រឿងរម្ងាប់បង់នូវសំសារទុក្ខទាំងពួង តាមលំអានព្រះពុទ្ធដីកាដូចនេះជាដើម« **យាវតា ភិក្ខុវេ ធម្មា សង្ខតា វា អសង្ខតាវា វិវាតោ តេសំ ធម្មានំ អគ្គមក្ខាយតិ** ម្ចាស់ភិក្ខុទាំងឡាយ ធម៌ទាំងប៉ុន្មានទោះជាសង្ខតក្តី អសង្ខតក្តី មានតែ វិវាតធម៌ គឺព្រះនិព្វានហ្នឹងឯង ប្រាកដជាប្រសើរ ដោយវិសេស ជាងធម៌ទាំងឡាយនោះ **យទិទំ មទនិម្មទនោ បិបាសវិសនយោ អាហយសមុត្តាតោ វដ្តុបច្ឆេទោ តណ្ហា ក្ខយោ វិវាតោ និវោធា និព្វានំ** វិវាតធម៌នេះ ជាគ្រឿងញ៉ាំងញីនូវសេចក្តីស្រវឹង ជាគ្រឿងបណ្តេញបង់នូវសេចក្តីស្រេច ឃ្មានក្នុងកាម ជាគ្រឿងដកឡើង នូវសេចក្តីអាល័យក្នុងកាមគុណ ជាគ្រឿងកាត់បង់នូវតេត្រិមិកវដ្ត ជាគ្រឿងអស់ទៅនៃ តណ្ហា ជាទីរលត់ទៅនៃតណ្ហា ចេញរួចស្រឡះហើយ ចាកព្រៃស្អាតគឺតណ្ហា» ។ សូមបញ្ជាក់ថា បណ្តាអនុស្សតិ ទាំង១០លើកលែងតែ **កាយគតាសតិ** និង **អាណានស្សតិ** ចេញ ក៏គាប្បិដឹងថាអាចឱ្យឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា ជាអ្នក ព្យាយាមស្នឹងស្នាដី សម្រេចបានត្រឹមតែឧបចារជ្ឈាន ប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។

16a-17a **Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r** = saraṇadīpikā-gāthā

17b-18a **Bhāsitovāda-NM** = bhāsitovād sankhep

18a-18b Ritual instruction: **សម័យមួយ** ព្រះមហាកស្សបត្ថេរ ដ៏មានអាយុ មានអាពាធ ជាជម្ងឺធ្ងន់ ដល់ហើយនូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខ ។ ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគ ទ្រង់ស្តេចយាងចូលទៅកន្លែងព្រះមហាកស្សបត្ថេរហើយទ្រង់សំដែង នូវពោជ្ឈង្គសូត្រ ឱ្យព្រះមហាកស្សបត្ថេរស្តាប់ ។ លុះសំដែងចប់ហើយ ព្រះមហាកស្សបត្ថេរ ក៏បានជាសះស្បើយចាក អាពាធក្នុងខណៈនោះ ។ ឯពោជ្ឈង្គៈ ជាភាសាបាលី ដូចតទៅនេះ៖

18a-21b **Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP** = mahākassapabojjhaṅgasuttapātho/bojjhaṅgasūtr

21b-22a Ritual instruction: **សតិបដ្ឋានសូត្រនេះ** ជាព្រះសូត្រមួយដែលព្រះពុទ្ធទាំងឡាយគ្រប់ព្រះអង្គ មិនដែលលះបង់ឡើយ ព្រះអង្គតែងប្រាប់ឱ្យភិក្ខុសំដែង ដល់ភិក្ខុ ឬ បរិស័ទ មានជម្ងឺ ស្លាប់, បើស្លាប់ដោយគោរព និង មានផល្លានិសង្សច្រើន អាចឱ្យជម្ងឺនោះជាស្បើយបាន ។ **សូត្រនេះ** ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់សំដែងអំពី« ការដក់សតិឱ្យហ្នឹង ល្អក្នុងអារម្មណ៍» ពិចារណារឿយៗ៖ ១- នូវរូបរាងកាយជាទីប្រជុំ នៃអាការៈ ៣២ ប្រការ មានសក់ជាដើមថា ជាសកា វៈមិនឡើង; ២- នូវវេទនា គឺធម្មជាតិ ទទួលសោយនូវអារម្មណ៍ជាសុខ ឬជាទុក្ខ ជាធម្មជាតិមិនឡើង; ៣- នូវ ចិត្ត ជាធម្ម ជាតិ ជាធំ ប្រសើរដោយវិសេសជាអ្នកសំរេចនូវអំពើជាកុសល និងអកុសល; ៤- នូវអរិយសច្ចធម៌ទាំង ៤ ដែលជាធម៌ អាចញ៉ាំង មនុស្ស ទេព្តា គ្រប់រូបឱ្យរួចចាកទុក្ខទាំងពួងបាន ។ ឯមហាសតិបដ្ឋានសូត្រ ជាភាសាបាលី ដូចខាងក្រោម តទៅនេះ៖

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 22a–25a **Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP** = mahāsatiṭṭhānasuttapāṭho/  
mahāsatiṭṭhānasūtr sankhēp
- 25a–28a **Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP** = mahāmoggallānabojjhaṅgasūtr
- 28a–30b **Tatīyagilāna-sutta-CP** = mahācundabojjhaṅgasūtr
- 31a Ritual instruction: ៖ សូត្រនេះ ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់សំដែងអំពី វត្តទាំងពួង ជាបស់ក្តៅ គឺភ្នែកជាបស់  
ក្តៅរូបជាបស់ក្តៅ, វិញ្ញាណអាស្រ័យនិងភ្នែកជាបស់ក្តៅ សម្មស្សអាស្រ័យនិងភ្នែកជាបស់ក្តៅ ។ ក្តៅដោយភ្លើងគឺ  
រាគៈ ទោសៈ មោហៈ, ក្តៅដោយភ្លើងគឺ ជាតិ ជរា មរណ សេចក្តីសោក ខ្សឹកខ្សួល សេចក្តីទុក្ខ - ទោមនស្ស និងសេចក្តី  
ចង្អៀតចង្អុលក្នុងចិត្ត ។ល។ ឯអាទិត្តបរិយាយសូត្រជាភាសាបាលីនោះដូចតទៅនេះ៖
- 31a–36b **Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP** = ādittapariyāyasūtr
- 36b–39b **Abhiṅhappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** = abhiṅhappaccavekkhaṇasūtr
- 40a–43b **Paṭhamamarāṇassati-sutta-CP** = marāṇasatisūtr dī 1
- 43b–46a **Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakkaṃmaṭṭhāna-NP** = rūpakammaṭṭhānā-  
rūpakammaṭṭhān
- 45a Note: «គូសបន្ទាត់ពីក្រោម សរសេរច្រឡំ សូមកុំអាន»
- 46b–47b **Sabbadisāsu-mettāphāraṇa-NP** = dasadisāsu mettāphāraṇa: kār phsāy  
mettā camboḥ sabv satt knuñ dis dāṃṇ 10
- 47b Ritual instructions: មេត្តាធម៌នេះ ទាំងបញ្ចវគ្គ ទាំងគ្រហស្ថ អាចផ្សាយបានដូចគ្នា មានគុណានិ  
សង្សច្រើនណាស់ ។ ដូច្នេះ គួរឧស្សាហ៍ព្យាយាម ស្វាធិប្បាយ កុំឱ្យដាច់ ។
- 48a–48b Extended colophon poem in the *brahmagṛīti* meter (to be continued): និពន្ធដោយ  
បណ្ឌិតធម្មាចារ្យ ឡាយ សាំង «កំណាព្យជូនអនុស្សាវរីយ៍»
- |                           |                            |                      |                           |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| ៖ លោកអុំ កៀន-គីមថ្មន្ទ    | ចិត្តជាក់ស្អិនក្នុងសទ្ធា   | ព្រមទាំងអុំកិរិយា    | នាមឈ្មោះថា តាន់-គីមលន់ ។  |
| ព្រមទាំងបុត្រជីតា         | ចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាក្រៃពេកពន់    | បរិច្ចាគនូវទ្រព្យធន  | កសាងក្រាំងព្រះធម្មា ។     |
| មានធម៌ព្រះអភិធម្ម         | ធម៌ឧត្តមនៃសាស្តា           | និងធម៌ព្រះកៅវតារ     | គិរិមាននូវសូត្រផង ។       |
| និងព្រះសូត្រផ្សេងទៀត      | ខ្ញុំលែឆ្លៀតដកចម្ងន់       | ឱយស្របតាមបំណង        | បរិស័ទគ្រប់គ្រប់គ្នា ។    |
| ដកល់ជាធម្មទាន             | ក្នុងទីឋានវត្តបូព៌ាណា      | សាធុជនដែលត្រូវការ    | ជនអាពាធដែលចង់ស្តាប់ ។     |
| រឺធម៌គិរិមានន្ទ           | អ្នកឈឺធ្ងន់ប្រាជ្ញាអ័ប្ប   | បើផ្ទុយស្មារតីស្តាប់ | នោះនិងមានគតិល្អ ។         |
| រឺធម៌ព្រះអភិធម្ម          | ធម៌ឧត្តមដ៏បរវរ             | បើបានស្នឹងស្នាដើម្បី | អាចកាត់ផ្តាច់វដ្តសង្សារ ។ |
| សង្ខេបធម៌ប៉ុណ្ណោះ         | ខ្ញុំត្រិះរិះពិពណ៌នា       | សំដែងពីសទ្ធា         | ព្រះកតវាស្តែងសត្យ ។       |
| saddhīdha                 | purisassa setṭham          | dhammo sucipṇo       | sukhamāvahāti.            |
| រឺបុរសក្នុងលោកនេះ         | មានវិសេសទ្រព្យសទ្ធា        | ល្អលើសទ្រព្យនានា     | ព្រះកតវាទ្រង់សំដែង ។      |
| រឺអ្នកសន្សំធម៌            | ប្រព្រឹត្តល្អភ្លឺចិញ្ចែង   | សុចរិតធម៌នោះឯង       | តែងនាំមកនូវសុខា ។         |
| សូមជូនពរស័ក្តិសម          | ដល់លោកអំទាំងទ្វេហា         | ព្រមទាំងបុត្រជីតា    | មានសទ្ធាវិសេសក្រៃ ។       |
| សុចរិតជឿប្រាកដ            | ចិត្តបរិសុទ្ធក្នុងវត្តត្រៃ | ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃ | នឹងព្រះសង្ឃបុណ្យខេត្តា ។  |
| បច្ចុប្បន្ននិងទៅមុខ       | សូមសោយសុខក្នុងស្នាក់       | សូមទាន់ព្រះសិរាម្យ   | នាអនាគតនោះផង ។            |
| សូមដល់ព្រះធម៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត | គឺនិព្វានសុខកន្លង          | ផុតទុក្ខទាំង៤កង      | ដោយសារក្រាំងព្រះធម្មនេះ ។ |

Verso

- 49 Thick wood cover, decorated with designs in black, green, yellow, red, and white paint, with the label: គិរិមានន្ទ អភិធម្ម កៀន-គីមចន្ទ តាន់គីមលន់
- 50a Extended colophon poem in the *brahmagāthi* meter (continued): ជាអ្នកស្តាប់ក្តី គួរ  
រតែប្រតិបត្តិដោយគោរពទាំងអស់គ្នា និងបានផល្លានិសង្សច្រើន ។ អ្នកសរសេរ [signature] ឡាយ-សាំង
- 50a Namō tassa = kiriyā namassakāra caṃboḥ buddhagūḥ
- 50a-69b **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ jhmoh-r =**  
girimānandasūtr
- 69b-73b **Ākāravattā E-NP** = anussati kammaṭṭhān (ការស្វាធ្យាយន៍អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានឱយអ  
ពាធស្តាប់), buddhānusati (គប្បីស្វាធ្យាយ ពុទ្ធានុស្សតិ តទៅ៖), pāramī 30 prakār (គប្បីស្វាធ្យាយ បារមី ៣០  
តទៅ៖)
- 69b Ritual instruction: ការស្វាធ្យាយន៍អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានឱយអពាធស្តាប់
- 70a Ritual instruction: គប្បីស្វាធ្យាយ ពុទ្ធានុស្សតិ តទៅ៖
- 71b Ritual instruction: គប្បីស្វាធ្យាយ បារមី ៣០ តទៅ៖
- 73b-74b **Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV** = āṭānāṭiya-paritt
- 74b-75b **Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP** = maṅgalacakkavāl
- 76a-84a **Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** = dhammacakkappavattanasūtr
- 84a-89b **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP** = anattalakkhaṇasuttam/anattalakkhaṇasūtr
- 90a-94a **Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br =**  
buddhajayamaṅgal prè jā bāky kāby
- 94b-95a **trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** = kaṇāby braḥ trai  
lakkha(n)
- 95a-95b Extended colophon: ១ សេចក្តីនេះ តមកពីទំព័រខាងដើម៖ « សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា » សូមឱយ  
បានសម្រេចនូវសម្បត្តិ ៣ប្រការគឺ: ១- សម្បត្តិមនុស្សលោក, ២ សម្បត្តិទេវលោក ៣- សម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន ។ « សូមឧទ្ទិស  
បុញ្ញរាសី ដែលកើតអំពីការកសាង ក្រាំងព្រះអភិធម្ម និង ព្រះកេរ្តិ៍នាម នេះ ជូនដល់វិញ្ញាណក្ខ័ន្ធ នៃអ្នកដ៏មានគុណ  
ទាំងឡាយដូចខាងក្រោមនេះ៖ ១.លោកបិតានាម ក្តិប-កៀន « 1893-1965 » អតីត សមាជិកក្រុមប្រឹក្សា ព្រះរាជអា  
ណាចក្រកម្ពុជា 1955... ។ ២- អ្នកមាតា នាម ពាញ-ភី « 1892-1966 » នៅក្រុងសៀមរាប។ ៣- ជីតាខាងឪពុក ព្រះភីក្តី  
ស្នេហា អ៊ុក-ភ្នំ « 1860-1934 » អតីតចៅហ្វាយស្រុក « អំកើ » សៀមរាប ។ ៤- ជីដូនខាងឪពុកនាម សូរ-សួន «  
1861-1901» នៅក្រុងសៀមរាប ។ ៥- ជីតាខាងម្តាយ នាម លោកអ្នកឧកញ៉ាសិលាពិភីក្តី រស់-ពាញ « 1856-1927 » អតីតបា  
ឡាត់ស្រុកសៀមរាប ។ ៦- ជីដូនខាងម្តាយ នាម ម៉ុក-អ៊ុំ « 1853-1922 » នៅក្រុងសៀមរាប ។ ៧- បិតាខាងឧបាសិកា តាន  
គីមលន់ នាម ត្រាន់-បៀន លក់ដូរ នៅផ្សារមោងបុស្សី ខេត្តបាត់ដំបង ។ ៨- មាតាខាងឧបាសិកា តាន់- គីមលន់ នាម  
ប៊ិន-ប៊ុក លក់ដូរនៅផ្សារមោងបុស្សី ខេត្តបាត់ដំបង ។ ៩- ព្រមទាំងញាតិកា ទាំងប្រាំពីរសន្តាន ។

UB046

1979 and 1991, private collection of the *ācāry* of Vatt Deb Santivān a.k.a Vatt Aṅg Khnā, Añcāñ village, Damp'ap' Dham commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue and pink marker and blue and black pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, packing tape, green plastic tape, and card stock covers.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate wax, water, and mold damage.

35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 65 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Blank card stock cover
- 2a [blank]
- 2b–9b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisèk
- 9b Ritual instruction: តរធម៌យ៉ោកទៅខាងមុខ សូត្របទពំនោល
- 9b–16a **dhārm yog-bn** = dhārm y"ok
- 16a Ritual instruction: តរពិធីផ្កាញ័រមារទៅខាងមុខទៀត ៗ បទកាកគតិក ៗ
- 16a–33b **phcāñ' mār «yön khñum paṅgam»-k** = phcāñ' mār
- 21a Ritual instruction: ចប់មួយវ៉ក ដល់ត្រង់ណោះ ត្រូវថ្វាយមធុបាយាស់ ឲ្យរកស្រីពុំចារិចូលទៅ  
ថ្វាយ រួចហើយឲ្យសូត្រថាដូច្នោះ
- 33a Ritual instruction: ដល់ត្រង់ណោះ ឲ្យឈប់លេងមារដណ្តើមបាលីផ្ត រួចហើយឲ្យសូត្រថាដូច្នោះ
- 33b Colophon: អក្សរនេះចម្លងតាំងពីឆ្នាំ ១៩៧៩

Verso

- 34 Blank card stock cover
- 35a Note: មានតររឿងពុទ្ធាភិសែកទៅខាងមុខទៀត ៗ
- 35a–39b Ritual instructions: ៗ មានតររឿងពុទ្ធាភិសែកទៅខាងមុខទៀត ៗ -----ៗ គ្រាវនេះនឹងសម្តែង  
មង្គល់ពុទ្ធាភិសែកមានបី ឈ្មោះសទ្ធាធិក ១- បញ្ញាធិក ១- វិរិយាធិក ១ ពុទ្ធាភិសែកយ៉ាងតូចឈ្មោះសទ្ធាធិក បើព្រះពុទ្ធ  
រូបអង្គ ដូចព្រះបត្តិម៉ារ ព្រះចុល្លាមុនី ព្រះសូចូប ព្រះបត្តិម៉ារអង្គតូច និងអភិសែកយ៉ាងគួរ បើព្រះពុទ្ធរូបព្រះបត្តិម៉ារព្រះ  
ធី ព្រះសូចូបអង្គធំ និងអភិសែកយ៉ាងធំ ឯរបៀបយ៉ាងតូចនេះ មានស្នាដំរ ៤-ស្នាដម ៤ បាយមន្ត ៤ - សែនត្នាន់ ៤ - មាន  
សត្វដើរ សត្វហើរ សត្វទឹកតាមបាន មានក្មេងពុំចារិ ៤-ស្លៀកសរពាក់សរ មានក្នុងទឹក ៨ - ទឹកអប់ក្រអូប ស្នាដំរ ៨ -  
ឆ្នាំងថ្មី១ ចង្រ្កាន ១ សម្រាប់ដាំបាយមធុបាយាស់ មានអង្ករស្លឹកពោធិព្រឹក្ស ស្បូវភ្នាំងកិដានទងបាយសី ១ គូរ ៥ ថ្នាក់

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

មានព្រះពិសេសការ កាស ៥ ដំណេក សំពត់សរ ៥ ហាត់ ផ្ទៃរលើរ ៤-ស្វាជម ៤ - អង្គរដៃ ១- ផ្តិល ពពិល ៤ ទៀន ១០ ម្លូ  
វ ៣០ សន្លឹក សម្រាប់លត់ទៀន បក់ផ្សែង មានគ្រឿងសំអាងសម្រាប់ចិមព្រះភ័ក មានគ្រឿងប្លង្កា ទៀន ៥ ធ្មប ៥ លាច  
ផ្កា ៥ -មានអំប្បសម្ព័ន្ធលំសំពត់សរ វេលារនិងសូត្រមន្ត ឲ្យយកអំប្បសម្ព័ន្ធលំ បទជាប់អំពីព្រះពុទ្ធចាស់មកជាប់នឹងព្រះ  
ពុទ្ធរូបថ្មី ហើយដាក់សីម៉ារតាមទិសសំគួរ ហើយឲ្យមានពុំចារីប្រះស្រី អង្គុយនៅក្នុងពិធីមង្គល់សីម៉ារ ហើយពាក់នៅ  
គ្រឿងតាំង រួចយកអំប្បសម្របគេនលោកសូត្រព្រះបរិត្តរួចហើយទេស្មារព្រះធម្មត្រាស ប្រគេនអត្ថបរិក្ខារតាមរណ្តាប់ រួច  
ហើយនិមន្តលោកពិអង្គសូត្រពុទ្ធាភិសេកចំពោះមុខព្រះភ័ក ក្នុងពិធីមង្គល់ ពាក់សីម៉ារ វេលារសូត្រចប់ហើយត្រូវ  
ឧបាសកំណាដែរមានសម្លឹងគួរសំគួរស្លៀកសរពាក់សរ សូត្រធម៌យ៉ោកនិងផ្កាញ់មារទៅតាមសម្លឹងវេលារសូត្រពិធី  
ផ្កាញ់មារ ដល់ថ្នាក់ត្រង់ធម្មបាយាសនោះ ត្រូវយកក្មេងប្រុស ៤-ស្រី ៤-ចូលក្នុងពិធីបកស្រូវរើសង្ករ សម្រាប់ដាំបាយម  
ធុបាយាស ឯក្មេងស្រីយ ឲ្យអ្នកនេះ លោកសន្មត់ឲ្យឈ្មោះនាងស្រី សុដ្ឋតា ១ នាងពៃសាខារ ១ នាងឌីមាទៃ ១ នាងបុ  
ណាទាសី ១ ឯក្មេងប្រុស៤អ្នកនេះលោកសន្មត់ឲ្យឈ្មោះ ព្រះចិត្តលោកុបាលទាំង ៤ គឺព្រះបាទឆតរដ្ឋ ១-ព្រះបាទវិទ្យុ  
១-ព្រះបាទវិរូបក្ខ ១-ព្រះបាទកូរវេរ ១-កាលដែលនាងស្រី សុដ្ឋតា ដាំបាយមធុបាយាសនោះ ព្រះចតុលោកុបាលទាំង ៤-  
ដើរយាមល្បាត ក្រែងមារក៏រាជបង្គំ ពិសក្នុងមធុបាយាសព្រះចតុលោកុបាលដើរយាមល្បាត តាំងពីប្រលប់រហូត  
ទល់នឹងភ្លឺរ លុះភ្លឺឡើងហើយ នាងស្រីសុដ្ឋតា លើកមធុបាយាសទៅថ្វាយព្រះអង្គ នាងពៃសាខារកាន់ផ្តិលទឹក នាងឌីម៉ា  
ទៃកាន់បង្គំឯមនាងបុណ្ណៈទាសី កាន់ពានស្មារបារី មានទៀនធ្មបអុចគ្រប់ទាំងបួនអ្នក ព្រះចតុលោកុបាលទាំងពួន បើ  
កបាំងផ្តិតឲ្យគ្រប់ទាំងបួនអ្នក រួចក្រាលសំពត់សរ ឲ្យដើរចូលទៅថ្វាយចង្ហាន់ ចំពោះមុខព្រះភ័ក លុតចង្ក័ងលើកកំបង់  
អញ្ជូលី ថ្វាយចង្ហាន់ វេលារនឹងលើកថ្វាយនោះ ឲ្យសូត្រត្រង់ពាក្យដែរថា ។។ អណ្តាប់នោះណា សូត្រថ្វាយតែមួយឃ្លា  
។ លុះរួចហើយនាងទាំងបួនអ្នកថយខ្លួនចេញឲ្យ សុត្តត្រង់វ័ត ដែលបន្ថែតកាជមាស មួយឃ្លារទៀត វេលារដែលនឹង  
សូត្រនេះត្រូវអាចារ្យលើកចង្ហាន់បន្ថែតបន្តិច នៅក្នុងស្រះឈូកនោះជាសូរេច ហើយលេងកុំប៉ូង ត្រង់មារដណ្តើមបា  
លង្ក័រត្ន ឯរសណ្តាប់មារនោះមាននុំ មួយថាសកាស ១ត្រណេកត ដល់ចប់លេងមារ ទើព្វនាំគ្នាចូលទៅ សូមខមារទោស  
ថ្វាយបង្គំព្រះ ឲ្យសូត្រត្រង់ទំនាយមារ ដល់សូត្រចប់សព្វគ្រប់ហើយ ត្រូវនិមន្តលោកសូត្រ ជយន្តោពោធិយា ។ល។ តាម  
កំឡាំងព្រះបរមីទាំង ៣០ កាលលោកសូត្រជយន្តោ ត្រូវឧបាសកំបង្វិលពពិល ឲ្យសូត្រថា -----។

*buddhomaṅgalasampatto* ។ ឯបង្វិលពពិលអភិសេកមិនកំណដ្ឋ កំណដ្ឋតែរលោកសូត្រ ៣០ ចប់ ជុំពពិលលត់ទៀន  
ឲ្យសូត្រថា ។ *sabberatavinimutto* ។ លត់ភ្លើងបក់ផ្សែងរួចហើយស្រេចហើយ ត្រូវអាចារយកម្ពុលបើកព្រះនេត ឲ្យ  
សូត្រថា----- ។ *kaliyuttebuddhamantānam* ។ រួចហើយសូត្រសទ្តោ

មេអុចទៀនធ្មប ព្រះពិសេសការស្មារលាទោសសុំបើកព្រះនេត ហើយយកម្ពុលវេសវង់ ព្រះនេតរាំងឆ្វេងស្តាំ ឲ្យសូត្រ  
ថា-----។ *tathāgatodibbacakkhumvisodhayi* ។ បីដងរួចហើយ ឲ្យសូត្រដូច្នោះ----- *jayaṃdevamanussāṇaṃjyohotu*  
*parājītomārasenā atikkantā samantādvādasayojanā khantimettāadhidhānāvidhassetvā*  
*nacakkhumābhavābhavesam santodibbacakkhumvisodhi pariyāpachchādhisottānam hitāyaca sukhāyaca*  
*buddhakiccaṃ visodhetvā parittantambhanāmmame*. រួចស្រេចហើយបរហូលគ្នាស្រង់ទឹកក្រអូប ជម្រះព្រះអង្គ រួច  
កាលណាថ្វាយបង្គំរាល់គ្នា ត្រូវអាចារយកគ្រឿងក្រអូប ចិមព្រះភ័ករួចហើយ ពហូទេវា ឆ្វង់ ជាសូរេចមង្គល់អភិសេ  
កយ៉ាងតូចតែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ ។ ចប់ពិធីមង្គល់អភិសេកដោយបរិបូណ៌ ។៖

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39b–42a **padum thvāy phkā «khñum phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = bidhī thvāy phkā pad braṃhmagit/bidhī thvāy phkā, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* នាងនមោបបទ

44a–45a **Namo-atṭhaka-gāthā-NV** = bidhī visākhavpūjjā/visākhapūjjā

45a–52b **Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV** = bidhī visākhapūjjā/visākhapūjjā

52b–55b **Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV** = bidhī māghapūjjā/māghapūjjā

56a–59a **Parābhava-sutta-CM** = dhārm par"ā pök āruṇ

59a–61a **sakarāj salpāt-4r** = sakrāj sālpāt/dhārm sālpāt

61a Colophon: អ្នកសរសេរក្រាំង នៅខេត្តសៀមរាប ស្រុកស្នួលនិគុំលូស ឃុំខ្នាពោធិ ភូមិរុំជេងនាំ ឈ្មោះដុចតាន់ ត្រូវសរមុតយើម គាត់នៅខេត្តកណ្តាល ឃុំព្រែកព្នៅ ភូមិពោមង្គល ។ល។ ដែលបានសរសេរក្រាំងចប់ នៅថ្ងៃអង្គារ ១២ កើត ខែ អាសាឍ ក្នុងឆ្នាំមមេ ត្រីស័ក ព.ស ១៩៩១-

61b–63b Mantras and ritual instructions for consecration: គាថាបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណៈ:

bha - ដាក់ព្រះសិរិសា ka- ដាក់ព្រះសុវរ្ម័ន ca - ដាក់ព្រះអំណ្រាវឆ្វេង u - ដាក់ព្រះបាទទាំងពីរ sabha - ដាក់ព្រះជង្គង់ទាំងពីរ sa - ដាក់ព្រះភ្លើងទាំងពីរ ththa - ដាក់ផ្លិត sã - ដាក់ទ្រូង ta - ដាក់ខ្នង ស- ដាក់ព្រះអង្សា da - ដាក់ជងកុំបិត ca i - -- ថ្កាម ទាំងពីរ ka - -- ចង្ការ la -- ចុងដង្ហើម mi -- អន្តាត a -- ព្រះឧណាលោម dha -- ព្រះអង្គ gha -- ព្រះញាណំ ca -- ព្រះទាន់ caapatahadayasa ដាក់ថ្លើម kesemülekesã cinditvāsabbe buddhāhisetitāṃ nibbānamgamanutāya សូត្រពចប់កោព្រះកេសព្រះពុទ្ធរូបព្រះអង្គ ។

kesã lomã nakkhã dantãtacco ។ សូត្រពចប់បូតពាជងថយមកវិញ ។ pādatalã បាទតលា ព្រះគាថានេះសូត្រក្រព្រះ នេត buddhambuddharūpaṃ vivaritvã dibbacakkuṃ vipassati ។ homi ។ ព្រះគាថាសូត្របើព្រះនេត ហើយយកម្ហូប មកដាក់នៅលើបាទដៃឆ្វេងបាទដៃស្តាំ ហើយយកមកវាសព្រះនេតទាំងពីរ dātaphantã sutjātatu sadhãdhãnanabãvaṇṇa.varaṇṇaṅghemãtãdassanã nanãnanakãcãtavanṇavanṇa sabbabejjaṃ talãyãlalatatathatar"o vanãdhãubhakkhakãtã vañcabijjissa suṇanta sadãya andharaya khiṇa: siatta dhãtusi rasãna rasãnacãmi ។ ព្រះគាថានេះសូត្រដាក់ព្រះកេស ។ oṇo sãvatã bumoddhãsamobhattanasa lãahambuddhamrūppañca។ នេះដាក់ព្រះឧណាលោម hadayamahãso namosotaṃ uraṃlãbham soticchobuddharūpaṃ ។ នេះដាក់ព្រះឱវ៉ា ukasaphasãrabhabbhaukasaphasãra ariyammaya ។ ព្រះគាថានេះដាក់ព្រះឱវ៉ា

jayyo hibuddhassasirĩmatto ជយោព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏មានសិរី ព្រះអង្គឈ្នះហើយ ។ ayammãrassa pãpitto parãjãyo ugghosayam pamoditã ។ បរាជ័យមាចិត្តបា ព្រមទាំងពលសេនា បរាជ័យ។ buddholokkehomi ព្រះពុទ្ធមានហើយក្នុងលោកនេះ dhammolokkehomi ព្រះធម៌បានកើតមានឡើងវិញហើយក្នុងលោកនេះ sañgholokkehomi ព្រះសង្ឃ បានកើតមានឡើងវិញហើយក្នុងលោកនេះ

នាងពៃសាខា 1	ពុទ្ធក្យាក្រម 1	1. នាពៃសាខា .	ពុទ្ធក្រម 1
នាងសុជាតា 2	ព្រហ្មក្វាចារ្យ 2	2. នាងសុជាតា .	ព្រមក្វាចារ្យ 2
នាងឱម៉ាទៃ 3	អាចារីយោគ 3	3. នាងឱម៉ាទៃ	អាចារ្យវិយោគ 3

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នាងបុណ្ណៈ ទាសី <sup>4</sup>	លោកនាគរ <sup>4</sup>	4. នាងបុណ្ណៈ ទាសី.	លោកនាគរ <sup>4</sup>
1- នាងរាតា	1- ព្រះបាទធម្មវត្ត	1. នាងរាតា	1. ព្រះបាទធម្មវត្ត
១- នាងតណ្ហា	2- ព្រះបាទកុរុវរៈ	2. នាងតណ្ហា	2 ព្រះបាទកុរុវរៈ
3- នាងអារតី	3- ព្រះបាទវិរល្លៈ	3. នាងអារតី	3. ព្រះបាទវិរល្លៈ
4- នាងហ៊ីងព្រះធរនី	4- ព្រះបាទរូប្យខៈ	4. នាងហ៊ីងព្រះធរនី	4. ព្រះបាទរូប្យខៈ
64a–64b	[blank]		
65a	Colophon: លោកតា - ជួន - នៅភូមិស្រែតាសេខ បានប្រគេនក្រាំង ព្រះតេជគុណវត្តអង្គខ្នារ ២ ប្រអប់ ៗ [black pen] ភិក្ខុ ពិន គិត		
65b	[blank]		

**UB047**

Late twentieth century or early twenty-first century, monastic library of Vatt T̄amril, T̄amril village, T̄amril commune, Ū Rāṃn̄ Au district, Tboung Khmum province, Cambodia, photographed by Trent Walker, 2008.

Modern black, green, and red marker *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white and gray card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue and card stock covers decorated with lines in blue, green, purple, turquoise, and red marker.

No visible wear or damage.

Approximately 38 x 14 cm, 12 lines per spread, complete in 98 N-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Card stock cover decorated with lines in blue, green, purple, turquoise, and red marker, with the title: ព្រះអភិធម្ម កៅវដា

2a Colophon: ឆ្លើះ ម្លើះ ឆ្លើះ ម្លើះ យន្ត [yantra with ឧ and ២៣] បីតាព្រះ ប្រទេសខ្មែរ វត្តមាន 3700 វត្ត [yantra with ៧ and ២៣] មាតាព្រះ ព្រះសង្ឃមាន 87500 អង្គ យើងខ្ញុំអ្នកក៏សាង សូមឪទិសកុសល នេះជូនចំពោះលោកអ្នកមានគុណមាន.មាតា.បិតា.ដីដួនដីតា.ត្រូវឧបណ្ណាយាចារ្យ ព្រមទាំងញាតិ

2b–17b **trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k** = dhammasaṅvek  
 17b–20b **Abhidhammamatikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ dhamm  
 20b–30a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = āgāravasūtr/kauvaṭā  
 30b–33a **Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7** = saṅvekanīyadharm

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- 33a–34b **dhammasañveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k** = dhammasañvek  
 34b–42a **Braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r** = sūmū  
 namassakā braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg knuñ anāgat' khāñ mukh jā min khāñ  
 42b–49b **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** = cūl gīrīmānand/gīrīmānandasūtr  
 (continued from 98b)  
 49b Colophon: យើងខ្ញុំសូមគោរពជូនអស់លោក - សូមអស់លោកមេត្តា ជួយថែរក្សាឲ្យបានយូរថ្ងៃ  
 ទៅហោង ហើយយើងខ្ញុំឌីទិសកុសលនេះចែកជូនដល់អស់លោក សូមឲ្យអស់លោកបានជួបតែសេចក្តីសុខក៏បីមាន  
 ចន្លោះឡើយ សូមអនុមោទនា ថាសាធុរ ទៅហោង ។។

Verso

- 50 Card stock cover decorated with lines in blue, green, purple, turquoise, and red  
 marker, with the title: ប្រជុំធម៌ បទ  
 51a–51b Colophon: ឆ្លៀត ម៉្លើរ ម៉្លើរ ម៉្លើរ ម៉្លើរ នេះព្រះតាថា បាទអង្គរ យន្ត បិតាព្រះ [yantra with ឧ  
 and ៧] ប្រទេសខ្មែរ វត្តមាន 3700 វត្ត [yantra with ៧ and ៧] មាតាព្រះ ព្រះសង្ឃមាន 87500 អង្គ អ្នកក៏សាង  
 លោកតា ញឹម សា វង់ នឹងយាយ សំ សា វង់ ព្រមទាំងបុត្រា បុត្រី ហើយយើងខ្ញុំទាំងគ្នា សូមឌីទិសកុសលទាំងអស់  
 ដែលយើងខ្ញុំបានកសាងនេះ សូមជូននឹងថ្វាយ សូមឲ្យបានដល់លោកអ្នកគុណខ្ញុំនៅកុសលទាំងអស់នេះ ដល់ មាតា  
 បិតា ជីដូន ជីតា គ្រូ ឧប្បណាយាចារ្យ ព្រមទាំងញាតិទាំងប្រាំពីរសន្តាន សូមលោកអនុមោទនាទទួលឲ្យបានស្មើគ្នា  
 ទៅហោង  
 52a–53a **dhammasañveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k** = dhammasañvek  
 53a–54b sūm rien laḥ dosa:-k = sūm rien laḥ dosaḥ rien kñ' khantī  
 54b Note: នេះបន្តសម្តែង សង្ឃរាជ - ជូន - ណាត ។។ ស្តេចសង្ឃនៃកម្ពុជា ។។  
 55a–55b **pañṭām mahāmāyā-7** = pañṭām nāñ mahāmāyā devī caṃboḥ nāñ gotamī/  
 daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā  
 56a–61b **satthuppabbajjā-7** = braḥ bodhisatt yā ceñ sāñ phnuos  
 62a–62b **phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** = phcāñ' mār kāl braḥ aṅg ceñ sāñ  
 pabbajjā  
 63a–65b **bimbāviyog-7** = bimbāviyog  
 66a–68a **dukkarakiriyā A-7** = braḥ aṅg dhvö dukkharakiriyā  
 68a–69b **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = braḥ aṅg dhvö dukkharakiriyā  
 70a–75a **braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār-7** = kāl braḥ aṅg drañ phcāñ mā/aṅg phcāñ' mār  
 75a–80b **bimbābilāp-7** = braḥ aṅg drañ pros nāñ bimbā/pros nāñ bimbā  
 80b–84b **braḥ aṅg ṭāk' braḥ janm sañkhār-7** = braḥ aṅg ṭāk' braḥ janm sañkhār/  
 braḥ janm sañkhār  
 84b–85b **pacchimabuddhavaçana A-br** = yo vo ānand/parinibbānakathā  
 85b–86b **parinibbānakathā-7** = braḥ buddh yāñ cūl nibbān/parinibbān  
 87a–88a **pañṭām braḥ buddh-7** = panaṭām braḥ buddh hiep parinibbān/pañṭām  
 braḥ buddh



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88b–93a      **damnuoñ ānand-7** = braḥ aṅg suor aṃbī kā sṭāy/samnuor ānand  
93a–98b      **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** = cūl gīrīmānand/gīrīmānandasūtr (to  
be continued on 42b)

**UB048**

1982 and 1983, private collection of *lok tā M*’èn Rān’, Thma Sa village, Bhmaṃ Pāt commune, Bañā Ī district, Kandal province, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue and red marker and blue pen in *mūl* and *jrieni* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cellophane tape, and a thick wood cover with green paint.

Severe fold and edge wear and moderate wax, water and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

42 x 14 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 83 W-folded spreads, plus one thick wood cover (detached from manuscript).

Recto

- 1              Thick wood cover with green paint.  
2              Colophon and title: ភូមិជួស ភិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ  
3a–13b      **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtr  
14a–26b      **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ trai lakkh rapiep  
samāy jān’ tōm/trailakkha(ṅ)  
26b–42b      **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāravatā/braḥ dhaṛp  
42b            Colophon: [signature: Soeurn] សូមអភ័យទោ

Forward portion of verso [43–50b]

- 43            **Abhidhammātikā-NP** (crossed out in red marker), with the incipit ព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ (explicit missing)  
44a–50b      [blank]

Reverse portion of verso [84b–51a]

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- 84b Colophon: [blue pen] សម ក្រាំង ឆ្នាំ 19823 ក្រំ *imasmiṃ kāye kesā imasmiṃ masmī*  
ប្រជាជន កសាងពីឆ្នាំ ១៩៨២ ឧបាសក ឧបាសិកា ភូមិជួស ឃុំ
- 84a **dhārm yog-bn** = pad y"ok [blue pen] (explicit missing) (to be continued)
- 83b–83a [blank]
- 82b–82a **dhārm yog-bn** = pad y"ok [blue pen] (explicit missing) (continued) (to be continued)
- 81b–81a [blank]
- 80b–80a **dhārm yog-bn** = pad y"ok [blue pen] (explicit missing) (continued)
- 79a–73a **dhārm yog-bn** = pad yog/dhārm yog
- 73a–55b **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = pad phcāñ' mā/pchāñ mār
- 55b Colophon: ថ្ងៃ ១១ រោង ខែ ពិសាខ ឆ្នាំ កេ 1983
- 55a–51a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**

**UB049**

FEMC d.946

Mid twentieth century, original provenance unknown but possibly formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Rakā Ār Krom, Rakā Ār village, Rakā Ār commune, Kañ Mās district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, purchased at Duol Dambūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock mass-produced blank leporello ruled with pencil, reinforced with black thread and card stock covers with printed designs in black and yellow.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate wax, water, and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

36 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 35 M-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 Card stock cover with printed designs in black and yellow
- 2a [blank]
- 2b–3a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» sañkhep-k** = braḥ trāy lakkha(ṅ) ñāṅ
- 3a–6a **daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = dukkhara:kiriyā
- 6a–15b **bimbābilāp-7** = bimbābhilāb
- 15b–18b **pacchimabuddhavacana B-br** (explicit missing)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Verso

- 19 **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvatā (incipit missing)
- 19–23b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = gambī braḥ saṅgaṇī [cap' lev°], kambī braḥ vibhaṅg [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ dhātukathā [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ pugalapañatti [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ kathāvatthu [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ yamagg [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān [cap' lev°]
- 24a–34a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = kīrīmānand
- 34a–35a Extended colophon: កិច្ច ។ សុវណ្ណមនីតត្ថេ ។ នាមដើម សៀង ។ បានសរសេរ ក្រាំងនេះប្រគេន ព្រះតេជះគុណព្រះនាម ។ កង-ផេង ។ ចៅអធិការវត្តរកាអារក្រោម ។ ចំណែកក្រាំងនេះបានចម្លងតាមក្រាំងចារេតិមុន មក ហើយក្រាំងចារេនោះមានបាត់ពីកន្លែង គឺ ព្រះកៅវតា ម្សឃ្នាក់ គឺមានន្ទម្សឃ្នាក់ហើយអាត្មាកាតមិនដឹងថាបាត់ចេះ តែសរសេរទៅ ដល់ទៅផ្ទៀងបានដឹងជាបាត់ ហេតុនេះសូមលោកអ្នកដែលបានអាននៅក្រាំងនេះបើចាំជួបបន្ថែមនៅ ពាក្យនោះតទៅផង សូមអគុណ។ ចំណែកអាត្មាកាតជាអ្នកសរសេរសូមប្រថ្នាតែមត៌និងផលជូនទៅដល់មាត្រាបីញាតុ តិកាទាំង៧សន្តាន ឱ្យបានដល់ថានស្ន ថាននិព្វាន កំបីឃ្លៀតហើយហោង ។ ចំណែកអាត្មាកាតសូម ។ រឺអ្នកសរសេរនេះ ទ្រង់នាដូច្នោះ សុវណ្ណមនីតត្ថេ មានព្រះហរិទេ ប្រពៃសោះសារសរសេរអក្ខរ ប្រគេនលោកគ្រូ ។ ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នា ទាន់ព្រះ សិរា មេត្រីជាអំប្លោះ ព្រះអង្គបានត្រោះនាំសត្វទាំងឡាយដាក់ដល់និព្វាន ខ្សែមខ្សានសប្បាយ ឥតមានទុក្ខកែ ដល់លិច ឡើយណា ។ រឺអ្នករុករវត្តជើងសឹងតក់ វត្តសក់សឹងត្រង់អសលោកមើលហោង ដម្រងឲ្យទានផង ។ បើខ្មះត្រង់ណា សូ មលោកមេត្តា បញ្ចូលឲ្យផង កំមើលបំណាំ ដល់ក្រាំងនេះហោង ដល់ខ្លួនខ្ញុំផង ជានាគ្គីសរសេរ ។ មិនចេះលើកទេពាក្យ កាត ចេះតែធ្វើឲ្យកើតៗទៅ។។
- 35b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** (explicit missing; scribe started, but then abandoned text)
- 35b Label: ក្រាំងវត្តរកាអារក្រោម កាងចប
- 35b Graffito: កាងវ fonfour Chum Khy

**UB050**  
FEMC d.947

Mid twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Dambūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black marker and black pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with white thread and black electrical tape.

Moderate edge and fold wear and moderate wax, water, and mold damage, cleaned by Mech Khoeun, 2016.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

36 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 61 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1–24b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = akāravatā  
25a–30a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ saṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhāṅg, braḥ dhātukathā,  
braḥ puggal, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamag, braḥ mahāsthān  
30b **Itipi so that B-NP** = itipi so that (to be continued)

Verso

- 31 Graffito: [blue ink] នៅប្រទេសកម្ពុជា យើងខ្ញុំទាំងទេ  
31–33b **Itipi so that B-NP** = itipi so that (continued)  
32b Graffito: [blue ink] [various signatures] ជាសាវ័ន  
34a–37b **Dasajāti-NP** = dassajāti  
38a–57a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānand prē  
47b Graffito: [blue ink] [various signatures] ជាសាវ័ន  
53a–53b Graffito: [blue ink] [various signatures] ...  
54a Graffito: [blue ink] កេរ្តិ៍  
54b Graffito: [blue ink] [various signatures] ជាស្រុន  
57a–61b **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā rūp yōn min dien bit»-7** = braḥ trai lākḥh

**UB051**

FEMC 116-B.06.03.01  
EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 2

Early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān, Trabāṅṅ Gar commune, Jōn Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage, repaired with traditional white *snāy* paper and cellophane tape.

35 x 12 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, photocopy of 67 spreads.

Recto

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

1a Traditional white *snāy* paper cover affixed with cellophane tape (added by the FEMC) with FEMC catalog info and table of contents: *buddhābhisek*, *dhārm yog*, *phcāñ' mār*, *pañcuh brah lakkhana*; *kpuon riep cam buddhābhisek*

2b–7b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** (incipit missing)

7b–12b **dhārm yog-bn** = brah dhārm mm yokk

12b Ritual instruction: បើរសូតព្រះធម៌យោគ ភ្នាក់វិយារបតប្តាចប្ប្ប ហើរទើព្វឱ្យសម្តែង ។ ១៣

នមោមេភ្នាក់វិយារបទ ។ ឱ្យថ្វាយជ្រៀមព្រះមុនទៀត

13a–14b **dhārm yog-y/ch** = namo me (incipit missing)

14b–17b **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** = namo me

17b–30b **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñum paṅgam»-k** = brah phcāñ mmār

31a–31b Note on **dhārm yog-bn**: រៀបព្រះពុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រឹត្តិកុំណាត និងបួនរូបព្រះវសារ ប្រាជ្ញាប្រាជ្ញាបណ្ឌិត កាដិកម្យាវ ប្រាមតន្តប្បកើតតន្ត្រី។ ក្នុងពារប្រហឹសំត្រីជាសុភសិរី នៅព្រះម្សាញឯកសក្ខ ។ គិតប្រែរ ធម៌យោកឱ្យជាក ឱ្យត្រូវគ្នាអត់។ គ្នាបតប្បវិន ត្រិតធម៌លោក្យព្រឹមុនមានសិរីស្តាបល្យខ្មែរល្បលៀវសៀមផង មិន ច្បោះស្បោះជាម្តង គិតលើកចែងចង ជាពាកខ្មែរស្បាបបាន ។ ព្រះធម៌លិក្ខិតជាប្រធាន កាលគុំនៅស្ថាននៅវេល បំលោមភ្នំមពេញ គិតលើកប្រែរចេញ ឱ្យច្បោះអស់អារវាចារ ទុកឱ្យមហាជនគ្រុតគ្នា សូតថ្វាយបូជាអត្ថិសេក្ខអង្គព្រះ ជិនស្រី ទោះខុសសលត្រង់ណាក្តី លោកជីងសេចក្តី ជុំម្រងឱ្យទានផងវ៉ា ធម៌នេះចូលស្ថិតវត្តណាវ ទាលអុសាស្តា រាម្រាម្រាវសារទៅវហាង ។ ១៣ ។ ។

31b Ritual instructions: នេះនិងសម្តែង អំពីបរស្សបុគ្គលឯណាវ១ ថាបើរសាងព្រះពុទ្ធរូប តូចណះ និង បញ្ចុះព្រះលាភ្នំណា ពុំម្យានលើ បើរតលថ្ងៃណាវ និងអត្ថិសេក្ខនោះឱ្យរៀបរុត្តាបព្រះពីស្សនុការី ប្រាក ៥ ដំម្លឹង សុំ ពុតសំបាត ផ្ទៃរលើរ៤ ប្រាស្សី ៥ ថ្នាក់ ១ គូរ ស្នាធម៌៤ ទិកអព្វ ៨ គ្រឿងបូជារលាចផ្ការទៀនធុកស្មារជម្ម ទិកសំ ម្សុរ១ផ្តិល ឱ្យសព្វគ្រូបដូចសម្តែងមក ឱ្យអាចារសូតថ្វាយ ព្រះលាភ្នំណាវរូបហើរទើព្វនិង អត្ថិសេក្ខបានហោង ។

31b–32a **Dhammakāya-NP**, with Khmer ritual instructions for implanting the marks, with the incipit: *sabbaññittañānpavarasisam* បញ្ចុះព្រះកែស... *nibbānā* ... *lāpava* ... *takesam* បញ្ចុះបា ... *catutajjhānapavaralālātam* បញ្ចុះនៅថ្ងាះ *vajirsamāpatiñāna pavarauṇābhāssam* (explicit missing)

32b–34b Ritual instructions and Dhammakāya/ritual instructions for implanting the marks: *nilakkhasina sobhāti kantapavarabhayuggula* បញ្ចុះចិញ្ចឹមទ្វាព្រឹ *dibbacakkhupañā cakkhusanta cakkhubuddhacakkhu dhammacakkhupavaracakkhudvayam* នេះបញ្ចុះព្រះនេតទ្វាព្រឹ ។ *dibbasotañāna pavarasotadvayam* បញ្ចុះព្រះកាម្មាទ្វាព្រឹ ។ *gotrabhūñānaca*

។ នេះនិងសម្តែង អំពីបរស្សបុគ្គលណាម្យ ថាបើរសាងព្រះពុទ្ធរូបតូចណះនិងបញ្ចុះ ព្រះលាភ្នំណាពុំបានលើ បើរដល ថ្ងៃណាវនិងអត្ថិសេក្ខនោះ ឱ្យរៀបរុត្តាបព្រះពីស្សនុការី ប្រាក៥តម្លឹង សុំពុតសំបាត ផ្ទៃរលើរ៤ ប្រាស្សី៥ថ្នាក់ម្យគូរ ស្មារធម៌ ៨ ទិកអព្វ៨ គ្រឿងបូជារលាចផ្ការទៀនធុក ស្មារជម្ម៤ ទិកសុំប្តិរម្យផ្តិល ឱ្យសព្វគ្រូបដូចសម្តែងមក ឱ្យអាចារី សូតថ្វាយ ព្រះលាភ្នំណាវរូបទើព្វនិង

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

អត្ថិសេត្តានុវេទនា ។ *sabbaññuttanānaparasisaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះកែស ។ *nibbānāramaṇapavaravisasitakesaṃ* បញ្ចុះ  
 មាល្យ ។ *catatujjhā napavaralalātā* បញ្ចុះនៅថ្ងៃ ។ *vajirasamāpatiñānapavarauṅkāssaṃ* បញ្ចុះនៅតង្កើម ។  
*nilakkhasinaso bhātikantapavarabhayuttalaṃ* បញ្ចុះចិញ្ចឹមទ្វារ ។ *dibbacakkhupaññā cakkhusamanta*  
*cakkhubuddhacakkhuṃ dhammacakkhupavaracakkhudva yaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះនេត្តទ្វារ ។ *dibbasotaññāna*  
*pavarasotadvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះកាម្មទ្វារ ។ *gotrabhūññāna pavarautāṅgajhānaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះឃានទ្វារ ។  
*magaphalavimatti phalaññānapavararendadvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះមកលាព្វផ្កាលទ្វារ ។ *lokkīyallokkatara*  
*ñānapavaraotthadvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះឱសលើរក្រែង ។ *sattamissaṃpava rabbohdhīpakkhīyāññāna*  
*pavarasubbbhadantā* បញ្ចុះវង់ព្រះឱសឆ្មេង ។ *cattamaggāññāna pavaracatudhādā* បញ្ចុះព្រះចម្រុះម្លាស់ ។  
*catusajjanāna pavarajjihāra* បញ្ចុះអន្តរាត ។ *appatthihagaññāna pavarahanukaṃ* បញ្ចុះចង្ការក្រោម ។  
*anuttaravimokkhādāhita manaññānapavarakhaṇaṃ* បញ្ចុះដើមស្ងួរវង់ ។ *tilakkhaññāna*  
*pavaravilasattativivijjitaṃ* បញ្ចុះផ្កាស្ងួរវង់ ។ *catuwessāvajjanāna pavarabāhadvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះហ្សូនទ្វារ ។  
*dassānusatīññāna pavaravattāṅgalisobhā* បញ្ចុះម្រាមព្រហ្ម កន្តាលខាងស្តាំ ។ *sattabhojjhaṅga*  
*pavarapinurattalaṃ* បញ្ចុះតើមទ្រូង ។ *asayaññānuyāññānapavarathanayuttalaṃ* បញ្ចុះតើមតស្សទ្វារ ។  
*dassabalaññāna pavaramaññimantā* បញ្ចុះចុងតង្កើម ។ *paṭiccasamuppādaññāna pavaranaññāna*  
*ndriyapaññāna pavaraphaṅgaṃ* បញ្ចុះចម្រុះខាងស្តាំ ។ *catusamvattāna pavaraurūdvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះភ្លៅទ្វារ ។  
*dasakusalakammāpatha pavarajjihadvayaṃ* បញ្ចុះព្រះដុះគុំទ្វារ ។ *catuviddhīpādāpavarapādādvayaṃ*  
 បញ្ចុះព្រះធាតុទ្វារ ។ *salasammācaññānapavarasaṅghāññāna* បញ្ចុះនៅសយិក្ខិយ ។ *hirokappaññāna pavarapamsakulaci*  
*varaṃ* បញ្ចុះនៅជើង ។ *atthāṅgimāggaññānapavaraantarvāsakaṃ* បញ្ចុះនៅស្បង ។  
*catusatipatthānapavarakāyābandhanaṃ* បញ្ចុះវេទនាទ្រូង ។ *añesadevamanussānaṃ buddhoabhivirocatiyassa*  
*panamattimaṅga diññānaṃ sabbaññūṭādikāṃ dhammāka yakatī baddhānametaṃ lokanā*  
*yakaṃ dhammakāyabuddhalakanaṃ yogāvacarakulputtekkhaññāne na sabbaññūbuddhabhāvaṃ*  
*patthentēnapanānaṃ nāmanussaritaṃ* ។ បើស្ងួតថ្ងៃ ព្រះស្និតសាបាទ ពីចំហើយទើព្វអាចារិស្និតអញ្ជើញព្រះ  
 ពីស្បងកាវិរុច្ចហើយឲ្យស្និតម្យាម ទើព្វយឲ្យយកអញ្ជូលព្រឹមកកាន់ឡើង ហើយយកមង្គលវាស្បង ព្រះនេត្តទ្វារស្តាំ  
 ឆ្វេងស្និតថ្ងៃ ។ *tathāhāta dibbacakkhūvisodhyājayaṃ devamanussānaṃ* ។ បើចប់ហើយទើព្វយកអញ្ជូលម្យមកវា  
 ស្បងព្រះនេត្តប្បដង្គម្ខាង រួចយកកន្ត្រៃយមក ទើព្វឲ្យស្និតចំរើនព្រះកែស្បថត្បច្នោះ ។ *kessesasakessā* នន្ទិស្តាសព្វេពុទ្ធ  
 ហិទេសិនិញ្ញានំ ខន្ធនត្តាយ ។ ប្បចំបរុច្ចហើយទើព្វឲ្យយក កុំបិតស្និតការព្រះព្រះកែស្បថទើព្វឲ្យយកទិកអំព មកស្រង  
 ជុំវិញព្រះអង្គរុច្ចឲ្យយកគ្រឿងក្រអូបមកជុំវិញព្រះកន្ត្រៃហើយ ស្រលាបលាបព្រះអង្គ សំពគ្របហើយទើព្វលើកហើង តាក់  
 ដំមួលយកអុំបស្សព្រះនិស្ស ព្រះស្និតដូចតែលវិញហើយ ទើព្វអាចារិក្រាបថ្ងៃបង្គំម កាន់អុំបស្សនិស្សឡើងស្និតថ្ងៃព្រះ  
 លក្ខណ ម្យចំបទៀតដារបើចប់ហើយទើព្វឲ្យស្និតព្រះថ្និតវិសេច ពោធិ៍បក្ខិធិវង្ស បានប្បចំបហើយស្និតលោកុត្តិ  
 ឈាន ៩ចំប្ប រៀងពោធិ៍បក្ខិធិថ្និតវង្ស ។ *bodhdhīpakkhīpantāho cattārosatipatthānāra*  
*kāyānupassanāsattipatthānā vedanānupassanāsattipatthānā cittānupassanāsattipatthānā*  
*dhammānupassanāsattipatthānā. catārosamvattānā upanānaṃ pāpakamakalānaṃ dhammānaṃ*  
*pahāyavāyāmmo. anuppanānaṃ pāpakam akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anupādāyavāyāmmo.*

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

*anuppanānaṃpāpakam kusalanāṃdhammānaṃ upādāyavāyāmmo. uppanānaṃkussalānaṃ dhammānaṃ  
bhiyogavāyavāyāmmo. catāroindrīpādātinda dipādiviriyiddipāddo catuddhīpāddovimmaṃ siddhīpādo.  
pañcaindrīyānī saddhindrīyaṃ virayindrīyaṃ satindrīyaṃ sammādhindrīyaṃ pañindrīyaṃ.  
pañcabulānisaddhābullaṃ virayabalaṃ sattibalaṃ samābalaṃ bañābalaṃ. sattabhōjjhaṅgāni satisa*

Verso

35a–66b Ritual instructions for consecration: [already transcribed and put into modern orthography (with minor errors) in Lī Suvīr 2009, pp. 33–60]

66b–67a Note on **dharm yog-bn**: រឿងព្រះពុទ្ធសាស្ត្រ ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្យាប័ន្តកុំណដ្ឋ និងបួនរូបព្រះវសារ ផ្សំ  
ព្យាប័ន្តបន្ទាមណារី កាដីក្ខមារា ប្រាំមតន្តប្បកើតកដ្ឋ ។ ក្នុងពាក្យព្រះហស្តដ្ឋ ជាសុត្តសិរិ នៅព្រះមហាប្បាណ ឯកសត្ត ។  
គឺត្រូវប្រែធម្មយោគឲ្យជួរក្នុង ឲ្យត្រូវគ្នាអត្ថ គ្នាអាត គ្នាបទបូរាណ ត្រូវបូរាណតែរឹមុនមានសីលស្តាបពុំម្យ៉ាង ល្បឿនល្បឿន  
សៀមផង ... ច្បាប់អូរពាក្យជាម្តង គិតលើកចែងចង ជាពាក្យខ្មែរឲ្យស្តាបបាន ។ ព្រះធម្មលិក្ខិ ... គុណនៅស្នាមនៅវេលា  
លោមក្នុងពេញ ។ មានព្រះឲ្យហាស្រលេញ ឲ្យលើកប្រែ ... អូរអារវាចារ ។ ទុកឲ្យមហាជនគ្រូពន្យារ សូត្របូជា  
អត្ថិសេក្ខអង្គព្រះ ... ទោះខុសសលត្រង់ណាក្តី លោកដឹងសេចក្តី ដំប្រមន្តឲ្យទានផងវា ។ ធម្មនេះចូលស្ថិត ... អូរសាស្ត្រ  
រឿងព្រះវសារទៅវេលា ។ ១៧ ។ ។

67a–67b Ritual instructions for the implanting the marks (*pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa*): ចប្បធម្ម  
យោក្ខហ្ស ទើពសំដែង ... មេ នៅថ្ងៃជ្រុះមុន នៅជយន្តោរចប្ប ហើយទើពឲ្យសូត្រផ្ទុកព្យាមារ ត្រឹមមានឧត្តប្បាតទៅ ...  
ទៀត ។ ១៧ នេះនិងសំប្លែង អំពីបរ... ក្តីលឯណា ១ ថាបើសាងព្រះពុទ្ធរូបតូចណាស់ និងបញ្ចុះ ព្រះលក្ខណពុំបាន  
ល្បើ បើរក្ខលច្រៀងណានិងអត្ថិសេក្ខនោះ ឲ្យរន្តបព្រះព្យាប័ន្ត ប្រាកដ... ឡើងសំពុតសំ ថហាតផ្ទៃលើ ២ បា  
យស្សីថថ្នាក់ ១ គូរ ស្នាធម្ម ២ ទីក្នុង ៨ គ្រឿង បូជាល... ផ្ការទៀនពុទ្ធ ស្នារធម្ម ២ ទឹកសំបូរ ១ ផ្តើល ឲ្យសពគ្រូតូច  
សំប្លែងមក ឲ្យអាចារសូត្រថ្ងៃ... ក្នុងនោះ រួចទើពនិងអត្ថិសេក្ខបានហោង ។ ។ ១៧ ។ ។

67b Note: ពុទ្ធាពិសេក្ខ

**UB052**

FEMC 125-B.06.03.01  
EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 11

Early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān, Trabāṃṅ Gar commune, Jōn Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper lined with pencil.

Severe fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage, repaired with traditional white *snāy* paper and cellophane tape.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

35 x 12 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, photocopy of 41 spreads.

Recto

- 1 Cover with title, ព្រះត្រៃលិង្គ, and FEMC catalog info and table of contents: *braḥ abhidhamm, saḥassaṇey, ratanamālā, ākāravatā, braḥ trai lakkha(ṇ), lā pāp*  
2–8b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (incipit missing)

Verso

- 9–11a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ saṅghanīy, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukaththā, braḥ puggalapañatti, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yammagg, braḥ mahārapaththān, with final note បរិបុណ្ណប្បវេណីវេលនាអង្គុល្ល  
11a–14a **Sahassanaya-NP** = braḥ mahār saḥassaṇey, with final note: បរិនិសុត្តិនិដិត្តិនិពន្ធិ បច្ចយោហោន្ត  
14a–17b **Ratanamālā-NV** = ratanamālār capp braḥ buddhaguṇ nau neḥ hoi, with incipit: *saḥassasīseciceso sīsēsīsestamukhā mukhemukhesatajihvā jīhvā kappomahiddhīkopaṃcevaṇṇetum̐satthunogunaṃ nasakkuneyyāti* (explicit missing; *buddhaguna* section only)  
17b–32b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = ākāravattā suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ  
32b–41a **trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k**, with incipit *pad kākkati* (explicit missing)  
41b Illustration of a bull

**UB053**

FEMC 127-B.06.03.01

EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 13

Early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān, Trabāṃṇ Gar commune, Jōn Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper, reinforced with black thread.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage.

36 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, photocopy of 30 spreads.



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Recto

- 1 Cover with FEMC catalog info and table of contents: *ākāravatā*, *braḥ abhidhamm*, *pālī subaṅṅ pād*
- 2a [blank]
- 2b Yantra with the following syllables: *u, u, u, u, na, u, u, u, u, ka, ta, ma, bha, sa, ma, na, ga, ka, na, ma, bha, ca, bha, ka, sa*, plus note: *vanavannonalitānamhosuththo*.
- 3a–4b Notes on ritual expenditures: ចូលថ្នាំពូជគ្នាស្រាវបាន២១ថ្នាំ ចំណាយទៅលើមេត្រូតថ្នាំ ទីញ្ញាជុំសាង២ អស់៧ថ្នាំ អស់១០ថ្នាំ នៅសល់១១ថ្នាំ ១១ថ្នាំនេះចំណាយទៅលើមហូបនឹងបន្លើឱយអ្នកធ្វើរកា ស៊ីអស់ចំនួន៥ថ្នាំនៅប្រាំ៦ថ្នាំឱយថ្ងៃព្រះពុទ្ធរូប / ពូជគ្នាស្រាវបុណ្ណាអត្ថិសេក្ខបាន២ថ្នាំ១នៅ ចំណាយមេត្រូតថ្នាំ ក្លាំងស៊ាម៣ថ្នាំ / អង្ករប្រគេនលោកទេះធម្មត្រោះ១នៅ ទេះគ្រៃតាអស់៣នៅថ្ងៃ១០កើតខែពីសាខថ្ងៃហស្សច.....វត្តរុះ រើរធ្វើ កុតប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃគុដនៅវត្តស្អាងជុំនួនបីខ្លួននឹងប្រគុនពីកន្លប់ ចំណែកសូតទីញ្ញ អស់២២គីឡូអង្ករប្រាំ៦ឡូ ដេកគូល / ឱយអ្នកឃ្នងទៅទីញ្ញថ្ងៃលើក អស់៣២គីឡូ ប្រាំគីឡូដេកគូល ចំណែកខ្ញុំទីញ្ញអស់៥គីឡូដេកគូលអស់៣០គីឡូអង្ករ ចំណាយទៅលើបុណ្ណាអត្ថិសេកកេសចូដកទិ កដោះគោកប៉ឹង១៦ គីឡូអង្ករ តែ១៦កន្លប់ ១២គីឡូកន្លះ ស្ករស១ឡូ ៨គីឡូអង្ករ  
  
បូករួមប្រាំ៧គូមីបានអង្ករ៣ថ្នាំ១កន្លាង ចំណាយទៅលើរជុំសាងក្រោយពតៅអង្ករ ដេកគូល១គីឡូកន្លះ ១៧ គីឡូ កន្លះអង្ករ  
២ថ្នាំគីឡូកន្លះអង្ករ ថ្ងៃ ៨ កើត ខែ អសាត
- 5a [blank]
- 5b **Anekajāti samsāraṃ-gāthā-CV**
- 5b Note: ត្នាដេរសាចក្លីគូពុំគូសាសាចក្លី
- 6a–24a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = *braḥ kovaṭā*
- 24a Colophon: ក្រាំងលោកវ៉ុនឲ្យអ្នកអន្តបណាភ្នំសេស
- 24b–29a **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = *kāṃmbīy° braḥ saṅkanīy°, kāmbīy° braḥ vibhaṅg, kāṃmbīy° braḥ dhātukathā, kāṃmabīy° braḥ pugā, kāṃmbīy° braḥ kathāvatthu, kāṃmbīy° braḥ yaṃmmak, kāmbī braḥ mahāīpathān,*
- 29b–30a Ritual instructions and mantras for *subaṅṅ pād*: នេះនឹងនិទ្យាយឯបុកលកាលបើនឹងស្ស អយុះ បើរជុំមើហខ្លាងហ្សឺឲ្យធ្វើរសូតារបាទ ។ បើរយកម្សទៅផែកបានប្រាកក៏បានម្សសំណរីក៏បាន បាននឹងស្លឹកពោក បានឲ្យយកព្រះតាថ្នានេះ *cakkhusampattasattajā sottasampattasattasattajā ghānasampattasattajā jīvahāsampattasattajā kāyasampattasattajā manosampattasattajā*. នេះដាក់រិមមាតបុគល *itipiso catumahārājīākānaṃdevānaṃrakhantu*. នេះដាក់ថ្នាំសបុគល ។ *itipisotātamaṃsānaṃdevanaṃ*. នេះដាក់ទ្រូងបុគល ។ *sosaaāānēne*. ដាក់ដៀងបុគល ។ *itipisokimkuraṇādevannarakkhanti*. ដាក់ដៀងស្នាំមបុគល *mauuama*. ដាក់ ក្រោមខ្នើយបុគល ។

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

នេះនឹងនិយាយស្តីពីរត្នាស្រេចហោង ។ ១៧

- 30b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (explicit missing)
- 30b Namō tassa/namō tassa samrāy (explicit missing)
- 30b Illustration of a stupa

**UB054**

FEMC 129-B.06.03.01

EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 15

Early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān, Trabāṃn Gar commune, Jōn Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopied photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper lined with pencil or diluted ink.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage.

35 x 12 cm, 10 lines per spread, photocopy of 45 spreads.

Recto

- 1 Cover with FEMC catalog info and table of contents: *ākāravattā, braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtr, braḥ abhidhamm, pālī tāk' sikkhāpad*
- 2a–24b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = *kautā*, with brackets (to be continued)
- 3a Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ
- 3b Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ
- 4a Ritual instruction: ៩
- 5a Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ
- 5b Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ
- 6a Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ
- 6b Ritual instruction: សូត្រ ៩ តិដ

Verso

- 25a [blank]
- 25b–35b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = *kautā* (continued)

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

35b–42b **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ dhamm/braḥ dhaṛm (kāmbīy° braḥ vinaiy° parīpan lvev, braḥ sūt cap paripuṇ lvèv, kāmabīy° braḥ saṅganīy° gāṃmabīy° 1, braḥ vibhāṃṇ° cap gaṃbīy° 2, braḥ dhātukathā cap gaṃmabīy° 3, braḥ pugulapaṇāti gaṃmabīy° 4, braḥ kaththāvutthu gaṃmabīy° 5, braḥ yaṃmmag gaṃbīy° 6, braḥ mahār pathān gāmbīy° 7)

43a–45b Ritual instructions and mantras for ṭāk' sikkhāpad: នេះនិភាគ្នា កតិយាតិម យកស្នា ធម៌ទៀនទៅថ្ងៃបង្គំមព្រះ ព តងរួចហើយ ក្រោកយំរលើងវន្ទា ព តង ក្រាបថ្ងៃបង្គំម ព តង ហើយយកទៀន ៥ ទៅសំ ម្តែងអាបុត រួចហើយអង្គុយចុះតាកសិក្ខាបទថាត្បវច្ឆ ukāssaa haṃbhantè {badham {dhamam {sagham paccakhāmmi datti tatti. រួចហើយ ។។ ukāssa aham bhantè aṅgabundhanaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati.

ukāssaahambhante saṅghatiyaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè uttar"ā sagham paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhante aṅkāyabundhanaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti. tati. ukāssaahambhantè bhikkhubhāvaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaaham bhantè dassasilaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè antarav"āsikaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè pātīmokkhaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati.

ukāssaahambhantè kāmmavācāṃpaccakhāmmi datti tati. ukāssaahambhantè sabbasikkhāpada paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè oposuththaṃ paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè vinaiyāṃpaccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè saṃṇṇerāṃpaccakhāmmi. duti tati. ័ ។ តាកសិក្ខាបទរួច ហើយ ថ្ងៃបង្គំមព្រះ ព តង ហើយចេញទៅផ្ទះត្រៀមវិចេញ ស្លៀកសំមពុតសំ ហើយអង្គុយចុះ។ ukāssaahambhantè

aththasīlāṃpaccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè pañcasīlāṃpaccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè tūppasè paccakhāmmi. duti tati. ukāssaahambhantè opāsīko gihibhāvaṃpaccakhāmmi. duti tati. រួចហើយផ្ទះ ស័ចេញ ស្លៀកខ្មៅរទៅហោង ។។

**UB055**

FEMC 130-B.06.03.01

EFE0-FEMC Photocopy 16

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'āñ, Trabāṃṇ Gar commune, Jön Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper, reinforced with white thread and layered paper covers.

Severe fold and edge wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage, repaired with cellophane tape by the FEMC.

35 x 12 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, photocopy of 78 spreads.

Recto

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 1 Layered paper cover with FEMC catalog info and table of contents: *ākāravatā*, *brah abhidhamm*, *lā pāp*, *girimānand*, *hau bralīn*, *brah trai lakkha(n)*
- 2a-7a **Ākāravattā A-NP** (explicit missing)
- 7b-18b **trailakkha(n) «rūpam dukkham» purān-k** = trai lakkh
- 19a Unknown text on Amritāyu (continued from 78a) [manuscript badly damaged], as follows: .....កាលផង នៅខ្មោចសោតណា ។ សុទ្ធាំ.....ល្អដ្ឋះហោង កុំប្តីយូរល្បើ ។ ឧមព្រះអម្រិតិ  
.....អគុច្ចនុកុញ្ញនុ ស្វាហាយ្យ ។ ឲ្យសូតប្បតង
- 19a-21a Unidentified *hau bralīn* texts:  
.....នេះ ឧមសិទ្ធិស្នូសភីមានពីលារយាត្រា ព្រះ.....សិទ្ធិសាក្ខ មកអញ្ជើញជាគ្រូ ទើពួអ្នកប្រើ  
អញ.....អំពីកុំពូលក្នុង ទើពួអ្នកប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីង.....វ កុំពេងចាកក្រវាល ទើពួអ្នកប្រើអញ  
ស្រូបព្រះសីងគ្ន.....យកទៅទុកនៅមានអាក្ខន្ធនោះហោង ទើពួអ្នក.....ប ព្រះលីងទ្រំមរៀ គេយកទៅ  
វកប់សន្ទុប នៅថ្មរសិ.....។ ទើពួសម្តេចព្រះបម្រើស្រូវ អ្នកប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីងអំ.....ខ្មោចអាប អំពីខ្មោចធុបទុព  
កបត្រិត្តិយ៉ា ទ្រាំព្រាមាយាបន្តាសព្វ.....យកទៅវកប សន្ទុបនៅព្រះធន្យ ទើពួអ្នកប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីង.....គេយ  
កទៅវកបសន្ទុបនៅ ក្រឡារមហារប្រថពី ទើពួអ្នក.....អញស្រូបព្រះលីង គេយកទៅវកបសន្ទុបនៅថ្មខ្មោច ទើ  
ពួ.....ប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីង គេយកទៅវកប សន្ទុបនៅក្នុងផ្ទាំង.....ប្តី ទើពួអ្នកប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីង គេយក  
ទៅវកប់ សន្ទុប.....នាវមតបិដ ទុកនៅមតស្នឹង គុដ្ឋានោះផង ទើពួអ្នកប្រើ.....ស្រូបព្រះលីង គេយកទៅវកប់សន្ទុ  
បនៅ តំបូកអាក្ខន្ធនោះ.....វក្នុងសិល្បា ទើពួគ្រូប្រើអញស្រូបព្រះលីង គេយកទៅ.....ត្បោរុនកង្កែបរុនក្តាម  
ទើពួគ្រូប្រើអញ ស្រូបព្រះលីង គេ.....ព្រឹក្សារមហារស្រមុត ហែតព្រះមុនអញ្ជុត ត្បោរុនកង្កែបរុនក្តាម  
ហោង ឧមស្រូបមហារស្រូប ទើពួគ្រូអ្នកប្រើអញស្រូប.....ឆ្មាទ្រាំខ្ពស់ឱរុន្តសទ្រាំឃ្នាង ឱរុន្តទ្រាំច្រវា ឱរុន្តទ្រាំអន្តា  
ក្នុង ទ្រាំចំណង់ប្រការនោះហោង ។ ឧមរំបើកមហារំបើក ទើពួគ្រូប្រើអញស្រូបឱរុន្តក្រើក រំបើកទ្រាំក្រឡារមហារប្រថពី  
ហោង ។
- 21a-38a **hau bralīn-k**
- 38a-39a Unidentified *hau bralīn* texts: ឧមសិទ្ធិស្នូស អញ្ជើញពីមានភាប ព្រះបម្រើស្រូវ អ្នកប...មក  
អញជាគ្រូ ទើពួអ្នកប្រើអញ មុនអង្គជារជ្ជវ មុនស្រូវជាទ្រំពួ មុនបាចចេញទៅ រកស្បព្រះលីងទ្រាំ ១៩ ទើពួអញយក  
អំពី ក្រចកអក អញយកអំពីក្រចកខ្លែង អញយកអំពីក្នុងដើងម្តែង ទើពួអញយកអំពីមានប្រសាធនៃកគោហារ គីរី  
បុត្តតារ អំពីច្រកច្រលង អុវចង្ក្រទិកផង ទើពួអញយក អំពីក្រហែងថ្ម ទើពួអញយកអំពីកំពេងចាកក្រវាលវាល ទើពួ  
អញយកអំពីគុដ្ឋារ មហារស្រមុត ទើពួគ្រូប្រើអញយកអំពីក្រវាលរមហារប្រថពី ទើពួគ្រូប្រើអញយកអំពីមហា  
ស្រមុត ហែតព្រះមុនអញ្ជុត ។ ប្តីចំហុត យកមកតលអញ្ជើញជាគ្រូ ។ ឧមសិទ្ធិស្នូសាប ស្តាបបង្គំបអញ្ជើញជាគ្រូ ឧម  
ចងមហាចង ឧមគ្រើងមហារគ្រើង ឧមសិទ្ធិស្នូសាប ស្តាបបង្គំបមកអញ តំជាគ្រូប្តីព្រាធាយហោងស្វាហា:
- 39a Illustrations of a turtle and three kinds of birds, possibly including a rooster and a peacock.
- 39a Graffito: ឃុំស្រម៉

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

39b Ritual instructions for *hau brahīnī*: នេះនិងស្រគីរ អន្តរបហោព្រះលិង្គ នោះឲ្យធ្វើរោង ១ ក្បាលតំណែកហើរ ធ្វើរំពៃរ ១ ឲ្យបាន១២ រូត កន្ទោង ១២ រូបព្រះអំប្រិគ្គិយូរ ១ ចំណីតាកកន្ទោង នោះឲ្យសិនតែរបង ឯមចំណីដាក់ឆ្នេងស្តាំមសិនតែរបងឯមៃ សំពុតឆ្នេងស្តាំម ស្វារដមឆ្នេងស្តាំម ទ្វាយរឆ្នេងស្តាំមអំបសខ្នុក ១ ឲ្យដាក់លើរំពៃរ ព្រះអំប្រិគ្គិយូរនោះ បើរសូតហោព្រះអំប្រិគ្គិយូររួច.....ទើពូឲ្យសូតហោព្រះលិង្គ ឲ្យស្រាវអំបសខ្នុក អំព្យៃព្រះអំប្រិគ្គិយូរនោះមកហោង ឲ្យរកអំពៅខ្មៅ ១ ដើម ឲ្យរកគ្នារបាន ១ អ្នកឲ្យកាន់ អំពៅប្រាព្រះលិង្គ ឲ្យរកប្រាកស្នឹង ១ ខ្នារទ្រាំង ១ ចងនិងកុំណាតសំពុត ឲ្យចងនិងដើមអំពៅនោះហោង ។

Verso

40a–53b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = brah kauvatā  
53b Colophon: នេះព្រះកោវដាសង្កែបតែរបុន្នែះឯងហោង ចប្បចយោហោន្ត [cappaccayohontu] ស្តេចបំបូរហោង១\*

54a–57a **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = kāmbīy° brah saṅganīy° saṅkhèp, kāmbīy° brah vibhaṅg saṅkhèp, kāṃmbīy° brah dhātukathā saṅkhèp, kāmbīy° brah pugul saṅkhèp, kāmbīy° brah kathāvatthu saṅkhèp, kāṃmbīy° brah yaṃmmag saṅkhèp, kāmbīy° brah mahāpaṭthān saṅkhèp

57a–57b Ritual instruction and mantras for *subarṇ pād*: នេះនិងនិរាយឯបគ្គលកាលបើរនិងស្ស អយ្នះ បើរដំមើរខ្លាំងហើរ ឱរធ្វើស្តាំនបាទ ១\* បើយកម្សទៅដៃរកបាន ប្រាកក់បាន សំណឹរក់បាន ហរនិងស្លឹកពោក បាន ឱរយកព្រះគាថារនេះ ។ *cakkhusampattasattajā sottasampattasattasattajā ghānasampattasattajā. jivihāsampattasattajā. kāyasampattasattajā manosampattasattajā. នេះដាក់រមមាតិបុគ្គល ។។ itipisocatumahārājākānaṃdevānaṃrakhantu. នេះដាក់ថ្វាសបុគ្គល ។ itipisotātimsānaṃdevānaṃ. នេះដាក់ទ្រូងបុគ្គ គុ ... sosoaaānene. នេះដាក់ដៀរឆ្នេងបុគ្គល ។ itipisokimku...devannarakkhanti. ដាក់ដៀរស្តាំមបុគ្គល។។ ma. maauuama. ដាក់ក្រោមខ្នើយបុគ្គលស្រេចហ្សោ...*

58a–67a **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = sūt smār lā dos°

67b–76a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = *girimānan sūt manus ābāt*

76a–78a Unknown text on Amritāyu (to be continued on 19a) [manuscript badly damaged]: អញខ្ញុំបង្គំម ប្រណាំមថ្វាយទៅ ព្រះអំប្រិគ្គិយូរកាលធម្មា ពាលរំពៃហា សិក្ខាព្រះភ្លើង មានកាលរក្សិ រោចន្ទប័យ តំម្កើងស្តេចចិតតោយនោវ ព្រះជើងគិរីស្កាន ។ នរអ្នកផង តំម្កើរតំមត្តង ពុំ...ប្បាឡិ ពពាណ្ឌីផង ទើពូអញ ខ្ញុំសូមលា នៅកោដ្ឋនាបូជាបម៉ាន...កបានផ្លូវ ខ្ញុំមទុកបានហើរ ទើពូខ្ញុំលាប្រាន នៅរោះនេះណា។ [ស្តេចស្និតនិ តនៅបូពារ អំម្នាចមុះហិម្មារ ចេស្តារគ្រូបគ្រូន ស្តេចxតអគ្នេរជាត្វស្សាន ឆ្នាំព្យសិសន ទ្រង់នោវិទ្ធិចេស្តារ ស្តេចស្និត ...តនៅទត្តិណា តូចព្រះទិព្វារ បន្ថើហសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ស្តេចស្និតត្រាឡឡិទ្ធិនិ មានតោមពីស្សី មានពរនោះខ្មោច ។ ស្តេច ស្និត xរបស្និមនោវ ធម្មតំមគុនទៅ បីតូចគុដ្ឋសារស្និមស្តេយ ។ គុនxលទៅម្តងនោះនៃបីតូចនាគនាដ្ឋតំមក្រតីឌីទារ ត្រកាលគួរ .....ប ។ ស្តេចស្និតនិតនៅព្យប ស្តេចអាចប្រចាប តង្កើមតាន្តិ ។ សោវជុននោវមាន ថ្ងៃនោះ១០ គ្រៃ នោះ២០ មិម្យ២.... ជា ស្តេចព្រាម្យាទ្រង់ព្រះនាម្តរ ។ ស្តេចចិតតោយទ្រីឌីតរអំម្នាច ខ្នារត្បោះខាះខែង ។ រឹត្យអ្នកផងគុន

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មើលស្ងប់ស្ងែង ត្បោនោវ.. មែងរទ្ធិចេស្តារ ហើរទើពអញខ្ញុំមអញ្ជើញអាកក្ខ ឥន្ទ្រាទេព..... លសោតណារ ។ អគ្គេរុះ  
នៃនោវហាលខិណ្ឌី សោត.....គ្របហោង ។ អាកក្ខប្រដូរ្យបិលលើគិរី ឆ្នងឆក.....គ្របព្រិក្សរ លំតារវីផង សព្វត្បោ  
ផ្លូវហោង.....រ ។ អញ្ជើញអាកក្ខ អញ្ជើញទេពព្រាក សិទ្ធិ..... [ស]ព្វអូរសព្វស្នឹង ត្រព្វាជុលស្បែ បិដបួរនាវនៃ ។  
អញ្ជើញអាកក្ខ និតនោវសំម្នាក់ សព្វគុក េ..... ញមូលមក យកឥន្ទ្របុរោ រោវភោជនារ សិដ.....អញ្ជើញព្រះអំរិត្តិយូវ  
អ្នកបិតឡីទ្រាំ ៨ យើងខ្ញុំអា..... អាចសូមអំរិត្តិ អ្នកឯងហោងណា ស្ប.....ឯទ្រាំហ្វិយ កុំឱ្យមានម៉ង សូមឱ្យអាកក្ខ  
78b Label: ក្រាំងបច្ចុ...

**UB056**

FEMC D'.269 pālī buddhābhisek

Mid or late nineteenth century, Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, Phnom Penh, Cambodia, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional gambodge ink and gold leaf in *mūl* script on traditional black *snāy* paper, reinforced with layered paper covers.

Severe fold and edge wear and severe water, mold, and insect damage.

33 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, 35 spreads folded in a unknown arrangement (severe damage to the layered covers).

Recto

- 1 Layered paper cover
- 2a Note: ដើម្បីក្រាំង
- 2b [blank]
- 3a Pali written with gold leaf: ។ [namo] tassa bhagavato sammāsambuddha[ssa]
- 3b–18b **Buddhābhiseka-NP**

Verso

- 19 Layered paper cover
- 20a–35b [blank]

**UB057**

FEMC d.948

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Mid twentieth century, formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Piñ Trāv, Piñ Trāv village, Sūr Gañ commune, Kañ Mās district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia or possibly Vatt Svāy Sranoḥ, Svāy Sranoḥ 1 or 2 village, Rakā Ār commune, Kañ Mās district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo in 2011, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on mid twentieth-century cement-sack kraft paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue, cardboard covers, white machine-stitched thread, and a color-printed paper advertisement.

Severe edge and fold wear and moderate water and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khœun, 2016.

35 x 15 cm, 10 lines per spread, complete in 154 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement.

Recto

1 Cardboard cover with title: [lower portion] ព្រះធម្ម កៅវដារ វត្តមាលាវ ព្រះត្រៀលក្ខី  
័្ន [upper portion, upside down] ព្រះគិរីមានន្ទប្រហ័ គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រ ព្រះត្រៀលក្ខី ័្ន

2a Note: ក្រាំង ខែម ... ភូមិថ្មកជ្រៅ ក្រាំងខែមនៅភូមិថ្មក...

2b–7b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅg pakaraṇ, braḥ dhātukathā pakaraṇ, braḥ puggalapaññatti, braḥ kathāvatthu pakaraṇ saṅep, braḥ yamaḡ pakaraṇ, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān pakaraṇ saṃṅkhep, with the incipit *namattthara tanattayussa*

7b–27a **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kauvatā, with the incipit *namattura tanattayassa*

27a Colophon: *buddhohomi aṅāgatekāle*

27a–51b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = braḥ traiy° lākkh/braḥ traiy° lākkh'

52a–69b **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ (ra)tamālā(r)/braḥ rāttamālā(r) (braḥ gāththā neḥ 56 oy ruṃḷk' gun braḥ buddh ʔa jā uṃmcāḥ sabv thūai prasö hōñ°ñ, neḥ gun braḥ dhaṛmm ʔa jā r uṃmcāḥ dāṃñ° 38, neḥ gun braḥ saṅgh ʔa jā uṃmcāḥ dāṃñ° 14 braḥ gāththā dāṃñ° pī pad neḥ jhmoḥ braḥ rāttamālā(r))

70a–76a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k** = braḥ traiy° lakkhañā(ṅ)/braḥ trai(y°) lakkh'

76b Colophon: ខ្ញុំបានសំសេរីកចម្លើយព្រះគិរីមានន្ទគិរីមានន្ទសូត្រព្រះត្រៀលក្ខីញាតព្រះធម្មព្រះកៅវដារព្រះត្រៀលក្ខីព្រះវត្តមាលាវ ព្រះត្រៀលក្ខីញាតចំបំទ្វាស្សី ខ្ញុំសូមក៏បង្គំមព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម្មព្រះសិរីខ្ញុំសូមជួបរក្សិខ្ញុំ ឃ្លាត់លើខ្ញុំសូមកុំខ្សមានពោធិ៍ក្សាធិលើ ័្ន

77a–77b Printed lable on original cement-sack kraft paper: 50<sup>k</sup> CIMENT ARTIFICE D'ORIGNY S<sup>TE</sup> BENOI[T] UNIVERS

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Verso (backwards with respect to the recto side, i.e. proceeding from the recto cover but in the opposite direction)

- 78 Cardboard cover with title: [lower portion] ព្រះគិរីមានន្ទប្រហ័ គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រ ព្រះត្រៀ  
លក្ខ៍ ៧៧ [upper portion, upside down] ព្រះធម្ម កៅវដារ វត្តតមាលារី ព្រះត្រៀលក្ខ៍ ៧៧
- 79a–106a **Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy girimānandasūtr neḥ-r** =  
braḥ girimānand prè(h)
- 106b–123a **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7**
- 123b–125a **trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**
- 125b–127b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhaṛmm saṅvèk(kh)
- 128a–151b **samvegavatthu 8 y"ān-7**
- 151b Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមអធិត្តអាណិតជាតិទៅមុខខ្ញុំសូមជួបនឹង ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម្ម៍ព្រះសយី ។ ៧៧ ០  
សូមឱ្យមានស្រ័យស្រួល ដែលក្បាច់រោគ្គរក្សមាន សូមសេចក្តីសុក្ត៍ ៧៧
- 152a–154a **parinibbānakathā-7**
- 152b Illustration of a doorframe, perpendicular to the manuscript, with a color-  
printed paper advertisement glued inside, featuring an image of a woman in a floral pink dress  
in front of a modern home, playing croquet on the lawn, with the printed caption: RUE  
SISOWATH PHNOMPENH

**UB058**

Mid twentieth century, private collection of *ācāry* Cè, Vatt Kaṅṅol Thmī, Kaṅṅol Thmī village, Braḥ Ṭamrī commune, Sdoñ district, Kampong Thom province, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black marker and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white and brown card stock ruled with scores, reinforced with white and purple thread.

Severe fold and edge wear and moderate wax, water, and mold, and insect damage.

Approximately 36 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, in one fragment of 20 N-folded spreads, a second fragment of 15 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement, and a third fragment of 6 spreads folded in an unknown arrangement. The manuscript was incorrectly sewn back together at some point and thus remains out of order.

Fragment 1 recto

1 **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vināy [cap' braḥ vināy braḥ gunöy], braḥ saṅghaṇī, puggalapaṇatti [neḥ cap' puggalapaṇatti höy° paripaṇ lèv° höy°], braḥ abbhidhamm [cap'



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braḥ abbhidhamm höy braḥ guṇy], with cantillation marks (middle missing) (continued from 20b) (to be continued on 12a)

2a–10b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kovaratā siem' [neḥ cap' kovaratā siem' höy° pun kramam] (middle missing) (continued from 35) (to be continued)

Fragment 1 verso

11 **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kovaratā siem' [neḥ cap' kovaratā siem' höy° pun kramam] (middle missing) (continued) (to be continued)

12a **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vināy [cap' braḥ vināy braḥ guṇöy], braḥ saṅghañī, puggalapañatti [neḥ cap' puggalapañatti höy° paripaṇ lèv° höy°], braḥ abbhidhamm [cap' braḥ abbhidhamm höy braḥ guṇy], with cantillation marks (middle missing) (continued from 1)

12a–16a **Sahassanaya-NP**, with cantillation marks (explicit missing)

16b–17a **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kovaratā siem' [neḥ cap' kovaratā siem' höy° pun kramam] (middle missing) (continued)

17a–20b **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vināy [cap' braḥ vināy braḥ guṇöy], braḥ saṅghañī, puggalapañatti [neḥ cap' puggalapañatti höy° paripaṇ lèv° höy°], braḥ abbhidhamm [cap' braḥ abbhidhamm höy braḥ guṇy], with cantillation marks (middle missing) (to be continued on 12a)

Fragment 2 (recto only)

21 [left] **Ākāravattā A-NP** = kauvaṭā khmè (incipit missing) (to be continued)

21 [right] **Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV** (incipit and explicit missing), with unknown vernacular text fragment: [severe water damage; reading tentative] ទន់ស្មន់ផង ចែកអស់តើសក្រវាស ចេញ

22a–31b **Ākāravattā A-NP** = kauvaṭā khmè (incipit missing) (continued)

31b Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមផ្សងសេចក្តីកេតិក្ខណ្ឌ មានភូគិសម្បត្តិបញ្ញាគិសម្បត្តិ ទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ ដូចប្រថុ

31b–35 **Ākāravattā B-NP** = kovaratā siem' [neḥ cap' kovaratā siem' höy° pun kramam] (to be continued on 1)

Fragment 3 (recto only)

36 [illegible]

37 [blank]

38a–41b **Itipi so that A-NP** (explicit missing)

**UB059**

FEMC d.949

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Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown, purchased at Duol Daṃbūñ market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvāñ Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēñ* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper, reinforced with black thread.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage.

34 x 11 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, complete in 45 M-folded spreads.

Recto

1 [blank]  
2b–23b Various liturgical texts in Pali and Khmer, with texts on meditation and on divination

Verso

24–30a Various liturgical texts in Pali and Khmer, with texts on meditation and on divination  
30b–34a **caṅkūm kèv-k** = dhaṛm braḥ caṅkom kèv  
34a–35b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k**  
35b–45b Various liturgical texts in Pali and Khmer, with texts on meditation and on divination

**UB060**

1994, monastic library of Vatt Caṃbuḥ K'èk, Caṃbuḥ K'èk village, Brèk Thmī commune, Cpār Aṃbau district, Phnom Penh municipality, Cambodia, photocopied by Trent Walker, 2006, photocopy scanned by Trent Walker, 2015.

Modern pen in various colors in *mūl* and *jriēñ* scripts on modern paper ruled with pencil, with inserted printed images, reinforced with cellophane tape and covers (missing from photocopy).

Minor water damage.

Approximately 40 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, photocopy of 55 spreads, with covers omitted from photocopy.

Recto

- 1a                    Inserted printed image of the Buddha meditating under the bodhi tree
- 1a                    Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ទី២ ព្រះអណ្តិធម្ម ទី៧ សូត្រកំឡាំងតិច ទី១៣ ព្រះការវេទ ទី២៧ គិរិមា  
នន្ទបាឡី ទី៣៦សញ្ញា១០ ទី៤៩ សិក្ខាបទ ទី៥១ អច្ឆរិប្រៃ ទី៥៧អនត្តាលក្ខណប្រៃ ទី៦៧ អក្ខរា ៣៣ ទី៧១ អនិច្ចារប ទី៧៥ អនិច្ចា  
សង្ខារ ទី៧៧ធម្មសង្កេត ទី៧៩ ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ទី៩៧ ខ្ញុំសូមលាបាប ទី១០៨ ខ្មោចយំស្តាយក្រៀម
- 1a                    Colophon: គ្រាំងនេះកើតឡើងដោយសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាលោកយាយគ្រុយ ព្រមទាំងកូនប្រុះស្រីចៅប្រុះ  
ស្រី  
ទាំងអស់គ្នា បានជាវគ្រាំងនេះនាំមកវេរប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃគង់នៅវត្ត ទុកជាគុក្រំណាធ្វើជាធម្មទានដល់ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ្យ  
ដែលមានជម្ងឺជាម្ចាស់ត្រូវការសូត្រធម៌ឱ្យស្តាប់យកផលនិសង្សបានដាច់ពារជាសះស្បើយផង ។ ខ្ញុំសូមឧទ្ទិសជូនមគ្គ  
ផលដល់វិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធលោកអ្នកមានគុណទាំងឡាយមានមាតាបិតាស្វាមីតាជូនមាមីដល់ប្អូនកូនចៅញាតិការ  
ទាំង៧សន្តាន សូមលោក  
អ្នកទាំងអស់អនុមោទនាទទួលយកមគ្គផលដូចខ្ញុំឧទ្ទិសជូនទៅនេះ ហើយសូមលោកបានទៅសោយសម្បត្តិក្នុង  
សុគតិកិច្ចកុំបីឃ្លាតឡើយ។ ខ្ញុំជាម្ចាស់សាងសូមបាននូវសម្បត្តិពាប្រការគឺសម្បត្តិ១សម្បត្តិ១ទេព្យា១សម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន១កុំ  
បីឃ្លាតឡើយ , យាយគ្រុយនឹងកូនចៅ។ ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើគ្រាំងនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុននឹងគូគុំហ៊ុនហ៊ុនហៃនៅភូមិពោធិ  
ឃុំត្រើយស្វាស្តាន់កណ្តាល។ អនាគតជាតិទ្ធិៈសូមបានត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្ជតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកូមក្នុងលោកកុំបីឃ្លាត  
ឡើយសិរិបញ្ញាអាចារ្យហ៊ុន។
- 1b                    Illustration of two laypeople dressed in white, with one of them chanting from  
a leporello manuscript on a stand, with a shrouded corpse and candles in the foreground and  
a seated buddha image in the background
- 1b–3b                **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm
- 3b                    Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមគោរពលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់សូមមេត្តាជួយថែជួយជួយផង ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើគ្រាំងនឹងចម្លង  
គឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុននឹងគូរដោយលោកគ្រូហ៊ុនហៃនឹងមានគូព្រះបទជាងផងផ្ទះនៅភូមិពោធិមាត់ព្រែកកុងដីឃុំ  
ត្រើយស្វាស្តាន់.កណ្តាល ។
- 4a–6b                **Itipi so that C-NP** = sūtr kaṃḷāraṇṇ tic/sūtr bel kaṃmlāraṇṇ tic/braḥ vināy  
braḥ sūtr, braḥ abhidhamm braḥ hassaṇāy
- 6b                    Colophon: ខ្ញុំសូមថ្វាយបង្គំព្រះ {ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា  
សរសេរមានភ្លាត់ខុះតួ អក្ខរៈ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡី ត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះ {ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ អត់ទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា  
អាចារ្យហ៊ុនអ្នកសរសេរផង ។
- 7a                    Illustration of a seated buddha in *abhayamudrā*
- 7a–13b                **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ kāvaṭṭā/braḥ kauvaṭṭā
- 14a                    Illustration of a sick monk reclining attended by a seated monk in *abhayamudrā*,  
with a seated buddha in *abhayamudrā* in the background, with the caption: ព្រះអង្គសំដែងសញ្ញា១០  
ឱ្យអាននូវ ទៅប្រោសគិរិមាទន្ទ

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- 14a–18a **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānand pālī/brah̄ aṅg samṭhēn saññā 10 oy°  
ānand dau pros girimānand/girimānand, with brackets
- 17a Ritual instructions on how to use brackets: *sabbakāya* សូត្រពីដង លើម្ដង ក្រោមម្ដង
- 18b–25a **girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-7** = saññā 10/girimānand prè/saññā 10
- 25a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនធួនរូបដោយហ៊ុនហៃ ។
- 25a–26a **sikkhāpad 8-br** = sikkhāpad 8
- 26a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនសូមគោរពលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់មេត្តាជួយថែ  
ជួយជួមផងសូមអរគុណ ។
- 26a–28b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhando»-k** = accīraṃ prè
- 28b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើក្រាងនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនធួនរូបដោយហ៊ុនហៃមានគូព្រះបទ  
ផងនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ឃុំត្រើយស្វាយស្ពាន់កណ្តាល។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគ្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃនឹងសូម  
ខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានភ្លាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរៈ ព្យញ្ជន ព្រះបាឡីសេចក្តីត្រង់ណា សូមព្រះ ពុទ្ធ-ធម៌-  
សង្ឃ មេត្តាខ្ព្ពើមទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនធួន។ អនាគតជាតិខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមបានត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្ជ  
តាញាណជាពុទ្ធកូមីក្នុងលោកកុំឃ្លាតឡើយសិរិបញ្ញាអាចារ្យហ៊ុន 1-2-1994

Verso

- 29a Illustration of the Buddha preaching to the *pañcavaggiya* monks
- 29a–33a **anattalakkhaṇa: samrāy-7** = anattalakkhaṇa:sūtr prè, with the incipit *namo  
tassa*
- 33a Colophon: ធ្វើនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុននៅភូមិពោធិ៍
- 33b–35b **akkharā 33-br** = akkharā 33
- 36a Illustration of an emaciated buddha with the caption: ទុក្ខរកិរិយា
- 36a–38a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā rūp yōṅ min dieṅ bit»-7** = aniccā rūp
- 38a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងសូមគោរពលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់មេត្តាជួយថែជួយជួមផងអរគុណ ។
- 38a–39a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = aniccā saṅkhār
- 39a–40a **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅveg
- 40a Colophon: ជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនធួនរូបហ៊ុនហៃនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ឃុំត្រើយស្វាយ
- 40a Illustration of the Buddha entering parinibbāna between two trees, surrounded  
by a throng of monks
- 40a–49a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** = trai lakkha(ṅ)
- 49a Illustration of two laypeople bowing before a buddha or a buddha image in  
*abhayamudrā* seated beneath a tree
- 49a–54b **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = khñuṃ sūm lā pāp, with the incipit *namo  
tassa*
- 54b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងសូមគោរពលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់មេត្តាជួយថែជួយជួមផងអរគុណ ។
- 54b–55b **khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7**

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55b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងសរសេរចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ី នឹងគូគំនូដោយលោកគ្រូហ៊ី គឹមហៃ  
នឹងមានទទួលគូព្រះបទដងនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ ឃុំត្រើយស្វាស្រុកស្អាងខេត្តកណ្តាល ផ្ទះនៅមាត់ព្រែកកុងដី ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុ  
ណាសូមក្រាបបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានក្លាត់ខុះ  
តួអក្ខរៈ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាទឡើសេចក្តីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃមេត្តាខន្តីអភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសិរី  
បញ្ញា.អាចារ្យហ៊ីផង។ អធិដ្ឋាន ។ អនាគតជាតិខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមបានត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្ជតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកូមីក្នុង  
លោកកុំបីឃ្នាតឡើយសិរីបញ្ញា.អាចារ្យហ៊ី . ថ្ងៃអង្គារ ៦ រោង ខែ បុស្ស ឆ្នាំរកា ថ្ងៃ 1-2-1994 ។

**UB061**  
FEMC d.950

Mid or late twentieth century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, early twenty-first century, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern off-white card stock ruled with pencil, reinforced with glue.

Moderate edge and fold wear and minor water and mold damage, cleaned and repaired with glue and white card stock cover by the FEMC.

36 x 11 cm, 10 lines per spread, fragment of 14 N-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1 White card stock cover added by the FEMC, bearing the title: *អាការវតា*
- 2a Blank reverse of white card stock cover add by the FEMC
- 2b–4b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm dāṃṇi prāṃbil gambīr (incipit missing)
- 5a–7a **Itipi so that A-NP** = dhaṛm rātnamālā
- 7b [blank]

Verso

- 8 **saṃvegavatthu 8 y"ān-7** = dhaṛm braḥ trāy lakkha(ṇ) (incipit and explicit missing)
- 9a–14b **Ākāravattā A-NP** (incipit and explicit missing)

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**UB062**

FEMC d.951

1999, originally created by *ācāry* Sāṃṇ Hī, Bodhi village, Trøy Slā commune, S'ān district, Kandal province, Cambodia, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, early twenty-first century, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Modern black, green, red, and blue pen in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern card stock ruled with pencil, with inserted printed images, stickers, and illustrations in blue, green, yellow, black, pink, red, and orange marker, reinforced with glue and thin wood covers with titles and colophons in blue and white paint.

No visible wear and minor mold damage.

40 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, complete in 75 M-folded spreads, with two additional half-spreads inserted as a separate sheet of paper on the recto side.

Recto

- 1 Thin wood cover with title and colophon in blue paint: គម្ពីរភិក្ខុប្បវត្តិមោក្ខ-  
ពុទ្ធាភិសេក កសាងដោយលោកគហប្បវត្តិ ងើរ អ៊ុចយូ និង ត្រួសារ ជាង: លោកអាចារ្យ ហ៊ី
- 2a Inserted printed photo a painting of the buddha preaching the  
Ovādapātimokkha to an assembly of 1,250 arhats, with the caption ជាង : ហ៊ី គឹម ហៃ
- 2a–39b Bhikkhupātimokkha = bhikkhupātimokkh saṅkhèp
- 2a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើនឹងសរសេរលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ត្រើយស្វា ស្ពាន
- 3a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើត្រាំងនឹងសរសេរគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីសូមថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះ {ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផង បើមានខុះសូមព្រះ {ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ អត់ទោសផង សិរីបញ្ញាអាចារ្យហ៊ី
- 39b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើត្រាំងនឹងសរសេរគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីផ្ទះនៅមាត់ព្រែកកុងជីភូមិពោធិ៍ឃុំ  
ត្រើយស្វាស្រុកស្ពានខេត្តកណ្តាល។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគ្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោស  
ផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានក្នុងខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ មេត្តាខន្តី  
អភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាចារ្យហ៊ីផង។ អធិដ្ឋាន ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគោរពព្រះគុណម្ចាស់គ្រប់ព្រះអង្គបើ  
ឃើញខុះមេត្តាជួយកែផង ។ ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៩ រោជ ខែបុស្ស ឆ្នាំខាលសិរិទ្ធិស័ក ថ្ងៃទី 10-1-1999 ។ ខ្ញុំជាងសូមអធិដ្ឋាន;  
អនាគតជាតិ:ខ្ញុំសូមត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្រតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកុម្មុយលោកកុំបីឃ្លាតឡើយ ។ សិរីបញ្ញា.អាចារ្យហ៊ី ។
- 39b Stickers featuring images of a buddha, two goats, and a rabbit

Verso

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- 40 Thin wood cover with title and colophon in white paint: គម្ពីរពុទ្ធាភិសេក-ភិក្ខុប្បាតិ  
មោក្ខ កសាងដោយលោកគហប្បតិ ង៉ៅ អ៊ុចយូ និង គ្រួសារ ជាង: លោកអាចារ្យ ហ៊ី
- 41a Inserted printed photo a painting of the buddha preaching the  
Ovādapātimokkha to an assembly of 1,250 arhats, with the caption ជាង : ហ៊ី គីម ហៃ
- 41a Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ទី76 ពុទ្ធាភិសេក ទី93 ធម៌យ៉ោក ទី100 បទដ្ឋាញ្ញ័យ ទី105 ថ្វាយ  
មជ្ជបាយាស ទី116 ព្រះអង្គដ្ឋាញ្ញ័យ ទី១២៣ ទស្សជាតិ ទី១២៥ បញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណ ទី129 ព្រះលក្ខណប្រៃ ទី138 ក្រុង  
ពាលីបើកព្រះនេត្រ ទី142 ឱប្រុះពន្ធក ទី144 និព្វានសូត្រ ទំព័រទី២ ភិក្ខុប្បាតិមោក្ខ
- 41a-41b Colophon: គ្រាន់ពុទ្ធាភិសេកនឹងបាតិមោក្ខនេះកើតឡើងដោយសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាលោកគហប្បតិ ង៉ៅ  
អ៊ុចយូ និងគ្រួសារព្រមទាំងញាតិមិត្ត បានក៏សាងគ្រាន់នេះនាំមកវេរប្រគេនព្រះសង្ឃគង់នៅវត្ត ទុកជាគុក្កណ  
នឹងសំរាប់ព្រះសង្ឃធ្វើសង្ឃកម្មនឹងធ្វើពុទ្ធាភិសេក ហេតុនេះខ្ញុំសូមឧទ្ទិសជូនមគ្គផលដល់មាតាបិតាជីដូនជីតាក្រូ  
ឧបជ្ឈាយាចារ្យម៉ឺនបងប្អូនកូនចៅញាតិកាទាំង៧សន្តានសូមលោកទាំងអស់អនុមោទនាទទួលយកមគ្គផលដូចខ្ញុំ  
ឧទ្ទិសជូនទៅនេះ សូមលោកអ្នកទាំងអស់បានទៅសោយសម្បត្តិក្នុងសុគតិកពកុំបីឃ្លាតឡើយ ។ ខ្ញុំអ្នកកសាងសូមបាន  
សម្បត្តិបីគឺសម្បត្តិ {មនុស្ស {ទេព្វា {ព្រះនិព្វាន កុំបីឃ្លាតឡើយ ។ ង៉ៅ-អ៊ុចយូនិងគ្រួសារ ។ ខ្ញុំជាងសូមអធិដ្ឋាន: អនាគត  
ជាតិ:ខ្ញុំសូមត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្ជតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកូមិក្នុងលោកកុំបីឃ្លាតឡើយ ។ សិរីបញ្ញា.អាចារ្យហ៊ី ។ ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៩  
រោង ខែបុស្ស ឆ្នាំខាល ទី 10-1-1999 ។ អ្នកសរសេរលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ី ។
- 41b Inserted printed photo of a buddha image in *māravijayamudrā*
- 41b Sticker with an image of a goat
- 41b-49b **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisekkh/buddhābhisek
- 49b Colophon: ជាងធ្វើនឹងចម្លងលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌  
{សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានភ្នាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ  
{ធម៌ {សង្ឃ មេត្តាអត់ទោសផង ។
- 50a-53a **dhārm yog-bn** = dhārm y"ok, with the incipit *namattha namo tassa*
- 53a Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើគ្រាន់នឹងសរសេររៀបរៀងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ីនឹងគួរបត់លោកគ្រួសាស្រ្តា  
ចារ្យហ៊ីគីមហៃមានគូព្រះបទគ្រប់មុខជាវដងផ្ទះនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ឃុំត្រើយស្វា-ស្អាង កណ្តាល ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមក្រាប  
ថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ នឹងសូមខមាទោសផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានភ្នាត់ខុះតួអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ  
ព្រះបាឡីត្រង់ណា ម្យ៉ាងទៀតគ្រាន់ចាស់ដើមសរសេរមានភ្នាត់ខុះខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាបានកែជួសពាក្យនឹងឃ្លោងឃ្លាខ្លះ  
ហេតុនេះខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមបរាណខមាទោសសូមព្រះ{ពុទ្ធ {ធម៌ {សង្ឃ មេត្តាខន្តីអភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំករុណាអាចារ្យ  
ហ៊ីផង ។
- 53b Illustration in blue, green, yellow, black, pink, red, and orange marker of the  
bodhisattva riding on a white horse, with a *yakkha* to his right and *devaputtas* holding up the  
hooves of the horse, with the caption: ព្រះអង្គ យាងសាងភ្នួស
- 53b-61b **phcāñ' mār <yōñ khñuṃ paṅgam>-k** = pad phcāñ' mār/phcāñ' mār/  
thvāy madhupāyās, with the incipit *namo tassa namatthu*

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53b Illustration in blue, green, yellow, black, pink, red, and orange marker of the bodhisattva seated beneath a tree receiving a food offering from a group of women in traditional Khmer clothes, with the caption: នាងសុជាតាថ្វាយចម្ព័ន្ធ

55b Colophon: ជាងធ្វើនឹងសរសេរអាចារ្យហ៊ុក្សបហ៊ុតិមហៃ

55b Two stickers, one with an image of a goat and the other with an image of a horse

61b Colophon: ជាងធ្វើនឹងសរសេរចម្លងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុ

61b Inserted printed buddha image in *dhyānamudrā* under a tree

61b-64b **braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār-7** = braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār

64b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើត្រាំងនឹងសរសេររៀបរៀងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុនីន័ត្តរូបគឺលោកគ្រូសាស្ត្រាចារ្យហ៊ុតិមហៃមានតួព្រះបទគ្រប់មុខជាវង្សផ្ទះនៅភូមិពោធិ៍ឃុំត្រើយស្នា-ស្នាង កណ្តាល ។

65a Sticker with a seated buddha image

65a-65b **Dasajāti-NP** = dassajāti

65b Colophon: អ្នករៀបរៀងលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុ

65b Sticker with an image of a goat

66a Inserted printed photo of a buddha image in *māravijāyamudrā*

66a-67a Ritual instructions: *namo tassa ។ namatthu ។ saromebuddhadve veñcalalā*

*pakarammīkammabalavivaritvā dvenetto tecakkhu navipassati āyuvannaḥo itipiso naṣvākhāto ។ ឱវស្មត្រព្រះបាទឡីនេះថ្ងៃចប់បើកព្រះនេត្រព្រះកាន់មូលភ្លឺតាមទ្វារស្រេចហើយឱវយកកន្លែនៅក្រសែមកកាត់ព្រះកេសា ហើយយកកាំបិតស្នាកោ មកស្មត្រព្រះបាទឡីព្រះកេសស្រេច។ kessāmūlakessā kessammūlakessam sama:buddha: chahidesito ។ បាទឡីនេះស្មត្រព្រះបាទកាំបិតកោក្រវាសដាក់ព្រះកេសស្រេចហើយ ឱវស្មត្រស្នាលោទោសគ្នាពាក្យសំដី ស្រេចហើយឱវវន្តាឡា។ ukāsa ahaṃ bhante ārādhanāni namantani asanā asanaṃ ahaṃ iti gatāgato ស្មត្រព្រះចំនិមន្តព្រះគង់លើអសនៈ។ pañcasammābuddho samukkhānatthi nimanagataṃ hetukāraṃ karonatthi ។ស្មត្រព្រះចំនិមន្តព្រះចុះពីអសនៈ។ ukāsa ahaṃ bhante paradevandho hiyaṃ uppapāmi ។ស្មត្រព្រះចំលាងជើងចូលវត្តចូលព្រះវិហារនឹងរួចទោសនោះ។បើនឹងអភិសេកព្រះឱវរៀបផ្ទៃឈើ៤កញ្ជើជម្រ, ១គូ ស្នាធម៌៨ ស្រីពុំចារី៤ប្រុស៤ជាអ្នកកាន់ស្នាក្នុងត្រូវតែ ចម្រេង បាយសី៨ថ្នាក់ បាយសី៥ថ្នាក់១គូ ប៉ាក់តាម១គូ ទៀន ៥ ធ្នូប៥ស្នាធម៌ ១ គូ ហើយក្រាលសំពត់សំពត់លើអសនៈសំយុងមក ទឹកអប់៤ ទឹកស្រះស្រង្គ៤ បាយសីធ្វើស្តាំ ហើយព្រះឥន្ទ្រស្រៀកពាក់ខ្សែ ព្រះព្រហ្មស្រៀកស ព្រះចតុលោកបាលទាំង៤រៀបដោយអណ្តាប់អណ្តាយ រួចចំរើនព្រះទិព្វមន្ត ហើយឱវរៀបសព្វដូចបង្គប់នេះ ហើយនិមន្តព្រះសង្ឃ៤អង្គស្មត្រពុទ្ធាភិសេក។ឱវតាំង namo ព្រះចំ itipiso ព្រះចំ ហើយស្មត្រ namome ស្មត្រ buddhāpamujjhamo ស្មត្រ puttamuttaroស្មត្រ itipidāna ស្មត្រ sabbabuddhā ស្មត្រសរសើរព្រះបារមី ហើយស្មត្រ itipisosvākkhāto supatipanno ហើយស្មត្រ bāhuṃ ស្មត្រជ័យ namo me ហើយស្មត្រ mahākāko ស្មត្រជ័យធំស្មត្រ natthimesaraṇaṃ ស្មត្របកវត្តឱវពរ។ហើយសិកដែលកាន់ក្នុង បកស្រូវអង្ករខ្សាយ១ពែង យកចង្រ្កានសៀម១មកដកលំយកសិកា១បង្កាត់ភ្លើងឈ្មោះឧមាទេ, ឱវលាងឆ្នាំឈ្មោះស្រីសុជាតា ឱវនាងប៉ុណ្ណទាសីយកគ្រឿងមកច្រឡំនឹងអង្ករ*



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

ឱ្យនាងពែសាខាជាអ្នកដណ្តាំ ឆ្លើនហើយចាក់ទឹកអំពៅ ស្ករ បង្កើម ហើយយកថាសថ្មី ដោះដាក់ឱ្យស្អាត ហើយគ្របសាច់ ជំនាំហៃទក្សិណ ទក្ខិណពណ៌ពជុំចូលមកថ្វាយព្រះអង្គស្រេចហោង។

67a–68a **Dhammakāya-NP** = sūtr pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇ ta

67a Colophon: ជួយថ្មមផង

68a–72a **Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r** = prè bākya adhippāy srāy tām bākya braḥ pālī sec kṭī tūcneḥ/sec kṭī pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇ braḥ sammāsambuddh jā mcāḥ nai yōn

72a Colophon: ខ្ញុំធ្វើគ្រាន់នឹងសរសេរចម្លងរៀបរៀងគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យសិរីបញ្ញាអាចារ្យសាំងហ៊ី ជាង គួររូបលោកគ្រូសាស្ត្រាចារ្យហ៊ុតិមហៃមានគូព្រះបទគ្រប់មុខជាវផង។

72b–74a **kruṅ bālī pōk braḥ netr-k** = sūtr kruṅ bālī pōk braḥ netr braḥ

74a Colophon: ជាងធ្វើនឹងសរសេរលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុតិមនៅមាត់ព្រែកកុងដីកូមពោធិ៍

74b **dukkarakiriyā A-7** = pruh banlak (incipit missing)

74b–75b **damnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** = pruh banlak

75b Colophon: បើឃើញខុះជួយកែផងជួយថ្មមផង

75b–76b **parinibbānakathā-7** = nibbānasūtr

76b Colophon: ខ្ញុំជាងធ្វើគ្រាន់នឹងសរសេរគឺលោកតាអាចារ្យហ៊ុតិមនៅមាត់ព្រែកកុងដីកូមពោធិ៍ឃុំ ត្រើយស្នាស្រុកស្អាងខេត្តកណ្តាល។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគ្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សេដ្ឋី នឹងសូមខមាទោស ផងក្រែងខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសរសេរមានភ្នាក់ខុះតូអក្ខរ ព្យញ្ជនៈ ព្រះបាទឡីត្រង់ណាសូមព្រះពុទ្ធ ធម៌ សេដ្ឋី មេត្តាខន្តី អភ័យទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាអាចារ្យហ៊ុតិមផង។ អធិដ្ឋាន ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមគោរពព្រះគុណម្ចាស់គ្រប់ព្រះអង្គបើ ឃើញខុះមេត្តាជួយកែផង ។ ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៩ រោជ ខែបុស្ស ឆ្នាំខាលសិរិទ្ធិស័ក ថ្ងៃទី 10-1-1999 ។ ខ្ញុំជាងសូមអធិដ្ឋាន; អនាគតជាតិ: ខ្ញុំសូមត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្ជតាញាណជាពុទ្ធកូមិក្នុងលោកកុំបីឃ្នាតឡើយ ។ សិរីបញ្ញា.អាចារ្យហ៊ុ ។

76b Sticker with a buddha image and sticker with an image of a goat

UB063

2003, mass-produced leporello by Jāy Sen, purchased at Pannāgār Trai Rata(n), Phnom Penh, 2016, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Black modern printed text in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and hard cardboard covers with printed designs in orange, white, and gold.

No visible wear or damage.

25 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, complete in 55 W-folded spreads

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Recto

- 1 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in orange, white, and gold, with printed title in red and blue: គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រ បាលី ប្រែ ពាក្យកាព្យ សញ្ញា១០
- 2a Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ១~អាការវត្តសូត្រ ទំព័រទី ១ ២~មហាស្សណេយ្យ ទំព័រទី ២៦ ៣~ព្រះអភិធម្ម (ធម្មសង្កណី) ទំព័រទី ៣៤ ៤~គិរីមានន្ទសូត្របាលី ទំព័រទី ៤០ ៥~គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រប្រែ ទំព័រទី ៥៤ ៦~គិរីមានន្ទ ទំព័រទី ៧១
- 2b Colophon: លោក ..... លោកស្រី ..... ព្រមទាំងបុត្រនៅភូមិ ..... ឃុំ ..... ស្រុក ..... ខេត្ត ..... ដែលបានជ្រាបក្រាំងគម្ពីរ ..... នេះដាក់តំកល់ទុកក្នុងវត្ត ..... ដើម្បីជាធម្មទានឧទ្ទិសជូនចំពោះវិញ្ញាណក្ខន្ធនៃបុព្វការីជនដូចមានរាយនាម ..... និងជាមរតកវប្បធម៌ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាតរៀងទៅ ព.ស.២៥៤៦ គ.ស. ២០០៣
- 3a-14a **Ākāravattā Ā-NP** = ākāravattasūtr, with brackets
- 14b-19a **Sahassanaya-NP** = mahassaṇeyy
- 19b-22b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ abhidhamm (dhammasaṅgaṇī)
- 23a-27b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasuttapāṭho (to be continued)

Verso

- 28 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in orange, white, and gold, with printed title in red: ក្រាំងការវត្ត
- 29a-31b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasuttapāṭho (continued)
- 32a-39b **girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ»-br/7** = girimānandasūtr prè
- 41a-54b **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** = girimānand/girimānandasūtr
- 55a Colophon: កាលបើយើងមិនបំភ្លេចចោលនរណាម្នាក់ ដែលដើរមុនយើង នោះក៏គ្មាននរណាម្នាក់ដើរក្រោយយើងគេនឹងបំភ្លេចយើងចោលដែរ ។ ការបន្តវេននេះ គឺជាកាតអមតៈ នៃ ជីវិតសត្វលោក ។ ជីវិតរបស់មនុស្សមិនអមតៈ ប៉ុន្តែជីវិតរបស់ជីវិតគឺអមតៈ ។ ដ៏យ សេន ចង់ក្រុងផលិតផ្សាយសាស្ត្រាស្លឹករឹត និងក្រាំងគម្ពីរខ្មែរ ។ ទូរស័ព្ទ: ០៩២ ៧២ ៤៤ ៤៧ / ០៩៧ ៩៧ ៩៧ ៦៤៧
- 55b Colophon: ជាធម្មទានប្រកបដោយសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លារបស់លោក ..... លោកស្រី ..... ព្រមទាំងបុត្រៗ នៅភូមិ ..... ឃុំ ..... ស្រុក ..... ខេត្ត ..... បានជ្រាបក្រាំងគម្ពីរ ..... តំកល់ទុកជាមរតកវប្បធម៌ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាតរៀងទៅ ។ ព.ស. .... គ.ស. ....

**UB064**

Early twenty-first century, mass-produced leporello by Jāy Sen, purchased at Paṇṇāgār Trai Rata(n), Phnom Penh, 2016, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Black modern printed text in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and hard cardboard covers with printed designs in black and gold.

No visible wear or damage.

25 x 12 cm, 16 lines per spread, complete in 94 N-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in black and gold, with printed title in red: ដ៏យលើកកសី

2a-2b Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ១-ដ៏យពរថ្មី ១ ២-ធម៌ចម្រងគ្រោះ ៤ ៣-លើកកសីធំ ៨ ៤-ដ៏យពរ ១០ ១០ ៥-ដ៏យមហាសិទ្ធិ ១៣ [etc.; same titles as in rest of manuscript]

3a-4a **jāy bar thmī-bn** = jāy bar thmī

4b-6a Pali prose liturgical text (dharma camlān groḥ), as follows: *sabbabhayyonaca sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuvaṃ bhavaṃ.*

*āditya rasmim ca buddhagūṇaṃ ca dhammagūṇaṃ saṅghagūṇaṃ sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābhaṃ bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito santo mutto sabbayyēnaca sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuvaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

*canda-aṅgāra rasmim ca buddhagūṇaṃ ca dhammagūṇaṃ saṅghagūṇaṃ sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābhaṃ bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito santo mutto sabbayyēnaca sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuvaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

*budha-brahaspa(ti) rasmim ca buddhagūṇaṃ ca dhammagūṇaṃ saṅghagūṇaṃ sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābhaṃ bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito santo mutto sabbayyēnaca sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuvaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

*sukra-sau(r) rasmim ca buddhagūṇaṃ ca dhammagūṇaṃ saṅghagūṇaṃ sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābhaṃ bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito*

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*santo mutto sabbayyena sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuwaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

*kēt-rā rasmim ca buddhagunam ca dhammagunam saṅghagunam sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābham bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito santo mutto sabbayyena sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuwaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

*sūn-bhūmi rasmim ca buddhagunam ca dhammagunam saṅghagunam sabbadukkha sabbasoka sabbaroga sabbabhāya sabbagroḥ kāca udupādacaṅrai vināsayya veviccaye sabbalābham bhavantute tehitvaṃ rakkhito santo mutto sabbayyena sabbarog vinimutto sabbasantā pavajjito sabbavera matti kanto nibbuta catuwaṃ bhūvaṃ.*

6b–7a            Lök rāsī dham/lök rāsī dham-r = lök rāsī dham, as follows: *iti piso bhagavā* ព្រះអាទិត្យទេវតាជាតិជាធិបតី ផ្អែកលើចរិតលមកឃ្លាតខ្លី លត់លើករាសីអ្នកនាងនេះនៃឲ្យបានឧត្តុង្គឧត្តមសមស័ក្តិសួនជាងជួយថែជូនខំខ្ជល់ខ្ជាយចំរុនចំរើនបូជិតសាយឲ្យសុខសប្បាយធ្វើដំកើរឈ្មោះ ទំលាយព្យាធិបាបគ្រោះ រលេះចេញមកអំពីក្នុងឥន្ទ្រិយមកជួយស្ថិត ជួយបិទបាំងរាងគ្រប់ទិសទី សត្រូវប៉ុនប៉ងចង់យាយី ខ្ជបខ្ជាចបូជិតចាញ់ចេស្តា ។ ប្រកាក្រកបមានធិ *lābhā lābham lābhabhassadhī* ចម្រើនយសសក្តា *sanhum sañhā* រាជាឥទ្ធិ សម្បត្តិសម្បូណ៌ហូរចូលមកគត្រឹកចូលមកសន្ធិក្រប្រកាត្រី សម្បជ័យសម្ភារលើកបុណ្យលើកស័ក្តិ លើកជោគលើកថ្នាក់ លត់លើករាសីចំរុនចំរើនទាំងសិរីឲ្យសុខសួស្តីទាំងបីប្រការប្រសើរប្រសិទ្ធិបូជិតវង្ស សុខឧត្តិយាវង្សមង្គលសុំពង្សសម្បត្តិដ៏ចម្រើននូវ *āyu vaṇṇam sukham balaṃ yāvāhehimulābhā lābho uttuṅga kodhipati hiṇayasasāktiparivārahīṅsārahīṅsī hiṇasampānī tajaratho mahārājākhattiyanta mantale pūrbādise agne(ya)dise nīratīdisedaksinadise paccimadise bāyabyadise tāsāntadise manoramampaññatti hipaññattam saraṇam vairvasopaggamo arakkhantu arūpakāra sanamobuddha sanamodhamma sanamesaṅgha seyyaciṭṭam hulo ។ svāyahāya*

7b–8b            **jāy bar 10-m** = jāy bar 10

9a–10a            Mixed Khmer, Pali, and Thai prose liturgical (jāy mahāsiddhi), as follows: *jāy jāy mahāsiddhi* យើងខ្ញុំវន្តា សូមអារាធនា និមន្តអញ្ជើញព្រះគុណកែវសមការមកជាអញ្ជាងកែវដួងដីវា ព្រះជិនរាព្រះជិនស្រី ស្រីសាព៌ជួតាញាណ ព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ព្រះសុវណ្ណចេតិយ ព្រះស្រីរត្នត្រៃ ព្រះមហាពោធិព្រះមុនីទេពី ព្រះភិក្ខុនី ព្រះនរី ព្រះនរាយណ៍ ព្រះកម្ពុយន៍ថេរ ព្រះឧប្បាលី ព្រះពូយ ព្រះពាយព្រះអគ្គី ព្រះធរណី ព្រះសុរិកាយោ ព្រះសុត្រ ព្រះវិន័យ ព្រះអភិធម្ម ព្រះធម៌មូលមកទាំងប៉ែតមុនលានពាន់ព្រះធម្មក្ខន្ធ ចប់ដកត្រៃអាថ៌ គឺចោធរណីផាន់ផាយមហាសង្ខេបយោ ព្រះកុក្កសន្ទោ ព្រះកោនាគមនោ ព្រះកស្សបោ ព្រះសិរិសារខេយ្យមុនីគោត្តម បន្ទំបារមីកោសិបសែនគំរប់ព្រះអរហន្ត ខ័ណ្ឌស្រព ព្រះកស្សប ព្រះសារីបុត្រ ព្រះមោគ្គលាន ព្រះបណិធានព្រះសារីរិកជាតុ ព្រះពុទ្ធបាទ អង្គព្រះសិរិអារ្យមេត្រី ព្រះមហាសីហាសិបព្រះអង្គ ទ្រង់បូជិតចេស្តាស្តេចចង្រ្កមការវនា គង្គក្នុងគុហា *samādhi samāpaccitvā* ។ ព្រះឥន្ទ ព្រះព្រហ្ម ព្រះយម ព្រះកាល្យ ព្រះចតុលោកបាល ព្រះមាតុលី នាងសារត្តី នាងគោគរតី នាងគង្គីងព្រះធរណី នាងមុនីមេខលា នាងសុវណ្ណមច្ឆា រក្សាគម្ពីរ ។ ព្រះអាទិត្យ ព្រះច័ន្ទ ព្រះអង្គារ ព្រះពុធ ព្រះហស្សតី ព្រះសុត្រ ព្រះសោវ ព្រះកែត ព្រះរា ព្រះសួន ព្រះភូមិទេវា គុណព្រះមាតាបិតា ព្រះសមណគោត្តម បរមសាស្តា មកគង្គលើអាសនាអាចកំចាត់បំបាត់អស់ទាំងឡាយ ។ គុណព្រះមាតាបិតាមកជាបន្ទាយពេជ្រ គុណត្រៃអាចារ្យ មហា

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សម្តេច សត្រូវកុំបាច់កុំបីពាសាសីងដ៏មាននូវបុទ្ធិចេស្តា ។ *siddhimahāsiddhi* ព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាម្ចាស់ស្តេចទ្រង់តម្រាស់ឲ្យ  
អង្កើករំពើកអស់ទាំងគម្ពីរ មនុស្ស សត្វ ចិត្តចោរកាចក្តាត់ បំបាតអស់ទាំងទុក្ខភ័យ សត្រូវទិសទាំងប្រាំបីបាក់បប  
ខួបខ្លាចដោយនូវអំណាច *buddho dhammo saṅgho tejo jāy jayo sabbasatrūv vināsanti asesato* ។

10b–11a **jāy ratanatrai-bn** = jāy ratanatrai

11b–12a Khmer prose liturgical text (*buddhajāy brah aṅg 25*), as follows: *itipi so bhagavā*  
វន្តាសម្តេចមកុដកព តែងត្រាស់ប្រោសសត្ត ច្រើនក្តាត់ក្រាស់ត្រៃ ដូចដាក់ដល់ពួនគរ និព្វានសុខា សម្តេចពុទ្ធពង្សទាំង  
៥ ព្រះអង្គ ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនាប្រសើរ យើងខ្ញុំអស់ទាំងទេវតាគ្រប់ទិសគ្រប់ទិមកជុំ មកជួយជ្រែងជ្រុំប្រសិទ្ធិលើកសួស្តី  
លើកទាំងធាតុទឹក លើកទាំងធាតុដី ធាតុភ្លើងផងនៃ ធាតុអាកាស ធាតុខ្យល់ ឱ្យមានគេជះបំពុល ប្រកបនូវវិជ្ជាព្រះសូត្រ  
ព្រះវិន័យព្រះអភិធម្ម ព្រះអាទិត្យ ព្រះច័ន្ទ អង្គារ ពុធ ព្រហស្បតិ៍ សុក្រ សៅរ៍ ជួយដោះគ្រោះឆ្នាំគ្រោះខ្នើតរនោចខែថ្ងៃ  
គ្រោះឧត្តរាត ទសារាសី គ្រោះពិភេក្សណ៍ ព្រះរាម ព្រះខ ព្រះល័ក្សណ៍ ហនុមាន សីតា សោនៃយើងខ្ញុំបង្គំ ទសករាប្រ  
ណាម្យ ត្រេកអរទទួលពរពីព្រះពុទ្ធទាំង ៥ ព្រះអង្គ ព្រះកុក្កសន្ទោ កោនាគមនោ ពុទ្ធកស្សបោ សមណគោត្តម ទ្រទ្រង់  
សិរសា សិអារ្យមេត្រីយ៍ យើងខ្ញុំ បង្គំទសករាប្រណាម្យ ត្រេកអរទទួលពរពីព្រះសូត្រ ព្រះវិន័យ ព្រះអភិធម្ម ប្រសើរគ្រាន់  
គ្រប់បរិបូណ៌ ចែងចប់ស្រេចហោង ។

12b–15b Mixed Khmer, Pali, and Thai prose liturgical text (*lök kamlāṃñ thñai*), as  
follows: *itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះអាទិត្យ ទេវាដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះអាទិត្យ សហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះអាទិត្យកម្លាំង  
៦ នាក់មកជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបុទ្ធិ ដោយគេជះបារមី ខឿន ឃ្លើន ។ ព្រះចៅសង  
វាយហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណ  
កុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។ *itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះច័ន្ទទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ  
ព្រះច័ន្ទសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។

ព្រះច័ន្ទកម្លាំង ១៥ នាក់ មកជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបុទ្ធិ ដោយគេជះបារមី ខឿន ឃ្លើន  
។ ព្រះចៅសងវាយហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkha*  
ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipiso bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

ព្រះអង្គារ កម្លាំង ៨ នាក់មកជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបុទ្ធិដោយគេជះបារមី ខឿន  
ឃ្លើន។ ព្រះចៅសងវាយហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ anattā muditā*  
*upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno iti piso bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះពុធទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះពុទ្ធសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះពុធ កម្លាំង ១៧ នាក់មកជួយ  
គ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបុទ្ធិដោយគេជះបារមី ខឿន ឃ្លើន។ ព្រះចៅសងវាយហៃព្រះចៅ  
វណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkhaṃ aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno*  
*itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

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*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះហស្តតិទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះហស្តតិសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះព្រហស្តតិ កម្លាំង ១៩ នាក់មកជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិ ដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយ ហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះសុក្រទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះសុក្រសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះសុក្រ កម្លាំង ២០ នាក់ មក ជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយហៃព្រះ ចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះសេវីទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះសេវីសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះសេវី កម្លាំង ១០ នាក់ មក ជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយហៃព្រះ ចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះកេតទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះកេតសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះកេត កម្លាំង ១២ នាក់ មក ជួយគ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយហៃព្រះ ចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះរាទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះរាសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះរា កម្លាំង ១៤ នាក់ មកជួយគ្រង គ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ព្រះភូមិទេវា ដ៏ជាកម្លាំងដៃ ព្រះភូមិសហម្បត្តិ *itipi so bhagavā* ។ ព្រះភូមិ កម្លាំង ១៦ នាក់ មកជួយ គ្រងគ្រោះ ទាំងរក្សារាសី ឲ្យលោកអ្នកនេះនៃមានបូទ្រិដោយតេជះបារមី ឡើង ឃ្លើនៗ។ ព្រះចៅសង្កាយហៃព្រះចៅ វណ្ណា ហៃពនសំពៅធ្នង់ យកដូងមកកាន់ *dukkham aniccaṃ anattā muditā upekkhā* ព្រះគុណកុសល *sampanno itipi so bhagavā bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi* ។

*itipi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisaddhamma sārathī sattā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti. svākkhāto bhagavato dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko oppanayiko paccattam veditabbo viññūhīti. supatipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho yaditam cattāri purisayugāni acasati* ។

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16a–17b Mixed Khmer and Pali prose liturgical text (lök rāsī tūc), as follows: *itipi so bhagavā* ចេត្រ-ពិសាខ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ចេត្រ-ពិសាខ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ជេស្ឋ-អាសាធ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ជេស្ឋ-អាសាធ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ស្រាពណ៍-កទ្របទ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ស្រាពណ៍-កទ្របទ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* អស្សុជ-កត្តិក ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ អស្សុជ-កត្តិក ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* មិតសិវ-បុស្ស ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ មិតសិវ-បុស្ស ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* មាយ-ផល្គុណ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ មាយ-ផល្គុណ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ជូត-ត្នូវ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ជូត-ត្នូវ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ខាល-ថោះ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ខាល-ថោះ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* រោង-ម្សាញ់ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ រោង-ម្សាញ់ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* មមី-មមៃ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ មមី-មមៃ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* វក-រកា ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ វក-រកា ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ច-កុរ ទេវាដីជាកម្លាំងដៃ ច-កុរ ដោយមករក្សារាសី *hina sampanī pariyasa parivāra hina svākkhāto katta dhammo cando vandaṃ saraṇaṃ svāhāya* ។

*itipi so bhagavā* ខឿនឃ្មឿនមរណាយ ព្រះចៅសង្ហាយ ហៃព្រះចៅវណ្ណា ហៃពន់ សំពៅធ្នង់កំចាត់ទាំង ម៉ោ ហៃរោគទាំងគ្នាំងគ្រោះជោគ គ្រោះជាំ គ្រោះខៃ គ្រោះឆ្នាំ គ្រោះចាប់ គ្រោះចង់គ្រោះកាចចេញទៅ គ្រោះជាចូលមករក្សារាសី ហៃ

*sabbaye na ca sabbaroga vinimutto sabbasantā pavijjato sabbavera mati kkanto dibbu to catuvaṃ bhavaṃ* ។

18a–19a **jāy dis-bn** = jāy dis

19b–20a Mixed Khmer and Pali prose liturgical text (ramñāp'), as follows: យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំព្រះសម្តោធិទសពលញ្ញាណជាបង្កក់ស្នូស្តី ស្តេចគង់ព្រះភ្នែនពែនព្រះបាទ តម្កើងព្រះបារមីធពណ្ណរង្សីរុងរឿងតាយាជា

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បង្កក់កែវពេជ្រក្លិលេចរស្មី តម្កើងព្រះបារមីសន្ធិកតន្ត្រិកមហិមាមកជ្ជយរំដោះគ្រោះផង ទាំងកម្ពាតរំដោះគ្រោះអាប  
ព្រាយ សត្រូវក្នុងព្រះនគរ បំបាត់ទាំងសូររន្ទះទាំងមួយម៉ឺនសែនកោដិ បំបាត់ចិត្តក្រោធផងទាំងឡាយ ។

*buddham* ជ្ជយកំចាត់កំចាយ *vināssanti dhammam* ជ្ជយកំចាត់កំចាយ *vināssanti saṅgham* ជ្ជយកំចាត់កំចាយ  
*vināssanti* ។

*itipisiddhi buddham* ចង្រ្កៃក្រាជ្វា *vināssanti asesatto itipisiddhi dhammam* ចង្រ្កៃក្រាជ្វា *vināssanti asesatto*  
*itipisiddhi saṅgham* ចង្រ្កៃក្រាជ្វា *vināssanti asesatto* ។

*sabbasiddhivijjācaranam sabbalokā cariyānam sabbalokecariyānam etena sāvena esaccavejjenavātuyham*  
*suwatihontu catuvisati tesseneyya evaṃ sahapantopisācājevā. sanamobuddhassa sanamobuddhassa sanamo*  
*saṅghassa seyyathitam hulo lo soāhāya* ។

20b–25a Mixed Khmer and Pali prose liturgical text (dharma kamphèn kè), as follows  
(based on diplomatic transcription of the parent text in found in Nuon Samān 2544, 72–77  
[73 - dharma kamphèn kè]): *ukāsa namo me* ប្រង់ប្រាយស្រាយថា *aham* ខ្ញុំនខ្ញុំនេក្នុងមុសត្វា ឱនអង្គកាយវន្តា  
សព្វថ្ងៃ *buddho bhagavā* ខ្ញុំ បង្កើតុណាព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុណ្យបិណ្ណកនោះនៃ ខ្ញុំបង្កើតុណាព្រះធម៌មានបុណ្យបិណ្ណកនោះនៃ ខ្ញុំ  
បង្កើតុណាព្រះសង្ឃមានបុណ្យបិណ្ណកនោះនៃ។ ភិក្ខុឥន្ទត្ថេនាមសូបិនធម្មចារិចិត្តត្រេកអរមមែរពៃ គិតគុណសត្វា រកធម៌  
ឲ្យបានកុសលដកលំដាប់គុណបុណ្យបារមីតា តាំងដើមនាមនោះនៃ មាតាថ្នាំថ្ងៃឲ្យនាមនោះណាក្នុងបទបាលីកែវខែ  
ស្រាយថា ដួងកែវដីវាក្នុងផ្កាឧទុម្ពរ។ ខ្ញុំសរសើរសីលគុណបារមី ជួយជូនគុណជាតិណា ចិត្តខ្ញុំត្រេកអរគន់គិតសព្វថ្ងៃ ខ្ញុំ  
រៀនឲ្យបាន ដូចយើងសាងសួនទៅសួគ៌ាល័យ គុណព្រះរតនត្រ័យឱបក្រុងរក្សា។

*supatipanno buddho bhagavāti.*  
*supatipanno dhammo bhagavāti.*  
*supatipanno saṅgho bhagavāti.*

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា សូមក្រញក្រាបប្រណិប័តន៍ សូមកបន្ទូលសីលសច្ចំ ជាសីមាកិលសីលទៀងពេកពិត និងសីលខន្តី ដោយ  
យក្តីសុច្ឆរិត សូមសីលមកចិត្តរៀងរាល់ជាតា សូមព្យាយាមកុសលតែងតាមដោយដានធម្មមកជ្ជយយោងស្រង់ក្នុងអង្គ  
កាយា រស្មីជ្រះថ្លារក្សាឲ្យសុខ ព្រះធម៌មានគុណច្រើន៤ពាន់៨ម៉ឺនជួយឲ្យចាកទុក្ខ ឲ្យរួចពីភ័យសព្វថ្ងៃឲ្យសុខ ព្រះគុណ  
អើយចាកទុក្ខដល់ស្មគ៌និព្វាន។ ទាំងគុណព្រះសង្ឃ១៤កងទ្រង់សីលល្អើងថ្កាន សូមជួយស្រោចស្រង់ទ្រទ្រង់ជាស្ថាន  
សូមសុខសព្វឋាននិព្វាន បរលោក លោកីយ៍។ គុណសីលទាំង១០ បរិបូណ៌គ្រាន់គ្រប់ ទូត្តិសបារមី សូមឲ្យបានភពគ្រប់  
សីលនោះនៃ គុណសីលម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃឱបក្រុងរក្សា។ ឧឆ្នោសមោធាត្វា គុណព្រះសមោធាន៦អង្គជាប្រាណចិត្តក្នុងសាសនា  
ឆពណ្ណរជ្ជីរស្មីជ្រះថ្លា ភ្លឺផ្លែកអស្ចារ្យរក្សាយើងខ្ញុំ។ *uu* ព្រះបល្ល័ង្កវ័ត្ត *aa* ព្រះបល្ល័ង្កវ័ត្ត *mama* ព្រះបល្ល័ង្កវ័ត្ត *nana* ព្រះ  
បល្ល័ង្កវ័ត្ត គុណព្រះបល្ល័ង្កវ័ត្ត កាលអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធគង់ឈ្នះមារ នៃពលមារច្រើនពេកសព្វព្រៃផែនដី តេជៈបារមីបំភ័យ  
ពលមារ សូមទាន់ព្រះអង្គរៀងជួយទ្រទ្រង់យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា ។ *dasasīmā lam vā o dha ka kāya* គុណព្រះសីមា  
ទាំង១០ទិសាជារនាំងបាំងកាយ ទោះទាំងសត្រូវចិត្តនៅជិតឆ្ងាយ ព្រះសីមាទាំងឡាយដាត់ដាយឲ្យសុខ។ *buddha ma*



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

u a la ជីវិតកាយសប្បាយសុខុម ព្រះបាទកំផែងកែវពាន់ជុំ rattinitti yam vā ។ dhamma ma u a la ជីវិតកាយសប្បាយសុខុម ព្រះបាទកំផែងកែវពាន់ជុំ rattinitti yam vā ។ sangha ma u a la ជីវិតកាយសប្បាយសុខុម ព្រះបាទកំផែងកែវពាន់ជុំ rattinitti yam vā ។ សូមជ្រកពីងពួនលាក់ខ្លួនជីវាឲ្យបានសុខា សូមឆ្លងវាលបី វាលនោះក្រក្រហៅវាល បែកផ្សែង ។ u a ma ka ta ta ក្នុងកោដិព្រះកំផែងកែវសោតសូមជួយតាក់តែងជាមុជីគ្រប់គ្រង។ se ti na me ti ti ទឹកសេពមន្តគុណលិខិតស្ថិតមន្ត គុណមាតាទន្ទឹមពេញឱវា dha nā dvā dha រក្សាជួយជាកម្លាំង។ sattaasatti ubojjham ka ka kāram ព្រះសត្តិប្បដ្ឋាន ninam ។ គុណធួន buddham ព្រះអង្គាហ្វឹកហ្វឹនប្រដៅនៅក្នុងកាយ ដឹងគ្រប់ក្តី ណាការអ្វីគ្មានសល់។ សូមថ្វាយវាចាចិត្តត្រង់ចិត្តតាមថ្នល់ក្នុងវង្សកុសលខ្លាយខ្លល់រក្សា ukāsa aham អញខ្ញុំថ្វាត់ថ្វាយ បង្គំ ប្រណាម្យវន្ទាសូមបុណ្យបារមីសិរីសុខា ឬទ្ធិពល ជយា តេជៈ សូមបុណ្យបារមីអំពីព្រះពុទ្ធអម្បាលក្សត្រត្រាស់ ត្រេចសម្រេចនិព្វាន ព្រះគុណអើយសូមទានបារមីពាន់ជុំ ukāsa aham អញខ្ញុំថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំប្រណាមវន្ទា សូមបុណ្យ បារមីសិរីសុខា ឬទ្ធិពល ជយា តេជៈ សូមបុណ្យបារមីអំពីព្រះធម៌ទាំង៨ម៉ឺន៤ពាន់ព្រះធម៌ខន្ធ ព្រះបារមីតា ជួយឲ្យ ប្រាសចាកអកុសលទុក្ខា ukāsa aham អញខ្ញុំថ្វាយបង្គំប្រណាមវន្ទា សូមបុណ្យបារមីសិរីសុខា ឬទ្ធិពល ជយា តេជៈ សូមបុណ្យបារមីអំពីព្រះសង្ឃទាំង៨ម៉ឺន៤ពាន់នូវឬទ្ធិមន្តអគ្គសារវកា ព្រះអរហន្តា អរហន្តហោះធាន បុណ្យបារមីមាន វង្សដានស្ថានធំ កតវាតិស្ស មានអង្គជាតិជាកំនិព្វានសុខុម សូមបារមីតា មករក្សាយើងខ្ញុំព័ន្ធជិតជុំដួចសង្វារក្រិសពេជ្រ សព្វញ្ញកតវា ចតាទសអង្គានិព្វានប្រពៃ សូមបុណ្យបារមីជួយដ៏យរក្សា ឱបក្រុងខ្ញុំណាដួចក្លោះសព្វធន ព្រះសូត្រ ព្រះ វិន័យ ព្រះបិដកត្រៃម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃមានបុណ្យ ព្រះអភិធម្មទើបតន់មុន៧គម្ពីរជាសង្វារកងកោយ។ ទាំងគុណលេខយ័ន្ត គុណ មន្តគាថា គុណព្រះអក្ខរកម្មទាំងឡាយ គុណព្រះបឋមីនបឋម មានច្រើនទេនត្ថ ជិតន្ទាយហៅមេអបោ វាយោ កម្ម កាយ ត្រូលោកទាំងឡាយ ឲ្យតាំងតួបិត្តមួយជាឯក តួមួយជាទោ តួមួយជាត្រី តួទេនទាំងបីបូកហៅដកចេញតួ៥ជា ថ្ម៨នគរ yuttho យុត្តោនាចេញ ពត្តដំបំបាំងបាត់វិញ លោតខ្លែងប្រដេញបំភ័យទ្វារយ័ន្ត សឹងមានតេជៈ ដោយបា រមីព្រះក្លាយជាទិព្វមន្ត ញាប់ញ័រដែនដី ទាំងថ្មព្រឹក្សព្រៃរន្ធត់ទោទន់ បឋមបឋមីន គុណនោះមានច្រើន ខ្ញុំសូមពឹងពួ នបឋមទ្រខ្លួនដូចខ្យល់ទ្រដី។ សូមបារមីព្រះ ខ្ញុំសូមឲ្យឈ្នះសត្រូវយប់ថ្ងៃ ដូចអាកាសគ្របដី៨សែនជាន់ជុំ ព្រះគុណជា ជំរក្សាឲ្យសុខ។ សូមអស់ទេវតាសោឡសស្នាដ៏ជួយជាទំនុក បារមីឥន្ទព្រហ្ម ព្រះយមរាជឲ្យសុខ ព្រះកាលមូលមកឲ្យ ស្នូស្តី ព្រះកបិលមហាព្រហ្មមានជាតិជាធំបង្កើតទឹកដី ចូលមករក្សាយើងខ្ញុំសព្វថ្ងៃបំពេញបារមីជាកំផែងគង្គា ព្រះពាយ ព្រះភិរុណ ព្រះអគ្គិមានគុណជាបន្ទាល់សាសនា រក្សាកូមិភពទាំង៥ ទេវាមូលមកជាតិជាកសិណសាក្សី ទ្វាទសទេវាជា កូនព្រះកបិលមហាព្រហ្មចិតក្នុងចតុទ្វីប ថៃទាំទឹកដី មូលមកឲ្យដ៏យឈ្នះភ័យឧបទ្រព។ ទោះទាំងទេវាគ្រប់ទសទិសា សូមសុខសាន្តសព្វ ៨ទេវាចិតទ្វារកូមិភព ទាំងគុណថ្ងៃយប់៧សុរិយា កេរកូមិមូលមកជួបជុំសែសិបទេវា សូមឲ្យ ជោគដ៏យឈ្នះភ័យទុក្ខា ឲ្យសាធុការលាភធនយើងខ្ញុំ។ a a យូរ mayam samkhatatim lokavidujitvā នាងទេពជិតា នាងចិត្តកុមារា នាងចិត្តកុមារី ជាមាតាបិតាទេវតាមនុស្សសត្វ សូមគុណពាន់ព័ន្ធក្រវ៉ាត់គ្រប់គ្រង ចតុធាតុគុណធួន ពុទ្ធុ ជារនាងខាងក្នុងទាំងគុណតួអង្គពុទ្ធខេត្តចេតិយ ទាំងគុណភារវាព្រះអភិធម្ម៤អង្គ ព្រះវិន័យ៤បទ ព្រះកម្មដ្ឋានទាំងអ ណាប្រាណប ផ្លូវវិបស្សណ៍ព្រះធម្មឈាននៃ១៤បទ បូកនឹង៤៥ សូមជួយថៃទាំជៀសចាកឲ្យផុតអកុសលសត្រូវ។ u u ឧឧ កែកូរ visum visum u a na mo gunam settho ព្រះភិក្ខុនេស្ត្រ ព្រះធាតុព្រះកេវ ព្រះមាតុលី ព្រះបារមីសូរ្យ ព្រះវិស្ស វណ្ណ ព្រះបរមពោធិ ព្រះភិធ្វរ ព្រះភិបាយ ព្រះកំបាយ ព្រះនរាយណ៍ ព្រះគន្ធា ទាំងម្តាយនាងកោគវត្តី នាងពែសាខា នាងស្រីមហាមាយា នាងកេសណី អស្សបុត្តា អប្បរកញ្ញា ព្រះមហាសី ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃទ្រង់ពុទ្ធា ព្រះសារិកធាតុ

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សុជាតិធិតា ព្រះចូឡាមុនីកីករុណានៃ ព្រះព្រៃស្រមណី ឧត្តកីកាំ ទាំងគុណបិសា ព្រះចង្កូមរាជជាចតុទន្តាគុណា ព្រះសុ  
វណ្ណទាំងពាន់ ព្រះកោតន្តត្ថេរោ ព្រះបិដកោព្រះធាតុព្រះកែវ។ *na mo buddha udho ti lakkhaññāṇaṃ ti so mama  
tam* ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខញ្ញាណ មានអង្គជាប្រាណដោយដានបីឃ្លាត្រៃសរណគមនី ត្រៃវេទ ត្រៃកូម ត្រៃយុត្ត ត្រៃដា ព្រះជ័យ  
ចេស្តាព្រះមហាកំសាន្ត ទាំងគុណប៉ែតដាន មានទាំងអកិថេរ ត្រីនេត្រ សងហោរ ទាំងទើបប្រជុំមូលមកជួយជុំទាំងមហាវ  
ជួល ទាំងគុណចង្រ្កមប្រជុំមកមូល ទាំងគុណត្រកូលពុទ្ធខេត្តធម្មា គុណមគ្គ គុណផល គុណគិត ឲ្យយល់ដល់ពួកណា  
បិតដោយសីលំតាំងមានមាត្រា គ្រប់ពួកនោះណា *dvathimsapāramī sirīguṇaṃ* ព្រះតិស្សថេរោ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា  
*anugūṇaṃ* ទាំងគុណព្រះមេរុ ព្រះសុមេរុរាជា *mahāsamuttam* មហាមុនីសច្ច័គិរីវង្គតបរិពុទ្ធច្នដា អនុលោម បត្តិលោម  
ថែងចាំសូរិយា បរិច្ឆេទធម្មា ទាំងគុណអ្នក ខ្ញុំបង្គំគុណម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃអើយមានបុណ្យ ព្រះគុណអើយទ្រទ្រង់ដមុន៤ពាន់  
គ្រប់គ្រងមូលមកឲ្យជ័យឲ្យពរមង្គលសួស្តី ជួយក្រុងរក្សាចិតជាសពាសណា ដូចក្រឡាផែនដី ជួយបិទជួយបាំងពាស  
ពាំងគ្រប់ទិសទីដូចមាសទិព្វថ្មីផែសែនជាន់ជុំ ព្រះគុណជាជំរក្សាឲ្យសុខ នរអ្នកណាខិតខំឧស្សាហ៍ រៀនគុណនេះបាន  
ចេះចាំ ជាក់ជឿជំទាត់ទៀងមែនមានព្យាយាមសព្វប្រាណសីដសព្វពេល អ្នកនោះស្មើបានកាន់កែវហោះធូរ ដោយ  
ដានវិហារ នឹងបានលាភលោកចៀសចតុរាបាយបាបដកបកយា ទោះទុក្ខក្តីណារលាយបានសុខ គុណជួយទ្រទ្រង់សព្វ  
សត្រូវព្រាយផងពុំហានធ្វើទុក្ខ ទាំងអំពើធ្មប់អាបពុំហានឈរមុខ រោគាអូលចុក *vinassantiasesato sabbapāpam  
sabbakammaṃ sabbadukkham pamuñcapa dukkhati nibhūti jānāti sukhinibhūti nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ* ។  
ចប់ ។

25b–26b      **jäy löñ phdah-bn** = jäy löñ phdah  
27a–28a      Mixed Khmer and Pali prose liturgical text (jäy kāt' groh), as follows: *jäy jäy itipi  
so bhagavā* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះកុក្កសន្ធា ព្រះអើយព្រះអង្គស្តេចតើនរសរា មកជួយខ្ញុំឆាប់ៗប្រញាប់វៃ។ ខ្ញុំ  
ព្រះករុណា សូមអារាធនា ព្រះកុក្កសន្ធា ព្រះអង្គយាងមកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វ មកកាត់អស់អំពើអកុសល អំពល់នូវបាប  
គ្រោះ ចង្រ្កៃ សារពើទុក្ខ សារពើសោក សារពើរោគ សារពើភ័យ សារពើជំងឺដម្កាត់ចង្រ្កៃ សព្វសត្រូវ *vinassanti asesato*  
។

*jäy jäy itipi so bhagavā* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះកោនាគមនោ ព្រះអើយព្រះអង្គស្តេចតើនរសរា មកជួយខ្ញុំ  
ឆាប់ៗ ប្រញាប់វៃ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះកោនាគមនោ ព្រះអង្គយាងមកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វ មកកាត់អស់អំពើអ  
កុសល អំពល់នូវបាបគ្រោះ ចង្រ្កៃ សារពើទុក្ខសារពើសោក សារពើរោគ សារពើភ័យ សារពើជំងឺដម្កាត់ចង្រ្កៃ សព្វ  
សត្រូវ *vinassanti asesato* ។

*jäy jäy itipi so bhagavā* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះកសបោនោ ព្រះអើយព្រះអង្គស្តេចតើនរសរា មកជួយខ្ញុំឆាប់  
ៗ ប្រញាប់វៃ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះកសបោ ព្រះអង្គយាងមកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វ មកកាត់អស់អំពើអកុសល អំ  
ពល់នូវបាបគ្រោះ ចង្រ្កៃ សារពើទុក្ខសារពើសោក សារពើរោគ សារពើភ័យ សារពើជំងឺដម្កាត់ចង្រ្កៃ សព្វសត្រូវ  
*vinassanti asesato* ។

*jäy jäy itipi so bhagavā* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះសមណគោតមនោ ព្រះអើយព្រះអង្គស្តេចតើនរសរា មក  
ជួយខ្ញុំឆាប់ៗ ប្រញាប់វៃ។ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះសមណគោតម ព្រះអង្គយាងមកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វ មកកាត់អស់

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

អំពើអកុសល អំពល់នូវបាបគ្រោះ ចង្រៃ សារពើទុក្ខសារពើសោក សារពើរោគ សារពើភ័យ សារពើជំងឺដម្កាត់ចង្រៃ  
សព្វ

សត្រូវ *vinassanti asesato* ។

*jāy jāy itipi so bhagavā* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនាព្រះសិរាហ្មមេត្រី ព្រះអង្គស្តេចតេជវង្សសរា មកជួយខ្ញុំឆាប់  
ៗ ប្រញាប់វៃៗ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះសិរាហ្មមេត្រី ព្រះអង្គយាងមកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វ មកកាត់អស់អំពើអកុសល  
អំពល់នូវបាបគ្រោះ ចង្រៃ សារពើទុក្ខសារពើសោក សារពើរោគ សារពើភ័យ សារពើជំងឺដម្កាត់ចង្រៃ សព្វសត្រូវ

*vinassanti asesato* ។

28b–30b Mixed Khmer and Pali prose liturgical text (me ramñāp'), as follows: *u ma namo buddham iti so bhagavā arahamsammāsambuddho pāramitā nubhāvena dasabala mahātejo paccabuddhā mahāmuni sīrasārbejñā* ហុនៗ ព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏មានបុណ្យ អ្នកអបលោកមកខ្ញុំទើបអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងផែនដី យុងយុទ្ធា ទាំងទ្វារ  
ទសារាសី រម្ងាប់ទាំងចតុអនុត្តិសី រម្ងាប់ទាំងគ្រោះផ្ទៃក្រោម រម្ងាប់ទាំងព្យាមអម្ពរនគរលង្កា រម្ងាប់ទាំងឆ្នេរសមុទ្រផលសា  
រម្ងាប់ទាំងព្រះមហាប្រិថពី រម្ងាប់ទាំងគិរីសត្តបរិកណ្ណ រម្ងាប់ទាំងចក្រវាឡ ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងកុកទំផ្លុះ រន្ទះ  
បាញ់ភូមិ រម្ងាប់ទាំងព្រាយមាយា រម្ងាប់ទាំងអ្នកធ្វើយោគី នូវអ្នករើសធាតុ កាត់សង្កត់ សង្កៀតធ្មេញ វេញព្រះកាំ ដាំព្រះ  
នេត្រ បាំងស្មេតច្នួត បិទផ្លូវត្រឡែងកែង ខ្វែងខ្វែងសិន ម្រោមឃ្មុំទំផ្លុះ ទើបអ្នកអាចប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងអ្នកពុះផ្អុំប្រមុំភ្នំ  
ស្រែ ប្រែផ្ទៃក្រោម លើកភូមិដីជាថ្មី ទាំងព្រះពុទ្ធរូប ស្លុប ព្រះចេតិយ ដីកស្រះ ព្រះដី តបន្ទាយ រាយនូវប្រិថពី ក្រវីភ្លើង  
រន្ទើនដំណាប់ ដង្កាប់ញញួរ ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងដំបូកលលកទំ ឃ្មុំ ពង្រួតទំផ្លុះ ជម្រះរបង រម្ងាប់ទាំងគងស្ករ  
ដំលាន់ព្នងដងដោយកក្រើក រម្ងាប់ទាំងអណ្តើកត្រសេះចូលភូមិលំនៅ រម្ងាប់ទាំងស្វាឌី ស្វាក្រះ ចូលមកចតសម្រាន្ត  
រម្ងាប់ទាំងផ្សិតដុះក្បែរជើងក្រាន ពុំសូវរម្ងាប់ទាំងមាន់ព្រៃមាន់ស្រុកចូលដល់គ្នា តតាំងរម្ងាប់ទាំងស្រាំង ទាំងឱម៉ាល់  
ចូលទិចអាត្មា រម្ងាប់ទាំងកុកស ក្រសាទំផ្លុះសៀវស្រែក រម្ងាប់ទាំងកុក រម្ងាប់ទាំងខ្វែក ទៀវទីទុយ មៀមមុំ ចូលមកទំក្នុង  
លំនៅ ។

*siddhīkiccaṃ siddhīkammaṃ siddhī* កំចាត់ *tathāgato siddhījāyo niyoniyam siddhīkammaṃ sabbadukkham*  
*vinassanti asesato* ។

ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងឈ្នះឆ្នុកចចកអប្រិយ៍ រម្ងាប់ទាំងសត្វព្រៃ ទីដទាំង រមាំងរមាសប្រើសព្វាយ ទន្សាយ  
ទន្សោង តោ ខ្លាធំ ខ្លាឃ្មុំ រម្ងាប់ទាំងសត្វតូចធំ នូវសត្វកង្កែប កំប្រុក ត្រៃស្រុក ត្រៃព្រៃចង្រៃឡើងមកកើតកូនទុកក្នុងត្រីហា  
រម្ងាប់ទាំងពស់វែក ពស់ជា ពស់ក្រាយ ពស់វែកក្តាំងបាយ ពស់ស្នាទន្សោង កន្ត្រោងភ្លើង ចចើងផ្ទះ ទើបអ្នកអាចមាន  
ម្តេចម្នះឈ្នះអស់មារសត្រូវចង្រៃ ទើបអ្នកអាចប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងគ្នាភ្លើង គ្នាតដេះ ត្រសេះ បាក់ទៀវត្រដេវរុច  
ហិចហើរមកទំលំនៅឥតក្រែង រម្ងាប់ទាំងរទេះដើរដំលាន់ព្នពេកក្រៃ រម្ងាប់ទាំងបូសបម កម រមាស់ អុត អាត់ នូវ  
សត្វពង្រួល ពស់ព្រៃ រម្ងាប់ទាំងសត្វបក្សាបក្សី ក្រូច ក្រៀល ចង្រៀលខ្យង ត្រយឹង កងកេង តាដក់ នោលកន្ត្រំ ឃ្មុំ  
បណ្តាលឲ្យហើរមកពន្លឹក រម្ងាប់ទាំងមាន់ទោ មាន់ទឹក ប្ររឹកប្រវែក ខ្វែកត្រោក ប៉ោលតោកតាវៅ សត្វស្លូតចៅ នូវសត្វ  
កាំប្រមា សេកសារិកា ហើរមកក្នុងលំនៅ ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងថ្នាន់ធ្នង់ ថ្នាន់ភ្នំ អក អាអុត ខ្វែងស្រោក ចាកប្រ  
ផ្លាក ជីវក់ក្តាត់ ទាំងសត្វទ្រមាក់ខ្លា តោចចូលក្នុងត្រីហាជាឋានលំនៅយើងនេះ ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញរម្ងាប់ទាំងក្រយ៉ៅ

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

គោក្របីចង្រ្កដំចម្លែក ទើបអ្នកអាប្រើអញ្ញឲ្យរម្ងាប់ទាំងសព្វជននានាដែលមានចិត្តមិនល្អ រម្ងាប់សត្វជើងបួន ជើងពីរ គឺ កុក ខ្លែក ទីទុយ មៀមមុំ ចចក ស្វានស្វា តោ ខ្លែងស្រាក ខ្មោចតូច សំពោច ឆ្មាបា លាញ់ ពស់ព្រៃ ចូលមកក្នុងស្រុក រត់ ក្នុងភូមិ កណ្តៀរមករោម ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញ្ញឲ្យរម្ងាប់រោគាព្យាធិ កុំបីពីនមកយាយី ពីនអញ្ញមកអំពីទិសទាំងប្រាំបី ពីន ដើរទាំងថ្ងៃ ពីនដើរទាំងយប់ ពីនឈរ ពីនឈប់ សព្វម្យប់ណា ។ ពីនមកម្នាក់ឯង ឬ ពីនមានគ្នា ទើបអញ្ញសំដែងនូវព្រះ គាថា *saro me buddhavañca loka tebrahmavatā he ke ka temmaṃ sabbakammaṃ prasiddhi me* ឧម ឧម រម្ងាប់ មហា រម្ងាប់ទាំងទ្វេបាទ ចតុបាទផង រម្ងាប់ទាំងគិរី សត្តបរិតណ្ណ រន្ធត់ទាំងភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុ ភ្នំកង្កែបក្រវិល ភ្នំកង្កែប រលត់អង្កត់ រលាយ ខ្មោចព្រាយ បឹងរឹងរូសឲ្យរលាយជាដេរ រោះពាសវាលពាសកាលដរាប បង្ហាក់ទាំងព្រាយហោះបណ្តើរកូន នូវ ខ្មោចព្រាយស្លាប់ប្តីកូនខ្ចីម្តាយដើម ទើបអ្នកប្រើអញ្ញផាត់ទៅក្រោមនាយ ផាយទៅក្រោមទឹក ផាត់ទៅក្រោមនាយ ផាយ ទៅក្រោមព្រះធរណី រម្ងាប់ទាំងសារពើបូស្សិឈើ ត្រឡឹងផ្ទះបាក់ដាច់ជើងរលំរលើង ទ្រេតទ្រោត ទ្រូងព្រែកវែងខ្ចី សសរ ចង្រ្កមានភ្នែករៀចកោង ប្រហោងពាំសំបក ប្រលែសកសិក

ក៏មានពិសខ្លាំងក្រៃ *buddhaṃ* មកជួយកំចាត់កំចាយ *dhammaṃ* មកជួយកំចាត់កំចាយ *saṅghaṃ* មកជួយ កំចាត់កំចាយ *sabbe antarāya vināssanti asesato* ។

31a Pali liturgical text (ramñāp'), as follows: *inda devā cakkavatta mahācakkavatta brahmamahābrahma isīmahāisī munīmahāmuni sappuras mahāsappuras buddhamahābuddha arahatta sabbasiddhi vijjā jarānaṃ sabbalokkācariyānaṃ sabbalokkecariyānaṃ etenasāvena etenasaccenava jjenavātuyham suvatti hontu cattuvisati-tesaneyya ivisahamanto piśācacevā sanamobuddhassa sanamodhammassa sanamosaṅghassa seyya thi taṃ hu lolo svāhāya.*

31b–33a **jāy kūn go-br** = jāy bar kūn go samrāp' sūtr oy bar maṅgal kār  
33a–36b **Chadisapāla-paritta-NM** = mahāmegh  
36b–37b **Itipi so that A-NP** = buddhguṇ braḥ nām dāmaṇ 10 dhārm samrāp' sūtr lōk rāsī

38a–38b Mixed Pali, Khmer, and Thai prose liturgical text (sārome (ramñāp')), as follows: *sarome buddha vañcasīla tebrahmadevatā nirāssaṃ piśācaceva siddhikiccaṃ siddhikammaṃ siddhalābhaṃ bhavantume* ទើបអញ្ញើញព្រះឥន្ទ ព្រះពន្លៃ ហែព្រះឥន្ទឡើវឡើវ ព្រះព្រហ្មនៃព្រាយមលេវឡើវ ។ ព្រះ កាលនៃព្រះចតុលោកបាលលេវឡើវ ព្រះពិស្តុការ ឡើនឡើងម៉ារកកូរ ព្រះសិទ្ធិកែកូរទើបគ្រូប្រើអញ្ញឲ្យកាន់សរ ព្រះ បរាបាញ់ជម្រះនូវចង្រ្កឧបទ្រព ទើបគ្រូប្រើអញ្ញឲ្យកាន់សរភ្លើងបាញ់ទៅរោះឡើង រោះឆាបរោះធ្មប់ ទប់ក្រិត្យា រោះ ខ្មោចអារក្ខ ពីនមកយាយី ពីនមកអំពីទិសទាំងប្រាំបីពីនដើរទាំងថ្ងៃ ពីនដើរទាំងយប់ ពីនឈរ ពីនឈប់ សព្វដោយ ណា។ ពីនមកមានគ្នា ពីនមកម្នាក់ឯង ទើបអញ្ញសំដែងព្រះគាថាធម្មរដ្ឋ ព្រះកែវវិជ័យនៃព្រះពុទ្ធរតន៍មាត់អញ្ញអើយ បីដូចសូរ្យសព្វន្ទះទាំងប្រាំពីរសែនហោង អញ្ញសូត្រឡើងកាលណា ឲ្យសត្រូវបាក់បបខ្ទប់ខ្ទាច សរអញ្ញមួយឈ្មោះព្រះ ពាយវាលបាញ់ទៅសឹងត្រូវក្បាលបែក ត្រូវភ្នែកពីនខ្នាក់ ត្រូវជើងពីនបាក់កំបុតត្រឹមស្នង ត្រូវសាចពីនពង ត្រូវទ្រូងពីន ឆ្មាយ កុំបីទទឹងនឹង អញ្ញជាគ្រូបាណ្ឌយហោង *ommasiddhisvāhāya* ។

39a–39b **jāy bar puon-m** = jāy bar puon  
40a Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំជូត ធ្វើថ្ងៃព្រហស្បតិ៍ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌ ធម្មចក្កប្បវត្តន សូត្រដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖

40a–44a **Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** = dhammacakkappavattanasuttam

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- 44b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំឆ្នូវ ធ្វើថ្ងៃសុក្រ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌មហាមោគ្គល្លានពោជ្ឈង្គសុត្តបារោដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 44b–46a **Dutiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP** = mahāmoggaḡānabojjhaḡgasuttapāḡho
- 46b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំខាល ធ្វើថ្ងៃសៅរ៍ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌ជីវិទានបារោដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 46b–47b **Uḡhissavijaya-NM** = jīvidānapāḡho (to be continued)

Verso

- 48 Hard plain black cardboard cover with printed title in red: ប្រជុំធម៌ រំដោះគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ឆ្នាំ
- 49a–50b **Uḡhissavijaya-NM** = jīvidānapāḡho (continued)
- 51a Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំថោះ ធ្វើថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌មហាចុន្ទពោជ្ឈង្គសុត្តបារោដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 51a–52b **Tatiyaḡilāna-sutta-CP** = mahācundabojjhaḡgasuttapāḡho/  
cundabojjhaḡgasuttapāḡho
- 53a Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំរោង ធ្វើថ្ងៃច័ន្ទ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌មហាមេត្តិសូត្រដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 53a–55a **Mahāmetti-NM** = mahāmettisūtr
- 55b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំម្សាញ់ ធ្វើថ្ងៃអង្គារ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌ធម្មចក្កប្បវត្តនសូត្រមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 55b–60a **Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** = dhammacakkappavattanasuttaḡ
- 60b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំមមី ធ្វើថ្ងៃពុធ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌មហាមសមយសូត្រមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 60b–68a **Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM** = mahāsamayasūtr/mahāsamayasuttaḡ
- 68b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំមមៃ ធ្វើថ្ងៃព្រហស្បតិ៍ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌ឥសិគិលិសុត្តបារោដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 68b–71b **Isigili-sutta-CM** = isigilisuttapāḡho
- 72a Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំរំក ធ្វើថ្ងៃសុក្រ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌អាដានជិយសុត្តបារោដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 72a–81a **Āḡānāḡiya-sutta-CM** = āḡānāḡiyasuttapāḡho
- 81b Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំរំកា ធ្វើថ្ងៃសៅរ៍ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌ធម៌ជគ្គសូត្រដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 81b–83b **Dhajagga-sutta-CM** = dhajaggasūtr/dhajaggarittamaḡ

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- 84a           Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំ ច ធ្វើថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌អភិណ្ណប្បចូដេក្ខណៈ  
និង អតីតប្បចូដេក្ខណៈ ដូចមានខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 84a–85b       **Abhiṅhappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** = abhiṅhappaccavekkhaṇa:/  
abhiṅhappaccavekkhaṇapāṭho
- 86a–86b       **Atīṭappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** = atīṭappaccavekkhaṇa:
- 87a           Ritual instruction: បើលោក អ្នកនាង កើតឆ្នាំកុរ ធ្វើថ្ងៃចិន្ទ ត្រូវសូត្រធម៌គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រដូចមាន  
ខាងក្រោមនេះ ៖
- 87a–92a       **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasūtr/girimānandasuttapāṭho
- 92b–94b       [blank]

UB065

2003, mass-produced leporello by Jāy Sen, purchased at Paṇṇāgār Trai Rata(n), Phnom Penh, 2016, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Black modern printed text in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and hard cardboard covers with printed designs in black and white decorated with red, orange, yellow, and blue colored pencil.

No visible wear or damage.

31 x 12 cm, 14 lines per spread, complete in 83 W-folded spreads

Recto

- 1           Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in black and white decorated with red, orange, yellow, and blue colored pencil, with the title: ក្រាំងការតារ
- 2a           Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ១. អាការតាសូត្រ ទំព័រទី១ ២. សត្តប្បករណភិក្ខុ ទំព័រទី២៦  
៣. ពិម្ពារិយោគ ទំព័រទី៣១ ៤. បច្ចិមពុទ្ធរចនៈ ទំព័រទី៣៥ ៥. បរិនិព្វានកថា ទំព័រទី៣៦ ៦. គិរីមានន្ទសុត្តបាហេ ទំព័រ  
ទី៣៨ ៧. គិរីមានន្ទសូត្រប្រែពាក្យកាព្យ ទំព័រទី៤៤ ៨. ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍បូរណ ទំព័រទី៦៣ ៩. សូមរំលឹកមាតាបិតា  
ដែលមានគុណធ្ងន់ ទំព័រទី៦៤ ១០. ខ្មោចយំស្តាយក្រោយ ទំព័រទី៦៦ ១១. ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍សង្ខេបទំព័រទី៧២ ១២. ឱ!  
រូបក្ខន្ធា ទំព័រទី៧៤ ១៣. ធម៌ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ទំព័រទី៧៩ ១៤. ធម្មសង្កេតបូរណ ទំព័រទី៨៤ ១៥. ធម៌លាបាប ទំព័រ  
ទី៨៧ ១៦. ធម្មសង្កេត ទំព័រទី៩២ ១៧. សិរិ:ឱនទំព័រទី៩៥ ១៨. មហាស្សណេយ្យ ទំព័រទី៩៧ ១៩. គិរីមានន្ទ(សញ្ញា១០)  
ទំព័រទី១០៤ ២០. អភិសេក ទំព័រទី១២៦ ២១. អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុ ទំព័រទី១២៧ ២២. ផ្កាញ័រ ទំព័រទី១៣៣ ២៣. ទ្រង់  
ចេញព្រះភ្នែកទំព័រទី១៤១ ២៤. ថ្វាយមជ្ជបាយាស ទំព័រទី១៤៥ ២៥. នមោ ៣០៦ ទំព័រទី១៥៧

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

- 2b Colophon: លោក ..... លោកស្រី ..... ព្រមទាំងបុត្រនៅភូមិ ..... ឃុំ ..... ស្រុក ..... ខេត្ត ..... ដែលបានជាប់ក្រាវគម្ពីរ ..... នេះដាក់តំកល់ទុកក្នុងវត្ត ..... ដើម្បីជាធម្មទានឧទ្ទិសជូនចំពោះវិញ្ញាណ កូន្ននៃបុព្វការីជនដូចមានរាយនាម ..... និងជាមរតកវប្បធម៌ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាតរៀងទៅ ព.ស.២៥៤៦ គ.ស. ២០០៣
- 3a-15a **Ākāravattā Ā** = ākāravattasūtr, with brackets  
 15b-17b **Abhidhammamātikā-NP** = sattappakaraṇābhidhamm  
 18a-19b **bimbāviyog-7** = bimbāviyog bāky prāṃbīr  
 20a **pacchimabuddhavadāna A-br** = pacchimabuddhavadāna:  
 20b-21a **parinibbānakathā-7** = parinibbānakathā  
 21b-26b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = girimānandasuttapāṭho  
 27a-33b **girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ br/7** = girimānandasūtr prè  
 34a **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ)  
 pūrāṇ  
 34b-35a **raṃḥk guṇ mātāpitā-7** = sūm raṃḥk mātāpitā ṭel mān guṇ dhān'  
 35b-37a **khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7** = khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy  
 37b-38a **oḥ o braḥ mātāpitā-7** = pad brahm smūt  
 38b-39a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** = braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) saṅkhep  
 39b-41b **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** = o! rūpakkhandho  
 42a-42b **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** = dhaṛm braḥ trai lakkh(ṅ) (to be continued)

Verso

- 43 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in gold and white  
 44a-45a **trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** = dhaṛm braḥ trai lakkh(ṅ)  
 (continued)  
 45b-46b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k** = dhammasaṅveg pūrāṇ  
 47a-49a **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = dhaṛm lā pāp  
 49b-50b **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg»-br** = dhammasaṅveg  
 51a-51b **sira: on-br** = sira: on  
 52a-55a **Sahassanaya-NP** = mahassaṇeyy  
 55b-66a **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** = girimānand, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*  
 66b-69b **dhaṛm yog-bn** = abhisek, añjōñ braḥ dhātu,  
 70a-81b **phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** = phcāñ' mār, drañ ceñ braḥ bhnuos, thvāy madhupāyās/abhisek/dhaṛm yog  
 82a Mantras and ritual instructions, as follows: *namo ព្រះពុទ្ធិវិញ្ញាណ ព្រះអង្គល្អៗ មារហើយ ayam mārassa pāpamatto parājayo* បរាជ័យ! មារមានចិត្តបាប បានចុះចាញ់ ព្រះអង្គហើយ ។ មួយ ចប់ បាចផ្កាម្តង ត្រូវសូត្របីចប់ បាចផ្កាបីដង ។  
 82b-83b [blank]

UB066

Early twenty-first century, mass-produced leporello by Jāy Sen, purchased at Paṇṇāgār Trai Rata(n), Phnom Penh, 2016, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Black modern printed text in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on modern white paper affixed to modern white and gray card stock, reinforced with glue and hard cardboard covers with printed designs in black, white, and gold, decorated with blue, yellow, red, pink, orange, and pink colored pencil.

No visible wear or damage.

31 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, complete in 37 W-folded spreads.

Recto

1 Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in white and gold, with the title: មាយ-វិសាដបូជា

2a Table of contents: មាតិកាធម៌ ១- មាយ និង វិសាខ នម្យការដើមបទ ទំព័រ ១ ២- ប្រកាសមាយបូជា ២

៣- ប្រកាសវិសាខបូជា ៨ ៤- នមស្សការ នមោធិបទ ១១ ៥- មាយបូជា ១៦ ៦- វិសាខបូជា ២៦ ៧- ធម៌បទ បន្តពីមាយ និង វិសាខ ៣៧ ៨- សត្តមហាថាន បទបច្ច្យវត្ត ទំព័រ ៣៧ ៩- មហានាគ ៤២ ១០- ព្រះពុទ្ធ ២៨ ព្រះអង្គ ៤៧ ១១- ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ ៥៦ ១២- ថ្វាយគ្រឿងសក្ការៈ ៦២ ១៣- បូជាផ្កា ចំពោះព្រះរតនត្រ័យ ៦៥ ១៤- បូទុមថ្វាយផ្កា ៦៦

2b–3b māgha-visākh namassakār tōm pad: *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* សូមនមស្សការ ចំពោះព្រះភគវន្តមុនី អរហន្ត សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធអង្គនោះ ។ *sammāsambuddhovata sobhagavā yo sabbadukkhassa pahānāya dhammaṃ desati taṃsammāsambuddhaṃ ādarena namassāma*. ព្រះភគវន្តមុនីអង្គណា ទ្រង់ត្រាស់សំដែងនូវធម៌ ដើម្បីកំចាត់បង្ក នូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខទាំងពួង ព្រះភគវន្តមុនីអង្គនោះ សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ នូវព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធអង្គនោះ ដោយគោរព ។ (ថ្វាយបង្គំម្តង) *niyyānikovata sodhammo yo sabbadukkhassa pahānāya svākkhāto tena bhagavatā taṃdhammaṃādarena namassāma*. ព្រះធម៌ណា ដែលព្រះភគវន្តមុនី អង្គនោះទ្រង់ត្រាស់សំដែងហើយ ដោយប្រពៃ ដើម្បីកំចាត់បង្ក នូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខទាំងពួង ព្រះធម៌នោះ ជាធម៌ស្រោចស្រង់សត្វ ពិតមែន យើងខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គ សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ នូវព្រះធម៌នោះ ដោយគោរព។ (ថ្វាយបង្គំម្តង) *supaṭipannovatassa bhagavato so sāvakaṅghoyosabbadukkhassa pahānāya supaṭaṭanno taṃsaṅghaṃ ādarena namassāma*. ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃៗ ណា លោកប្រតិបត្តិ ដើម្បីកំចាត់បង្កនូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខទាំងពួង ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃនោះ ជាសង្ឃសារីកនៃព្រះភគវន្តមុនី



Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

អង្គនោះ លោកប្រតិបត្តិ ដោយប្រពៃមែនពិត យើងខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គ សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ នូវព្រះអរិយសង្ឃនោះដោយគោរព ។  
(មាយ-វិសាខ, ដូចគ្នា)

2b Ritual instructions: ចាត់ឱ្យម្នាក់អាន មួយយូម្នាក់ៗ ថាតាមទាំងអស់គ្នា :

4a-5b prakās māghapūjā, as follows: ថ្ងៃនេះជាតិថី ពេញបូរមី នៃខែមាយ មានព្រះច័ន្ទពេញវង់ ត្រូវនឹងថ្ងៃ សាវកសន្និបាត របស់ព្រះសក្យមុនីអរហន្តសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ជាបរមគ្រូនៃយើង សាវកសន្និបាតនោះ ប្រកបដោយ អង្គបួន គឺថ្ងៃពេញបូរមីខែមាយ ព្រះចរចូលក្នុងមាយនក្ខត្តបុក្យ នេះជាអង្គទី១ ព្រះភិក្ខុមានចំនួន ១២៥០ ឥតមានអ្នក ណានិមន្ត ឬណាត់វេលា គ្នាសោះឡើយ ក៏ស្រាប់តែមកប្រជុំគ្នា ក្នុងសំណាក់ នៃព្រះបរមសាស្តា នាវត្តវេឡើយ កលន្ទ កនិវាបស្ថាន ក្រុងរាជគ្រឹះមគធរដ្ឋ នៅវេលាថ្ងៃល្ងាចនេះជាអង្គទី២ ព្រះភិក្ខុសង្ឃមានចំនួន ១២៥០ អង្គ នោះសុទ្ធតែជា ឯហិកិក្ខុ ដូចគ្នាទាំងអស់ នេះជាអង្គទី៣ ព្រះភិក្ខុសង្ឃ ទាំង ១២៥០ អង្គនោះ សុទ្ធតែជាព្រះខ័ណ្ឌស្រព ទាំងអស់នេះជាអង្គទី ៤ ព្រះសព្វញ្ញពុទ្ធ ទ្រង់ត្រាស់សំដែង នូវឱវាទ បាតិមោក្ខ ក្នុងទីប្រជុំ នៃព្រះភិក្ខុសង្ឃនោះ ។ ការប្រជុំសាវកបែបនេះ ហៅថាចតុរង្គសន្និបាទ គឺការប្រជុំប្រកបដោយ អង្គ៤ក្នុងពុទ្ធភាសនា នៃព្រះសក្យមុនី បរមគ្រូរបស់យើង មានត្រឹមតែម្តងប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ មួយទៀតកាលដែលព្រះបរមសា ស្តានៃយើងទ្រង់មានព្រះជន្ម បើគិតតាមឈ្មោះខែ នៅខ្លះ៤ខែ បើគិតតាមចំនួនថ្ងៃ នៅខ្លះ ៨៨ ថ្ងៃទៀត នឹងគ្រប់ ៨០ ឆ្នាំ គត់ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់កំណត់ នូវព្រះជន្មាយុសង្ខារ ថា ៖ ម្ចាស់ភិក្ខុទាំងឡាយ គិតពីថ្ងៃនេះទៅ នៅខ្លះតែបួនខែទៀតទេ តថា គត នឹងរំលត់ខន្ធ ចូលកាន់ព្រះនិព្វាន ។ ការកំណត់ជន្មាយុនេះ នៅថ្ងៃ ១៥ កើត ខែ មាយ ដែរ ។ តិថីនេះ ជាឧបលក្ខិ តសម័យមួយដ៏ឧត្តម ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធភាសនា គឺជាថ្ងៃ សំរាប់ពុទ្ធមាមិកជន ទាំងបុព្វជិត ទាំងគ្រហស្ថ ប្រជុំគ្នា ធ្វើសក្ការៈបូជា ចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ អង្គនោះព្រមទាំង ព្រះធម៌ជាបរមពុទ្ធាវាទ និងព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ ជាសាវករបស់ព្រះអង្គ ។ ឥឡូវ នេះយើងទាំងអស់គ្នា ជាពុទ្ធភាសនិកជន បានមកប្រជុំគ្នា បានរៀបគ្រឿងសក្ការៈបូជា មានទៀនធូប និងផ្កាជាដើម ក្នុងទីនេះដែលមានព្រះពុទ្ធរូប ស្នងព្រះអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់ស្តេចមកគង់ ក្នុងទីចំពោះមុខ នៃយើងទាំងអស់ យើងខ្ញុំសូមថ្វាយ នូវសក្ការៈបូជាទាំងនេះ ចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ អង្គនោះព្រមទាំងព្រះធម៌ និងព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ រតនៈត្រ័យទាំងបីដោយសេចក្តីគោរព ។ បពិត្រព្រះសក្យមុនី បរមគ្រូ ព្រះអង្គជាបូជារហបុគ្គល របស់ទេវតា និងមនុស្សក្នុងលោក ឥតមានបុ គ្គណាមួយត្រឹមស្មើ នឹងព្រះអង្គឡើយ ទោះបីព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ចូលនិព្វាន បាត់ព្រះរូបព្រះកាយ អស់កាលយូរអង្វែងទៅ ហើយក៏ពិតមែន ប៉ុន្តែទ្រង់បាន ប្រតិស្ថានព្រះវិសុទ្ធាវាទ គឺព្រះធម៌វិន័យ ក៏បរិសុទ្ធវិសេស ទុកជាតំណាងព្រះអង្គទាំង ព្រះគុណរបស់ព្រះអង្គ ក៏នៅមានប្រាកដដែរ សូមព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ ជាបរមសាស្តា ទ្រង់ព្រះមេត្តា ទទួលគ្រឿងសក្ការៈ បូជា របស់យើង ខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គ ដែលរៀបចំថ្វាយ ក្នុងទីនេះ ដើម្បីជាផលានិសង្ស ឱ្យយើងខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គបានប្រកបដោយឥដ្ឋ មនុញ្ញផល វិបុលសុខ និងសេចក្តីចម្រើន ដ៏ធំទូលាយ អស់កាលជាយូរ អង្វែងទៅហោង ។

6a-7a prakās visākhapūjā, as follows: ថ្ងៃនេះជាតិថី ពេញបូរមី ខែវិសាខ មានព្រះច័ន្ទពេញវង់ ត្រូវ នឹងថ្ងៃដែលព្រះសក្យមុនី សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ជាបរមគ្រូទ្រង់ប្រសូតិ ទ្រង់បានត្រាស់ ជាព្រះសព្វញ្ញពុទ្ធ ប្រាកដឡើងក្នុងលោក នឹងថ្ងៃដែលទ្រង់ រំលត់ខន្ធចូលកាន់បរិនិព្វាន ។ តិថីនេះ ជាឧបលក្ខិតសម័យដ៏ឧត្តម ក្នុងព្រះពុទ្ធភាសនា គឺជាថ្ងៃសំរាប់ ពុទ្ធមាមិកជន ទាំងបុព្វជិតទាំងគ្រហស្ថ ប្រជុំគ្នាធ្វើសក្ការៈបូជា ចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ព្រះអង្គនោះ ព្រមទាំងព្រះធម៌ ជាបរមពុទ្ធាវាទ និងព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ ជាសាវករបស់ព្រះអង្គ ឥឡូវនេះ យើងខ្ញុំទាំងអស់គ្នា ជាពុទ្ធភាសនិកជន បាន មកប្រជុំគ្នា បានរៀបគ្រឿងសក្ការៈបូជា មានទៀនធូបនិងផ្កាជាដើម ក្នុងទីនេះដែលមានព្រះពុទ្ធរូបស្នងព្រះអង្គ គង់

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

ជាប្រធាន ហាក់ដូចជា ព្រះបរមសាស្តា អង្គនោះទ្រង់ស្តេចមកគង់ ក្នុងទីចំពោះមុខនៃយើងទាំងអស់គ្នា យើងខ្ញុំសូម ថ្វាយនូវគ្រឿងសក្ការៈបូជា ទាំងនេះចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គនោះ ព្រមទាំងព្រះធម៌និងព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ រតនត្រ័យ ទាំងបី ដោយសេចក្តីគោរព ។ បពិត្រ! ព្រះសក្យមុនី បរមគ្រូព្រះអង្គជាបូជាហេតុ របស់ទេវតា និងមនុស្សក្នុងលោក ឥតមានបុគ្គលណាមួយ ត្រឹមស្មើនឹងព្រះអង្គឡើយ ទោះបីព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ចូលបរិនិព្វាន បាត់ព្រះរូបព្រះកាយ អស់កាលយូរអង្វែង ទៅហើយក៏ពិតមែន ប៉ុន្តែទ្រង់បានប្រតិស្ថានព្រះវិសុទ្ធាវាទ គឺព្រះធម៌វិន័យ ក៏បរិសុទ្ធវិសេស ទុកជា តំណាងព្រះអង្គ ទាំងព្រះគុណរបស់ព្រះអង្គ ក៏នៅមានប្រាកដទាំងព្រះបរមសារីរិកធាតុ និងព្រះរូបស្នងព្រះអង្គ ក៏នៅមានប្រាកដដែរ ។ សូមព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ ជាបរមសាស្តា ទ្រង់ព្រះមេត្តាប្រោស ទទួលនូវគ្រឿងសក្ការៈបូជា របស់យើងខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គ ដែលបានរៀបចំថ្វាយ ក្នុងទីនេះ ដើម្បីជាផលានិសង្សឱ្យយើងខ្ញុំព្រះអង្គ បានប្រកបដោយឥដ្ឋ មនុញ្ញផល វិបុលសុខ និងសេចក្តីចម្រើន ដ៏ធំទូលាយ អស់កាលជាយូរអង្វែងទៅហោង។ (ចប់ប្រកាសវិសាខ រួចធ្វើបន្តដូចមាយ ដែរ)

- 7b-9b            **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** = namassakār namo 8 pad
- 10a-11b        **Māghapūjā** = māghapūjā/māgh pad
- 12a-14b        **māghapūjā samrāy-4** = māghapūjā/māgh pad
- 14b              Ritual instructions: ចប់មាយបទ្ធជូចសូត្រធម៌-បន្ត-មានធាតុទៅ
- 15a-18a        **Visākhapūjā/visākhapūjā samrāy-4** = visākhapūjā
- 17b-18a        **Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV** = visākhapūjā
- 18a-18b        **aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā samrāy-4** = visākhapūjā (to be continued)

Verso

- 19                Hard cardboard cover with printed designs in black and white decorated with blue, yellow, red, pink, orange, and pink colored pencil.
- 20a              **aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā samrāy-4** = visākhapūjā (continued)
- 20b-22a        **aṭṭhamahāṭṭhān samrāy-4** = thān dham/dharm pad panta bī māgh + visākh
- 22b              **Sattamahāṭṭhāna** = sattamahāṭṭhān pad paṭyāvatt
- 23a-23b        **sattamahāṭṭhāna samrāy-4** = sattamahāṭṭhān pad paṭyāvatt
- 24a-26a        **Mahānāga/mahānāg samrāy-4** = mahānāg
- 26b-27b        **Aṭṭhavīsatabuddha-gāthā-NV** = braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg
- 28a-30b        **aṭṭhavīsatabuddh samrāy-4** = braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg
- 31a-34a        **Sārīrikadhātu/sārīrikadhātu samrāy-4** = braḥ sārīrikadhātu
- 34a-34b        **Thvāy grīōn sakkāra:/thvāy grīōn sakkāra: samrāy-7** = thvāy grīōn sakkāra: mun niñ sūtr namassakār/prè ghloñ 7 bākya
- 34b              Note: ធម្មលិខិតត្រៃកាសត
- 35a-35b        **padum thvāy phkā «yōn khñuṃ mān citt trek»-br** = pūjā phkā camboḥ braḥ ratana:trāy

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

36a–36b      **padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** = padum thvāy  
phkā (short version)  
37a–37b      [blank]

**UB067**

FEMC d.952

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, originally in the monastic library of Vatt Trabāṃṅ Dā a.k.a Tāṃṅ Srī, Tāṃṅ Srī village, Me Brīṅ commune, Pādhāy district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, early twenty-first century, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional purple ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with pencil, reinforced with black and white thread.

Moderate fold and edge wear and severe water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned and repaired with cellophane tape by Mech Khoeun and Trent Walker, 2016.

36 x 14 cm, 12 lines per spread, fragment of 95 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1–6a      **Ān trai A-NP** = braḥ vinaiy° [cap srec lvev le], kāṃṃ°bbhīy braḥ sūt piy° ṭ'akkh [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ saṅganīy° [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ vibhañ [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ dhhdhātukaththā [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ puggalapañatti [cap lvev], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ kaththāvaththu [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ yaṃmmag [cap lvev le], kāṃṃbīy° braḥ mahāpasthān [cap lvev]
- 6a–9b      **Sahassanaya-NP** = braḥ saḥassaṇaiy° [cap lvev]
- 9b–21a      **Ākāravattā A-NP** = braḥ dhamm kov vattār [cap lvev le]
- 21a      Colophon: *ann"āgutèkallè nibbāṇapaccayo honti. nibbāṇaṃparamasukkhāṃ.*
- 21a–32a      **Ratanamālā-NV** = braḥ kèv ratnamālā(r) gun braḥ {bud {dham {saṅgh braḥ gun kèv dāṃṅ 108 gun nèḥ (gun braḥ budhdh dāṃṅ° hā sipp prāṃṃ mūy°, braḥ dhamm 38, gun braḥ saṅgh dāṃṅ° 14)
- 32b–39b      **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** = gīrīmānand/gīrīy°mānun
- 39b      Ritual instruction: *នៃ៖គឺមានន្ទសូតយោកក្រែងមានជុំម្លើរទូរាទូរុនឲ្យសូតទ្រៅហោង ។ល។*
- 39b–47b      **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** = lpār
- 47b      **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o rūpā»-k** = aniccā rūp tēl mind diēn oy° gīt aniccā (middle missing) (to be continued)

Verso

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- 48–50b **dhammasaṅveg «aniccā rūp ðel min dien oy git aniccā»-k** = aniccā rūp ðel mind dien oy<sup>o</sup> git aniccā (middle missing) (continued)
- 50b–65a **Buddhābhiseka-NP** = buddhābhisekkh/braḥ dhamm budhdhābīy<sup>o</sup>sèkkh [cap lvev le srec hoṅ]
- 65a–70a **dhārm yog-bn**
- 70a–73a **Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** = braḥ dhamm namo mè
- 73a–86b **phcāñ' mār «yōn khñum paṅgam»-k**
- 87a Colophon: នែះអ្នកស្មៀនអ៊ិនស៊ីវសេក្រាង ព្រះធម្មកោវតា រត្នមាលា សហស្សវណ្ណ ល្អាវ គីរី មាណស ពុទ្ធករ ព្រះសង្ឃ ធម្មយោគី នេះទុកត្រូវព្រះសាស្តា ឆ្នាំ ២០០០ ព្រះវសាវស្សប្រថ្នាវ ឲ្យបានត្រាសប្រាជ្ញាវសារពេជ្ជ ជតាញាតិ *nībbānapaccayohontu acchītamṅpattitaṃsamvīdhdhī*.
- 87a–89b **dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k** = braḥ dhammasaṅvèk
- 89b–91a **dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k**
- 91a–93a **dhammasaṅveg «guor git aniccā»-k**
- 93a–94a **Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy**
- B-r**
- 94b Anussati 10, as follows: ពុទ្ធានុសត្តិ ១ ធម្មានុសត្តិ ១ សំយាទានុសត្តិ ១ សិល្បានុសត្តិ ១ បាត្តានុសត្តិ ១ ទេវានុសត្តិ ១ ឧប្បសម្មានុសត្តិ ១ មុនានុសត្តិ ១ កាយ្យកត្តានុសត្តិ ១ អណាបាទានុសត្តិ ១
- 94b–95b Mixed Thai-Pali liturgy, as follows: *ukāssa* ខាព្រះចៅវចនសាព្រះត្រៀសរណគុំទ្រាំសាមកាបសៀលទ្រាំស្បីអន្ទិបៃន្ទិ ក្រាបចៅវចនសីនដ្ឋីវត្តហែងខាព្រះចៅវិថើត ។
- ukāssavanditvāsīrīsābudhamdhammaṃsaṃghī uttam daiyabhāsaiyakāmmmathānaṃ duvittkam ukāsa aṅṅayonomebhante aṅṅakāmm"āyathābāley... lheyathāakusal"e yem yemayamaṅkhamahāevambhanteayam aṅṅa... nobhattiganhathaayatiṃsaṃvari"āmmī buddhomenāthodhamomenāthosa...ghomenātho accāriyomenāthosammaththakāmmmathānanome nāthodosaparimiyāme nāthoitipisobhaggavā arahaṃ sammāsamvuddhovijācarannasampanno sukkhatolokkavidūanuttaropurisadhammasārathī satthādevamanusānaṃ buddhobhaggavātti. ក្រាបច្បាប់ដ្ឋីម...ដង្កូចហៀ ។ *ukāsa* ខាព្រះចៅវចនសាព្រះពុទ្ធកុនចៅពើខាព្រះចៅវចនឱយព្រះ... ព្រះធម្មចៅវិចិត្រចៅវិចិត្រម៉ាញាតិកេតយូណាព្យចក្កុណាព្យមនោធាណាព្យ...ធាមិវត្តព្រះពុទ្ធចៅព្រះបចិត្តពោធិចៅព្រះអើសត្តិសាវត្តចៅព្រះធម្មចៅវត្ត... សីផានព្រះធម្មខានចៅអនុសុខមខ្វាង២មីនានស្រែត្យខព្រះធម្មចៅវត្តមួនចុង... កេតឧត្តហនិមិត្តភាគនិមិត្តយូណាព្យខានខាព្រះចៅវត្តហាហែងណា...កាលូបត្រៀវ វិថើត *nīphānaccayohontu* ។ ័*

UB068  
FEMC d.953

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, originally in the monastic library of Vatt Trabāṃṅ Dā a.k.a Tāṃṅ Srī, Tāṃṅ Srī village, Me Brīṅ commune, Pādhāy district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, early twenty-first century, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

Traditional brown ink, retraced with purple ink and pencil, in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with diluted ink.

Severe fold and edge wear and severe water, mold, and insect damage, cleaned by Mech Khoen, 2016.

35 x 12 cm, 12 lines per spread, fragment of 73 W-folded spreads.

Recto

- 1–8a            **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible) (incipit and explicit missing)
- 8b–9b            Ritual instructions for hau braḷiṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 9b–12b           mahā rapök-r? = mahā (ra)pök (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 12b–17b           **hau braḷiṅ-k** = kpuon hov braḷ liṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible) (continued) (to be continued)
- 17b                Ritual instructions for hau braḷiṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 17b–22b           **hau braḷiṅ-k** = kpuon hov braḷ liṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible) (continued) (to be continued)
- 22b                Ritual instructions for hau braḷiṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 22b–23b           **hau braḷiṅ-k** = kpuon hov braḷ liṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible) (continued)
- 24a                Ritual instructions (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)
- 24a–26a           **Itipi so 10 dis** = itipi so 10 dös°/pandāy° 1 sèn jānd
- 26a–27b           Ānisaṅsa and ritual instructions for end of life: វិញ្ញាណនេះព្រះគាថា ឥតិបិសោ ១០ ឡើយ  
ឈ្មោះបន្ទា ១សែនជាង្គំ ប្រសើរពេកហោង បើអ្នកឯណា ១បានរៀន ហើយបានបូជាទៀនធុក ភ្នំផ្កា ព្រឹកល្ងាចសព្វថ្ងៃ កុំ  
ឲ្យតេចលើហើយឲ្យសាស្ត្រស្វាគណ្ណយ បើពុំបានសូត្រ ឲ្យតែរនិកក្នុងចិត្តកុំឲ្យភ្លេចលើ ម្សសោតបើមានជុំមើរតម្កាត់  
ជាកុំម្រើហើយ និងចងផ្សង  
ឲ្យជិង ជាបូមិនជា នោះឲ្យលុញទៀនប្តី ឲ្យវាស្សប្រវែង ១ទោម អ្នកតម្កាត់នោះ ហើយឲ្យចម្រើនប្តីថ្ងៃ ផ្ការប្តីធុកនោះប្តី  
ហើយសូត្រឲ្យអ្សទៀន១ថ្ងៃ១ លុះគុំរុញប្តីថ្ងៃ បើជាជុំមើរនោះកុំម្រើហើយ ទោះមានទុកទោរក្បែរនិងអ្វី២ក្តី នោះឲ្យយកក្នុង  
ទឹក ១ មកសេកហើយឱទិ  
ស្មាន និងគុនបុនព្រះ ពុទ្ធ, ធម្ម, សយិ) ព្រះឥន្ទព្រះព្រម ព្រះឥសូរ ព្រះទ្រៀវ នៅអូរទ្វារទេវតារាជឡើយហើយឲ្យមានទឹកសំ  
ម្បូរ ក្រូចសើចប្រែងអំប្បូរ ហើយយកទៀនធុកស្មារម្លូរទៅបូជ្ជាព្រះធម្ម ហើយឲ្យថ្វាយបង្គំមប្បិសិទ្ធ ហើយទូលថា សូមអញ្ជើញ

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

ព្រះ.....ជាអំបោះ អ្នកទៅថ្ងៃនេះ ទៅជួរតោះទុកទោរឈ្មោះនោះ ហើយបែរយកដ្បិបុនមេត្យ តាកក្នុងទិកក្នុងហើយ ឲ្យ  
សែក ១៨,៩) ចប់កូបាន រូ

ចហើយឲ្យកង្ខំសំបុរនូវក្រចសើច ហើយឲ្យស្រោចទិកក្នុងនោះ រួចហើយឲ្យលាពូប្រេងអំបោះ តំម្កាត់នោះព្រំស្លាប់លើ បើ  
រមានទុកទោរទុកអ្វីៗ ឲ្យដើរគុនកែវព្រះស្រ្តីរត្តត្រូវ ទ្រាំប្បិបុននេះជាវិស្សណារហោង បើរន្នឹងចូលច្បាងសិក ឲ្យសូ  
តនោះព្រះគាថានេះត្រូវកុំម្ខាងថ្ងៃ សែបលាពូខ្លួនបាន ។ *sokam sivampinam svāha*: ។ ឲ្យការនាជាវិញ្ញាខ្លួនផងបើ  
រតើរទៅឯណា ២ ។ ។ល

27b-30b **Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** = smā lā doḥ  
pāpakamm°

30b-31b Ritual instructions for end of life: នេះគឺអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ លោកស្រិតស្រង់តម្រង ដោយនូវ  
ច្បាប់..... អរហយសនោះ .....ខ្សែយត្បោនូវក្តីក្តី ត្បោនៅអាយុសខ្សែយក្តី ត្បោនូវអាយុស....ហិវាត្តពោតក្តី  
កាលមានជុំមើរយលជាទុរនហើយ នោះឲ្យទោរអញ្ជើញអ្នកប្រាជ្ញរាជ្ជបុត្រិ អ្នកតំមានរៀនរៀនសូត្រមានប្រាជ្ញាឈ្លាស  
រក្សារសិលចិត្តនោះក្នុងត្រៀមសន់គុំមជាសាវាភូ ឲ្យមករៀបប្រតាប្បប្រតារឲ្យតម្លើរបុគ្គល ហើយឲ្យទោរនិមន្តព្រះសិ  
មកឲ្យអ្នកជុំមើរ ទំទូលត្រៀមសរណគុំមនោះសិល៥ ហើយឲ្យយកស្បែកសំរមកឲ្យអ្នកជុំមើរពាក់ត្រៀមលើកន្សែលើងប្រ  
ណាំមុខទំទូលសិល៥ ទើព្វអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃឲ្យសំរណគុំមនោះសិល៥ ស្រេចហើយឲ្យអ្នកជុំមើរត្រាចិត្ត ការនាព្រះត្រៀមសរណគុំ  
មកបាន ក្នុងឥតិបិសោកីបានគ្នាតែយក និងថ្កាអំហំក៏បាននិងថ្កា *sammāsambuddho* ក៏បាន និងថា *suggato*  
ក៏បាន ទោះយោប្បិបុនឲ្យសូតព្រះអង្គិធម្មព្រះការតា ព្រះរត្តមាលារឲ្យស្តាប់ក៏បាន លុះតលជុំមើរនោះខ្លាំងលើង នោះ  
ឲ្យធ្វើរសូត្រវិញ បើនិងយកម្សប្រាកស្តម្តែរ ដែរឲ្យស្តើងក៏បាន ច្នានិងស្លឹកក៏បាន ហើយយកឲ្យគាថានេះ ។

31b-32a Subāṇḍapād, as follows: *cakkhusampattasattajā sottasampattasattajā*  
*ghānasampattasattajā jīvihā sampattasattajā kāyyasampattasattajā manosampattasattajā* .....នេះម្ខាង ទើព្វឲ្យ ត្រ  
លបីមកប្រាជ្ញ..... *maggasampadā cattāro phalasampadā khi.... nam kusalādhammā imesa..... hontu*  
*imesattāpāpaccayo hontu ime satta atidukkhā hontu imesattayathāpaccayābhanti imesattā labhantā*

32a-36b Ritual instructions and mantras for end of life: ហើយឲ្យតាក្នុងតម្លើរលើរក្សាលតេក លុះកុំ  
ម្ខាងតិចឲ្យយកផ្កាទៀនធ្នូប ធ្វើរជាស្នាត្រួយមកបង្កាននៅតែឲ្យប្រណាំមទើព្វផ្តាំមថា យើងធ្វើឲ្យអ្នក យកទៅវិញព្រះ  
ចម្លើមនិងត្រៀមត្រៀម ឲ្យតម្លើរចិត្តជុំពោះទៅត្រៀមត្រៀម ហើយឲ្យការនាផ្តាបនូវត្រចៀកថា ។ *itipisobhagavā*  
*kimkaranam tāvatimsa bhavanam gacchanti* ។ ៣ តង ហើយឲ្យយកសូត្រវិញ មកតម្លើរលើរចង្ការឲ្យល្មមតែខ្យល  
ចេញចូលត្រូវ ម្សនិសោតឲ្យយកក្រមួនទុំម្លង់ប្រាក្នុងដួងប្រា ១ លុញជាទៀនប្រវែង១អង្គល្បី នេះហោរទៀនកាល ហើយឲ្យ  
លុញទៀនទៀន ប្រវែង១ចំអាមបាន..... ហើយឲ្យអ្នក ឲ្យតំណើរនោះសូត្រថាត្រច្នេះ ។ *buddho araham* ។ ឲ្យព្រមគ្នាកុំឲ្យ  
និរាយកុំឲ្យព្រមគ្នាត្រូវត្រូវមាត្រាឲ្យឲ្យតែរព្រះធម៌ឲ្យបានស្តាប់ ត្រាបត្រង់ព្រះធម៌វិស្ស លុះតលជុំមើរនោះ កុំល្ងាតិច  
ផុតខ្យល់តើរចេញស្បហើយ ឲ្យអុចទៀនកាលឲ្យកូសថ្នាក់ប្បិអន្ទើរ លុះតល្បីថ្នាក់១ ឲ្យយកសុពារវិញ លុះតល្បីថ្នាក់  
ពីរឲ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃ ឲ្យពរទឹក តលថ្នាក់បីលើកលើងចំអាស្ស ហើយឲ្យយកសម្បុរក្រត្តនៅប្រេងអំបោះ  
ត្រង់គន្ធពិរតោរ លាពសិត្ត.....សំសំ.....ប្រវែងហាត្ថ២ តាកថ្នកទៅខ្នង ហើយឲ្យសំ.....ហាត្ថ១ទៀត  
ប្រវែងហាត្ថ.....ហើយយក.....ហាត្ថប្រវែងហាត្ថ៥មកពាក់ត្រៀម ហើយឲ្យយកសំពត្តសំ ប្រវែងហាត្ថ ១២ មក  
រុំ.....ហើយខ្នាស់និងអម្ពល ១រូក៏បាន ហាសុបក៏បានរួចហើយឲ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃទ្រង់ប្រាស្តូល សូតកំណាកុសល្យាមាត្រិកា

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៧ ឯច្បាប់និងតំបន់អ្នកតែងតែធ្វើជាយោគីនោះទោះបីក្តីខ្មែរក្តីលែងតែចេះធម៌ តិកិចកាលើកសព្វសង្ការ បានសន្តាដូច  
 ធ្លាប់ធ្វើរកជាម្ចាស់និងអ្នកអារាមអំពីបូរាណមុនមក  
 ហើយចិតសិល រកចិញ្ចឹមជីវិតត្រូវនូវសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធវិញវាវិញធ្វើជាយោគីបាន នោះឲ្យរៀបប្រតិបត្តិបរកអង្គរ កញ្ជើរ ១ ទៀន១ ប្រា  
 ក្ខណ៍១ សំពត្តសំហោត្ត ២ ចំអាម ១ ចេកដែរ ១ ទុំស្និត ១ កុំបិត១ ចប់ ១ គ្រើងប្បាសំម្រាព្វ១ គ្រើងស្នាសំម្រាព្វ១ គ្រើងតំបែ  
 កសំម្រាព្វ១ ស្រេចហើយឯអ្នកធ្វើជាយោគីនោះ ឲ្យអទិស្ឋាន សូមសិលឲ្យចម្រើនមគ្គផល ជូនឲ្យទៅបុគ្គលស្រេច  
 ហើយឲ្យអុចទៀនលើរត្នងហើយឲ្យសូត្រទោះនេះ ។ *imam dighademi uyojemi* ។ ពត៌ង។ ស្រេចហើយឲ្យយកសំពត្តសំរម  
 កចុងធ្វើជាទុំប្រលឹង ហើយសូត្រទោះនេះ ។ *imam dhujjāṇḍemi ujjoye mi* ។ ពត៌ង។ ស្រេចហើយលើកមឈូសលើង  
 ហើយ ឲ្យអ្នកក្នុងក្រុងនោះវាយោគី បន្ទិលពពិលឧត្តរាពារ ឲ្យសូត្រថាត្រូវចេះ ។ *buddhānusati dhammānusati saghānusati*  
*silānusati cāggānusati devānusati uppa samānusati maranānusati kāyagātānusati aṇāpānusati* ។ រួចហើយលើកបុ  
 គ្គលតាក្នុងមឈូស ទើបនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃ...[សូ].....កុសលា សប្បក៍ សូតម្ពាពុទ្ធកុន ធ្វើបុនគ្នាសាធា [លុះ  
 តល្យំនាំបុគ្គលទៅតា...សា.....ក្តី ទៅព្រៀងសំសាន្តក្តី ឲ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសមីអង្គ ១ នាំផ្លូវ សំម្តែងព្រះទ្រតិសាការំ  
 ហើយនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃអង្គ.....តាថាព្រះកុសលាព្រះមាតិកាព្រះសប្បក៍ ឈឺខាងបុគ្គលឯយោគីសូត  
 កាន្តទុំព្រះលិង្គថាត្រូវចេះ *cattārosatipaththānā kāyānussanāsattipaththānā veddānānupassa nāsattipaththānā*  
*cittānupassanāsattipaththānā dhammānupassanā sattiapaththānā* ។ សូតរៀងរាប់តំរាប់ទៅត្រូវផ្លូវនាំមុកបុគ្គល  
 ជាមុកអ្នកព្រៀងលាច បន្ទាបអំពីអ្នកព្រៀងលាចទៅ អ្នកទូលស្បូវភ្នំបូរាណមុកភ្នំលុះតលទៅ សាលាក្នុងយោងរានក្តី  
 ព្រៃសុំសានក្តី ឲ្យនិមន្តអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃ ទ្រង់ប្រាសូលសូត ។ ព្រះកុសលាព្រះករណី ។ ១ និសោត្តឯអ្នកយោគី បោះ  
 ជើងជ្រូកទាំង ឲ្យយកចុងចុះតើមលើង កាលនឹងបោះជើងជ្រូកឲ្យសូតទោះនេះ ។ *suromebaddhadevañca lalā*  
*tabrammadevattā haddayaṇṇarāyakañca hattheparammī surāpādebiṣṣanūkañce vasappakammampasiddhime* ។  
 ព ដង ។ នេះឲ្យសូតបោះជើងជ្រូកទាំង ចុះ ទើបឲ្យយោគីទោះជើងជ្រូកទោះនេះ ។ *ajjaraṃ vattiyamkāyo paththavi*  
*atthiṣesattigaccho apettaviñāno narutthamvaggalimgharam* ។ នាកាលនឹងបូជ្ជាព្រះភ្នំ ឲ្យយោគីលើកកាត់ខ្សែ  
 បោះ ហើយឲ្យសូតទោះនេះ ។ *ahirikam aṇottapam vicchikicchāmiyātti pariyantaṃ tussittabhāvanam gacchanti* ។  
 ព ដងឲ្យកាត់ខ្សែបោះ ហើយយោគី.....ប្រទក្សិនបុគ្គល.....ទៅឧត្តរាពារត្រូវត្រូវកាន្តទុំប្រលឹង ត្រូវស្តាំមកនុំចប់អ្ន  
 កក្នុងក្រុង កាន្តគុប្បភ្នំ.....ហើយឲ្យយោគីសូត[រោះ]នេះ ។ *udetiyāñcakhummāekarājā harissavanopathth*  
*vipphā.....tamñ<sup>o</sup> tamñ<sup>o</sup> namassāmiharissavannaṃ paththvipphābhāsamtayajjaguttāviharemuḍi vasam*  
*yebrāmmaṇāveda.....tame namotecamampākayantaṃ namatthubuddhānam namatthabo dhdiyā*  
*namovittānaṃ.....mattiyā imamsoparittaṃ katvā morocarattisaṇā. apettiyāñca khummāekarājāharissavanna*  
*patthavipphābhāso tamtamnamasā miharissavannaṃ paththvipphābhāsam tayajjagattā viharemaratiṃ*  
*yebrāmmaṇāvedagusabbadhamme temenamotecamampālayanta namatthabuddhānam namattha bodhiyā*  
*namovimattānaṃnamovimattiyā imamsoparittamkatvā mo rovāsakammakappayiti moraparittaṃ* ។ ក្តី ។ សូ  
 តព្រះគថានេះតើប្តីជុំ ហើយជាព្រះភ្នំទៅហោង ។ បើរនិងបូជ្ជាព្រះភ្នំ ឲ្យយកក្បាលទៅឯកើត ..និងទៅផ្ទះក្នុង  
 ទឹក ឲ្យយកក្បាលទៅឯត្បូង បើរនិងកបក្នុងព្រះធរនី ឲ្យយកក្បាលទៅឯលិច បើរនិងទើរលើរលើរ លើរក្បាលតម្លក  
 លើរក្នុងមគ្គ ឲ្យយកក្បាលទៅឯជើងហោង ។ ថាបើរនិងអុជភ្នំបុគ្គល ខែ ស្រាព្វ, ថៃត, មាយិសេរ ខែរទាំងនេះ ឲ្យអុជ  
 ភ្នំអំពីឲ្យឌីតជាមុន ។ ថាបើរខែរ ផុតបុត....ឲ្យអុជភ្នំអំពីបូរជាមុន ។ ថាបើរខែរ ជេស , អសុជ, មាយិទ្ធម នោះឲ្យ

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អុជ្ជក្លើងអំពីឱ្យទុក្ខនិរតិយាមុន ..... ក្លើងអំពីឱ្យបាស្ថិមជាមុន ស្រេច...ព្រះក្លើងអង្គអំប្បាវៃ្នះ  
ឯង.....ហើយឱ្យអ្នកយោគី្យ យកក្កម្រមកគុំមូលហើយ ឱ្យនិមុនអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃទ្រង់ឱ្យព្រះទឹកហើយទើ  
ព្វ.....ទឹក.....ក្លើងបុគ្គលនោះ.....យោគី្យតើទុក្ខនិរតិយា ឧត្តរាពារី ពាជុំហើយ សូត្រភាថា.....នេះ  
ៗ .....*nirodhdho nāmmaṇibānaṃ magolokkattaro magoatthiima smimkāye kesā.... yan..*  
*santipattiyenajivitiyenatayhaṃ tiyenaasitipitakkhā yita sāyitaṃsaṃkhātāparināmmaṇa*  
*ayamvuccatidhātuudhamgāmmā rāggadhogāmmārāggā asāsamma sāsarāggāagacca*  
*garanasirichovāpañāsaccatavāsati sahasakadassagga..sā nina mmāmisirisāhaṃtesaṃ...bbosakhañca adarena*  
*na..miha namākārānabhāvenahantva sabbe uppathhave a.....antarāyā .... vināsanti asseto ៗ .....ស្រេចហើយ*  
*ឱ្យយោគី្យប្រែបបុគ្គល យកក្បាលទៅឯលេចហើយ.....សែនអរោស្ស ក្រវាស្ស ....ទៅ ហើយមក.....ប្រែយក*  
*ក្បាលរូបទៅ.....កើតវិញ ហើយឱ្យនិមុនអ្នកព្រះសង្ឃទ្រង់ឱ្យស្តុលធាតុ .....ទ្វា ព្រឹ.....ៗ*  
*indrādevatā.....*

Verso

- 37–38b **Abhidhammātikā-NP** = braḥ pugulapañatti, braḥ kaththāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaththāna (incipit missing)
- 38b–55b **Ākāravattā B-NP** = braḥ kovatār
- 55b–67b **Ratanamālā-NV** = gun braḥ buddh dāmaṇi° 56 mer jā visèss nās° hoṇ, gun braḥ dhaṛmm dāmaṇi° as° 38 mer cappaḍpūr hoṇ, gun braḥ saṅgh dāmaṇi° 14 mey° srec paripp hoṇ, gun braḥ bud 56 gun braḥ dhaṛmm 38 gun braḥ saṅgh 14 mān dāmaṇi sec braḥ abbhīdhaṛmm braḥ mahā, with the incipit *namomebabūdevānaṃ sabbagarahacadevānaṃ casuriyaṃamuñcattha sasibhūmmacadevānaṃ baddholokambhavissati jīvosukrocamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhamaṇvinassantui sovorāhuketthucamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhamaṇvinassanti*
- 68b–73b **Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (explicit missing)

UB069

FEMC 128-B.06.03.01  
EFEO-FEMC Photocopy 14

1928, monastic library of Vatt Bodhiratanārām a.k.a S'ān, Trabāmaṇ Gar commune, Jön Brai district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, photocopied by FEMC, photocopy photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional ink in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water and mold damage.

36 x 12 cm, 12–14 lines per spread, photocopy of 25 spreads.



Recto

1 Cover with FEMC catalog info and table of contents: ័ ធម៌សូត្របង្កក់ ័ អាការវត្ថា  
 2a-9a dharma sūtra pañcak': *antame jayamaṅgalaṃuttamamṅhenavandeham*  
*saṅghaṅcāduvidhuttamam saṅgheyokha litodoso saṅghokhamatutammamam* ៗ-ៗ យើងខ្ញុំម បង្កើតប្រតិបត្តិការដ្ឋ  
 ព្រះឥន្ទ្រាធិរាជ ស្តេចគុណត្រូវត្រង់រា ទើព្រះឥន្ទ្រាធិរាជស្តេចប្រើព្រះពិស្សន៍ការ តូចុះមកគុណត្រូវឱទ្ធិចិត្តា  
 ទេពិជីនីជីនុក នោះទើព្រះពិស្សនុការ អ្នកបង្វែរកាព្រះសិទ្ធិមកអញសូម ជ្រុះ-ជុន,-បានសូមវិទ្ធិអនុភាព នូវស្សមា  
 តាបិតា នូវខ្ញុំភិរិយា នូវកូនចៅនោះ សូមវិទ្ធិជ្រុះនោះទើយើងខ្ញុំមអញ្ជើញ ព្រះពិស្សនុការអ្នកចុះមកយកនូវភោជន  
 នូវព្រៃរតនៃរំចង នូវលាចទៀន្តុក្សី ផ្ការស្វារម្លូរ នោះទើព្រះពិស្សន៍កា អ្នកប្រើអញធ្លាក់ព្រះកុំម្តងព្រៃបាក់បែកជើង  
 ត្រៃ ចង្រ្រសិដមានព្រះនេត្ត អញព្រាងព្រា ព្រះទ្រាវក្សានុក្ការគួរហោរបង្វែរក្រឡើងតុំមក្រើត តង្កាបញញួរគោត្តទ្រា  
 តូធ្វើទូកកាច្នាត្តផ្ទះពុះតុំមមុំភ្លើរស្រែទុព្តស្នឹងបិដប្តស្រះរំម្យាតម្លូកលើកខ្លោងព្រាព្រាព្រៃជុលកន្តើរចង្កើ បង្វែរ  
 កាប្រសិទ្ធិមកអញឱការមនុស្សប្រម៉ាត ទើព្រះអ្នកប្រើអញឱការមនុស្សប្រម៉ាត ទើព្រះអ្នកប្រើអញកើដណ្តកតិរិ ទើព្រះអ្ន  
 កប្រើអញតេកឆ្នែងតេកស្តាំមលើដី ឱម្មការប្រសិទ្ធិការ ទើព្រះអ្នកប្រសិទ្ធិមកអញ កុំប្តីមានចង្រ្រលើ  
*seyyadidamhu lohulosvāhāya* ៗ សូតអញ្ជើញព្រះពិស្សន៍កាំរួចហើយទើព្រះសូតកុំម្តាយៗ័ ទើព្រះអញខ្ញុំមសូតស្តុត្តិ  
 ជ្រាវទៅព្រះពិស្សន៍ការ អ្នកនិមិតចុះមក អំពីត្រូវត្រង់រា ស្រតិអំពីព្រះជីនីព្រះពិស្សន៍ការ អ្នកបង្វែរការប្រសិទ្ធិមកអញ  
 កុំប្តីមានចង្រ្រលើ តូមានជ្រុះនីពាត ទើព្រះអ្នកប្រើអញអាជ្ជ កាំតក្តកសំម្រុកស្មៅតធ្វើដីតម្រដីដីគ្រិះ ទើព្រះអញអា  
 ជបន្ទុះសើដបារតោហស្ថន សំសំរទើព្រះអញអាជតាសស្តារភិរិក្ខិការ ទើព្រះអញអាជតាសស្ថិតត្រាត បិតផ្ទុះត្រលែងកែង  
 តម្រដីផ្ទុះទ្រាប្រាបស្ថាន ទើព្រះអញអាជពុះតុំមមុំស្រុកទុកព្រា ទើព្រះអញអាជតាកផ្សារទុដតែង សំម្រុកាងម្យើងប្រ  
 តិស្ថាន ទើព្រះអញអាជបតតម្រដីចំម្ការ ប្រដ្ឋពិជិតតម្រដីភ្លើទើព្រះអញអាជធ្វើស្រែហែប្រដ្ឋរក្រោម ទំម្រោមផ្ទះកូម  
 ព្រះទើព្រះអញអាជលើកថ្មរតាត្រក្តញមាមបាសព្រាត ទើព្រះអញអាជកាំតបំម្តុំមព្រះ  
 វិហារ ទើព្រះអញអាជលើកភ្នំមន្តមន្តរុដ្ឋរំម្យាព្រះធាតុ ទើព្រះអញអាជតេកច្រកតន្តដងព្រៃភ្នំមអាទិស្ថាន ទើព្រះអញអា  
 ជលើក  
 ខ្មោចតិរិគោត្តខ្លោង ជាន់ព្រៃជទាត្តទ្រា ទើព្រះពិស្សន៍ការអ្នកចំម្រើសិទ្ធិស្ថានមកអញ ទើព្រះអញអាជបញ្ចុគោតព្យកា  
 នក្មេន  
 តំមត្រនាំប្ត ទើព្រះអញអាជកានតង្កាបតំមបន្ទុះគោតព្យ នូវស្សសារពើរព្រះបរម្យទ្រាទស្សនោសារពើរការកាន់សំមម្រិត  
 ស្តាំមរស្តានី ទុ  
 ផ្តែងម្យបែន លាទ្រនន្ទានូវក្រេតកៀតអាណារបន្ទាកនាត បន្ទាកតូចបន្ទាកទ្ធុ កុំម្យតរុងន្ទារកុំបិតស្វារ ក្រវេនតែកអន្ទដ  
 ជុន ទើព្រះអញអាជពាសភ្នំម ផ្តុំមព្រះវិហារអញលើកតោងក្តារ បន្ទុះតាងយ្យាទុំម្យប័រពត្ត ទុំតផ្ទៃក្រោមទុំម្រោមប្រតិពិ  
 លើកអន្ទដត្រទូង ៗ ទើព្រះអញអាជទុំម្យព្រៃក ចទ្រុកស្នឹងបិដត្រព្យា បង្វែរព្រៃកចង្រ្រកទុន្ទេស្រមុត្តដដប្រតិស្ថាន ៗ ទើព្រ  
 អញលើកតង្ការគួរធ្លាក់បាក់ជុល ប្រកលប្រតិ  
 តបង្វែលតោក បង្កូតខ្លោងតម្រដីចាញ ភ្នំមផ្សំមមុកព្រមតាមត្បង ត្រយូងព្រសូមរសំម្រេចការ ក្បែរក្បែរតាតដហ្វារ ៗ  
 ទើព្រះពិស្សនុការអ្នកចំម្រើប្រសិទ្ធិយមកអញ ខ្លួនអាញញើកុំប្តីមានចង្រ្រលើ ៗ-ៗ ឧម្មកុំកាំម្តសិទ្ធិតាកសិទ្ធិ

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

តែង សិទ្ធិថ្លែងស្តី សិទ្ធិផ្តល់ព្រៀម សិទ្ធិត្រូវអាចារ្យ អ្នកមកប្រសិទ្ធិលើខ្លួនអំព្យនេះ កុំប្តីមានចង្រៀលើ ។  
*seyyadidamnamotassa namodhammassa namosanghassa seyyadidamhulohu losvāhāy*<sup>o</sup> ។ រួចសូតរោះនៃ ។ ឧលុត  
បតបាទា ទោះបីរូបរាងរូបរាបមុកព្រមមុករាប កាតត្បូងត្រឡូងកាតស្មារ ក្រល្លោះសេចកាចឱ្យតាសសសរសាកសព្រែង  
ទើព្វអំព្យខ្ញុំមលាកព្រះត័យលស្នែង សូមជៀជុនផងដែរ កុំប្តីមានអន្តរាស្សី ទើព្វអំព្យខ្ញុំមសូមភោគសំប្បាតនូវទ្រាពូ  
ជុនធាន សូមភិក្ខុបុតប្រាន កុំប្តីមានព្រះហឡែនទាល សលលើហោង។ ឧមរម្លាបស្តាបបង្គាប់អញជាត្រូវបាធាយ  
*seyyadidamhulo hulovāhāy*<sup>o</sup> ។ រួចហើយសូតធីន្យសាន ។ *itipisobhaggavā* ទ្វិជនមេកទ្វិជនត្យ ទ្វិព្រះឥនទ្វិព្រះ  
ព្រម ទ្វិព្រះយមទ្វិព្រះកាល ទ្វិព្រះចិត្តលោកុបាលទ្វិព្រះពុទ្ធខិនៃ ទ្វិព្រះពុទ្ធខិនៃ ទ្វិព្រះធីន្យសាន សូមឱ្យមានដៃ  
មង្គល តង់លកតង់ច្នៃន តង់ព្រះគ្រោះណក តង់ព្រះគ្រោះណៃ តង់ព្រះគ្រោះត្រូវត្រូវ ខ្ញុំមសំពះសូមឱ្យមានដៃមង្គល  
។ *buddho* រំម្លាប *dhammo* រំម្លាប *sangho* រំម្លាប *buddho* កុំចាត *dhammo* កុំចាត *sangho* កុំចាត *buddho* កុំចាត *dhammo*  
កុំចាត *sangho* កុំចាត *buddho* ថតប្ប *dhammo* ថតប្ប *sangho* ថតប្ប [three lines of text crossed out, with  
the incipit note ខុះ and the explicit note ខុះទេ] *buddhobuddhassadhammodhammassasamghosamghassa*  
ពុទ្ធាចង្វាធម្មោចង្វាសំយោចង្វា ។ *malokkhakhaṇī*<sup>o</sup> *malokkhālamkhaṇmākha namaau uanama* ។ *itipisobhagavā*  
*nībbānaṃ paramamsukkhāṃ* ។ *buddho* កុំចាត *dhammo* កុំចាត *sangho* កុំចាត *buddho* កុំចាត *dhammo* កុំចាត  
*sangho* កុំចាត *buddho* ថតប្ប *dhammo* ថតប្ប *sangho* ថតប្ប *buddham* ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *dhammam* ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *samghamṇi*<sup>o</sup>  
ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *buddham* ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *dhammam* ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *samgham* ខ្នាតខ្មៅ *buddham* ធ្លាក់ *dhammam* ធ្លាក់ *samgham* ធ្លាក់  
*buddham* ធ្លាក់ *dhammam* ធ្លាក់ *samgham* ធ្លាក់ *buddham* ធ្លាក់ *dhammam* ធ្លាក់ *buddham* សួន  
ហ្ស *dhammam* សួនហ្ស *samghamṇi*<sup>o</sup> សួនហ្ស *buddhobuddhassadhammodhammassasamghosamghassa buddho* កុំ  
ចាត *dhammo* កុំចាត *sangho* កុំចាត ។ ចេញទៅកុំចូលមកនូវឡែបសែម្មាបន្ទល ។ *nisattonijivossuṇṇī*  
*itipisobhagavā* ព្រះឥនសួនដុបលាស្តេចចុះមកទ្វិព្រៀមទ្វិព្រៀមផែនតែនត្យទ្វិព្រះឥន្ទលៈទ្វិព្រះព្រម ។ រួចហើយសូត  
*sambudhdhe* ប្តីចប្បរួចហើយសូតថាត្បថ្មៃ ។ រួចហើយសូត

9b-17b **Ākāravattā A-NP** (explicit missing)

Verso

- 18a-18b Various scribbled and overlapping line drawings depicting humans and animals
- 19a Line drawing of a monkey with the caption ស្វារសំ
- 19a Bhikkhupātīmokkha [started, but then abandoned by the scribe?] (explicit missing)
- 19a Colophon: ១ ថ្ងៃ ១ ថ្ងៃ ឆ្នាំម្សំញន ឱ្យត្រង់ក្បីក៏ថ្ងៃ ៥ ខែ ១១ នេះភិក្ខុក្រាញកុងនៅវេលាស្អាងសូមបាន ជ្រាព្វ ផ្ទើរមកបងទេះនៅភូមបឹងន្យឲ្យមកលេង
- 19b **Ākāravattā A-NP** [started, but then abandoned by the scribe?] (explicit missing)
- 20a Graffito: [upside-down] ភម្ពដា

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20b Graffito/colophon: លោកក្រាញទៅវលែងព្រែងស្ដែកហ្សឺលោកណារច័ន ទៅ...លោក ក្រាញប័ងទៅលេងក្នុងត្រពាំងជ្រៃនៅជ្រៃកើតខែធុកត្របុតឲ្យបងផួនមើលអ្វីរំនឺទុកផងឯលោកនៅមិនបានទេរ ។ អ៊ិនលីកើតមិនកើត ~~លោកក្រាញ~~ លោកក្រាញប័ងទៅលេងអាលីកើតនៅ ១ សាព្រៃឈ្មោះក្រាញយុមស្រម៉ម៉ឺណេដីង ព្រៃ ។ សុំម្យុត្រកិក្ខុកិក្ខុកុជនូវវេលស្ពាង ១ តុំម្យុត្រលោកកិក្ខុកិក្ខុវេលស្ពាង យុមស្រម៉ម៉ ខណ្ឌស្ដុន ខែត្រកុំមពុជចាមធ្វើ រមកឈ្មោះអ្នកទេះនាងទេះសម្ភារជាតុំម្នីងនូវវេលស្ដុកសារបាញជាទេ ឬ

21a-22b **Dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā / dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā samrāy-br** = brahm prè

22b Unidentified text, as follows: ញរតធោរកវញាតិហំបំអប់ម៉ៈធុបៈឥតិបិកំគីវា សក្កវិបិៈបៈលៈខៈបៈអនិច្ចំអន្តារទុក្ខំអនតតិបិសោសុតោកាយ្យនបស្សណាស្សតិបថាន្ត០ អសំវិសលោពុៈសពុៈកំ ឥតិបិសោកីគីវាបវិស្សមទុក្ខំអាអ៊ិនចំខៈអន្តារនិរោធនិពារនីបិវិខំកខតយង់ចត្តជលញ្ជដឧណតលលលលល

23a Mantras and ritual instructions for writing *bindukappa* on monastic requisites: *immambindhukappamkaromi* នេះព័ន្ធា។ អទិស្ឋានស័យិក្ខ័យថាតូច្នេះ។ *imamsaṅghāṭimadisthānamī* ។ បើអទិស្ឋាន ដីព្វីថាតូច្នេះ។ *imamuttarāsaṅgamadisthānamī* ។ បើអទិស្ឋានស្បង់ថាតូច្នេះ។ *imaṃ antāvāsakaṃ adisthānamī* ។ បើវេលចួនទ្រង់ថ្ការតូច្នេះ ។។ *imaṃ aṅgabuddhanamaditthāmi* បើវេលចួនចំដង្កើថ្ការតូច្នេះ។

*imamkāvayabuddhanamaditthāmi* ។ បើសំម្ពុតនីសិទថាតូច្នេះ។។ *imamnīśanāmadisthānamī* ។ បើសំម្ពុតជូតមុកថា តូច្នេះ។ *imamṃmukhamuñjanacolaṃmadisthānamī* ។ បើសំម្ពុតវសិក្សារតំកង្វតទឹកក្រៀងថាតូច្នេះ ។ *imamvakasātakkaṃmadisthānamī* ។ បើសំម្ពុតស្លៀកលាបកមរម៉មថាតូច្នេះ។ *imambhaṇḍapaṭicchādīmadisthānamī* ។ បើសុម្ពុតបរិក្ខាជាទីអាស្រ័យថា

តូច្នេះ។។ *imamparikkhācolāṃmadisthāmi*។ បើសំម្ពុតបរិក្ខារនុះច្រើនថាតូច្នេះ ។ *im"āṇiparikkhā colāniaditthāmi* ។

23a Mantras and ritual instructions for confession of monastic faults: បើសេក្សាភាអ្វី ្យ២ ធមកឯលោកព្វា.....ថា[តូច្នោះ] ) *pasasī avuso tāāpattiy"o )* *ayatī āvuso saṃvar"ay"āsī )* ....ការ ពា សព្វគុរុល ពា ) *āhaṃāvuso sambuhulānānāvattukā āpatt"ayo āpajjī tātumhe mūlepaṭidesemi ))* *āmaavuso passāmi ))* *sādhusathu āvuso saṃvar"asāmi )*

23b-24a **Ān trai D-NP**

24b Graffito: បើរសេចក្ដីរួចទុំមកកិតព្យ

25a-25b pat vatt samrāy (for the year 2472 B.E.), as follows: ០ *ukāsasirīsabbamassatu* ព្រះពុទ្ធ សក្ខវាដ ព្រះសាស្តាអាតិកន្តានេះកន្លងរម្ងងទៅហើ្យបាន២៤៧២ ព្រះវសាសៃសងខែយ៉ាកន្លឹងទៅបាន១០ខែ សៃថ្ងៃ ្យកន្លឹងទៅបាន៦ថ្ងៃ រិនិងស្រតិសិវិដុជ្ជកាលបច្ចុប្បន្នឥល៉ូន្និះឆ្នាំមសាញនខ្យតឯកសច្ចូលមកក្នុងរដូវគីមហានខែផល គុនពរ្យដថ្ងៃសុកថ្ងៃនេះទុកជាពារវ កុំម្នីត អាទិគុត្តោកាស្រ្តៃ *etaṃsāsanam* មានអង្គសំម្ពេដព្រះមហាក្សរណាចាតិគុន នៅមុកវិញទាត្តនោះនៅសលខាន២៥២៧ព្រះវសាសៃសងខែយ៉ានៅសលខាន១ខែសៃថ្ងៃនៅសលខាន២៣ថ្ងៃ រិនិង ស្រតិសិវិទ្ធាអាឱទិអាទិគុតបច្ចុប្បន្នទ្វារមុនទ្វារក្រៀ វិវិកច្ចុបច្ចុបគ្រុព្យគ្រុនថែចួនសំមន្តនព្រះសាស្តាទ្វារថ្នាក់ព្រះវសា តស្រាចបបូហោង ។។។០

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25b Mantra: [upside down] *sukakakvicaramjhānaṃaraham  
mamajātobuddhoarahamjhānaṃarahamṃittamaraham*

**UB070**  
FEMC d.954

Late nineteenth or early twentieth century, original provenance unknown, perhaps formerly in the monastic library of Vatt Thluk Jrau, Thluk Jrau village, Khcau commune, Kañ Mās district, Kampong Cham province, Cambodia, purchased at Duol Daṃbūn market, Phnom Penh, early twenty-first century, donated to the Bibliothèque EFEO – Preah Vanarat Ken Vong at Vatt Sārāvān Tejo, 2016, photographed by Chheat Sopheak, 2016.

Traditional black and purple ink and pencil in *mūl* and *jriēn* scripts on traditional white *snāy* paper ruled with diluted ink, reinforced with black thread.

Moderate fold and edge wear and moderate water, mold, and insect damage.

37 x 14 cm, 14 lines per spread, complete in 94 N-folded spreads, with four half-spreads missing.

Recto

- 1 Severe water and mold damage; largely illegible
- 2a **Aciram vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciram vata'yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy**
- A-r**
- 2a **Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r**
- 2a–3a **Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā**  
**samrāy-r** = jruoc dīk vīlā e brīk
- 3a–4a **Iminā puññakammena-gāthā/iminā puññakammena-gāthā**  
**samrāy-r** = jruoc bīlā e līāc
- 4a–5b **Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r**  
**r** = namasakā braḥ budh ṭa jā aṃmcās dāṃṇī° 28 braḥ aṅg cūl braḥ paraṃmmanībān kanlan raṃmlaṅ dau hōy
- 5b–6a Padumattaro pūrabbāyaṃ = namasakār braḥ bad ṭa jā āṃmcās dāṃṇī° 10 dīs°, as follows: បទុមត្តរោចបូរព្យាយ អគនេយេចវេរតោ ទត្តិណោកស្សបោពុទ្ធា នេហរតិយេសុមង្គលោ បច្ច័យេពុទ្ធសិខិ  
ចពាយាព្វេចមេជំករោ ឧត្តរេសាក្យមនី ចេវតសានេសរណំករោ បថវិយំកុក្កសន្នោ អាកាសេចទិបង្គំរោ ឯតេទសទិសា  
ពុទ្ធា រាជធម្មសប្បជិតោ នត្តិរោគកយំសោកំ ខេមមសម្បត្តិទាយកំ ទុក្ខរោគកយំ នត្តិសព្វសត្រូវិធំសេតុតេសំញា នេន  
សំលេនសយ្យមេ នទមេនចតេបិមំអនុរក្ខន្ត អរោគិយេនសុខេនច អនាគតសព្វស្សមេត្តេ យស្ស យសស្សិនោ មហា  
ទេវោមហាតេជោ សព្វសោត្តិកវន្តមេ សព្វទិសពុទ្ធមង្គល ចរិត្តិ ។

6a Buddho ca majjhimo setṭho = namasakār brah̄ bad guṇ jā kantāl brah̄ arahan gā<sup>1</sup> jumviṇ dāmaṇ<sup>o</sup> 8 dōs<sup>o</sup> oy<sup>o</sup> sūt sabv thāai jra duk sok dāmaṇ<sup>o</sup> buoṇ, as follows:  
buddhocamajjhimosettho sārīputocadakkhane pacchimepicaānando uttaremoggalānako kondañocapūbbabhāgge  
bāyabbecabhavampati upāsīnēharaticāne aganeyekassapo rāhulocevaisāne sabbetebuddhamāṅgalā  
yoñatvāpūjitoloke nidukkhnirupaddhavo mahātejosadāhontu sabbasotthibhantume  
sabbadissabuddhamāṅgalaparittam

6a–8a **Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r** = prèr sec kḍiy iss avijār

8a **Yaṃ dunnimittam ca/yaṃ dunnimittam ca samrāy-r**

8a–9a List and translation of various sets of Pali texts (to be continued), as follows: នៅ

កន្លះឈ្មោះស្រាត្តារមត នៅផ្ចិតឈ្មោះសក្ខិទាតាមគ្គនៅចុងតង្កើមឈ្មោះអាណាតាមគ្គ នៅករឈ្មោះអារហត្តមគ្គ នៅ  
បង្កើយឈ្មោះនីពាន្ត ។ ឯលើរផ្ចិតឈ្មោះអាបោជាត្ត ស្តាំមផ្ចិតឈ្មោះបច្ចវីជាត្ត ខាងធ្វើផ្ចិតឈ្មោះវាយោជាត្ត  
ខាងក្រោមផ្ចិតឈ្មោះដៃដោរជាត្ត នៅកន្តាលផ្ចិតឈ្មោះអាកាស្សជាត្ត ។ នេះឈ្មោះឈានទ្វា ៥ ខាងឯព្រះធម្ម ឲ្យ  
ឥស្សបុគ្គលប្រុះស្រៀនយកឲ្យបានឲ្យស្គាល ។ អកុសលមាន៥ kamacchānda គឺវិចិតលំមអៀងត្បោកាំម៍ bhyāpādda  
គឺវិចិតចង់ពៀរព្វំស្សា ១ thinamidham គឺខ្លីលង្វ័យដេក១ uddacam គឺវិចិតស្រីបព្វំវាកស្សារធម្ម ព្វំដើរផល១  
vicikicchā គឺវិចិតចលេសព្វំយកធម្មជាវិហារម្ម១ ahirikam មិនឲ្យតឹងខ្លាចនឹងបាប្ប១ aṇotapam មិនឲ្យខ្មាសបាប១  
utthacam ឲ្យចិតនោះរឹងរូស១ lobhho កុំឲ្យលោព្វរង្វើងទៅត្បោតណ្តារ១ diṭṭhi កុំឲ្យគិតខុះថាជាត្រូវ១ māno កុំឲ្យប្រមា  
តគ្រឿ ១ dosa កុំឲ្យចង់ពៀរនឹងគ្រឿ ១ icchā កុំឲ្យឈ្នានិសគ្រឿ micchiriyaṃ កុំឲ្យកុំណេញ ១ moho កុំឲ្យរង្វើង ១ kukkacam  
កុំឲ្យព្យាង្សៗ ១ thinam កុំឲ្យខ្លីល ១ midham គឺវាខ្លាឲ្យងង្វ័យតេក ១ vicikicchā កុំឲ្យមានចិតនោះប្រមាត គឺតមន្តិលនឹង  
គុនសីលទាន្ត ១ ។ នេះឈ្មោះបាបព្រះធម្មទ្វា ១៤ ទូរ លោកឲ្យរង្វាបសំម្លាប់ នឹងព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធិ បើសំម្លាប់ព្វំបានលើ វា  
កើតជាបាបព្រះធម្ម ៣៤ ទូរ នោះព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលទូន្មានឲ្យសត្វផងរៀនយក។ doso ជាសត្រូវនឹងមេតារ ឲ្យសំម្លាប់  
នឹងសត្តិអារម ។ moho ជាសត្រូវនឹងកូរណារ ឲ្យសំម្លាប់នឹងវិរិយះ។ lobhho ជាសត្រូវនឹងមុតុតារ ឲ្យសំម្លាប់នឹងខន្តិយ។  
diḍhi ជាសត្រូវនឹងឪបេត្តាឲ្យសំម្លាប់នឹងប្រាជ្ញារ។ ទើព្វនឹងបានតឹងគោរពប្រនីប្រាហោង ។ បាណាជាតុទិក ១២ គុនមា  
តារ ។ អទីនាជាត្តិ២១ គុនអាពុក។ kāmme ជាតុកើង ៦ គុនស្តេច។ musā ជាតុខ្យល ៧ គុនញាត។ surā ជាតុអាក្ស ១០  
គុនត្រូវគុននីពាន្តហោង។ ឯឧប្បព្វាព្រះពុទ្ធព្យាប្បវត្តបាណ្ឌវចេញទៅ១២ ហាត ។ ឯឧប្បព្វារសែម្មារ៤ហាត។ ឯឧប្បព្វារ  
អាវាម្មព្យាប្បវេនិចេញទៅ៥០ ហាត ។ ឯឧប្បព្វារព្រះចៃត្បិ ៨ ហាត។ ឯឧប្បព្វារតើមពោរ ជីនាគ្គព្រិក៦ហាត ពីចុងមៃ  
កចេញទៅ។ ឯឧប្បព្វារត្រូវបាណ្ឌយ១០ហាត ។ ។ ម្យទៀតឲ្យស្គាលបារាជីកគ្រហស ប្រុះស្រៀនទ្វាហ្យាមាន២៨។ គឺ  
រលួចប្រពុនគ្រឿ តេកនៅនឹងភិក្ខារឯទុំមុន៥ខែហ ១ តេកនឹងភិក្ខារ នាថ្ងៃចូលព្រះវសារ ១ នាថ្ងៃជួបបិស ១ នាថ្ងៃ  
ចេញព្រះវសារ ១ នាថ្ងៃត្រូវទ្វា២នោះ ១ រួមវាស្មារនឹងភិក្ខារ នារត្តវាប្បបង្គមព្រះខែហ១ រួមវាស្មារនារត្តវាសង្ក្រាន្តថ្ងៃទ្វា  
៣ នោះ ១រួមវាស្មារក្នុងមន្ទលវេល ១ រួមវាស្មារក្នុងខែតវេល ចំម្យា៥០ ហាត ១ រួមវាស្មារក្រោមតើមពោរ ១ រួមវាស្មារខាង  
ព្រះចៃត្បិ១ រួមវាស្មារនឹងស្រៀប្រាហ្មចារិ ១ រួមវាស្មារនឹងម្យា បង្កើត/ក្លេក ១ រួមវាស្មារមុន្ទល ជាម្យនឹងម្យាមីដទ្វា២ នោះ  
១ ទុកសត្វតូចទ្វាមក្រៅ

10a [one half-spread missing here]

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10b–11b List and translation of various sets of Pali texts (continued), as follows: pāṇā បាណា គឺសត្វប្រកបនៅគុន ។. adinā ឈ្មោះព្រះភេតមាន ២៥ នានាកង្ក័បពួក គឺលួចវត្តមានវិញ្ញាសផ្សេងៗ មាន៥ ekabhantapañcaka គឺលួចវត្តមានវិញ្ញាសជាម្តងមាន៥ sahatthikañcaka គឺលួចព្រហ្មនៅតែងជាម្តងមាន៥ pabbayoggapañcaka គឺលួចប្រកបនៅខ្លួនឯង ជាតើមមាន៥ thayāvahaṛapañcaka គឺថ្ងៃចិត្តគិតលួចគេ មាន ៥ ។. kāmesumicchā មាន២០ māturakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារម្ស ១ piturakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារអាពុក ១ matupitūrakkhita គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារទ្វារម្សអាពុក ១ bhāturakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារបោង ១ bhagginirakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារផ្ទុំខ្លួន ១ nātirakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារញាត ១ gotarakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារដៅ ១ dhammarakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីរកក្សារធម្ម ១ ស្រ្តីទ្វារដុំពួកនេះឈ្មោះ aggamānāyathānāsārakkhā គឺស្រ្តីគេបានលើកខ្លួនស្មារហើយ sapaṛidandā គឺស្រ្តីអាជ្ញារស្តេចនឹងយកទៅថ្ងៃ ១ dhunakkhitā គឺស្រ្តីលោះនឹងទ្រាព្ត ១ chandavāsini គឺស្រ្តីគេចូលចិត្តនឹងគ្នារហើយ bhoggavāsini គឺស្រ្តីគេបានឲ្យទ្រាព្តរបស់ នៅគ្រើងផ្ទះជាតើម ១ paṭavāsini គឺស្រ្តីពីបាក់ហើយគេឲ្យសំពត់ ១ uppāduppaṭavāsini គឺស្រ្តីម្តងអាពុកគេយកតែទ្វារព្រលុកទឹកសំបត្ត ផ្សំមគ្គារជាផ្លូវប្រពន្ធ ១ ubhaggacampitāni គឺស្រ្តីតាកក្នុងព្រលើក្បាល ១ sahañbhīyā គឺស្រ្តីគេយកជាប្រពន្ធខ្ពីតមហើយ ១ dāsibhiyā គឺស្រ្តីខ្ញុំមគ្គារគេយកជាប្រពន្ធ ១ thajāhuta គឺស្រ្តីគេចាប់បានកន្តាលសង្គ្រាម ១ មហតិកា គឺស្រ្តីកាសារ ១ ស្រ្តីទ្វារ ១ ឈ្មោះ: kāmme ផ្សំមនឹង aggamānāyathāna ទ្វារ៨ផងត្រូវជា ២០ ឈ្មោះ: kāmmeṣumacchācarā ហោង ។. musāvādā មាន២ pharassavāta គឺស្រ្តីរូបិវិវិវស ១ pesuñavāta គឺស្រ្តីពាក់សោះសួន ១ samphalavādda គឺស្រ្តីពាក់សប្តល់ព្ត ១ musāvāda គឺស្រ្តីពាក់ព្រាង ១ ។. សុរាមាន ៥ piṭṭhasurā គឺស្រ្តីរកគេធ្វើនឹងតំបៃ ១ puvasurā គឺស្រ្តីរកគេធ្វើនឹងនុំម ១ udandasurā គឺស្រ្តីរកគេធ្វើនឹងបាត់ម្រាម ១ kināpakkita គឺស្រ្តីរកគេបនចុះនៅពូជពិស្ស ១ sambhāvīpakkita គឺស្រ្តីរកគេធ្វើនឹងគ្រាបស្តាយ នៅផ្ទៃស្រម៉ែ ១ ។. មេរយ្យមាន៥ pūphāsavo គឺមេរយ្យគេធ្វើនឹងផ្ការចាន ១ ផលាសវា គឺមេរយ្យគេធ្វើនឹងផ្ទៃស្រម៉ែនៅកន្លែងព្រៃ ១ mudhdhāsavo គឺមេរយ្យគេធ្វើនឹងទឹកអំពៅនៅទឹកឃ្នុំម ១ phalāsavo គឺមេរយ្យគេធ្វើនឹងសំបុកឈើ ១ sabhārasamyuttābī គឺមេរយ្យគេធ្វើនឹងស្ប គ្រើងថ្នាំមផងទ្វារពូជ ១ ។. នេះឈ្មោះសំរសិលទ្វារ៥ តជារតើមជាប្តុះជាគុល ចប់បបូរតែរបុណៈឯងហោង ។. បើបរសបុគុលឯណាម្សព្វកានព្វក្សារគ្នា ព្រះបន្ទូលនេះហើយនឹងធ្លាក់ទៅ នុកទ្វារនោះទ្វារ ៨ នោះកព្វលែងលើយ ។ ។

12a–15a **Ān trai A-NP**

15a–27a **Ākāravattā B-NP**

27a–34b **Ratanamālā-NV** = gun brah buddh dāṃṇi° is° trūv 56 mey° neḥ gun brah bud ṭā jā aṃmcāss, gun brah dhāṛmm dāṃṇi° is° 38 mey°, with the incipit: *namomesabbadevānaṃ sabbakarāhacadevānaṃ casuriyaṃamunīcattā sasibhūmmacadevānaṃ baddholokambhavissati jīvosukrocamaḥālābham sabbadukkhamañvīnassanti sovorāhuketthucamaḥālābham sabbadukkhamañvīnassanti.* (explicit missing)

35a [one half-spread missing here]

35b–36a Mantras, as follows: ។. ukāsa atthikā āñāgattamaṃdosam paccupānamverākamma..... nāāhosikammaṃ saṃvaroti ។. ឧកាស ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណា ក្រែងប្រមាតតោរនូវ ក្សត្រាវិចិត្តា មនោក្ខា ក្រែងខ្ញុំបានប្រមាត ពីមូសែនកោដ្ឋកាល អាណន្តជាតិសង្សារ ក្រែងខ្ញុំប្រមាត ព្រះ ពុទ្ធ/ធម៌/សយី នូវត្រូវឧបដ្ឋាអាចារ្យ នូវគុនបីមាតាតារ ញាតិការ ព្រឹត្តិទេវា អាគាស្យទេវា នូវស្សគ្រូបសត្វអម្រឹត្តិបារក្សិយ នោះខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណារ សូតមុនមេសារក្សារសិលចំរើនជូន

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ឱវត្តលទៅវេ អ្នកក្នុងនោះកូសមឱវត្តបានប្រកប ត្បែរនូវសំបុកត្រឡប់ប្រកានោះហោង។ ឧកាស ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណារ សូម  
អាវុទ្ធនាព្រះពុទ្ធកុកុសន្ទោ រក្សាជាតុទិក ១២ គុនមាតារ ។ ព្រះពុទ្ធកោនាគ្គិម្មនោ រក្សាជាត្តិ ២១ គុនបីតារ ព្រះពុទ្ធ  
កស្សបោពុទ្ធនោ រក្សាជាតុភ្លើង៦ គុនស្តេច ព្រះពុទ្ធសិរិសាឱវមនីគោតម្ម រក្សាជាតុឱវលទ្ធា គុនញាតិការ ព្រះ  
ពុទ្ធព្រះសីហមេត្រី រក្សាជាតុអាកាសទ្ធា ១០ គុនត្រូវឧបដ្ឋារអាចារនូវគុននីព្វានហោង ។. ។. ។.។.

36a Colophon: នេះក្រាងលោកត្រូវចោរ អត្តិការវេត្តកជ្រៅ ក្នុងនាព្យាជាមុន្តលសោភាណី បាន  
សសីរព្រះធម្ម៍ ព្រះមហាល័យព្រះមាតុគុន ព្រះការដា ព្រះរត្នមាលារ ចប់បបូរវបុណល្វេ ។. ខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នាស្មារលា  
អូបាបពៀរ ដែលខ្ញុំបានធ្វើមកអំពីអាព្វិត្តជាតមុនក្លឹយ ក្នុងបច្ចុបណជាតនេះក្លឹយ សូមផល្លាដែលខ្ញុំសូសីរក្រាង ព្រះ  
ធម្មទ្ធាស្សសូមព្រះគុនរក្សារ ទ្រទ្រង់សូមឲ្យរួចអំពីអាព្យាភូមទ្ធា ហើយដែលខ្ញុំ សូសីរស្មារលាទ្យោ នៅក្នុងក្រាងនេះពាក្យខ្ញុំ  
សូមឲ្យជាប់ លុះតលតែស្សដីវិតក្រាងនោះហោង ។.

36b Subhūto = vā n vā t phlāp, as follows: *subhūtocamahāthero mahākāyo... hādharo  
nillavanomahātejo pavasantuvalāhakābhidanayyapajunhanidikā kassanāsāyākā kaṃsokā yarandehimuñcasoka  
pamuñcayya. channāmekutikā sukkhānivātovassadevayaththā sukkhamcittammesusamāhitam  
vimuttamātāpiviharātavassadevāti.* ។. នេះវានវាតផ្លាប ។ នេះឲ្យសូតអញ្ជើញទិកភ្លើង តាថ្នាំព្យាបទនេះ ឲ្យសូ  
តបាន ១០៨ ចប់។.

36b Mantra and ritual instructions: *smimbalīcamahāthero yakkhādevābhijūjito  
sorahopaccayādīmhi ahaṃvandāmitaṃsadā. smimbalīcamahāthero devatānarapūjito sorahopaccayādīmhi  
mahālābbhamkarontume. smimbalīcamahāthero lābhenaduttamohoti sorahopaccayodīmhi  
saddāsothhibhavantame.* រឿងព្រះគាថាព្រះសិម្ពលីនេះឲ្យសែកតាមកុំល្ងាច្រៃអទិត៦ចន្ទី ១៤ អង្កា ៨ ពុទ ១៧ ប្រហស  
១៩ សុក ២១ សៅ ១០ បើនិប្រថ្នារកអ្វី កបានតូចសេចក្តីប្រថ្នាហោ។

37a–37b Mantra and ritual instructions: ① *sunātumebhantesamgho  
yāvātāvasamantānimittā kittikāyadisamghassa pattikallaṃsamṅgho etehinimittehi uposathth  
pamukkhaṃsammaneyya esāñatti. sunātumebhantesamgho yāvattāsamantā nimittākittikā  
samghoetehini mittehi uposaththpamukkhaṃsammanatti yassāyasmattokhamatti  
etehinimittehi uposaththapamukkhaṃsammanatti sotuṇhassa yasanakkhamattisobhāseyya  
samghena etehinimittehi eposaththapamukkhaṃ khamattisamṅghassa tasmātunhī  
evametamdhārayāmi.* ។ នេះនិងស្រដៀងបញ្ចុះគោលសូរេចហោង ។ ព្យាសំយ៉ាកព្រះវិហារ ទក្សិននិងឱ  
ត៍រេហ ហាត្តន្យត្យនិងព្យាប ៦ហាត បស្ចិម៥ហាត្ត បូរ... ហាត្ត អគ្គេនិងស្សានពហាត្ត។ ហើយឲ្យយកខ្សែទាញខ្លួនជ្រុង  
ទ្វារ កុំឲ្យញាចញ្ជាជ្រុងលើ ឲ្យមើលគំនិតត្រឹមត្រង់ល្អហឲ្យមែនទែនស្មើ ។

38a–47b [blank]

Verso (backwards with respect to the recto side, i.e. proceeding from the recto cover but in the opposite direction back to the verso cover)

48a–48b [blank]

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- 49a Colophon: ៖ ព្រះធម្មជីវ្យសៃដ្ឋា ជឿឈ្មោះអ៊ឹម ជាមេកាំធ្វើរបបទុកប្រគេនលោកគ្រូវរណត្ថកជ្រៅ ខែតកងម្ស សូមអាណិតគុត ទ្រៅវងមុក សូមដូចប្រថ្នាវ តែកុសល *nīrbānapaccay'ohorantu* ។
- 49b [blank]
- 50a–50b Illustration of the ornaments on a gate, with the caption: ១ យ៉ូឈើ ដូចគ្នា
- 51a–69b Further illustrations of various architectural ornaments, with short captions
- 70a–70b [blank]
- 71a–71b Diagram of a world system with Mt. Sumeru at the center, including the surrounding mountain ranges and continents, with the caption: នេះតំណើរផែនទីរឿងភ្នំមព្រះសូមែ រុបពុត្តរាជ្ជតំមាន កុំពុស្សជុំវើ ៨០០០០៤០០០)) ទីបូរិទិធ្វិបស្នាងប្រាក ជុំពូរធ្វិបសាងកែវទងប្រលិត្ត អាមរ គោយាន្យ ធ្វិបស្នាងកែវ។ ឌីតកំរោធ្វិបស្នាងម្សមានភ្នំមសត្តបរិកន្ទ៍ទ្រាំ៧ ជាទ្វីគ្រុបទី១៤ជុំវិញឯចន្លោះសង្កាត់ស្រមុតសិពន្ធុរ ឯក្រៅជុំវិញស្រមុតលានសាត់រងក្រៅជុំវិញនោះកន្លាបចក្រវាល នេះឲ្យតិដរឿងជាទំនងទ្វេ ថាបើនិដនិ្យាយឲ្យពិស្តារ ទៅច្រើន ណា ។។
- 72a–73b Diagram of a world system, focusing on Mt. Sumeru, the Sun, the Moon, and the cardinal directions
- 73a–73b Diagram of a world system, focusing the continents and minor islands, with the caption: អំព្យភ្នំមព្រះសូមែរទៅធ្វិបទ្រាំ ៤ នោះមានទិកស្រ មុតទ្រាំ៤ជាទី មានកោះព្រៃ៧ជាទីទើពូបានតលទៅធ្វិបមនុស្សលោក កយើងនេះ ។
- 74a–74b Diagram of Mt. Girivānkata labyrinth, with the caption ៖ ឯភ្នំមនេះឈ្មោះហោតិរ្យ វង្គត់ ថាបើអ្នកឯណាបានធ្វើរបុន ឲ្យសូតត្នាយ៉ាងនេះឯងឲ្យធ្វើរត្នាត្រួត៥ ចំម្លុះ ៥ ប្បមុន ៥ គ្មេត ឲ្យគ្រុបភ្នំមទ្រាំ៥ ធ្វើ រព្រះរាជវេលជុំមវិញ ទ្រាំ៤ ជ្រុងហើរធ្វើររៀនទេវតា ៨ ទីហើរឲ្យពាត្ត សីម្ពុជុំមវិញហើរអំឡោះខ្នុកគ្រុបភ្នំមកុំឲ្យខ្លោះខ្លោះលើបើរៀបស្រេច សព្វគ្រុបស្សហើរទើពូប្រើឲ្យទេវតានៅព្រះអរិយសំបិទ្រាំហ្សាត្រៃបាន ៨/១០ អង្គក្តីឲ្យសូតព្រះទិពូមុនព្រះមហា សុម្ប អញ្ជើញស្សទ្រាំទេវតាទី១៨ហោងធ្វើរ ២/៣/៤/៥ ថ្ងៃក្តីត្នាសទ្រាំហើរតាច្នុងសយាយនារជាសូរេច្ចហោង ។
- 75a–76b Further diagrams of labyrinths
- 77a–77b Diagram of nine small mountains, with Mt. Yamarāja in the center, with caption: ៖ ឯភ្នំមទ្រាំ៩នេះ ព្រះយុំមរាជ ទ្រង់ព្រះទ្រានឲ្យស្សមនស្សផងទ្រាំហ្សា ថាបើវាកើតជុំមើរឧត្តត្នា ឲ្យធ្វើរភ្នំ មនេះដូចមានឈ្មោះក្នុងភ្នំមនោះឯងហោង ថាបើនិដធ្វើរភ្នំមនោះ ឲ្យធ្វើរកុំពុស៦ ចុំអាមហោង ឲ្យធ្វើរនៅខ្នុមអ្នកតា ច្បាស្រុក ទើពូនិដរូចអំព្យក្សែអាស័ននោះហោងកុំប្បិសន្ទិះលើ ឯភ្នំមនោះឲ្យយកសំពត្ត៤/៥ ហាត្តក៏បាន សំពត្តឲ្យ ឯកឲ្យច្រលុកក្រហុតូចស្សង ហើរឲ្យសំសិរឈ្មោះស្រុកភូមបន្ទានៗតាកក្នុងសំពត្តនោះយកទៅថ្ងាភ្នំមទ្រាំ៩ នោះសូម អាយុះជីវិត ឯសំពត្តតាកគ្រុបភ្នំមទ្រាំ៩ នោះឲ្យតាកឈ្មោះភូមស្រុកឈ្មោះខ្លួន ប្រពុនកូនចៅបុន្ទានៗ ដែលបានទៅធ្វើរភ្នំ មទ្រាំស្សនោះ ថ្ងាទៅតូចមានឈ្មោះ នៅក្នុងភ្នំមនោះ បើអ្នកឯណាបានសាងភ្នំមនេះហើរថ្ងាជុំពោះស្មោះទៅភ្នំមកង ចន្ទ១/មាត្រ១ ភ្នំមកង ក្រវេល១/ ពេជ្រនិទន្ទ១ ភ្នំមពិកសរណាម១ ភ្នំមធម្មចក្ខ១ ភ្នំមយក្ខសមុត្តិ១ ភ្នំវេសវន្ទ១ថាបើបា នធ្វើរស្មោះជុំពោះថ្ងាទៅតូច្នោះហើរ និដបានរូច អាសន៍ភ្នំក្នុងគ្រាវក្រហនេះឯងហោង ។



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78a–81a Another diagram of a Mt. Girivāṅkata labyrinth, with the extended caption and ritual instructions: ៖ ឈ្មោះហៅក្នុងព្រះគ្រឹះ រុក្ខតំបរិពុទ្ធ ដែលព្រះបាទស្រីវរុក្ខ ព្រះអង្គទៅសាងសិលា និងនាងមេត្រីជាទីរូបហោស្ថាន កុំសានព្រះរាជហាឡៃ បាស្រ្យសោងទុកចិរិយ៉ាហោង ឯក្នុងទ្វារស្រីសុន្ទរ ១៦៥ ហោង ។ ឯក្នុងគិរីវង្សតម្កលនេះ បើនិងធ្វើរនោះឲ្យពូនក្នុងទ្វារខាងក្នុង ហើយឲ្យសង្ការលើក្នុងទ្វារនោះ ឲ្យនិមុនព្រះ ទៅដាក់លើរនោះ ឯក្នុងទ្វារនៅក្រោមរនោះហោង ។ នេះនិងស្រដៀងអំពីខ្នាតទុងទ្វារអង្គរ កាំម្លើយព្រះវិស្ណុ ក្បាល ស្រីខ្លួនស្រីរកន្សស្រីចង្កៀងស្រី ស្រីស្រីបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជពាណិជ្ជ ទីទិសខ្លួនសុំណាំមក្បាលឯបន្តប្រវែងហាត្ថ២០ ត្រចៀក ទ្វារប្រវែងប្រាំទ្វារ ចំអាម១ ធ្នូប២ ឯត្រចៀកតូចទីទិសចំអាម១ បន្តប្រវែងអារ១៣ គ្របតែរម្កង បើហោចទៅចំអាម១ ក៏បានឥន្ទ្រសិរិយដូចគ្នា ។ ក្នុងព្រះសុតក្បាលលើនឿល្បើង ខ្លួនល្បើង ចង្កៀងស្រីស្រីបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជ ឯខ្នាតតូចក្នុង ព្រះវិស្ណុ ទ្វារប្រវែងទ្វារទីទិសត្រចៀកតូចទ្វារតូចគ្នា ។ ឯទុងកាំម្លើយព្រះត្រៀមប្រើដក់ឲ្យព្រាប ក្បាលប្រាសាទខ្លួនប្រាសាទ តងកន្សប្រាសាទ ចង្កៀងស្រីស្រីបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជ ឲ្យល្បើស្រីស្រី ឯខ្នាតតូចក្នុងព្រះវិស្ណុ ដែលហោង ។ ឯទ្វារស្រីស្រី ក្នុងព្រះអង្គធម្មថ្វាយព្រះឥន្ទ្រាធិរាជ ក្បាលក្រហមខ្លួនក្រហម ចង្កៀងស្រីស្រីបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជ ឯខ្នាតតូចកាំម្លើយព្រះ វិស្ណុ ដែលហោង ។ បើបុគ្គលឯណាបានសាងកាំម្លើយទ្វារនេះ ថ្វាយទៅសុំជំនុំមសត្វិរាជ ហើយឲ្យស្គាលសិល្បៈចាំ សិល្បៈនិងបានស្បើយស្បើយទុកសោកពោធិ៍ក្សេ ហើយនិងបានទានព្រះដមានបុនហោង ។ ឯទុងកាំម្លើយកាលបូព្រឹកអាធិ កនៅមហាសេនកាល ថ្វាយទៅព្រះពុទ្ធទ្វារព្រះអង្គ នៅព្រះធម្មទ្វារ៨០០០០៤ព្រះធម្មទ្វារនោះហោង ។ ឯខ្នាតទុ ងនោះសំពុទ្ធខីប្រវែង៥ហាត្ថ ទីទិសហាត្ថ២ធ្នូប១ ឯក្បាលល្បើងទុំមខ្លួនបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជព្រះវិស្ណុ ឯខ្នាតត្រ ចៀកទីទិសហាត្ថ១ ប្រវែងហាត្ថ៥ ឯត្រចៀកតូចធ្នូប២ ទីទិសចំអាម១ បន្តប្រវែងហាត្ថ១ ពេញខ្នាត បើកន្សខ្លួនទុំហុំមសុំ មណាំមបុនក្បាលឯប្រវែង២០ហាត្ថគុត្ត បើដលនិងបងហូតនៅក្នុងទ្វារកន្តាល់ទ្វារ ជាទ...ង បើនិងយកទៅតាក់ផ្កាសំ ម្រាបវេល ឲ្យវាសអំពីយូលស្បើយព្រះវិហារ ក្បាមពាក់បានហាត្ថ៦ ក៏បាន នៅទីបូរចំព្រះភ័ក្ត្រព្រះពុទ្ធរូប បានផលអនិស យិ ១៨ អសំខ្សែ ។ ឯកាំម្លើយ ៤ នោះបើយកទៅតាក់ ជាស្រីម្រាបវេលត្នាកាំម្លើយក្នុង ក៏បានផលអនិសយិ ១៨ អសំខ្សែ ថាបើខ្លះឲ្យពុំប្រាជ្ញាទៀងទាត់និងធ្លាក់ទៅនឹងកមហាអវិច្ឆ័យហោង ។ ឯទុងសិលាទេវតាទេវបុត្ត ទ្វារមហ្មេនសត្វិរាជឈ្មោះ ហៅទុងសត្តប្តីក្នុង ថ្វាយទៅសត្វិរាជទេស្សបរម្យ ឯខ្នាតទុងទុំហុំមចំអាម១ បន្តប្រវែងហាត្ថ៥ ដុំម្លើយដូចកាំម្លើយទ្វារ ឯទុងព្រះចុក្ខា មុនីថ្វាយព្រះកន្តាល់ព្រះភ័មានបុននៅព្រះចុក្ខាមុនីព្រះកាលព្រះធម្មី ព្រះគុដ្ឋារព្រះព្យាព្រះភ័រុនព្រះព្រៃស្រប នៅស្បើយទុំមទេវតារ ឯខ្នាតទុំហុំមចំអាម១ ក្បាល១ ខ្លួន៣ កន្ស១ ប្រវែងហាត្ថ៥ ចង្កៀងស្រីស្រីបែងបញ្ចពាណិជ្ជ ឯទុងសត្ត ប័ក្រប្រកាន្តិដ្យ ថ្វាយទៅព្រះអំប្បាលខ្សែចស្រេចជាទ្វារនិងនាអាត្មារឲ្យបានឲ្យសុក ឯទុងសិលា៥រក្សាសិក្ខាបទុក្ខន្ទ ខ្លួន ប្រវែងហាត្ថ៤ ទុំហុំម៤ ច្រៀកយកព័រ៥ព័រ អំពីក្នុងព្រះវិស្ណុ ។ ឯទុងសាងដង្កើរក្នុងក្សេឡោះសត្តបរិក្ខន្ធ ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី រត្នត្រៀមថ្វាយ ឈ្មោះហៅទុងរមៃតក់តូចទុងដ្យ ឲ្យគ្របទ្វារក្នុង១២១ នោះឯងហោង ។ បើបុគ្គលឯណាបានសាងក្នុង មតោះបន្តកជ្រុងក្នុងព្រះស្រីមេ នៅកាំម្លើយទ្វារ នៅទុងតូចមានឈ្មោះទ្វារគ្រប តបគុនព្រះ ពុទ្ធ/ធម្ម/សយិ នៅស្បើយ វតាទ្វារមហ្មេនសត្វិរាជ នៅគុនម្បាអាពុកត្រូវបាឡា និងបានទាននៃអង្គព្រះបាធម្មត្វិរាជ ព្រះសិអាមេត្រីស្រីពោធិសត្វី និងបំបាត់អ្នកសុលអ្នកអំពើបាបក្នុងនាលោក្សិយនេះ និងបានសេចក្តីសុខជាឲ្យពិធីក្នុងនាលោក្សិយរៀងរួច ដលស្ថានបរិ មនីព្វានសម្បូរយោហោន្ត ។ បើបុគ្គលឯណានិងសាងក្នុងសាងទុងនេះឲ្យរៀងស្រដៀងក្នុងធម្មឲ្យដឹងគុនឲ្យស្គាលគុនស្គាល លទ្ធស្រី ហើយឲ្យស្រីថ្វាយដូច្នោះ ។ ខ្ញុំមបង្គំមគុន បុនត្រូវលើរលុន ប្រតោខ្ញុំមនៃបាធីនិងក្បួនច្បាប់ សន្តាបធម្មនៃ ជាពុទ្ធិ ហនៃ ត្បិទគុនត្រូវតាប ។ គុនព្រះមតា គុនព្រះបិតា អញខ្ញុំគោរព ទូលទុកតាកលើ សិរិសាស្យសព្វ ថ្ងៃខ្ញុំគោរព

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

គុនកាំម្ពីយរាហ ។ ឲ្យសូតតាតងម្លៃថ្លៃជារុំពួកគុនសព្វថ្ងៃទៅហោង ហើយឲ្យអាវិទូនានីមុនព្រះពុទ្ធ/ធម៌/សមី ។ បូ  
ពិភ្លើខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាក្រាបថ្ងាបង្គំម ជុំពោះត្រង់អង្គព្រះសិអាមេត្រី ស្រៀបរម្មពោធិសត្វនៅព្រះធម្មវិស្ស  
ទ្វា៨០០០០៤ពាន្ត្ត្តនៅព្រះកម្ពីរនៅព្រះអរិយសមិយដងទ្វាហ្ស អញខ្ញុំមព្រះកូរណាក្រាបថ្ងាបង្គំមទូលសូមអវិទូនា  
នីមុនព្រះបរម្យព្រះអង្គត្តិជ្ជាអំបោះព្រះធម្មត្តិជាអំបោះ ព្រះសំយិត្តិជាអំបោះ សូមអវិទូនានីមុនព្រះបរម្យ មកវាក្យាអញ  
ខ្ញុំមនៅបុត្តកិរិយារត្តិរៀងទៅហោង ត្បីទព្រះបាទសុជំនុំមឲ្យកែនកងជ្រើះរៀបរក មនុស្សស្រៀក្មេងច្បងដងទ្វាហ្ស និង  
ទៅដង្ហែរព្រះត្តិមានបុននោះអញខ្ញុំមព្រះកូរណាក្រាបថ្ងាទៅព្រះធម្មព្រះព្យាប្រាជ្ញាចៀះអង្គអញខ្ញុំមនៅបុត្តកិរិយារៀងទៅ  
ហោង ។ ថ្ងាបង្គំមពចបង្កម្លៃថ្លៃហោង ។ បូពិភ្លើអញខ្ញុំមព្រះកូរណាក្រាបថ្ងាបង្គំមជុំពោះនិកទៅព្រះអង្គត្តិជាអំ  
បោះទ្វា៥ព្រះអង្គព្រះធម្មត្តិជាអំបោះទ្វា៨០០០០៤ពាន្ត្ត្តនៅព្រះអរិយសមិយដងទ្វាហ្ស អញខ្ញុំសូមស្មាល្ហាទោះនិងអូបាប  
ពៀព្រំរៀងអំពីព្រៀងរៀងមកដល់សល្ហដ្ឋះ បាបនោះឯងមកម្សង្កើត ខ្យលមាអស្សរទេវទាត្តិបុំភ្នាតឲ្យអាបយោបល់  
ឆ្ងលសេចក្តី ស្រត្បិព្រំត្រូវនិងក្បួនជួនលើលុសខាតខុះបាបនោះឯង ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាក្រាបថ្ងាបង្គំមទៅព្រះធម្មវិស្ស សូម  
ព្រះ (explicit missing)

81b [missing]

82a–86b Drawing of the Mt. Pañcasattati labyrinth, with extended caption and ritual instructions:

១នេះឈ្មោះហៅក្នុងបញ្ចសត្តិ ថាបើអ្នកឯណានិងចង បានមគ្គផលច្រើនក្តី ទោះនិងប្រថ្នាទ្រាព័រយុបុនយុស្សក្តីជា  
ទ្វីមនៅនាលោក្តីនេះក្តី ទោះមានបាបគ្រោះជាទុំមុនដល់ស្លាប់ ចងឲ្យមានជីវិតវិញក្តី ទោះស្តេចចៅឲ្យកើត  
កល្លិយុកវិបត្តិនិងបងព្រះនីត្តិក្តី ទោះស្រុកទេសកូមស្មានលំនៅជុនបទ្វឯណាក្តី កើតមានឧត្តបាជុំម្លើរស្លាបកច្រើន  
ហើយនិងចងឲ្យបានសេចក្តីសុភវិញ ទោះនិងឲ្យដេចអូបាពៀវរវៀហអំពីបរម្មជាត្តិមុនក្តី ទោះនិងសងគុនបញ្ចព្រះ  
ត្បិទ្វា៥ នៅស្សទេវតាសន្តប្រាហ្មទ្វាមូហ្មើនសក្តិរាជសិងបានហោង បើអ្នកឯណានិងធ្វើហើយ ឲ្យរកព្រៃសំសានស្មានស្លាត់  
ហើយចូកច្រាជុំរៀងឲ្យរាបស្មើរល្អហ ហើយឲ្យរាសីជារ ៤ជ្រុងចិត្តរស្សស្មើរប្រវែង១២ ហាត្តក៏បាន ១ពាក់បាន ១៥ក៏បាន ធ្វើ  
ជាជ្រុងសារពើស្តត្តាក្បួននេះហោង ហើយឲ្យលើកថ្នលកុំពុស ១ ចុំអាមឯទីទិដ្ឋលនោះ១ ចុំអ្នានិម្បា ឯផ្លូវធ្លាទុំ  
ហំម១ហាត១ចុំអ្នា ទុន្យារក្នុងមកន្តាល ១ហាត១ចុំអ្នា ឯទុន្យារក្នុងមកន្តាល ៤ ជ្រុង១ហាត១ទោម ឯទុន្យារក្នុងធ្លាវិទ្ធា៨កុំ  
ពុស១គុក ឯទុន្យារក្នុងតូច៧២នោះកុំពុស១ចុំអ្នាពាធ្លាប់ ឲ្យបោះទុន្យារលើរខ្នងថ្នលឲ្យគ្រប៨៥ នេះហៅបញ្ចសត្តិ  
ហោងតូចក្បួនត្រូវរៀងក្នុងនោះឯងហើយ ឲ្យជុន្តនដ្បិច្ចាកពូនជាត្នម ។ ន ១២ ។ មោ ២១ ព ៦ ទ្វា ៧ យ ១០ ។ អរិ  
យសំដ្ឋ ៨ ធ្វារ ១០ បញ្ចខន្ត ៥ ជាត្ត ២ មគ្គ ២ ទ្វាស្សត្រូវជា ៨៥ ហោង នេះហៅបញ្ចសត្តិ ។ *ukāssaahambhante  
nimundam saccayosabbapāpakamma saccayosabbadosam vināssanti ahamasukkhitā mundulamariddanam  
karommi.* ។ នេះនីមុនដ្បិខ្សែច ឲ្យយកទៀន១ ធ្នូក១ ត្រូវ ១ ទៅក្រាបថ្ងាបង្គំម សូតតាត្តានេះពចបង្ក ហើយជីកយកទៅ  
ពូនក្នុងហោង ។ ឯនិងយកដ្បិពូនក្នុង ឲ្យយកត្រូវឲ្យខែហ ខែហព្រឹកឲ្យយកព្រឹកឲ្យបួរ ខែដេស្តយកឲ្យអគ្នេរអាសា  
ធ្នូយកឲ្យទក្សិន ស្រាបយកឲ្យនិត្តិ ដុត្របុត្រយកឲ្យបស្និម អាសុចយកឲ្យព្យាប កាដិកយកឲ្យឌីត្តិ មាយ្យិយកឲ្យស្សាន  
បុះយកឲ្យអគ្នេរ មាយ្យិយកឲ្យបស្និម ដល្ហនយកឲ្យទក្សិន ចៃត្តយកឲ្យឌីត្តិ ។ ឲ្យជីកយកមកពូនសួនសាងជាត្នមព្រះ  
ចៃត្តិ ស្រេចហើយឲ្យធ្វើព្រះរាជវល្លាត្ត ៨ ទង.....តាកឲ្យទ្វា៨ ឲ្យធ្វើរៀន ៨ ស្រេចហើយធ្វើរស្មាធម្ម១៣ តាកគ្របក្នុ  
មទ្វីម ហើយនីមុនព្រះគុំម្តែងសំយិទ្វា៨ ព្រះអង្គមកគុដជាប្រធាន ហើយឲ្យអាចារ្យដទៀនធ្នូឧទ្ទិស្មានបុំបួសក្នុងសូតតា

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

ថ្កានេះ ។ *ukāssaahambhante sabbesaccayo bbahusukkhāṃ cettiyāmmundulāṃ pabbajjāṃsacca yo*  
*bbahuñāṇṇaṃ sammādiyāmi. dati, tāti* នេះអទិស្ឋានក្នុងស្រេចហើយ អប្បិយអវិទូនាសិលរួចហើយ អ្នកព្រា  
សំយិឲ្យសិលស្រេចហើយ ឲ្យអាចារិបក្សអញ្ជើញទេវតា ទើពលោកសូត្រចំរើននៅព្រះទិព្វមុន ព្រះមហាមេត្រី ចន្ទបរិគ្គ  
សូរបរិគ្គ  
ស្រេចព្រះទិព្វមុនហោង ។ លុះព្រឹកលើងឲ្យរៀបចង្កាន់ព្យាទៀប ស្តកចំអាប១ បង្កងម១ ទិកផ្តិល១ ហិបស្វារ១ ទៅវេរ  
ថ្ងា

ចង្កាន់ក្នុង បាឡីថាដូច្នោះ ។ *ukāssimasmiṃthāne imāneverabhattāni badddhapamukghassa dhammapamu*  
*kghassa niyādemā. duti, tāti* វេចង្កាន់ក្នុងស្រេចហើយ រៀបចង្កាន់តុកគ្រុបអង្គ ៤អង្គក៏បាន ៨ អង្គក៏បាន ឯរុន្តាបតុកចំ  
អាបក្តីបងអេម្បី ទិកផ្តិលក្តីហិបស្វារក្តី នៅស្សចំណិរ្យទ្វារនោះតូចគ្នាទ្វារស្សហោង ។ *ukāssaimasmiṃ bhikkhusaṃghassa*  
*parisuddhaṃ silamayāṃ saṃghassa haritvā nisare ammhākāṃ ukāssako tumhāyena immāniverabhattā*  
*bhikkhusaṃghassa niyādemā. duti, tāti*

ទើពប្រគេនលោកសព្វគ្រុបហើយ ទើពលោកសូតពាហ្ម័នចប្បហើយ ព្វហូរទេវរួចហើយ *yathā sabbetiyo bhavatu* ស្រេច  
ហោង ។ ទោះអ្នកឯណាមានបាបគ្រោះថ្នាក់តលស្លាប នោះឲ្យធ្វើវេននៅទីព្រះស្រុក មុកវេនក្តីមុកកូមក្តី នៅថ្ងៃចូលឆ្នាំ  
មទ្វា ៣ ថ្ងៃ ឲ្យធ្វើរបុនពូនក្នុងក្បួននេះហើយ សូតមុនព្រះមហាសូម្បែជ្យឲ្យ សង្កនទេវតាទេវព្រាក ព្រះឥន្ទព្រះ  
ព្រហ្ម ទ្វារមហើនសក្ខិរាជនិងចុះមកឲ្យព្វមុន្តលស្សឲ្យ ជ្រៃចេស្តារឃ្លោះស្សបាបគ្រោះ ស្សរោគ្តាក្សាជ្យ ក្នុងក្សវិល្យជា  
អាហោសិក្ខាស្សហោង ។ ហើយទោះមានពៀវវៀក្នាំ បាបអំពីបម្រុងជាត្តមុន្យ និងល្អោ.....ហោង ហើយអ្នកនោះបានផល  
អន្តិសយិដកោដ្ឋ កាលកើតមកមានរូបប្រព្រៃ ប្រកបនៅបញ្ចពិត្តកល្យណិ .....ប្រាជ្ញារមានសម្បត្តិសម្បូរ ឥសូរសក្ខិតា  
ជាទេវតារប្រសើរដួបឥតមានទេវតាឯណានៅស្មើរលើ បើរចយុតចុះអំពីទេវតារ មកកើតជាមនុស្សលោកនេះ សឹង  
កើតពូត្រកូលមហាចក្ខុពាក្ខិរាជ ៥០០ ជាត្ត ជាស្តេចខទេស្សរាជ ៥០០ ជាត្ត ជាស្តេចឯករាជ៥០០ ជាត្ត ជាត្រកូ  
លព្រាហ្ម ៥០០ ជាត្តជាត្រកូលសៃដ្ឋី ៥០០ ជាត្ត ជាអ្នកប្រាជមានចិត្តថាសាទ្វារ អាជធ្វើរបុនមគ្គផលនោះក្នុងថ្ងៃ ចូលឆ្នាំ  
មទ្វា៣ ថ្ងៃនោះឲ្យរៀបធ្វើការផងសូតស្រ្យចំណង វិវៀក្នាំតូចទ្រំម ធ្វើចិតខ្សែមខ្សានឲ្យបានតូច រួចឆ្នងក្នុងធ្វើរបុ  
នបន្សំមស្តាបធម្មិទេស្តារ ឲ្យសូតស្សាលាទេវក្នុងខ្លួនអាគារ ។ ទោះឲ្យទានក្នុងថ្ងៃចូលឆ្នាំម ១ បានជាមូហើនគុនវិញ ឲ្យ  
ទានក្នុងថ្ងៃឧបោសថនោះ១ បានជាអនន្ទគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានក្នុងក្រុក១ បានជា១០០ គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានថ្ងៃសីល៨ កើត/រោជ  
បានជា ១០០ គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានថ្ងៃចន្ទគ្រោះសូរគ្រោះបានជាអនន្ទគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានស្នមឥត្តសិលនោះបានជា១០០ គុនវិញ  
ឲ្យទានអ្នកកាន្តិសិល៥ នោះបានជាមូពាន្តិរិដ៥០០ គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានអ្នកត្តិកាន្តិសិល៨ នោះបានជា ៥ ពាន្តិគុនវិញ ឲ្យ  
ទានស្តម្ភ បានជា១០០០០គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានភិក្ខុបច្ចុជនបានជា ១៥០០ គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានភិក្ខុបានស្រាត្តា បានជា៥ហើន  
គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានអ្នកបានសុក្ខិទ្វារនៅអ្នកដមានប្រាជ្ញារតិដធម្មិ បានមូសែនគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានអ្នកត្តិបានអាណាតាបាន  
ជា ១កោដ្ឋគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានអ្នកត្តិបានអរហត្តបានជាមូលាន្ទគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានព្រះបច្ចេកពោជ្យ បានជា១កោដ្ឋគុនវិញ  
ឲ្យទានព្រះពន្ធត្តិជាអំបោះ១បានជា១០០ កោដ្ឋគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានក្តាលជុំនុំមសំដ្ឋី១ បានជា១០០០ កោដ្ឋគុនវិញ ឲ្យ  
ទានព្រះសំយិថ្ងៃសិលឧបោសថ១បានជា១ ហើនកោដ្ឋគុនវិញ ឲ្យទានសំយិជាត្ត១ បានជាមូសែនកោដ្ឋគុនវិញ ឲ្យ  
ទានព្រះសយិកាលចេញបរិវាស នៅអ្នកប្រាជអាជប្រគោណែរផ្លូវសូរ បញ្ជាញផ្លូវនិព្វាន ប្រាបផ្លូវ...បឲ្យរៀបបង្ក បាន  
ជាអាខាភិទ្យិហោងឲ្យទានព្រះសំយិក្រាសិល បានផលពុំស្មើនិងឲ្យទានថ្ងៃសិលខ្ញីបោសថ..... ពុំស្មើនិងឲ្យទានក

Appendix I: Catalog of Manuscripts

ន្តាលជុំនុំមសំយិ ឲ្យទានកន្តាលជុំនុំមសំយិ ព្វស្មើហនិងឲ្យទានព្រះសង្ឃ កាលចែញពីរបរិវាសនោះឈើ ។ ឯបោះបោះ  
ក្រវាសំម្រម ក្នុងឱ្យអារាជនោះបានផល ១០០ កាល បោចស្មៅក្នុងឱ្យរត្យគីសំម្រមឈើព្រៃ ជុំម្រាបព្រះវិហារបានផល  
អន្ទិសយិមូពាន្ទ័គុន ឲ្យទានក្រចេះឈ្មោះនៅត្រើងពីរតោរផង បានផលអន្ទិសយិមូសែនគុន ឲ្យទានកុំម្រាលអាស្នារ ១  
បានផលអន្ទិសំយិ ១០០ គុន ឲ្យទានត្រៃយានជុំនៃ១បានជាមូពាន្ទ័គុន ឲ្យទានផ្ទះ១ បានជា ១ចុំហៀងកាល ឲ្យទា  
នជុំរៀស្សវេស្នទុក១ បានជាមូពាន្ទ័គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានខ្លះឆ្នាត្តទាំយូរបានផល ៥ ពាន្ទ័គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានត្រៃធម្មានៅត្រៃ  
រទាំផ្តោះ ១ បានជា ៦ ពាន្ទ័គុនវិញ ឲ្យទានប្បទិកមហូបចុំណិរិកោជុនអាហាផងបានផល ១ អនន្ទគុន សំដ្ឋសាល្យាឲ្យ  
ទាន បានផល១ចុំហៀងកាល សាងព្រះវិហារ១បានផល១កាល សាងសុធូបព្រះសាធ្ធិបានផល ២ កាល លើកអាង្គ  
ថ្វាប្បព្រះបានផល ៣ កាល ក៏ព្រះចែត្យបានផល៤០ កាល ជីកស្រះឲ្យទានបានផល១ សែនកាល្យ ទោះជីកអន្ទងឲ្យទាន  
ក្តី ទោះសងរាន់តាកទិកឲ្យទានក្តី ទោះធ្វើអាស្នារឲ្យទានក្តី ពូនថ្មលឲ្យទានក្តីយ

87a-94 [blank]

## **Appendix II: Corpus of Texts**

### **Introduction**

For each text in Appendix II, a brief description of the primary language, meter, length, date, origin, and possibility of related texts is given, followed by a listing of sources, such as leporello manuscripts (including the **UB** running number, the spread numbers, any titles given in the manuscript, and other relevant notes from Appendix I), short-format palm-leaf manuscripts, long-format palm-leaf manuscripts (with FEMC codes or other codes, as applicable), handwritten notebooks, printed Khmer books, printed Thai, Lao, or Burmese books, previous editions, and previous modern-language translations. This brief description and bibliography are followed by a summary, ranging from one sentence to several paragraphs depending on the complexity of the text.

The corpus itself is preceded by six tables that collate information about the 195 texts in a convenient format for reference and comparison. The first two tables provide information on the titles of the texts, including the titles I have chosen, their translation in English, and, when applicable, the title used by the FEMC. Four further tables present additional information about each text, including its frequency in the corpus, length in stanzas, certain or probable date of composition, authorship, and ritual function.

Appendix II: Tables

Table 1: Text Titles Arranged in Khmer Alphabetical Order by Type (Appendix II Order)

<b>Title</b>	<b>FEMC title</b>	<b>English Title</b>	<b>Type</b>
Anattalakkhana-sutta-CP		Discourse on the mark of not-self	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Āditapariyāya-sutta-CP		Discourse explaining burning	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Isigīli-sutta-CM	Isigīlisūtra	Discourse on Isigīli	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Girimānanda-sutta-CP	girimānandasūtra	Discourse to Girmānanda	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Tatīyagīlāna-sutta-CP	mahācundattherabojjh aṅga	Third discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Dutiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	mahāmogallānatthera bojjhaṅga	Second discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Dhajaḅḅa-sutta-CM		Discourse on the top of the banner	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP	dhammacakkappavatta nasūtra	Discourse on the turning of the wheel of the Teaching	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Paṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP	mahākassapatttherabojji haṅga	First discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Paṭhamamaranassati-sutta-CP		First discourse on the contemplation of death	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	mahāsatiṭṭhānasūtra	Great discourse on the foundations of awareness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Aciraṃ vata yam kāyo-gāthā-CV		Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body”	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)
Anekajātī samsāraṃ-gāthā-CV		Stanza beginning with “For limitless births in saṃsāra”	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)
Ājānāyīya-sutta-CM	ājānāyīsūtra	Discourse on the Ājānāyīya protection	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Parābhava-sutta-CM	parābhavasūtra	Discourse on downfalls	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Maṅgala-sutta-CM	maṅgalasūtra	Discourse on blessings	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	mahāsamayasūtra	Great discourse on the meeting	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Añitappaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP		Passage for reflection on the past	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Abhinappaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP		Passage for reagent reflection	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Abhidhammamātikā-NP	abhidhamma-mātikā	Table of contents of the Abhidhamma	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)

Appendix II: Tables

Ākāravattā A-NP	ākāravattāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā B-NP	ākāravattāsūtra braḥ sāriputta	Ākāravattā, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā C-NP	ākāravattāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā D-NP	ākāravattāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version D	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā E-NP	ākāravattāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version E	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai A-NP	ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma	Recitation of the Three Baskets, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai B-NP	ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma	Recitation of the Three Baskets, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai C-NP		Recitation of the Three Baskets, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai D-NP		Recitation of the Three Baskets, version D	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Īpi so 10 dis-NP		“Thus he is called” in the ten-directions	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Īpi so that A-NP	Īpi so thata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Īpi so that B-NP	Īpi so thata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Īpi so that C-NP	Īpi so thata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Dasajāti-NP		Ten births of the Bodhisatta	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Dvattinsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP		Meditation on the thirty-two parts of the body	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Dhammakāya-NP	braḥ dhammakāya	Dhamma-body	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Buddhābhiseka-NP	buddhābhiseka	Consecration of a buddha image	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP	maṅgalacakkavāḷa	World-encircling wall of blessings	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Rāp' ṭhān-NP		Numbering the realms	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakkaṃmaṭṭhāna-NP		Physical and non-physical meditation	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Sabbadāsāsa-mettāphāraṇa-NP		Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Sahassanaya-NP	sahassanaya	One thousand meanings	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)

Appendix II: Tables

Aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna	Stanzas on the eight great sites	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Aṭṭhamapūjā-gāthā-NV		Stanzas for Aṭṭhamapūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Aṭṭhavīsatiṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV		Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Ājānāyīya-paritta-NV		The Ājānāyīya protection	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Cullajayamaṅgala-NV	cullajayamaṅgala	Short victory blessings	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV		Stanzas of the homage octet	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV		Stanzas for Māghapūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Ratanamālā-NV	Itipisoratanamālā	Garland of jewels	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Viśakhapūjā-gāthā-NV	viśakhapūjā	Stanzas for Viśakhapūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV		Stanzas beginning with “sakkatvā...”	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	sattamahāṭṭhāna	Stanzas on the seven great sites	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	sambuddhe	Stanzas beginning with “sambuddhe...”	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Uṇhissavijaya-NM	īvadāna	Victory of the cranial protuberance	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	mahāmeghasūtra	Guardians of the six directions protection	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
Bhāsītovāda-NM		Uttered admonitions	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
Mahāmetti-NM	mahāmetrī	Great text on goodwill	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	sec-kṭī prē aciraṃ	Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body;” bilingual version A	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	sec-kṭī prē aciraṃ	Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body;” bilingual version B	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r		The discourse on the mark of not-self, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r		Stanza beginning with “Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things;” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Iminā puññakamma-gāthā/iminā puññakamma-gāthā samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prē iminā	Stanzas beginning with “By this meritorious act;” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānanda samrāy	girimānanda sūtra	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This Discourse to Girimānanda”	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)



Appendix II: Tables

Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «ṭī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with ‘As for this Discourse to Girimānanda’	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This discourse is called”	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/ cakkhum samrāy-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of non-self perception	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/ dvattimsākār samrāy-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of thirty-two parts of the body section	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Dhammakāya/ dhammakāy samrāy-r	braḥ dhammakāy	The Dhamma-body, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/ namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prè namo me	Stanzas beginning with “I honor all of the buddhas,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Paṭicca samuppāda/ paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prè avijjā	Dependent origination, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Brah buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/ braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r		The ten buddhas of the future, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/ yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r		Passage beginning with “Whatever evil actions,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/ yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prè yaṃ dunnimittaṃ	Stanzas beginning with “Any bad omen,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prè ye keci	Stanzas beginning with “Any and all breathing beings, be they small,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/ saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r		Stanzas explaining refuge, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Smā lā dos pāpakamm/ smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	smā lā dos pāpakamm	Absolution of faults and sinful karma, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Cetiya vandana-gāthā/ cetiyavandana- gāthā samrāy-br	dharmaṃ namassakār	Stanzas in homage of cetiyas, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)
Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/ jayamaṅgala- aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas on the eight victories, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)

Appendix II: Tables

Dharmadesanāyacana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas for inviting the preaching of Dhamma, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāthī verse (-br)
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/ samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas from the Samantapāsādikā, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāthī verse (-br)
Namo-aññhaka-gāthā/namo-aññhaka-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas of the homage octet, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the Great Nāga, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā/sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the bodily relics, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Thvāy grōṇi sakkāra:/thvāy grōṇi sakkāra: samrāy-7		Presenting objects for offering, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7	lpök dhammasaiveg	Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7		Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
dharmaṃ yog-y/ch	dharmaṃ yog sēm	The Dharma of union	II-11 Thai mixed yāni 11 and chapān 16 verse (-y/ch)
kāyagātā-k	lpök kāyagātā	Body-connected foundation of awareness	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
caṅkūm kēv-k	lpök caṅkūm kēv	The jewel canine relics	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṇ) «rāl' rūp dāmi as»-k		The three marks, beginning with "All bodied beings"	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhandho»-k		The three marks, beginning with "The aggregate of form"	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k	lpök trai lakkhaṇ	The three marks, beginning with "Painful is this body!" Cāp Bin version	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purān-k	lpök trai lakkhaṇ	The three marks, beginning with "Painful is this body!" old version	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» sankhep-k	lpök trai lakkhaṇ	The three marks, beginning with "Painful is this body!" abbreviated version	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

Appendix II: Tables

trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khīlāṅ»-k	lpök trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body! The body’s pain binds tight”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccāṃ»-k		The three marks, beginning with “The body is painful, the body is impermanent”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccāṃ rūpaṃ»-k	lpök trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “The body is impermanent”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «suor gi aniccā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “We should reflect on the impermanence”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «dhammasaiveg»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “These are the stirring teachings”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «oh o rūpā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k		Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body, how impermanent!”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «oh o aniccā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, how impermanent!”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
namassakār brah buddh 10-k		Homage to the ten buddhas of the future	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
phcāṅ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k		Defeat of Māra, beginning with “At midnight’s hour”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
phcāṅ' mār «yōi khñuṃ paṅgam»-k	lpök phcāṅ' mār	Defeat of Māra, beginning with “We bow down”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
madhupāyās-k		Rice-milk offering	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
lā pāp «bhanite bhagavā»-k	lpök lā pāp	Taking leave of sins, beginning with “Venerable Blessed One!”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
lā pāp «muoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k		Taking leave of sins, beginning with “In addition, I take leave”	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
hau brajñi-k	hau brajñi	Calling the souls	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
sarasōr pñiṭhabī-k	lpök pñiṭhabī	In praise of the earth	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
sarasōr brah pād sām-k	sar-sōr brah buddhapād	In praise of the Buddha’s right foot	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
sarasōr brah pād chvent-k		In praise of the Buddha’s left foot	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
girimānand samrāy rī sūtr-br	lpök girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “As for this discourse”	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
thvāy pāy piṅq-br		The offering of balls of rice	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)

Appendix II: Tables

dhammasaiveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br		Stirring teachings, beginning with “Permit me, O Venerables and good people!”	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
dhammasaiveg «olḥ o guor saiveg-br»	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, what a shock, what a fright!”	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
namo namasakār-br		<i>Namo</i> pays homage	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
pacchimbuddhavaçana A-br		The final words of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
pacchimbuddhavaçana B-br	lpök yo vo	The final words of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām tap»-br	lpök padum	Lotus flower offering, beginning with “I unite my ten fingers”	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
padum thvāy phkā «yön khñuṃ mñ citt trek»-br		Lotus flower offering, beginning with “Our hearts are filled with joy”	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
bāky prakās mun ārādhanaḥ dhammadesanā-br		Announcement prior to inviting to preach the Dhamma	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
māravijāy paricched-br		The chapter on the defeat of Māra	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
sikkhāpad prāmpī-br		The eight precepts	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
sira: on-br		Bowing my head	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
akkharā 33-br		The thirty-three consonants	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” translated into Khmer	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
aṭṭhadisa buddhamaiṅgal-br		Eight-direction maṅḍala of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
ānisaṅs ākāvattā-br	lpök ānisaṅs ākāvattāsūtr	Benefits of the Ākāvattā	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
ārādhanaḥ dhammadesanā-br		Invitation to preach the Dhamma	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
kruṇ bālī pök brah netr-br	lpök kruṇ bālī pök brah netr	King Bālī opens the eyes of the Buddha	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
jāy dis-br	jāy dis	Victory blessings from the eight directions	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
jāy bar thmī-br		New victory blessings	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
jāy ratanatrai-br		Victory blessings of the Three Jewels	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)

Appendix II: Tables

jāy lön phdah-bn			Victory blessings for a new house	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
dasajāti-bn			Ten past births of the Buddha	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
dharma yog-bn	dharma yog		The Dharma of union	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
jāy kūn go-m			Victory blessings of the calves	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagati verse (-m)
jāy bar 10-m			Victory blessings of ten kinds	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagati verse (-m)
jāy bar puon-m			Victory blessings of four kinds	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagati verse (-m)
namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas of the homage octet, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas on the Great Nāga, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas for Visākhapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
sattamahatthāna-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas on the seven great sites, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
aṭṭhamahatthāna-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas on the eight great sites, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
aṭṭhamipūjā samrāy-4			Stanzas for Aṭṭhamipūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
aṭṭhavaiṣaṭṭibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
kumārabilāp-7			Prince Jāli's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
khmoc yam sṭāy kroy-7			The corpse cries out in remorse	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
catussamvajanīyaṭṭhān-7			Four places to be stirred by	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
ṭāk' dan' sāsanā-7			Lowering the Buddhist flag	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(n) «aniccā rūp yōh min dien bit»-7	lpök trai lakkhan		The three marks, beginning with "Pity our bodies, truly impermanent!"	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(n) «aniccā sankhār-7» A-7	lpök trai lakkhan		The three marks, beginning with "Impermanent is this life," version A	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(n) «aniccā sankhār-7» B-7			The three marks, beginning with "Impermanent is this life," version B	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(n) «aniccā sankhār-7» C-7	lpök trai lakkhan		The Three Marks, beginning with "Impermanent is this life," version C	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
dukkarakiriṃyā A-7	lpök dukkarakiriṃyā		The Bodhisatta's austerities	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
dukkarakiriṃyā B-7			The Bodhisatta's austerities	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

Appendix II: Tables

daṃnuoñ chaddant-7		Chaddantā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ nān kesani juop niñ putr-7		Queen Kesinī's lament upon meeting her son	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapas' jaiñ kev-7		The jeweler's wife's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7	Ipōk daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā	Queen Mahāmāyā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ madri-7		Madri's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ mtāy suvaṃṃasām-7		Suvaṃṃasāma's mother's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ subhadrā-7		Subhadrā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ suvaṃṃasām-7		Suvaṃṃasāma's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
daṃnuoñ ānand-7		Ananda's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
pañiām brah buddh-7		The Buddha's admonitions	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
pañiām mahāmāyā-7		Queen Mahāmāyā's admonitions	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
parimibbānakathā-7	Ipōk parimibbānakathā	The story of the Buddha's Parimibbāna	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
barīnanā pañcakkhandh-7		Description of the five aggregates	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7		Reflection on the five aggregates	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
bimbābilāp-7	Ipōk bimbābilāp	Bimbā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
bimbāviyog-7		Bimbā's abandonment	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg kān' tñi-7		The Lord practices strictly	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg tāk' brah janm sañkhār-7		The Lord limits his lifespan	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg phcāñ' mār-7	Ipōk phcāñ' mār	The Lord defeats Māra	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7		Verses for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
ralik gūṃ mātāpitā-7		Recollection of the virtues of parents	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
sathuppabbajjā-7		The going forth of the Teacher	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
sādhāraṇadharm-7	Ipōk trai lakkhan	Dharmas common to all	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
sāmaññalakkhana-7		Ordinary marks	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
sukhumalakkhana-7		Subtle marks	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
saṃvegavattu 8 y'āñ-7	Ipōk saṃvegavattu	Eight things to be stirred by	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
anattalakkhana samrāy-7		The discourse on the mark of not-self, translated into Khmer	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

Appendix II: Tables

oh o brah mātāpitā-7		O my august parents!	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
khvān' nāg-r	khvān' nāg	Calling the souls of the ordinand	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7	lpök girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with "This discourse"	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
dharma rapā-k/4r		The Dharma of repentance	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
lpök kammatthān-br/bn	lpök kammatthān	Poem on kammatthāna	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
sakarāj khè thhai trailakkha(t)-k/4r		The year, the month, the day, and the Three Marks	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
sakarāj salpāt-4r		The year and repentance	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
hai me namo-k/r4		O! I pay homage	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
anak mīy saīsār-k/4r		My dear mother	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous

Table 2: Text Titles Arranged in English Alphabetical Order

<b>Title</b>	<b>FEMC title</b>	<b>English Title</b>	<b>Type</b>
Abhidhammāmatikā-NP	abhidhamma-mātikā	Table of contents of the Abhidhamma	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Abhiñhapaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP		Passage for requent reflection	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” translated into Khmer	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV		Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body”	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)
Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	sec-kū prè aciraṃ	Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version A	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	sec-kū prè aciraṃ	Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version B	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Ādittapariyāva-sutta-CP		Discourse explaining burning	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Ākāravattā A-NP	ākāravatāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā B-NP	ākāravatāsūtra braḥ sārīputta	Ākāravattā, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā C-NP	ākāravatāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā D-NP	ākāravatāsūtra	Ākāravattā, version D	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ākāravattā E-NP		Ākāravattā, version E	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
akkharā 33-br		The thirty-three consonants	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)
Ān trai A-NP	ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma	Recitation of the Three Baskets, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai B-NP	ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma	Recitation of the Three Baskets, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ān trai C-NP		Recitation of the Three Baskets, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)



Appendix II: Tables

Ān irai D-NP	Recitation of the Three Baskets, version D	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
anak mātāy saṁsār-k/4r	My dear mother	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP	Discourse on the mark of not-self	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7	The discourse on the mark of not-self, translated into Khmer	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r	The discourse on the mark of not-self, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Anekajātī samsāram-gāthā-CV	Stanza beginning with “For limitless births in saṁsāra”	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)
Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r	Stanza beginning with “Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
ānisaṁsa ākāravatā-br	Benefits of the Ākāravatā	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	Invitation to preach the Dhamma	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
Ājānāyīya-paritta-NV	The Ājānāyīya protection	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Ājānāyīya-sutta-CM	Discourse on the Ājānāyīya protection	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Aṭṭappaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	Passage for reflection on the past	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
aṭṭhadisaḍḍhammaṅgal-br	Eight-direction maṅḍala of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	Stanzas on the eight great sites, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)
Aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	Stanzas on the eight great sites	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
aṭṭhamipūjā samrāy-4	Stanzas for Aṭṭhamipūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)
Aṭṭhamipūjā-gāthā-NV	Stanzas for Aṭṭhamipūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
aṭṭhavisatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4	Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)
Aṭṭhavisatibuddha-gāthā-NV	Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
bākya prakāsa mun ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	Announcement prior to inviting to preach the Dhamma	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7	Description of the five aggregates	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)
Bhāsitvāda-NM	Uttered admonitions	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7	Reflection on the five aggregates	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)
bimbābilāp-7	Bimbā's lament	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)

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bimbāvīyog-7		Bimbā's abandonment	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg kān' ūñ-7		The Lord practices strictly	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg phcāñ' mār-7	lpòk phcāñ' mār	The Lord defeats Māra	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
brah aṅg tāk' brah jaṇm saṅkhār-7		The Lord limits his lifespan	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
Brah buddh 10 brah aṅg/brah buddh 10		The ten buddhas of the future, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
brah aṅg samrāy-r			
Buddhābhiseka-NP	buddhābhiseka	Consecration of a buddha image	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
caṅkūm kév-k	lpòk caṅkūm kév	The jewel canine relics	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
cattussamvejanīyatthān-7		Four places to be stirred by	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
Cetiya vandana-gāthā/cetiya vandana-gāthā samrāy-br	dharma namassakār	Stanzas in homage of cetiyas, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)
Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	mahāmeghasūtra	Guardians of the six directions protection	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
Cullajāyamaṅgala-NV	cullajāyamaṅgala	Short victory blessings	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
daṃṇuoñ ānand-7		Ānanda's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ bhariyā rapas' jāñ kév-7		The jeweler's wife's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ chaddant-7		Chaddanta's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ madirī-7		Madirī's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ mahāmāyā-7	lpòk daṃṇuoñ mahāmāyā	Queen Mahāmāyā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ mīyā suvaṇṇasām-7		Suvaṇṇasāma's mother's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ nāñ kesani' juop niñ putr-7		Queen Kesinī's lament upon meeting her son	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ subhadrā-7		Subhadrā's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
daṃṇuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7		Suvaṇṇasāma's lament	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)
dasajāti-bn		Ten past births of the Buddha	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
Dasajāti-NP		Ten births of the Bodhisatta	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Dhajagga-sutta-CM		Discourse on the top of the banner	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CIP	dhammacakkappavatta masūtra	Discourse on the turning of the wheel of the Teaching	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CIP)

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Dharmadesanāyācāna-gāthā/ dharmadesanāyācāna-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas for inviting the preaching of Dhamma, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmaggī verse (- br)
Dhammakāya-NP	brah dhammakāya	Dhamma-body	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r	brah dhammakāy	The Dhamma-body, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
dhammasaiveg «oh o guor saiveg-br»	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, what a shock, what a fright!”	II-13 Khmer brahmaggī verse (-br)
dhammasaiveg «dhammasaiveg»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “These are the stirring teachings”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «guor gī aniccā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “We should reflect on the impermanence”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k		Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body, how impermanent!”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «oh o aniccā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, how impermanent!”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «oh o rūpā»-k	lpök dhammasaiveg	Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
dhammasaiveg «ukāsa palbitr öy sappurus»-br		Stirring teachings, beginning with “Permit me, O Venerables and good people!”	II-13 Khmer brahmaggī verse (-br)
dharma rapā-k/4r		The Dharma of repentance	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
dharma yog-bn	dharma yog	The Dharma of union	II-14 Khmer bammol verse (-bl)
dharma yog-y/ch	dharma yog stem	The Dharma of union	II-11 Thai mixed yāmi 11 and chapān 16 verse (-y/ch)
dukkarakiriya A-7	lpök dukkarakiriya	The Bodhisatta’s austerities	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
dukkarakiriya B-7		The Bodhisatta’s austerities	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Dutiyaḅilāna-sutta-CP	mahāmogallānatthera bojjhaṅga	Second discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Dvattimsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP		Meditation on the thirty-two parts of the body	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
girimānand samrāy rī sūtr-br	lpök girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “As for this discourse”	II-13 Khmer brahmaggī verse (-br)

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girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7	lpök girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “This discourse”	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
Girimānanda-sutta-CP	girimānandasūtra	Discourse to Girimānanda	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/ cakkhum samrāy-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of non-self perception	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of thirty-two parts of the body section	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This Discourse to Girimānanda”	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «tī brah girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “As for this Discourse to Girimānanda”	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r	girimānand sūtr	Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This discourse is called”	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
hai me namo-k/r4		O! I pay homage	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
hau brahñ-k	hau brahñ	Calling the souls	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
Iminā puñnakammena-gāthā/iminā puñnakammena-gāthā samrāy-r	sec-kṭī prē iminā	Stanzas beginning with “By this meritorious act,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Isigli-sutta-CM	Isiglisūtra	Discourse on Isigli	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
ṭipi so 10 dis-NP		“Thus he is called” in the ten-directions	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
ṭipi so that A-NP	ṭipisoṭhata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version A	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
ṭipi so that B-NP	ṭipisoṭhata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version B	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
ṭipi so that C-NP	ṭipisoṭhata	“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version C	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
ṭāy bar 10-m		Victory blessings of ten kinds	II-15 Khmer mañḍukagati verse (-m)
ṭāy bar puon-m		Victory blessings of four kinds	II-15 Khmer mañḍukagati verse (-m)
ṭāy bar thmī-bn		New victory blessings	II-14 Khmer bammol verse (-bl)
ṭāy dis-bn	ṭāy dis	Victory blessings from the eight directions	II-14 Khmer bammol verse (-bl)
ṭāy kūn go-m		Victory blessings of the calves	II-15 Khmer mañḍukagati verse (-m)
ṭāy lōn phdah-bn		Victory blessings for a new house	II-14 Khmer bammol verse (-bl)

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jāy ratanaṭṭrai-bn		Victory blessings of the Three Jewels	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas on the eight victories, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
kāyagatā-k	lpök kāyagatā	Body-connected foundation of awareness	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
khmoc yaṃ siāy kroy-7		The corpse cries out in remorse	II-17 Khmer bākī 7 verse (-7)
khvān' nāg-r	khvān' nāg	Calling the souls of the ordinand	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
kruṇ bālī pök brah netr-bn	lpök kruṇ bālī pök brah netr	King Bālī opens the eyes of the Buddha	II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bl)
kumārabiṭṭap-7		Prince Jālī's lament	II-17 Khmer bākī 7 verse (-7)
lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k	lpök lā pāp	Taking leave of sins, beginning with “Venerable Blessed One!”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
lā pāp «nuoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k		Taking leave of sins, beginning with “In addition, I take leave”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
lpök kammatthān-br /bn	lpök kammatthān	Poem on kammatthāna	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
madhupāyās-k		Rice-milk offering	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bākī 4 verse (-4)
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7		Verses for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-17 Khmer bākī 7 verse (-7)
Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV		Stanzas for Māghapūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Mahāmetti-NM	mahāmetti	Great text on goodwill	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the Great Nāga, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bākī 4 verse (-4)
Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the Great Nāga, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bākī 4 verse (-4)
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	mahāsamayasūtra	Great discourse on the meeting	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	mahāsatipaṭṭhānasūtra	Great discourse on the foundations of awareness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Maṅgala-sutta-CM	maṅgalasūtra	Discourse on blessings	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP	maṅgalacakkavāla	World-encircling wall of blessings	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
māravijāy paricched-br		The chapter on the defeat of Māra	II-13 Khmer brahmagūti verse (-br)
namassakar brah buddh 10-k		Homage to the ten buddhas of the future	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	sec-kī prē namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	Stanzas beginning with “I honor all of the buddhas,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)

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namo namassakār-br			<i>Namo</i> pays homage	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
namo-aññhaka-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas of the homage octet, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Namo-aññhaka-gāthā-NV			Stanzas of the homage octet	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Namo-aññhaka-gāthā/namo-aññhaka-gāthā samrāy-4			Stanzas of the homage octet, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
oḥ o brah mātipiā-7			O my august parents!	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
pacchimabuddhavadana A-br			The final words of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
pacchimabuddhavadana B-br	lpōk yo vo		The final words of the Buddha	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br	lpōk padum		Lotus flower offering, beginning with "I unite my ten fingers"	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
padum thvāy phkā «yōñ khñuṃ māñ citt trek»-br			Lotus flower offering, beginning with "Our hearts are filled with joy"	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
paññāṃ brah buddh-7			The Buddha's admonitions	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
paññāṃ mahāmāyā-7			Queen Mahāmāyā's admonitions	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Parābhava-sutta-CM	parābhavasūtra		Discourse on downfalls	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)
parimibbānakathā-7	lpōk parimibbānakathā		The story of the Buddha's Parimibbāna	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Paṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP	mahākassapaṭṭheraboḷḷi haṅga		First discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Paṭhamamarāṇassati-sutta-CP			First discourse on the contemplation of death	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	sec-kū prè avijjā		Dependent origination, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātu»-k			Defeat of Māra, beginning with "At midnight's hour"	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgam»-k	lpōk phcāñ' mār		Defeat of Māra, beginning with "We bow down"	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)
raḷḷeḷ guṇ mātipiā-7			Recollection of the virtues of parents	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Rāp' thān-NP			Numbering the realms	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
Ratanamālā-NV	ṭipisoratanamālā		Garland of jewels	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Rūpakammaññhānārūpakammaññhāna-NP			Physical and non-physical meditation	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)

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Sabbadisāsa-mettāphāraṇa-NP		Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
sādhāraṇadharm-7	Ipōk trai lakḥhaṇ	Dharmas common to all	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Sahasānaya-NP	sahasānaya	One thousand meanings	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)
sakarāj khè thnai trailakkha(ṇ)-k/4r		The year, the month, the day, and the Three Marks	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
sakarāj salpāt-4r		The year and repentance	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV		Stanzas beginning with “sakkatvā...”	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
sāmaññalakkhana-7		Ordinary marks	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/ samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br		Stanzas from the Samantapāsādikā, Pali with Khmer translation	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	sambuddhe	Stanzas beginning with “sambuddhe...”	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
saṃvegavathu 8 y <sup>u</sup> ān-7	Ipōk saṃvegavathu	Eight things to be stirred by	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Samvejanīyadharm/saṃvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7	Ipōk dhammasaiveg	Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Samvejanīyadharm/saṃvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7		Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r		Stanzas explaining refuge, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
sarasōr braḥ pād chveñ-k		In praise of the Buddha's left foot	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)
sarasōr braḥ pād siām-k	sar-sōr braḥ buddhapād	In praise of the Buddha's right foot	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)
sarasōr pṛithabī-k	Ipōk pṛithabī	In praise of the earth	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)
Sāṇīkadhātu-gāthā/sāṇīkadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the bodily relics, Pali with Khmer translation	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas on the seven great sites, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	sattamahāṭṭhāna	Stanzas on the seven great sites	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
sathuppabbajjā-7		The going forth of the Teacher	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
sikkhāpad prāmpī-br		The eight precepts	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)
sira: on-br		Bowing my head	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)

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Smā lā dos pāpakamm/ smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	smā lā dos pāpakamm	Absolution of faults and sinful karma, bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
sukhumalakkhana-7		Subtle marks	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
fāk' dañ' sāsanā-7		Lowering the Buddhist flag	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
Tatiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	mahācundattherabojjh aṅga	Third discourse on illness	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)
Thvāy gr̥tōñ sakkāra: /thvāy gr̥tōñ sakkāra: samrāy-7		Presenting objects for offering, Pali with Khmer translation	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
thvāy pāy piṅḍ-br		The offering of balls of rice	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā rūp yōñ min diēñ bit»-7	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Pity our bodies, truly impermanent!”	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version A	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7		The three marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version B	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version C	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccam rūpam»-k	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “The body is impermanent!”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāṃñi as»-k		The three marks, beginning with “All bodied beings”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k		The three marks, beginning with “The aggregate of form”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃñ»-k	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body! The body's pain binds tight”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccam»-k		The three marks, beginning with “The body is painful, the body is impermanent”	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” Cāp Bin version	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāñ-k	lpōk trai lakkhaṅ	The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” old version	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)



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trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k	Ipök trai lakkhaṇ	The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” abbreviated version	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)
Uṇhissavijaya-NM	īvadāna	Victory of the cranial protuberance	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4		Stanzas for Visākhapūjā, translated into Khmer	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)
Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV	visākhapūjā	Stanzas for Visākhapūjā	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r		Passage beginning with “Whatever evil actions,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r	sec-kṭi prè yan dunnimittaṃ	Stanzas beginning with “Any bad omen,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)
Ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	sec-kṭi prè ye keci	Stanzas beginning with “Any and all breathing beings, be they small,” bilingual version	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)

Appendix II: Tables

Table 3: Text Information Arranged in Khmer Alphabetical Order by Type (Appendix II Order)

# = number of times text appears in corpus; # of S. = number of stanzas; C/F = complete or fragmentary; Date = likely CE date of composition; Ritual = ritual function of text in corpus

Title	Type	#	# of S.	C/F	Date	Author	Ritual
Anattalakkhana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Āditapariyāya-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Isigīi-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	35	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Tatīyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dutiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dhājaggā-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	3	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamamaranassati-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yam kāyo-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Anekajātī samsāraṃ-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	Calendrical
Ājānāṭiya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Parābhava-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	Calendrical
Maṅgala-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Aṅguttarapaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Abhinipaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1800-1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Abhidhammamātikā-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	44	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākaravāṭī A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	43	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Ākāravatā B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā E-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	9	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so 10 dis-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Dasajāti-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life and consecratory
Dvattimsakāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Dhammakāya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1600	Unknown	Consecratory
Buddhābhiseka-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	18	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	Consecratory
Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Rāp' thān-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakammaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Sabbadāsasu-mettāphāraṇa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Sahasranāya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	8	N/A	C	1200–1800	Unknown	End-of-life
Aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	1200–1900	Unknown	Narrative
Aṭṭhampūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Aṭṭhavisatibuddha-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	8	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
Ājānāṭiya-paritta-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	?	C	500–1200	Unknown	End-of-life
Cullajayamaṅgala-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	8	?	C	1200–1800	Unknown	Consecratory

Appendix II: Tables

Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	4	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	4	10	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Ratanamālā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	11	108	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Viśakhapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	500–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sattamahatthāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	2	C	1800–1900	Unknown	Narrative
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	7.5	C	900–1500	Unknown	End-of-life
Uṇṇhisavijaya-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1400–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Bhāsītovāda-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Mahāmetti-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Anattalakkaṇa-sutta/anattalakkaṇa samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
Aniccā vata sankhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata sankhārā-gāthā-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā/iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūt nelp»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «tī brah girimānandasūt nelp»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1850–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūr nelp jhmob»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	4	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhuṃ/ cakkhuṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Brah buddh 10 brah aṅg/brah buddh 10 brah aṅg samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	5	C	1900–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Cetiyaṅdana-gāthā/cetiyaṅdana- gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)	1	7	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala- aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)	1	45	C	1880–1920	Suttantapīṭhā Ind	End-of-life
Dhammaṅgala-gāthā/dhammaṅgala-gāthā dhammaṅgala-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Sermon
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/ samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛī verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	20	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	25	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
Sāṅṅikadhātu-gāthā/sāṅṅikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	31	C	1900–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
Thvāy gr̥ṭṭōn sakkāra:/thvāy gr̥ṭṭōn sakkāra: samrāy-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1900–1950	Lvī Em	Calendrical
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	28	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	36	C	1965–1974	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
dharmaṃ yog-y/ch	II-11 Thai mixed yānī 11 and chapān 16 verse (-y/ch)	4	71	C	1600–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
kāyagatā-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	2	55	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
caṅkūm kēv-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	35	C	1700–1900	Bhikkhu Suvanṇakesara	Narrative
trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl rūp dāṃṇi as»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	13	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkaṅdho»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	4	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	2	9	C	1962	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅk	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	19	116	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» sankhep-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	4	4	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khīlāṅṅ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	5	60	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	2	39	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccam rūpam»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	3	27	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «guor gī aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	20	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oh o rūpā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	25	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	3	12	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oh o aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	3	14	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namassakār brah buddh 10-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	4	7	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ pañgāp»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	19	151	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
mādhupāyās-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	3	4	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	20	72	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lā pāp «nuoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	8	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
hau braññ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	4	94	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor' pñihābī-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	42	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor' brah pād sām-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	4	41	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor' brah pād chveñ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagatī verse (-k)	1	28	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
gimānand samrāy rī sūt-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	4	137	C	1965–1975	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
thvāy pāy pññ-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	1	21	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Calendrical
dhammasaṅveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oh o guor saṅveg-br»	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	15	16	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
namo namassakār-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
pacchimabuddhāvacaṇa A-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	4	7	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
pacchimabuddhāvacaṇa B-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	2	27	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	7	39	C	1550–1684	Unknown	Consecratory
padum thvāy phkā «yōñ khñuṃ māñ citt trek»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtī verse (-br)	1	9	C	1800–1950	Unknown	Consecratory

Appendix II: Tables

bāky prakās mun ārādhānā dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	1	6	C	1900–1965	Unknown	Sermon
māravijāy paricchēd-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	1	45	C	1955	Ū Cui	Consecratory and narrative
sikkhāpad prāmpī-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	3	13	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
sira: on-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	2	11	C	1800–1942	Unknown	Narrative
akkharā 33-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	1	46	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aciram vata yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	2	49	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aṭṭhadisabuddhamāṅgal-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
ānisas ākaravattā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	1	62	C	1800–1930	Hun	End-of-life
ārādhānā dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagtū verse (-br)	2	22	C	1880–1926	Suttantapīṭṭhā Ind	Sermon
kruñ bālī pōk brah netr-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	39	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
jāy dis-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	16	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy bar thmī-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	26	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Blessing
jāy ratanatrai-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	17	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy jōñ phdal-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	31	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
dasajātī-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	1	115	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Narrative
dhaṛm yog-br	II-14 Khmer baṃṃol verse (-bl)	17	71	C	1869	Brah Dhammalikhit	Consecratory
jāy kūn go-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagatī verse (-m)	2	28	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy bar 10-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagatī verse (-m)	1	22	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy bar puon-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagatī verse (-m)	1	15	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Blessing
namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	14	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	21	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	36	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	22	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	2	13	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative
aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	3	21	C	1930–1965	Cāp Bin	Narrative
aṭṭhamapūjā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	15	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical



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aṭṭhaviṣaṭṭibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	3	40	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
kumārābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
khmoc yaṃ sīyā kroy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	20	C	1900–1970	Unknown	End-of-life
cattusamvejanīyatīthān-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative
fāk' dan' sāsanā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	10	C	1945–1955	Juon Nāt	Narrative
trailakkha(n) «aniccā rūp yōi min diēn bit»-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	31	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	17	10	C	1933	Ek Nīm	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	14	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	31	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
dukkarakiriyā A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	18	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
dukkarakiriyā B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	18	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
daṃnuoñ chaddant-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ nān kesani juop niñ puṇi-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapas' jān kēv-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	7	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	7	14	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
daṃnuoñ madhī-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ mīyā suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ subhadhā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ ānand-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	39	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
paññāṃ brah̄ buddh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
paññāṃ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
parinibbānakathā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	7	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
baññāṃ pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	30	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	End-of-life
bicārapā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	16	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
bimbābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	42	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
bimbāvīyog-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	24	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative

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brah aṅg kān' t̄iṅ-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1941	Jñim Sūm	Narrative
brah aṅg t̄āk' brah jann saṅkhār-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	33	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
brah aṅg phcān' mār-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	3	43	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1880–1969	Unknown	Calendrical
raḷik guṇ mātpitā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	8	C	1800–1930	Unknown	End-of-life
sathuppabbajjā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	49	C	1942	Jāy M <sup>o</sup> 'ai	Narrative
sādhāraṇadharm-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	12	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
sukhumalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	3	13	C	1942	Jāy M <sup>o</sup> 'ai	End-of-life
samvegavathu 8 y <sup>o</sup> 'ān-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	107	C	1935	Mahā Luc	End-of-life
anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	55	C	1972	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
oḷ o brah mātpitā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	End-of-life
khvān' nāg-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Ordination
gūṛimānand samrāy sūtr neh-br/7	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	15	84	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
dharmaṃ rapā-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lpōk kammatthān-br/bn	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	336	C	1713	Brah Sugandhādhipatī	End-of-life
sakarāj khè thnai traḷakkha(ṅ)-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sakarāj saḷpāt-4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
hai me namo-k/r4	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
anak mīy saṅsār-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Table 4: Text Information Arranged By Frequency in Corpus, then by Appendix II Order

# = number of times text appears in corpus; # of S = number of stanzas; C/F = complete or fragmentary; Date = likely CE date of composition; Ritual = ritual function of text in corpus

Title	Type	#	#oS	C/F	Date	Author	Ritual
Abhidhammamātikā-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	44	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	43	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	35	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	20	72	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	19	116	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
phcāi' māṛ «yōi khūṃ paṅgam»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	19	151	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
Buddhābhiseka-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	18	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	Consecratory
dhaṛm yog-bn	II-14 Khmer bāṃmol verse (-bl)	17	71	C	1869	Brah Dhammalikhit	Consecratory
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	17	10	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
dhammasaṃveg «oḥ o guor saṃveg-br»	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	15	16	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
gūmānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	15	84	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
Ākāravatā B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ītipi so that A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ratanamālā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	11	108	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	9	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sahassanaya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	8	N/A	C	1200–1800	Unknown	End-of-life
Cullajayamaṅgala-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	8	27	C	1200–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
padum thvāy phkā «khūṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	7	39	C	1550–1684	Unknown	Consecratory
daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	7	14	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
paribbānakathā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	7	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
Ān trai B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life

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	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1600	Unknown	Consecratory
Dhammadakāya-NP				C		Unknown	Consecratory
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṇ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	5	60	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
khmoc yaṃ sṅāy kroṃy-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	20	C	1900–1970	Unknown	End-of-life
dukkakaririṅā A-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	18	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
bimbāviyog-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	24	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
saṃvegavathu 8 y"āṅ-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	107	C	1935	Mahā Luc	End-of-life
Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	4	10	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neh jhmoh»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	4	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
dharmaṃ yog-y/ch	II-11 Thai mixed yāṅ 11 and chapāṅ 16 verse (-y/ch)	4	71	C	1600–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	4	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
phcāy' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	7	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
hau brahṅin-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	94	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasōr braṅh pād sṅām-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	41	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
girimānand samrāy rī sūtr-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	4	137	C	1965–1975	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
pacchimabuddhavadana A-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	4	7	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
trailakkha(ṅ) «anicā rūp yōṅ mīn diēṅ bit»-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	4	31	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
bimbābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	4	42	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
sauthuppabbajjā-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	4	49	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
Dhammadakkappavattana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	3	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Namo-aṅghaka-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	4	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Visakhapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	End-of-life

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Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr- neḥ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «ṭī braḥ girimānandasūtr- neḥ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1850–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
traḷakkha(ṇ) «aniccam rūpam»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭī verse (-k)	3	27	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveḡ «o aṅg aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭī verse (-k)	3	12	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveḡ «ḥ o aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭī verse (-k)	3	14	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
madhupāyās-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭī verse (-k)	3	4	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
sikkhāpad prāmpī-br	II-13 Khmer brahmaḡṭī verse (-br)	3	13	C	1933	Ek Nīm	End-of-life
aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākṡy 4 verse (-4)	3	21	C	1930–1965	Cāp Bīn	Narrative
aṭṭhaviṣatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākṡy 4 verse (-4)	3	40	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
braḥ aṅg phecaṅ māṛ-7	II-17 Khmer bākṡy 7 verse (-7)	3	43	C	1965	Yīn Van'	Narrative
sukhumalakkhana-7	II-17 Khmer bākṡy 7 verse (-7)	3	13	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	End-of-life
Isigili-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Taṭṭiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dutiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Anekajāṭī samsāraṇ-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	Calendrical
Parābhava-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	Calendrical
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Abhinḡappaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Ān trāi C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itṭpi so that B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Dasajāṭī-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life and consecratory
Rāp' thān-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Aṭṭhamapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	2	C	1800–1900	Unknown	Narrative

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Dhammadakāya/dhammadakāy samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory						
kāyagātā-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	2	55	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life						
trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	2	9	C	1962	Cāp Bin	End-of-life						
Bin-k													
trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	2	39	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life						
aniccam»-k													
paccchimabuddhavaṇṇa B-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	27	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative						
sira: on-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	11	C	1800–1942	Unknown	Narrative						
aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	49	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life						
ārādhana dhammadesaṇā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	22	C	1880–1926	Suttantaparijā Ind	Sermon						
jāy kūṃ go-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagāti verse (-m)	2	28	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing						
sattamahatthāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	2	13	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative						
catussaṃvājanīyaṭṭhān-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative						
trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	31	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life						
daṃnuoṅ chaddant-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative						
daṃnuoṅ madīr-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative						
daṃnuoṅ ānand-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	39	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative						
baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	30	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	End-of-life						
raḷīk guṇ māṭpītā-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	8	C	1800–1930	Unknown	End-of-life						
sādhāraṇacharṃ-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	12	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life						
sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life						
anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	55	C	1972	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life						
khvān' nāg-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Ordination						
sakarāj khè thnai trailakkha(n)-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life						
sakarāj salpāt-4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life						
anak mtāy saṅsār-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life						
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life						
Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life						

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Dhajjagga-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamamaraṇassaṭi-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ājānāṭiya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Māṅgala-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Aṭṭappaccavekhaṇa-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā E-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trāi D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1700-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so 10 dis-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Dvattimsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Māṅgalacakkavāla-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Rūpakammaṭṭhānarūpakkammaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1800-1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Sabbadāsasu-mettāphāraṇa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	1200-1900	Unknown	Narrative
Aṭṭhasātibuddha-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	8	C	1930-1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
Ājānāṭiya-paritta-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	45	C	500-1200	Unknown	End-of-life
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	500-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	7.5	C	900-1500	Unknown	End-of-life
Uṇṇissavijaya-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1400-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Bhāsītovāda-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200-1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Mahāmetti-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700-1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/ anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/ aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā/ iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/ cakkhum samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/ dvattimsākār samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/ namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Paṭicca samuppāda/ paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Brah buddh 10 brah aṅg/ brah buddh 10 brah aṅg samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/ yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/ yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/ saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	5	C	1900–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
Smā lā dos pāpakamm/ smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Cetiya vandana-gāthā/ cetiya vandana-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	7	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life



Appendix II: Tables

Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	45	C	1880–1920	Suttantapīṭṭhā Ind	End-of-life
Dharmadesanāyācāna-gāthā/dharmadesanāyācāna-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Sermon
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	20	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	25	C	1945	Īn Kheñ	Calendrical
Sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā/sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	31	C	1900–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
Thvāy grōṇi sakkāra:/thvāy grōṇi sakkāra: samrāy-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1900–1950	Lvī Em	Calendrical
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bīn-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	28	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bīn	End-of-life
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	36	C	1965–1974	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
caṅkūm kēv-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	35	C	1700–1900	Bhikkhu Suvanakesara	Narrative
traḷakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāṃṇ' as'»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	13	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «guor gī aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	20	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oh o rūpā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	25	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namassakār brah buddh 10-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lā pāp «nuoy sot khñuṇ lā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	8	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor pīṭṭhāḥi-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	42	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor brah pād chveñ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	28	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

thvāy pāy piṅḍ-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	21	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Calendrical
dhammasaṅveg «ukāsa pabitr ōy sappurus»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namo namassakār-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
padum thvāy phkā «yōñ khñum mān citt trek»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	9	C	1800–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
bākya prakās mun ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	6	C	1900–1965	Unknown	Sermon
māravijāy paricchod-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	45	C	1955	Ū Cui	Consecratory and narrative
akkharā 33-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	46	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aṭṭhadisabuddhamaiṅgal-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
ānisān ākāravatā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭī verse (-br)	1	62	C	1800–1930	Hun	End-of-life
kruñ bālī pōk brah netr-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	39	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
jāy dis-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	16	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy bar thmī-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	26	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Blessing
jāy ratanatrai-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	17	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy lōñ phdaj-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	31	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
dasajātī-br	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	115	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Narrative
jāy bar 10-m	II-15 Khmer maṅḍukagāṭī verse (-m)	1	22	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
jāy bar puon-m	II-15 Khmer maṅḍukagāṭī verse (-m)	1	15	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Blessing
namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	14	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	21	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	36	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	22	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
aṭṭhamipūjā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	15	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
kumārābāp-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
tāk' dan' sāsanā-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	1	10	C	1945–1955	Juon Nāt	Narrative

Appendix II: Tables

trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	14	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
dukkarakiriyā B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	18	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
daṃnuoṅ nān kesani juop niṅ puoti-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoṅ bhariyā rapas' jān kēv-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	7	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoṅ mtāy suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoṅ subhadrā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoṅ suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
paññāṃ brah' buddh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
paññāṃ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
bicārapā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	16	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
brah' aṅg kān' iṅ-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
brah' aṅg iāk' brah' jaṇm saṅkhār-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	33	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1880–1969	Unknown	Calendrical
oh' o brah' mātāpitiā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	End-of-life
dhaṃm rapā-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lpōk kammatthān-br/bn	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	336	C	1713	Brah'	End-of-life
hai me namo-k/r4	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Sugandhāhipatī Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Table 5: Text Information Arranged By Date of Composition, then by Frequency in Corpus

# = number of times text appears in corpus; # of S. = number of stanzas; C/F = complete or fragmentary; Date = likely CE date of composition; Ritual = ritual function of text in corpus

Title	Type	X	#oS	C/F	Date	Author	Ritual
Girimānanda-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	35	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	3	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Isigili-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Taiyagilāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamagilāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Anekajātī samsāram-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	Calendrical
Parābhava-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	Calendrical
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Anattalakkhana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Āditapariyāya-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dhajagga-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamamaranassati-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Aciram vata yam kāyo-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ājānāyīya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Māngala-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1-500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ājānāyīya-paritta-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	45	C	500-1200	Unknown	End-of-life
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	500-1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	7.5	C	900-1500	Unknown	End-of-life
Dhammakāya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200-1600	Unknown	Consecratory

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Abhidhammamañikā-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	44	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	43	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Buddhābhiseka-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	18	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	Consecratory
Ākāravatā B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ratanamālā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	11	108	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	9	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Dasajāti-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life and consecratory
Rāp' thān-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā E-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so 10 dis-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Maṅgalacakkavāla-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Uṇhissavijaya-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Mahāmetti-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sahassanava-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	8	N/A	C	1200–1800	Unknown	End-of-life
Cullajayamaṅgala-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	8	27	C	1200–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
Atītappaccavekhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Dvattinsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Sabbadāsasu-meṭṭāphāraṇa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Atīthamaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	1200–1900	Unknown	Narrative
Bhāsītovāda-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

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Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	1400–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
padum thvāy pḥkā «khñuṃ pḥguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	7	39	C	1550–1684	Unknown	Consecratory
dhaṃm yog-y/ch	II-11 Thai mixed yānī 11 and chapān 16 verse (-y/ch)	4	71	C	1600–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
hau braññ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	94	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
ṭāy kūn go-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagāti verse (-m)	2	28	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
khvān' nāg-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Ordination
Sma lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
ṭāy dis-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	16	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ṭāy ratanatrai-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	17	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ṭāy ṭōṇ phdai-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	31	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ṭāy bar 10-m	II-15 Khmer maṇḍukagāti verse (-m)	1	22	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	20	72	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
phcān' mār «yōṇ khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	19	151	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	5	60	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhandho»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
saraṣor braḥ pād sām-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	4	41	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccam rūpaṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	3	27	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	3	12	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «h o aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	3	14	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
madhupāyās-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	3	4	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
kāyagātā-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	2	55	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	49	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sakarāj khē thnai trailakkha(ṇ)-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

sakarājī salpāt-4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
anak mīy saīsār-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṇ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṇ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṇ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṇ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā/iminā puñṇakamma-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Brah buddh 10 brah aṅg/brah buddh 10 brah aṅg samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ dummittaṃ ca/yaṃ dummittaṃ ca samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā/dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Sermon
cankūṃ kēv-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	1	35	C	1700–1900	Bhikkhu Suvannakesara	Narrative
dhammasaṅveḡ «guor gī aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveḡ «dhammasaṅveḡ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	1	20	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

dhammasaiveg «oh o rūpā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	1	25	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namassākār brah buddh 10-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	1	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lā pāp «nuoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	1	8	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasōr pñihabī-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	1	42	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasōr brah pād chveñ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	1	28	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
thvāy pāy piñd-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	21	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Calendrical
dhammasaiveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namo namassakār-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
akkharā 33-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	46	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aññhadisabuddhamāṅgal-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
kruñ bālī pōk brah netu-br	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	39	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
dasajāti-br	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	115	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Narrative
iāy bar puon-m	II-15 Khmer maññukagati verse (-m)	1	15	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Blessing
dharma rapā-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
hai me namo-k/r4	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Cetiya vandana-gāthā/cetiya vandana-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	7	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
lpōk kammatthān-br/bn	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	336	C	1713	Brah Sugandhādhipatī	End-of-life
trailakkha(ñ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāp-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	19	116	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ñ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» sankhep-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	4	4	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo-aññhaka-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	4	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Aññhamipūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical



Appendix II: Tables

Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	4	10	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Abhinipaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Sattamahatthāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	2	C	1800–1900	Unknown	Narrative
Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakkaṃmaṭṭhāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
pacchimabuddhavadana A-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	4	7	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
pacchimabuddhavadana B-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	2	27	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
raḷiḷ guṇ māṭāpātā-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	2	8	C	1800–1930	Unknown	End-of-life
ānisans ākaravattā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	1	62	C	1800–1930	Hun	End-of-life
sira: on-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	2	11	C	1800–1942	Unknown	Narrative
trailakkha(n) «aniccā rūp yōn min diēn bit»-7	II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)	4	31	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḷ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccāṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	2	39	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhuṃ/ cakkhuṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «rāl' rūp dāmiṃ as'»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	1	13	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
padum thvāy phkā «yōn khñuṃ mān citta trek»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthi verse (-br)	1	9	C	1800–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātu»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthi verse (-k)	4	7	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «rī braḷ girimānandasūtr neḷ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1850–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka- gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)	1	20	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical

Appendix II: Tables

jāy bar thmī-bn	II-14 Khmer barnmol verse (-bl)	1	26	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Blessing
namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	1	14	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
dhaṛm yog-bn	II-14 Khmer barnmol verse (-bl)	17	71	C	1869	Brah Dhammalikhit	Consecratory
Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	45	C	1880–1920	Suttantapriyā Ind	End-of-life
ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	2	22	C	1880–1926	Suttantapriyā Ind	Sermon
parinibbānakathā-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	7	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
paññā mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	2	31	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	1	36	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	1	22	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
aṭṭhamipūjā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	1	15	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	14	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1880–1969	Unknown	Calendrical
Thvāy gr̥iṇ sakkāra:/ thvāy gr̥iṇ sakkāra: samrāy-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1900–1950	Lv̄ Em	Calendrical
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	5	C	1900–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
Sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā/sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	1	31	C	1900–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
bāký prakās mun ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	6	C	1900–1965	Unknown	Sermon
khmoc yam sṭāy kroy-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	5	20	C	1900–1970	Unknown	End-of-life
aṭṭhavisatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	3	40	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
Aṭṭhavisatibuddha-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	8	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	3	21	C	1930–1965	Cāp Bin	Narrative
sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāký 4 verse (-4)	2	13	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative

Appendix II: Tables

Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	28	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
daṃnuoñ chaddant-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ ntāy suvaṃṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ subhadrā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃnuoñ suvaṃṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
paññāṃ brah buddh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
brah aṅg'āk' brah jaṃm saṅkhār-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	33	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
oḥ o brah mātipitā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	17	10	C	1933	Ek Njīm	End-of-life
dhammasamveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg-br»	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	15	16	C	1933	Ek Njīm	End-of-life
girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	15	84	C	1933	Ek Njīm	End-of-life
sikkhāpad prāṃpī-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)	3	13	C	1933	Ek Njīm	End-of-life
Girimānandā-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	4	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
samvegavathu 8 y"āñ-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	107	C	1935	Mahā Luc	End-of-life
dukkarakiriyā B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	18	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
brah aṅg kām' tñi-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	7	14	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
dukkarakiriyā A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	18	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
bimbāviyog-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	24	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
bimbābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	42	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
sauthuppabbajjā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	49	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
sukhumalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	3	13	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	End-of-life
daṃnuoñ ānand-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	39	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	Narrative
barīṇanā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	30	C	1942	Jāy M"ai	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	25	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	21	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
fāk' dañ' sāsanā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	10	C	1945-1955	Juon Nāt	Narrative
māravijāy paricchēd-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	1	45	C	1955	Ū Cuñ	Consecratory and narrative
traiḷakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k	II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)	2	9	C	1962	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
brah' aṅg pheāñ' māñ-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	3	43	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ madīñ-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
kumārabilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ nāñ kesañ' juop niñ putr-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapaṣ' jāñ kev-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	7	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	36	C	1965-1974	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
gūmānand samrāy rī sūr-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	4	137	C	1965-1975	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
catussamvejanīyatthān-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative
sādhāraṇadharm-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	12	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
bicārapā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	16	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	55	C	1972	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Table 6: Text Information Arranged By Ritual Function, then by Frequency in Corpus

# = number of times text appears in corpus; # of S = number of stanzas; C/F = complete or fragmentary; Date = likely CE date of compositions; Ritual = ritual function of text in corpus

Title	Type	X	#oS	C/F	Date	Author	Ritual
ġāy kūn go-m	II-15 Khmer maṅḍukagāṭi verse (-m)	2	28	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy dis-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	16	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy ratanatrai-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	17	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy lōn phdal-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	31	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy bar thmī-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	26	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy bar 10-m	II-15 Khmer maṅḍukagāṭi verse (-m)	1	22	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Blessing
ġāy bar puon-m	II-15 Khmer maṅḍukagāṭi verse (-m)	1	15	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Blessing
Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	4	10	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	Calendrical
aṭṭhavaṣatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	3	40	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	4	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Anekajātī samsāram-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	Calendrical
Parābhava-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	Calendrical
Aṭṭhampūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	Calendrical
Thvāy grōṇ sakkāra:/ thvāy grōṇ sakkāra: samrāy-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1900–1950	Lwī Em	Calendrical
thvāy pāy piṅḍ-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	1	21	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Calendrical
namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	14	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	36	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	22	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
aṭṭhampūjā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	15	C	1880–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)	1	21	C	1945	In Kheñ	Calendrical
māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	8	C	1880–1969	Unknown	Calendrical

Appendix II: Tables

Aṭṭhaviśatībuddha-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	8	C	1930–1960	Juon Nāt	Calendrical
Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bākṃy 4 verse (-4)	1	20	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Calendrical
Sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā/sāriṅkadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bākṃy 4 verse (-4)	1	31	C	1900–1960	Unknown	Calendrical
Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4	II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bākṃy 4 verse (-4)	1	25	C	1945	In Khēn	Calendrical
phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgam»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	19	151	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
Buddhābhiseka-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	18	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	Consecratory
dhaṛṃ yog-bn	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	17	71	C	1869	Brah Dhammalikhit	Consecratory
Cullaṃyamaṅgala-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	8	27	C	1200–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
paduṃ thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām tap'»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)	7	39	C	1550–1684	Unknown	Consecratory
Dhammakāya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1600	Unknown	Consecratory
dhaṛṃ yog-y/ch	II-11 Thai mixed yāñi 11 and chapāñ 16 verse (-y/ch)	4	71	C	1600–1800	Unknown	Consecratory
phcāñ' mār «ñā kāl adhrāt»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	4	7	C	1850–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
mādhupāyās-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	3	4	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
paduṃ thvāy phkā «yōñ khñuṃ māñ citt trek»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)	1	9	C	1800–1950	Unknown	Consecratory
kruñ bālī pōk braḥ netr-bn	II-14 Khmer baṅmol verse (-bl)	1	39	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Consecratory
māravijāy paricched-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)	1	45	C	1955	Ū Cuñ	Consecratory and narrative
Abhidhammamātikā-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	44	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatī A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	43	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Giriṃāṇḍā-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	35	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	20	72	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṇ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	19	116	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	17	10	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg-br»	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)	15	16	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
gīrīmānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	15	84	C	1933	Ek Ñim	End-of-life
Ākāravatī B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	12	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ratanamālā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	11	108	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai A-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	9	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sahasanaṅya-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	8	N/A	C	1200–1800	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	6	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khīlāṇ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	5	60	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
khmoc yaṃ sṅāy kroy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	20	C	1900–1970	Unknown	End-of-life
saṃvegavauṭhu 8 y <sup>u</sup> ān-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	5	107	C	1935	Mahā Luc	End-of-life
hau braḷin-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	4	94	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	4	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasor braḥ pād siām-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	4	41	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	4	4	C	1750–1823	Unknown	End-of-life
gīrīmānand samrāy rī sūtr-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāṭi verse (-br)	4	137	C	1965–1975	Sem Sūr	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā rūp yōṅ min dien bit»-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	4	31	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Gīrīmānanda-sutta/gīrīmānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	4	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life
Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	3	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccam rūpaṃ»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	3	27	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «o āṅg aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	3	12	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṭi verse (-k)	3	14	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

sikkhāpad prāmpī-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthī verse (-br)	3	13	C	1933	Ek Nīm	End-of-life
sukhumalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	3	13	C	1942	Jāy M <sup>ai</sup>	End-of-life
Viśakhapūjā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	3	83.5	C	1800–1850	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr- neḥ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta/ girimānand samrāy «ṛī brah girimānandasūtr- neḥ»-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	3	N/A	C	1850–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Isigili-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Taṭṭiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dutiyagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
kāyagāthā-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthī verse (-k)	2	55	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccam»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthī verse (-k)	2	39	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāthī verse (-k)	2	9	C	1962	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāthī verse (-br)	2	49	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
raḷiḷ guṇ māṭāpītā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	8	C	1800–1930	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā sankhār-7» C-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	31	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
baṛṇanā pañcakkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	30	C	1942	Jāy M <sup>ai</sup>	End-of-life
sādharaṇadharm-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	12	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	2	55	C	1972	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
sakarāj khē thnai trailakkha(ṅ)-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sakarāj salpāt-4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
anak mīāy saṅsār-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	2	N/A	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	2	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ān trai C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life



Appendix II: Tables

Itipi so that B-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Rāp' thān-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Abhiṅghapaccavekkhāna-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Anattalakkana-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Dhajjāga-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Paṭhamamaraṇassatī-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Mahāsatiṭṭhāna-sutta-CP	II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)	1	N/A	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	28	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7	II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	36	C	1965–1974	Sēm Sūr	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «suor git aniccā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	20	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «oh o rūpā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	25	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namassakār brah buddh 10-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	34	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lā pāp «nuoy sot khñum lā»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	8	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasōr pñīthabī-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	42	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
sarasōr brah pād chveñ-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	28	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «rāl' rūp dāmñ as'»-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāti verse (-k)	1	13	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
dhammasaṅveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
namo namassakār-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
akkharā 33-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	46	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
aññhadisabuddhamāṅgal-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	10	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
ānisans ākaravātā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)	1	62	C	1800–1930	Hun	End-of-life
trailakkha(n) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	14	C	1880–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
oh o brah mātāpītā-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

bicārapā pañcakkkhandh-7	II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)	1	16	C	C	1971	Cāp Bin	End-of-life
dhaṃ rapā-k/4r	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
hai me namo-k/r4	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	N/A	F	F	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
lpōk kammatthān-br/bn	II-18 Khmer miscellaneous	1	336	C	C	1713	Brah Sugandhāhipatī	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yam kāyo-gāthā-CV	II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)	1	N/A	C	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ājānāyīya-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Māngala-sutta-CM	II-3 Canonical Pali mixed (-CM)	1	N/A	C	C	1–500	Canonical	End-of-life
Ākāravatā C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ākāravatā E-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so 10 dis-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Itipi so that C-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Māngalacakkavāḷa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Ātīpappaccavekkhana-pāṭha-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Dvattimsākāra-kammatthāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Sabbadisāsu-meitāphāraṇa-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ān trai D-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Rūpakammatthānārūpakkammatthāna-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	1	N/A	C	C	1800–1900	Rāma IV	End-of-life
Ājānāyīya-paritta-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	45	C	C	500–1200	Unknown	End-of-life
Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	C	500–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	7.5	C	C	900–1500	Unknown	End-of-life
Uṇhissavijaya-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Mahāmetti-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life
Bhāsītovāda-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	C	1200–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Chadisapāla-paritta-NM	II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed (-NM)	1	N/A	C	C	1400–1900	Unknown	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Smā lā dos pāpakamm/ smā lā dos pāpakamm-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Aniccā vata sankhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata sankhārā-gāthā-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	1	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Iminā puññakamma-gāthā/iminā puññakamma-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Brah buddh 10 brah aṅg/brah buddh 10 brah aṅg samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	3	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1700–1900	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/cakkhum samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākāra samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1800–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	5	C	1900–1960	Unknown	End-of-life
Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)	1	N/A	C	1934	Huot Tāt	End-of-life

Appendix II: Tables

Cetiṅvavandana-gāthā/cetiṅvavandana-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	1	7	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1950	Unknown	End-of-life
Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	1	45	C	1880–1920	Suttantapriyā Ind	End-of-life
Dasajāti-NP	II-4 Non-canonical Pali prose (-NP)	2	N/A	C	1200–1700	Unknown	End-of-life and consecratory
parimbānakathā-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	7	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Narrative
daṃṃuoṅ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	7	14	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
dukkarakiriṅ A-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	18	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
bimbāviyog-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	5	24	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
pacchimabuddhāvacaṅa A-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	4	7	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
bimbābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	4	42	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
sauthuppabbajjā-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	4	49	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākṅ 4 verse (-4)	3	21	C	1930–1965	Cāp Bin	Narrative
brah aṅg phecaṅ mā-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	3	43	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
pacchimabuddhāvacaṅa B-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	2	27	C	1800–1930	Unknown	Narrative
sira: on-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛti verse (-br)	2	11	C	1800–1942	Unknown	Narrative
sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4	II-16 Khmer bākṅ 4 verse (-4)	2	13	C	1930–1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative
daṃṃuoṅ chaddant-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	2	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Narrative
daṃṃuoṅ āṅand-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	2	39	C	1942	Jāy M'ai	Narrative
daṃṃuoṅ madrī-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	2	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Narrative
cattasamvājanīyaṭṭhān-7	II-17 Khmer bākṅ 7 verse (-7)	2	13	C	1971	Cāp Bin	Narrative
Sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	2	2	C	1800–1900	Unknown	Narrative
caṅkūṃ kēv-k	II-12 Khmer kākagāṅi verse (-k)	1	35	C	1700–1900	Bhikkhu Suvaṅṅakesara	Narrative
dasajāti-bn	II-14 Khmer barmol verse (-bl)	1	115	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Narrative

Appendix II: Tables

pañjāṃ mahāmāyā-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	11	C	1880–1930	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
daṃṃuoñ mtāy suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
daṃṃuoñ subhadrā-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
daṃṃuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
pañjāṃ brah̄ buddh-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
brah̄ aṅḡ tāk' brah̄ jaṃm sankhār-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	33	C	1930–1975	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
dukkarakarīyā B-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	18	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
brah̄ aṅḡ kām' ūñ-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	12	C	1941	Jhīm Śum	Jhīm Śum	Narrative
tāk' dan' sāsanā-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	10	C	1945–1955	Juon Nāt	Juon Nāt	Narrative
kumārābilāp-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	6	C	1965	Yin Van'	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃṃuoñ nāñ kesani juop niñ puṭṭ-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	5	C	1965	Yin Van'	Yin Van'	Narrative
daṃṃuoñ bhariyā rapas' jañ kev-7	II-17 Khmer bāký 7 verse (-7)	1	7	C	1965	Yin Van'	Yin Van'	Narrative
Aṭṭhamahatthāna-gāthā-NV	II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)	1	3	C	1200–1900	Unknown	Unknown	Narrative
khvāñ' nāg-r	II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāv prose (-r)	2	N/A	C	1600–1900	Unknown	Unknown	Ordination
ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	2	22	C	1880–1926	Suttantapriyā Ind	Suttantapriyā Ind	Sermon
bāký prakās mun ārādhana dhammadesanā-br	II-13 Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	1	6	C	1900–1965	Unknown	Unknown	Sermon
Dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyacana-gāthā samrāv-br	II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagṛīti verse (-br)	1	19	C	1700–1900	Unknown	Unknown	Sermon

## II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)

**Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP** (1)  
**Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP** (1)  
**Girimānanda-sutta-CP** (35)  
**Tatīyagīlāna-sutta-CP** (2)  
**Dutiyagīlāna-sutta-CP** (2)  
**Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP** (3)  
**Paṭhamagīlāna-sutta-CP** (2)  
**Paṭhamamaṇassati-sutta-CP** (1)  
**Mahāsatipatṭhāna-sutta-CP** (1)

### **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP**

Discourse on the mark of not-self

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 22.59.

Leporello: **UB045** 84a–89b anattalakkhaṇasuttaṃ/anattalakkhaṇasūtr

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha to his first five disciples on the nature of the mark of non-self.

### **Ādittapariyāya-sutta-CP**

Discourse explaining burning

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 35.28.

Leporello: **UB045** 31a–36b ādittapariyāyasūtr

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha to his first five disciples on the burning nature of all six senses and an exhortation to become disenchanted with them.

### **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**

Discourse to Gīrīmānanda

FEMC title: gīrīmānandasūtra



Appendix II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 008'-A.04.17.02, FEMC D.112<sup>2</sup>, FEMC D' .238, FEMC D' .249, FEMC D.387, FEMC D' .254

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha to the sick monk Cunda on the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*), resulting in the latter's recovery.

**Dutiyagilāna-sutta-CP**

Second discourse on illness

FEMC title: mahāmogallānattherabojjhaṅga

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.15.

Leporello: **UB045** 25a–28a mahāmogallānabojjhaṅgasūtr; **UB064** 44b–46a mahāmogallānabojjhaṅgasuttapāṭho

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 008'-A.04.17.02, FEMC D.112<sup>2</sup>, FEMC D' .238, FEMC D' .249, FEMC D.387, D' .246

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha to the sick monk Moggallāna on the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*), resulting in the latter's recovery.

**Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta-CP**

Discourse on the turning of the wheel of the Teaching

FEMC title: dhammacakkappavattanasūra

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 56.11.

Leporello: **UB045** 76a–84a dhammacakkappavattanasūtr; **UB064** 40a–44a dhammacakkappavattanasuttaṃ; **UB064** 55b–60a dhammacakkappavattanasuttaṃ

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 012'-A.04.17.02, FEMC 013'-A.04.17.02, FEMC A.395, FEMC A.407, FEMC A.418, FEMC A.441, FEMC A.458, FEMC D.109, FEMC D' .234, FEMC D' .236

Summary: Canonical first discourse of the Buddha to his first five disciples on the avoidance of the two extremes and the exposition of the four truths for the noble (*ariyasacca*).

**Pathamagilāna-sutta-CP**

First discourse on illness



Appendix II-1 Canonical Pali prose (-CP)

FEMC title: mahākassapattherabojjhaṅga

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 46.14.

Leporello: **UB022** 39a–40b (explicit missing); **UB045** 18a–21b  
mahākassapabojjhaṅgasuttapāṭho/bojjhaṅgasūtr;

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 010'-PP.03.03.03, FEMC 008'-A.04.17.02, FEMC D' .246,  
FEMC D' .247, FEMC D' .253, FEMC D.112<sup>2</sup>, FEMC D' .238, FEMC D' .249, FEMC  
D.387

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha to the sick monk Kassapa on the seven factors of  
awakening (*bojjhaṅga*), resulting in the latter's recovery.

**Paṭhamamaraṇassati-sutta-CP**

First discourse on the contemplation of death

Pali prose, Aṅguttara-nikāya 6.19.

Leporello: **UB045** 40a–43b maraṇasatisūtr dī 1

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha instructing his disciples on how to cultivate the  
contemplation on death by imagining one's life lasting for increasingly short intervals.

**Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta-CP**

Great discourse on the foundations of awareness

FEMC title: mahāsatipaṭṭhānasūtra

Pali prose, Majjhima-nikāya 10; Dīgha-nikāya 22.

Leporello: **UB045** 21b–25a mahāsatipaṭṭhānasuttapāṭho/mahāsatipaṭṭhānasūtr saṅkhep  
(middle missing)

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 004'-PP.03.03.03, FEMC 015'-A.04.17.02, FEMC A.380,  
FEMC A.382, FEMC A.409, FEMC A.427, FEMC A.445, FEMC D.371, FEMC E.58

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha on the four foundations of awareness, including  
awareness of body, sensations, the mind, and mental objects (*dhammas*), concluding with an  
explication of the great benefits of this form of meditation.

## II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)

**Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV** (1)

**Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV** (2)

### **Aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā-CV**

Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body”

Pali verse, 1 stanza, Dhammapada 3.9.

Leporello: **UB030** 15b (in purple ink)

Summary: Verse from the *Dhammapada* on the inevitability of death.

Standardized edition

Translation

*aciraṃ vat'ayaṃ kāyo  
paṭhaviṃ adhisessati  
chuddho apeta viññāṇo  
niratthaṃ va kaliṅgaram*

Soon, alas, this body  
will lie on the earth,  
thrown away, without consciousness,  
useless as a rotting log.

### **Anekajāti saṃsāraṃ-gāthā-CV**

Stanza beginning with “For limitless births in saṃsāra”

Pali verse, 2 stanzas, Dhammapada 11.8–11.9.

Leporello: **UB039** 44a–44b; **UB053** 5b

### Diplomatic transcription of **UB053**

aṅekkajāttisaṃsāraṃ sandhāvisaṃanabhīsaṃ gahakāraṃgavesantodu kkhājātīpanapunaṃ  
gahakāraditṭho sipunagehaṃ na kāhasisa bbātecā sukkhābhagāgahakūtaṃ  
visaṃkhataṃvisaṃkhārakataṃcitaṃ tanhānaṃ khaya majjhagāti i  
daṃdhabaddhamdhabaddhaviccaṃaṃ.

Summary: Verse from the *Dhammapada* on the Buddha’s awakening.

Standardized edition

Translation

Appendix II-2 Canonical Pali verse (-CV)

*anekajātisamsāraṃ  
sandhāvissaṃ anibbisaṃ  
gahakāraṃ gavesanto  
dukkhā jāti punappunaṃ.*

For limitless births in saṃsāra,  
I wandered without finding anything,  
seeking the house-builder—  
painful is repeated birth!

*gahakāraka diṭṭhosi  
puna gehaṃ na kāhasi  
sabbā te phāsukā bhaggā  
gahakūṭaṃ visaṅkhatam  
visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ  
taṇhānaṃ khayamajjhagā.*

House-builder—I see you!  
You won't build a house again;  
all your rafters are broken,  
your ridgepole undone—  
my mind [too] has become “undone,”  
having made an end to craving.

## II-3 Canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-CM)

**Āṭānāṭiya-sutta-CM** (1)

**Isigili-sutta-CM** (2)

**Dhajagga-sutta-CM** (1)

**Parābhava-sutta-CM** (2)

**Maṅgala-sutta-CM** (1)

**Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM** (2)

### **Āṭānāṭiya-sutta-CM**

Discourse on the Āṭānāṭiya protection

FEMC title: āṭānāṭiyasūtra

Pali mixed verse and prose, Dīgha-nikāya 32.

Leporello: **UB064** 72a–81a āṭānāṭiyasuttapāṭho

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 014'-A.04.17.02, FEMC 020'-A.04.17.02, FEMC 023'-A.04.17.02, FEMC 024'-A.04.17.02, FEMC A.374, FEMC A.376, FEMC A.397, A.420, FEMC A.421, FEMC, FEMC A.443, FEMC A.462, FEMC D.111, FEMC D-.205

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha describing a vast assembly of deities, focusing on Vessavana's recitation of the Āṭānāṭiya protective chant (*rakkha*).

### **Isigili-sutta-CP**

Discourse at Isigili

FEMC title: Isigilisūtra

Pali prose, Majjhima-nikāya 116.

Leporello: **UB022** 51b–56b isīlī, divided into three *pad*, starting with *evam me...* (*nēh pad 1*), then *ariṭṭho...* (*pad mṭaṇ diet*), and finally *ye sattasārā...*; **UB064** 68b–71b isigilisuttapāṭho

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 007-A.04.17.02, FEMC A.375, FEMC A.393, FEMC A.416, FEMC A.439, FEMC A.460, FEMC D.108, FEMC D-.207, FEMC D' .251, FEMC D' .255, FEMC D.386

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha at Isigili mountain on the *paccekabuddhas* who formerly lived in the vicinity, concluding with an exhortation to pay homage to them.

**Dhajagga-sutta-CM**

Discourse on the top of the banner

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 11.3.

Leporello: **UB064** 81b–83b dhajaggasūtr/dhajaggaparittam

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha on the benefits of recollecting the virtues of the Three Jewels, comparing this recollection to viewing the top of the Sakka's banner in battle in order to eliminate fear.

**Parābhava-sutta-CM**

Discourse on downfall

FEMC title: parābhavasūtra

Pali mixed prose and verse, from Sutta-nipāta 1.6.

Leporello: **UB003** 2a–5b, followed by *នេះចប់ធម៌បរាដែលភិក្ខុសូត្រថ្វាយអ្នកកាន់បិណ្ឌូហោ;* **UB046** 56a–59a dharm par"ā pök aruṇ

Short-form palm-leaf: FEMC A.465, FEMC D-.208, FEMC 010'-PP.03.03.03,

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha on the causes of downfall.

**Maṅgala-sutta-CM**

Discourse on blessings

FEMC title: maṅgalasūtra

Pali mixed prose and verse, Khuddakapāṭha 5 and Sutta-nipāta 2.4.

Leporello: **UB039** 52a–53b mahāmaṅgalasūtam (prose incipit missing)

Appendix II-3 Canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-CM)

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 011'-A.04.17.02, FEMC 005'-PP.03.03.03 FEMC 011'-PP.03.03.03, FEMC D.405, D' .250

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha on the thirty-eight types of blessings.

**Mahāsamaya-sutta-CM**  
Great discourse on the meeting

FEMC title: mahāsamayasūtra

Pali prose, Dīgha-nikāya 20.

Leporello: **UB022** 41–51b braḥ mahāsamay (incipit missing); **UB064** 60b–68a mahāsamayasūtr/mahāsamayasuttaṃ

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 006-PP.03.03.03, FEMC 007-PP.03.03.03, FEMC 001.A.07.01.05, FEMC A.396, FEMC A.408, FEMC A.419, FEMC A.442.VII, A.459.VII, D.110, FEMC D.112<sup>2</sup>, FEMC D' .234, FEMC D' .235, FEMC D' .240, FEMC D.388, FEMC D.399

Summary: Discourse of the Buddha concerning a great meeting of deities assembled to see and praise the Buddha and his disciples, concluding with the defeat of Māra's armies.

## II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

- Atīappaccavekhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (1)  
**Abhiṇhappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP** (2)  
**Abhidhammāmātikā-NP** (44)  
**Ākāravattā A-NP** (43)  
**Ākāravattā B-NP** (12)  
**Ākāravattā C-NP** (1)  
**Ākāravattā D-NP** (1)  
**Ākāravattā E-NP** (1)  
**Ān trai A-NP** (9)  
**Ān trai A-NP** (6)  
**Ān trai C-NP** (2)  
**Ān trai D-NP** (1)  
**Itipi so 10 dis-NP** (1)  
**Itipi so that A-NP** (12)  
**Itipi so that B-NP** (2)  
**Itipi so that C-NP** (1)  
**Dasajāti-NP** (2)  
**Dvattimsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP** (1)  
**Dhammakāya-NP** (6)  
**Buddhābhiseka-NP** (18)  
**Maṅgalacakkavāla** (1)  
**Rāp' ṭhān-NP** (2)  
**Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakkammaṭṭhāna-NP** (1)  
**Sabbadisāsu-mettāphāraṇa-NP** (1)  
**Sahassanaya-NP** (8)

### **Atīappaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP**

Passage for reflection on the past

Pali prose, composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 15th–19th centuries, associated with the Dhammayuttikanikāya.

Leporello: **UB064** 86a–86b atīappaccavekkhaṇa:

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំ

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

ពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 307–308.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvan̄i สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakuṭṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 293–294.

Summary: Reflection on the four types of requisites (robes, alms food, lodging, and medicine) used by a monastic over the day.

Standardized edition

ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā yaṃ cīvaraṃ paribhuttaṃ, taṃ yāvadeva sītassa paṭighātāya, uṇhassa paṭighātāya, ḍaṃsa-makasa-vātātapa-siriṃsapa-samphassānaṃ paṭighātāya, yāvadeva hirikopina-paṭicchādan'atthaṃ.

ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā yo piṇḍapatto paribhutto, so neva davāya na madāya na maṇḍanāya na vibhūsanāya, yāvadeva imassa kāyassa ṭhitiyā yāpanāya vihiṃsuparatiyā brahma-cariyānuggahāya, iti purāṇāñca vedanaṃ paṭihañkhāmi navañca vedanaṃ na uppādessāmi, yātrā ca me bhavissati anavajjātā ca phāsu-vihāro cāti.

ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā yaṃ senāsaṇaṃ paribhuttaṃ, taṃ yāvadeva sītassa paṭighātāya, uṇhassa paṭighātāya, ḍaṃsa-makasa-vātātapa-siriṃsapa-samphassānaṃ paṭighātāya, yāvadeva utuparissaya-vinodanaṃ paṭisallānārāmaṃ'atthaṃ.

ajja mayā apaccavekkhitvā yo gilāna-paccaya-bhesajja-parikkhāro paribhutto, so yāvadeva uppannānaṃ veyyābādhikānaṃ vedanānaṃ paṭighātāya, abyāpajjha-paramatāyāti.

**Abhiṅhapaccavekkhaṇa-pāṭha-NP**

Passage for frequent reflection

Pali prose, composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 15th–19th centuries, associated with the Dhammayuttikanikāya.

Leporello: **UB045** 36b–39b abhiṅhapaccavekkhaṇasūtr; **UB064** 84a–85b abhiṅhapaccavekkhaṇa:/abhiṅhapaccavekkhaṇapāṭho

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 311–314.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvan̄i สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakuṭṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย,



2423), 297–299.

Summary: Reflection for monastics on the inevitability of karma, old age, illness, and death.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB045**

atthi kho tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena pañca ṭhānāni  
sammadakkhātāni yāni abhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbāni itthiyā vā purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā  
pabbajitena vā. katamāni pañca. jarādhammomhi jaraṃ anatūtoti abhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ  
itthiyā vā purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā. byādhihammomhi byādhiṃ anatūtoti bhiñhaṃ  
paccavekkhitabbaṃ itthiyā vā purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā. maraṇadhammomhi  
maraṇaṃ anatūtoti bhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ itthiyā vā purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā.  
sabbehi me piyehi manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvoti bhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ itthiyā vā purisena  
vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā.

kammassakomhi kammaḍāyādo kammayoni kammabandhu kammaṭṭhāraṇā yaṃ kammaṃ  
karissāmi kalyāṇaṃ vā pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyādo bhavissāmīti abhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ itthiyā vā  
purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā. imāni kho tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā  
sammāsambuddhena pañca ṭhānāni sammadakkhātāni yāni abhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbāni itthiyā vā  
purisena vā gahaṭṭhena vā pabbajitena vā.

tasmātilhamhehi evaṃ abhiñhaṃ paccavekkhitabbaṃ jarādhammomhi jaraṃ anatūto  
byādhihammomhi byādhiṃ anatūto maraṇadhammomhi maraṇaṃ anatūto sabbehi me piyehi  
manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo kammassakomhi kammaḍāyādo kammayoni kammabandhu  
kammaṭṭhāraṇā yaṃ kammaṃ karissāmi kalyāṇaṃ vā pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyādo bhavissāmīti. tato  
uttarimmi paccavekkhitabbaṃ na kho panāhameva jarādhammomhi jaraṃ anatūto athakho yāvatā  
sattānaṃ āgati gati cuti upapatti sabbe sattā jarādhammā jaraṃ anatūtā taṃ kutettha labbhā. na kho  
panāhameva byādhihammomhi byādhiṃ anatūto athakho yāvatā sattānaṃ āgati gati cuti upapatti  
sabbe sattā byādhihammā byādhiṃ anatūtā taṃ kutettha labbhā. na kho panāhameva  
maraṇadhammomhi maraṇaṃ anatūto athakho yāvatā sattānaṃ āgati gati cuti upapatti sabbe sattā  
maraṇadhammā maraṇaṃ anatūtā taṃ kutettha labbhā. na kho pana mayhameva sabbehi me piyehi  
manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo athakho yāvatā sattānaṃ āgati gati cuti upapatti sabbe sattā piyehi  
manāpehi nānābhāvo vinābhāvo taṃ kutettha labbhā. na kho panāhameva kammassakomhi  
kammaḍāyādo kammayoni kammabandhu kammaṭṭhāraṇā yaṃ kammaṃ karissāmi kalyāṇaṃ vā  
pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyādo bhavissāmi atha kho yāvatā sattānaṃ āgati gati cuti upapatti sabbe sattā  
kammassakā kammaḍāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammaṭṭhāraṇā yaṃ kammaṃ karissanti  
kalyāṇaṃ vā pāpakaṃ vā tassa dāyādo bhavissanti taṃ kutettha labbhāti.

**Abhidhammātikā-NP**

Table of contents of the Abhidhamma

FEMC title: abhidhamma-mātikā

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Pali prose, divided into seven portions, *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Dhātukathā*, *Puggalappaññati*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Yamaka*, and [*Mahā*]paṭṭhāna, extracts of canonical texts, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, identical to the third portion of **Ān traī B**.

Leporello: **UB001** 22b–27a braḥ dhamm; **UB002** 33a–36a braḥ abhidhamm; **UB004** 48a–53a braḥ abhidhamm; **UB005** 24a–27a braḥ abhidhamm; **UB010** 20b–23a dhaṛm ān traī/braḥ gambīr abhidhamasūtr; **UB011** 20b–23b braḥ abhidhamm; **UB012** 24b–27b braḥ dhamm; **UB014** 35b–39a braḥ abhidhammasaṅghanī, braḥ vibhaṅgapakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ dhātukathāpakaraṇ, braḥ pugalapaññatipakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ kathāvatthupakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ yamakapakaraṇ saṅkhep braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇ saṅkhep; **UB015** 8–31a braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅgapakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ dhātukathāpakaraṇ, braḥ pugalapaññatipakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ kathāvatthupakaraṇ saṅkhep, braḥ yamakapakaraṇ saṅkhep braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇ saṅkhep; **UB016** 19b–22b braḥ apbidhamm; **UB017** 2b–5a braḥ saṅgaṇī capp’ lēv°, braḥ vibhaṅ capp’ lēv°, braḥ dhātukathā capp’ lēv°, braḥ puggalapaṇa(tī) capp’ lēv°, braḥ kathāvatthu capp’ lēv°, braḥ yam capp’ lēv°, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān capp’ paripūra(ṇ) lēv°; **UB018** 39a–43a braḥ dhaṛm abhidhamm; **UB019** 70a–74b braḥ dhaṛm abhidhamm; **UB020** 16b–20b kambī braḥ saṅghanī, kambī braḥ vibhaṅ, kambī braḥ dhātukathā, kambī braḥ pugalapaññati, kambī braḥ kathāvatthu, kambī braḥ yak, kambī braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān; **UB023** 19b–24a braḥ dhamm (braḥ saṅgaṇī lēv, braḥ vibhaṅ, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalapaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamakk, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān); **UB024** 18a–21b braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī lēv°, braḥ vibhaṅ lēv°, braḥ dhātukathā lēv°, braḥ puggala lēv°, braḥ kathāvatthu lēv°, braḥ gambī yamak, [braḥ mahā]paṭṭhān lēv°; **UB025** 16a–19b braḥ saṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅ, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggal, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān; **UB026** 28a–30b sattappakaraṇābidhamm dhammasaṅgaṇī; **UB027** 43a–48a abhidhamm/ān traī/braḥ dhammasaṅgaṇī, [illegible], [illegible], [puggala]ppañña[tī], kathāvatthu, [illegible], mahāpaṭṭhān), with an illegible colophon; **UB028** 34a–38b braḥ dhamm (gambīr braḥ saṅghanī para: braḥ abhidhamm lev, gambīr braḥ vibhaṅ lev, gambīr braḥ dhātukathā lev, gambīr braḥ puggalappaññati lev, gambīr braḥ kathāvatthu lev, gambīr braḥ yamaka: lev, gambīr braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān); **UB032** 24–28a braḥ abhidhamm dāṃṇi mūl (incipit mostly effaced); **UB033** 31–34a braḥ dham (incipit missing); **UB034** 25a–27b braḥ dhamm (kāṃmbīy braḥ saṅgaṇī, kāṃmbīy braḥ vibhaṅ, kāṃmbīy braḥ dhātukathā, kāṃmbīy braḥ puggul, kāmbī braḥ kathāvatthu, kāṃmbī braḥ yāgg, kāmbīy braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān); **UB036** 45a–50a braḥ abhidhamm dāṃṇi prāmbīr gambīr; **UB037** 26b–30b braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅ pakaraṇ, braḥ dhātukathā pakaraṇ, puggalapaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu pakaraṇ, braḥ yamak pakaraṇ (explicit missing); **UB038** 42a–45a braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ abhidhamm 7 gambīr, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*; **UB039** 85a–89a braḥ saṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅ, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalapaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamaka:, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān; **UB042** 14a–18b braḥ dhamm (braḥ dhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅ, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalappaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān); **UB043** 89a–92a sattappakaraṇābidhamm/

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

braḥ abhidhamm; **UB044** 68a–71a sattappakaraṇābhidhamm/braḥ abhidhamm; **UB047** 17b–20b braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ dhamm; **UB048** 43 (crossed out in red marker), with the incipit ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌ ព្រះសង្ឃ (explicit missing); **UB048** 55a–51a; **UB049** 19–23b gambī braḥ saṅgaṇī [cap' lev°], kambī braḥ vibhaṅg [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ dhātukathā [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ pugalapañatti [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ kathāvatthu [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ yamagg [cap' lev°], gambī braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān [cap' lev°]; **UB050** 25a–30a braḥ saṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggal, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yamag, braḥ mahāsthān; **UB052** 9–11a braḥ saṅghanīy, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukaththā, braḥ puggalapañatti, braḥ kathāvatthu, braḥ yammagg, braḥ mahārapaththān, with final note បរិបូណ៌ប្បវេណីលេខ្លាឃ្មុំ; **UB053** 24b–29a kāmmbīy° braḥ saṅkanīy°, kāmmbīy° braḥ vibhaṅg, kāmmbīy° braḥ dhātukathā, kāmmbīy° braḥ pugal, kāmmbīy° braḥ kathāvatthu, kāmmbīy° braḥ yaṅmmak, kambī braḥ mahāpathān; **UB055** 54a–57a kāmmbīy° braḥ saṅganīy° saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ vibhaṅg saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ dhātukathā saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ pugul saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ kathāvatthu saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ yaṅmmag saṅkhèp, kāmmbīy° braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān saṅkhèp; **UB057** 2b–7b braḥ abhidhammasaṅgaṇī, braḥ vibhaṅg pakaraṇ, braḥ dhātukathā pakaraṇ, braḥ puggalapaññatti, braḥ kathāvatthu pakaraṇ saṅep, braḥ yamag pakaraṇ, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhān pakaraṇ saṅkhèp, with the incipit *namatthara tanattayussa*; **UB058** 21 [left], 22a–31b kauvaṭā khmè (incipit missing); **UB060** 1b–3b braḥ abhidhamm; **UB061** 2b–4b braḥ abhidhamm dāmaṇ prāmbil gambīr (incipit missing); **UB063** 19b–22b braḥ abhidhamm (dhammasaṅgaṇī); **UB065** 15b–17b sattappakaraṇābhidhamm; **UB068** 37–38b braḥ pugulapañatti, braḥ kaththāvatthu, braḥ yamak, braḥ mahāpaththāna (incipit missing)

Short-leaf palm-leaf manuscripts: FEMC A.60, FEMC D.402, FEMC D.406, FEMC 053-PP.03.03.03.

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 269–72.

Lao books: Mahādaaṅgāṃ Hliem<sub>1</sub>puñhīōn มຫາທອງຄຳ ຫລ່ຽມບຸນເຮືອງ, *Gū<sub>1</sub> mī bidī ຄູ່ມີພິດີ* (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ: Śikṣā sān(gh) sūn(y) kān ສິກສາສິງສຸນກລາງ (ศึกษาสงฆ์สนัยกวาง), 2546), 287–8.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทวะ), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlan สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakuṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 231–4.

Edition: Peter Skilling, “Chanting and Inscripting: The ‘Condensed Tripitaka’ in Thai Ritual,” in *“Guiding Lights” for the “Perfect Nature”: Studies on the Nature and the Development of Abhidharma Buddhism. A Commemorative Volume in Honor of Prof. Dr. Kenyo Mitomo for His 70th Birthday* (Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, n.d.), 928–62.

Summary: A brief excerpt from the beginning of each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma.

**Ākāravattā A-NP**  
Ākāravattā, version A

FEMC title: ākāravatāsūtra

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, divided into 17 *vagga*, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Ākāravattā B-NP**, **Ākāravattā C-NP**, **Ākāravattā D-NP**, and **Ākāravattā E-NP**.

Leporello: **UB001** 2b–18b, 20b–22a dhaṛm kauvatā; **UB002** 10b–22a braḥ dhammakāvatā; **UB003** 22a–34a dhaṛm kāvatā; **UB004** 33a–47 akāravattasūtr hau tām damlāp' thā <<kauvatār>> ; **UB005** 2b–16b braḥ kāvaṭā, with brackets; **UB010** 9b–19a itipi so that [ඊඊ ඉඉඉඉ], with brackets; **UB012** 11a–23a kauṭār/kauvaṭār; **UB014** 2b–20a ākāvaṭāsūt, with the following explicit: [mūl script] *namatthuratanattayassa* [jriēn script] *sātāgiriyaḥko asurindo cātumahārājā sako mahābraḥ* [mūl script] *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*; **UB015** 2b–15b akāravattāsūt, with the following explicit: [mūl script] *namatthuratanattayassa* [jriēn script] *sātāgiriyaḥko asurindo cātumahārājā sakko mahābrahmā* [mūl script] *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*; **UB017** 5a–18a braḥ kauvatār; **UB018** 3a–20a braḥ dhaṛm akāvatāsūtr; **UB019** 42b–59a braḥ dhaṛm akāvatāsūtr; **UB020** 51b–69a braḥ akāravatā; **UB021** 48b–58a akāravattāsuttam, with brackets; **UB023** 2b–19b braḥ kauvatā/ākāravattāsūtr; **UB024** 3a–17a (incipit missing); **UB025** 1b–15b; **UB027** 14a–14b, 15b–28a ākāravattā; **UB028** 15a–28b, 30b–31a braḥ kauvatā/braḥ kauvaṭāsūtr, with brackets; **UB030** 15a–15b braḥ kauvatāsūt (incipit missing); **UB031** 2a–11a braḥ kauvatāsūt (incipit missing); **UB032** 11b–23b (explicit mostly effaced); **UB033** 10b–18b, 19b–23b braḥ kauṭā (middle missing); **UB034** 11a–24b kovatār/dhar kauvatā; **UB037** 9a–17b ākāravattāsūt, with the following incipit: [mūl script] *namatthuratanattayassa namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* [jriēn script, purple ink] *sātāgiriyaḥko asurindo cātumahārājā sakko mahābrahmā*; **UB039** 89a–91b (explicit missing); **UB042** 26b–42b braḥ ākāravattāsūtr ṭap' prāmbīr me 17/kauvatā; **UB047** 20b–30a āgāravasūtr/kauvaṭā; **UB048** 26b–42b akāravatā/braḥ dhaṛp; **UB049** 19 braḥ kauvatā (incipit missing); **UB050** 1–24b akāravatā; **UB053** 6a–24a braḥ kovaṭā; **UB055** 2a–7a (explicit missing); **UB055** 40a–53b braḥ kauvaṭā; **UB057** 7b–27a braḥ kauvatā, with the incipit *namattura tanattayassa*; **UB060** 7a–13b braḥ kāvaṭā/braḥ kauvaṭā; **UB061** 9a–14b (incipit and explicit missing); **UB063** 3a–14a ākāravattasūtr, with brackets; **UB065** 3a–15a ākāravattasūtr, with brackets; **UB067** 9b–21a braḥ dhamm kov vattār [cap lvev le]; **UB069** 9b–17b (explicit missing); **UB069** 19b [started, but then abandoned by the scribe?] (explicit missing)

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC A426

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Khmer books: Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajum dhaṃ kāvātār niṃ sūtr braḥ dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រ ព្រះជំនុំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1972), 71–83; Sèm Sūr សែម សួរ, *Prajum dhaṃ pad niṃ dhammasaṃveg* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 72–83; Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhhammasaṃveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṃ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1942), 95–107; Sāṃṇī Hī សាំង ហ៊ី, *Braḥ kāvaṭā ព្រះកាវតា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār buddhasāsanapaṇḍity បណ្ណាគារពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, n.d.), 16–36; Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṃveg nānā ប្រជុំធម្មសង្កេតនានា* (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 112–124; Khāt' Khun ខាត់ ខុន, *Kamraṇ kpuon chpāp' purāṇ khmèr កម្រងក្បួនច្បាប់បុរាណខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Gaṇ' Sār"an កង សារ"ន, 2012), 206–26.

Lao books: Yā Mè<sub>1</sub> Pānmās Bimaḥsaan ຍາដំបិງມາສ បិມະສອນ, *Hnāṇ sī braḥ ākāraḥvāttāsūt* ໜັງ ສີພຣະອາກາຣ໌ວັຕຕາສູຕ (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ, 2510), 24–33.

Thai books: Ācār(y) อาจารย์ Nāṇajoti ญาณโชติ, *Gāmbā(r) saiyasāst(r) chpāp sampūra(n) คัมภีร์ ใสยศาสตร์ ฉบับสมบูรณ์* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃṇāk bim(b) śilpāpaṇṇāgār สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปบรรณาการ, 2550), 171–9.

Edition and translation: Padmanabh S. Jaini, “(Introduction to and Translation of) *Ākāravattārasutta*: An ‘Apocryphal’ Sutta from Thailand,” in *Collected Papers on Buddhist Studies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2001), 535–57.

Summary: A short introduction concerning the Buddha’s epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, followed by a non-canonical enumeration of the perfections of the Buddha, divided into seventeen chapters of ten perfections each.

**Ākāravattā B-NP**  
Ākāravattā, version B

FEMC title: ākāravattāsūtra braḥ sārīputta

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā C-NP**, **Ākāravattā D-NP**, and **Ākāravattā E-NP**.

Leporello: **UB013** 17a–39b, 42b–48a (explicit missing); **UB022** 6b–29b dhaṃm ān traiyo° braḥ dhamm kauvatāṛ; **UB026** 3b–23b ākāravattārasūtr; **UB029** 11a–15b braḥ kauvatā

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(short version); **UB040** 1,14–25b (incipit and explicit missing); **UB043** 71b–86b kāvatāsūtr; **UB044** 45a–49a, 53b–66a kāvatār/kāvatā; **UB052** 17b–32b ākāravattā suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ; **UB054** 2a–24b, 25b–35b *kautā*, with brackets; **UB058** 31b–35, 1–10b, 11, 16b–17a kovaratā siem' [neḥ cap' kovaratā siem' hōy° pun kramaṃ]; **UB068** 38b–55b braḥ kovatār; **UB070** 15a–27a

Summary: A short introduction concerning the Buddha's epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, followed by a non-canonical enumeration of the perfections of the Buddha, not divided into chapters, but with a repeated petition to be free from illness, disaster, and other obstacles, then an extensive excerpt from the seventh chapter (*Samuccayaṭṭhāna*) of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgha*, and closing with a final petition that all illness, disasters, and other obstacles be destroyed by the power of the *Ākāravattā* and that all beings, from those in the lower realms up to those in the heavens, be happy.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB026**

(namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa) (3 ṭaṇ)

taṃ kho pana bhagavantaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo  
kittisaddo abbhuggato. itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato  
lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti. so imaṃ lokaṃ  
sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyaṃ pajjaṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayamaṃ  
abhiññāya sacchikatvā pavedesi.

itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho. itipi so bhagavā vijjācaranasampanno. itipi so bhagavā  
sugato. itipi so bhagavā lokavidū. itipi so bhagavā anuttaro. itipi so bhagavā purisadammasārathi. itipi  
so bhagavā satthādevamanussānaṃ. itipi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho. itipi so bhagavā bhagavāti.

itipi arahaṃ sammāsambuddho sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi vijjācaraṇa sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi sugato sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi lokavidū sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi anuttaro sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi purisadammasārathi sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi satthādevamanussānaṃ sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi sambuddho sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi bhagavā sampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi arahaṃ so bhagavā.  
itipi sammāsambuddho so bhagavā.  
itipi vijjācaraṇasampanno so bhagavā.  
itipi sugato so bhagavā.  
itipi lokavidū so bhagavā.  
itipi anuttaro so bhagavā.  
itipi purisadammasārathi so bhagavā.

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itipi satthādevamanussānaṃ so bhagavā.  
itipi buddho so bhagavā.  
itipi bhagavāti.  
itipi so bhagavā svākkhāto sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā asatyānubyañjana sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā buddhapaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā mahāpaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā varapaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā bhikkhapaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā puthupaññāsampanno javanapaññāsampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā nirodhapaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā paripūrādasapaññā sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā paññāviriya sampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā bodhiyasampanno.  
itipi so bhagavā aṭṭharassa avinika sampannoti.

itipi dānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi sīlapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi nekkhamapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi paññāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi viriyapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi khantīpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi saccampāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi adhiṭṭhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi mettāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi upekkhāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
sammāpatipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
jhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
abhiññāṇapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
ñāṇapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
cattāro satipaṭṭhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
cattāro sammappadhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
cattāro iddhipādopāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
pañcīndriyānipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
pañcabalānipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
sattabojjhaṅgānipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
attamaḅḅaṅgānipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
sattataṃsavaraḅḅodhipakkhiyapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
arahaṃ sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
vijjācaraṇa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
sugato sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
lokavidū sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
anuttaro sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
purisaddhamasārathi sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
satthādevamanussānaṃ sampanno itipi so bhagavā.

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buddho sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
bhagavāti sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
adhiṭṭhānadassana sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
ñāṇa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
saṃghayo sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
ukāsassa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
cuti sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
gabbhathiti sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
gabbhthitivuttā sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
adhipati sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
gatta sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
rūpa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
vana sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
āroha sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
pariṇāha sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
mahādānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
mahākiriyaṇāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
attapitisambhidānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
dhammapitisambhidānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
attapatisambhidānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
niruttipatisambhidānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
patibhānapatisambhidānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
cattāri ariyasaccānipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
balaparapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
mahāpurisalakkhaṇā sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
ānāracarmukkhassa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
pītisariya sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
dhammasariya sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
indrīyaparittaññāṇa sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
catuvisakotiṣattasahañña sampanno itipi so bhagavā.

itipi dānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi sīlapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi nekkhamapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi paññāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi viriyapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi khantīpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi saccampāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi adhiṭṭhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi mettāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi upekkhāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi dasapāramī tejena etena saccena.  
sabbarogā vinassantu. sabbaantarāyā vinassantu. sabbasatu vinassantu. sabbadunnimittaṃ vinassantu.  
sabbadussupinaṃ vinassantu. sabbapāpaggahā vinassantu. sabbadukkhāvīpilitā vinassantu. sabbe sattā  
sukhitā hotu.



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itipi dānaupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi sīlaupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi nekkhamaupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi paññāupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi viriyaupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi khantīupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi saccamupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi adhiṭṭhānaupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi mettāupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi upekkhāupapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi dasaupapāramī tejena etena saccena.  
sabbarogā vinassantu. sabbaantarāyā vinassantu. sabbasatu vinassantu. sabbadunnimittaṃ vinassantu.  
sabbadussupinaṃ vinassantu. sabbapāpaggaḥā vinassantu. sabbadukkhāvipilitā vinassantu. sabbe sattā  
sukhitā hotu.

itipi dānaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi sīlaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi nekkhamaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi paññāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi viriyaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi khantīparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi saccamparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi adhiṭṭhānaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi mettāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi upekkhāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
itipi dasaparamatthapāramī tejena etena saccena.  
sabbarogā vinassantu. sabbaantarāyā vinassantu. sabbasatu vinassantu. sabbadunnimittaṃ vinassantu.  
sabbadussupinaṃ vinassantu. sabbapāpaggaḥā vinassantu. sabbadukkhāvipilitā vinassantu. sabbe sattā  
sukhitā hotu. etena saccena mayhaṃ suvatthi hontu.

itipi so bhagavā atītaññāna sampanno itipi so bhagavā. anāgataññāna itipi so bhagavā.  
pañcaratisāriputtaṃ tathāgataṃ anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho patti  
dhammaṃsuttaṃ paricchetaputtaṃ sāriputtaṃ abhidhammaṃkittiyaṃ saṇāhi tenahi bhagavā.  
dvāsataṃ vidhā vuttādhammā salakkhaṇā te saddhā niyathāyogaṃ. pavakkhāmi samuccayakattāmo.  
samuccayasaṅgaho akusalasaṅgaho misikasaṅgaho bodhipakkhiyasaṅgaho sabbasaṅgaho catu  
buddhoveditabbo. kathaṃ akusalasaṅgaho gāveyyādassiyate. cattāro asavā. kāmasavā bhavāsavo  
diṭṭhāsavo avijjāsavo cattārooghā kāmogho bhavogho diṭṭhogho avijjogho cattāro yogo kāmayogo  
bhavayogo diṭṭhayogo avijjāyogo cattārobando abhijjhakāyabando byapādakoyabando  
sīlabattaparāmāso kāyabando. idaṃ saccābhinivesokāyabando cattāro upādānaṃ kāmupādānaṃ  
diṭṭhupādānaṃ sīlabattupādānaṃ attavānupādānaṃ. chandanivaraṇaṃ kāmachandanivaraṇaṃ  
byāpādanivaraṇaṃ avijjānivaraṇaṃ udaccakukkucamnivaraṇaṃ viccīkchānivaraṇaṃ  
avijjānivaraṇaṃ. sathānusayo kāmarāgānusayo bhavarāgānusayo paṭighānusayo mānānusayo  
diṭṭhānusayo viccīkchānusayo avijjānusayo dassasaṃyojanāni. kāmarāgasamyojanaṃ  
rūparāgasamyojanaṃ arūparāgasamyojanaṃ paṭighasamyojanaṃ mānasamyojanaṃ

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diṭṭhāsaṃyojanaṃ sīlabattaparāmāsasaṃyojanaṃ viccīkicchāsaṃyojanaṃ uddaccasaṃyojanaṃ avijjāsaṃyojanaṃ suttante aparāni. dassasaṃyojanaṃ kāmarāgasāsaṃyojanaṃ bhagavarāgasāsaṃyojanaṃ paṭighasaṃyojanaṃ viccīkicchāsaṃyojanaṃ assasaṃyojanaṃ abhidhamma dassakilesā lokākilesa dosakilesa mohakilesa mānokilesa diṭṭhikilesa viccīkicchākilesa thinakilesa uddaccakilesa ahirikaṃkilesa anotappakilesa iccevasabbapāpinavadāpāpasaṅgaho nāmasammatāni misikasaṅgaho catuyo. lobho hetuyo doso hetuyo mohohetuyo sattaññhānaṃ gānivattako vicāropīti ekagatāsomanassa upekkhāca. dvādassamaggaṃgāni sammādiṭṭhi sammāsaṅkappo sammāvācā sammākammanto sammāājīvo sammāvāyāmo sammāsati sammāsamādhī. micchādiṭṭhi micchāsaṅkappo micchāvāyāmo micchāsamādhī.

bāvisatindriyāni cakkhindriyaṃ sotindriyaṃ ghānindriyaṃ jīvahindriyaṃ kāyindriyaṃ manindriyaṃ jīvatindriyaṃ itthindriyaṃ purisindriyaṃ sukhindriyaṃ dukkhindriyaṃ somanssindriyaṃ domanassindriyaṃ upekkhindriyaṃ satindriyaṃ sammādhindriyaṃ paññindriyaṃ anaññataññassāmitindriyaṃ aññindriyaṃ aññātāvītindriyaṃ navabalāni saddhābalaṃ viriyabalaṃ satibalaṃ samādhībalaṃ paññābalaṃ hiribalaṃ ahiribalaṃ otappabalaṃ anotappabalaṃ. cattāro dhipattī dhandādhipattī viriyādhipattī cittādhipattī vimaṃsādhipattī cattāro ahāro kabalīkāhāro patthamophasoahāro dutiyomāno sabbotanāhāro tatiyo viññāṇa ahāro cattuttoicceva sabbapāpīsatānāpi sabbasaṅgaho nāmasamattāni bodhipakkhīyasaṅgaho. cattāro satipatṭhānā cittānupassanā sattipatṭhānā kāyānupassanā sattipatṭhānā vedānānupassanā sattipatṭhānā. cittānupassanā sattipatṭhānā dhammānupassanā sattipatṭhānā cattāro samuṭṭhānā. uppannānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anupādāyavāyāmo. anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ upādāyavāyāmo. upādānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ. bhayyokāyathitīyā panāyavāmo. catusiddhipādo chandādhipattī samanāgataṃ iddhipādāmbhāveti viriyādhipattī samanāgataṃ cittādhipattī samanāgataṃ iddhipādāmbhāveti.

pañcīndriyāni sadhīndriyaṃ viriyīndriyaṃ satīndriyaṃ samādhīndriyaṃ paññīndriyaṃ. pañcabalāni saddhābalaṃ viriyabalaṃ satibalaṃ samādhībalaṃ paññābalaṃ. sattaṣambojjhaṅgāni sattaṣambojjhaṅgo dhammacariyasambojjhaṅgo viriyasambojjhaṅgo pītīsambojjhaṅgo passaddhisambojjhaṅgo samādhīsambojjhaṅgo upekkhāsambojjhaṅgo.

attamaḅgaṃgāni sammādiṭṭhi sammāsaṅkappo sammāvācā sammākammanto sammāājīvo sammāvāyāmo sammāsati sammāsamādhī.

iccevasabbapāpa sattaṭṭhāsavārabodhipakkhīya saṅgahonāmasamattāni. pañcakkhandhā rūpakkhāndho vedānākhāndho saññākhāndho saṅkhārakkhāndho viññāṇakkhāndho. pañcaupādānakkhāndho vedānūpādānakkhāndho saññūpādānakkhāndho saṅkhārūpādānakkhāndho viññāṇūpādānakkhāndho dvādassāyatanāni cakkhāyatanāṃ sotāyatanāṃ ghānāyatanāṃ jīvhāyatanāṃ kāyāyatanāṃ manāyatanāṃ rūpāyatanāṃ saddāyatanāṃ gandhāyatanāṃ rasāyatanāṃ phoṭṭhabbāyatanāṃ dhammāyatanāṃ aṭṭhārassadhātuyo cakkhūdhātu sotadhātu ghānadhātu jīvhadhātu kāyadhātu rūpadhātu saddadhātu gandhadhātu rasadhātu phoṭṭhabbādhātu cakkhūviññāṇadhātu sotaviññāṇadhātu ghānaviññāṇadhātu jīhaviññāṇadhātu kāyaviññāṇadhātu manoviññāṇadhātu cattāro ariyasaccāni dukkhāṃ ariyasaccāṃ dukkhanīrodhāṃ ariyasaccāṃ dukkhanīrodhagāmīni paṭīpadā ariyasaccāṃ. iccevasabbapāpañcasāṅgaho nāmasamattāni.

ākāravatāsuttena tejena etena saccena sabbarogā vinassantu sabbaantarāyā vinassantu sabbasattū

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vinassantu sabbadunnimittam vinassantu sabbadusupinam vinassantu sabbapāpaggahā vinassantu sabbadukkhāvīpilitā vinassantu. apāyike sattenā avicike sattena addho pivā satā udapisatā rakkhamdevatā akāsadevatā sabbasahaparivārā sukhītā hontu.

(ākāravatāsūtr cap' paripūrn)

**Ākāravattā C-NP**

Ākāravattā, version C

FEMC title: ākāravatāsūtra

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā B-NP**, **Ākāravattā D-NP**, and **Ākāravattā E-NP**.

Leporello: **UB016** 8b–12b braḥ kauvatā

Summary: A short introduction concerning the Buddha's epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, followed by a simple enumeration of the thirty standard perfections of the Buddha, not divided into chapters, with a concluding petition to be free from illness and disaster and for all beings to be happy.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB016**

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa. sayya thītaṃdaṃkho panabhagavantaṃ evaṃ kalīyāno kattisaddho abhogato itipisobhagavā arahamaṃsammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasamppanno sugato loggavidū anuttaropurasaddhammasārathī satthādevmanusānaṃ buddhobhagavāti. soimaṃ sadevalokkaṃ sammāraṃ sabrahmakam sasumaṇṇabrahmaṇīyampajjaṃ yassadevamanussaṃ sayam abhiñāya sacchikkhatvā pavedesibhagavā. cakkhubhutto dhammabhutto ñānabhutto brammabhutto vatāpavato atassadīnno amatassaddhātā dhammasā midhamavājjā dhammadeseti adikaliyānaṃ pajjhekalīyānaṃ pariyosāna kalīyānaṃ satthasabda byajañjanaṃ kevalaṃparipaṇṇaṃ pavisuddhaṃ brammācariyaṃ pakāseti. sādhuḃkho panatathārūpanaṃ arahataṃ dossanaṃhonti. itipisobhagavā araham buddhobhagavāti. svākhātasampanno itipisobhagavā suppattisāmpañāno sāvagasaṅgho sāmpāno itipisobhagavāti. itipidānaparamī sāmpāno itipisobhagavā itipidānaupparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipidānaparamatthaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipisilla paramīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipisilla upaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipisillaparamatthaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipinekhamaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipinekhama upaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipinekhamaparamatthaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipipaññāparamīsampāno itipiso itipipaññā upaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipipaññāparamatthaparamīsampāno itipiso bhagavā itipivivīyaparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā itipivivīyaupparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itivirīyaparamattaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipikhaṇṭṭupparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipikhaṇṭṭupparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

itipikhantūparamatthaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipiasāccaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā  
itipisāccaupparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā itipisaccaparamatthaparamī sampāno itipiso bhagavā  
itipiadhīṭṭhāna paramīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipiadhīṭṭhāna upparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā  
itipisadhīṭṭhānaparamatthaparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā itipimetāparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā  
itipimetāupparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipimetā paramatthaparamīsampāno itipiso bhagavā  
itipiuppekhāparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā itipiuppekhā upparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā  
itipiuppekhā paramatthaparamīsampāno itipisobhagavā itipisammattiṇṇ<sup>o</sup>paramīsāpāno itipisobhagavā  
itipisammattiṇṇ<sup>o</sup> upparamī sampāno itipiso bhagavā itipisammattiṇṇ<sup>o</sup> paramattha paramī  
sampāno itipisobhagavā. sabbodhiṇāna sampāno aṇāvaraṇaṇāna sampāno itipisobhagavā  
aṭṭhaṅgigamaparamī sampāno itipisobhagavā gamasāmpāno itipiso bhagavā phalaṇānasampāno  
itipisobhagavā sattabhōjjaṃ sampāno itipisobhagavā bbodhīpakkhī sampāno itipisobhagavā  
sattassahassā sampāno itipisobhagavā sabbaññuttaṇāna sampāno itipisobhagavā  
sammāpattisampāno itipisobhagavā sattapaṭṭhāna sampāno itipisobhagavā samapaṭṭhāna sampāno  
itipisobhagavā samattavipassanā sampāno itipisobhagavā pariyattidhamma sampāno  
itipisobhagavāti. ṭejjenaetenasa cenasabbarogā vinassantu sabbaantarāyā vinassantu sabbesattā  
sakkhitāhontu.

**Ākāravattā D-NP**

Ākāravattā, version D

FEMC title: ākāravatāsūtra

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā B-NP**, **Ākāravattā C-NP**, and **Ākāravattā E-NP**.

Leporello: **UB036** 23a–32a, 34a–45a ākāravatā

Summary: A short introduction concerning the Buddha’s epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, followed by a non-canonical enumeration of the perfections of the Buddha, divided into seventeen chapters of ten perfections each. Up to this point, the text is very similar to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, but then it concludes with an additional section in which the Buddha declares to Sāriputta that, from the moment of his awakening, he recalls that the *Ākāravattā* can destroy all sins (c.f. section #29 in Jaini’s edition).

Diplomatic transcription of **UB036**

taṃ kho pana bhagavantaṃ gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato itipi so bhagavā araham  
sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi  
sattādevamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti. so imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ  
sassamaṃ brāhmaṇiyaṃ pajaṃ devamussānaṃ sayamaṃ abhiññāya sacchikatvā pavesesesi so bhagavā  
cakkhu bhūto ñāṇo bhūto dhamma bhūto brahma bhūto vatāvato atthasadino amata sattā ca masā

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

mirājā dhammamedesesi ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyoṣāna kalyāṇaṃ sabba byañjaṃ kevalaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti sādhu kho pana tathā rūpānaṃ arahattaṃ dassanaṃ hoti itipi so bhagavā ahaṃ itipi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho itipi so bhagavā vijjācaraṇasampanno itipi so bhagavā sugato itipi so bhagavā lokavidū itipi so bhagavā bhagavā anuttaro itipi so bhagavā purisadammasārathi itipi so bhagavā satthādevamanussaṇaṃ itipi so bhagavā buddho itipi so bhagavā bhāgavāti... [same as **Ākāravattā A-NP**]...itipi so bhagavā. buddhappaveṇīpāramī vaggo sattarasamo 17.

taṃ kho pana bhagavantaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato yañca sārīputtaratti tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho tañcaratti sadevaksassa lokassa mārakassa brahmakassa samaṇa brāhmaṇiyā pajāyañcassa devamanussaṇa pāṇaleṇā parāyaṇaṃ sabbapāpaṃ vinassantu satthā imaṃ akāravatā suttaṃ anussāmīti sabba[...]kkhagāminī matena saṃsāre anussarivā yāva anupā[...]sesāya nibbānadhātuyo ettantare sabbatathāgatassa[...]yakammañña akāravatā suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. akāravatā sut[...]

**Ākāravattā E-NP**  
Ākāravattā, version E

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā B-NP**, **Ākāravattā C-NP**, and **Ākāravattā D-NP**.

Leporello: **UB045** 69b–73ba anussati kammaṭṭhān (ការស្នាដ្ឋាយន័អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានឱយអពាធស្តាប់, buddhānusati (គប្បីស្នាដ្ឋាយ ពុទ្ធានុស្សតិ តទៅ៖), pāramī 30 prakār (គប្បីស្នាដ្ឋាយ បារមី ៣០ តទៅ៖)

Summary: A short introduction concerning the Buddha’s epithets and fame, excerpted from canonical texts, then a recapitulation of his ten epithets, followed by a simple enumeration of the thirty standard perfections of the Buddha.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB045**

(ការស្នាដ្ឋាយន័អនុស្សតិកម្មដ្ឋានឱយអពាធស្តាប់)

taṃ kho pana bhagavantaṃ gotamaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato itipi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussaṇaṃ buddho bhagavāti. so imam lokam sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajāṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayāṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti so dhammaṃ desesti ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekalyāṇaṃ pariyoṣānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ sabyañjanaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti. sādhu kho pana tathārūpānaṃ arahatam dassanaṃ hotīti.

(គប្បីស្នាដ្ឋាយ ពុទ្ធានុស្សតិ តទៅ៖)

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

itīpi so bhagavā araham,  
itīpi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho,  
itīpi so bhagavā vijjācaranasampanno,  
itīpi so bhagavā sugato  
itīpi so bhagavā lokavidū,  
itīpi so bhagavā anuttaro,  
itīpi so bhagavā purisadammasārathi,  
itīpi so bhagavā sathā devamanussānam  
itīpi so bhagavā buddho,  
itīpi so bhagavā ti bhagavā ti.

itīpi araham sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi sammāsambuddho so bhagavā,  
itīpi vijjācaraṇa sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi sugato sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi lokavidū sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi anuttaro sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi purisadammasārathi sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi sathādevamanussānam sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi sambuddho sampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi bhagavā sampanno so bhagavāti.

so bhagavā itīpi araham so bhagavā,  
itīpi sammāsambuddho so bhagavā,  
itīpi vijjācaraṇasampanno so bhagavā,  
itīpi sugato so bhagavā,  
itīpi lokavidū so bhagavā,  
itīpi anuttaro so bhagavā,  
itīpi purisadammasārathi so bhagavā,  
itīpi sathādevamanussānam so bhagavā,  
itīpi buddho so bhagavā,  
itīpi bhagavāti so bhagavāti.

(*နိပျိန္ဒုတ္တရာယ ဘာမိ ၈၀ နိဂါး*)

dānapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
dānaupāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
dānaparamatthapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā.  
sīlapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
sīlaupāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
sīlaparamatthapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā.  
nekkhamapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
nekkhamaupāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā,  
nekkhamaparamatthapāramī sampanno itīpi so bhagavā.

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

paññāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
paññāmaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
paññāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
viriyapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
viriyamaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
viriyaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
khanṭipāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
khanṭīmaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
khanṭīparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
saccapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
saccamaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
saccaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
adhiṭṭhānapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
adhiṭṭhānamaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
adhiṭṭhānaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
mettāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
mettāmaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
mettāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.  
upekkhāpāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
upekkhāmaupāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā,  
upekkhāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipi so bhagavā.

**Ān trai A-NP**

Recitation of the Three Baskets, version A

FEMC title: ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma

Pali prose, divided into three portions: *Vinaya*, *Sutta*, and *Sattappakaraṇābhidhamma*, extract of canonical texts, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the third portion of which is identical to **Abhidhammātikā-NP**.

**UB006** 2b–5b pālī braḥ vināy, pālī braḥ sūtr, pālī braḥ sattapakaraṇābhidhamm (Thai script); **UB013** 2b–10a braḥ vināy, braḥ sūt, braḥ saṅganīy, braḥ vibhaṅg, braḥ dhātukathā, braḥ puggalapaññati, braḥ kathāvatthu, [braḥ paṭṭh]ān; **UB021** 42b–48b braḥ vinaī, braḥ sūt pīṭak, (braḥ saṅganī, vibhaṅg, dhātukathā, puggal, kathāvatthu, braḥ mahāpaṭṭhānapakaran), braḥ abhidhamm dāṃṇī° 7 kāmmbīy° saṅkhēp; **UB022** 2a–6b braḥ vinaīy° puripuṇā lev°, braḥ sūttapiṭak saṅkhēp lev°, braḥ saṅganīy° capp lev°, braḥ vibhaṅg capp lev°, braḥ dhātu capp lev°, braḥ puggalapañatti, braḥ kathāvatthu capp, braḥ yakamakka capp lev° leḥ, braḥ mahāpathṭhān capp lev° (incipit missing); **UB045** 2b–9a pāṭh braḥ vināy braḥ sūtr braḥ abhidhamm/braḥ vināy braḥ sūtr braḥ abhidhamm saṅkhep; **UB054** 35b–42b braḥ dhamm/braḥ dhārm (kāmbīy° braḥ vinaīy° parīpaṇ lvev, braḥ sūt cap paripuṇ lvēv, kāmbīy° braḥ saṅganīy° gāmmabīy° 1, braḥ vibhāṃṇī° cap gaṃbīy° 2, braḥ dhātukathā cap gaṃmabīy°

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

3, braḥ pugulapañati gaṃmabīy° 4, braḥ kaththāvutthu gaṃmabīy° 5, braḥ yaṃmmag gaṃbīy° 6, braḥ mahār pathān gaṃbīy° 7); **UB058** 17a–20b, 1, 12a braḥ vināy [cap' braḥ vināy braḥ gunöy], braḥ saṅghanī, puggalapañatti [neh cap' puggalapañatti höy° paripaṇ lèv° höy°], braḥ abbhidhamm [cap' braḥ abbhidhamm höy braḥ guny], with cantillation marks (middle missing); **UB067** 1–6a braḥ vinaiy° [cap srec lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ sūt pīy° ṭ"akkh [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ saṅganīy° [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ vibhañ [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ dhdhātukaththā [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ puggalapañatti [cap lvev], kāmmbīy° braḥ kaththāvaththu [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ yaṃmmag [cap lvev le], kāmmbīy° braḥ mahāpasthān [cap lvev]; **UB070** 12a–15a

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC D.406

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC b.334

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវរុបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 267–72.

Lao books: Mahādaaṅgāṃ Hliem<sub>1</sub>puñhīön มຫາທອງຄຳ ຫລ່ຽມບຸນເຮືອງ, *Gū<sub>1</sub> mī bidī* ຄູ່ມືພິດີ (Vientiane ວຽງຈັນ: Śikṣā sâṅ(gh) sūn(y) kâṅ ສຶກສາສິງສຸມກລາງ (ศึกษาสงฆ์สนัยกวาง), 2546), 285–8.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvāñ สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakuṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 229–234.

Editions: Peter Skilling, “Chanting and Inscribing: The ‘Condensed Tripiṭaka’ in Thai Ritual,” in “*Guiding Lights*” for the “*Perfect Nature*”: *Studies on the Nature and the Development of Abhidharma Buddhism. A Commemorative Volume in Honor of Prof. Dr. Kenyo Mitomo for His 70th Birthday* (Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, n.d.), 928–62.

Summary: A brief excerpt from the beginning of the *Cullavagga* and the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Vinaya, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, and of each of the seven books of the Abhidhamma.

**Ān trai B-NP**

Recitation of the Three Baskets, version B

FEMC title: ān trai; braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtra, braḥ abhidhamma

Pali prose, divided into three portions: *Vinaya*, *Sutta*, and *Abhidhamma/Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, extract of canonical texts, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the



Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

third portion of which is identical to the first portion of the **Abhidhammamātikā-NP**.

Leporello: **UB002** 36b–39b ān trai(y); **UB010** 23a–25b ān trai; **UB011** 23b–26b ān trai; **UB012** 28a–30b ān trai; **UB028** 38b–42b ān trāy (ān trāy gambīr braḥ vināy lev, ān trāy gambīr braḥ sūtr lev, ān trāy gambīr braḥ abhidhamm); **UB039** 83b–85a braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtr, braḥ abhidhamm

Summary: A brief excerpt from the beginning of the *Cullavagga* and the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Vinaya, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, and of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* of the Abhidhamma.

**Ān trai C-NP**

Recitation of the Three Baskets, version C

Pali prose, divided into two portions: *Vinaya* and *Sutta*, extract of canonical texts, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, same as the first two portions of **Ān trai A-NP** and **Ān trai B-NP**.

Leporello: **UB043** 92b–94b ān trai braḥ vināy, gambīr braḥ sūtr; **UB044** 71b–74a ān trai braḥ vināy, braḥ sūtr

Summary: A brief excerpt from the beginning of the the *Parivāra* and the *Suttavibhaṅga* of the Vinaya, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.

**Ān trai D-NP**

Recitation of the Three Baskets, version D

Pali and other languages mixed together, likely composed in 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century Cambodia or Thailand, closely related to **Ān trai A-NP**, **Ān trai B-NP**, and **Ān trai C-NP**.

Leporello: **UB069** 23b–24a

Summary: Very brief excerpts from the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the *Parivāra*, with non-Pali, non-Khmer words sprinkled throughout.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB069**

◦ កត្តមេហំ ណែណែង២តិកំ កុសលំហំ ហៃយ៉ាសម្មីនេ កុសលំ ផ្លឺផ្លឺលំហោ ហំជាលេខធម្មំ អាណុកម្ពងៗ លំហាមិនទិនតេ ម៉េងសិនេ ហិមមិនសិនេ ម៉េងសិនេសម្ម ឧប្បន្តិផ្លឺផ្លឺលំហាហោទិហោជ អាហាហា អាណុកម្ពងៗ ម៉េងសិនេ អម៉េងសិនេ មេងសិនេសម្មឧប្បន្តិផ្លឺផ្លឺលំហោ



**Itipi so that A-NP**

“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version A

FEMC title: Itipiso that

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Itipi so that B-NP** and **Itipi so that C-NP**.

Leporello: **UB002** 31a–32 itipi so that; **UB010** 19a–20a itipi so that; **UB011** 19b–20b itipi so that; **UB012** 23a–24b itipi so that; **UB013** 74a–78a itipi so that; **UB022** 76a–77a dhamm itipi so that; **UB028** 31b–34a itipi so that; **UB043** 87a–88b, with the *Tisaraṇagamana* as the incipit (with brackets); **UB044** 66b–68a itipi so tṭhat, with the *Tisaraṇagamana* as the incipit (with brackets); **UB058** 38a–41b (explicit missing); **UB061** 5a–7a dharm rātnamālā; **UB064** 36b–37b buddhguṇ brah nām dāmaṇ 10 dharm saṃrāp' sūtr lōk rāsī;

Palm-leaf manuscripts: FEMC A.426

Khmer books: Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt brik bhāc ភាណវារ កិច្ចវត្ត ព្រឹកល្ងាច* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1965), 46–7.

Summary: Goes for refuge and pays homage to each of the ten epithets of the Buddha.

Standardized edition

itipi so bhagavā araham, araham vata so bhagavā, arahantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, arahantaṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā sammāsambuddho, sammāsambuddho vata so bhagavā, sammāsambuddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, sammāsambuddhaṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā vijjācaraṇasampanno, vijjācaraṇasampanno vata so bhagavā, vijjācaraṇasampannaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, vijjācaraṇasampannaṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā sugato, sugato vata so bhagavā, sugataṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, sugataṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā lokavidū, lokavidū vata so bhagavā, lokaviduṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, lokaviduṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā anuttaro, anuttaro vata so bhagavā, anuttaraṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, anuttaraṃ sirisā namāmi.

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

itipi so bhagavā purisadammasārathi, purisadammasārathi vata so bhagavā, purisadammasārathiṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, purisadammasārathiṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā sathā devamanussānaṃ, sathā devamanussānaṃ vata so bhagavā, sathāraṃ devamanussānaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, sathāraṃ devamanussānaṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā buddho, buddho vata so bhagavā, buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, buddhaṃ sirisā namāmi.

itipi so bhagavā bhagavā, bhagavā vata so bhagavā, bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, bhagavantaṃ sirisā namāmi.

Translation

The Buddha-Qualities of the Ten Sacred Epithets

The Blessed One is called the “Worthy One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Worthy One. To the Worthy One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Worthy One.

The Blessed One is called the “Rightly Self-Awakened One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Rightly Self-Awakened One. To the Rightly Self-Awakened One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Rightly Self-Awakened One.

The Blessed One is called the “Well-Gone One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Well-Gone One. To the Well-Gone One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Well-Gone One.

The Blessed One is called the “Knower of the Worlds.” The Blessed One is indeed a Knower of the Worlds. To the Knower of the Worlds I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Knower of the Worlds.

The Blessed One is called the “Supreme One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Supreme One. To the Supreme One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Supreme One.

The Blessed One is called the “Leader of Trainable Men.” The Blessed One is indeed a Leader of Trainable Men. To the Leader of Trainable Men I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Leader of Trainable Men.

The Blessed One is called the “Teacher of Gods and Humans.” The Blessed One is indeed a Teacher of Gods and Humans. To the Teacher of Gods and Humans I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Teacher of Gods and Humans.

The Blessed One is called the “Awakened One.” The Blessed One is indeed an Awakened One. To the Awakened One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Awakened One.

The Blessed One is called the “Blessed One.” The Blessed One is indeed a Blessed One. To the

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Blessed One I go for refuge. I bow my head to the Blessed One.

**Itipi so that B-NP**

“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version B

FEMC title: Itipiso that

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Itipi so that A-NP** and **Itipi so that C-NP**.

Leporello: **UB021** 60a–62a itipi so ththat; **UB050** 30b, 31–33b itipi so that

Summary: Enumerates the ten epithets of the Buddha, then goes for refuge and pays homage to each.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB021**

itipisobhagavārahaṃ itipisobhagavāsammāsambuddho itipisobhagavāvijjācaraṇasampanno  
itipisobhagavāsugato itipisobhagavālokavidū itipisobhagavāanuttaro  
itipisobhagavāpurissadammasārathī itipisobhagavāsathādevamanussānaṃ itipisobhagavābuddho  
itipisobhagavā arahantaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi arahantaṃsirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā  
sammāsambuddho sammāsambuddho vattasobhagavā sammābuddhaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi  
sammāsambuddhaṃsirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā vijjācaraṇasampanno 2 vattasobhagavā  
vijjācaraṇasampannaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi vijjāparaṇasampanaṃ sirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā  
sugatosugato vattasobhagavā sagataṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi sugataṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā  
lokavidūlokavidū vattasobhagavā lokavidūṃ saraṇaṃgacchāmi lokavidūṃsirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā  
anuttaroanuttaro vattasobhagavā anuttaraṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi anuttaraṃsirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā  
purissadammasārathī purissadammasārathī vattasobhagavā purissadammasārathīṃ  
saraṇaṃgacchāmi purissadammasārathīṃ sirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā sathādevamanussānaṃ  
sathādevamanussānaṃ vattasobhagavā sathādevamanussānaṃ saraṇaṃgacchāmi  
sathādevamanussānaṃ sirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā buddhobuddho vattasobhagavā  
buddhaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi buddhaṃsirisānamāmi itipisobhagavā bhagavā vattasobhagavā  
bhaggavantaṃ saraṇaṃgacchāmi bhaggavantaṃ sirisānamāmi.

**Itipi so that C-NP**

“Thus he is called” in groups of ten, version C

FEMC title: Itipiso that

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to **Itipi so that A-NP** and **Itipi so that B-NP**.

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Leporello: **UB060** 4a–6b sūtr kaṃḷāṃñ tic/sūtr bel kaṃmlāṃñ tic/braḥ vināy braḥ sūtr, braḥ abbhidhamm braḥ hassaṇāy

Summary: Goes for refuge and pays homage to each of the ten epithets of the Buddha, then lists the each of his thirty perfections, along with the four *brahmavihāras* for each.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB060**

namotassa. itipisobhagavā arahaṃ arahaṃ vatasobhagavā arahantaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi  
arahantaṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā sammāsambuddho sammāsambuddho vatasobhagavā  
sammāsambuddhaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi sammāsambuddhaṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā  
vijjācaraṇasampanno vijjācaraṇasampanno vatasobhagavā vijjāsaraṇasampannaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi  
vijjācaraṇasampannaṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā sugato sugato vatasobhagavā  
sugataṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi sugataṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā lokavidū lokavidū vatasobhagavā  
lokavidaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi lokavidaṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā anuttaro anuttaro vatasobhagavā  
anuttaraṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi anuttaraṃsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā purisadammasārathī  
purisadammasārathī vatasobhagavā purisadammasārathīsaraṇaṃgacchāmi  
purisadammasārathīsirisānamāmi. itipisobhagavā sathhādevamanussānaṃ sathhādevamanussānaṃ  
vatasobhagavā sathhādevamanussānaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi sathhādevamanussānaṃsirisānamāmi.  
itipisobhagavā buddho buddho vatasobhagavā buddhaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi buddhaṃsirisānamāmi.  
itipisobhagavā bhagavā bhagavā vatasobhagavā bhagavantaṃsaraṇaṃgacchāmi  
bhagavantaṃsirisānamāmi. saḥassasīle piceposo sīsēsīse sattaṃ mukhāmukhe mukhesattaṃ jīvā  
jīvakappo mahiddhiko nasako ticavane tunisisesaṃ sattunogunavantu. buddho  
pibuddhassabhavyavāna kappaampice aññamabhā sammāno khiyetha kappodhi radīghamantare  
vaṇṇo nakhiyetha tathāgatassa itipiso bhagavā. paṭhamaṃ dānapāramī dutiyaṃsīlapāramī  
tatiyaṃnekkhammapāramī catuṭṭhaṃpaññāpāramī pañcamaṃviriyapāramī chaṭṭhamaṃkhanṭipāramī  
sattamaṃsaccapāramī aṭṭhamaṃadhiṭṭhānapāramī navaṃmettāpāramī dassamaṃupekkhāpāramī  
itipisobhagavā. dānapāramī dānauppapāramī  
dānaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
sīlapāramī sīlauppapāramī  
sīlaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
nekkhamapāramī nekkhamauppapāramī  
nekkhamaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno  
itipisobhagavā. paññāpāramī paññāuppapāramī  
paññāparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
viriyapāramī viriyauppapāramī  
viriyaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
khanṭipāramī khanṭiuppapāramī  
khanṭiparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
saccapāramī saccauppapāramī  
saccaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
adhiṭṭhānapāramī adhiṭṭhānauppapāramī  
adhiṭṭhānaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābraḥḡuṇakusalasampanno

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

itipisobhagavā. mettāpāramī mettāuppapāramī  
mettāparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābrahṇaṅakusalasampanno itipisobhagavā.  
upekkhāpāramī upekkhāuppapāramī  
upekkhāparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābrahṇaṅakusalasampanno  
itipisobhagavā. samitīṃsapāramī samitīṃsauppapāramī  
samtīṃsaparamatthapāramīmetrīmettākaraṇāṃmuditāuppekkhābrahṇaṅakusalasampanno  
itipisobhagavā. mahādānapariccāgapāramī mahādānapariccāgauppapāramī  
mahādānapariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno itipisobhagavā. puttapariccāgapāramī  
puttapariccāgauppapāramī puttapariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno itipisobhagavā.  
bhariyāpariccāgapāramī bhariyāpariccāgauppapāramī bhariyāpariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno  
itipisobhagavā. aṅgapariccāgapāramī aṅgapariccāgauppapāramī  
aṅgapariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno itipisobhagavā. jīvitapariccāgapāramī  
jīvitapariccāgauppapāramī jīvitapariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno itipisobhagavā.  
lohitapariccāgapāramī lohitapariccāgauppapāramī lohitapariccāgaparamatthapāramīsampanno  
itipisobhagavā. dasapāramīyaṃ niṭṭhitam.

**Dasajāti-NP**

Ten births of the Bodhisatta

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, related to **Rāp' thān**.

Leporello: **UB050** 34a–37b dassajāti; **UB062** 65a–65b dassajāti

Summary: Enumerates each of the ten births prior to the Buddha’s final birth, expressing how in each life the Bodhisatta practiced with the thought of awakening in mind.

Diplomatic transcription of oral version, with interwoven Khmer translation, transmitted to Mech Khoeun by *bhikkhu* Kheñ Vaṇṇa:, Vatt Saṃbau Mās, Pīn Bralit commune, 7 Makarā district, Phnom Penh municipality, Cambodia, 2016, traditionally recited at this monastery close to the end of the daily morning and evening prayers or for buddha image consecration rituals.

temiyo bodhisatto bhagavā cittaṃ vaṭṭakaṃ ārammaṇaṃ tvappaṃ buddho me bhavissati kusaladhammā sammāsambuddho itipi so bhagavā. ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ កាលនៅជាពោធិសត្វព្រះនាម តេមិយ ញ៉ាំងព្រះទ័យឲ្យប្រព្រឹត្តទៅជាអារម្មណ៍ ដោយទូន្មានខ្លួនថា អ្នកឯងនឹងបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះពុទ្ធក្នុងកាលជាអនាគត ព្រោះហេតុនោះ បានជាព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ដោយកុសលធម៌ទាំងឡាយនោះ ។

mahājanako bodhisatto bhagavā cittaṃ vaṭṭakaṃ ārammaṇaṃ tvappaṃ buddho me bhavissati kusaladhammā sammāsambuddho itipi so bhagavā. ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ កាលនៅជាពោធិសត្វព្រះនាម មហាជនក ញ៉ាំងព្រះទ័យឲ្យប្រព្រឹត្តទៅជាអារម្មណ៍ ដោយទូន្មានខ្លួនថា អ្នកឯងនឹងបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះពុទ្ធក្នុងកាលជាអនាគត ព្រោះហេតុនោះ បានជាព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ដោយកុសលធម៌ទាំងឡាយនោះ ។

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

តុនោះ បានជាព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធា ដោយកុសលធម៌ទាំងឡាយនោះ ។  
suvaṇṇasāmo...[same as above]... nemirājā... mahosatho... bhūridatto... candakumāro...  
brahmanārado... vidhuro... vessantaro... siddhattho bodhisatto bhagavā cittaṃ vaṭṭakaṃ ārammaṇaṃ  
tvampi buddho me bhavissati kusaladhammā sammāsambuddho itipi so bhagavā. ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គ  
នោះ កាលនៅជាពោធិសត្វព្រះនាម សិទ្ធក្ខ ញ៉ាំងព្រះទ័យឲ្យប្រព្រឹត្តទៅជាអារម្មណ៍ ដោយទូន្មានខ្លួនថា អ្នកឯងនឹងបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះ  
ពុទ្ធក្នុងកាលជាអនាគត ព្រោះហេតុនោះ បានជាព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគអង្គនោះ ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធា ដោយកុសលធម៌ទាំង  
ឡាយនោះ ។

Standardized edition<sup>1</sup>

temiyo... mahājānako nemirājā... mahosatho... bhūridatto... candakumāro... brahmanārado...  
vidhuro... vessantaro... siddhattho bodhisatto nāma bhagavā cittaṃ vattakaṃ ārammaṇaṃ dhuvaṃ pi  
buddho me bhavissati kusaladhamme sammāsambuddho itipi so bhagavā.

Translation [largely following the Khmer above; the Pali syntax does not make sense to me]

The Blessed One, when he was named Temiya [Mahājanaka, etc.] Bodhisatta, had his mind intent on  
the thought, “There certainly will be awakening for me with regards to wholesome phenomena”—thus  
the Blessed One is known as the Perfectly Self-Awakened One.

**Dvattiṃsākāra-kammaṭṭhāna-NP**

Meditation on the thirty-two parts of the body

Pali prose, rearrangement of canonical material, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or  
Thailand, 15<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB021** 58b–60a (tacapañcaka, vakkapañcaka, pañcasapañcaka,  
matthaluṅkapañcaka, medanaka, muttanaka, ), braḥ dvattiṃsākārakammaththān, with final  
note: ឲ្យកាវនាសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេសប្បាសហោង ។

Summary: First lists all of the thirty-two parts of the body in order, then recites the first five  
forwards and backwards, then the next five forwards and the first ten backwards, then the next  
five after that forwards and the first fifteen backwards, until all thirty-two are recited  
backwards at the end (i.e. ABCDE, EDCBA, FGHIJ, JIHGFEDCBA, KLMNO,  
ONMLKJIHGFEDCBA, etc.).

Dipomatic transcription of **UB021**

<sup>1</sup> For a different version of the Pali text, provided without translation, see Naomi Appleton and Sarah Shaw, *The  
Ten Great Birth Stories of the Buddha: The Mahānipāta of the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, vol. 1 (Chiang Mai and Bangkok:  
Silkworm Books and Chulalongkorn University Press, 2015), 34.



Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

atthiimasmiṃkāye kesālomānakkhādantā tacomaṃsaṃnahārū aṭṭhiaṭṭhimiñcaṃ vakkamaṃhadayaṃ  
yakkhaṃkimakaṃ pihakaṃpapphāsaṃ antamaṃtagunaṃ udariyaṃkarisaṃ pittamaṃsemhaṃpubbo  
lohitaṃ sedoasvasā kheḷosiṃghānikāla sikāmuttaṃmuttakemuttaluṅgantidvattiṃsākāraṃ. .  
kesālomānakkhādantātaco tacodantānakkhālomākesā. នេះឈ្មោះតបញ្ចក្ស  
maṃsaṃṇhārūaṭṭhīaṭṭhimiñjaṃvakkamaṃ vakkamaṭṭhimiñjaṃṇhārūmaṃsaṃ.  
tacodantānakkhālomākesā. ឈ្មោះវត្តបញ្ចក្ស ។ hadayaṃyakinamaṃkilomakaṃpihamaṃpapphāsaṃ  
pihakaṃkilomakaṃyakinamaṃhadayaṃ  
vakkamaṭṭhimiñjaṃaṭṭhīṇhārūmaṃsaṃtacodantānakkhālomākesā. ឈ្មោះបញ្ចសបញ្ចក្ស  
antaṃtaguṇaudariyaṃkarisaṃmatthaluṅgaṃ karisaṃudariyaṃantaguṇamaṃtaṃ  
papphāsaṃpihakaṃkilomakaṃyakinamaṃhadayaṃ vakkamaṭṭhimiñjaṃaṭṭhīṇhārūmaṃsaṃ  
tacodantānakkhālomākesā. ឈ្មោះមត្តដ្ឋីបញ្ចក្ស ។ pittamaṃsemhaṃpubbolohitaṃsedomedeo  
medosedolohitaṃpubbosemhaṃpittaṃ patthalaṅgaṃkarisaṃudariyaṃantaguṇamaṃtaṃ  
papphāsaṃpihakaṃkilomakaṃyakanamaṃhadayaṃ vakkamaṭṭhimiñjaṃaṭṭhīṇhārūmaṃsaṃ  
tacodantānakkhālomākesā. ឈ្មោះមេទនក ។ assuvasākheḷosiṃghānikālasikāmuttaṃ  
muttalaṅgāsiṃghānikākheḷovāsāssu medosedoleehitaṃpubbosemhaṃpittaṃ  
matthaluṅgaṃkarisaṃudariyaṃantaguṇamaṃtaṃpapphāsaṃ pihakaṃ kilomakaṃyakanamaṃhadayaṃ  
vakkaṃaṭṭhimiñjaṃaṭṭhīṇhārūmaṃsaṃ tacodantānakkhālomākesā. ឈ្មោះមុតតានាក នៃព្រះទ្រង់សាការកម្មប្តូរ  
ឲ្យការនាសព្វថ្ងៃវិសេសហ្មសហោង ។

**Dhammakāya-NP**  
Dhamma-body

FEMC title: braḥ dhammakāya

Pali prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB007** 14a–15a gāthā pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇa; **UB009** 13b–14b gāthā pañcuḥ  
braḥ lakkhaṇa; **UB017** 66b–68a, 68a–68b with Khmer ritual instructions to implant the each  
of marks on the image; **UB041** 47b–49b; **UB051** 31b–32a, with Khmer ritual instructions  
for implanting the marks, with the incipit: sabbaññuttañānpavarasisaṃ បញ្ចុះព្រះកែស [illegible]  
nibbānā [illegible] lāpava [illegible] takesaṃ បញ្ចុះព្រះពុទ្ធិ [illegible] catutajjhānapavaralālātamaṃ បញ្ចុះ  
នៅព្រះ vajirsamāpatiñāna pavarauṇābhāssaṃ (explicit missing); **UB062** 67b–68a sūtra pañcuḥ  
braḥ lakkhaṇa ta;

Short-form palm-leaf: FEMC A.424

Khmer books: Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvō puny buddhābhisek bī samāy purāṇ* ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យពុទ្ធាភិសេក  
ពីសម័យបុរាណ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2009), 61–6.

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Editions: François Bizot, *Le Chemin de Laṅkā* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1992). 293–300 [Khmer script only]; Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 55–6 [Roman script, excerpt only].

Translations: François Bizot, *Le Chemin de Laṅkā* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1992)., 293–300 [French]; Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 55–6 [English, excerpt only].

Summary: Connects twenty-seven different wisdoms (*ñāṇa*) or teachings of the Buddha with a different part of the body or monastic vestment, then pays homage to the Buddha, who outshines all other beings since he understands the Dhamma-body, i.e. all of those wisdoms, and closes with an exhortation to the meditator (*yogācavarakulaputta*) to repeatedly reflect on the marks of the Buddha's Dhamma-body that comprise his state of omniscience.

**Buddhābhiseka-NP**

Consecration of a buddha image

FEMC title: buddhābhiseka

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB002** 39b, 41a–55a buddhābhisek, with luṅṅ°/khīn° cantillation marks; **UB003** 49a–63a buddhābhisek, with luṅṅ°/khīn° cantillation marks; **UB007** 3a–13b buddhābhisek; **UB008** 37b–59a buddhābhiseka, including instructions on when to bow; **UB009** 2b–13a buddhābhisek; **UB010** 25b–41a dhārm buddhābhisek, with luṅṅ°/khīn° cantillation marks; **UB011** 26b–41b buddhā bhisekkh/buddhābhisek, with luṅṅ°/khīn° cantillation marks; **UB012** 31a–34a, 36a–44b buddhābhisek; **UB017** 18b–34b braḥ buddhābhisek [nēḥ sec kḍīy braḥ buddhābhisek capp' lveev]; **UB021** 62a–64a (explicit missing); **UB035** 2b–21b buddhāsek srec' do ni leḥ le lee; **UB039** 2a–19b; **UB041** 1a–17b dhārm buddhābhisek/buddhābhisek, with the incipit *namatthu*; **UB046** 2b–9b buddhābhisek; **UB051** 2b–7b (incipit missing); **UB056** 3b–18b; **UB062** 41b–49b buddhābhisekkh/buddhābhisek; **UB067** 50b–65a buddhābhisekkh/braḥ dhamm budhdhābīy°sèkkh [cap lvev le srec hoṅ];

Thai books: Deb(y) Sārikapuṭr เทพย์ สาริกบุตร, *Buddhābhisek bidhī chpāp sampūra(n) พุทธาภิเษกพิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Śilpā paṅṅāgār ศิลปา บรรณาคาร, 2528), 259–300; Deb(y) Sārikapuṭr เทพย์ สาริกบุตร, *Tāmrā braḥ ved bistār bhāg 2 ตำราพระเวทพิสดาร ภาค ๒* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) śilpāpaṅṅāgār สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปาบรรณาคาร, 2550), 619–49; Sam Bvaṅṅbhāktī สม พวงภักดี and Dāsani(y) Bvaṅṅbhāktī ทัศนีย์ พวงภักดี, *Gāṃ svat braḥ*

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*bhikkhuṭṭāṭimok(kh) chpāp samtéc braḥ sāṅgharāj draṇ jāṃrah saapdān braam<sub>2</sub> dān<sub>2</sub> gāṃ arth p̄lè lèḥ svat braḥ buddhābhisek* คำสวดพระภิกขุปาṭิมอกข์ ฉบับ สมเด็จพระสังฆราช ทรงชำระสอบทาน พร้อมทั้ง คำอธิบายแปลและสวดพระพุทธรักษา (Brah nagar พระนคร: Sāṃnāk nān sa. dhārmabhāktī สำนักงาน ส. ธรรมภักดี, 2511), 168–246.

Summary: Opens by petitioning the blazing light of the Three Jewels for protection, then lists the epithets of the Buddha, followed by a declaration that the power of uttering these true words causes the buddha-image to be like the Buddha himself, with radiance and power until the end of the dispensation. The text then lists more qualities of the Buddha, starting with his perfections and followed by his physical characteristics, further attainments, knowledges, and teachings, with each list likewise followed by a declaration that the power of those words causes the buddha-image to be Buddha-like, with radiance and power until the end of the dispensation.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB041**

[1]

namatthu.

namotassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddha ssa. buddhādico mahātejjo dhammacando rasāmāro saṃghatāratano seṭṭho ambharakkhantu pārato. itipiso bhagavā araham̐ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇa sampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi sathhā devamanussānaṃ buddhobhagavāti.

etenasaccavajjena buddho viya buddharūppiṃ mahātejjaṃ m[2]hānubhāvaṃ bhavagayāvasā sanam̐ itipisobhāgavā manusathhā di-atthavijjā bhinnihā sampanno itipisobhagavā dānapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dāna-up(p)apāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dānaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā silapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā sila-up(p)apāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā silaparamattha pāramī sampanno itipi[3]sobhagavā nekkhammapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā nekkhamma-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā nekkhammaparamatthapāramī sampanno. itipisobhagavā paññāpāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā paññā-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā paññāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā viriyapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā viriya-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā viriya[4]paramatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā khaṇṭipāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā khaṇṭi-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā khaṇṭiparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā saccapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā sacca-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā saccaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā adhiṭṭhānapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā adhiṭṭhā[5]na-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā adhiṭṭhānaparamatthapāramī sampanno mettāpāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā mettā-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā mettāparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dassapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dassa-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dassaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipiso[6]bhagavā sam(i)tiṃsapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā sam(i)tiṃsa-uppapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā sam(i)tiṃsaparamatthapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā antavijjārgandhapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā pañcamahāpariccāga pāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā dānapariccāgapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā aṅgapariccāgapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā

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jīvitapariccāgapāramī sampa[7]nno itipisobhagavā puttapariccāgapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā bhariyāpariccāgapāramī sampanno itipisobhagavā tividhamcariyāsampanno itipiso bhagavā lokattha cariyā sampanno itipisobhagavā ñāttacariyā sampanno itipiso bhagavā buddhatthacariyāsampanno itipisobhagavā. kāyasuccarita sampanno itipisobhagavā tividhamsuccarita sampanno itipiso bhagavā [8] abhisambodhi sampanno itipiso bhagavā sabbaññuttaññānasampanno itipisobhagavā aṇāvaraṇaṇāṇa sampanno itipiso bhagavā mahāpaññāsampanno itipisobhagavā puthuppaññā sampanno itipisobhagavā gambhīrappaññā sampanno itipisobhagavā h(a)ās(s)nappaññā sampanno itipisobhagavā javanappaññā sampanno itipiso [9]bhagavā takkhandhappaññā sampanno itipiso bhagavā nibbedhikappaññā sampanno itipiso bhagavā yamaka(patīhi)pāṭihāriyaññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā tivijjāsampanno itipiso bhagavā dibbacakkhuvijjā sampanno itipisobhagavā pubbenivāssānussativijjā sampanno [10] itipisobhagavā (a)ās(s)vakkhayavijjā sampanno itipisobhagavā buddhatevasārajaññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā āsavakkhayevisārajaññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā antarāyavisāradaññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā dhammadesanāyavisāradaññāṇa sampanno dhammadesanāyavisāradaññāṇa itipisobhagavā catupatisambhidāññāṇa sampanno [11] itipisobhagavā pabhedatta taddhammapatisambhidāññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā parāṇisaraṇamikānassaṇā akānisañcakārapurāṇi ayatapuṇhi vattasobhagavā dighagali vattasobhagavā muduta lunaha tapādo vattasobhagavā jālaphā[p+hā]tapādo vattasobhagavā ussa-upāddo vattasobhagavā eṇijagho vattasobhagavā jutakoraṇokama[12]ṇo-ubhohipāṇit lehijākamkāniparija majuno vattasobhagavā kosohivatthu gayhe vattasobhagavā suvaṇṇavaṇṇekañcana sanikakathā vattasobhagavā sukhumacaritāya rajjājalanampalikārayo vattasobhagavā ekekasommo vattasobhagavā brahmajutago vattasobhagavā sattasaddo vattasobhagavā saṇapabuddhakāyo vatta[13]sobhagavā nigrodhdhparimaṇḍalādhammo vattasobhagavā sammivajakagandhā vattasobhagavā rassatassata vattasobhagavā simāhanassa vattasobhagavā cittālissadantā vattasobhagavā sammajātā vattasobhagavā avarathadanto vattasobhagavā susuṇapāgho vattasobhagavā mahutajivaho vattasobhagavā bralalākarivibhoni vatta[14]sobhagavā abhininelitto vattasobhagavā bhommadhammo vattasobhagavā buddhassabhadhagavato kakantavejātā uṇha-udāgā muduttalasinikā uṇhasiso vattasobhagavā dvatimsāye vattahotti mahāsattasallakkhaṇā dvatimsilakkhaṇo buddho sulakkhatovacandhi mā etena saccavajjena buddhoviya buddharūppimahāṭṭejaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ bhavattayāvasānaṃ iti[15]pisobhagavā asitānubyaṇja sampanno vicitāṃguli vattasobhagavā anapubbatali vattasobhagavā vaddhagu vattasobhagavā gāmbanakho vattasobhagavā tuguṇakho vattasobhagavā sannidhiṇakho vattasobhagavā natuyhatopako vattasobhagavā samupāhlāddo vattasobhagavā vattathasammānakkhammo vattasobhagavā sahasammā nakkhammo vattasobhagavā [16] esarāsammānakkhammo vattasobhagavā dikkhaṇāpinābhi vattasobhagavā ādiṇābhi vattasobhagavā suvaṇṇagandhasīsadisam-eruta vattasobhagavā eṇakarassadissatepho vattasobhagavā tīlakādivarahitavago vattasobhagavā anupubbemiragato bheto patibhāṇa pattisambhidāññānasampanno itipisobhagavā pañcaññācakkhu sampanno hetimamaggapha[17]la ñāṇasampanno samantacakkhu sampannodibbacakkhusampanno paññācakkhu sampanno itipisobhagavā asādāraññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā indriyaparopariyatīññāṇa sampanno asayānu sayaññāṇa sampanno yamaggapāṭihāriyaññāṇa sampanno makāraṇāsammāpatīññāṇa sampanno aṇāvaraṇaṇāṇa sampanno [18] sa(p)bbaññuttaññāṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā sattabojjhaṅgarataṇasampanno sattasammabojjhaṅgarataṇasampanno dhammariccayataṇa sampanno viriyasambojjhaṅgarataṇasampanno pītisambojjhaṅgaratana sampanno passaddhisambojjhaṅgarataṇa sampanno sammādhisambojjhaṅgarataṇa sampanno upekkhāsambojjhaṅgarataṇa sampanno attharijā sampanno assati[19]kotha sattasahassā mahāvajirakotthi sahassā sammāpatipariccārika mahāvajiraññāṇa vijjāsampanno

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manomayiddhiññāṇajā sampanno iddhiṛddhiññāṇavijjā sampanno dibbasotaññāṇa vijjā sampanno cettopariññāṇavijjā sampanno itipisobhagavā pubbenivās(s)ānussatiññāṇa sampanno dibbacakkhuñña vijjāsampanno [20] assava-iddhiññāṇavijjā sampanno khayaññāṇavijjā sampanno itipisobhagavā nava-anupubba vihārasammāpati sampanno pathammajhāna sammāpati sampanno dutisayajhānasammāpati sampanno tatiyajhāna sammāpati sampanno catutthajhāna sammāpati sampanno ākāsanañña yakaṇa sammāpati sampanno viññāṇayakaṇa sammāpatti sampanno akiñcañā[21]yatanasammāpati sampanno nevasaññā nāsaññāyatana sammāpati sampanno saññādevadattha narodhdhasammāpatti sampanno itipisobhagavā tṭhānaññāṇabala sampanno tṭhātṭhāññāṇabalasampanno sabbhatagā manipatipadāñña balasampanno anekadhātuñña bala sampanno sattānānāvimutiññā sampanno atītānāgata paccuppanā kammāsammādānānaṃ tṭhā[22]sohetu soriccāgave magamagāñña balasampanno parissatthāmaṃ parisāpaguṇa indriyaparo pariyadatāññābala sampanno sabbesajjhānaviyākkha sammādhisammāpatiṇaṃ saṃkilesa roddhāṇavudhdhā ññābalasampanno pubbenivāsānussatiññābala sampanno tupapataññābala sampanno sañcasavakkhaya ññābala sampanno itipisobhagavā pu[23]ṇarassaraṇa dhammasampanno sīlasaṃvaraṇadhamma sampanno bhojanemmakatāññāṭāca caraṇadhammasampanno phātariyānuyogamanuyatācaraṇa dhammasampanno sattācaraṇa dhammasampanno hiricaraṇa dhammasampanno utappacaraṇadhammasampanno bahusaccacaraṇa dhammasampanno araddavirayatā caraṇadhammasampanno upatisatta satatācaraṇa dhammasampanno pathamajhānacara[24]ṇa dhammasampanno dutiyajhānacaraṇa dhammasampanno tatiyajhāna caraṇadhammasampanno catutthajhānacaraṇa sampanno itipisobhagavā aṭṭhārassa buddhadhammasampanno atittasepatti pākañña sampanno aṇākuttasse apatihutañña sampanno paccapaṇase-apati hutañña sampanno imehitihi sammanāgatattā sobhagavā ñña pubbaṃgama paññāparivati takāyakamma sampanno [25] ññāpubbaṃgamaññānānu parivattita vattikamma sampanno ññāpubbaṃ gamaññā javpivatti gamanokamma sampanno imehidhammehi sammanā gatā sobhagavā sandhasaparipuṇṇo dhammdessānāyaparipuṇṇe variyassapari punno sammādhissa puripunno paññāyassa paripaṇṇo vimuttiyāparipunno imehidvādassahi dhammehi sammagattassa bhagavato natthadevā nattirerā natthi-amuttaṃ na[26]vetāyititā natthi-abāyā racapaṇo natthi-apatti sakhānupekāti adhāsassevate honti buddha dhammanavapā kohotī a-entayotī ayabhagavato dhammakāyamomanā etena saccavajjena buddhoviya buddharūppi mahātejaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ bhavantu sabbadā itipiso bhagavā dvatiṃsamahāpurissalakkhaṇāsampanno sampattithitanā datalesadve cakāni jātānissaha[27]ssārā vattasobhagavā koṭisahassā nupakatti hatibalavaro vattasobhagavā parissabala kanaya koṭisahassāni buladhdharo(va) vattasobhagavā taṃgaṇā sobhagavā sobhasasaṇṇānā so vattasobhagavā rataddhijamaṃ vattasobhagavā sukadanto vattasobhagavā saniddhadanto vatta[28]sobhagavā risuddhāidriyo vattasobhagavā japāgho vattasobhagavā ayatavadanto vattasobhagavā gaṃmipāddolekho vattasobhagavā ayalekho vattasobhagavā ujalalekho vattasobhagavā sarucirassa ṇānalekho vattasobhagavā parimaṇḍalaṇa mapabhāvanta vattasobhagavā paripuṇṇaka yeso vattasobhagavā atapisālaneto vattasobhagavā [29] ayavesāneto vattasobhagavā pañcapasādavattanetto vattasobhagavā madutatanukatajivaho vattasobhagavā ayataruccirakaṇo vattasobhagavā nitaddhisiro vattasobhagavā nitayhsito vattasobhagavā sattanikatarusiso vattasobhagavā ayatapa thulanalātasorambhā vattasobhagavā asaṇṇānaṃ kammako vattasobhagavā ayataka[30]mako vattasobhagavā sabbahatato vattasobhagavā atariya-ujalakatato vattasobhagavā vimulatato vattasobhagavā saniddhatato vattasobhagavā sagandhalommo vattasobhagavā kammalommo vattasobhagavā sanilalommo vattasobhagavā kaṇakhaṇavijikalommo vattasobhagavā dakkhaṇāvacaṇemmo vattasobhagavā susaṇṇāna[31]lommo vattasobhagavā asalilommo

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vattasobhagavā atisukhama assāpassāsādāranno vattasobhagavā sasaṇṇānanamakho vattasobhagavā sugandhamakho vattasobhagavā sugandhapaddho vattasobhagavā sunilakesso vattasobhagavā kaṇakhaṇavajakakeso vattasobhagavā dakkhaṇāvaja[32]kakeso vattasobhagavā sasaṇṇānakakeso vattasobhagavā suniddhakeso vattasobhagavā sannakakeso vattasobhagavā alalitakesso vattasobhagavā dhotakeso vattasobhagavā ketamālāvitavicito vattasobhagavā evaṃasitānabjañjanamapaccannavarū pakāyo vattasobhagavā evaṃsabbataso[33]bhaṇo rūpakāyo vattasobhagavā acinnayesupassaṇānaṃ vipākomaṃ a-entayo etenasaccevaṃjēna buddhāviya buddharūppi sombhamāṇaṃ mahātejjaṃ mahānubhāvaṃ nī-antarāya nirasaddhāvaṃ ciraṭṭhitakavaguyovasāsanāṃ bhagavato rūppikāya commano buddhabiseka gāthā sammatā .  
cap' buddhābisek tē p"uṇṇeḥ.

#### **Maṅgalacakkavāḷa-NP**

World-encircling wall of blessings

FEMC title: maṅgalacakkavāḷa

Pali prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB045** 74b–75b maṅgalacakkavāḷ

Short-format palm-leaf manuscripts: FEMC A.399, FEMC A.410, FEMC A.428, FEMC A.450

Khmer books: Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិគ្គ ទ្វាទសបរិគ្គ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971), 73–8.

Thai books: Ca. Parieñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(i) bidhī สวดมนต์พิธี* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) āṃnvay sā(san) สำนักพิมพ์ อำนวยศาสน, n.d.), 84–5.

Edition and translation: Phra Videsdhammakavi, ed., *Legend of Paritta: Protective Chants and Background Stories* (Fremont, CA: Wat Buddhanusorn, 2011), 63–64.

Summary: Petitions for blessings from the physical qualities of the Buddha's body, such as his bodily marks, the marks on the soles of his feet, and his radiance, as well as his perfections and attainments, as well as from various aspects of the Dhamma and the entirety of the Three Jewels. The blessings include those for freedom from suffering, obstacles, and danger, and for longevity and the constant protection of deities.

#### **Rāp' thān-NP**

Numbering the realms

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Pali prose in the *itipi so* style, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB002** 22b–30b rāp' ththān, with brackets; **UB003** 69a–77a, with brackets

Summary: Enumerates the Buddha's ten perfections, his four *brahmavihāras*, his generosity, his meditative knowledges, his attainment of the four paths and the four fruits, his ten past births, and his knowledge of the three marks.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB002**

itīpidānaparamī} itīpisilaparamī} itīpinekkhuṃmaparamī} itīpipaññāparamī} itīpivīriyaparamī} ..la..  
samppanno itīpisobhagavā ..

itīpikhanī paramī} itīpisaccaṃ paramī} itīpīadīṣṭhāna paramī} itīpīmettā paramī} itīpīuppekkhā  
paramī} itīpīsammatīṃsa paramī} ..la.. sampanno itīpisobhagavā ..

dānaparamī} silaparamī} nekkhuṃmaparamī} paññā paramī} khaṇṭī paramī} ..la.. mettrīmettākaraṇā  
matthutāuppekkhā braḥgunkusala sampanno itīpisobhagavā..

saccaṃ paramī} adīṣṭhāna paramī} mettā paramī} uppekkhāparamī} sammatīṃsa paramī} ..la..  
mettrīmettākaraṇā matthutāuppekkhā braḥgunkusala sampanno itīpisobhagavā..

paṭṭhamamaḍḍāna paramī} dutiyamaṣila paramī} tatiyamaṃnekkhuṃmaparamī} catutthamaṃpaññā paramī}  
pañcamamaṃvīriyamaṃparamī} ..la..samppanno itīpisobhagavā..

chattamaṃ khaṇṭī paramī} sattamaṃ saccaṃ paramī} aṭṭhamaṃ adīṣṭhāna paramī} navamaṃ mettā  
paramī} dassamaṃuppekkhāparamī} ..la.. sampanno itīpisobhagavā ..

dānaparicākkha paramī} aṅgaparicākkha paramī} puttaparicākkha paramī} bhīriyāparicākkha  
paramī} jīvīttaparicākkha paramī} ..la. sampanno itīpisobhagavā ..

navalokkuttaracariyāparicākkhaparamī} ñāttacariyā paricākkhaparamī} buddhassacariyā  
paricākkhaparamī} ..la.. sampanno itīpisobhagavā ..

paththavidhātu} apodhātu} tejjodhātu} vāyodhātu} ākāsadhātu} sammādiñāna paramīsamppanno  
itīpisobhagavā ..

anantaracakkavāladhātu} catumhārājjikā dhātu} tāvatīṃsā dhātu} yāmmā dhātu} tussitā dhātu}  
sammādiñāna paramīsamppanno itīpisobhagavā ..

nimānaratī dhātu} chakāmmāvacca dhātu} ākāsānañcadhātu} viñānañca dhātu} akiñcañā dhātu}  
sammādiñāna paramīsamppanno itīpisobhagavā ..

#### Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

nevasaññānāsaññādhātu} paththamaṃ jhānaṃ dhātu} dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ dhātu} tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ dhātu} catutthaṃ jhānaṃ dhātu} sammādiñña paramīsampanno itipisobhagavā ..

pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ dhātu} rūppāvaccara dhātu} sottāmaggamatta dhātu} sukkhidāgāmaggamattadhātu} āṇāgāmaggamattadhātu} sammādiñña paramīsampanno itipisobhagavā ..

arahattāmaggamattadhātu} sotāpaṭīphala dhātu} sukkhidāgāpaṭīphaladhātu} aṇāgāpaṭīphala dhātu} arahattāpaṭīphala dhātu} sammādiñña paramīsampanno itipisobhagavā ..

timeyobbodhīsatto} jīnukobbodhīsatto} siyāmmobbodhīsatto} niṃmmarājjobbodhīsatto} mahosuththobbodhīsatto} vattabuddhobhavissatti kusalasampanno itipisobhagavā

bboradattobbodhīsatto} candakumārobodhīsatto} nirodhobbodhī satto} vidhurobbodhī satto} vesantarobbodhīsatto} vattabuddhobhavissatti kusalasampanno itipisobhagavā

rūppakkhandho} veddanākhandho} sañākhandho} sañkhārakhandho} viñānakhandho} aniccaṃ anattā dukkhalakkhañña paramīsampanno itipisobhagavā ..

### **Rūpakammaṭṭhānārūpakammaṭṭhāna-pāṭha-NP**

Physical and non-physical meditation

Pali prose, compiled in Thailand in the 19th centuries, possibly by King Rama IV of Siam.

Leporello: **UB045** 43b–46a rūpakammaṭṭhānā-rūpakammaṭṭhān

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារុបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 391–39.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlanī สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakut rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 367–9.

Summary: Explains two different forms of meditation, one that focuses on the physicality of the body, including its impermanence and its thirty-two parts, and another that focuses on the non-physical realm of pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral sensations.

Diplomatic transcription of Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារុបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 391–39:



#### Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

atthi kho tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena rūpakammaṭṭhāṇca arūpakammaṭṭhāṇca sammadakkhātamaṃ.

kathaṇca rūpakammaṭṭhāṇamaṃ sammadakkhātamaṃ bhagavatā. ayaṃ kho kāyo rupī cātummahābhūtikō mātāpetikasambhavo odanakummāsuccayo niccupphādanamaparimaddanabhedanavidhamaṃsanadhammo aniccato dukkhato rogato gaṇḍato sallato aghato ābhādhatō parato palokato suññato anattato samanupassitabbo. tassimaṃ kāyaṃ aniccato dukkhato rogato gaṇḍato sallato aghato ābhādhatō parato palokato suññato anattato samanupassato yo kāyasmaṃ chandho sineho kāyabbayatā sā pahīyatīti ca. ayaṃ kho me kāyo uddhamaṃ pādatalā adho kesamatthakā tacapariyanto pūro nānappakārassaa asucino atthi imasmaṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū aṭṭhī aṭṭhimiṇcam vakkamaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhamaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇiko lasikā muttamaṃ. evamayaṃ uddhamaṃ pādatalā adho kesamatthakā tacapariyanto pūro nānappakārassaa asucinoti ca. evaṃ kho rūpakammaṭṭhāṇamaṃ sammadakkhātamaṃ bhagavatā.

kathaṇca arūpakammaṭṭhāṇamaṃ sammadakkhātamaṃ bhagavatā. tisso vedanā sukhā vedanā dukkhā vedanā adukkhamasukhā vedanā. yasmaṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti neva tasmaṃ samaye dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti na adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti sukhaṃyeva tasmaṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. yasmaṃ samaye dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti neva tasmaṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti na adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti dukkhaṃyeva tasmaṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. yasmaṃ samaye adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti neva tasmaṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti na dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti adukkhamasukhaṃyeva tasmaṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. sukhāpi vedanā aniccā saṅkhatā paṭiccasamuppannā khayadhammā vayadhammā virāgadhammā nirodhadhammā. dukkhāpi vedanā saṅkhatā paṭiccasamuppannā khayadhammā vayadhammā virāgadhammā nirodhadhammā. adukkhamasukhāpi vedanā saṅkhatā paṭiccasamuppannā khayadhammā vayadhammā virāgadhammā nirodhadhammā. evaṃ kho arūpakammaṭṭhāṇamaṃ sammadakkhātamaṃ bhagavatoti.

#### **Sabbadisāsu-mettāpharaṇa-NP**

Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters

Pali prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13th–19th centuries, related to a passage in the *Visuddhimagga* (PTS 309–310) and another in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, PTS III 74). Numerous variations exist; this one is among the longest witnessed in Cambodia, though in Thai liturgies this text can be embedded in even longer texts, as the in the *Cakkavāḷamettabhāvanā* in Ānandajoti Bhikkhu, *Safeguard Recitals* (Kandy, 2014), 194–196. A longer example is a long extract from the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, a passage known as the **เมตตาใหญ่** (“Great [Text on] Friendliness”) in Thailand.

Leporello: **UB045** 46b–47b dasadisāsu mettāpharaṇa: kār phsāy mettā caṃboḥ sabv satt knuñ dis dāmaṃ 10;

Khmer books: Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម and Ras’ Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt brīk liāc ភាណវារ កិច្ចវត្ត*

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

ព្រឹកល្ងាច (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 38–9.

Summary: First extends friendliness (*mettā*) to all beings in all directions, then compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*), and finally equanimity (*upekkhā*).

Diplomatic transcription of Ek Ñiṃ ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇāvāra kiccavatt bṛik līāc* ភាណវារ កិច្ចវត្តព្រឹកល្ងាច (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 38–9:

sabbadisāsu mettāpharaṇaṃ kār phsāy mettā grap' dis

sabbe puratthimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe puratthimāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe dakkhiṇāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe dakkhiṇāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe pacchimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe pacchimāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe uttarāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe uttarāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe uparamāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe heṭṭhimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu. sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā sabbe puggalā sabbe attabhāvapariyāpannā sabbe itthiyo sabbe purisā sabbe ariyā sabbe anariyā sabbe devā sabbe manussā sabbe vinipātikā sacittakā sajjivakā ajjivakā averā hontu sukhitā hontu middukkhā hontu abyāpajjhā hontu anighā hontu dighāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampattīhisamijjhantu sukhīattānaṃ pariharantu. sabbe sattā alābhā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā ayasā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā nindā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā dukkhā pamuñcantu. sabbe sattā laddhasampattitōmāvigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhalābhatōmāvigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhayasato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhapasaṃsanatōmāvigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhasukhatōmāvigacchantu. sabbe sattā kammassakā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammappaṭisaraṇāti. niṭṭhitam.

Standardized edition

sabbe puratthimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe puratthimāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe dakkhiṇāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe dakkhiṇāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe pacchimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe pacchimāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe uttarāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe uttarāya anudisāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe uparimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.  
sabbe heṭṭhimāya disāya sattā averā sukhī hontu.

sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā sabbe puggalā  
sabbe attabhāvapariyāpannā sabbe itthiyo sabbe purisā sabbe ariyā sabbe anariyā sabbe devā sabbe manussā sabbe vinipātikā sacittakā sajjivakā ajjivakā averā hontu sukhitā hontu middukkhā hontu abyāpajjhā hontu anighā hontu dighāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampattīhi samijjhantu sukhī attānaṃ pariharantu.

## Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

sabbe sattā alābhā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā ayasā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā nindā pamuñcantu sabbe sattā dukkhā pamuñcantu.

sabbe sattā laddhasampattito mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhalābhato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhayasato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhapasaṃsanato mā vigacchantu sabbe sattā laddhasukhato mā vigacchantu.

sabbe sattā kammassakā kammadāyādā kammayonī kammabandhū kammappaṭisaraṇāti.

### Translation

[Section on friendliness]<sup>2</sup>

May all beings in the eastern quarter<sup>3</sup> be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southeastern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the southwestern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the western quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the northwestern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the northern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the northeastern quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the zenith quarter be happy and free from enmity.  
May all beings in the nadir quarter be happy and free from enmity.

May all beings, all breathers,<sup>4</sup> all creatures, all persons, all individuals, all women, all men, all noble ones, all ignoble ones,<sup>5</sup> all deities, all humans, all those subject to falling fates,<sup>6</sup> sentient, insentient, animate, and inanimate—may they be free from enmity, may they be happy, may they be free from suffering, may they be free from malevolence, may they be free from trouble, may they be of long life, may they be free from disease, may they prosper by means of [their] attainments, and may they maintain themselves happily.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The section headings in brackets are merely my own interpretation of the text—they do not appear in the manuscripts themselves. I add them here for analytical clarity as well as to highlight the way the text appears to go beyond its titular focus on *mettā* to invoke qualities of all four *brahmavihāras*.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Quarter’ might seem more appropriate when there are four directions to work with instead of six or ten, as in many Buddhist texts – but ‘quarter’ implies a geographic extent of space that ‘direction’ does not and hence better fits the meaning of *disā* here.

<sup>4</sup> Pali *pāṇa*. There does not seem to be much precision implied in distinguishing between *satta*, *pāṇa*, and *bhūta* here; all three can just mean “living being.”

<sup>5</sup> ‘Noble’ and ‘ignoble’ here refer to those who have attained or have not attained one of the four *ariya* paths (*magga*), culminating in arhatship.

<sup>6</sup> Pali *vinipātika*, ‘of the nature to fall down’, here in the sense of destined to spend time in the lower paths (*apāyamukha*) before again achieving rebirth as a human or deity.

<sup>7</sup> Pali *sukhīn* here seems to be functioning adverbially; otherwise we can translate as ‘may they be happy and maintain themselves’.

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

[Section on compassion]

May all beings be freed from lack.  
May all beings be freed from disrepute.  
May all beings be freed from blame.  
May all beings be freed from suffering.

[Section on sympathetic joy]<sup>8</sup>

May all beings not be separated from attainment gained.  
May all beings not be separated from profit gained.  
May all beings not be separated from fame gained.  
May all beings not be separated from praise gained.  
May all beings not be separated from happiness gained.

[Section on equanimity]

All beings are lord of their actions, heir of their actions, born of their actions, kin of their actions, and ward of their actions.

This concludes [Suffusion of friendliness to all quarters].

### **Sahassanaya-NP**

FEMC title: saḥassanaya

Pali prose, excerpts from the canonical *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB013** 10a–17a braḥ saḥassaṇaiy; **UB015** 31a–35b saḥassaṇai, with final note in black ink: *ដោយបរិបូរោទិសេ*; **UB023** 24b–28b braḥ saḥassaṇaiy; **UB052** 11a–14a braḥ mahār saḥassaṇey, with final note: *បរិសុត្តិវិជិតិវិញ្ញាណំ បច្ចុប្បោហោនុ*; **UB058** 12a–16a, with cantillation marks (explicit missing); **UB063** 14b–19a mahassaṇeyy; **UB065** 52a–55a mahassaṇeyy; **UB067** 6a–9b braḥ saḥassaṇaiy<sup>o</sup> [cap lvev];

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC A.60, FEMC D.168, FEMC A.453, FEMC 003.A.07.01.05

Thai books: Ca. Parieñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī svadmanatphī* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) āṃnvay sā(san) สำนักพิมพ์ อำนวยศาสน, n.d.), 251–4.

<sup>8</sup> This section does not seem to have a canonical basis; passages on *muditā* in general seem few and far between in the Buddhist tradition.

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

Edition: Tanabe Kazuko 田辺 和子 and Shimizu Yōhei 清水 洋平, アユタヤー期後期作製  
ワット・フアクラブー寺院所蔵の絵付折本紙写本 = *An Illustrated Folding Book from the Late  
Ayutthaya Period Preserved at Wat Hua Krabue* (Tokyo 東京: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai 世界聖典刊  
行協会, 2016), 106–8.

Summary: Four successive excerpts from the *Dhammasaṅgani*, each an analysis of the  
wholesome phenomena and mental factors at work in the progression through the  
supramundane absorptions.

Diplomatic transcription of ၁. ပြီးစေ့

braḥ saḥassanaya

suddhikaṭṭipadā

(kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā)

katame dhamme kusalā yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaram̐ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡamim̐  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vicceva kāmehi paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ  
upasampajja viharati dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ  
sukhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti  
avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaram̐ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡamim̐  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ  
dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ catutthaṃ jhānaṃ pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati  
dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ  
dandhābhiññaṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime  
dhammā kusalā

suññatamūlakapaṭṭipadā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaram̐ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡamim̐  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vicceva kāmehi paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ  
upasampajja viharati dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ  
suññataṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ  
tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaram̐ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡamim̐  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ  
dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ catutthaṃ jhānaṃ pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati  
dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ dukkhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ  
sukhāṭṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ sukhāṭṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ tasmim̐

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samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

appaṇihitaṃ paṭipadā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayagāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vicicca kāmehi paṭhamam jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayagāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā paṭhamam jhānaṃ dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ catutthaṃ jhānaṃ pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

adhipati

katame dhammā kusalā yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayagāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vicicca kāmehi paṭhamam jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

katame dhammā kusalā yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayagāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā paṭhamam jhānaṃ dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ catutthaṃ jhānaṃ pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ (adukkhamasukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ adukkhamasukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ cittaḍdhīpatteyyaṃ vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ) tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti avikkhepo hoti ime dhammā kusalā

Standardized edition

braḥ saḥassanaya

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suddhikapaṭipadā<sup>9</sup>

kusalā dhammā akusalā dhammā abyākatā dhammā.<sup>10</sup>

katame dhamme kusalā? yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā vicceva kāmehi...pe<sup>11</sup>... paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ... pe<sup>12</sup>... dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ...pe<sup>13</sup>...sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ...pe<sup>14</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ, tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti... pe<sup>15</sup>... avikkhepo hoti—ime dhammā kusalā.

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā, vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā...pe<sup>16</sup>...dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>17</sup>... tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>18</sup>... catutthaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>19</sup>... paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>20</sup>... pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ...pe<sup>21</sup>... dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ...pe<sup>22</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ...pe<sup>23</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ, tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti...pe<sup>24</sup>... avikkhepo hoti—ime dhammā kusalā.

<sup>9</sup> This and the other section headings do appear in editions of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, but at the end of each section rather than at the beginning.

<sup>10</sup> This is the opening line of the *mātikā* of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*; it is not found together with the rest of the text below, which corresponds to PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 69-74 (with exceptions as noted).

<sup>11</sup> This peyyāla elides the following: *vivicca akusalehi dhammehi* (PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 31)

<sup>12</sup> This whole paragraph is repeated for each pair beginning with *dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ*.

<sup>13</sup> As above.

<sup>14</sup> As above.

<sup>15</sup> This peyyāla elides the following list of mental factors (*cetasika*): vedanā hoti, saññā hoti, cetanā hoti, cittaṃ hoti, vitakko hoti, vicāro hoti, pīti hoti, sukhaṃ hoti, cittassekaggatā hoti, saddhindriyaṃ hoti, viriyindriyaṃ hoti, satindriyaṃ hoti, samādhindriyaṃ hoti, paññindriyaṃ hoti, manindriyaṃ hoti, somanassindriyaṃ hoti, jīvitindriyaṃ hoti, anaññātāññassāmītindriyaṃ hoti, sammādiṭṭhi hoti, sammāsaṅkappo hoti, sammāvācā hoti, sammākammanto hoti, sammāājīvo hoti, sammāvāyāmo hoti, sammāsati hoti, sammāsamādhi hoti, saddhābalaṃ hoti, viriyabalaṃ hoti, satibalaṃ hoti, samādhibalaṃ hoti, paññābalaṃ hoti, hiribalaṃ hoti, ottappabalaṃ hoti, alobho hoti, adoso hoti, amoho hoti, anabhijjhā hoti, avyāpādo hoti, sammādiṭṭhi hoti, hiri hoti, ottappaṃ hoti, kāyapassaddhi hoti, cittaṃpassaddhi hoti, kāyalahutā hoti, cittalāhutā hoti, kāyamudutā hoti, cittamudutā hoti, kāyakammaññatā hoti, cittakammaññatā hoti, kāyapāguññatā hoti, cittaṃpāguññatā hoti, kāyujjukatā hoti, cittujjukatā hoti, sati hoti, sampajaññaṃ hoti, samatho hoti, vipassanā hoti, paggāho hoti (PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 29)

<sup>16</sup> This peyyāla elides the following description of the second jhāna: *ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ* (PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 31)

<sup>17</sup> This peyyāla elides the following description of the third jhāna: *pītiyā ca virāgā upekkhako ca viharati sato ca sampajāno, sukhañca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti, yaṃ taṃ ariyā ācikkhanti 'upekkhako satimā sukhavihārī'ti* (PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 31)

<sup>18</sup> This peyyāla elides the following descriptions of the fourth jhāna: *sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā pubbeva somanassadomanassānaṃ atthaṅgamā adukkhamasukhaṃ upekkhāsati pārisuddhiṃ* (PTS *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* 31)

<sup>19</sup> Here there appears to be an elision of the fivefold jhāna scheme.

<sup>20</sup> The elision continues here; I could not find the exact passage being elided.

<sup>21</sup> As above.

<sup>22</sup> As above.

<sup>23</sup> As above.

<sup>24</sup> As above.

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...pe...<sup>25</sup>

suññatamūlakapaṭipadā

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā, vivicca kāmehi...pe...<sup>26</sup> paṭhamam jhānaṃ upasampajja viharatī dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>27</sup>... dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>28</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>29</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ, tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti...pe<sup>30</sup>... avikkhepo hoti— ime dhammā kusalā.

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā, vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā...pe<sup>31</sup>...dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>32</sup>... tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>33</sup>... catutthaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>34</sup>... paṭhamam jhānaṃ...pe<sup>35</sup>... pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharatī dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>36</sup>... dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>37</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ suññataṃ...pe<sup>38</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ suññataṃ, tasmīṃ samaye phasso hoti...pe<sup>39</sup>... avikkhepo hoti— ime dhammā kusalā.

...pe<sup>40</sup>...

appaṇihitamūlakapaṭipadā

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā, vivicca kāmehi...pe<sup>41</sup>... paṭhamam jhānaṃ upasampajja viharatī dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>42</sup>... dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>43</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>44</sup>...

<sup>25</sup> Before *suññatamūlakapaṭipadā*, a section called *suññataṃ* is skipped.

<sup>26</sup> As above.

<sup>27</sup> As above.

<sup>28</sup> As above.

<sup>29</sup> As above.

<sup>30</sup> As above.

<sup>31</sup> As above.

<sup>32</sup> As above.

<sup>33</sup> As above.

<sup>34</sup> As above.

<sup>35</sup> As above.

<sup>36</sup> As above.

<sup>37</sup> As above.

<sup>38</sup> As above.

<sup>39</sup> As above.

<sup>40</sup> Before *appaṇihitamūlakapaṭipadā*, a section called *appaṇihitaṃ* is skipped.

<sup>41</sup> As above.

<sup>42</sup> As above.

<sup>43</sup> As above.



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sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ, tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti...pe<sup>45</sup>... avikkhepo hoti—  
ime dhammā kusalā.

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiya, vitakkavicāraṇaṃ vūpasamā...pe<sup>46</sup>...dutiyaṃ  
jhānaṃ...pe<sup>47</sup>...tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>48</sup>...catutthaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>49</sup>...paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>50</sup>...  
pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>51</sup>...  
dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>52</sup>...sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ  
appaṇihitaṃ...pe<sup>53</sup>...sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ appaṇihitaṃ, tasmim̐ samaye phasso hoti...  
pe<sup>54</sup>... avikkhepo hoti— ime dhammā kusalā.

...pe<sup>55</sup>...

adhipati<sup>56</sup>

katame dhammā kusalā? yasmim̐ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayaḡāmiṃ  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiya vicceva kāmehi paṭhamam̐ jhānaṃ  
upasampajja viharati dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>57</sup>...  
viriyāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>58</sup>...cittāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>59</sup>...vimaṃsāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>60</sup>...  
dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>61</sup>...viriyāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>62</sup>...  
cittāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>63</sup>...vimaṃsāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>64</sup>...sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ  
chandāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>65</sup>...viriyāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>66</sup>...cittāhipatteyyam̐...pe<sup>67</sup>...

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<sup>44</sup> As above.

<sup>45</sup> As above.

<sup>46</sup> As above.

<sup>47</sup> As above.

<sup>48</sup> As above.

<sup>49</sup> As above.

<sup>50</sup> As above.

<sup>51</sup> As above.

<sup>52</sup> As above.

<sup>53</sup> As above.

<sup>54</sup> As above.

<sup>55</sup> Two sections are skipped here: *appaṇihita-mūlakapaṭipadā* and *vīsati mahānāyā*. It is possible that the plural *-nāyā* of the latter is related to the title of *Brah̐ sahassanāy*, though the numbers certainly do not match up!

<sup>56</sup> Labeled as *adhipati paṭhamo maggo* in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. Only part of the first *magga* is included in *Brah̐ sahassanāy*.

<sup>57</sup> As above.

<sup>58</sup> As above.

<sup>59</sup> As above.

<sup>60</sup> As above.

<sup>61</sup> The remaining four pairs are implied, but not directly stated in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*. By implication, however, we can assume that this and remaining similar peyyālas continue as above.

<sup>62</sup> As above.

<sup>63</sup> As above.

<sup>64</sup> As above.

<sup>65</sup> As above.

<sup>66</sup> As above.

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vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>68</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>69</sup>...  
viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>70</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>71</sup>... vimaṃsādhīteyyaṃ...pe<sup>72</sup>..., tasmīṃ samaye  
phasso hoti...pe<sup>73</sup>... avikkhepo hoti—ime dhammā kusalā.

katame dhammā kusalā yasmiṃ samaye lokuttaraṃ jhānaṃ bhāveti niyyānikaṃ apacayagāmiṃ  
diṭṭhigatānaṃ pahānāya paṭhamāya bhūmiyā pattiyā, vitakkavicārānaṃ vūpasamā...pe<sup>74</sup>...dutiyaṃ  
jhānaṃ...pe<sup>75</sup>... tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>76</sup>... catutthaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>77</sup>... paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ...pe<sup>78</sup>...  
pañcamaṃ jhānaṃ upasampajja viharati, dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...  
pe<sup>79</sup>... viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>80</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>81</sup>... vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>82</sup>...  
dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>83</sup>... viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>84</sup>...  
cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>85</sup>... vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>86</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ dandhābhiññaṃ  
chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>87</sup>... viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>88</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>89</sup>...  
vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>90</sup>... sukhāpaṭipadaṃ khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>91</sup>...  
viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>92</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>93</sup>... vimaṃsādhīteyyaṃ...pe<sup>94</sup>...  
adukkhamasukhāpaṭipadaṃ<sup>95</sup> dandhābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>96</sup>... viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...  
pe<sup>97</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>98</sup>... vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>99</sup>... adukkhamasukhāpaṭipadaṃ

<sup>67</sup> As above.

<sup>68</sup> As above.

<sup>69</sup> As above.

<sup>70</sup> As above.

<sup>71</sup> As above.

<sup>72</sup> As above.

<sup>73</sup> As above.

<sup>74</sup> As above.

<sup>75</sup> As above.

<sup>76</sup> As above.

<sup>77</sup> As above.

<sup>78</sup> As above.

<sup>79</sup> As above.

<sup>80</sup> As above.

<sup>81</sup> As above.

<sup>82</sup> As above.

<sup>83</sup> As above.

<sup>84</sup> As above.

<sup>85</sup> As above.

<sup>86</sup> As above.

<sup>87</sup> As above.

<sup>88</sup> As above.

<sup>89</sup> As above.

<sup>90</sup> As above.

<sup>91</sup> As above.

<sup>92</sup> As above.

<sup>93</sup> As above.

<sup>94</sup> As above.

<sup>95</sup> The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* does not directly imply this triad of *dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ*, *sukhāpaṭipadaṃ*, and *adukkhamasukhāpaṭipadaṃ*; it only lists *dukkhāpaṭipadaṃ* and *sukhāpaṭipadaṃ*. This is perhaps the reason why the Thai script text includes this part only in parentheses.

<sup>96</sup> As above.

<sup>97</sup> As above.

#### Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

khippābhiññaṃ chandādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>100</sup>... viriyādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>101</sup>... cittādhīpatteyyaṃ...  
pe<sup>102</sup>... vimaṃsādhīpatteyyaṃ...pe<sup>103</sup>..., tasmim samaye phasso hoti...pe<sup>104</sup>... avikkhepo hoti—ime  
dhammā kusalā.

#### Translation

##### The Path of Progress in Purification

Skillful phenomena, unskillful phenomena, neutral phenomena.

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus secluded from sense pleasures, attains and dwells in the first absorption, with the path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus having pacified initial and applied thought...attains and dwells in the second absorption...the third absorption...the fourth absorption...the first absorption...the fifth absorption, with the path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

##### The Emptiness-Basis Path of Progress

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus secluded from sense pleasures, attains and dwells in the first absorption, with the emptiness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the emptiness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the emptiness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the emptiness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which

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<sup>98</sup> As above.

<sup>99</sup> As above.

<sup>100</sup> As above.

<sup>101</sup> As above.

<sup>102</sup> As above.

<sup>103</sup> As above.

<sup>104</sup> As above.

#### Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus having pacified initial and applied thought...attains and dwells in the second absorption...the third absorption...the fourth absorption...the first absorption...the fifth absorption, with the emptiness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the emptiness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the emptiness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the emptiness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

#### The Aimlessness-Basis Path of Progress

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus secluded from sense pleasures, attains and dwells in the first absorption, with the aimlessness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus having pacified initial and applied thought...attains and dwells in the second absorption...the third absorption...the fourth absorption...the first absorption...the fifth absorption, with the aimlessness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge dull...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress painful and knowledge quick...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge quick, on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

#### The Dominant [Phenomena] on the Path of Progress

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus secluded from sense pleasures, attains and dwells in the first absorption, with the zeal-dominated path of progress painful and knowledge dull...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the zeal-dominated path of progress painful and knowledge quick...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the zeal-dominated path of progress blissful and knowledge quick...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated..., on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

What are skillful phenomena? On the occasion when one cultivates supramundane absorption, which leads to liberation and heads to undoing [of rebirth], and so as to attain the first level, one abandons resorting to views, and thus having pacified initial and applied thought...attains and dwells in the second absorption...the third absorption...the fourth absorption...the first absorption...the fifth absorption, with the zeal-dominated path of progress painful and knowledge dull...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the zeal-dominated path of progress painful and

Appendix II-4 Non-canonical Pali Prose (-NP)

knowledge quick...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the aimlessness-basis path of progress blissful and knowledge dull...with the zeal-dominated path of progress blissful and knowledge quick...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the zeal-dominated path of progress neither painful nor blissful and knowledge dull...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated...with the zeal-dominated path of progress neither painful nor blissful and knowledge quick...vigor-dominated...thought-dominated...investigation-dominated..., on that occasion, there is contact...there is calm—these are skillful phenomena.

## II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

**Aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** (1)

**Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV** (2)

**Aṭṭhavīsati-buddha-gāthā-NV** (1)

**Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV** (1)

**Cullajayamaṅgala-NV** (8)

**Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā-NV** (3)

**Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV** (4)

**Ratanamālā-NV** (11)

**Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV** (3)

**Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV** (1)

**Sattamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV** (2)

**Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV** (1)

### **Aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā-NV**

The eight great sites

Pali verse, 3 stanzas in *anuttubha*, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB044** 85b aṭṭhamahāthān

Edition and translation: Peter Skilling, “Lumbinī: Liturgy and Devotion,” in *The Birth of the Buddha: Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, October 2004*, ed. Christoph Cueurpers, Max Deeg, and Hubert Durt (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2010), 348.

Summary: Enumeration of the eight great pilgrimage sites associated with the life of the Buddha in India, concluding with an homage to them from afar.

<b>UB044</b>	Standardized edition	Translation
1	1	1
<i>paṭhamam̐lumbiniṃ</i>	<i>paṭhamam̐ lumbinijātaṃ</i>	One, the Lumbini birth,
<i>jātaṃ duttiyaṃ bodhimuttaṃ</i>	<i>dutiyaṃ bodhim uttamaṃ</i>	two, the [achievement of the] highest awakening,
<i>tatiyaṃ dhammacakkaṅca</i>	<i>tatiyaṃ dhammacakkaṅ ca</i>	three, the [turning of the] wheel of the Teaching,
<i>catutthaṃ pālileyakaṃ.</i>	<i>catutthaṃ pālileyakaṃ.</i>	four, the Pālileyaka [forest],
2	2	2
<i>pañcamaṃ ca nālāgiriṃ</i>	<i>pañcamaṃ ca nālāgiriṃ</i>	five, the [taming of the elephant] Nālāgiri,

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

<i>chatṭhaṃ pāḥihāriyaṃ</i>	<i>chatṭhaṃ pāḥihāriyaṃ</i>	six, the [twin] miracle,
<i>sattamaṃ sirideviṅca</i>	<i>sattamaṃ sirideviṅ ca</i>	seven, the [preaching of the Abhidhamma to his
		mother] Siridevī,
<i>aṭṭhamaṃ parinibbutaṃ.</i>	<i>aṭṭhamaṃ parinibbutaṃ.</i>	eight, [his entry into] parinibbāna—
3	3	3
<i>ete aṭṭhamahāthānā</i>	<i>ete aṭṭhamahāthānā</i>	these eight great sites,
<i>jambudīpe paṭiṭṭhatā</i>	<i>jambudīpe paṭiṭṭhitā</i>	established in Jambudvīpa,
<i>pūjītānaradevehi</i>	<i>pūjītā naradevehi</i>	are worshipped by humans and gods.
<i>ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato.</i>	<i>ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato.</i>	I pay homage [to them] from afar.

**Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas for Aṭṭhamīpūjā

Pali verse, 7 sections consisting of total 167 half-stanzas in *anutṭhubha*, composed in Thailand by King Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century, all sections except for the first section identical to **Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV**.

Leporello: **UB046** 45a–46a bidhī visākhavpūjjā/visākhapūjjā (explicit missing); **UB066** 17b–18a visākhapūjā (explicit missing; first 7 half-stanzas of section 1 only)

Thai books: Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Praḥjum braḥ rājaniban(dh) bhāsā pālī nai braḥ pād samtéc braḥ caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvá* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547), 249–67.

Summary: An account of the cremation of the Buddha, the occasion celebrated by Aṭṭhamīpūjā.

**Aṭṭhavīsatabuddha-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas

Pali verse, 8 stanzas in *anutṭhubha*, composed in Sri Lanka, period uncertain.

Leporello: **UB066** 26b–27b braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg

Khmer books: Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, Nāgopamādikathā នាគោបមាទិកថា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 17–18.

Summary: Enumeration and adoration of the twenty-eight buddhas of the past.

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Standardized edition	Translation
1	1
<i>vande taṅhaṅkaraṃ buddhaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Buddha Tanhankara!
<i>vande medhaṅkaraṃ muniṃ</i>	Adoration to the Sage Medhankara!
<i>saraṅkaṅkaraṃ muniṃ vande</i>	To the Sage Sarankara, adoration!
<i>dīpaṅkaraṃ jinaṃ name</i>	To the Victor Dipankara, homage!
2	2
<i>vande koṇḍaññasatthāraṃ</i>	Adoration to the Teacher Kondañña!
<i>vande maṅgalaṅyakaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Leader Mangala!
<i>vande sumanasambuddhaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Perfect Buddha Sumana!
<i>vande revataṅyakaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Leader Revata!
3	3
<i>vande sobhitasambuddhaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Perfect Buddha Sobhita!
<i>anomadassiṃ muniṃ name</i>	To the sage Anomadassi, homage!
<i>vande padumasambuddhaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Perfect Buddha Paduma!
<i>vande nāradanāyakaṃ.</i>	Adoration to the Leader Nārada!
4	4
<i>padumuttaraṃ muniṃ vande</i>	To the Sage Padumuttara, adoration!
<i>vande sumedhanāyakaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Leader Sumedha!
<i>vande sujātasambuddhaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Perfect Buddha Sujata!
<i>piyadassiṃ muniṃ name.</i>	To the Sage Piyadassi, homage!
5	5
<i>atthadassiṃ muniṃ vande</i>	To the Sage Atthadassi, adoration!
<i>dhammadassiṃ jinaṃ name</i>	To the Victor Dhammasassi, homage!
<i>vande siddhattha satthāraṃ</i>	Adoration to the Teacher Siddhattha!
<i>vande tissa mahāmuniṃ.</i>	Adoration to the Great Sage Tissa!
6	6
<i>vande phussamahāvīraṃ</i>	Adoration to the Great Hero Phussa!
<i>vande vipassināyakaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Leader Vipassi!
<i>sikhiṃ mahāmuniṃ vande</i>	To the Great Sage Sikhi, adoration!
<i>vande vessabhunāyakaṃ.</i>	Adoration to the Leader Vessabhu!
7	7
<i>kakusandhaṃ muniṃ vande</i>	To the Sage Kakusandha, adoration!
<i>vande koṅgamaṇaṃ jinaṃ</i>	Adoration to the Victor Koṅgamana!
<i>kassapaṃ sugataṃ vande</i>	To the Well-Gone Kassapa, adoration!
<i>vande gotamanāyakaṃ.</i>	Adoration to the Leader Gotama!
8	8
<i>aṭṭhavīsatiṃ buddhā</i>	The Twenty-eight Buddhas,



Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

*nibbānāmatadāyakā* Who bestow the ambrosia of Nirvana,  
*name te sirasā niccaṃ* I venerate them always with my head.  
*te maṃ rakkhantu sabbadā.* May they always protect me.

**Āṭānāṭiya-paritta-NV**  
The Āṭānāṭiya protection

Pali verse, partially extraced from the canonical **Āṭānāṭiya-sutta** (Dīgha-nikāya 32) with supplemental non-canonical material.

Leporello: **UB045** 73b–74b āṭānāṭiya-paritt

Khmer books: Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិវត្តិ ទ្វាទសបរិវត្តិ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971), 53–60.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp hlvan̄i สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakuṭ rājavidyālay มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย, 2423), 20–22.

Edition and translation: Phra Videsdhammakavi, ed., *Legend of Paritta: Protective Chants and Background Stories* (Fremont, CA: Wat Buddhansorn, 2011), 51–7.

Summary: Pays homage to the the twenty-eight buddhas of the past, extolling their teachings, virtues, radiance, and power, followed by a petition for protection from these buddhas as well as from various deities, nāga, ogres, and spirits in all directions, and closing with an assortment of protective stanzas from various sources, including **Sakkatvā-gāthā-NV**.

**Cullajayamaṅgala-NV**  
Short victory blessings

Pali verse, with some Sanskrit vocabulary, compiled from various canonical and non-canonical sources, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, related to *Mahādibbamanta* (Jaini 1965).

Leporello: **UB007** 25a–27a; **UB008** 11b–16a; **UB009** 26a–28a; **UB017** 40b, 41b–44a jayamaṅgalaṃ [middle missing], with final note: *ថ្មប វេណ្ណ៍*; **UB021** 9a–12a; **UB035** 29a–32b braḥ dhāmm; **UB051** 14b–17b namo me; **UB067** 70a–73a braḥ dhamm namo mē

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Lao books: Gaḥnaḥ butdaḥparāṭjaḥyā sūn kān̄ ba.sa.la. ถะนะพะพุดทะปะธิดะยะยาสูนภาจ พ.ส.ล., *Hñāñ sī sūt jaiyaḥmuṅgun lēh pāt detsaḥhnā muṅgun h̄vōn* ซึ่งงสิสูถไฉยะมะงุญถุบ และ ปีถเขตดะชะฆามุญถุบ *เรือบ* (Vientiane ๑๖๖: Gaḥnaḥ butdaḥparāṭjaḥyā sūn kān̄ ba.sa.la. ถะนะพะพุดทะปะธิดะยะยาสูนภาจ พ.ส.ล., 1990), 24–8.

Thai books: CP = *Brah mahādibamanī(r)* พระมหาทิพมนตร์ (Thonburi นครหลวงกรุงเทพธนบุรี: Bim(b) p̄én anusara(ṇ) naī n̄ān braḥ rājādān blōn śab nān chavīvaṇṇ praḥkaapsān̄t̄isukh pa.ma., ca.ja. ṇa jhāpanasthān vāt makuṭakṣāṭriyārām rājavaravīhār พิมพ์เป็นอนุสรณ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นางฉวีวรรณ ประกอบสันติสุข บ.ม.,จ.ช. ณ ฌาปนสถานวัดมกุฏกษัตริยารามราชวรวิหาร, 2516), 17–19; SA = Damrong Rajanubhab สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าดิศอรุณกร กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *Mahādibamanī* มหาทิพมนตร์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: bim(b) naī n̄ān braḥ rājādān blōn śab āṃmāty do braḥyā ar̄gani(dhi)niyam (samuy ābharaṇāsiri) ca ma, ca ja, ra ja ba. พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ อำมาตย์โท พระยาอรรคนิธินิยม (สมุย อารณศิริ) จ ม, จ ช, ร จ พ., 2471), 19–22.

Summary: Petitions the Buddha, the Three Jewels, a host of Brahmanical deities such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, and Indra, the earth and its waters, manifold wild beasts, spirits, bad omens, sorcerers, ogres, and demons for success and victory. The text then enumerates the throngs of deities who celebrated the Buddha’s victory over Māra, followed a benediction for victory, drawing on the power of the Buddha’s victory under the bodhi tree, and then a benediction for success, happiness, health, and growth in the Buddhist dispensation, excerpted from the *Pubbaṅga-sutta* (Aṅguttara-nikāya 3.155). It concludes with a final invocation to the deities for longevity, health, protection of all beings and the dispensation, rain as appropriate, and happiness.

Standardized edition

namo me buddhatejassa  
ratanattayadhammikā  
tejaprasiddhiṣīdevā  
nārāyanaparamesurā

siddhi brahmā ca indā ca  
catulokābhirakkhā  
samuddā bhūtaṅgaṅgā ca  
sabbajaya prasiddhi te

jaya jaya dharanī dharanī  
udadhi udadhi nadī nadī  
jaya jaya gajjatalanisaya  
nissāyaseyyamerubanarāji

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

jaya jaya gabbharasobbhi  
nāgendranāgipiśācabhūtakālī  
jaya jaya dunnimittarogī  
jaya jaya sṛṅṅīsudānamukhajā

jaya jaya raṇamukhasātrā  
jaya jaya sappādināgakulakaṇṭhakā  
jaya jaya gajagaṇaturāṅga  
sūkarabhujāṅgasihabyagghadīpi

jaya jaya ruṇamukhayātrā  
jītajitasenāripusudinarati  
jaya jaya sukhasukhajīvi  
jaya jaya dharaṇītale sadā sujayā

jaya jaya dharaṇīsānti sadā  
jaya jaya maṅkarāherayābhavagge  
jaya jaya varuṇayakkhe  
jaya jaya rakkhase surabhujatejā

jaya jaya brahmendagaṇā  
jaya jaya rājādhirājarājajayaṃ  
jaya jaya paṭhavi sabbam  
jaya jaya arahantaṃ paccekabuddhasāvam

jaya jaya mahesuraṅgaṃ  
haroharindevaṃ jaya brahmā surakkho  
jaya jaya nāgo viruḷhako  
virūpakkho candimā ravi

indo ca venateyyo ca  
kuvero varuṇo pi ca  
aggi vāyo ca pājūṇho  
kumāro dhataratṭhako

aṭṭhārasa mahādevā  
siddhitāpasa-ādayo  
asītisāvakā sabbe  
jayarāmo bhavantu te

jaya dhammo ca saṅgho ca  
dasapālo ca jayakaṃ  
etena jayatejena  
jayasotthī bhavantu te

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

etena buddhatejena  
hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ  
etena maṅgalaatejena  
jayasotthī bhavantu te

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā brahmagaṇā mahesino

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā indagaṇā mahesino

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā devagaṇā mahesino

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā supaṇṇagaṇā mahesino

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā nāgagaṇā mahesino

jayo pi buddhassa sirimato ayaṃ  
mārassa ca pāpimato parājayo  
ugghosayaṃ bodhimaṅḍe pamoditā  
jayaṃ tadā sabrahmagaṇā mahesino

jayanto bodhiyā mūle  
sa[ā?]kyānaṃ nandivaḍḍhano  
evameva jayo hotu  
jayassu jayamaṅgale.

aparājītapallaṅke,  
sīse paṭhavipokkhare  
abhiseke sabbabuddhānaṃ  
aggappatto pamodati.

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

sunakkhatam sumāṅgalaṃ  
suppabhātaṃ suhuṭṭhitaṃ  
sukhaṇo sumuhutto ca,  
suyiṭṭhaṃ brahmacārisu.

padakkhiṇaṃ kāyakammaṃ  
vācākammaṃ padakkhiṇaṃ  
padakkhiṇaṃ manokammaṃ  
paṇḍhi te padakkhiṇe  
padakkhiṇāni katvāna,  
labbhante te padakkhiṇe.

te atthaladdhā sukhitā  
virūḷhā buddhasāsane  
arogā sukhitā hontu  
saha sabbehi ñātibhi

suṇantu bhonto ye devā  
asmiṃ ṭhāne adhigatā  
dighāyukā sadā hontu  
sukhitā hontu sabbadā

rakkhantu sabbasattānaṃ  
rakkhantu jīnasāsaṇaṃ  
yā kāci patthanā tesam  
sabbe pūrentu manorathā

yuttakāle pavassantu  
vassaṃ vassavalāhakā  
rogā c'upaddavā tesam  
nivārentu ca sabbadā  
kāyasukhaṃ cittasukhaṃ  
arahantu yathārahaṃ

iti cullajayasiddhimaṅgalaṃ samantaṃ [jayamaṅgalasuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ]

**Namo-atṭhaka-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas of the homage octet

Pali verse, 8 half-stanzas in *anuṭṭhubha*, composed by King Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century.

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Leporello: **UB027** 34b–35a māghapūjā; **UB039** 43b–44a; **UB046** 44a–45a bidhī  
visākhapūjā/visākhapūjā

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Bhāṇavārapālī ភាណវារបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំ  
ពេញ: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1994), 3.

Thai books: Samtéc Braḥ Sāṅgharāj (Pussadeva) สมเด็จพระสังฆราช (ปัสสเทว), *Svat man(t) chpāp  
hlvanī สวดมนต์ฉบับหลวง* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahāmakūṭ rājavidyālayā มหามกุฏราชวิทยาลัย,  
2423), 4; Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Praḥjum braḥ rājaniban(dh) bhāṣā pālī nai  
braḥ pād samtéc braḥ caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvā* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระ  
พระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547), 38–9.

Summary: Eight-part homage to the Three Jewels, including their symbolic expression as the  
syllable *OM* (*arahant* + *uttaradhamma* + *mahāsaṅgha* = *aum* = *om*).

Standardized edition	Translation
1 <i>namo arahato sammā- sambuddhassa mahesino</i>	1 Homage to him, the Worthy One, to the Buddha, the Great Seer.
2 <i>namo uttamadhammassa svākkhātasveva tenidha</i>	2 Homage to the highest Teaching, well-proclaimed here by the Buddha
3 <i>namo mahāsaṅghassāpi visuddhasīladitthino</i>	3 Homage to the great Disciples, flawless in their virtue and view.
4 <i>namo omātyāraddhassa ratanattayassa sādhukaṃ</i>	4 Homage to each of the Three Jewels, beginning with the sacred AUM.
5 <i>namo omakāṭitassa tassa vatthuttayassa pi</i>	5 Homage to each of the Three Jewels, far beyond all things of the world.
6 <i>namo kārapabhāvena vigacchantu upaddavā</i>	6 By the power of this homage, may misfortunes now disappear.
7 <i>namo kāraṇubhāvena suvatthi hotu sabbadā</i>	7 By the power of this homage, may there always be well-being.
8 <i>namo kārassa tejena</i>	8 By the power of this homage,

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

*vidhimhi homi tejavā* may I thrive in this liturgy.

**Māghapūjā-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas for Māghapūjā

Pali verse, 10 stanzas in *anutthubha*, commonly attributed to King Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century.

Leporello: **UB027** 36a–36b pad gāthā māghapūjā; **UB039** 44b–45b; **UB046** 52b–55b bidhī māghapūjjā/māghapūjjā; **UB066** 10a–11b māghapūjā/māgh pad

Khmer books: Som Suvaṇṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṇ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាយបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិ, 1966), 20–1; Nāṇ Jhīn ញាណ ឈិន, *Gāthā dharm māgh niṇ visākhapūjā* ភាថាធម៌មាយ និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2004), 68–9.

Thai books: Ca. Parieñ จ. เปรียญ, *Svat man(t) bidhī svadmanatphī* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) āṃnvay sā(san) สำนักพิมพ์ อำนวยศาสน, n.d.), 149–50.

Summary: An account of the spontaneous arrival of 1250 bhikkhus to listen to the Buddha preach the *Ovādapāṭimokkha*, the occasion celebrated by Māghapūjā, followed by a presentation of offerings and a prayer for the longevity of the dispensation of the Buddha.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB066**

māghanakkha ttayuttāya puṇṇāyapu ṇṇamāyaṃyo.  
arahaṃsa mmāsambuddho bhagavāgo tamavhayo.  
suddhānanta dayoñāṇo sathāloke anuttaro.  
viharanto rājagahe magadhānaṃ giribbaje.  
vihāreve ḷuvaneva kalandak nivāpiye.  
saṅghassasa nnipātamhi uttameca turaṅgike.  
aḍḍhatela sehibhikkhu satehipa parivārito.  
tīhigāthā hisaṃkhippaṃ sabbabuddhā nasāsaṃ.  
samosāre siovādaṃ pāṭimokkhaṃ anuttaraṃ.  
tamevambhū tasambuddhaṃ sakhīṇāsa sasāvakaṃ.  
cīrakāla matīrampi casādena anussaraṃ.  
ayampipa visāsabbā pasannādhā mmagāminī.  
sampattatā disaṃtāsaṃ sunakkhataṃ sumaṅgalaṃ.  
dīpadhūpā disakkāre abhisajja yathābalaṃ.  
tīhipūje tavehattha tuṭṭhāidha samāgatā.

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

abhivanda bhipūjeti kagavantam sasāvakaṃ.  
kālenasa mmukhībhūtaṃ atītāra mmanattanā.  
osārentaṃ pātimokkhaṃ visuddhattha muposathe.  
itojena supuññaṃ sothihotu sadāpino.  
sāsanamaṣa tthuamhākaṃ ciraṃdippa tutādino.

**Ratanamālā-NV**

Garland of jewels

FEMC title: Itipisoratanamālā

Pali *anutthubha* verse, 108 stanzas, in an acrostic fashion such each stanza is assigned to the 108 syllables of the shortened<sup>1</sup> *itipi so* formula such that that syllable is first of each of the four lines per stanza, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB014** 20a–35a braḥ kèṃ ratnamālā; **UB015** 16a–26b ratn'amālār/braḥ kèṃ ratn'amālā; **UB020** 69a–77a braḥ buddhaguṇ, 77b–84a braḥ dhammaguṇ, 84b–85b braḥ saṅhaguṇ; **UB032** 28a–42b ratamālā buddhaguṇ, dhammaguṇ ratamālā, ratamālā saṃguṇ; **UB033** 23b–30b namassakā braḥ buddhaguṇ 56 me /rattamālā (buddhaguṇa section only); **UB037** 37a–45a, 45b–53a g'an braḥ dhār(m) 38, g'an braḥ saṅh jā aṃmcāḥ yōn thnai. 14 (middle missing); **UB052** 14a–17b (explicit missing; *buddhaguṇa* section only) = ratanamālār capp braḥ buddhaguṇ nau neḥ hoñ, with incipit: *sahassasīseciceso sīsesīsestamukhā mukhemukhesatajīhvā jīhvā kappomahiddhīkopaṃcevanṇetumṣatthunogunaṃ nasakkuneyyāti* (buddhaguṇa only); **UB057** 52a–69b braḥ (ra)tamālā(r)/braḥ rāttamālā(r) (braḥ gāththā neḥ 56 oy ruṃlk' gun braḥ buddh ṭa jā uṃmcāḥ sabv thnai prasō hōñ, neḥ gun braḥ dhārmm ṭa jār uṃmcāḥ dāṃñ° 38, neḥ gun braḥ saṅh ṭa jā uṃmcāḥ dāṃñ° 14 braḥ gāththā dāṃñ° pī pad neḥ jhmoḥ braḥ rāttamālā(r)); **UB067** 21a–32a braḥ kèṃ ratnamālā(r) gun braḥ {bud {dham {saṅh braḥ gun kèṃ dāṃñ 108 gun neḥ (gun braḥ budhdh dāṃñ° hā sipp prāṃm mūy°, braḥ dhamm 38, gun braḥ saṅh dāṃñ° 14); **UB068** 55b–67b **Ratanamālā** = gun braḥ buddh dāṃñ° 56 mer jā visēs nās° hoñ, gun braḥ dhārmm dāṃñ° as° 38 mer cappaḥpūr hoñ, gun braḥ saṅh dāṃñ° 14 mey° srec parīpp hoñ, gun braḥ bud 56 gun braḥ dhārmm 38 gun braḥ saṅh 14 mān dāṃñ sec braḥ abbhīdhārmm braḥ mahā, with the incipit *namomebabūdevānaṃ sabbagarahacadevānaṃ casuriyamamuñcatṭha sasibhūmmacadevānaṃ baddholokaṃbhavissati jīvosukrocamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhaṃvinassantui sovorāhuketthucamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhaṃvinassanti;* **UB070** 27a–34b gun braḥ buddh dāṃñ° is° trūv 56 mey° neḥ gun braḥ bud ṭa jā aṃmcāss, gun braḥ dhārmm dāṃñ° is° 38 mey°, with the incipit: *namomesabbadevānaṃ sabbakarahacadevānaṃ casuriyamamuñcatṭha sasibhūmmacadevānaṃ baddholokaṃbhavissati jīvosukrocamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhaṃvinassanti sovorāhuketthucamaḥālābhaṃ sabbadukkhaṃvinassanti.* (explicit missing)

<sup>1</sup> The formulas for the Buddha and the Dhamma are complete (56 and 38 syllables, respectively, but only the first 14 of syllables of the formula for the Sangha are invoked (*supaṭiṭṭhānaṃ bhagavato sāvakaṃsaṅgho*).



Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC E.61

Khmer books: V"ān' Cān'sār"èn វ៉ាន់ ចាន់សារ៉ែន, *Itipi so ratanamālā pālī-prè, namakkāra pālī-prè ឥតិបិសោតនមាលាពាលី- ប្រៃ រមក្ការពាលី- ប្រៃ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paññāsāstra University សាកលវិទ្យាល័យបញ្ញាសាស្ត្រ, 2011), 2–40; V"ān' Cān'sār"èn វ៉ាន់ ចាន់សារ៉ែន, *Pravatti brah paramasārīrikadhātu brah cetiy niñ bidhī buddhābhisek ប្រវត្តិព្រះបរមសារីរិកធាតុ ព្រះចេតិយ និង ពិធីពុទ្ធាភិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2003), 176–91; Khāt' Khun ខាត់ ខុន, *Kamrañ kpuon cpāp' purāñ khmèr កម្រងក្បួនច្បាប់បុរាណខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Gañ' Sār"an គង់ សារ៉ែន, 2012), 226–45.

Thai books: Ācār(y) อาจารย์ Nāṇajoti ญาณโชติ, *Gāmbī(r) saiyasāsī(r) cpāp sampūra(ṅ) คัมภีร์ไสยศาสตร์ ฉบับสมบูรณ์* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) śilpāpañāgār สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปบรรณาคาร, 2550), 86–103; Deb(y) Sārikapuṭr เทพย์ สารีบุตร, *Tāmrā brah ved bistār bhāg 1 ตำราพระเวทพิสดาร ภาค ๑* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Sāṃnāk bim(b) śilpāpañāgār สำนักพิมพ์ ศิลปบรรณาคาร, 2547), 131–41 [excerpt].

Edition and translation: François Bizot and Oskar von Hinüber, *La guirlande de joyaux* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), 145–74.

Summary: Acrostic poem in praise of the 56 virtues of the Buddha, the 38 virtues of the Dhamma, and the 14 virtues of the Sangha.

**Visākhapūjā-gāthā-NV**  
Stanzas for Visākhapūjā

Pali verse, 7 sections consisting of total 167 half-stanzas in *anuṭṭhubha*, composed in Thailand by Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century, all sections except for the first section identical to **Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV**.

Leporello: **UB040** 2a–8b pālīy sūtr visākhapūjā, with *cap' lvev* several times throughout (incipit missing [sections 1–2 and part of 3], plus one unidentified section, consisting of 5 half-stanzas in *anuṭṭhubha*, composed by unknown, between sections 6 and 7, as follows: [manuscript damaged] *ti tāsambuddhā yecabuddhā anāgatā/yocetara hisambuddho bahunnaṃ so kanāsano/sabbetedha mmagarukā sabbedhamma parāyanā/tasmāhia ttakāsanā mahattama bhikañkhatā/saddhammoga rukātabbo sarambuddhā nasāsanantīti*); **UB046** 46a–52b bidhī visākhavpūjā/visākhapūjā (explicit missing; text garbled after *buddhadesitamaggena* (section 2); ends with *buddhadesi tamaggena aññepiṭha niyojetvā/iccevarū pakammehi puññāṭṭijjaṃ paramattha*); **UB066** 15a–15b visākhapūjā (explicit missing; first 7 half-stanzas of section 1 only)

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Thai books: Rama IV พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, *Prahjum brah rājaniban(dh) bhāsā pālī nai brah pād samtéc brah caam klau<sub>2</sub> cau<sub>2</sub> ayū<sub>1</sub> hvá* ประชุมพระราชนิพนธ์ภาษาบาลี ใน พระบาทสมเด็จพระจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Mahātherasamāgam มหาเถรสมาคม, 2547), 249–65.

Summary: An account of the birth, awakening, and passing away of the Buddha, the occasions celebrated by Visākhapūjā, and a presentation of offerings.

**Sakktvā-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas beginning with “sakktvā...”

Pali verse, three stanzas, part of the *Ātānātiya-paritta* and the *Uṇhissavijaya*.

Leporello: **UB039** 53b–54b sakktvā pī pad

Summary: Pays homage to each of the Three Jewels and prays for the destruction of calamities and suffering.

Standardized Edition	Translation
1 <i>sakktvā buddharatanam osatham uttamam varam hitam devamanussanam buddhatejena sotthinā nassant’upaddavā sabbe dukkhā vūpasamentu te.</i>	1 Having honored the jewel of the Awakened One, the supreme and excellent remedy, beneficial to deities and humans— by the blessing and power of the Awakened One, may all calamities disappear and may your anguish be allayed.
2 <i>sakktvā dhammaratanam osatham uttamam varam parilāh’ūpasamanam dhammatejena sotthinā nassant’upaddavā sabbe bhayā vūpasamentu te.</i>	2 Having honored the jewel of the Teaching, the supreme and excellent remedy, appeasing fever— by the blessing and power of the Teaching, may all calamities disappear and may your anguish be allayed.
3 <i>sakktvā saṅgharatanam osatham uttamam varam āhuneyyam pāhuneyyam saṅghatejena sotthinā nassant’upaddavā</i>	3 Having honored the jewel of the Order, the supreme and excellent remedy, worthy of offerings and hospitality— by the blessing and power of the Order, may all calamities disappear

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

*sabbe rogā vūpasamentu te.* and may your anguish be allayed.

**Sattamahatthāna-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas on the seven great sites

Pali verse, 2 stanzas in *anuttubha*, likely composed in 19th century Thailand.

Leporello: **UB044** 84a–84b *sattamahāththān gī pad pathyāvatt*; **UB066** 22b

Summary: Enumeration of the seven sites of pilgrimage at Bodh Gayā where the Buddha spent the first seven weeks after his awakening, concluding with an homage to them from afar.

Standardized edition	Translation
1	1
<i>paṭhamam bodhipallāṅkam</i>	First, the throne [under the] Bodhi [tree],
<i>dutiyam animisampi ca</i>	second, the Animisa[-cetiya],
<i>tatiyam caṅkamaṇasettham</i>	third, the excellent [site of] walking meditation,
<i>catuttham ratanagharam</i>	fourth, the Ratanaghara[-cetiya],
2	2
<i>pañcamam ajapālaṅca</i>	fifth, the Ajapāla[-nigrodha tree],
<i>mucalindaṅca chaṭṭhamam</i>	sixth, [the nāga] Mucalinda[’s pond],
<i>sattamam rājayatanaṃ</i>	seventh, the Rājayatana [tree]—
<i>vande taṃ bodhipādapaṃ</i>	I praise that Bodhi tree.

**Sambuddhe-gāthā-NV**

Stanzas beginning with “sambuddhe...”

FEMC title: sambuddhe

Pali verse, seven-and-a-half stanzas in *anuttubh*, possibly composed between the tenth and fifteenth centuries.

Leporello: **UB058** 21[right] (incipit and explicit missing), with unknown vernacular text fragment: [severe water damage; reading tentative] *ទន់ស្តុន់ផង លើកអស់តើសក្រវាសលើញ*

Short-format leporello: FEMC A.424, FEMC D.112, FEMC D.405

Appendix II-5 Non-canonical Pali verse (-NV)

Edition and translation: Peter Skilling, “The Sambuddhe Verses and Later Theravādin Buddhology,” in *Buddhism and Buddhist Literature of South-East Asia: Selected Papers*, ed. Claudio Cicuzza (Bangkok: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, 2009), 128–54.

Summary: Pays homage to increasingly large numbers of buddhas, concluding with an aspiration for the merit of this homage to destroy all calamities and dangers.

## II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

**Uṅhissavijaya-NM** (1)

**Chadisapāla-paritta-NM** (1)

**Bhāsitovāda-NM** (1)

**Mahāmetti-NM** (1)

### **Uṅhissavijaya-NM**

Victory of the cranial protuberance

FEMC title: jīvadāna; jīvidāna; Uṅhissavijaya; Uṅhissavijaya

Pali mixed verse and prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 46b–47b, 49a–50b jīvidānapāṭho

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 040-A.02.12.04, FEMC 004.A.07.01.05, FEMC A.463, FEMC C.51, FEMC A.425, FEMC A.446, FEMC D-.210, FEMC D.112, FEMC D'.239

Khmer books: PDR = *Prajum dhaṛm raṃṭoḥ groḥ dāmnī 12 chnām* ប្រជុំធម៌រំដោះគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ថ្នាំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Ācānd អាថ៌ន្ទ, 2000), 10–13; PS = Kèv Ūc កែវ ឫច, *Parittasamodhān pālī* បរិក្ខេបសមាធានបាលី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 302–306; BK = Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhānavāra kiccavatt bṛik liāc* ភាណវារ កិច្ចវត្តត្រីកល្យាច (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 40–44.

Summary: Medium-length version of the Pali *Uṅhissavijaya*, without the frame narrative but with a prose section recollecting the virtues of the Three Jewels. Begins with an articulation of the benefits of the “Victory of the cranial protuberance” (*uṅhissavijaya*), followed by the recollection of the Three Jewels, then a further description of the benefits of the “gift of life” (*jīvadāna*), and closing with a series of protective stanzas.

Diplomatic transcription (*Prajum dhaṛm raṃṭoḥ groḥ dāmnī 12 chnām* ប្រជុំធម៌រំដោះគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ថ្នាំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Ācānd អាថ៌ន្ទ, 2000), 10–13, closely related to **UB064**)

jīvidānapāṭho. atthiṅhassavijayo dhammoke anuttarasabbasattahitāyataṃkvaṃ taṅhāhidevate parivajerājadaṅḍe anussanāmake byagghenāgebhujage akālamaraṇena ca sabbasmāmaraṇāmutto

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

thapetvā kālamaraṇaṃ tassānubhāvena hotu devocasukhīsādā. nibuddhasīlaṃ samādānaṃ dhammaṃsucaritaṃcare tassānuvena hotudevo casukhīsādā. likkhitamcintitampūjaṃ dhāraṇaṃvācanaṃgaruṃparesaṃ desanaṃsutvātassāyupavaḍḍhati. sakkatvābuddharatanaṃ osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ hitaṃ devamanussānaṃ buddhatejēna sotthinā nassantupaddavā sabbe dukkhāvūpasamentute. sakkatvādharmaratanaṃ osathaṃuttamaṃ varaṃ pariḷāhūpasamaṃ dhammatejēna sotthinā nassantupaddavā sabbe bhayāvūpasamentute. sakkatvāsaṅgharatanaṃ osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃāhuneyyaṃ pāhuneyyaṃ saṅghatejēna sotthinā nassantupaddavā sabbe rogāvūpasamentute. tato buddharatanaṃ anussaritvā atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. itipi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasaṃpanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti. so imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakāṃ sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ pajāṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayāṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti so dhammaṃ deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhikalyāṇaṃ pariyoṣānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃsabyañjanaṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti. sādhu kho pana pana tathā rūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassanaṃ hotīti etena saccavajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ. tato dhammaratanaṃ anussaritvā atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akālīko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditaḃo viññūhīti. etena saccavajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ. tato saṅgharatanaṃ anussaritvā atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaṃsaṅgho ujupaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaṃsaṅgho ñāyapaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaṃsaṅgho sāmīcipaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakaṃsaṅgho yadidaṃ cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭha purisapuggalā esa bhagavato āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassaṃti. etena saccavajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ. bhesajjaṃ devamanussānaṃ lojokaṃ[*missing akkhara*]ittakaṃkhārikaṃ kaṭukaṃambilaṃrasaṃsevānañceva sabbabyādhiṃ vinassantu. ekadvinidinaṃ catu pañca chasattadinaṃ tathāyāva dukkhā dissantu. jīvidānaṃ karontu te jīvidānaṃ dadantassa āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ jīvidānānubhāvena hotu devo ca sukhi sadā. jakavidānañca yo datvā osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ sarīradukkhamañseti. bhesajjaṃ dānamuttamaṃ tasmā kareyya kalyāṇaṃ nicayaṃ samparāyikaṃ puññāni paralokasmiṃ paṭiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ. iminā jīvidānena tumhākaṃ kiṃ bhavissati. dīghāyukā hontu sukhitā hontu sabbadā. jīvidānaṃ dadantassa āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ dīghāyukā hontu sukhitā hontu sabbadā. jīvidānaṃ mahapphalaṃ yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ silavantesu tādisu nānādānaṃ varaṃ datvā. jīvidānaṃ mahapphalaṃ evaṃ mahiddhiyā esāyadidaṃ puññasampadā tasmā dhīrā pasamsanti paṇḍitā katapuññataṃ. tena buddhānubhāvena tena dhammānubhāvena tena saṅghānubhāvena sabbūpaddavā vinassantu tena dānānubhāvena tena silānubhāvena tena bhāvanānubhāvena tena saccānubhāvena sabbūpaddavā vinassantu. jīvidānubhāvena dukkharogabhayā verāsokā sattūcupaddavā anekāntayāpi vinassantu asesato. natti me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ etena sacca vajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ natti me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ mammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ etena saccavajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ. natti me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ saṅgho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ etena saccavajjēna hotu te sotthi maṅgalaṃ. yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke vijjati vividhaṃ puthuratanāṃ buddhasamaṃ natthi tasmā sotthi bhavantu te. yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke vijjati vividhaṃ puthuratanāṃ dhammasamaṃ natthi tasmā sotthāibhavantu te. yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke vijjati vividhaṃ puthuratanāṃ saṅghasamaṃ natthi tasmā sotthi bhavantute. bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbabuddhānubhāvena sadā sotthi bhanta te. bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbadhammānubhāvena sadā sotthi bhavantu te. bhavaku sabbamaṅgalaṃ rakkhantu sabbadevatā sabbasaṅghānubhāvena sadā sotthi bhavantu te. nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ pāpaggahanivāraṇā jīvidānānubhāvena hantvā tesāṃ upaddave. nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ pāpaggahanivāraṇā jīvidānānubhāvena hantvā tesāṃ upaddave. nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ

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pāpagghanivāraṇā jīvidānānubhāvena hantvā tesam upaddave.

jīvidānapāṭho niṭṭhito.

Standardized edition

jīvadānapāṭho<sup>1</sup>

atthi<sup>2</sup> uṇhissavijayo<sup>3</sup>  
dhammo loke anuttaro.  
sabbasattahitathāya<sup>4</sup>  
taṃ tvaṃ gaṇhāhi<sup>5</sup> devate.

parivajjo –<sup>6</sup> rājadaṇḍe  
amanussaggipāvake<sup>7</sup>  
byagghe nāge vise bhūte –<sup>8</sup>  
akālamaraṇena vā<sup>9</sup>

sabbasmā maraṇā mutto  
thapetvā kālamāritaṃ.<sup>10</sup>  
tass'eva ānubhāvena<sup>11</sup>  
hotu devo<sup>12</sup> sukhī sadā.

suddhasīlaṃ<sup>13</sup> samādānaṃ  
dhammaṃ sucariṭaṃ care.  
tass'eva ānubhāvena<sup>14</sup>  
hotu devo<sup>15</sup> sukhī sadā.

likkhitaṃ cintitaṃ pūjaṃ

<sup>1</sup> BK and PDR have *jīvidāna* throughout; all instances have been amended to *jīvadāna* following CP and SA.

<sup>2</sup> BK: atī; PDR, CP, and SA: atthi.

<sup>3</sup> BK and PDR: uṇhassavijayo; CP and SA: uṇhisavijayo. Emended to *uṇhissavijayo* following Skilling and Unebe's citations of the text's title.

<sup>4</sup> BK and PDR: sabbasattahitāya; CP and SA: sabbasattahitathāya.

<sup>5</sup> BK and PDR: taṇhāhi; CP and SA gaṇhāhi.

<sup>6</sup> BK and PDR: parivaje; CP and SA parivajjo.

<sup>7</sup> BK and PDR: anussanāmake; CP and SA: amanussaggipāvake.

<sup>8</sup> BK and PDR: bhujage; CP and SA: vise bhūte. BK and PDR's reading is not metrical; emendation to *bhujāṅgame* is better, but CP and SA's reading may be more likely.

<sup>9</sup> BK and PDR: akālamaraṇena ca; CP and SA: akālamaraṇena vā.

<sup>10</sup> BK and PDR: kālamaraṇam; CP and SA: kālamāritaṃ.

<sup>11</sup> BK and PDR: tassānubhāvena; CP and SA tasseva ānubhāvena.

<sup>12</sup> BK and PDR: devo ca; CP and SA: devo.

<sup>13</sup> BK and PDR: nibuddhasīla; CP and SA: suddhasīlaṃ.

<sup>14</sup> BK: tassānubhāvena; PDR: tassānuvena; CP and SA: tass'eva ānubhāvena.

<sup>15</sup> BK and PDR: devo ca; CP and SA: devo.

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dhāraṇaṃ vācanaṃ guruṃ<sup>16</sup>  
paresaṃ desanaṃ sutvā  
tass'āyu pavaḍḍhati.

sakkatvā buddharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
hitaṃ devamanussānaṃ  
buddhatejēna sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe dukkhā vūpasamentu te.

sakkatvā dhammaratanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
parilāh'ūpasamaṇaṃ<sup>17</sup>  
dhammatejēna sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe bhayā vūpasamentu te.

sakkatvā saṅgharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
āhuneyyaṃ pāhuneyyaṃ  
saṅghatejēna sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe rogā vūpasamentu te.

tato<sup>18</sup> buddharatanaṃ anussaritvā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ; iti pi so bhagavā  
arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā  
devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavāti; so imaṃ lokaṃ sadevakaṃ samārakaṃ sabrahmakaṃ  
sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiṃ paṇḍitaṃ sadevamanussaṃ sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā pavedeti; so dhammaṃ  
deseti ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhekaḷyāṇaṃ pariyoṣānakalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ sabyañjanaṃ kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ  
parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāseti; sādhu kho pana tathārūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassanaṃ hotīti –  
etena saccavajjena hotu te sotthimaṅgalaṃ.

tato dhammaratanaṃ anussaritvā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ; svākkhāto bhagavatā  
dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko chipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ vedītabbo viññūhī ti – etena saccavajjena  
hotu te sotthimaṅgalaṃ.

tato saṅgharatanaṃ anussaritvā – atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ; supaṭiṭṭhānaṃ bhagavato  
sāvakaṃ ujuṭṭhānaṃ bhagavato sāvakaṃ ujuṭṭhānaṃ bhagavato sāvakaṃ ujuṭṭhānaṃ

<sup>16</sup> BK and PDR: guruṃ; CP and SA: guruṃ.

<sup>17</sup> BK, PDR, and CP: parilāhūpasamaṇaṃ; SA parilāhūpasamaṇaṃ.

<sup>18</sup> The section from *tato* to *bhesajjaṃ* is not found in CP and SA. It is in prose, consists of pericopes found throughout Pali canonical and liturgical literature, and may be a late addition to the textual tradition BK and PDR. BK and PDR are also in perfect agreement throughout this section, with only a couple of minor spacing differences.



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sāmīcipaṭiṭṭaṇṇo bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho, yadidaṃ cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭha purisapuggalā, esa bhagavato sāvakaśaṅgho, āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo, anuttaraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassā ti – etena saccavajjena hotu te sotthimaṅgalaṃ.

bhesajjaṃ devamanussānaṃ  
kaṭukaṃ tittakaṃ rasaṃ<sup>19</sup>  
ambilaṃ lavaṇaṅc'eva<sup>20</sup>  
sabbabyādhiṃ<sup>21</sup> vināseti.<sup>22</sup>  
ekadvitidinaṃ vā'pi<sup>23</sup>  
pañcasattadinaṃ<sup>24</sup> tathā  
yāva dukkhā na samenti<sup>25</sup>  
jīvadānaṃ karontu te.  
jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ  
jīvadānānubhāvena  
hotu devo sukhī sadā.<sup>26</sup>  
jīvadānaṅca yo datvā<sup>27</sup>  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
sarīradukkhāṃ<sup>28</sup> nāseti.  
bhesajjaṃ dānamuttaṃ.  
tasmā kareyya kalyāṇaṃ  
nicayaṃ<sup>29</sup> samparāyikaṃ  
puññāni paralokasmiṃ  
paṭiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ.<sup>30</sup>

iminā jīvadānena  
tumhākaṃ kiṃ bhavissati?  
dīghāyukā sadā hontu<sup>31</sup>

<sup>19</sup> BK: loṇikaṃ tittakaṃ khārikaṃ kaṭukaṃ; PDR: lojokaṃ[missing *akkhara* here]jittakaṃkhārikaṃ; CP and SA: kaṭukaṃ tittikaṃ rasaṃ. CP and SA are much better metrically, but *tittikaṃ* has been emended to *tittakaṃ*.

<sup>20</sup> BK and PDR: kaṭukaṃ ambilaṃ rasaṃ sevanaṅceva; CP and SA: ambilaṃ lavaṇaṅceva.

<sup>21</sup> BK: sabbabyādhi; PDR: sabbabyādhiṃ; CP and SA: sabbabyādhi. PDR's reading is required for the proposed emendation to *vināseti*.

<sup>22</sup> BK and PDR: vinassantu; CP and SA: vinassati. I propose emending to *vināseti* to allow *sabbabyādhiṃ* to stand in the accusative with *bhesajjaṃ* in the nominative.

<sup>23</sup> BK and PDR: ekadvitidinaṃ; CP and SA: ekadvitidinaṃ vāpi.

<sup>24</sup> BK and PDR: catupañcachasattadinaṃ; CP and SA: pañcasattadinaṃ. It seems at some point the redactors of BK and PDR's textual tradition were uncomfortable not having all of the cardinal numbers from one to seven in the list!

<sup>25</sup> BK and PDR: vinassantu; CP and SA: na samenti.

<sup>26</sup> BK and PDR: hotu devo ca sukhī sadā; CP and SA: hotu devo sukhī sadā.

<sup>27</sup> BK: jīvadānaṅca yo datvā; PDR: jakavidānaṅca yo datvā; CP and SA: jīvadānāni datvāna. The readings of BK, PDR, and CP are all acceptable, but I find BK's use of the relative pronoun clarifying in this context.

<sup>28</sup> BK and PDR: sarīradukkhāṃ; CP and SA: sarīraṃ dukkhāṃ.

<sup>29</sup> BK and PDR: nicayaṃ; CP and SA: niccayaṃ.

<sup>30</sup> BK and PDR: paṭiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ; CP and SA: paṭiṭṭhā sabbapāṇinaṃ.

<sup>31</sup> BK and PDR: dīghāyukā hontu; CP and SA: dīghāyukā sadā hontu.

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sukhitā hontu sabbadā.  
jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ.  
dīghāyukā sadā hontu<sup>32</sup>  
sukhitā hontu sabbadā.<sup>33</sup>  
yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ  
jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ<sup>34</sup>  
sīlavantesu tādisu<sup>35</sup>  
nānādānaṃ varaṃ datvā<sup>36</sup>  
evaṃ mahiddhikā<sup>37</sup> esā  
yadidaṃ puññasampadā  
tasmā dhīrā pasamsanti  
paṇḍitā katapuññataṃ.

tena<sup>38</sup> buddhānubhāvena  
tena dhammānubhāvena  
tena saṅghānubhāvena  
sabbūpaddavā vinassantu  
tena dānānubhāvena  
tena sīlānubhāvena  
tena bhāvanānubhāvena  
tena saccānubhāvena  
jīvadānubhāvena  
sabbūddavā vinassantu.<sup>39</sup>  
dukkharogabhayā verā  
sokā sattūcupaddavā  
anekā antarāyāpi  
vinassantu asesato.

natthi me saraṇaṃ aññaṃ  
buddho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ  
etena saccavajjena  
hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ.

<sup>32</sup> BK and PDR: dīghāyukā hontu; CP and SA: dīghāyukā sadā hontu.

<sup>33</sup> BK and PDR: sukhitā hontu sabbadā. CP and SA: sīlavantesu tādisu. The pada arrangement of BK and PDR is preferable here.

<sup>34</sup> BK and PDR: jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ / yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ; CP and SA: yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ / jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ. CP and SA's order is preferable.

<sup>35</sup> The placement of this pada follows BK and PDR, not CP and SA.

<sup>36</sup> BK, PDR, CP, and SA all have an additional *jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ* here, which I have eliminated to better fit the pada structure.

<sup>37</sup> BK: mahiddhikā; PDRCP and SA: mahiddhiyā.

<sup>38</sup> From *tena* until the end of the text is only found in BK and PDR, not CP and SA. The section from *tena* to *natthi* appears to be unique to BK and PDR. From *natthi* to the end are four sections, each of which frequently occurs in Pali paritta texts in Southeast Asia.

<sup>39</sup> BK and PDR: sabbūddavā vinassantu / jīvadānubhāvena. I have emended this to *jīvadānubhāvena / sabbūddavā vinassantu* to better fit the syntactical pattern.

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natthi me saraṇaṃ aṅṅaṃ  
dhammo me saraṇaṃ varaṃ  
etena saccavajjena  
hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ.  
natthi me saraṇaṃ aṅṅaṃ  
saṅgho me saraṇaṃ varaṃ  
etena saccavajjena  
hotu te jayamaṅgalaṃ.

yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke  
vijjati vividhaṃ puthu  
ratanaṃ buddhasamaṃ natthi  
tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.  
yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke  
vijjati vividhaṃ puthu  
ratanaṃ dhammasamaṃ natthi  
tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.  
yaṃ kiñci ratanaṃ loke  
vijjati vividhaṃ puthu  
ratanaṃ saṅghasamaṃ natthi  
tasmā sotthi bhavantu te.

bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ  
rakkhantu sabbadevatā  
sabbabuddhānubhāvena  
sadā sotthi<sup>40</sup> bhavantu te.  
bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ  
rakkhantu sabbadevatā  
sabbadhammānubhāvena  
sadā sotthi<sup>41</sup> bhavantu te.  
bhavatu sabbamaṅgalaṃ  
rakkhantu sabbadevatā  
sabbasaṅghānubhāvena  
sadā sotthi<sup>42</sup> bhavantu te.

nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ  
pāpaggahanivāraṇā  
jīvidānānubhāvena  
hantu<sup>43</sup> tesam upaddave.  
nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ  
pāpaggahanivāraṇā

<sup>40</sup> BK and PDR: sotthī. Emended to sotthi.

<sup>41</sup> BK and PDR: sotthī. Emended to sotthi.

<sup>42</sup> BK and PDR: sotthī. Emended to sotthi.

<sup>43</sup> BK and PDR: hantvā. Emended to hantu.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

jīvidānānubhāvena  
hantu<sup>44</sup> tesam upaddave.  
nakkhattayakkhabhūtānaṃ  
pāpagghanivāraṇā  
jīvidānānubhāvena  
hantu<sup>45</sup> tesam upaddave.

jīvadānapāṭho nitṭhito.

Translation:

[Initial verse portion – stanzas 1–8]

There is a “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance,”  
a Teaching unsurpassed in the world.  
Deity, learn this  
for the sake and benefit of all creatures.

It is the avoidance—in the case of  
capital punishment, non-humans, flames, fires,  
Tigers, serpents, poisons, or spirits—  
of untimely death,

Or the liberation from all death  
save for timely death.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

May you practice the accepted pure ethical conduct  
and the well-practiced Teaching.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

Having written down, thought about, worshipped,  
memorized, recited, and respected [it],  
and having listened to others’ instructions [on it],  
one’s lifespan increases.

Having honored the jewel of the Awakened One,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
beneficial to deities and humans—  
by the blessing and power of the Awakened One,  
may all calamities disappear

<sup>44</sup> BK and PDR: hantvā. Emended to hantu.

<sup>45</sup> BK and PDR: hantvā. Emended to hantu.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

and may your anguish be allayed.

Having honored the jewel of the Teaching,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
appeasing fever—  
by the blessing and power of the Teaching,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

Having honored the jewel of the Order,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
worthy of offerings and hospitality—  
by the blessing and power of the Order,  
May all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

[Prose portion]

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Awakened One—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans”; the Blessed One is called ‘Worthy One,’ ‘Rightly Self-Awakened One,’ ‘Endowed with Knowledge and Conduct,’ ‘Well-Gone One,’ ‘Knower of the World,’ ‘Supreme One,’ ‘Leader of Trainable Men,’ ‘Teacher of Deities and Humans,’ ‘Awakened One,’ and ‘Blessed One’; having himself known and realized, he expounds to this world together with its deities, Māras, Brahmas, its mendicants and priests and to this generation with its deities and humans; he preaches the Teaching which is good in the beginning, good in the middle, and good in the end, endowed with meaning and form, and proclaims the entirely complete and pure holy life; it would be wonderful to have such a sight of the Worthy One”—by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Teaching—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans”; “well-expounded by the Blessed One is the Teaching, belonging to this present life, timeless, available to ‘come and see,’ leading [to liberation], to be perceived directly by the wise”—by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.

Then, having recollected the jewel of the Order—“for the sake, the benefit, and the happiness of deities and humans”; “good in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, upright in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, methodical in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, masterful in practice is the Order of the Blessed One, to wit, the four pairs of humans and the eight individuals, such is the Order of the Blessed One, worthy of adoration, worthy of hospitality, worthy of offerings, worthy of homage, the supreme field of merit for the world”—by these true words, may there be safety and blessings for you.

[Final verse portion – stanzas 9–23]

The medicine of humans and gods,  
which tastes pungent, bitter,

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

sour, or salty,  
eradicates all illness.

For one, two, or three days,  
or for five or seven days,  
as long as the anguish does not relent,  
may they all make a gift of life.

For the one who gives the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
by the power of the gift of life,  
may the deity always be happy.

For one having given a gift of life,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
the supreme medicine,  
bodily anguish is destroyed.

Therefore one should do what is virtuous,  
accumulating for the future  
the merits in the world to come  
which are established for breathing beings.

By this gift of life,  
what arises for you all?  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

To those who give the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

One who gives respectfully  
the fruitful gift of life,  
giving various excellent gifts  
to those who possess ethical conduct—

this indeed is a great power,  
that is to say, the attainment of merit.  
Hence the wise ones, the learned ones  
praise meritoriousness.

By the power of this Awakened One,  
by the power of this Teaching,

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

by the power of this Order,  
may all calamities be eradicated.

By the power of this giving,  
by the power of this ethical conduct,  
by the power of this cultivation,  
by the power of this truth,

By the power of this gift of life,  
may all calamities be eradicated.  
May manifold anguish, diseases, dangers, enmities,  
sorrows, enemies, and calamities  
be eradicated and destroyed  
without remainder.

There is no other refuge for me.  
The Awakened One is my excellent refuge.  
By the power of these true words  
may there be victorious blessings for you.

There is no other refuge for me.  
The Teaching is my excellent refuge.  
By the power of these true words  
may there be victorious blessings for you.

There is no other refuge for me.  
The Order is my excellent refuge.  
By the power of these true words  
may there be victorious blessings for you.

Whatever various different  
jewels exist in the world,  
none are equal to the Awakened One  
—therefore may you all be safe.

Whatever various different  
jewels exist in the world,  
none are equal to the Teaching  
—therefore may you all be safe.

Whatever various different  
jewels exist in the world,  
none are equal to the Order  
—therefore may you all be safe.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

May there be every blessing.  
May all the gods watch over [you].  
By the power of all the Awakened Ones  
may you always be safe.

May there be every blessing.  
May all the gods watch over [you].  
By the power of all the Teachings  
may you always be safe.

May there be every blessing.  
May all the gods watch over [you].  
By the power of all the [members of the] Orders  
may you always be safe.

Warding off ominous planets,  
ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions  
by the power of this gift of life,  
may all of their dangers end.

Warding off ominous planets,  
ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions  
by the power of this gift of life,  
may all of their dangers end.

Warding off ominous planets,  
ogres, spirits, and malevolent possessions  
by the power of this gift of life,  
may all of their dangers end.

Here ends the Passage on the Gift of Life.

**Chadisapāla-paritta-NM**  
Guardians of the six directions protection

FEMC title: mahāmeghasūtra

Pali prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 33a–36b mahāmegh

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC A.464; D\*.209



Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

Khmer books: *Prajuṇ dhaṁ raṁtoḥ groḥ dāmi 12 chnām* ប្រជុំធម៌រំដោះគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ង្វំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Ācānd អាថ៌ន្ទ, 2000), 66–70; Khāt' Khun ខាត់ ខុន, *Kamrañ kpuon cpāp' purāñ khmèr* កម្រង ក្បួនច្បាប់បុរាណខ្មែរ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Gai' Sār'an គង់ សារ៉ន, 2012), 316–24; Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍, *Dhaṁ mahāmegh* ធម៌មហាមេឃ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār trairata(n) បណ្ណាគារត្រៃរតន៍, 1997).

Burmese books: Nuiñ ñaṃ tō Buddha sāsanā aphvai, *Sīrīmaṅgalā parit tō* (Rankun: Nuiñ ñaṃ tō Buddha sāsanā aphvai, 1962), 142–4.

Summary: Petitions the ogres (*yakkha*) of the four directions, plus the nāgas of the nadir and the deities of the zenith, for protection from harm from malevolent beings, closing with a verse recapitulation of this prayer for protection.

Diplomatic transcription (from *Prajuṇ dhaṁ raṁtoḥ groḥ dāmi 12 chnām* ប្រជុំធម៌រំដោះគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ង្វំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Ācānd អាថ៌ន្ទ, 2000), 66–70, closely related to **UB064**)

mahāmegha.

evame suttaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati gijjhakūṭe pabba te tenakho pana samaye na mahāmegho ahoṣi tatra kho bhagavā āmantesi bhikkhavoti bhadante tite bhikkhū bhagavato paccasosum bhagavā eta davoca.

1. puratthimasmiṃ bhikkhave dissā bhāggecattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ dīghō ca sarattocapantā cakā cakāraṇīkoca etecakkāro yakkhāmahāyakkhā buddhepassanā dhammepassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅghesagāravā tumhaṃ vandāmi dīghaṇca sarattaṇca pantakaṇca karaṇīkaṇca yakkhaṇca yagase tṭhaṇca yakkhā sammā gamaṇca yakkhasannipātaṇca imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃva dahantu māte kojīva hothetu manussovā manussīvā amanussovā amanussīvā yakkhovā yakkhīvā bhūttovā bhūttīvā pettovā pettīvā kambhaṇḍovā kambhaṇḍīvā piśāccovā piśāccīvā tabbovā tabbīvā asurovā asurīvā nāggovā nāggīvā gruddhovā gruddhīvā kiṇṇarovā kiṇṇarīvā

gacchantamvā cittamvā nisantamvā nimantamvā jātidattamvā pamattamvā apamattamvā ratīvā divamvā sadā sadā tumhe anurakkhantu mahāyakkhānaṃ.

2. dakkhiṇasmiṃ bhikkhave dissā bhāggecattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ kāloca uppakālāc susimoca bhimmasenoca yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhepassanā dhammapassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅghesagāravā tumbhaṃvandāmi kālaṇca uppakālaṇca susimaṇca bhummasetṭhaṇca yakkhaṇca yakkhāsetṭhaṇca yakkhāsammāgamaṇca imaṃrakkhaṃsaṃvidahantu mātekojīvamoṭhetu.

manussovā manussīvā amanussovā amanussīvā yakkhovā yakkhīvā bhūttovā bhūttīvā pettovā pettīvā

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

kambhaṇḍovā kambhaṇḍīvā pīsāccovā pīsāccīvā gandhabbovā gandhabbīvā asurovā asurīvā nāggovā nāggīvā gruद्धovā gruद्धhīvā kiṇṇarovā kiṇṇarīvā gacchantamvā cittaṃvā nisantaṃvā nimantaṃvā suttaṃvā jātidattaṃvā pamattaṃvā apamattaṃvā ratīvā divaṃvā sadā sadā tumhe anurakkhantu mahāyakkhāti.

3. pacchimasmiṃ bhikkhave dissā nāge cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ hirica hiriyāca maṅgalo ca maṅgalasetṭhoca etecattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhepassanā dhammapassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅhesagāravā tumbhaṃ vandādāmi haviṅca hiriyāṅca maṅgalaṅca maṅgalasetṭhaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhāsetṭhaṅca yakkhāsammāgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvadahantu mātekojīvamothetu manussovā manussīvā amanussovā amanussīvā yakkhovā yakkhīvā bhūttovā bhūttīvā pettovā pettīvā kambhaṇḍovā kambhaṇḍīvā pīsāccovā pīsāccīvā gandhabbovā gandhabbīvā asurovā asurīvā nāggovā nāggīvā gruद्धovā gruद्धhīvā kiṇṇarovā kiṇṇarīvā gacchantamvā cittaṃvā nisantaṃvā nimantaṃvā suttaṃvā jātirattaṃvā pamattaṃvā apamattaṃvā ratīvā divaṃvā sadā sadā tumhe anurakkhantu mahāyakkhāti.

4. uttarimsmiṃ bhikkhave dissā bhāgecattāro yakkhā mahāyakkā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ kuveroca dhattaraṭṭhoca va ruḥhako paccarūppakkhoca etecattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā.

buddhepassanā dhammapassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅhesagāravā tumbhaṃ vandāmi kuveraṅca garaṭṭhaṅca varuḥhakaṅca ruppakkhaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhāsetṭhaṅca yakkhāsammāgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca imaṃrakkhaṃ saṃvadahantu māte kojīvahothetu

manussovā manussīvā -la- mahāyakkhāti.

5. heṭṭhimasmiṃ bhikkhave dissā bhāgecattāro nāgāmanāgā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ varuṇṇoca varuṇasetṭhoca kambalaca kambalasetṭhoca etecattāro nāgāmahānāgā buddhepassanā dhammapassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅhesagāravā tumbhaṃ vandāmi varuṇaṅca varuṇasetṭhaṅca kambalaṅca kambalasetṭhaṅca nāggaṅca nāggasammāgamaṅca nāggasannipātaṅca imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvadahantu māte kojīvahotu

manussovā manussīvā -la- mahānāggāti.

6. upparimasmiṃ bhikkhave dissā bhāgecattāro devā mahādevā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ candoca suriyaca indoca brahmca etecattāro devā mahādevā buddhepassanā dhammapassanā saṅghepassanā buddhesagāravā dhammesagāravā saṅhesagāravā tumbhaṃ vandāmi candaṅca suriyaṅca indaṅca brahmaṅca devaṅca devakasetṭhaṅca devakasammāgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca imaṃrakkhaṃ saṃvadahantu māte kojīvahocetu manusso vā manussīvā amanussovā amanussīvā yakkhovā yakkhīvā bhūttovā bhūttīvā pettovā pettīvā gambhaṇḍovā gambhaṇḍīvā pīsāccovā pīsāccīvā gandhabbovā gandhabbīvā asurovā asurīvā nāggovā nāggīvā gruद्धovā gruद्धhīvā kiṇṇarovā kiṇṇarīvā gacchantamvā cittaṃvā nisantaṃvā nimantaṃvā suttaṃvā jātirattaṃvā pamattaṃvā apamattaṃvā ratīvā divaṃvā sadā sadā tumhe anurakkhantu mahāyakkhāti.

idammavo ca bhāgavā attamanāte bhikkhū bhāgavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandunti pisacca rittaṃ mahāmegho niṭṭhito.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

cap' toy paripūra(n)

Standardized edition

evam me sutam: ekam samayam bhagavā rājagahe viharati gijjhakūṭe pabbate. tena kho pana samayena mahāmegho ahoṣi. tatra kho bhagavā āmantesi bhikkhavoti bhadanteti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum. bhagavā etad avoca.

[1]

puratthimasmim bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino. Seyyathīdam: dīgho ca saratto ca pantako ca karaṇīko ca.

ete cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te 'ham vandāmi dīghaṅca sarattaṅca pantakaṅca karaṇīkaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhaseṭṭhaṅca yakkhasamāgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca. imaṃ rakkham saṃvidahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantam vā ṭhitam vā nisinnam vā nipannam vā suttam vā jāgaritam vā pamattam vā appamattam vā rattim vā divam vā sadā sadā tam anurakkhantu mahāyakkhā ti.

2. dakkhiṇasmim bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino seyyathīdam: kālo ca upakālo ca susimo ca bhummaseṭṭho ca.

ete cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te 'ham vandāmi kālaṅca upakālaṅca susimaṅca bhummaseṭṭhaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhaseṭṭhaṅca yakkhāsamāgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca. imaṃ rakkham saṃvidahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantam vā ṭhitam vā nisinnam vā nipannam vā suttam vā jāgaritam vā pamattam vā appamattam vā rattim vā divam vā sadā sadā tam anurakkhantu mahāyakkhā ti.

3. pacchimasmim bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino seyyathīdam: hari ca hariyo ca piṅgalo ca piṅgalaseṭṭho ca.

ete cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te ‘haṃ vandāmi hariṅca hariyaṅca piṅgalaṅca piṅgalasetṭhaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhasetṭhaṅca yakkhāsamaṅgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca. imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvidahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantaṃ vā ṭhitaṃ vā nisinnaṃ vā nipannaṃ vā suttaṃ vā jāgaritaṃ vā pamattaṃ vā appamattaṃ vā rattiṃ vā divaṃ vā sadā sadā taṃ anurakkhantu mahāyakkhā ti.

4. uttarasmiṃ bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ: kuvero ca dhataratṭho ca viruḷhako ca virupakkho ca.

ete cattāro yakkhā mahāyakkhā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te ‘haṃ vandāmi kuveraṅca dhataratṭhaṅca viruḷhakaṅca virupakkhaṅca yakkhaṅca yakkhasetṭhaṅca yakkhāsamaṅgamaṅca yakkhasannipātaṅca. imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvidahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantaṃ vā ṭhitaṃ vā nisinnaṃ vā nipannaṃ vā suttaṃ vā jāgaritaṃ vā pamattaṃ vā appamattaṃ vā rattiṃ vā divaṃ vā sadā sadā taṃ anurakkhantu mahāyakkhā ti.

5. heṭṭhimasmiṃ bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro nāgā mahānāgā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ: varuṇo ca varuṇasetṭho ca kambalo ca kambalasetṭho ca.

ete cattāro nāgā mahānāgā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te ‘haṃ vandāmi varuṇaṅca varuṇasetṭhaṅca kambalaṅca kambalasetṭhaṅca nāgaṅca nāgasamaṅgamaṅca nāgasannipātaṅca. imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvadahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantaṃ vā ṭhitaṃ vā nisinnaṃ vā nipannaṃ vā suttaṃ vā jāgaritaṃ vā pamattaṃ vā appamattaṃ vā rattiṃ vā divaṃ vā sadā sadā taṃ anurakkhantu mahānāgā ti.

6. uparimasmiṃ bhikkhave disābhāge cattāro devā mahādevā adhipatino seyyathīdaṃ: cando ca

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

suriyo ca indo ca brahmā ca.

ete cattāro devā mahādevā buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṅghe pasannā buddhe sagāravā  
dhamme sagāravā saṅghe sagāravā.

te ‘haṃ vandāmi candañca suriyañca indañca brahmañca devañca devakasetṭhañca  
devakasamāgamañca yakkhasannipātañca. imaṃ rakkhaṃ saṃvidahantu.

mā te ko jīvaṃ heṭhetu manusso vā manussī vā amanusso vā amanussī vā yakkho vā yakkhī vā bhūto  
vā bhūtī vā peto vā petī vā kumbhaṇḍo vā kumbhaṇḍī vā pīsāco vā pīsācī vā gandhabbo vā gandhabbī  
vā asuro vā asurī vā nāgo vā nāgī vā garuḷo vā garuḷī vā kinnaro vā kinnarī vā.

gacchantaṃ vā ṭhitaṃ vā nisinnaṃ vā nipannaṃ vā suttaṃ vā jāgaritaṃ vā pamattaṃ vā appamattaṃ  
vā rattiṃ vā divaṃ vā sadā sadā taṃ anurakkhantu mahādevā ti.

idam avoca bhagavā attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

mahāmegha-suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

samantato pālīyantaṃ	byañjanena subhāsitaṃ
etena saccavajjena	sabbe tumhe pamuñcatha.
disāpāla-parittañca	byañjanena subhāsitaṃ
etena saccavajjena	sabbe tumhe pamuñcatha.

sabbe upaddavā sabbarogā sabbe bhayā sabbe dunnimmitā sabbe antarāyā pamuñcatha.

sabbe yakkhā sabbe nāgā	sabbe devā mahiddhikā
sabbe te lokapālā ca	indo brahmā mahiddhikā

vicaranti sadā lokaṃ pālīyanti ca. te imañca rattiṃ aparāñca rattiṃ imañca divasaṃ aparāñca divasaṃ  
rakkhantu.

disāpāla-parittaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

Translation

Thus have I heard: at one time the Blessed One was dwelling near Rājagaha on Mt. Vulture’s Peak. At that time there was a great cloud. The Blessed One called out, “O monks.” “Venerable sir,” the monks replied to the Blessed One.” The Blessed One said:

[1]

“In the eastern quarter, O monks, there are four ogres, great sovereign ogres. To wit: Dīgha, Saratta, Pantaka, and Karaṇīka.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

These four ogres are great ogres, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Dīgha, Saratta, Pantaka, Karaṇīka, Ogre, Best of Ogres, Meeting of Ogres, Assembly of Ogres. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great ogres forever watch over you.

[2]

In the southern quarter, O monks, there are four ogres, great sovereign ogres. To wit: Kāla, Upakāla, Susima, and Bhummasett̥ha.

These four ogres are great ogres, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Kāla, Upakāla, Susima, Bhummasett̥ha, Ogre, Best of Ogres, Meeting of Ogres, Assembly of Ogres. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great ogres forever watch over you.

[3]

In the western quarter, O monks, there are four ogres, great sovereign ogres. To wit: Hari, Hariya, Piṅgala, and Piṅgalaset̥tha.

These four ogres are great ogres, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Hari, Hariya, Piṅgala, Piṅgalaset̥tha, Ogre, Best of Ogres, Meeting of Ogres, Assembly

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

of Ogres. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great ogres forever watch over you.

[4]

In the northern quarter, O monks, there are four ogres, great sovereign ogres. To wit: Kuvera, Dhatarat̥ṭha, Viruḷhaka, and Virupakkha.

These four are great ogres, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Kuvera, Dhatarat̥ṭha, Viruḷhaka, Virupakkha, Ogre, Best of Ogres, Meeting of Ogres, Assembly of Ogres. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great ogres forever watch over you.

[5]

In the nadir quarter, O monks, there are four serpents, great sovereign serpents. To wit: Varuṇa, Varuṇaset̥ṭha, Kambala, and Kambalaset̥ṭha.

These four serpents are great serpents, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Varuṇa, Varuṇaset̥ṭha, Kambala, Kambalaset̥ṭha, Serpent, Best of Serpents, Meeting of Serpents, Assembly of Serpents. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male

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celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great serpents forever watch over you.

[6]

In the zenith quarter, O monks, there are four deities, great sovereign deities. To wit: Canda, Suriya, Inda, and Brahmā.

These four deities are great deities, faithful to the Buddha, faithful to the Dhamma, faithful to the Saṅgha, respectful to the Buddha, respectful to the Dhamma, respectful to the Saṅgha.

I salute them: Canda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā, Deity, Best of Deities, Meeting of Deities, Assembly of Deities. May they prepare this protection.

May no [being] injure your life, whether it be a man, a woman, a non-human male, a non-human female, an ogre, an ogress, a spirit, a spiritess, a male hungry ghost, a female hungry ghost, a male jar-sized-testicles monster, a female jar-sized-testicles monster, a male goblin, a female goblin, a male celestial musician, a female celestial musician, a male titan, a female titan, a male serpent, a female serpent, an eagle-man, an eagle-woman, a bird-man, or a bird-woman.

Whether walking or standing, sitting or lying down, sleeping or awake, indolent or attentive, by day or by night, may the great deities forever watch over you.”

Thus spoke the Blessed One. Delighted, the monks rejoiced in the words of the Blessed One.

Here ends the Mahāmegha-sutta.

What is expressed by these syllables	guards over all.
By these true words	may you all be liberated.
And what is expressed by these syllables	is the <i>Disāpāla-paritta</i> .
By these true words	may you all be liberated.

May you all be liberated from all calamities, all diseases, all dangers, all bad omens, and all disasters.

May all ogres, all serpents,	all deities of mighty power
And all guardians of the world,	Inda, Brahmā, of mighty power

wander and always guard the world. May they protect on this night, on other nights, on this day, and on other days.

Here ends the *Disāpāla-paritta*.



**Bhāsitovāda-NM**  
Uttered admonitions

Pali mixed prose and verse, compiled from canonical sources, likely compiled in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13th – 19th centuries, closely related to the Ovādapāṭimokkhādi-pāṭha of King Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century.

Leporello: **UB011** 69b–72a dhaṁm (ra)pā; **UB045** 17b–18a bhāsitovād saṅkhep;

Khmer books: PS = Kèv Ūc កែវ ឫច, *Parittasamodhān pālī* បរិក្ខេបសមាធានបាលី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ព្រះសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 321–3.

Summary: After an initial declaration that the highest worship of the Buddha is worship through practice, the text quotes from a variety of canonical stanzas that emphasize the importance of avoiding sin and striving hard on the Buddhist path, the rarity of human existence, and the five daily duties of a Buddha.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB011**

ukāsa yopanna:bhikkhu dhammānudhammappattipanno viharattī sammīcipattipanna  
anudhammacāriso tathāgataṃ sakkaroti garukaroti mānāti pūjjāti parim”āyyapūjjā ya:pattipattipūjjā  
y:yivanā laavavā dasittajā padhunname sāyya: pattipattipūjjā ya[page]vennapadhunnavanna:visalo  
vilovittarā yasammattikataññuttā sabbapāpasassa:akaraṇaṃ kusallasv[or ū]auppasampadā  
saccittapariyā dapannaṃ etaṃ buddhānusāsanaṃ.. cap’ .. (0) .. khantīparamaṃtapotī  
tikhāntinibbānaṃ . para:mavanti nahipubbajito pārūpaghāti sammano hoti paramaṃva. hetiyanto  
anuppavādo anuppaghāto pātimokkhe ca saṃparammataññutto cajjāggasmiṃ katañcasāyanāyaṇaṃ  
adhicca:teca: āyogo etaṃ buddhānusāsanaṃ.. cap’.. (0).. sallasammādigunnānaṃ khantīpathānaraṇaṃ  
sabbepikusal”ā dhammā vantighāyakkhe varavadantike valālānaṃ pi”pāpānaṃ khāntimullaṃ  
nikhāntigilhagilhaṃ adhimullaṃ tikhāntiko. .. cap’. (0) .. khāntī sarasiraṃ karokhāntūtap”o tappasino  
khāntūmullaṃ viya:tīnaṃ vanākhāntihitāsukkhāvahaṃ vadāntike petālābhiyassa  
sisulla[page]vābhiyodevā manussānaṃvanāp”otikhāntiko.. cap’ .. (0) .. attano pi pure sañca:atthāviho  
vakhāntiko sattamokamagamaṃ yacca:tunaṃ pūjjāti khāntiko.. cap’.. (0) .. sattanoviccano  
vedhaṃkaroyāvakhāntiko parim”āyapūjjā yacatunaṃ pūjjātikhāntiko.. cap’.. (0)..  
dullabhuñcamanusanaṃ buddhapādo ca dullabho khanasammatti sattamo ca paramadullabho  
sukkho buddhānaṃ uppādo sukkho sudhammadesnā sukkhā saṅghassa sammagī sammagānaṃ  
taposukkho vivekho duttasa:sudhammapassato sukkhaṃ abyāpajjaṃloke pānabhūtesusañca  
sukkhāviraṅgāloke kammānaṃsamaddhikamo asmiṃmānasaṃvinayo etaṃveparamaṃsukkhā .. cap’..  
(0).. kiccho manussappatilābho kiccaṃminānaṃjivita kiccaṃ sudhammasuvaṇṇaṃ kiccobuddhānaṃ  
up”ādosudhammasavaṇṇaṃ sukkhosabbasmiṃ jīnasāsane nikappāsattasahassā  
niddukkhatimṣonagacchanti.. cap’ .. (0) .. pañca. [page] nhēpaṇḍap”ātañcasāyyanhe  
dhammadesnāpattisevabhikkhuuv”āddo adhdh:rade. devapañhakaṃ pacca:sevaggatekāllo  
bhāñcabhābbivilokketeete pa-ñca:vidhekkicchedhete munnīpaṅgavoti.. cap’ .. (0)..

Diplomatic transcription of **UB045**

ukāsa yo pana dhammānudhammapaṭipanno viharati sāmīcipaṭipanno anudhammacārī so tathāgato sakkaroti garukaroti māneti pūjeti paramāya pūjāya paṭipattipūjāya.

sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ kusalassūpasampadā sacittapariyodapanaṃ etaṃ buddhānasāsaṇaṃ. khantī paramaṃ tapo tītikkhā nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti buddhā na hi pabbajito parūpaghātī samaṇo hoti paraṃ viheṭṭhayanto anūpavādo anūpaghāto pāṭimokkhe ca saṃvaro mataññutā ca bhattasmiṃ pantañca sayanāsaṇaṃ adhicitte ca āyogo etaṃ buddhānasāsaṇaṃ.

Standardized edition

ukāsa. yo pana dhammānudhammapaṭipanno viharati sāmīcipaṭipanno anudhammacārī so tathāgataṃ sakkaroti garukaroti māneti pūjeti paramāya pūjāya paṭipattipūjāya.<sup>46</sup>

sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṃ  
kusalassūpasampadā  
sacittapariyodapanaṃ  
etaṃ buddhānasāsaṇaṃ.

khantī paramaṃ tapo tītikkhā,  
nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti buddhā,  
na hi pabbajito parūpaghātī,  
samaṇo hoti paraṃ viheṭṭhayanto.

anūpavādo anūpaghāto  
paṭimokkhe ca saṃvaro  
mattaññutā ca bhattasmiṃ  
pantañca sayanāsaṇaṃ  
adhicitte ca āyogo  
etaṃ buddhānasāsaṇaṃ.

sīlasamādhiguṇānaṃ  
khantī padhānakāraṇaṃ  
sabbepi kusaladhammā  
khantīyeva vaddhanti te.

<sup>46</sup> This prose introduction translates as: “Permit me! He who dwells as a practitioner of the major and minor teachings, as a masterful practitioner, as someone who conducts himself in accordance with the teachings, he honors, respects, reveres, and worships with Tathāgata with the ultimate form of worship, worship through practice.”

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

kevalānaṃpi pāpānaṃ,  
khanti mūlaṃ nikantati  
garahakalahādīnaṃ  
mūlaṃ khaṇati khantiko.

khantū dhīrassalaṅkāro  
khantū tapo tapassino  
khantū balaṃ va yatīnaṃ  
khantū hitasukhāvahā.

khantiko mettavā lābhī  
yasassī sukhāsīlavā  
piyo devamanussānaṃ  
manāpo hoti khantiko.

attanopi paresaṅ ca  
atthāvahova khantiko  
saggamokkhagamaṃ maggaṃ  
āruḷho hoti khantiko.

satthuno vacanovādaṃ  
karotiyeva khantiko  
paramāya ca pūjāya,  
jīnaṃ pūjeti khantiko

dullabhaṅ ca manussattaṃ,  
buddhuppādo ca dullabho  
dullabhā khaṇasampatti  
saddhammo paramadullabho.

sukho buddhānamuppādo,  
sukhā saddhammadesanā,  
sukhā saṅghassa sāmaggī,  
samaggānaṃ tapo sukho.

sukho viveko tuṭṭhassa,  
sutadhammassa passato  
abyāpajjhaṃ sukhaṃ loke  
pāṇabhūtesu saññāmo.

sukhā virāgatā loke  
kāmaṇaṃ samatikkamo  
asmimānassa vinayo  
etaṃ ve paramaṃ sukhaṃ.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

kiçcho manussapaṭilābho  
kiçchaṃ maccāna jīvitam  
kiçchaṃ saddhammassavanaṃ  
kiçcho buddhānamuppādo.

satthuno saddhammaṃ sutvā  
sabbasmiṃ jīnasāsane  
kappāni satasahassāni  
duggatiṃ so na gacchati.

pubbaṅhe piṇḍapātañ ca,  
sāyaṅhe dhammadesanaṃ,  
padose bhikkhu ovādaṃ  
aḍḍharatte devapañhanaṃ.

paccūseva gate kāle  
bhabbābhabbe vilokanaṃ  
ete pañcavidhe kicce  
visodheti munipuṅkavo ti.

**Mahāmetti-NM**

Great text on goodwill

FEMC title: mahāmetrī

Pali mixed verse and prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13th–17th centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 53a–55a mahāmettisūtr

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 004.A.07.01.05, FEMC 040-A.02.12.04, FEMC D.406, FEMC A.425, FEMC A.44, FEMC A.463, FEMC D.112, FEMC D' .239

Khmer books: BK = Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt brik lñāc គាលវារ កិច្ចវគ្គព្រឹកល្ងាច* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇḍāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 34–37; PS = Kèv Ūc កែវ ម៉ូច, *Parittasamodhān pālī បរិក្ខេបសមោធានបាលី* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 307–11.

Summary: Begins with an enumeration of twenty-four protective texts preached by the Buddha, followed by a prayer for relatives, royalty, human beings, all manner of deities in various realms, and all manner of hell beings to be happy and free from suffering.

Diplomatic transcription of Ek Ñim and Ras' Kèv 1965, 34–37

mahāmettisūtra. mettisuttaṃ ratanañcakhandhāñāṇīyaṃ tathādhaḥajaggaṃaṅgulimālañca disāpālañca  
sattamaṃaṭṭhavīsatiḥbojjhaṅgañcaparittaṃ aṭṭhamāṅgalaṃ. seyyathīdaṃ.  
ekādasamettivuttaṃmāravijañca sukhañcaisigiligrīmānandaṃ moggallānañcacundañcakassapaṃ  
moraparittaṃ suriyaṃcandañcevachandantaṃvaṭṭajātakamaṃrāhulañca parittānisirasācalokānañca  
hitāya attano sāvakkassacamātāpitūnaṃ sabbānicatubbīsatiḥbuddheneva pakāsītāniatthāyahitāya  
sukhāyasabbassalokassāti. ime mātāpitāro paralokaṃ gantvā idha sāsane averā hontu sukhitā hontu  
niddukkhā hontu abyāpajjhā hontu anighā hontu dighāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampattīhi  
samijjhantu sukhī attānaṃ pariharantu. ime bhātubhaginiñātūmittasā lohitaḥbandhakulasahāyākā averā  
...pe... pariharantu. ime rājānodevādhipatīsaputtadārā saamaccāsarājaparivārā sasenāpatī  
sabalabāmānāsadāsadāsī hattiassagoṇamahimsādayo sukhīattānaṃ pariharantu. imasmim gāmevā  
nīgamevā janapadevā araññevā sabbe sattā averā hontu sukhitā hontu averā ...pe... pariharantu. Ime  
manussāca ritindivañca itthī vā puriso vā kumāro vā kumārī vā yecavuḍḍhāyecadahaṃ yecabālā  
yecapaṇḍitā addhāceva daliddā ca sabbe sattā averā ...pe... pariharantu. ayaṃ suriyo ca ayaṃ cando  
ca varuṇo ca nāgo ca bhāradvājo ca supaṇṇo ca sahampatīdevāmahiddhikā mahānubhāvo ca  
sabbesattā averā ...pe... pariharantu. ime cātummahārājikādevā tāvatimsādevā yāmādevā tusitādevā  
nimmānaratūdevā parinimmitavasavattūdevā yāvabrahmalokā brahmapārisajjā brahmaparohitā  
mahābrahmāparittābhā appamāñābhā ābhassarā parittasubhā appamāṇasubhā subhakiṇḥhakā  
vehapphalā asaññīsattā avihāatappāsudassāsudassī anittakā. ākāsānañcāyatanāṃ viññāṇañcāyatanāṃ  
ākiñcaññāyatanāṃ nevasaññānāsaññāyatanāṃ mahābrahmasaṅkhārā paṭhavītalato  
yāvabhavaggasamantatocaavijjahitvā yāvaccakkavālesupariyantā itarāsabbe sattā appadā vā dipadā vā  
catuppadā vā bahuppadā vā pakkīhi vā jalehi vā thalehi vā antalikkhehi vā sabbesattā averā ...pe...  
pariharantu. ime niraye aṭṭhanirayesu sañjīvesu kāḷasattesu saṅghātesu roravesu mahāroravesu  
tāpanesu mahātāpanesu avīcīsu mahāavīcīsu lohakumbhīsu mahālohakambhīsu simbalirukkhe vā  
khāranadiyovāṅgārapabbate vā ayaṃmahāpaṭhavīyo va soḷasamahānirayesu sabbesattā  
lokantarānirayesu. sattākāyakamma vā uppeto peto aḷeṇato asaraṇatomamapaññānubhāvena mama  
mettānubhāvena mama mahākaraṇānubhāvena mama muditānubhāvena mama upekkhānubhāvena  
sabbe te nirayakasattā averā ...pe... pariharantu. mahāmettisuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

Standardized edition

metta<sup>47</sup>-suttaṃ ratanañca  
khandhāñāṇīyaṃ tathā  
dhajaggaṃ aṅgulimālañca  
disāpālañca sattamaṃ  
aṭṭhavīsatiḥbuddhañca<sup>48</sup>  
parittaṃ aṭṭha maṅgalaṃ

seyyathīdaṃ.

<sup>47</sup> FEMC A.463; BK and PS read *metti*.

<sup>48</sup> BK reads *aṭṭhavīsatiḥ bojjhaṅgañcaparittaṃ*.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

ekādasamāti-vuttaṃ  
māravijañca sākhañca<sup>49</sup>  
dhāranī-girimānandaṃ<sup>50</sup>  
moggallānañca cundañca  
kassapaṃ mora-parittaṃ<sup>51</sup>  
suriyaṃ candañceva

chaddantaṃ vaṭṭa-jātaṃ  
rāhulañca parittāni  
sirasā ca lokānañca<sup>52</sup>  
attano sāvakassa ca

mātāpitūnaṃ sabbāni  
catubbīsati<sup>53</sup> buddheneva  
pakāsītāni atthāya  
hitāya sukhāya lokassāti.

ime mātāpitāro paralokaṃ gantvā idha sāsane averā hontu sukhitā hontu niddukkhā hontu abyāpajjhā  
hontu anighā hontu dighāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampatūhi samijjhantu sukhī attānaṃ pariharantu.

ime bhātu-bhaginī-ñāti-mitta-sālohitabandha-kula-sahāyakā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

ime rājāno devādhipatī saputtadārā sa-amaccā sarājaparivārā sasenāpatī sabalabāmānā sadāsadāsī  
hatthi-assa-goṇa-mahiṃsādayo<sup>54</sup> averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

imasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā janapade vā araṇṇe vā sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

ime manussā rattīṇca divaṇca itthī vā puriso vā kumāro vā kumārī vā ye ca vuḍḍhā ye ca daharā ye ca  
bālā ye ca paṇḍitā addhāceva daḷiddā ca sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

ayaṃ suriyo ca ayaṃ cando ca varuṇo ca nāgo ca bhāradvājo ca supaṇṇo ca sahapatī devā  
mahiddhikā mahānubhāvo ca sabbe sattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

ime cātummahārājikā devā tāvatiṃsā devā yāmā devā tusitā devā nimmānaratī devā  
parinimmitavasavattī devā yāva brahmalokā brahmapārisajjā brahmapurohitā mahābrahmā  
parittābhā appamāṇābhā ābhassarā parittasubhā appamāṇasubhā subhakiṇhakā<sup>55</sup> vehapphalā

<sup>49</sup> BK reads *sukhañca*.

<sup>50</sup> BK reads *isigihgirimānandaṃ*.

<sup>51</sup> BK; PS reads *kassapaṃ mārā khaṇutathāya*, and other manuscripts read *kassapaṃ mārā khaṇutthāya*.

<sup>52</sup> BK; PS reads *sirasāni ca lokānañca hitatthāya*.

<sup>53</sup> BK; PS reads *catuwīsāni*.

<sup>54</sup> Perhaps a *sa-* is needed as the beginning of this compound, otherwise it does not fit in well with the rest of the sentence.

<sup>55</sup> BK *subhakiṇhakā*, which is attested once in the *Trai bhūmi brah ruan*, ไตรภูมิพระร่วง, but the more common reading is *subhakiṇhā*.

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

asaññasattā<sup>56</sup> avihā atappā sudassā sudassī akaniṭṭhā<sup>57</sup> ākāsānañcāyatanam viññāṇañcāyatanam ākiñcaññāyatanam nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam mahābrahmasaṅkhātā<sup>58</sup> paṭhavitalato yāva bhavaggaṃ samantato<sup>59</sup> ca avijjam hitvā<sup>60</sup> yāva cakkavālesu pariyantā itarā sabbe sattā appadā vā dipadā vā catuppadā vā bahuppadā vā pakkhīhi vā jalehi vā thalehi vā antalikkhehi vā sabbesattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

ime niraye aṭṭha-nirayesu sañjīvesu kālasuttesu saṅghātesu roruvesu mahāroruvesu tāpanesu mahātāpanesu avīcīsu mahā-avīcīsu<sup>61</sup> lohakumbhīsu mahālohakambhīsu simbalirukkhe vā khāranadiyo vā aṅgārapabbate vā ayaṃ mahāpaṭhavīyo vā soḷasa-mahānirayesu sabbe sattā lokantaranirayesu sattā kāyakamma vā uppeto peto aleṇato asaraṇato mama paññānubhāvena mama mettānubhāvena mama mahākaruṇānubhāvena mama muditānubhāvena mama upekkhānubhāvena sabbe te nirayakasattā averā [...pe...] pariharantu.

mahāmettisuttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

Translation

The *Metta-sutta*, the *Ratana*,  
the *Khandha*, the *Ātānāṭiya* too,  
the *Dhajagga*, the *Aṅgulimāla*,  
the *Disāpāla* as the seventh,  
and the *Aṭṭhavīsati* *buddha* [or the *Aṭṭhavīsati* and the *Bojjhaṅga*]  
[are] eight auspicious *parittas* [or the *Aṭṭhamāṅgala-paritta*].

To wit:

the *Ekādasamāti-vuttaṃ*,  
the *Māravijja* [ya], and the *Sākha/Sukha*,  
the *Dhāraṇī/Isigili*, the *Girimānanda*,  
the *Moggallāna* and the *Cunda*,

the *Kassapa*, the *Mora-paritta/Mārā khaṇutathāya* [?]/*Mārākhaṇutthāya* [?],  
the *Suriya*, and also the *Canda*,

<sup>56</sup> BK *asaññasatta*. Whereas most Pali sources read *asaññasatta* for this realm, the *Trai bhūmi brah ruan*<sub>1</sub> reads *asaññīsattā* (v) อสังยุตต์ or *asaññībrahm อสังยุตต์พรหม*. For an English translation of the relevant passages, see Frank E. Reynolds and Mani B. Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology* (Berkeley: Center for South Asia Studies, University of California, 1982), 254; 274.

<sup>57</sup> BK *akaniṭṭhakā*, but Pali sources and the *Trai bhūmi brah ruan*<sub>1</sub> agree on *akaniṭṭhā*. See Reynolds and Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, 50.

<sup>58</sup> BK *mahābrahmasaṅkhārā*, unattested. *Mahābrahmasaṅkhātā* appears in the cosmological text *Lokappadīpasāra*. I read *saṅkhātā* as Sanskrit *saṃkhyātā*, “reckoned.”

<sup>59</sup> Divided from BK *bhavaggasamantato*.

<sup>60</sup> BK reads *avijjāhitvā*.

<sup>61</sup> BK *mahā-avīcīsu* must be in apposition to *avīcīsu* here, rather than a ninth hell. Eight is the standard number and this list corresponds nicely to the *Trai bhūmi brah ruan*<sub>1</sub> (Reynolds and Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, 66).

Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

the *Chaddanta*, the *Vatṭa-jātaka*,  
the *Rāhula*—these *paritta*

are for the weal of the worlds,  
of oneself, of the disciples,  
and of parents; all  
twenty-four of them were, by the Buddha himself,  
proclaimed for the sake,  
benefit, and well-being of the world.

These parents, having passed on to the other world, may they, here in the dispensation [of the Buddha], be free from enmity, may they be happy, may they be free from suffering, may they be free from malevolence, may they be free from trouble, may they be of long life, may they be free from disease, may they prosper by means of fortunes, and may they maintain themselves happily.

These brothers, sisters, relatives, friends, blood relations, clansmen, and companions – may they be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These kings, lords of the gods, together with their sons and daughters, their ministers, their royal retinues, their generals, their armies, their male and female slaves, and elephants, horses, oxen, buffalo, etc. – may they be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

Whether in this village, this town, this rural region, or this forest, may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These humans, by day or by night, whether women, men, boys, or girls; whether they are old or young, foolish or wise, wealthy or impoverished – may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

The sun, the moon, the serpent Varuṇo, the *supaṇṇa* Bhāradvāja, and the powerful and mighty [Brahma-]deity, Lord of the World – may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These deities in the retinue of the Four Great Kings, deities in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, deities in the Yama Heaven, deities in the Contented Heaven, deities in the Delighting in Magical Creation Heaven, deities in the Controlling the Magical Creation of Others Heaven, up to the Brahmā-world, [including] those in Brahmā's Retinue, those in Brahmā's Chaplains, those in Great Brahmā, those in Limited Radiance, those in Limitless Radiance, those in Streaming Radiance, those in Limited Splendor, those in Limitless Splendor, those in Complete Splendor, those in Vast Reward, those in Unconscious Beings, those in Undisturbed, those in Unbothered, those in the Beautiful, those in the Beautifully-Sighted, those in Unexcelled, the Sphere of Infinite Space, the Sphere of Infinite Awareness, the Sphere of Nothingness, the Sphere of Neither-Consciousness-Nor-Unconsciousness, that reckoned as Great Brahmā, from the surface of the earth to the peak of existence, and, having from everywhere abandoned ignorance, all the way to the other limits of the world-system, all beings with no feet, with two feet, with four feet, or with many feet, by wing, by water, by land, or by sky –



Appendix II-6 Non-canonical Pali mixed verse and prose (-NM)

may all beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

These beings in the hells, in the eight hells, in Living, in Black String, in Crushing, in Howling, in Great Howling, in Burning, in Great Burning, in Uninterrupted (i.e. the Great Uninterrupted), in Copper Pot, in Great Copper Pot, or in the Caustic River in Silk-Cotton Tree, or on the great earth in Poker Mountain, or all beings in the World-Limit Hell, or beings endowed with bodily karma, hungry ghosts without safety and without refuge – by the power of my wisdom, by the power of my friendliness, by the power of my great compassion, by the power of my sympathetic joy, by the power of my equanimity, may all of these hell-beings be free from enmity [...*et cetera*...] and may they maintain themselves happily.

Here concludes the *Mahāmetti-sutta*.

## II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

- Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy A-r** (1)  
**Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r** (1)  
**Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-r** (1)  
**Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā samrāy-r** (1)  
**Iminā puñṇakammena-gāthā/iminā puñṇakammena-gāthā samrāy-r**  
**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r** (3)  
**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «rī braḥ girimānandasūtr neḥ»-r** (3)  
**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r** (4)  
**Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhuṃ/cakkhuṃ samrāy-r** (1)  
**Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r** (1)  
**Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r** (2)  
**Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r** (1)  
**Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r** (1)  
**Braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r** (1)  
**Yaṃ akusalaṃ/yaṃ akusalaṃ samrāy-r** (1)  
**Yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca/yaṃ dunnimittaṃ ca samrāy-r** (1)  
**Ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā paṇā-gāthā samrāy-r** (1)  
**Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r** (1)  
**Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r** (1)

### **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā A samrāy-r**

The stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version A

FEMC title: sec-ktī prè aciraṃ

Pali verse, 1 stanza, Dhammapada 3.9.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18th–19th centuries, closely related to **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā B/Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā B samrāy-r**

Leporello: **UB070** 2a

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā**, a verse on the inevitability of death.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB070**

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

ឡឹ ០ ឡឹ *aciraṃ* កំពូលុដលើ *vattayaṃkāyo* វិលប្រនីប្រាសនេះ *paththvi* លើប្រថុញ *aṭṭhi* គឺផ្លឹង *sessati* កសែសល *tuccho* កនឹង សូន *apettavāṇāno* កាល្ហបើប្រាសនឹងវិញ្ញាសទៅហើយ *niratham* ករលុត *vagaligaram* តូចអង្កតឱស្ស។

Translation

**not long** not long at all **alas, this body** as for one’s own practice here **the earth** on the earth **bone** that is, bone **will lie** remains **empty** will be empty **devoid of consciousness** when it has become devoid of consciousness **useless** is extinguished **like a rotten log** like a charcoal log.

**Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā B samrāy-r**

The stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” bilingual version B

FEMC title: sec-kū prè aciraṃ

Pali verse, 1 stanza, closely related to the Dhammapada 3.9, with added parts in Pali prose.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18th–19th centuries, closely related to **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā/aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā samrāy B-r**

Leporello: **UB067** 93a–94a

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Aciraṃ vata'yam kāyo-gāthā**, a verse on the inevitability of death, with an additional portion added dealing with animals that consume corpses.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB067**

*ukāsa accarivattiyamkāyo sathānaṃ maranaṃ kalle charitvāupekkhā nirathamvatthalimḡarampaththvīyam vā* វិព្រះពុទ្ធតូជា អម្ចាស ស្តេចត្រាមានព្រះបន្ទូល ពូតូអក្ខរាអក្សបរិកំណត្ត បទព្រះបាទ្យីរោះនេះ ថា *bhikkhave* ថាហ្សកីក្នុសុសយិផងទ្រាំហ្សាយើ *acchiraṃ* អច្ឆិរំ កំពូលុដលើ *vattiyam* កូឡិមានវត្តប្រនីប្រាសិចិត្តប្បវិមត្តាតោយនូវព្រះធម្មនេះ *kāyo* រឺខ្លួននេះ *sutānaṃ* ឡែរូបសត្វ ផងទ្រាំហ្ស *maranaṃkāle* នាកាលនិងម្មនាទៅហើយ *charitvā* កូត្យនិងយកទៅចោលបោះបង់ *susāne* ពូតូព្រាយ សំសានស្ថានស្លា ត *paththvīyam* កូនិងតេតូនទៀលមមៀល នូវលើក្រលាមហាប្រថុញ *vatalimḡaram* (*garam*)? បើតូចអង្កតឱស្សកុំណាត *niratham* *va* កូនិងរលុតចោលបង់ *eko* ត្រមោចតែម្នាក់ឯងទេ *kakā* វីក្រក *suṇo* វីខ្លាំង *tacchanto* វីត្រាត *hatthī* វីតំរឺ *bahullatāvīy* ពហុល្លតាវឺ វីតោ *bhyā[te/ge]* វីខ្លា *sunakkhē* វីត្រៃព្រឺ *paṇi/ti]cchitvā* កូនិងមកចោមរោមជាបរិវា *adhibahullam* តូច្រៃត្រឺ វាមកប្រសែជា ញាត្តិកាមិត្តសំលេញ *antarāya'yam* កូនិងអន្តរាទៅពុំយលលើ *bhattebhāttam* តូជាចំផ្នែកទៅព្រះអត្តិចិត្ត ការមិត្ត *antarāya'yam* កូនិងអន្តរាទៅហោង ។ ។

**Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta/anatta-lakkhaṇa samrāy-r**

The discourse on the mark of not-self, bilingual version

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 22.59.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, composed in Cambodia by Huot Tāt in 1934.

Leporello: **UB043** 48a–49b, 51a–60b anattalakkhaṇasūtr prè/anattalakkhaṇasūtr;

Khmer books: Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt សត្តបរិវត្តិ ទ្វាទសបរិវត្តិ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971), 117–31.

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP**, discourse of the Buddha to his first five disciples on the nature of the mark of non-self.

**Aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā/aniccā vata saṅkhārā-gāthā-r**

Stanza beginning with “Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things,” bilingual version

FEMC title: sec-ktī prè aniccā

Pali verse, 1 stanza, extract of *Dīgha-nikāya* 16 (among other sources).

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18th–19th centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 2a

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of a verse on the impermanence of all conditioned things.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB070**

ៗ aniccā សិន្ទំឡើង *vatasankhārā* វិសង្សារផង *upāddavayya* វិធានានកុំណើត *dharmāno* មានសុភាព *upajjivā* កើតលើងហើរ *nirujjhantī* ករលុតទៅ *tesaṃ* នៃសខិរធម្ម *uppassamo* ក៏រលុតក៏នីពាន *sukho* ជាសុកក្រៃពេកៗ នេះ គឺវឌ្ឍិបរស្សប្រុះស្រ្យរៀនយក សុត្តាស្តុលខ្លួនតែសព្វថ្ងៃទៅហោងៗ

Translation

**impermanent** which are not permanent **alas, are all conditioned things** as for all conditioned things **to arise and pass away** as for clinging [and] birth **they have the nature** they have the essential nature **having arisen** having arisen **they are extinguished** they are extinguished **their** of all conditioned things **complete stiling** extinguish, go to Nibbāna **bliss** is great bliss.

**Iminā puññakammena-gāthā/iminā puññakammena-gāthā samrāy-r**

Stanzas beginning with “By this meritorious act,” bilingual version

FEMC title: sec-ktī prè iminā

Pali verse, 3 stanzas, non-canonical, possibly composed in the 10<sup>th</sup> through 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 3a–4a jruoc bīlā e lñāc

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer of non-canonical stanzas for the dedication of merit to benevolent and malevolent beings, petitioning them to rejoice in the merit, be happy, and swiftly reach Nibbāna.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB070**

*imināpuññakammena* រឿងដ៏ដ្ឋះអំពើបុននេះ *upajjhāyāgānuttarā* ព្រះឧបជ្ឈវាឯណាដមានគុនប្រសើរដ្ឋ *accāriyopakārāca* នៅ  
អាចារមានគុនឧប្បការ្យ *mātāpitā* គឺម្តាយអាពុក *ñātikānam* គឺញាតិកាទ្វាហ្យ *suriyocandīmārājā* ព្រះអាទិត្យព្រះចន័មហាឧរ្យត្រ  
*gunavantā* មានគុនប្រសើរដ្ឋ *narāpica* នៅបុរស្សប្រុះស្រ្យ *brahmā* គឺព្រះព្រហ្ម *mārāca* មារាធិរាជ្ជ *indrāca* ព្រះឥន្ទ *lokkapālāca*  
ព្រះលោក្កបាល *devatā* ស្សទេវតា *yammo* ព្រះយម្មរាជ *metāmanussāca* មានមេតាមនុស្សាហ្យ *majjhata* គឺ  
ទេវ *verikāpica* មានប្រក្រដ្យជាពៀរ *sabbesattā* នៅស្សសត្វទ្វាព្វដ *sukhūhontu* ចូរមានសុក *pañāni pakatāni* រឿបុនបានធ្វើជាប្រក្រដ្យ  
*me* នៃអញ *sukham* ឲ្យជាសុក *catubidham* ត្បោតរឿបទ្វាដ *dentu* កុំឲ្យ *khīpam pāpe* បាបបានផល *thavo* នៃអ្នក *matam* ត្ថ  
ស្លាបនោះ ។

*imināpuññakammena* រឿអំពើបុននេះ *iminā* កឌីឡើ *uddisenaca* ជូនទៅ *khīppā* ឲ្យតាប់ *ham* រឿអញ *sulabhe* មានត្បោប្រព្រៃ *ceva*  
ត្ថច្នៃ *tanhūpādāna* នៃតណ្ហាឧបាទ្ធា *chedanā* ឲ្យបានកាត *yenasantāna* រឿកំណើតសប្បុរសឯណា *hinādhammā* មានស្សភាពហ័ន  
ច្យ *yāvānibbānato* ទោះកើតជាតឯណា *bhave bhava* ពួតកុព្វរដកុព្វន្តរ *ujucittam* ឲ្យមានចិតត្រង *sattapañā* មានស្សត្យមានប្រា  
ជ្ជា *salekho* អាចកដ្ឋសំគាល *viriyampinā* ឲ្យមានពិក្យាយ្យ *mārāla* គឺមារា *bhantuno* កុំប្យីមាន *kāsam* ឌីកាស្ស *kātubcāviri* តើម្យី  
នឹងធ្វើពិក្យាយ្យ *yesu* ឲ្យប្រព្រៃ *me* នៃអញ *buddho* រឿព្រះពុទ *dīpavaro* ជាព្រះទីពពុទ្ធនៃហប្រសើរដ្ឋ *nātho*  
ជាពូនាក់ *dhammonāthitho* រឿព្រះធម្មជាពូនាក់ *varuttamo* តប្រសើរដ្ឋឌីតម *nāthitho* ជាពូនាក់ *pacekabuddhoca* នៃព្រះប  
ចែកពោធិ្យ *samghonāthitho* រឿព្រះសមិជាពូនាក់ *taro* ចម្មដ *mamaṃ* នៃអញខ្ញុំម *tesottamānubhāvena* ត្បោនៅអនុ  
ភាពឧទ្ធរធម្ម *mārōkāsaṃ* កំបីមាមកឌីកាស្ស *labhantumā* បានលើយ្យ ។... នេះជ្រួចពីលាឯល្ងាច ។... ១ ។

Standardized edition of the Pali

*iminā puññakammena*

*upajjhāyā guṇuttarā  
ācariyūpakārā ca  
mātāpitā ca nātikā*

*suriyo candimā rājā  
guṇavantā narāpi ca  
brahmamārā ca indrā ca  
lokapālā ca devatā*

*yamo mittā manussā ca  
majjhata verikāpi ca  
sabbe sattā sukhī hontu  
puññāni pakatāni me  
sukhaṃ ca tividhaṃ dentu  
khippaṃ pāpetha vo'mataṃ*

**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «girimānandasūtr neh»-r**  
Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This Discourse to  
Girimānanda”

FEMC title: girimānand sūtr

Pali prose, Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB014** 39a–60b braḥ girimānandasuttaṃ; **UB015** 98b–91b (explicit missing),  
with final note: មិនទាន់ចប់ទេនៅវែង; **UB057** 79a–106a braḥ girimānand pre(h)

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, a discourse of the  
Buddha to Ānanda on the ten “notions” (*saññā*)—reflections to be undertaken by an invalid for  
the purpose of healing—for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB014**

*evamesuttaṃ ekam* គឺវិមានន្ទសូត្រនេះ គឺខ្ញុំអានន្ទបានស្តាប់ ជុំពោះព្រះភត្យនៃព្រះរមានបុន្យ ដោយអាកាបានស្តាប់តែម្តងក៏ប្លាបាន  
*ekaṃsamayaṃbhagavā sāvattī yamvihararījettavane ānāthapindikassārāme* ក្នុងសូម្បែម្យព្រះដមានបុន ព្រះអង្គគុដក្នុងជេតុ  
តវនមហាវិហារ ជាអាពាមរបស់សអាណាបបិណ្ឌិកសៃដដីជិតនីកវសាវត្ថិ *tenakhopanusamayena* ក្នុងសូម្បែនោះមែនពិត  
*āyasmāgūgīrīmānandado ābādhikohoti dukkhitobālhagilāno* ព្រះគឺវិមានន្ទដរមានអាយុ៖ បង្កើតអាពាធមានតុក វេទនាក្នុងរាងកាយ

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy\_prose (-r)

ជាទំមួនណារូ *athakhoāyasmānānando* ក្នុងសូម្បីនោះមែនពិត ព្រះអានន្តដមានអាយុ៖ *yenabhagavātenupasaṅgami* ព្រះដមាន  
 បុនគ្នឺទ្យំណា ចូលទៅរកព្រះអង្គក្នុងទ្យំនោះ *uppaṅgamitvābhagavantam abhivādevatā ekamantam nisīdi* លុះចូលទៅជិតឱ  
 នក្យថាយបង្គំ ព្រះដមានបុនហៀអង្គយក្នុងទ្យំសំគួរម្យ *ekamantaṃnisaṅkoko āyasmānānando bhagavantam etadvocca* អានន្ត  
 ថែដមានអាយុ៖ អង្គយក្នុងទ្យំសំគួរម្យ ហៀទូលស្នើថា *āyasmāgīrīmānānandoābādhikodukkhitō bālhaḡilāno* ព្រះគិរីមានន្តដមាន  
 អាយុ៖ បង្កើតអាពាធមានទុកវេទនាក្នុងរាងក្យជាទំមួនណារូ *sādhubhantebhagavāyēnāyasmāgīrīmānānando*  
*tenupasaṅgamatuanukampamupā dāyāti* បពិតព្រះដមានបុនដចំរើនលើ អញខ្ញុំសូមឱក្យ ព្រះគិរីមានន្តនៅក្នុងអាវាសណាសូម  
 ព្រះអង្គធ្វើហជាសេចក្តីយករណាឱអញខ្ញុំទៅសួរលោកក្នុងអាវាសនោះ ព្រះដមានបុនទ្រង់អនុញ្ញាត្ត *sacekhotvam*  
*ānandagīrīmānandassabhikkhūno upasaṅgamitvādussasa ṅā bhāseyyāsi* អនុញ្ញាត្តកាប្បិចូលទៅជិតហៀ សំម្តេងនៅសញ្ញាទ្វា  
 ១០ប្រការដល់គិរីមានន្តកិក្កនោះ *thānaṃkhopanetaṃvijāyiyāṃ gīrīmānandassabhikkhūnodassa sañāsuvāsoābādhho*  
*thānasopatiṃpassambhayaṅgi* អនុញ្ញាត្តបើគិរីមានន្តកិក្កនោះបានស្តាប់នៅសញ្ញាទ្វា ១០ប្រការនេះហៀ អានន្តជុំម្ហីហ៍អាពាធ្យគិរីមានន្ត  
 កិក្កនោះកនឹងសៈស្បើយ ជាម្យរុំពេជទៅមែនពិត *katamādassasaṅgā* អានន្ត សញ្ញាទ្វា ១០ប្រការដូចម្តេច សញ្ញាទ្វា ១០ប្រការនេះគិ  
*aniccasāṅgā* សំគាល់ថាខ្ញុំន្តទ្វា ៥ មិនទៀងម្យ *anattasāṅgā* សំគាល់ថារាងក្យមិនស្តាតម្យ *adīnavasāṅgā* សំគាល់ថារាងក្យមាន  
 ទ្រេម្យ *pahānasāṅgā* សំគាល់ថាគិរិយាលៈបង្កម្យ *virāggasāṅgā* សំគាល់ថានិព្វានជាគុនប្រាៈប្រាកាត្តាទ្យិកិលើ៖ ១ *nirottasāṅgā* សំគាល់  
 ថានិព្វានរុំលុតប្រាកទុក ១ *sabbalokeanabhirata saṅgā* សំគាល់ថាក្នុងលោកទ្វាពួងមិនមាន សេចក្តីយដំរើក ១  
*sabbasaṃkhāresuanicca saṅgā* សំគាល់ថាសំខារធម៌ទាំងពួងមិនទៀង ១ *ānāpānasati* សំគាល់ដឹងក្នុងខ្យល់ចេញចូល ១  
*kattamācānandaaniccasāṅgā* អានន្ត អនិច្ចសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច *idhānanda bhikkhu* អានន្តកិក្កបានបូសក្នុងធម៌វិន្យនេះហៀ  
*araṅgāgatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្តីយ *rukkhamūllagatovā* ទៅនៅក្រោមម្យពួលើក្តីយ *saṅgāgatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងសែណាសណ  
 ដរស្លាតក្តីយ *itipisaṅkikkhāti* ព្យាប្រាណាឱយើញច្បុះថា *nūpamaṅniccam* រ្យរូបដែលបង្កើតអំព្យ ទិក ដៀ អំព្យ ភ្លើង ខ្យល់ មិន  
 ទៀង *vedanāniccā* រ្យសេចក្តីយដែលស្សោអារម្មជា ទុក សុក ទៅទោម្មន៍ស្ស សោម្មន៍ស្ស ឧបៃត្តាមិនទៀង *saṅgāniccā* រ្យសេចក្តី  
 យដែលសំគាល់ថាបាន នៅរូបសំឡេងខ្លួនសុខសុខមិនទៀង *saṃkhārāniccā* រ្យសំខាដែលពាក់តែង ទុំនុកបំរើទៅចិត ហៀញ្ញា  
 ចិតឱព្រះវិះ គិតនៅបុននឹងបាបមិនទៀង *viññānam anicanti* រ្យវិញ្ញានដែលដឹងនៅអារម្មណដ៏វិសេសមិនទៀង  
*itīmesupabbāsu pādānakkhandhe suaniccānuppassāviharatiyamvacūtānanda aniccasaṅgā* អានន្តកិក្កឯណាព្យាប្រាណាវ្យា  
 គុដឃើញច្បុះក្នុងឧបាទានខ្ញុំន្តទ្វា ៥ ថាមិនទៀង ដថាគុតព្វោលថាកិក្កនោះបានចំរើននៅអនិច្ចសញ្ញា ។ ២។  
*kattamācānandaanatta saṅgā* អានន្ត អនិច្ចសញ្ញា នោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អានន្តយ កិក្កបានបូសក្នុងធម៌វិន្យ  
 នៃនេះហៀ *araṅgāgatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងសែណាសណដរស្លាតក្តីយ *itipatisaṅkikkhāti* ព្យាប្រាណាឱយើញច្បុះថា *cakkhumaṅnatā*  
 ភ្នែកមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *nūppam anattā* រូបមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *sotamaṅnatā* ត្រចៀកមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *saddhāṅnatā* សំម្តេង  
 មិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន យានិអនត្តា ប្រមោះមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *gandhāṅnatā* ក្លិនមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *jīvihāṅnatā* អន្តាមិនមែនជា  
 របស់ខ្លួន *rasāṅnatā* ឱជាសុមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *kāyoṅnatā* អង្គាយមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *potthabāṅnatā* សម្មស្យុបមិនមែនជា  
 របស់ខ្លួន *manoṅnatā* ចិតនឹងចិត្តសិកមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន *dhamaṅnatā* អារម្មណទ្វាហ្យាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួន  
*itīmesujhasuajjhāttikabbāhiresuāyattane suanattānuppassāviharati ayamvacūtānanda anattāsaṅgā* អានន្តកិក្កឯណាព្យាប្រា  
 ណាវ្យា គុដឃើញច្បុះក្នុងអាយត្តណទ្វា ៦ ខាងក្នុងទ្វា ៦ ខាងក្រៅជាអានត្តាដរថាគុតព្វោលថាកិក្កនោះបានចំរើននៅអនត្តា  
 សញ្ញា ។ ៣។ *kattamācānandaasubbha saṅgā* អានន្ត អានុសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អានន្ត កិក្កបានបូសក្នុង  
 ធម៌វិន្យនេះហៀ ។ *imamevakāyamuddhampādātāāadhokesamatthakā taca pariyantampuranānappakā rassa*  
*asuccinopaccavekkhāti* ព្យាប្រាណានៅរាងនេះខាងលើរត្តាតែអំព្យចុងសក្ខុចុះមក ខាងក្រោមត្តាតែអំព្យបាទដើរលើដីទៅ មាន  
 ស្បែករុំព្វាតអំព្យខាងក្រៅ ពេញដេររត្តាមិនស្តាតមានប្រការដ្យងៗ *atthīmasmimkāyē* មាននៅក្នុងរាងក្យនេះ ៣១ ប្រការ *kesā* សក្ខុ  
*lommā* រោម *nakkhā* ក្រចក *dantā* ធ្មេញ *tacco* ស្បែក *mamsaṃ* សេច *nhārū* សីស្បែ *atthi* ធ្មើ *atthimūṅjam* ខ្នុរក្នុងធ្មើ *vakam* ទាច

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

hadayam បេះដូង yakaṇaṃ ថ្ងើម kilomakaṃ រៀវ pihakaṃ ក្រញូត pupphāsam ស្លឹក antam ពោះវ៉ែនត្រង់ antagunam ពោះវែន  
 បទចន្ទាស udariyam អាហារថ្ងៃ karisam អាហារធ្លាះ pitam ប្រមាត្រ semham ស្បែក pubbho ខ្ទុះ lohitaṃ ឈ្មា sedo ញើស medo ខ្លាញ់  
 ខាប់ asu ទឹកភ្នែក vasā ខ្លាញ់រាវ khelo ទឹកមាត់ saṅghānikā ទឹកសំបោរ lasikā ទឹករុំអិល muttam ទឹកមូត  
 itimasmimkāyēasubhānuppasvī viharatiyāmaṃvuccatānanda asubhasaññā អានន្ទីកិក្ខុឯណាព្យាបាណរៀយ។ គង់ឃើញច្បុះ  
 ក្នុងរាងកាយមិនស្អាត តថាគត់ពោលថាកិក្ខុនោះបាន ចំរើននៅអសុភស័ញ្ញា ។២។ kattamāccānandaadīnavasāññā អានន្ទី អាទី  
 នវសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច idhānandabhikkhu អានន្ទីកិក្ខុឯណាបានបួសក្នុងជម្ងឺវិន្យនេះហើយ araññakatovā ទៅនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្តីយ  
 rukkhamaḷlagatovā ទៅនៅក្រោមម្លប់ឈើរុក្ខី suññāgāgatovā ទៅនៅក្នុងសីលណាសណដរស្វាតក្តីយ itipatisaṅcikkhati ព្យាបាណាឲ្យ  
 ឃើញច្បុះថា bahūdūkkhokhoayamaṅkāyobahūadinavoti រឿរាងកាយយើងនេះមានទុកច្រើនមានទៀតច្រើនពេកណា វិធីវិធីវិធី  
 kāyēvividhāabbādhdhāuppajanti ក្នុងរាងកាយយើងនេះមានជម្ងឺហាពាតផ្សេងៗ seyyathidam ជម្ងឺហាពាតនោះដូចម្តេចណា  
 cakkhurogo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងភ្នែក sottaroggo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងត្រចៀក ghānaroggo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងច្រមោះ jivhārogo រោគបង្កើតក្នុង  
 អន្ទាត kāyārogo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងកាយ sisaroggo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងក្បាស kaṇṇaroggo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងស្លឹកត្រចៀក mukharoggo រោគ  
 បង្កើតក្នុងមាត់ dantaroggo រោគបង្កើតក្នុងធ្មេញ kāsō រោគក្អក sāsō រោគប្រិស pināsō រោគបួសដួងស្ម័គ្រច្រមោះ daho គ្រុនក្តៅក្រហាយ  
 jarā រោគចុះផ្លែ kacchiroggo រោគក្នុងពោះ mucchā សន្ធឹប សន្ធឹមប័ត្តមាត់ pakkhantikā រោគអន្ទះអន្ទែន sulā ដំបូងចំពោះ  
 visucikā ឈឺរលាញ់ដូចប័ក្ខនឹងអញ្ចូល kuttham ឃ្នុងក្នុង kando អដុម kilāsō ស្រែង soso ស្រក្សីអន្ទែន apamāro ធ្លុតជ្រូក dandu ទន្ទ  
 កំញាជ្រិល gāṇḍa កម្មវិល្យា kacchu តំបោលិច khesā ហើមកូរខ្ទុះ vitacchikā តំបោឡា lohitaṃ មូលឈ្មា pittam ប្រមាត្រពុស madhu  
 គ្រុនផ្អែមមាត់ meho រោគប្រមេ amṣā ឬសដូងដុះចំបា pilakā ឬសរំលកកែវ bhagaṇḍalā ឬសក្រពើហា pittasamudhdhānāabbādhdhā  
 អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីប្រមាត់ពុះ semhasamudhdhānāabbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីស្ទះរៀលលើង vātasamudhdhā nāabbādhdhā អាពា  
 តបង្កើតអំពីខ្យល់កុំអុក sanipātikāabbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីប្រជុំជាតិប្លិនឲ្យទៀត utaparināmajāabbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពី  
 ផ្ទះរដូវ visemapari hārajāabbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីរក្សាសិយាបទស្មើ uppakammikā abbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីសត្រូវ  
 បៀតបៀន kamavipākajāabbādhdhā អាពាតបង្កើតអំពីគ្រាំអកុសលបុព្វជាតិ sittaṃ កើតអំពីត្រជាក់ណា unham កើតអំពីក្តៅណា  
 jighacchā កើតអំពីឃ្នានណា pipāsā កើតអំពីស្រកាស uccāro កើតអំពីទុកសត្វធំម pasāvoti កើតអំពីទុកសត្វតូច  
 itimasmimkāyēadīnavānuppa svī viharatiyāmaṃvuccatānanda adīnavasāññā អានន្ទីកិក្ខុឯណាព្យាបាណរៀយ។ គង់ឃើញច្បុះ  
 ថារាងកាយមានទៀតច្រើនណា ក្នុងរាងកាយយើងនេះ តថាគត់ពោលថាកិក្ខុ ឯណាបានចំរើននៅអទិនវស័ញ្ញា ។២។  
 kattamāccānandapahānasaññā អានន្ទី បហានសញ្ញានេះដូចម្តេច idhānandabhikkhu អានន្ទីកិក្ខុបានបួសក្នុងជម្ងឺវិន្យនេះហើយ  
 uppanamkammavittakkaṃ nādhikarāsēti pajahativinodetibhāntikarotianu bhāvamgameti មិនមានត្រេកអរទំទួលទុក នៅភ្នែកវិ  
 ក ដែលបង្កើតលើងហើយ ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅ ធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅ ធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក  
 vāsetipajahativinodetibyanti karotianubhāvamgameti មិនបានត្រេកអរទំទួលទុកនៅភ្នែកវិដែលព្យាបាទុរិតកដែល បង្កើតលើងហើយ  
 ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក  
 byandtikaroti anubhāvamgameti មិនត្រេកអរទំទួលទុកនៅវិហិតវិដែលបង្កើតលើង ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យ  
 វិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក  
 anubhāvamgameti នាកាលអកុសលធម៌បង្កើតលើងហើយ ឱសាលៈព្រលបន្ទាប់ដំបៅធ្វើឲ្យវិន្យដល់នៅភ្នែក  
 ayamvuccatānandapahāna saññā អានន្ទី តថាគត់ពោលថា កិក្ខុបានចំរើននៅបហានស័ញ្ញា។២។ kattamāccānanda virāggasāññā  
 អានន្ទី វិវាទសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច idhānandabhikkhu អានន្ទីកិក្ខុបានបួសក្នុងជម្ងឺវិន្យនេះហើយ araññakatovā ទៅនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្តីយ  
 rukkhamaḷlagatovā ទៅក្រោមម្លប់ឈើរុក្ខី suññāgāgatovā ទៅនៅក្នុងសីលណាសណដរស្វាតក្តីយ itipati saṅcikkhati ព្យាបា  
 ណាឲ្យឃើញច្បុះថា etaṃsantam etampaññam ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ ដំបូងបង្អស់ទុក ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ ដំបូងបង្អស់ទុក ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ  
 sabbasamkhārasamatho ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ រុំម្លប់នៅសំខាន់ខាងលើ មានបញ្ញាកិសំខាន់ដើម sabhūpadhipaṭṭinissato ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ



Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

លះបង់នៅឧបទ្វីបត្រាត្រាត្រា *tanhakkhayo* ព្រះនិព្វាននៃខ្សែយកកណ្តារ *virāgo* វិរាគោ ព្រះនិព្វាន នៃព្រះបាទកក្កាតិវិទ្យុ៖  
*nibbānanti* ព្រះនិព្វាននៃមានតណ្ហារចេញស្បើយ *ayaṃvuccātānandavirāgussaññā* អនន្ទីដ៏ជាគុតពោលថាភិក្ខុឯណាបានចំ  
 អើននៅវិរាគសញ្ញា ។៧។ *kattamācānandanārodhasaññā* អនន្ទីនិរោគសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អនន្ទីភិក្ខុបានបូ៖  
 ក្នុងវិទ្យនៃស្បើយ *arāññāgatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្លឹយ *rukkhamūlagatovā* ទៅនៅក្រោមម្លប់ឈើក្លឹយ *suññāgārāgatovā* ទៅ  
 នៅក្នុងសែណាសណ ដស្លាត្រឹយ *itipatisaññikkhanti* ព្យាបាណាឲ្យឃើញច្បោះថា *etamsantam etampānītam* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះរុំ  
 ម្លប់បាទកក្កាត្រា ព្រះនិព្វាននេះដឺដុំមណ្ឌិតល្អរណ្យ *yadidamsabbasamnikhārasammatho* ព្រះនិព្វាន នេះរុំម្លប់នៅសំខាទាំងពួង មាន  
 បញ្ញាពីសំខាដើម *sabūpaṭipāṭiṣatto* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះលះបង់នៅឧបទ្វីបត្រាត្រាត្រា *tanhakkhayo* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះខ្សែយកកណ្តារ  
*nirodhho* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ រុំលុតស្តួនឈឹងបាទកក្កាត្រា *nibbānanti* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះមានតណ្ហារស្បើយ *ayaṃvuccātānada nīrodhasaññā*  
 អនន្ទីដ៏ជាគុតពោលថាភិក្ខុនោះ បានចំអើននៅនិរោគសញ្ញា ។៨។ *katta mācānandasabbalokke anabhirattasāññā* អនន្ទី សព្វ  
 លោក្ខ អនកិរតសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អនន្ទីភិក្ខុបានបូសក្នុងធម្មវិទ្យនៃស្បើយ *yeloke upāyupādānācēttaso*  
*adhittānābhīnivesānūsāyā* រឿតណ្ហានឹងសព្វទិដ្ឋិនឹង ឧច្ឆេត្ត ទិដ្ឋិកអាស្រ្រ្តក្នុងចិត្តប្រដូចរាជស្សី អាស្រ្រ្តក្នុងគោហោដើម រឿតរា  
 គារនេះស្បើយ ទិដ្ឋិនេះស្បើយ តេលមិនទាស់លះបង់បានជាបច្ច័យឲ្យបង្កើតលើដី *tepaḥantovirapatināupādayanto* រឿតក្នុងនាលះបង់  
 ដំនៅប្រាប់ធម្មទ្រាំហ្នៀ មានតណ្ហានិងទិដ្ឋិ ដែលជាបច្ច័យ ឲ្យបង្កើតឧទាទានដើមវាដេញយកវាចារ មិនបានកាន់យកដោយចិត  
*ayaṃvuccātānanda sabbaloke anabhirattasāññā* អនន្ទីដ៏ជាគុតពោលថាភិក្ខុនោះបានចំអើននៅសព្វលោក្ខ អនកិរតសញ្ញា ។៩។  
*kattamācānandasabbasamnikhā resuaniccasāññā* អនន្ទី សព្វសំខាវេ សុអនិច្ចសញ្ញានោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អនន្ទីភិ  
 ក្ខុបានបូសក្នុងធម្មវិទ្យនៃស្បើយ *sabbasaññārehiatthiyatiharāyati jigacchati* ឆ្លើយឆ្លើយខ្លះខ្លះអើមនៅសំខាទាំងពួង  
*ayaṃvuccātānandasabbasamnikhāresuaniccasāññā* អនន្ទី តថាគុតពោលថា ភិក្ខុនោះបានចំអើននៅសព្វសំខាវេសុអនិច្ចសញ្ញា  
 ១០។ *katamācānanda anāpānūsati* ក អនន្ទីអាណាបាទុសតិរោះដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu* អនន្ទី ភិក្ខុបានបូសក្នុងធម្មវិ  
 ទ្យនៃស្បើយ *arāññā gatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្លឹយ *rukkhamūlagatovā* ទៅនៅក្រោមម្លប់ឈើក្លឹយ *suññāgārāgatovā* ទៅនៅក្នុងសែ  
 នាសណដស្លាត្រឹយ *nīśatāpallāṅkaṃ abhūññāto'ujumkāyāṃ pañidhāyaparimukkhāṃ satamupatthapetvā* អង្គុយ ស្ងាត់ផ្តុតក្នុង  
 ព្រៃដំរីដក្ស តាំងស្មារដ្បីជុំព្រោះ មុកទៅរកព្រះភ្នំថ្មាន *so satovasassasati satovapassati* ភិក្ខុនោះដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូលប្រុងស្ងាត់ឲ្យ  
 ខ្ពស់ថ្នាំ *dighamvāsasanto dighamassasāmītipajjānāti* កាលដកដង្ហើមចេញក៏ដឹងច្បោះថាអាត្មាអញដកដង្ហើមចេញដែ  
*dighampassasanto dighampassasāmītipajjānāti* កាលដកដង្ហើមចូលដែក៏ដឹងច្បោះថាអាត្មា អញដកដង្ហើមចូលដែ  
*rāssamvāsasanto rassamassasāmītipajjānāti* កាលដកដង្ហើមចេញខ្លី ក៏ដឹងច្បោះថា អាត្មា អញដកដង្ហើមចេញខ្លី  
*rassamvāpassasantorassam passasāmītipajjānāti* កាលដកដង្ហើមចូលខ្លី ក៏ដឹងច្បោះថាអាត្មាអញដកដង្ហើមចូលខ្លី ។៖  
*sabbakāyāyapaṭisaṃvedīpassasīsāmītisikkhanti* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញដឹងនៅកុំខ្វល់ហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញ  
*sabbakāyāyapaṭisaṃvedīpassasīsāmītisikkhanti* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញដឹងនៅកុំខ្វល់ហើយដកដង្ហើមចូល  
*pasambhayamkāyamākhāraṃ* {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញកាលរុំផ្លាបំនៅខ្វល់ធ្នំ។ នឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល  
*pītipaṭisaṃvedī* {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថា អញដឹងច្បោះនៅចិត្តនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *sukkhapaṭisaṃvedī*  
 {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញដឹងច្បោះនៅសេចក្តីសុត្ត នឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *cittasamnikhārapaṭisaṃvedī*  
 {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថា អញនឹងច្បោះនៅសញ្ញាវេទនា នឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *pasambhayaṃ*  
*cittasamnikhāraṃ* {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញកាលរុំផ្លាបំនៅសញ្ញាវេទនា នឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល  
*cittapaṭisaṃvedī* {assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញដឹងច្បោះនៅចិត្តនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *abhippamodayaṃ*  
*cittam*{assa {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញចិត្តច្រោះថ្នាំហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *sammādaḥam cittam* {assa  
 {passa sisāmītisikkhanti ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញដឹងច្បោះហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

*vimocayaṃcittam* {*assa* {*passa sisāmāṭṭisikkhati* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញញឹម ចិត្តឲ្យផុតចាកនិវេណ មានក្លាម ផ្លូវជាដើមហើយនឹងដក  
ដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *aniccānuppassī* {*assa* {*passa sisāmāṭṭisikkhati* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញញឹម ចិត្តឲ្យច្រានចាកនិវេណ មានក្លាម ផ្លូវជាដើមហើយនឹងដក  
ហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *virāggānuppassī* {*asa* {*passa sisāmāṭṭisikkhati* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថាអញញឹម ចិត្តឲ្យច្រានចាកនិវេណ មានក្លាម ផ្លូវជាដើមហើយនឹងដក  
ជាគុនប្រាសចាកវត្តាឱ្យកិលេះហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *nirodhānuppassī* {*assa* {*passa sisāmāṭṭisikkhati* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថា  
អញញឹម ចិត្តឲ្យច្រានចាកនិវេណ មានក្លាម ផ្លូវជាដើមហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល *patinissattānuppassī* {*assa* {*passa*  
*sisāmāṭṭisikkhati* ភិក្ខុសិក្សាថា អញញឹម ចិត្តឲ្យច្រានចាកនិវេណ មានក្លាម ផ្លូវជាដើមហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើម ចេញ ចូល  
*ayamvuccatānandaanāpānāsati* អនន្ទី តថាគុតពោលថា ភិក្ខុនោះ បាននោះបានចំរើននៅអាណាប៉ានុសតិ *saccekho tvam ananda*  
*gīrīmānandassabhikkhuno uppasāṅgamitvā imādassa sāṅgābhāseyyāsi* អនន្ទី អ្នកតាប្បិចូលទៅជិតហើយ សំម្តែងនៅ  
សញ្ញាទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការនៃ ដល់គិរីមានន្ទភិក្ខុនោះ *thānaṃ khopānetam vūṭṭiyam gīrīmānandassabhikkhuno imādassasāṅgā sutvā*  
*so ābbādhdho thānāsoṭṭipāsambhayaṭi* អនន្ទីយ បើគិរីមានន្ទភិក្ខុនោះបានស្តាប់ នៅសញ្ញាទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការនៃ ហើយ អនន្ទីប្បិជុំ  
ម្ល៉េរ អាព្វាធនៃគិរីមានន្ទភិក្ខុនោះ ក៏នឹងសាហស្ស័យជាម្បត្តិពេជទៅមែនពិត ទ្វារហ្មត្តមកផល ក៏សំរេចដេញហែតដែលបានស្តាប់  
បនោះផង *athakhoāyasmā ānandobhaggavatosantikeimā dassasāṅgābhāsetvā* គ្រានោះព្រះអានន្ទថ្លែងមានអាយុ រៀនយក  
នៅសញ្ញាទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការក្នុងសំម្តែងព្រះដរមានបុនចាំស្តាប់ហើយ *yenā yasmāgīrīmānando tenuppasāṅgami* ព្រះគិរីមានន្ទ លោក  
នៅក្នុងអាវាសណា ចូលទៅរកលោកក្នុងអាវាសនោះ *uppasāṅgamitvāyā smatogīrīmānandassasāṅgābhāsi* លុះចូល  
ទៅដល់ហើយ សំម្តែងនៅសញ្ញាទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការឲ្យព្រះគិរីមានន្ទភិក្ខុស្តាប់ *atha khoāyasmato gīrīmānadassa imādassasāṅgā sutvāso*  
*ābbādhdho thānāsoṭṭipāsambhayaṭi* ប្បិជុំម្ល៉េរអាព្វាធនៃព្រះគិរីមានន្ទដរមានអាយុ ក៏រម្ងាប់បាត់ទៅក្នុងខណនោះព្រោះបានស្តាប់  
នៅសញ្ញា ទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការនៃពិត *vudhdhāhiccāyasmāgīrīmānandotamhābbādhdhā* ព្រះគិរីមានន្ទលោកក៏ស្បើយបាត់អាព្វាធនោះ  
ហើយ *tathābhino capanāyasmato gīrīmānandassaso ābbādhdho āhosi* អាព្វាធនៃព្រះគិរីមានន្ទលោកលះបង់បាន ក៏ដេញទៅហែ  
តដែលបានស្តាប់នៅសញ្ញាទ្វារ ១០ ប្រការនោះហោង ៗ *brah gīrīmānandasutam nithitam*

Translation of opening lines

**thus have I heard** [extra *ekam* here] this *Gīrīmānanda-sutta* is what I, Ānanda, heard in the presence of the Blessed One, by means of listening to it just once and committing it to memory **at one time the Blessed One was dwelling in Sāvattihī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** at one time the Blessed One, the Lord was dwelling in the great temple (*mahāvihāra*) of Jetavana, the monastery (*ārāma*) of the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika, near the city of Sāvattihī **now at that time** at that time indeed **the elder monk Gīrīmānanda was sick, in pain, severely ill** the elder monk Gīrīmānanda was sick, in pain, and suffering severely in his body.

**Gīrīmānanda-sutta/ gīrīmānand samrāy «rī brah gīrīmānandasūtr neḥ»-r**  
Discourse to Gīrīmānanda, bilingual version beginning with “As for this Discourse to Gīrīmānanda”

FEMC title: gīrīmānand sūtr

Pali prose, Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 19th–20th centuries; related to Huot Tāt’s more modern 1934 version in *Sattaparitta-Dvādasaparitta* (**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r**).

Leporello: **UB013** 49a–50b (explicit missing); **UB013** 51a–73a = *girimānandasūtt*; **UB023** 36b–60a *braḥ girimānandasūtr*

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, a discourse of the Buddha to Ānanda on the ten “notions” (*saññā*)—reflections to be undertaken by an invalid for the purpose of healing—for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB023**

*evammesutam* រឿនគិរិមានន្ទសូត្រនេះ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាល្មោះអានន្ទត្ថបានស្តាប់មកដូច្នោះ *ekaṃsamayaṃ* មានកាលសមយថៃ ១ កតវា រឿនដមានបុណ្យ *sāvattiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapindikassa ārāme* ព្រះអង្គគង់នៅវត្តព្រះជេតពន់ទាព្វន៍គសាវត្តិ ជាអាវាសនៃអាថាថបិណ្ឌកសេដ្ឋិសាងថាយ *tenakhopanasamayena* សមយគ្រានោះសោតៈ *āyasmāgirimānando* រឿនគិរិមានន្ទត្ថរដ្ឋី មានអាយុក្លុសយើន *ābādhikohoti* អ្នកមានជម្ងឺអាពាធ *dukkhitobālhatilāno* ជាទុរាទុរន្ទន្ទន្ទន្ទប្រមាន *atthakhoāyasmānando* ព្រះមហាអានន្ទត្ថរដ្ឋីមានអាយុក្លុសយើន *yenabhagavātenupasaṅka miupasaṅkamitvā bhagavantamabhavādetvāekamantamnisīdi* ព្រះដមានបុណ្យ គង់ក្នុងទីឯណាព្រះមហាអានន្ទចូលទៅគង់ ទីនោះ ក្រាបថាយបង្គំហើយអង្គុយព្រះដមានបុណ្យថា *ekamantamnisinnokhoāyasmānandobhagavantam etadavoca* ព្រះមហាអានន្ទ ត្ថេអ្នកអង្គុយព្រះដមានបុណ្យហើយ ក្រាបទូលព្រះដមានបុណ្យថា *āyasmābhantegirimānando ābādhi kodukkhitobālhatilāno* បពិត្រព្រះអង្គធ្វើយ ព្រះគិរិមានន្ទកិក្ខុមានជម្ងឺរយ័ន្ទន្ទន្ទន្ទណាសំណារព្រះអង្គ *sādhubhantebhagavāyenaāyasmāgiri mānando tenupasaṅkamatuṇṇakappam upādāyāti* ខ្ញុំសូមអង្វរព្រះរាជហោរទៃព្រះគុណ្ណិយគិរិមានន្ទកិក្ខុនៅក្នុងទីឯណា សូមទ្រង់ព្រះករុណាប្រោសអនុញ្ញាត ឱ្យខ្ញុំចូលទៅអនុគ្រោះសំដែងជម្រាសប្រសិរិមានន្ទនេះ *saccekhotvaṃ ānanda girimānandassa bhikkhuno upasaṅkamitvā dasasaññā kāleyyā si* បើដូច្នោះហែបាអានន្ទអើយ ចូលអ្នកទៅចុះ សំដែងនូវសញ្ញាទាំង១០ប្រការឱ្យគិរិមានន្ទកិក្ខុស្តាប់ផង *thānaṃkho panetaṃ vijjatiyaṃ girimānandassa bhikkhuno dasasaññā sutvāsoābādho thānasopātipasambhaya* អាឡើយ បើគិរិមានន្ទកិក្ខុ បានស្តាប់នៅសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ ប្រការនេះហើយ រឿនម្ល៉ាងគិរិមានន្ទនេះនឹង សាស្ត្រយជា ១ រុំពេជហោង *katamādasā* អានន្ទ ១០ ប្រការនោះ គឺអ្វីខ្លះ *aniccasaññā* សំគាល់ថាមិនទាន់ ១ *anattasaññā* សំគាល់ថាមិនមែនជាវិបស្សន្ទ ១ *asubhasaññā* សំគាល់ថាមិនស្អាត ១ *ādīnnavasaññā* សំគាល់ថាមានទោសច្រើន ១ *pahānasaññā* សំគាល់ថាល្អៈបង្គំ ១ *virāgasaññā* សំគាល់ថាព្រះនិព្វានមានរាគនៅប្រាសហើយ ១ *nirodhdhasaññā* សំគាល់ថាព្រះនិព្វានរលត់ ចាកទុក្ខ ១ សព្វលោក *anabhitasaññā* សំគាល់ថាក្នុងលោកទាំងពួងមិនគួរជម្រក ១ *sabbaloke sabbasaṃkhāresuaniccasaññā* សំគាល់ថារសង្ខារទាំងពួងមិនទៀង ១ *ānāpānussati* សំគាល់ក្នុងខ្យលដង្ហើមចេញចូល ១ *katamācānanda aniccasaññā* អានន្ទ ឆើយ អនិច្ចសញ្ញានោះតើរដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhuarāgato vārukkhamūlatatovāsutiṅgāgāratovā itipāsasāṅkhatī* បាអានន្ទនើយកិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាថាគតនេះ ចូលទៅក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅវត្តិយ ក្រោមម្លប់ឈើវត្តិ ក្នុងផ្ទះផ្ទះដស្វាត្តិ ប្រតិបត្តិជម្ងឺពិចារនាឱ្យ ឃើញថាៈ *nūpaṇniccam* រូបខន្ធមិនទៀង *vedanāniccā* វេទនាមិនទៀង *saññāniccā* សញ្ញាមិនទៀង *saṅkhārāniccā* សង្ខារមិនទៀង *viññānam aniccā* វិញ្ញាណខន្ធមិនទៀង *itiimesupāñvasupādānakhandhe suaniccā* *uppariviharatiyaṃvuccatānandaaniccasaññā* អានន្ទនើយ កិក្ខុឯណាពិចារណាអើយ ឃើញច្បាស់ក្នុង ឧបាទានខន្ធទាំង ៥ ថា

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer r̥y prose (-r)

មិនឡើង តថាគត់ពោលហោវ ថាកិក្ខុអង្គនោះបាននៅអនិច្ចសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *katamācānandaanattasāṅhā* អានន្ទនើយ អនត្តសញ្ញា នោះតើរដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu arāṅhāgatovārakkhamūlagatovā suṅhāgāragatovā itipatisaṅvikkhati* ថាអានន្ទនើយ ថា កិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នេះចូរទៅកាន់ព្រៃក្តីយ អង្គុយក្រោមគល់ឈើរក្តី ក្នុងផ្ទះដស្វាត់ក្តីយហើយពិចារណា ឱយឃើញច្បាស់ក្នុង អនត្តថា *cakkhum anattā* ភ្នែកមិនមែនរបស់យើងដែរ *rūpamanattā* រូបមិនមែនរបស់យើងដែរ *sottamanattā* ត្រចៀកក៏មិនមែន ជាប់របស់យើងដែរ *saddānattā* សំឡេងក៏មិនមែនជាប់របស់យើងដែរ *ghānamanattā* ច្រមុះក៏មិនមែនជាប់របស់យើងដែរ *gandhānattā* ខ្លួនក៏មិនមែនជាប់របស់យើងដែរ *jīvhānattā* អន្តាតក៏មិនមែនចារប់របស់ហើងដែរ *rassānattā* ឱដាវសំអាហារមិនជាប់ របស់យើងដែរ *kāyoanattā* រាងកាយមិនជាប់របស់ខ្លួនដែរ *phoṭṭhabbānattā* សម្មស្សដូចមិនជាប់របស់ យើងដែរ *manoanattā* ចិត្ត ចេត្តសិក្ខ មិនជាប់របស់យើងដែរ *dhammānattā* កុំនិតគិតក៏មិនមែនជាប់របស់ខ្លួនដែរ *tiṭṭiimesu chasūajjhattikabhāhiresuāyatane suanattānupassāvīharatiyaṃvucc tānandaanattasāṅhā* អានន្ទនើយ កិក្ខុឯណាពិចារណាយើញច្បាស់ក្នុងអាយតន ៦ ខាងក្នុង ៦ ខាងក្រៅ ជាអនត្តា តថាគត់ពោលថាអ្នកនៅក្នុងអនត្តសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *katamācānandaasubhasāṅhā* អានន្ទនើយ អសុកសញ្ញា តើប្រការដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhumamevakāyaṃ uddhampā datalā adhokesamatthakā tacapariyantampuranānappakārassaasucino pacvavekkhatti* អានន្ទនើយ ថាបើរកក្នុងណាក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នេះពិចារណា ក្នុងករណីកាយនេះពីលើចុះទៅដល់ជើងពីក្រោមឡើងទៅដល់សក់ មានស្បែករុំពាត់ពីក្រៅជារត្នមិនស្អាតមានប្រការផ្សេងៗ *atthiimasmimkāye* ក្នុងកាយយើងនេះ ប្រកបដោយអាកា ៣២៖ *kesā lomā nakhādantā taco* គឺ សក់ រោម ក្រចក ធ្មេញ ស្បែក *mamsamhārū atthiātthimūṅgaṃ vakkam* គឺរសេចសំសៃឆ្អឹង ខ្នងក្នុងទាប *hadayamyakanamkilomakam pihakampapphāsam* គឺបេះដូងថ្ងើងវាវក្រពាស់ស្ងួត *antaṃ antagunam uddarayaṃkarīsam* គឺពោះរៀនត្រង់ ពោះរៀនបទចន្ទាស់ អាហារថ្មីអាហារចាស់ *pitasehamappubbolohitam* គឺបំបាត់ស្ទះខ្លះឈាមញើសខ្លាញ់ខាប់ *assuvasākhe losimghānikālasikāmutanti* គឺភ្នែកខ្លាញ់វាវទឹកមាត់ទឹកសំប្បោរទឹកអិលទឹកមូត *itiimasmimkāyeyaubhānupassāvīharati* កិក្ខុឯនាវ ពិចារណាយើញរឿយៗ ថាមិនស្អាតក្នុងរូបកាយនេះ *ayaṃvuccatānandaasubha sāṅhā* អានន្ទនើយកិក្ខុនោះអញ្ញតថាគត់ពោល ហោវ ថាអសុកសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *kattamācānandaādīnavasāṅhā* អានន្ទនើយ អាទិនវសញ្ញានោះតើប្រការដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhuarāṅhāgatovā rukkhāmūlagatovā sāṅhāgāragatovā itipatisaṅvikkhati* អើអានន្ទនើយកិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនា តថាគត់នេះចូលនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្តីយ អង្គុយក្រោមម្លប់ក្តីក្នុងគោហិរដស្វាត់ក្តី ហើយពិចារណាក្នុងអាទិនវសញ្ញា ឱឃើញច្បាស់ថា *bahūdukkho* ។ *ayaṃkāyobahūādīnavoti* រូបកាយយើងនេះមានទុក្ខច្រើនមានទោសច្រើនដូច្នោះ *itiimasmimkāyevividhābādīhāupajanti* ក្នុងកាយយើងនេះមានជុំម្លិះអាពាធច្រើន *seyyathidaṃ* ជុំម្លិះនោះកើតដូចម្តេច *cakkhuro go* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងភ្នែក *sottarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងត្រចៀក *ghānarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងច្រមុះ *jīvhārogo* គឺរោគ បង្កើតក្នុងអន្តាត *kāyarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងខ្លួន *sīsarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងក្បាល *kaṇṇarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងគុំត្រចៀក *mukharogo* គឺរោគបង្កើត ក្នុងមាត់ *dantarogo* គឺរោគបង្កើតក្នុងធ្មេញ *kāso* គឺរោគក្អក *sāso* គឺរោគហឺត *pināso* គឺរោគបួសដូងច្រមុះ *ḍaho* គ្រុនក្តៅក្រហាយ *jaro* ចុះផ្ទៃយ *kucchirogo* គឺរោគឈឺរពោះ *mucchā* សន្ទប់សន្ទប់ *pakkhandikā* គឺរោគឈឺ អន្ទះអន្ទែង *suḍā* ឈឺដូចគេចាក់នឹង ឈើស្រួច *visucchikā* ឈឺរលៀបដូចគេចាក់នឹងម្ជុល *kuttham* ឈ្នង *gandō* អុដធំ *kilāso* ស្រែងៈ *soso* ស្រក់អន្ទែង *apamāro* អបមារោ ធ្នូតជ្រូក *dadu* កន្រ្តិល *kaṇḍu* ក៏មរលាយ *kacchu* កង្ក ដំប្បៅលេច *rakhasā* ហើមពងខ្ពស់ *vitacchikā* ដំប្បៅឆ្មារ *lohittam* មូសឈាម *pittam* គឺរោគបំបាត់ពុះ *madhu* គឺរោគផ្អែមមាត់ *meho* គឺរោគបំបែស *amhāsā* [អ៊ូសា] បួសដូងដុះ *pilahakā* បួសរំលឹក កែវ *bhagaṇḍalā* បួសក្រពើរ *pittasamutthānānābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីបំបាត់ពុះ *semhasamutthānānābādīhā* គឺអាពាធបង្កើតអំពីស្ទះវាយឡើង *vātasamutthānānābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតរុំខ្យល់កំប្រើកឡើង *sannipātikābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីប្រជុំម ធាតុ ៤ ឱឡើយ *utupaṇāmajābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីផ្លូវផ្លូវរដូវៈ *vasamaṇāhārajābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីរក្សារ ឥរិយាបទមិនស្មើគ្នា *opakkamikārajābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីសត្រូវបៀតបៀន *kammavipākābādīhā* អាពាធបង្កើតអំពីកម្ម គឺ អកុសលអំពីយបុព្វជាតិ *sītam* កើតអំពីត្រជាក់ណាស់ *unham* កើតអំពីក្តៅណា *jighacchā* បង្កើតអំពីឃ្នានណាស់ *pipāso* បង់កើត

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer rāy prose (-r)

អំពីស្រែកណាស់ *uccāro* អំពីបិទទុក្ខសត្វធំ *pasāvoti* អំពីបិទទុក្ខសត្វតូច *itiima smimkāye* សឹងមានក្នុងរូបកាយនៃយើងទាំងឡាយ  
នេះ *ādinavānupa ssi viharatiayamvuccatānanda ādinavasāññā* អាននូវនិយម ភិក្ខុឯណានៅក្នុងពិចារណារបស់យើងឡើយ។ ថាក្នុងរូប  
កាយយើងនេះមានទុក្ខច្រើនមានទោសច្រើនដូច្នោះហើយ អាននូវនិយម តថាគត់ពោលហោរថាអ្នកនោះបាននៅ អាទិ៍នូវសញ្ញាប្រការ ១  
*kattamācānandapahānasaññā* នៃបាអាននូវនិយម រឺបហានសញ្ញានោះតើរដូចម្តេច *idhānandabhikkhu*៖  
*uppannamkammavitakkaṃ nādhivāsetipajjahativinodetibyantīkarotianubhā vaṃtameti* អាននូវនិយម ថាបើភិក្ខុនៅក្នុងសាសនា  
តថាគត់នេះ បើរតាមវិត្តក្នុងបង្កើតឡើងមិនបានត្រឹមត្រូវហើយ ឧស្សាហ៍លះបង់បន្ទាបបង់ ធ្វើឱ្យវិនាសឱ្យដល់នៅការគ្មាន  
*uppanambyāpādatikkamānādhivāseti pajjahati vinodetibyantīkarotianubhāvamgameti uppanamvihimsādatikkam  
nādhivāseti pajjahativinodetibyantīkarotianubhāvamgameti byāpāda vittakam* នៅវិហារវិត្តក្នុង បង្កើតឡើងកុំត្រូវកម្រិតវារ  
ឧស្សាហ៍លះបង់បន្ទាបបង់ ធ្វើឱ្យវិនាសឱ្យដល់នៅការគ្មាន *uppannuppannepāpakeakusale dhammenādhivāseti  
pajjahativinodetibyantīkarotianubhāvamgameti* នាកាលអកុសលធម៌ ដលាមកបង្កើតឡើង កុំទំទួលត្រូវកម្រិតវារឧស្សាហ៍លះបង់  
បន្ទាបបង់ ធ្វើឱ្យវិនាសសីលសួនទៅ ។ *ayamvuccatānandapahānasaññā* អាននូវនិយម តថាគត់ពោលថា ភិក្ខុនោះ បនាចំម្រើ  
ននៅបហានសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *kattamācānandavirāgasāññā* ។ អាននូវនិយម វិភក្សសញ្ញានោះតើរដូចម្តេច  
*idhānandabhikkhuaraññātatovā* ។ អាននូវនិយម ថាភិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នោះនៅក្នុងព្រៃក្តី ។ *rukkhamūlagatovā* នៅអង្គុយ  
ក្រោមដើមឈើក្តី *suññāgāratovā* នៅអង្គុយក្នុងផ្ទះដស្វាត់ក្តី *itipatisaṅkikhatī* ពិចារណាឱ្យឃើញច្បាស់ថាដូច្នោះ  
*etaṃsantametampanītam* រឺព្រះនិព្វាននេះ រម្ងាប់ចាកទុក្ខឧត្តមល្អណាស់ *yadidaṃsābbāsaṅkhārasamatto* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះរលត់  
ចាកសំខារធម៌ទាំងពួង *sabbūdhīpaṭinissato* លះបង់នៅឧប្បកិលេសទាំងពួង *taṇhakhayovirāgonibbānanti* ព្រះនិព្វានមានតណ្ហា  
អស់ទៅហើយត្រាយចាកកិលេស *ayamvuccatānandavirāgasāññā* អាននូវនិយម ភិក្ខុនោះតថាគត់ពោលថាចំម្រើនវិភក្សសញ្ញាប្រការ ១  
*kattamācānandanirodhhasāññā* អាននូវនិយម និរោធសញ្ញានោះតើប្រការដូចម្តេច *idānandabhikkhu* អាននូវនិយម វិភក្សក្នុង  
សាសនា អញ្ញតថាគត់នេះ *araññāgatovā* ចូលទៅកាន់ព្រៃយក្តី *rukkhamūlagatovā* អង្គុយក្រោមម្លប់គល់ឈើក្តី *suññāgāratovā*  
នៅក្នុងផ្ទះស្វាត់ក្តី *itipatisaṅkikhatī* ។ ពិចារណារបស់យើងឡើយដូច្នោះថា *etaṃsantametampanītam* ព្រះនិព្វាននេះ  
រម្ងាប់ចាកទុក្ខ ព្រះនិព្វាននេះឧត្តមប្រសើរល្អណាស់ *yadidaṃ* ព្រះនិព្វានឯណានេះ *sabbasamkhārasamatho* ព្រះនិព្វានរម្ងាប់ចា  
កសំខារធម៌ទាំងពួង *sabbūpadhīpaṭinissato* ព្រះនិព្វានលះបង់នៅឧប្បកិលេសទាំងពួង *taṇhakhayonirodhonibbānanti* ព្រះនិព្វាន  
ខ្សែចាកតណ្ហារលត់ចាកទុក្ខគ្មានសល់ ។ *ayamvuccatānandanirodhosaññā* ។ អាននូវនិយមតថាគត់ពោលថា ភិក្ខុបានចំម្រើននៅនិរោ  
ធសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *kattamācā nandasabbalokeanabhirāgasāññā* ។ អាននូវនិយម រឺសព្វលោកេអនកិរតសញ្ញានោះ តើប្រការដូចម្តេច  
*idhānandabhikkhu* អាននូវនិយម ភិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នេះ *yelokeupāyupādānācettaso adhidhānābhīnivesānusi yā* រឺតណ្ហា នឹង  
សស្សត្តទិដ្ឋិ នឹងឧច្ឆេទទិដ្ឋិ ជាបច្ចុប្បន្ននៃឧបាទានឯនាអាស្រ័យនៅក្នុងលោកនេះ ។ *tepajjahantoviramatinaupādayanto* ភិក្ខុឯណា  
រលះបង់នៅបាប្បធម៌ទាំងឡាយ មិនបានកាន់យកដោយចិត្ត *ayamvuccatānandasabbalokeanabhiratasāññā* ។ អាននូវនិយម ភិ  
ក្ខុនោះតថាគត់ពោលថាបានចំម្រើននៅ សព្វលោកេអនកិរតសញ្ញាប្រការ ១ *kattamācānandasabbaloke samkhāreseanīccasāññā*។  
អាននូវនិយម រឺសព្វ សំខារសុអនិច្ចសញ្ញា នោះតើរដូចម្តេច ។ *idhānandabhikkhusabbasamkhāresu ajjīyatiharāyatijjīti*។ អា  
ននូវនិយម ភិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នេះ មានចិត្តជនឆ្លងនិយាយខ្លើមរំអើម ចាកសំខារធម៌ទាំងឡាយ ។  
*ayamvuccatānandasabbasamkhāresuanīccasāññā*។ អាននូវនិយម តថាគត់ពោលថា អ្នកនោះបាននៅសព្វសំខារសុអនិច្ចសញ្ញា  
ប្រការ ១ *katamācānandaānāpānasati* អាននូវនិយម អាទានសតិនោះតើរដូចម្តេច *idhānanda bhikkhuaraññāgatovā  
rukkhamūlagatovā saññāgāratovā* ភិក្ខុក្នុងសាសនាតថាគត់នេះចូលទៅកាន់ព្រៃក្តីទៅកាន់គល់ឈើក្តីទៅកាន់ផ្ទះដស្វាត់ក្តីយ ។  
*nisīdatipallamkābhujjīvā ujumkāyampanīdhā yāpari mukkhamsatamupatthapetvā* ។ អង្គុយផ្តាត់ភ្នែកដំប្រដីកាយឱ្យត្រង់  
ដំប្រដីសារដំឡើងខ្លាបំបាំងកាន់មុត្តដំបោះកាន់កម្មដ្ឋាន *sosatovaassati* ភិក្ខុនោះដកដង្ហើមចេញក្តីចូរក្តី ឱ្យមានស្នាដំបាំងខ្លាបំបង្កប់ដូច្នោះថា  
។ *dīghamvāassasanto dīgamassasāmītipajānāti*។ កាលដកដង្ហើមចេញវែងក្តី ឱ្យដឹងច្បាស់ថាអាត្មានឹងដកដង្ហើមចូលវែង ។

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer r̥y prose (-r)

rassamvā assasantorassam assasisām̐tipajjā nāti។ កិក្កកាលដកដង្ហើមចេញខ្លីយក្តី ឱ្យដឹងច្បាស់ថាអាត្មានឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញខ្លី  
rassamvāpassasantorassampassasisām̐tipajjānāti កាលដកដង្ហើមចូលក្តី ឱ្យដឹងច្បាស់ថា អាត្មានឹងដកដង្ហើមចូរ ។ sabba  
kāyapaṭisaṃvedīassasisām̐tisikkhati។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថា អាត្មានឹងធ្វើនៅដំណើរខ្យល់ ដង្ហើមចេញឱ្យច្បាស់ ហើយ  
ដកដង្ហើមចេញ sabbakāyapaṭisaṃvedīpassasisām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មានឹងធ្វើនៅដំណើរខ្យល់ ដង្ហើមចេញ  
ឱ្យច្បាស់ ហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើមចូរ ។ pasambhayaṃkāyasaṃkhāraṃassasisām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មាកាល  
រម្ងាប់បង់ នៅខ្យល់ដង្ហើមចេញធំ ហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញ ។ passabhayaṃ kāyasaṃkhāraṃpassasi sām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិ  
ក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មាអញ កាលរម្ងាប់បង់នៅខ្យល់ដង្ហើមចូលធំ ហើយដកដង្ហើមចូល ។ p̐ti paṭisaṃvedī {assa {passa  
sissām̐tisikkha ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មា ធ្វើនៅបីតិឱ្យច្បាស់ហើយ នឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ sukhapaṭisaṃvedī {assa  
{passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មានឹងធ្វើជាសុខឱ្យច្បាស់ ហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។  
cittasaṃkhārapaṭi saṃvedī {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មានឹងធ្វើនៅសញ្ញាឱ្យច្បាស់ហើយ នឹង  
ដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល:passambhayaṃcittasaṃkhāraṃ {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថា អាត្មារម្ងាប់បង់  
នៅសញ្ញាដេទានដែលខ្លាំង ហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ cittapaṭisaṃvedī {assa {passa sissām̐ti sikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ  
ថាអាត្មាថាអាត្មាធ្វើចិត្តឱ្យខ្លាបហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ a bhīppamodayaṃcittaṃ {assa {passa sissām̐ti sikkhati ។ កិក្ក  
គ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មាញ៉ាំងចិត្តឱ្យច្រាស់ហើយនឹងដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ samādaham citta {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati  
កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថា អាត្មាកាលដកលនោចិត្ត ឱ្យរម្ងាប់ស្មើហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ vimocayaṃcittaṃ {assa {passa  
sissām̐ti sikkhati។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មាញ៉ាំង ចិត្តឱ្យចេញចាកនិរណ៍ធម៌ ហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។  
aniccāpānuppassī {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មាពិចារណានៅព្រះអនិច្ចំ ឱ្យច្បាស់ហើយដក  
ដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។: vīrāgānuppassī {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មាពិចារណានៅ ព្រះនិព្វានជា  
ទីប្រាសចាកភកហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ nirodhānuppassī {assa {passa sissām̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្កគ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះថាអាត្មា  
ពិចារណានៅ ព្រះនិព្វានជាទីរលត់ទុក្ខហើយដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល ។ paṭinissāṭānuppassī {assa {passa sissā m̐tisikkhati ។ កិក្ក  
គ័ប្បិសិក្ករដូច្នោះ ថាអាត្មាពិចារណានៅព្រះអរិយមគ្គ នឹងរិបស្សនាឱ្យច្បាស់ហើយ ដកដង្ហើមចេញចូល  
ayaṃvuccatānandaānāpānussati ហៃបាណនន្ទនើយ តថាគតៈពោលថាភិក្ខុនេះបានចម្រើន នៅអាណាបានស្សតិប្រការ ១ secce  
khotvaṃ ānandagirimānandassa bhikkhuno upasaṅkamitvā imādasasaṅgā bhāseyyāsi។ ហៃបាណនន្ទនើយ ប្រសិនអ្នកចូលទៅ  
កាន់សំណាក់ គិរិមានន្ទ ភិក្ខុហើយ សំដែងនៅសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ប្រការ នេះ  
thānaṃkhopanetaṃvijjatiyaṃgirimānandadasabhikkhuno imānadasa: saṅgā sutvāsoābādho thānasopatiṭpassambhēyyāti ។  
រឺជុំម្ហីអាពាធនៃគិរិមានន្ទភិក្ខុនោះ គឺប្បិរឺនឺស្បើយក្នុងខណនោះ ព្រោះហៃតុបានស្តាប់នៅសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ ប្រការនេះ ដោយហៃតុឯ  
ណារ អរហត្ត មគ្គអរហត្តផល ក៏បានសម្រេចដោយហៃតុនោះផង។ athakhoāsmā ānandobhagavatosantike  
imādasasaṅgānāuggahetvā គ្រានោះព្រះអានន្ទ ដមានអាយុសយ័នអ្នកៀនយកសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ ប្រការក្នុងសំណាក់ព្រះដមានបុណ្យចាំ  
ជាក់ច្បាស់ហើយ ។yenāyasmāgirimānando tenupasaṅkami ព្រះគិរិមានន្ទត្រូវនៅក្នុងទីណារ ព្រះមហាអានន្ទត្រូវ អ្នកចូលទៅកាន់  
ទីនោះ ។ upasaṅkamitvā āyasmato girimā: nandassābhikkhuno imādasasaṅgāābhāsī. លុះចូលទៅដល់ហើយ អ្នកយក  
នៅសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ប្រការ ឱ្យព្រះគិរិមានន្ទអ្នកស្តាប់: athoāyasmato girimānandassaimā dasasaṅgānāutsutvāso ā  
bādhothānasopatiṭpassambhi រឺជុំម្ហីអាពាធនៃគិរិមានន្ទដមានអាយុ:ផ្តុសយ័ន នោះក៏រម្ងាប់បាត់ក្នុងខណនោះដោយពិត្យ ព្រោះ  
បាន:ស្តាប់នៅសញ្ញាទាំង ១០ ប្រការនេះ vuttāhicāyasmāgirimānando tamhāābādha. រឺព្រះគិរិមានន្ទ ដមានអាយុ:ផ្តុសយ័ន ក៏បាន  
ឈ្មោះ ចារូចចេញចាកអាពាធ ។ tathāpahinopacanāyasmato girimānanda dassaso ābādhoahosti រឺជុំម្ហីអាពាធនៃយព្រះគិរិ  
នន្ទនោះ ក៏រលះបង់បាន ដោយហៃតុបានស្តាប់នៅសប់ ព្រះធម៌ទេស្នាបានឮដកាលគ្រានោះហោង ។។។។។

Translation of opening lines

**thus have I heard** as for this *Girimānanda-sutta*, I, servant of your grace, named Elder Ānanda, heard it like this **at one time** at one time, one day **the Blessed One** as for the Blessed One, he **was dwelling in Sāvattḥī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** the Lord was dwelling in Jetavana, near Sāvattḥī, which is the monastery (*ārāma*) that the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika built as an offering **now at that time** now at that time **the elder monk Girimānanda** the Elder Girimānanda who was of long-standing ordination **was sick** was sick **in pain, severely ill** suffering to an exceedingly severe degree.

**Girimānanda-sutta/girimānand samrāy «sūtr neḥ jhmoh»-r**

Discourse to Girimānanda, bilingual version beginning with “This discourse is called”

FEMC title: girimānand sūtr

Pali prose, Saṃyutta-nikāya 22.59.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, composed in Cambodia by Huot Tāt in 1934.

Leporello: **UB026** 30b–37b girimānand sūtr, including footnotes from the printed edition it was copied from, with an inserted piece of brown paper on spread 35 (now mostly torn away) and another on spread 37, each recording parts of the text initially skipped by the scribe (introduced by *ខ្ញុំសរសេរខ្លះ សូមមេលើបន្តរដូចតទៅនេះ*); **UB043** 2b–20b; **UB044** 9b–16a, 17b–28b girimānandasūtr; **UB045** 50a–69b girimānandasūtr

Khmer books: Huot Tāt ហួត តាត, *Sattaparitt dvādasaparitt* សត្តបវគ្គ ទ្វាទសបវគ្គ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1971), 145–65.

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, a discourse of the Buddha to Ānanda on the ten “notions” (*saññā*)—reflections to be undertaken by an invalid for the purpose of healing—for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.

Diplomatic transcription of opening lines from Huot Tāt 1971 (1934)

*evamme suttaṃ* (សូត្រនេះឈ្មោះគិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ) គឺខ្ញុំ (ឈ្មោះអានន្ទ) បានស្តាប់មកហើយយ៉ាងនេះថា *ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattḥiyam viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme* សម័យមួយ ព្រះដ៏មានព្រះភាគទ្រង់គង់នៅក្នុងវត្តជេតពន ជាអារាមរបស់អនាថបិណ្ឌិកសេដ្ឋី ទៀបក្រុងសាវត្ថី *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā girimānando ābādhiko hoti dukkhito bāḥgavilāno* ក៏ក្នុងសម័យនោះឯង ព្រះគិរិមានន្ទដ៏មានអាយុ លោកមានអាពាធ ប្រកបដោយទុក្ខវេទនា ជាជំងឺធ្ងន់

Translation of opening lines

**thus have I heard** (this sutra is called the *Girimānanda-sutta*), which I (named Ānanda) heard like this **at one time the Blessed One in was dwelling in Sāvattḥī, in Jetavana, in the monastery of Anāthapiṇḍika** at one time the Blessed One was dwelling in Jetavana Temple, which is the monastery of the wealthy merchant Anāthapiṇḍika near the city of Sāvattḥī **now at that time the elder monk Girimānanda was sick, in pain, severely ill** now at that very time, the elder Girimānanda was sick, was suffering, and was severely ill.

**Girimānanda-sutta, with Cakkhum/cakkhum samrāy-r**  
Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of non-self perception

FEMC title: girimānand sūtr

Pali prose, Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60.

Interwoven partial translation in Khmer prose, 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB028** 2b–15a braḥ girimānandasūtr

Summary: The Pali text of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, with Khmer translation for the sections of the non-self nature of the sense organs and the thirty-two parts of the body.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB028**

*evam me sutam...*[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]... *iti paṭisañcikkhati. cakkhumañattā.* គឺភ្នែកយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវា  
មិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *rūpāñattā.* គឺរូបយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *sotañattā.* គឺត្រចៀកយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែន  
ជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *saddhā ñattā.* គឺសំលេងយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *ghāṇañattā.* គឺច្រមោះយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែន  
ជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *gandhāñattā.* គឺក្លិនយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *jihvāñattā.* គឺអន្តាតយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់  
ខ្លួនទេ ។ *rasāñattā.* គឺរសជាតិអាហារយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *kāyoñattā.* គឺកាយយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់  
ខ្លួនទេ ។ *photabbāñattā.* គឺសម្ផស្សយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *manoñattā.* គឺចិត្តយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់  
ខ្លួនទេ ។ *dhammāñattāti.* គឺធម៌ទាំងឡាយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *itīme sunasuajjhati...paccavekkhati. atthiimasmimkāye.*  
មានក្នុងរូបកាយយើងនេះ: *kesā.* គឺសក់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *lo. lomā.* គឺពេមយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ  
។ *nakhā.* គឺក្រចកយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *dantā.* គឺធ្មេញយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *taco.* គឺស្បែកយើង  
ងើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *mamsam.* គឺសាច់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *nahāri.* គឺសរសៃយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវា  
មិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *aṭṭhi.* គឺឆ្អឹងយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *aṭṭhimāñcam.* គឺខ្នុរក្នុងឆ្អឹងយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជា  
របស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *vakam.* គឺទាចយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *hadayam.* គឺបេះដូងយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។  
*yakanam.* គឺថ្លើមយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *kilomakam.* គឺសាច់វារយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *pihakam.*  
គឺក្រពះយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *papphāsam.* គឺស្នូតយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *antam.* គឺពោះវៀនធំ  
យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *antagumam.* គឺពោះវៀនតូចយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *udariyam.* គឺអាហារ



Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

រដ្ឋីយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *karisaṃ*. គឺអាហារចាស់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *pittaṃ*. គឺប្រមាត់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *semhaṃ*. គឺទឹកស្អុយយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *pubbo*. គឺទឹកខ្លះយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *lohitaṃ*. គឺឈាមយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *sedo*. គឺទឹកញើសយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *medo*. គឺខ្លាញ់ខាប់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *asu*. គឺទឹកភ្នែកយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *vasā*. គឺខ្លាញ់រាវយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *khelo*. គឺទឹកមាត់យើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *siṅghāṇikā*. គឺទឹកសម្បុរយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *lasikā*. គឺទឹកអំលិយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ *muttanti*. គឺទឹកម្អូតយើងឆ្លើយ ថាវាមិនមែនជារបស់ខ្លួនទេ ។ ...[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**].

**Girimānanda-sutta, with Dvattimsākāra/dvattimsākār samrāy-r**

Discourse to Girimānanda, with bilingual version of thirty-two parts of the body section

FEMC title: girimānand sūtr

Pali prose, Aṅguttara-nikāya 10.60.

Interwoven partial translation in Khmer prose, 19th–20th centuries.

Leporello: **UB042** 3a–12b sūtr girimānand

Summary: The Pali text of **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**, with Khmer translation for the section on the thirty-two parts of the body.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB042**

*evam me sutāṃ*...[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]...*atthiimasmiṅkāye. kesā* សក់ *lomā* រោម *nakhā* ក្រូចក *dantā* ធ្មេញ *taco* ស្បែក *mamsaṃ* សាច់ *nahārū* សរសៃ *atthi*. ធ្មើ *atthimiṅcaṃ* ខួរក្នុងធ្មើ *vakaṃ* ទាច *hadayaṃ* បេះដូង *yakanāṃ* ថ្លើម *kilomakaṃ* វាវ *pihakaṃ* ក្រពះ *papphāsaṃ* ស្នូត *antaṃ* ពោះរៀនធំ *antagunaṃ* ពោះរៀនតូច *udariyaṃ* អាហាររដ្ឋី *karisaṃ* អាហារចាស់ *pittaṃ* ប្រមាត់ *semhaṃ* ស្អុយ *pubbo* ខ្លះ *lohitaṃ* ឈាម *sedo* ញើស *medo* គឺខ្លាញ់ខាប់ *assu* ទឹកភ្នែក *vasā* ខ្លាញ់រាវ *khelo* ទឹកមាត់ *siṅghāṇikā* ទឹកសម្បុរ *lasikā* ទឹកអំលិ *muttanti*. ទឹកម្អូត *iti imasmiṅkāye*...[same as **Girimānanda-sutta-CP**]

**Dhammakāya/dhammakāy samrāy-r**

The Dhamma-body, bilingual version

Pali prose, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18th–20th centuries.

Leporello: **UB041** 49b–57b; **UB062** 68a–72a prè bāky adhippāy srāy tām bāky braḥ pālī sec kṭī ṭūcneḥ/sec kṭī pañcuḥ braḥ lakkhaṇ braḥ sammāsambuddh jā mcāḥ nai yōn evaṃ

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of **Dhammakāya-NP**, which connects twenty-seven different wisdoms (*ñāṇa*) or teachings of the Buddha with a different part of the body or monastic vestment, then pays homage to the Buddha, who outshines all other beings since he understands the Dhamma-body, i.e. all of those wisdoms, and closes with an exhortation to the meditator (*yogācavarakulaputta*) to repeatedly reflect on the marks of the Buddha’s Dhamma-body that comprise his state of omniscience.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB062**

ahaṃ វិទ្ធិព្រះករុណាជាអម្ចាះ namāmi ក្រាបថ្វាយបង្គំឥឡូវដោយសេចក្តីគោរព dhammakāyabuddhalakkhiṇaṃ នៅព្រះលក្ខណ៍នៃព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គមានព្រះធម៌ព្រះអង្គប្រៀបដោយព្រះញាណ ព្រះអង្គបានទ្រង់ព្រះនាមឈ្មោះព្រះធម្មកាយ sabbaññūtañāṇa pavarasisaṃ មានព្រះសិរសាប្រសើរ គឺប្រាជ្ញាជ្រាបអស់សត្វលោកទាំងពុម្ពនិក្ខម័យ ឈ្មោះព្រះសព្វញ្ញតញ្ញាណ nibbānarammaṇa pavaravilasittakesaṃ មានព្រះកេសាដ៏ប្រសើរ គឺលត់នៅទិកិលេសជាអារម្មណ៍ ដោយផលសម្មាបត្តិ catutajjhāna pavaralalākāṃ មានព្រះលលាដ៏ប្រសើរ គឺចតុតជ្ឈនដែលព្រះអង្គចំរើន vajirasammāpattiñāṇa pavarauṇābhāsaṃ មានព្រះឧណាលោម គឺលលាដ៏ព្រះកេសដ៏ប្រសើរប្រកបដោយរស្មី គឺព្រះប្រាជ្ញានៃសម្មាបត្តិ ឈ្មោះព្រះមហាវដ្តី គឺព្រះខន្ធកែវតែងកោយកាត់ផ្តាច់វាលវដ្តសង្សារ nilakasinasobhā titanta pavarabhamayuggalaṃ មានព្រះភូម្មេទាំងគូដ៏ប្រសើរ កន្លងលែងត្រៃភព គឺព្រះប្រាជ្ញដោយព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន dibbacakkhu paññācakkhu samantacakkhu buddhacakkhu dhammacakkhu pavaracakkhu dvaya មានព្រះនេត្រទាំងគូ មានព្រះនេត្រទាំងគូបក្ររ គឺ ព្រះនេត្រទិព្វ១, ព្រះនេត្រប្រាជ្ញា១, គឺព្រះនេត្រឈ្លងយល់ទាំងមួយសែនចក្រវាឡ១, គឺព្រះនេត្រត្រាស់ដឹងនៅញយ្យធម៌ទាំង២១ គឺព្រះនេត្រជ្រាបនៅ បរិយត្តិធម៌ នៅចក្ខុញ្ញាណទាំង៥ មានព្រះនាមឈ្មោះហៅព្រះធម្មកាយ។ dibbasotañāṇa pavarasotadvayaṃ មានព្រះស្រោតទាំងគូ គឺញាណព្រះស្រោតជាទិព្វ gotrabhūñāṇa pavarauṇigajhāni មាននៃវាសីដ៏ល្អប្រសើរឧត្តម សំនៅព្រះក៏ក្រ គឺញាណបង្កើតអំពីវង្សនៃគោត្រ maggaphalavimutti phalañāṇapavaragandhadvayaṃ មាននៅប្រាជ្ញាមានទាំងគូដ៏ប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណប្រព្រឹត្តទៅក្នុងអរិយមគ្គនៅផលដែលសោយនៅរស់ព្រះធម៌ជាអារម្មណ៍។ lokiyalokuttarañāṇa pavarautthadvaya មានរឹមព្រះឧស្មទាំងគូប្រាលឆ្អិនឆ្កៅ បីដូចជ្រៃមាសទុំ គឺព្រះប្រាជ្ញាញាណដ៏ជាលោកិយនៅលោកុត្តរៈ sattatimpavarabodhipakkihiyāñāṇa pavarasubhadantā មានព្រះទន្ធរៀបដិតប្រកិតដ៏ល្អប្រសើរ គឺសត្តតិសំបវរពោធិបក្ខិយធម៌ទាំង៣៧ ដ៏ជាស្វាបចំអេង catamaggāñāṇa pavaracatunabhyā មានព្រះចន្ទ្រមកែវទាំង២ដ៏ល្អប្រសើរ គឺញាណត្រាស់ដឹងជ្រាបក្នុងមគ្គ២ catusaccañāṇa pavarajivhā មានព្រះជ្រៀងទន់ឆ្មល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណត្រាស់ជ្រាបច្បាស់ក្នុងចតុអរិយសច្ចទាំង៤ apattiāhattañāṇa pavarabhaṇā មានអំពង់ព្រះសុរេនមូលល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណត្រាស់ដឹងជ្រាបនៅព្រះវិមោក្ខធម៌ដ៏ជាលោកុត្តរៈ គឺព្រះនិព្វានដ៏ប្រសើរលើសលែង tiṃlakkhañāñāṇa pavaravilasattavirājitaṃ មានផ្តុំព្រះសុរេនមូលល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះត្រៃល្អណញ្ញាណ, catuṣsārājñāṇa pavarabādhaya មានព្រះពាហា គឺព្រះអង្សទាំងសង្ខារល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណប្រកបនៅមគ្គករុណាមធុតាឧបេក្ខ dassānussatiñāṇa pavarajanigalisobhā មានម្រាមព្រះហស្តទាំង១០ប្រការដ៏មូលប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណត្រាស់ជ្រាបនៅអសុកកម្មដ្ឋានទាំង១០ប្រការ sattasambojjhaṅga pavaranaurattalaṃ មានផ្ទៃព្រះឱស្ឋពេញរាបស្មើល្អប្រពៃ គឺព្រះញាណទ្រង់ត្រាស់ដឹង នៅសត្តសម្ពោជ្ឈន្ត្រីទាំង៧ មានសតិសម្ពោជ្ឈន្ត្រីជាដើម មានឧបេក្ខសម្ពោជ្ឈន្ត្រីជាបរិយោសាន asayānussayañāṇa pavarathanayuggalaṃ មាននៅព្រះឧទ្យាទាំងគូល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណត្រាស់ដឹងនៅអធ្យាស្រ័យនៃសត្វលោកទាំងពុម្ព dasabalañāṇa pavaramajjhimanigaṃ មានកណ្តាលនៃព្រះអង្គ

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

ល្ងាសល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណត្រាស់ដឹងទ្រង់នៅកំឡាំងភ្ញៀវក្លាស្មើដំរីត្រទន់ទាំង១០ *paṭiccasamupādañāṇa pavaranāṇi* មានព្រះទាសីគឺប្រាកដល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះប្រាជ្ញជ្រាបនៅបដិច្ចសមុប្បាទ *pañcabala pavara catuna* មាននៅព្រះឃានៈប្រទេសល្អប្រសើរ គឺប្រាជ្ញាជ្រាបច្បាស់នៅសត្តតន្ត្រីទាំង៥ប្រការ នៅព្រះសទ្ធាគឺពលទាំង៥ប្រការ *catusamappatthāna pavaraorudvaya* មានព្រះឱរុ គឺភ្លើងទាំងគូល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណជាប្រដឹងនៅព្រះធម៌ដ៏កាន់យកនៅព្យាយាមទាំង៤ប្រការ *dasakusalakamma patti pavarajjhāṅgadavyam* មានព្រះធុងករទាំងគូរល្អប្រសើរ គឺប្រាជ្ញាជ្រាបច្បាស់ក្នុងកុសលកម្មបទ១០មានកាយកម្មតថិកម្ម៤មនោកម្ម៣ *catuiddhipāta pavarapādadvayam* មានព្រះបាទទាំងគូល្អប្រសើរ គឺព្រះញាណប្រព្រឹត្តដោយនៅ ឥទ្ធិបាទទាំង៤ប្រការ *silasamādhiñāṇa pavarasāṅghāṇi* ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់នៅសង្ឃដីគឺសិលសមាធិបញ្ញា *hirotappa pavarapañsukūlacāvaram* ព្រះអង្គនៅមហាបង្កុលចំរើ គឺប្រាជ្ញាប្រព្រឹត្តទៅដោយនៅខ្លាចបាបខ្មាស់បាប *attāṅgikamakāññā pavaraantaravāsakam* ទ្រង់នៅស្បង់ប្រាលឆ្នើគឺព្រះញាណឈ្មោះអង្គក្នុងកម្ពុទ្ធាទាំង៨ មានសមាទិដ្ឋិ សម្មាសមាធិជាបង្កើត *catusatipatthāna pavarakāyaññānaṇam* ទ្រង់នៅវត្តពន្ធុ គឺព្រះញាណប្រព្រឹត្តទៅក្នុងសតិបដ្ឋាន គឺតាំងនៅព្រះស្មារតីទាំង៤ប្រការ *buddho* ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាម្ចាះ *atirarocati* អតិរោចតិ ដ៏រុងរឿងរស្មីរស្មីល្អប្រសើរ *devamanussānam* លើសអស់ទេវតានិមនុស្សទាំងឡាយ *dhammakayena* ដោយកាយទ្រង់នៅព្រះធម៌ *yasapanamoyam panautamaṅgā diññānam* គឺព្រះញាណដែលបាត់ដោយសិរសាជាដើមមែនពិត *sabbaññitūādikam* មានព្រះសព្វញ្ញតញ្ញាណជាដើម *dhammakāyamaṅgam* ព្រះអង្គត្រាស់ឈ្មោះនៅព្រះធម្មកាយ *buddhānam* នៅព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធទាំងឡាយ *atīvam uttamaṅgādiññānam* ព្រះពុទ្ធសញ្ញាណព្រះអង្គប្រៀបដោយនៅពុទ្ធលក្ខណ៍ហើយបានត្រាស់ប្រាជ្ញាសារពេជ្រតាញាណដោយនៅព្រះញាណបញ្ញត្តិឈ្មោះព្រះធម្មកាយ *lokanāyukam* ជាទីតែងនាំសត្វចាកលោក *yogāvacara kulaputtana* គឺព្រះយោគាវចរកុលបុត្រ *tikkhamñāṇena* តិក្ខំញាណេន មានប្រាជ្ញាព្រះអង្គភ្ញៀវក្លា *patthentena* កាលប្រាជ្ញា *sabbaññitūbuddhabhāvam* នៅសុភាពព្រះសព្វញ្ញពុទ្ធជាម្ចាះ *anusaritabbam* គប្បីរំព្យ *punapunaṃ* ឱ្យរៀយទៅហោងៗ សេចក្តីបញ្ចុះព្រះលក្ខណព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាម្ចាះនៃយើងចប់តែប៉ុណ្ណោះ ឯរំ ។

Translation of opening and closing excerpts

I as for me, servant of the grace of my Lord, I **venerate** now bow low in offering out of respect **the mark[s] of the Buddha [that consistute] the Dhammakāya** to the marks of the body of the Buddha, which includes the Dhamma of the Lord, likened to the Wisdom of the Lord, and which bears the name “Dhamma-body” **his excellent head is omniscient wisdom** including his excellent head which is the wisdom informed of all of the living beings throughout the 30,000 world systems, which is named “omniscient wisdom” [and so on for the remainder of the marks] **by one in the lineage of the yogāvacaras** this is what one in the lineage of the yogāvacaras **by one who possesses sharp wisdom** who possesses within himself courageous wisdom **by one who aspires** when aspiring **to the state of an omniscient buddha** to the state of an omniscient buddha **should be contemplated** should be contemplated **again and again** again and again continuously

**Namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ/namo me sabbabuddhānaṃ samrāy-r**  
Stanzas beginning with “I honor all of the buddhas,” bilingual version

FEMC title: sec-kū prè namo me

Pali verse, non-canonical.

Interwoven partial translation into Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 4a–5b *namasakā braḥ budh ṭa jā aṃmcās dāṃṇī*° 28 *braḥ aṅg cūl braḥ paraṃmmanībān kanlaṅ raṃmlaṅ dau hōy*

Summary: Pali and partial Khmer translation of the non-canonical stanzas for honoring the 28 buddhas of the past, with the the Khmer translation somewhat selective and disjointed.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB070**

*ឡី namomesabbabuddhānaṃ uppannānaṃmahesīnaṃ taṅhaṅkaromahāvīro medhaṅkaromahāyaso sa raṅaṅkarolokahito dipaṅkarojātīndharo ទ្រង់ព្រះរាគូស្និយ នៅអនុភាពព្រឹន koṇḍañjanapāmokkho ជាប្រធាននៃនុជនាមាហ្វិយ សុមាណុលុបុរិសាសាហ្វិ ប្រសើដក្រៀវលេងបរសនាមាហ្វិសុមាណូធារិ មានព្រះទ្រង់បរិសុទ្ធប្រកបត្រាធម្ម revatorattivatano ជាទីចម្រើនសេចក្តីត្រេកអរ sobhitogūṇasampanno ano ma dassaṭṭjanuttamo padumolokapajjoto nāradovarāsārathī padumattarasattasāro ជាខ្លឹមសារនៃនុសត្វ su meddhoappatipuggalo នឹងរកបុគ្គលប្រៀបស្មើពុំបាន sujātosabbalokkaggo piyadassānārāsabho atthadassīkārūṇiko dhammadassītamoudo siddhatthoasamoloke tisocavadatamvaro ប្រសើដក្រៀវលេង អ្នកប្រាជ្ញនាមាហ្វិយ pussocaravadbuddho ឲ្យសត្វតលនិព្វាន vipassīcaanupamo រកទីនឹងអបម្បុពុំបាន sikhisabbahitosatthā ក បត្រាប្រយោជនៃលោកនាមាហ្វិយ vessabhūsukhadāyako kukkasandhosattavāho koṇḍāgamanoraṇāvāho លះបង់សំម្លាប់សត្វ ពោលគឺរតន្តរ kassapovīsāṃpanogottamosā ប្រសើដក្រៀវលេង kyapaṅkaro ព្រះញាតសក្តិរាជនាមាហ្វិយ eteṇecasamvuddho aṅkasatakotiyo atthavisatisaṅkhātā imebuddhāmahiddhikā karuṇāgūṇasampanno sabbalokehipūjītā etedassabalābuddhā uttamāpātipuggalā ឌីតមក្រៀវលេងបុគ្គលនាមាហ្វិយ tepisaṅghagūṇāsum សូម្បីព្រះពុទ្ធនាមាហ្វិយនោះប្រកបត្រាព្រះគុណនាមាហ្វិយព្រឹន pittiyematampadam រឺព្រះពុទ្ធជណកន្ទននិព្វាន etebuddhāatitā camaṅgulāhontusabbadā atthavisamahābuddhā ទោះកើ តទៅមុកតលមសែនកោដ្ឋក្តីយ sabbevaṇḍāmiteahaṃ tenasaccenasile nayonarasaraṇasatikappānaṃ រឺពុកតលព្រះពុទ្ធជាអម្ចាស sataśaṇḍānī ជាទីពឹងនៃនាមាហ្វិយ duggatāṃsonagacchati ពុកតលរកលើរឺអ្នកនោះពុំបានធ្លាក់ទៅ។ atthavisatibuddhavaṇṇanā nitthitā. ឡី ១ ឡី varaññāsamvābuddho suddhacittasamāmahā kāruṇikāvasabbe saṅgūṇāṅvasirasāname ។ នេះនមសកាព្រះ ពុទ្ធជាអម្ចាស ទ្វា ២៨ ព្រះអង្គចូលព្រះបរិម្មនិព្វាន កន្ទនរម្មនទៅហើយ។*

**Paṭicca samuppāda/paṭicca samuppāda samrāy-r**  
Dependent origination, bilingual version

Pali prose, canonical, syntactically rearranged.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 6a–8a *prer sec kḍiy iss avijār*

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of the canonical pericope of the twelve links of dependent origination, in both forwards and reverse order.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB070**

ឡី ១ ឡី *sankhārā* រឿសង់ រខន្ធគឺរតើមកុំណើតទ្វាប្បា *avijāpaccayā* មានអរិជាជាតើមហៃត *viññānam* រឿវិញ្ញានស្មាត្យត្រៃត្រៃត្រៃកនីក  
ឃើញ បុនបាបគុនទោស្ស *sankhārapaccayā* មានសខារជាហៃត *nāmarūpam* រឿនាធម្មនៅរូបធម្ម *viññānapaccayā* មានវិញ្ញានជាហៃត  
*salāyattanam* រឿអាយត្តនទ្វាប្បា គឺរក្នុងត្រចៀកច្រមោន *nāmarūpapaccayā* មាននាមរូបជាហៃត *phasso* រឿមនុសពាលត្រូវក្លិនជូរនៅជា  
*salāyattanapaccayā* មានអាយត្តនជាហៃត *vedanā* រឿទុក្ខវេទនា *phassapaccayā* មានមនុសពាលត្រូវជាហៃត *tanhā* រឿសេចក្តី  
យត់ម្រេកចិត្តទ្វាប្បា *vedanapaccayā* មានទុក្ខវេទនាជាហៃត *upādānam* រឿស្មរលក្សនៅពារសំម្បរ *tanhāpaccayā* មានតណ្ហារ  
ជាហៃតជាតើម គដា រឿកុព្វផលកុព្វនា *upādānapaccayā* មានឧបាទានជាហៃត *jātti* រឿកុំណើតដែលសត្វលោកតែងកើត  
*bhavapaccayā* មានកុព្វជាហៃត *jarāmaranasokapari devadukkhadoma nassapāyāsā* រឿទុក្ខទ្វាប្បាមានឃ្លានប្បស្រេកទឹក អនចិត  
តូចចិតសោកសៅខ្សឹកខ្សួល រជ្ជលក្ខិតក្តៅនៅជរាទុកមរណទុក្ខ *sambhavanti* បើបង្កើតមាន *jātipaccayā* ជាត្តិបច្ចុយា កើតអំព្យជាត្តិ  
កុំណើតជាហៃត *samudayo* រឿកិរិរាបង្កើតហឿ *tassa dukkhakhandhassa* នៃកងទុកនោះ *honti* ហោត្តិ មាន *kevalassa* មែនពិត  
*evaṃ eva* ត្បៅនៅប្រការតូច្នះមែនពិត។

*sankhāranirodho* រឿកិរិរាបលុតនៃសខារខន្ធ *asesavirāganirodho* ករលុតរល្យនៅកាំមរាគជ្ស័ង២៩៧ស្សសល *avijāyātieva* ត្បៅអ  
រិជាមែនពិត *viññānanirodho* រឿរឿរលុតនៅវិញ្ញាន *sankhāranirodho* ត្បៅរលុតនៅសំខារខន្ធ *nāmarūpanirodho* រឿរលុតបង្កនាធម្ម  
រូបធម្ម *viññānanirodho* ត្បៅរលុតនៅវិញ្ញាន *salāyattananirodho* រឿរឿរលុតបង នៅអាយត្តនទ្វា ៦ *nāmarūpanirodhā* ត្បៅរលុត  
នៅនាធម្មរូបធម្ម *phassanirodho salāyattananirodhā* ត្បៅរលុតអាយត្តនទ្វា ៦ *vedanānirodho* រឿកិរិរាបលុតនៅវេទនា  
*phassanirodhā* ត្បៅរលុតនៅស្សម្មស្ស ពាលត្រូវក្លិនជូរនៅក្លិនជរ *tanhānirodho* រឿកិរិរាបលុតនៅតណ្ហារ *vedanānirodhā* ត្បៅរលុត  
នៅវេទនា *upādānanirodho* រឿរលុតបងនៅឧបាទានខន្ធ គឺរស្មរលក្ស *tanhānirodhā* ត្បៅរលុតនៅតណ្ហារ *bhavanirodho* រឿរលុត  
បងនៅកុព្វផលកុព្វនា *upādānanirodhā* ត្បៅរលុតនៅឧបាទានខន្ធ *jāttinirodho* រឿរលុតសាបសូននូជាត្តិកុំណើត *bhavanirodhā* ត្បៅ  
រលុតនៅកុព្វ *jarāmaranasokaparide vadukkhadomassapāyāsā* រឿទុក្ខវេទនាទ្វាប្បា មានឃ្លានប្បស្រេកទឹក អនអគ្គស្រពុនចិតតូច  
ចិត សោកសៅខ្សឹកខ្សួលរជ្ជលចិត ក្តិតក្តៅស្រណោះអាសោះអាសោះ ល្អិតល្អែយនៅជរាហ *nirujjhanti* រលុតស្សហឿ *jāttinirodhā*  
ត្បៅរលុតនៅជាត្តិកុំណើត *nirodho* រឿកិរិរាបលុត តស្សទុក្ខខន្ធស្ស *tassadukkhakhandhassa* នៃកងទុកនោះ *hoti* មាន *kevalassa*  
ត្បៅមែនពិត *evaṃ eva* ត្បៅនៅប្រការតូច្នះមែនពិត ប្រែសេចក្តីយស្សអរិជារតែបុណ្ណោះហឿ ឡី

Translation of opening excerpt

**conditional formations** as for the aggregate of conditional formations, that is the root of all births, they  
**with ignorance as condition** have ignorance as their root cause **consciousness** as for  
consciousness, the awareness of and reflection on merit, demerit, virtue, and fault, it **with conditional  
formations as condition** has conditional formations as its root cause... [portion skipped]....  
**origination** as for the action of arising **of this mass of suffering** of that accumulation of suffering  
**exists** exists **of this entire** indeed **just like this** by just these ways indeed

**Braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg/braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg samrāy-r**

The ten buddhas of the future, bilingual version

Pali verse, non-canonical, excerpted from the *Anāgatavaṃsa* and other sources.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, closely related to and possibly copied directly from the printed version provided in Anonymous, *Anāgatavaṃs samrāp' buddhasampatti nai buddhasāsanikajan* (Phnom Penh: 1963), ja-5.

Leporello: **UB047** 34b-42a sūmū namassakā braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg knuñ anāgat' khāñ mukh jā min khāñ

Khmer books: *Anāgatadasavaṃs អនាគតទសវង្ស* (Phnom Penh ក្នុងពេញ, 1963), ja-5.

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer text, with many additional details in Khmer, that begins by enumerating the ten buddhas of the future, including both their names as bodhisattas and their names as buddhas. The text then lists each of these buddhas in connection to their particular kind of bodhi tree, followed by a declaration that those who pay homage these trees will not go the hells for hundreds of thousands of eons. This is followed in turn by a listing of the different eons of the future and how many buddhas will arise in each. In closing, the text gives the beginning of the narrative of Buddha predicting that his disciple Ajita will one day awaken at Maitreya Buddha.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB047**

សូមូនមស្សកាព្រះពុទ្ធ ១០ ព្រះអង្គ ក្នុងអនាគតខាងមុខជាមិនខាន

meteyyo megato nāma ។ ព្រះអធិត្តិកិក្ខុ ពោធិសត្តព្រះអង្គ បានមកត្រាសដឹងព្រះនាមអរិយៈមេត្រីសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ rāmo ca rāmasambuddho ។ ព្រះរាមពោធិសត្តព្រះអង្គព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹងព្រះនាមថា ។ rāma sammā sambuddho kosane dhamma rājā ca ព្រះបាទបសទេទិកោសលពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានមក ត្រាសដឹងព្រះនាមថា ធម្មរាជា សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ māra-māro cadhammasāmī ។ មារាជិរាជពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា ធម្មសាមី សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ dīghatājñhī ca nārado ។ រាហូរ អសុវិន្ទពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា នារទរ សម្មសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ sonoraṅsīmunitathā ។ សោព្រាហណ៍ ពោធិសត្តព្រះ អង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា វង្សីមុនី សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ sabhūtodevadevo ។ ព្រះសុភូតព្រាហ្មណ៍ ពោធិសត្ត ព្រះបានមកត្រាដឹង ព្រះនាមថា ទេវៈទេវោ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ todeyo narīsthako ។ តោទេយ្យព្រាហ្មណ៍ ពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា នរៈ សីហៈ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ tisonāma dhanapālo ។ ជីវិធនបាលពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា តិស្សៈ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ pālileyye sumāṅgale ។ ជីវិបាលិលេយ្យពោធិសត្ត ព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹង ព្រះនាមថា សុមង្គលៈសម្មសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ ekatedasa bodhisattā ។ ព្រះពោធិសត្តទាំងឡាយ ១០ ព្រះអង្គនេះ ។ buddhonāma bhavissanti anāgate ។ ព្រះអង្គបានមកត្រាសដឹងជាព្រះ ពុទ្ធ ក្នុងអនាគតដោយពិត ។ yonaro ។ វិជនឯណា ។ namassanti ។ នមស្សការហើយ ។ etesambuddhe ។ នូវព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធទាំងនោះ ។ sonaro ។ វិជនោះ ។ nagacchanti ។ និងមិនទៅ duggati ។ កាន់ទុក្ខតិ ។ kappahāṣattasahassāni ។ អស់សែននៃកប្បទាំងឡាយ

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

នមស្សការព្រះពោធិព្រិក្ស ។ *metteyyo nāgarukkho* ។ ព្រះធម្មរាជាសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមខ្លីដំបូងជាមហាពោធិព្រិក្ស ។  
*rāmabuddho picandanam* ។ ព្រះអង្គមានដើមចាន់ជាពោធិ ។ *dhama rājā nāgarukkho* ។ ព្រះធម្មរាជាសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គ  
មានដើមខ្លីដំបូងជាមហាពោធិ ។ *sālarukkho dhammasāmī* ។ ព្រះធម្មសាមីសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមរាំងជាមហាពោធិ ។ *nārado  
candarukkho ca* ។ ព្រះនារទៈសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមចាន់ជាមហាពោធិ ។ *raṅsī munīcapipphalī* ។ ព្រះរង្សីមុនីសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះ  
មានដើមលៀប ជាមហាពោធិ ។ *devadevoca campako* ។ ព្រះទេវទេព្វ ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើម ចម្បាជាមហាពោធិព្រិក្ស ។  
*pātalinagasihova* ។ ព្រះនរៈសីហៈសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមច្រឡឹងជាមហាពោធិ ។ *nigrodho tissa: sambuddho* ។ ព្រះតិស្សៈ  
សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមជ្រៃជាមហាពោធិ ។ *sumāṅgalo nāgarukkho* ។ ព្រះសុមង្គលៈ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គមានដើមខ្លីដំបូងជាមហា  
ពោធិ ។ *etedasa: rukkhābodhī* ។ នឹងមានប្រាកដក្នុងអនាគត ។ *yonaropi* ។ រីឯនឯណា ។ *namassanti* ។ បាននមស្សការហើយ ។  
*imedassah rukkhābodhī* ។ ព្រះពោធិព្រិក្សទាំងឡាយ ១០ ព្រះអង្គនេះ ។ *sonaro* ។ រីឯនោះ ។ *nagacchanti* ។ និងមិនទៅបង្កើត ។  
*nirayam* ។ ក្នុងនរក ។ *kappaḥ sataḥhassāni* ។ អស់សែនកប្បទាំងឡាយគាថាសម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យចាំមាត់ ។ *tasaro maṇḍovaro kappo  
sāramaṇḍo cabhandato ete pacca vīṭakappā sambaddhena sudesitā* ។ រីកប្បទាំងឡាយ ៥ គឺសារហកប្ប ១ មណ្ឌៈក្ប ១ រកប្ប ១  
សារៈមណ្ឌកប្ប ១ កិច្ចៈកប្ប ១ ព្រះសម្ពុទ្ធព្រះអង្គទ្រង់សម្តែងហើយ ។ *sāre eka buddho bodhī mandakappo cadutiyo varakappo  
tatiyo buddho catuttha sāra:caṇḍake bhadukappe mañcabuddho nasudesitā* ។ ។ សារៈកប្បមាន ព្រះពុទ្ធ ១ ព្រះអង្គត្រាស់ដឹង ។  
សារៈកប្បមានព្រះពុទ្ធ ៤ ព្រះអង្គត្រាស់ដឹងកិច្ចៈកប្បមានព្រះពុទ្ធ ៥ ព្រះអង្គត្រាស់ដឹង ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ទ្រង់សំដែងទុកដោយប្រពៃ  
គម្ពីរអនាគតទសវង្ស រឿងព្រះសិរិអារ្យ មេត្រីយ៍ទី ១ *sattā sāvatti nissāya purāme visākhāya kārāpīte vasanto ajitattheram  
ārabbha kathesiti* ។ សេចក្តីថា សម័យថ្ងៃមួយ សម្តេចព្រះសារពេជ ស្តេចទ្រង់អាស្រ័យ នៅនគរសារវត្តិ កាលគង់នៅក្នុងបុព្វរាម  
ដែលនាងវិសាខាបណ្ណាទ្រព្យ ២៧ កោដិសាងថ្វាយ គ្រានោះព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ប្រារព្ធ ព្រះអសជិតត្ថេរ បរមពុទ្ធក្នុងអរិយមេត្រី ឲ្យជាហោ  
តុព្រះជេត្ត ទ្រង់សំដែងធម៌ទេសនា នៅរឿងព្រះពោធិសត្វ ១០ព្រះអង្គដែលត្រាស់ដឹង ជាអង្គព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ក្នុងកាជាអនាគត.ត  
ទៅទី ១ អធិគមអន្តរធាន ទី ២ បរយត្តិ អន្តរធាន ទី ៣ បត្តិបត្តិ អន្តរធាន ទី ៤ លិង្គអន្តរធាន ទី ៥ ធាតុអន្តរធាន ។ សាសនាគាថាគត  
កន្លងទៅបាន ១ ពាន់ឆ្នាំ ព្រះអរហន្ត ព្រះអនាគាមិ សតទាគាមិ សោតបត្តម នឹងបាត់ទាំងអស់ សូម្បីតែកិក្ខុសង្ឃ ដែលបានឈាន  
សាមាបត្តិក៏គ្មាននេះហៅថា អធិគមអន្តរធាន ។ សាសនាគាថាគតកន្លងទៅបាន ២ពាន់ឆ្នាំលោកអ្នក ដែលទ្រង់ទ្រង់នូវពុទ្ធវចនៈដោ  
យមាត់ទទេរ សាប់សូន្យអស់នេះហៅថា បរិយត្តិ អន្តរធាន ។ សាសនាគាថាគតកន្លងទៅបាន ៣ពាន់ឆ្នាំ ជុំនិសង្ឃដែលប្រជុំធ្វើ ឧបោស  
ថ ប្រតិបត្តិត្រឡឧបដ្ឋាយាបារ្យ គោរពចាស់ព្រិទ្ធាបារ សំដែងអាបត្តិក៏គ្មាន នេះហៅថា បដិបត្តិ អន្តរធាន ។ សាសនាគាថាគតកន្លងទៅ  
បាន ៤ ពាន់ឆ្នាំ បាទត្រចិរិវ វិនាសអសទៅ សល់តែសំពត់ច្រលក់ទឹកអម្នក សម្រាប់សៀតត្រចៀក អ្នកសំគាលថាជាអ្នកបួស នេះហៅ  
ថា លិង្គអន្តរធាន ។ សាសនាគាថាគតកន្លងទៅបាន ៥ពាន់ឆ្នាំ ព្រះសារិកធាតុ នឹងអន្តរធាន ឯព្រះសារិកធាតុ ដែលនឹងសាបសូន្យ  
នោះ គឺត្រូវសមោធានត្តអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធរូប ព្រះអង្គមកគង់លើរតនៈបល្ល័ង្ក កំពស់ ១៥ ហត្ថតាំងនៅក្រោមម្លប់មហាពោធិព្រិក្ស ទ្រង់  
សំដែងធម៌ទេសនា ដើម្បីប្រយោជន៍ដល់ទេវតា នឹងមនុស្សសត្វទាំងឡាយ ពីរោះក្បែរក្បាយហាក់ដូចជាគាថាគត គុណនៅដូច្នោះឯង ។  
ទេសនាអស់វារៈ ៧ថ្ងៃ៧យប់ណែនាំសត្វឲ្យបានសម្បត្តិស្មត្តិសម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន ។ ហើយទើបតេជោធាតុ បក់ឡើងវិលាយ ឆេះព្រះ  
សារិកធាតុ តថាគតបិរិនិព្វានអស់ទៅ នេះហៅថា ធាតុអន្តរធាន ។ តអំពីនោះមកទៀត មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ មិនឮនរេធ្វើបណ្តុសក្តារៈបូ  
ជា ឬអំពើជាកុសល់ណាមួយសោះឡើយ ម្ចាស់ហើយក៏សោយ ទុក្ខវេទនាដូចសត្វនរក ជាភិយោកាព ។ *yadā cañcava sstikadārah  
kassapassapañcavassa kāya dārikāya āvāho bhavissati* ។ ម្ចាស់សារិកធាតុ កាលណោះមនុស្សទាំងឡាយ មានអាយុ ១០ ឆ្នាំចាស់  
ស្លាប់ បុរសស្ត្រីមានអាយុ ៥ ឆ្នាំ រៀបអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ជាម្តង ហើយមានកូនប្រុសស្រីតាំងពីអាយុ ៥ ឆ្នាំមក ។ លុះដល់មនុស្សមាន  
អាយុ ១០ឆ្នាំ ជាអាយុក្ល័យ ក៏យំធំនឹកតឡើងប្រាកដ ព្រោះហេតុសន្តត្តរកប្ប ពួកមនុស្សរីករកាលាហល់ច្បាងកាប់សំឡាប់គ្នា លើក  
ហត្ថាចាប់កាន់ វត្តផ្សេងៗទាំងនោះក៏ក្លាយទៅជាដាវលំពែង គ្រឿងស្តៅជ្រុំទាំងអស់ ដេញសម្លាប់គ្នានឹងគ្នាអស់ ៧ ថ្ងៃ ៧ យប់មនុស្ស  
ទាំងនោះ ករិនាសអន្តរាយអស់ជាច្រើនរូប លុះហួសអំពី ៧ថ្ងៃទៅមនុស្សដែលរត់ឆ្លងលាក់ខ្លួននៅក្នុងព្រៃ កាលបើដឹងថាស្លាប់ស្លាត់  
ហើយ ក៏នាំគ្នាចេញទៅក្រៅ លុះបានឃើញគ្នានឹងគ្នា ដែលប្រកបដោយទុក្ខវេទនា ក៏មានចិត្តអាណិតអាសូរដល់គ្នានឹងគ្នាទៅវិញ

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

កស្មុះនៅឌីបក្រសោម ទូញយុំរៀបរាប់គ្រប់ប្រការ មានសេចក្តីមេត្តាអាណិតអាសូរទៅវិញ ដល់នូវក្នុងធម៌មេត្តា ក្នុងធម៌មេត្តា ព្រហ្មវិហារ ហើយខំព្យាយាមរក្សាសិលចំរើនការវិនាថា ។ *ayamattabhāvo* ។ រួចកាយនេះ *aniccam* មិនឡើង *dukkham* ជាទុក្ខ *anuttā* មិនមែនខ្លួន កាលបើមនុស្សទាំងឡាយចេះ ពីចារនាដូចនោះ អាយុក៏ចំរើនឡើង ធ្លាប់មានអាយុ ១០០ ឆ្នាំ ចំរើនឡើងដល់ ២០ ឆ្នាំ ធ្វើ រឡើងស្មើដល់ ១០០ ឆ្នាំ ពាន់ឆ្នាំ ១ម៉ឺន ១សែន ១លាន១អស្ច័យ លុះយូរទៅមនុស្សទាំងឡាយ មិនដឹងច្បាស់នូវសេចក្តីស្លាប់ កើតកើត មានសេចក្តីប្រមាទ មិនចេះពីចារណា អនិច្ចំ ទុក្ខំ អនត្តា ក៏ថយចុះមកនូវអាយុតែ ៨ ម៉ឺនឆ្នាំ ពេលនោះភ្ញៀវ ក៏ធ្លាក់ស្រួលតាមរដូវ ថ្ងៃម្តង ថ្ងៃម្តង ដំបូងប្រមាទផ្ទៃស្មើគ្នា ពេលនោះ ព្រះអធិតត្ថេរ បានមកត្រាសជាព្រះពុទ្ធច្រើនព្រះនាមថា អរិយមេត្រី បាលីថា *ujito metteyyo* អង្គព្រះសិរាវ្យនៃយើងឯង ។។

ចប់ ព្រះពុទ្ធ ១០ ព្រះអង្គហើយហោង ។១៣

**Yaṃ akusalam/yaṃ akusalam samrāy-r**  
Passage beginning with “Whatever evil actions,” bilingual version

Pali prose, non-canonical.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB011** 89a–89b dhārm (ra)pā

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer repentance text, with both the Pali and Khmer portions in a state of disarray and incoherence. The text seems mostly to be a formula for repentance for faults committed against the Three Jewels and all creatures, as well as infringements of the five precepts, and closes by petitioning for all such faults to not have any karma effect in the future.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB011**

១។។ ឧកាសៈ បូពិត្តិយ *yāmma:kusalam* រិអំពើ *yo ham* ពីកាលខ្លួនក្មេងនូវឡើយ *brahubbuddhagunnam* រិព្រះពុទ្ធនោះមានគុន *dhammagannam* រិព្រះធម៌នោះមានគុណ *dhammagunnam* រិព្រះសង្ឃនោះមានគុណ *saṅghagunnam uppanantenavā uppenni:vā dhammena:vā saṅghenavā catup"ādevā* រិសត្វជើងពីក្តី *ba:hup"ādevā* រិសត្វជើង [the following is crossed out with a red line: ច្រើនក្តីធ្វើប៉ាទេវា *p"ānatipā* ។។រិស] ។។ ៤ក្តី *dhvepādevā* រិសត្វជើងច្រើនក្តី។ *pāṇātipātā* នូវបានសម្លាប់អាយុជីវិតគេក្តី *addinādā* នូវបានលួចទ្រព្យគេក្តី *kāmmesumicchācār"ā* នូវបានលួចភិរិយាគេក្តី *sur"ā* ផឹកស្រាហៅជាបាបធ្ងន់ អ្នកក្តីយលាក់ជា ត្រើយ ទោសខ្ញុំនោះហើយ ពុំដល់តិចឡើយ *yatiyati* ក៏បញ្ចប់អាណាគត្តកាល កន្លងរំមួងទៅហើយ នៃព្រះកម្មថានៃខ្ញុំហោង ។។

Standardized edition

*ukāsa* បពិត្រអើយ *yaṃ akusalam* រិអំពើ *yo ham* ពីកាលខ្លួនក្មេងនៅឡើយ *brah buddhagunam* រិព្រះពុទ្ធនោះមានគុណ *dhammagunam* រិព្រះធម៌នោះមានគុណ *dhammagunam* រិព្រះសង្ឃនោះមានគុណ *saṅghagunam uppannan tena vā buddhena vā dhammena vā saṅghena vā dvepāde vā* រិសត្វជើងពីក្តី *catupāde vā* រិសត្វជើងបួនក្តី *bahupāde vā* រិសត្វជើងច្រើនក្តី *pāṇātipātā*



Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

នូវបានសម្លាប់អាយុជីវិតគេក្តី *adinnādānā* នូវបានលួចទ្រព្យគេក្តី *kāmesu micchācārā* នូវបានលួចភរិយាគេក្តី *surā* ផឹកស្រាហៅ  
ជាបាបធ្ងន់ អ្នកអើយ[ត្រៃលក្ខណ៍] ជាគ្រឿយ ទោសខ្ញុំនោះហើយ ពុំដល់តិចឡើយ *āyatim* ក៏បញ្ចប់អនាគតកាលកន្លងរំលងទៅហើយ  
នៃកម្មដ្ឋាននៃខ្ញុំហោង ។

Translation

**Permit me**, O Venerable! **Whatever evil actions** as for any actions **which I** from when I was still young **toward the virtues of the Buddha** as for the Buddha, who possesses virtues, **towards the virtues of the Dhamma** as for the Dhamma, which possesses virtues, **toward the virtues of the Sangha, which have arisen, by this, or by the Buddha, or by the Dhamma, or by the Sangha, in regards to bipeds** as for bipeds, **in regards to quadrupeds** as for quadrupeds, **or in regards to many-footed creatures** as for many-footed creatures, **killing of living beings** with regards to having slain the lives of others, **taking what is not given** with regards to having stolen the property of others, **sexual misconduct** with regards to having stolen others’ wives, **alcohol** drinking alcohol is a grave sin. O good people, the Three Marks are the far shore. As for my faults, may they not have any effect at all **in the future** and may they cease in the future, completely passed over in my *kammatthāna*.

**Yaṃ dunnimittam ca/yaṃ dunnimittam ca samrāy-r**  
Stanzas beginning with “Any bad omen,” bilingual version

Pali verse, three stanzas, non-canonical, syntactically rearranged.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18th–19th centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 8a

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of non-canonical stanzas petitioning the Three Jewels to destroy various bad omens.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB070**

*yadunnimittamca* រឿនីមីតដួរអាត្រកឯណាម្យ *avamaṅgulam* ជាអព្ពមង្គល *yo sadoca* រឿសំឡេងឯណារម្យក្លឹយ *sakuṇassa* នៃសត្វ  
បាក្សីយ *amanāpo* ពុំបានជាឡើងម្រេកត្រេកចិត *pāpaggaho* បើរនឹងស្តាប់នឹងកានយកហៅជារល្មក *dusupinam* រឿយុលសព្វជានីមីត  
ជួរ *vinassamentu* ចូរឲ្យអន្តរាស្សទៅ *buddhānubhāvena* ត្បោអនុភាពព្រះពុទ្ធដជារអំម្ចាស *akantam* ត្បោមែនពិត  
*dhammānubhāvena* ត្បោអនុភាពព្រះធម្មគុនដជារអំម្ចាស *akantam* ត្បោមែនពិត *samghānubhāvena* ត្បោអនុភាពព្រះស  
បិគុន ដជារអំម្ចាស្ស *akantam* ត្បោមែនពិត ជានសំផ្លែប ត្រៃចចប់បបូរហោង ។ ១ ។

Standardized edition of the Pali

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

*yaṃ dunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*buddhānubhāvena vināsaṃ* by the power of the Buddha, may they be destroyed.

*yaṃ dunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*dhammānubhāvena vināsaṃ* by the power of the Dhamma, may they be destroyed.

*yaṃ dunnimittaṃ avamaṅgalañca* Any bad omen, inauspicious sign,  
*yo cāmanāpo sakuṇassa saddo* disagreeable sound of a bird,  
*pāpaggaho dussupinaṃ akantaṃ* malevolent planet, or ominous nightmare—  
*saṅghānubhāvena vināsaṃ* by the power of the Sangha, may they be destroyed.

Translation

**any bad omen** as for any bad omen **inauspicious sign** that is an inauspicious sign **and any sound** and as for any sound **of a bird** of a bird **that is disagreeable** that is disagreeable to the mind **malevolent planet** if one should listen to it, pay attention to it, and call it repulsive **nightmare** as for a dream that is a vile portent **may they be destroyed** may they be destroyed **by the power of the Buddha** by the power of the Buddha, the Lord **ominous** truly **by the power of the Dhamma** by the power of the virtues of the Dhamma, the Lord **unpleasant** truly **by the power of the Sangha** by the power of the virtues of the Dhamma, the Lord **unpleasant** truly

**Ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā/ye keci khuddakā pāṇā-gāthā samrāy-r**

Stanzas beginning with “Any and all breathing beings, be they small,” bilingual version

Pali mixed verse and prose, non-canonical.

Interwoven translation in Khmer prose, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB070** 2a–3a jruoc dīk vīlā e brīk

Khmer books: [Pali only]

Thai books: [Pali only]

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of non-canonical stanzas for dedicating merit to beings we may have killed in our carelessness, then a prayer extending friendliness to all

beings, and finally a petition that those in the hells be liberated and those in the heavens develop further.

Diplomatic transcription from **UB070**

*yekeci* វិសត្ថឯណា *uddakā* តូចក្តី *pāṇā* វិសត្ថផង *mahantāpi* សូម្បីទ្ធិមក្តីយ *mayāhantā* គឺអញបានសំលាប់ *yenakārenapamādena* ត្បោនៅការប្រមាទឯណា *kāyavāccā* ត្បោខ្លួនត្បោពាក *manehi* ត្បោចិត្តក្តី *vā* ម្បសោត *puññam* រឺបុន *me* នៃអញ *anumodantu* ចូរ  
អនុមោទ្ធនា *gaṇhantu* ចូរមកទទួលយក *phalamuttamaṃ* នៅផលខ្ពស់ម *verāno* រឺពៀរនៃយើង *te* ប្រតៅ *pamuñcantu* ឲ្យល្អោះទុក  
*sabbadosaṃ* រឺទ្បោទ្បាប្បូង *khamantu* ចូរអត្ត *no* នៃយើង *sabbesatta* រឺសត្វផងទ្បាហ្ស *sabbepāṇā* តមានតង្កើមទ្បាពួង *sabbebhūtā*  
នៅតូតទ្បាប្បូង *sabbepugalā* នៅស្បបុគុលទ្បាប្បូង *sabbadevā* នៅស្បទេវតាទ្បាពួង *avirāhontu* កុំបីមានពៀររឺវាហ *sukhitāhontu* ចូ  
រមានសុក *nidukhā* កុំបីមានទុក *hontuābyāpajāhontu* កុំបីចង់ទ្បោនឹងសត្វ *anighāhontu* កុំបីបៀតបៀនគ្នា *dighāyukāhontu* ឲ្យ  
មានអយុះយិន *arogāhontu* កុំបីមានរោគ្យ *sampatisamijjhanta* ឲ្យសំរឺទ្បោនៅសំម្បាត្ត *sukhiattānaṃ* ជាសុកនៃអត្តា  
*pariharantu* បប្រសើដ្ឋត្រៀ វិ

*yadihinagatothāne* ទោះយោប្បិទៅកើតពួតស្ថានហិនថ្យ *kāyaduccaritenavā* ត្បោនៅអំពើកាយ្យទុច្ចរិតក្នានោះ *imināpuññatejēna*  
ហែតដេដ្ឋះបុនផលនេះ *tamhā thānā* អំពៀសាប្បស្ថានទ្បាស *pamuñcatu* ចូរឲ្យល្អោះទុកៗ *yadidevapureramme* ទោះយោប្បិទៅកើ  
តនាស្ថានសួរទេវលោក *vimāne* លើក្បីមាន *ratnana* សីដរត្ត *sobhite* ដល្អប្រពៀរ *imināpuññatejēna* រឺដេដ្ឋះបុននេះ *bhīyo* ម្បសាត្រៃ  
យ *bhīyo* ដូម្បសារ *sopavattathati* កូចំម្រើនជូនទៅអ្នកនោះ នេះជ្រួចទឹករឺលាឯព្រឹក វិ

Standardized edition of the Pali

*ye keci khuddakā pāṇā*  
*mahantāpi mayā hatā*  
*ye cāneke pamādena*  
*kāyavācāmaneh'eva*  
*puññam me anumodantu*  
*gaṇhantu phalam uttamaṃ*  
*verā no ce pamuñcantu*  
*sabbadosaṃ khamantu no*

*sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe puggalā sabbe devā averā hontu sukhitā hontu niddukkhā hontu abyāpajjā hontu anighā*  
*hontu dighāyukā hontu arogā hontu sampattiṃ samijjhantu sukhi attānaṃ pariharantu.*

*yadi hīnagato thāne*  
*kāyaduccaritena vā*  
*iminā puññatejēna*  
*tamhā thānā pamuñcatu*

*yadi devapure ramme*  
*vimāne ratanasobhite*  
*iminā puññatejēna*

*bhiyyo bhiyyo pavattati*

Partial translation of opening excerpt

**any and all** as for any living being **be they small** whether small **breathing beings** as for all living beings **or even if great** even if great **have been killed by me** whom I have killed **by whatever forms of carelessness** by whatever carelessness **body, speech** through body, through speech **through mind** or through mind **or** on the other hand **merit** as for the merit **belonging to me** belonging to me **may they rejoice** may they rejoice **may they receive** may they receive **the highest fruit** the highest fruit **the enmities belonging to me** the enmities belonging to me **all these** instruct **may they be released** [may they be/to be] released from suffering **all faults** as for all faults **may they be absolved** may they be absolved **belonging to us** belonging to us.

**Saraṇadīpikā-gāthā/saraṇadīpikā-gāthā samrāy-r**  
Stanzas explaining refuge, bilingual version

Pali verse, *Dhammapada* 14.10–14.14.

Translation into Khmer prose, 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB045** 16a–17a saraṇadīpikā-gāthā

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of canonical stanzas from the *Dhammapada* on how the refuge of the Three Jewels are true, stable refuges that can eliminate all suffering.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB045**

*bahuṃ ve saraṇaṃ yanti pabbatāni vanāni ca āramarukkhacetyāni manussā bhayatajjitā.* មនុស្សទាំងឡាយមានចំនួនច្រើន  
កាលក៏យក្របសង្កត់ហើយតែងយកក្នុងទាំងឡាយខ្លះ ព្រៃទាំងឡាយខ្លះ អាវាមនិងដើមឈើ ដែលជាចេតិយ៍ទាំងឡាយខ្លះ ជាទីពឹង  
*netam kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ netam saraṇamuttam netam saraṇamāgama sabbadukkhā pamuñcati* ទីពឹងនោះឯង មិនមែន  
ជាទីពឹងដ៏ក្សេមក្សាយទីពឹងនោះ មិនមែនជាទីពឹងដ៏ឧត្តម បុគ្គលមិនដែលរួចស្រឡះចាកទុកទាំងពួងបាន  
ព្រោះអាស្រ័យនូវទីពឹងនោះទេ ។

*yo ca buddhaṃ ca dhammaṃ ca saṅghaṃ ca saraṇaṃgato, cattāri ariyasaccāni sammappaṇiṅkāya passati, dukkhaṃ  
dukkhasamuppādaṃ dukkhasa atikkamaṃ, ariyañcaṭṭhaṅkikamaṃ maggaṃ dukkhūpasamaḡāminam* បុគ្គលឯណាមួយបានដ  
ល់នូវព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ ជាទីពឹងទីរលឹក ហើយឃើញនូវអរិយសច្ចៈទាំង ៤ គឺសេចក្តីទុក្ខ ១ សមុទ័យ ជាដែនកើតឡើងព្រម  
នៃសេចក្តីទុក្ខ ១ និរោធជាទីកន្លែងបង់នូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខ មគ្គមានអង្គ៨ដ៏ប្រសើរ ដែលញ៉ាំងសត្វឱ្យដល់នូវព្រះនិព្វាន ជាឋានរម្ងាប់បង់  
នូវសេចក្តីទុក្ខ ដោយប្រាជ្ញាដ៏ត្រូវ *etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ etaṃ saraṇamuttamaṃ etaṃ saraṇamāgama sabbadukkhā*

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

*pamuccati* ទីពឹងនុះឯង ជាទីពឹងដ៏ក្សេម ទីពឹង នុះ ជាទីពឹងដ៏ឧត្តម (របស់បុគ្គលនោះ) រមែងរួចស្រឡះចាកទុក្ខទាំងពួង ព្រោះ  
អាស្រ័យនូវទីពឹងនោះឯង ។

« ចប់សរណទីបិកាតាថា តែប៉ុណ្ណោះ »

Standardized edition of the Pali

*bahum ve saraṇaṃ yanti  
pabbatāni vanāni ca  
ārāmarukkhacetyāni  
manussā bhayatajjitā.*

*netam kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ  
netam saraṇamuttamaṃ  
netam saraṇamāgama  
sabbadukkhā pamuccati.*

*yo ca buddhañ ca dhammañ ca  
saṅghañca saraṇaṃ gato  
cattāri ariyasaccāni  
sammappaññāya passati.*

*dukkhaṃ dukkhasamuppādaṃ  
dukkhassa ca atikkamaṃ  
ariyaṃ caṭṭhaṅgikaṃ maggaṃ  
dukkhūpasamagāminam.*

*etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ khemaṃ  
etaṃ saraṇamuttamaṃ  
etaṃ saraṇamāgama  
sabbadukkhā pamuccati.*

**Smā lā dos pāpakamm/smā lā dos pāpakamm-r**

Absolution of faults and sinful karma, bilingual version

Pali prose, non-canonical.

Expanded translation into Khmer, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB068** 27b–30b smā lā doḥ pāpakamm<sup>o</sup>

Summary: Bilingual Khmer and Pali text for repenting and taking leave of sinful actions when guiding the “journey of the person [from this life to the next],” beginning with a Pali text for the repentance of faults. The rest of the text is in Khmer, and begins with an offering to all buddhas, petitions for the five buddhas to pacify unskillful karma, then a taking leave of all faults and sins committed against the Three Jewels, deities, and all manner of human beings and animals, and finally a vow to practice all the way until Nibbāna and a petition for the Three Jewels to cut off any unskillful karma.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB068**

សិទ្ធិការនេះនឹងស្រដៀង អ្នកគួរធ្វើជាយោគី និងរៀបឲ្យតម្កើរបុគ្គល ម្សសោត្តថាបើរដំរើនោះឈើលំម្អាក់ណា ក្រែងមានក្នុងរៀនោះ ឲ្យស្លូតស្កាលាទោះ បាបក្នុងនោះថាគួរឆ្លុះ។។ ukāssa ajja yo no me bhante ajjaggamā yathābāle yathāmūlhe yathākusalam  
yenamayam duththacittāpamāddapamāddacitā ravaapp..... tumhesukāyyenavāccā manussāpamā  
dakaramahātesunobhante ajjayam ajjayanto pattiganhatha sabbadossamkhamantunooyantim bhante samvarayāthasācasā  
ttanattaye garugāravapanācamahā kusalacettanāamhā kamdiḅharattammahitāsukkhāyyayāvamagganibbānam  
pariyosanāy. attitāmanāgatam paccapanammedossam verākāmmamāpāpasabbam upphajantunoāhosikkammam  
samvarotiyodosomoha ci ttenabuddasmimdhammasmimsamḅghamsim gūrūupphajjhāaccāriyosmim  
mātāpitāsmimbriksādeva bhūmmadevā akāmsadevāsahassakotti asamkhaiyyamanantacakravālepakato.  
kāyyakammamvicikammam attitāmmep[d?]ossamkhamhāmiham pābbalobbho pāppadoso pāppamoho pāppaccoro  
pāppacakkhu pāppasottā pāppaghanā pāpa jivihā pāppakāy”ā pāppacitā pāppa-assatthā pāppa-unā pāppapānādipāti  
pāppaadinā pāppakammesumicchācar”ā pāppamusāvādā pāppasurāmerayyamajapamādathānā pāppasamghādiseso  
pāppapānāyikā pāppamedhunamdhammam sabbapāpam sabbakāmmam vīnāsanti asesato. ឧកាស្សខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណា សូមថ្វាយ  
ក្បសន្តានចិត្តសន្តានជីវិត ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធជាអំប្លោះទ្រាំហ្ស ព្រះអង្គចូលនិព្វានកន្លងរម្ងងទៅហើយច្រើនលើចងដៀរខ្សែច្រាំង ៤ ស្រមុត្ត  
សត្តន្តិ ព្រះវិទ្យសូមព្រះអង្គមកក្នុង នូវលើសិរិសាត្តងចិត្ត សូមមានវិជ្ជា អនុភាពរម្ងាប់ស្រអុកុសលក្នុង។ ឧកាស្សខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមអរ  
ទូនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះកុក្កសន្ធា រក្សាធាតុទិក១២ គុនព្រះមាតា ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមអរទូនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះកោនាគ្គម្មនោ រក្សាធាត្តិ ២១ គុន  
ព្រះបិតា ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមអរទូនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះកស្សបោរពុទ្ធា រក្សាធាតុភ្លើងទ្រាំ ៦ គុនរាជ្ជាជីវាជ ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណា សូមអរទូនា ព្រះ  
ពុទ្ធព្រះសិរិសាខ្សែមន្យ គោតម្មបរម្មនាដ្ឋ រក្សាធាតុខ្យល់ទ្រាំ៧គុនញា  
ត្តិការ ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណា សូមអរទូនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះសិរិសាខ្សែមន្យ.....រក្សាធាតុអាកាស ១០ គុនគ្រូវឌ្ឍប្បដ្ឋាអាចារិយោ គឺវគ្គនិព្វានសូម  
ជាទីពឹងព្រះអង្គ ខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមអរទូនា អនុមោទនាគុនបុនព្រះពុទ្ធទ្រាំ ៥ ព្រះអង្គសាងព្រះបរម្មទ្រាំ ៣០ ទាត្រមកសំចិត្តលើសិរិ សា  
សូមមានវិជ្ជាអនុភាព រម្ងាប់ស្រអុកុសលក្នុងនូវសត្រូវទ្រាំ ១០ ឡើយសូមឱ្យអន្តរា វិនាសន្តិ វិនាសន្តិ វិនាសន្តិ វិនាសន្តិ វិនាសន្តិ វិនាសន្តិ  
លាទេ ឲ្យបាបនូវក្នុងអំពើសហស្សកោតិ អាសខ្សែអន្តរាដ្ឋាត្តិសង្ស ក្រែងបានប្រមាត្តត្រូវនូវកាយក្នុង វិចិត្ត មនោក្នុងសូមស្នាលា  
ទេ ឲ្យបាបនូវក្នុងក្រែងបានប្រមាត្តព្រះពុទ្ធគឺជាអំប្លោះ ព្រះធម្មត្តិជាអំប្លោះ ព្រះសិរិសាជាអំប្លោះ នូវគ្រូវឌ្ឍប្បដ្ឋា អាចារិយោមាតាបិតា ខ្ញុំ  
ព្រះកូរណាសូមស្នាលាទេ ឲ្យបាបនូវក្នុងក្រែងបានប្រមាត្ត ព្រះមហាឱរត្រាធ្វើរាជនូវអ្នកប្រាជ្ញរាជ្ជមុនិត ក្រែងបានប្រមាត្ត ឲ្យទេវតាឥន្ទ  
ព្រមយំមុកាល ចិត្តលោក្ខបាលព្រះអំប្រិតិយ្យ នូវព្រះគុដ្ឋារមហាប្រថុញ អាគីព្រះព្យាព្រះកំរុនព្រះព្យាស្រប ព្រះអាទិត្តព្រះចន្ទនូវអ្នក  
ត្រូវមានសិលអ្នកព្រះព្រិធ្វាចារិយខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមស្នាលាទេ ឲ្យបាបនូវក្នុងក្រែងបានធ្វើទុកសត្វព័ហុបាទ្តាចត្តបាទ្តា ធ្វើបាទ្តា នត្តិបាទ្តា  
មធ្យកត្តាខ្ញុំព្រះកូរណាសូមតម្កើនចម្រើនមេតាការីនា ផែផលបុនគុនជូនទៅឱ្យបានមគ្គផល ឱ្យបានតល់សំម្បាត្តិទ្រាំ ៣ ប្រការ ទៀងទាត្ត  
ត្រីរាបលុះ

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

តល់នីព្វាន [crossed out ហោង] ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាមទូនា ព្រះពុទ្ធគឺជាអំម្លោះ ព្រះធីតជាអំម្លោះ ព្រះសង្កត់ជាអំម្លោះ មកជាព្រះ  
ខន្ធទិព្វថ្ងៃ មកក្តីស្រឡាត់ស្រឡាយសុខសុភមង្គលក្តីប្រើប្រាស់ជាតិក្តី ក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នជាតិនេះក្តី អាណាគុត្តទៅវង់ភ្នែកនោះក្តី ត្រូវប្រៀបដូចលុះព្រះនីព្វាន  
ហោង...នេះឲ្យសូត្រស្រាវជ្រាវ សូមស្មោះទោះ.....ស្រ្តី.....នោះហោង ។។

Standardized edition

សិទ្ធិការពារនេះនឹងស្រដៀងអ្នកគួរធ្វើជាយោគី នឹងរៀបឲ្យដំណើរបុគ្គល មួយសោតថាបើដើម្បីនោះឈឺលំបាកណាស់ក្រែងមានកម្មពៀរ  
នោះឲ្យសូត្រស្រាវជ្រាវទោសបាបកម្មនោះថាដូច្នោះ ៖

*ukāsa accayo no bhante accagamā yathābāle yathāmūlhe yathā-akusale yena mayam dutthacittā pamādacittā... tumhesu  
kāyena vācā manasā pamādakaramahā tesu no bhante accayam accayato paṭigganḥatha sabbadosam khamantu no āyatim  
bhante samvarāya [or samvarayātha] sāce sā ratanattaye garugārava [illegible] kusalacetanā amhākaṃ dīgharattam  
hitāya sukhāya yāva magganibbānam pariyoṣonāya.*

*ukāsa accayo no bhante accagamā yathābāle yathāmūlhe yathā-akusale yena mayam dutthacittā pamādacittā [illegible]  
tumhesu kāyena vācā manasā pamādakaramahā tesu no bhante accayam accayato paṭigganḥatha sabbadosam khamantu  
no āyatim bhante samvarāya [illegible] ratanattaye garugārava [illegible] kusalacetanā amhākaṃ dīgharattam hitāya  
sukhāya yāva magganibbānam pariyoṣonāya.*

*atītam anāgataṃ paṇcuppannam me dosaṃ verā kammaṃ pāpaṃ sabbam uppañantu no āhosikammaṃ samvaroti.*

*yo doso mohacittena buddhasmiṃ dhammasmiṃ saṅghasmiṃ garūpaññāyācāriyasmiṃ mātāpitāsmiṃ vrikṣādeva-  
bhummadeva-ākāsadeva-sahassakoṭi-asamkheyyam anantacakkavāle pakato.*

*kāyakkammaṃ vacīkkammaṃ atītam me dosaṃ khamāmi 'ham.*

*pāpalobho pāpadoso pāpamoho pāpacoro pāpacakkhu pāpasotā pāpaganā pāpajivhā pāpakāyā pāppacittā pāpasatthā  
pāppaunā pāpapānātipātā pāpādinā pāpakammesu-micchācārā pāpamusāvādā pāpasurāmerayyamajjappamādatthānā  
pāpasāṅghādiseso pāpapārājikā pāpamedhunadhammam sabbapāpaṃ sabbakammaṃ vinassanti asesato.*

*ukāsa* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមថ្វាយកាយសន្តានចិត្តសន្តានជីវិតទៅព្រះពុទ្ធជាអម្ចាស់ទាំងឡាយ ព្រះអង្គចូលនិព្វានកន្លងរំលងទៅហើយ  
ច្រើនលើសជាងដីខ្សាច់ទាំង ៤ សមុទ្រ សុត្តន្ត ព្រះវិន័យ សូមព្រះអង្គមកតាំងនៅលើសិរសាដូចចិត្ត សូមមានប្រទ្ធិអាណាព្វាសាម្លប់អស់  
អកុសលកម្ម ។

*ukāsa* ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាមនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះ *kakusandho* រក្សាជាតុទឹក ១២ គុណព្រះមាតា  
ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាមនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះ *konāgamana* រក្សាជាតុដី ២១ គុណព្រះបិតា  
ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាមនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះ *kassapo buddho* រក្សាជាតុភ្លើងទាំង ៦ គុណរាជាធិរាជ  
ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា សូមអារាមនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះ *sirīākyamuni gotama paramanātha* រក្សាជាតុខ្យល់ទាំង ៧ គុណញាតិការ  
ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា សូមអារាមនាព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះ *sī-ārya-metṛīyo* រក្សាជាតុអាកាស ១០ គុណគ្រូឧបជ្ឈាយ័អាចារិយោ  
គឺគុណនិព្វានសូមជាទីពឹងពំនាក់ ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាមនាអនុមោទនាគុណបុណ្យព្រះពុទ្ធទាំង ៥ ព្រះអង្គសាងព្រះបារមីទាំង ៣០  
ទ័ត មកសណ្ឋិតលើសិរសា សូមមានប្រទ្ធិអាណាព្វាសាម្លប់អស់អកុសលកម្មនូវសត្រូវទាំង ១០ ទិសសូមឲ្យអន្តរាយ *vinassanti asesato* ។

Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

ukāsa ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមស្នាលាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្មអំព្យសហស្សកោដិអស់ខេយ្យអនន្តជាតិសង្សារ ក្រែងបានប្រមាទដោយនូវកាយ  
កម្ម វចិកម្ម មនោកម្ម

សូមស្នាលាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្ម ក្រែងបានប្រមាទព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះធម៌ដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះសង្ឃដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ នូវគ្រូឧប្បជ្ឈាយ័  
អាចារិយោ មាតាបិតា

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមស្នាលាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្ម ក្រែងបានប្រមាទព្រះមហាក្សត្រាធិរាជនូវអ្នកប្រាជ្ញរាជបណ្ឌិត ក្រែងបានប្រមាទអស់  
ទេវតាឥន្ទ្រហឫយមបាលចតុលោកបាលព្រះអម្រិត្យនូវព្រះគង្គាមហាប្រថពិ អគ្គីព្រះពាយព្រះកិរុណាព្រះពៃស្រពណ៍ ព្រះអាទិ  
ត្យព្រះចន្ទនូវអ្នកតង្គីមានសីលអ្នកចាស់ព្រឹទ្ធាចារ្យ

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមស្នាលាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្ម ក្រែងបានធ្វើទុក្ខសត្វពហុបាទា ចតុបាទា ទ្វេបាទា នត្តិបាទា មច្ឆមច្ឆ

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូត្រមុនចម្រើនមេត្តាការវនា ផែផលបុណ្យគុណជូនទៅឲ្យបានមគ្គផល ឲ្យបានដល់សម្បត្តិទាំង ៣ ប្រការ ទៀងទាត់  
ដរាបលុះដល់និព្វានហោង ។

ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណាសូមអារាធនា ព្រះពុទ្ធដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះធម៌ដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ ព្រះសង្ឃដ៏ជាអម្ចាស់ មកជាព្រះខ័នទិព្វថ្ងៃ មកកាត់អស់  
អកុសលកម្មពីបរមជាតិក្តី ក្នុងបច្ចុប្បន្នជាតិនេះក្តី អនាគតទៅឯភ្នែកនោះក្តី ដរាបរៀងរួចលុះព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។

នេះឲ្យសូត្រឥតដី សូមស្នាលាទោស.....អស់.....[បាបនូវកម្ម].....នោះហោង ។។។

នេះឲ្យសូត្រឥតដី សូមស្នាលាទោសអស់បាបនូវកម្មនោះហោង ។។។

Partial Translation

Success (*siddhikāry*)! This is an explanation about what a person who is suited to be a funerary priest (*yogī*) should do to prepare for the “journey of the person [from this life to the next]” (*taṃṇōr puggal*). For one, if the person is suffering from severe illness and there is concern that hostile karma is involved, then you should recite the “Absolution of Faults and Sinful Karma” (*smā lā dos pāpakamm*) as follows:

*May all of my past, present, and future faults, enmities, and sins become inert and restrained.*

*Whatever fault—with regards to the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Sangha, masters, preceptors, teachers, parents, and thousands of myriads of uncountables of tree deities, soil deities, and sky deities across the limitless universe—has been committed by me in a mind state of confusion, I forgive myself for that committed fault of past bodily or verbal action.*

*Pāpa due to greed, pāpa due to anger, pāpa due to ignorance, pāpa of the eyes, pāpa of the ears, pāpa of the nose, pāpa of the tongue, pāpa of the body, pāpa of the mind, pāpa with regards to a bodhi tree, pāpa with regards to [the Buddha’s] unna, pāpa from killing living beings, pāpa from stealing, pāpa from sexual misconduct, pāpa from lying, pāpa from drinking intoxicants, pāpa from [violating the Vinaya rules that require] a meeting of the Sangha, pāpa from [violating the*



Appendix II-7 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *rāy* prose (-r)

*Vinaya rules that merit] defeat, pāpa from [violating the first rule meriting defeat for monastics, i.e.] engaging in sexual intercourse, all pāpa, all karma—may they be eradicated without remainder.*

Permit me! I, servant of your grace, humbly offer my body, my mind-stream, and my life-stream to all of the Lord Buddhas, who have already entered Nibbāna in numbers greater than the sands of the four oceans... May the Lords be established upon my head and in my heart. May their power and influence pacify all unskillful karma.

[skipped section in Khmer on inviting the five buddhas and their associated five elements and five *guṇa* (mother, father, king, kin, and preceptor), and praying that their power may vanquish all sinful karma and enemies in the ten directions]

Permit me! I, servant of your grace, humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of my faults and all sinful karma from one thousand myriads of uncountable eons in infinite saṃsāra, lest I have been negligent in bodily karma, verbal karma, and mental karma.

I humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of faults and all sins and karma, lest I have been negligent with regards to the Lord Buddha, the Lord Dharma, and the Lord Saṅgha, or my preceptors, teachers, and parents.

[skipped section in Khmer asking for absolution and taking leave of faults with regards to the king, wise men, Indra, Brahma, Yama, the Four Great Kings, Death, Water, Earth, Fire, Wind, Rain, Vaiśravaṇa, the Sun, the Moon, virtuous persons, and the elderly]

I humbly ask to be absolved and take leave of faults and all sins and karma, lest I have made animals suffer, including quadrupeds, bipeds, footless creatures, and fish.

I, servant of your grace, chant protective texts and cultivate the meditation on goodwill, spreading out the fruits of the merit and virtue so as to attain the paths and the fruits, and to surely attain the triple treasures for all time, all the way until Nibbāna.

I, servant of your grace, humbly invite the Lord Buddha, the Lord Dharma, and the Lord Saṅgha to come serve as the precious divine sword that cuts through all unskillful karma from former lives, from the present life, and from future lives to come, all the way until the attainment of Nibbāna.

Recite this nine times. May this absolve faults, all sins, and karma.

## II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagīti* verse (-br)

**Cetiyaṅgala-gāthā/cetiyaṅgala-gāthā samrāy-br** (1)

**Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br** (1)

**Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br** (1)

**Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br** (1)

### **Cetiyaṅgala-gāthā/cetiyaṅgala-gāthā samrāy-br**

Stanzas in homage of cetiyas, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 1 stanza, likely composed in Sri Lanka.

Translation into Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, composed in Cambodia, 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB044** 76a–76b namaskār pūjanīyavatthu jā dī gorab

Khmer books: Som Suvaṇṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṅ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាយបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប្រាំស្នួរ, 1966), 4–5.

Summary: Pays homage to all of the cetiyas, relics, bodhi trees, and buddha images, and petitions for boons from such worship.

Corrected edition	Translation
<p>1  <i>vandāmi cetiyaṃ sabbaṃ  sabbatthānesu patitthitaṃ  sāṅgikadhātumahābodhiṃ  buddharūpaṃ sakalaṃ sadā.</i></p> <p>១  ខ្ញុំសូមថ្វាយបង្គំ  ឆ្ពោះព្រះបរមមរិចតិយ៍  ព្រមទាំងព្រះសារី  រិក្ខតុនៃព្រះពុទ្ធ ។</p> <p>២</p>	<p>1  <i>I bow to all the cetiyas  well-established in all places:  and to all the relics, Bodhi trees,  and buddha images for all time.</i></p> <p>1  I humbly bow down  to the great <i>cetiyas</i>—  all of the bodily  relics of the Buddha</p> <p>2</p>

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

និងមហាពោធិព្រឹក្ស	and the Bodhi tree,
ដែលគូរើកដោយលំអុត	to be held in respect,
លំអោនចិត្តបរិសុទ្ធ	bowing with mind pure,
លើកកំបង់អញ្ចលី ។	with palms pressed together;
៣	3
និងព្រះពុទ្ធរូប	and to images
តំណាងអង្គព្រះមុនី	of the Buddha, the Sage,
ដែលស្ថិតនៅគ្រប់ទី	found in every place
ស្ថាននានានោះទាំងអស់ ។	throughout the universe.
៤	4
ដោយគេជះនៃគុណ	By the might of the
ព្រះមានបុណ្យប្រសើរខ្ពស់	virtue of the Blessed Lord,
ដែលតែងតែរំលោះ	who always frees us
រំដោះទុក្ខភ័យអន្តរាយ ។	from pain, fear, and danger,
៥	5
សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបានសុខ	may I be well and
ឃ្នាតចាក(ទុក្ខ/ផុត)ផងទាំងឡាយ	free from all suffering;
សត្រូវទោះជិតឆ្ងាយ	enemies far and near—
សូមឱ្យក្លាយមកជាមិត្ត ។	may they all become friends;
៦	6
សូមទាន់ព្រះអរិ-	may I meet Ārya-
យមេត្រីយថ្ងៃវិសិដ្ឋ	Maitreya, most precious,
សូមបានឃើញធម៌ពិត	and see the Dharma—
សមដូចចិត្តប្រាថ្នាហោង ។	may my wishes come true!

**Jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā/jayamaṅgala-aṭṭha-gāthā samrāy-br**

Stanzas on the eight victories, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 9 stanzas, composed in Sri Lanka, 9th–12th century.

Translation into Khmer verse, 36 stanzas in *brahmagāthi*, composed by Suttantapriyā Ind, early 20th century.

Leporello: **UB045** 90a–94a buddhajayamaṅgal prè jā bāky kāby

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāti* verse (-br)

Khmer books: Suttantapriyā សុត្តន្តប្រដា Ind ឥន្ទ, “Dharm buddhajāyamaṅgal ធម៌ពុទ្ធជ័យមង្គល,” *Kambuja Suriya កម្ពុជសុរិយា* 1 (1926–1927): 29–33.

Edition and French translation: San Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 197–209.

Summary: Description of the eight great victories of the Buddha over various beings, with each verse concluding with a prayer for the blessings of that victory to reach the audience, and with the final stanza describing the benefits of reciting this text.

Edition and translation of Pali stanzas 1 and 9, along with Khmer stanzas 1–4 and 33–36.

Standardized	Translation
1	1
<i>bāhuṃ sahaṣṣam</i>	<i>Thousand-armed, complete with emanated weapons</i>
<i>abhinimmitasāvudhan taṃ</i>	
<i>grīmekhalaṃ uditaghorasenaṃ nāraṃ</i>	<i>and Grīmekhala, of fearsome sound, together with his armies, that Māra</i>
<i>dānādīdhammavidhinā jītaṃ</i>	<i>was defeated by the Lord of the Sages by means of the Dhamma, foremost</i>
<i>munindo</i>	<i>by giving</i>
<i>taṃ tejasā bhavatu te jayamaṅgalāni.</i>	<i>By the power of this, may the blessings of victory be upon you.</i>
១	1
ព្រះមុនិន្ទលោកាចារ្យ	The Lord of the Sages, Teacher of the Worlds,
ផ្កាញ់គ្រងមារចិត្តមោហន្ទ	defeated King Māra, whose heart was darkened by delusion,
និម្មិតដៃមួយពាន់	who emanated one thousand arms
កាន់សស្ត្រាវុធនានា ។	each wielding various weapons,
២	2
ជិះគ្រឿមខ្នងជាតិ	who rode astride Grīmekhala,
កោញនាទខ្នុរពសុជា	whose trumpeting shook the earth,
ព្រមដោយមារសេនា	who was accompanied by his armies,
ពន្លឺកលន់កងស័ព្ទស៊ាន ។	clamouring with thundering sounds.
៣	3
ដោយធម្មពិធី	By means of the Dhamma,
ទានបារមីជាប្រធាន	with the perfection of giving at the helm,
គ្រងមារចាញ់ទ្រង់ញាណ	King Mara was defeated by the Omniscient One
ប្រណម្យកាយថ្វាយរន្ទា ។	and bowed down low in obeisance.
៤	4
រឺជ័យមង្គល	As for the blessings of victory,

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

ចូរមានដល់អ្នករាល់គ្នា  
ដោយតេជះជយា  
ព្រះឈ្នះមារត្រានោះហោង ។

may they come to all of you  
by the force of the victory  
of the Lord who then vanquished Māra.

9

*etāpi buddhajayamaṅgala-atthagāthā*

9

*These are the eight verses of the blessings of the victories of the Buddha.*

*yo vācano dinadine sarate-m-atandī  
hitvānānekavivīdhāni c'upaddavāni  
mokkhaṃ sukhaṃ adhigameyya naro  
sapaññīo.*

*An intelligent and diligent person who recites and recalls them daily  
eradicates all manner of calamities  
and achieves blissful liberation.*

ព្យា

33

*yo naro* ជនឯណា  
កបបញ្ញាស្រាសក្តីខ្ជិល  
ឧស្សាហ៍សាងទាននៃសីល  
សូត្ររំលឹកព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃ ។

*lō naro* — any person  
endowed with intelligence, bereft of laziness,  
who strives to cultivate charity and ethics,  
and recites and recalls the precious Dharma

ព្យា

34

គាថាប្រាំបីបទនេះ  
កំណត់ឈ្មោះពុទ្ធជ័យ  
ខំសូត្រសព្វៗ ថ្ងៃ  
កើតមង្គលជានិរន្តរ៍ ។

of these eight stanzas of verse  
named “Victories of the Buddha,”  
striving to recite them every day,  
gives rise to blessings forever.

ព្យា

35

*so naro* រឺជននោះ  
បានរដោះរោគអាសន្ន  
ឧបទ្រពអនេកលន័  
មានប្រការផ្សេងៗ ផង ។

*So naro* — as for such a person,  
he is freed from sudden diseases  
and all manner of calamities  
of various kinds,

ព្យា

36

នឹកដល់ធម៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត  
គឺនិព្វានសុខកន្លង  
លែងទុក្ខទាំង៤កង  
ដោយពុទ្ធជ័យមង្គលនេះ ។

and recollects that peaceful Dharma,  
that is, Nibbāna, of surpassing bliss,  
freed from the four types of suffering  
by means of the “Blessings of the Victories of the  
Buddha.”

**Dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā/ dhammadesanāyācana-gāthā samrāy-br**

Stanzas for inviting the preaching of Dhamma, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali prose, two stanzas, the first adapted from the Buddhavaṃsa and the second non-canonical.

Translation into Khmer verse, 17 stanzas in *brahmagāthī*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB069** 21a–22b braṃhm prè

Khmer books: Suos(tī) ស្នូត្តី, *Uposathakathā ឧបោសថកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār M"ī Sukh បណ្ណាគារ ម៉ី សុខ, 1954), 182–84 [excerpt only, originally published in 1915].

Summary: The Buddha being invited to preach the Dharma by Sahampati Brahmā, emphasizing the dire situation of living beings and the simile of the Dharma to a drum whose sound can lead them to Nibbāna, after which the Buddha assents to preach. The text concludes by briefly stating benefits of listening to the Dharma.

Edition

<b>UB069</b>	Kun Sopheap (oral version)	Standardized
<p>1  <i>ukāssa braṃhmacalokkā thippati  sahapati  katañcalī adihvaraṃ āyāce tha  sandhithasattā apāriñcajukkajāttikā  desetudhammaṃ  anukampimampajjaṃ</i></p> <p>១  រឿងព្រម្មដ៍ជាទ្ធំ  ក្រែងលែងស្សព្រម្មនា២  ទើបលុតព្រះដង្ហា  ហត្ថានមស្សការ</p> <p>២  បពិត្រព្រះអង្គើយ  ព្រះគុណ្ណិយសូមមេតា  ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា  សូមព្រះអង្គសម្តែងព្រះធម៌</p>	<p>១  រឿងព្រម្មដ៍ជាទ្ធំ  ក្រែងលែងព្រហ្មផងនានា  ទើបលុតព្រះដង្ហា  លើកហត្ថានមស្សការ ។</p> <p>២  បពិត្រព្រះអង្គើយ  ព្រះគុណអើយសូមមេតា  ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា  ទ្រង់មេត្តាសម្តែងធម៌ ។</p>	<p>1  <i>ukāsa brahmā ca lokādhipati  sahampati  katañjalī an[a]dhivaraṃ āyācatha  sant'īdha sattā 'pparajakkhajāttikā  desetu dhammaṃ anukamp'imaṃ  pajam</i></p> <p>១  រឿងព្រម្មដ៍ជាទ្ធំ  ក្រែងលែងព្រហ្មផងនានា  ទើបលុតព្រះដង្ហា  លើកហត្ថានមស្សការ ។</p> <p>២  បពិត្រព្រះអង្គើយ  ព្រះគុណអើយសូមមេតា  ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា  ទ្រង់ករុណាសម្តែងធម៌ ។</p>

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

៣  
 ល្អិតសត្វទុន្ទីងណារុ  
 ប្រាំព្រះបានត្រាស់នឹងត្រេកអរ  
 នឹងអាណស្តាបព្រះធម៌  
 ហើយនឹងបានរួចចាកទុក  
 ៤  
 ល្អិតស្សសត្វនាម  
 មានអវិជ្ជាពោលក្តីស្តុក[OR ស  
 ដូចធូលីផងស្សីផុក  
 ក៏២ ល្អកជាពនេត្រាវ  
 ៥  
 ព្រោះតែមោហះទ្ធិ  
 មករុំស្រោបរូបកាយ៉ា  
 ឱ្យអាបអន់ប្រាជ្ញា  
 ពុំឱ្យឃើញព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍  
 ៦  
 ដឹងតែងរង្គលដុប  
 ហើយជ្រុលជ្រុបតូចមនុស្សខ្លាក  
 លើលើហើយលំលាត  
 តូចរុន្ទាករិបជាប់ក៏  
 ៧  
 នឹងរកអ្នកទ្វាបិញ្ញាណ  
 មួយមកជួយស្រាយនោះក៏ក្រ  
 មានប៉ុន្តែព្រះធម៌  
 ទើបនឹងមកជួយស្រាយបាន  
 ៨  
 ហេតុនោះព្រះអង្គើយ  
 ព្រះគុណើយសូមព្រោះប្រាណ  
 ល្អិតព្រហ្មខ្ញុំរាប់អាន  
 ចូលមកប្តានអារាមនា  
 ៩  
 ព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃវិសេស  
 លត់កិលេសនិងតណ្ហា  
 និងនាំចិត្តឱ្យជ្រះថ្លា  
 សោមនស្សគ្មានសៅម័ង ។

2

៣  
 ត្សិទសត្វទុន្ទីងណាស់  
 បាំព្រះបានត្រាស់នឹងត្រេកអរ  
 និងបានស្តាប់ព្រះសទ្ធម៌  
 ហើយនឹងក៏រួចចាកទុក្ខ ។  
 ៤  
 ត្សិទអស់សត្វនាម  
 មានអវិជ្ជាពោលគឺលាមក  
 ដូចធូលីផងដីកក់  
 កករល្អក់ជាប់នេត្រា ។  
 ៥  
 ព្រោះតែមោហះធំ  
 មករុំស្រោបរូបកាយ  
 ឱ្យអាបអន់អង្គប្រាជ្ញា  
 ពុំឱ្យឃើញព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ។  
 ៦  
 ដឹងតែងរង្គលដុប  
 ហើយជ្រុលជ្រុបដូចមនុស្សខ្លាក  
 រលើហើយរលាក់  
 ដូចអន្ទាក់រិបជាប់ក ។  
 ៧  
 នឹងរកអ្នកទាំងឡាយណា  
 មួយមកជួយស្រាយនោះក៏ក្រ  
 មានប៉ុន្តែព្រះធម៌  
 ទើបនឹងមកជួយស្រាយបាន ។  
 ៨  
 ហេតុនោះព្រះអង្គើយ  
 ព្រះគុណើយសូមព្រោះប្រាណ  
 ត្សិទព្រហ្មខ្ញុំរាប់អាន  
 ចូលមកប្តានអារាមនា ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃវិសេស  
 លត់កិលេសនិងតណ្ហា  
 និងនាំចិត្តឱ្យជ្រះថ្លា  
 សោមនស្សគ្មានសៅហ្មង ។

2

៣  
 ត្សិទសត្វទុន្ទីងណាស់  
 បាំព្រះបានត្រាស់នឹងត្រេកអរ  
 និងបានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌  
 ហើយនឹងក៏រួចចាកទុក្ខ ។  
 ៤  
 ត្សិទសត្វផងនាម  
 មានអវិជ្ជាពោលគឺលាមក  
 ដូចធូលីផងដីកក់  
 កករល្អក់ជាប់នេត្រា ។  
 ៥  
 ព្រោះតែមោហះធំ  
 មករុំស្រោបរូបកាយ [មករូបរុំជុំកាយា]  
 ឱ្យអាបអន់ប្រាជ្ញា [បាត់បង់អប្បប្រាជ្ញា]  
 ពុំឱ្យឃើញព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ។  
 ៦  
 ដឹងតែងរង្គលដុប  
 ហើយជ្រុលជ្រុបដូចមនុស្សខ្លាក  
 រលើហើយរលាក់  
 ដូចអន្ទាក់រិបជាប់ក [ដូចអន្ទាក់ធ្លាក់រឹតត] ។  
 ៧  
 នឹងរកអ្នកណាមួយ  
 នឹងមកជួយស្រាយក៏ក្រ  
 មានប៉ុន្តែព្រះសទ្ធម៌  
 ទើបនឹងមកជួយស្រាយបាន ។  
 ៨  
 ហេតុនោះព្រះអង្គើយ  
 ព្រះគុណើយសូមព្រោះប្រាណ  
 ត្សិទព្រហ្មខ្ញុំរាប់អាន  
 ចូលមកប្តានអារាមនា ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះធម៌ថ្ងៃវិសេស  
 លត់កិលេសនិងតណ្ហា  
 នាំចិត្តឱ្យជ្រះថ្លា  
 សោមនស្សគ្មានសៅហ្មង ។

2

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāṭi* verse (-br)

*sudhammabhiriṅṅaṅkaṅkāyāyaṃ*  
*sutaṅkacabandham.* ព្រះវិន័យព្រះសូ  
 តព្រះអង្គិធម្ម័ *majchimam*  
*akocayantora catasajjadandam*  
*pubbodhaniye purisāyāyama jjihe*

១០  
 ព្រះធម៌នេះទុកជាស្តីវ  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរគីកកង  
 លាន់ពួឡើងរំពង  
 ដំពិពោះមូលក្រាងក្រឡីវ

១១  
 ព្រះសូត្រដ៏ព្យ្ងះ  
 គឺមោះទុកជាខ្សែផ្តៅវ  
 បរមត្ថជាធម៌ជ្រៅវ  
 ទុកជាស្បែកតាស្តរណា

១២  
 ព្រះអរិយសច្ច៤  
 ជាធម៌មូនមណ្ឌសារ  
 ទុកដូចអន្ទងណា  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរសាបសៀន

១៣  
 នឹងនាំសតទៅទុក  
 កងទីសុខគឺព្រះនិព្វាន  
 ជាអមតធម្មគ្មាន  
 ស្លាប់ហើយបង្កើតតទៅ

១៤  
 ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ឆ្វេងយល  
 តោយព្រះទិពយោបលជ្រៅវ  
 ទ្រង់ឃើញសត្វដែលនៅ  
 ក្នុងនិស្ស័យស្ម័ញញ្ញាន

១៥  
 XXXXX  
 XXXXXX  
 សត្វណាដែលនៅគ្មាន  
 មានក្នុងនិស្ស័យបុព្វា

១៦  
 កាលនោះឯព្រះអង្គ

១០  
 ព្រះធម៌នេះទុកជាស្តីវ  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរគីកកង  
 លាន់ពួឡើងរំពង  
 ដំពិពោះមូលក្រាងក្រឡីវ

១១  
 ព្រះសូត្រដ៏ពិរោះ  
 គឺមោះទុកជាខ្សែផ្តៅវ  
 បរមត្ថជាធម៌ជ្រៅវ  
 ទុកជាស្បែកតាស្តរណា ។

១២  
 ព្រះអរិយសច្ច៤  
 ជាធម៌មូនមណ្ឌសា  
 ទុកដូចអន្ទងណា  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរស័ព្ទស៊ាន

១៣  
 នឹងនាំសត្វផុតទុក្ខ  
 កងទីសុខគឺព្រះនិព្វាន  
 ជាអមតធម្មគ្មាន  
 ស្លាប់ហើយបង្កើតតទៅ ។

១៤  
 ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ឆ្វេងយល់  
 ដោយព្រះទិពយោបល់ជ្រៅវ  
 ទ្រង់ឃើញសត្វដែលនៅ  
 ក្នុងនិស្ស័យសំណាញ់ញ្ញាណ

១៥  
 XXXXX  
 XXXXXX  
 សត្វណាដែលនៅគ្មាន  
 មានក្នុងនិស្ស័យបុព្វា ។

១៦  
 កាលនោះឯព្រះអង្គ

*saddhammabheriṅṅaṅkaṅkāyāyaṃ*  
*suttaṅka bandham*  
*abhidhammacammam*  
*ākotayanto catusaccadandam*  
*pabodha neyye parisāya majjihe*

១០  
 ព្រះធម៌នេះទុកជាស្តីវ  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរគីកកង  
 លាន់ពួឡើងរំពង  
 ដំពិពោះមូលក្រាងក្រឡីវ

១១  
 ព្រះសូត្រដ៏ពិរោះ  
 គឺមោះទុកជាខ្សែផ្តៅវ  
 បរមត្ថជាធម៌ជ្រៅវ  
 ទុកជាស្បែកតាស្តរណា ។

១២  
 ព្រះអរិយសច្ច៤  
 ជាធម៌មូនមណ្ឌសា  
 ទុកដូចអន្ទងណា  
 សម្រាប់វាយសូរស័ព្ទស៊ាន

១៣  
 នឹងនាំសត្វទៅទុក  
 កងទីសុខគឺព្រះនិព្វាន  
 ជាអមតធម្មគ្មាន  
 ស្លាប់ហើយបង្កើតតទៅ ។

១៤  
 ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ឆ្វេងយល់  
 ដោយព្រះទិពយោបល់ជ្រៅវ  
 ទ្រង់ឃើញសត្វដែលនៅ  
 ក្នុងនិស្ស័យសំណាញ់ញ្ញាណ

១៥  
 XXXXX  
 XXXXXX  
 សត្វណាដែលនៅគ្មាន  
 មានក្នុងនិស្ស័យបុព្វា ។

១៦  
 កាលនោះឯព្រះអង្គ



Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

ទ្រង់ទ្រូលអវិទូនា សហមត្តិព្រហ្មា មានទ្វារនិព្វានបើកហើយ ១៧ អ្នកឯណាបានស្តែងស្តាប់ បានត្រង់ត្រាប់កុំកន្តើយ ជាបុណ្យក៏ព្វគាប់ហើយ ចូរឲ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាទៅហោង ។	ទ្រង់ទ្រូលអាកាធនា សហមត្តិព្រហ្មា មានទ្វារនិព្វានបើកហើយ ។ ១៧ អ្នកឯណាបានស្តែងស្តាប់ បានត្រង់ត្រាប់កុំកន្តើយ ជាបុណ្យក៏ព្វគាប់ហើយ ចូរឲ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាទៅហោង ។	ទ្រង់ទ្រូលអាកាធនា សហមត្តិព្រហ្មា មានទ្វារនិព្វានបើកហើយ ។ ១៧ អ្នកឯណាបានស្តែងស្តាប់ បានត្រង់ត្រាប់កុំកន្តើយ ជាបុណ្យក៏ព្វគាប់ហើយ ចូរឲ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាទៅហោង ។
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Translation

1 <i>ukāsa brahmā ca lokādhipati sahapati katañjalī an[a]dhivaraṇa āyācatha sant'īdha sattā 'pparajakkhajātikā desetu dhammaṃ anukamp'īmaṃ pajam</i> ១ រីព្រហ្មដ៏ជាធំ ក្រែលែងព្រហ្មផងនានា ទើបលុតព្រះជង្គ្រា លើកហត្ថានមស្សការ ។	1 Permit me! Brahmā Sahampati, Lord of the World, palms folded together, petitioned the Unexcelled One: “There are, here below, beings with but minor defilements— preach the Dhamma; have compassion for this generation.”
២ បពិត្រព្រះអង្គអើយ ព្រះគុណអើយសូមមេត្តា ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា ទ្រង់ករុណាសម្តែងធម៌ ។	1 As for the foremost Brahmā, greater than all the other Brahmā deities, he lowered himself to his shins, his hands raised in reverence: 2 “Venerable! O Lord! O virtuous one, I humbly beseech you to save beings, both humans and gods— please, O Lord, preach the Dharma.
៣ ត្បិតសត្វទន្ទឹងណាស់ ចាំព្រះបានត្រាស់នឹងត្រេកអរ នឹងបានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ ហើយនឹងក្សត្រចាកទុក្ខ ។	3 For beings are waiting anxiously, awaiting your awakening so they can rejoice, flock to listen to the Dharma, and be free from suffering;
៤ ត្បិតសត្វផងនានា មានអវិជ្ជាពោលគឺលាមក ដូចធូលីផងជីកក់ កករណ៍ក់ជាប់នេត្រា ។	4 for all living beings are ignorant, that is to say, filthy, as if dust and mud forms a muddy sediment stuck in their eyes.

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

៥	ព្រោះតែមោហៈធំ មករុំស្រោបរូបកាយ [មករូបរុំជុំកាយ] ឲ្យអាប់អន់ប្រាជ្ញា [បាត់បង់អប្បប្រាជ្ញា] ពុំឲ្យឃើញព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ ។	5	Since their delusion is great, wrapping tight around their bodies, clouding their wisdom, they cannot see the Three Marks;
៦	ងងឹតងងល់ងប់ ហើយជ្រុលជ្រប់ដូចមនុស្សខ្លាក់ រលើហើយរលាក់ ដូចអន្ទាក់រឹបជាប់ក [ដូចអន្ទាក់ធ្លាក់រឹតក] ។	6	[they are] completely enveloped in darkness and crouched over like the blind, confused and convulsed, as if strangled by a noose.
៧	នឹងរកអ្នកណាមួយ នឹងមកជួយស្រាយក៏ក្រៃ មានប៉ុន្តែព្រះសទ្ធម៌ ទើបនឹងមកជួយស្រាយបាន ។	7	To find even one person who could help release them is hard; there is only the Dharma that could help liberate them.
៨	ហេតុនោះព្រះអង្គអើយ ព្រះគុណអើយសូមប្រោសប្រាណ ត្បិតព្រហ្មខ្ញុំរាប់អាន ចូលមកប្តូរអារាមនា ។	8	For this reason, O Lord, O virtuous one, please rescue beings, for I, Brahmā, respectfully come to invite [you to preach]
៩	ព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃវិសេស លត់កិលេសនូវតណ្ហា នាំចិត្តឲ្យជ្រះថ្លា សោមនស្សគ្មានសៅហ្មង ។	9	the most precious Dharma, which extinguishes defilement and craving and leads the mind to clear faith, joy, and the absence of worry.
2	<i>saddhammabheriṃ vinayañca kāyaṃ suttañca bandhaṃ abhidhammacammaṃ ākoṭayanto catusaccadaṇḍaṃ pabodha neyye parisāya majjhe</i>	2	<i>The true Dhamma is a drum, the Vinaya its frame, the Suttas its straps, the Abhidhamma its leather head— by striking [this drum], whose mallet is the Four Truths, awaken those fit to be led in the midst of the assembly.</i>
១០	ព្រះធម៌នេះទុកជាស្នូរ សម្រាប់វាយសូរគឺកកង លាន់ឮឡើងរំពង ដ៏ពិរោះមូលក្រាងក្រឡី ។	10	“The Dharma is likened to a drum to beat and make a loud sound that echoes and resounds, beautiful and lovely in tone.
១១	ព្រះសូត្រដ៏ពិរោះ	11	The Sutras, ever beautiful,

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

គឺមោះទុកជាខ្សែផ្តៅ  
បរមត្ថជាធម៌ជ្រៅ  
ទុកជាស្បែកដាសស្តរណា ។

១២

ព្រះអរិយសច្ច ៤  
ជាធម៌មួនមាំណាស់សា  
ទុកដូចអន្ទង់ណា  
សម្រាប់វាយសូរស័ព្ទស៊ាន

១៣

នឹងនាំសត្វទៅទុក  
គង់ទីសុខគឺព្រះនិព្វាន  
ជាអមតធម្មគ្មាន  
ស្លាប់ហើយបង្កើតទៅ ។

១៤

ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ឆ្វេងយល់  
ដោយព្រះទិព្វយោបល់ជ្រៅ  
ទ្រង់ឃើញសត្វដែលនៅ  
ក្នុងនិស្ស័យសំណាញ់ញាណ

១៥

XXXXXX

XXXXXX

សត្វណាដែលនៅគ្មាន  
មានក្នុងនិស្ស័យបុព្វា ។

១៦

កាលនោះឯព្រះអង្គ  
ទ្រង់ទទួលអារាធនា  
សហម្បតិព្រហ្មា  
មានទ្វារនិព្វានបើកហើយ ។

១៧

អ្នកឯណាបានស្តែងស្តាប់  
បានត្រង់ត្រាប់កុំកន្តើយ  
ជាបុណ្យក៏ពូកែហើយ  
ចូរឲ្យមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លាទៅហោង ។

are likened to the rattan straps,  
the Paramattha, the profound Dharma,  
is likened to the stretched leather head.

12

The Four Noble Truths,  
those steadfast Dharmas,  
are likened to the mallet  
to beat and make the sound

13

and to lead beings to  
reside in the place of bliss that is Nibbāna,  
which an immortal state, with no more  
death or further rebirth.”

14

The Lord understood,  
with his divine thoughts profound,  
and saw living beings who were in  
the affinity of omniscience.

15

...

...

any being who still did not possess...  
was due to affinities from former lives.

16

At that time, as for the Lord,  
he accepted the invitation  
from Sahampatī Brahmā  
and the gate to Nibbāna was opened.

17

Should anyone be able to listen  
attentively, without lapsing,  
this is most meritorious and fortunate—  
may your minds be of clear faith!

**Samantapāsādikā-gāthā/samantapāsādikā-gāthā samrāy-br**

Stanzas from the Samantapāsādikā, Pali with Khmer translation

FEMC title: dharm namassakār

Pali verse, 4 stanzas in the *indaravajirā* meter, extracted from the first 4 stanzas of the Sāmantapāsādikā, composed by Buddhaghosa in Sri Lanka, 5th century.

Translation into Khmer verse, 15 stanzas in *brahmagāthī*, composed in Cambodia, 18<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB026** 24b–25b, 27b traيرانattanappanāma buddharatanappanāma, with the note: បាលីបទឥន្ទ្រវដ្តិវ សម្រាយបទព្រហ្មគីតិ (Pali stanzas 1-3), bāky prakās sūm sec kṭi sukh, with the note: បាលីបទឥន្ទ្រវដ្តិវ សម្រាយសម្រាយបទព្រហ្មគីតិ (Pali stanza 4); **UB044** 76b–79a namaskār brah ratanatrāy yokappakoṭṭhi pi prè jā kāby 1 piep diet

Khmer books: Som Suvanṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā nin visākhapūjā ប្រជុំ មាយបូជានិងវិសាខបូជាន* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប្រាំស្ទីវ, 1966), 1–4.

Edition and French translation: San Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 171–174.

Summary: Pays homage to the Three Jewels, with a brief description of each, followed by an aspiration to accrue merit, destroy calamities, and achieve Nibbāna.

Corrected edition	Translation
<p>1  <i>yo kappakoṭṭhi pi appameyyaṃ  kālaṃ karonto atidukkarāni  khedam gato lokahitāya nātho  namo mahākāruṇikassa tassa.</i></p> <p>១  ព្រះពុទ្ធជាទីពឹង  ពំនាក់នឹងសព្វសត្តា  ព្រះអង្គកាលប្រាថ្នា  ធ្វើកសាងអស់កាលយូរ ។</p> <p>២</p>	<p>1  <i>He who for uncountable myriads of eons  practiced austerities and toiled  for the sake of the world, our Protector—  homage to him of great compassion.</i></p> <p>1  The Lord, who is the  refuge of all beings,  vowed to cultivate  merit for a long time—</p> <p>2</p>

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāthi* verse (-br)

រាប់ដោយកោដិកប្បា	myriads of eons
ច្រើនគណនាហួសគិតគួរ	beyond count or concept—
បាន(បានត្រាស់)ជាសព្វញ្ញ	to reach omniscience
ត្រាស់ជាគ្រូលើកតស្ថាន ។	as the world's great teacher,
៣	3
ធ្វើកម្មជាកម្រ	through deeds that exceed
មនុស្សនិកររាប់ពុំបាន	what humans can number,
តោកយ៉ាកលំបាកប្រាណ	braving pain and toil
ព្រោះប្រាថ្នាដល់សព្វសត្ត ។	for the sake of all life.
៤	4
ខ្ញុំឱនកាយវាចា	I bow my body,
ចិត្តប្រាថ្នាបង្គំថ្លាត់	speech, and mind to the Lord
ព្រះពុទ្ធករុណាសត្វ	Buddha, merciful,
នោះជាទីពឹងសព្វកាល ។	the refuge for all time.
2	2
<i>asambuddham buddhanisevitam yam</i>	<i>Unawakened to the Dharma the buddhas practice,</i>
<i>bhavābhavaṃ gacchati jīvaloko</i>	<i>living beings cycle through various worlds;</i>
<i>namo avijjādīkilesajālaṃ</i>	<i>homage to that excellent Dharma, which destroys</i>
<i>viddhamāsino dhammavarassa tassa.</i>	<i>the net of defilements, beginning with ignorance.</i>
៥	5
សត្វកើតតែងស្លាប់បង់	They're born, then they die,
ព្រោះចំណងកម្មជាគោល	since they're tied to karma,
ឲ្យវិលវល់អន្ទោល	caught in a vortex
ក្នុងភពតូចនិងភពធំ ។	of realms great and realms small,
៦	6
ហេតុតែមិនដឹងធម៌	blind to the Dharma—
បរិសុទ្ធល្អស្អាតសុខុម	sublime, perfect, and pure,
ព្រះពុទ្ធតែងសេពសម	practiced by buddhas—
ចិត្តខ្ញុំសូមមមស្សការ ។	with my mind I bow down
៧	7
នូវព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃថ្កត	to that most precious,
វិសេសសុទ្ធនោះឯងណា	special, and pure Dharma
កាត់បង់នូវអវិជ្ជា	that cut through ignorance
និងបណ្តេញកិលេសហើយ ។	and dispelled defilement.
3	3
<i>gūṇehi yo sīlasamādhīpaññā-</i>	<i>I bow my head to the Saṅgha of the Noble Ones,</i>
<i>vimuttāñāṅgappabhūtihi yutto</i>	<i>endowed with the virtues of conduct, concentration, wisdom,</i>

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer brahmagāti verse (-br)

<i>khettañ janānaṃ kusalatthikānaṃ tam ariyasāṅghaṃ sirasā namāmi.</i>	<i>freedom, knowledge, and illumination, the field for people who seek goodness.</i>
៨	8
ព្រះសង្ឃអង្គសាវ័ក មានសំរវៈដ៏ផ្លូវផង កបដោយគុណសីលទ្រង់ គឺសមាធិបញ្ញា ។	The Saṅgha of Hearers, perfect in purity; virtuous in conduct concentration, wisdom,
៩	9
ព្រមទាំងវិមុត្តិញ្ញាណ កិលេសគ្មានក្នុងអាត្មា ជាបុញ្ញខេត្ត ជនត្រូវការជាកុសល ។	freedom, and knowledge; devoid of defilement; the field of merit for people who seek goodness.
១០	10
ខ្ញុំឱនអង្គសិរសី ដល់ព្រះអរិយបុគ្គល ជាបុត្រព្រះទសពល ជាមង្គលដល់សព្វសត្វ ។	I bow down my head to the Noble Persons, heirs of the Buddha, blessings to all beings.
4	4
<i>icc'evam accantanamassaneyyaṃ namassamāno ratanattayaṃ yaṃ puññābhisaṅgaṃ vipulaṃ alatiṃ tassānubhāvena hatantarāyo.</i>	<i>Worshipping the Three Jewels, which should be constantly worshipped in just this way, I received a vast stream of merit— by the power of the Three Jewels, may calamities be destroyed.</i>
១១	11
ខ្ញុំសូមមស្សការ លើកហត្ថាឱនសិរសី បង្គំគុណទាំងបី ខ្ពស់លើលុបត្រៃលោកា ។	I humbly bow down, palms raised up, my head low, to the Three Worthies, higher than all Three Worlds.
១២	12
សូមបុណ្យកងកុសល ឱយបានដល់យើងខ្ញុំណា ពេញពោរស្មើផារា ដូចដលសាធំទូលាយ ។	May all the merit be upon all of us, full like the wide earth and vast like the ocean.
១៣	13
សូមឱយកំចាត់បង្គំ អពមង្គលទាំងឡាយ ឱយចៀសចេញចាក់ត្រាយ ក្តីអន្តរាយកុំបីមាន ។	May it bring an end to all our misfortunes— may they stay away and may we all be safe.

Appendix II-8 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *brahmagāṭi* verse (-br)

១៤

ដោយកម្លាំងអានុភាព  
បុញ្ញលាភជាប្រធាន  
កងបុញ្ញរាសីមាន  
សូមបានក្បានកុំមានមោះ។

14

By the mighty force  
led by gaining merit,  
may fortune, blessings,  
and joy come without end.

១៥

ដោយគុណនមស្សការ  
ត្រៃវត្ថុនាប្រសើរខ្ពស់  
សូមអានិសង្ឃនោះ  
ដាក់ដល់ឋាននិព្វានហោង។

15

By means of homage  
to the highest Three Jewels,  
may this benefit  
take us to Nibbāna.

## II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

**Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)

**Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)

**Sārīrikadhātu-gāthā/sārīrikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)

### **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas of the homage octet, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 4 stanzas (8 half-stanzas) in *anuttubha*, composed by King Rama IV of Siam, mid 19th century.

Interwoven translation in Khmer verse, 16 stanzas in *bāky* 4, 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB066** 7b–9b namassakār namo 8 pad

Khmer books: Som Suvanṇ ហេម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṇ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាយបូជានីវនិវាសនា ខបូជាន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithi p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិធីបូជានីវ, 1966), 14–16.

Summary: Bilingual Pali-Khmer version of eight-part homage to the Three Jewels, including their symbolic expression as the syllable *OM* (*arahant* + *uttaradhamma* + *mahāsaṅgha* = *aum* = *om*).

Standardized	Translation
<p>1  <i>namo arahato sammā-  sambuddhassa mahesino</i></p> <p>១  សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ  ឆ្ពោះព្រះអរហន្ត  សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធកិរិយា  កាលស្វែករកធម៌</p> <p>២  គឺពោធិញ្ញាណ  ប្រសើរបរ</p>	<p>1  <i>Homage to him, the Worthy One  to the Perfect Buddha, the Great Seer.</i></p> <p>1  I humbly bow in homage  to the Worthy One,  the Perfect Buddha, the Blessed One,  who, when in search of the Dharma,  that is, the omniscience of awakening,  most excellent and supreme,</p>



Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

បានត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌	attained enlightenment and knew the Dharma
ដោយអរិយមគ្គ ។	by means of the Noble Path.
2	2
<i>namo uttamadhammassa</i>	<i>Homage to the highest Teaching,</i>
<i>svākkhātasseva tenidha</i>	<i>well proclaimed in this world by him.</i>
៣	3
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ព្រះធម៌ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់	to the lofty Dharma,
ដែលព្រះបរម	which the supreme
សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធសម្តែង	Perfect Buddha taught
៤	4
ដោយប្រពៃពិត	with true excellence,
ប្រាកដជាក់ស្តែង	certain and clear;
ព្រះធម៌នោះឯង	it is this Dharma that is
ទុកក្នុងសាសនា ។	established in the dispensation.
3	3
<i>namo mahāsaṅghassa</i>	<i>Homage too to the Great Sangha,</i>
<i>visuddhasīlādittihino</i>	<i>whose precepts and views are purified.</i>
៥	5
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ព្រះសង្ឃប្រសើរ	to the excellent Sangha,
ដែលលោកបាន	those who have
ធ្វើទិដ្ឋិនិរិទ្ធសីល	made their views and precepts
៦	6
ឲ្យបានបរិសុទ្ធ	pure and
ផុតចាកមន្ទិល	free from defilements,
គឺទិដ្ឋិនិរិទ្ធសីល	that is to say, their views and precepts,
លោកស្អាតអស់ហើយ ។	have been completely cleaned.
4	4
<i>namo omātyāraddhassa</i>	<i>Homage to each of the Three Jewels,</i>
<i>ratanattiyassa sādhuḥkaṃ</i>	<i>beginning with the sacred OM.</i>
៧	7
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ប្រជុំត្រៃរត្ន	to the collective of the Three Jewels,
ប្រារព្ធដោយបទ	by means of the word
មានបីប្រការ	composed of three parts:
៨	8

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌	the Buddha, the Dharma,
ព្រះសង្ឃឈ្នះមារ	and the Māra-vanquishing Sangha,
ប្រសើរអស្ចារ្យ	most excellent and wonderful,
ថ្លឹងថ្លែងពុំបាន ។	beyond measure or expression.
5	5
<i>namo omakāṭītassa</i>	<i>Homage to each of the Three Jewels,</i>
<i>tassa vatthuttayassa pi</i>	<i>far beyond all things of the world.</i>
៧	9
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ភ្នំវត្ថុបី	to the union of the three objects,
ពិសេសពិសី	most excellent and lovely,
ប្រសើរថ្លឹងថ្លែង	most lofty and supreme:
១០	10
ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌	the Buddha, the Dharma
ព្រះសង្ឃសព្វឋាន	and Sangha of all places,
តេជៈកល្យាណ	of marvelous might,
ដោយគុណគួរគាប់ ។	endowed with fitting virtues.
6	6
<i>namo kāraṃbhāvena</i>	<i>By the power of this homage</i>
<i>viḅachantu upaddavā</i>	<i>may misfortunes now disappear.</i>
១១	11
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ត្រៃវត្ថុសោភា	to the beautiful Three Jewels.
ឧបទ្រពនានា	May all calamities
ចូរវិនាសបាត់	be destroyed
១២	12
ដោយអានុភាព	by means of this power
បុណ្យជួយកម្ចាត់	and merit. May they be eliminated
ធ្វើក្តីវិបត្តិ	and eradicated
ឲ្យស្ងាត់ស្ងួនទៅ ។	completely.
7	7
<i>namo kāraṃubhāvena</i>	<i>By the power of this homage,</i>
<i>suwatthi hotu sabbadā</i>	<i>may there always be prosperity.</i>
១៣	13
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ត្រៃវត្ថុទាំងបី	to the Three Jewels.
សូមសុខសួស្តី	May happiness and prosperity

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

កើតសព្វវេលា	arise at all times
១៤	14
ដោយអានុភាព	by means of the power
ធ្វើការវេន្តា	of revering,
គោរពបូជា	respecting, and worshipping
ឆ្ពោះព្រះត្រៃវិគ្គិ។	the Three Jewels.
8	8
<i>namo kārassa tejena</i>	<i>By the power of this homage,</i>
<i>vidhimhi homi tejavā</i>	<i>may I thrive in this liturgy.</i>
១៥	15
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly bow in homage
ត្រៃវិគ្គិសោភា	to the lovely Three Jewels.
តេជះចេស្តា	May power and might
សូមមានដល់ខ្ញុំ	come to me
១៦	16
ក្នុងពិធីធ្វើ	in this ritual
កិច្ចថ្វាយបង្គំ	of paying homage.
តេជះបុណ្យធំ	May power and great merit
សូមកើតមានឡើង។	arise.

**Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4**  
Stanzas on the Great Nāga, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 4 stanzas, non-canonical, possibly composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Interwoven translation into Khmer verse, 21 stanzas in *bāky* 4, composed by In Khen, 1945, based on a 1933 Khmer prose translation by Juon Nāt.

Leporello: **UB066** 24a–26a mahānāg

Khmer books: Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā nin buddhābhisek មាយបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār yāy tā, tūp lekh 97 phsār ūr ṛssī បណ្ណាភារយាយតា តូបលេខ 97 ផ្សារអូឫស្សី, 1989), 21–27. For the prose version, see Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, *Nāgopamādīkathā នាគោបមាទិកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 15–16.

Summary: Explanation of why the Buddha is known as the Great Nāga, followed by an homage to him as the Great Nāga and an aspiration that this homage destroy obstacles, illness, and danger.

**Sārīrikadhātu-gāthā/sārīrikadhātu-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas on the bodily relics, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 5 stanzas, non-canonical, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> through 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Translation into Khmer verse, 26 stanzas in *bāky* 4, mid 20th century, composed by ឃុំ ក្មេង, 1945, based on a 1933 Khmer prose translation by Huot Tāt.

Leporello: **UB066** 31a–34a braḥ sārīrikadhātu

Khmer books: Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā nīn buddhābhisek មាយបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār yāy tā, tūp lekh 97 phsār ūr ṛssī បណ្ណាគារយាយតា តូបលេខ 97 ផ្សារអូឫស្សី, 1989), 21–27.

Summary: Enumeration of the type, number, sizes, and colors of the bodily relics of the Buddha, concluding with an homage to them and an aspiration for various boons.

UB066	Standardized	Translation
<i>P1</i>	<i>P1</i>	<i>P1</i>
<i>mahāgota mabuddho</i>	<i>mahāgotamasambuddho</i>	<i>The great Gotama Buddha</i>
<i>kusinārā yanibbuto</i>	<i>kusinārāya nibbuto</i>	<i>entered Nibbāna in Kusinārāya.</i>
<i>dhātuwitthā rakamkatvā</i>	<i>dhātuwitthā rakam katvā</i>	<i>Once the extension of the relics was performed,</i>
<i>tesutesu visesato.</i>	<i>tesu tesu visesato.</i>	<i>they were scattered in various places.</i>
១	១	1
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly bow down
ប្រណម្យអភិវាទ	ប្រណម្យអភិវាទ	and raise my hands in homage
សារីរិកធាតុ	សារីរិកធាតុ	to the bodily relics
ព្រះមហាកោតម ។	ព្រះមហាកោតម ។	of the great Gotama,
២	២	2
ដែលទ្រង់និព្វាន	ដែលទ្រង់និព្វាន	who entered Nibbāna
ក្រោមសាលព្រឹក្សធំ	ក្រោមសាលព្រឹក្សធំ	beneath two great sal trees
ជិតប្ដូររម្យ	ជិតប្ដូររម្យ	near the lovely city
ក្រុងកុសិនារា ។	ក្រុងកុសិនារា ។	of Kusinārā.

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

៣	៣	3
កិរិយាផ្សាយ	កិរិយាផ្សាយ	There was the extension of
ព្រះធាតុនានា	ព្រះធាតុនានា	the various relics
ផ្សេងៗពីគ្នា	ផ្សេងៗ ពីគ្នា	into separate parts
ក្នុងទីទាំងឡាយ ។	ក្នុងទីទាំងឡាយ ។	in different places.
៤	៤	4
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly bow down
ប្រណម្យក្រាបថ្វាយ	ប្រណម្យក្រាបថ្វាយ	and raise my hands in offering
ព្រះធាតុទាំងឡាយ	ព្រះធាតុទាំងឡាយ	to all of the relics
គ្រប់ទីនោះនោះ ។	គ្រប់ទីនោះៗ ។	in those various places.
P2	P2	P2
<i>unhīsaṃca tassodāthā</i>	<i>unhīsaṃ ca tassa dāthā</i>	<i>His crown, his [four] teeth,</i>
<i>akkhakā dve casattamo</i>	<i>akkhakā dve ca sattamo</i>	<i>and his two clavicles, seven in all—</i>
<i>asamkinnā vatāsatta</i>	<i>asamkinnā vata satta</i>	<i>these seven remained whole.</i>
<i>sesākinnā vadhātuyo.</i>	<i>sesākinnā va dhātuyo.</i>	<i>The remaining relics were divided.</i>
៥	៥	5
ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ	ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ	The bodily relics,
ល្អស្អាតទាំងនោះ	ល្អស្អាតទាំងនោះ	most beautiful,
ដែលមិនបែកសោះ	ដែលមិនបែកសោះ	that were not divided,
ប្រាំពីរព្រះអង្គ ។	ប្រាំពីរព្រះអង្គ ។	consisted of seven pieces:
៦	៦	6
គឺព្រះឧណ្ហិស័	គឺព្រះឧណ្ហិស្សៈ	the resplendent
សះធាតុបញ្ចង់	ធាតុបញ្ចង់	crown relics,
មានមួយព្រះអង្គ	មានមួយព្រះអង្គ	of which there was but one,
នៅគង់ល្អស្អាត ។	នៅគង់ល្អស្អាត ។	lovely and clean;
៧	៧	7
និងព្រះទាហ	និងព្រះទាហ	the canine
សារីរិកធាតុ	សារីរិកធាតុ	relics,
ទាំងបួនអង្គស្អាត	ទាំងបួនអង្គស្អាត	of which there were four,
គ្មានឃ្នាតបែកចេញ ។	គ្មានឃ្នាតបែកចេញ ។	lovely and undivided;
៨	៨	8
ព្រះអក្ខិកធាតុ	ព្រះអក្ខិកធាតុ	and the clavicle relics,
នៅស្អាតពេញលេញ	នៅស្អាតពេញលេញ	beautiful and unsullied,
គ្មានបែកបាក់ចេញ	គ្មានបែកបាក់ចេញ	with both parts
ទាំងពីរព្រះអង្គ ។	ទាំងពីរព្រះអង្គ ។	undivided.
៩	៩	9
ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ	ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ	These bodily relics,

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

ភ្លឺស្អាតត្រចង់ ទាំងពីរព្រះអង្គ គង់នៅទាំងអស់ ។	ភ្លឺស្អាតត្រចង់ ទាំងប្រាំពីរព្រះអង្គ គង់នៅទាំងអស់ ។	resplendent and lovely in all seven parts, were undivided.
១០	១០	10
ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ ដ៏សេសពីនោះ បែកចេញចំពោះ ចំណែកធំតូច ។	ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ ដ៏សេសពីនោះ បែកចេញចំពោះ ចំណែកធំតូច ។	The remaining bodily relics, were divided into large and small pieces.
P3	P3	P3
<i>mahantāpa nīcanālica</i>	<i>mahantā pañca nāli ca</i>	<i>The large pieces weighed five nāli.</i>
<i>majjhīmāca chanāliyo</i>	<i>majjhīmā ca cha nāliyo</i>	<i>The medium pieces weighed six nāli.</i>
<i>khuddakāpa nīcanālica</i>	<i>khuddakā pañca nāli ca</i>	<i>The small pieces weighed five nāli.</i>
<i>samkinnāti vidhāmatā.</i>	<i>samkinnā ti vidhāmatā.</i>	<i>All were broken and divided.</i>
១១	១១	11
ព្រះបរមធាតុ មុនីនាថសាស្តា ដែលបែកចេញជា ចំណែកតូចធំ ។	ព្រះបរមធាតុ មុនីនាថសាស្តា ដែលបែកចេញជា ចំណែកតូចធំ ។	The supreme relics of the Lord of Sages, the Teacher, which were divided into large and small pieces
១២	១២	12
លោកបានពោលទុក ថាមានទំហំ មានតូចមានធំ មានខ្ពស់កណ្តាល ។	លោកបានពោលទុក ថាមានទំហំ មានតូចមានធំ មានខ្ពស់កណ្តាល ។	the masters said that they had small, large, and medium sizes.
១៣	១៣	13
ព្រះធាតុខ្ពស់ធំ ចំនួនប្រាំនាឡិ ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល ប្រាំមួយនាឡិគត់ ។	ព្រះធាតុខ្ពស់ធំ ចំនួនប្រាំនាឡិ ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល ប្រាំមួយនាឡិគត់ ។	The large relics weighed five nāli. The medium relics weighed exactly six nāli.
១៤	១៤	14
ព្រះធាតុខ្ពស់តូច ប្រាំនាឡិប្រាកដ តាមលោកកំណត់ បីយ៉ាងដូច្នោះ ។	ព្រះធាតុខ្ពស់តូច ប្រាំនាឡិប្រាកដ តាមលោកកំណត់ បីយ៉ាងដូច្នោះ ។	The small relics weighed precisely five nāli. This is how the masters recorded these three sizes.
P4	P4	P4
<i>mahantābhi nnamuggāca</i>	<i>mahantābhinnamuggā ca</i>	<i>The large relics were the size of split mung beans.</i>
<i>majjhīmābhi nnatandulā</i>	<i>majjhīmābhinnatandulā</i>	<i>The medium relics were the size of split rice grains.</i>
<i>khuddakāsā sapamaggā</i>	<i>khuddakā sāsapamattā</i>	<i>The small relics were the size of mustard seeds.</i>

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

<i>evamdhātu ppamāṇikā.</i>	<i>evam dhātupparamāṇikā.</i>	<i>Thus were the sizes of the relics.</i>
១៥	១៥	15
ឯព្រះបរមធាតុ មានខ្នាតបីយ៉ាង លោកបានពោលអាង ទុកដាល់ដាប់ ។	ឯព្រះបរមធាតុ មានខ្នាតបីយ៉ាង លោកបានពោលអាង ទុកដាល់ដាប់ ។	As for the supreme relics in those three sizes, the masters explained them in turn:
១៦	១៦	16
ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតធំ ទំហំប៉ុនគ្រាប់ សណ្តែកបាយកាប់ កាត់មួយកំណាត់ ។	ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតធំ ទំហំប៉ុនគ្រាប់ សណ្តែកបាយកាប់ កាត់មួយកំណាត់ ។	the large relics has the size of a mung bean split in two.
១៧	១៧	17
ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល ដូចកាលគេកាត់ ប៉ុនមួយកំណាត់ នៃគ្រាប់អង្ករ ។	ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល ដូចកាលគេកាត់ ប៉ុនមួយកំណាត់ នៃគ្រាប់អង្ករ ។	The medium relics were like grains of rice split in two.
១៨	១៨	18
ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតតូច ល្អិតល្អបរវរ លោកបានព្យាករណ៍ ថាប៉ុនគ្រាប់ស្ពៃ ។	ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតតូច ល្អិតល្អបរវរ លោកបានព្យាករណ៍ ថាប៉ុនគ្រាប់ស្ពៃ ។	As for the small relics, tiny and lovely, the masters described them as being the size of mustard seeds.
<i>P5</i>	<i>P5</i>	<i>P5</i>
<i>mahantāsu vaṇṇavaṇṇā</i>	<i>mahantā suvaṇṇavaṇṇā</i>	<i>The large relics are the color of gold.</i>
<i>majjhimāpha likappabhā</i>	<i>majjhimā phalikappabhā</i>	<i>The medium relics have the radiance of crystal.</i>
<i>khuddakāba kulavaṇṇā</i>	<i>khuddakā bakulavaṇṇā</i>	<i>The small relics have the color of bakula flowers.</i>
<i>tāpivandā midhātuyo.</i>	<i>tā pi vandāmi dhātuyo.</i>	<i>To these relics, I pay homage.</i>
១៩	១៩	19
ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ នៃព្រះភគវា មានពណ៌ផ្សេងៗគ្នា ទាំងបីវិលាស ។	ព្រះសារីរិកធាតុ នៃព្រះភគវា មានពណ៌ផ្សេងៗគ្នា ទាំងបីវិលាស ។	The bodily relics of the Blessed One have various colors, each one lovely.
២០	២០	20
ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតធំ មានពណ៌ដូចមាស ពន្លឺឱកាស វិសេសពេកក្លាត់ ។	ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតធំ មានពណ៌ដូចមាស ពន្លឺឱកាស វិសេសពេកក្លាត់ ។	The large relics are gold colored, with a bright radiance, incredibly wondrous.
២១	២១	21

Appendix II-9 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

<p>ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល វិសេសដូចរត្ន កែវផ្ទឹកប្រកដ ស្ទើរចាប់ច្រឡំ ។ ២២</p>	<p>ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល វិសេសដូចរត្ន កែវផ្ទឹកប្រកដ ស្ទើរចាប់ច្រឡំ ។ ២២</p>	<p>The medium relics are as wondrous as jewels, like real crystals, so much that they could be confused. 22</p>
<p>ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតតូច ដូចផ្កាពុលសម ពណ៌សស្រគាំ ពុំគួរជឿងឆ្ងល់ ។ ២៣</p>	<p>ព្រះធាតុខ្នាតតូច ដូចផ្កាពុលសម ពណ៌សស្រគាំ ពុំគួរជឿងឆ្ងល់ ។ ២៣</p>	<p>The small relics are the lovely <i>bakula</i> flowers, with a subdued white color— don't doubt them. 23</p>
<p>ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យទៅដល់ ព្រះធាតុមង្គល ទាំងឡាយនោះឯង ។ ២៤</p>	<p>ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យទៅដល់ ព្រះធាតុមង្គល ទាំងឡាយនោះឯង ។ ២៤</p>	<p>I humbly bow down, raising my palms in homage to all of the auspicious relics. 24</p>
<p>តេជៈខ្ញុំថ្វាយ ឱនកាយរាបរង វាចាចិត្តផង សូមឆ្លងទៅដល់ ។ ២៥</p>	<p>តេជៈខ្ញុំថ្វាយ ឱនកាយរាបរង វាចាចិត្តផង សូមឆ្លងទៅដល់ ។ ២៥</p>	<p>By the power of my homage, my body bent and respectful, my speech and mind too may I cross over to 25</p>
<p>ទីព្រះបរមធាតុ មុនីនាថទសពល សូមជាមង្គល សុខសព្វវេលា ។ ២៦</p>	<p>ទីព្រះបរមធាតុ មុនីនាថទសពល សូមជាមង្គល សុខសព្វវេលា ។ ២៦</p>	<p>to the place of the supreme relics of the Lord of Sages, the Ten-Powered Lord. May it be cause for good fortune and well-being at all being. 26</p>
<p>សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបាន ដល់ស្ថានសួគ៌ា រហូតដល់នា ព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។</p>	<p>សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបាន ដល់ស្ថានសួគ៌ា រហូតដល់នា ព្រះនិព្វានហោង ។</p>	<p>May I be able to attain the heavens and eventually reach august Nibbāna!</p>



## II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7B)

**Thvāy grīōn sakkāra:/thvāy grīōn sakkāra: samrāy-7** (1)

**Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Cāp Bin-7** (2)

**Samvejanīyadharm/samvejanīyadharm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7** (1)

**Thvāy grīōn sakkāra:/thvāy grīōn sakkāra: samrāy-7**

Presenting objects for offering, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 4 stanzas, non-canonical, likely composed in Cambodia, Laos, or Thailand, 13<sup>th</sup> through 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Translation into Khmer verse, 4 stanzas in *bāky* 7 (described as *indavajarāchand* in *Ñāṇ Jhīn*), composed by Lvī Em, early 20th century.

Leporello: **UB066** 34a–34b thvāy grīōn sakkāra: mun niṅ sūtr namassakār/prè ghloṅ 7 bāky

Books: *Ñāṇ Jhīn* ញាណ ឈិន, *Gāthā dharm māgh niṅ visākhapūjā* ភាថាធម៌មាយ នឹង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2004), 67–68.

Summary: Khmer verse translation of Pali stanzas for presenting various objects for offering to the Three Jewels, along with a dedication of merit.

### Edition

UB066	Standardized
1	1
<i>ukāsa dīpañca dhūpamālaṃ</i>	<i>ukāsa dīpañcīdha dhūpamālaṃ</i>
<i>gandhañca pupphañca ulārapūjaṃ</i>	<i>gandhañca pupphañca ulārapūjaṃ</i>
2	2
<i>katvā va buddhaṃ naradevasetthaṃ</i>	<i>katvā va buddhaṃ naradevasetthaṃ</i>
<i>amalladhammañca pajotabhūtaṃ</i>	<i>amalladhammañca pajotabhūtaṃ</i>
3	3
<i>anuttaraṃ saṅghagaṇaṅca dantaṃ</i>	<i>anuttaraṃ saṅghagaṇaṅca dantaṃ</i>
<i>pāsādācittena-kiṇṇajayāmi</i>	<i>pasādacittena bhīṇajayāmi</i>
4	4
<i>mayhaṃ pitūnaṃ ca saññatakānaṃ</i>	<i>mayhaṃ pitūnaṃ ca saññatakānaṃ</i>

Appendix II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7B)

<p><i>sukhāya atthāya ciraṃ hitaṃ.</i>                  ១                  សូមទានគោរពពេលនេះឯង                  ខ្ញុំសូមចាត់ចែងគ្រឿងបូជា                  គំរឿនធូបកម្រងមាលា                  ព្រមទាំងគន្ធានិងភ្លឺផ្កា                  ២                  សំដៅចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ                  ទ្រង់ប្រសើរផុតមនុស្សទេពតា                  ព្រះធម៌ដែលឥតមន្ទិលណា                  ដែលជាប្រទីបពន្ធិជន ។                  ៣                  ទាំងពួកនៃព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ                  ដែលទូន្មានអង្គល្អម៉ដ្ឋហ្មង                  លោកវិសេសលើសពួកជនផង                  ដោយនូវទំនងចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា                  ៤                  ដើម្បីប្រយោជន៍សេចក្តីសុខ                  ចម្រើនគ្រប់មុខដល់ខ្ញុំណា                  ព្រមទាំងមាតានូវបិតា                  និងញាតិកាយូរអង្វែង ។</p>	<p><i>sukhāya atthāya ciraṃ hitatthaṃ</i>                  ១                  សូមទានគោរពពេលនេះឯង                  ខ្ញុំសូមចាត់ចែងគ្រឿងបូជា                  គំរឿនធូបកម្រងមាលា                  ព្រមទាំងគន្ធានិងភ្លឺផ្កា                  ២                  សំដៅចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ                  ទ្រង់ប្រសើរផុតមនុស្សទេពតា                  ព្រះធម៌ដែលឥតមន្ទិលណា                  ដែលជាប្រទីបពន្ធិជន ។                  ៣                  ទាំងពួកនៃព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ                  ដែលទូន្មានអង្គល្អម៉ដ្ឋហ្មង                  លោកវិសេសលើសពួកជនផង                  ដោយនូវទំនងចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា                  ៤                  ដើម្បីប្រយោជន៍សេចក្តីសុខ                  ចម្រើនគ្រប់មុខដល់ខ្ញុំណា                  ព្រមទាំងមាតានូវបិតា                  និងញាតិកាយូរអង្វែង ។</p>
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Translation

<p>1  <i>ukāsa dīpañcīdha dhūpamālaṃ</i>  <i>gandhañca pupphañca ulārapūjaṃ</i>                  2  <i>katvā va buddhaṃ naradevasetthaṃ</i>  <i>amalladhammañca pajotabhūtaṃ</i>                  3  <i>anuttaraṃ saṅghagaṇaṅca dantaṃ</i>  <i>pasādacittena bhipūjāyāmi</i>                  4  <i>mayhaṃ pitūnaṃ ca saññātakānaṃ</i>  <i>sukhāya atthāya ciraṃ hitatthaṃ</i>                  ១</p>	<p>1  <i>Permit me! Having now made the supreme offering,</i>  <i>consisting in candles, incense, garlands, perfumes, and flowers,</i>                  2  <i>to the Buddha, the best of gods and men,</i>  <i>to the Dhamma, whose nature is to illuminate,</i>                  3  <i>and the unexcelled groups of the Saṅgha, those who are trained,</i>  <i>I pay homage with a heart of clear faith</i>                  4  <i>for the sake of happiness, prosperity, and benefit</i>  <i>for myself, my parents, and my relatives for a long time.</i>                  1</p>
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Appendix II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7B)

សូមទានគោរពពេលនេះឯង	Permit me to offer respect! At this moment,
ខ្ញុំសូមចាត់ចែងគ្រឿងបូជា	I humbly arrange materials for worship,
គឺទៀនធូបកម្រងមាលា	including candles, incense, garlands,
ព្រមទាំងគន្ធានិងភ្លឺផ្កា	along with perfumes and flowers,
២	2
សំដៅចំពោះព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ	to the Perfect Buddha,
ទ្រង់ប្រសើរធុតមនុស្សទេពតា	the best of humans and the gods,
ព្រះធម៌ដែលឥតមន្ទិលណា	to the stainless Dharma,
ដែលជាប្រទីបពន្លឺជន ។	the lamp that illuminates for people,
៣	3
ទាំងពួកនៃព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ	and to all of the members of the Noble Sangha,
ដែលទូន្មានអង្គល្អហ្មត់ហ្មង	who have trained themselves faultlessly,
លោកវិសេសលើសពួកជនផង	who excel all other people,
ដោយនូវទំនងចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា	by means of this expression of a heart of clear faith,
៤	4
ដើម្បីប្រយោជន៍សេចក្តីសុខ	for the sake of happiness
ចម្រើនគ្រប់មុខដល់ខ្ញុំណា	and all kinds of prosperity for myself
ព្រមទាំងមាតានូវបិតា	my mother and father,
និងញាតិកាយូរអង្វែង ។	and my relatives for a long time.

**Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Cāp Bin-7**

Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation

FEMC title: lpök dhammasañveg

Pali verse, six verses, extracts from canonical texts, including the Dhammapada.

Translation in Khmer verse, 22 stanzas in *bāky* 7, composed by Cāp Bin in 1971 or earlier.

Leporello: **UB001** 36a–37a samvejanīyadhārm (just *aciraṃ* section; incipit and explicit missing); **UB044** 88a–91a samvejanīyadhārm

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadhārm ត្រៃវគ្គន័បូជា និង ត្រៃវគ្គន័ប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 61–65.

Appendix II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7B)

Summary: Khmer verse translation of Pali canonical stanzas, largely from the Dhammapada, commonly recited in ceremonies for the end of life.

Partial Edition and Translation

Cāp Bin 1971	Translation
<i>P1</i>	<i>P1</i>
<i>aniccā vata saṅkhārā</i>	<i>Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things.</i>
<i>uppdādayadhammino</i>	<i>They have the nature to arise and pass away.</i>
<i>uppaññivā nirujjhanti</i>	<i>Having arisen, they disappear.</i>
<i>tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho.</i>	<i>Their complete stilling is bliss.</i>
១	1
ឱសត្វសង្ខារទាំងឡាយអើយ	Alas, the formations of living beings!
មែនពិតណាស់ហើយមិនទៀងទាត់	It is true indeed that they are impermanent
កើតហើយតែងតែវិនាសប្រាត់	Having arisen, they always are destroyed
បង់បាត់ទៅវិញជាធម្មតា ។	and disappear, as is their nature.
២	2
លុះតែរំលត់សង្ខារនោះ	When formations have been extinguished,
ទើបបានសុខស្មោះពេកណាស់ណា	then a most perfect happiness arises.
ហេតុនេះបរិស័ទពុទ្ធសាសនា	Hence, each member of the assembly of Buddhists
គួរពិចារណាគ្រប់ៗប្រាណ ។	should contemplate their lives
៣	3
ឲ្យយល់ច្បាស់នូវដំណើរការ	to see clearly the whole process
របស់សង្ខារទាំងប៉ុន្មាន	of the formations
ដើម្បីជាហេតុឲ្យខ្លួនបាន	so as to have a basis for oneself
ធ្វើទាននិងសីលការវិនាហោង ។	to practice generosity, precepts, and meditation.
<i>P2</i>	<i>P2</i>
<i>aciram vat'ayam kāyo</i>	<i>Soon indeed this body</i>
<i>pathaviṃ adhissati</i>	<i>will lie on the earth,</i>
<i>chuddho apetaṃkñāno</i>	<i>thrown away, without consciousness,</i>
<i>nirattham va kaliṅgaram</i>	<i>useless as a rotting log</i>
៤	
ឱកាយនៃមនុស្សសត្វគ្រប់ប្រាណ	Alas, the bodies of humans and other creatures!
រស់នៅមិនបានប៉ុន្មានឡើយ	They cannot abide for long at all.
កាលបើវិញ្ញាណចេញបាត់ហើយ	Once consciousness has left,
តែងដេកកល់កើយលើប្រថពី	they lie down upon the earth.
៥	

Appendix II-10 Bilingual Pali-Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7B)

គេតែងកប់ចោលក្នុងពសុធា	People bury them in the soil,
ឬដុតបូជាឆេះខ្ទេចខ្ទី	or burn them to mere ashes,
ទៅជាចំណីព្រះអគ្គី	to be fuel for the fire,
ដូចឧសពេញទឹកផលសោះ។	like completely used firewood that yields no benefits.
៦	6
(ហេតុនោះទើបព្រះចមកពង្រៃ	(Thus the Lord of the Three Worlds
ទ្រង់មានព្រះទ័យអនុគ្រោះ	was compassionate enough
សំដែងព្រះធម៌ដ៏ពិរោះ	to preach the mellifluous Dharma
បណ្តុះចិត្តពុទ្ធបរិស័ទផង។	to train the minds of all the faithful,
៧	7
ឲ្យដុះសតិវិនិច្ឆ័យ	to develop awareness and wisdom,
ចេះពិចារណាគ្រិះរិះត្រង់	to know how to reflect and contemplate
ត្រៃលក្ខណញ្ញាណល្អកន្លង	on the excellent knowledge of the Three Marks
ដើម្បីបានឆ្លងអវិជ្ជា។	in order to cross over ignorance
៨	8
ហើយបានកសាងការក្តើងក្តល់	and cultivate what is supreme,
កុសលទានសីលនិងការវិនា	the merit of charity, the precepts, and meditation,
គ្រាន់ជាទីពឹងពូនគ្រប់គ្នា	so as to be a refuge to take shelter in
ក្នុងជាតិនេះណាជាតិមុខហោង)។	for this life and in those to come.)

**Samvejanīyadhārm/samvejanīyadhārm samrāy Sēm Sūr-7**

Teachings to be stirred by, Pali with Khmer translation

Pali verse, 10 verses, extracts from canonical texts, including the Dhammapada.

Interwoven translation in Khmer verse, 26 stanzas in *bāky* 7, composed by Sēm Sūr, late 1960s or early 1970s.

Leporello: **UB047** 30b–33a saṅvekanīyadhārm

Khmer books: Sēm Sūr វិសេស សូរ, *Prajum dhārm kāvatār niñ sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រ ព្រះដ៏ម្តុ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1972), 65–70; Sēm Sūr វិសេស សូរ, *Prajum dhārm pad niñ dhammasaṅveg* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 65–68 (saṅvejanīyagāthā/gāthā guor oy saṅveg, with the note កំណាព្យរបស់ វិសេស-សូរ សាស្ត្រាចារ្យមជ្ឈមសិក្សាទុតិយភូមិ).

Summary: Khmer verse translation of Pali canonical stanzas, largely from the Dhammapada, commonly recited in ceremonies for the end of life.

Partial Edition and Translation

Sèm Sūr 197X

Translation

P4

*aniccā vata sankhārā  
uppdādayadhammino  
uppaṅgi[i]tv[ā] nirujjhanti  
tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho*

P4

*Impermanent, alas, are all conditioned things.  
They have the nature to arise and pass away.  
Having arisen, they disappear.  
Their complete stilling is bliss.*

១៣

13

សង្ខារទាំងឡាយមិនទៀងទៀយ  
តែងកើតមកហើយវិនាសទៅ  
កើតស្លាប់រលត់មិនសល់នៅ  
សង្ខារអស់ទៅទើបសុខា ។

Formations are impermanent,  
always arising and passing away.  
Arising, then passing away, they are completely extinguished.  
Once formations have been exhausted, then comes bliss.

P8

*aciraṃ vatayaṃ kāyo  
pathaviṃ adhisesati  
chuddho apeta viññānaṃ  
nira[tthamva] kalingaram.*

P8

*Soon indeed this body  
will lie on the earth,  
thrown away, without consciousness,  
useless as a rotting log*

២៤

24

កាយនេះមិននៅយូរយារទៀយ  
បាត់វិញ្ញាណហើយដូចអុសខ្មៅ  
គេតែងយកចោលក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ  
ឬគេយកទៅដុតកប់ដី ។

This body does not remain for long.  
Once consciousness is lost, it is like blackened charcoal.  
People always dispose of it in the deep woods,  
cremate it, or bury it in the ground.

## II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chapāñ* 16 verse (-y/ch)

### **dhārm yog-y/ch** (4)

#### **dhārm yog-y/ch**

The Dharma of union

Thai verse, stanzas 1–6 in *kāby yānī* 11 (cf. Khmer *brahmagāthī*), stanzas 7–28 in *kāby chapāñ* 16 (cf. Khmer *bannol*), 29–30 in *kāby yānī* 11, 31–45 in *kāby chapāñ* 16, 46 in *kāby yānī* 11, 47–63 in *kāby chapāñ* 16, and 64–71 in *kāby yānī* 11, and 69–71 in *kāby chapāñ* 16, likely composed in Central Thailand, possibly in Ayutthaya, 16<sup>th</sup> through 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the parent text for the Khmer version **dhārm yog-bn**.

Leporello: **UB007** 20a–25a dhammappaṭṭiyog; **UB008** 3b–11b dhārm y’ok; **UB009** 21b–26a; **UB051** 13a–14b namo me (incipit missing);

Long-format palm-leaf: BNF Indo-chinois 409

Summary: An opening homage to the Buddha, then an extensive ritual invitation to the relics, radiance, perfections, and Dharma of the Buddha to come inhabit the newly consecrated buddha image, followed by an enumeration of elaborate offerings, and closing with an aspiration to destroy obstacles and achieve boons, including birth during the time of Maitreya.

UB008	Thai script raw edition	Standardized
๑ ເພີ່ນຊົບຊື່ຍ ບຸນກໍຍ ໂຕຖູ່ຕາ ມຸຊິໂສຍ ທຸກຍາມ ກຳມຸນິໄສ ๗ ເອກສຸກສຸກຸືື ສຸກຸືືືືືືືືື ຯ ໒ ສຸກຍາມ ບຸນກໍຍ ໂຕຖູ່ຕາ ບິຊຸກໂຕ ສຸກຸືືືືືືືືື ຯ ເອກສຸກສຸກຸືືືື ສຸກຸືືືືືືືືື ຯ ໓	๑ เอ็ง(อัญ)ขุมบังคมประณม แต่พุทธบาทอันภาสายพรายคือ บวง(ปวง)?ศรี เทวาสุรานรกีวี (รักขวิ) นรกี อภิวันเทมุชา ๒ ดูข่าประณมแต่ พระปฏิภาโต อันเสมอหนึ่งนาวา พระนาโลกุตตรดวงตรา รสสูตรธรรม อันใดปาน ๓	๑ อัญขุมบังคมประณม แต่พุทธบาทภาสายปวงศรี เทวาสุรานรักขี อภิวันเทมุชา ๒ ดูข่าประณมพระใด ปฏิภาเสมอหนึ่งนาวา นาโลกุตตรดวงตรา รสสูตรธรรม อันใดปาน ๓

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chapānī* 16 verse (-y/ch)

คฺฐาเรบฺรณํไตตฺถฐฺฐิรเส	ตัวข้าประณมแต่ พุทธโอรส	ตัวข้าประณมพุทธโอรส
หฺรเศฐฺสํสํวาทา ๗	อันทรงศีลอาจารย์	อันทรงศีลศีลจารย์
คฺคิบบุณฺญเขฐฺทหฺรฐฺฐิสาณ	คือบุญเกษตรอันพิศาล	คือบุญเกษตรอันพิศาล
สฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺส ๖	เสด็จบันลือในโลกา	เสด็จบันลือในโลกา
คฺฐยหฺรฐฺฐกตหฺรฐฺฐา	๔	๔
หฺรฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐา ๗	ด้วยอานุภาพอันดูข้า	ด้วยอานุภาพดูข้า
เทสาณฺนุเทสาณฺนุคฺคิย	อภิวันท์ศาสดา	อภิวันท์ศาสดา
หฺรฐฺฐยฺยคฺคิย ๖	โทษานุโทษทุกทาย	โทษานุโทษา
๕	อันตรายจงเหือดหาย	อันตรายจงเหือดหาย
คฺฐาฐฺฐํคฺคิย ๖	๕	๕
เศฐฺสํสํวาทา ๗	ดูข้าตั้งจิตให้	ดูข้าตั้งจิตให้
หฺรฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐิ	ทรงศีลทรงสวาทยาย	ทรงศีลทรงสวาทยาย
สฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺสฺส ๖	อัญเชิญพระธาตุอันภาสาย	อัญเชิญพระธาตุอันภาสาย
๖	เสด็จในโลกาสืบฐาน	เสด็จในโลกาสืบฐาน
หฺรฐฺฐฐฺฐาเรฐฺฐิฐฺฐิฐฺฐิ	๖	๖
คฺคิยคฺคิยคฺคิยคฺคิย	อาราธนาแต่พระปิ่นเจ้า	รารณาพระปิ่นเกล้า
๗	จงเลลาอย่าให้นาน	จงเลลาอย่าให้นาน
๗	เสด็จสู่ (สรวม)พระอันพิศาล	เสด็จสู่พระอันพิศาล
๗	พุทธรูปอันใสศรี	พุทธรูปอันใสศรี
๗	๗	๗
๗	พระธาตุพระเจ้าอัน(เล่า)เทามี	พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันมี
๗	ในนพพระบุรี	ในนพรัตน์บุรี
๗	คือพระหนุศาสดา	คือพระหนุศาสดา
๗	๘	๘
๗	พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันเท่า(เล่า)จงลีลา	พระธาตุพระเจ้าลีลา
๗	เสด็จสู่(สรวม)พระประติมา	เสด็จสู่พระประติมา
๗	จงพระหนุเพ็ญมพราย	จงพระหนุเพ็ญมพราย
๗	๙	๙
๗	พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันเท่าหมาย (เต่าหมาย)	พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันหมาย
๗	แปดโทณทั้งหลาย	แปดโทณทั้งหลาย
๗	อันมีในแขวนสิงหน	อันมีในแขวนสิงหน
๗	๑๐	๑๐
๗	มีในผืนแผ่นดินผืนสากล	มีในผืนแผ่นดินผืนสากล
๗	อันมีในแผ่นดินตำบล	อันมีในแผ่นดินตำบล
๗	ภขงค้ท้าวภณทภิตดี	ภขงค้ท้าวภณทภิตดี



Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

๑๑	๑๑	๑๑
អញ្ជើញឆេស្តេច មូលមងជុំមជិត តាប់គួរព័ត៌ត ពិន្ទុងរៀងឲ្យ ។	อัญเชิญเสด็จมุลมกขมขิต คัมควรพิพิธ เป็นรุ่งเรืองฉาย	อัญเชิญมุลมงขมขิต คัมควรพิพิธ เป็นรุ่งเรืองฉาย
๑๒	๑๒	๑๒
ខៀវបុនហុនខាវព្រាវៗ ទន្តនុទន្ត ឆក់បៃបៃ ណែយចេត្តិស្ងួរ ។	เขียวบนหน/หุ่นขาว(ขาว)พรายฯ หันดานหันตาย ธรับไปไว้ในเจดีย์สวรรค	เขียวบนหนขาวพรายฯ หันดานหันตาย รับไว้ในเจดีย์สวรรค
๑๓	๑๓	๑๓
ខៀវស្បឡា[ខ្សា?]បុនមិពាណ៍ កុដ្ឋស្បនុរៀងរាល់ ឆក់បៃបៃ ណែម្យើងលុក្ករ ។	เขียวซ้ายขลาย(คล้าย/คล้าย)บนมี พรรณ ภขในสเนเรียงราล(ราญ) ธรับไปไว้ในเมืองสังกา	เขียวซ้ายขายบนมีพรรณ ภขในสเนเรียงราล(ราญ) ธรับไปไว้ในเมืองสังกา
๑๔	๑๔	๑๔
ខៀវត្បម្យើងខ្លាសាស្តារ ស្តេចជុនសប្បសាទ្ធា ឆក់បៃបៃ ណែយគន្ធិបូរី ។	เขียวใต้เมือง(มือ)ขวาศาสดา เสด็จชนสมปทา ธรับไปไว้ในคนธบุรี	เขียวใต้มือขวาศาสดา เสด็จชนสมปทา ธรับไปไว้ในคนธบุรี
๑๕	๑๕	๑๕
ខៀវសាយខ្សា[ខ្សា?]តាំមព្រះមុនី កុដ្ឋគេនធិប្បត្តិ ឆក់បៃបៃ ណែយនាគ្តិកុដ្ឋ ។	เขียวซ้ายขลายดำ(ตาม)พระมณี ภขเคนทรธิบดี ธรับไปไว้ในนาคพิภพ	เขียวซ้ายขายดำพระมณี ภขเคนทรธิบดี ธรับไปไว้ในนาคพิภพ
๑๖	๑๖	๑๖
សាកាបូជាគោរុត្ត ខោរកេរអត្តិនុព្វ ញាត្តយចៃ ចៃសប្បាសាទ្ធា ។	สักการะบูชาเคารพ ขาว(เข้า)แก้วกนิพ ถวายโดยใจสับ(สมปา?)สัทธา	สักการะบูชาเคารพ เข้าแก้วกนิพ ถวายโดยใจสับ(สมปา?)สัทธา
๑๗	๑๗	๑๗
អញ្ជើញឆេស្តេច ហ្វារុបព្រះសាស្តារ ស្តេចសូមព្រះប្រតិមា បូពិត្រព្រះចៅ ចុនយ៉ារយុន ។	อัญเชิญเสด็จยังรูปพระศาสดา เสด็จสุ(สรวม)พระประติมา บพิตรพระเจ้าจยายง (ยังยง/อย่ายง/ อย่างยง)	อัญเชิญเสด็จยังรูปพระศาสดา เสด็จสุ(สรวม)พระประติมา บพิตรพระเจ้าอย่างยง
๑๘	๑๘	๑๘
រក្ខខានព្រះបិនចៅពុទ្ធអុន ព្រះសិអាបញ្ជង ឆក់បៃបៃ ណែយកោះលុក្ករ ។	รากขวัญพระป็นเจ้าพุทธองค์ พระศรีอารยบัจจง ธรับไปไว้ในเกาะสังกา	รากขวัญพระป็นเจ้าพุทธองค์ พระศรีอารยบรจง ธรับไปไว้ในเกาะสังกา

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chapānī* 16 verse (-y/ch)

๑๙	๑๙	๑๙
ภคฺฐาสฺมึตฺตํ ๑	รากขวัญพระปิ่นเจ้าเมือง(เมือง)ขวา(ฟ้า)	รากขวัญพระปิ่นเจ้าเมืองขวา
เสฏฺฐสฺสณฺฑิยา	โสฬสลงมา	โสฬสลงมา
ตํ ๑	๒๐	๒๐
๒๐	๒๐	๒๐
๒๑	๒๑	๒๑
๒๒	๒๒	๒๒
๒๓	๒๓	๒๓
๒๔	๒๔	๒๔
๒๕	๒๕	๒๕
๒๖	๒๖	๒๖
๒๗	๒๗	๒๗
๒๘	๒๘	๒๘
๒๙	๒๙	๒๙
๓๐	๓๐	๓๐
๓๑	๓๑	๓๑
๓๒	๓๒	๓๒
๓๓	๓๓	๓๓
๓๔	๓๔	๓๔
๓๕	๓๕	๓๕
๓๖	๓๖	๓๖
๓๗	๓๗	๓๗
๓๘	๓๘	๓๘
๓๙	๓๙	๓๙
๔๐	๔๐	๔๐
๔๑	๔๑	๔๑
๔๒	๔๒	๔๒
๔๓	๔๓	๔๓
๔๔	๔๔	๔๔
๔๕	๔๕	๔๕
๔๖	๔๖	๔๖
๔๗	๔๗	๔๗
๔๘	๔๘	๔๘
๔๙	๔๙	๔๙
๕๐	๕๐	๕๐
๕๑	๕๑	๕๑
๕๒	๕๒	๕๒
๕๓	๕๓	๕๓
๕๔	๕๔	๕๔
๕๕	๕๕	๕๕
๕๖	๕๖	๕๖
๕๗	๕๗	๕๗
๕๘	๕๘	๕๘
๕๙	๕๙	๕๙
๖๐	๖๐	๖๐
๖๑	๖๑	๖๑
๖๒	๖๒	๖๒
๖๓	๖๓	๖๓
๖๔	๖๔	๖๔
๖๕	๖๕	๖๕
๖๖	๖๖	๖๖
๖๗	๖๗	๖๗
๖๘	๖๘	๖๘
๖๙	๖๙	๖๙
๗๐	๗๐	๗๐
๗๑	๗๑	๗๑
๗๒	๗๒	๗๒
๗๓	๗๓	๗๓
๗๔	๗๔	๗๔
๗๕	๗๕	๗๕
๗๖	๗๖	๗๖
๗๗	๗๗	๗๗
๗๘	๗๘	๗๘
๗๙	๗๙	๗๙
๘๐	๘๐	๘๐
๘๑	๘๑	๘๑
๘๒	๘๒	๘๒
๘๓	๘๓	๘๓
๘๔	๘๔	๘๔
๘๕	๘๕	๘๕
๘๖	๘๖	๘๖
๘๗	๘๗	๘๗
๘๘	๘๘	๘๘
๘๙	๘๙	๘๙
๙๐	๙๐	๙๐
๙๑	๙๑	๙๑
๙๒	๙๒	๙๒
๙๓	๙๓	๙๓
๙๔	๙๔	๙๔
๙๕	๙๕	๙๕
๙๖	๙๖	๙๖
๙๗	๙๗	๙๗
๙๘	๙๘	๙๘
๙๙	๙๙	๙๙
๑๐๐	๑๐๐	๑๐๐

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chapān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

เบตลึบซำถำฬึฬึ	แปดสิบห้าทั้งผอง	แปดสิบห้าทั้งผอง
เถึยสเถฎัฬึถำฬึ ๖	พริตโพรง(พรอง)พึงตา	พริตโพรงพึงตา
๒๘	๒๘	๒๘
ถุฎหุฎฬึหุฎสฎฬึวฎ	พุททองค้อันทรงฤทธา	พุททองค้อันทรงฤทธา
ฐาถึฎฬึฎษบกา	ทวัตตังสมหา	ทวัตตังสมหา
บรสุฎฬึกษณธาตอณนียง (just อณนียง)	บุรสุฎฬึกษณธาตอณนียง	บุรสุฎฬึกษณธาตอณนียง
๒๙	๒๙	๒๙
เถฎะเกตุชานา	พระเกตุมาลา	พระเกตุมาลา
เถฎะสาฎุฎฬึสฎุฎฬึ	พระศาสดาเสด็จทรง	พระศาสดาเสด็จทรง
	เหลียม(แหลม)ๆเหลือง	เหลียม(แหลม)ๆเหลืองจรัลจ(จรัล)จรง(จรง/
	จรัลจ(จรัล)จรง(จรง/จรง)	จรง)
	จรวจจรวลสรวิสี	จรวจจรวลสรวิสี
๓๐	๓๐	๓๐
	พระพยามนุชา(ปปผา)	พระพยามนุชา(ปปผา)
เวฎุฎฬึถำฬึฎฬึ	รัฐชดา(รัฐชิต)รังสี	รัฐชดา(รัฐชิต)รังสี
ฎษณฎฬึชฎฬึฎฬึ	รุธานเหมคิรี	รุธานเหมคิรี
สฎฐฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	อินทรธนูพัทษยงยล	อินทรธนูพัทษยงยล
๓๑	๓๑	๓๑
หุฎฎฬึสฎฎฬึฎฬึ	อดฤตรสต(add วร/พร)มงคล	อดฤตรสตมงคล
บิรฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	เป็นประดับพระทศพล	เป็นประดับพระทศพล
ถุฎฐฎฬึฎฬึ	พุทษบาททั้งสอง	พุทษบาททั้งสอง
๓๒	๓๒	๓๒
หฎฎึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	อฎฎึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	อฎฎึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ
ฎฬึฎฬึ ๖ ฎฬึฎฬึ ๖	พรายโพรงๆ(พรอง)ๆ	พรายๆ ไปรงๆ
เถฎะฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	พระประติมาเรื่องฉาย	พระประติมาเรื่องฉาย
๓๓	๓๓	๓๓
ถุฎฎึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	แต่มีพระธรรม อณนิตรทั้งหลาย	แต่มีพระธรรมอณนิตรทั้งหลาย
คุฎฐคานหุฎฎฬึฎฬึ	คองคาน(คองคาน)อณนิตร	คองคานอณนิตร
คิฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	ค็อบันทูลทุกวัน	ค็อบันทูลทุกวัน
๓๔	๓๔	๓๔
เถฎะฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	พระนพโลกฤตรวงตราธรรม	พระนพโลกฤตรวงตราธรรม
หุฎฎึฎฬึฎฬึฎฬึ	อาจจ(อาจจ/อาจจ)ให้เสวยสวรรค	อาจจให้เสวยสวรรค
สฎฐสฎฐฎฬึฎฬึ	ค็อสุขสานตเสวยบุญ	ค็อสุขสานตเสวยบุญ
๓๕	๓๕	๓๕

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

ព្រះព័រអាចុងហ្វៃឆ្នឹមគុន	พระพรอาจงให้ชนิม(เจนิม?ทะนิม?)คุณ	พระพรอาจจงให้ชนิม(เจนิม?ทะนิม?)คุณ
ព្រះញាណអនឌិតុល	พระญาณอันอุดม	พระญาณอันอุดม
ចុងទេស្តាជុកព្យា ។	จงเทศนาทุกกาย	จงเทศนาทุกกาย
៣៦	๓๖	๓๖
ព្រះពិស្វសារត្តរឿងស្យា	พระไพสาร์ตเรื่องฉาย(not นาย)	พระไพสาร์ต(vaiśāradya?)เรื่องฉาย
ទសពលពន្រាយ	ทศพลพรรณราย	ทศพลพรรณราย
ស្យាត្រូវហែតន្ទះទ្វាត្រី ។	โดยตรีเหตุสจลธาตุรี	โดยตรีเหตุสจลธาตุรี
៣៧	๓๗	๓๗
សារពេជ្ជតាញាណអន្ទោមី	สรรเพชรดาญาณอันเทามี(ที่)	สรรเพชรดาญาณอันมี
គម្ពីរញាណ	คัมภีรญาณเณ(ญาณ)	คัมภีรญณี
ចុងទេស្តាជុកណៃ ។	จงเทศนาทุกใน (นัย?)	จงเทศนาทุกนัย
៣៨	๓๘	๓๘
តែម្យីព្រះធម្ម	แต่มีพระธรรม	แต่มีพระธรรม
អនុមិតទូត្យ ញើញធេស្តេចខៅណៃ	อันมิตรทั้งหลาย	อนุมิตีทั้งหลาย
ព្រះបុត្តិមាមូលមង ។	คงคานอันภาสเวยสวรรค	คงคานอันภาสเวยสวรรค
៣៩	๓๙	๓๙
ចុងពុទ្ធភាទៃទានផង	จงพุทธหฤทัยทานผอง	จงพุทธหฤทัยทานผอง
ប្រោសត្រូវ	โปรดสัตว์ทั้งพวง	โปรดสัตว์ทั้งพวง
គឺព្រះបិទចៅទូន្មាន ។	คือพระปิ่นเจ้าทูนมาน	คือพระปิ่นเจ้าทูนมาน
៤០	๔๐	๔๐
ព្រះត្រៃចីវរឱណ្ណយង	พระไตรจีวรอุฬารยิ่ง	พระไตรจีวรอุฬารยิ่ง
ក្រុមតម្បើងមង	กระมุทเมืองมิ่ง	กระมุทเมืองมิ่ง
យងចម្បាទាទិម ។	ยิ่งจำปาทาหิม	ยิ่งจำปาทาหิม
៤១	๔๑	๔๑
ព្រះបុត្តគិរិនិងហ្វារ ហ្វេមហ្វិម	พระมงกุคือนิ่งฟ้า(?)เหลี่ยมหลิม	พระมงกุคือนิ่งฟ้าเหลี่ยมหลิม
ចុងសរាបរឿងរិម	จงสำหรับเรื่องริม	จงสำหรับเรื่องริม
ណៃព្រះស្សង់ច្រាលច្រូល ។	ในพระสบนงจรลจรวล	ในพระสบนงจรลจรวล
៤២	๔๒	๔๒
ចុងប្រកប ចុងប្រតាបតាប័គ្គិរ	จงประกอบจงประดับ(คับ/คาบ)คับควร	จงประกอบจงประดับคับควร
ចុងបញ្ចេចចៃចូរ	จงบรรเจิดใจจั่ว (จวน?)	จงบรรเจิดใจจวน
ណៃគឺអង្គព្រះបុត្តិមា ។	ในคือพระประติมา	ในคือพระประติมา
៤៣	๔๓	๔๓
អញ្ជើញធេស្តេច ផែនរត្តសារពេជ្ជ	อัญเชิญเสด็จแผนรัตน์สรรเพชรญี่ไสยา	อัญเชิญเสด็จแผนรัตน์สรรเพชรญี่ไสยา
សៃយ្យា		

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chapānī* 16 verse (-y/ch)

หฤหัสถ์บุษยา	อภิเชกษุชา	อภิเชกษุชา
ชิวติ์สุณัฐมุล ๖	อวยพรสวัสดิ์มงคล	อวยพรสวัสดิ์มงคล
๒๒	๔๔	๔๔
หฤทธิญตฺเรสุตฺต ไชยคุยฆารุ	อัญเชิญเสด็จไปด้วยอานนท	อัญเชิญเสด็จไปด้วยอานนท
ยฆจรุญตฺเรสุตฺต	ยอมทรงพระทศพล	ยอมทรงพระทศพล
สาธุเจียรณฺตฺต ๖	สาธุเทือน(เทียน?)ทั้งทวน (ถ้วน)	สาธุเทือนทั้งถ้วน
๒๕	๔๕	๔๕
ตฺเรเตวธมฺม ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	พระเจ้ามาเมืองนา(หน้า)อาจิม	พระเจ้ามาเมืองหน้าจินตย์
วิธินฺตฺต	รำพึงทุกทีน	รำพึงทุกทีน
ตฺเรสุตฺต ๖	พุทธคุณพระสนอง	พุทธคุณพระสนอง
๒๖	๔๖	๔๖
ตฺเรเตวธมฺม ฆุญฺตฺต	พระเจ้ามาเมืองหน้า	พระเจ้ามาเมืองหน้า
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	มากยิ่งขึ้นกว่าชายสาคร	มากยิ่งขึ้นกว่าทนายสาคร
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	ทรงไฉนจิรว	ทรงไฉนจิรว
๒๗	๔๗	๔๗
ตฺเรเตวธมฺม ฆุญฺตฺต	เหาะเหิรเดรดาซึ่งบริวาร	เหาะเหิรเดรดาซึ่งบริวาร
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	ยอม(ยอม)ทรงพระศรีอารย	ยอมทรงพระศรีอารย
๒๘	๔๘	๔๘
หฤทธิญตฺเรสุตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	อัญเชิญเสด็จลีลามุลหมอง(มก)	อัญเชิญเสด็จลีลามุลมุง
ฆุญฺตฺต ๒	พรายโพรงๆ(พรอง)ๆ	พรายโพรงๆ(พรอง)ๆ
๒๙	๔๙	๔๙
ตฺเรเตวธมฺม ฆุญฺตฺต	ดุไลไตรศรณบวรศาสดา	ดุไลไตรศรณบวรศาสดา
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	ข้าไหว้พระประติมา	ข้าไหว้พระประติมา
๓๐	๕๐	๕๐
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	ถวายไฟรอง(ผล)อันผจง	ถวายไฟรองอันผจง
๓๑	๕๑	๕๑
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	มีทั้งแบ่งจิง(จิง)จากเจียว(?)รูปจางง	มีทั้งแบ่งจิง(จิง)จากเจียว(?)รูปจางง
๓๒	๕๒	๕๒
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	มีทั้งฉัตรเทียวรง	มีทั้งฉัตรเทียวรง
๓๓	๕๓	๕๓
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	มีทั้งเทียนรูปชวาลา	มีทั้งเทียนรูปชวาลา
๓๔	๕๔	๕๔
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	ดูทั้งหลายถวายพุทธบูชา	ดูทั้งหลายถวายพุทธบูชา
๓๕	๕๕	๕๕
ฆุญฺตฺต ฆุญฺตฺต	แต่สมเด็จพระประติมา	แต่สมเด็จพระประติมา



Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

๖๐	๖๐	๖๐
ចុងតួរត្នាំហៃចិត្តព្រះប្រាជ្ញ	จงตุดตวาให้จิตปราศปราย?	จงตุดตวาให้จิตปราศปราย?
ហ្សែលំតោះទុក្ខអន្តរា	ให้รำดะชะทุกข์อนตราย	ให้รำดะชะทุกข์อนตราย
ហ្សែលុះសុខទុកយុន ។	ให้ลสุขทุกคน	ให้ลสุขทุกคน
๖๑	๖๑	๖๑
ចុងហ្សែពនចាក តើនតុនរៀវរុន	จงให้พ้นจากเดินครนเรียวรุณ ??	จงให้พ้นจากเดินครนเรียวรุณ ??
ចុង ហ្សែចុងថ្ងៃកង្វិន	จงให้ถวายกังวล	จงให้ถวายกังวล
ចុងអយានុរោតា ។	จงอายารุนโรคา	จงอายารุนโรคา
๖๒	๖๒	๖๒
យើងខ្ញុំសូមសុភូ សូមយកសាស្តារ	เอียงขยมสรวมสุขสรวมยกศาสดา	เอียงขยมสรวมสุขสรวมยกศาสดา
សុត្តិព្រះប្រតិមា	สลดีพระประติมา	สลดีพระประติมา
ខាសសើដួសុតថ្ងៃ ។	ข้าสรรเสริญสวดถวาย	ข้าสรรเสริญสวดถวาย
๖๓	๖๓	๖๓
ខាខត្យតើត ល្អលៃតហ្សើយហ្សៃ	ซากได้เดื่อดลมลละเลยหลาย(ลาย)???	ซากได้เดื่อดลมลละเลยหลาย(ลาย)???
សោសុភូសព្វសា	สวยสุขสรรพสาย	สวยสุขสรรพสาย
សលសៃនសឱក ។	สลแสนสังเขยา	สลแสนสังเขยา
๖๔	๖๔	๖๔
យើងខ្ញុំសូមសិត	เอียงขยมสรวมสิทธิ	เอียงขยมสรวมสิทธิ
សូមវិតចេស្តារ	สรวมฤทธเจสดา	สรวมฤทธเจสดา
សូមលុះតប្រាថ្នា	สรวมล(ด)ปรารธนา	สรวมล(ด)ปรารธนา
តោនូវច្បៃចំណង ។	ด้วยเนาใจบานง	ด้วยเนาใจบานง
๖๕	๖๕	๖๕
យើងខ្ញុំសូមបានតល	เอียงขยมสรวมบานดล	เอียงขยมสรวมบานดล
សោផលអន្តិសង្គ	สวยผลอานิสงศ	สวยผลอานิสงศ
ត្រីពិតសំបុត្តិត្រង	ตรีพิธสมบัตติตรง	ตรีพิธสมบัตติตรง
ត្រីកត្រៃលហៃឡៃ ។	เตรกตรวลหญัย	เตรกตรวลหญัย
๖๖	๖๖	๖๖
សូមយើងបានណ្ណះ មារ	เอียงขยมสรวม(เยยบาน)ชนะมาร	เอียงขยมสรวม(เยยบาน)ชนะมาร
៥ ប្រការក្រាសក្រៃ	ห้าประการกราส(กราส)ไกร	ห้าประการกราส(กราส)ไกร
ជន្មិខាខត្យ	ชนนึข้าขอ(ก็)ได้	ชนนึข้าขอ(ก็)ได้
ផលទិដ្ឋជម្មវេទ ។	ผลทิจฐฐธรรมเวท	ผลทิจฐฐธรรมเวท
๖๗	๖๗	๖๗
ជនាវិត្ត	ชานาฤทธิ	ชานาฤทธิ

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

ชาตฺถึถึเสฐ	ข้าจงพิเศษ ???	ข้าจงพิเศษ ???
ตฺถึบเฐ็ลเลฏฐึไภล	จงบ้งเกิดโดยตรีเหตุ ???	จงบ้งเกิดโดยตรีเหตุ ???
บฺรคฺฐึสฐึ ๑	(ค)ปฏิสนธิ ???	ทุกพระปฏิสนธิ
๖๘	๖๘	๖๘
สฺฐมตฺถึสฐึสฐึ	ขยมสรวม(สรวมบาน)นมัสการ	ขยมสรวม(สรวมบาน)นมัสการ
ตฺถึสัหะเชฐึ	พระศรีอารยเมตรี	พระศรีอารยเมตรี
สฺฐตฺถึสฐึสฐึ	เสด็จตรัสสมโพธิ	เสด็จตรัสสมโพธิ
ตฺถึสฐึสฐึ ๑	ธรรมรัตน์(รัตน)ราชา	ธรรมรัตน์ราชา
๖๙	๖๙	๖๙
ตฺถึสฐึสฐึสฐึสฐึ	จงเฝือก(เกิด)เหือดหายโศกา	จงเฝือกเหือดหายโศกา
ตฺถึตคตฺถึสฐึ	จงจากจงพินธา(พุทธา)	จงจากพาธา
คเฐ็ลลฐึสฐึสฐึ ๑	(ก็)เดินตรง(ครุณ)เรียวยหาย	ก็เดินครุณเรียวยหาย
๗๐	๗๐	๗๐
ตฺถึสฐึสฐึสฐึสฐึ	จงด(หัว)หน้าฝูงสัตว์ทั้งหลาย	จงหัวหน้าฝูงสัตว์ทั้งหลาย
สฺฐสฺฐึสฐึสฐึ	เสวยสุขเปรมพราย?	เสวยสุขเปรมพราย
บชเฐ็ลลฐึสฐึสฐึ ๑	บถโมกข์มหานิพพาน	บถโมกข์มหานิพพาน
๗๑	๗๑	๗๑
ตฺถึสฐึสฐึ	ธรรมโยคาวรรณนา	ธรรมโยคาวรรณนา
สฺฐสฺฐึสฐึสฐึ	โดยญาณ สังเขปฟังอ่าน	โดยญาณ สังเขปฟังอ่าน
สฐึสฐึสฐึสฐึ ๑ : ๑ : ๑	สมัตตนาปะการทอง	สมัตตนาปะการทอง

Translation

Standardized

๑  
 อัญขยมบ้งคมประณม  
 แต่พุทธบาทภายสยปวงศรี  
 เทวาสฐานุรักชี  
 อภิวันเทบูชา  
 ๒  
 ตูข้าประณมพระไตร  
 ปีกุณเฐ็ลลฐึสฐึ  
 นวโลกุตตรดวงตรา  
 รสสุตธรรม อันใดปาน

Translation

1  
 I humbly bow and fold my hands before  
 the Buddha's feet, illustrious and bright,  
 which gods and titans protect,  
 reverence, and worship.  
 2  
 I humbly fold my hands before the Triple Basket,  
 likened to a ship,  
 the ninefold supramundane states whose seal  
 is the taste of the discourses and teachings, incomparable.



Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

๓

ตัวข้าประณมพุทธโอรส  
อันทรงศีลศีลจารย์  
คือบุญเกษตรอันพิศาล  
เสด็จบันลือในโลกา

๔

ด้วยอานุภาพตุข้า  
อภิวันท์ศาสดา  
โทษานุโทษา  
อันตรายจงเหือดหาย

๕

ตุข้าตั้งจิตให้  
ทรงศีลทรงสวาทยาย  
อัญเชิญพระธาตุอันภาสาย  
เสด็จในโลกาสืบฐาน

๖

รารณาพระปิ่นเกล้า  
จงเลลาอย่าให้หวน  
เสด็จสู่พระอันพิศาล  
พุทธรูปอันใสศรี

๗

พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันมี  
ในนพรัตน์บุรี  
คือพระหนุศาสดา

๘

พระธาตุพระเจ้าลีลา  
เสด็จสู่พระประติมา  
จงพระหนุเพริยมพราย

๙

พระธาตุพระเจ้าอันมาย  
แปดโทณทั้งหลาย  
อันมีในแควนสิงหน

๑๐

มีในผืนแผ่นดินผืนสาภ  
อันมีในแผ่นดินตำบล  
ภูซงค์ท้าวภณทภิตดี

3

I humbly fold my hands before the offspring of the Buddha,  
who uphold the precepts as teachers of virtue,  
who are the vast field of merit  
that moves to illuminate the world.

4

By the power of my  
veneration of the Teacher,  
may sins, both great and small,  
and disasters disappear.

5

I humbly make the intention  
to uphold the precepts and recitation,  
inviting the illustrious relics  
that travel everywhere in the world.

6

I beseech the Highest Lord  
to come quickly  
to the lovely image,  
the buddha image that shines in radiance.

7

The relics of the Lord that lie  
in Chiang Mai (*naḥparāta(n)purī*),  
that is, the chin of the Teacher—

8

may the relics of the Lord move  
into the holy image,  
including his resplendent chin.

9

The relics of the Lord that measure  
eight *donā* in all:  
those in the Sinhalese realm,

10

those on the earth in great countries,  
in small countries,  
or guarded by serpents—

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

๑๑	อัญเชิญมุลมุงชุมชิด คัมภีร์พิพิธ เป็นรุ่งเรืองฉาย	11 I invite them to assemble together and crowd around, variegated and lustrous in their radiance.
๑๒	เขี้ยวบนหนขวาพรายๆ ทันตานทันตาย รับไว้ในเจดีย์สวรรค์	12 The upper-right canine, shining bright, and the major and minor teeth, are kept in a heavenly cetiya.
๑๓	เขี้ยวซ้ายซ้ายบนมีพรรณ ภูษาไสนุเรียงราล(ราญ) ธรรพ์ไปไว้ในเมืองลังกา	13 The upper-left canine, whose hue shines everywhere, is kept in the kingdom of Lankā.
๑๔	เขี้ยวใต้มีขอวาสาศา เสด็จชนสมปทา ธรรพ์ไปไว้ในคณธบุรี	14 The lower-right canine of the Teacher, which travels for the benefit of people, is kept in Gandhāra.
๑๕	เขี้ยวซ้ายซ้ายต่ำพระมุนี ภูษเคนทร์ธิบัติ ธรรพ์ไปไว้ในนาคพิภพ	15 The lower-left canine of the Sage is kept by king of the serpents, in the nāga realm,
๑๖	สักการะบูชาเคารพ เข้าแก้วอภินพ ถวายโดยใจสลับ(สมปทา?)สัทธา	16 where it as venerated, worshipped, and respected, placed in a new jewel, offered with hearts full of faith.
๑๗	อัญเชิญเสด็จยังรูปพระศาสดา เสด็จสู่(สรวม)พระประติมา บพิตรพระเจ้าอย่างยง	17 I invite [these relics] to the image of the Teacher, to the holy image, the venerable Lord, ever resplendent.
๑๘	รากขวัญพระปิ่นเจ้าพุทธองค์ พระศรีอารยบรรจง ธรรพ์ไปไว้ในเกาะลังกา	18 The clavicle of the Highest Lord, the Buddha, ornamented by Maitreya, is kept on the isle of Lankā.
๑๙	รากขวัญพระปิ่นเจ้าเมืองขวา โสฬสลงมา ธรรพ์ไปไว้ถึงพรหม	19 The clavicle of the Highest Lord, on the right, descended from the sixteen-fold heavens, is kept in the Brahmā realm.
๒๐		20

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

อัญเชิญเสด็จสู่ฐานอุดม  
พุทธรูปพระปิ่นสม  
ในดอังก่ำบิดโคมฉาย

๒๑

พระเกศอุณาโลมพรายๆ  
พระศรีอันเท่าหมาย  
ค้อยลลาภธาตุอันยง

๒๒

อัญเชิญเสด็จให้จวบ  
ลังกาทวีปบรรจง  
โดยเนารัตน์เรืองรุ่ง

๒๓

สี่สิบพระทันตาผอง  
พระนขาอันลั่นโล่ง  
แหลมๆ พรายๆ

๒๔

อัญเชิญจากสถานทั้งหลาย  
ให้รุ่งเรืองฉาย  
ในคือองค์พระประติมา

๒๕

พระเนตรพระโรมพระศาสดา  
อันท่านประดิษฐานว่า  
ไว้ที่ดาวดั่งสีโกล

๒๖

อัญเชิญเสด็จจงอัน(อร)อาศัย  
จงเห็นไวๆ  
ในพระเนตรทั้งสอง

๒๗

อนุพยัญชนะพรายโปรง(?)  
แปดสิบห้าทั้งผอง  
พริตโปรงพิงตา

๒๘

พุทธองค์อันทรงฤทธา  
ทวัตตังสัมหา  
บุรุษสักขณธาตุอันยง

๒๙

พระเกตุมาลา

I invite them to this excellent place,  
the buddha image, the Highest Lord, together  
with the resplendent clavicle.

21

The head-hair, the brilliant hair between the eyebrows  
of the Radiant One,  
along with the shining brow relic.

22

I invite them to come,  
the ornaments of the isle of Lankā,  
together with resplendent jewels.

23

All forty teeth,  
exceptionally clear nails,  
sharp and shining.

24

I invite them from all realms  
to brightly illuminate  
from within the holy image.

25

The eyes and eyebrows of the Teacher  
which he entrusted  
to the Tāvātīṃsa heaven—

26

I invite them to joyfully reside,  
to quickly fly  
into the two eyes [of the image].

27

The scintillating minor marks,  
eighty in all,  
are delightfully resplendent.

28

The body of the Buddha, ever mighty,  
contains the thirty-two  
marks of a great man, ever bright.

29

The halo

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

พระศาสดาเสด็จทรง	of the Teacher, endowed
เหล็ยม(แหลม)ๆเหลืองจวาลจ(จรัล)จรง(จรง/จรง)	with sharp yellows and blazing reds,
จรวจจวาลสรสิ	shines around his head.
๓๐	30
พระพยามบูชา(ปโปผา)	The aureole,
รัญชดา(รัญชิต)รังสี	with its colored rays,
รุธานเหมคิริ	is like the golden mount
อินทรธนูพัทภัยงยล	or a brilliant rainbow.
๓๑	31
อตฤตรสดมงคล	The one hundred and eight auspicious marks,
เป็นประดับพระทศพล	the ornaments of the Ten-Powered Lord,
พุทบาททั้งสอง	manifest on the Buddha's two feet.
๓๒	32
อัญเชิญเสด็จสิลามุมง	I invite these relics to come together
พรายๆ โปรงๆ	and brightly shine
พระประติมาเรื่องฉาย	from within the resplendent image.
๓๓	33
แต่มีพระธรรมอนันต์ทั้งหลาย	There are the approved teachings,
คงคานอันภาสาย	that remain resplendent,
คือมันทุลทุกวัน	being expounding each day.
๓๔	34
พระนพโลกุตรดวงตราธรรม	The ninefold supramundane states, the seals of the Teaching,
อาจจงให้เสวยสวรรค์	which can lead one to experience the heavens
คือสุขสันต์เสวยบุญ	and blissful peace from the enjoyment of merit.
๓๕	35
พระพรอาจจงให้ธนิม(เจนิม?ทะนิม?)คุณ	His blessings can increase virtue.
พระญาณอันอุดม	His wisdom, which is excellent—
จงเทศนาทุกกาย	may it preach for all time.
๓๖	36
พระไพสาร์ต(vaiśāradya?)เรื่องฉาย	His self-confidence blazes with light.
ทศพลพรรณราย	The resplendent Ten-Powered Lord,
โดยตรีเหตุสจลลธาตุรี	with the triple cause, illuminates the earth.
๓๗	37
สรเพชดาญาณอันมี	His omniscient wisdom,
คมภีรณนี้	with its profound insight—
จงเทศนาทุกนัย	may it preach on every meaning.

๓๘	แต่มีพระธรรม อนมัตติทั้งหลาย คงคานอันภาเสวยสวรรค	38	There are the approved teachings, which remain glorified, enjoying the heavens.
๓๙	จงพุทธหฤทัยท่านผอง โปรดสัตว์ทั้งปวง คือพระปิ่นเจ้าทุนมาน	39	May the hearts of all of the buddhas save all living beings— that is, may the Highest Lord instruct them.
๔๐	พระไตรจีวรอุฬารยิ่ง กรมุทเมืองมิ่ง ยิ่งจำปาทาทิม	40	The most lofty triple robe with heavenly lotuses, best of frangipani and pomegranate.
๔๑	พระมงกุฏคือนิ่งฟ้าเหลี่ยมหลิม จงสำหรับเรื่องริม ในพระสรงจรัลจรวล	41	His crown is pointed, sharp, and resplendent. His lower robe blazes red.
๔๒	จงประกอบจงประดับคัมภีร์ จงบรรเจิดใจจวน ในคือพระประติมา	42	May there be a densely ornamented array of lovely cloth upon the holy image.
๔๓	อัญเชิญเสด็จแผ่นดินรัฐสรเพชญ์ไสยา อภิเชกบุชา อวยพรสวัสดิมงคล	43	I invite the relics to come from the land of <i>raṭṭh sarbej(ñ) sayiā</i> for consecration and worship, and to bestow prosperity and blessings.
๔๔	อัญเชิญเสด็จไปด้วยอานนท ย่อมทรงพระทศพล สาธุเทือนทั่วถ้วน	44	I invite the relics to come with the joy of the Ten-Powered Lords, with exaltations all around.
๔๕	พระเจ้ามาเบื้องหน้าอจินตย์ รำพึงทุกทิน พุทธคุณพระสนอง	45	The Lords of the future, innumerable, who are recollected each day for their buddha-virtues as buddhas-to-be,
๔๖	พระเจ้ามาเบื้องหน้า มากยิ่งขึ้นกว่าทรายสาคร ทรงไตรจีวร พุทธพาสอุฬาร	46	[these] lords of the future, more numerous than the sand grains in the ocean, shall wear the triple robe, the lofty vestment of the buddhas,
๔๗		47	

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

เหาะเหิรเตรดาสซึ่งบริพาร ย่อมทรงพระศรีอารย คือประเลื้อยเหน่งนุ่ง	flying everywhere together with their retinues, just like Śrī Ārya [Maitreya], loftily swathed in clothes.
๔๘	48
อัญเชิญเสด็จสีลามุลมง พรายโพรงๆ(พรองๆ) พุทธรูปเรขา	I invite the relics to come assemble to illuminate the adorned buddha image.
๔๙	49
ตุลฺไตรศรณํบวรศาสตร์ ข้าไหว้พระประติมา ถวายไพรมองอันผจง	I attain the triple refuge of the excellent Teacher. I humbly bow before the holy image, offering all kinds of silks.
๕๐	50
มีทั้งแป้งจิ้ง(จี่)จากเจียว(?)รูปจางง มีทั้งฉัตรเทียวธง มีทั้งเทียนรูปชวาลา	There are powders and scents, together with parasols, triangular pendants, candles, incense, and oil lamps.
๕๑	51
ตุทั้งหลายถวายพุทธบูชา แต่สมเด็จพระประติมา มีเครื่องถ่านๆ ทุกพรรณ	We all offer these to the Buddha, to the Lord, the holy image, along with all kinds of offerings in various colors.
๕๒	52
ตุเล็กหวนถ้วนทุกสิ่งอานา(อัน) ตุเล็กกระเจะจวงจันทน์ สุคนธรสเขจร	I raise up all offerings. I raise up scented powders, whose sweet fragrance wafts all around.
๕๓	53
ตุเล็กน้ำผึ้งน้ำตาลมธุกร อันสำอูดจงเอมอร อันอุตมนักหนา	I raise up honey, the sugar of honeybees, which is fine, soft, and sweet exceedingly excellent.
๕๔	54
สรรพพยัญชนานาสรรพฤทธา จงบังเกิดหรรษา ดิเรกกระเจะใจตง?	All the bodily marks and all the powers— may they give rise to joy supreme and fine scents.
๕๕	55
สรรพพยัญชนาอุปรรจง อันมีในก้วง จักรพรรดิ์พึงถวาย	The divine marks and the fine incense, which lie in the wheel, the wheel-turning king thus offers.
๕๖	56
มีในนาคพิภพเพี้ยมพราย	It exists in the nāga realm, shining bright.

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chaphān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

มีในเมืองเมื่อมามาย(ม่าย)	It exists in the world when offered as
ทิพโภชนาหาร	divine comestibles.
๕๗	57
ดูทั้ง(ทั่ว)ตั้งแต่งเป็นตำแหน่งนั้สการ	We all take on the role of worshipping
ชินรูปอันพิศาล	the great image of the Victor,
คือในองค์พระศาสดา	the Teacher.
๕๘	58
ดูทั้งหลายถวายพุทธบูชา	We all offer all this in worship of the Buddha
แต่สมเด็จพระประติมา	to the Lord, the holy image,
ทั่วไตรโลกพระเป็นครู	who is the master of the triple world.
๕๙	59
อัญเชิญเสด็จทรงมธุ	I invite him who is endowed with sweet words.
อินทร์เอา(อวย)เครื่องบูชา	Indra bestows objects of worship,
อินทร์ข้าชินชุมถวาย	his servants gathering around to make offerings.
๖๐	60
จงดูตวาทให้จิตปราศปราย?	May our hearts be free of bad destinies,
ให้รำคาญทุกข์อันตราย	be liberated from suffering and calamities
ให้สุขทุกคน	so that we all may achieve bliss.
๖๑	61
จงให้พ้นจากเดินครนเรี่ยวรอน ??	May we quickly escape from...
จงให้ถวายกังวล	May we offer up our worries,
จงอายุารุนโรคา	and may we not be sick.
๖๒	62
เียงขมุขสรวมสุขสรวมยกศาสดา	We all wish for bliss, and so glorify the Teacher,
สลุดีพระประติมา	praising the holy image.
ข้าสรรเสริญสวดถวาย	I humbly praise him in chanted offering.
๖๓	63
หากได้เดือดลมะเลหลาย(ลาย)???	I humbly ask for...
เสวยสุขสรรพสาย	to experience bliss everywhere
สลแสนสังเขยา	for more than one hundred thousand uncountable cons.
๖๔	64
เียงขมุขสรวมสิทธิ	We humbly ask for success.
สรวมฤทธเจสดา	We ask for might and majesty.
สรวมล(ด)ปรารถนา	We ask to achieve our aspirations
ด้วยเนาใจปานง	according to our wish.
๖๕	65

Appendix II-11 Thai mixed *yānī* 11 and *chappān* 16 verse (-y/ch)

เอียงขมุสรวมบานดล  
เสวยผลอันสงค  
ตรีพิธสมบัตติตรง  
เตรกตรวลหฤทัย

๖๖

เอียงขมุสรวม(เยยบาน)ชนะมาร  
ห้าประการกราล(กราส)ไกร  
ชนนี้ข้าขอ(ก็)ได้  
ผลทิฏฐธรรมเวท

๖๗

ชยานุฤทธิ  
ข้าจงพิเศษ ???  
จงบังเกิดโดยตรีเหตุ ???  
ทุกพระปฏิสนธิ

๖๘

สรวมบานมัสการ  
พระศรีอารยเมตริ  
เสด็จตรัสสมโพธิ  
ธรรมรัตน์ตราชา

๖๙

จงเหือดเหือดหายโศกา  
จงจากพาธา  
ก็เดินครุ่นเรียวหาย

๗๐

จงทั่วหน้าฝูงสัตว์ทั้งหลาย  
เสวยสุขเปรมพราย  
บถโมกข์มหานิพพาน

๗๑

ธรรมโยคาวรรณนา  
โดยญาณสังเขปฟังอ่าน  
สมัตตนาประการทอง

We humbly ask to attain  
and experience the fruits and benefits,  
the triple attainment exactly  
which truly delights the heart.

66

We humbly ask to defeat Māra  
in his five guises, ever powerful  
...I humbly wish to achieve  
the fruits visible in the present life.

67

Victory and magic might,  
I wish to be distinguished in them.  
may it give rise from a triple cause  
...rebirth.

68

May I be able to pay homage  
to Glorious Ārya Maitreya,  
who will achieve full awakening  
as the king of the jewel of the Teaching.

69

May sadness fade and disappear  
and may malevolence  
gradually fade away.

70

May the whole throng of living beings  
experience bliss, shine bright,  
and achieve the liberation that is the great Nibbāna.

71

The Dhammayogā, expounded  
with wisdom, succinct and fit for recitation,  
is complete in all of its parts.



## II-12 Khmer *kāḡagati* verse (-k)

- kāyagatā-k** (2)  
**caṅkūm kèv-k** (1)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāṃṅ as'»-k** (1)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpakkhandho»-k** (4)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k** (2)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** (19)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k** (4)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṅ»-k** (5)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k** (2)  
**trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccaṃ rūpaṃ»-k** (3)  
**dhammasaṅveg «guor git aniccā»-k** (1)  
**dhammasaṅveg «dhammasaṅveg»-k** (1)  
**dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o rūpā»-k** (1)  
**dhammasaṅveg «o aṅg aniccā»-k** (3)  
**dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o aniccā»-k** (3)  
**namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k** (1)  
**phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k** (4)  
**phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k** (19)  
**madhupāyās-k** (3)  
**lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k** (20)  
**lā pāp «muoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k** (1)  
**hau braḷiṅ-k** (4)  
**sarasör prathabī-k** (1)  
**sarasör braḥ pād sṭāṃ-k** (4)  
**sarasör braḥ pād chveṅ-k** (1)

### **kāyagatā-k**

Body-connected foundation of awareness

FEMC title: lpök kāyagatā

Khmer verse, 55 stanzas in *kāḡagati*, likely composed in the 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB014** 98a–107b braḥ kāyagatā; **UB015** 1, 115b–107b braḥ kāyagatār

Summary: Explanation of the four foundations of awareness (*satipaṭṭhāna*) from the perspective of traditional Southeast Asian *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation. After an initial exposition of the four foundations, the text continues with an opening propitiation (*ārādhana*) and an introduction of

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

four heart syllables (*paṅṭūl*), *NA MA BA DA*. The text then explains each of the signs (*nimitta*) and counterpart signs (*paṭibhāganimitta*) of the four foundations, including a description of the path to the city of Nibbāna, i.e. Aiyuthyā or Ayutthaya, and an wide array of lights and rays. The text closes with an enumeration of the four jewels (*kēv*), a description of their appearance and radiance, and how they serve as a condition for the attainment of Nibbāna.

Edition and translation

<b>UB015</b>	Standardized	Translation
១	១	1
នមាមិហំ	<i>namāmi 'haṃ</i>	I pay homage!
ខ្ញុំឱនសិរសំ	ខ្ញុំឱនសិរសំ	I lower my head
បង្គំវន្ទា	បង្គំវន្ទា	and bow in veneration,
ត្នាំចិត្តពព្រិត	តាំងចិត្តប្រព្រឹត្តិ	making a vow to practice
គិតគុនសាទ្វា	គិតគុណសទ្វា	and reflect on the virtues of faith.
សូមសុំពានារ	សូមសុំពណ៌នា	Permit to me explain
ស័ញ្ញាផ្ចិតផ្ចង់	សញ្ញាផ្ចិតផ្ចង់ ។	the signs carefully
២	២	2
ត្នាដោយមាត្រារ	តាមដោយមាត្រា	in accordance with the standard
ក្នុងបទក្ស័រ	ក្នុងបទ <i>kāyā</i>	of the text for body-centered contemplation
ទ្វារព្រះអង្គ	ទាំងបួនព្រះអង្គ	as well as that for all four parts
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណ្ណា	ព្រះសតិបដ្ឋាន	of the foundations of awareness [ <i>satipatthāna</i> ].
ជាមហាបញ្ចង់	ជាមហាបញ្ចង់	This text is wonderfully radiant
លោកត្នាំជាអង្គ	លោកតាំងជាអង្គ	and was composed by the Master.
ព្រះកាយុគតារ ។	ព្រះកាយគតា ។	The body-connected [ <i>kāyagatā</i> ]
៣	៣	3
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណំ	ព្រះ <i>satipatthānam</i>	foundation of awareness
នោះឯងលោកត្នាំ	នោះឯងលោកតាំង	was composed by the Master
ជាទ្វារអក្ខរា	ជាតួអក្ខរា	in individual syllables
ត្នាំទុកជាថ្នល់	តាំងទុកជាថ្នល់	that establish the path
ដម្កល់សញ្ញា	ដម្កល់សញ្ញា	for raising up the signs
ចែកក្នុងក្ស័រ	ចែកក្នុងកាយា	dispersed throughout the body.
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណំ ។	ព្រះ <i>satipatthāna</i>	This foundation of awareness
៤	៤	4
ទុកជាបមាត្ថ	ទុកជាបរមត្ថ	was established as the ultimate meaning [ <i>paramattha</i> ]
នោះឯងលោកផាត់	នោះឯងលោកផាត់	by the Master,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ជាផ្លូវកុំឱ្យ  
ក្បាច់បស្សនា  
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណ  
ទុកជាឱ្យត្រូវ  
ជាផ្លូវពឹងព្វាក្នុង ។  
៥

សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ  
បត្តិភាគ្យនីមិត  
គិតឱ្យជឿជាក់  
សម្រេចដល់ថ្នាក់  
និព្វាននាយណា ។  
៥

including the marks  
of the counterpart signs [*paṭibhāganimitta*].  
Reflect on it precisely  
to realize the stage  
of yonder Nibbāna.  
5

វេទនានុបស្សនា  
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណ  
ប្រៀបប្រែឱ្យជាក្នុង  
គ្នាដោយសេចក្តីយ  
សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ  
សំគាល់ដោយថ្នាក់  
មាត្រាសម្តែង ។  
៦

*vedanānupassanā*  
*satipaṭṭhānā*  
ប្រៀបប្រែឱ្យជាក់  
តាមដោយសេចក្តី  
សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ  
សំគាល់ដោយថ្នាក់  
មាត្រាសម្តែង ។  
៦

The sensation-contemplating [*vedanānupassanā*]  
foundation of awareness [*satipaṭṭhāna*],  
once translated and made clear  
in accordance with the meaning,  
includes marks  
to be recognized in stages  
that are standardly taught.  
6

ចិត្តានុបស្សនា  
សត្តិបថាណ  
ជាទីតាក់តែង  
ក្នុងញាណបញ្ញា  
ទេសនាសម្តែង  
ក្នុងកាយយើងឯង  
ចូលច្បាប់ផ្ទៃផ្ទៃក្នុង  
៧

*cittānupassanā*  
*satipaṭṭhānā*  
ជាទីតាក់តែង ។  
ក្នុងញាណបញ្ញា  
ទេសនាសម្តែង  
ក្នុងកាយយើងឯង  
ចូរចាំជឿជាក់ ។  
៧

The mind-contemplating [*cittānupassanā*]  
foundation of awareness [*satipaṭṭhāna*]  
is the foundation that lies  
within wisdom and intelligence  
and is expounded  
within our very own body—  
remember it clearly.  
7

ធម្មានុបស្សនា  
សត្តិបថាណ  
សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ  
បត្តិភាគ្យនីមិត  
គិតឱ្យជាន់ជួរក្នុង  
សម្រេចដល់ថ្នាក់  
និព្វាននាយណា  
៨

ធម្មានុបស្សនា  
សតិបដ្ឋានា  
សឹងមានលក្ខណៈ  
បដិភាគនីមិត  
គិតឱ្យជឿជាក់  
សម្រេចដល់ថ្នាក់  
និព្វាននាយណា ។  
៨

The Dhamma-contemplating (*dhammānupassanā*)  
foundation of awareness (*satipaṭṭhāna*)  
possesses marks  
and counterpart signs.  
Reflect on them precisely  
to reach the stage of  
of yonder Nibbāna.  
8

ខ្ញុំសូមអរិក្ខនា  
ត្រាចិតសាទ្ធា  
សញ្ញាព័ព្រិត  
ថ្វាជ្រះប្រាជ្ញា  
ក្នុងដួងជីវិត  
ត្រាជាព័ព្រិត

ខ្ញុំសូមអារាជនា  
តាំងចិត្តសទ្ធា  
សន្យាប្រព្រឹត្ត  
ថ្វាជ្រះប្រាជ្ញា  
ក្នុងដួងជីវិត  
តាំងជាប្រព្រឹត្ត

I humbly propitiate (*ārādhanā*)  
and faithfully settle my intention,  
promising to practice  
with clear faith and wisdom  
within the orb of my life,  
intending to practice,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចូលច្ចប់អារម្មណ៍	ចូលច្ចប់អារម្មណ៍ ។	so as to penetrate and grasp the object of meditation.
៩	៩	9
ត្រាយត្រាសត្តិ	តាំងយកសត្តិ	I vow to take up awareness
មកជាដំបែក	មកជាតម្រេក	as my pleasure
ក្នុងក្បួនគរធំ	ក្នុងកាយនគរធំ	within the city of the body,
ផសោសញ្ញា	ផស្ស្សសញ្ញា	with the sign of contact ( <i>phasso saññā</i> )
ជាមហាសុខ្ខម	ជាមហាសុខ្ខម	as my subtle,
សុខារកិរម្យ	សុខារកិរម្យ	blissful joy.
ត្រាំជាភារវនា ។	តាំងជាភារវនា ។	I vow to meditate on
១០	១០	10
នមពទ	na ma ba da	NA MA BA DA
ត្នាដោយលក្ខណៈ	តាមដោយលក្ខណៈ	in accordance with the marks
ផ្លូវព្រះយោគា	ផ្លូវព្រះយោគា	of the meritorious
វិចារកុសល	វិចារកុសល	path of the meditator ( <i>yogāvacara</i> ),
ដឹងដោយនា	ដឹងដោយនា	known by the various
ចេតសិកសញ្ញា	ចេតសិកសញ្ញា	mental factors, signs,
វិញ្ញាណស្មារតី ។	វិញ្ញាណស្មារតី ។	consciousness, and awareness.
១១	១១	11
ស្មាធិការវនា	សមាធិការវនា	The concentrated meditation
ក្នុងព្រះយោគា	ក្នុងព្រះយោគា	within the meditator
ត្នាត្រូបាឡិយ	តាមត្រូបាលី	follows the Pali syllables
ជាអាគុំប្លា	ជាអាគុំប្លា	in their secret meaning,
ត្រាំទុកត្រូប៊ី	តាំងទុកត្រូប៊ី	establishing three syllables
ត្នាដោយសេចក្តីយ	តាមដោយសេចក្តីយ	that accord with the meaning
មាត្រាសម្តែង ។	មាត្រាសម្តែង ។	of the standard taught.
១២	១២	12
សតិមានបួន	សតិមានបួន	There are four awarenesses
ក្នុងកាយបួន	ក្នុងកាយបួន	within our body
សព្វថ្ងៃនេះឯង	សព្វថ្ងៃនេះឯង	at all times.
ឈ្មោះកាយុគតារ	ឈ្មោះ <i>kāyagatā</i>	They are called <i>kāyagatā</i>
ទេស្នាសម្តែង	ទេសនាសម្តែង	and are preached and expounded
ក្នុងកាយនេះឯង	ក្នុងកាយនេះឯង	within this very body—
ឱ្យចាំជឿងជាក់ ។	ឱ្យចាំជឿងជាក់ ។	remember them precisely.
១៣	១៣	13
ត្រូប៊ីជាស្មារ	ត្រូប៊ីជាស្មារ	These four syllables are awarenesses,
តែងត្រូប៊ីមក	តែងតាមទៅមក	always following, back and forth,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ដឹងក្តៅត្រជាក់ វិញ្ញាណដ្យៃ ជួរព្យញ្ជនៈ ដឹងខ្លួនស្គាល់ជាក្នុង ព្រោះដោយវិញ្ញាណ ១៤	ដឹងក្តៅត្រជាក់ វិញ្ញាណស្មារតី ជាព្យញ្ជនៈ ដឹងក្លិនស្គាល់ជាក្នុង ព្រោះដោយវិញ្ញាណ ។ ១៤	knowing hot, knowing cold, with conscious awareness. They are consonantal syllables that know scents clearly since they know them consciously. 14
ខ្យល់អាសាស្ស ទុក្ខជាដំណាក់ សំរាប់ទិវិលាន ជាមេអាបោ វាយោត្តាដាន សំរាប់ទិវិលាន គ្រប់ទ្វារនោះនៃ ។ ១៥	ខ្យល់ <i>assāsa</i> ទុក្ខជាដំណាក់ សំរាប់ទិវិលាន ជាមេ <i>āpo</i> <i>vāyo</i> តាមដាន សំរាប់ទិវិលាន គ្រប់ទ្វារនោះនៃ ។ ១៥	The breath of <i>inhalation</i> is established as the base for entry into trance ( <i>jhāna</i> ). It is led by the <i>water element</i> , with the <i>wind element</i> following close, for the sake of entering trance at every gate. 15
ដើមដុះខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ មានជីវិតរស់ លូតលាស់ស្រស់វៃ មានប្រសិទ្ធិចុះ ជាតិរស់ដល់ដី ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី ក្នុងព្រះព្យាង្គ ១៦	ដើមដុះខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ មានជីវិតរស់ លូតលាស់ត្រវែង មានប្រសិទ្ធិចុះ ជាតិរស់ដល់ដី ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី ក្នុងព្រះព្យាង្គ ។ ១៦	A tree grows tall, vibrant and alive, verdant and lush, with roots reaching down to thrive in the land known as the Glorious City [of Ayutthaya], which supports two royal progeny, 16
សឹងបិតទុកនៅ ភ្លឺភ្លឺផ្ទេកសន្ទៅ ជាមហាបញ្ចង់ ប្របផ្លូវនិព្វាន ដម្កល់ដាក់អង្គ តែងនឹងដម្រង់ នគរកិរិយ ។ ១៧	សឹងស្ថិតទុកនៅ ភ្លឺផ្ទេកសន្ទៅ ជាមហាបញ្ចង់ ប្របផ្លូវនិព្វាន ដម្កល់ដាក់អង្គ តែងនឹងដម្រង់ នគរកិរិយ ។ ១៧	who reside there. [The tree] blazes with refracted radiance, shining bright, close to the path to Nibbāna. It supports two royal progeny, always sustaining them. The blissful city 17
មានគុំព្យាណ ប្រដាប់ឆ្មោហរ ដុះស្និតប្រប់គុំ ទាំងគុំល្អស្រស់ លូតលាស់ស្រស់ ត្រសាយសុខុម្ព ១៨	មានគុំព្យាណ ប្រដាប់ឆ្មោហរ ដុះស្និតប្រប់គុំ ទាំងគុំល្អស្រស់ លូតលាស់ត្រសាយ ត្រសាយសុខុម្ព ១៨	has a pair of bushes, each ornamented. Leaves grow near the pair of lovely bushes, verdant and lush, growing beautifully 18

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ក្រោមផ្លូវនិព្វាន ១៨	ក្រោមផ្លូវនិព្វាន ។ ១៨	beneath the path to Nibbāna. 18
មានទ្វារទាំងពីរ តាំងជាវិធី ដំណឹងវិញ្ញាណ បើកចេញបើកចូល ប្រមូលក្នុងឈាន ក្រោមមាននិព្វាន នគរព្រះស្រី ។ ១៩	មានទ្វារទាំងពីរ តាំងជាវិធី ដំណឹងវិញ្ញាណ បើកចេញបើកចូល ប្រមូលក្នុងឈាន ក្រោមស្ថាននិព្វាន នគរព្រះស្រី ។ ១៩	There are two gates erected as the method for conscious knowing, opening for exhalation and inhalation, concentrated in trance, beneath the realm of Nibbāna, the Glorious City [of Ayutthaya]. 19
ធ្លារម្យសម្រេច ហោរាអ្នកស្តេច នគរបុរី តាំងជាវិធី សម្រាប់ដែនដី ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី ព្យាយាមណា ។ ២០	ធ្លារម្យសម្រេច ហោរាអ្នកស្តេច នគរបុរី តាំងជាវិធី សម្រាប់ដែនដី ឈ្មោះនគរព្រះស្រី ព្យាយាមណា ។ ២០	One gate is known as on the gate for the prince of the city. It is erected as the method for the land known as the Glorious City of Ayutthaya [Aiyudhyā]. 20
មានគុម្ពធំដូន មានស្លាបមាំមួន ទាំងគូទ្វេហារ ធ្លារស្រោតទាំងពីរ វិធីប្រាជ្ញា ហោរាស្រោត ប្របផ្លូវនិព្វាន ។ ២១	មានគុម្ពធំដូន មានស្លាបមាំមួន ទាំងគូទ្វេហារ ធ្លារស្រោតទាំងពីរ វិធីប្រាជ្ញា ហោរាស្រោត ប្របផ្លូវនិព្វាន ។ ២១	There are two large bushes with strong flanks, forming a pair. These are the two auditory doors, the way of wisdom called the auditory doors, near the path to Nibbāna. 21
រីមាននោះណា សឹងមានផល្លា ផ្លែផ្កាយោនយាន ខ្លះខ្មៅខ្លះស ឈ្មោះព្រៃហិមវន្ត កំណត់ប្រាំបួនលាន ប្រាំបួនកោតិជៀងជ្រាត ។ ២២	រីស្ថាននោះណា សឹងមានផល ផ្លែផ្កាយោនយាន ខ្លះខ្មៅខ្លះស ឈ្មោះព្រៃហិមពាន កំណត់ប្រាំបួនលាន ប្រាំបួនកោតិជៀងជ្រាត ។ ២២	That place is laden with fruits and flowers, drooping down, some black, some white. It is called the Himavant forest, numbering precisely ninety-nine million. 22
រឿព្រះកាយ័រ បទដើមនោះណា	រឿព្រះ <i>kāyā</i> បទដើមនោះណា	The body[-contemplating foundation], the first [foundation of awareness],

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សីដមានលក្ខណៈ	សីដមានលក្ខណៈ	is endowed with marks.
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណំ	ព្រះ satipatthānam	The foundations of awareness
ត្បាញជា ៤ ថ្នាក់	តាំងជា ៤ ថ្នាក់	comprise four stages.
ចំណាំឱ្យជាក់	ចំណាំឱ្យជាក់	Remember them well
ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក់ស្តែង	ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក់ស្តែង ។	so as to see them clearly.
២៣	២៣	23
មានភាគយុលជាតួ	មានភាគយល់ជាក់	There is a counterpart sign ([paṭi]bhāga[nimitta])
ត្នាដោយលក្ខណៈ	តាមដោយលក្ខណៈ	in accordance with the marks,
មាត្រាសម្តែង	មាត្រាសម្តែង	the standard taught.
ដូចព្រះអទិត	ដូចព្រះអាទិត្យ	It is like the sun,
រឹងរិតចិញ្ចែង	រឹងបូទូចិញ្ចែង	powerful and resplendent,
រក្សិយសូរសែន	រស្មីសូរសែន	its shining solar rays
ចាំបសាគររា ។	ចាំងសាគរ ។	glistening on the ocean.
២៤	២៤	24
រក្សិយភ្លឺហឆ្នាំង	រស្មីភ្លឺណោះ	Those bright rays
ព្រោងព្រាយព្រាតព្រោះ	ព្រោងព្រាយព្រាតព្រោះ	blaze and scintillate
ក្នុងចក្ខុដ្ឋាន	ក្នុងចក្ខុដ្ឋាន	within the ocular door,
កើតជាស្រវាំង	កើតជាស្រវាំង	dazzlingly bright,
ចាំសព្វនានា	ចាំងសព្វនានា	blinding everywhere,
ដូចកេរវិហារ	ដូចកែវវេហា	like the jewel of the sky
ជាកន្លឹងខ្លួនឯង ។	ជាក់នឹងខ្លួនឯង ។	appearing within oneself.
២៥	២៥	25
កាយារិទ្ធិខ្លួន	kāyā រិទ្ធិខ្លួន	The body[-contemplating foundation of awareness]—
ដឹងស្គាល់សំនួន	ដឹងស្គាល់សំនួន	know it, recognize it,
ស្មារតីតាក់តែង	ស្មារតីតាក់តែង	remember it, and establish it,
ឱ្យអរ្យដ្ឋានចិត្ត	ឱ្យអរ្យដ្ឋានចិត្ត	right here, firmly in mind,
នឹងនួនជាក់ស្តែង	នឹងនួនជាក់ស្តែង	stable and clear,
ក្នុងកាយអង្គឯង	ក្នុងកាយអង្គឯង	within this very body.
ពុំភ្នឹកលើរណា	ពុំភ្នឹកឡើយណា ។	It is not an out-of-body experience.
២៦	២៦	26
ព្រះសត្តិបថាណំ	ព្រះ satipatthānam	This foundation of awareness
ទុកជាទីតាំង	ទុកជាទីតាំង	is established as a base,
ដូចផែនសិលា	ដូចផែនសិលា	like a stone platform,
នឹងនៅខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន	នឹងនៅខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន	stable and fixed,
មាំមួនសោះសា	មាំមួនសោះសា	strong and mighty,
ក្នុងដួងចិត្ត	ក្នុងដួងចិត្ត	within the sphere of the mind,

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នគរកាយំ ។	<i>nagarakāyaṃ</i> ។	the city of the body.
២៧	២៧	27
ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក្នុងជារ	ឃើញច្បាស់ជាក់ជា	See with perfect clarity,
ដូចសាគរ	ដូចសាគរ	just like how the ocean
[ជុនជោរប្រៀបប្រាំង]	ជន់ជោរប្រៀបប្រាំង	floods fully against the shore,
កង់កាញ់រលក	កង្កាញ់រលក	with ripples and waves
បោកមកត្រូវខ្លាំង	បោកមកត្រូវខ្លាំង	crashing heavily,
ត្រង់អង្គាយ	ត្រង់អង្គ <i>kāyaṃ</i>	directly against the body,
ប្រក់ដួងត្រង់ស្តែង ។	ប្រាកដជាក់ស្តែង ។	manifest and clear.
២៨	២៨	28
វេទនារនុបស្សណា	<i>vedanānupassanā</i>	The sensation-contemplating
សត្តិបថាណា	<i>satipatthānā</i>	foundation of awareness
ក្នុងកាយអង្គឯង	ក្នុងកាយអង្គឯង	is within this body.
យល់ដូចធានី	យល់ដូចធានី	It looks like a capital city.
វិធីជាក់ស្តែង	វិធីជាក់ស្តែង	It is the clear method
អណ្តែតលើងឯង	អណ្តែតឡើងឯង	for floating up
វិលវង់ជាថ្នាក់ ។	វិលវង់ជាថ្នាក់ ។	and orbiting in stages.
២៩	២៩	29
រក្សិយពារស្វាយ	រស្មីពណ៌ស្វាយ	There are purple rays,
ចែងចេញអន្ទាយ	ចែងចេញអន្ទាយ	shining as they spread out
ជាក្បាច់ចម្លាក់	ជាក្បាច់ចម្លាក់	in ornamented patterns,
ដូចដើមបុផ្ការ	ដូចដើមបុផ្កា	like a flowering tree,
រចនាឆ្លុះឆ្លាក់	រចនាឆ្លុះឆ្លាក់	with carved decorations
ពេនពង់ពាក់ពាក់	ពេនពង់ពាក់ពាក់	twisted and interlaced,
ឆ្ងាយឆ្ងាក់ទង់ភ្លឺ ។	ឆ្ងាយឆ្ងាក់ទង់ភ្លឺ ។	with coiled flower stems
៣០	៣០	30
វិលវង់ដូចកង់	វិលវង់ដូចកង់	orbiting like wheels,
រុងមូលក្រឡឹង	រុងមូលក្រឡឹង	perfectly round,
ចែកចេញជាពីរ	ចែកចេញជាពីរ	splitting into two,
ដូចនាគហោះនាំ	ដូចនាគហោះនាំ	like flying nāgas,
ពារពាំទង់ភ្លឺ	ពារពាំទង់ភ្លឺ	furnished with flower stems,
ញឹកវិញជ្រុយ	ញឹកវិញជ្រុយ	clutching diamonds,
ប្រដេញឆ្ងៀលឆ្ងាត់ ។	ប្រដេញឆ្ងៀលឆ្ងាត់ ។	chasing one another in circles.
៣១	៣១	31
ចិត្តានុបស្សណារ	<i>cittānupassanā</i>	The mind-contemplating [foundation of awareness],
ក្នុងអង្គាយំ	ក្នុងអង្គ <i>kāyā</i>	within the body,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

សីដមានលក្ខណៈ យុលដូចក្បួនទ្វីម ប្រជុំបោកបាក់ គួចយោងដល់ដាក់ អាក្សរវិហារ ។ ៣២	សីដមានលក្ខណៈ យល់ដូចព្យុះធំ ប្រជុំបោកបាក់ គួចយោងដល់ដាក់ អាកាសវេហា ។ ៣២	is endowed with these marks: It is looks like a massive storm, gathering and battering, with whirlwinds spiraling up into the sky. 32
មានគ្រាគរក្ស័យ ល្បឿងលែមពារខ្លឹម ដូចព្រះចន្ទរា អវ័ន្តតស័ត្វមក ជិតនឹងអង្គារ កើតចិត្តសាទ្ធារ អំណរអំណរ ។ ៣៣	មានភាគរស្មី ល្បឿងឡែមពណ៍ខ្លី ដូចព្រះចន្ទរា អណ្តែតសាត់មក ជិតនឹងអង្គារ កើតចិត្តសទ្ធា អំណរអរណាស់ ។ ៣៣	The counterpart sign has rays with a soft sweet yellow hue, like those of the Moon, floating down close to the body, generating a mind of faith that brims with joy. 33
រក្ស័ប័ញ្ញព្វារ បែកជា ៥ ពារ ភ្លឺថ្លាត្រដោះ ដូចផ្លែកបន្ទោរ នឹងត្រាំ/ត្រាំ រុន្ទះ លុនលាមវែងណាស់ វិលជុំអង្គារ ។ ៣៤	រស្មីបញ្ញពណ៍ បែកជា ៥ ពណ៍ ភ្លឺថ្លាត្រចះ ដូចផ្លែកបន្ទោរ នឹងតាមរន្ទះ លន់លាមវែងណាស់ វិលជុំអង្គារ ។ ៣៤	The spectrum of rays, divided into five colors, radiant and brilliant, are like a light-emitting jewel. It is followed by lightning that extends out far and returns to surround the body. 34
យុលហាតដូចថាន សួរសព្វក៏មាន ទិព្វទេពសួរគារ សានសុក្ខសាប្ប ក្នុងក្បួននា ឥតមានក្បែរ ប្រសើរមង្គល ។ ៣៥	យល់ហាតដូចស្ថាន សួគ៌សព្វពិមាន ទិព្វទេពសួគ៌ា សាន្តសុខសប្បាយ ក្នុងកាយនា ឥតមានក័យ ប្រសើរមង្គល ។ ៣៥	It looks like the realm of the heavens, replete with palaces and heavenly deities, who are peaceful and delighted within their bodies, without fear, lofty and fortunate. 35
ធម្មានុបស្សណា សត្តិបថាណា ប្រាប្រាបឱ្យយុល ដូចព្រះអគ្គិ ជាទីមង្គល ដាលដូចមកដល់	<i>dhammānupassanā</i> <i>satipatthānā</i> ប្រាយប្រាបឱ្យយល់ ដូចព្រះអគ្គិ ជាទីមង្គល ដាលដូចមកដល់	The Dhamma-contemplating foundation of awareness is said to look like an auspicious blaze of fire, spreading out far,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្រហមទុំទែង ។ ៣៦ ហាក់ដូចសូរិយា រឹងរាវកាលណា រក្សិចិញ្ចែង សំបូរខៀវលឿង រុងរឿងសូរសែង ភ្លឺហ្មឺនចិញ្ចែង រិរោចរស្សី ។	ក្រហមទុំទែង ។ ៣៦ ហាក់ដូចសូរិយា រឹងរាវកាលណា រស្មីចិញ្ចែង សម្បុរខៀវលឿង រុងរឿងសូរសែង ភ្លឺឆ្លុះចិញ្ចែង រិរោចរស្សី ។	brilliantly red. 36 It is like the sun, for whenever it rises, its rays shine blue and yellow, a resplendent solar blaze, luminous and bright, with dazzling radiance.
៣៧ ហាក់ដូចព្រះច័ន្ទ ប្រសើរសោភ័ណ សឹងមានរស្មី សំបូរលឿងច្រាល ដាលរីមរស្សី លឿងលែបរស្មី ដូចកែវមុត្តា ។	៣៧ ហាក់ដូចព្រះចន្ទ ប្រសើរសោភ័ណ សឹងមានរស្មី សម្បុរលឿងច្រាល ដាលរីមរស្សី លឿងលែបរស្មី ដូចកែវមុត្តា ។	37 It is like the moon, lofty and lovely, suffused with radiance in bright yellow hues, its rays extending far, in soft yellow beams that gleam like pearls.
៣៨ អ្នកក្តើយប្រសើរ ត្នាដោយដំណើរ មានច្រើនប្រការ ដូចនៅក្នុងឋាន ខ្សែមឡានសុភ័យ ប្លែកទាំងកាយ ទុនធូននឹងទៅ ។	៣៨ អ្នកក្តើយប្រសើរ តាមដោយដំណើរ មានច្រើនប្រការ ដូចនៅក្នុងស្ថាន ក្សេមក្សាន្តសុខា ប្លែកទាំងកាយ ទុនធូននឹងទៅ ។	38 O good people! It is wonderful, for as it unfolds, many facets appear, as if in a realm of peace and bliss. The whole body changes, from light to heavy, from still to moving.
៣៩ ដូចកលនាគា ញ៉ាំកែវហោះណា ភ្លឺហ្មឺនសន្ទៅ កន្តាលរីហិរ រឿងរនឹងនៅ ពាំម្នីកែវយកទៅ មឿងកែវឯការ ។	៣៩ ដូចកលនាគា ពាំកែវហោះណា ភ្លឺប្លែកសន្ទៅ កណ្តាលរេហា អរនឹងនៅ ពាំកែវយកទៅ មឿងកែវឯការ ។	39 It is like a nāga, flying while clutching a jewel of miraculous radiance as it ascends the sky, moving, then still, clutching a jewel to take it to the supreme jeweled city.
៤០ នមអរហំ ជាទូរសំត្រាំ	៤០ na ma araham ជាត្រូវស្សី	40 <i>NA MA ARAHAM</i> are short syllables

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ជាអក្ខរកំ	តាំងជាអក្ខរក	that are established as the letters
ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	for the virtues of the precious jewels,
ព្រះព្យាជ្រះថ្លា	ប្រពៃជ្រះថ្លា	lovely and clear.
ខាងឯមាតា	ខាងឯមាតា	They are the virtues of our mother.
ដូចសាគរ ។	ដូចសាគរ ។	They are like the ocean,
៤១	៤១	41
ធេងធំជ្រាលជ្រៅ	ធេងធំជ្រាលជ្រៅ	vast and deep,
វាលវែងឆ្ងាយទៅ	វាលវែងឆ្ងាយទៅ	broad and expansive,
ផ្ទឹមពុំបានទេ	ផ្ទឹមពុំបានទេ	incomparable.
នឹងយកផែនកុព្វ	នឹងយកផែនកុព	Even if one takes the Earth,
សព្វគ្រប់ទន្លេ	សព្វគ្រប់ទន្លេ	with all of its waters,
ផ្ទឹមពុំបានទេ	ផ្ទឹមពុំបានទេ	it cannot be compared
នឹងគុណមាតា ។	នឹងគុណមាតា ។	to the virtues of our mother.
៤២	៤២	42
រឿកែវទាំង ៤	រឿកែវទាំង ៤	There are four jewels
ចិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន	ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន	that reside within
យើងនេះឯងណា	យើងនេះឯងណា	our very own bodies.
ឈ្មោះកែវមួយជ្រោត	ឈ្មោះកែវមណីជោតិ	One is called the <i>manijoti</i> jewel,
រក្សិជ្រោះថ្លា	រស្មីជ្រោះថ្លា	with clear rays.
ខាងឯមាតា	ខាងឯមាតា	Our mother
ប្រទានឱ្យខ្ញុំ ។	ប្រទានឱ្យខ្ញុំ ។	bestowed it upon us.
៤៣	៤៣	43
ឈ្មោះកែវបរមាត្ថ	ឈ្មោះកែវបរមត្ថ	It is called the ultimate ( <i>paramattha</i> ) jewel.
នោះឯងលោកចាត់	នោះឯងលោកចាត់	The master established it
ជាទីសុខ្ខី	ជាទីសុខុម	as the place of bliss.
ឈ្មោះកែវទឹកដប់	ឈ្មោះកែវទឹកដប់	It is called the pure jewel
ព្រះទានឱ្យខ្ញុំ	ព្រះទានឱ្យខ្ញុំ	that was given to us
ទុកជាសុខ្ខី	ទុកជាសុខុម	as a place of bliss,
កែវព្រះមាតា ។	កែវព្រះមាតា ។	the jewel of our mother.
៤៤	៤៤	44
ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	The virtues of this precious jewel,
កែវជាប្រព្រឹត្ត	កែវជាបច្ច័យ	a jewel that is a condition ( <i>paccaya</i> ) [for Nibbāna]
ដូចផ្កាយដ៏រំលឹ	ដូចផ្កាយតារា	are like the stars,
រលើព្វរលង	រលើបរលង	blazing bright,
មានចុងជ្រោះថ្លា	មានចុងជ្រោះថ្លា	whose tails shine clear,
ហាក់ដូចទងផ្កា	ហាក់ដូចទងផ្កា	just like flower stems

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

កាលបូព្រឹកឯង ។ ៤៥ កែវម្ពីរត្ថថៃ ជាដើមប្រថៃ ភ្លឺហ៍ឆ្ពោះចិញ្ចែង រក្សិយខៀវលៀង រុងរឿងសូរសែន ពណ៌ច្រើនកន្លែង រត្ន ១ ប្រការ ។ ៤៦ កែវជាវិធិ ជាបរិសុទ្ធិ ព្យាប្រះចិដារ ព្រះទានឱ្យមក យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លា ត្នព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ។ ៤៧ ឧឧអរហំ បត្តិកស្សណំ ទ្វា ៤ [សថាន] ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លា ចិតនៅក្នុងប្រាណ កែវព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ក្នុងដួងចិត្តារ [។] ៤៨ ឱ្យអូរយើងខ្ញុំ ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំម ក្យាយាមឧស្សាហ៍ ឱ្យដឹងលក្ខណៈ នៅអង្គកាយ ក្នុងដួងចិត្តារ កាយាអង្គឯង ។ ៤៩ កែវម្ពីរបូជុំ ប្រមូលផ្តុំផ្តុំ	កាលបូណ៌ព្រឹកឯង ។ ៤៥ កែវមណីរត្ថថៃ ជាដើមបច្ច័យ ភ្លឺឆ្ពោះចិញ្ចែង រស្មីខៀវលៀង រុងរឿងសូរសែន ពណ៌ច្រើនកន្លែង រត្នមួយប្រការ ។ ៤៦ កែវជាវិធិ ជាបរិសុទ្ធិ ពីព្រះបិតា ប្រទានឱ្យមក យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លា ត្នព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ។ ៤៧ u ū araham pathavī kasinam ទាំងបួនសព្វឋាន ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លា ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងប្រាណ កែវព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ក្នុងដួងចិត្តារ ។ ៤៨ ឱ្យអស់យើងខ្ញុំ ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្យាយាមឧស្សាហ៍ ឱ្យដឹងលក្ខណៈ នៅអង្គកាយ ក្នុងដួងចិត្តារ កាយាអង្គឯង ។ ៤៩ កែវមណីបទុម ប្រមូលផ្តុំផ្តុំ	in the fullness of the morning. 45 The precious <i>maṇiratna</i> jewel, which is a root condition [for Nibbāna], shines bright and luminous, with blue and yellow rays, blazing with solar radiance and many colors. This is another jewel. 46 This jewel is the method and the purity inherited from our father, who bestowed it upon us. The virtues of this bright jewel are the syllables of the <i>kammatthāna</i> , 47 <i>U Ū ARAHAM</i> , for the earth <i>kasina</i> in all four of its realms. The virtues of this precious jewel reside within the body. This is the jewel of the <i>kammatthāna</i> , within the orb of the mind, 48 for all of us to bow down to in veneration, to strive and endeavor to know its marks, which reside in the body, within the orb of the mind, within this very body. 49 The <i>maṇipaduma</i> jewel gathers together
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Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ស្រស់ស្រែចចិញ្ចែង រក្សិយក្រហម អមចុងដូចផ្សែង ញាវច្រើនកន្លើង ៧ ប្រការ ។ ៥០	ស្រស់ស្រែចចិញ្ចែង រស្មីក្រហម អមចុងដូចផ្សែង ពណ៌ច្រើនកន្លើង ប្រាំពិលប្រការ ។ ៥០	lovely and resplendent red rays, accompanied by smoke-like tails of many colors, up to seven. 50
លោកព្រះទានមក ឱ្យយើងខ្ញុំរក កែវព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ចិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ពឹងពួនរូប្យាវ ខាងឯព្រះមហា បឋានឱ្យមក ។ ៥១	លោកប្រទានមក ឲ្យយើងខ្ញុំរក កែវព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ពឹងពួនរូប្យា ខាងឯព្រះមហា បដ្ឋានឲ្យមក ។ ៥១	The Master bestowed it on us for us to find it. This jewel is the wisdom that resides within ourself, hidden within our body. The <i>Mahāpatthāna</i> gave it to us, 51
ឱ្យអ្នកយើងខ្ញុំ ថ្វាតថ្វាយបង្គំម ជាពុទ្ធពន្ធក ដូចព្រះទិព្វឱ្យ តែងនាំទៅមក កែវថ្លៃពន្ធក [ដុំ/ដុំ]នេះជាយាន ។ ៥២	ឲ្យអស់យើងខ្ញុំ ថ្វាតថ្វាយបង្គំ ជាពុទ្ធពន្ធក ដូចព្រះទិព្វទី តែងនាំទៅមក កែវថ្លៃពន្ធក ជំនិះជាយាន ។ ៥២	to all of us, to bow down to in veneration, as it is the sprout of a buddha. It is like the Lord in the heavens, who always leads us back and forth. It is a precious jewel, a sprout, a vehicle in which to ride. 52
កែវជាវិធីយ នាំទៅដល់ឱ្យ នគរកែវនិព្វាន ឈ្មោះកែវបូជុំ ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទាន ឱ្យទុកជាយាន ជាស្ពានសួគ៌ាវ ។ ៥៣	កែវជាវិធី នាំទៅដល់ទី នគរកែវនិព្វាន ឈ្មោះកែវបទុម ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទាន ឲ្យទុកជាយាន ជាស្ពានសួគ៌ា ។ ៥៣	This jewel is the method that leads us to arrive at the jeweled city of Nibbāna. It is called the [ <i>mani-</i> ]paduma jewel, which was kindly granted to us as a vehicle, as a bridge to the heavens. 53
កែវញ្ជិទ្ធរណា រក្សិយជ្រោះថ្លា ដូចកែវវិហារ ។ មានញាវរក្សិ ឥតប៊ុំគុណ កែវព្រះរាជា	កែវពិទ្ធរណា រស្មីជ្រោះថ្លា ដូចកែវវិហារ មានពណ៌រស្មី ឥតប៊ុំគុណនា កែវព្រះរាជា	The <i>vaidūrya</i> jewel possesses a clear radiance, like the jewel of the sky, with rays of colors uncountable. It is the jewel of the King,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ត្រៃសារពេជ្ជហោង	ត្រៃសរពេជ្ជហោង ។	the Thrice-Omniscient Lord ( <i>trāisarvajña</i> ).
៥៤	៥៤	54
ព្រះទានយើងខ្ញុំ	ប្រទានយើងខ្ញុំ	He bestowed it upon us
ថ្វាត់ថ្វាបង្គំម	ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ	to bow down to in veneration.
បំផ្លឺហ៍ស័ត្វផង	បំភ្លឺសត្វផង	It illuminates all beings.
សឹងមានរក្សី	សឹងមានរស្មី	It is endowed with rays
រំស្មីកន្លឺង	រស្មីកន្លឺង	of surpassing radiance,
លឿងសៃតព្យតង	លឿងសេតបៃតង	including yellow, white, and green,
៧ ប្រការ ។	ប្រាំពីលប្រការ ។	up to seven colors.
៥៥	៥៥	55
ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	ព្រះគុណកែវថ្លៃ	The virtues of this precious jewel—
កែវជាប្រព្រឹ	កែវជាបច្ច័យ	a jewel that is a condition [for Nibbāna]
រក្សីជ្រោះថ្នាំ	រស្មីជ្រោះថ្នាំ	and gleams with bright rays—
តែងចម្រើនស័ត្វ	តែងចម្រើនស័ត្វ	always ferry living beings
កាត់រត្នសង្សារ	កាត់រដ្ឋសង្សារ	across the round of saṃsāra
ដាក់ដល់សួគារ	ដាក់ដល់សួគ៌ា	to reach the heavens
និព្វាននាយហោង ។១។ ១៣	និព្វាននាយហោង ។	and yonder Nibbāna.

**caṅkūm kèṅ-k**

The jewel canine relics

FEMC title: lpök caṅkūm kèṅ

Khmer verse, 35 stanzas in *kākagati*, likely composed in the 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries by a certain Bhikkhu Suvāṇṇakesara of Jhūk Sa monastery, currently located in Utṭuṅ village, Vāṃṇ Cās' commune, Utṭuṅ district, Kampong Speu province, Cambodia.

Leporello: **UB059** 30b–34a dhaṛm braḥ caṅkom kèṅ

Summary: Translation and expansion of the Pali portion of **Sārīrikadhātu/sārīrika-dhātu samrāy-4**, including an enumeration of the type, number, sizes, and colors of the bodily relics of the Buddha, the division of the relics into portions by the brahman Doṇa and where those portions went, and the locations of the clavicle, jewel canine, and monastic vestment relics. Then the text pays homage to the relics with symbolic offerings, announces that the author is the bhikkhu named Suvāṇṇakesara, enumerates the benefits of paying homage to the relics, and finally asks for boons for such homage, including birth at the time of Maitreya Buddha.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

UB059	Standardized edition	Translation
១	១	1
អ[ហរំនា]	<i>aham វន្ទា</i>	<i>I salute.</i>
ខ្ញុំមសូមពានា	ខ្ញុំសូមពណ៍នា	I humbly describe
សំសើព្រះអង្គ	សរសើព្រះអង្គ	and praise the Lord,
កាលស្តេចនិពាន	កាលស្តេចនិពាន	when he entered Nibbāna,
ស្សេញ្ហានវិម៌ង	សោយស្ថានវង្គ	experiencing the highest state.
ត័លតាមនៅវក្កង	គាល់គាប់នៅក្នុង	[All were] gathered in fealty in
នីគីរក្សសិទ្ធិរាជ	នគរ <i>kusinārāya</i> ។	the city of <i>Kusinārā</i> .
២	២	2
ធាតុវិដ្ចា	<i>dhātuvithā-</i>	<i>The extension of the relics</i>
រកកត្តា	<i>rikam katvā</i>	<i>having been completed,</i>
ទេវជាទីងឡាយ	ទេវតាទាំងឡាយ	all of the deities
នៅបន្តសទីងឡាយ	នូវមនុស្សទាំងអស់	and all of the humans
សោមនសខ្លាខ្យ	សោមនស្សខ្ពស់ខ្លាខ្យ	were happily concerned
[ប្រមូលចែកចាយ	ប្រមូលចែកចាយ	with gathering and distributing
ព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា	ព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា ។	the precious relics,
៣	៣	3
ដោយសព្វបុរី	ដោយសព្វបុរី	to each of the cities,
នីគីប្រាំម្ភិ	នគរប្រាំបី	eight countries in all,
[រាល់លែចែកគ្នា	រាល់លែចែកគ្នា	to be completely distributed.
ឧណ្ណិសោ ច	<i>unhiso ca-</i>	<i>The crown relic</i>
តពោធា[ណា]	<i>ttāro dāthā</i>	<i>and the four canines,</i>
[ព្រះអគ្គសាស្តា	ព្រះអគ្គសាស្តា	the crown of the Teacher,
ព្រះចងក្រមកែវបួន	ព្រះចងក្រមកែវបួន ។	the four crystal canines,
៤	៤	4
ព្រះធាតុដងកំបិត	ព្រះធាតុដងកំបិត	and the clavicle relics
ទាំងពីរនោះពិត	ទាំងពីរនោះពិត	which number two;
ទិទេដោយខ្លួន	ទិទេដោយខ្លួន	each of these [seven] remained whole.
ក្រៅពីនេះណា	ក្រៅពីនេះណា	Apart from these,
គិតជាចំនួន	គិតជាចំនួន	if measured in numbers,
ព្រះធាតុចំនួន	ព្រះធាតុចំនួន ។	the relics total
ប្រាំមួយដងបនាបគុក	ប្រាំមួយដងបនាបនាលិគត់ ។	sixteen <i>nāli</i> exactly.
៥	៥	5
[ដំព្រះធាតុសាស្តា	ព្រះធាតុសាស្តា	The relics of the Teacher
ដុំមធំនេះណា	ដុំធំនេះណា	include the large pieces, which

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ប្រាំមនាលប្រកដ	ប្រាំនាលប្រកដ	weigh five <i>nāli</i> .
[ព្រះធាតុ]កន្តាល	ព្រះធាតុកណ្តាល	The middle relics
៦នាលកំណដ	ប្រាំមួយនាលកំណត់	weigh exactly six <i>nāli</i> ,
ដុំមព្រះធាតុល្អិត	ដុំព្រះធាតុល្អិត	and the tiny pieces of relics
៥នាលសោតនៃ ។	ប្រាំនាលសោតនៃ ។	are another five <i>nāli</i> .
៦	៦	6
ព្រះធាតុជនវង្ស	ព្រះធាតុជនវង្ស	The relics of the Heir to the Victors—
ដុំទំរង់ល្អិត	ដុំជំរង់	the large pieces [among them] shine
រលើព្រះ	រលើប	bright...
រក្ខត្តិដូចព្រះ	រស្មីដូច	with rays like...
ឱកាសប្រែប្រួល	ឱកាស	with brilliant light...
ល្អិតដូចអប្បម្យ	ល្អិតគឺឧបមេយ្យ	beautiful beyond compare,
ប៉ុនគ្រាប់សន្លែក ។	ប៉ុនគ្រាប់សណ្តែក ។	each the size of a bean.
៧	៧	7
រឿងព្រះធាតុ	រឿងព្រះធាតុ	As for the relics
ព្រះម[xx]ដ្ឋ	ព្រះម[xx]ដ្ឋ	of the Lord...
កន្តាលល្អិតផ្នែក	កណ្តាលល្អិតផ្នែក	that are of middling size and extraordinary beauty...
[កិរិយាដុល្លា] [កែវផ្នែកល្អ]	[កិរិយាដុល្លា]	...
អាចារ្យលោកចែក	អាចារ្យលោកចែក	the priest distributed them,
ទំហំអង្កឹងក	ទំហំអង្កឹងក	with each the size of
ប៉ុនគ្រាប់អង្ករ ។	ប៉ុនគ្រាប់អង្ករ ។	just a grain of rice.
៨	៨	8
ផលិត្រីវណ្ណ	<i>phalīkavanno</i>	<i>having a crystal complexion—</i>
វិពារិសំបោ	វិពារិសំបោ	as for their complexion,
ដូចកែវផ្នែកល្អ	ដូចកែវផ្នែកល្អ	it is like a beautiful crystal,
រលើបរលង	រលើបរលង	shining brightly,
ឆោមយង់បរ	ឆោមយង់បរ	beautifully, and marvelously,
រក្ខត្តិមហាល្អ	រស្មីមហាល្អ	its rays most lovely.
ធាតុព្រះករុណា ។	ធាតុព្រះករុណា ។	They are the relics of the Compassionate Lord.
៩	៩	9
ព្រះធាតុជនវង្ស	ព្រះធាតុជនវង្ស	The relics of the Heir to the Victors that are
តូចល្អិតបញ្ចង្គ	តូចល្អិតបញ្ចង្គ	tiny, small, and shining,
សាសប្បមគ្គា	<i>sāsapamattā</i>	<i>having the size of mustard seeds,</i>
ប្រមាណប៉ុនគ្រាប់ស្ពៃ	ប្រមាណប៉ុនគ្រាប់ស្ពៃ	the size of mustard seeds,
រក្ខត្តិភ្លឺថ្លា	រស្មីភ្លឺថ្លា	with a lustrous radiance,
[ព្រះ]កលវណ្ណ	<i>bakulavannā</i>	<i>having a bakula-flower complexion,</i>



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ពារដូចផ្កាផ្កុល	ពណ៌ដូចផ្កាផ្កុល ។	have a hue like the bakula flower.
១០	១០	10
ស្តេចផងសោតណា	ស្តេចផងសោតណា	All of the kings,
មានទោនអាចារ្យ	មានទោណអាចារ្យ	with the priest Doṇa
[ជាទ្វី]ចែកផល	ជាធំចែកផល	as the leader, distributed the fruits,
លាមឡបំបូរ	លាយឡបំបូរ	mixed them completely
បញ្ចូលផ្ទឹមវាល	បញ្ចូលផ្ទឹមវាល	together, and weighed them.
ព្រះធាតុទសពល	ព្រះធាតុទសពល	The relics of the Ten-Powered Lord
ចែកស្តេចនា ។	ចែកស្តេចនា ។	were distributed to various kings.
១១	១១	11
[ឯកភាគ]	<i>ekabhāgam</i>	<i>One portion,</i>
ចំណែកចែកតាំង	ចំណែកចែកតាំង	one portion was distributed and assigned
១ទៅភាព	មួយទៅភាព	to the city of
បុរិរាជគ្រឹះ	បុរិរាជគ្រឹះ	Rājagrha.
បញ្ចូលទុកជា	បញ្ចូលទុកជា	One was buried and established
មួយនៅវេសា	មួយនៅវេសា	in the Vesā-
[ឡើ]នីគីនា	លីនគីនាយ ។	li city yonder.
១២	១២	12
ចំណែកមួយនៃ	ចំណែកមួយនៃ	As for another, [it was in]
កបិលកលកស័ប្បរិ	កបិលពស្តុបុរិ	Kapilavastu city,
រាជរម្យពន្យ	រាជរម្យពន្យ	the king's pleasure, resplendent.
ចំណែកមួយទៀត	ចំណែកមួយទៀត	Another portion
ព្រះធាតុលោមឆាយ	ព្រះធាតុលោមឆាយ	of the the lovely relics
[ខ្ញុំកន្លែងឆាយ	ខ្លាត់ទៅគង់ឆាយ	were spread out afar
ស្រុកអលកបបរដ្ឋ]	ស្រុក <i>allakapparaththe</i> ។	in the country of <i>Allakapparaththa</i> .
១៣	១៣	13
[ៗ] ឯកោកដ្ឋោ ។	<i>eko kattho</i>	<i>One measure</i>
ព្រះធាតុសាស្តា	ព្រះធាតុសាស្តា	[Of] the relics of the Teacher,
មួយចំណែកបង្ហែរ	មួយចំណែកបង្ហែរ	one portion was sent
ទៅស្រុករាមគ្រាម	ទៅស្រុករាមគ្រាម	to the country of Rāmagrāma,
មនុស្សផងសឹងតែ	មនុស្សផងសឹងតែ	[where] all the people always
ចោមរោមហូរហែ	ចោមរោមហូរហែ	gathered around in droves
ហែព្រះធាតុទៅ ។	ហែព្រះធាតុទៅ ។	to process the relics about.
១៤	១៤	14
ឯកកោដ្ឋា[សេ	<i>ekakotthāse</i>	<i>in one share</i>
[វេដ្ឋទិបកេ]	<i>vethadīpake</i>	<i>in Vethadīpaka</i>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះនាគចោមចៅ ម្យ៉ូចំណែកទៅស្រុក វេដ្ឋទិបកៃកូរ ម្យ៉ូចំណែកនៅ ស្រុកប្រាវាយឯ ១៥	ព្រះនាគចោមចៅ មួយចំណែកទៅស្រុក vethadīpakeកូរ មួយចំណែកនៅ ស្រុក pāvāya ឯ ។ ១៥	The Protector, the King— one portion [of his relics] went into Vethadīpaka country. Another portion were in in Pāvā country hither. 15
ព្រះធាតុជិនវង្ស ម្យ៉ូចំណែកគង កោសិន្ទរាឯឯឯ អង្គព្រះធាតុគង ចំពូធិប្បៃ ព្រាសសត្រូសពូតៃ នីតីនេះណា ១៦	ព្រះធាតុជិនវង្ស មួយចំណែកគង kusinārāya ឯ អស់ព្រះធាតុគង jambudvīpe ព្រាសសពូសត្រូតៃ នគរនេះណា ។ ១៦	The relics of the Heir to the Victors— one portion [of them] remained in Kusinārā hither. All of the relics remained in Jambudvīpa, saving all of the beings in this realm. 16
ព្រះចង្កូមកែវស្លាម ខាងលើលំលំម រាត្រស្មិស្រសថា ព្រះឥន្ទហៃទៅ បញ្ចុះនៅនា ស្រុត្រៃត្រីង្សា បូជាថ្នាក់ថ្វាយ ១៧	ព្រះចង្កូមកែវស្លាម ខាងលើលំ រស្មិស្រសថា ព្រះឥន្ទហៃទៅ បញ្ចុះនៅនា ស្រុត្រៃត្រីង្សា បូជាថ្នាក់ថ្វាយ ។ ១៧	The right crystal canine, fallen from upper [jaw], with rays bright and clear— Lord Indra processed and entombed it in the heaven of Trāyastriṃsa to be venerated and worshipped. 17
ព្រះចង្កូមស្លាមក្រោម រាត្រស្មិក្រលោម ភ្នំផ្នែកនទ្រាយ ស្តេចដង្ហែទៅ បញ្ចុះនៅឆ្ងាយ សិង្ហលទ្ធិបនាយ កោះកែវលង្ការ ១៨	ព្រះចង្កូមស្លាមក្រោម រស្មិក្រហម ភ្នំផ្នែកពទ្រាយ ស្តេចដង្ហែទៅ បញ្ចុះនៅឆ្ងាយ សិង្ហលទ្ធិបនាយ កោះកែវលង្ការ ។ ១៨	The right lower canine, whose radiance is red, brightly shining and resplendent— the King processed it to to be entombed far away in Siṅhaladvīpa yonder, the crystal isle of Lankā. 18
ព្រះចង្កូមកែវគន់ ឆ្នែងលើល្វាសល្វន់ នៅនីតីគន្ធារ ព្រះចង្កូមឆ្នែងក្រោម ចុងចោមស្រសថា បានទៅនាគ្គា	ព្រះចង្កូមកែវគន់ ឆ្នែងលើល្វាសល្វន់ នៅនគរគន្ធារ ព្រះចង្កូមឆ្នែងក្រោម ចុងចោមស្រសថា បានទៅនាគា	The crystal canine, seen on the upper left [jaw], graceful, resides in the kingdom of Gandhāra. The lower left canine, the pinnacle, lovely and clear, went to the Nāga realm,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្នុងនាគនាគ	ក្នុងនាគនាគនាយ ។	of the serpentine Nāgas thither.
១៩	១៩	19
ធាតុដងកំបិត	ធាតុដងកំបិត	The clavicle relic
ព្រះទេសពលរត្ន	ព្រះទេសពលរត្ន	of the the Ten-Powered Jewel Lord
ខាងស្តាំពិទ្រា	ខាងស្តាំពិទ្រាយ	on the right side, resplendent,
សេហនាដ្ឋតិវនេវ ។	សីហនាថជីកទៅ	King Sīhanātha carried it away
សិវហុនធ្វើវន្យ	សិវ្តលទ្ធិបនាយ	to Siṅhaladvīpa yonder,
[ប្រោសសត្វសម្ប]	ប្រោសសត្វសម្បាយ	saving the multitude of living beings
នៅស្រុកនោះណា	នៅស្រុកនោះណា ។	in that realm.
២០	២០	20
ធាតុដងកំបិត ។	ធាតុដងកំបិត	The clavicle relic
ខាងឆ្វេងសោតបិដ្ឋ	ខាងឆ្វេងសោតស្ថិត	on the left side remained
ស្វរថ្កានព្រមា	ស្និតឋានព្រហ្ម	in the heavens of the Brahmā realm.
[ស្យ]ព្រមទ្វារ[ហ្វិ]	អស់ព្រហ្មទាំងឡាយ	All of the Brahmā deities
ម័បម័រក៏ជួរ	ហួបហួយកជា	constructed in offering to it
ដៃច្រើនខ្ពស់មហា	ចេតិយខ្ពស់មហា	a cetiya, massively tall,
១២យោជ[យ័ល]	ដប់ពីរយោជន័យល់ ។	twelve yojanas in all.
២១	២១	21
ព្រះធាតុសោកន្ទ	ព្រះធាតុសោកណ	The splendid relics
ព្រះចង្កូមកែវ [Xន្ទ]	ចង្កូមកែវ X	and the crystal canines...
នៃព្រះទស្សពល	នៃព្រះទេសពល	of the the Ten-Powered Lord
ចំណែកចែកច្ប	ចំណែកចែកច្ប	were distributed...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
២២	២២	22
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
រាជរាជ្ជបុរី	រាជរដ្ឋបុរី	...the royal capital
ស្បែកជើងទ័ងគូរ	ស្បែកជើងទាំងគូរ	two pairs of shoes
កងសេរកនោះខ្ចី	XXXខ្ចី	... quickly
ស្លោកបាទនោះក្តី	ស្លោកបាទនោះក្តី	and the cloth envelope for his begging bowl,
[វ៉ា]ងមោលីម្លិរដ្ឋ	វង្សមោលីមណីរដ្ឋ	that of Lord Vaṅsamolīmaṇiratna.
២៣	២៣	23
កំរាលចិវ	កម្រាលចិវ	The upper robe,
ពារស្រសថាល្អ	ពណ៌ស្រសថាល្អ	whose color is clear and beautiful
នៃព្រះបរមមុដ្ឋ	នៃព្រះបរមមុដ្ឋ	of the Lord Paramamakūṭa,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

គង់ស្រុកកិច្ចិយោ ព្រោះប្រសព្វសត្វ បាទព្រះអង្គប្រាត គង់កោះលង្ការ ២៤	គង់ស្រុក <i>bhaddiyo</i> ព្រាសប្រសព្វសត្វ បាទព្រះអង្គប្រាត គង់កោះលង្ការ ។ ២៤	resides in the realm of <i>Bhaddiyo</i> , saving all living beings. The bowl of the Lord resides on the isle of Laṅkā. 24
ព្រះក្រាបសោតនៃ គង់នៅបូរី កុវរដ្ឋា ស្សមនុសសត្វសព្វ សោតសឹងវន្តា ទសទ្វារទេវត្តា នមស្សការគ្មានផ្តាច់ ២៥	ព្រះក្រាបសោតនៃ គង់នៅបូរី <i>kuwratthā</i> អស់មនុសសត្វសព្វ សោតសឹងវន្តា ទោះទាំងទេព្វា នមស្សការគ្មានផ្តាច់ ។ ២៥	As for his sitting cloth, it resides in the city of <i>Kuwratthā</i> , where all humans and creatures always revered it, Even all of the deities worshipped it continuously. 25
ខ្ញុំបង្គំបង្គំម ព្រះធាតុដ៏ដ្ឋម នៃព្រះសារពេជ គង់ក្នុងចេតិ ទោះបីច្រើនតិច ម្តឹងព្រះធាតុដ៏ដ្ឋ គ្មាននំណាដល់ឡើយ ២៦	ខ្ញុំបង្គំបង្គំម ព្រះធាតុដ៏ដ្ឋម នៃព្រះសារពេជ គង់ក្នុងចេតិយ ទោះបីច្រើនតិច ម្តឹងព្រះធាតុដ៏ដ្ឋ គ្មាននំណាដល់ឡើយ ។ ២៦	I humbly bow down in offering to the highest relics of the Omniscient One that reside in cetiyas, whether they be many or few, that glorify the mighty relics, to whom no can be compared. 26
ចិត្តខ្ញុំជ្រះថ្លា ខ្ញុំមយកបូជា ម្ចាស់ថ្លៃបានត្រឡី ជួសជូកគន្ធារ ចន្ទក្រសួរហើយ បង្គំមហក៏បង្គើយ ធាតុព្រះទ្រង់លក្ខណ៍ ។ ២៧	ចិត្តខ្ញុំជ្រះថ្លា ចិត្តខ្ញុំយកបូជា ម្ចាស់ថ្លៃបានត្រឡីយ ជុំជូកគន្ធារ ចន្ទក្រសួរហើយ បង្គំបង្គើយ ធាតុព្រះទ្រង់លក្ខណ៍ ។ ២៧	My heart, clear in faith, I take it to offer to the precious master, who has achieved the far shore, in place of fragrant incense of sandalwood to bow down at last to the relics of the Marked Lord. 27
ខ្ញុំជ្រះថ្លា សូតសូមបូជា ជំនួសមាសប្រាក់ នៅគ្រឿងអ្វីៗ ហាក់ដូចដោមដាក់ ថ្វាយព្រះចោមច័ក អំពីចម្ងាយ ។	ខ្ញុំជ្រះថ្លា សូតសូមបូជា ជំនួសមាសប្រាក់ នូវគ្រឿងអ្វីៗ ហាក់ដូចដោមដាក់ ថ្វាយព្រះចោមច័ក អំពីចម្ងាយ ។	I take care of my words, chanting them in offering in place of gold and silver and various objects, as if raised up above in offering to the King from afar.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

២៨	២៨	28
សិរសំមេ	<i>sirasam me</i>	<i>Having made</i>
បទមុំក្រតៃ ។	<i>padumam kate</i>	<i>my head into a lotus</i>
សិរសានិងកាយ	សិរសានិងកាយ	My head and body
ខ្ញុំបូជាជួស	ខ្ញុំបូជាជួស	I offer in place of
ផ្កាល្អកទងឡាយ	ផ្កាល្អកទាំងឡាយ	lotus flowers.
ដៃខ្ញុំមមបម្ប	ដៃខ្ញុំហួបហួយ	My hands—I offer them respectfully,
[លើកឡើង]ដកដល់ ។	លើកឡើងដាក់ដល់ ។	raised up high.
២៩	២៩	29
[ចក្ខុ]ទ្វយំ	<i>cakkhuvayam</i>	<i>My two eyes,</i>
ទិបាទិបំ ។	<i>dīpādīpam</i>	<i>lamps and lights</i>
ភ្នែកពិសោតសល	ភ្នែកពិរសោតសល់	My two eyes true,
ជុំមន្ទសព្រះទិព	ជុំន្ទសព្រះទីប	in place of candles,
ទ្ធាត្តិចម្ពើងផល	ធំអុចម្ពើងផល	large and lit in praise,
សូមបូជាដល់	សូមបូជាដល់	in offering to
ព្រះធាតុកគវា ។	ព្រះធាតុកគវា ។	the relics of the Blessed One.
៣០	៣០	30
អ្នកភិក្ខុសុវណ្ណ	អ្នកភិក្ខុសុវណ្ណ	Bhikkhu Suvanna-
កែសំសោក័ន	កេសរសោក័ណ	kesara, the magnificent,
កបគង់នៅនា	កបគង់នៅនា	who resides in
វណ្ណយុកសសីង	វត្តល្អយុកសសីង	Vatt Jhūk Sa, by
វិពិធីវេចនា	វិពិធីវេចនា	resorting to the pattern
តាមព្រះអដ្ឋកថា	តាមព្រះអដ្ឋកថា	of the commentaries,
សំដែងទុកមក	សម្តែងទុកមក ។	expressed and recorded this.
៣១	៣១	31
បើអ្នកឯណាវៃ	បើអ្នកឯណាវៃ	Should anyone,
ទោះប្រុសទោះស្រី	ទោះប្រុសទោះស្រី	male or female,
ចម្លងរៀនយក	ចម្លងរៀនយក	copy, study,
សូតថ្វាយបង្គំ	សូត្រថ្វាយបង្គំ	and chant this in offering to
ព្រះពុទ្ធពន្ធក	ព្រះពុទ្ធពន្ធក	the sprouts of the buddhas,
ខ្ពស់ដូចពពក	ខ្ពស់ដូចពពក	lofty as the clouds,
អ្នកនោះឯណា ។	អ្នកនោះឯណា ។	that person shall
៣២	៣២	32
បានសុខទាំងបី	បានសុខទាំងបី	achieve the triple bliss:
សុខក្នុងលោកី	សុខក្នុងលោកិយ	bliss in the world,
សុខក្នុងទេវតា	សុខក្នុងទេវតា	bliss among the deities,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

សុកក្នុងនីពាន	សុខក្នុងនិព្វាន	and the bliss in Nibbāna,
[បានពុំមរណា]	បានពុំមរណា	They shall achieve an undying
សុកយើងយូរយា	សុខយើងយូរយារ	bliss, long-standing
ជាឥតខ្ចីឆ្នាំ	ជាអស្ចារ្យខ្លាំង ។	and marvelously mighty.
៣៣	៣៣	33
ខ្ញុំមសូមសរសើរ	ខ្ញុំសូមសរសើរ	I humbly praise
រាប់រាប់ពោលពី	រៀបរាប់ពោលពី	and enumerate
ព្រះធាតុពុទ្ធ	ព្រះធាតុ <i>buddham</i>	the relics of the <i>Buddha</i> , including
ព្រះចង្កូមកែវកប	ព្រះចង្កូមកែវកប	the crystal canines, which
គង់កោះកំបាំង	គង់កោះកំបាំង	reside on islands or are hidden away,
គ្រប់គ្រឿងទោះទាំង	គ្រប់គ្រឿងទោះទាំង	along with other objects,
បរិក្ខារខិបខ័ត	បរិក្ខារខិបខាត	including all of his requisites.
៣៤	៣៤	34
អំឡិនក្បក់	អរឱនកាយក្រោម	I rejoice and bend my body low,
xxមមម្រហំម	ប្រណិប័តន៍ប្រណម្យ	with palms joined in reverence
ដោមដាក់ថ្វាយថ្វាត	ដោមដាក់ថ្វាយថ្វាត	and raised up in offering.
សូមបបូរបាន	សូមបរិបូណ៌បាន	May I completely achieve
សុកសួរសម្បត្តិ	សុខសួគ៌សម្បត្តិ	the bliss and treasure of the heavens.
[លសសោបកុំគិត]	លះលោភកុំគិត	May I abandon greed and think no more
[ទោសោមោហោ]	<i>doso moho</i> ។	of <i>anger</i> and <i>delusion</i> .
៣៥	៣៥	35
សូមកើតទៅទៀត	សូមកើតទៅទៀត	May I be reborn
ត្រង់ត្រូវជួបជាតិ	ត្រង់ត្រូវជួបជាតិ	in exactly the right life
ពើបពានពុទ្ធា	ពើបពាន <i>buddho</i>	to encounter the <i>Buddha</i> .
សូមស្តែងស្តាប់ធម៌	សូមស្តែងស្តាប់ធម៌	May I listen to him preach the Dharma
ចូលចិត្តដឹងដល់	ចូលចិត្តដឹងដល់	and understand it such that I achieve
មោកមក្ខត្តផល	មោក្ខមក្ខត្តផល	the paths of liberation and their fruits.
និតចិត្តចបហោង ។	<i>niṭṭhitam</i> ចប់ហោង ។	<i>Finished</i> —the end.

**trailakkha(ṅ) «rāl' rūp dāṃṅ as'»-k**

The three marks, beginning with “All bodied beings”

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas, likely composed in the 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB033** 57a–59b braḥ lakhañāṅ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṅ ṭoy° sañkhep

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Summary: Explanation of the impermanence of the body, the importance of being heedful in life and paying respect to the Three Jewels, and the inevitability of death, at which point the souls will be split from the body.

<b>UB033</b>	Corrected edition	Translation
១ រុលរូបទាំងអស់ មានចិត្តសបរស រករៀនធម៌អាថ៌ យល់ឃើញរូបចាស់ សៅហ្មងពិការ សង្កេតអនិច្ចា សារូបមានកម្ម ។	១ រាល់រូបទាំងអស់ មានចិត្តសប្បុរស រករៀនធម៌អាថ៌ យល់ឃើញរូបចាស់ សៅហ្មងពិការ សង្កេតអនិច្ចា សារូបមានកម្ម ។	1 All bodied beings with a pious heart! Study and learn the Dharma. See that the body is old sullied, and broken. Be stirred and have pity, since the body has karma.
២ រៀងរាល់រូបណា មានរាល់អាត្មា លោកមកចងចាំ ក្មេងប្រែជាចាស់ ប្រែខុសចំណាំ ព្រះកាលចងចាំ ចងចាំរំលឹក ។	២ រៀងរាល់រូបណា មានរាល់អាត្មា លោកមកចងចាំ ក្មេងប្រែជាចាស់ ប្រែខុសចំណាំ ព្រះកាលចងចាំ ចងចាំរំលឹក ។	2 Among the bodies of all beings, the Lord reminds us, the young change to become old, changing contrary to our memory. But Lord Time remembers, reminds, and recalls.
៣ ឱរូបពឹងខ្លួន ការនាបបនដូន ឥមិនារដ្ឋេចទឹក ឱទៅព្រះកាល ដែលមករំលឹក ឥមិនារដ្ឋេចទឹក បនដូនឱទៅ ។	៣ ឱរូបពឹងខ្លួន ការនាបញ្ជូន <i>iminā</i> ច្រូចទឹក ឱទៅព្រះកាល ដែលមករំលឹក <i>iminā</i> ច្រូចទឹក បញ្ជូនឱទៅ ។	3 Oh, this body! Take refuge in yourself. Meditate and dedicate the merit by chanting <i>iminā</i> while pouring water. Lord Time comes to remind you: chant <i>iminā</i> while pouring water and dedicate the merit.
៤ ឱរូបទុក្ខំ ឱមានអនិច្ចំ ទានខ្លួនរស់នៅ បើរើងវិលវិញ បានជិះសំពៅ ក្រើកន្ទ្រាស្ទើរទៅ ស្រមុតនាមនៃ ។	៤ ឱរូប <i>dukkham</i> ឱមាន <i>aniccam</i> ទាន់ខ្លួនរស់នៅ បើរើងវិលវិញ បានជិះសំពៅ ក្រើកន្ទ្រាស្ទើរទៅ សមុទ្រនាមនៃ ។	4 Oh, the body is painful! Develop [the knowledge of] impermanence while you are still alive. If you return, you will ride on a boat, complete with a mast, crossing over the ocean yonder.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>៥                  រូបប្រើបធារធំ                  រលកប៉ុនភ្នំ                  ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់សន្លែ                  ក្រអួកឆ្នងរួច                  ស្រមុតឆ្នោះនៃ                  លិចលង់ច្រើនក្រៃយ                  លំបាកណាស់ណាវ</p>	<p>៥                  រូបអើយធារធំ                  រលកប៉ុនភ្នំ                  ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់សន្លែ                  ក្រអួកឆ្នងរួច                  សមុទ្រឆ្នោះនៃ                  លិចលង់ច្រើនក្រៃ                  លំបាកណាស់ណា ។</p>	<p>5                  The body is huge,                  with waves large as mountains,                  fearsomely tall.                  Rare is one who can cross it.                  The same goes for the ocean.                  Many more drown within it—                  how miserable!</p>
<p>៦                  រូបគិតទៅចុះ                  ធម៌នេះមិនខុស                  គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ                  អ្នកស្អាងក្រាស់ក្រៃ                  ប៉ុនបងប្រដៅ                  មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា                  ទើបបានឆ្លងរួច</p>	<p>៦                  រូបគិតទៅចុះ                  ធម៌នេះមិនខុស                  គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ                  អ្នកស្អាងក្រាស់ក្រៃ                  ប៉ុនបងប្រដៅ                  មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា                  ទើបបានឆ្លងរួច ។</p>	<p>6                  The body—think about it;                  the Dharma isn't wrong.                  Think of impermanence.                  If you cultivate immensely                  and make wishes and aspirations                  with a heart of clear faith,                  then you can cross it.</p>
<p>៧                  រូបខំមរក្សា                  បានរៀនធម៌អាថ៌                  ទោះបីតិចតួច                  កុំទៅព្យាធារ                  និយាយធម៌ខូច                  យោងខ្លួនមិនរួច                  ធ្លាក់ទៅនរក ។</p>	<p>៧                  រូបខំរក្សា                  បានរៀនធម៌អាថ៌                  ទោះបីតិចតួច                  កុំទៅពាយធារ                  និយាយធម៌ខូច                  យោងខ្លួនមិនរួច                  ធ្លាក់ទៅនរក ។</p>	<p>7                  Take care of this body,                  so as to learn the Dharma,                  even if only a little.                  Don't be negligent                  and say that the Dharma's useless,                  as it won't be able to carry you,                  and you'll fall into the hells.</p>
<p>៨                  ព្រះកែវទាំងបី                  ដាក់លើសិរសី                  តម្កល់ដាក់ទុក                  លោកយោងរូបបាន                  រួចពីនរក                  ឱ្យបានសោយសុខ                  សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។</p>	<p>៨                  ព្រះកែវទាំងបី                  ដាក់លើសិរសី                  ដម្កល់ដាក់ទុក                  លោកយោងរូបបាន                  រួចពីនរក                  ឱ្យបានសោយសុខ                  សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។</p>	<p>8                  The Three Jewels:                  place them on your head,                  raise them up respectfully.                  These Lords can carry you                  to escape the hells                  and to enjoy bliss                  and the attainments of merit.</p>
<p>៩                  ព្រះធម៌វិសុទ្ធ                  វិសេសប្រកត្តិ                  ប្រសើរពេកពន់</p>	<p>៩                  ព្រះធម៌វិសុទ្ធ                  វិសេសប្រកដ                  ប្រសើរពេកពន់</p>	<p>9                  The pure Dharma is                  marvelous indeed,                  excellent beyond measure;</p>



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

បៀបបិតឱ្យជិត ខំមតិតឱ្យជូន ស្រលេញព្រះគុណ លើសលើជីវិត ។ ១០	បៀមបិតឱ្យជិត ខំគិតឱ្យជូន ស្រឡាញ់ព្រះគុណ លើសលើជីវិត ។ ១០	cradle it close. Reflect on it seriously; adore its virtues even more than life. 10
ព្រះធម៌ច្បងច្បះ វិសេសថ្លៃណាស់ រូបរុំផ្លឹងគិត ។ រក្សារក្សាយាម បៀមបិតឱ្យមាំ ការនាប្រព្រឹត្តិ រៀនរាល់ថ្ងៃទៅ ។ ១១	ព្រះធម៌ច្បងច្បាស់ វិសេសថ្លៃណាស់ រូបរំពឹងគិត រក្សាព្យាយាម បៀបបិតឱ្យមាំ ការនាប្រព្រឹត្តិ រៀនរាល់ថ្ងៃទៅ ។ ១១	The foremost Dharma is marvelously precious. The body: you should contemplate it, maintain it, and persevere with it, cradling it tightly. Meditate, practice, and study every day from now on. 11
ត្បិតរូបវល្យ ឃ្លាឃ្លាតចេញឆ្ងាយ មិនបាននឹងទៅ អាសូររូបពេក បែកគ្នាពេកកូរ ប្រលឹងចេញទៅ ទៅនឹងព្រះធម៌ ។ ១២	ត្បិទរូបវលាយ ឃ្លាឃ្លាតចេញឆ្ងាយ មិនបាននឹងទៅ អាសូររូបពេក បែកគ្នាពេកកូរ ប្រលឹងចេញទៅ ទៅនឹងព្រះធម៌ ។ ១២	For the body will decay and be scattered far away; it will not go on. Pity this body! You'll be cleft from it. The souls will depart to follow the Dharma. 12
គ្មានយកអ្វីទៅ កូនចៅខាននៅ ឯអាយកេរករ អសូរព្រះលិង្គ ទីពឹងព្រះធម៌ លោកយោងយីតក រងរាល់បាទទៅ ។ ១៣	គ្មានយកអ្វីទៅ កូនចៅខាននៅ ឯអាយកេរអាករ អាសូរព្រះលិង្គ ទីពឹងព្រះធម៌ លោកយោងយីតក រៀងរាល់បាត់ទៅ ។ ១៣	You can't take anything with you. Your offspring will remain on this side as your legacy. Pity the souls! Their refuge is the Dharma. They'll take them by the neck. All shall disappear. 13
គុណ្ណើយព្រះគុណ ព្រះអង្គមានបុន ប្រសើរពេកកូរ ព្រះអង្គផ្ទុកសត្វ ផ្កាតផ្កាសំពៅ នាឡាយកទៅ តាក់តល់និព្វានហោង ។។។ ដាក់ដល់និព្វានហោង ។	គុណអើយព្រះគុណ ព្រះអង្គមានបុណ្យ ប្រសើរពេកកូរ ព្រះអង្គផ្ទុកសត្វ ជាតិជាសំពៅ នាឡាយកទៅ តាក់តល់និព្វានហោង ។	Virtue, O august virtue! The Lord has merit, surpassingly excellent. The Lord ferries beings by taking the form of a vessel, leading to them arrive at Nibbāna.

**trailakkha(ṇ) «rūpakkhandho»-k**

The three marks, beginning with “The aggregate of form”

Khmer verse, 34 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB020** 85b–92a rūppakkhandh; **UB033** 52a–55a, 56a–57a braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakhañāṇ ṭoy° saṅkhep (middle missing); **UB060** 26a–28b accīraṃ prè; **UB065** 39b–41b o! rūpakkhandho

Khmer books: Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Maṅtak braḥ buddhasāsanā khmèr មត៌កព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2005, 51–52 [short excerpt]; Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṅveg nānā ប្រជុំធម្មសង្កេតនានា* (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 221–25 [incomplete].

Summary: Explanation of the impermanence of the body, focusing on the processes of dying and decay. The text begins with an account of the dying person in conversation with Yama’s henchmen, who bind the body as it struggles to breathe, loses its vitality, and expires. It then continues with a description of the post-mortem lament of the spirt, who rues being shut out of human society, the horrific decay of its former body, and its reliance on spirit offerings. The text concludes with an exhortation to strive hard to contemplate impermanence, uphold the precepts, give away wealth, practice meditation, and recite Buddhist texts to reach the heavens and Nibbāna.

UB033	UB060	UB065	Edition	Translation
១	១	១	១	1
ឱរូប្បខន្ទោរ មានជាតុអាបោរ តេជ្ជាបថ្វី ជីវិហាចក្ខី សោត្តិនកាយេ វល់រូបតន្រ្ទិយ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	រូបក្ខន្ទោ មានជាតុអាបោ តេជ្ជាបថវី ជីវាចក្ខិន សោត្តិនកាយេ វល់រូបតន្រ្ទិយ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	ឱរូបក្ខន្ទោ មានជាតុអាបោ តេជ្ជាបថវី ជីវាកន្ទោ សោត្តិន្ទិយេ វល់រូបតន្រ្ទិយ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	<i>rūpakkhandho</i> មានជាតុ <i>āpo</i> <i>tejo pathavi</i> <i>jivhā cakkhindriya</i> <i>sotindriye</i> វល់រូបតន្រ្ទិយ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	<i>The aggregate of form</i> comprises the elements of <i>water</i> , <i>fire, earth</i> , <i>the tongue, the eye</i> , <i>and the ear sense organs</i> , the bodies and organs of all men and women.
២	២	២	២	2
គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូប្បើយមរណា ពិបាកក្នុងកាយ បំប្រើព្រះយម	គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូបហើយមរណា ពិបាកក្នុងកាយ បំប្រើព្រះយម	គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូបយើងវេទនា លំបាកក្នុងកាយ បំប្រើព្រះយម	គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូបយើងមរណា ពិបាកក្នុងកាយ បម្រើព្រះយម	Reflect on their impermanence, for our body will die, causing pain in the body. Yama’s guards

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

គេដំគេវាយ	គេដំគេវាយ	គេវាយគេដំ	គេដំគេវាយ	will beat and strike us.
គេចង់រូបកាយ	គេចង់រូបកាយ	គេចង់រូបកាយ	គេចង់រូបកាយ	They will bind our body
គ្រុបប្រាករ	គ្រប់៥ប្រាករ។	ទាំង៥ប្រាករ។	ទាំងប្រាំប្រាករ។	in five ways.
៣	៣	៣	៣	3
ខ្យល់បក់ថយលើង	ខ្យល់បក់ថយឡើង	ខ្យល់បក់ថយឡើង	ខ្យល់បក់ថយឡើង	The wind element blows, then
ថយពីបាទជើង	ថយពីបាទជើង	ថយពីបាតជើង	ថយពីបាតជើង	drains away,
ថយពីហត្ថា	ថយពីហត្ថា	ថយពីហត្ថា	ថយពីហត្ថា	draining from the soles of our
ហត់ហាក់សន្ធឹប	ហត់ហាក់សន្ធឹប	ហត់ហើយសន្ធឹប	ហត់ហើយសន្ធឹប	feet,
ខំទុបហ្សឺថា	ខំទុបហើយថា	ខំទប់ហើយថា	ខំទប់ហើយថា	draining from our hands.
លោក្តើយមេត្តា	លោកអើយមេត្តា	លោកិយមេត្តា	លោកអើយមេត្តា	First we are winded, then we
រង់ផ្តាំកូនខ្ញុំម។	រង់ផ្តាំកូនខ្ញុំ។	រង់ចាំកូនខ្ញុំ។	រង់ផ្តាំកូនខ្ញុំ។	pass out,
៤	៤	៤	៤	striving to stave off death,
រឿមជ្ជកាម្មា	រឿមច្ចុរាជ	និមិត្តកម្មា	និមិត្តកម្មា	saying:
ក្រែវ.....(ក្រោ)ជហ្សឺ	ក្រែវក្រោជហើយថា	ក្រែវក្រោជហើយថា	ក្រែវក្រោជហើយថា	“Please, masters, kindly
ថ្នា				wait for me to counsel my
វិញ្ញាបយើងតំ	វើយគ្នាយើងដំ	វើយគ្នាយើងខំ	វើយគ្នាយើងដំ	children.”
មីងចោរកំណាច	មេចោរកំណាច	មីងចោរកំណាច	មីងចោរកំណាច	4
អាចលាព្រះយុំ	អាចលាព្រះយុំ	អាចលាព្រះយម	អាចលាព្រះយម	Emanations of karma
ថ្នារង.....	ថាឯងនេះខំ	ថាឯងនេះខំ	ថាឯងនេះខំ	shake with anger and exclaim:
ខំរកកេរណា។	រកដួងកែរណា។	រកដួងកែរណា។	រកដួងកែរណា។	
៥	៥	៥	៥	5
បើដល់កំណត់	បើដល់កំណត់	លុះដល់កំណត់	លុះដល់កំណត់	When your time is up,
មីងឯងសន្មត	មីនឯងសន្មត	មីងឯងសន្មត	មីងឯងសន្មត	you must make a promise
នឹងយើងផ្តាដ្ឋា	នឹងអញប្តេជ្ញា	ហើយនឹងប្តេជ្ញា	ហើយអញប្តេជ្ញា	and I’ll make my pledge.
ឥលូវប្រកែក	ឥឡូវប្រកែក	ឥឡូវមីងកុំ	ឥឡូវមីងកុំ	Don’t you try
អល់ឯកអរ	អល់ឯកអរ	ប្រកែកអរ	ប្រកែកអរ	to argue or contest this.
មីងផ្តាំនិណា	មីងផ្តាំនិណា	មីងផ្តាំអ្នកណា	មីងផ្តាំនិណា	We don’t consent
យើងពុំព្រមលើ ។	យើងមិនព្រមផង។	យើងពុំព្រមឡើយ។	យើងពុំព្រមឡើយ។	to you counseling anyone.”
៦	៦	៦	៦	6
មុជ្ជកាម្មាស្តាប់	រឿមច្ចុរាជស្តាប់	និមិត្តកម្មាចាស់	មច្ចុរាជស្តាប់	The Lord of Death listens
ចុកស្ទុះប្រញាប់	ចុះស្ទុះប្រញាប់	ចុកស្ទុះហត់ណាស់	ចុះស្ទុះប្រញាប់	and moves quickly
គ្រុបទ្វារអស់ហើយ	គ្រប់ទ្វារអស់ហើយ	គ្រប់ទ្វារអស់ហើយ	គ្រប់ទ្វារអស់ហើយ	to all of the doors,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

អាណិតរូបពេក:	អាណិតរូបពេក	អាណិតខ្លួនពេក	គ្រប់ទ្វាររូបហើយ	all of the doors of our body,
XXXX	ស្រែកយំខ្លើយៗ	ស្រែកយំល្ហើយៗ	ស្រែកយំល្ហើយៗ	as we cry out in mourning:
XXXX	ម៉ែឪខ្ញុំអើយ	ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ	ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ	“Oh, Mother and Father!
XXXX	អាណិតជួយកូនៗ	អាណិតជួយផង ។	អាណិតជួយ	Have pity and save me!”
៧	៧	៧	៧	7
XXXX	អយំកាយោ	អយំកាយោ	ayam kāyo	This body
XXXX	ទូរេនិទ្វោ	ទូរំតាលោ	duram gato	shall be taken far away,
XXXX	ចោលរូបសោះសូន្យ	ចោលរូបសោះសូន្យ	ចោលរូបសោះសូន្យ	to be abandoned completely.
XXXX	ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅដល់	ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅដល់	ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅដល់	The fire element heats up
XXXX	ធាតុខ្យល់ក្នុងខ្លួន	ធាតុខ្យល់ក្នុងខ្លួន	ធាតុខ្យល់ក្នុងខ្លួន	the wind element in the body,
XXXX	ដង្ហើមផ្ទុនៗ	ដង្ហើមផ្ទុនៗ	ដង្ហើមផ្ទុនៗ	which breathes more and more,
XXXX	ចេញច្រើនចូលតិចៗ	ចេញច្រើនចូលតិច ។	ចេញច្រើនចូលតិច ។	exhaling much, inhaling little.
៨	៨	៨	៨	8
XXXX	ហត់ហើយហត់ណាស់	ហត់អើយហត់	ហត់អើយហត់ណាស់	Winded, oh how winded!
		ណាស់		
XXXX	ខំថ្លប្រែប្រាណ	ខំតែប្រែប្រាស	ខំតែប្រែប្រាស	Striving to turn and escape,
XXXX	ស្តីព្រិតិចៗ	ស្តីព្រិតិចៗ	ស្តីព្រិតិចៗ	we speak muffled words,
XXXX	ហៅបងហៅប្អូន	ហៅបងហៅប្អូន	ហៅបងហៅប្អូន	calling out to our siblings:
XXXX	ខ្លួនឆ្លើយគិតម្តេច	សួរអើយគិតម៉េច?	សួរអើយគិតម្តេច	“My dears, what do you think?”
XXXX	បានធូរបន្តិច	បានធូរបន្តិច	បានធូរបន្តិច	We recover slightly,
XXXX	ផ្តាំកូនប្រពន្ធៗ	ផ្តាំកូនប្រពន្ធ ។	ផ្តាំកូនប្រពន្ធ ។	then give counsel to our children and wife.
៩	៩	៩	៩	9
XXXX	អំពើកម្មដល់	អំពើកម្មផល	អំពើកម្មផល	The fruits of our karma:
XXXX	ដង្ហក់យោលខ្យល់	ដង្ហក់យកខ្យល់	ដង្ហក់យកខ្យល់	we gasp for air,
XXXX	ទុរាទុរន់	ទុរាទុរន់	ទុរាទុរន់	our body grows ever
ទុរាក្នុងខ្លួន	ទុរាក្នុងខ្លួន	ធុរៈក្នុងខ្លួន	ទុរៈក្នុងខ្លួន	more weak and feeble,
មមមួនពេកពុន	មមមួនពេកពុន	មមមួនពេកពុន	មមមួនពេកពុន	extremely frail.
គេអាណិតលុន	គេអាណិតលន់	គេអាណិតលន់	គេអាណិតលន់	Others may pity us,
ជួយឃាត់ពុំបាន ។	ជួយឃាត់ពុំបាន។	ជួយឃាត់ពុំបាន ។	ជួយឃាត់ពុំបាន ។	but cannot stop this process.
១០	១០	១០	១០	10
អស់ញាតិបងប្អូន	អស់ញាតិបងប្អូន	អស់ញាតិបងប្អូន	អស់ញាតិបងប្អូន	All our kin, siblings,
ម្តាយប្រពន្ធកូន	ម្តាយប្រពន្ធកូន	ជីតាជីដូន	ម្តាយប្រពន្ធកូន	mother, wife, and children
បន់ស្រន់ស្ទើរ ២	បន់ស្រន់ល្បឿនៗ	បន់ស្រន់ខ្សេវៗ	បន់ស្រន់ខ្សេវៗ	pray hoarsely,
បន់តែរបងមាត់	បន់តែរបងមាត់	បន់ឲ្យរបងមាត់	បន់តែរបងមាត់	praying only by placing objects in our mouth.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ឥតឃាត់កាំមបាន ក្លាត្រូវគ្រប់ប្រាណ រលំរូបប្រុះស្រីយ ។	ឥតឃាត់ពុំបាន កម្មត្រូវគ្រប់-ប្រាណ រលំរូបប្រុះស្រី។	ឥតឃាត់កម្មបាន កម្មត្រូវគ្រប់ប្រាណ រលំរូបប្រុះស្រី ។	ឥតឃាត់កម្មបាន កម្មត្រូវគ្រប់ប្រាណ រលំរូបប្រុះស្រី ។	Karma can't be stopped, for karma affects all beings, all creatures, male and female. 11
១១ និសាសវាត អសាសវាត បសាសនៃ ខ្យល់ចេញមិនចូល	១១ និសាសវាត អាសាសឃាត បសាសក្លិណី ខ្យល់ចេញមិនចូល	១១ ស្តីព្វខ្សត។ អស្សាសៈវាត បស្សាវាតា ខ្យល់ចេញមិនចូល	១១ nisoāsavāta assāsavāta passāsa នៃ ខ្យល់ចេញមិនចូល	The held-breath, the in-breath, and the out-breath— wind leaves but no longer enters. The vessels are twisted, all fifty-four of them, in the dying breath.
រមូលសរសៃយ ហារសិបបួននៃ ដង្ហើមមរណា ។	រមូលសរសៃ ៥៤នៃ ដង្ហើមមរណា	រមូលសរសៃ ហារសិបបួននៃ ដង្ហើមមរណា ។	រមូលសរសៃ ហារសិបបួននៃ ដង្ហើមមរណា ។	12
១២ អង្គអត្តនោ ឯកអាណាច្ឆោរ ឥតតេរដ្ឋាគ្មារ ប្រលីងក្នុងខ្លួន ឥតសូន្យប្បា ចតុក្ខត្តា លិដលុដប្រដ្ឋើ ។	១២ អង្គអត្តណោ ឯកអាណាថោ ឥតគេជាគ្នា ប្រលីងក្នុងខ្លួន ឥតសូន្យប្បា ចតុក្ខត្តា លាអ្នកទៅហើយ។	១២ អង្គអត្តនោ ឯកោអនាថោ កំព្រាសោៈសូន្យ គ្មានគេជាគ្នា ព្រលីងក្នុងខ្លួន ចតុក្ខតបួន លាអ្នកទៅហើយ ។	១២ អង្គ attano eko anātho ឥតគេជាគ្នា ព្រលីងក្នុងខ្លួន ឥតសូន្យប្បា ចតុក្ខតា លាអ្នកទៅហើយ ។	Our own body is alone and without refuge, without companions. The souls in the body are left without a material base. The four great elements depart from us. 13
១៣ រិក្ខតទាំងបួន ទៅលេងភ្នំខ្លួន ពុំដឹងខ្លួនល្បើ គេរសេងរូបបាត់ តល់ព្រៃជ្រៅហើយ កប់ស្រែចតើរតើ គុះត្បីជើងភ្នែក ។	១៣ រិក្ខត៤នេះណា មិនដឹងអាត្មា សើចលេងប្រដើយ គេសេងរូបទៅ ដល់ព្រៃជ្រៅហើយ កប់ស្រែចដើរទៅ គុះដីជើងភ្នែក។	១៣ រិក្ខតនោះណា ពុំដឹងអាត្មា សើចលេងព្រដើយ គេសេងរូបទៅ ដល់ព្រៃជ្រៅហើយ គេកប់ស្រែចហើយ គុសដីជើងភ្នែក ។	១៣ រិក្ខតបួននោះណា ពុំដឹងអាត្មា សើចលេងព្រដើយ គេសេងរូបទៅ ដល់ព្រៃជ្រៅហើយ គេកប់ស្រែចហើយ គុសដីជើងភ្នែក ។	Those four elements are unconscious and laugh carelessly. People haul the body deep into the forest. Having buried it, they carve a cross into the earth. 14
១៤ រិយក្ខតទាំងបួន លេងយូរភ្នំខ្លួន អាណ្យផ្ទះពេក្យ	១៤ រិក្ខតទាំង៤ លេងយូរភ្នំខ្លួន អាណ្យផ្ទះពេក	១៤ រិក្ខតទាំងបួន លេងយូរភ្នំខ្លួន រលឹកផ្ទះពេក	១៤ រិក្ខតទាំងបួន លេងយូរភ្នំខ្លួន អាណ្យផ្ទះពេក	As for those four elements, they play and forget themselves, but soon miss their home too much. They walk out from the forest and see the cross in the earth. They arrive at a crossroads,
ដើរចេញពីព្រៃ ឃើញតដីជើងភ្នែក ដល់ផ្លូវបំបែក	ដើរចេញពីព្រៃ ឃើញដីជើងភ្នែក ដល់ផ្លូវបំបែក	ដើរចេញពីព្រៃ ឃើញដីជើងភ្នែក ដល់ផ្លូវបំបែក	ដើរចេញពីព្រៃ ឃើញដីជើងភ្នែក ដល់ផ្លូវបំបែក	

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

គេស្រះបន្ទារ ។	គេស្រះបន្ទារ។	គេស្រាស់បន្ទា ។	គេស្រាស់បន្ទា ។	but the people have blocked it with thorns.
១៥	១៥	១៥	១៥	15
កូតឈប់អរ	ឈរឈប់រីក	រំពឹងគិតគ្នា	ឈរឈប់អរ	They stop and hesitate,
រំពឹងគិតគ្នា	រំពឹងគិតគ្នា	នៃរឿយអ្នកណា	រំពឹងគិតគ្នា	pausing to think together,
នេះហើយនណា	នេះហើយនណា	ថារូបយើងស្លាប់	នេះហើយនណា	“Who has declared
ថារូបយើងស្លាប់	ថារូបយើងស្លាប់	គេយកទៅកប់	ថារូបយើងស្លាប់	that my body is dead?
គេកាប់បន្ទារ	គេកាប់បន្ទា	គេស្រាស់បន្ទា	គេកាប់បន្ទា	They chopped down brambles
គេគុះដីវា	គេគុះដីវា	គូសខ្វែងដីវា	គូសខ្វែងដីវា	and drew a cross in the earth,
មិនឱ្យទៅឈ្លើ ។	មិនឱ្យទៅឡើយ។	មិនឱ្យនៅឡើយ ។	មិនឱ្យទៅឡើយ ។	preventing me from leaving.
១៦	១៦	១៦	១៦	16
បែររាប់ម្រាមដៃ	បែររាប់ម្រាមដៃ	បែររាប់ម្រាមដៃ	បែររាប់ម្រាមដៃ	If I count my fingers
ឃើញតែបួននៃ	ឃើញតែ៤នៃ	ឃើញតែបួនទេ	ឃើញតែបួននៃ	I see only four.
បាត់មួយទៅហើយ	បាត់១-ទៅហើយ	បាត់មួយទៅហើយ	បាត់មួយទៅហើយ	One is gone already;
រូបស្លាប់មែនពិត	រូបស្លាប់មែនពិត	រូបស្លាប់មែនពិត	រូបស្លាប់មែនពិត	the body had indeed died.”
ភ្ញាក់ភ្ញាក់ស្រែកឃើញ	កាំងភិតស្រេចរអើយ	ភ្លឺភ្លឺភ្លកស្រែកយូរ	កាំងភិតស្រែកអើយ	In fear, they cry out, “Oh
ឱម្ចាស់កូន្តើយ	ឱម្ចាស់កូន្តើយ	ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ	ម៉ែឪកូនអើយ	Mother and Father!
ចោលកូនអសារ ។	ចោលម្តាយអសារ។	ចោលកូនអសារ ។	ចោលកូនអសារ ។	You’ve thrown me away.
១៧	១៧	១៧	១៧	17
បើរស្តាប់កូនណាស់	ស្តាប់រូបម្តាយណាស់	ស្តាប់រូបកូនណាស់	ស្តាប់រូបកូនណាស់	You must hate me,
មិនទុកលើផ្ទះ	មិនទុកជិតផ្ទះ	មិនទុកលើផ្ទះ	មិនទុកលើផ្ទះ	since you don’t keep me at home,
កប់បៀតទៅវា	កប់បៀតទៅវា	បញ្ចុះក្បែរណា	កប់បៀតទៅវា	or bury me near
នៅក្នុងរំបង	នៅក្នុងរំបង	នៅជិតរំបង	នៅជិតរំបង	your fence.
ជិតផងមិនប្តារ	ជិតផងមិនថា	នោះផងមិនថា	នោះផងមិនថា	You didn’t say that you’d
កប់ចោលអសារ	ម្តេចចោលអសារ	ម្តេចចោលអសារ	ម្តេចចោលអសារ	discard me completely
ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងួតស្ងួត ។	ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងួតស្ងួត។	ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងួតឈើ ។	ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងួតឈើ ។	in the utter void of the woods.
១៨	១៨	១៨	១៨	18
ម៉ែអើយកូនខ្លាច	កូន្តើយម្តាយខ្លាច	ម៉ែអើយកូនខ្លាច	ម៉ែអើយកូនខ្លាច	Oh Mother, I’m scared!
សត្វផងសឹងកាច	សត្វផងសឹងកាច	សត្វផងសឹងកាច	សត្វផងសឹងកាច	All kinds of fierce and savage
សារហៅជុំខ្លួន	សាហារជុំខ្លួន	សាហារជុំខ្លួន	សាហារជុំខ្លួន	animals surround me,
ទីទុយខ្វែងស្រាក	ទីទុយខ្វែងស្រាក	ទីទុយខ្វែងស្រាក	ទីទុយខ្វែងស្រាក	including owls
មានភ្នែកជំងឺជួន	ភ្នែកព្រៃស្រាកជួន	ភ្នែកជំងឺជួន	ភ្នែកជំងឺជួន	with bulging eyes.
មិនអាសូរកូន	អាសូររូបខ្លួន	អាសូររូបកូន	អាសូររូបខ្លួន	I pity my own body,
ឥតគេជាគ្នា ។	ឥតគេជាគ្នា។	ឥតគេជាគ្នា ។	ឥតគេជាគ្នា ។	without any companions.
១៩	១៩	១៩	១៩	19
ព្រៃយស្ងាច្រងំ	ព្រៃស្ងាត់ច្រងំម	ព្រៃស្ងាត់ច្រងំ	ព្រៃស្ងាត់ច្រងំ	The forest is still and silent,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ខ្មារតូចខ្មារធំ ខ្មារតំបន់ណារ ចរចកនៃរព្រៃយ តំរិយត្រៀបត្រា	ខ្មារតូចខ្មារធំ ខ្មារដំបង-ណា ចចកដំរី នៃព្រៃស្វានស្វា	ខ្មារតូចខ្មារធំ ខ្មារដំបងណា ចចកដំរី នៃព្រៃស្វានស្វា	ខ្មារតូចខ្មារធំ ខ្មារដំបងណា ចចកដំរី នៃព្រៃស្វានស្វា	with tigers—small, large, and massive— wolves, elephants, wild dogs, dholes, and monkeys.
ឱរូបមហា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង ។ ២០ យំហើយវែងយំ ឈរជើងទន្ទ្រាំម ទូលវែងក្នុង ។ ព្យាប្រឹកលុះថ្ងៃ ជិតព្រៃទូញតែង ទូញតែម្នាក់ឯង គ្រប់ពេលវេលា ។ ២១	ឱរូបមហា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង។ ២០ យំហើយវែងយំ ឈរជើងទន្ទ្រាំម ទូញយំក្នុង។ ព្យាប្រឹកលុះថ្ងៃ ជិតព្រៃទូញល្អង ទូញតែម្នាក់ឯង គ្រប់ពេលវេលា។ ២១	ឱរូបកូនណា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង ។ ២០ យំអើយវែងយំ ឈរជើងទន្ទ្រាំ ទន្ទ្រាំក្នុង។ ព្យាប្រឹកលុះថ្ងៃ ក្នុងព្រៃគួរស្មែង XXXX XXXX ២១	ឱរូបកូនណា កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង ។ ២០ យំអើយវែងយំ ឈរជើងទន្ទ្រាំ ទន្ទ្រាំក្នុង។ ព្យាប្រឹកលុះថ្ងៃ ក្នុងព្រៃគួរស្មែង ទូញតែម្នាក់ឯង គ្រប់ពេលវេលា ។ ២១	Oh, how my body is orphaned and alone!” 20 They cry and cry, their feet stomping and stamping all alone, from morning till noon in this fearful forest, crying all alone, endlessly. 21
អង្គុយជិតនៅ ប្រមាត់រន្ទៅ អនិច្ចារូបថា ឱរូបហើយហើម សម្បើមនេត្រា កំរូញស្មើស្មា ភ្នែកលើសស្មើរធ្លាក់ ។	អង្គុយជិតនៅ ប្រមាត់រណ្តៅ អនិច្ចារូបថា ឱរូបហើយហើម សម្បើមនេត្រា ករលស្មើស្មា ភ្នែកលៀនស្មើរធ្លាក់។	XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX ទូញស្មើស្មា ភ្នែកលៀនស្មើរធ្លាក់ ។	អង្គុយជិតនៅ ប្រមាត់រណ្តៅ អនិច្ចារូបថា ឱរូបហើយហើម សម្បើមនេត្រា កំរូញស្មើស្មា ភ្នែកលៀនស្មើរធ្លាក់ ។	Sitting near the edge of our grave, they pity the body thus: “Oh how this body swells up. The eyes bulge. The neck slips to the shoulders, and the eyes protrude and fall out.
២២ ជើងដៃក្រញ៉ាំង រូបលស្រទាន ឈាមហូរសស្រាក់ គ្រប់ទ្វារប្រាំបួន ពាសខ្លួនប្រណក្ខ ហូរហូសធ្លុះធ្លាក់ ដាបដល់ធនី ។ ២៣ លុះប្រាំមួយថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ គុនតែរន្ធដទេ	២២ ជើងដៃក្រញ៉ាំង រាំងរលស្រទាំង ឈាមហូរសស្រាក់ គ្រប់ទ្វារ៩ ពាសខ្លួនប្រឡាក់ ហូរហូសធ្លុះធ្លាក់ ដាបដល់ធនី ២៣ លុះ៧ថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ គង់រៀងគ្រួនទេ	២២ ជើងដៃក្រញ៉ាំង រាំងរូញចង្រ្កាំង ឈាមហូរសស្រាក់ ដាបដល់ធនី ជាទីអប្បលក្ខណ៍ រូបអើយគួរភ្ញាក់ ត្រែលក្ខណ៍ទាំង៣ ។ ២៣ លុះប្រាំបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ នៅផ្ទៀងទទេ	២២ ជើងដៃក្រញ៉ាំង រាំងរូញស្រទាំង ឈាមហូរសស្រាក់ គ្រប់ទ្វារប្រាំបួន ពាសខ្លួនប្រឡាក់ ហូរហូសធ្លុះធ្លាក់ ដាបដល់ធនី ។ ២៣ លុះប្រាំមួយថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ នៅផ្ទៀងទទេ	22 The limbs splay awkwardly as the body stretches out. Blood flows forth from all nine orifices, staining the entire body, gushing out to soak the earth. 23 After seven days, swelling separates the vessels, leaving only bones,

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វល្លយរលេះ	វល្លយរលេះ	វល្លយរលេះ	វល្លយរលេះ	completely decayed.
ធ្លាក់ចុះឥតឯ	របេះឥតឯ	ធ្លាក់ចុះឥតល្អ	ធ្លាក់ចុះឥតឯ	All falls away,
គ្មានសល់ទំនេរ	គ្មានសល់ទំនេរ	គ្មានសល់ទំនេរ	គ្មានសល់ទំនេរ	with nothing remaining
ឱរូបយើងឆ្លើ ។	ឱរូបយើងអើយ។	ដល់រូបយើងអើយ ។	ដល់រូបយើងអើយ ។	of my own body.”
២៤	២៤	២៤	២៤	24
ចតុក្កុត្តា	ចតុក្កុតោ	ចតុក្កុតោ	catubhūto	As for the four elements
សល់សែនទុក្ខោ	សល់សែនទុក្ខោ	សល់តែទុក្ខោ	សល់តែ dukkha	only suffering remains.
ស្រែកយំខ្លើ ។	ស្រែកយំខ្លើយ។	ស្រែកយំខ្លើយ។	ស្រែកយំខ្លើយ។	They cry out mournfully
XXXX	ច្រើនខែច្រើនថ្ងៃ	ច្រើនខែច្រើនថ្ងៃ	ច្រើនខែច្រើនថ្ងៃ	for days and months,
XXXX	ក្រក្របានស្បើយ	ក្រក្រគ្មានស្បើយ	ក្រក្រគ្មានស្បើយ	miserable without relief,
XXXX	អត់ឃ្លានណាស់ហើយ	អត់ឃ្លានពេកអើយ	អត់ឃ្លានពេកអើយ	famished and starving.
XXXX	យកស្នប់ទទួរ។	យកស្នប់ទទួរ។	យកស្នប់ទទួរ។	They cover their body with a
២៥	២៥	២៥	២៥	shroud
XXXX	ដើរស្វមក្ខមិគេ	ដើរស្វមក្ខមិគេ	ដើរស្វមក្ខមិគេ	25
XXXX	ដើរស្មីតែពៃ	ដើរកស្មីពៃ	ដើរស្មីតែពៃ	and walk to beg from other
XXXX	ជាអម្បងយូរ	អស់កាលដ៏យូរ	ជាអំឡុងយូរ	villages,
XXXX	លុះសុះភ្លើងអស់	លុះសុសអស់ភ្លើង	លុះសុសអស់ភ្លើង	eating only spirit offerings
XXXX	រម្មឹងបានធូ	រំពឹងគិតគូរ	រំពឹងគិតគូរ	for a long time,
XXXX	អន្ទោលជាតិគោ	អន្ទោលជាតោ	អន្ទោលជាតោ	until the bones turn white.
XXXX	សន្សឹមតទៅ។	អស់សែនជាតិទៅ។	អស់សែនជាតិទៅ។	Reflect carefully
២៦	២៦	២៦	២៦	on this cycle of birth
XXXX	អ្នកក្លើយសង្វាត	អ្នកអើយសង្វាត	អ្នកអើយសង្វាត	that has lasted one hundred
XXXX	រៀនដឹងគុណធាតុ	រករៀនគុណធាតុ	រករៀនគុណធាតុ	thousand lives.
XXXX	ទាំងក្នុងទាំងក្រៅ	ទាំងក្នុងទាំងក្រៅ	ទាំងក្នុងទាំងក្រៅ	26
XXXX	នឹងបានរំដោះ	នឹងបានរបស់	នឹងបានរំដោះ	Good people! Strive hard.
XXXX	នាំអស់កូតទៅ	នាំឲ្យខ្លួនទៅ	នាំឲ្យខ្លួនទៅ	Learn the virtues of the
XXXX	មិនឧបេក្ខនៅ	កុំឲ្យសល់នៅ	កុំឲ្យសល់នៅ	elements,
XXXX	រងទុក្ខច្នោះណា។	រងទុក្ខច្នោះណា។	រងទុក្ខច្នោះណា។	both within and without,
២៧	២៧	២៧	២៧	so that they can be liberated
XXXX	អ្នកក្លើយនាងអើយ	ឱ! អ្នកនាងអើយ!	ឱអ្នកនាងអើយ	and you can move on.
XXXX	រូបរស់នៅឡើយ	រូបរស់នៅឡើយ	រូបរស់នៅឡើយ	Don't remain there
XXXX	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	suffering like that.
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	27
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	O good people!
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	While your body is still alive,
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	you should think of
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	impermanence



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xxv វិបាក កាំមរក្កនោះណា ត្រូវគ្របអត្តា ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ	ត្រង់កម្មវិបាក កម្មរាគនេះណា ត្រូវគ្រប់អាត្មា ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ។	ត្រង់កម្មវិបាក កម្មកាត់ច្នៃណា ត្រូវគ្រប់រូបា ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ ។	ត្រង់កម្មវិបាក កម្មកាត់ច្នៃណា ត្រូវគ្រប់រូបា ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ។	and the effects of karma, for whichever way karma cuts, it slices the bodies of all men and women.
២៨ គួររកកាន់សីល ការនាកុំខ្ជិល ឱសាស្តាជ្ឈាយ បាយទ្រព្យធនធាន	២៨ គួររកកាន់សីល ការនាកុំខ្ជិល ឧស្សាហ៍ស្វាជ្ឈាយ មានទ្រព្យធនធាន	២៨ គួររកសីលទាន រកធម៌ឲ្យបាន សម្រាប់រូបកាយ លុះយើងស្លាប់ទៅ	២៨ គួររកកាន់សីល ការនាកុំខ្ជិល ឧស្សាហ៍ស្វាជ្ឈាយ មានទ្រព្យធនធាន	28 You should hold the precepts and cultivate without laziness, steadfastly reciting texts. Whatever wealth and riches you have,
ឱ្យទានទ្រាំហ្វាយ កុំគិតកុំស្លៀក កុំលោភពេក្យពុទ្ធ ។	ដាក់ទានចែកបាយ កុំគិតកុំស្លាយ កុំលោភពេកពាន់។	ជៀសផ្លូវអបាយ បុណ្យនាំរូបកាយ សប្បាយស្មគ៌សុគ៌ី ។	ដាក់ទានចែកបាយ កុំគិតកុំស្លាយ កុំលោភពេកពាន់ ។	give them as offerings to distribute to others. Don't think back with regret. Don't be too greedy.
២៩ ចូលរៀនអ្នកម្តង ខន្តីពាកសត្វ ឱសារធ្វើរបុន កត្តិញ្ញតា សេនមហារតបគុន ចូលស្រលេញបុន ធ្លាធុនទៅមុខ ។	២៩ ចូលរៀនបរមត្ថ ខន្តីពាក្យសត្វ ឧស្សាហ៍ធ្វើបុណ្យ កត្តិញ្ញតា ស្នេហាតបគុណ ចូរស្រឡាញ់បុណ្យ ជាធន់ទៅមុខ។	xxxx xxxx xxxx xxxx xxxx	២៩ ចូលរៀនបរមត្ថ ខន្តីពាក្យសត្វ ឧស្សាហ៍ធ្វើបុណ្យ កត្តិញ្ញតា ស្នេហាតបគុណ ចូរស្រឡាញ់បុណ្យ ជាធន់ទៅមុខ ។	29 Come and study the ultimate ( <i>paramattha</i> ), forbearance, and true words. Strive to make merit with gratitude and love to repay your debts. Adore making merit, as it is your investment for the future.
៣០ ព្រះយំឱ្យព័រ ឥន្ទ្រព្រមសាទរ ចម្រើនឱ្យសុភ លើរលើរសួរបាន ខុះខាននរក ជៀសចាកកូមកុណ ចតុកបាយហោ ។	៣០ ព្រះយមឱ្យពរ ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មសាទរ ចម្រើនឱ្យសុភ ឡើងទៅសួគ៌ស្ថាន ខុះខាននរក ចៀសចាកកូមកុណ ក៏យចតុក-បាយ។	៣០ xxxx xxxx xxxx xxxx xxxx xxxx	៣០ ព្រះយមឲ្យពរ ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មសាទរ ចម្រើនឲ្យសុខ ឡើងទីសួគ៌ស្ថាន ខុសខាននរក ចៀសចាកកូមកុណ ក៏យចតុកបាយ ។	30 Yama will give his blessings. Indra and Brahma will rejoice and increase your happiness as you rise to the heavens and avoid the hells, escaping from the world and the dangers of the four lower realms.
៣១ ហ្វែសាជុដោរ សារជុនរោ	៣១ ហ្វែសាជុដោ សាជុជនរោ	៣១ xxxx xxxx	៣១ ហ្វែ <i>sādhuvo</i> <i>sādhunaro</i>	31 <i>O pious ones,</i> <i>O good people,</i>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ	ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ	XXXX	ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡើយ	both men and women!
ចូលត្រង់ចូលត្រាប់	ចូរត្រង់ចូរត្រាប់	XXXX	ចូរត្រង់ចូរត្រាប់	Hark, lend an ear,
ចូលស្តាប់អម្ពិប្រាយ	ចូរស្តាប់អម្ពិប្រាយ	XXXX	ចូរស្តាប់អភិប្រាយ	listen to this explanation
ព្រះធម្មមិនងាយ	ព្រះធម៌មិនងាយ	XXXX	ព្រះធម៌មិនងាយ	of the difficult Dharma,
ពន្ធកប់រមត្ត ។	កញ្ចកបរមត្ត ។	XXXX	ពន្ធកប់រមត្ត ។	the sprout of the ultimate.
៣២	៣២	៣២	៣២	32
ក្រហើយសែនក្រ	ក្រហើយសែនក្រ	XXXX	ក្រហើយសែនក្រ	How difficult, profoundly
				difficult
ក្រក្រែនឹងមរ	ក្រក្រែនឹងធម៌	XXXX	ក្រក្រែនឹងធម៌	is this Dharma!
មរទៀងសព្វសត្វ	ទៀងទាត់សព្វសត្វ	XXXX	មរទៀងសព្វសត្វ	Death is constant for all beings.
សូនទ្រព្យធុនធាន	សូនទ្រព្យធុនធាន	XXXX	សូនទ្រព្យធុនធាន	You'll lose all your riches,
សូនយានសម្បត្តិ	សូនយានសម្បត្តិ	XXXX	សូនយានសម្បត្តិ	all your vehicles and valuables,
កេរកនម្ហីវត្ថុ	កែវកងមុនីវត្ថុ	XXXX	កែវកងមណីវត្ថុ ។	jewels, bracelets, and wish-
				fulfilling jewels.
សឹងឃាតខាននៅ ។	សឹងឃាតខាននៅ ។	XXXX	សឹងឃាតខាននៅ ។	You'll be parted from all that,
៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	33
តេស្វារម្យមាត្ត	តែស្វារម្យមាត់	XXXX	តែស្វារម្យមាត់	except from one mouthful of
				betel,
វល្លបង្កំបាត់	វល្លយទៅបាត់	XXXX	វល្លយបង្កំបាត់	which melts and disappears
ពីខ្លួនដោយផ្លូវ	នឹងខ្លួនដោយផ្លូវ	XXXX	ពីខ្លួនដោយផ្លូវ	from the body after
ប្រាក់ស្នឹងបង្កំមាត់	ប្រាក់ស្នឹងបង្កំមាត់	XXXX	ប្រាក់ស្នឹងបង្កំមាត់	the silver coin is placed in your
				mouth.
សឹងឃាតខាននៅ	សឹងខូចខាននៅ	XXXX	សឹងខូចខាននៅ	You'll even be cleft from that
				coin,
បើគេលើកកូរ	បើគេដាក់ទៅ	XXXX	បើគេដាក់ទៅ	since if they place it in,
គេរើសយកវិញ ។	គេរើសយកវិញ ។	XXXX	គេរើសយកវិញ ។	they'll snatch it back.
៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	34
អ្នកអើយនាងអើយ	អ្នកអើយនាងអើយ	XXXX	អ្នកអើយនាងអើយ	O good people!
រូបរសនៅលើ	រូបរសនៅឡើយ	XXXX	រូបរសនៅឡើយ	While the body still lives,
ឱស្សាអសអញ	ឱស្សាហ៍អសអញ	XXXX	ឱស្សាហ៍អសអញ	strive with your whole being.
បំពេញសីលទាន	បំពេញសីល-ទាន	XXXX	បំពេញសីលទាន	Perfect the precepts and
				charity.
ជានិស្សានទៅវិញ	ជានិស្សានទៅវិញ	XXXX	ជានិស្សានទៅវិញ	They are the bridge for your
				return.
ការនាទន្ទេញ	ការនាទន្ទេញ	XXXX	ការនាទន្ទេញ	Meditate and memorize texts
បាននិព្វានហោង ។	កាន់ព្រះនិព្វាន	XXXX	បានព្រះនិព្វានហោង	to achieve Nibbāna.
	ហោង ។		។	

**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» Cāp Bin-k**

The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” Cāp Bin version

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 9 stanzas in *kākagati*, with the first four from **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k** and the final five composed by Cāp Bin in 1962.

Leporello: **UB019** 7a–9a dhaṛm braḥ trailakkha(ṅ); **UB026** 48a–49a braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) pad kākagati, with the introductory note : ស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបូរាណ; and the same note again as a footnote after the fourth stanza

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niṅ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niṅ saṃvajanīyadhārm* ព្រះវិចិត្របូជានិង ព្រះវិចិត្រប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំរេងនិយម (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 68–70.

Summary: Explanation of the three marks of suffering, impermanence, and not-self, followed by admonitions to train the mind, practice the path, and prepare for death so that one can reach Nibbāna.

UB026	Cāp Bin 1971	Translation
១	១	1
រូបំទុក្ខំ	រូបំ ទុក្ខំ	Painful is this body!
ទុក្ខអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង	ទុក្ខអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង	Such pain, great pain,
ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ	ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ	beyond measure!
ពីតូចទាល់ធំ	ពីតូចទាល់ធំ	From birth to death
ទុក្ខទុក្ខង់ប្រាណ	ទុក្ខទុក្ខង់ប្រាណ	pain boils within,
ទុក្ខភតស្រាកស្រាន្ត	ទុក្ខភតស្រាកស្រាន្ត	without relief,
ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ ។	ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ ។	and leads to death.
២	២	2
អនិច្ចំពុំបីត	អនិច្ចំពុំបីត	Impermanent! Not long,
ពុំថេរនៅនិស្ស	ពុំថេរនៅនិស្ស	not long at all,
យិនយូរឡើយនៃ	យិនយូរឡើយនៃ	how transient!
ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច	ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច	Once dead, just your
អសោចពេកក្រៃ	អសោចពេកក្រៃ	foul corpse remains.
ផ្កីងសាច់សរសៃ	ផ្កីងសាច់សរសៃ	Flesh, bone, and sinew
ជាព្រះធរណី ។	ជាព្រះធរណី ។	all turn to earth.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៣	៣	3
អនត្តាសុន្សំសោះ សុន្សំរូបសុន្សំឈ្មោះ សុន្សំសព្វសញ្ញា សុន្សំយសសក្តា ធីការសោភ័ សុន្សំសព្វសត្រ័យ មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។	អនត្តាសុន្សំសោះ សុន្សំរូបសុន្សំឈ្មោះ សុន្សំសព្វសញ្ញា សុន្សំយសសក្តា ធីការសោភ័ សុន្សំសព្វសត្រ័យ មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។	No self! Nothing, no form, no name, no recognition, no fame, no friends, no rank, beauty, vitality, or wealth—all gone.
៤	៤	4
ដូច្នោះគួរគិត គួររក្សាចិត្ត ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ចិត្តស្ងួនទន់ទោន ដូចកូននឹងម្តាយ ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ បាត់ខឹងទៅហោង។	ដូច្នោះគួរគិត គួររក្សាចិត្ត ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ចិត្តស្ងួនទន់ទោន ដូចកូននឹងម្តាយ ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ បាត់ខឹងទៅហោង។	So reflect well; care for your heart. Calm your anger, your heart soft like mother and child. Calm your anger, let it all go.
(១-ស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបុរាណ)។	(១)ស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបុរាណ ។ ។	
៥	៥	5
គួរកុំបីខ្លួល កសាងទានសីល និងការនាផង រៀនធម៌វិន័យ ប្រពៃកន្លង ពីក្មេងទៅហោង កុំចាំដល់ចាស់។	គួរកុំបីខ្លួល កសាងទានសីល និងការនាផង រៀនធម៌វិន័យ ប្រពៃកន្លង ពីក្មេងទៅហោង កុំចាំដល់ចាស់។	Don't be lazy. Cultivate giving, precepts and meditation. Study the Dharma and Vinaya, most excellent, from a young age. Don't wait till you're old,
៦	៦	6
ដល់ពេលជិតស្លាប់ ទើបបានប្រញាប់ ប្រវែងខ្មោសខ្មាស់ រកធម៌ឲ្យជួយ ព្រោះព្រួយខ្លាំងណាស់ នោះមិនបានច្បាស់ ដូចនៅក្មេងឡើយ ។	ដល់ពេលជិតស្លាប់ ទើបបានប្រញាប់ ប្រវែងខ្មោសខ្មាស់ រកធម៌ឲ្យជួយ ព្រោះព្រួយខ្លាំងណាស់ នោះមិនបានច្បាស់ ដូចនៅក្មេងឡើយ ។	until you're near death and only then hurry and rush about to find the Dharma to help you, as you'll be filled with fear. That way won't be as clear as in your youth.
៧	៧	7
គួរហាត់លះចិត្ត អកុសលទុច្ចរិត	គួរហាត់លះចិត្ត អកុសលទុច្ចរិត	You should practice letting go of unwholesome evil deeds.

Appendix II-12 Khmer *kākaḡati* verse (-k)

វិត បង្គារឲ្យហើយ	បង្គារឲ្យហើយ	Steed yourself
ដល់ពេលទៀបស្លាប់	ដល់ពេលទៀបស្លាប់	for the time near death,
ឈោងចាប់កោះត្រើយ	ឈោងចាប់កោះត្រើយ	Stretch out towards the far shore;
ទីពឹងនោះហើយ	ទីពឹងនោះហើយ	the refuge is there,
បានដូចប្រថ្នា ។	បានដូចប្រថ្នា ។	in accordance with your wish.
៨	៨	8
ផលការហាត់ចិត្ត	ផលការហាត់ចិត្ត	The fruit of training the mind
រឿយៗ-ល្អពិត	រឿយៗល្អពិត	regularly is truly great,
នឹងជួយអាត្មា	នឹងជួយអាត្មា	and will help you
ឲ្យបានសម្បត្តិ	ឲ្យបានសម្បត្តិ	to achieve attainments
ល្អក្តាត់ណាស់ណា	ល្អក្តាត់ណាស់ណា	that are wonderful,
ជាមនុស្សទេវតា	ជាមនុស្សទេវតា	including as a human or deity
នៅលោកិយបាន ។	នៅលោកិយបាន ។	within the worldly realms,
៩	៩	9
ហើយនឹងបានដល់	ហើយនឹងបានដល់	and will also allow you to reach
លោកុត្តរផល	លោកុត្តរផល	the supramundane fruits
សម្រេចនិព្វាន	សម្រេចនិព្វាន	and attain Nibbāna
ក្នុងជាតិបំផុត	ក្នុងជាតិបំផុត	in one's final life
ចំហុតមែនមាន	ចំហុតមែនមាន	with true effectiveness
ដោយបារមីញាណ	ដោយបារមីញាណ	via the perfections and knowledges
សាងទុកនោះហោង ។	សាងទុកនោះហោង ។	you have cultivated.

**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**

The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!,” old version

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 116 stanzas in *kākaḡati*, composed in the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries, possibly in 1823.

Leporello: **UB005** 31b–44b braḥ trailakkha(ṅ); **UB015** 67a–86a braḥ traiy lā'kkh saṅkhèp pakaraṅ; **UB018** 50a–53b dhaṛm braḥ trailakkha(ṅ) (explicit missing); **UB023** 29a–34b (explicit missing), with final note: ស្ទើរតែបុណ្ណៈសិនឯវាង; **UB025** 20a–23a (explicit missing); **UB027** 49a–50a, 50b–60b braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ)/lakkhaṅañāṅ (explicit missing); **UB030** 1–13b, 14 (incipit and explicit missing); **UB031** 34a–40b, 42, 43, 45–58b braḥ traiy° lakkh (lvèv) (middle missing), with opening *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*; **UB034** 36–52b braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṅ/braḥ traiy° lakkh (incipit missing); **UB036** 13a–22b braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ)

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

rapiep samăy jān' tōm; **UB042** 19a–24b braḥ trai lăkkkh(ṅ)/lakkhaṇañāṇ, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (explicit missing); **UB047** 2b–17b dhammasaṅvek; **UB048** 14a–26b braḥ trai lakkh rapiep samăy jān' tōm/trailakkha(ṅ); **UB052** 32b–41a, with incipit *pad kākkati* (explicit missing); **UB055** 7b–18b trai lakkh; **UB057** 27a–51b braḥ traiy<sup>o</sup> lăkkh/braḥ traiy<sup>o</sup> lăkkh'; **UB060** 40a–49a trai lakkha(ṅ); **UB068** 1–8a (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible) (incipit and explicit missing)

Recension A (2400 B.E. prediction): **UB015, UB057**

Recension B (2500 B.E. prediction): **UB005** (same as UB060), **UB031** (different from UB005 and UB060), **UB034 (very similar to UB031 and UB052), UB052, UB060, FEMC d620** (but with other differences)

Version A or B (explicit missing): **UB055**

Version C (Ek Ñiṃ version): Səm Sūr 197X, **UB047**

Abbreviated versions: **UB018, UB023, UB025, UB027, UB030, UB036, UB042, UB048,**

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC d.620 (ល្បើកទំនាយព្រះពុទ្ធត្រាស់ ៥ព្រះអង្គក្នុងកិច្ចកប្ប)

Khmer books: Səm Sūr សែម សូរ, *Prajuṃ dharm pad niṃ dhammasaṅveg ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 86–105.

Summary: An extended text divided into three major sections, one on the three marks, the five buddhas, and the importance of practicing meditation for the moment of death; another on the history of the Buddha's dispensation, from India, to Sri Lanka, to Cambodia; and a final section providing a series of predictions for the future of the dispensation in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Cambodia.

The first section begins with an explanation of the three marks of suffering, impermanence, and not-self, followed by a narrative description of the five buddhas of the present fortunate eon, beginning with Kakusandha and ending with Maitreya, including a description of each of their bodhi trees, radiance, and lifespan. The text continues with a description of how all these buddhas are like vessels that ferry living beings to reach the radiant “Prime Jewel Lake,” i.e. Nibbāna. This is followed by a description of how those who do not reach Nibbāna shall perish in the eon-ending fire, only to be reborn again in saṃsāra. The text continues with an exhortation to honor these buddhas, cultivate the mind, making it bright and focused so as to reach four paths and fruits, from stream-entry to arhatship. This is followed by a description of how Yama's henchmen bind those who failed to study the Dharma on their deathbed and

pull their minds down to the hells, and then an admonition to practice meditation to avoid this fate, strenuously sitting in concentration throughout the night. Several topics of meditation are described, including recollections of the fortunes of Indra and of a universal monarch, leading to great bliss and birth in the time of Maitreya. This is followed by a description of the moment of death for those who cultivate such meditation, including the Yama’s joyful assistance, via the personifications of Prince and Princess Mind, to escape the hells and reach the heavens. The text then explains that death is inevitable for all beings, that the mind splits from the body at death, and that Yama’s henchmen bind and torture the bodies of beings on their deathbed if they do not practice the Dharma. This is followed by a short explanation that only a few give of their own flesh to become bodhisattas.

The second section begins with an abbreviated narrative account of the deeds of Aśoka, Nāgasena, and Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī. This is followed by a more detailed account narrating the life of Buddhaghosa, from his birth, to his teacher’s command to translate the commentaries from Sinhala into Pali, and the travels to Sri Lanka, including a description of the isle and its relics. The text then briefly describes his journey to Phnom Penh to translate the scriptures and commentaries into Khmer at the behest of King Ketumālā. The second section closes with a summary of the accomplishments of all four men: Aśoka, Nāgasena, Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī, and Buddhaghosa.

The third section begins with a series of the predictions of what will occur in Cambodia in various years as the Buddhist era progresses, including the arrival of men of merit, times of calamity, danger, and war, and the return of a powerful king. The text closes with an exhortation to reflect on the passage of the Buddhist era, the rewards of practicing the Dharma, and a final praise of the the beauty, radiance, and wisdom of the Buddha, including a prayer to attain happiness and Nibbāna.

<b>UB015</b>	Sèm Sūr 197X	Edition	Translation
១	១	១	1
០ រូប្យំទុក្ខំ	រូបំ ទុក្ខំ	<i>rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ</i>	Painful is this body!
ទុក្ខីទុក្ខខ្លាំង ។	ទុក្ខអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង	ទុក្ខអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង	Such pain, great pain,
ពុនប្រម៉ាន	ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ	ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ	beyond measure!
ព្យត្តចដល់ធំ	ពីត្តចដល់ធំ	ពីត្តចដល់ធំ	Whether young or old,
ទុកទុំម្មក្នុងប្រាស	ទុក្ខដំក្នុងប្រាណ	ទុក្ខដំក្នុងប្រាណ	pain boils within,
ទុកឥតស្រាកស្រាណ	ទុក្ខឥតស្រាកស្រាណ	ទុក្ខឥតស្រាកស្រាណ	without relief,
ទុកដល់ខ្លួនខ្សែ	ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ ។	ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ ។	and leads to death.
២	២	២	2
០ អន្តិចំពុំចិត	អនិច្ចំពុំស្ថិត	<i>aniccam</i> ពុំស្ថិត	Impermanent! Not long,
ពុំថេរនៅវិនិត	ពុំស្ថេរនៅវិនិត្យ	ពុំស្ថេរនៅវិនិត្យ	not long at all,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

យិនយូរឡើយនៃ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អាសោចពេកក្រៃ ផ្កឹងសេច្ចសំសៃ ជាព្រះធរណី ។ ៣	យិនយូរឡើយនៃ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អសោចពេកក្រៃ ផ្កឹងសាច់សសៃ ជាព្រះធរណី ។ ៣	យិនយូរឡើយនៃ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អសោចពេកក្រៃ ផ្កឹងសាច់សសៃ ជាព្រះធរណី ។ ៣	how transient! Once dead, just your foul corpse remains. Flesh, bone, and sinew all turn to earth. 3
អន្តតាសូនសោះ សូនរូបសូនឈ្មោះ សូនសព្វសញ្ញា សូណយុសសក្ខិដារ ធិការសោភ័យ សូនសុភវ្រ្មយ ម្សាប្រាក់អណ្តរាវ ។ ៤	អនត្តាសូនសោះ សូនរូបសូនឈ្មោះ សូនសព្វសញ្ញា សូនយសសក្ខិតា ធិការសោភ័យ សូនអស់វ្រ្មយ មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។ ៤	anattā សូនសោះ សូនរូបសូនឈ្មោះ សូនសព្វសញ្ញា សូនយសសក្កា ធិការសោភ័យ សូនអស់វ្រ្មយ មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។ ៤	No self! Nothing, no form, no name, no recognition, no fame, no rank high or lofty; vitality and wealth—all gone. 4
ដូច្នេះគួរគិត គួររក្សាចិត្ត ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ចិត្តស្ងួតទន់ទោន ដូចកូននឹងម្តាយ ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ខឹងបាត់ទៅហោង ។ ៥	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត គួររក្សាចិត្ត ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ចិត្តស្ងួតទន់ទោន ដូចកូននឹងម្តាយ ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ខឹងបាត់ទៅហោង ។ ៥	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត គួររក្សាចិត្ត ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ចិត្តស្ងួតទន់ទោន ដូចកូននឹងម្តាយ ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ ខឹងបាត់ទៅហោង ។ ៥	So reflect well; care for your heart. Calm your anger, your heart soft like mother and child. Calm your anger, let it all go. 5
សត្វក្នុងព្រៃភេទ កោឡារកើតហេតុ ព្រៃកូរកុម្មុយផង ពុំបានដឹងបុណ្យ ដឹងគុណតបស្នង លុះត្រាវលង សុញ្ញកាលនៅឆ្ងាយ ។ ៦	សត្វក្នុងព្រៃភេទ កោលាកើតហេតុ ព្រៃយកពក្ខមិផង ពុំបានដឹងបុណ្យ និងគុណតបស្នង លុះត្រាវលង សុញ្ញកាលទៅឆ្ងាយ ។ ៦	សត្វក្នុងព្រៃភេទ កោលាកើតហេតុ ព្រៃយកពក្ខមិផង ពុំបានដឹងបុណ្យ និងគុណតបស្នង លុះត្រាវលង សុញ្ញកាលទៅឆ្ងាយ ។ ៦	In the three worlds beings were in turmoil, since they lacked merit and still had unpaid debts. They entered the empty eon. 6
កើតកាលកើតឯក ព្រះពុទ្ធបច្ចេក ព្រះសង្ឃពន្លឺរាយ ព្រះត្រាស់មួយអង្គ ស្រង់សត្វទាំងឡាយ កត្តកាលនៅឆ្ងាយ	កើតកាលកើតឯក ព្រះពុទ្ធបច្ចេក ព្រះសង្ឃពន្លឺរាយ ព្រះត្រាស់មួយអង្គ ស្រង់សត្វទាំងឡាយ កត្តកាលយូឆ្ងាយ	កើតកាលកើតឯក ព្រះពុទ្ធបច្ចេក ព្រះសង្ឃពន្លឺរាយ ព្រះត្រាស់មួយអង្គ ស្រង់សត្វទាំងឡាយ កត្តកាលយូឆ្ងាយ	Long ago there was a buddha, with sangha bright, the first buddha who saved beings in this good eon,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះត្រាស់ពីរអង្គ ។ ៧	ព្រះត្រាស់ពីរអង្គ ។ ៧	ព្រះត្រាស់ពីរអង្គ ។ ៧	followed by a second, 7
ជំនឿកាល្លោះ ព្រះត្រាស់ជុំព្រោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវប្តីអង្គ ត្រចះរំស្មី រាំក្បួយត្រចង់ ព្រះទ័យមកស្រង់ សព្វសត្វសម្បាយ ៨	ធរណីកាលនោះ ព្រះត្រាស់ចំពោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវអង្គ ត្រចាស់រស្មី ភ្លឺក្រៃត្រចង់ ព្រះទ័យមកស្រង់ សព្វសត្វសម្បាយ ។ ៨	ធរណីកាលនោះ ព្រះត្រាស់ចំពោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវអង្គ ត្រចាស់រស្មី ភ្លឺក្រៃត្រចង់ ព្រះទ័យមកស្រង់ សព្វសត្វសម្បាយ ។ ៨	and, later on, by a third buddha, who woke up on earth, with radiance and resplendence, liberating living beings. 8
១ សាស្ត្រាកាល្លោះ ពីរសែសជុំព្រោះ ប្រសើរពុទ្ធសាសនា ព្រះត្រាស់ ៤ អង្គ ត្រចង់ឆើតឆាយ ប្រោសសត្វទាំងឡាយ ដោយពុទ្ធសាសនា ៩	សាសនាកាលនោះ ពិសេសឥតមោះ ប្រសើរពុទ្ធសាសនា ព្រះត្រាស់ ៤ អង្គ ត្រចង់ឆើតឆាយ ប្រោសសត្វទាំងឡាយ ដោយពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ ៩	សាសនាកាលនោះ ពិសេសឥតមោះ ប្រសើរពុទ្ធសាសនា ព្រះត្រាស់ ៤ អង្គ ត្រចង់ឆើតឆាយ ប្រោសសត្វទាំងឡាយ ដោយពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ ៩	His dispensation was without fault and was supreme. A fourth buddha, shining brightly, the saved beings with the teaching. 9
១០ កិត្តិកាលណោះ មានព្រះពុទ្ធច្រង់ញាណ ៥ អង្គសោតណា ព្រះនាមសោកាន ព្រះទ័យព្រះថ្វារ ទុកព្រះសាសនា ទីទៃរាល់អង្គ ។ ១០	កត្តិកាលនេះមាន ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រង់ញាណ ៥ អង្គយាត្រា ព្រះនាមថ្វារថ្ងៃ ប្រពៃសោកា មានព្រះសាសនា ទីទៃរាល់អង្គ ។ ១០	កត្តិកាលនេះមាន ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រង់ញាណ ៥ អង្គយាត្រា ព្រះនាមថ្វារថ្ងៃ ប្រពៃសោកា មានព្រះសាសនា ទីទៃរាល់អង្គ ។ ១០	The con was blessed with five who had attained knowledge, with precious names, all wonderful, and a dispensation proper to each. 10
១១ ព្រះកក្កសន្ទោ ដើមប្រេសជាពោធិ ធិព្រឹក្សខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់ ធំព្រះរស្មី រក្សារិលវង់ ព្រះជន្មស្តេចគង់ បួនម៉ឺនវស្សា ១១	ព្រះកក្កសន្ទោ ដើមប្រេសជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់ ធំពុទ្ធរស្មី រស្មីព្រះអង្គ ព្រះជន្មស្តេចគង់ បួនម៉ឺនវស្សា ។ ១១	ព្រះកក្កសន្ទោ ដើមប្រេសជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់ ធំពុទ្ធរស្មី រស្មីព្រះអង្គ ព្រះជន្មស្តេចគង់ បួនម៉ឺនវស្សា ។ ១១	Kakusandha, the acacia, his bodhi tree, six-colored rays, his effulgence, forty thousand, his life in years. 11
១២ ព្រះកោនិគមនោ ត្រាស់ដើមឌីទុម	ព្រះកោនិគមនោ ដើមល្វាជាពោ	ព្រះកោនិគមនោ ដើមល្វាជាពោ	Koṇāgamana, under the fig

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>ព័ ពោធិព្រឹកសាខា          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រាគ្យជ្រះថ្លា          ព្រះជន្មសាស្តា          ៣ ម៉ឺនឆ្នាំមគ្គត្ថ          ១២          ១ ព្រះកស្សបោ          ដើមជ្រៃជាពោ          ធិព្រឹក្សបរិសុទ្ធ          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រាគ្យព្រះពុទ្ធ          ព្រះជន្មកំណត់          ២ ម៉ឺនព្រះវសា          ១៣          ១ ព្រះសុមនគោដ៏ម          ត្រាស់ជាប្រះចម្ម          បរមសាស្តា          ផុតរត្នបល្ល័ង្ក          ទីនឹងពេជ្រថ្លា          រស្មីចគុដ ផ្កាញាមារ          ព្រះអង្គឥតភ្និត          ១៤          ១ និដទ័ស្សបរមី          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          ក្រោមពោធិព្រឹក          នាងគុដ្តីងព្រះជនី          ទេវីសាចទឹក          ពលមារបីអាធិក          ផ្កាញាព្រះសាស្តា          ១៥          ១ ព្រះជន្មបៃតសិប          បាបបានរៀបរាប់          ៥ ព័ន្ធព្រះវសា          ព្រះចូលនិព្វាន          ព្រះដ៏ស្សថានសាស្តា          ទុកព្រះទេវជា</p>	<p>ធិព្រឹក្សសាខា          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រស្មីជ្រះថ្លា          ព្រះជន្មសាស្តា          បីម៉ឺនឆ្នាំគត់ ។          ១២          ព្រះកស្សបោ          ដើមជ្រៃជាពោ          ធិព្រឹក្សបរិសុទ្ធ          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រស្មីព្រះពុទ្ធ          ព្រះជន្មកំណត់          ពីរម៉ឺនវស្សា ។          ១៣          ព្រះសមណគោត្តម          ត្រាស់ជាប្រម          បរមសាស្តា          ផុតរត្នបល្ល័ង្ក          ទីនឹងពេជ្រថ្លា          រស្មីចគុដ ផ្កាញាមារ          ព្រះអង្គឥតភ្និត ។          ១៤          ប្តឹងទសបារមី          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          ក្រោមពោធិព្រឹក្ស          នាងព្រះធរណី          ទេវីសាចទឹក          ពលមារបីអាធិក          ចាញ់ព្រះសាស្តា ។          ១៥          សាសនា៥ពាន់          ព្រះជន្មកតវ័ន្ត          បៃតសិបវស្សា          រស្មីចចូលនិព្វាន          ទុកព្រះសាសនា          ប្រោសអស់ទេវតា</p>	<p>ធិព្រឹក្សសាខា          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រស្មីជ្រះថ្លា          ព្រះជន្មសាស្តា          បីម៉ឺនឆ្នាំគត់ ។          ១២          ព្រះកស្សបោ          ដើមជ្រៃជាពោ          ធិព្រឹក្សបរិសុទ្ធ          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          រស្មីព្រះពុទ្ធ          ព្រះជន្មកំណត់          ពីរម៉ឺនវស្សា ។          ១៣          ព្រះសមណគោត្តម          ត្រាស់ជាប្រម          បរមសាស្តា          ផុតរត្នបល្ល័ង្ក          ទីនឹងពេជ្រថ្លា          រស្មីចគុដ ផ្កាញាមារ          ព្រះអង្គឥតភ្និត ។          ១៤          ប្តឹងទសបារមី          ត្រីព័ន្ធរាជ្ជី          ក្រោមពោធិព្រឹក្ស          នាងព្រះធរណី          ទេវីសាចទឹក          ពលមារបីអាធិក          ចាញ់ព្រះសាស្តា ។          ១៥          សាសនា៥ពាន់          ព្រះជន្មកតវ័ន្ត          បៃតសិបវស្សា          រស្មីចចូលនិព្វាន          ទុកព្រះសាសនា          ប្រោសអស់ទេវតា</p>	<p>he awakened,          six colors shone          in clarity,          thirty thousand,          his life in years.          12          Then Kassapa,          the banyan, his          bodhi tree pure,          six-colored rays,          his effulgence,          twenty thousand,          his life in years.          13          Samaṇagotama          first awoke as          the supreme Teacher          on the precious          diamond throne where          Māra lost to          the fearless Lord.          14          The Perfect One,          with six-colored rays,          sat beneath the tree,          while Mother Earth          poured water on          Māra's army,          defeating them.          15          Five thousand years          his teaching lasted;          his life but eighty.          He passed away,          leaving the dispensation          to save beings,</p>
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Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

មនុស្សសត្វទាំងឡាយ ១៦	មនុស្សសត្វទាំងឡាយ ។ ១៦	មនុស្សសត្វទាំងឡាយ ។ ១៦	both men and gods. 16
ព្រះសិរិអាមេត្រី ពោធិសត្វថ្ងៃ រាគ្យិវារាគ្យ នឹងត្រាស់ជាក្រោយ ដោយពុទ្ធទំនាយ ព្រះជន្មវែងឆ្ងាយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនវស្សា ។ ១៧	ព្រះសិរិអាមេត្រី ពោធិសត្វថ្ងៃ រស្មីឆាយ នឹងត្រាស់ជាក្រោយ ដោយពុទ្ធទំនាយ ព្រះជន្មវែងឆ្ងាយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនវស្សា ។ ១៧	ព្រះសិរិអាមេត្រី ពោធិសត្វថ្ងៃ រស្មីឆាយ នឹងត្រាស់ជាក្រោយ ដោយពុទ្ធទំនាយ ព្រះជន្មវែងឆ្ងាយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនវស្សា ។ ១៧	Lord Metteyya Bodhisattva, with brilliant rays, will wake up as the Buddha foretold; eighty thousand, his life in years. 17
ដើមខ្នងជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សសេដ្ឋោ បែកមានបុជ្ជា ប៉ុនកងរាជរថ បរសុត្តសោការ លំម្អងបុជ្ជា រុសរោងដោយដ្យង ១៨	ដើមខ្នងជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សសេដ្ឋោ បែកមានផ្លែផ្កា ប៉ុនកងរាជរថ ទំហំទុក្ខា លម្អងបុជ្ជា រុះរោងដោយខ្យល់ ។ ១៨	ដើមខ្នងជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សសេដ្ឋោ បែកមានផ្លែផ្កា ប៉ុនកងរាជរថ ទំហំទុក្ខា លម្អងបុជ្ជា រុះរោងដោយខ្យល់ ។ ១៨	The <i>khḍin</i> his tree of awakening, with fruits and flowers the size of wheels, so large his tree, with pollen raining down with the wind. 18
ក្រអូបកំស្យ ខ្លិនខ្លែបខ្លួនខ្លាយ ១ ស្យាសព្វទិសទី ទំសទិសទី ១០ អប់អស់មណ្ឌល មុន្តលធូបព្យ ជឿដល់សួរនាយ ១៩	ជំក្រិនក្នុងសាយ ខ្លិនខ្លែបខ្លួនខ្លាយ ផ្សាយរសាត់ដល់ ទិសទីទាំងដប់ អប់អស់មណ្ឌល ទ្វីបទាំងសកល ដល់ទៅសួរនាយ ។ ១៩	ជំក្រិនក្នុងសាយ ខ្លិនខ្លែបខ្លួនខ្លាយ ផ្សាយរសាត់ដល់ ទិសទីទាំងដប់ អប់អស់មណ្ឌល ទ្វីបទាំងសកល ដល់ទៅសួរនាយ ។ ១៩	The sweet fragrance will spread out and waft to fill the ten directions, the whole world-sphere, the continents, and the heavens. 19
ពុជ្ជកាលយូរក្តៅត កើតសំពៅវិគ្គ ១ ទ្រាំ ៥ ព្រោងព្រា ភ្នំហិរញ្ញប្បវត្ត សិរីវិគ្គព្រា ឆ្លងជុលសាស្យ ឥតភ្នំកវាយោ ២០	កន្ធកាលប្រាកដ កើតសំពៅវិគ្គ ទាំងប្រាំព្រោងព្រាយ ទុកត្រាបួនបើក ឆ្លងជុលសាយ ទៅដល់ត្រើយនាយ ឥតភ្នំកវាយោ ។ ២០	កន្ធកាលប្រាកដ កើតសំពៅវិគ្គ ទាំងប្រាំព្រោងព្រាយ ទុកត្រាបួនបើក ឆ្លងជុលសាយ ទៅដល់ត្រើយនាយ ឥតភ្នំកវាយោ ។ ២០	The good eon gave five jewel ships, each radiant four-sailed vessels, to cross the sea to the far shore, braving the wind 20
ទន្លេទន្លាំម លំលេលំលាំម	ទន្លេទន្លាំម លំលេលំលាំម	ទន្លេទន្លាំម លំលេលំលាំម	gracefully and sinuously,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

លឿនលើអាបោរ	ស្មើនសើអាបោ	ស្មើនសើអាបោ	sailing across
ស្រមុតគុំមួយ	សមុទ្រធំធេង	សមុទ្រធំធេង	the great ocean,
មីរមានមេរោ	បែកផ្សែងសាគរោ	បែកផ្សែងសាគរោ	breaking through fog,
មេត្តានាគ្នា	នាគម្តត្រីពោ	នាគម្តត្រីពោ	flanked by serpents,
ពាសពេញត្រៀបត្រា ។	ពាសពេញត្រៀបត្រា ។	ពាសពេញត្រៀបត្រា ។	sea drakes, and fish.
២១	២១	២១	21
១ ព្រះអង្គផ្ទុកស័ក្ខ	ផ្ទុកសត្វឥតតិច	ផ្ទុកសត្វឥតតិច	Buddhas are bound
លើរសំពៅវត្ត	ដោយពុទ្ធកិច្ច	ដោយពុទ្ធកិច្ច	to help the numberless
សល់សែនសខ្សា	សែនសល់ខាំខ្សា	សែនសល់ខាំខ្សា	throng of beings.
ឆ្នោះឆ្នងសាគរ	នេត្រាវត្តដល់	នេត្រាវត្តដល់	The jewel ships reach
ចេញចំយាត្រា	ជួលកែវរតនា	ជួលកែវរតនា	the jewel-paved path
កាន់ត្រៀគឹមហា	សូន្យកាន្តរក្ខា	សូន្យកាន្តរក្ខា	to the sunstone
និព្វានប្រព្យ	ព្រោងព្រាយរស្មី ។	ព្រោងព្រាយរស្មី ។	of dazzling light
២២	២២	២២	22
១ នីតរកេវឯក	ឈ្មោះបឹងកែវឯក	ឈ្មោះបឹងកែវឯក	called “Prime Jewel Lake.”
ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះបច្ចេក	ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះបច្ចេក	ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះបច្ចេក	Buddhas, solitary buddhas,
ព្រះអាសខ្សែ	ព្រះសង្ឃសំខ្សែ	ព្រះសង្ឃសំខ្សែ	and disciples
នីតរកែវសំរេច	បឹងកែវសម្រេច	បឹងកែវសម្រេច	reach the jewel lake.
ទើព្វស្តេចអាស្ស	ទើបស្តេចអាស្ស	ទើបស្តេចអាស្ស	There they resort
វិព្វកម៌ម្យ	បឹងកែវប្រពៃ	បឹងកែវប្រពៃ	by the jewel lake,
មហារញិកញ្ចាប	ឥតអ្វីធ្វើមដល់ ។	ឥតអ្វីធ្វើមដល់ ។	incomparable.
២៣	២៣	២៣	23
នីតរកែវចម្មធេង	បឹងកែវធំធេង	បឹងកែវធំធេង	The huge jewel lake
ព្វរតែរសាបក្លេង	ព្វសូរ្យស័ព្វក្លេង	ព្វសូរ្យស័ព្វក្លេង	resounds with sounds,
លឿយល្ងេងអើងអាព្វ	លឿយល្ងេងសាកល	លឿយល្ងេងសាកល	mellifluous,
សុកក្រៃលែងសុក	សុខក្រៃលែងសុខ	សុខក្រៃលែងសុខ	bliss beyond bliss,
ឥតទុកមកចាប់	ឥតទុក្ខមកដល់	ឥតទុក្ខមកដល់	no suffering,
ព្រះពុទ្ធតែងធ្លាប់	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រើនសល់	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រើនសល់	many buddhas
នាំម្មសត្វចូលទៅ	តែងនាំសត្វទៅ ។	តែងនាំសត្វទៅ ។	lead beings there.
២៤	២៤	២៤	24
ឈ្មោះសត្វពោជ្ឈង្គ	ឈ្មោះសត្វពោជ្ឈង្គ	ឈ្មោះសត្វពោជ្ឈង្គ	Called the “Seven Limbs of
កែវជុំវិលវង់	កែវកងលៃវង់	កែវកងលៃវង់	Awakening,”
ប្រាំម្ភៃលាន់នៅ	ប្រាំជានៅ	ប្រាំពិលជាងនៅ	jewel wheels revolve
រក្សានីតរកែវ	រក្សាបឹងកែវ	រក្សាបឹងកែវ	in seven layers
។ ភ្នំសន្ទេរ	កែវភ្នំសន្ទេរ	កែវភ្នំសន្ទេរ	to guard the jewel lake,
			that radiant jewel,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រោងព្រាប្រាលឆ្មៅ ភ្លឺរលកពេក្យក្រៃ ២៥ ១ ទឹករកែវឯក សុកសាណាអត្តិវេក ពុំដែលខ្សិនខ្សែ រូចរសរវលៀង ទាត់ទៀងពេក្យក្រៃ រូបដូចកែវថ្លៃ ភ្លឺរលកព្រោងព្រា ២៦ ១ ព្រះយមរាជអរ ព្រះកាលឱពរ XXXX សឹងរូបខាន់មាន រូបប្រាននៅឆ្ងាយ កុំខាននៅអាយ ស្រុកនេះសឹងភ្លើង ២៧ ១ សោឡុំសព្វម្មា ទ្វារកាំម្ល៉ៃ ស្បែកស្រព្វលើផ្កើង បើមានកាំមនៅ ចុះទៅរកភ្លើង លុះរូចកាំមលើង មកជាមនុស្ស ២៨ ១ វិលស្លាប់វិលកើត យោនយកកុំណើត រាប់សែនសន្លឹក ក្នុងដែនត្រូវកែង ស្បែកស្រព្វម្មា រុំភ្លើងតណ្ហា មាំមួន អប្រិយ ២៩ ព្រះត្រាស់ខ្សែរ	ព្រោងព្រាយឥតសៅ ភ្លឺរលកភ្លឺក្រៃ ។ ២៥ បឹងកែវអតិរក សុខលន់ពន់ពេក ពុំដែលក្សិណក្ស័យ រូសរូបរាង ចាក់ទៀងប្រពៃ រូបដូចកែវថ្លៃ ភ្លឺផ្នែកពណ្ណរាយ ។ ២៦ ព្រះយមរាជអរ ព្រះកាលឱពរ ដល់សត្វទាំងឡាយ សាងកូនកូនបាន រូចប្រាណាទៅឆ្ងាយ កុំខានទៅអាយ ស្រុកយើងសឹងភ្លើង ។ ២៧ ព្រហ្មសោឡុំសា ទាំងឆកាមា ជម្ពូទ្វីបយើង អស់ផលគ្មាននៅ ចុះទៅរកភ្លើង យូរអស់កម្មឡើង មកជាមនុស្ស ។ ២៨ វិលស្លាប់វិលកើត យោនយកកុំណើត រាប់ជាតសំខ្សា កងភពដែនដី ជម្ពូទ្វីប លង់ក្នុងតណ្ហា ធ្នូលធ្មេចអប្រិយ ។ ២៩ ព្រះត្រាស់អង្គ	ព្រោងព្រាយឥតសៅ ភ្លឺរលកភ្លឺក្រៃ ។ ២៥ បឹងកែវអតិរក សុខលន់ពន់ពេក ពុំដែលក្សិណក្ស័យ រូសរូបរាង ចាក់ទៀងប្រពៃ រូបដូចកែវថ្លៃ ភ្លឺផ្នែកពណ្ណរាយ ។ ២៦ ព្រះយមរាជអរ ព្រះកាលឱពរ ដល់សត្វទាំងឡាយ សាងកូនកូនបាន រូចប្រាណាទៅឆ្ងាយ កុំខានទៅអាយ ស្រុកយើងសឹងភ្លើង ។ ២៧ ព្រហ្មសោឡុំសា ទាំងឆកាមា ជម្ពូទ្វីបយើង អស់ផលគ្មាននៅ ចុះទៅរកភ្លើង យូរអស់កម្មឡើង មកជាមនុស្ស ។ ២៨ វិលស្លាប់វិលកើត យោនយកកុំណើត រាប់ជាតសំខ្សា កងភពដែនដី ជម្ពូទ្វីប លង់ក្នុងតណ្ហា ធ្នូលធ្មេចអប្រិយ ។ ២៩ ព្រះត្រាស់អង្គ	shining unmarred with eternal light. 25 This lake, unsurpassed, with peerless bliss, never ending, has a lovely form, forever fine, like a dear jewel, scintillating. 26 Lord Death rejoices in and Lord Time blesses all beings who cultivate themselves to be released far away, not staying here, for this world shall burn. 27 The sixteen Brahmā heavens, the six sensual planes, and our continent ( <i>Jambudvīpa</i> )— their merit gone, all beings shall burn. When their karma drains, they'll be human again. 28 The round of birth and death: taking new births in countless lives upon this earth, our own continent, lost in craving, like savage heathens. 29 Four buddhas awoke
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Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ខ្លួននៅត្រង់ណា  
 ពុំ យុលរក្សិយ  
 គួរគិតអនិច្ចា  
 អាសាជាតិ  
 កើតក្នុងលោកិយ  
 ទាន្តរតែរស័ស្នា  
 ៣០  
 ១ ព្រះពុទ្ធកុន  
 អាណែកអាណន្ត  
 ច្រើនក្រៀមៈហិមា  
 ខិតខំម្នាសង្កត  
 ឱ្យឃ្នាតរន្តរ  
 ក្រញូក្រាបកាយ៉ា  
 បង្គំមសព្វថ្ងៃ  
 ៣១  
 ១ រុំពួកព្រះគុណ  
 ព្រះកែវវត្តតំណ  
 ប្រសើរដ្ឋថ្ងៃ  
 កុំឱ្យមានេធម៌  
 ភ្នាំងភ្នែចម្លៀង  
 ស្មើបានកុបនៃ  
 អង្គព្រះសាស្តា  
 ៣២  
 ១ ហៃតុនោះគួរគិត  
 គួរដំដុលចិត  
 ត្រេកត្រង់សាស្តារ  
 ធ្វើរបុនឱ្យទាន្ត  
 ជាយានអាត្មា  
 ទាន្តរតែរសាស្តារ  
 ស្មើ ព្រះអង្គហោង  
 ៣៣  
 ១ ចៃត្តសិកសោក៏ន្ទ  
 បែកមិនសែនព្វាន្ត  
 ប្រាំមួយជាម្តង  
 ក៏លើស្ស ៥០០  
 តែងឱ្យសោរម័ង

ខ្លួននៅអន្ទង់  
 ពុំយល់រស្មី  
 គួរចិត្តគួរស្តាយ  
 ឆ្ងល់ឆ្ងាយសេចក្តី  
 កើតក្នុងលោកិយ  
 ពុំទាន់សាសនា ។  
 ៣០  
 ព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុណ្យ  
 ទ្រទ្រង់ព្រះគុណ  
 ទុកលើសិរលា  
 សព្វថ្ងៃសង្វាត  
 លើព្រះបាទា  
 ដកល់ទុកនា  
 លើកត្ស្រងសព្វថ្ងៃ ។  
 ៣១  
 ក្នុងចិត្តព្រះថ្លា  
 ដូចចិត្តសូរិយា  
 ព្រោងព្រាយរស្មី  
 ដល់ក្ស័យខ្លួនស្មោះ  
 ចិត្តផ្តោះទៅខ្ចី  
 កាន់ស្ថានពិសី  
 ពិសេសស្នតា ។  
 ៣២  
 ឲ្យខំរៀនចិត្ត  
 ចេះរិះគន់គិត  
 ចិត្តនៅត្រង់ណា  
 ចិត្តបុណ្យចិត្តបាប  
 ចិត្តរាបចិត្តថ្លា  
 ចិត្តផងខ្លោចផ្សារ  
 ចិត្តស្រោតាផល ។  
 ៣៣  
 ចិត្តមួយសោក៏ណ  
 បែកបានមួយពាន់  
 ប្រាំរយសោតសល់  
 គឺត្នកិលេស  
 មិនចេះស្តប់ស្តល់

ខ្លួននៅអន្ទង់  
 ពុំយល់រស្មី  
 គួរចិត្តគួរស្តាយ  
 ឆ្ងល់ឆ្ងាយសេចក្តី  
 កើតក្នុងលោកិយ  
 ពុំទាន់សាសនា ។  
 ៣០  
 ព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុណ្យ  
 ទ្រទ្រង់ព្រះគុណ  
 ទុកលើសិរលា  
 សព្វថ្ងៃសង្វាត  
 លើព្រះបាទា  
 ដកល់ទុកនា  
 លើកត្ស្រងសព្វថ្ងៃ ។  
 ៣១  
 ក្នុងចិត្តព្រះថ្លា  
 ដូចចិត្តសូរិយា  
 ព្រោងព្រាយរស្មី  
 ដល់ក្ស័យខ្លួនស្មោះ  
 ចិត្តផ្តោះទៅខ្ចី  
 កាន់ស្ថានពិសី  
 ពិសេសស្នតា ។  
 ៣២  
 ឲ្យខំរៀនចិត្ត  
 ចេះរិះគន់គិត  
 ចិត្តនៅត្រង់ណា  
 ចិត្តបុណ្យចិត្តបាប  
 ចិត្តរាបចិត្តថ្លា  
 ចិត្តផងខ្លោចផ្សារ  
 ចិត្តស្រោតាផល ។  
 ៣៣  
 ចិត្តមួយសោក៏ណ  
 បែកបានមួយពាន់  
 ប្រាំរយសោតសល់  
 គឺត្នកិលេស  
 មិនចេះស្តប់ស្តល់

but you're still trapped  
 and can't see the light.  
 You should regret  
 and ponder deep,  
 born here in time  
 for their dispensation.  
 30  
 The buddhas of merit  
 who embody virtues—  
 you should honor them  
 and strive each day  
 to lift their feet  
 high above your  
 head without fail.  
 31  
 Make your mind as  
 bright as the sun,  
 luminescent.  
 When you die at last,  
 your mind will leap to  
 reach the fine realm  
 of the heavens.  
 32  
 Study your thoughts.  
 Learn how to reflect  
 on every mental state:  
 good states, bad states,  
 calm states, bright states,  
 states of woe, and  
 the state of the fruit of stream-entry.  
 33  
 One lovely mental state  
 breaks into one thousand  
 five hundred states—  
 such are your defilements.  
 Never content,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

អកុសលផង ពុំមានល្បីណារ ៣៤	ឲ្យភ្លេចកុសល់ សាងបុណ្យសំការ ។ ៣៤	ឲ្យភ្លេចកុសល់ សាងបុណ្យសំការ ។ ៣៤	you forget how to make merit. 34
១ អ្នកប្រាថ្នាស្គាល់ចិត្ត មូលមកសុទ្ធិត ដូចផ្កាបូទុមា ជួរឯកចិត្ត ពុំភ្លាតចិញ្ចា ប្រឡូនៅនា មូលមួយមណ្ឌល ។ ៣៥	អ្នកប្រាថ្នាស្គាល់ចិត្ត ចូលមកសណ្ឋិត ដូចផ្កាបូទុមា ជាឯកចិត្ត ពុំភ្លេចចេញទ្វា ប្រាំបួននៅនា មូលមួយមណ្ឌល ។ ៣៥	អ្នកប្រាថ្នាស្គាល់ចិត្ត ចូលមកសណ្ឋិត ដូចផ្កាបូទុមា ជាឯកចិត្ត ពុំភ្លេចចេញទ្វា ប្រាំបួននៅនា មូលមួយមណ្ឌល ។ ៣៥	The wise know their mind. There they abide like a lotus, single in mind, never leaving through the nine doors, always focused. 35
១ ចិត្តថ្លាត្រចង់ ត្រចះចេញវង្ស អាណាប្រាណាយល់ វាយោយុលស្តង់ ធូរល្អងសោតសល ចិត្តល្អបស្តុល ទើបបានព្រះអរហំ ៣៦	ចិត្តជាត្រចង់ ត្រចះពេញវង្ស អាណាប្រាណាយល់ វាយោដើរលេង ធូតតកង្វល់ ចិត្តមូលមកផ្តល់ ទើបបានអរហំ ។ ៣៦	ចិត្តជាត្រចង់ ត្រចះពេញវង្ស អាណាប្រាណាយល់ វាយោដើរលេង ធូតតកង្វល់ ចិត្តមូលមកផ្តល់ ទើបបានអរហំ ។ ៣៦	With a bright mind, like the full moon, knowing the breath, each breath seen clear, relaxed, at ease, the focused mind can reach arhatship. 36
១ មនុស្សសែនពាន់កោត ចិត្តខេខឹងក្រោត ម្នេរម្នះខ្លះខ្លាំង រាបស្ងប់ទើពួក យកព្រះអរហំ យំមូរហាលកើតផ្លូវ ចង្កែប្រការ ៣៧	មនុស្សសែនពាន់កោត ចិត្តខេខឹងក្រោត មនោម្នះខ្លះខ្លាំង ខ្លះដល់ទៀបស្ងប់ ទើបរកព្រះអរហំ យមហាលកើតកាំង ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ ។ ៣៧	មនុស្សសែនពាន់កោត ចិត្តខេខឹងក្រោត មនោម្នះខ្លះខ្លាំង ខ្លះដល់ទៀបស្ងប់ ទើបរកព្រះអរហំ យមហាលកើតកាំង ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ ។ ៣៧	Billions of beings are wracked with anger and awful pride. Some wait till death to seek arhatship. Seized by Yama's guards, they're bound five ways. 37
១ កាលរុស្សពុំស្គាល់ រៀនយកព្រះធម៌ ពឹងពាក់រូបរា ដល់ទាព្វនិងខ្សែយ ប្រឡើយផ្សារ អូរលោកការនា ឱ្យជុំម្ហូរទៅ ៣៨	កាលរស់ពុំគិត រៀនធម៌ប្រព្រឹត្ត ពឹងពាក់អាត្មា លុះបាត់ស្មារតី ដល់ក្ស័យជន្មា ឲ្យលោកការនា ជូនដំណើរទៅ ។ ៣៨	កាលរស់ពុំគិត រៀនធម៌ប្រព្រឹត្ត ពឹងពាក់អាត្មា លុះបាត់ស្មារតី ដល់ក្ស័យជន្មា ឲ្យលោកការនា ជូនដំណើរទៅ ។ ៣៨	In life they failed to study the Dharma. Relying only on themselves, they lost awareness on their deathbed. Monks came to meditate to accompany their passing. 38
១ រូបស្លាប់នៅអាយ	រូបស្លាប់នៅអាយ	រូបស្លាប់នៅអាយ	The body dies here,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចិត្តចុះទៅឆ្ងាយ កើតក្បវសន្ទវ ស្មានន័រុកភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងសន្ទវ រោលរាលក្តិតក្តៅ នឹងរួចកាល្លោះ ៣៩	ចិត្តចុះទៅឆ្ងាយ កើតកាយរស់នៅ ស្មានរកភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងសន្ទវ រោលខ្លួនប្រាណ រងទុក្ខវេទនា ។ ៣៩	ចិត្តចុះទៅឆ្ងាយ កើតកាយរស់នៅ ស្មានរកភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងសន្ទវ រោលខ្លួនប្រាណ រងទុក្ខវេទនា ។ ៣៩	but the mind goes far, born anew in the flames of hell, burning bright, roasting till red with suffering. 39
១ យៀនយូរពុនពេក្យ វាបជាតអាណែក អាណានសង្វែយ៉ា ខ្លួនប្រាលសឹងភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងខ្លោចផ្សា ស្រែកយំម្នាក់ឡើយ ហាលហើក្តិតក្តៅ ៤០	លុះយូរពុនពេក បាបខ្លាំងអនេក អនន្តសំខ្យា ខ្លួនប្រាលសឹងភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងខ្លោចផ្សា ស្រែកយំកាលា ហាលជានិច្ចនៅ ។ ៤០	លុះយូរពុនពេក បាបខ្លាំងអនេក អនន្តសំខ្យា ខ្លួនប្រាលសឹងភ្លើង ឆេះឡើងខ្លោចផ្សា ស្រែកយំកាលា ហាលជានិច្ចនៅ ។ ៤០	For a long time, for many sins, uncountable, you'll roast in flames, burning in pain, screaming and in turmoil forever. 40
១ គិតហើយគួរខ្លាច គួររកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ មួយមកប្រដៅ ឱ្យរៀនព្រះធម៌ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធវិញ កាលខ្លួនរស់នៅ ឱ្យបានព្រះអរហន្ត ១ ៤១	គិតហើយគួរខ្លាច គួររកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ មួយមកប្រដៅ ឱ្យដឹងព្រះធម៌ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធវិញ កាលខ្លួនរស់នៅ ទើបបានអរហន្ត ។ ៤១	គិតហើយគួរខ្លាច គួររកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ មួយមកប្រដៅ ឱ្យដឹងព្រះធម៌ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធវិញ កាលខ្លួនរស់នៅ ទើបបានអរហន្ត ។ ៤១	Think and be scared. Find someone wise to guide you to know the Dharma, the right, the deep. Then when you go you'll reach arhatship. 41
ធ្វើហ៍បុនប្បញ្ញត្តិ បុនតាមពុំទាន់ បាបនោះវាខ្លាំង ១ យំម្លូរទាល់ក្រោត កិរោតកាន់កាំ ចាប់ចិត្តកំចាត់ ទាំងចិត្តវិភតកាំង នាំទៅប្រដើយ ៤២	ធ្វើបុណ្យមួយពាន់ បុណ្យតាមមិនទាន់ បាបនោះវាខ្លាំង យមបាលប្រចាំ ចាប់ចិត្តកើចតាំង ទាំងចិត្តវិភតកាំង នាំទៅប្រដើយ ។ ៤២	ធ្វើបុណ្យមួយពាន់ បុណ្យតាមមិនទាន់ បាបនោះវាខ្លាំង យមបាលប្រចាំ ចាប់ចិត្តកើចតាំង ទាំងចិត្តវិភតកាំង នាំទៅប្រដើយ ។ ៤២	It will be too late to do one thousand good deeds; your sin will be too strong. Yama's guards wait to seize your mind and bind it tight to goad you without a care. 42
ស្តែងស្តាប់គួរខ្លាច ធ្លុះរកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ កុំធ្វើរោះតឿ កុំអានយស្សសាក ម្សប្រាក់អ្នកកើយ	ស្តាប់ហើយគួរខ្លាច ធ្លាប់រកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ ចិត្តកុំភ្លេចឡើយ កុំអានយស្សសាក មាសប្រាក់អ្នកកើយ	ស្តាប់ហើយគួរខ្លាច ធ្លាប់រកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ ចិត្តកុំភ្លេចឡើយ កុំអានយស្សសាក មាសប្រាក់អ្នកកើយ	You've heard this; now be scared. Find someone wise. Heed your mind, not glory or rank, silver or gold.



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

រៀនយកឱ្យហើយ ក្រែងបានពុំបាន ៤៣	រៀនយកឱ្យហើយ ក្រែងបានពុំបាន ។ ៤៣	រៀនយកឱ្យហើយ ក្រែងបានពុំបាន ។ ៤៣	Learn this for good, lest it be too late. 43
ត្នាដេរ្យបុព្វេរ ព្យុំព្រេងឯងឯង ទើពនឹងភ្ញាក់ប្រាណ ចិត្តល្អថ្លាជ្រោះ ស្រលោះវិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តអត់ស្រេកឃ្លាន ពិតពុំនិទ្ទ្រាវ ៤៤	តាមដោយសំណាង ក៏ព្យុំព្រេងបានសាង ទើបនឹងភ្ញាក់ប្រាណ ចិត្តថ្លាត្រចេះ ស្រឡះវិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តអ្នកស្រែកឃ្លាន ពិតពុំនិទ្ទ្រាវ ។ ៤៤	តាមដោយសំណាង ក៏ព្យុំព្រេងបានសាង ទើបនឹងភ្ញាក់ប្រាណ ចិត្តថ្លាត្រចេះ ស្រឡះវិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តអ្នកស្រែកឃ្លាន ពិតពុំនិទ្ទ្រាវ ។ ៤៤	In accordance with what you cultivated in the past, you may awake with a clean mind, your consciousness clear, glad and eager, not seeking sleep. 44
១ បើយុលស្មានស្ងាត់ អង្គុយប្រតិបត្តិ ផ្ទង់ចិត្តការនា នឹកតែរជម៌ថ្ងៃ ប្រពៃជ្រះថ្លា កុំខ្ជិលឱសា បរិក្ខំនិតនៅ ៤៥	បើយប់ស្មានស្ងាត់ អង្គុយប្រតិបត្តិ ផ្ទង់ចិត្តការនា នឹកតែរជម៌ថ្ងៃ ប្រពៃជ្រះថ្លា ចូរខំឧស្សាហ៍ យូរបន្តិចទៅ ។ ៤៥	បើយប់ស្មានស្ងាត់ អង្គុយប្រតិបត្តិ ផ្ទង់ចិត្តការនា នឹកតែរជម៌ថ្ងៃ ប្រពៃជ្រះថ្លា ចូរខំឧស្សាហ៍ យូរបន្តិចទៅ ។ ៤៥	In the quiet night, sit practicing, upright in meditation. Recall the Dharma, sublime and still. Be diligent for a good while. 45
១ នឹកថាឥន្ទ្រាវ ព័ពួកទេវា ល្អល្អៗឥតសៅ បានក្សិមានវត្ត ស្មានស្និតប្រាលរ្ក្តៅ ស្រ្រីស្និតលំហោរ រាប់សែនសហស្សាវ ៤៦	នឹកថាឥន្ទ្រាវ អស់ទាំងទេវតា រូបល្អឥតសៅ បានពិមានវត្ត ស្និតនៅប្រាលរ្ក្តៅ ស្រីស្និតលំហោរ រាប់សែនសហស្សាវ ។ ៤៦	នឹកថាឥន្ទ្រាវ អស់ទាំងទេវតា រូបល្អឥតសៅ បានពិមានវត្ត ស្និតនៅប្រាលរ្ក្តៅ ស្រីស្និតលំហោរ រាប់សែនសហស្សាវ ។ ៤៦	Think how Indra and all the gods, lovely in form, have radiant jeweled palaces, with maidens waiting by the thousands. 46
១ នឹកថាមហាចក្រ រឹងវិទ្ធិសក្តិ កបកែវវត្តណារ មានទើពអក្សរ បរិក្សំញ៉ា រូបរាងសោការ មកជាម្តេស្សិ ៤៧	នឹកថាមហាចក្រ មានវិទ្ធិសក្តិ សត្តវត្តកែវថ្លា ស្រីទេពអប្សរ បរិកញ្ញា ស្រីវត្តឧត្តរា មកជាមហេសី ។ ៤៧	នឹកថាមហាចក្រ មានវិទ្ធិសក្តិ សត្តវត្តកែវថ្លា ស្រីទេពអប្សរ បរិកញ្ញា ស្រីវត្តឧត្តរា មកជាមហេសី ។ ៤៧	Contemplate how a Universal Monarch has rank and power, complete with the seven jewels and lovely apsaras, foremost maidens, jewels among women, as his consorts. 47

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>១ ចិត្តវិចិត្តសិក វិញ្ញានពុទ្ធក គុនព្រះវត្តត្រៀ កុំដីផ្សំដេក កុំស្រែកឃ្លានត្រៀ ការនាវត្តត្រៀ សរណគមន៍។</p> <p>៤៨</p>	<p>ចិត្តនីកភិក្ខុអរ ចិត្តទន់សាទរ ទូលាយហឫទ័យ ផងយក់បាត់ អរក្តាត់ពេកក្រៃ ការនាព្រះត្រៃ សរណគមន៍។</p> <p>៤៨</p>	<p>ចិត្តនីកភិក្ខុអរ ចិត្តទន់សាទរ ទូលាយហឫទ័យ ផងយក់បាត់ អរក្តាត់ពេកក្រៃ ការនាព្រះត្រៃ សរណគមន៍។</p> <p>៤៨</p>	<p>Contemplate and enjoy trance, with your mind soft and joyful, with your heart expansive. Drowsiness will disappear and great bliss will arise. Meditate on the Triple Refuge.</p> <p>48</p>
<p>១ បើចេះធម៌ហើយ កុំគិតខ្លាចឈឺ សំម្បាត់ឥន្ទព្រម សំម្បាត់មហាចក្រ ខរិទ្ធសិក្ខុឌីដម បានហើយខិតខំម សាងសូមទៀតទៅ</p> <p>៤៩</p>	<p>បើបានធម៌ហើយ ចិត្តកុំខ្លាចឈឺ សម្បត្តិឥន្ទព្រហ្ម សម្បត្តិមហាចក្រ សិទ្ធិសិក្ខុឌីដម បានហើយឲ្យនាំ សន្សំតទៅ។</p> <p>៤៩</p>	<p>បើបានធម៌ហើយ ចិត្តកុំខ្លាចឈឺ សម្បត្តិឥន្ទព្រហ្ម សម្បត្តិមហាចក្រ សិទ្ធិសិក្ខុឌីដម បានហើយឲ្យនាំ សន្សំតទៅ។</p> <p>៤៩</p>	<p>Once you achieve the Dharma, don't fear at all, for the treasures of Indra, Brahmā, and a Universal Monarch of peerless power, are already yours to maintain for the future.</p> <p>49</p>
<p>១ យកសមិជាញាតិ កុំឱ្យឃ្លៀងឃ្លាត ចិត្តចាំមិនតនៅ រក្សាព្រះធម៌ សាម្មាវាគ្គប្រដៅ តាមលោកប្រដៅ ដោយពុទ្ធវិចិត្ត</p> <p>៥០</p>	<p>យកសង្ឃជាញាតិ កុំឱ្យចិត្តឃ្លាត ឱ្យចិត្តនឹងនៅ រក្សាព្រះត្រៃ បិដកក្នុងក្រៅ ហើយលោកប្រដៅ តាមធម្មត្រិស្យា។</p> <p>៥០</p>	<p>យកសង្ឃជាញាតិ កុំឱ្យចិត្តឃ្លាត ឱ្យចិត្តនឹងនៅ រក្សាព្រះត្រៃ បិដកក្នុងក្រៅ ហើយលោកប្រដៅ តាមធម្មត្រិស្យា។</p> <p>៥០</p>	<p>Take the sangha as your family. Don't stay far away, Keep your mind close. Protect the Triple Basket, inner and outer, and let the monks instruct you in the duties of the Dharma.</p> <p>50</p>
<p>១ ព្រះធម៌សោកាវន្ត ប្រាម្បីមិនបួនព័ន្ធ ខានព្រះគុំពិ ព្រះប្រាជ្ញាញាតិ ជាស្ពានសោកិរ ចំម្លងទៅទី នីតរកែវថ្វារថ្លៃ</p> <p>៥១</p>	<p>ព្រះធម៌សេដ្ឋី ព្រោះជាកម្លាំង ដឹងដោយប្រាជ្ញា បច្ចុន្ននេះបាន</p> <p>៥០</p>	<p>ព្រះធម៌សេដ្ឋី ព្រោះជាកម្លាំង ដឹងដោយប្រាជ្ញា បច្ចុន្ននេះបាន</p> <p>៥០</p>	<p>50 The Dharma is supreme, since it is the force known by wisdom, from the present life,</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចេះធម្មាភិ បានទានព្រះសិរា អណាគតនោះនៃ ៥២	ដល់ស្ថានសួគ៌ា ទាន់ព្រះសិរ អាហ្ស ក្នុងគ្រាក្រោយនៃ ។ ៥១	ដល់ស្ថានសួគ៌ា ទាន់ព្រះសិរ អាហ្ស ក្នុងគ្រាក្រោយនៃ ។ ៥១	up through the heavens, until Śrī Ārya [Maitreya] arrives in the future. 51
១ យម្ពបាលទ្វាបួន និតនូវក្នុងខ្លួន ច្រោមច្រាមសព្វថ្ងៃ ១ បាបចងពុំទាន់ ខ្សែមខ្លួនប្រព្វៃយ អឱ្យព័ថ្ងៃ នៃអ្នកនោះណា ៥៣	យមបាលទាំង៤ ដែលនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ប្រចាំសព្វថ្ងៃ ចាប់ចិត្តពុំបាន សឹងខានអក្រៃ អរឱ្យពរថ្ងៃ ដល់អ្នកនោះណា ។ ៥២	យមបាលទាំង៤ ដែលនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ប្រចាំសព្វថ្ងៃ ចាប់ចិត្តពុំបាន សឹងខានអក្រៃ អរឱ្យពរថ្ងៃ ដល់អ្នកនោះណា ។ ៥២	Yama's four guards, who dwell inside your body each and every day, can't seize your mind and thus rejoice and joyfully offer you a blessing. 52
១ កាលបើអ្នកកម្ម ព្រះយមរាជផ្តាំម ទ្រង់ព្រះមេតារ អ្សចិត្តកុមារី ឱ្យត្រឡប់ត្រាវ រួចចាកទុក្ខាវ ន័រុកទ្វាហ្ស ៥៤	កាលសត្វអស់កម្ម ព្រះយមរាជផ្តាំ ដោយចិត្តមេតា អស់ចិត្តកុមារី ក្សត្រីក្សត្រា បានរួចទុក្ខា ពីនរកនាយ ។ ៥៣	កាលសត្វអស់កម្ម ព្រះយមរាជផ្តាំ ដោយចិត្តកុមារ អស់ចិត្តកុមារី ក្សត្រីក្សត្រា បានរួចទុក្ខា ពីនរកនាយ ។ ៥៣	When our karma runs out, Lord Yama exhorts us via Cittakumāra and Cittakumārī, the prince and princess, to escape from the pain of yonder hells: 53
១ ហើយឱ្យចិត្តខ្លួន រករៀនឱ្យបាន ប្តឹងដក់ក្នុងកាយ ទើបអ្សបាបផង ចាប់ចង្វើស្ស រួចរូបសប្បាយ ពីរន័រុកនោះណា ៥៥	ហើយឱ្យចិត្តក្សាន្ត រងរៀនឱ្យបាន បិដកក្នុងកាយ ទើបអស់បាបផង ចំណង់សាយ រួចរូបសប្បាយ ផុតទុក្ខរាល់គ្នា ។ ៥៤	ហើយឱ្យចិត្តក្សាន្ត រងរៀនឱ្យបាន បិដកក្នុងកាយ ទើបអស់បាបផង ចំណង់សាយ រួចរូបសប្បាយ ផុតទុក្ខរាល់គ្នា ។ ៥៤	“Make you mind calm. Study until you achieve the Triple Basket within, so that you are free of sin, and freed from attachment, to finally reach bliss, beyond all suffering.” 54
១ ចិត្តកុមារី សានសោមនុស្សា ពេក្ស័រមុះហិម្មា សាឡើងមកកើត កុំណើតជាតិជា មនុស្សទាន្តសាស្តាវ ធ្វើបុនឱ្យទាន ៥៦	ចិត្តអស់កម្ម អរនឹងបណ្តាំ ឱវាទនោះណា លីលាមកកើត ទាន់ព្រះសាសនា ព្រះយមរាជា ផ្តាំឱ្យធ្វើបុណ្យ ។ ៥៥	ចិត្តអស់កម្ម អរនឹងបណ្តាំ ឱវាទនោះណា លីលាមកកើត ទាន់ព្រះសាសនា ព្រះយមរាជា ផ្តាំឱ្យធ្វើបុណ្យ ។ ៥៥	If our karma is exhausted we rejoice in these words of exhortation, and joyfully take rebirth in time for the dispensation [of Maitreya]. Lord Yama exhorts us to make merit. 55

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

១ ព្រះយមរាជផ្គាំម ចិត្តចែងចងចាំម យកមកទូន្មាន កុំឱ្យចិត្តភ្លេង ចំចើងភ្លេចប្រាន បើរស្លាប់ហើយបាន សំបុត្រសួគ៌ារ ៥៧	ឲ្យចិត្តចងចាំ កុំភ្លេចបណ្តាំ រំលឹកព្រះគុណ កុំឲ្យចិត្តភ្លាត់ វិញ្ញាណពីបុណ្យ ទើបដល់អស់ជន្ម បានស្ថានសួគ៌ា ។ ៥៦	ឲ្យចិត្តចងចាំ កុំភ្លេចបណ្តាំ រំលឹកព្រះគុណ កុំឲ្យចិត្តភ្លាត់ វិញ្ញាណពីបុណ្យ ទើបដល់អស់ជន្ម បានស្ថានសួគ៌ា ។ ៥៦	Bear this in mind. Don't forget these words. Recollect the holy virtues. Don't let your mind be parted from merit, so that in death you may attain the heavens. 56
អូរហើយនៅចិត បុនព្រេងសន្តិភូត ឱ្យចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា កុំស្តាយជីវិត ក្រមុចក្តីណា លែងតែអាត្មា បានព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ៥៨	អស់ហើយនៅនិស្ស បុណ្យព្រេងមកស្ថិត ឲ្យចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា ពុំស្តាយជីវិត ក្រមុចក្តីណា លែងតែអាត្មា បានព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ។ ៥៧	អស់ហើយនៅនិស្ស បុណ្យព្រេងមកស្ថិត ឲ្យចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា ពុំស្តាយជីវិត ក្រមុចក្តីណា លែងតែអាត្មា បានព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ។ ៥៧	Life ends, but still merit endures, generating faith. You won't regret your life, no matter how miserable, as long as you achieve the precious Dharma. 57
១ បើមានជីវិត យិនយូរពេក្ស័យពិត រាប់អាសាស្ត្រ តែងគិតកង្វល អំពលពេក្ស័យ ទុលទុក្ខភិតក្ស័យ ឥតឯប្រម៉ាន	បើមានជីវិត រស់ឆ្ងាយមែនពិត រាប់ជាតិអស់ខ្យល តែងកើតរវល់ អំពល់ពេកក្រៃ ឈ្មោះខ្លួននៅក៏យ ព្រះកាលកាល ។ ៥៨	បើមានជីវិត រស់ឆ្ងាយមែនពិត រាប់ជាតិអស់ខ្យល តែងកើតរវល់ អំពល់ពេកក្រៃ ឈ្មោះខ្លួននៅក៏យ ព្រះកាលកាល ។ ៥៨	If you live for many lives, for numberless births, cycling through birth and death for far too long, then it is said you still fear Lord Time. 58
៥៩ អូរទ្រាំមហាចក្រ ឥន្ទព្រហ្មយមមក មនុស្សស្ម័គ្រតេរធាន ខ្លីបក្ខន្ទោរ	ចំប្រើជំរឿន ពេលសេនី សល់សែនសហស្សា បញ្ជីស្លាប់មក យោនយកអាត្មា ឥតអ្នកឯណា ប្រកែកនៅឡើយ ។ ៥៩	ចំប្រើជំរឿន ពេលសេនី សល់សែនសហស្សា បញ្ជីស្លាប់មក យោនយកអាត្មា ឥតអ្នកឯណា ប្រកែកនៅឡើយ ។ ៥៩	With his great power and mighty troops, hundreds of thousands strong, he records your death, and takes you away. There is no one you can fight with then. 59
អូរទ្រាំមហាចក្រ ឥន្ទព្រហ្មយមមក មនុស្សស្ម័គ្រតេរធាន ខ្លីបក្ខន្ទោរ	ទោះបីមហាចក្រ ឥន្ទព្រហ្មយមមក ពិភពនាគស្ថាន ខ្លីបក្ខន្ទោរ	ទោះបីមហាចក្រ ឥន្ទព្រហ្មយមមក ពិភពនាគស្ថាន ខ្លីបក្ខន្ទោរ	Even a Universal Monarch, Indra, Brahmā, Yama, ogres, and those in the nāga realm only borrow their bodies.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ទុកយូរក្នុងប្រាន រាប់ឆ្នាំម XX សលសែនសង្ខ័រ ៦០	ទុកយូរនៅបាន រាប់ឆ្នាំកោដិលាន ម៉ឺនសែអសំខេយ្យ ។ ៦០	ទុកយូរនៅបាន រាប់ឆ្នាំកោដិលាន ម៉ឺនសែអសំខេយ្យ ។ ៦០	They may keep them for billions of years, for numberless eons. 60
១ សឹងមានអាជ្ជារ ព្រះកាលកាលារ មកឡើងសព្វថ្ងៃ ពុំដឹងកំណត់ ប្រកដនិងក្ស័យ គ្រូបរូបទីវទេ សឹងស្លាប់ដូចគ្នា ១ ៦១	នឹងមានអាជ្ជា ព្រះកាលកាលា មកឡើងសព្វថ្ងៃ ពុំដឹងកំណត់ ប្រកដនិងក្ស័យ សព្វរូបទីវទេ សឹងស្លាប់គ្រប់គ្នា ។ ៦១	នឹងមានអាជ្ជា ព្រះកាលកាលា មកឡើងសព្វថ្ងៃ ពុំដឹងកំណត់ ប្រកដនិងក្ស័យ សព្វរូបទីវទេ សឹងស្លាប់គ្រប់គ្នា ។ ៦១	But then the authority of Lord Time comes to hasten those who don't know their limit. Death is certain for all beings; all die in the end. 61
រូបឃ្នឺន្ទោរ មានធាតុវាយោរ ទ្វារកំភ្នារ អាជ្ជារដៃជ្ជោរ បច្ចវិយារ ជៀងជ្ជយរឃ្នារ រូបរុសសព្វថ្ងៃ ៦២	រូបក្ខន្ធជាខ្លួន មានទ្វារប្រាំបួន វាយោរក្សា បច្ចវិអាបោ តេជោចត្តា បួនជ្ជយរក្សា រូមរសសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៦២	រូបក្ខន្ធជាខ្លួន មានទ្វារប្រាំបួន vāyo រក្សា បច្ចវិអាបោ តេជោចត្តា បួនជ្ជយរក្សា រូមរសសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៦២	Your body is the form aggregate. It has nine doors. <i>The wind</i> protects it, along with earth, water, and fire. These four protect our living body each day. 62
១ ចិត្តកូមាវោ ចោលរូបឃ្នឺន្ទោរ ដូចខ្នុរវិស្ស ឱរណ្ណះចេញទៅ លំនៅទីវទេ ព្រះកាលក្រោធាក្រៃ វានេះតេរឆ្នាន ៦៣	ចិត្តចេញចោលទៅ រូបក្ខន្ធនៅ ដូចអុសរិសៃ អាស្សរូបពេក ចិត្តបែកទីវទេ ព្រះកាលក្រោធាក្រៃ នាំទៅតិរច្ឆាន ។ ៦៣	ចិត្តចេញចោលទៅ រូបក្ខន្ធនៅ ដូចអុសរិសៃ អាស្សរូបពេក ចិត្តបែកទីវទេ ព្រះកាលក្រោធាក្រៃ នាំទៅតិរច្ឆាន ។ ៦៣	The mind discards the the body that remains behind like a charred log. Pity this body! The mind splits away, and seething Lord Time leads it to be born an animal, 63
១ មុត្តជ្រូកមុត្តជ្រូក ចិតមីដំបៅឡើង ចិតថ្លៃសាម្មិន ខ្លីរូបឃ្នឺន្ទោរ កដ្ឋកាន់នាប្រាន អញកាន់ពុំបាន រាប់ជាតិអសំខេយ្យ ៦៤	ព្រោះចិត្តឥតបុណ្យ ពុំស្គាល់ទោសគុណ ពាស់កាចសាមាធស្យ ខ្លីរូបក្ខន្ធមក ទុកនៅយូរបាន រាប់ឆ្នាំកោដិលាន ម៉ឺនសែអសំខេយ្យ ។ ៦៤	ព្រោះចិត្តឥតបុណ្យ ពុំស្គាល់ទោសគុណ ពាស់កាចសាមាធស្យ ខ្លីរូបក្ខន្ធមក កត់កាន់ជាប្រាណ ឯងកាន់ពុំបាន រាប់ជាតិអសំខេយ្យ ។ ៦៤	since your mind lacks merit, and knows neither fault not virtue, being wicked and mean: “You only borrowed this body, taking it as your life. You can't hold on to it for numberless lives. 64

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>១ ចិត្តមីធីរីធីរុស អញឱ្យធ្វើទេស រូបមីធីសព្វថ្ងៃ ចង្កប្រការ រូប្យាធុនក្រៃ ចងអុសស្រែ ទ្វាសាមសិបសង ៦៥</p>	<p>ចិត្តមីធីរីធីរុស អញធ្វើប្រទុស្ត រូបមីធីសព្វថ្ងៃ ចងបញ្ចក្ខន្ធា មីធីវេទនាក្រៃ ចងអសសសៃ ទាំងពានសង ។ ៦៥</p>	<p>ចិត្តមីធីរីធីរុស អញធ្វើប្រទុស្ត រូបមីធីសព្វថ្ងៃ ចង pañcakkhandho មីធីវេទនាក្រៃ ចងអសសសៃ ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។ ៦៥</p>	<p>You stubborn beast! I'll menace you. Your body is bound by <i>the five aggregates</i>. You'll suffer so much as I bind together your vessels, all thirty-two (<i>sām sip san</i>). 65</p>
<p>២ មាត្រមីធីរីធីតាំង ថ្ងៃអុកុល្យា អត្តអាហារផង ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅលុន ពេក្យុពុទ្ធកន្ធន៍ យម្មបាលចាលចង ចិត្តកូម្យ ៦៦</p>	<p>ឲ្យមីធីថ្ងៃខ្លាំង ឲ្យអសកម្លាំង អត្តអាហារផង ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅលុន ពេកពន់កន្ធន៍ យម្មបាលព្រួតចង ចិត្តមីធីក៏ន្តកាំង ។ ៦៦</p>	<p>ឲ្យមីធីថ្ងៃខ្លាំង ឲ្យអសកម្លាំង អត្តអាហារផង ធាតុភ្លើងក្តៅលុន ពេកពន់កន្ធន៍ យម្មបាលព្រួតចង ចិត្តមីធីក៏ន្តកាំង ។ ៦៦</p>	<p>I'll make you wail until you're exhausted and famished. The fire element will heat up to an extreme degree. My guards will bind you and you'll be stupefied.” 66</p>
<p>៣ អាជ្ជដិក្ខទាន្យ  ចិត្តកូម៉ាហាន កាត្តអំណោយទាន្យខ្លាំង ១០០ពាន១ ជាត្រួយព្រះអរហំ ប្រោសសត្វទូទាំង សែនចក្រវាឡ ៦៧</p>	<p>អជ្ជត្តិទាន  អង្គពោធិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តក្យោត្តាខ្លាំង មួយសែនបានមួយ ជាត្រួយអរហំ ប្រោសសត្វទូទាំង សែនចក្រវាឡ ។ ៦៧</p>	<p>អជ្ជត្តិទាន  អង្គពោធិញ្ញាណ ចិត្តក្យោត្តាខ្លាំង មួយសែនបានមួយ ជាត្រួយអរហំ ប្រោសសត្វទូទាំង សែនចក្រវាឡ ។ ៦៧</p>	<p>Those who give of their own bodies (<i>ajjhattikadāna</i>) to become Awakened Lords must have brave minds. One of one hundred thousand can be the sprout of a buddha, saving beings across myriads of worlds. 67</p>
<p>៤ ប្រោសប្រះគិតយុល ពុំឱ្យអំពល ក្នុងវត្តសង្ឃារ ខួបខ្លាចដៃដះ ព្រះកាលកាណារ អង្គឱ្យវេទនា រូប្យាធុនសព្វថ្ងៃ ៦៨</p>	<p>ប្រុសប្រាជ្ញគិតយល់ ពុំឲ្យអំពល ក្នុងវត្តសង្ឃារ ខួបខ្លាចវិទ្ធិ ព្រះកាលកាលា អាចឲ្យមកទារ រូបក្ខន្ធសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៦៨</p>	<p>ប្រុសប្រាជ្ញគិតយល់ ពុំឲ្យអំពល ក្នុងវត្តសង្ឃារ ខួបខ្លាចវិទ្ធិ ព្រះកាលកាលា អាចឲ្យមកទារ រូបក្ខន្ធសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៦៨</p>	<p>The wise understand, and are not worried in saṃsāra, respecting the power of Lord Time, who can ask for your body any day. 68</p>
<p>៥ ព្រះចូលនិព្វាន សក្រាជយូរបាន ១០០ម្សកៀ</p>	<p>ក្រោយព្រះនិព្វាន សក្រាជកន្ធន៍បាន មួយរយម្ភៃ</p>	<p>ក្រោយព្រះនិព្វាន សក្រាជកន្ធន៍បាន មួយរយម្ភៃ</p>	<p>After the Lord's Nibbāna, one hundred and twenty years passed.</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ទើព្វតិច្ចលថ្នក្ខ ជាតាភ្នំខ្យត្រថ្លៃ ព្រះនាមសោតនៃ ធម្មសោគរាជ្ជា ៦៩	ឆ្នាំទើបកើតក្សត្រ មានវិទូបារមី ចុល្លក្រចក្រី ធម្មសោករាជ ។ ៦៩	ឆ្នាំទើបកើតក្សត្រ មានវិទូបារមី ចុល្លក្រចក្រី ធម្មសោករាជ ។ ៦៩	Then there was a King with might and perfections, named Cullacakracakrī Dhammāsokarājā. 69
ព្រះឡែសង្ខាត ចង់លើកព្រះធាត ប្រើអារហន្តរ នឹងព្រះហឺនថេរ ទៅប្រែសត្រារ ឯនីគរលីង្ការ ៥០០ ព្រះអង្គ ៧០	លើកព្រះធាតុមាន អរហន្តហោះធុរា ច្រើនក្រៃត្រៀបត្រា ប្រើព្រះមហិន្ទរថេរ ទៅកោះលង្កា នឹងអរហន្តា ប្រាំរយព្រះអង្គ ។ ៧០	លើកព្រះធាតុមាន អរហន្តហោះធុរា ច្រើនក្រៃត្រៀបត្រា ប្រើព្រះមហិន្ទរថេរ ទៅកោះលង្កា នឹងអរហន្តា ប្រាំរយព្រះអង្គ ។ ៧០	He raised up the relics. The arahants flew in trance, in a vast array, to ask Elder Mahinda to go to the isle of Laṅkā, together with the arahants, five hundred strong. 70
ស្តេចហំសទៅប្តាន ដល់លីង្ការប្តាន រុំពេជពុល្លង ប្រែត្រៀបដក្ខ ទុំនុកអម្រុង ធម្មព្រះពុទ្ធពង្ស ៨ មិន ៤ ព្វាន ៧១	ប្រោសស្តេចលង្កា ទេវាន់រាជ ជ្រះថ្លាស្មោះត្រង់ ទាំងអគ្គជយា ស្រីស្រីង្ការផង ហើយបូសជាសង្ឃ ទាំងម៉ឺនទាំងពាន់ ។ ៧១	ប្រោសស្តេចលង្កា ទេវាន់រាជ ជ្រះថ្លាស្មោះត្រង់ ទាំងអគ្គជយា ស្រីស្រីង្ការផង ហើយបូសជាសង្ឃ ទាំងម៉ឺនទាំងពាន់ ។ ៧១	He taught the king of Laṅkā, Devānaṃ Rājā, to develop clear faith, along with his consort and all his harem. He ordained monks in the tens of thousands. 71
៥០០ ឆ្នាំមហ្វ កើតខ្យត្រពុទ្ធសាសនា ក្រុងមាលិនសោក៏ន្ទ ប្រាជ្ញារច្យងច្យង រហស្សរសរាត្រ ដូចកលដីវន្ត ប្រាជ្ញារាងវៀ ៧២	កើតក្សត្រពណ្ណរាជ មិលិន្ទសោក៏ណ មានប្រាជ្ញាត្រាស់ រហស្សរសរាត្រ ដូចកលដីវន្ត សុវណ្ណរាជហង្ស ។ ៧២	កើតក្សត្រពណ្ណរាជ មិលិន្ទសោក៏ណ មានប្រាជ្ញាត្រាស់ រហស្សរសរាត្រ ដូចកលដីវន្ត សុវណ្ណរាជហង្ស ។ ៧២	Five hundred years [after his Nibbāna], there was a resplendent king, named Milinda, the handsome, possessed of a sharp mind, clever and wise. He was like a living Suvanṇarājahaṃsa. 72
អ្នកអារហន្តរ មិនសែនសោតណា អ្នកប្រាជ្ញផងនៃ សីលប្រាជ្ញា រំអារឡើង វត្តទៅពួនព្រៃ	សួរអរហន្តា ច្រើនជាងសហស្សា សីលទាល់គ្រប់អង្គ រត់ទៅនៅព្រៃ ខ្លាចបារមីទ្រង់ ពុំមានព្រះសង្ឃ	សួរអរហន្តា ច្រើនជាងសហស្សា សីលទាល់គ្រប់អង្គ រត់ទៅនៅព្រៃ ខ្លាចបារមីទ្រង់ ពុំមានព្រះសង្ឃ	He asked arahants, numbering in the thousands, but all of them fled to the forest for fear of his perfections. Not a single monk

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ខ្ជបខ្ជាចប្រាជ្ញារ ៧៣	ណាឆ្លើយបញ្ហា ។ ៧៣	ណាឆ្លើយបញ្ហា ។ ៧៣	could respond to his questions. 73
១ សម្តេចកោសិរ ប្រាបសព្វសេចក្តី ហំសទៅដុះសិគ្គារ អញ្ជើញទេវបុត្រ ចំយ៉ុតមកជា នាគសែនប្រាជ្ញារ ផ្កាញ់ក្រុងមាលិនបាន ៧៤	សម្តេចកោសិរ ប្រាបសព្វសេចក្តី ទៅតុសិសា អញ្ជើញទេវបុត្រ ច្បុតមកជា នាគសែនប្រាជ្ញា ផ្កាញ់ក្រុងមិលិន្ទ ។ ៧៤	សម្តេចកោសិរ ប្រាបសព្វសេចក្តី ទៅតុសិសា អញ្ជើញទេវបុត្រ ច្បុតមកជា នាគសែនប្រាជ្ញា ផ្កាញ់ក្រុងមិលិន្ទ ។ ៧៤	Then Lord Indra relayed this situation to the Tusita heaven, where he invited a deity to take rebirth as the wise Nāgasena so as to vanquish Milinda 74
១ ម្តើងព្រះសាស្តារ អរហន្តារ វិលវឹងមកថាន មនុស្សផងត្រេកអរ សាទរគ្រុបប្រាន ស្តែងស្តេចហ្សៈធាន ប្រោសត្តសព្វថ្ងៃ ៧៥	ម្តើងព្រះសាសនា ព្រះអរហន្តា ឥន្ទ្រកុមិន្ទ វិលវឹងមកស្ថាន ទាំងស្តេចមិលិន្ទ ព្រះនរិន្ទ សាសនាម្តើងក្រៃ ។ ៧៥	ម្តើងព្រះសាសនា ព្រះអរហន្តា ឥន្ទ្រកុមិន្ទ វិលវឹងមកស្ថាន ទាំងស្តេចមិលិន្ទ ព្រះនរិន្ទ សាសនាម្តើងក្រៃ ។ ៧៥	and glorify the dispensation of the Arahants. Lord Indra returned to his realm, and even Milinda, the Lord of Men, raised up the dispensation. 75
១ សក្រាជវង្ស ៨០០ ឆ្នាំម ព្យ កើតមហារាជខ្យត្រថ្ងៃ ទ្រើសង្រួងនាម្មករ បីរិះឱក្យ ទុដ្ឋគាមិន្យន្យ ផ្កាញ់ផ្ទុលអន្តេរប៊ី ៧៦	សត្រាជកន្ទង ប្រាំបីរយផង កើតស្តេចអភ័យ ទុដ្ឋគាមិនី មានរិទ្ធិក្រៃ ផ្កាញ់អន្យត្តិរិយ អន្តរធានខ្លាំង ។ ៧៦	សត្រាជកន្ទង ប្រាំបីរយផង កើតស្តេចអភ័យ ទុដ្ឋគាមិនី មានរិទ្ធិក្រៃ ផ្កាញ់អន្យត្តិរិយ អន្តរធានខ្លាំង ។ ៧៦	After the passage of eight hundred years, there was a King named Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī. Possessed of great power, he defeated the heathens, vanquishing them completely. 76
១ ម្សព្វាន្តព្រះវសារ សូនអង្គអក្ខរ បំបំបាត់បាឡិយ ៨ មិន៤ ព្វាន្ត	ធ្លុងពាន់វស្សា សូន្យត្តអក្ខរ សូន្យសត្តពោជ្ឈង្គ ធម៌ប្រាំបីម៉ឺន	ធ្លុងពាន់វស្សា សូន្យត្តអក្ខរ សូន្យសត្តពោជ្ឈង្គ ធម៌ប្រាំបីម៉ឺន	After a thousand years, the syllables and letters disappeared, the seven limbs of awakening were gone, and the Dharma with its eighty-four thousand
ខ័ន្ធព្រះកាម្មិ ក្តៅដល់កោសិរ សហ៍ស្យត្រា ៧៧	បួនពាន់ក្បួនក្រាំង មានតែនៅលី- ផ្កាទ្វីបនោះណា ។ ៧៧	បួនពាន់ក្បួនក្រាំង មានតែនៅលី- ផ្កាទ្វីបនោះណា ។ ៧៧	leporello manuals only remained on the isle of Laṅkā. 77
១ អញ្ជើញទេវបុត្រ	ឃោស័កទេវបុត្រ	ឃោស័កទេវបុត្រ	Indra asked the deity



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ឱអ្នកចម្រើន ចុះចាកសួគារ ប្រែព្រះបាទធី អំព្យលីផ្ការ ដំពូរធីប្បវរ សូនព្រះធីម្មថ្ងៃ ៧៨	ឥន្ទ្រឱបុត្រ ចុះចាកសួគារ ប្រែព្រះធីម្មថ្ងៃ សីហាលកាសា មកពីលង្កា ជាពាក្យបាលី ។ ៧៨	ឥន្ទ្រឱបុត្រ ចុះចាកសួគារ ប្រែព្រះធីម្មថ្ងៃ សីហាលកាសា មកពីលង្កា ជាពាក្យបាលី ។ ៧៨	Ghosaka to take rebirth, descend from the heavens, and translate the precious Dharma from the Sīhala language of Lankā into Pali words. 78
១ ឃោស្សទេវបុត្រស្តាប់ កោស្សប្រាប្រាប ជ្រាបស្រេចហឿននៃ លាវទិប្បអក្សរ បំរើស្រីថ្ងៃ ចុះចាកមកព្វរ ចាប់ប្រជុំសន្និយ៍ ៧៩	ទេពឃោសីករាប់ ស្តាប់ព្រះឥន្ទ្រប្រាប់ ជ្រាបសព្វសេចក្តី លាស្រីអប្បរ បររម្មប្រិយ៍ ចុះចាកមកខ្ចី ចាប់បដិសន្ធិ។ ៧៩	ទេពឃោសីករាប់ ស្តាប់ព្រះឥន្ទ្រប្រាប់ ជ្រាបសព្វសេចក្តី លាស្រីអប្បរ បររម្មប្រិយ៍ ចុះចាកមកខ្ចី ចាប់បដិសន្ធិ។ ៧៩	The deity Ghosaka received and heard the full import of Indra's words. He left behind the apsarases, perfectly lovely, and descended quickly to take rebirth 79
១ ត្រកូលព្រាហ្មថ្ងៃ គ្រប់ទំស្សម្សនៃ ចេញចាកអំព្យ ឱទ្ធរមាដារ ជ្រោះថ្នារសោភ័ ព្រះវរជនី ជំនុកអរក្រ ។ ៨០	ត្រកូលព្រាហ្មថ្ងៃ ទសមាសប្រពៃ ចាកចេញអំព្យ ឱទ្ធរមាតា ថ្ងៃថ្នារសោភ័ ព្រះវរជនី បិតាអរក្រ ។ ៨០	ត្រកូលព្រាហ្មថ្ងៃ ទសមាសប្រពៃ ចាកចេញអំព្យ ឱទ្ធរមាតា ថ្ងៃថ្នារសោភ័ ព្រះវរជនី បិតាអរក្រ ។ ៨០	in a brahman family. After ten months he exited from mother's womb, handsome and precious. His mother and father were overjoyed. 80
១ ទ្ធុ លើងបូសជា រសំណែរហឿណា បូសភិក្ខុប្រព្យ រៀនអ្នកាំម្ពី វិនិរធម្មថ្ងៃ រៀនចប់ព្រះត្រៃ ប្បដកជ្រាលជ្រៅ ៨១	ប្រសូត្រចាកគីត ធំរៀនអក្សរ បូសនេនភិក្ខុថ្ងៃ រៀនអស់គម្ពីរ ព្រះបិកដក្រៃ ចេះចាំប្រពៃ បិដកក្នុងក្រៃ ។ ៨១	ប្រសូត្រចាកគីត ធំរៀនអក្សរ បូសនេនភិក្ខុថ្ងៃ រៀនអស់គម្ពីរ ព្រះបិកដក្រៃ ចេះចាំប្រពៃ បិដកក្នុងក្រៃ ។ ៨១	From his birth, he grew up studying letters. He was ordained as a novice and then as a bhikkhu. He studied all of the scriptures in the Triple Basket. He remembered them perfectly, both the inner and outer Baskets. 81
១ ព្រះអរហន្តរ ជាគ្រូឧបជ្ឈាយ អ្នកតែងប្រដៅ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសនា	ព្រះអរហន្តរ ជាគ្រូឧបជ្ឈាយ លោកតែងប្រដៅ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសនា	ព្រះអរហន្តរ ជាគ្រូឧបជ្ឈាយ លោកតែងប្រដៅ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសនា	An arahant served as his preceptor. He always instructed Buddhaghosa

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ប្រាជ្ញាប្រាសាទ គ្រូអប្បដោ	ប្រាជ្ញាប្រាសាទ គ្រូអសំប្រដោ	ប្រាជ្ញាប្រាសាទ គ្រូអសំប្រដោ	with deep wisdom When his teacher was out of teachings,
ស្ងៀមនៅប្រដោ	ស្ងប់ស្ងៀមព្រងើយ ។	ស្ងប់ស្ងៀមព្រងើយ ។	the teacher became quiet and indifferent.
៨២	៨២	៨២	82
ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសារ និកក្នុងចិត្តា ថាគ្រូអញ្ជើយ អស្មន៍បុណ្ណៈ ឬចេះនៅឡើយ ត្រូវលោកកន្តើយ ពិតពុំច្បាចែង	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា និកក្នុងចិត្តា ថាគ្រូអញ្ជើយ អស្មន៍បុណ្ណៈ ឬចេះនៅឡើយ ទើបលោកកន្តើយ ពុំសង់ស្ងប់ ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា និកក្នុងចិត្តា ថាគ្រូអញ្ជើយ អស្មន៍បុណ្ណៈ ឬចេះនៅឡើយ ទើបលោកកន្តើយ ពុំសង់ស្ងប់ ។	Buddhaghosa thought in his mind: “My teacher is this all of his teachings? Or does he still know things, and that is why is different and doesn’t reply to me?”
៨៣	៨៣	៨៣	83
ព្រះអរហន្តប្រាសាទ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសារ ដៀលគ្រូខ្លួនឯង គ្រូឱ្យទានកាំម្ម ចង់ចាំពុំលែង អរសោព្រះស្តែង ទៅកោះលីដ្ការ	ព្រះអរហន្តប្រាសាទ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ដៀលគ្រូឯងនៃ គ្រូដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម ទើបរួចទោសពៃ ចម្ងល់ព្រះត្រៃ បិដកសង្ការ ។	ព្រះអរហន្តប្រាសាទ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ដៀលគ្រូឯងនៃ គ្រូដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម ទើបរួចទោសពៃ ចម្ងល់ព្រះត្រៃ បិដកសង្ការ ។	The arahant said aloud, “Buddhaghosa, for criticizing your own teacher, you need to be punished so you can be freed from sin. Copy the Three Baskets from Laṅkā.
៨៤	៨៤	៨៤	84
ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសារ ប្រែប្រែព្រះត្រៃ ប្រែប្រែគ្នាធម៌ដ្ឋ ជាមគ្គិយ ភាសារ ទើបអប្បមន្តិល សុវិលអាត្មា ដែលដៀល ឧប្បដ្ឋារ ជាគ្រូនោះនៃ	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ក្រោយមហិន្ទថេរ លោកបានទៅប្រែ គម្ពីរដីកា ព្រះត្រៃបិដក សីហលភាសា រួចទោសអាត្មា ដៀលគ្រូឯងនៃ ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ក្រោយមហិន្ទថេរ លោកបានទៅប្រែ គម្ពីរដីកា ព្រះត្រៃបិដក សីហលភាសា រួចទោសអាត្មា ដៀលគ្រូឯងនៃ ។	Follow Elder Mahinda, and set about translating the scriptures and commentaries of the Triple Basket from the Sīhala language. Then you’ll be freed of the fault of criticizing your teacher.”
៨៥	៨៥	៨៥	85
ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសារ ទូលព្រះពុទ្ធជីកា កុំព្រួយព្រះទ័យ ទទួលទៅប្រែ បន្ថែមធម៌ដ្ឋ ត្រូវទុខុវិនៃ ខ្ញុំសូមទោសា	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ទូលតបដីកា កុំព្រួយព្រះទ័យ ទទួលទៅប្រែ អស់ព្រះធម៌ដ្ឋ ដែលខុសវិនៃ ខ្ញុំសូមទោសា ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ទូលតបដីកា កុំព្រួយព្រះទ័យ ទទួលទៅប្រែ អស់ព្រះធម៌ដ្ឋ ដែលខុសវិនៃ ខ្ញុំសូមទោសា ។	Buddhaghosa responded to these words without fear or worry. “I accept to translate the entirety of the precious Dharma for having broken the Vinaya. Please forgive me.”

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៨៦  
 ១ អ្នកលាចុះទៅ  
 គុំដំលើសំពៅ  
 អ្សញ្ញខ្សៀវខ្មារ  
 បើកក្ដោងកំនាល  
 ប្រវាលសាគរ  
 ក្ដោងដល់អាស្នា  
 សម្ដេច សហៈសណ្យ  
 ៨៧  
 ១ មកន្ទាសំពៅ  
 ឱ្យលូនលឿនទៅ  
 កំនាលដុល្លស្យ  
 ស្រម៉ុតទ្ធុធេង  
 បែកផ្សែងពេក្យក្រៀម  
 មើលមិនយល់ព្រៀម  
 ប្រាំម្ភៃទេវា  
 ៨៨  
 ១ ពោធិ៍ទាត្តមហាថៃរ  
 វិលមកពីប្រៃ  
 ធីត្យលីដ្ឋារ  
 ជួបជួនប្រទា  
 ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោស្យារ  
 ប្រគេនដៃកថារ  
 ស្រម៉ុតន្ទុថ្វាយ  
 ៨៩  
 ១ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោស្យារ  
 ដល់កំស្សលីដ្ឋារ  
 មើលយល់បិទ្យា  
 សែម្មីរៀងវាល  
 ថ្នាក់ថ្នលវែងឆ្ងា  
 កេត្រារទ្ធាហ្វិ  
 ថ្នាបចតត្រៀបត្រារ  
 ៩០  
 ១ មើលមានប្រសាដ្ឋ  
 ប្រសើរស្អាតស្អាត  
 រុតរុតរិច្ចណារ

៨៦  
 អ្នកលាចុះទៅ  
 ស្ថិតលើសំពៅ  
 អស់ឈ្មួញត្រៀបត្រា  
 បើកក្ដោងទៅដល់  
 ជលសាគរ  
 ក្ដោងដល់ឥន្ទ្រា  
 នាគាទេវបុត្រ ។  
 ៨៧  
 ជួយលោសំពៅ  
 ឱ្យលូនលឿនទៅ  
 កណ្ដាលសមុទ្រ  
 ជ័យស័យធំធេង  
 បែកផ្សែងសស្ស្ន  
 រសៀលអស្ដង្គត  
 ប្រាំពីរទិវា ។  
 ៨៨  
 ពោធិទត្ថរ  
 វិលមកពីប្រៃ  
 សីហាលលដ្ឋា  
 កណ្ដាលសមុទ្រ  
 ជួបពុទ្ធឃោសា  
 ប្រគេនដៃកថារ  
 ស្រម៉ែវន្ទុថ្វាយ ។  
 ៨៩  
 លុះលោកទៅដល់  
 កោះលង្កាយល់  
 ជលធីទូលាយ  
 សំពៅសហស្សា  
 កេត្រារៀងរាយ  
 កំពែងវែងឆ្ងាយ  
 ផ្លូវឆ្មាខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់ ។  
 ៩០  
 រាយនៅតាប់តាន់  
 ប្រាសាទរំជំខាន់  
 មុខដាច់ត្រឡែងកែង

៨៦  
 អ្នកលាចុះទៅ  
 ស្ថិតលើសំពៅ  
 អស់ឈ្មួញត្រៀបត្រា  
 បើកក្ដោងទៅដល់  
 ជលសាគរ  
 ក្ដោងដល់ឥន្ទ្រា  
 នាគាទេវបុត្រ ។  
 ៨៧  
 ជួយលោសំពៅ  
 ឱ្យលូនលឿនទៅ  
 កណ្ដាលសមុទ្រ  
 ជ័យស័យធំធេង  
 បែកផ្សែងសស្ស្ន  
 រសៀលអស្ដង្គត  
 ប្រាំពីរទិវា ។  
 ៨៨  
 ពោធិទត្ថរ  
 វិលមកពីប្រៃ  
 សីហាលលដ្ឋា  
 កណ្ដាលសមុទ្រ  
 ជួបពុទ្ធឃោសា  
 ប្រគេនដៃកថារ  
 សំណន្ទុថ្វាយ ។  
 ៨៩  
 លុះលោកទៅដល់  
 កោះលង្កាយល់  
 ជលធីទូលាយ  
 សំពៅសហស្សា  
 កេត្រារៀងរាយ  
 កំពែងវែងឆ្ងាយ  
 ផ្លូវឆ្មាខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់ ។  
 ៩០  
 រាយនៅតាប់តាន់  
 ប្រាសាទរំជំខាន់  
 មុខដាច់ត្រឡែងកែង

86  
 He then departed  
 on a ship,  
 together with merchants,  
 opening the sails to reach  
 the ocean.  
 The sails were assisted by Indra,  
 the nāgas, and other deities  
 87  
 to help speed the boat  
 to quickly pass  
 through the sea,  
 the vast waters,  
 covered in white mist  
 in the setting sun,  
 for seven days.  
 88  
 The Elder Bodhidatta  
 who was returning  
 from the Sihala island of Laṅka  
 met Buddhaghosa  
 in the middle of the ocean  
 and gave him a stylus  
 of lead offered by Indra.  
 89  
 When he arrived  
 at Laṅka, he could see  
 there, in the vast ocean,  
 thousands of ships  
 and great vessels arrayed,  
 and the city with its massive walls,  
 the criss-cross of roads and fields,  
 90  
 lined and crowded with  
 palaces and castles  
 rising with spires,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

មានភ្នំមព្រះបា ព្រោងព្រាតសោភារ ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់មុះហិម្មា លើភ្នំមទ្វាស្យ ៩១	មានភ្នំពុទ្ធបាទ ត្រដាចបែកផ្សែង ត្រដូចលើសវៃលង ភ្នំផងទាំងឡាយ ។ ៩១	មានភ្នំពុទ្ធបាទ ត្រដាចបែកផ្សែង ត្រដូចលើសវៃលង ភ្នំផងទាំងឡាយ ។ ៩១	with a hill for the Buddha's footprint, massive and misty, taller still than every hill. 91
័ ព្រះចង្កូមកែវកូរ ស្លឹតថាននិតនៅ មាត់បព្ភទ្រា ន័ព្វាន្តរាស្សី រក្ខត្តិយព្រោងព្រា មនុស្សផងក្រាបថ្វាយ បង្គំសព្វថ្ងៃ ៩២	ចង្កូមកែវនៅ ភ្នំផ្នែកសន្ទៅ ត្រចងពណ្ណរាយ ឆពណ្ណរស្សី រស្មីព្រោងព្រាយ មនុស្សយល់ក្រាបថ្វាយ បង្គំរស្មី ។ ៩២	ចង្កូមកែវនៅ ភ្នំផ្នែកសន្ទៅ ត្រចងពណ្ណរាយ ឆពណ្ណរស្សី រស្មីព្រោងព្រាយ មនុស្សយល់ក្រាបថ្វាយ បង្គំរស្មី ។ ៩២	The jeweled canine was there, shining resplendently with a bright radiance of six-colored effulgent rays. The people who saw them bowed down to the beams. 92
័ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោស្យា គុដនៅលីង្ការ ប្បិខែរនោះនៃ ប្រែថ្កាបាឡិយ កាំម្លិយធម៌ម្លិថ្ងៃ ចំប្បិយដក់ថ្ងៃ ៨ មិន ៤ ពាន្ត ៩៣	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ស្ថិតនៅសង្ការ ចារប្រែខែបី ចប់អស់បិដក គម្ពីរបាលី ទាំងធម៌វិន័យ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ ។ ៩៣	ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ស្ថិតនៅសង្ការ ចារប្រែខែបី ចប់អស់បិដក គម្ពីរបាលី ទាំងធម៌វិន័យ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ ។ ៩៣	Buddhaghosa remained in Laṅkā for three months to inscribe and translate the entirety of the Three Baskets, the Pali scriptures, and all of the Dharma and Vinaya, eighty-four thousand parts in all. 93
ស្រេចទើព្វទេស្យា ព្រោសអ្សទេវតា មនុស្សម្នាមហាជន ម្យមកតេរត្យ ពេញព្យពេកពុទ្ធ ក្រៀមក្រៀលើសលុន ស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ម្លិថ្ងៃ ៩៤	រួចទើបទេសនា ព្រោសស្តេចលង្កា ប្រសើរសោភ័ណ ប្រុសស្រីស្តាប់ច្រើន រាប់ម៉ឺនរាប់ពាន់ ទេវតាខ្ជាប់ខ្ជាន់ ស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ម្លិថ្ងៃ ។ ៩៤	រួចទើបទេសនា ព្រោសស្តេចលង្កា ប្រសើរសោភ័ណ ប្រុសស្រីស្តាប់ច្រើន រាប់ម៉ឺនរាប់ពាន់ ទេវតាខ្ជាប់ខ្ជាន់ ស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ម្លិថ្ងៃ ។ ៩៤	Then he preached to save the king of Laṅkā, the supremely handsome. Many people came to listen numbering in the tens of thousands. The deities gathered there to listen to the precious Dharma. 94
័ បូជាប្រាក់ម្ស កែវកងពេញព្យ សំមុតឱវិស្សយ អ្សអ្នកកេត្រា ចែកគ្នាទីទៃ ស្រាប់ស្រេចហ្វឺនៃ	មាសប្រាក់កែវកង ខៀនព្រៃព្រំផង បូជាច្រើនក្រៃ អស់អ្នកកេត្រា ចែកគ្នាទីទៃ អរឲ្យពរជ័យ	មាសប្រាក់កែវកង ខៀនព្រៃព្រំផង បូជាច្រើនក្រៃ អស់អ្នកកេត្រា ចែកគ្នាទីទៃ អរឲ្យពរជ័យ	Gold, silver, jewels, bracelets, cloth, silk, and rugs were offered in vast numbers. The sea merchants distributed them everywhere, rejoicing and offering blessings

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ៩៥	ពុទ្ធឃោសា ។ ៩៥	ពុទ្ធឃោសា ។ ៩៥	to Buddhaghosa. 95
០ លាចុះសំពៅ	លាចុះសំពៅ	លាចុះសំពៅ	He look leave and got back on the ship
បើកក្ដោងវិលទៅ ទើបអូរទៅដាវ ជួរជួនមក ដល់ មុនលន្លឹកវារ គុដវត្តលង្ការ ទន្លេបួនមុខ ។ ៩៦	បើកក្ដោងវិលទៅ ទើបអស់ទេញ ជួយជួនមកដល់ មណ្ឌលនគរ ស្ថិតវត្តលង្ការ ទន្លេបួនមុខ ។ ៩៦	បើកក្ដោងវិលទៅ ទើបអស់ទេញ ជួយជួនមកដល់ មណ្ឌលនគរ ស្ថិតវត្តលង្ការ ទន្លេបួនមុខ ។ ៩៦	turning to sails to return. All of the gods helped him arrive at the city, where he stayed at Vatt Laṅkā, by the four-faced river. 96
០ ព្រះចូលនិព្វាន ផ្សំមសក្រាជបាន ១០០០ ព្រះវសារ អ្នកបុន៤អង្គ ពាលពុជប្រាជ្ញា លើកព្រះសាស្តារ ថ្កល់ថ្កើងវិទ្ធិយ ០	ព្រះកេតុមាលា ព្រះទ័យសទ្ធា ថ្វាយប្រាង្គមួយទុក ជាវត្តស្អាតស្អាត ប្រាសាទសាងសុខ ទូលលាយស្រណុក ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ។ ៩៧	ព្រះកេតុមាលា ព្រះទ័យសទ្ធា ថ្វាយប្រាង្គមួយទុក ជាវត្តស្អាតស្អាត ប្រាសាទសាងសុខ ទូលលាយស្រណុក ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ។ ៩៧	Ketumālā, with a mind of faith, built a temple there so as to became a beautiful monastery and monument, built for the joy, space, and ease of Buddhaghosa. 97
	ដាក់ថាមានបុណ្យ ប្រែពាក្យសិរីន ជាពាក្យខេមរា ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ ធម្មត្ថនា ប្រែបានមកជា ពាក្យយើងនេះណា ។ ៩៨	ដាក់ថាមានបុណ្យ ប្រែពាក្យសិរីន ជាពាក្យខេមរា ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនបួនពាន់ ធម្មត្ថនា ប្រែបានមកជា ពាក្យយើងនេះណា ។ ៩៨	Recognizing this merit, he translated Sihala words into Khmer words, including all eighty-four thousand parts of the Dharma. He translated them into our own language. 98
	សាសនាថ្កើនថ្កាន ពុទ្ធសក្រាជបាន បួនពាន់វស្សា អ្នកបុណ្យបួនអង្គ ពាក្យពង្សប្រាជ្ញា លើកព្រះសាសនា ថ្កល់ថ្កើងវិទ្ធិ ។ ៩៩	សាសនាថ្កើនថ្កាន ពុទ្ធសក្រាជបាន បួនពាន់វស្សា អ្នកបុណ្យបួនអង្គ ពាក្យពង្សប្រាជ្ញា លើកព្រះសាសនា ថ្កល់ថ្កើងវិទ្ធិ ។ ៩៩	The dispensation prospered then, when still four thousand years of the Buddhist era remained. Four men of merit, replete with wise words, glorified the dispensation, making it powerful: 99
៩៧ ធម្មសោក្កវិជ្ជ	ធម្មសោករាជា	ធម្មសោករាជា	King Dhammāsoka,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះនាគសេនាអ្នកប្រាជ្ញា ជាអង្គរទស្សនាមន្ទីរ ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសាវ ប្រាជ្ញាសោភ័យ ប្រែអក្សរកម្ម ព្រះត្រៃបិដក ៩៨	នាគសេនប្រាជ្ញា អភយទុដ្ឋតាមិនី ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ប្រាជ្ញាសោភ័យ ប្រែអស័គម្ពីរ ត្រៃបិដកបាន ។ ១០០	នាគសេនប្រាជ្ញា អភយទុដ្ឋតាមិនី ព្រះពុទ្ធឃោសា ប្រាជ្ញាសោភ័យ ប្រែអស័គម្ពីរ ត្រៃបិដកបាន ។ ១០០	Nāgasena the wise, Abhayaduṭṭhagāminī, and Buddhaghosa of marvelous wisdom, who translated all the scriptures of the Three Baskets. 100
១ ដល់ព្រះសាស្ត្រាវ ២០០០ ព្រះវសាវ ២០០ មានអ្នក បុរិសមកលើក សាស្ត្រាវទុកដាក់ ដល់ថ្កើងអាណាត្រ ក្នុងឆ្នាំកូណារ	ពុទ្ធស្តត្រាជស្សាន់ លុះបានពីរពាន់ ប្រាំរយឆ្នាំមាន អ្នកបុណ្យមកលើក សាសនាថ្កើងថ្កាន អស្សារនៅមាន ឆ្នាំរកាឯស័ក ។	ពុទ្ធស្តត្រាជស្សាន់ លុះបានពីរពាន់ ប្រាំរយឆ្នាំមាន អ្នកបុណ្យមកលើក សាសនាថ្កើងថ្កាន អស្សារនៅមាន ឆ្នាំរកាឯស័ក ។	When only two-thousand and five-hundred years remain in the Buddhist era, there will be men of merit who will glorify the dispensation in astounding ways in the year of the rooster, first of the decade.
៩៩	១០១	១០១	101
១ មតស័ញ្ញី	មានមគ្គសញ្ញី	មានមគ្គសញ្ញី	They will have knowledge of the paths.
កោស្សីភ័យ មម្យឱនខ្សែយ ទុន្ទិរតែរអ្នក ឥតអាក់សំពូថ្ងៃ បុន្យប់បូរក្រៃ មែនមានបម្រើ ១០០	កោលាកោលី ឥតទីសំណាក់ បារមីនៅព្រៃ ក្សិណក្ស័យឥតអាក់ ទុន្ទិរតែរអ្នក បុណ្យបារមីតា ។ ១០២	កោលាកោលី ឥតទីសំណាក់ បារមីនៅព្រៃ ក្សិណក្ស័យឥតអាក់ ទុន្ទិរតែរអ្នក បុណ្យបារមីតា ។ ១០២	There will be calamities and no refuge. The perfections in the forest will be destroyed with hesitation, and they will wait for merit and perfections.
១ រាប់បាន ២០០០ ប្តីរូស័ប្តីញ	សក្រាជពីរពាន់បាន ប្រាំមួយរយមាន	សក្រាជពីរពាន់បាន ប្រាំមួយរយមាន	102
ឆ្នាំរោងឯងនៃ សំលខាន ២៥០០ វសាវថ្ងៃ ២២ វែងក្រៃ ឯមគ្គនៅឡើយ ១ ១០១	ភ័យមួយយូរយារ ឯមុខនៅឡើយ ឲ្យលោករាល់គ្នា ចិត្តចាំការវេទ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ។ ១០៣	ភ័យមួយយូរយារ ឯមុខនៅឡើយ ឲ្យលោករាល់គ្នា ចិត្តចាំការវេទ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ។ ១០៣	When the Buddhist era has two-thousand and six-hundred years remaining (1856–1857) there will be a long-term danger. After that, all people should practice meditation and not be careless.
ឱរាម្បអ្នកផង	រំពឹងសក្រាជ	រំពឹងសក្រាជ	103
ចិត្តចាំបញ្ចាំចង	មានភ័យគួរខ្លាច	មានភ័យគួរខ្លាច	Reflect on the passing of the Buddhist era, for there are dangers to fear.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>កុំធ្វើហ័ប្រឡើង រមែងសក្រាជ</p>	<p>កុំធ្វើកន្តើយ ឆ្នាំកុរឯកស័ក</p>	<p>កុំធ្វើកន្តើយ ឆ្នាំកុរឯកស័ក</p>	<p>Don't be careless. In the year of the pig, first of the decade (1839–1840),</p>
<p>ខ្លាចកុំត់សត្វ កុរឯកស័កហើរ កើតអប្បបរមា ១០២ ១ ម៉ោងរោងទ្វា ២</p>	<p>អ្នកនឹងដឹងហើយ ច្បាំងមិនលែងឡើយ កើតអស្ចារ្យក្រៃ ។ ១០២ រោងជួរច្រាំបីដណ្តាប់</p>	<p>អ្នកនឹងដឹងហើយ ច្បាំងមិនលែងឡើយ កើតអស្ចារ្យក្រៃ ។ ១០២ រោងជួរច្រាំបីដណ្តាប់</p>	<p>as you may know already, the battles will not end and will become extreme, 104 starting in the year of the dragon (1844–1845),</p>
<p>១៣ ឆ្នាំម ឯ កុរឯកស័កក្នុងថ្ងៃ ឆ្នាំមថ្ងៃពេញមក</p>	<p>ឆ្នាំនៅប្រសព្វ ជួបគ្នាវិញនៃ ឆ្នាំវកវិលមក</p>	<p>ឆ្នាំនៅប្រសព្វ ជួបគ្នាវិញនៃ ឆ្នាំវកវិលមក</p>	<p>for eighteen years in total. We will meet again in the year of the monkey (1859– 1860) and return</p>
<p>២ ស្រុកចូលព្រៃ មនុស្សផងក្រាស់ក្រៃ មកសម្តែងមហាក្សត្រ ១០៣ ១ ២០០០ប៊ូរ្យ</p>	<p>រកគ្នាពីព្រៃ មនុស្សផងក្រាស់ក្រៃ ថ្វាយខ្លួនមហាក្សត្រ ។ ១០៥ សក្រាជពីរពាន់ច្រាំបី</p>	<p>រកគ្នាពីព្រៃ មនុស្សផងក្រាស់ក្រៃ ថ្វាយខ្លួនមហាក្សត្រ ។ ១០៥ សក្រាជពីរពាន់បី</p>	<p>to find each other from the forest. Great numbers of people will devote themselves to the king. 105 When reaching two-thousand three- hundred</p>
<p>៨០ ឆ្នាំមឱ្យ</p>	<p>រយប៉ែតសិបនៃ</p>	<p>រយប៉ែតសិបនៃ</p>	<p>and eighty years of the Buddhist era (1836–1837),</p>
<p>គិតខ្លួនប្រយោគ រុំពឹងជម្រកថ្ងៃ ប្រព្រៃបរមាគ្គ ព្រះធម្មសនស្ថិត ផ្លូវព្រះនិព្វាន ១០៤</p>	<p>នោះឲ្យប្រយ័ត្ន រុំពឹងជម្រកថ្ងៃ ប្រព្រៃបរមាគ្គ ព្រះសណ្ឋិត ផ្លូវព្រះនិព្វាន ។ ១០៦</p>	<p>នោះឲ្យប្រយ័ត្ន រុំពឹងជម្រកថ្ងៃ ប្រព្រៃបរមាគ្គ ព្រះសណ្ឋិត ផ្លូវព្រះនិព្វាន ។ ១០៦</p>	<p>you should be careful and take refuge in the Dharma, the best, the ultimate, the Lord that establishes the path to Nibbāna. 106</p>
<p>១// ឯកស័កអាញារី ព្រះកាលកាលរី មិនសែនកោតលាន</p>	<p>ឯអស់អាញារី ព្រះកាលកាល សល់សែនកោតលាន</p>	<p>ឯអស់អាញារី ព្រះកាលកាល សល់សែនកោតលាន</p>	<p>As for the power of Lord Time, there remains hundreds of thousands of millions,</p>
<p>ដែលមកសព្វឆ្នាំម ប្រចាំមគ្គប្រាន ដល់ខ្លួនពុំខាន ១៣ ព្រះវស្សារី ១០៥</p>	<p>ដែលមកសព្វថ្ងៃ ប្រចាំគ្រប់ប្រាណ ដល់ខ្លួនពុំខាន ដប់ប្រាំស្សា ។ ១០៧</p>	<p>ដែលមកសព្វថ្ងៃ ប្រចាំគ្រប់ប្រាណ ដល់ខ្លួនពុំខាន ដប់ប្រាំស្សា ។ ១០៧</p>	<p>to come to us everyday waiting for each person. It will come to us without fail in thirteen years. 107</p>
<p>១ ឥលូវ្នះ ម ២</p>	<p>ឲ្យរកមគ្គបួន</p>	<p>ឲ្យរកមគ្គបួន</p>	<p>Seek out the four fruits.</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ប្រយ័ត្នរាល់ខ្លួន មរោងចិត្តាវ រៀបរាប់ទៅមក ឆ្នាំមរករិកា	ប្រយ័ត្នសព្វខ្លួន ឆ្នាំរោងសត្វា ស័កតរៀងទៅ ឆ្នាំរក រកា	ប្រយ័ត្នសព្វខ្លួន ឆ្នាំរោងសត្វា ស័កតរៀងទៅ ឆ្នាំរក រកា	Be careful with yourself, in the year of the dragon, fourth of the decade (1834), until the year of monkey (1836–1837), the rooster (1837–1838)), the dog (1838–1839), and the pig (1839–1840),
ចំកុលទើព្វជាវ	ច កុរទើបជា	ច កុរទើបជា	until merit is perfected.
បំបូរ័បុនបាន ១០៦	បរិបូណ៌បុណ្យស្រេច ។ ១០៨	បរិបូណ៌បុណ្យស្រេច ។ ១០៨	108
័ សាធុះជុនផង ចូលស្តាប់ត្រាបត្រង ឡើងទ្រុបប្រាន ដំឡើងពុទ្ធសក្រាជ អាជ្ញាប្រធាន ខំមរៀនឱ្យបាន ដាក់ប្រានគ្របគ្នាវ ័ ១០៧	សាធុជុនផង ចូរអ្នកស្តាប់ហោង ដំណើរពុទ្ធសក្រាជ ទោះស្រីទោះប្រុស ឲ្យមានចិត្តខ្លាច ស្តាប់ពុទ្ធសក្រាជ ចិត្តកុំភ្លេចខ្លាច ។ ១០៩	សាធុជុនផង ចូរអ្នកស្តាប់ហោង ដំណើរពុទ្ធសក្រាជ ទោះស្រីទោះប្រុស ឲ្យមានចិត្តខ្លាច ស្តាប់ពុទ្ធសក្រាជ ចិត្តកុំភ្លេចខ្លាច ។ ១០៩	O, all you good people! Come and listen to the passage of the Buddhist era. Whether you are male or female, you should be scared as you listen to the Buddhist era— don't forget to be afraid.
ឱ្យគិតរុំម្តង ឱ្យគិតជុំនឹង សព្វទិទទេវាវ ថាខ្លួនអញ្ជើ ព្រះកាលកាលាវ ឡើងសព្វវេលាវ ទ្វាយបន្ទាចថ្ងៃ ១០៨	ឲ្យគិតជុំនឹង ហើយឲ្យរំពឹង សព្វទិទទេវាវ ជាខ្លួនអញ្ជើ ព្រះកាលកាលា ត្រឡប់គ្របវេលា ទាំងយប់ទាំងថ្ងៃ ។ ១១០	ឲ្យគិតជុំនឹង ហើយឲ្យរំពឹង សព្វទិទទេវាវ ជាខ្លួនអញ្ជើ ព្រះកាលកាលា ត្រឡប់គ្របវេលា ទាំងយប់ទាំងថ្ងៃ ។ ១១០	109 Think, reflect, and bring it to mind every single day, thinking, “Woe is me! Lord Time chastises me all the time, by night and by day.”
័ កុំឱ្យទោស្សោវ កុំឱ្យមោហោវ ចិត្តកាច់ថ្លៃវៃ លួចអ្សទ្រាំពូជន្ទ ប្រពន្ធកូនគ្រូនៃ កើតកោលារក្ស នៃនឹងរូបប្រាន ១០៩	កុំឱ្យលោភោ កុំឱ្យទោសា មោហោឡើយនៃ កុំលួចភរិយា កូនគេដីទៃ ត្រូវកាន់វិន័យ កុំភ័យឡើយហោង ។ ១១១	កុំឱ្យលោភោ កុំឱ្យទោសា មោហោឡើយនៃ កុំលួចភរិយា កូនគេដីទៃ ត្រូវកាន់វិន័យ កុំភ័យឡើយហោង ។ ១១១	110 Don't give in to greed. Don't give in to hate, or delusion at all. Don't steal others' wives or daughters. Uphold the Vinaya and you need not worry.
័ នឹងបានសំប្បាត្ត ម្សាប្រាក់សិទ្ធិស័ក្ស កែវកងសុរកាន នឹងផុះកុំណាប	ដល់កំណត់ចាត់ នឹងបានសម្បត្តិ សិទ្ធិស័ក្សផង ហសប្រាក់បរិបូណ៌	ដល់កំណត់ចាត់ នឹងបានសម្បត្តិ សិទ្ធិស័ក្សផង ហសប្រាក់បរិបូណ៌	111 For up until the established limit, you shall receive rewards, and honors, along with gold, silver,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ឡើយបាន ដេញបុនពុទ្ធានា ត្រូវក្នុងបំប៉ន ១១០	ពិទ្ធស្រុតហោង ត្បូងស្រុយកាន្តផង បូទុមភក្រីត្ន ។ ១១២	ពិទ្ធស្រុតហោង ត្បូងស្រុយកាន្តផង បូទុមភក្រីត្ន ។ ១១២	cat's eye gems, diamonds, sunstones, lotuses, rubies, 112
ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រងញាន ប្រោសប្រាសប្រទាន ជម្ពូដាវស្តានបុន ទុកឱ្យប្រសំប្រោស្ស សន្តោសនីគ្រុន	សំពត់កោសៃ ស្រូវកោដសាលី ផុះផុលកំណត់ ទិសទាំងប្រាំបី បារមីព្រះពុទ្ធ	សំពត់កោសិយ ស្រូវកោដសាលី ផុះផុលកំណត់ ទិសទាំងប្រាំបី បារមីព្រះពុទ្ធ	clothes from Indra, rice, food, and cotton. These will arise from the eight directions. The perfections of the [future] Buddha,
បំប៉នត្បោបុន កន្លឹងជម្ពូផ្លែ ១១១	ដោយបុណ្យផ្គងផ្គត់ មកលើសាសនា ។ ១១៣	ដោយបុណ្យផ្គងផ្គត់ មកលើសាសនា ។ ១១៣	together with cultivated merit, will glorify the dispensation. 113
ទ្វារកំប៉ុ សោឡើសព្រំម្នា ជុំព្រំឆ្នបនៃ ព្រះអង្គសន្តោស ប្រោសរួចព្យាក្រ ត្បោបុនញានញៃ ព្រះអង្គប្រោសប្រាស ១១២	ព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុណ្យ តេជះព្រះគុណ ទុកលើសិរសា ព្រះអង្គតែប្រោស ទាំងភពស្នតា សោឡើសព្រហ្ម ជម្ពូទីបនៃ ។ ១១៤	ព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុណ្យ តេជះព្រះគុណ ទុកលើសិរសា ព្រះអង្គតែប្រោស ទាំងភពស្នតា សោឡើសព្រហ្ម ជម្ពូទីបនៃ ។ ១១៤	The meritorious Buddha, and the power of his virtues— I raise them above my head. The Lord will save all in the worlds of the heavens, the sixteen Brahmā realms, and on our continent. 114
១ អូស្រីតូផងទ្វារប្បិ សឹងសុកសារប្ប ក្នុងចិតខ្សែមឱ្យាន កបជាសម្បត្តិ វត្តណារជុនធាន	ព្រះអង្គគង់នៅ ព្រះរូបឥតសៅ ល្អស្រស់ប្រពៃ ជ្រាបសព្វដោយញាណ សត្វមាននិស្ស័យ	ព្រះអង្គគង់នៅ ព្រះរូបឥតសៅ ល្អស្រស់ប្រពៃ ជ្រាបសព្វដោយញាណ សត្វមាននិស្ស័យ	The Lord will remain, his body unsullied, beautiful and lovely, informing all with insight, including beings with the karmic affinity
ទីទ្រុកប្រាស សុក្កល់កោត្តារ ១១៣	ជាព្រះវេនេយ្យ មនុស្សស្នតនាយ ។ ១១៥	ជាព្រះវេនេយ្យ មនុស្សស្នតនាយ ។ ១១៥	that allows them to be trained, both humans and gods. 115
កបនៅនីលក្ខ រូប្យរៀងសំបុស្តក្ខ ដូចព្រះច័ត្រាវ ល្អវល្លះត្រចំង អូស្រីអង្គា តតអ្វីគ្នានាវ	ប្រះពុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់ មានសម្ភារណាស់ រស្មីធាធាយ ផ្សាយដូចលតា រុក្ខាវល្លិវាយ ប្រោសសត្វសម្ភាយ	ប្រះពុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់ មានសម្ភារណាស់ រស្មីធាធាយ ផ្សាយដូចលតា រុក្ខាវល្លិវាយ ប្រោសសត្វសម្ភាយ	The [future] Buddha, our Master, has a vast store of merit. His bright radiance will spread out like the growing vines of plants, saving all beings,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

និងផ្ទុយផ្ទាល់បាន	សប្បាយសាន្តសុខ ។	សប្បាយសាន្តសុខ ។	such that they might find peace and bliss.
១១៤	១១៦	១១៦	116
១ ហេតុនោះគួរគិត	ដោយតេជញ្ញាណញ្ចេយ្យ	ដោយតេជញ្ញាណញ្ចេយ្យ	By the power of the wisdom
គួរឱ្យរំហែតុ	ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	of the Lord, our precious Master,
ធារម្មកងក្លាប្រាន	និរក័យនីទុក្ខ	និរក័យនីទុក្ខ	may there be no danger or pain
ដល់កើតកង្វីល	បច្ចុប្បន្ននេនៃ	បច្ចុប្បន្ននេនៃ	in the present,
កុសល ឱ្យខ្យាន	ប្រពៃបានសុខ	ប្រពៃបានសុខ	and may we achieve happiness
ទាន្តអ្នកដរមាន	ពីនេះតទៅមុខ	ពីនេះតទៅមុខ	from now on until
បុរសប្រមាណី	ដល់និព្វានហោង ។	ដល់និព្វានហោង ។	we reach Nibbāna.
១១៥			
១ ព្រះពុទ្ធមានបុរស			
ល្អវល្លៈលើស្សលុន			
ទ្រង់នៅលាភ្នំណារី			
វាក្សត្រូវត្រូវ			
ត្រាត់ត្រូវសោះសាវ			
ក៏ហ៍ផ្នែកអ្សអារី			
កាស្សាវមន្ទិល			
១១៦			
១ សូររើចៃចងចប្ប			
លាភ្នំញាណ្ឌត្រានគ្រប			
ដេរ្យបូរវាចារ			
អ្នកប្រាជ្ញតាកតេង			
សំតេងរោហារ			
ដេរ្យនៅប្រកាវ			
អំម្បវ័យណ្នះឯងហោង			
០ៗ ០១១			

**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» saṅkhep-k**

The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body!” abbreviated version

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 4 stanzas in *kākagati*, first four stanzas of **trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ» purāṅ-k**.

**UB038** 50b–51a braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ); **UB045** 94b–95a kaṇāby braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ); **UB049** 2b–3a braḥ trāy lakkha(ṅ) ñāṅ; **UB065** 34a braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) pūrāṅ

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ាន់, *Prajñā dharm pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 42.

Summary: Explanation of the three marks of suffering, impermanence, and not-self, followed by an exhortation to let go of anger.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
រូបំ ទុក្ខំ	Painful is this body!
ទុក្ខំ អើយ ទុក្ខំ ខ្លាំង	Such pain, great pain,
ខ្លាំង ពន់ ប្រមាណ	beyond measure!
ពី តូច ដល់ ធំ	From birth to death
ទុក្ខំ ក្នុង ប្រាណ	pain boils within,
ទុក្ខំ គតិ ស្រាក ស្រាន្ត	without relief,
ទុក្ខំ ដល់ ខ្លួន ក្ស័យ ។	and leads to death.
២	2
អនិច្ចំ ពុំ ស្ថិតិ	Impermanent! Not long,
ពុំ ស្មើ នៅ និស្ស	not long at all,
យិន យូរ ឡើយ នៃ	how transient!
ស្លាប់ ទៅ ជា ខ្មោច	Once dead, just your
អសោច ពេក ក្រៃ	foul corpse remains.
ផ្គី ផ្គង សាច់ សសៃ	Flesh, bone, and sinew
ជា ព្រះ ធរណី ។	all turn to earth.
៣	3
អនត្តា សុន្សសោះ	No self! Nothing,
សុន្សរូប សុន្សឈ្មោះ	no form, no name,
សុន្សសព្វសញ្ញា	no recognition,
សុន្សយសសក្ខិតា	no fame, no friends,
ធិការសោភី	no rank, beauty,
សុន្សអស់ ឥន្ទ្រីយ៍	vitality,
មាស ប្រាក់ អន្តរាយ ។	or wealth—all gone.
៤	4
ដូច្នេះ គួរ គិត	So reflect well;
គួរ រក្សា ចិត្ត	care for your heart.
ខឹង ឆាប់ រសាយ	Calm your anger,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចិត្តស្ងួតទន់ទោន      your heart soft like  
 ដួចកូននឹងម្តាយ      mother and child.  
 ខឹងឆាប់រសាយ      Calm your anger,  
 ខឹងបាត់ទៅហោង ។      let it all go.

**trailakkha(្រ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ dukkh rūp ruom khlāṃṃ»-k**

The three marks, beginning with “Painful is this body! The body’s pain binds tight”

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṇ

Khmer verse, 60 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB001** 27b–36a braḥ trailakkh pūr”āṅ; **UB014** 107b–118b lākkh’ñāṅ; **UB015** 107b–99a **UB016** 22b–27a; **UB026** 44a–47a dhaṛm sāvapād pad kākagati/dhaṛm trāy lakkhaṇ, with the note: ខ្ញុំបានដកស្រង់ពីក្រាំងបូរណជាយូរអង្វែងកាលណាសមហើយ លោកដាក់ឈ្មោះហៅថា (ធម៌សាវបាទ) តែពិនិត្យរៀនសូត្រទៅ ហៅធម៌ត្រ័យលក្ខណ ក៏បាន;

Khmer books: Unknown publication by Cāp Bin from 1962, referenced only in **UB026** (partial; stanzas 3–4 and 6–38 only).

Summary: Begins with an explanation of the impermanence of the body, focusing on the aging process of eyes, hair, teeth, ears, and skin, and how these parts of the body do not really belong to us. This is followed by a description of the futility of trying to halt the aging process, framed in conversations between us and the parts of our bodies, which do not listen to our pleas. The text then describes the binding of the body by Yama’s henchmen and the painful process of death. This is followed by an account of our corpse decaying in the forest, where it is feasted upon by beasts before rotting back into the soil. Then the text critiques our constant preening of the body to make it beautiful when we don’t realize its impermanence. Then the text transitions to focusing on the importance of relinquishing one’s attachments, for which the sincere practice of *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation is the only solution. *Kammaṭṭhāna* meditation is described as being like a precious treasure that should be stashed away carefully; in other words, the meditator who achieves the Dharma should be careful to conduct himself properly after his realization. The text closes with an extended set of admonitions on how to behave with modesty and respect, and final assurance that those who follow these admonitions will achieve the heavens.

<b>UB016</b>	<b>UB026</b>	<b>UB014</b>	Standardized	Translation
១ រឃុំទុក្ខិ	១ xxxx	១ រឃុំទុក្ខិ	១ <i>rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ</i>	1 Painful is this body!

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ទុក្ខីយទុកខ្លាំង	XXXX	ទុក្ខរូបរូមខ្លាំង	ទុក្ខរូបរូមខ្លាំង	The body's pain binds tight.
មូលមគតាកតែង	XXXX	ចូលមគតាកតែង	ចូលមគតាកតែង	It arrives and builds up
ពីតូចដល់ធំ	XXXX	ពីតូចដល់ធំម្ត	ពីតូចដល់ធំ	from minor to major,
ទុកទុំចំបែង	XXXX	ទុកទុំមចំបែង	ទុកទុំចំបែង	until pain throbs and flares.
ទុកទាល់តែអែង	XXXX	ទុកទាល់តែរងង	ទុកទាល់តែរងង	We face pain alone
ចះជាគ្រាំគ្រា	XXXX	ច្រោះជាម្មគ្រាំមគ្រា	ចាស់ជាគ្រាំគ្រា ។	in our feeble old age.
២	២	២	២	2
រឹងរូតទ្រូតទុក	XXXX	រឹងរូតព្រូតទុក្ខ	រឹងរូតព្រូតទុក្ខ	We are pressed by pain,
មិនទៀតទៅមុខ	XXXX	ព្រូតទៀតទៅមុខ	ព្រូតទៀតទៅមុខ	and squeezed even further,
នៅមានរោគ្គា	XXXX	ទៅមានរោគ្គា	ទៅមានរោគា	until we're sick,
រោគ្គិអោយក្ស័យ	XXXX	រោគ្គិតឱ្យខ្សែយ	រោគ្គិតឱ្យក្ស័យ	with illnesses that aim to destroy
ប្រឡាយជីវិត	XXXX	ប្រឡាយជីវិត	ប្រឡាយជីវិត	and eliminate our life,
ជីវិតមរណា	XXXX	ជីវិតមរណា	ជីវិតមរណា	taking us from life to death,
មរណសួនយីង	XXXX	មរណសួនទៅ	maranam សួនទៅ ។	and from death to nothing.
៣	៣	៣	៣	3
អិច្ចារ្យប្រៀប	អនិច្ចារ្យប្រៀប	អនិច្ចារ្យប្រៀប	អនិច្ចារ្យ <i>nīpam</i>	How impermanent is this body!
រូបពិតគ្មានតាំង	រូបពិតគ្មានតាំង	រូបពិតគ្មានតាំង	រូបពិតគ្មានតាំង	The body is without support
គ្មានទៀតនៅ	គ្មានទៀតនៅ	គ្មានទៀតនៅ	គ្មានទៀតនៅ	and cannot last long.
រមែងតែងតែ	រមែងតែងតែ	រមែងតែងតែ	រមែងតែងតែ	In every case,
ប្រាសប្រែអាសាវ	ប្រែប្រាណអាសាវ	ប្រាសប្រែអាសាវ	ប្រាណប្រែអាសាវ	the body changes to become
				foul,
សត្វស័សត្វខ្មៅ	សិនសរសិនខ្មៅ	ខ្សិនសរខ្សិនខ្មៅ	ក្សិណសក្សិណខ្មៅ	sometimes light, sometimes
				dark,
សំឡកសនសាក	សិនឡើងសិនស្រក ។	ខ្សិនឡើងខ្សិនស្រក	ក្សិណឡើងក្សិណស្រក ។	something rising, sometimes
				falling.
៤	៤	៤	៤	4
រឹងសំឡេង	រឹងសម្លេង	រឹងសំឡេង	រឹងសម្លេង	As for your voice,
ពីដើមរលីង	ពីដើមរលីង	កាលដើមរលីង	កាលដើមរលីង	it used to be clear,
ត្រឡប់សោតអប	ត្រឡប់លុះស្លក	ត្រឡប់លោស្លក	ត្រឡប់លុះស្លក	but now is hoarse.
ភ្នែកភ្លឺស្វនស្មោះ	ភ្នែកភ្លឺស្វនស្មោះ	ភ្នែកភ្លឺហ្មឆ្មោះ	ភ្នែកភ្លឺស្វនស្មោះ	Your bright eyes
មើលសព្វសុខ	មើលសព្វសុខ	មើលសុខសព្វ	មើលសុខសព្វ	once saw in all directions,
ល្អល្អល្អឡក	ល្អល្អល្អឡក	ល្អល្អល្អឡក	ល្អល្អល្អឡក	but now they've changed
ងងឹតស្វនស្មោះ	ងងឹតស្វនស្មោះ ។	ងងឹតស្វនស្មោះ	ងងឹតស្វនស្មោះ ។	and all goes dark.
៥	៥	៥	៥	5
សក់ខ្មៅរលីង	XXXX	សក់ខ្មៅរលីង	សក់ខ្មៅរលីង	You had glossy black hair,
រលីបលាបប្រេង	XXXX	រលីបលាបប្រេង	រលីបលាបប្រេង	coated in oil,
រលាងរលង	XXXX	រលាងរលង	រលងរលង	smooth and shiny;
លុះប្រែជាស្លវ	XXXX	លុះប្រែជាស្លវ	លុះប្រែជាស្លវ	now it turns gray,
មើលទៅស័ស្ត	XXXX	មើលទៅស័ស្ត	មើលទៅស័ស្ត	or even completely white,

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ស័ស្តុសជាប់ចុង	XXXX	ស័ស្តុះចប់ចុង	សស្តុះចប់ចុង	hoary down to the tips,
ដូចផ្កាបបុស	XXXX	ដូចផ្ការបបុះ	ដូចផ្កាបបុស ។	like a <i>papus</i> flower.
៦	៦	៦	៦	6
ធ្មេញរឹងប៉ឹងពា	XXXX	ធ្មេញរឹងបឹងពាន	ធ្មេញរឹងពឹងពាន	Your teeth once snugly gnashed together,
ទំពារអ្វីមិនលា	XXXX	ទុំពារអ្វីបាន	ទំពារអ្វីបាន	capable of chewing anything
នឹងខ្លះលុះ	XXXX	មិនលាន់ពូឱះ	មិនលាន់ពូឱះ	without a sound,
ប្រែហើមសាច	XXXX	លាប្រែហើមសេច	លុះប្រែហើមសាច់	but now the gums swell up
បានតិចរុញ្លោះ	XXXX	បាតិចរុញ្លោះ	បន្តិចរុញ្លោះ	and the teeth are shaky
រុញ្លើជ្រុះចុះ	XXXX	រុញ្លើជ្រុះចុះ	រុញ្លើជ្រុះចុះ	and loose, sliding down and
ជ្រុះចេញពីមាត់	XXXX	ជ្រុះចេញពីមាត់	ជ្រុះចេញពីមាត់ ។	falling out of your mouth.
៧	៧	៧	៧	7
នឹងបរិភោគ	XXXX	នឹងបរិភោគ	នឹងបរិភោគ	When partaking of
ចំណីអាហារ	XXXX	ចំណីអាហារ	ចំណីអាហារ	different kinds of food
ពិតពុំរលាត់	XXXX	ពិតពុំរលាត់	ពិតពុំរលាត់	you can't bite through anything.
ទាលតែវាឃ្មាន	XXXX	ទាលតែនឹងឃ្មាន	ទាលតែនឹងឃ្មាន	Fearing you'll go hungry
ពុំមានអាជអត់	XXXX	មិនហ៊ានអាចអត់	មិនហ៊ានអាចអត់	and not wanting to starve,
ខំប្រឹងសង្កត់	XXXX	ខំប្រឹងសង្កត់	ខំប្រឹងសង្កត់	you strain to chomp,
សង្កិនលេបទៅ	XXXX	សង្កិនលេបទៅ	សង្កិនលេបទៅ ។	mash, and swallow.
៨	៨	៨	៨	8
ត្រចៀកទាំងសង្ឃ	ត្រចៀកទាំងសង	ត្រចៀកទាំងសង	ត្រចៀកទាំងសង	The two ears
បែទៅជាថ្នង់	ប្រែជាថ្នង់ផង	ប្រែជាថ្នង់ផង	ប្រែជាថ្នង់ផង	can no longer hear;
ពុំមាននីតនៅ	មិនមាននឹងនូវ	មិនមាននឹងនៅ	មិនមាននឹងនៅ	they do not remain the same.
សាច់ស្បែកជ្រៀង	សាច់ស្បែកជ្រើរជ្រិត	ស្បែកសេច្នុងជិត	ស្បែកសាច់ជ្រើរជ្រិត	Your tight, supple skin
ជ្រួញ				
ស្លតទ្រាមចេញទៅ	ប្រែស្លតទ្រាមទៅ	ប្រែស្លតត្រាតត្រៅ	ស្លតទ្រាមចេញទៅ	is now loose and slack;
ស្នែសតែងត្រូវ	ដូច្នេះតើនឹង	ច្នេះតើនឹងត្រូវ	ច្នេះតើនឹងត្រូវ	if this is the case,
នឹងល្អត្រង់ណា	ហៅល្អត្រង់ណា ។	ថ្កាណូត្រង់ណា	ថាណូត្រង់ណា ។	where can beauty be found?
៩	៩	៩	៩	9
ប្រដាប់ក្នុងប្រាស	ប្រដាប់ក្នុងប្រាណ	ប្រដាប់ក្នុងប្រាស	ប្រដាប់ក្នុងខ្លួន	The parts of the body,
ដែលមានប៉ុន្មាន	ដែលមានប៉ុន្មាន	ដែលមានប៉ុន្មាន	ដែលមានប៉ុន្មាន	however many there are,
សឹងជាអនត្តា	សឹងជាអនត្តា	សឹងជាអនត្តា	សឹងជាអនត្តា	are all not the self.
ពិតពុំមែនសោះ	ពិតពុំមែនសោះ	ពិតពុំមែនសោះ	ពិតពុំមែនសោះ	They do not really
ជាបសុអាត្មា	ជាបសុអាត្មា	ជាបសុអាត្មា	ជាបសុអាត្មា	belong to you.
ស្រឡាញ់ឥតការ	ស្រឡាញ់ឥតការ	ស្រឡាញ់ឥតការ	ស្រឡាញ់ឥតការ	To love them is useless,
ឥតកេរកោះត្រើយ	ឥតកេរកោះត្រើយ ។	ឥតកេរកោះត្រើយ	ឥតកេរកោះត្រើយ ។	for they're not a legacy or a
				refuge.
១០	១០	១០	១០	10
ស្រឡាញ់សកណ្ត	ស្រឡាញ់សកណ្ត	ស្រឡាញ់សកណ្ត	ស្រឡាញ់សកណ្ត	You love your beautiful hair,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ខំប្រឹងអំមរី ថាឱសក់កើយ សក់កំអាលស្លូវ សក់នៅនេះហើយ សក់ពុំស្តាប់ឡើយ រឹងរិតតែស្លូវ	ខំប្រឹងអង្វីរ ថាឱសក់អើយ សក់កុំអាលស្លូវ សក់នៅនេះហើយ សក់ពុំស្តាប់ឡើយ រឹងរិតតែស្លូវ ។	ខំមប្រឹងអង្វីរ ថាឱសក្តើយ សក់កុំអាលស្លូវ សក់នៅនេះហើយ សក់ពុំស្តាប់ឡើយ រឹងរិតតែស្លូវ	ខំប្រឹងអង្វីរ ថាឱសក់អើយ សក់កុំអាលស្លូវ សក់នៅនេះហើយ សក់ពុំស្តាប់ឡើយ រឹងរិតតែស្លូវ ។	trying hard to entice it, saying, “Oh hair, don’t turn gray so quickly. Just remain like this.” But your hair doesn’t listen and only grows whiter and whiter.
១១ លោងលោម អង្វីរលួង លោម	១១ លួងលោមទន្តា	១១ ០ លួងលោមទន្តា	១១ លួងលោមទន្តា	11 Wooing your teeth,
ទាត្តាចំណេះតែថា ធ្មេញហើយអ្នកនៅ កំអាលរុឆ្មោះ រុឆ្មោះស្រុះចុះ ធ្មេញលុះមិននៅ ដូចដោយពាក្យថា	អង្វីរថែថា ធ្មេញអើយអ្នកនៅ កុំអាលរុឆ្មោះ ជ្រុះចុះចេញទៅ ធ្មេញមិញមិននៅ ដូចដោយពាក្យថា ។	អង្វីរថែថា ធ្មេញអើយអ្នកនៅ កុំអាលរុឆ្មោះ ជ្រុះចុះចេញទៅ ធ្មេញមិញមិននៅ ដូចដោយពាក្យថា	អង្វីរថែថា ធ្មេញអើយអ្នកនៅ កុំអាលរុឆ្មោះ ជ្រុះចុះចេញទៅ ធ្មេញមិញមិននៅ ដូចដោយពាក្យថា ។	you entice them thus: “Oh teeth, stay as you are. Don’t get loose or fall out too soon.” But your teeth don’t stay as per your command.
១២ អំរីទៅភ្នែក ស្នាតស្នើយំស្រែក បន់ស្រន់ទេវតា សូមអោយជួយព័ អង្វីរនេត្រា ចំណេះតែថា ភ្នែកហើយអ្នកអាណិត	អង្វីរទៅភ្នែក ស្នាតស្នើយំស្រែក បន់ស្រន់ទេវតា ឲ្យជួយសូមពរ អង្វីរទៅថា សំណេះចរចា ភ្នែកអើយអាណិត ។	០ អង្វីរទៅភ្នែក ស្នាតស្នើយំស្រែក បន់ស្រន់ទេវតា ឱ្យជួយសូមព័ អង្វីរនេត្រា សំណេះថែថា ភ្នែកក្ស័រអាណិត	អង្វីរទៅភ្នែក ស្នាតស្នើយំស្រែក បន់ស្រន់ទេវតា ឲ្យជួយសូមពរ អង្វីរទៅថា សំណេះចរចា ភ្នែកអើយអាណិត ។	12 Entreating your eyes, you continue to wail and cry, praying to the gods to offer a blessing. To entice the eyes you entreat them thus: “Dear eyes, take pity on me.
១៣ អ្នកនៅនឹងយើង កំអាលចចើង ចេញចុះអោយងងឹត ភ្នែកសោតមិនស្តាប់ ត្រឡប់រឹងរិត ស្រវាំងបាំងជិត មើលពុំយល់អង្គ	១៣ អ្នកនៅនឹងយើង កុំអាលចចើង ចេញចោលឲ្យងងឹត ភ្នែកមិញមិនស្តាប់ ត្រឡប់រឹងរិត ស្រវាំងបាំងជិត មើលពុំយល់អង្គ ។	១៣ ០ អ្នកនៅនឹងយើង កុំអាលចចើង ចេញចោលឲ្យងងឹត ភ្នែកសោតពុំស្តាប់ ត្រឡប់រឹងរិត ស្រវាំងបាំងជិត មើលមិនយល់អង្គ	១៣ អ្នកនៅនឹងយើង កុំអាលចចើង ចេញចោលឲ្យងងឹត ភ្នែកសោតពុំស្តាប់ ត្រឡប់រឹងរិត ស្រវាំងបាំងជិត មើលមិនយល់អង្គ ។	13 Stay with me. Don’t be rude and leave me in the dark.” But your eyes don’t listen. Instead they are increasingly blinded and obscured, unable to see forms.
១៤ ឃាត់ត្រចៀកជាក់  ត្រចៀកហើយអ្នក អាណិតកុំថ្លង់ អាសូរខ្ញុំកុំ មេត្តាបង្គំ	១៤ ឃាត់ត្រចៀកជាក់  ត្រចៀកអើយអ្នក អាណិតកុំថ្លង់ អាសូរខ្ញុំកុំ មេត្តាបង្គំ	១៤ ០ ឃាត់ត្រចៀកជាក់  ត្រចៀកក្ស័រអ្នក អាណិតកុំថ្លង់ អាសូរខ្ញុំកុំ មេត្តាបង្គំ	១៤ ឃាត់ត្រចៀកជាក់  ត្រចៀកអើយអ្នក អាណិតកុំថ្លង់ អាសូរខ្ញុំកុំ មេត្តាបង្គំ	14 You try to restrain your ears, saying: “Dear ears, please! Pity me; don’t go deaf. Have mercy on me. Be kind and help.”

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ត្រចៀកនឹងថ្នង មិនចាំអង្វរ ១៥	ត្រចៀកមិនចង់ មិនចាំអង្វរ ។ ១៥	ត្រចៀកមិនចង់ មិនចាំអង្វរ ១៥	ត្រចៀកមិនចង់ មិនចាំអង្វរ ។ ១៥	But your ears don't care and won't listen to your pleas. 15
សេណាព្រះបាទ មច្ចុកជ្រននាត់ មកដល់លយូត ចូលចោមចាប់កាយ ប្រញាយអ្វីអី ចាប់ក្បាលចាប់ក ចាប់ជើងចាប់ដៃ ១៦	សេនាប្របាទ មច្ចុកជននាថ មកដល់លយូរតរ ចូលចោមចាប់កាយ ប្រញាយអ្វីអរ ចាប់ក្បាលចាប់ករ ចាប់ជើងចាប់ដៃ ។ ១៦	សេណាព្រះបាទ មច្ចុកជ្រននាដ្ឋ មកលយូរតរ ចូលចោមចាប់កាយ ប្រញាយអ្វីអរ ចាប់ក្បាលចាប់ករ ចាប់ជើងចាប់ដៃ ១៦	សេនាព្រះបាទ មច្ចុកជននាថ មកដល់លយូត ចូលចោមចាប់កាយ ប្រញាយអ្វីអរ ចាប់ក្បាលចាប់ក ចាប់ជើងចាប់ដៃ ។ ១៦	The soldiers of the King of Death, the Lord of Men, storm in loudly. They enter to seize your body, grappling noisily, grasping your head and neck, clutching your arms and legs, 16
ចាប់ខ្នងចង្កេះ xកម្របេះ រហូតឡើយនៃ ខ្លះចាប់ដើមទ្រូង បេះដូងក្នុងផ្ទៃ  ខ្លះចាប់សសៃ ទាំងសាមសិបសង ១៧	ចាប់ខ្នងចង្កេះ ពិតពុំរបេះ ពុំរហូតឡើយនៃ ខ្លះចាប់ដើមទ្រូង បេះដូងក្នុងផ្ទៃ  ខ្លះចាប់សសៃ ទាំង៣០សង ។ ១៧	ចាប់ខ្នងចង្កេះ មិនមានរហូត ឡើយនៃ ខ្លះចាប់ដើមទ្រូង បេះដូងក្នុងផ្ទៃ  ខ្លះចាប់សសៃ ទាំង ៣០ សង ១៧	ចាប់ខ្នងចង្កេះ ពិតពុំរបេះ ពុំរហូតឡើយនៃ ខ្លះចាប់ដើមទ្រូង បេះដូងក្នុងផ្ទៃ  ខ្លះចាប់សសៃ ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។ ១៧	snatching your lower back, and never letting go or loosening at all. Some grip your chest, gripping the heart within your bosom. Some grasp your vessels, thirty-two in number. 17
ព្រូតគ្នាចោមចាប់ បានហើយប្រញាប់ យកខ្សែមកចង ខ្លះដឹកពីមុខ ពីឆ្វេងស្តាំផង xxxx ប្រជែងជើងគ្នា ១៨	ព្រូតគ្នាចោមចាប់ បានហើយប្រញាប់ យកខ្សែមកចង ខ្លះដឹកពីមុខ ខ្លះចាក់ពីខ្នង ពីឆ្វេងស្តាំផង ប្រជែងជើងគ្នា ។ ១៨	ព្រូតគ្នាចោមចាប់ បានហើយប្រញាប់ យកខ្សែមកចង ខ្លះដឹកពីមុខ ខ្លះដឹកពីខ្នង ពីឆ្វេងស្តាំផង ប្រតែងជើងគ្នារ ១៨	ព្រូតគ្នាចោមចាប់ បានហើយប្រញាប់ យកខ្សែមកចង ខ្លះដឹកពីមុខ ខ្លះដឹកពីខ្នង ពីឆ្វេងស្តាំផង ប្រជែងជើងគ្នា ។ ១៨	They band together to seize you. Having caught you, they hurry to use ropes to bind you. Some lead us from the front, some lead us from behind, from the left or the right, struggling with each other. 18
ញីញូតបោបែន រូបយើងឈឺណែន រងទុកគ្រំគ្រា របាកពេកពន ធ្ងន់ធ្ងរ រងទុកវេទនា ជានិរន្តរ ១៩	ញីញូកបុកបែន រូបយើងឈឺណែន ទល់ទុក្ខវេទនា លម្អាកពេកពន ទូរន់ទូរ ទុក្ខទោសវេទនា ជានិច្ចនិរន្តរ ។ ១៩	ញីញូកបុកបែន រូបយើងឈឺណែន ទុលទុក្ខគ្រំគ្រា លំមបាកពេកពន្ធ ទូរន់ទូរ រងទុក្ខវេទនា ជានិរន្តរ ១៩	ញីញូកបុកបែន រូបយើងឈឺណែន ទល់ទុក្ខវេទនា លំបាកពេកពន ទុរន់ទុរ ទុក្ខទោសវេទនា ជានិច្ចនិរន្តរ ។ ១៩	Crumpled and pummeled, how much your body hurts then! You bear such terrible pain, such extreme misery, and grow weak and feeble, bearing such suffering continuously. 19
កាន់តែចង្អៀត ក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងទៀត ស្ទើរឡើងដើមក ២០	កាន់តែចង្អៀត ក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងទៀត រុញស្ទើរចប់ខ្យល់ ២០	កាន់តែចង្អៀត ក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងទៀត ស្ទើរឡើងដើមក ២០	កាន់តែចង្អៀត ក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងទៀត ស្ទើរឡើងដើមក ២០	You feel increasingly compressed and feverish in your chest. Phlegm rises to your throat. 20



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ធាតុបួនថយចេញ ប្រដេញចាប់ចំ មាត់មិញច្រហរ អរកដកខ្យល់ ២០	ធាតុបួនថយចេញ ប្រដេញចាប់ចរ មាត់មិញច្រហរ អរកដកខ្យល់ ។ ២០	ប៊ូនធាតុថ្ងៃចេញ ប្រដេញចាប់ចរ មាត់មិញច្រហរ អរកដកខ្យល់ ២០	បួនធាតុថយចេញ ប្រដេញចាប់ចរ មាត់មិញច្រហរ អរកដកខ្យល់ ។ ២០	The four elements back off, having being chased away. The mouth is stuck open, struggling to breathe. 20
រឺនច្រមុះ តាំងតាញតុញតុះ ដង្ហើមមិនដល់ រលាមទឹកភ្នែក ច្របកច្របល់ ប្រាសប្រែកាយកល គិតអោយតែស្រួល ២១	រឺនច្រមុះ តានតឹងតុញតុស ដង្ហើមមិនដល់ រលាមទឹកភ្នែក ច្របូកច្របល់ ប្រាណាប្រាសរកខ្យល់ គិតឲ្យតែស្រួល ។ ២១	រឺនច្រមុះ តានតឹងតុញតុស ដង្ហើមមិនដល់ រលាមទឹកភ្នែក ប្របែបប្របល់ ប្រោះប្រែរកកល់គិត ឱ្យតែស្រួល ២១	រឺនច្រមុះ តានតឹងតុញតុះ ដង្ហើមមិនដល់ រលាមទឹកភ្នែក ច្របូកច្របល់ ប្រាណាប្រែរកខ្យល់ គិតឲ្យតែស្រួល ។ ២១	As for your nose, it grows stiff and clogged, as the breath can't reach it. With the remains of tears, you're confused all over, gasping for air in order to find ease. 21
វេយោធាតុx ថយសព្វសរសៃ រមិញរមូល ត្រឡប់ភ្នែកស្ទើត ប្រាសប្រើប្រែប្រួល ក្នុងកាយរុំជួល ប្រដេញដល់ក្បែរ ២២	វិយោធាតុវាយ ថយសព្វសរសៃ រមិចរមូល ត្រឡប់ភ្នែកស្ទើត ប្រាណាប្រើប្រែប្រួល ក្នុងកាយរុំជួល ប្រដេញដល់ខ្សែ ។ ២២	វេយោធាតុវៀ ថ្ងៃសព្វសរសៃ រមិជរមូល ត្រឡប់ភ្នែកស្ទើត ប្រាសប្រើប្រែប្រួល ក្នុងកាយរុំជួល ប្រដេញដល់ខ្សែ ២២	វេយោធាតុវាយ ថយសព្វសរសៃ រមិចរមូល ត្រឡប់ភ្នែកស្ទើត ប្រាណាប្រើប្រែប្រួល ក្នុងកាយរុំជួល ប្រដេញដល់ក្បែរ ។ ២២	The wind element retreats from all your vessels, which writhe and twist. The eyes roll back. The body struggles and contorts. You shake and quake inside, hounded to your death. 22
សំបូរ្យប្រក្ខាម ខ្មៅជិតជនជាប់ ខ្លួនអាក្រក់ពេកក្រៃ គេយកទៅចោល នៅក្នុងព្រៃផ្សៃ គេមិនអាចឲ្យ អាឡុសឡើយណា ២៣	សម្បូរ្យប្រក្ខាម ខ្មៅជិតជាដាម អាក្រក់ពេកក្រៃ គេយកទៅផ្ទុះ ចោលក្នុងព្រៃផ្សៃ គេមិនអាចឲ្យ អាឡុះឡើយណា ។ ២៣	សំបូរ្យប្រក្ខាម ខ្មៅជិតជ្ជាមជាម អាក្រក់ពេកក្រៃ គេយកទៅផ្ទុះ ចោលក្នុងព្រៃផ្សៃ មិនមានអាចឲ្យ អាឡុះឡើយណា ២៣	សម្បូរ្យប្រក្ខាម ខ្មៅជិតជាដាម អាក្រក់ពេកក្រៃ គេយកទៅប្ទុះ ចោលក្នុងព្រៃផ្សៃ មិនមានអាចឲ្យ អាឡុះឡើយណា ។ ២៣	Your mucus soon changes to become black and sticky, extremely disgusting. They pick you up and dispose of you in the woods without a care or a single regret. 23
រូបនៅមួយប្រាស ក្នុងព្រៃសសាន ម្នាក់ឯងអែក្កា មានតែសត្វទោច ចំពោចស្នាបា ចចកស្វានស្វា ឌីឡុរមៀមមុំ ២៤	រូបនៅមួយប្រាណ ក្នុងព្រៃសមសាន តែឯងឯងការ មានតែសត្វទោច សំពោចផ្កាបា ចចកស្វានស្វា ឌីឡុរមៀមមុំ ។ ២៤	រូបនៅមួយប្រាស ក្នុងព្រៃសសាន ម្នាក់ឯងឯងការ មានតែសត្វទោច សំពោចផ្កាបា ចចកស្វានស្វា ឌីឡុរមៀមមុំ ២៤	រូបនៅមួយប្រាណ ក្នុងព្រៃសសាន ម្នាក់ឯងឯងការ មានតែសត្វទោច សំពោចផ្កាបា ចចកស្វានស្វា ឌីឡុរមៀមមុំ ។ ២៤	The body stays with your vitality (prāṇa) in the charnel woods, completely alone, with only gibbons, civets, flying squirrels, wolves, dholes, dogs, night birds, brown owls, 24
ខ្លែងស្រាកខ្លែងខ្មោច	ខ្លែងស្រាកខ្លែងខ្មោច	ខ្លែងស្រាកខ្លែងខ្មោច	ខ្លែងស្រាកខ្លែងខ្មោច	wood owls, and osprey,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

យំឡើងលើល្ងោច ក្នុងព្រៃគុម្ព ទីទុយគ្នាតកែក	យំឡើងលើល្ងោច ក្នុងព្រៃទុរគុម្ព ទីទុយគ្នាតកែក	ស្រែកឡើងលើល្ងោច ក្នុងព្រៃទុគុម្ព ទីទុយគ្នាតកែក	ស្រែកឡើងលើល្ងោច ក្នុងព្រៃទុគុម្ព ទីទុយគ្នាតកែក	squawking and shrieking in the remote forest. Spotted owls, vultures, and crows
វាស្រែកវាយុំ នឹងហើយមកទុំ លើមែកព្រឹក្សព្រៃ ២៥	វាស្រែកវាយុំ គូកហើរមកទុំ លើ មែកព្រឹក្សព្រៃ ។ ២៥	ស្រៀវស្រែកយាសយុំម គូកហើរមកទុំម លើមែកព្រឹក្សព្រៃ ២៥	ស្រៀវស្រែកយាសយុំ គូកហើរមកទុំ លើមែកព្រឹក្សព្រៃ ។ ២៥	hoot and crow, calling each other to perch in the branches of the trees. 25
យំឡើងលើលាន់ គូរស្នូតស្នូត រន្ធតពែកក្រៃ ឱសត្តនេះឯង ជញ្ជែងរញ្ជឹកញើ រញ្ជឹកសព្វថ្ងៃ ចោមជាបរិវារ	យំឡើងលើលាន់ គូរស្នូតស្នូត រន្ធតកិតក៏យ ទាំងអស់នោះឯង ជញ្ជែងរញ្ជឹកញើ ញញឹកសព្វថ្ងៃ ចោមជាបរិវារ ។	០ យំឡើងលើលាន់ គូរស្នូតស្នូត ។ រន្ធតកិតក្រៃ អូសត្តនោះឯង ជញ្ជែងរញ្ជឹកញើ រញ្ជឹកសព្វថ្ងៃ ចោមជាបរិវារ	យំឡើងលើលាន់ គូរស្នូតស្នូត រន្ធតកិតក៏យ អស់សត្វនោះឯង ជញ្ជែងរញ្ជឹកញើ រញ្ជឹកសព្វថ្ងៃ ចោមជាបរិវារ ។	They scream noisily, giving rise to terror, fear, and shock. All of these creatures hastily peck and gnaw at you each day, surrounding you as your entourage. 26
ស្លាប់បីបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមជើងហើមដៃ ហើមអស់អាត្មា ភ្នែកលាន់ស្មោតឃ្នាត អន្តាតនោះណា ធ្លាក់ត្រឹមចង្ការ ដៃលាតក្រញ៉ាំង ២៧	ជួនបីបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមអស់ជើងដៃ ហើមអស់រូបា ភ្នែកលៀនខ្មោតខ្មាត អណ្តាតនោះណា ធ្លាក់ត្រឹមចង្ការ ដៃលាតក្រញ៉ាំង ។ ២៧	០ ឃ្នូបប្បិប្បិប្បិថ្ងៃ ហើមជើងហើមដៃ ហើមអស់អាត្មា ភ្នែកលាន់ខ្មោតខ្មាត អន្តាតនោះណា ធ្លាក់ត្រឹមចង្ការ ដៃលាតក្រញ៉ាំង ២៧	ឃ្នូបបីបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមជើងហើមដៃ ហើមអស់អាត្មា ភ្នែកលៀនខ្មោតខ្មាត អណ្តាតនោះណា ធ្លាក់ត្រឹមចង្ការ ដៃលាតក្រញ៉ាំង ។ ២៧	After three or four days, your hands and feet swell up. Your whole body bloats. Your eyes bulge and jut out. Your tongue falls out to cover your chin. Your arms splay out, 27
ក្រញ៉ាំងក្រញើត ក្រញ៉ាំងពើងពើត ក្រញ៉ាំងក្រញ៉ាំង សកប្រាងក្រញា ញក្រញើ ពោះប៉ោងប៉ុនថ្នាង ជើងយាសសង្វាង ដូចជាចេញយក្ខ ២៨	ក្រញើក្រញើត ក្រញើតពើងពើត ក្រញើញសក់ប្រាង ក្រញើក្រញើ ពោះប៉ោងប៉ុនថ្នាង ជើងយាសសង្វាង ដូចជាចេញយក្ខ ។ ២៨	០ ក្រញើក្រញើត ក្រញើតពើងពើត ក្រញើញសក់ប្រាង ក្រញើក្រញើញ ពោះពេញបុនថ្នាង ជើងយាសសង្វាង ដូចជាចេញយក្ខ ២៨	ក្រញើក្រញើត ក្រញើតពើងពើត ក្រញើញសក់ប្រាង ក្រញើក្រញើ ពោះប៉ោងប៉ុនថ្នាង ជើងយាសសង្វាង ដូចជាចេញយក្ស ។ ២៨	protruding and crooked, helter-skelter, as if in awful pain. Your disheveled hair sticks up, irked and indignant.  Your belly balloons like a jug. Your legs splay out, as if miming an ogre. 28
ទឹកឈាមទឹកខ្លុះ ទឹកសំអុយនោះ ហូរចេញត្រាក ពិធាទាំងបួន ផ្លូវៗឥតអាក់	ទឹកឈាមទឹកខ្លុះ ទឹកសំអុយនោះ ហូរចេញសរស្រាក់ ពិធារ៤ ផ្លូវៗឥតអាក់	០ ទឹកឈាមទឹកខ្លុះ ទឹកសំអុយនោះ ហូរចេញសរស្រាក់ ពិធារ៤ប្រាំបួន ផ្លូវៗឥតអាក់	ទឹកឈាមទឹកខ្លុះ ទឹកសម្មុយនោះ ហូរចេញសរស្រាក់ ពិធារ៤ប្រាំបួន ផ្លូវៗ ឥតអាក់	Blood, pus, and and other vile fluids flow out and drip from all nine holes, continuously and without end.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ដង្កូវគគ្រាក	ដង្កូវគគ្រាក	ដង្កូវគគ្រាក	ដង្កូវគគ្រាក	Worms burble within,
រុក្ខរូបនោះនៃ	រុក្ខរូបនោះនៃ ។	រុក្ខរូបនោះនៃ	រុក្ខរូបនោះនៃ ។	pockmarking your body.
២៩	២៩	២៩	២៩	29
រុយរោមចោមចុះ	រុយរោមចោមចុះ	រុយរោមចោមចុះ	រុយរោមចោមចុះ	Flies gather and swarm,
ស៊ីសំអុយនោះ	ស៊ីសំអុយនោះ	ស៊ីសំអុយនោះ	ស៊ីសម្បុយនោះ	feasting on the foul.
រញ្ជីករញ្ជាយ	រញ្ជីករញ្ជី	រញ្ជីករញ្ជី	រញ្ជីករញ្ជី	Before too long,
សួតសាច់អស់ទៅ	សាច់ស្បែកអស់ទៅ	សួតសេច្ចអស់ទៅ	សួតសាច់អស់ទៅ	your lungs and flesh are gone,
ផ្លឹងនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	ផ្លឹងនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	ផ្លឹងនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	ផ្លឹងនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	and only bones remain in the forest,
កប់កុកកប់ដី	កប់កក់កប់ដី	កប់ផុកកប់ដី	កប់កក់កប់ដី	buried in dirt and mud,
រលួយបាក់ទៅ	រលួយបាក់ទៅ ។	រលួយបាក់ទៅ	រលួយបាក់ទៅ ។	decaying and decomposing.
៣០	៣០	៣០	៣០	30
រូបហេតុដឹងជា	រូបហេតុតែជា	រូបនេះហេតុតែ	រូបនេះហេតុតែ	This body, since it is naught but
របស់ផងគេ	របស់ផងគេ	ជ្ជារបស់ផងគេ ។	ជារបស់ផងគេ	the property of others,
តើបាយាត់មិននៅ	ទើបយាត់មិននៅ	ទើបយាត់មិននៅ	ទើបយាត់មិននៅ	cannot be controlled.
ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	Hence you should reflect
កុំនិតអ្សយជ្រៅ	កុំនិតឲ្យជ្រៅ	កុំនិតឱ្យជ្រៅ	កុំនិតឲ្យជ្រៅ	and ponder deeply
អោយជ្រះឃើញផ្លូវ	ឲ្យជ្រះឃើញផ្លូវ	ឱ្យជ្រះឃើញផ្លូវ	ឲ្យជ្រះឃើញផ្លូវ	to clearly see the path;
កុំអោយរាយមាយ	កុំឲ្យរាយមាយ ។	កុំឱ្យរាយមាយ	កុំឲ្យរាយមាយ ។	don't be careless.
៣១	៣១	៣១	៣១	31
តែគិតក្នុងអង្គ	គួរគិតរូបអង្គ	គិតទៅតែអង្គ	គួរគិតរូបអង្គ	You should reflect on your body.
សង្កឹមផ្លិតផ្លង	ស្មាងស្អិតផ្លិតផ្លង	ស្អិតស្មាងផ្លិតផ្លង	ស្មាងស្អិតផ្លិតផ្លង	You clean it carefully,
ស្លៀកហូលជដាយ	ស្លៀកហូលជដាយ	ស្លៀកហូលជដាយ	ស្លៀកហូលជដាយ	slip on a lace-hemmed skirt,
ពាក់អាវព្រៃផ្កា	ពាក់អាវព្រៃផ្កា	ពាក់ឱវព្រៃផ្កា	ពាក់អាវព្រៃផ្កា	a floral-pattered silk shirt,
ក្រម៉ាឡើងលាយ	ក្រម៉ាលឿងលាយ	ខ្មាឡើងលាយ	ក្រម៉ាលឿងលាយ	and a blended yellow scarf.
ញញឹមញញាយ	ញញឹមពព្រាយ	ញញឹមញញាយ	ញញឹមពព្រាយ	You smile brightly
ថា ឯងគ្រាន់បើ	ថាឯងគ្រាន់បើ ។	ថាខ្លួនគ្រាន់បើ	ថាខ្លួនគ្រាន់បើ ។	and think you're not too bad.
៣២	៣២	៣២	៣២	32
កាត់សក់លាបប្រេង	សឹតសក់លាបប្រេង	កាត់សក់លាបប្រេង	កាត់សក់លាបប្រេង	You cut your hair and apply oil,
កោកាត់លាបប្រេង	កោកាត់លើង	កោកាលើង	កោកាត់លើង	shaving off parts entirely,
រលើលាបប្រេង	បញ្ជើចបញ្ជើ	បញ្ជើចបញ្ជើ	បញ្ជើចបញ្ជើ	so as to fawn and coax.
បញ្ជើចលាបប្រេង				
បញ្ជើចបញ្ជើ				
ពាតអាវគ្រឿងមាស	ពាក់អស់គ្រឿងមាស	ពាក់អស់គ្រឿងមាស	ពាក់អស់គ្រឿងមាស	You put on all kinds of gold jewelry,
ឱកាសគ្រាន់បើ	ឱ-កាសបន្សើរ	សោកាសប្រសើរ	ឱកាសប្រសើរ	glittering and gorgeous,
បង់បោយបញ្ជើ	ប្រាណាប្រសចុះដើរ	ប្រាសប្រាចុះដើរ	ប្រាណាប្រាសចុះដើរ	and go out for a walk,
ធ្វើខ្លួនញើញើ	បង់បោយញើញើ ។	បង់បោយញើញើ	បង់បោយញើញើ ។	swinging your arms gracefully.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	33
សំអាតឥតឈប់	សំអាតឥតឈប់	០ សំអាតឥតឈប់	សម្អាតឥតឈប់	You never stop preening,
តែរូបអាសុច្ច	តែរូបអាសុក	តែរូបអាសុប្ត	តែរូបអាសុក	but this body is foul,
អាសោចសៅម៉ង់	អាសោចសៅហ្មង់	អាសោចសៅម៉ង់	អាសោចសៅហ្មង់	filthy, and sullied.
មិនដឹងជាកាយ	មិនដឹងជួបកាយ	មិនគិតព្យាគ្យ	មិនគិតពីកាយ	You don't think how
រលាយហើយហោង	រលាយឡើយហោង	រលាយឡើយហោង	រលាយឡើយហោង	the body will decay.
ដូច្នេះអ្នកផង	ដូច្នេះអ្នកផង	ហែតុនោះអ្នកផង	ហែតុនោះអ្នកផង	Hence, good people,
ខំពិចារណា	ខំពិចារណា ។	ខំព្យាបាណា	ខំពិចារណា ។	strive to contemplate.
៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	34
អោយល្អិតក្នុងខ្លួន	ឲ្យល្អិតក្នុងខ្លួន	០ ឱ្យល្អិតក្នុងខ្លួន	ឲ្យល្អិតក្នុងខ្លួន	Reflect carefully within yourself,
ប្រាក់តមែនមួន	ប្រកតមែនមួន	ប្រកដួមែនមួន	ប្រាក់ដមែនមួន	truly and correctly,
ហើយខិយខិស្សា	ហើយឲ្យខស្សាហ៍	ហើយឱ្យខិសារ	ហើយឲ្យខស្សាហ៍	and then strive hard
ប្រៀនប្រដៅចិត្ត	រៀនប្រដៅចិត្ត	ប្រៀនប្រដៅចិត្ត	ប្រៀនប្រដៅចិត្ត	to train your heart
កំនិតខ្មារវខ្មារ	កំនិតឃ្មារវខ្មារ	កំគិតភ្លៀវភ្លា	កំគិតភ្លៀវភ្លា	to not think audaciously
ស្រើបដោយតន្ត្រា	ស្រើបដោយតណ្ហា	ស្រើបដោយតណ្ហា	ស្រើបដោយតណ្ហា	or be aroused by desire
ភ្នាំងភ្លេចស្មារតី	ភ្លេចភ្នាំងស្មារតី ។	ភ្នាំងភ្លេចស្មារតី	ភ្នាំងភ្លេចស្មារតី ។	and forget to be mindful
៣៥	៣៥	៣៥	៣៥	35
តែគិតអស់នេះ	ភ្លេចគិតរូបកាយ	០ ភ្លេចគិតរូបកាយ	ភ្លេចគិតរូបកាយ	or forget to contemplate the
				body,
លោកហៅគិតខ្លះ	គិតតែសប្បាយ	គិតតែរសាប្បាយ	គិតតែសប្បាយ	thinking only of pleasure
មិនត្រូវឡើយនៃ	និងរូបប្រុសស្រី	និងរូបប្រុសស្រី	និងរូបប្រុសស្រី	with male or female bodies,
និងមាសនិងប្រាក់	និងមាសនិងប្រាក់	និងមាសនិងប្រាក់	និងមាសនិងប្រាក់	or of gold and silver,
និងសាកយសយសក្តី	និងសក្តិយសថ្មី	និងសក្តិយសថ្មី	និងសក្តិយសថ្មី	of rising to new ranks,
និងសេះដំរី	និងសេះដំរី	និងសេះដំរី	និងសេះដំរី	or of horses, elephants,
ក្របីគោផង	ក្របីគោផង ។	ក្របីគោផង	ក្របីគោផង ។	buffalo, and cattle.
៣៦	៣៦	៣៦	៣៦	36
តែគិតអស់នេះ	តែគិតដូច្នោះ	០ តែគិតអស់នោះ	តែគិតអស់នោះ	All these thoughts—
លោកហៅគិតខ្លះ	លោកគិតហៅខ្លះ	លោកហៅគិតខ្លះ	លោកហៅគិតខ្លះ	the Master says they're wrong
មិនត្រូវឡើយហោង	ពុំត្រូវឡើយហោង	ពុំត្រូវឡើយហោង	ពុំត្រូវឡើយហោង	and not correct at all.
អស់ទាំងនេះផង	របស់នោះឯង	ទ្វារអស់នោះណា	ទាំងអស់នោះណា	All these thoughts
សឹងជាចំណង	តែមានចំណង	ទុកជាចំណង	ទុកជាចំណង	are attachments
ចំណាំចង់។	ចំណាំចង់	ចំណាំចង់	ចំណាំចង់	that tie and bind
និងចង្កេះ	កំនិងចង្កេះ ។	កំនិងចង្កេះ	កំនិងចង្កេះ ។	your neck, your waist,
៣៧	៣៧	៣៧	៣៧	37
ចំណងចង់ឆ្នើង	ចំណងកំជើង	០ ចំណងកំជើង	ចំណងកំជើង	and your ankles,
ចង់រឹតរូបយើង	ចង់រឹតរូបយើង	ចង់រឹតរូបយើង	ចង់រឹតរូបយើង	binding tight around your body.
កម្របេះ	ពិតពុំបេះ	កុំម្របេះ	កម្របេះ	It is difficult to loosen
រូបទពីកាយ	ពុំរូបទពីកាយ	រឹតព្យាគ្យ	រូបទពីកាយ	or free yourself from them,
មិនងាយទេម្ល៉េះ	មិនងាយទេម្ល៉េះ	មិនងាយទេម្ល៉េះ	មិនងាយទេម្ល៉េះ	not easy at all.

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កម្រអ្នកចេះ ស្រាយចំណងបាន	ត្រូវឯអ្នកចេះ ស្រាយឯចំណង ។	ក្រណាស់អ្នកចេះ ស្រាវចំណងបាន	ក្រណាស់អ្នកចេះ ស្រាយចំណងបាន ។	Very rare are those who can release themselves from these binds.
៣៨	៣៨	៣៨	៣៨	38
ឯកិច្ចនឹងស្រាយ ចំណងទាំងឡាយ	ឯអ្នកកិច្ចស្រាយ ចំណងទាំងឡាយ	ឯកិច្ចនឹងស្រាវ ចំណងទាំងឡាយ	ឯកិច្ចនឹងស្រាយ ចំណងទាំងឡាយ	As for the work of loosening these attachments,
អោយស្រឡះច្រាន ទាលតែអ្នករៀន	ឲ្យស្រឡះពីប្រាណ មានតែអ្នករៀន	ឱ្យស្រឡះច្រាន មានតែរករៀន	ឲ្យស្រឡះប្រាណ មានតែរករៀន	to be completely free,
របៀនកម្មថាន	ល្បឿនកម្មដ្ឋាន	រំបៀនកាំម្មថាន	របៀនកម្មដ្ឋាន	you have only to come study the lessons of <i>kammatthāna</i> ,
អោយចេះចាំបាន	ឲ្យចេះចាំបាន	ឱ្យចេះចាំបាន	ឲ្យចេះចាំបាន	so learn and remember them,
គ្រប់សែសិបប្រាំ ថ្នាក់ទៅហោង ។១៣	ទាំង៣០ ថ្នាក់ហោង	គ្រប់សែសិបប្រាំម	គ្រប់សែសិបប្រាំ ។	forty-five in all,
៣៩	៣៩	៣៩	៣៩	39
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យច្បាស់ក្នុងចិត្ត	ឲ្យច្បាស់ក្នុងចិត្ត	so that you are clear in your mind,
XXXX	XXXX	ហើយខំប្រព្រឹត្តិ	ហើយខំប្រព្រឹត្តិ	striving to practice
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រឹងប្រែងចំណាំ	ប្រឹងប្រែងចំណាំ	and trying to recall
XXXX	XXXX	ចំណេះពីគ្រូ	ចំណេះពីគ្រូ	the teachings of your master,
XXXX	XXXX	អាសូរផ្តោត	អាសូរផ្តោត	who pities and admonishes you
XXXX	XXXX	ខំឱ្យឈ្នះកាំម្ម	ខំឱ្យឈ្នះកម្ម	to try to vanquish the karma
XXXX	XXXX	។ កើតព្រោះចិត្ត	កម្មកើតព្រោះចិត្ត ។	that arises from your mind,
៤០	៤០	៤០	៤០	40
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យលះធម៌ប្រាំម	ឲ្យលះធម៌ប្រាំ	to let go of five mental states,
XXXX	XXXX	ធម៌ដែលជាកាំម្ម	ធម៌ដែលជាកម្ម	mental states that are karma,
XXXX	XXXX	កុំឱ្យមកជិត	កុំឱ្យមកជិត	and not allow them to come near
XXXX	XXXX	មកដល់អង្គកាយ	មកដល់អង្គកាយ	your own being.
XXXX	XXXX	ចោលឆ្ងាយកុំគិត	ចោលឆ្ងាយកុំគិត	Cast them off; don't think
XXXX	XXXX	យកមកឱ្យជិត	យកមកឱ្យជិត	of keeping them close,
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យជាប់នៅខ្លួន	ឲ្យជាប់នៅខ្លួន ។	as they'll get stuck to you.
៤១	៤១	៤១	៤១	41
XXXX	XXXX	បានគុណកែវគាប់	បានគុណកែវគាប់	Having achieved the virtues of the Jewels,
XXXX	XXXX	គិតកាន់ឱ្យខ្ជាប់	គិតកាន់ឱ្យខ្ជាប់	clutch them tightly
XXXX	XXXX	ធ្វើឱ្យនឹងនួន	ធ្វើឱ្យនឹងនួន	and make them secure.
XXXX	XXXX	គុំត្រាប់ពុទ្ធភាស	គុំត្រាប់ពុទ្ធភាស	Don't give in to foolishness,
XXXX	XXXX	វែងវាលចោលក្បួន	វែងវាលចោលក្បួន	forsake the manuals,
XXXX	XXXX	ភ្លេងចិត្តគិតកូន	ភ្លេងចិត្តគិតកូន	forget your mind, be vindictive,
XXXX	XXXX	គិតការល្បួចល្បួង	គិតការល្បួចល្បួង ។	or think of tricks and games.
៤២	៤២	៤២	៤២	42

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XXXX	XXXX	◦ អ្នកប្រាថ្នាបុរាណ	អ្នកប្រាថ្នាបុរាណ	The wise men of old could learn the Dharma, hold it respectfully, and make a vow to achieve it, being completely detached and striving vigorously to do good deeds. 43	
XXXX	XXXX	លោកានធម្មិបាន	លោករៀនធម៌បាន		
XXXX	XXXX	លោកកាន់កោតក្រែង	លោកកាន់កោតក្រែង		
XXXX	XXXX	លោកត្រាស់ម្រេច	លោកតាំងសម្រេច		
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យដេច ។សង្វែង	ឱ្យដាច់សង្វែង		
XXXX	XXXX	សង្វាតខំខែង	សង្វាតខំខែង		
XXXX	XXXX	តែកាកុសល	តែការកុសល ។		
៤៣	៤៣	៤៣	៤៣		
XXXX	XXXX	◦ រីកាមិនគាប់	រីកាមិនគាប់		Evil deeds they forsook beyond number. They took up [the Dharma] and established it in their body, striving to achieve the paths and the fruits.
XXXX	XXXX	លោល្មើមិនរាប់	លុះល្មើមិនរាប់		
XXXX	XXXX	យកមកដម្កល់	យកមកដម្កល់		
XXXX	XXXX	ទុកដាក់នៅកាយ	ទុកដាក់នៅកាយ		
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រែងម្យ៉ាមគ្គផល	ប្រែងហ្មាយមគ្គផល		
XXXX	XXXX	លោកកាត់កង្វល	លោកកាត់កង្វល	These masters cut off their doubts and their actions of sin and pain. 44	
XXXX	XXXX	អំពើទោសទុក្ខ	អំពើទោសទុក្ខ ។		
៤៤	៤៤	៤៤	៤៤		
XXXX	XXXX	◦ លោកព្រួមព្រួញខ្លួន	លោកប្រួមព្រួញ	The masters sharpened their arrow, the arrow of the mind, and made it firm. They thought only of progressing in their reflections and contemplations, meditating to find the country, the land of bliss, lest they never arrive. 45	
XXXX	XXXX	ព្រួញចិត្តនឹកនួន	ព្រួញចិត្តនឹកនួន		
XXXX	XXXX	នឹកតែទៅមុខ	នឹកតែទៅមុខ		
XXXX	XXXX	រុំព្យែរុំពឹង	រុំព្យែរុំពឹង		
XXXX	XXXX	ជុំនឹងរកស្រុក	ជុំនឹងរកស្រុក		
XXXX	XXXX	រកភូមិដែលសុខ	រកភូមិដែលសុខ		
XXXX	XXXX	ក្រែងដល់មិនដល់	ក្រែងដល់មិនដល់ ។		
៤៥	៤៥	៤៥	៤៥		
XXXX	XXXX	◦ បើអ្នកណាបាន	បើអ្នកណាបាន	Should you be able to learn the august <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i> , that would be most excellent, Once you have mastered it, don't doubt it, good people. Try hard to establish it firmly in your body. 46	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន	រៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន		
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រសើរសួសល់	ប្រសើរសួគ៌សល់		
XXXX	XXXX	បានដឹងច្បាស់ហើយ	បានដឹងច្បាស់ហើយ		
XXXX	XXXX	អ្នកអើយកុំឆ្ងល់	អ្នកអើយកុំឆ្ងល់		
XXXX	XXXX	ខំមតិគ្គដម្កល់	ខំមតិគ្គដម្កល់		
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យខ្ជាប់ក្នុងខ្លួន	ឱ្យខ្ជាប់ក្នុងខ្លួន ។		
៤៦	៤៦	៤៦	៤៦		

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XXXX	XXXX	◦ដូចកល់ម្សប្រាក់	ដូចកល់មាសប្រាក់	It is just like gold or silver
XXXX	XXXX	រកបានទុកដាក់	រកបានទុកដាក់	that you would find and then
XXXX	XXXX	លល្អល់ក្នុងបំពង	លល្អល់ក្នុងបំពង	hide in a secret cache
XXXX	XXXX	នៅនាទីស្ងាត់	នៅនាទីស្ងាត់	in a quiet place.
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រយាត់ថ្លៃជូន	ប្រយ័ត្នថ្លៃជូន	You'd be careful and take care
				of it,
XXXX	XXXX	រក្សាឱ្យមួន	រក្សាឱ្យមួន	protecting it steadfastly
XXXX	XXXX	ទុកចិញ្ចឹមក្ស	ទុកចិញ្ចឹមកាយ ។	as the support for your body.
៤៧	៤៧	៤៧	៤៧	47
XXXX	XXXX	បើបានហើរណា ។	បើបានហើរណា	Once you had found it,
XXXX	XXXX	មិនមើលព្យាបាវ	មិនមើលព្យាបាល	if you didn't take care of it,
XXXX	XXXX	ដាក់ចោលខ្នាត់ខ្នាយ	ដាក់ចោលខ្នាត់ខ្នាយ	throwing it away or scattering it
				around,
XXXX	XXXX	ចំណេរទ្រព្យនោះ	ចំណេរទ្រព្យនោះ	after a while those riches
XXXX	XXXX	នឹងលុះអន្តរា	នឹងលុះអន្តរា	would disappear
XXXX	XXXX	វិនាសខានបាយ	វិនាសខានបាយ	and be destroyed and dispersed,
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រកដ្ឋពុំឃ្លាត	ប្រាកដពុំឃ្លាត ។	truly and without fail.
៤៨	៤៨	៤៨	៤៨	48
XXXX	XXXX	◦ដូចអ្នកដែលបាន	ដូចអ្នកដែលបាន	This is just like someone who
				achieves
XXXX	XXXX	ព្រះធម្មិត្រាសប្រាន	ព្រះធម៌ិត្រាសប្រាណ	the holy Dharma and saves
				himself,
XXXX	XXXX	ហើរឥតមាយាត្ត	ហើរឥតមាយាទ	and yet does not conduct
				himself properly,
XXXX	XXXX	អាងតែខ្លួនបាន	អាងតែខ្លួនបាន	relying only what he has
				achieved
XXXX	XXXX	មិនមានខ្មីឃ្លាត	មិនមានខ្មីឃ្លាត	but failing to be zealous,
XXXX	XXXX	សង្កែតសង្កិត	សង្កែតសង្កិត	to be stirred, to strive,
XXXX	XXXX	ខាស់ខំមរក្សា	ខំមរក្សា ។	and to endeavor to maintain it.
៤៩	៤៩	៤៩	៤៩	49
XXXX	XXXX	នឹកថាខ្លួនបាន	នឹកថាខ្លួនបាន	He assumes that since he
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនព្រះកម្មជាន	រៀនព្រះកម្មជាន	studied the august <i>kammattāna</i> ,
XXXX	XXXX	សម្រេចអាចារ	សម្រេចអាចារ	became a master,
XXXX	XXXX	កម្មព្យាវលាយ	កម្មព្យាវលាយ	and melted away vengeful
				karma
XXXX	XXXX	ខ្នាត់ខ្នាយហើរណា	ខ្នាត់ខ្នាយហើរណា	completely,
XXXX	XXXX	ធ្វើធ្វើសកាយ	ធ្វើធ្វើសកាយ	he can be careless in his body
XXXX	XXXX	ដោយគិតមិនដល់	ដោយគិតមិនដល់	and not think things through.
៥០	៥០	៥០	៥០	50

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XXXX	XXXX	◦ តែគិតខុសហើយ	តែគិតខុសហើយ	But to think like this is wrong, for one never escapes sin. Don't doubt this, good people! You take on this sin since you aren't aware and don't care to maintain your body and mind correctly. 51
XXXX	XXXX	បាបមិនលែងឡើយ	បាបមិនលែងឡើយ	
XXXX	XXXX	ណាអ្នកកុំឆ្ងល់	ណាអ្នកកុំឆ្ងល់	
XXXX	XXXX	បានផ្កាបាប់នោះ	បានជាបាបនោះ	
XXXX	XXXX	ពីព្រោះមិនស្គាល់	ពីព្រោះមិនស្គាល់	
XXXX	XXXX	មិនគិតដម្កល់	មិនគិតដម្កល់	
XXXX	XXXX	ក្បតិតឱ្យត្រូវ	កាយគិតឱ្យត្រូវ ។	
៥១	៥១	៥១	៥១	
XXXX	XXXX	◦ វិស្សរាជធម្មិ	វិស័យរៀនធម៌	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនចិត្តឱ្យល្អ	រៀនចិត្តឱ្យល្អ	
XXXX	XXXX	កុំឱ្យអាស្រូវ	កុំឱ្យអាស្រូវ	In studying the Dharma, studying the mind to make it good. Don't let it be sullied. Learn to preserve truthfulness, and maintain forbearance. Learn to reflect and find the path of kindness and compassion. 52
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកាន់សេច្នុង	រៀនកាន់សច្ច៍	
XXXX	XXXX	ត្លាំខន្តីក្បវ	តាំងខន្តីក្បវ	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនរិះរកផ្លូវ	រៀនរិះរកផ្លូវ	
XXXX	XXXX	មេត្តាករុណា	មេត្តាករុណា ។	Learn to take care of yourself, to be settled and steady, in accordance with your master's method. Learn not to goof around or be silly like a monkey. Learn not to walk swinging your arms boastfully. 53
៥២	៥២	៥២	៥២	
XXXX	XXXX	◦ រៀនរក្សាខ្លួន	រៀនរក្សាខ្លួន	
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យនឹងឱ្យនួន	ឱ្យនឹងឱ្យនួន	
XXXX	XXXX	ត្នាបែបអាចារ្យ	តាមបែបអាចារ្យ	Learn how to wear your sarong in accordance with the proper way. Learn to not boast or praise the ghosts of the forest. 54
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំឱ្យកលេង	រៀនកុំឱ្យកលេង	
XXXX	XXXX	កុំផ្លែដូចស្វា	កុំប្លែងដូចស្វា	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំយាត្រា	រៀនកុំយាត្រា	
XXXX	XXXX	បង់បោយក្មេងក្មាង	បង់បោយក្មេងក្មាង ។	Learn to speak softly. Don't let your voice leak out with loud sounds. Learn how to wear your sarong in accordance with the proper way. Learn to not boast or praise the ghosts of the forest. 54
៥៣	៥៣	៥៣	៥៣	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនស្តីយតិចៗ	រៀនស្តីតិចៗ	
XXXX	XXXX	កុំឱ្យឮលេច	កុំឱ្យឮលេច	
XXXX	XXXX	សំម្លេងក្នុងក្លាង	សម្លេងក្នុងក្លាង	Learn to eat politely, and only of food that is free of fault and fear.
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនស្លៀកសំពត	រៀនស្លៀកសំពត	
XXXX	XXXX	ត្រូវបែបយ៉ាង	ត្រូវបែបយ៉ាង	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំអូតអាង	រៀនកុំអូតអាង	
XXXX	XXXX	សរសើរខ្មោចព្រៃ	សរសើរខ្មោចព្រៃ ។	Learn to eat politely, and only of food that is free of fault and fear.
៥៤	៥៤	៥៤	៥៤	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនស៊ីឱ្យសម	រៀនស៊ីឱ្យសម	
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យសុតផ្លូវចំ	ឱ្យសុតផ្លូវចំ	
XXXX	XXXX	ណឺរិះទៀតព្រៃ	ណឺរិះទោសភ័យ	



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XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំក្បាចា	រៀនកុំព្យាបាទ	Learn to not be hostile or negligent toward one's overlords (ទេវតា).
XXXX	XXXX	ប្រមាតចៅទៀ	ប្រមាទចៅទៀ	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំបំភ្លៃ	រៀនកុំបំភ្លៃ	Learn to not ruffle or mess up others' affairs.
XXXX	XXXX	បំភ្លាត់កេចគេ	បំភ្លាត់កិច្ចគេ ។	
៥៥	៥៥	៥៥	៥៥	55
XXXX	XXXX	◦ រៀនកាន់កុំវាយ	រៀនកាន់កុំវាយ	Learn the restraint of not hitting living beings, or threatening and cursing them.
XXXX	XXXX	សព្វសត្វសំបូរ	សព្វសត្វសម្បាយ	
XXXX	XXXX	កុំហែងហឿយដេរ	កុំហែងហឿយដេរ	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកាន់កុំឈ្លោះ	រៀនកាន់កុំឈ្លោះ	Learn the restraint of not fighting, arguing, or quarreling, or searching for others' tricks and trying to sue each other.
XXXX	XXXX	ត្រគោះរិះរេ	ត្រគោះរិះរេ	
XXXX	XXXX	រិះរកកល់គ្រឿ	រិះរកកលគេ	56
XXXX	XXXX	គុនគិតប្តឹងប្តល់	គុនគិតប្តឹងផ្តល់ ។	
៥៦	៥៦	៥៦	៥៦	
XXXX	XXXX	◦ រៀនស្តាប់ទេសនា	រៀនស្តាប់ទេសនា	Learn to listen to sermons. Take up the Dharma as your meditation object, to find the paths and the fruits.
XXXX	XXXX	យកធម្មិញ្ញាណ	យកធម៌ជាអា-	
XXXX	XXXX	វិម្មរកមគ្គផល	វិម្មរកមគ្គផល	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនស្មានសីល	រៀនសមាទានសីល	Learn to take the precepts. Don't be lazy and indolent.
XXXX	XXXX	កុំខ្ជិលសល់វ័ល	កុំខ្ជិលសល់វ័ល	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនសាងកុសល	រៀនសាងកុសល	Learn to cultivate merit and distribute your wealth as charity.
XXXX	XXXX	ចាយទ្រព្យវិញ្ញាណ	ចាយទ្រព្យជាទាន ។	
៥៧	៥៧	៥៧	៥៧	57
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកាត់ញូរ	រៀនកតញូរ	Learn to be grateful, to know your debts to your teachers,
XXXX	XXXX	ឱ្យដឹងគុណគ្រូ	ឱ្យដឹងគុណគ្រូ	
XXXX	XXXX	មេបាព្រៀងលាន	មេបាព្រៀងលាន	ancestors, and neighbors. Learn to be patient,
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកាន់អំណត់	រៀនកាន់អំណត់	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនអត់រៀនឃ្នាន	រៀនអត់រៀនឃ្នាន	to be poor, to be hungry. Learn to not abuse or swindle others.
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនកុំបំពាន	រៀនកុំបំពាន	
XXXX	XXXX	បំពោធក្រឿងងង ០	បំពោធក្រឿងងង ។	58
៥៨	៥៨	៥៨	៥៨	
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនទ្រព្យឱ្យស្គាល់	រៀនទោសឱ្យស្គាល់	Learn faults so that you are aware of them completely at all times.
XXXX	XXXX	ដកបរៀងរាល់	ដកបរៀងរាល់	
XXXX	XXXX	កាំម្តិយសម្តែង	គម្តិរសម្តែង	Uphold all of

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

XXXX	XXXX	កាន់បានគ្រូបល្បី	កាន់បានគ្រប់ហើយ	the scriptures and teachings.
XXXX	XXXX	អ្នកកើតកុំស្វែង	អ្នកអើយកុំស្វែង	Good people, you need not be worried
XXXX	XXXX	កុំស្នើបស្សវត្រែង	កុំស្នើបស្សវត្រែង	or feel uneasy
XXXX	XXXX	ទៅមុខឡើយណាវ័	ទៅមុខឡើយណា ។	for the future,
៥៩	៥៩	៥៩	៥៩	59
XXXX	XXXX	បើពិត្យដុំព្វោះ	បើពិតចំពោះ	for, if you can learn all this,
XXXX	XXXX	រៀនបានដូច្នោះ	រៀនបានដូច្នោះ	truly and honesty,
XXXX	XXXX	កុំគិតសង្ការ	កុំគិតសង្ការ	you need not entertain doubts—
XXXX	XXXX	ចង់ស្និតជាន់ព្រហ្ម	ចង់បិតមានព្រហ្ម	if you wish to reside in the Brahmā realm,
XXXX	XXXX	ឬស្មានទេវតា	ឬមានទេវតា	or the realm of the heavens,
XXXX	XXXX	ឬស្មានមនុស្សា ។	ឬមានមនុស្សា	or in the realm of humans,
XXXX	XXXX	សឹងសិរិទ្ធិ ១ ៧ ១ ៧	សឹងសិរិទ្ធិ ។	your wish shall be fulfilled.
៦០	៦០	៦០ (in <i>jriani</i> script)	៦០	60
XXXX	XXXX	បំបូរចែងចប់	បរិបូណ៌ចែងចប់	Completely expressed,
XXXX	XXXX	លក្ខន្តិញ្ញាណគ្រាន់គ្រប់	លក្ខណញ្ញាណគ្រាន់គ្រប់	this is the full “Knowledge of the Marks” ( <i>lakḥhaṇāñāṇa</i> )
XXXX	XXXX	ដោយបូរវាចា	ដោយពោលវាចា	in the complete words
XXXX	XXXX	អ្នកប្រាចតាត្ថំតែង	អ្នកប្រាជ្ញតាក៏តែង	composed by the wise and
XXXX	XXXX	សម្តែងវោហារ	សម្តែងវោហារ	expressed eloquently
XXXX	XXXX	ដោយនៅប្រកា	ដោយនូវប្រកា	in these ways
XXXX	XXXX	អំបាលនោះឯងហោង	អម្បាលនោះឯងហោង ។	that end right here.

**trailakkha(ṅ) «rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ rūpaṃ aniccaṃ»-k**

The three marks, beginning with “The body is painful, the body is impermanent”

Khmer verse, 39 stanzas in *kākagati*, 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

Leporello: **UB028** 43a–51a trai lakkh/dharm braḥ trāy lakkh; **UB033** 45b–52a braḥ lakhañāṇ/braḥ traiy° lakkhañāṇ ṭoy° sankhep

Summary: Explanation of the impermanent and non-self nature of the body, followed by description of how the mind parts from the body at death. The text then focuses on the aging and decay of the sense organs. This is followed by an exhortation to practice and take refuge in the Three Jewels, for death can come at any moment, is common to all, and is the general condition of *saṃsāra*. The text closes with a brief description of the winds of the Vinaya and the Abhidhamma at the moment of death, and an assurance that those who practice meditation shall, in a flash of brilliance, soar to the heavens upon their deaths.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

UB028	UB033	Edition	Translation
១	១	១	1
រូបំទុក្ខំ ប្បុអនិច្ចំ រូបំអនត្តា រូប្យើយរូបំ ទុក្ខេយទុក្ខខ្លាំង ទុក្ខពន្ធប្រមាណ ទុក្ខតាំងពីតូច លុះដល់ខ្លួនធំ ទុក្ខដ៏ក្នុងប្រាណ ទុក្ខឥតស្រាកស្រាន ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ	រូបំទុក្ខំ រូប្បុអនិច្ចំ រូបំអនត្តា រូប្យើយរូបំ រូប្យើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង ខ្លាំងពុនប្រមាណ ពីតូចដល់ធំ ទុក្ខទុំក្នុងប្រាណ ទុក្ខឥតស្រាកស្រាន ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនខ្សែ ។	<i>rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ</i> <i>rūpaṃ aniccaṃ</i> <i>rūpaṃ anattā</i> <i>រូបអើយ rūpaṃ</i> <i>រូបអើយទុក្ខខ្លាំង</i> <i>ខ្លាំងពន់ប្រមាណ</i> <i>ពីតូចដល់ធំ</i> <i>ទុក្ខដ៏ក្នុងប្រាណ</i> <i>ទុក្ខឥតស្រាកស្រាន</i> <i>ទុក្ខដល់ខ្លួនក្ស័យ</i>	The body is painful, the body is impermanent, the body is without self. O the body, the body! The body is so painful, beyond measure! From birth to death pain boils within, without relief, and leads to death.
២	២	២	2
អនិច្ចំពុំបីត ពុំថេរនៅនិត យិនយូរឡើយនៃ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អាសោចពេកក្រៃ ផ្អែងសាច់សរសៃ ជាព្រះធរណី	អនិច្ចំពុំបីត ពុំថេរនៅនិត យិនយូរល្បើនៃ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អាសោចពេកក្រៃ ប្តឹងសេចសរសៃ ជាព្រះធរណី ។	<i>អនិច្ចំពុំស្ថិត</i> <i>ពុំស្តេរនៅនិត្យ</i> <i>យិនយូរឡើយនៃ</i> <i>ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច</i> <i>អសោចពេកក្រៃ</i> <i>ផ្អែងសាច់សរសៃ</i> <i>ជាព្រះធរណី ។</i>	Impermanent! Not long, not long at all, how transient! Once dead, just your foul corpse remains. Flesh, bone, and sinew all turn to earth.
៣	៣	៣	3
អនត្តាសួនសោះ សួនរូបសួនឈ្មោះ សួនមគ្គសញ្ញី សួនយស្សក្តា ធីការស្វកិ សួនកេរ្តិ៍ក្តីម្តី មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ	អនត្តាសួនសោះ សួនរូបសួនឈ្មោះ សួនបញ្ចត្តន្ត្រី សួនយសក្ខិដា ធីតាសោកិ សួនកេរ្តិ៍ក្តី មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។	<i>អនត្តាសួនសោះ</i> <i>សួនរូបសួនឈ្មោះ</i> <i>សួនបញ្ចត្តន្ត្រី</i> <i>សួនយសសក្ខិតា</i> <i>ធីការសោកិ</i> <i>សួនកេរ្តិ៍ក្តីដម្តី</i> <i>មាសប្រាក់អន្តរាយ ។</i>	No self! Nothing, no form, no name, no intelligence, no fame, no friends, no rank, beauty, no middle-class status or wealth—all gone.
៤	៤	៤	4
អនត្តាបង់បាត់ អនត្តាសួនស្ងាត់ ប្រាសប្រាត់ឃ្នាតឆ្ងាយ ស្លាប់ឈឹងបាត់សួន ប្រាត់កូនប្រាត់ម្តាយ	អនត្តាបង់បាត់ អនត្តាសួនស្ងាត់ ប្រាត់ប្រាសឃ្នាតឆ្ងាយ ប្រាត់បាត់សួនឈឹង ប្រាត់កូនប្រាត់ម្តាយ	<i>អនត្តាបង់បាត់</i> <i>អនត្តាសួនស្ងាត់</i> <i>ប្រាសប្រាត់ឃ្នាតឆ្ងាយ</i> <i>ស្លាប់ឈឹងបាត់សួន</i> <i>ប្រាត់កូនប្រាត់ម្តាយ</i>	No self—all is lost. No self—a silent void, cast off far away, dying in utter silence, cleft from your children, cleft from your wife,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រាត់ស្ដីនិយាយ	ព្រាត់ស្ដីនិយាយ	ព្រាត់ស្ដីនិយាយ	cleft from speech,
ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន	ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន ។	ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន ។	cleft from this realm.
៥	៥	៥	5
អនត្តាសូនប្រាស់	អនត្តាសូនប្រាស់	អនត្តាសូនប្រាស់	No self—barren and bereft.
សូនបាត់ពីផ្ទះ	បាទសូនពីផ្ទះ	សូនបាត់ពីផ្ទះ	All from your home is lost.
អនត្តាអន្តរធាន	ព្រាត់អស់ធុនធាន	អនត្តាអន្តរធាន	No self—destruction,
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កូនចៅ	ព្រាត់អស់កូនចៅ	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កូនចៅ	parted from your children,
ព្រាត់ផៅសន្តាន	ព្រាត់ផៅសន្តាន	ព្រាត់ផៅសន្តាន	parted from your kin,
ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន	ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន	ព្រាត់ពីទីឋាន	parted from this realm,
ធនធានរលាយអស់	ធនធានបាត់អស់ ។	ធនធានបាត់អស់ ។	your wealth all gone.
៦	៦	៦	6
អនត្តាស្លាប់សូន	អនត្តាស្លាប់ខ្លួន	អនត្តាស្លាប់សូន	No self—all is gone.
ស្លាប់បាត់រូបខ្លួន	ស្លាប់បាត់សោះសូន	ស្លាប់បាត់រូបខ្លួន	You die and you lose your body,
បាត់ទ្រព្យរបស់	ចោលទ្រព្យរបស់	បាត់ទ្រព្យរបស់	lose your wealth and belongings,
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កន្លែង	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កន្លែង	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កន្លែង	separated from your home.
រឿងល្បែងព្រាត់អស់	រឿងល្បែងព្រាត់អស់	រឿងល្បែងព្រាត់អស់	From all games you'll be parted.
ព្រាត់រូបបាត់ឈ្មោះ	ព្រាត់រូបបាត់ឈ្មោះ	ព្រាត់រូបបាត់ឈ្មោះ	Parted from your body, your name will be lost,
សោះសូនមិនឃើញ	សោះសូនចោលជេញ	សោះសូនចោលជេញ	cast away, discarded completely.
	។	។	
៧	៧	៧	7
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ចំណី	ព្រាត់ទំចំណី	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ចំណី	You'll be cleft from foods,
ពិសាពិសី	ពិសេសពិសី	ពិសេសពិសី	delightful and delectable,
អាហារឈ្ងុយត្រាញ់	អាហារឈ្ងុយត្រាញ់	អាហារឈ្ងុយត្រាញ់	from delicious delicacies.
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ពួកខ្នើយ	ព្រាត់ពួកខ្នើយខ្នើយ	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ពួកខ្នើយ	You'll lose your mattress and pillow,
គូរកូនសំលាញ់	គូរកូនសំម្លេញ	គូរកូនសម្លាញ់	your dear companions.
ព្រាត់គ្មានជួបវិញ	ព្រាត់គ្មានជួបវិញ	ព្រាត់គ្មានជួបវិញ	Once parted, you'll never meet again.
យើងឆ្លើយអនត្តា	យើងឆ្លើយអនត្តា ។	យើងឆ្លើយអនត្តា ។	Indeed, we are without an abiding self!
៨	៨	៨	8
មិនទៀងរូប្យា	អនិច្ចាមិនទៀង	អនិច្ចាមិនទៀង	Impermanence! Not lasting
xxxx	រូបរលំរាង	រាល់រូបរាល់រាង	indeed are all bodies,
យើងគេនេះមិញ	យើងនេះមិញ	យើងគេនេះមិញ	both ours and those of others.
ប្រាស់ស្រែចំការ	ព្រាត់អស់បងប្អូន	ប្រាស់ស្រែចំការ	You'll be parted from your fields,
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ពួកគ្រែ	ព្រាត់ឃ្មានជួបវិញ	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ពួកគ្រែ	from your bed and bedding,
ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ឪម៉ែ	ព្រាត់ឪម៉ែមីញ	ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ឪម៉ែ	from your father and mother,
ព្រាត់អស់រលីង	ព្រាត់អស់រលីង ។	ព្រាត់អស់រលីង ។	from everything completely.
៩	៩	៩	9

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចិត្តប្រាសពីរូប	ឥលូវចិត្តប្រាស	ឥឡូវចិត្តប្រាស	Now the mind floats away,
XXXX	ចេញពីរូបអស់	ចេញពីរូបអស់	escaping from the body.
XXXX	រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	The body remains alone.
XXXX	អសូរូបពេក	អសូរូបពេក	Pity the body,
រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	កន្តោចកន្តែង	រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	for the body remains alone,
រូបឃើយកន្តែង	រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	រូបអើយកន្តែង	terribly lonely,
កន្តោចក្នុងព្រៃ	រូបដេកក្នុងព្រៃ ។	កន្តោចក្នុងព្រៃ ។	all by itself in the forest.
១០	១០	១០	10
រូប្យាអនត្តា	រូប្យាអនត្តា	រូប្យាអនត្តា	The body lacks a self.
រូបឃើយអាសា	រូបឃើយអនិច្ចា	រូបអើយអនិច្ចា	The body, alas, is transient.
សោះសូនដេកដី	រូបនៅដេកដី	សោះសូន្យដេកដី	It dies and lies on the earth,
រូបប្រាសពីចិត្ត	XXXX	រូបប្រាសពីចិត្ត	cleft from the mind.
គ្មានគិតសង្ស័យ	XXXX	គ្មានគិតសង្ស័យ	Without thoughts or doubts
សន្ធឹងដេកដី	XXXX	សន្ធឹងដេកដី	it lies down, stretched out on the earth,
អនត្តារូបខ្មោច	XXXX	អនត្តារូបខ្មោច	without a self, the body of a corpse.
១១	១១	១១	11
រូបឃើយនិងចិត្ត	រូបប្រាសពីចិត្ត	រូបប្រាសពីចិត្ត	The body parts from the mind.
កាលរស់ផ្អែកផ្អិត	កាលរស់ផ្អែកផ្អិត	កាលរស់ផ្អែកផ្អិត	While alive, they were infatuated
បិតថេរពិត្ត	បិតថេរពិត្ត	បិតថេរពិត្ត	with each other ever since birth.
ចិត្តថែទាំរូប	ចិត្តថែទាំរូប	ចិត្តថែទាំរូប	The mind took care of the body
អង្វែងរៀងរួច	អង្វែងរៀងរួច	អង្វែងរៀងរួច	for many years, until
រូបបែកបាក់ខូច	រូបបាក់បែកខូច	រូបបាក់បែកខូច	the body broke apart.
ចិត្តគិតវេទនា	ចិត្តគិតវេទនា ។	ចិត្តគិតវេទនា ។	How painful for the mind!
១២	១២	១២	12
អនត្តាដល់ស្លាប់	អនិច្ចាដល់ស្លាប់	អនិច្ចាដល់ស្លាប់	The body is transient, for once dead,
ចិត្តចេញប្រញាប់	ចិត្តចេញប្រញាប់	ចិត្តចេញប្រញាប់	the mind hurries to escape
រួចពីរូប្យា	រួចពីរូប្យា	រួចពីរូប្យា	from the body.
ឥឡូវប្រាសគ្នា	ឥលូវប្រែប្រាស	ឥឡូវប្រែប្រាស	Now they have parted
ប្រាសឥតតម្លឹង	ឃ្នាតចេញពីចេញពីគ្នា	ឃ្នាតចេញពីគ្នា	from one another.
ចិត្តទៅដោយចិត្ត	ប្រាសពីរូប្យា	ប្រាសពីរូប្យា	The mind leaves the body
រូបបិតស្លូកស្លឹង	ប្រាសឥតដឹងដឹង ។	ប្រាសឥតដឹងដឹង ។	without the latter knowing.
១៣	១៣	១៣	13
XXXX	ឥលូវចិត្តប្រាស	ឥឡូវចិត្តប្រាស	Now the mind has split
XXXX	ពីរូបស្រលាស់	ពីរូបស្រឡះ	entirely from the body.
XXXX	រូបនៅស្លូកស្លឹង	រូបនៅស្លូកស្លឹង	The body lies still and stiff,
XXXX	រូបដេកម្នាក់ឯង	រូបដេកម្នាក់ឯង	all alone,

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សន្ទោសន្ទឹង	សន្ទោសន្ទឹង	សន្ទោសន្ទឹង	sprawled out.
XXXX	ចិត្តចេញពុំដឹង	ចិត្តចេញពុំដឹង	The mind left, but the body doesn't know.
ប្រជុំបាត់ត្រើយ	ប្រជុំបាត់ត្រើយ ។	ប្រជុំបាត់ត្រើយ ។	It is deserted, without a refuge.
១៤	១៤	១៤	14
វេទនា (-ទុក្ខំ	វេទនាទុក្ខំ	vedanā dukkham	Sensation is painful.
-អនិច្ចំ-អនត្តា			
XXXX	វេទនាអនិច្ចំ	vedanā aniccam	Sensation is impermanent,
XXXX	ពុំទៀងសោះឈើ	ពុំទៀងសោះឡើយ	not lasting at all.
សញ្ញា (-ទុក្ខំ	សញ្ញាទុក្ខំ	saññā dukkham	Perception is painful,
-អនិច្ចំ-អនត្តា			
XXXX	ទៀងស្លាប់មែនហើយ	ទៀងស្លាប់មែនហើយ	for death is sure.
XXXX	ពុំដឹងខ្លួនឈើ	ពុំដឹងខ្លួនឡើយ	You won't be be conscious.
XXXX	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា ។	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	You should contemplate impermanence.
១៥	១៥	១៥	15
សង្ខារ (-ទុក្ខំ	សង្ខារទុក្ខំ	sankhāra dukkham	Mental formations are painful.
-អនិច្ចំ-អនត្តា			
XXXX	សំខាអនិច្ចំ	sankhāra aniccam	Mental formations are impermanent.
XXXX	សំខាអនត្តា	sankhāra anattā	Mental formations are without self.
វិញ្ញាន (-ទុក្ខំ	វិញ្ញានំ ទុក្ខំ	viññānam dukkham	Consciousness is painful,
-អនិច្ចំ-អនត្តា			
XXXX	វិញ្ញាននៃរូបា	វិញ្ញាណនៃរូបា	the consciousness of the body.
XXXX	ញ្ញានរបស់អនត្តា	វិញ្ញាណរបស់អនត្តា	Consciousness lacks a self.
XXXX	សូនសោះអស់ហោង ។	សូនសោះអស់ហោង ។	It, too, is destroyed.
		។	
១៦	១៦	១៦	16
ចក្ខុ (-ទុក្ខំ-	ចក្ខុទុក្ខំ	cakkhu dukkham	The eye is painful.
អនិច្ចំ-អនត្តា	ចក្ខុអនិច្ចំ	cakkhu aniccam	The eye is impermanent.
ចក្ខុទុក្ខំ	ចក្ខុអនត្តា	cakkhu anattā	The eye is without self.
XXXX	ឥលូវភ្នែកខ្វាក់	ឥឡូវភ្នែកខ្វាក់	Now your eyes are blind;
XXXX	ទៅពឹងនឹងណា	ទៅពឹងនឹងណា	on whom will you rely?
XXXX	ពីដើមភ្នែកភ្លឺ	ពីដើមភ្នែកភ្លឺ	Before, your eyes saw clearly.
XXXX	មើលយល់រូបា	មើលយល់រូបា	They could see forms.
ភ្នែកភ្លើយស្រវាំង	ឥលូវណោះណា	ឥឡូវនេះណា	But now they are
បាំងបិទជិតទៅ	ប្រាប់បិទជិតទៅ ។	បាំងបិទជិតទៅ ។	completely obscured.
១៧	១៧	១៧	17
XXXX	ភ្នែកភ្លើយភ្នែក	ភ្នែកអើយអើយភ្នែក	Your eyes, alas!

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XXXX	ពីបាកពុនពេក្យ	ពីបាកពន់ពេក	How difficult it is
XXXX	ពីភ្នែកឯងកូរ	ពីភ្នែកឯងកូរ	with these eyes!
ពីដើមភ្នែកភ្លឺ	ពីដើមភ្នែកភ្លឺ	ពីដើមភ្នែកភ្លឺ	Before they saw clearly.
ភ្នែកដើរមើលផ្លូវ	ភ្នែកដើរមើលផ្លូវ	ភ្នែកដើរមើលផ្លូវ	They saw the path as you walked.
បើភ្នែកខ្វាក់ទៅ	បើភ្នែកខ្វាក់ទៅ	បើភ្នែកខ្វាក់ទៅ	But now that they are blind,
ចិត្តឆ្កើតទៅពីនិរណា	ទៅពីនិរណា ។	ទៅពីនិរណា ។	on whom will you rely?
១៨	១៨	១៨	18
ភ្នែកឆ្កើតព្រះភ្នែក	អនិច្ចានិច្ចភ្នែក	អនិច្ចានិច្ចភ្នែក	See the impermanence of your eyes.
អនិច្ចំបាំងស្បែក	អនិច្ចារប្លាស្តិក	អនិច្ចំបាំងស្បែក	Pity them, covered in skin,
មិនយល់រូបរាង	មិនយល់រូបរាង	មិនយល់រូបរាង	unable to see forms.
ចិត្តឆ្កើតអម្ពល	ចិត្តកើតកង្វល់	ចិត្តកើតកង្វល់	Your mind worries,
ដ្បិតភ្នែកអនិច្ច	គ្មានភ្នែកអនិច្ច	គ្មានភ្នែកអនិច្ច	since your eyes lack a self.
ប្រាស់ពីរូបរាង	ប្រាស់ស្រាវប្រាស់	ប្រាស់ស្រាវប្រាស់	They'll be parted from you body,
សញ្ញាអន្តរាយ	ស្គាល់តែអន្តរាយ ។	ស្គាល់តែអន្តរាយ ។	knowing naught but ruin.
១៩	១៩	១៩	19
ភ្នែកខ្វាក់ត្រចៀកថ្លង់	ភ្នែកខ្វាក់ត្រចៀកថ្លង់	ភ្នែកខ្វាក់ត្រចៀកថ្លង់	Eyes blind, ears deaf—
ប្រដាប់រូបអង្គ	រូបអង្គ	ប្រដាប់រូបអង្គ	all the parts of your body
បាក់បែកព្រះឆ្មារ	បែកបាក់ព្រះឆ្មារ	បាក់បែកព្រះឆ្មារ	break down and fall apart.
ចិត្តឆ្កើតអម្ពល	ចិត្តកើតកង្វល់	ចិត្តកើតកង្វល់	You mind starts to worry,
កង្វល់និងរូបកាយ	អម្ពលរូបកាយ	អំពល់រូបកាយ	fretting over your body.
រូបអន្តរាយ	រូបអន្តរាយ	រូបអន្តរាយ	The body continues to decay
កាយប្រាស់ពីចិត្ត	កាយប្រាស់ពីចិត្ត ។	កាយប្រាស់ពីចិត្ត ។	as the body splits from the mind.
២០	២០	២០	20
ប្រាស់ប្រាស់សំលេង	XXXX	ប្រាស់ប្រាស់សំលេង	You'll be parted from sounds,
ប្រាស់ខានស្តាប់ច្រៀង	XXXX	ប្រាស់ខានស្តាប់ច្រៀង	unable to heard songs.
មិនទៀងសូរស័ព្ទ	XXXX	មិនទៀងសូរស័ព្ទ	Sounds are impermanent.
អនិច្ចាត្រចៀកហឹង	XXXX	អនិច្ចាត្រចៀកហឹង	Pity your deafened ears,
មិនដឹងសូរស័ព្ទ	XXXX	មិនដឹងសូរស័ព្ទ	which are no longer aware of sounds.
ប្រាស់ខានឃើញស្តាប់	XXXX	ប្រាស់ខានឃើញស្តាប់	You'll be parted from listening
អនត្តារូបកាយ	XXXX	អនត្តារូបកាយ ។	with the destruction of the body.
២១	២១	២១	21
អនិច្ចំច្រមុះ	XXXX	អនិច្ចំច្រមុះ	Pity your nose,
ក្រង់រក្រង់	XXXX	ក្រង់រក្រង់	now blocked and clogged,
អន្តរាត្រាញ់បាយ	XXXX	អន្តរាត្រាញ់បាយ	and your tongue, along with delicious foods.
មិនទៀងរៀងទៅ	XXXX	មិនទៀងរៀងទៅ	They are impermanent,
នោះកូរអ្នកកាយ	XXXX	នោះកូរអ្នកកាយ	O good people!

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រូបវេទនរលាយ កាយប្រាសពីចិត្ត ២២	XXXX XXXX ២២	រូបវេទនរលាយ កាយប្រាសពីចិត្ត ។ ២២	The body continues to decay as the body splits from the mind. 22
អស់ជនប្រុសស្រី កើតក្នុងលោកិយ អ្នកក្លើយខំគិត ខំរកទីពឹង ខំតម្កល់ចិត្ត យើងឆ្លើយអាណិត អនិច្ចារូបទៅ ២៣	អស់ជនប្រុសស្រី កើតក្នុងលោកិយ អ្នកក្លើយខំគិត ខំមរកទីពឹង ខំដំម្កល់ចិត្ត យើងឆ្លើយអាណិត ចិត្តប្រាសរូបទៅ ។ ២៣	អស់ជនប្រុសស្រី កើតក្នុងលោកិយ អ្នកអើយខំគិត ខំរកទីពឹង ខំតម្កល់ចិត្ត យើងអើយអាណិត អនិច្ចារូបទៅ ។ ២៣	All you good people, born here in this world, you should strive to contemplate and find a refuge. Strive to rectify your mind. How pitiable, the transience of the body! 23
មានតែសីលទាន ជាទីពឹងបាន ជាស្ពាននាំផ្លូវ យើងឆ្លើយខំគិត ទានចិត្តរស់នៅ ការនាធម៌ទៅ តម្រង់ផ្លូវស្លាប់ ២៤	មានតែសីលទាន ជាទីពឹងបាន ជាស្ពាននាំផ្លូវ យើងឆ្លើយខំមគិត ទានចិត្តឆ្មាំនៅ ការនាធម៌ទៅ តម្រង់ផ្លូវស្លាប់ ។ ២៤	មានតែសីលទាន ជាទីពឹងបាន ជាស្ពាននាំផ្លូវ យើងអើយខំគិត ទានចិត្តរស់នៅ ការនាធម៌ទៅ តម្រង់ផ្លូវស្លាប់ ។ ២៤	You have only the precepts and charity as your refuge, as the bridge leading the way. Please, strive to contemplate while your mind is still alive. Meditate on the Dharma. Prepare the path for death. 24
ខ្លះស្លាប់នៅក្មេង កំពុងពេញលេង ចោលល្បែងល្បួងការ ចោលប្តីប្រពន្ធ កូនចៅកំព្រា ប្រាសសំលាញ់ភ្នា កំព្រាមេម៉ាយ ២៥	ខ្លះស្លាប់នៅក្មេង ខ្លះស្លាប់ពេញលេង ចោលល្បែងល្បួងស្ការ ចោលផ្តិយប្របន់ កូនចៅកំព្រា ប្រាសរួមម្តាយភ្នា កំព្រាឯអ្ស ។ ២៥	ខ្លះស្លាប់នៅក្មេង កំពុងពេញលេង ចោលល្បែងបាស្ការ ចោលប្តីប្រពន្ធ កូនចៅកំព្រា ប្រាសសម្លាញ់ភ្នា កំព្រាមេម៉ាយ ។ ២៥	Some die while still young, while still at play, leaving behind their chess match, leaving behind their husband or wife, their children orphaned, parted from their dear ones, abandoned and alone. 25
ទុក្ខតាំងអម្កល ព្រាត់ប្រាសចិត្តខ្វល់ ចិត្តពុំសប្បាយ ទង្គិះក្សឹកក្សួល ក្តៅក្តួលក្នុងកាយ កាន់ការរសាយ ឃ្លេងឃ្លោងក្នុងចិត្ត ២៦	រូបពុំអម្កល ព្រាត់ប្រាសចិត្តខ្វល់ ចិត្តពុំសាបា ទង្គិះខ្សឹតខ្សួល ក្តៅក្តួលក្នុងកាយ កាន់ការរសាយ ឃ្លេងឃ្លោងក្នុងចិត្ត ។ ២៦	រូបពុំអំពល ព្រាត់ប្រាសចិត្តខ្វល់ ចិត្តពុំសប្បាយ ទង្គិះខ្សឹកខ្សួល ក្តៅក្តួលក្នុងកាយ កាន់ការរសាយ ឃ្លេងឃ្លោងក្នុងចិត្ត ២៦	The body frets not. In parting, only the mind worries. The mind is unhappy, sobbing with grief, choked with rage; searching for calm, the mind rocks back and forth, 26
ហេតុដ្បិតព្រាត់ប្រាស	ហេតុត្បិតព្រាត់ប្រាស	ហេតុត្បិតព្រាត់ប្រាស	for it is parted,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រាត់ក្មេងព្រាត់ចាស់ ព្រាត់ស្លាប់មែនពិត ព្រាត់ខានឃើញមុខ កើតទុក្ខក្នុងចិត្ត យើងឆ្លើយអាណិត អនិច្ចារ្យទៅ ប្រាស់ពីកន្លែងដេក ប្រាស់ទាំងស្រែកហៅ ព្រាត់ប្រាស់កូនចៅ ព្រាត់ចិត្តទៅប្រដើយ ២៧	ព្រាត់ក្មេងព្រាត់ចាស់ ព្រាត់ស្លាប់មិនជិត ព្រាត់ខានឃើញមុខ កើតទុក្ខក្នុងចិត្ត យើងឆ្លើយអាណិត ចិត្តប្រាស់រូបទៅ ។ ២៧	ព្រាត់ក្មេងព្រាត់ចាស់ ព្រាត់ស្លាប់មែនពិត ព្រាត់ខានឃើញមុខ កើតទុក្ខក្នុងចិត្ត យើងអើយអាណិត អនិច្ចារ្យទៅ ។ ២៧	parted in youth, parted in old age, parted inevitably in death, parted, never to be seen again, as pains boils within the mind. How pitiable, the transience of the body! 27 The body doesn't last and shall be cast off far away. Only precepts and charity continue as your excellent bridge, as the Dharma that leads down the path, taught powerfully and correctly by the Supreme Teacher. 28 The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha joyfully come to inhabit you. Chant in worship of them, making this respect your practice, so that merit will inhabit you and follow you everywhere. 29 Once you are born in this body, you grow confused due to your defilements. You cycle between birth and death, not continuously living. Once born, you die; none find relief from this. 30 Some die in the dirt. Some die in the woods, or along the road. Your brothers die, your sisters die,
អនិច្ចារ្យទៀង ប្រាស់ដាច់សង្វែង យើងឆ្លើយខែងខំ រក្សាសីលទាន ជាស្ពានឌីត្តម ព្រះត្រ័យសរណៈគមន៍ ជាម្លប់ក្នុងចិត្ត ២៨	អនិច្ចារ្យទៀង យើងឆ្លើយខមសាង សីលទានតម្កល់ទៅ ជាស្ពានឌីត្តម ជាធម៌នាំផ្លូវ ធម៌ព្រះបុត្រ ទូន្មានសមសទ្ធិ ។ ២៨	អនិច្ចារ្យទៀង ប្រាស់ដាច់សង្វែង សីលទានតម្កល់ទៅ ជាស្ពានឌីត្តម ជាធម៌នាំផ្លូវ ព្រះបរមគ្រូ ទូន្មានសមសទ្ធិ ។ ២៨	28 The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha joyfully come to inhabit you. Chant in worship of them, making this respect your practice, so that merit will inhabit you and follow you everywhere. 29 Once you are born in this body, you grow confused due to your defilements. You cycle between birth and death, not continuously living. Once born, you die; none find relief from this. 30 Some die in the dirt. Some die in the woods, or along the road. Your brothers die, your sisters die,
ព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌ ព្រះ សង្ឃ ទាំងបីព្រះអង្គ លោកមកសន្និសីទ ឱ្យខំនមស្សការ ប្រនិបត្តិយកវត្ថុ ជាកុសលសន្និសីទ អាចដឹកនាំទៅ ២៩	ព្រះសមិសារទរ លោកមកសន្និសីទ ឱ្យខំនមស្សការ ប្រនិបត្តិយកវត្ថុ កុសលសន្និសីទ ដិតដោយតាមទៅ ។ ២៩	ព្រះសង្ឃសារទរ លោកមកសន្និសីទ ឱ្យខំនមស្សការ ប្រណិបត្តន៍យកវត្ថុ កុសលសន្និសីទ ដិតដោយតាមទៅ ។ ២៩	so that merit will inhabit you and follow you everywhere. 29 Once you are born in this body, you grow confused due to your defilements. You cycle between birth and death, not continuously living. Once born, you die; none find relief from this. 30 Some die in the dirt. Some die in the woods, or along the road. Your brothers die, your sisters die,
ដ្បិតរូបនេះឯង XXXX វាតែងហួងសៅ XXXX XXXX កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ គ្មានខានគ្រប់គ្នា ៣០	ក្នុងរូបនេះឯង កើតហើយវង្វេង ត្បិតតែងមិនសៅ វិលកើតហើយស្លាប់ ពុំបានរស់នៅ កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ គ្មានខានគ្រប់គ្នា ។ ៣០	ក្នុងរូបនេះឯង កើតហើយវង្វេង ត្បិតតែងហួងសៅ វិលកើតហើយស្លាប់ ពុំបានរស់នៅ កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ គ្មានខានគ្រប់គ្នា ។ ៣០	30 Some die in the dirt. Some die in the woods, or along the road. Your brothers die, your sisters die,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយដី	ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយដី	ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយដី	your grandparents die,
ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយព្រៃ	ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយព្រៃ	ខ្លះស្លាប់ដោយព្រៃ	your parents, aunts, and uncles die—
នៅឯអធ្មារ	នៅឯអធ្មារ	នៅឯអធ្មារ	impermanent indeed is this body!
ស្លាប់បងស្លាប់ប្អូន	ស្លាប់បងស្លាប់ប្អូន	ស្លាប់បងស្លាប់ប្អូន	31
ស្លាប់ដូនស្លាប់តា	ស្លាប់តូនស្លាប់តា	ស្លាប់ដូនស្លាប់តា	Alas, your body! While alive,
ស្លាប់ម្តាយមីនមា	ស្លាប់ម្តាយមីនមា	ស្លាប់ម្តាយមីនមា	it wants to eat all kinds
អនិច្ចារ្យប្រើយ	អនិច្ចារ្យប្រើ ។	អនិច្ចារ្យប្រើយ ។	of delicious foods.
រូប្យុទុក្ខំ			But once dead,
រូប្យុអនិច្ចំ			
រូប្យុអនត្តា			
ព្រះត្រ័យលត្តា			your children
នេបនៅក្នុងរូប			suffer intensely,
៣១	៣១	៣១	sobbing in grief.
រូប្យើយរូបរស់	រូប្យើយរូបរស់	រូបអើយរូបរស់	32
ចង់ស៊ីរបស់	ចង់ឈឺរឹបស់	ចង់ស៊ីរបស់	In this cycle of birth and death,
ចំណីឈ្នុយត្រាញ់	អហារឈ្នុយត្រាញ់	អហារឈ្នុយត្រាញ់	birth is not good,
ដល់រូបស្លាប់ទៅ	បើរូបស្លាប់ទៅ	ដល់រូបស្លាប់ទៅ	for it knows not the season:
កូនចៅនោះមិញ	កូនចៅនាំមិញ	កូនចៅនោះមិញ	once born into a body, pain ensures,
កើតទុក្ខពោពេញ	កើតទុកពោពេញ	កើតទុក្ខពោពេញ	then dejection and difficulty
ក្សឹកក្សួលក្សួលក្តៅ	ខ្សឹកខ្សួលក្សួលក្តៅ ។	ខ្សឹកខ្សួលក្សួលក្តៅ ។	then anguish and hardship—
៣២	៣២	៣២	a real burden for you.
រូប្យុតាំងជា	វិលកើតវិលស្លាប់	វិលកើតវិលស្លាប់	33
រូបសង្ខារ	កើតមកពុំគាប់	កើតមកពុំគាប់	Your body continues to decay,
កើតដោយតណ្ហា	គ្មានពេលរដូវ	គ្មានពេលរដូវ	debased by disease.
កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ	កើតរូបរងទុក	កើតរូបរងទុក្ខ	You wander across lifetimes,
វិលកើតវិលស្លាប់	អបផ្សុកលំបាក	អផ្សុកលំបាក	born into ignorance—
គ្មានពេលរដូវ	ទុក្ខំតោយ៉ាក	dukkham តោយ៉ាក	there is nothing beautiful to be found,
កើតហើយស្លាប់ទៅ	លំបាកអត្តា ។	លំបាកអត្តា ។	in every life,
យើងឆ្លើយលំបាក			in all bodies.
ជាតិទុក្ខា			34
មែនហើយកិរិយា			This will be the explanation
ទុក្ខំតោយ៉ាក			of the nature of all life,
សម្មាកំដោយជាតិ			including ourselves and all others.
៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	<i>In the moment of death,</i>
រូបរងរលាយ	រូបរងរលាយ	រូបរងរលាយ	if you are waiting for it,
ជម្ងឺក្លែងក្លាយ	ជម្ងឺក្លែងក្លាយ	ជម្ងឺក្លែងក្លាយ	the wind element strikes

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

វីងវៃដោយជាតិ កំណើតមិនស្អាត ក្នុងជាតិអវិជ្ជា អស្សវគ្គគ្រឿងកម្ម ជាថ្នាំត្រាំពិស គ្រប់ជាតិទាំងអស់ ៣៤	អេងដោយជាតិ កំផ្អិតអវិជ្ជា នោះណាមិនមានស្អាត នាឆ្នាំគ្រឿងជាតិ គ្រុបរូបទាំងអស់ ។ ៣៤	អេងដោយជាតិ កំណើតអវិជ្ជា នោះមិនមានស្អាត នាគ្រប់ជាតិ គ្រប់រូបទាំងអស់ ៣៤	the bodies of all beings. 35 The wind of the Vinaya blows up to the abdomen, rushing to the belly. The fire element burns in the heart, turning the heart upside down. Difficult are the moments near death, and painful those after death.
នេះនឹងនិយាយ ធម្មជាតិទាំងឡាយ យើងគេគ្រប់គ្នា មរណកាល អនិច្ចំទៀបស្លាប់ XXXX វាយោឡលប់ក ឆក់ចិត្តចេត្តណា ចិត្តិយវេទនា លំបាកទៀបស្លាប់ ៣៥	នេះនឹងនិយាយ ធម្មជាតិទាំងឡាយ គ្រុបរូបស្រីប្រុះ មរណកាល បើរងស្លាប់នោះ គ្រុបរូបស្រីប្រុះ វាយោឡលប់ក ។ ៣៥	នេះនឹងនិយាយ ធម្មជាតិទាំងឡាយ យើងគេគ្រប់គ្នា maranam kāle បើរងស្លាប់នោះ គ្រប់រូបស្រីប្រុស vāyo ឡលប់ក ។ ៣៥	36 The wind of the Abhidhamma gathers above then blows down all at once, descending to suffocate the heart within the chest. How much the heart suffers, when all the winds come together! 37
ខ្យល់ព្រះវិន័យ បក់ឡើងដល់ផ្ទៃ ឱទ្ធសប្បញ្ញាប័ ភ្លើងឆេះទឹកចិត្ត ធ្លាក់ចិត្តដល់ផ្តាប លំបាកទៀបស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ហើយអនិច្ចា ៣៦	ខ្យល់ព្រះវិន័យ បក់ឡើងដល់ផ្ទៃ ឱទ្ធសប្បញ្ញាប័ ភ្លើងឆេះទឹកចិត្ត ហង្ស័យក្នុងដួលផ្លា លំបាករលប់ស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ហើយវេទនា ។ ៣៦	ខ្យល់ព្រះវិន័យ បក់ឡើងដល់ផ្ទៃ ឱទ្ធសប្បញ្ញាប័ ភ្លើងឆេះទឹកចិត្ត ធ្លាក់ចិត្តដល់ផ្តាប លំបាកទៀបស្លាប់ ស្លាប់ហើយវេទនា ។ ៣៦	Those who are fortunate have learned their lessons by reciting and studying them beyond doubt, meditating to clear the path that follows merit, clutching the jewel of the Dharma and lifting it up within their mind. 38
ខ្យល់ព្រះអណ្តិធម្ម ខាងលើប្រជុំ បក់ចុះផ្សព្វគ្នា ធ្លាក់គ្របខ្ទប់ចិត្ត បិតឋានហត្ថិយា ចិត្តិយវេទនា កាលត្រាប្រជុំខ្យល់ ៣៧	ខ្យល់ព្រះអណ្តិធម្ម ខាងលើប្រជុំ បក់ចុះផ្សព្វគ្នា ធ្លាក់គ្របខ្ទប់ចិត្ត ដ្ឋិតហារទ្យោរ ចិត្តិយវេទនា កាលត្រាប្រជុំខ្យល់ ។ ៣៧	ខ្យល់ព្រះអណ្តិធម្ម ខាងលើប្រជុំ បក់ចុះផ្សព្វគ្នា ធ្លាក់គ្របខ្ទប់ចិត្ត បិតឋានហទយា ចិត្តិយវេទនា កាលត្រាប្រជុំខ្យល់ ។ ៣៧	Having grasped the Three Jewels, they soar off in a flash of light, with powerful radiance, to reach the pinnacle of the four-faced tower of the Abhidhamma just as they vowed, with merit inhabiting them all the way to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven. 39
អ្នកណាក៏ពួមាន គេបានរបៀន	អ្នកឯណាក៏ពួមាន គេបានរបៀន	អ្នកណាក៏ពួមាន គេបានរបៀន	All you good people!



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

មកពាល់ត្រូវរូប  
សង្ខារខន្ទោ                    សំខារខន្ទោ  
ទ្រទ្រង់ទាំងអស់            ទ្រង់ទ្រទ្ធាអស់  
របស់តាកតែង  
វិញ្ញានខន្ទោ                    ឯវិញ្ញានោះ  
គួរដឹងជាក់ស្តែង  
សម្មស្សនេះឯង  
គ្មានសល់កំបាំង            គ្មានសល់កុំបាំង ។  
និរដ្ឋិតិចៃឯចប់  
ឯរំសំគួរ  
និព្វានសម្បជ្ជយោហោ  
តន្តិ  
។ ០៣០៣ ។ នេះចប់  
ធម៌  
ព្រះត្រ័យលក្ខ  
ចប់បរិបូរហោង។

**trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccam rūpam»-k**

The three marks, beginning with “The body is impermanent!”

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 27 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB014** 62a–67a braḥ traiy lākkh; **UB020** 11b–16b braḥ anīccam dhamm; **UB057** 70a–76a braḥ traiy<sup>o</sup> lakkhañā(ṅ)/braḥ trai(y<sup>o</sup>) lakkh'

Khmer books: There is an online version of unknown authorship or provenance (accessible at [www.khmerdocs.com/files/docs/docs405441029988.docx](http://www.khmerdocs.com/files/docs/docs405441029988.docx)) that is extremely close to the text found in **UB014**, suggesting that they come from the same common source; I am unable to explain this at present.

Summary: Explanation of the impermanence of the body, beginning with an account of how our craving for sensuality ends in the suffering of separation. The text then describes inevitability of decay and death and our inability to control these processes. This is followed by admonitions to practice the Dharma, reflect on impermanence, make merit, let go of attachments, and aspire to reach Nibbāna.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<b>UB014</b>	Standardized	Translation
<p>១                      ។ៗ អនិច្ចំ រូបំ                      រូបពេញទុក្ខខ្លាំង                      ត្នាំព្យកើតមក                      ពុំដែលលះបង់                      ត្រង់ក្លឹយទុក្ខសោក                      កុំម្តើតកើតមក                      រកខ្លឹមសារគ្មាន</p>	<p>១  <i>aniccam rūpaṃ</i>                      រូបពេញទុក្ខខ្លាំង                      ត្នាំព្យកើតមក                      ពុំដែលលះបង់                      ត្រង់ក្លឹយទុក្ខសោក                      កុំណើតកើតមក                      រកខ្លឹមសារគ្មាន។</p>	<p>1                      The body is impermanent!                      The body is full of suffering                      from the moment we're born.                      It never lets go                      of pain and sorrow.                      We are born into this life,                      but no essence can be found.</p>
<p>២                      យោនយកកុំម្តើត                      វិលស្លាប់វិលកើត                      រាប់សែនកោតលាន                      រាល់រូបប្រុសស្រី                      ឥតប្តីជៀសបាន                      សព្វសត្វបុគ្គ្រាន                      មានទុក្ខដូចគ្នា។</p>	<p>២                      យោនយកកុំណើត                      វិលស្លាប់វិលកើត                      រាប់សែនកោដិលាន                      រាល់រូបប្រុសស្រី                      ឥតប្តីជៀសបាន                      សព្វសត្វបុគ្គ្រាន                      មានទុក្ខដូចគ្នា។</p>	<p>2                      We take up new births,                      born then dead, again and again,                      for one hundred thousand million times.                      All beings, male or female,                      cannot escape this;                      all creatures face                      this suffering too.</p>
<p>៣                      ឱរូបយើង្សី                      តែរកើតឡើងហើយ                      កើតមានតណ្ហា                      គឺកិលេស្សក្តាំ                      វត្ថុក្តាំនោះណា                      ដឹកនាំអាត្មា                      ឱមានសៅមង់</p>	<p>៣                      ឱរូបយើងអើយ                      តែរកើតរូបហើយ                      កើតមានតណ្ហា                      គឺកិលេសកាម                      វត្ថុកាមនោះណា                      ដឹកនាំអាត្មា                      ឲ្យមានសៅហ្មង ។</p>	<p>3                      Oh this body of ours!                      As soon as the body arises,                      so does craving,                      that is, the defilement of sensuality.                      The objects of desire                      lead our being                      to be degraded.</p>
<p>៤                      កើតមានសង្សារ                      ស្នាលស្និតស្នេហា                      សំម្តីញូសួនត្រង់                      កុំពុំស្រលេញ                      ប្រាសចេញជាម្តង                      ពុំដែលកន្លង                      ផ្លូវស្លាប់នោះបាន</p>	<p>៤                      កើតមានសង្សារ                      ស្នាលស្និតស្នេហា                      សម្មាញូសួនត្រង់                      កុំពុំស្រឡាញ់                      ប្រាសចេញជាម្តង                      ពុំដែលកន្លង                      ផ្លូវស្លាប់នោះណា ។</p>	<p>4                      One takes a lover,                      a dear companion,                      a darling to take care of.                      But in the the midst of love,                      separation comes swiftly,                      for we can never escape                      the road to death.</p>
<p>៥                      មានមុត្រប្រុសស្រី</p>	<p>៥                      ជារូបប្រុសស្រី</p>	<p>5                      Whether it is a male or female body,</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ថ្នាក់ជួបមម្បី ស្រឡាញ់ស្នើប្រាស គុំនៃតែរនីរៈ ប្រាៈថ្នាក់មិនខាន រាល់រូបបុគ្គាន តែងតែអន្តណតារ ៦	ថ្នាក់ជួបមម្បី ស្រឡាញ់ស្នើប្រាណ គុំនៃតែរនាស ប្រាសមកមិនខាន រាល់រូបបុគ្គាន តែងតែអន្ត ។ ៦	that we cuddle and caress, loving it as our own life, it will still be destroyed and be separated from us without fail. Each and every body is always without a self. 6
រូបនេះឥតខ្ចីម កុំគិតសង្ឃឹម ថាភេរអាត្មា ទោះយូរទោះឆាប់ នឹងស្លាប់អសារ រូបរាងរាល់គ្នា ពុំដែលគុំននៅ ៧	រូបនេះឥតខ្ចីម កុំគិតសង្ឃឹម ជាភេរអាត្មា ទោះយូរទោះឆាប់ នឹងស្លាប់អសារ រូបរាងរាល់គ្នា ពុំដែលគុំននៅ។ ៧	The body lacks an essence. Don't set your hopes on it as your own inheritance. Whether soon or in a while, it will die without pith. All bodies, without exception, cannot remain long. 7
ចិត្តមិនចង់ស្លាប់ ឃាត់រូបមិនស្លាប់ ចេះតែរស្លាប់ទៅ ចាកចោលសម្បត្តិ ព្រាត់ម៉ែព្រាត់ឪ ព្រាត់កូនព្រាត់ចៅ ព្រាត់ជើវសន្តាន ៨	ចិត្តមិនចង់ស្លាប់ ឃាត់រូបមិនស្លាប់ ចេះតែស្លាប់ទៅ ចាកចោលសម្បត្តិ ព្រាត់ម៉ែព្រាត់ឪ ព្រាត់កូនព្រាត់ចៅ ព្រាត់ជើវសន្តាន ។ ៨	The mind does not want to die. It commands, but the body won't listen. It can only die and leave behind all attainments, parted from parents, parted from children, parted from relatives. 8
ស្បៀសរូបដូចម្តេច ឃាត់ម្សុំពេជ មិនព្រមឈប់ខាន រូបទៀងតែរស្លាប់ ត្នាំពីបូរ៉ាន កំណត់ស្នើម៉ាន ស្លាប់ស្នើនោះឯង ៩	ឃាត់ដូចម្តេច ឃាត់មួយពេជ មិនព្រមឈប់ខាន រូបទៀងតែរស្លាប់ តាំងពីបូរណ កំណត់ស្នើម៉ាន ស្លាប់ស្នើនោះឯង។ ៩	How can we stop it? We try to stop it for a moment, but it doesn't agree to stop, for the body is certain to die. Ever since times of old, whatever the limit of our life is, we die at that limit. 9
រូបក្សកើតមក ជីវនឈប់ជ្រក ដូចផ្ទះសំបែង តែរសំខា ស្ស ជីវនទៅឯង	រូបកាយកើតមក ជីវនឈប់ជ្រក ដូចផ្ទះសំបែង តែសង្ហារអស់ ជីវនទៅឯង	The body is born, and life stops by to take refuge in it, just like in a house. But soon the fabrications that compose life fade away

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចោលរូបច្រវៃខ្លាំង ថ្ងាប្រះធនឿន	ចោលរូបច្រវៃខ្លាំង ថ្ងាយប្រះធនណី។	and abandon this swollen body, offering it to the earth.
១០	១០	10
គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូបនេះហៅមហា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចារ រូបនេះហៅមហា	You should think about impermanence! This body is called great,
ឥតភាពពេក្យក្រៃ ប្រះច្ចាត្វជីវិត	ឥតភាពពេក្យក្រៃ ប្រាសចាកជីវិត	but it is not the greatest, for once cleft from life,
ខ្សែជុនជីវិត ឥតមានវិធី	ក្ស័យជន្មជីវិត ឥតមានវិធី	its lifespan is destroyed. There is no method
តំជីវិតជាប់	តំជីវិតជាប់។	to continually extend life.
១១	១១	11
អាសូររូបក្ស កើតហើយអន្តរា	អាសូររូបកាយ កើតហើយអន្តរាយ	Pity this body! It comes to be then goes to ruin
មិនដឹងត្រាវាបំ មកកើតក៏ដឹង	មិនដឹងត្រាវាបំ មកកើតមិនដឹង	numberless times. We are born unawares,
នឹងទៅមិនប្រាប់	ទៅក៏មិនប្រាប់	and depart without telling anyone.
រូបរបស់ខ្លួនស្រាប់ មិនដឹងស្លាប់ថ្ងៃណា	រូបរបស់ខ្លួនស្រាប់ មិនដឹងស្លាប់ថ្ងៃណា។	Our very own body knows not the day of its death.
១២	១២	12
គួរឱ្យជិនណាយ ស្បីទូរហងកាយ	គួរឱ្យជិនណាយ ដ្បិតរូបរាងកាយ	You should tire of it, for this body
ស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា ខំមតែសង្វាត	ស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា ខំតែសង្វាត	will die, as is its nature. Try hard to strive
សង្វែក្ខណ្ឌម្មិ នឹងនាំអត្តា	បង្វែងរកតែធម៌អាថ៌ នឹងនាំអត្តា	and be stirred by the Dharma to lead yourself
ទៅថ្កានសួស្តី	ទៅស្ថានសួគ៌សុខ។	to the blissful realm of the heavens.
១៣	១៣	13
កុំស្តាយស្រណោះ លោព្ភទ្រព្យរបស់	កុំស្តាយស្រណោះ កោតផលរបស់	Don't regret and pine for your wealth and riches,
ជួរគ្រឿងកងទុក្ខ គោរពតែធម៌	ជាគ្រឿងកងទុក្ខ គោរពតែធម៌	which are but the means of suffering. Respect only the Dharma,
តម្រូវទៅមុខ នឹងខ្សានស្រណាក់	តម្រូវទៅមុខ នឹងក្សាន្តស្រណាក់	continue the path forward, and you will be peaceful, happy,
សុក្ខដល់និព្វាន	សុខដល់និព្វាន។	and blissful all the way until Nibbāna.
១៤	១៤	14
គិតតែរូបឯង	គិតតែរូបឯង	Reflect only on this body.



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

កុំគិតចម្លែង មានទ្រព្យធុនធាន ប្រពន្ធកូនចៅ ញាតិផ្អៅសន្តាន បងប្អូនប្អូន ជួយមិនរួចទេ។ ១៥	កុំគិតចម្លែង មានទ្រព្យធុនធាន ប្រពន្ធកូនចៅ ញាតិផ្អៅសន្តាន បងប្អូនប្អូន ជួយមិនរួចទេ។ ១៥	Don't be restless. No matter your wealth and treasure, wife and offspring, relatives and kin, brothers and sisters— they can't help you. 15
ដូច្នេះគួរគិត គួរតែធ្វើបុណ្យ កុំឱ្យទំនេរ អ្នកណាមានគុណ រកទុនតបគ្រូ គុណឪពុកម្តាយ ខំម្នីតែប្រតិបត្តិ ១៦	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត គួរតែធ្វើបុណ្យ កុំឱ្យទំនេរ អ្នកណាមានគុណ រកទានឱ្យគេ គុណឪពុកម្តាយ ខំតែប្រតិបត្តិ។ ១៦	Therefore you should reflect and just make merit. Don't be idle. To whomever you owe gratitude, make offerings to them. For the virtues of your parents, try hard to practice. 16
រៀនចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា មេតាករុណា អាសូរសព្វសត្វ កុំឱ្យល្អក់ល្អៀង ចិត្តម្លើមប្រមាត់ កុំបាយកំបាត់ អកុសលពីប្រាណ ១៧	រៀនចេះជ្រះថ្លា មេតាករុណា អាសូរសព្វសត្វ កុំឱ្យល្អក់ល្អៀង ចិត្តម្លើមប្រមាត់ កំបាយកំបាត់ អកុសលពីប្រាណ។ ១៧	Learn how to have clear faith, kindness, and compassion; pity all creatures. Don't be biased in your heart, liver, or gallbladder, strewing sins all around your body. 17
រាល់រូបនេះណា បានតែប្រថ្នា រកផ្លូវនិព្វាន ប្រថ្នាក្នុងលោក ទុកសោកគង់មាន គួរគិតសន្និដ្ឋាន ជឿងជាក់គ្រប់ប្រាណ ១៨	រាល់រូបនេះណា បានតែប្រាថ្នា រកផ្លូវនិព្វាន ប្រាថ្នាក្នុងលោក ទុក្ខសោកគង់មាន គួរគិតសន្និដ្ឋាន ជឿងជាក់គ្រប់ប្រាណ។ ១៨	All bodies have only to aspire to find the road to Nibbāna. Aspiration for this world only leads to suffering and sorrow. You should reflect on your intention to be perfectly clear. 18
កើតជាមនុស្សហើយ កុំគិតកន្ត្រៃ ភ្លេចភ្នំទានសិល តែភ្លេចដេចសោះ នឹងចុះចាកប្រាណ	កើតជាមនុស្សហើយ កុំគិតកន្ត្រៃ ភ្លេចសីលភ្លេចទាន តែភ្លេចបាត់សោះ នឹងចុះចាកស្ថាន	Born as a human being, don't be heedless and neglect giving or the precepts. If you neglect them, all is lost, and you'll descend from this realm

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

កើតជួរតេរិញ្ញាន គ្មានផ្លូវក៏សាង ១៩	កើតទៅតិរញ្ញាន គ្មានផ្លូវក៏សាង។ ១៩	to be born as an animal, where there is no path to cultivate. 19
រូបសត្វទាំងឡាយ បានកើតជាមនុស្ស ហោរមានសំណាង គួរគិតត្រេកអរ ហើយខំសំអាង ឱ្យចិត្តភ្លឺស្វាង សាងទៅមុខទៀត ២០	រូបសត្វទាំងអស់ បានកើតជាមនុស្ស ហោរមានសំណាង គួរគិតត្រេកអរ ហើយខំសំអាង ឱ្យចិត្តភ្លឺស្វាង សាងទៅមុខទៀត។ ២០	The bodies of all beings who are born as humans are known as fortunate. You should rejoice and strive to cultivate, so that your mind is clear and can cultivate for the future. 20
ឱ្យពឹងព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌មាំមុខ គួរកាន់មាយាទ ប្រតិបត្តិព្រះសង្ឃ ឧបដ្ឋាកជាញាតិ កុំឱ្យឃ្លៀងឃ្លាត ផ្លូវសីលនិងទាន ២១	ទីពឹងព្រះពុទ្ធ ព្រះធម៌មាំមុខ គួរកាន់មាយាទ ប្រតិបត្តិព្រះសង្ឃ ឧបដ្ឋាកជាញាតិ កុំឱ្យឃ្លៀងឃ្លាត ផ្លូវសីលនិងទាន។ ២១	The refuge of the Buddha and the Dharma is firm and strong. Take care of your behavior and have respect for the Sangha. Serve them as your kin. Don't separate yourself from the path of precepts and giving. 21
សំបុត្តិនៅអារ្យ កាត់ចិត្តជិនណាយ លែងលោកចង់បាន លោកលុះតែធម៌ ជាខ្លឹមប្រធាន នឹងនាំយោងប្រាណ ទៅស្ថានប្រពៃ ២២	សំបុត្តិនៅអាយ កាត់ចិត្តជិនណាយ លែងលោកចង់បាន លោកលុះតែធម៌ ជាខ្លឹមប្រធាន នឹងនាំយោងប្រាណ ទៅស្ថានប្រពៃ។ ២២	The treasures of this world— maintain your mind to disdain them. Let go of craving and want. Crave only the Dharma, the supreme essence, that will carry your being to excellent realms. 22
មានទ្រព្យរបស់ ធ្វើបុនឱ្យស្អុយ កុំទុកធ្វើអ្វី សន់សមធ្វើទាន ឱ្យមាននិស្ស័យ ផ្លូវផលបច្ច័យ កុំប្រែទៅមុខ ២៣	មានទ្រព្យរបស់ ធ្វើបុណ្យឱ្យអស់ កុំទុកធ្វើអ្វី សន្សំធ្វើទាន ឱ្យមាននិស្ស័យ ជាផលបច្ច័យ កុំប្រែទៅមុខ។ ២៣	Whatever riches you have, make merit with them completely. Don't save them for something else. Save them for making gifts in order to have karmic affinity, as the fruit and condition for future profit. 23
នោះនឹងធ្វើទាន តែនឹងធ្វើទាន	តែនឹងធ្វើទាន	Always make offerings.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>ធ្វើទៅប៉ុន្មាន ដូចដំដុល់ទុក្ខ មិនមែនបង់សៀត ទៅជាតិខាងមុខ សំរាប់ស៊ីចុក ជារស្បៀងរៀងទៅ ២៤</p>	<p>ធ្វើទៅប៉ុន្មាន ដូចតំកល់ទុក មិនមែនបង់ម្សៀត ទៅជាតិខាងមុខ សំរាប់ស៊ីចុក ស្បៀងរៀងទៅមុខៗ ២៤</p>	<p>However many you make, it is like investing them— not a waste at all— for lives to come, in order to have nourishment and rations for the future. 24</p>
<p>ទោះអ្នកឯណា សូមសាង ច្រើនគ្រា</p>	<p>ទោះអ្នកឯណា សូមសាងច្រើនគ្រា</p>	<p>No matter who you are, make merit often...</p>
<p>XXXX XXXX ប្រថ្នាសំរោរ នេះនឹងត្រង់ផ្លូវ ទៅនិព្វានពិត ២៥</p>	<p>XXXX XXXX ប្រាថ្នាសំដៅ នេះនឹងត្រង់ផ្លូវ ទៅនិព្វានពិត ២៥</p>	<p>... ... ... aspire to reach the straight path to true Nibbāna. 25</p>
<p>បំរើចេញទ្រព្យ ធ្វើតាមសន្តាប់ នៃច្បាប់ក្រមក្រិត កុំចេះតែធ្វើ តាមអំពើចិត្ត ធ្វើហើយព្រហ្ម ត្រាត្រិតព្រះពុទ្ធ ២៦</p>	<p>កុំខ្លាចចេញទ្រព្យ ធ្វើតាមសន្តាប់ៗ នៃច្បាប់ក្រមក្រិត កុំចេះតែធ្វើ តាមអំពើចិត្ត ធ្វើហើយប្រព្រឹត្ត តាមក្រមព្រះពុទ្ធ ២៦</p>	<p>Don't fear loss of wealth. Do things according to what you heard in the laws and codes; don't just do things according to the whims of your heart. Do things and then practice them in accordance with the Buddha's law. 26</p>
<p>ចុះចិត្តអារម្ម ធ្វើទានឱ្យមាំ មប្រថ្នាឱ្យមុត ទោះធ្វើតិចតួច កុំឱ្យស្អប់ផុត ធំបំនឹងប្រកត្ត ដូចក្តីយប្រថ្នា ២៧</p>	<p>ចុះចិត្តអារម្មណ៍ ធ្វើទានឱ្យមាំៗ ប្រាថ្នាឱ្យមុត ទោះធ្វើតិចតួច កុំឱ្យស្អប់ផុត នឹងធំបំប្រាកដ ដូចក្តីបាច្ន្នា ២៧</p>	<p>Settle your mind and its objects. Make offerings steadfastly, and make a clear aspiration. Even if you give but little, don't be miserly, and you will quickly realize what you have aspired to. 27</p>
<p>គ្រប់រូបរាល់រៀង ព្រមព្រឹត្តទានទៀង ត្រឹមត្រូវធម៌អាថ៌ គ្រប់ជាន់គ្រប់ជាតិ មិនឃ្លាតសិក្ខិយ៉ា</p>	<p>គ្រប់រូបគ្រប់រាង ប្រព្រឹត្តទានទៀង ត្រឹមត្រូវធម៌អាថ៌ គ្រប់ជាន់គ្រប់ជាតិ មិនឃ្លាតសន្យា</p>	<p>In all forms and bodies, practice continuously and correctly, following the Dharma, for all realms and lives, never departing from one's promise</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ទៀងតែដល់មហា	ទៀងតែដល់មហា	true, all the way until great
និព្វានឯងហោង ។	និព្វានឯងហោង។	Nibbāna itself.
។ ័ ចប់ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍។		

**dhammasaṅveg «guor git aniccā»-k**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “We should reflect on the impermanence”

FEMC title: lpök dhammasaṅveg

Khmer verse, 19 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB067** 91a–93a

Summary: Begins with an explanation of the impermanence of the body and the inevitability of it turning into a foul corpse, followed by a description of how this corpse will be abandoned in the forest and feasted upon by wild beasts. The text concludes by emphasizing the refuge of the Dharma and the vow of the Buddha to save beings from saṃsāra, such that they might reach Nibbāna.

<b>UB067</b>	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
។ ។ ឧកាសបូពិទ្ធិ	<i>ukāsa</i> បពិត្រអើយ	Permit me, Venerable One!
យើងនឹងចាត់ចែង	យើងនឹងចាត់ចែង	We shall describe,
សំដែងចេញ	សម្តែងចេញ	express, and expound how
គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	we should reflect on the impermanence
រូបយើងសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	រូបយើងសព្វថ្ងៃ	of our bodies, day by day.
២	២	2
នៃអ្នកទាំងហ្ស្យ	នៃអ្នកទាំងឡាយ	All you good people!
រាល់រូបរាងកាយ	រាល់រូបរាងកាយ	All bodies and forms
ឱ្យអ្នកគិតក្រែង	ឱ្យអ្នកគិតក្រែង	you should reflect on with fear.
កាលរស់ជាមនុស្ស	កាលរស់ជាមនុស្ស	While alive as human beings,
សើចលេងប្រលេង	សើចលេងប្រលេង	you laughed, played, and teased,
ស្រលេញគ្នាឯង	ស្រឡាញ់គ្នាឯង	enjoying each other
ជាមិត្តផងគ្នា	ជាមិត្តផងគ្នា ។	together as friends.
៣	៣	3
លុះកាលខ្លួនខ្សែយ	លុះកាលខ្លួនក្ស័យ	When you die,
ឪពុកម្តាយនៃ	ឪពុកម្តាយនៃ	your parents
សំលេញពុំផ្លា	សម្លាញ់ពុំផ្លា	and your loved ones

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ពុំបានទៅផង កុំដរជាគ្នា ទៅរងវេទនា នរកម្នាក់មិញ ។ ៤	ពុំបានទៅផង កុំដរជាគ្នា ទៅរងវេទនា នរកម្នាក់មិញ ។ ៤	won't go along to accompany you. You'll endure the pain of the hells by yourself. 4
គេថាឯងខ្មោច ជុំមក្លិនអសោច គេតើរៀសចេញ រូបយើងអសា ឥតការអម្មេញ កន្តាលអវេញ ព្រៃព្រឹក្សសំសាន ។ ៥	គេថាឯងខ្មោច ជុំក្លិនអសោច គេដើររៀសចេញ រូបយើងអសារ ឥតការអម្មេញ កណ្តាលអវេញ ព្រៃព្រឹក្សស្មសាន ។ ៥	They'll call you a corpse, reeking with a vile stench, and will keep you far away. Our bodies are without essence, useless, and miserable, there in the wilderness, in the charnel woods. 5
ឧះឱរូប្យា គួរគិតអនិច្ចា រាលរូបរាលប្រាន កើតជាមនុស្សនេះ ពុំដែលរៀសបាន ពីក្តីសាម្មាន រាលអង្គរូប្យា ៦	ឱះឱរូបា គួរគិតអនិច្ចា រាលរូបរាលប្រាណ កើតជាមនុស្សនេះ ពុំដែលរៀសបាន ពីក្តីសាមាឡ រាលអង្គរូបា ។ ៦	Alas, this body! You should reflect on its impermanence, and that of all bodies. Born as a human being, you cannot escape from what is natural for all bodies. 6
រូបយើងអសោច ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច ឥតខ្ចឹមឥតសារ បីដូចឈើគុល ពុកចោលឯកា ឥតមានអ្នកឯណា កុំតរូបល្បើ ។ ៧	រូបយើងអសោច ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច ឥតខ្ចឹមឥតសារ បីដូចឈើគល់ ពុកចោលឯកា ឥតមានអ្នកឯណា កុំដរូបឡើយ ។ ៧	Our bodies are foul— they die and become corpses, without pith or essence, like tree stumps left to rot by themselves No one will accompany our bodies. 7
រូបយើងអសា ស្សញាតិកា គេថាខ្មោចហើយ គិតក្រែងលូងគេ តើរពុំជិតល្បើ គេថាខ្មោចហើយ អសោចអប្រិយ ។	រូបយើងអសារ អស់ញាតិកា គេថាខ្មោចហើយ គិតក្រែងលូងគេ ដើរពុំជិតឡើយ គេថាខ្មោចហើយ អសោចអប្រិយ ។	Our bodies are useless— all of your relatives will call [your body] a corpse, and fear it will haunt the living. They won't dare walk close. They'll call it a corpse, putrid and vile.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៨	៨	8
ហៀរក្សេយកខ្មោច រូបយើងអសោច ទៅចោលក្នុងព្រៃ សំសានស្ថានស្ងាត់ ស្រង្ហិតត្រឈៃ ត្រឈើក្នុងព្រៃ គិរីបុព្វតា	ហើយគេយកខ្មោច រូបយើងអសោច ទៅចោលក្នុងព្រៃ ស្នសានស្ថានស្ងាត់ ស្រងាត់ត្រឈៃ ត្រឈើក្នុងព្រៃ គិរីបុព្វតា	They'll take that corpse, your foul body, and discard it in the woods, in the quiet charnel grounds, dense and brambly, in the overgrown jungle, up in the hills.
៩	៩	9
ស្រង្ហើសស្រង្ហើច កន្លែងកន្តោច ហោចហុងព្រឹក្សា ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ជ្រងំម ទុគ្គមសោះសា ជ្រុងជ្រោយបុព្វតា តែឯកអង្គប្រាណ ។	ស្រងើះស្រងើច កណ្តែងកណ្តោច ហោចហុងព្រឹក្សា ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ជ្រងំ ទុគ្គមសោះសា ជ្រុងជ្រោយបុព្វតា តែឯកអង្គប្រាណ ។	How you'll ache and yearn, so lonesome and forlorn, lonely in that forest, still and silent, deep and remote, in the crannies of the hills, your body all alone.
១០	១០	10
XXXX មិនគួរនឹងអាជ ទៅតែកន្លែងបាន កន្តាលព្រៃព្រឹក្ស ពន្លឹកសំសាន មិនគួរនឹងហ៊ាន តែកស្លូកស្លឹងនូវ ។	XXXX មិនគួរនឹងអាច ទៅដេកនៅបាន កណ្តាលព្រៃព្រឹក្ស ពន្លឹកស្នសាន មិនគួរនឹងហ៊ាន ដេកស្លូកស្លឹងនៅ ។	... ... a place not suitable for lying down, the middle of the forest, the terrible charnel grounds, not a place one would dare to lie down motionless.
១១	១១	11
អ្នកកៀរព្រៃភ្នំម ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ជ្រងំម ព្រៃភ្នំមធ្វើជ្រៅ មិនគួរនឹងតែក តែម្នាក់ឯងនូវ នេះហៀរហែតហោរ ខ្មោចឥតវិញ្ញាណ ។	អ្នកអើយព្រៃភ្នំ ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ជ្រងំ ព្រៃភ្នំធំជ្រៅ មិនគួរនឹងដេក តែម្នាក់ឯងនៅ នេះហើយហេតុហោរ ខ្មោចឥតវិញ្ញាណ ។	O good people! In the wooded hills, quiet and hushed, in the depths of the mountain jungles, not a place suitable for lying down, there you'll be by yourself. This is why they call you a corpse, devoid of consciousness.
១២	១២	12
តែកស្លូកស្លឹងស្តែង កន្តោចកន្តែង នោះឥតពុំមាន	ដេកស្លូកស្លឹងស្តែង កណ្តោចកណ្តែង នោះឥតពុំមាន	Lying there motionless, desolate and deserted, without any

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

បោងផុខនញាតសេច	បងប្អូនញាតិសាច់	siblings and relatives,
មិត្តភក្តិព្រៀងល្ងាន	មិត្តភក្តិព្រៀងលាន	friends or neighbors
ម្នាក់ដូរគ្នាន	មួយកំដរគ្នាន	to accompany you,
តែឯកអង្គរ	តែឯកអង្គរ ។	your body will be alone.
១៣	១៣	13
មានតែអំរិក្ខ	មានតែអម្រឹគ	There will be but beasts,
តេតាសតតិក្ខ	ដេរជាសរដឹក	scattered all around,
កុំដូរជាគ្នា	កំដរជាគ្នា	to accompany you.
វាតើរជ្ជាឡើយ	វាដើរជាន់លើ	They'll trample on top
រូបយើងហ្ស៊ីវា	រូបយើងហើយវា	of your body
ស៊ីសេចយើងជា	ស៊ីសាច់យើងជា	and feast on your flesh,
អាហារសាប្ប ។	អាហារសប្បាយ ។	savoring the meal.
១៤	១៤	14
គួរគិតសង្រួត	គួរគិតសង្វេគ	You should think and be stirred,
អាណិតខ្លួនពេក	អាណិតខ្លួនពេក	taking pity on yourself,
តែឯកអង្គរ	តែឯកអង្គរ	your lonesome body.
គេបោលក្នុងព្រៃ	គេបោលក្នុងព្រៃ	They'll abandon you in the forest,
ត្រលែយស្ពានឆ្ងាយ	ត្រលែយស្ពានឆ្ងាយ	in the remote woods,
តែលសត្វទាំងឡាយ	ដែលសត្វទាំងឡាយ	with only animals
កុំដូររូប្យាវ	កំដររូប្យាវ ។	to attend to your body.
១៥	១៥	15
រាល់រូបរាងរាង	រាល់រូបរាងរាង	All bodies, all forms,
ស្វាសព្វសារពាង	សាយសព្វសព័រដ្ឋ	all physical embodiments,
កាយយើងនេះណា	កាយយើងនេះណា	and our bodies too
ពុំមានទីពឹង	ពុំមានទីពឹង	are not a refuge
ពុំនឹងអាត្មា	ពុំនឹងអាត្មា	for ourselves,
នឹងយាត់អាត្មា	នឹងយាត់អាត្មា	as we cannot force
ឱ្យនៅពុំបាន ។	ឱ្យនៅពុំបាន ។	ourselves to stay alive.
១៦	១៦	16
មានតែក្រលំបាក	មានតែក្រឡាប់	The only choice is to return [whence we came].
រស្សហ្ស៊ីវនិងស្លាប់	រស់ហើយនឹងស្លាប់	Having lived, we must die—
សេចក្តីពុំខាន ។	សេចក្តីពុំខាន	this is certain.
គួរអ្នកឱ្យហាត	គួរអ្នកឱ្យហាត	Thus you should strive
សង្វាតឱ្យបាន	សង្វាតឱ្យបាន	hard to achieve
ធម្មពុំអ្នកប្រាន	ធម៌ពុំនាក់ប្រាណ	the Dharma that is a refuge for your life,
ជាស្ពានឌីតម្ម	ជាស្ពានឌីតម្ម ។	an excellent bridge.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

១៧	១៧	17
ព្រះទស្សពុល្លញ្ញាន រិះគិតសន្និធាន ទ្រង់អទិស្សស្នាន គួរអញប្រោសសត្វ ឱ្យបរិបូណ៌បាន ត្រូវតូចបូរ៉ាន ព្រះពុទ្ធរៀងមក ។	ព្រះទសពលញ្ញាណ រិះគិតសន្និដ្ឋាន ទ្រង់អធិស្ឋាន គួរអញប្រោសសត្វ ឱ្យបរិបូណ៌បាន ត្រូវដូចបុរាណ ព្រះពុទ្ធរៀងមក ។	The Ten-Powered Omniscient One reflected and concluded, then made a vow: “I should save living beings and guide them to completion, just like the ancient buddhas of the past.”
១៨	១៨	18
ព្រះអង្គប្រោសសត្វ ស្រោចស្រង់ពីវត្ត សង្សារយោនយក គង់តោម្មតាកតល តំកលលើរស្នាន សួរិគាណៃយបាន តលនិព្វានណា ។	ព្រះអង្គប្រោសសត្វ ស្រោចស្រង់ពីវដ្ត សង្សារយោនយក គង់ដោមដាក់ដល់ តម្កល់លើស្នាន សួរិគាលីយបាន ដល់និព្វានណា ។	The Lord saved beings, rescuing them from the wheel of saṃsāra, and taking and placing them up high in the realm of the heavens, that they might reach Nibbāna.
១៩	១៩	19
លុះតលកំណត់ ព្រះជុនប្រកដ្ឋ ស្តេចនឹងយាត្រា យុំព្រះយុពុល ចូលក្នុង កែវមហា បរមសុត្វា តលនិព្វានហោង ។	លុះដល់កំណត់ ព្រះជន្មប្រាកដ ស្តេចនឹងយាត្រា ថយព្រះយុពុល [?] ចូលក្នុងកែវមហា បរមសុខា ដល់និព្វានហោង ។	When the limit is reached for your true lifespan, King [Yama] will come and drain your youthful energy, to enter the crystalline, the great, the paramount bliss and arrive at Nibbāna.

**dhammasañveg «dhammasañveg»-k**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “These are the stirring teachings”

FEMC title: lpök dhammasañveg

Khmer verse, 20 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB067** 87a–89b braḥ dhammasañvèk

Summary: Begins with an explanation of how the body will decay and be separated from its souls, followed by admonitions to give away one’s wealth, contemplate one’s body, and to make merit while one is still alive and well, before it is too late. The text closes with a petition



to the Buddha to help one forsake one's wealth and body and a vow to practice the Dharma in every life.

<b>UB067</b>	Corrected edition	Translation
១	១	1
ធម្មសង្វេគ	ធម្មសង្វេគ	These are the stirring teachings:
រូបវែងប្រាសបែក	រូបវែងប្រាសបែក	your body shall be torn asunder,
ឃ្នាតខ្លាចេញបង់	ឃ្នាតឃ្នាចេញបង់	separated, departed,
ព្រាតព្រះចោលគ្នា	ព្រាត់ព្រាសចោលគ្នា	cleaved apart,
កំព្រាឯកអង្គ	កំព្រាឯកអង្គ	orphaned and alone,
ឆ្អឹងនូវរហង់	ឆ្អឹងនៅរហង់	bones all arrayed,
សេចស្បែករលួយ ។	សាច់ស្បែករលួយ ។	flesh and skin rotted away.
២	២	2
អស្សឆ្អឹងពេក	អស្សឆ្អឹងពេក	Pity those bones—
កាលរសនូវតេត្ត	កាលរស់នៅដេក	while you lived they stayed
លំនៅជាមួយ	លំនៅជាមួយ	in one place,
មិនដែលឯកឯង	មិនដែលឯកឯង	never separate
កន្លែងឱ្យព្រួយ	កន្លែងឱ្យព្រួយ	or left in fearsome loneliness;
ឆ្អឹងចោលរង្វើយ	ឆ្អឹងចោលរង្វើយ	now those bones are cast aside,
រលួយមិនខាន ។	រលួយមិនខាន ។	bound to rot away.
៣	៣	3
ព្រះលីងចេញទៅ	ព្រះលីងចេញទៅ	Your souls shall be scattered,
និងឈប់ខាននូវ	និងឈប់ខាននៅ	not able to continue
យូរទៅមិនបាន	យូរទៅមិនបាន	to remain for long.
ប្រលីងប្រែប្រាស	ព្រះលីងប្រែប្រាស	Your souls, cast away,
ក្រលំបំចោលឋាន	ក្រឡាស់ចោលឋាន	shall return and leave this realm.
យកទៅមិនបាន	យកទៅមិនបាន	You can't take the body with you,
ខាតខូចអសារ ។	ខាតខូចអសារ ។	as it is broken and without essence.
៤	៤	4
រូបខំមសង្វេគ	រូបខំសង្វេគ	Be stirred by this body,
រមែងតែងបែក	រមែងតែងបែក	always breaking apart—
រៀងរាល់រូបណា	រៀងរាល់រូបណា	every last body,
មិនថាក្មេងចាស់	មិនថាក្មេងចាស់	no matter young or old,
ប្រែប្រាសអសារ	ប្រែប្រាសអសារ	shall be transformed, without essence;
រលាយអាត្មា	រលាយអាត្មា	the self melts away;
ស្តាយក្រៀមមិនខាន ។	ស្តាយក្រៀមមិនខាន ។	regret is inevitable.
៥	៥	5

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ឱ៖ឱរូបឃើញ	ឱ៖ឱរូបអើយ	O, woe is the body!
កុំធ្វើកន្តើយ	កុំធ្វើកន្តើយ	Don't be careless;
ប្រយាត្តខ្លួនប្រាណ។	ប្រយ័ត្នខ្លួនប្រាណ	watch out for your own life.
ប្រលឹងស្អប់រូប	ព្រលឹងស្អប់រូប	Your souls detest the body;
យកទៅមិនបាន	យកទៅមិនបាន	you can't take it with you.
ស្រលេញបុន្មាន	ស្រឡាញ់បុន្មាន	No matter how much you cherish it,
នូវខានអសារ។	នៅខានអសារ។	it can't remain, as it lacks essence.
៦	៦	6
អ្នកកុំសន្សំម	អ្នកកុំសន្សំ	Don't try to save up
ទោះទ្រាពូតូចធំ	ទោះទ្រព្យតូចធំ	wealth, great or small;
ទ្វាស្សនោះណា	ទាំងអស់នោះណា	all of that
វាតែងឱ្យទោរ	វាតែងឱ្យទោស	always leads to vice,
ឆ្នាំឱ្យអសារ	នាំឱ្យអសារ	to futility,
វាឆ្នាំមត្តា x	វាវាតាម x	sending you down
ទៅនរកពិតៗ	ទៅនរកពិតៗ	to the hells without fail
៧	៧	7
ខំមជ្រៀសឱ្យបាន	ខំចៀសឱ្យបាន	Strive to escape completely—
រកស៊ីតាមក្បួន [ហ្មាន]	រកស៊ីតាមក្បួន [ហ្មាន]	make a living to stave off hunger,
រក្សាជីវិត	រក្សាជីវិត	to nourish your life.
ខំប្រឹងបើកភ្នែក	ខំប្រឹងបើកភ្នែក	Strive to open your eyes;
កុំធ្មេចឱ្យជិត	កុំធ្មេចឱ្យជិត	don't keep them shut.
កុំឱ្យងងឹត	កុំឱ្យងងឹត	Don't be in the dark;
ទុកមើលផ្លូវខ្លះ។	ទុកមើលផ្លូវខ្លះ។	look out at the path.
៨	៨	8
រូបអង្វរល្ប	រូបអង្វរលាយ	The body ever melts away;
ទៅមុខមិនងាយ	ទៅមុខមិនងាយ	moving forward is not easy,
ចង្អៀតក្រណាស	ចង្អៀតក្រណាស	but constricted and difficult,
រូបធ្មេចក្រភ្នែក	រូបធ្មេចក្រភ្នែក	for the body blinks, but rarely the eyes, [?]
តេចមិនហ្ម	ដាច់មិនហ្មស	cut off, but not swiftly— [?]
ផ្លូវនោះក្រណាស	ផ្លូវនោះក្រណាស	that path is difficult indeed,
សត្រូវចោមជិត។	សត្រូវចោមជិត។	with enemies crowding all around.
៩	៩	9
អ្នកខំមគិតខ្លួន	អ្នកខំគិតខ្លួន	Strive to contemplate yourself;
សង្វែកផ្លូវ៤	សង្វែកផ្លូវបួន	be stirred by the four paths.
កុំធ្វើមិនគិត	កុំធ្វើសមិនគិត	Don't carelessly fail to think,
ក៏អាន់ខ្លួនសុខ	ក៏អាន់ខ្លួនសុខ	assuming that you are happy,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ធ្វើមុខមិនដិត	ធ្វើមុខមិនដិត	making unaffected faces,
ស្បីឥតបើគិត	ស្បីឥតបើគិត	consuming without a care,
សើចលេងសាប្បា ។	សើចលេងសប្បាយ ។	laughing and playing gaily.
១០	១០	10
បាតិចរូបក្រ	បន្តិចរូបក្រ	But a little later, the body is difficult.
លុះតលភ្នែកស៊ី	លុះដល់ភ្នែកស	When your eyes go white,
ស្មុតស្មាំងស្មាត្រី	ស្មុតស្មាំងស្មារតី	your attention cadaverous,
ហើយហៅគេឯង	ហើយហៅគេឯង	you call for one and all
ឱ្យមកឃ្នាតខ្ចី	ឱ្យមកឃ្នាតខ្ចី	to come quickly
ច្បាច្រាពនោះនៃ	ចាយទ្រព្យនោះនៃ	to dispense your wealth,
ធ្វើបុណ្យអាត្មា ។	ធ្វើបុណ្យអាត្មា ។	and make merit for yourself.
១១	១១	11
ឱ្យគេគិតឱ្យ	ឱ្យគេគិតឱ្យ	But having them figure it out for you,
បន្ទូនគ្នាគ្រៀប	បញ្ជូនតាមក្រោយ	and send the merit to you afterwards,
ពុំត្រូវទេណា	ពុំត្រូវទេណា	is not right at all.
មានកាលក៏បាន	មានកាលក៏បាន	Sometimes it works,
មាន កាលអាសា	មានកាលអសារ	but sometimes it is futile;
ពុំបានកោត្តារ	ពុំបានកោត្តា	so without nourishment,
វិនាសបាត់បង់ ។	វិនាសបាត់បង់ ។	it could all disappear.
១២	១២	12
រូបចង់ឱ្យបាន	រូបចង់ឱ្យបាន	Your body—bind it well
សង់រូមអង្គប្រាន	សង្រួមអង្គប្រាណ	to maintain your life.
ឥន្ទិញរូប អង្គ	អនិញរូបអង្គ	Pity this impermanent body!
លើកទានបិតទូល	លើកទានពិតទូល	Raise up offerings,
ប្រយ័ត្នតម្រង់	ប្រាប្បាតម្រង់	intone your sincere wishes,
ឱទ្ធិស្មោះត្រង់	ឱទ្ធិស្មោះត្រង់	and dedicate the merit honestly,
ឱ្យទៅជាទាន ។	ឱ្យទៅជាទាន ។	giving them all away as charity.
១៣	១៣	13
រូបខំមសន្សឹម	រូបខំសន្សំ	Take care of the body,
បរុសប្រែង រៀបចំ	ប្រុសប្រែង រៀបចំ	making efforts to prepare
ប្រយ័ត្នខ្លួនប្រាន	ប្រយ័ត្នខ្លួនប្រាណ	and look after the body;
ត្នាំចិត្តព្រិត	តាំងចិត្តព្រិត	make a vow to practice,
កុំគិតចង់បាន	កុំគិតចង់បាន	don't be avaricious...
XXXX	XXXX	...
សាធាជាបុន	សទ្ធាជាបុណ្យ ។	...with faith as merit.
១៤	១៤	14

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ទៅមុខជាក់ស្តែង យកធម្មសំតែង ធ្វើឯងប្រែមុខ	ទៅមុខជាក់ស្តែង យកធម៌សម្តែង ធ្វើឯងប្រែមុខ	Move forward clearly, take the preached Dharma, that transform you to face...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
ខ្លួនឈឺកើតទុក ស្រែកទ្វារមាត្រដល់ ។	ខ្លួនឈឺកើតទុក ស្រែកទ្វារមាត្រដល់ ។	you'll be sick and suffering, crying out for the paths and the fruits.
១៥	១៥	15
កាលណានឹងបាន គេចោមជុំប្រាណ ធម្មចូលមិនដល់ រូបមានជុំម្លើរ ឈឺកើតកង្វល់ រសាប់រសល់ កុំល្ងាត់ចង្អែក ។	កាលណានឹងបាន គេចោមជុំប្រាណ ធម្មចូលមិនដល់ រូបមានជំងឺ ឈឺកើតកង្វល់ រសាប់រសល់ កម្លាំងតិចប្លែក ។	When it comes time for others to gather around your body, the Dharma can't penetrate you, for your body is ill, sick and anxious, tossing and turning, your energy exhausted.
១៦	១៦	16
ប្រឹងខំមញ្ជីក្មេង កុំគិតសើចលេង គិតតែរសង្កែក ក្នុងត្រៃលក្ខណៈញាណ មានជាបង្អែក កុំគិតឱ្យបែក ពីព្រះបន្ទូល ។	ប្រឹងខំពីក្មេង កុំគិតសើចលេង គិតតែសង្កែក ក្នុងត្រៃលក្ខណៈញាណ មានជាបង្អែក កុំគិតឱ្យបែក ពីព្រះបន្ទូល ។	Strive hard from a young age; don't just laugh and play. Reflect on and be stirred by the wisdom of Three Marks; they are your reliance. Don't dare to break from the Buddha's words.
១៧	១៧	17
ខ្ញុំសូមសេច្ចា ស្តង់សូមប្រាថ្នា គ្នាព្រះបន្ទូល ព្រះអង្គស្រង់សត្វ ខ្ចាត់ចេញបំប្លែង ទ្រង់ព្រះអនុកូល អាសូរសត្វហោង ។	ខ្ញុំសូមសេច្ចា ស្តង់សូមប្រាថ្នា តាមព្រះបន្ទូល ព្រះអង្គស្រង់សត្វ ខ្ចាត់ចេញប្រមូល ទ្រង់ព្រះអនុកូល អាសូរសត្វផង ។	"I humbly vow to cultivate. I make this prayer in accordance with the august words of the Lord, who blesses creatures, who gathers those who are scattered, who is endowed with compassion, and pities all living beings.
១៨	១៨	18
សូមសិលបរម្មី គុនព្រះជ័នស្រ្យ មកជួរតម្រង ខ្ញុំមក្សែខ្ញុំមខ្លាច	សូមសិលបារមី គុណព្រះជិនស្រី មកជួយតម្រង ខ្ញុំភ័យខ្ញុំមខ្លាច	May the perfections of conduct, the virtues of the Glorious Victor, come to help rectify me, for I am afraid and fearful,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចិត្តកាចមិនត្រង់	ចិត្តកាចមិនត្រង់	my mind mean and dishonest—
សូមឱ្យព្រះអង្គ	សូមឱ្យព្រះអង្គ	may the Lord
ទ្រង់ប្រោសមេតា ។	ទ្រង់ប្រោសមេតា ។	save me out of kindness,
១៩	១៩	19
ឱ្យខ្ញុំមលាកាត	ឱ្យខ្ញុំលាកាត	so that I can abandon and cut off
ស្បុរទ្រាពសំបុរាត្ថ	អស់ទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ	all wealth and riches,
ទ្វារសេចលាមណា	ទាំងសាច់ឈាមណា	as well as my flesh and blood,
កុំឱ្យសល់នូវ	កុំឱ្យសល់នៅ	such that none remains,
ខូចទៅអាសារ	ខូចទៅអសារ	as they would only spoil, lacking essence.
ស្អាងសូមប្រថ្នា	ស្អាងសូមប្រថ្នា	I vow to cultivate and humbly wish
ត្នាព្រះធម្មនូវ ។	តាមព្រះធម៌នៅ ។	to live according to the Dharma
២០	២០	20
កុំឱ្យឃ្នារឃ្នាត	កុំឱ្យឃ្នារឃ្នាត	and never be separated from it
រៀងរាល់សព្វជាតិ	រៀងរាល់សព្វជាតិ	in every life
ពីរនេះតទៅ	ពីរនេះតទៅ	from now on,
កុំឱ្យរញ្ជា	កុំឱ្យរញ្ជា	and never be hesitant [to give up]
របស់នោះកូរ	របស់នោះកូរ	any of my belongings,
ខិតខំចូលទៅ	ខិតខំចូលទៅ	ever striving to enter
និព្វាននោះហោង ។	និព្វាននោះហោង ។	yonder Nibbāna!

**dhammasañveg «oh o rūpā»-k**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body”

FEMC title: lpök dhammasañveg

Khmer verse, fragment of 25 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB067** 47b, 48–50b anīccā rūp tēl mind dieñ oy<sup>o</sup> gīt anīccā (middle missing)

Summary: Explanation of the impermanence and inevitable death of the body, along with the the rites of binding it to a cross and abandoning it in the forest, where it will be surrounded by beasts. Emphasizes the loss of all of one’s family and accumulated wealth and how craving and attachment to these lead to suffering.

UB067	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
ឧកាស្ស បូពិភ្លើ	ឧកាសៈបពិត្រអើយ	Permit me, venerable!
យើងនឹងសម្តែងព្យាចៃដចរព្វា	យើងនឹងសម្តែងពារចៃដចរពា	We shall expound and express

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

គ្នាព្រះធម្មថា  
ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្លៃ  
សុំអ្នកនាង នៃ  
ចូលច្នាំចិត្តចង  
ត្រាបត្រងធម្មថ្លៃ  
កំប្លឺឱ្យភ្លេច  
ឱ្យតេចល្បើនៃ  
សុំអាសេចក្តីយ  
ឱ្យព្រះអនិច្ចំ

២

ឱនអង្គសិរសា  
ស្តាប់ធម៌អនិច្ចា  
រៀងរាល់រូបកាយ  
អ្នកក្សេកក្រពើមក  
រមែងតែងឆ្ងាយ  
រូបប្រែរលាយ  
វិនាសបាត់បង់ ។

២

ឱ៖ឱរូប្បារ  
មុកគួរអនិច្ចា  
គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រី  
ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច  
អាសោចអប្រិយ  
រូបនៅក្នុងដី  
លើកំណល ២

៣

រូបប្លើឥតការ  
អាសោចអាសារ  
អាសោចចង្រ្រៃ  
សុំទ្វារព្រៀងលាន  
មិត្តភក្តិភ្ញាក់ប្រិយ  
គេមិនប្រណិ  
អាសូររូបលើ

២

កាលនូវជាមនុស្ស  
ពុំមានគិតសោះ

តាមព្រះធម៌ថា  
ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្លៃ  
អស់អ្នកនាងនៃ  
ចូរចាំចិត្តចង  
ត្រាបត្រងធម៌ថ្លៃ  
កុំបីឱ្យភ្លេច  
ឱ្យដាច់ឡើយនៃ  
អស់អាថ៌សេចក្តី  
ទីព្រះ aniccam ។

២

ឱនអង្គសិរសា  
ស្តាប់ធម៌អនិច្ចា  
រៀងរាល់រូបកាយ  
អ្នកអើយកើតមក  
រមែងតែងឆ្ងាយ  
រូបប្រែរលាយ  
វិនាសបាត់បង់ ។

២

ឱ៖ឱរូបា  
មុខគួរអនិច្ចា  
គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រី  
ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច  
អាសោចអប្រិយ  
រូបនៅក្នុងដី  
លើកំណល់បួន ។

៣

រូបអើយឥតការ  
អាសោចិអាសារ  
អាសោចិចង្រ្រៃ  
អស់ទាំងព្រៀងលាន  
មិត្តភក្តិភ្ញាក់ប្រិយ  
គេមិនប្រណិ  
អាសូររូបឡើយ ។

២

កាលនៅជាមនុស្ស  
ពុំមានគិតសោះ

in accordance with the Dharma spoken  
by the Precious Lord.  
All you people, men and women,  
fix and focus your minds  
and listen to the precious Dharma.  
Don't be forgetful  
or let your attention wander  
from all of these meaningful words  
concerning impermanence.

2

Bow your body and head  
and listen to the Dharma of impermanence.  
All bodies,  
O good people, are born  
only to slip away,  
for the body changes and decays,  
and is ruined and destroyed.

2

Alas, the body—  
you should consider its impermanence.  
All bodies of men and women  
die and become corpses,  
foul and loathsome.  
Your body shall lie on the earth  
upon four pallets.

3

Your body is useless,  
foul and without essence,  
rotten and inauspicious.  
All of your neighbors,  
friends, and dear ones  
won't take pity on  
or care for your body.

4

When you were a human,  
you didn't think

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ត្រង់សីលទានលើ មានតែរមោហា មោហារតតត្រឿ តូច្នេះអ្នកកើ ចូលស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ ៥	ត្រង់សីលទានឡើយ មានតែរមោហា ទោសាតតត្រឿយ ដូច្នេះអ្នកអើយ ចូរស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ ។ ៥	of precepts or charity at all. You were ignorant, angry, and without refuge. Hence, O good people, listen to the Dharma! 5
កាលរូបរស្សនូវ ក្តាំឃើញក្តៅៗ គ្រប់រូបអ្នកនាង លុះប្រែក្រលាញ រូបស្លាប់ចង្រ្កាង គ្រឿងប្រាងណាង ត្រៀសពីរដំបូរ ៦	កាលរូបរស់នៅ កម្មឃើញក្តៅៗ គ្រប់រូបអ្នកនាង លុះប្រែក្រឡាប់ រូបស្លាប់ចង្រ្កាង គេគ្រងបាងណាង ទ្រៀសពីរដំបូរ ។ ៦	While your body is alive, your karma keeps it warm. But for all bodies, change comes quick. Your body will lie dead on its back upon a cross fashioned from four pairs of bamboo 6
យកមកពាតរម្ម វិតឱ្យជិតជម រូបតតស្តីយថា រូបពុំក ក្រើក កំរើកលើណា រៀងរាល់រូប្យាវ រមែងតូចគ្នា ៧	យកមកព័ទ្ធរុំ វិតឱ្យជិតជុំ រូបតតស្តីថា រូបពុំកក្រើក កម្រើកឡើយណា រៀងរាល់រូប្យា រមែងដូចគ្នា ។ ៧	bound together taut and tight. Your body can't complain and won't budge or move at all. All bodies are just like this. 7
គ្រូហៅកូនចៅ សុទ្ធាញាតដៅ ឱ្យស្រាយចំណង បើកជញ្ជាំងចេញ តាកទៅត្បូងហោង ហើយគ្រូយកកង ម្លូតាកខាងក្បាល ៨	គេហៅកូនចៅ អស់ទាំងញាតដៅ ឱ្យស្រាយចំណង បើកជញ្ជាំងចេញ ដាក់ទៅដីហោង ហើយគេយកកង ម្លូយដាក់ខាងក្បាល ។ ៨	Others will gather all of your kin to release the binds, open the fence, and place your body on the ground. They will then take one loop [of rope] and place it at your head. 8
ម្លូតាកចុងជើងផង យកស្នែងនោះហោង សឹក XXX..... XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX	ម្លូយដាក់ជើងផង យកស្នែងនោះហោង សឹក XXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX	They will place another at your feet, and take the carrying pole and insert it... ... ... ... ...

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

(unknown number of stanzas missing)	(unknown number of stanzas missing)	(unknown number of stanzas missing)
៩	៩	9
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXក្នុងព្រៃ	XXក្នុងព្រៃ	...in the forest.
អសូវខ្លួនពេក មកដេកក្នុងត្បូង ម្នាក់ឯងស្ងាត់ក្រៃ ឥតគ្រូកម្រើរ	អសូវខ្លួនពេក មកដេកក្នុងដី ម្នាក់ឯងស្ងាត់ក្រៃ ឥតគេកម្រើរ ។	Pity your body, lain down in the dirt, alone in utter silence, without companions.
១០	១០	10
កាលរស់លើ ពុំបានគិតលើ ខំមតែរកស៊ី បំបាត់ប្រវាញ ទ្រព្យគ្រូផងមិញ ពុំគិតអវិច្ច នរកលើណា	កាលរស់នៅឡើយ ពុំបានគិតឡើយ ខំរែរកស៊ី បំបាត់ប្រវិញ ទ្រព្យគេផងមិញ ពុំគិតអវិច្ច នរកឡើយណា ។	When you were alive, you failed to think. You tried only to make money, wasting and swindling the wealth of others, not reflecting at all on Avīci hell.
១១	១១	11
ហើយលោកហៅ អនុពាលទោតទៅ ខ្មៅតាមតណ្ហា ពុំគិតបាបបុន ទោសទានអាត្មា ចិត្តចង់ចេតនា តែកូនប្រពន្ធ ។	ហើយលោកហៅ អនុពាលទោតទៅ ខ្មៅតាមតណ្ហា ពុំគិតបាបបុណ្យ ទោសទានអាត្មា ចិត្តចង់ចេតនា តែកូនប្រពន្ធ ។	And as for what the Master calls stupidity and childishness, you were obscured by such ignorance, not thinking of merit, sin, or fault while still alive. You only thought of your children and wife,
១២	១២	12
ពុំគិតអាត្មា លុះតលមរនា វិន្យបាតបង សុទ្ធាទ្រព្យផង នូវកូនប្រពន្ធ ពុំបានមូលមុន ទៅផងជាមួយ	ពុំគិតអាត្មា លុះដល់មរណា វិនាសបាតបង អស់ទាំងទ្រព្យផង នូវកូនប្រពន្ធ ពុំបានមូលមុន ទៅផងជាមួយ	but never considered yourself. For when you die, all is lost, all of your riches along with your children and wife. You can't gather what you had and take it with you.
១៣	១៣	13
មុកគួរអា អាសូវ ខ្លួនឡើងកោ	មុខគួរអាសូវ ខ្លួនឡើងកោ	Thus it is pitiable that you will be alone,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

កន្តោចកន្តែង  
ទៅរងវេទនា  
កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង  
យំម្តុបាលពុំក្រែង  
ចង់៥ ប្រការ  
១៤

នេះហៅចំម្នង  
ប្រពន្ធកូនចង្កូ  
ឱ្យតែវេទនា  
មិនទៅកំដរ  
ឱ្យបានជាគ្នា  
ព្រោះអវិជ្ជា  
វាមកគ្របបំបាំង  
១៥

ខំមរឱ្យបាន  
របស្សធុនធាន  
ពុំមានឱ្យខ្លះ  
ទោះបីទ្រព្យគៀ  
យកខាងតែឈ្នះ  
របស្សឯងពេញផ្ទះ  
ខ្លួនព្រះព្រាតហោល  
១៦

ឱ៖ឱអនិច្ចា  
អនិច្ចំទុក្ខា  
គួរគិតតម្រង់  
ស្សទ្វារកូនចៅ  
គៀនរូបរហង្ស  
ខ្លួនឯងព្រះបង្ខំ  
គៀនរូសាបាប្យ  
១៧

XXXX  
ស្លាប់ចោលតម្លើក  
ទៅតែក្នុងដី  
គៀពុំអណិត  
អស្សប្រណី  
គិតតែយកប្តី

កណ្តោចកណ្តែង  
ទៅរងវេទនា  
កំព្រាម្នាក់ឯង  
យំម្តុបាលពុំក្រែង  
ចង់ប្រាំប្រការ ។  
១៤

នេះហៅចំណង  
ប្រពន្ធកូនចង  
ឱ្យតែវេទនា  
មិនទៅកំដរ  
ឱ្យបានជាគ្នា  
ព្រោះអវិជ្ជា  
វាមកគ្របបំបាំង ។  
១៥

ខំរកឱ្យបាន  
របស់ធនធាន  
ពុំមានឱ្យខ្លះ  
ទោះបីទ្រព្យគេ  
យកខាងតែឈ្នះ  
របស់ឯងពេញផ្ទះ  
ខ្លួនប្រាសព្រាតហោល ។  
១៦

ឱ៖ឱអនិច្ចា  
អនិច្ចំទុក្ខា  
គួរគិតតម្រង់  
អស់ទាំងកូនចៅ  
គេនៅរហង្ស  
ខ្លួនឯងប្រាសបង្ខំ  
គេនៅសប្បាយ ។  
១៧

XXXX  
ស្លាប់ចោលដំណេក  
ទៅដេកក្នុងដី  
គេពុំអណិត  
អស្សប្រណី  
គិតតែយកប្តី

lonely and isolated,  
enduring suffering,  
orphaned and solitary.  
But Yama's guards won't hesitate  
to bind you in five ways.  
14

These are called the attachments  
of wife and children, which bind you  
into suffering,  
for they won't go along  
to accompany you.  
Ignorance comes to  
conceal all in darkness.  
15

You tried hard to gain  
money and things,  
so as to lack nothing.  
You even tried to  
win over that of others.  
Your house bulges with stuff,  
but none of it you'll see again.  
16

Alas, how impermanent,  
how transient and painful!  
Reflect on this carefully.  
All of your offspring  
will line up in order.  
You'll lose everything,  
but they'll have fun.  
17

...  
...once dead, you'll lose your bed  
and lie down in the dirt.  
Other won't pity you  
or show compassion.  
They'll only think of

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះពុទ្ធរាលគ្គា	ប្រពន្ធរាលគ្គា ។	snatching your husband or wife.
១៨	១៨	18
រូបប្លើសាម៉ាន	រូបអើយសាមន្យ	How low is your body,
មកបានតេរឆ្នាន	មកបានតិរឆ្នាន	that wild beasts
កំដរជាគ្នា	កំដរជាគ្នា	will accompany it
ក្នុងព្រៃក្ស័រព្រៃធំ	ក្នុងព្រៃក្ស័រព្រៃធំ	in the vast forest,
ទុក្ខមុអធ្វារ	ទុក្ខមុអធ្វារ	far from any roads.
ស្សគ្រូរាលគ្គា	អស់គេរាលគ្គា	All of the other people
គ្រូរូបរូបហើយ	គេស្អប់រូបហើយ ។	will detest your body.
១៩	១៩	19
ហោរសែនអាសូរ	ហោរសែនអាសូរ	How pitiable it will be,
ឮរមាត្តសត្វផ្លូវ	ឮរមាត្តសត្វផ្លូវ	hearing the sounds of beasts,
សាបសូរល្អែងល្អោច	សព្វសូរល្អែងល្អោច	their voices hair-raising,
រូបនូវម្នាក់ឯង	រូបនៅម្នាក់ឯង	your body all alone,
កន្លែង កន្តោច	កណ្តែងកណ្តោច	solitary and lonely,
ក្នុងព្រៃត្រមោច	ក្នុងព្រៃត្រមោច	in the forlorn forest,
លុន្ទោចឲ្យក្តាត	លន្ទោចឲ្យក្តាត ។	distant and dejected.
២០	២០	20
តែកស្លកស្តើងស្តើង	ដេកស្លកស្តើងស្តើង	As your body lies motionless,
កន្តោចកន្តែង	កណ្តោចកណ្តែង	desolate and lonesome
កន្តាលព្រៃ ស្ងាត់	កណ្តាលព្រៃស្ងាត់	in the middle of the quiet forest,
មានតែម្រឹគី	មានតែម្រឹគី	there will only be birds
អំប្រើគ្នាសព្វសត្វ	ម្រឹគីសព្វសត្វ	and beasts of every kind,
ត្រេចរករង្គាត	ត្រេចរករង្គាត	wandering here and there
សេចខ្មោចកោក្តា	សាច់ខ្មោចកោក្តា ។	in search of a corpse to eat.
២១	២១	21
នូវក្នុងព្រៃធំ	នៅក្នុងព្រៃធំ	In the vast forest,
ទីទុយមៀមមុំ	ទីទុយមៀមមុំ	spotted owls, wood owls,
ខ្លែងស្រាកត្នាបារ	ខ្លែងស្រាកត្នាបារ	earless owls, horned owls,
ឌីឡរៀរទោច	ឌីឡរៀរទោច	bay owls, doves, gibbons,
ខ្លែងគូកលលកណារ	ខ្លែងគូកលលកណារ	great owls, turtle doves,
ចចកស្វានស្វា	ចចកស្វានស្វា	wolves, wild dogs, monkeys
ខ្លោងខ្លាត្រៃព្រៃ	ខ្លោងខ្លាត្រៃព្រៃ ។	tigers, and dholes
២២	២២	22
យាយមរំពង្ស	យាយមរំពង្ស	cry out noisily,
សព្វសៀនអើងកង	សព្វសៀនអើងកង	their cries resounding

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ត្បោងដងព្រៃក្បែរព្រៃ	ដោយដងព្រៃក្បែរព្រៃ	across the forest.
មុខគួរអាសូរ	មុខគួរអាសូរ	This should cause you to pity
អាណិតប្រណី	អាណិតប្រណី	and have compassion for
រូបដេកក្នុងដី	រូបដេកក្នុងដី	the body lying in the earth,
ឥតអ្វីជាគ្នា ។	ឥតអ្វីជាគ្នា ។	without anyone to accompany it.
២៣	២៣	23
ឱះឱអនិច្ចា	ឱះឱអនិច្ចា	Alas, how impermanent!
ឱរូបរាលគ្នា	ឱរូបរាលគ្នា	All of our bodies,
រាលរូបទាំងអស់	រាល់រូបទាំងអស់	without exception,
តណ្ហារាវចង	តណ្ហារាវចង	are bound by craving
ព្រោះទ្រព្យរបស់	ព្រោះទ្រព្យរបស់	for wealth and belongings.
ឥតមានចន្លោះ	ឥតមានចន្លោះ	No one is an
ពុំជារាលរូប ។	ពុំជារាលរូប ។	exception to this.
២៤	២៤	24
គ្មានអ្វីទៅផង	គ្មានអ្វីទៅផង	Nothing can go with you,
តណ្ហារាវចង	តណ្ហារាវចង	for you are bound by craving,
វាឱ្យងងឹត	វាឱ្យងងឹត	which obscures
ចូលមកបំបាំង	ចូលមកបំបាំង	and conceals,
បន្ទន់ក្នុងចិត្ត	បន្ទន់ក្នុងចិត្ត	defeating the mind,
វាឱ្យងងឹត	វាឱ្យងងឹត	making all dark
ងងឹតលមហិមា ។	ងងឹតលមហិមា ។	and deeply confused.
២៥	២៥	25
គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រី	គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រី	All bodies, male or female,
ក្មេងពាលចាស់ក្តី	ក្មេងពាលចាស់ក្តី	young or old,
សឹងតែដូចគ្នា	សឹងតែដូចគ្នា	are the same.
តណ្ហារាវចង	តណ្ហារាវចង	They are bound by craving,
ឥតមានឃ្លាតឃ្លា	ឥតមានឃ្លាតឃ្លា	without relief,
វាឱ្យវេទនា	វាឱ្យវេទនា	leading to endless
តូរាប្បលុះតល	ដរាបលុះដល់និព្វានហោង ។	suffering until Nibbāna is reached.
និព្វានហោង ។ ។ ។		

**dhammasañveg «o añg aniccā»-k**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, the body, how impermanent!”

Khmer verse, 12 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB047** 33a–34b dhammasañvek; **UB047** 52a–53a dhammasañvek; **UB065** 45b–

46b dhammasaiveg pūrāṇ

Khmer books: Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Maṅtak braḥ buddhasāsanā khmèr មត៌កព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2005), 55–56.

Summary: Explanation of how bodies inevitably become foul corpses, which are abandoned in the forest, feasted upon by wild beasts, and rot back into dirt. Concludes with an exhortation to rely only on oneself and make merit, uphold the precepts, and practice meditation before one passes away.

UB065	UB047 (33a–34b)	Standardized	Translation
១	១	១	1
ឱ! អង្គនិព្វា	ឌី អង្គនិព្វា	ឱអង្គនិព្វា	Alas, the body, how impermanent!
ដូចព្រះធម៌ថា	ដូចធម៌លោកថា	ដូចព្រះធម៌ថា	Just as the Dharma says:
រឺរូបទាំងឡាយ	រឺរូបទាំងឡាយ	រឺរូបទាំងឡាយ	all bodies shall
ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច	ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច	ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច	die and become corpses.
អសោចីពេកក្រៃ	អាសោចក្នុងកាយ	អសោចីក្នុងកាយ	Their innards are foul.
គេដើរជិតឆ្ងាយ	កេដើរជៀសឆ្ងាយ	គេដើរចៀសឆ្ងាយ	People stay far away,
ថារូបចង្រៃ ។	ថារូបចង្រៃ ។	ថារូបចង្រៃ ។	calling corpses inauspicious.
២	២	២	2
ឱអនិព្វាកាយ	ឌីអនិព្វាកាយ	ឱអនិព្វាកាយ	Alas, how impermanent is the body!
រឺរូបរលាយ	រឺរូបរលាយ	រឺរូបរលាយ	A decaying body,
លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ	លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ	លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ	three days after death,
លោហិតខ្លះហើម	លោហិតលុះហើម	លោហិតលុះហើម	bulges with blood and pus.
ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ	ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ	ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ	The skin turns ghastly pale.
អម្រាមជើងដៃ	អម្រាមជើងដៃ	អម្រាមជើងដៃ	and the fingers and toes
ក្រញោងក្រញោង ។	ក្រញោងក្រញោង ។	ក្រញោងក្រញោង ។	splay out awkwardly.
៣	៣	៣	3
មើលធ្មេញសសុស	មើលធ្មេញសសុះ	មើលធ្មេញសសុស	The teeth gleam pure white.
រឺរន្ធច្រមុះ	មើលរន្ធច្រមុះ	រឺរន្ធច្រមុះ	The nostrils
ហើមទាំងសង្វាង	ហើម ទាំងសង្វាង	ហើមទាំងសងខាង	swell on both sides.
ខំលៀនអណ្តាត	ខមលៀនអណ្តាត	ខមលៀនអណ្តាត	The tongue sticks out.
ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	The body, hideous
សក់រឹងក្រញោង	សក់រឹងក្រញោង	សក់រឹងក្រញោង	with its hair stiff and disheveled,
ក្រញោសដេកដី ។	ក្រញោសដេកដី	ក្រញោសដេកដី ។	lies on the ground.
៤	៤	៤	4
ឯសត្វសុនខា	xxxx	រឺសត្វសុនខា	Dogs, jackals,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ចចកស្ថានស្វា	XXXX	ចចកស្ថានខ្លា	dholes, and tigers
នាំគ្នាមកធំ	XXXX	នាំគ្នាមកធំ	gather around to feast,
ចញែកសាច់ខ្មោច	XXXX	ជញែកសាច់ខ្មោច	ripping the flesh from the corpse
ដាច់ដោចដោយដី	XXXX	ដាច់ដោចដោយដី	and tearing it apart in the dirt,
ដែលនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	ដែលនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	ដែលនៅក្នុងព្រៃ	right there in the forest,
ស្នសានស្ថានស្វាត់ ។	ស្នសានស្ថានស្វាត់ ។	ស្នសានស្ថានស្វាត់ ។	the silent charnel woods.
៥	៥	៥	5
ឆ្អឹងសាច់សរសៃ	ឆ្អឹងសាច់សរសៃ	ឆ្អឹងសាច់សរសៃ	Bones, flesh, and sinews
រាត់រាយដោយដី	រាត់រាយដោយដី ។	រាត់រាយដោយដី	are scattered across the ground
ទីទៃខ្លាយខ្លាត់	ទីទៃខ្លាយខ្លាត់	ទីទៃខ្លាយខ្លាត់	helter-skelter,
ដោយសត្វសញ្ជែង	ដោយសត្វសញ្ជែង	ដោយសត្វសញ្ជែង	with beasts devouring them
រមែងប្រាសព្រាត់	រមែងប្រាសព្រាត់	រមែងប្រាសព្រាត់	and taking them away.
លុះដល់កំណត់	លុះដល់កំណត់	លុះអស់កំណត់	Once they've had their fill,
រលាយជាដី ។	រលាយជាដី ។	រលាយជាដី ។	the rest decays back to soil.
៦	៦	៦	6
ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	ដូច្នេះគួរគិត	Hence you should reflect
គួររក្សាចិត្ត	ខំរក្សាចិត្ត	ខំរក្សាចិត្ត	and strive to look after your heart,
ទាំងប្រុសទាំងស្រី	ទាំងប្រុសទាំងស្រី	ទាំងប្រុសទាំងស្រី	whether you are male or female.
កុំឲ្យលោភោ	កុំឲ្យលោភោ	កុំឲ្យលោភោ	Don't be greedy,
ទោសាអប្រិយ	ទោសាអប្រិយ	ទោសាអប្រិយ	don't be angry or malicious,
ទាំងមោហោក្តី	ទាំងមោហោក្តី	ទាំងមោហោក្តី	and don't be deluded—
នេះជាបុសបាប ។	នេះជាបុសបាប ។	នេះជាបុសបាប ។	these are the roots of sin.
៧	៧	៧	7
ឲ្យខំធ្វើបុណ្យ	ឲ្យខំធ្វើបុណ្យ	ឲ្យខំធ្វើបុណ្យ	Strive to make merit
អំពើជាគុណ	អំពើជាគុណ	អំពើជាគុណ	and perform acts of virtue,
ទុកជាដរាប	ទុកមុនដរាប	ទុកមុនដរាប	accumulating them for a long time,
ព្រោះរូបមិនទៀង	ព្រោះរូបមិនទៀង	ព្រោះរូបមិនទៀង	for the body does not last.
កុំចាំឈឺជាប	កុំចាំឈឺជាប	កុំចាំឈឺជាប	Don't wait until illness spreads
ដេកដួលស្រប៉ាប	ដួលដេកស្រប៉ាប	ដួលដេកស្រប៉ាប	and you're lying face down
ទើបរកកុសល ។	ទើបរកកុសល ។	ទើបរកកុសល ។	to seek out merit.
៨	៨	៨	8
ទ្រព្យទាំងប៉ុន្មាន	ទ្រព្យអម្បាលម៉ាន	ទ្រព្យអម្បាលមាណ	Whatever riches you have,
ញាតិសាច់សន្តាន	ញាតិសាច់សន្តាន	ញាតិសាច់សន្តាន	your kith and kin
ដែលជួយ ខ្លាយខ្ជល់	ដែលជួយខ្លាយខ្ជល់	ដែលជួយខ្លាយខ្ជល់	may anxiously try to
ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យខ្មោច	ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យខ្មោច	ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យខ្មោច	make merit for your corpse
ហើយឧទ្ទិសផល	ហើយឧទ្ទិសផល	ហើយឧទ្ទិសផល	and dedicate the benefits to you,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

មិនងាយនឹងដល់ ដូចបំណងឡើយ ។ ៧	មិនងាយនឹងដល់ ដូចបំណងឡើយ ៧	មិនងាយនឹងដល់ ដូចបំណងឡើយ ។ ៧	but it is not easy for this to happen in accordance with your wishes. 9
ជនជាបណ្ឌិត រមែងចេះគិត ធ្វើទុកឲ្យហើយ ខ្លួនត្រូវពឹងខ្លួន កុំពឹងគេឡើយ ក្រែងគេកន្តើយ ខ្លួនខកខានបាន ។ ១០	XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX ក្រែងគេកន្តើយ ខ្លួនខកខានបាន ។ ១០	ជនជាបណ្ឌិត រមែងចេះគិត ធ្វើទុកឲ្យហើយ ខ្លួនត្រូវពឹងខ្លួន កុំពឹងគេឡើយ ក្រែងគេកន្តើយ ខ្លួនខកខានបាន ។ ១០	People who are learned always know to plan ahead and make merit beforehand. You must be your own refuge; don't rely on others, lest they are negligent and nothing remains for you. 10
មាសប្រាក់ធនធាន ដែលខ្លួនធ្លាប់បើមាន ទាំងអម្បាលមាណ លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ យកតាមមិនបាន សូម្បីខ្លួនប្រាណ យកមិនបានឡើយ ។ ១១	មាសប្រាក់ធនធាន ដែលខ្លួនធ្លាប់មាន ទាំងអម្បាលម៉ាន លុះដល់ស្លាប់ទៅ យកតាមមិនបាន សូមបីគ្រោងប្រាណ គ្មានយកទៅឡើយ ។ ១១	មាសប្រាក់ធនធាន ដែលខ្លួនធ្លាប់មាន ទាំងអម្បាលមាណ លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ យកទៅមិនបាន សូម្បីគ្រោងប្រាណ គ្មានយកទៅឡើយ ។ ១១	Gold, silver, and riches that you once possessed, no matter how much— once you pass away you can't take any of it with you. You can't even take your own body. 11
បើសង្ឃឹមគេ នឹងភ្លាត់ទទេ ពិតប្រាកដហើយ ត្រូវខំធ្វើបុណ្យ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ទានសីលជាត្រើយ ពុំនឹងអាត្មា ។ ១២	បើសង្ឃឹមគេ នឹងភ្លាត់ទទេ នេះជាទៀងហើយ ត្រូវធ្វើបុណ្យទៅ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ទានសីលជាត្រើយ ពុំនឹងអាត្មា ១២	បើសង្ឃឹមគេ នឹងភ្លាត់ទទេ នេះជាទៀងហើយ ត្រូវធ្វើបុណ្យទៅ កុំនៅព្រងើយ ទានសីលជាត្រើយ នឹងនាំអាត្មា ។ ១២	If you place your hopes on others they may forget them entirely— this is a lasting fact. You must make merit; don't be negligent. Generosity and ethics are the refuge that will guide your being. 12
ការវិនិច្ឆ័យ ឲ្យចិត្តគិតនឹក សមាធិបញ្ញា មានសីលជាបាទ ទ្រព្យច្រើនថ្លា នឹងបានសុខ ពិតប្រាកដហោង ។	ការវិនិច្ឆ័យ ឲ្យចិត្តនេះនឹក សមាធិបញ្ញា មានសីលជាបាទ ទ្រព្យច្រើនថ្លា នឹងបានសុខ ពិតប្រាកដហោង ។	ការវិនិច្ឆ័យ ឲ្យចិត្តចេះនឹក សមាធិបញ្ញា មានសីលជាបាត ទ្រព្យច្រើនថ្លា នឹងបានសុខ ពិតប្រាកដហោង ។	Cultivate and recollect so that your mind knows how to recall. Concentration, wisdom, and ethics are the foundations that support a heart of clear faith, such that you can achieve bliss that is real and true.

**dhammasañveg «oh o aniccā»-k**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, how impermanent!”

FEMC title: dhammasañveg

Khmer verse, 14 stanzas in *kāgati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB006** 32b–33b with the incipit សាធុវគ្គិម៌; **UB059** 34a–35b; **UB067** 89b–91a

Summary: Explanation of the transience of the body and the inevitability of death, focusing on the process of the corpse decaying in the forest and being consumed by animals, and concluding with an exhortation to reflect on impermanence to reach Nibbāna.

<b>UB006</b>	<b>UB067</b>	Standardized	Translation
សាធុវគ្គិម៌ ប្រើអ្នកឯណា បានពុបានឃើញហើយ ឱ្យគិតសង្វែក ទុក្ខអនិច្ចំ ទុក្ខអនត្តា រាល់រូបអាត្មា ឱ្យខ្សែទៅហោង			
១	១	១	1
ឱះឱអនិច្ចា តូចធម៌លោកថា រូបទ្វារហ្ស ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អាសោចព្យេកក្រៃ គ្រូតើរជៀសឆ្ងៃ គ្រូថាចង្រៃ	ឱះឱអនិច្ចា តូចធម៌លោកថា រូបទ្វារហ្ស ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អាសោចរូបក្ស គ្រូតើរជៀសឆ្ងៃ គ្រូថាចង្រៃ ។	ឱះឱអនិច្ចា ដូចធម៌លោកថា រូបទាំងឡាយ ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច អសោចីរូបកាយ គេដើរចៀសឆ្ងាយ គេថាចង្រៃ ។	Alas, how impermanent! Just as the Dharma of the Lord says, all bodies shall die and become corpses. Their innards are foul. People stay far away, calling corpses inauspicious.
២	២	២	2
ឱះឱអនិច្ចា ហារូបលំលាយ លុះស្លាប់បានបីថ្ងៃ លំហិតលំហើម សំឡើងព្យេកក្រៃ អម្រាមជើងត្បែង	ឱអនិច្ចាក្ស ហោរូបលាយ លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ លោហិតលោហើម្ម ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ ហើម្មម្រាមជើងត្បែង	ឱអនិច្ចាកាយ ហោរូបរលាយ លុះស្លាប់បីថ្ងៃ លោហិតលោហើម ស្បែកស្បើមពេកក្រៃ ហើម្មម្រាមជើងដៃ	Alas, how impermanent is the body! A decaying body, three days after death, bulges with blood and pus. The skin turns ghastly pale, and the swollen fingers and toes

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្រញោងក្រញោង ៣	ក្រញោងក្រញោង ។ ៣	ក្រញោងក្រញោង ។ ៣	splay out awkwardly. 3
ឯធ្មេងសោតស័រ ហាមាត់ច្រហា ហើមទពើលសាងខាង	មើលភ្នែកសោតស័រ ហារមាត់ច្រហារ xxxx	មើលភ្នែកសោតស ហាមាត់ច្រហា ហើមទាំងសងខាង	The teeth gleam pure white. The mouth gapes open, swelling on both sides.
លៀនទ្វារអន្តាត ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	ខមលៀនអន្តាត ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	ខមលៀនអន្តាត ពុំស្អាតរូបរាង	The tongue sticks out. The body, hideous
សក់សោតក្រញោង ក្រញោសតិកត្ស ៤	សកសោតក្រញោង ក្រញោសតិកត្ស ៤	សក់សោតក្រញោង ក្រញោសដេកដី ។ ៤	with its hair stiff and disheveled, lies on the ground. 4
ធ្មេងស្កូវសោះ រុនច្រមោះ ឈាមហូរថ្មីយា ចង្កាខ័តខ្មែច ធ្មេញសើចអប្រិយ ប្រានប្រះប្រានស្រី	ធ្មេញស្វាញសសុះ រុនច្រមោះ ឈាមហូរថ្មី ២ ចង្កាខាតខ្មែច ស្វាញសើច អប្រិយ ប្រានប្រះប្រានស្រី	ធ្មេញស្វាញសសុស រុនច្រមោះ ឈាមហូរថ្មី។ ចង្កាខាតខ្មែច ស្វាញសើចអប្រិយ ប្រាណប្រុសប្រា ណស្រី	The bared teeth shine white. Blood flows fresh from the nostrils. The chin sinks back, revealing an awful grimace. Be the body male or female,
គ្មានល្អត្រង់ណា ៥	គ្មានល្អត្រង់ណា ។ ៥	គ្មានល្អត្រង់ណា ។ ៥	nothing beautiful can be found. 5
មើលថ្ងាសអន្លើម សម្បុរសំបើម ខាតតាចព្យាគ្នា ស្លឹកត្រចៀក រូមរិតតូចខ្លា កំរលស្មើស្មារ រូបរាងស្តើងស្លូក ៦	មើលថ្ងាសចិញ្ចឹម សំប្លោសំប្លើម ខាតតេចព្យាគ្នា ត្រចៀករូញរិត ក្រពិតតូចខ្លា កំរលស្មើស្មា xxxx ៦	មើលថ្ងាសចិញ្ចឹម សំប្រោសសម្លើម ខាតដាច់ព្យាគ្នា ត្រចៀករូញរិត ក្រពិតដូចខ្លា ករលស្មើស្មា រូបរាងស្លូកស្តើង ។ ៦	The forehead and eyebrows are smothered with mucus and cleft in twain. The ears shrink back, like those of a tiger. The neck swells to the shoulders as the body lies stiff. 6
ហើមពោះកំបពោង ជើងត្បែកកោង ស័នធរស័នធិក តើមទ្រូងច្រអាង ស្រពាងរូបរាង រូបពុំរំពឹង គួរគិតអានិច្ចា ៧	ពោះទុំកុំប៉ោង ជើងត្បែកកោង រាងរូបស្លូក ស្តើង តើមទ្រូងច្រអាង ស្រពាងរូបរាង រូបឱ្យរំពឹង មុកឱ្យអនិច្ចា ៧	ពោះធំកំប៉ោង ជើងដៃកែងកោង រាងរូបស្លូកស្តើង ដើមទ្រូងច្រអាង ស្រពាងរូបរាង រូបឲ្យរំពឹង គួរឲ្យអនិច្ចា ។ ៧	The abdomen bloats and the limbs twist and curl, yet the body lies still. The chest bulges, stretched out and stiff. The body should be contemplated and seen for its impermanence. 7
លុះស្លាប់បានប្រាំពិលថ្ងៃ	លុះប្រាំម្ហិលថ្ងៃ	លុះប្រាំពិលថ្ងៃ	After seven days,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ហើមតាច់សរសៃ ប្រែប្រែកាយ ចេញឈាមចេញខ្លះ រលុះឱកា រុយរោមផងណា ហាមាត់ពុំកុំរើក ៨	ហើមតេចសរសៃ រហូតចេញពីគ្នា រលួយរលេះ រលែះក្បាវ រុយរោមហើមហា រូបពុំកុំរើក ៨	ហើមដាច់សរសៃ រហូតចេញពីគ្នា រលួយរលេះ រលែះកាយ រុយរោមហើមហា រូបពុំកុំរើក ៨	the swelling rips the sinews apart, and they loosen and separate, melting, decaying, and sliding off the body. Flies swarm on the bulges and fissures, but the body doesn't move. 8
XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX ៩	សព្វសត្វត្រាតក្អែក វាហូរវាហែក តង្គ្រវរើក វាស្សរវាម ផឹកឈាមរដើប រូបពុំកុំរើក ហាមាត់តេចប ។ ៩	សព្វសត្វត្រាតក្អែក វាហូរវាហែក ដង្គ្រវរើក វាស្សរវាម ផឹកឈាមរដើប រូបពុំកុំរើក ហាមាត់ដាច់បរ ។ ៩	All manner of vultures and crows come peck and claw. Worms thrive, feasting and writhing, ferociously drinking blood. The body doesn't move, its mouth agape. 9
តឹងសត្វអំប្រើក បាក្សិបាក្សារ ចរចកស្វានស្វា ចរចេញរកស៊ី ទ្វារឈ្មោលទ្វារ រកស៊ីសាច់ខ្មោច អាសោចសាត់រ ក្នុងព្រៃសព្វស្វាត សព្វសាត្វបាកស៊ីយ	ស្សទ្វារអំប្រើក ចចកស្វានស្វា បបូលគ្នាច ទៅស៊ីសាច់ខ្មោច អសោចរិះរ ក្នុងព្រៃសាត់រ សុះសេងសព្វស្វាន	អស់ទាំងម្រឹតា ចចកស្វានស្វា បបូលគ្នាច ទៅស៊ីសាច់ខ្មោច អសោចរិះរ ក្នុងព្រៃសាត់រ សុះសេងសព្វស្វាន ។	All of the beasts— jackals, dholes, and monkeys— call out to each other to come eat the flesh of the corpse, putrid and disordered, There, amidst the vast forest, they crowd together from all around.
លុះស្លាប់បានប្រាំបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមតាច់ជើងត្បែង XXXX រលួយរលុះ រលែះអង្គទាន ក្នុងចេញពីខ្លួនល្មោច XXXX ១១	លុះ៩ថ្ងៃ ហើមតេចសរសៃ ក្បាលចេញពីប្រាណ រលួយរលេះ រលែះសន្ធិដ្ឋាន សក់សោតពុំមាន សេចសឹងរលួយ ។ ១១	លុះប្រាំបួនថ្ងៃ ហើមដាច់សរសៃ ក្បាលចេញពីប្រាណ រលួយរលេះ រលែះអន្តរធាន សក់សោតពុំមាន សាច់សឹងរលួយ ។ ១១	10 After nine days, the swelling rips the sinews apart, and the head splits from the body, rotten, decayed, withered, and destroyed. The hair is gone, and the flesh has decayed. 11
គុំតែរាងឆ្អឹង ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងាត់ឈឹង ឥតញាតិណាមួយ	គុំតែរាងឆ្អឹង ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងាត់ឈឹង រកញាតិណាមួយ	គុំតែរាងឆ្អឹង ក្នុងព្រៃស្ងាត់ឈឹង រកញាតិណាមួយ	Only the skeleton remains in the utterly silent forest, where no relative,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

XXXX	មាតាបិតា	មាតាបិតា	parent,
XXXX	ភិរិយាមកជួយ	ភិរិយាមកជួយ	or wife to help
តូចនូវកំម្ពីរ	នូវកុំតរ៍	នៅកំដរមួយ	or accompany it
ម្យ៉ៃនះគ្មានណា	នោះគ្មានទេណា ។	នោះគ្មានទេណា ។	can be found.
១២	១២	១២	12
គួរគិតអាណាត	រូប្យើគួរគិត	រូបអើយគួរគិត	The body! You should reflect on it,
គួរគិតអាណិត	អណាតអណិត	អនាថអាណិត	and have pity for it.
គួរគិតអានិច្ចាវ	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	You should reflect on the impermanence
			of
រាល់រូបអ្នកផង	រាល់រូបរាល់រាង	រាល់រូបរាល់រាង	the bodies of every
XXXX	អ្នកនាងនា ២	អ្នកនាងនានា	man and woman.
XXXX	គួររាងគួររា	គួររាងគួររា	You should restrain yourself,
XXXX	កុំលោពពេកលើ	កុំលោកពេកឡើយ ។	and not be too greedy.
១៣	១៣	១៣	13
XXXX	គួរតែសង្វាត	គួរតែសង្វាត	You should strive hard
XXXX	សង្កើតខ្លឹមខ្លាត	សង្កើតខ្លឹមខ្លាត	and quickly be stirred.
XXXX	កុំធ្វើរតះតើ	កុំធ្វើតោះតើយ	Don't be neglectful;
XXXX	ស្តាប់ធម្មឱ្យជាក់	ស្តាប់ធម៌ឱ្យជាក់	listen carefully to the Dharma and
XXXX	កុំអ្នកប្រឡើ	កុំអ្នកព្រងើយ	don't be indolent.
XXXX	បានធម្មនេះហើ	បានធម៌នេះហើយ	Having achieved this Dharma,
XXXX	នឹងនាំរូបទៅ	នឹងនាំរូបទៅ ។	it will guide your body onward.
១៤	១៤	១៤	14
XXXX	ចូលជនប្រុសស្រី	ចូរជនប្រុសស្រី	All of you, male or female
XXXX	ក្មេងខ្មាងចាស់	ក្មេងក្មាងចាស់	young or old,
XXXX	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	គួរគិតអនិច្ចា	should reflect on impermanence.
XXXX	គួរយកព្រះធម្ម	គួរយកព្រះធម៌	You should take up the Dharma
XXXX	ជាស្ពាននាំបាន	ជាស្ពាននាំបាន	as the bridge that can lead you
XXXX	បានរួចតលស្ពាន	បានរួចដល់ស្ពាន	to escape to the realm
XXXX	និព្វានឯងហោង	និព្វានឯងហោង ។	of Nibbāna itself.

Added portion  
 (from **trailakkha(n)**  
**«rūpaṃ dukkhaṃ»**  
**purāṇ-k)**  
 ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច  
 អាសោចព្យេក៍ព្រៃ  
 ផ្លែផ្កាសេចសរសៃ

ជាព្រះធរណីៗ

អាណិត្តាសូនសោះ  
សូនរូបសូនឈ្មោះ  
សូនលីក្ខិតសញ្ជី  
សូនយស្សសុក្ខិតា  
ធីតាសូរក្ស  
សូនស្សត្រ័យ  
មហាប្រាក់អន្ត្រ្យ

ត្ថុប្បោគ្គិកិត  
ត្ថុរវាគ្គសាចិត  
ត្ថុបក្ខននីធិម្មាយ  
ខេត្តធាប័រស្ស  
បាតខេត្តទោរហោង ។

**namassakār braḥ buddh 10-k**  
Homage to the ten buddhas of the future

Khmer verse, 34 stanzas in *kāgati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB025** 32a–37a namassakār braḥ buddh 10 braḥ aṅg trās' e mukh neḥ

Summary: Pays homage to each of the ten buddhas of the future, from Maitreya until Sumaṅgala, including a description of each buddha's lifespan, height, bodhi tree, and throne, and concluding with a description of the benefits of such homage and an aspiration to reach Nibbāna.

<b>UB025</b>	Translation
១ ព្រះសិអាម្យមេត្រី ផ្ដើងបុណ្យបារមី ខ្ពស់លើសលោកា ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ ៨ម៉ឺនវស្សា កំពស់ហត្ថា ប៉ែតសិបប្រាំបី ។	1 Śrī Ārya Maitreya, replete with merit and perfections, will be highest in all the worlds. The lifespan of the Lord will be eighty thousand years. His height in cubits will be eighty-eight.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>២          ដើមខ្ពង់ជាពោ          ធិព្រឹក្សសេដ្ឋោ          ចែងចាំងរង្សី          ផុសរតន៍បាលីវង្ស          ទីនាំងសួស្តី          ស្តេចគង់សម្តីរ          ត្រាស់ធម្មទេសនា ។</p>	<p>2          The laurel will be his excellent          bodhi tree,          with illuminating rays,          giving rise to jeweled throne,          an auspicious chair,          for the Lord to sit upon in his merit,          expounding the Dharma with his preaching.</p>
<p>៣          ព្រះរាមខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់          ពូជពោធិវង្ស          ត្រាស់ឡើងកាលណា          ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ          ៩ម៉ឺនវស្សា          ជាព្រះសម្មា          សម្ពុទ្ធរតន៍ ។</p>	<p>3          Lord Rāma the lofty,          in the lineage of the buddhas,          when he awakens in the future          shall have a lifespan          of ninety thousand years as          the Jewel of the Perfectly          Awakened Buddhas.</p>
<p>៤          ព្រះកាយព្រះអង្គ          ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់លន្ធាង          ដល់ប៉ែតសិបហត្ថ          ដើមចំនុក្រហម          ជាពោធិធើ្វធើ្វធើ្វ          ក្លិនខ្លែបផាយផាត់          រោយរុះដោយដី ។</p>	<p>4          The body of the Lord          is wonderfully tall,          eighty cubits in all.          The red sandalwood          shall be his supreme bodhi tree,          with a marvelous smell          wafting down to the earth.</p>
<p>៥          ផុសរតន៍បាលីវង្ស          ភ្លឺផ្នែកបិតបាំង          ថ្វាយព្រះជិនស្រី          ស្តេចគង់សោយសុខ          វិមុត្តិប្រពៃ          ត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌ថ្លៃ          ឥតមានចន្លោះ ។</p>	<p>5          It will give rise to a jeweled throne,          resplendent and gilded          in offering to the Glorious Victor,          upon which the Lord with enjoy the bliss of          wonderful liberation,          awakening to the precious Dharma          without any gaps.</p>
<p>៦          ព្រះបាទបសេន          ទិកោសល្លេន          បានត្រាស់ឡើងស្មោះ</p>	<p>6          King Pasena-          dikosala          shall reach awakening truly,</p>

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ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា	bearing the holy name of
ព្រះធម្មរាជឆ្ពោះ	Dhammarāja.
ព្រះជន្មអង្គនោះ	His lifespan will be
៨ម៉ឺនវស្សា ។	eighty thousand years.
៧	7
ព្រះកាយព្រះអង្គ	His body will be
ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ត្រដុស	massively tall,
១៦ ហត្ថា	sixteen cubits in all.
ដើមខ្ចឹងជាពោ	The laurel tree will be his
ធីព្រឹក្សប្លៃថ្នាំ	precious bodhi tree,
ស្លោមស្លឹកបុណ្ណា	with leaves and flowers
ក្រអូបអប់អង្គ ។	fragrant all around.
៨	8
ផុសរតន៍បាលីដ្ឋ	It will give rise to a jeweled throne,
ភ្លឺផ្ទៃកបិតបាំង	resplendent and gilded,
ព្រះសែនសុរិយុដ្ឋ	with the radiance of the sun
ស្តេចគង់ក្សេមក្សាន្ត	upon which the Lord will sit in joy,
ឥតព្រួយព្រះអង្គ	without any worries,
ដំរាបដល់ទ្រង់	until he becomes
ជាមហាមុនី ។	a great sage ( <i>Mahāmuni</i> ).
៩	9
មារាធិរាជ	Mārādhirāja
បានត្រាស់អង្គអាច	will become awakened and powerful
ជាព្រះសាមី	as the Master.
ព្រះជន្មមួយសែន	His lifespan will be one hundred thousand years.
ព្រះកាយជិនស្រី	The body of the Glorious Victor
ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់លើដី	will be high upon the earth,
ដល់ប៉ែតសិបហត្ថ ។	up to eighty cubits.
១០	10
ដើមរាំងភ្នំជា	The sal tree will be
ពោធិព្រឹក្សា	his bodhi tree,
ដូចស្បែកខ្ចីត្រ	like a royal white parasol,
មានផ្ការុះរោយ	with flowers falling
ថ្វាយព្រះមហាក្សត្រ	in offering to the Great King.
បាលីដ្ឋល្អក្តាត់	His throne, most excellent,
ផុសក្រោយរុក្ខជាតិ ។	will arise after the tree,

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១១	11
ថ្វាយព្រះអរហំ	in offering to the Arahant
ជាព្រះទីនាំង	as his seat,
វែនទិព្វស្តង់ស្តាត	his beautiful divine throne,
ដូចកែវព្រោងព្រាយ	like the glittering jewel,
ពណ្ណរាយលើសខ្នាត	immeasurably radiant,
ព្រះត្រៃលោកនាថ	upon which the Lord of the Three Worlds
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា ។	shall preach the Dharma.
១២	12
រាហូសុរិន្ទ	Rāhu, lord of the asuras,
ជាវង្សទេវិន្ទ	in the lineages of the devas,
មានវិទ្ធុចេស្តា	with might and majesty,
បានត្រាស់ញេយ្យញ្ញាណ	shall awaken to all knowable knowledge,
ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថា	bearing the name of
នារទៈសាស្តា	Nārada, the Teacher,
មានបុណ្យបារមី ។	with merit and perfections.
១៣	13
ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ	The lifespan of the Lord
១ម៉ឺនឆ្នាំទ្រង់	will be ten thousand years.
កាយកបរង្សី	His body will be radiant
ខ្ពស់ម្ភៃហត្ថា	and reach twenty cubits in height.
ព្រះអង្គជិនស្រី	The Lord, the Glorious Victor,
ដើមថ្មីល្អក្រៃ	shall have the most beautiful sandalwood
ជាពោធិព្រឹក្ស ។	as his bodhi tree.
១៤	14
ផុសរតន៍បាលីដ្ឋ	It will give rise to a jeweled throne
ជាព្រះទីនាំង	as his seat,
ស្តេចគង់តតភ្នំភ្នំ	upon which the Lord will sit in trance,
ទេវតាណាន់ណែន	with deities crowding around
ម៉ឺនសែនអ៊ឹកអធិក	in an array tens and hundreds of thousands strong
ព្រះអង្គរំលឹក	while the Lord recalls
បុព្វេនិវាសា ។	his past existences.
១៥	15
សោណាព្រាហ្មទ្រង់	Soṇa the brahmin,
ប្រសើរខ្ពស់ខ្ពង់	wonderfully lofty,
បានត្រាស់ឡើងជា	shall be awakened as

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ព្រះវង្សីមុនី	the Radiant Sage
មានព្រះជន្មា	with a lifespan of
៥ពាន់វស្សា	five thousand years
ខ្ពស់ហុកសិបហត្ថ ។	and a height of sixty cubits.
១៦	16
ច្រឡើងជាពោ	The <i>cranēn</i> shall be his
ធិព្រឹក្សសេដ្ឋា	excellent bodhi tree,
ថ្វាយអង្គពុទ្ធរតន៍	offered to the jewel of the Buddha,
ដុះរតន៍បាលីដ្ឋ	giving rise to a jeweled throne,
ទីនាំងពែងព័ន្ធ	a seat for sitting cross-legged,
ភ្លឺផ្នែកប្រវាំង	shining and resplendent,
ដូចកែវចរណៃ ។	like a precious jewel.
១៧	17
សុភព្រហ្មអង្គ	Subha, the brahmin,
ក៏សាងយូលង	has accumulated merit for a long time,
ច្រើនអសន្នេយ្យ	for many uncountable eons,
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ព្រះនាម	and will awaken with the name of
ទេវទេពប្តើងក្រៃ	Devadeva, most excellent.
ព្រះជន្មចាមត្រៃ	The lifespan of the Lord of the Three Worlds
៥ ម៉ឺនវស្សា ។	shall be five thousand years.
១៨	18
ព្រះកាយព្រះអង្គ	The body of the Lord,
ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ឧត្តុង្គ	lofty and majestic,
៨០ ហត្ថា	will reach eighty cubits in height.
ដើមចំប៉ាស	The white frangipani,
ផ្កាល្អសោភា	with beautiful flowers,
ជាពោធិ៍សាខា	shall be his bodhi tree, with branches
ក្រអូបពេកក្រៃ ។	of surpassing fragrance.
១៩	19
ដុះរតន៍បាលីដ្ឋ	It will give rise to a jeweled throne,
ភ្លឺផ្នែកបិតបាំង	resplendent and gilded,
ដូចកែវចរណៃ	like precious jewel,
ស្តេចគង់ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់	upon which the Lord will sit high,
លើសលប់ព្រឹក្សព្រៃ	above the forest,
អស់ទេពសួគ៌ថ្លៃ	with all the precious deities of the heavens
គង់គាល់គារវៈ ។	bowing down in respect.

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២០	20
ព្រះគោតទេយ្យព្រាហ្ម ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ព្រះនាម ព្រះនរៈសីហាៈ ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ ៨០ ឆ្នាំជាក់ ទ្រង់ជាពុំនាក់ សព្វសត្វនានា	Gotadeyya, the brahmin, shall awake with the name of Narasiha. The lifespan of the lord will be exactly eighty years. He will be the refuge of all living creatures.
២១	21
ព្រះកាយព្រះអង្គ ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ស្រិតស្រង់ ៦០ ហត្ថា ច្រឡើងជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សប្លៃថ្លា ស្លោមស្លឹកបុណ្ណា អប់អង្គព្រះកាយ ។	The body of the Lord will be marvelously tall, reaching sixty cubits. The <i>cranīn</i> shall be his precious bodhi tree, with leaves and flowers perfuming the body of the Lord.
២២	22
ផុះរតន៍បាលីង្គ ថ្វាយជាទីនាំង ស្តេចគង់ឆើតឆាយ ឥតមានអំពុល ក្នុងព្រះអង្គកាយ ទេវតាទាំងឡាយ គាល់ព្រះចោមត្រៃ។	It will give rise to a jeweled throne, offering as the seat for the Lord to sit in majestic beauty, without a care in his body. The deities shall come to wait on the Lord of the Three Worlds.
២៣	23
ដំរីនាឡាគិរី ពូជពង្សពោធិ សាងមកយូរក្រៃ ប្រថ្នានាំសត្វ ឆ្លងកាត់ជលសៃ ពោលគឹកពត្រៃ ដល់ត្រើយអមតៈ ។	The elephant Nālāgiri, in the lineage of the buddhas, has accumulated merit for a long time, aspiring to lead living beings across the ocean, that is to say, across the Three Worlds to the reach the far shore of the Deathless.
២៤	24
ត្រាស់ស្រេចព្រះអង្គ ព្រះនាមចោមពង្ស ជាព្រះតិស្សៈ	He shall awaken as the Lord with the name in the lineage of the buddhas being Lord Tissa.



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ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ ៥ ម៉ឺនឆ្នាំជាក់ ជាទីពឹងរាក់ សព្វមនុស្សទេវតា ។ ២៥	The lifespan of the Lord will be fifty thousand years precisely. He will be the refuge of all humans and gods. 25
ព្រះកាយព្រះអង្គ ៨០ ហត្ថទ្រង់ គួរទស្សនា ដើមជ្រៃជាពោ ធិព្រឹក្សសាខា ស្លោមស្លឹកបុប្ផា ថ្វាយព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ ។ ២៦	The body of the Lord will measure eighty cubits tall, a sight to be seen. The fig tree his bodhi tree, with branches, leaves, and flowers offered to the Knowledge-Endowed Lord. 26
កើតរតន៍បាលីដ្ឋ ថ្វាយជាទីនាំដ ស្តេចគង់ក្សេមមក្សាន រំលឹកធម៌វិជ្ជ ញាណញ្ញយុកល្យាណ ទេវតាប្រមាណ ច្រើនអសន្នេយ្យ ។ ២៧	It will give rise to a jeweled throne, offered as a seat for the Lord to sit in ease, recalling the precious Dharma, the wonderful knowledge to be known. Deities on the order of many uncountable throngs 27
នៅគាល់ព្រះអង្គ ស្តាប់ធម៌ស្តេចទ្រង់ សំដែងទេសនា ឲ្យបានជាផ្លូវ ទៅកាន់ព្រះមហា និព្វានសុខា ឥតកើតស្លាប់ហ្វោ ។ ២៨	shall attend upon the Lord, listening to the Dharma he preaches so as to become a path to reach the great Nibbāna, the blissful, beyond birth and death. 28
ដំរីបាលីលេយ្យ សោតមានញាណវិញ សាងច្រើនកប្បុផង ប្រថ្នាបានត្រាស់ ទេសនាចម្លង នាំអស់សត្វផង អនេកអនគ្យ ។	The elephant Pālileyya, possessed of knowledge, has accumulated merit for many eons, aspiring to be awakened and preach so as to ferry and lead beings in numbers innumerable.

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២៩	29
ស្តេចត្រាស់ឡើងដួល នាមសុមង្គល ជាអង្គឯងអគ្គ	The Lord shall be marvelously awakened with the name of Sumaṅgala, the most lofty lord.
ព្រះជន្មព្រះអង្គ ១សែនឆ្នាំជាក់	The lifespan of the Lord shall be one hundred thousand years exactly.
ព្រះកាយកបលក្ខណ៍ ល្អឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។	His body, replete with auspicious marks, will be beautiful beyond compare,
៣០	30
ខ្ពស់ ៦០ ហត្ថ ប្រសើរពេកក្តាត់	and will be sixty cubits in height. Most excellent he shall be,
ព្រះអនាវរណញ្ញាណ ដើមខ្ចឹងជាពោ	Lord of Unobstructed Knowledge. The laurel shall be
ធីត្រីក្សយោងយាន ស្លឹកផ្កាជាឋាន	his bodhi tree, bearing leaves and flowers as places
ចែងចាំងសូរិយា ។	of solar radiance,
៣១	31
ផ្ការីកនៅនិត្យ ថ្វាយព្រះបពិត្រ	with flowers always in bloom in offering to the Venerable One
អប់ព្រះកាយ ផុះរតន៍បាលីង្គ	to perfume his body. It will give rise to a jeweled throne,
ទីនាំងពេជ្រថ្វាយ ថ្វាយព្រះសាស្តា	a precious diamond seat, offered to the Teacher,
ជាគ្រូចម្បង ។	the foremost master.
៣២	32
រីជនណាៗ មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា	As for any person with a heart of clear faith,
ពេកក្រៃកន្លង បានថ្វាយបង្គំ	excellent and surpassing, who bows in homage
នូវព្រះពុទ្ធផង	to all of these
១០ អង្គនេះហោ	ten Buddhas
ដូចបានរៀបរាប់ ។	as enumerated above,
៣៣	33
ជននោះបានផល ច្រើនឥតផ្ទឹមដល់	that person will receive fruits in great quantity, beyond compare,
ប្រសើរគួរគាប់	wonderful and excellent,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

មិនធ្លាក់នរក	and shall not fall into the hells
អស់សែននៃកប្ប	for one hundred thousand eons,
ជាមនុស្សមានកិត្យ	as a fortunate human
វាសនាខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់។	with incredible luck.
៣៤	34
ខ្ញុំសូមមស្តារ	I humbly pay homage
ព្រះសាស្តាចារ្យ	to the Teachers,
ទាំង ១០ ព្រះអង្គ	all ten Buddhas.
សូមឱ្យខ្ញុំបាន	May I achieve
ថានធិឧត្តម	the highest realm
បានសុខយូរលង់	of lasting bliss:
គីរិញ្ញានហោរា។	Nibbāna.

**phcāñ' mār «nā kāl adhrātr»-k**

Defeat of Māra, beginning with “At midnight’s hour”

Khmer verse, 7 stanzas in *kākagati*, mid 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

Leporello: **UB016** 28a–29a; **UB038** 20a–20b braḥ aṅg ceñ pabbajjā; **UB038** 76a–77b pad phcāñ' mār kāl braḥ aṅg ceñ pabbajjā; **UB047** 62a–62b phcāñ' mār kāl braḥ aṅg ceñ sāñ pabbajjā;

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ន់, *Prajñā dharm pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 7–8.

Summary: Narrates the Bodhisatta’s departure from the palace, focusing on his admonitions for his infant son Rāhula.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
នាកាលអធ្រាត	At midnight’s hour
ស្តេចនឹកអនាថ	the Lord ached with
អាណិតឥតស្មើយ	deep compassion.
ទ្រង់ស្រែកផ្តាំថា	He cried out to
កុមារកូនអើយ	young Rāhula:
ឌីពុកលាហើយ	“Farewell, my son!
យាត្រាទៅបួស។	I now go forth.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

២	2
អ្នកនៅនឹងម្តាយ	Stay with Mother,
ឲ្យសុខសប្បាយ	in peace and joy.
កុំបីមានមោះ	May you be safe
រោគាព្យាធិ	and free from ill.
អ្វីបន្តិចសោះ	May no danger
កុំឲ្យមានមោះ	come to you, my
ដល់កូនពុំដាវ ។	dear Rāhula!”
៣	3
ទ្រង់បរសេះទៅ	He drove his horse
ហើយកាត់សំដៅ	up to the gates
ទៅឯក្លោងទ្វារ	of the palace.
ទេវតាបើកស្រាប់	Angels opened
សម្រាប់ជាយា	them for the Lord,
ស្តេចដល់ក្លោងទ្វារ	who then implored
ស្រែកផ្តាំកូនថា ។	his lone son thus:
៤	4
រាហុលកូនប្រុស	“Dear Rāhula!
នៅនឹងម្តាយចុះ	Stay with Mother
ឲ្យបានសុខា	and be happy.
កុំបីមានរោគ	May you be free
អ្វីមកពាធា	from all disease.
បិតាសូមលា	I take my leave
ទៅបព្វជ្ជហើយ ។	to wander forth.
៥	5
ឱប្រុសពន្ធក	My dear, my son,
អ្នកទើបកើតមក	you were just born
ថ្ងៃនេះកូនអើយ	this very day.
មិនសមបិតា	It’s wrong for me
យាត្រាចោលឡើយ	to leave you there.
គួរនៅកៀកកើយ	I should stay to
រក្សាបុត្រភ្នំ ។	take care of you.
៦	6
ឥឡូវបិតា	Now that I’m here,
មកនេះប្រាថ្នា	how I wish to
នឹងបុត្រពុំដា	cradle you in

Appendix II-12 Khmer *kākagati* verse (-k)

ក្រសោបឱបបី	my arms, dear son,
បបោសអង្គី	and caress you
រួចហើយនឹងលា	once more before
ទៅបញ្ជូនណា ។	I wander forth.
៧	7
ឥឡូវម្ខាងម្នាក់	With one hand on
លើកហត្ថម្លាងដាក់	your chest, Mother
ពាក់លើឱរា	makes the other
ហត្ថម្លាងធ្វើខ្នើយ	a pillow for you
ឲ្យអ្នកកើយណា	to rest your head.
ត្រាទេបិតា	But I, my son,
ខុសអាជ្ញាហើយ ។	must now go forth.”

**phcāñ' mār «yōñ khñuṃ paṅgam»-k**  
 Defeat of Māra, beginning with “We bow down”

FEMC title: lpök phcāñ' mār

Khmer verse, 151 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB002** 61b–77a braḥ dharm phcāñ' mār, with food offering instructions on 68b and a short Pali portion on 80a: *pañcamāri canināthitho puttosambodhī muttamamcatusaccaṃ mārasenaṃ phall'āyanti*; **UB003** 34a–40, 42b–49a phcāñ mār; **UB007** 27a–35b; **UB008** 16a–33b phcāñ mār; **UB009** 28a–38a; **UB010** 48b–63b; **UB011** 49b–53b, 54a–65b phcāñ' mā/ phcāñ mār; **UB012** 51a–65a [no title given, but last line of text reads *mahāmār vijāy*]; **UB017** 44a–58b phcāñ' mār, with final note: *នឹងសម្តែងក្នុងធម្មយោគផ្កាញាមារតែរុណ្ណះ*; **UB021** 12b–40a; **UB035** 33a–50a, 52a–52b phcāñ mār; **UB039** 26a–39b; **UB041** 25b–38b dharm phcāñ' mār, with the incipit *namatthu* (explicit missing); **UB046** 16a–33b phcāñ' mār; **UB048** 73a–55b pad phcāñ' mā/ phcāñ mār; **UB051** 17b–30b braḥ phcāñ mār; **UB062** 53b–61b pad phcāñ' mār/ phcāñ' mār/ thvāy madhupāyās, with the incipit *namo tassa namatthu*; **UB065** 70a–81b phcāñ' mār, drañ ceñ braḥ bhnuos, thvāy madhupāyās/ abhisek/ dharm yog; **UB067** 73a–86b

Khmer books: Preap Chanmara ព្រាប ចាន់ម៉ារ៉ា, “Phcāñ' mār ផ្កាញាមារ,” *Magazine of the Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts ទស្សនាវដ្តី ក្រសួងវប្បធម៌ និង វិចិត្រសិល្បៈ*: 21 (November 2016): 2–26; Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvö puny buddhābhisek bī samāy purāṇ ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យពុទ្ធាភិសេក ពីសម័យបុរាណ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2009), 4–22.

Edition and translation: Madeleine Giteau, *Le bornage rituel des temples bouddhiques au Cambodge* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969), 73–99 [Roman-script and French].

Summary: Narrates the Bodhisatta's, i.e. Siddhattha Gotama's, renunciation and eventual awakening. It begins with his witnessing of the four divine messengers (*devadūta*) of old age, illness, death, and a monk, then the Bodhisatta's decision to leave behind his son and his wife, followed by his conversation with Māra, who challenges him not to leave the palace. The text then describes the Bodhisatta's disgust with the woman of his harem, his departure from the palace on his horse Channa, accompanied by an entourage of deities, the descent of a sword with which to cut off his hair, his vow to reach awakening, and the ascent of his hair to the Cūḷāmaṇī cetiya in the Traiyastrimśa heaven. The text continues with a brief account of his six years of ascetic practice, followed by Sujātā's offering of the milk-rice. The king of the nāgas then warns Māra about the Bodhisatta's impending awakening. Māra sends his three beautiful daughters to seduce the Bodhisatta, who transforms them into ugly old crones. Māra, in anger, then assembles a vast army of deities and all kinds of ferocious beasts to frighten and attack the Bodhisatta. The Bodhisatta's perfections then declare that they will assist him in the battle against Māra. They halt the progress of Māra's armies and the projectiles they shoot all turn into lovely flower garlands when they approach the Bodhisatta. After a final onslaught by his armies, Māra demands that the Bodhisatta return the jewel throne to him. In response, Nān Gañhīn Braḥ Dharanī, the Earth Goddess, prostrates herself before the Lord, assuring him she will defeat Māra, testifying that she is the Lord's witness, and wrings out her hair, washing away Māra's armies. Māra, defeated, offers flowers to the Blessed One and bows in homage to him. The Lord in turn predicts that Māra will awaken in the future as a solitary buddha. The text concludes with a description of the deities assembled to honor the Buddha, the beauty of his bodhi tree and his radiance, and a final praise of the Blessed One.

**madhupāyās-k**  
Rice-milk offering

Khmer verse, 4 stanzas in *kākagati*, part of **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**.

Leporello: **UB009** 39a dhaṛm sūtr thvāy grōñ phseñ 2 nau bel jit bhī; **UB011** 54a dhaṛm aṅṅāp', with brackets; **UB041** 64a–64b thvāy cañhān' madhup"āy"ās'

Summary: Narration of the offering of milk-rice by Sujātā and other offerings, excerpted and expanded from **phcāñ' mār «yön khñuṃ paṅgaṃ»-k**.

**lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**

Taking leave of sins, beginning with “Venerable Blessed One!”

FEMC title: lpök lā pāp

Khmer verse, 72 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB005** 45a–49a dhaṛm lā pāp; **UB011** 79b–81b dhaṛm (ra)pā; **UB015** 45a–53b lpār [cap’ lpār lvēḥ]; **UB016** 12b–16b, 18a–19b; **UB020** 92a–99b (explicit missing); **UB025** 23a–27b, 28b–31b rapā sūtr smā lā dos; **UB028** 51a–55a dhaṛm smā lā, with extra verse at incipit but much shorter overall; **UB029** 15b–16b lpā smā lā pāp lā doḥ lā pramād satv tūc ddham niñ māṭāpīṭā grū ācāry braḥ ādit braḥ cand’ braḥ agī gaṅgā tī dik (explicit missing); **UB031** 23–34a; **UB033** 34a–42b, 43b–45b (middle missing); **UB034** 28a–35b bhantè bhaggavār (explicit missing); **UB034** 56a–64b dhamm bhantè; **UB037** 31a–32b, 34b–36a, 36b (incipit and middle missing); **UB042** 43a–45b lpā lā pāp, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* (short version); **UB052** 2–8b (incipit missing); **UB053** 30b (explicit missing); **UB055** 58a–67a sūtr smār lā dos°; **UB060** 49a–54b khñuṃ sūm lā pāp, with the incipit *namo tassa*; **UB065** 47a–49a dhaṛm lā pāp; **UB067** 39b–47b lpār;

Khmer books: Nuon Saṃān នួន សំអាង, *Ghippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* ភិបិប្បតិបត្តិ យវវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Sā im, tūp lekh 66 jān’ ļau tō phsār ūr ṛssī សា អ៊ឹម តូបលេខ 66 ជាតំឡៅត្បើ ផ្សារអូរឫស្សី, 2544), 104–110.

Edition and translation: Olivier de Bernon, “Le manuel des maîtres de *kammatthān*: Étude et présentation de rituels de méditation dans la tradition du bouddhisme khmer” (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2000), 747–60 [25-stanza recension, Khmer and Roman scripts].

Summary: Extended petition to take leave of sins and their consequences on the body, structured in the form of a life review from birth to middle age. It begins with an enumeration of the sins incurred against one’s mother, including those while in the womb and during birth, infancy, and early childhood. This is followed by an account of the sins incurred by deriding various beings, by defying one’s teacher while a novice, by cursing one’s students, abusing animals, and by drinking liquor under the guidance of non-Buddhist healers while a monk. The text then continues with a petition to take leave of all manner of disfiguring illnesses, skin diseases, and congenital abnormalities. This is followed by a petition to take leave of the sins of violating the five precepts, violating the eight precepts during important calendrical rituals, of playing all manner of games and frivolities while inside the monastery grounds, of being disrespectful during Buddhist rituals, of giving respect to non-Buddhist spirits, and of slandering the Dharma. The text closes with a petition for all the Three Jewels to help one

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

practice well, be liberated from saṃsāra, and achieve the attainments of the heavens and Nibbāna.

Nuon Saṃān 2547	Corrected edition	Translation
១	១	1
កន្ត្រៃ កតិវ៉ា	<i>bhante bhagavā</i>	Venerable Blessed One!
ខ្ញុំទូលបាទា	ខ្ញុំទូលបាទា	I place myself below your feet,
បង្គំភក្តី	បង្គំភក្តី	bowing in devotion,
ទសករទាំង១០	ទសករទាំងដប់	with my ten fingers
ដាក់លើសិរសី	ដាក់លើសិរសី	raised above my head
ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី	ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី	in offering to the Glorious [Jewels],
ទាំងបីសូមជ្រាប។	ទាំងបីសូមជ្រាប ។	all three—may they be thus informed:
២	២	2
យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា	អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I now take leave
លាទោសអាត្មា	លាទោសអាត្មា	of my own faults, beginning from
កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃ	កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃ	when I was inside the womb.
អ្នកម្តាយទ្រង់គភ៌	អ្នកម្តាយទ្រង់គភ៌	When my mother
យើងខ្ញុំនេះនៃ	អញខ្ញុំនេះនៃ	was pregnant with me,
ទន់អស់សរសៃ	ទន់អស់សរសៃ	all thirty-two parts
ទាំង៣០សង។	ទាំងសាមសិបសង ។	of her body went slack.
៣	៣	3
លោកម្តាយជាទុក្ខ	លោកម្តាយជាទុក្ខ	My mother was in pain,
ពុំដែលបានសុខ	ពុំដែលបានសុខ	never at ease,
ដល់តិចឡើយហោង	ដល់តិចឡើយហោង	not even in the slightest,
ខ្លាចក្រែងគ្រោះកាច	ខ្លាចក្រែងគ្រោះកាច	fearing malevolent forces.
មាតានោះផង	មាតានោះផង	My mother
លោក តែងនឹងរង	លោក តែងនឹងរង	always bore
ទម្ងន់នោះណា។	ទម្ងន់នោះណា ។	this heavy task.
៤	៤	4
លុះបាន១ខែ	លុះបានមួយខែ	After one month,
ឈាមនោះមកប្រៃ	ឈាមនោះមកប្រៃ	the blood morphed into
ជាដុំហើយណា	ជាដុំហើយណា	a solid mass.
លុះបាន២ខែ	លុះបានពីរខែ	After two
បីខែសោះសា	បីខែសោះសា	or three months,
កើតបញ្ចសាខា	កើតបញ្ចសាខា	five limbs formed
នៅលើ ទងសុក។	នៅលើទងសុក ។	on top of the placenta.



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៥	៥	5
អង្គុយច្រហោង រងេងរងោង នៅនាក្រោមផ្ទៃ មាត់នោះបៀមបៅ ជញ្ជក់ទងសុក អង្គុយប្រែមុខ ទៅខាង ខ្នងម្តាយ។	អង្គុយច្រហោង រងេងរងោង នៅនាក្រោមផ្ទៃ មាត់នោះបៀមបៅ ជញ្ជក់ទងសុក អង្គុយប្រែមុខ ទៅខាង ខ្នងម្តាយ ។	Curled up in a fetal crouch within the womb, my mouth was nursed by the placenta. I sat backwards, facing my mother's spine.
៦	៦	6
ខ្លួននោះដូចសត្វ ដូចស្វាគេលាត់ ក្រហល់ក្រហាយ បើលោកបរិភោគ បង្កើតទាំងឡាយ ខ្ញុំសុខសប្បាយ អង្គុយអស់អាត្មា។	ខ្លួននោះដូចសត្វ ដូចស្វាគេលាត់ ក្រហល់ក្រហាយ បើលោកបរិភោគ បង្កើតទាំងឡាយ ខ្ញុំសុខសប្បាយ អង្គុយអស់អាត្មា ។	My body was like an animal, like a flayed monkey, restless and agitated. When my mother consumed all kinds of sweets, I felt joy and bliss throughout my being.
៧	៧	7
បើម្តាយខ្ញុំធំ អស់ទាំងចំណី ហីរិប្រហើយណា វាយអស់អង្គ វាខ្លោចវាផ្សា ញឹរអស់រូបា យើងខ្ញុំក្នុងផ្ទៃ។	បើម្តាយខ្ញុំធំ អស់ទាំងចំណី ហីរិប្រហើយណា វាយអស់អង្គ វាខ្លោចវាផ្សា ញឹរអស់រូបា អញខ្ញុំក្នុងផ្ទៃ ។	If my mother ate all kinds of foods that were spicy or salty, then my whole body hurt, burning in pain, my body shaking as I crouched in the womb.
៨	៨	8
ជញ្ជឹងឲ្យគ្រប់ ជួនជួបប្រសព្វ ខែ១០ហើយនៃ លុះបានគម្រប់ បរិបូណ៌ប្រពៃ ខ្យល់ឆាប់ក្រៃ ឈ្មោះកម្មជួរវាត។	ជញ្ជឹងឲ្យគ្រប់ ជួនជួបប្រសព្វ ខែ១០ហើយនៃ លុះបានគម្រប់ បរិបូណ៌ប្រពៃ ខ្យល់មួយឆាប់ក្រៃ ឈ្មោះ <i>kammajavāta</i> ។	She concentrated completely, such that all would come together at the end of ten months. When the term was up, all was complete and ready. There was a fierce wind, called “the wind born of kamma,”
៩	៩	9
មកបក់បង្វិល ប្រែក្បាលខ្ញុំវិល ចេញមកក្រៅស្អាត	មកបក់បង្វិល ប្រែក្បាលខ្ញុំវិល ចេញមកក្រៅស្អាត	which turned me around, such that my head came out clean

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ដោយទ្វារមាតា យើងខ្ញុំជាអាទី ទើបខ្ញុំប្រមាទ ពុំដឹងអាត្មា។ ១០	ដោយទ្វារមាតា អញខ្ញុំជាអាទី ទើបខ្ញុំប្រមាទ ពុំដឹងអាត្មា ។ ១០	from the gate of my mother for the first time. At that moment I was careless, not yet conscious, 10
ដូចគេត្រូវវែង ចោលទៅកំពែង ចក្រវាឡា រួចចេញពីផ្ទៃ ព្រះកន្លែងហើយណា ខ្ញុំភ្ញាក់អាត្មា ស្រែកយំខ្លាំងក្រៃ។ ១១	ដូចគេត្រូវវែង ចោលទៅកំពែង ចក្រវាឡា រួចចេញពីផ្ទៃ ព្រះកន្លែងហើយណា ខ្ញុំភ្ញាក់អាត្មា ស្រែកយំខ្លាំងក្រៃ ។ ១១	as if I had been first thrown out to the wall at the edge of the world, and only then left the womb of my august mother. I became conscious and cried out piercingly. 11
ឯព្រះមាតា អ្នកឈឺខ្លោចផ្សា ត្បិតខ្ញុំនេះនៃ អ្នកដេកអាំងភ្លើង បាន៩ថ្ងៃ លុះស្រាលជើងដៃ បរិបូណ៌ហើយហោង។ ១២	ឯព្រះមាតា អ្នកឈឺខ្លោចផ្សា ត្បិតខ្ញុំនេះនៃ អ្នកដេកអាំងភ្លើង បានប្រាំបួនថ្ងៃ លុះស្រាលជើងដៃ បរិបូណ៌ហើយហោង ។ ១២	As for my mother, she was in great pain because of me. She laid down roasting over the fire for nine days, until her legs and arms had recovered completely. 12
លាបាប១ណា លោកម្តាយរក្សា ចិញ្ចឹមរ៉ាប់រង ទុក្ខភ័យប៉ុន្មាន មិនឲ្យមានឆ្គង លោកតែងនឹងរង ទម្ងន់នោះណា។ ១៣	លាបាបមួយណា លោកម្តាយរក្សា ចិញ្ចឹមរ៉ាប់រង ទុក្ខភ័យប៉ុន្មាន មិនឲ្យមានឆ្គង លោកតែងនឹងរង ទម្ងន់នោះណា ។ ១៣	I take leave of this sin: my mother cared for, raised, and supported me. No matter the pain and danger, she didn't let mistakes arise. She always bore that weighty task. 13
ខ្ញុំលាបាប១ ត្បិតលោកម្តាយព្រួយ លំបាកព្រឺនគ្រា ដេកនៅនឹងអាចម៍ នឹងនោមកាលគ្រា ជាក្មេងខ្ញុំលា អំពើបាបនោះ។	ខ្ញុំលាបាបមួយ ត្បិតលោកម្តាយព្រួយ លំបាកព្រឺនគ្រា ដេកនៅនឹងអាចម៍ នឹងនោមកាលគ្រា ជាក្មេងខ្ញុំលា អំពើបាបនោះ ។	I take leave of this sin: my mother was afraid and faced difficulties many times, sleeping in my feces and urine when I was young—I take leave of that sinful act.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

១៤	១៤	14
លាបាបណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
លោកម្តាយរក្សា	លោកម្តាយរក្សា	my mother took care of me,
ឥតមានទ្រគោះ	ឥតមានទ្រគោះ	without any animosity,
តែងនឹងឱបក្រុង	តែងនឹងឱបក្រុង	always hugging me close,
បីបំបៅដោះ	បីបំបៅដោះ	nursing me from her breast.
ដៃយើងខ្ញុំនោះ	ដៃអញខ្ញុំនោះ	My hands, however, were
គក់ទ្រូងលោកម្តាយ។	គក់ទ្រូងលោកម្តាយ។	always beating my mother's chest.
១៥	១៥	15
យើងខ្ញុំនេះលា	អញខ្ញុំនេះលា	I now take leave,
ក្រែងមានវេរា	ក្រែងមានវេរា	lest there be any hostility remaining,
អំពើទាំងឡាយ	អំពើទាំងឡាយ	of all of my evil actions.
កាលលោកដេកលក់	កាលលោកដេកលក់	When she was sleeping soundly
ជាសុខសប្បាយ	ជាសុខសប្បាយ	and peacefully,
យើងខ្ញុំពាយងាយ	អញខ្ញុំពាយងាយ	I bothered her
យំឲ្យលោកភ្ញាក់។	យំឲ្យលោកភ្ញាក់។	and cried until she woke up.
១៦	១៦	16
ហេតុបទយើងខ្ញុំ	ហេតុបទអញខ្ញុំ	Hence I
មានវេរាកម្ម	មានវេរាកម្ម	have hostile karma
តែងតាមជឿជាក់	តែងតាមជឿជាក់	that is sure to follow me.
កាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង	កាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង	When I was young
តែងយំទាត់	តែងយំទាត់	I always cried, hit, and kicked.
បាបនោះអប្បល្មើក្នុង	បាបនោះអប្បល្មើក្នុង	I humbly take leave
ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា។	ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា។	of this wicked sin.
១៧	១៧	17
លាបាបនោះ	លាបាបមួយនោះ	I take leave of the sin
ក្រែងមានទ្រគោះ	ក្រែងមានទ្រគោះ	of fighting with my mother,
ឈ្នះនឹងមាតា	ឈ្នះនឹងមាតា	lest there be any hostility.
ហើយខ្ញុំលាបាប	ហើយខ្ញុំលាបាប	I take leave of the sin
ប្រមាថបិតា	ប្រមាថបិតា	of being careless towards my father.
លាបាបនោះណា	លាបាបនោះណា	I take leave of those sins
លាទោសនោះផង។	លាទោសនោះផង។	and take leave of all those faults.
១៨	១៨	18
លាបាបណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of these sins,
ក្រែងមានវេរា	ក្រែងមានវេរា	lest there be any hostility
អំពើបាបផង	អំពើបាបផង	from these wicked actions:

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្រែងប្រឈ្នោះ ប្រកួតប្រជែង ទាស់ពាក្យឆ្គាំឆ្គង នឹងញាតិនាណា។ ១៩	ក្រែងប្រឈ្នោះ ប្រកួតប្រជែង ទាស់ពាក្យឆ្គាំឆ្គង នឹងញាតិនាណា។ ១៩	having conflicts competitions, quarrels, and abusive words with my various relatives. 19
យើងខ្ញុំប្របាទ កាលជាទេសាទ សម្លាប់មច្ឆា អស់ទាំងបាបនោះ ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា កុំមានវេរា អំពើនោះឡើយ។ ២០	អញខ្ញុំប្រមាទ កាលជាទេសាទ សម្លាប់មច្ឆា អស់ទាំងបាបនោះ ខ្ញុំសោតសូមលា កុំមានវេរា អំពើនោះឡើយ។ ២០	I was negligent when I was a fisherman, slaying fish. I humbly take leave of all of those sins; may no hostilities remain from those actions. 20
បទឥតយោបល់ ប្រាជ្ញាកិច្ចកល ពុំយល់សោះឡើយ ញាតិផងប្រដៅ យើងខ្ញុំកន្តើយ ឮពាក្យគេហើយ ស្រដីមុសា។ ២១	ដ្បិតឥតយោបល់ ប្រាជ្ញាកិច្ចកល ពុំយល់សោះឡើយ ញាតិផងប្រដៅ អញខ្ញុំកន្តើយ ឮពាក្យគេហើយ ស្រដីមុសា។ ២១	Since I lacked ideas, intelligence, and skills, and understood nothing at all, my relatives trained me. Yet I was careless; having heard their words, I spoke falsehoods instead. 21
១ក្រែងប្រមាថ ព្រះអាទិត្យជាអាទី ព្រះចន្ទតារា ព្រះពាយព្រះភិរុណ ព្រះអគ្គិគង្គា ប្រមាថទេវតា លាបាបនោះឯង។ ២២	មួយក្រែងប្រមាថ ព្រះអាទិត្យជាអាទី ព្រះចន្ទតារា ព្រះពាយព្រះភិរុណ ព្រះអគ្គិគង្គា ប្រមាថទេវតា លាបាបនោះឯង។ ២២	In case I have derided the Sun, the Moon, the stars, the wind, the rain, fire, water, or the gods, I take leave of those sins. 22
លាបាប១ណា ប្រមាថរាជា ក្រឡាគម្ពីរ អម្ចាស់ផ្ទៃក្រោម ត្បិតលោកតាក់តែង អស់បាបនោះឯង យើងខ្ញុំសូមលា។	លាបាបមួយណា ប្រមាថរាជា ក្រឡាគម្ពីរ អម្ចាស់ផ្ទៃក្រោម ត្បិតលោកតាក់តែង អស់បាបនោះឯង អញខ្ញុំសូមលា។	I take leave of the sin of having derided the King, Lord of the Flat of the Earth, Master of the Lower Realm, since he presides over it. I humbly take leave of all of those sins.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

២៣	២៣	23
បាប១ស្រដី	បាបមួយស្រដី	Another sin: I spoke
ប្រមាថមន្ត្រី	ប្រមាថមន្ត្រី	contemptuously of mandarins
អស់អស់សេនា	អស់អស់សេនា	and generals.
ក្រែងបានស្រដី	ក្រែងបានស្រដី	Lest I have uttered
ជេរពោលផ្កាសា	ជេរពោលផ្កាសា	curses and insults,
អស់បាបនោះណា	អស់បាបនោះណា	I humbly take leave,
ខ្ញុំលាទោសហោង។	ខ្ញុំលាទោសហោង។	of all those sins and faults.
២៤	២៤	24
លាបាប១ណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
កាលបូសនៅជា	កាលបូសនៅជា	when I was ordained as
សាមណេរហើយហោង	សាមណេរហើយហោង	a novice monk,
គ្រូលោកប្រដៅ	គ្រូលោកប្រដៅ	my master instructed me
បទខ្លួននេះឆ្គង	ដ្បិតខ្លួននេះឆ្គង	since I was foolish,
ខេខើងរំលង	ខេខើងរំលង	yet I was angry and ignored
កន្លងពាក្យគ្រូ។	កន្លងពាក្យគ្រូ។	the words of my master.
២៥	២៥	25
យើងខ្ញុំនេះលា	អញខ្ញុំនេះលា	I take leave,
បទមានវាចា	បទមានវេរា	since hostilities still remain,
បាបនោះមកត្រូវ	បាបនោះមកត្រូវ	and those sins will come to meet me.
ស្រដីខុសពាក្យ	ស្រដីខុសពាក្យ	I spoke the wrong words
នឹងលោកជាគ្រូ	នឹងលោកជាគ្រូ	to my own master.
ចិត្តខឹងក្រចូរ	ចិត្តខឹងក្រចូរ	My mind seethed in anger,
លួចដេរកំបាំង។	លួចដេរកំបាំង។	and I cursed him in secret.
២៦	២៦	26
ខ្ញុំលាអស់បាប	ខ្ញុំលាអស់បាប	I take leave of all those sins.
លាពៀរដរាប	លាពៀរដរាប	I take leave of hostilities.
សូមលោកជួយខ្ញុំ	សូមលោកជួយខ្ញុំ	Please, Master, help block
អស់បាបនោះឯង	អស់បាបនោះឯង	all of those sins.
សូមលោកជួយរាំង	សូមលោកជួយរាំង	Please, Master, help stop them,
ចៀសចាកកំបាំង	ចៀសចាកកំបាំង	leave them, and obstruct them,
កុំឃើញឡើយណា។	កុំឃើញឡើយណា។	such that they cannot be seen.
២៧	២៧	27
បាប១នោះត្រូវ	បាបមួយនោះត្រូវ	Another sin:
ខ្ញុំភូតនឹងគ្រូ	ខ្ញុំភូតនឹងគ្រូ	I lied to my master
បំពោតវាចា	បំពោតវាចា	and spoke deceiving words.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ស្រដីដើមគ្រូ	ស្រដីដើមគ្រូ	I slandered my master.
ក្រែងត្រូវរូបា	ក្រែងត្រូវរូបា	Lest this come back to me,
យើងខ្ញុំនោះណា	អញខ្ញុំនោះណា	I now take leave
លាទោសនោះផង។	លាទោសនោះផង ។	of those faults.
២៨	២៨	28
លាបាប១ណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
កាលបូសនៅជា	កាលបូសនៅជា	when ordained as a
សាមណេរនោះហោង	សាមណេរនោះហោង	novice monk
ក្រែងខ្ញុំឈ្លោះគ្នា	ក្រែងខ្ញុំឈ្លោះគ្នា	I may have had conflicts,
ប្រកួតប្រឡង	ប្រកួតប្រឡង	competitions,
ទាស់ពាក្យឆ្គាំឆ្គង	ទាស់ពាក្យឆ្គាំឆ្គង	quarrels, and abusive words,
ដេរទៅមាតា។	ដេរទៅមាតា ។	even cursing others' mothers.
២៨	២៨	29
កាលនៅជាកិក្ខុ	កាលនៅជាកិក្ខុ	When I was a fully ordained monk,
ប្រដៅរំលឹក	ប្រដៅរំលឹក	I instructed, reminded,
ដេរពោលអស់គ្នា	ដេរពោលអស់គ្នា	and cursed everyone,
ខំឲ្យរៀនសូត្រ	ខំឲ្យរៀនសូត្រ	striving to make them study
តែងកូតមាយា	តែងកូតមាយា	by lying deceitfully.
យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា	អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I tended to
បានជាដេរទៅ។	បានជាដេរទៅ ។	curse at them.
៣០	៣០	30
យើងខ្ញុំនេះខឹង	អញខ្ញុំនេះខឹង	I was angry
ធ្វើមុខក្រញឹង	ធ្វើមុខក្រញឹង	and snarled
សម្ងក់សម្ងៅ	សម្ងក់សម្ងៅ	and glared menacingly,
ក្រហមទាំងមុខ	ក្រហមទាំងមុខ	my face all red,
សំឡឹងដេរទៅ	សំឡឹងដេរទៅ	staring and cursing at them
បទសិស្សផងខ្លៅ	បទសិស្សផងខ្លៅ	to make them do as I wished,
ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្ត។	ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្ត ។	since my students were ignorant.
៣១	៣១	31
សិស្សឥតប្រាជ្ញា	សិស្សឥតប្រាជ្ញា	As for the unintelligent students
យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា	អញខ្ញុំនេះណា	I tended to
ដេរថាចំហុត	ដេរថាចំហុត	curse at them fiercely,
ឲ្យចេះសស្ត្រា	ឲ្យចេះសស្ត្រា	so that they would learn the treatises
ចេះទាំងសំបុត្រ	ចេះទាំងសំបុត្រ	and the letters,
ឲ្យចេះផ្តងផ្តត់	ឲ្យចេះផ្តងផ្តត់	so that they would carefully learn
កំណត់សិក្សា។	កំណត់សិក្សា ។	the curriculum of study.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៣២	៣២	32
លាទ្យប្រើសត្វ	លាមួយប្រើសត្វ	I take leave of another: I angrily
ខឹងខំវាយវាត់	ខឹងខំវាយវាត់	beat and whipped animals
ពុំមានមេត្តា	ពុំមានមេត្តា	without compassion.
បរហើយវាយដំ	បរហើយវាយដំ	I rode them and beat them,
ប្រំណក់ខ្លួនវា	ប្រំណក់ខ្លួនវា	trampling and kicking them
ពុំមានមេត្តា	ពុំមានមេត្តា	without compassion.
ខ្ញុំលាទោសនោះ។	ខ្ញុំលាទោសនោះ។	I take leave of those faults.
៣៣	៣៣	33
លាបាប១ណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
កាលមានរោគា	កាលមានរោគា	when I was sick, I asked
ឲ្យហោរគណគ្រោះ	ឲ្យហោរគន់គ្រោះ	an astrologer to examine malevolent forces.
ត្រូវសត្វជើងពីរ	ត្រូវសត្វជើងពីរ	I was under the influence of two-footed
ជើងបួនរំដោះ	ជើងបួនរំដោះ	and four-footed creatures, and needed to be liberated
ទើបបានស្បើយគ្រោះ	ទើបបានស្បើយគ្រោះ	in order to be healed from these forces,
ដោយហោរគេថា។	ដោយហោរគេថា។	in accordance with the astrologer's words:
៣៤	៣៤	34
រិពេទ្យមេមុត	រិពេទ្យមេមុត	“As for a healer or medium,
ទោះធុតពុំធុត	ទោះធុតពុំធុត	be he effective or ineffective,
យកឲ្យសែនលា	យកឲ្យសែនលា	take to him an offering for taking leave.
បង្គាប់ថាត្រូវ	បង្គាប់ថាត្រូវ	Instruct him that you are under the influence
សត្វដូចហោរថា	សត្វដូចហោរថា	of animals, according to an astrologer,
ត្រូវផ្លូវនឹងស្រា	ត្រូវផ្លូវនឹងស្រា	and that you must take tobacco and liquor
យកមកឲ្យផឹក។	យកមកឲ្យផឹក។	and drink it.”
៣៥	៣៥	35
រិបាបនោះណា	រិបាបនោះណា	With regards to those sins,
ដោយច្បាប់លោកថា	ដោយច្បាប់លោកថា	according to the law declared by the Master,
យមកូបាលបំផឹក	យមកូបាលបំផឹក	Lord Yama forces one to drink
នូវទឹកទង់ដែង	នូវទឹកទង់ដែង	molten bronze [in the hells].
គួរស្រែងពន្លឹក	គួរស្រែងពន្លឹក	One should be extremely afraid
បាបដ្បិតតែផឹក	បាបដ្បិតតែផឹក	of the sin of having drunk
ស្រាខុសវិន័យ។	ស្រាខុសវិន័យ។	alcohol in violation of the monastic rule.
៣៦	៣៦	36
លាបាប១ណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of the sin of
ត្បិតខ្ញុំផឹកស្រា	ត្បិតខ្ញុំផឹកស្រា	having drunk liquor,
បាបនោះឯងនែ	បាបនោះឯងនែ	of that very sin.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>ខ្ញុំពឹងសំការ ពឹងបារមីក្រៃ សូមអម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ ករុណាប្រោសហោង។ ៣៧</p>	<p>ខ្ញុំពឹងសម្ភារ ពឹងបារមីក្រៃ សូមអម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ ករុណាប្រោសហោង។ ៣៧</p>	<p>I rely on his accumulated merit and supreme perfections— may the Precious Master have compassion and save me. 37</p>
<p>លាបាប១ណា ក្រែងមានវេរា អំពើឆ្គាំឆ្គង វាយដំផ្តែង មានទានោះផង វាយស្រែកកង ក្រែងមានវេរា។ ៣៨</p>	<p>លាបាបមួយណា ក្រែងមានវេរា អំពើឆ្គាំឆ្គង វាយដំផ្តែង មានទានោះផង វាយស្រែកកង ក្រែងមានវេរា។ ៣៨</p>	<p>I take leave of these sins, lest hostilities remain from my wrong actions: I beat cats and dogs, ducks and chickens too, hitting them until they shrieked and wailed, and fear that vengeful karma may remain. 38</p>
<p>យើងខ្ញុំលាថ្នង លាអស់ខ្មៅល្ងង់ លំបាកកំព្រា ខ្ញុំលារៀងទៅ សព្វជាតិវិនាស កើតមកសព្វគ្រា កុំត្រាយលំឡើយ។ ៣៩</p>	<p>អញខ្ញុំលាថ្នង លាអស់ខ្មៅល្ងង់ លំបាកកំព្រា ខ្ញុំលារៀងទៅ សព្វជាតិវិនាស កើតមកសព្វគ្រា កុំត្រាយលំឡើយ។ ៣៩</p>	<p>I take leave of deafness. I take leave of all ignorance and folly, the difficulties of being an orphan. I take leave of them forever. In each and every life, whenever I am reborn, may I never encounter them. 39</p>
<p>ខ្ញុំលាប្លង់ស្រែង ដំបៅក្រវែង ក្រញឹងឥតត្រើយ កញ្ជោតកំបាក់ ខ្លិនខ្នាក់នោះឡើយ លាទាំងខ្មែរខ្មើយ គមតាកំពើតពឹង។ ៤០</p>	<p>ខ្ញុំលាប្លង់ស្រែង ដំបៅក្រវែង ក្រញឹងឥតត្រើយ កញ្ជោតកំបាក់ ខ្លិនខ្នាក់នោះឡើយ លាទាំងខ្មែរខ្មើយ គមតាកំពើតពឹង។ ៤០</p>	<p>I take leave of leprosy, ringworm, ulcers, shaking, unrelieved ankylosis, leg-length discrepancy, broken limbs, amputation, and blindness. I take leave of intersexuality, kyphosis, and throbbing pains. 40</p>
<p>លាខ្លួនកំប្រោណ ដំណើរក្រញោន សក់ប្រាញកង្រើង ក្រង់រក្រង់យ ក្រញឹសក្រញឹង ស្មេញស្មាញពើតពឹង កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។</p>	<p>លាខ្លួនកំប្រោន ដំណើរក្រញោន សក់ប្រាញកង្រើង ក្រង់រក្រង់យ ក្រញឹសក្រញឹង ស្មេញស្មាញពើតពឹង កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។</p>	<p>I take leave of excessive timidity, muteness, frizzy hair, matted hair, a blocked nose, excessive irritation, and grimacing with sharp pains— may I never encounter them.</p>



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៤១	៤១	41
លាបអាត្រក់ ជើងធំរលស្លក់ ឃ្នងជើងឃ្នងដៃ លាក្នែកស្រលៀង ស្រសៃវិស័យ ឡើងបាយស្លឹកស្នែ បាំងស្បែកខ្ញុំលា។	លាបអាត្រក់ ជើងធំរលស្លក់ ឃ្នងជើងឃ្នងដៃ លាក្នែកស្រលៀង ស្រសៃវិស័យ ឡើងបាយស្លឹកស្នែ បាំងស្បែកខ្ញុំលា។	I take leave of an ugly body, big feet and legs, stocky and swollen, leprosy on the feet and hands. I take leave of strabismus, abnormal vision, and various kinds of cataracts—I take leave of all these.
៤២	៤២	42
លា១ធ្មេញបាក់ ច្រមុះសោតធ្លាក់ ញើញាក់ចង្កា ហាមាត់សំព្វេញ កំប៉ិញដូចស្វា បើនឹងឆ្នើស្វា ខិបខុបវិស័យ។	លាមួយធ្មេញបាក់ ច្រមុះសោតធ្លាក់ ញើញាក់ចង្កា ហាមាត់សំព្វេញ កំប៉ិញដូចស្វា បើនឹងឆ្នើស្វា ខិបខុបវិស័យ។	I take leave of broken teeth, a sunken nose, a shaky chin, an open-mouthed grimace, like a monkey if eating betel nut, and an aquiline nose.
៤៣	៤៣	43
លាមាត់សម្ងាត់ ដំបៅរលាក សជើងសដៃ ខ្មៅមុខដូចចៀស អសុរសចង្រៃ រៀចស្អួចជើងដៃ យើងខ្ញុំសូមលា។	លាមាត់សម្ងាត់ ដំបៅរលាក សជើងសដៃ ខ្មៅមុខដូចចៀស អសុរសចង្រៃ រៀចស្អួចជើងដៃ អញខ្ញុំសូមលា។	I take leave of a scarred mouth, ulcers, blisters, white feet, white hands, a black face, as if to be avoided, disgusting and inauspicious, and crooked hands and feet— I take leave of all these.
៤៤	៤៤	44
ហើយលាតំពែក ត្រងាលចំឡែក គង់តែលលាជ័ ដើរទៅងើលងាល ប៉ើលប៉ាលសិរសា ហេតុតែលលាជ័ រលីងសក់សើ។	ហើយលាតំពែក ត្រងាលចំឡែក គង់តែលលាជ័ ដើរទៅងើលងាល ប៉ើលប៉ាលសិរសា ហេតុតែលលាជ័ រលីងសក់សើ។	And I take leave of baldness, unusual baldness at the front of the head, hair only remaining on the forehead, walking here and there with a head that seems to float due to the forehead being free of thin hairs.
៤៥	៤៥	45
លាជើងកំបាក់ ដើរទៅខ្លើញខ្លក ទាបខ្ពស់ពញើ	លាជើងកំបាក់ ដើរទៅខ្លើញខ្លក ទាបខ្ពស់ពញើ	I take leave of broken legs, walking unevenly, and being short or foolishly tall.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

<p>លាទាបកន្តែល ទំលែទំលើ ទំលួនមើលស្ទី មើលខាងខ្ញុំលា។ ៤៦</p>	<p>លាទាបកន្តែល ទំលែទំលើ ទំលួនមើលស្ទី មើលខាងខ្ញុំលា ។ ៤៦</p>	<p>I take leave of being short and stocky, like the Daṃlè, Daṃlö, or Daṃluon people, with eyes looking up or looking to the sides—I take leave. 46</p>
<p>លាប្លង់ល្អៅ ប្លង់ដែកប្លង់ខ្មៅ ប្លង់ភ្លើងស្រែងផ្កា ស្រកឹអណ្តែង កញ្ចុះមាន់ណា កើតប្រើសប្លង់ផ្កា កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។ ៤៧</p>	<p>លាប្លង់ល្អៅ ប្លង់ដែកប្លង់ខ្មៅ ប្លង់ភ្លើងស្រែងផ្កា ស្រកឹអណ្តែង កញ្ចុះមាន់ណា កើតប្រើសប្លង់ផ្កា កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។ ៤៧</p>	<p>I take leave of impetigo, iron leprosy, black leprosy, deforming leprosy, mycosis, catfish gill disease, <i>kañjus mān'</i> disease, sambar deer disease, and Javanese leprosy— may I never encounter them. 47</p>
<p>លារូបអាត្រក់ ជំងឺផ្តិតផ្តក់ ព្យាធីរិវងៃ លាអស់រោគា ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ បៀតបៀននោះនៃ កុំឲ្យជិតដល់។ ៤៨</p>	<p>លារូបអាត្រក់ ជំងឺផ្តិតផ្តក់ ព្យាធីរិវងៃ លាអស់រោគា ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ បៀតបៀននោះនៃ កុំឲ្យជិតដល់ ។ ៤៨</p>	<p>I take leave of an ugly appearance, diseases, and emaciating illnesses. I take leave of all sicknesses, calamities, misfortunes, and disturbances— may they not follow me. 48</p>
<p>លាដៃក្រញាង ក្រញាងសងខាង សរសៃរូបរិត លាអស់ដំបៅ នូវមាត់កំពិត ច្របូញច្រូញជិត ខ្ញុំលាបុកុយល់។ ៤៩</p>	<p>លាដៃក្រញាង ក្រញាងសងខាង សរសៃរូបរិត លាអស់ដំបៅ នូវមាត់ក្រពិត ច្របូញច្រូញជិត ខ្ញុំលាបុកុយល់ ។ ៤៩</p>	<p>I take leave of splayed fingers, inflexible on both sides, and choked veins. I take leave of ulcers, and scarred lips that are wrinkled and protruding. I take leave; may I never encounter them. 49</p>
<p>លាទពាក្យភូត ស្រដឹកម្តោធន កុហកកិច្ចកល លាទពាលោ មោហោកំហល់ ស្រដឹកិច្ចកល ចិត្តរៀបនឹងញាតិ។</p>	<p>លាមួយពាក្យភូត ស្រដឹកិភូត កុហកកិច្ចកល លាមួយពាលោ មោហោកំហល់ ស្រដឹកិច្ចកល ចិត្តរៀបនឹងញាតិ ។</p>	<p>I take leave of dishonest words, speaking falsehoods, lies, and tricks. I take leave of foolishness, ignorance, and anger; speaking falsehoods, with crooked thoughts towards relatives;</p>

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៥០	៥០	50
ពុំដឹងខុសគាប់	ពុំដឹងខុសគាប់	not knowing right from wrong;
ពុំដឹងដោយច្បាប់	ពុំដឹងដោយច្បាប់	not knowing what accords with laws,
ដោយធម៌ជាអាទិ៍	ដោយធម៌ជាអាទិ៍	the Dharma foremost among them;
ស្រដីមុសា	ស្រដីមុសា	and telling lies,
ពាក្យកូតសិនឃ្លាត	ពាក្យកូតសិនឃ្លាត	falsehoods that slip further away.
ខ្ញុំលាសព្វជាតិ	ខ្ញុំលាសព្វជាតិ	I take leave in every life;
កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។	កុំយល់ឡើយនៃ។	may I not encounter them at all.
៥១	៥១	51
លាទចង្រៃ	លាមួយចង្រៃ	I take leave of the inauspiciousness,
យកអ្នកដទៃ	យកអ្នកដទៃ	taking strangers
មកធ្វើជាញាតិ	មកធ្វើជាញាតិ	to be my kin;
លាពាក្យនោះណា	លាពាក្យនោះណា	I take leave of that inauspiciousness;
កុំយល់សព្វជាតិ	កុំយល់សព្វជាតិ	may I not encounter it in any life,
ឲ្យខ្ញុំនេះឃ្លាត	ឲ្យខ្ញុំនេះឃ្លាត	so that I am separated from it
ចៀសចាកចេញឆ្ងាយ។	ចៀសចាកចេញឆ្ងាយ។	and depart far away.
៥២	៥២	52
ខ្ញុំលាអស់បាប	ខ្ញុំលាអស់បាប	I take leave of all sins.
លាពៀរដរាប	លាពៀរដរាប	I take permanent leave of hostilities,
អំពើទុក្ខភ័យ	អំពើទុក្ខភ័យ	evil acts, pain, and fear.
លាខ្សត់លំបាក	លាខ្សត់លំបាក	I take leave of poverty, hardship,
តោកយ៉ាកហិនហៃ	តោកយ៉ាកហិនហៃ	penury, and privation.
ហើយសូមលាភ័យ	ហើយសូមលាភ័យ	May I take leave of the dangers
ចតុរាជយោង។	ចតុរាជយោង។	of the four lower realms.
៥៣	៥៣	53
លាទោសបាណា	លាទោស <i>pāṇā</i>	I take leave of the faults of <i>pāṇā</i> ,
អនិទ្ធាកាមេ	<i>adinnā kāme</i>	<i>adinnā</i> , <i>kāme</i> ,
មុសាសុរាផង	<i>musā surā</i> ផង	<i>musā</i> , and <i>surā</i> .
ខ្ញុំលាកុំយល់	ខ្ញុំលាកុំយល់	I take leave of them to never see
ដល់តិចជាម្តង	ដល់តិចជាម្តង	them arrive, not even once.
សេពសុរាផង	សេពសុរាផង	Consuming all kinds of liquor—
ទាំងអស់ខ្ញុំលា។	ទាំងអស់ខ្ញុំលា។	of all this I take leave.
៥៤	៥៤	54
បាណាតិបាត	<i>pāṇātipāta</i>	<i>Pāṇātipāta</i> —
សម្លាប់ដរាប	សម្លាប់ដរាប	always killing
សត្វតូចធំផង	សត្វតូចធំផង	creatures great and small.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

អទិទ្ធានា លួចលាក់ឆណោង កាមេលួចបង កូនប្អូនប្រពន្ធ ។ ៥៥	<i>adinnādānā</i> លួចលាក់ឆណោង <i>kāme</i> លួចបង កូនប្អូនប្រពន្ធ ។ ៥៥	<i>Adinnādānā</i> — stealing, hiding, and swindling. <i>Kāme</i> —stealing the siblings, children, and wives 55
អ្នកផងខ្ញុំលា ទាំងបាបមុសា ដែលលេងចំអន់ ក្រែងត្រូវត្រង់ពាក្យ ភ្លេចគិតមិនទាន់ លេងសើចហួសស៊ុន បាបនោះខ្ញុំលា។ ៥៦	អ្នកផងខ្ញុំលា ទាំងបាប <i>musā</i> ដែលលេងចំអន់ ក្រែងត្រូវត្រង់ពាក្យ ភ្លេចគិតមិនទាន់ លេងសើចហួសស៊ុន បាបនោះខ្ញុំលា ។ ៥៦	of everyone—I take leave, along with the sin of <i>musā</i> , including playfully teasing, lest my words have been hurtful, careless, untimely, and excessively jocular; I take leave of this sin. 56
សុរាទី៥ ជាមេកងកម្ម បង់វត្តបង់រៀង បង់យសសម្បត្តិ បង់សីលបង់ទាន ខ្ញុំលារាល់រៀង ជាតិកុំឲ្យមាន។ ៥៧	<i>surā</i> ទី៥ ជាមេកងកម្ម បង់វត្តបង់រៀង បង់យសសម្បត្តិ បង់សីលបង់ទាន ខ្ញុំលារាល់រៀង ជាតិកុំឲ្យមាន ។ ៥៧	<i>Surā</i> —the fifth, the chief of the wheels of kamma, leading to the loss of the monastery, the loss of the capital, the loss of prestige and wealth, the loss of virtue and generosity. I take leave in every life; may it not arise. 57
លាបាប១ណា ចូលចេញព្រះវស្សា បិណ្ឌក្នុងចូលឆ្នាំ សង្ក្រាន្តត្រស្ន់លោក ថ្ងៃខែឧត្តម មិនរៀបសេពសម ខូចសីលអស្តារ។ ៥៨	លាបាបមួយណា ចូលចេញព្រះវស្សា បិណ្ឌក្នុងចូលឆ្នាំ សង្ក្រាន្តត្រស្ន់លោក ថ្ងៃខែឧត្តម មិនរៀបសេពសម ខូចសីលអស្តារ ។ ៥៨	I take leave of the sin of— during the start and end of the rains retreat; Bhjum Piṅḍ, the New Year, Saṅkrānt, and Trasti; and on special days and months— not preparing and participating, and violating the Eight Precepts. 58
លាបាបឥតច្បាប់ ប្រដាល់ចំបាប់ ពាក់មុខយក្សមារ កាន់គ្រឿងលាត់តាយ ចូលវត្តផឹកស្រា មិនពុទ្ធដីកា ស្រដីក្រែវក្រោធា។	លាបាបឥតច្បាប់ ប្រដាល់ចំបាប់ ពាក់មុខយក្សមារ កាន់គ្រឿងលាត់តាយ ចូលវត្តផឹកស្រា មិនពុទ្ធដីកា ស្រដីក្រែវក្រោធា។	I take leave of the sins of illegally boxing, wrestling, wearing ogre and devil masks, carrying whips and shovels, entering the monastery while drinking, going against the Buddha's words, speaking angrily,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៥៩	៥៩	59
បំបោលរទេះ	បំបោលរទេះ	racing carts,
ជិះជំរិសេះ	ជិះជំរិសេះ	riding horses and elephants,
បាំងតាំងយូជួត	បាំងតាំងយូជួត	covering oneself with a large parasol, with a turban
ក្បាលនឹងពាក់ស្បែកជើង	ក្បាលនឹងពាក់ស្បែកជើង	on one's head and wearing shoes,
ទាត់សីលេងអូត	ទាត់សីលេងអូត	kicking a shuttlecock, playing boastfully,
ចូលវត្តកាន់កូត	ចូលវត្តកាន់កូត [เหล็กทวด]	entering the monastery clutching a chisel—
បាបរៀងរាល់ជាតិ។	បាបរៀងរាល់ជាតិ។	these are sins in every life.
៦០	៦០	60
លាបាបណា	លាបាបមួយណា	I take leave of this sin:
កាលខ្ញុំយាត្រា	កាលខ្ញុំយាត្រា	when I walked
ចូលទៅរាប់បាត្រ	ចូលទៅរាប់បាត្រ	and entered to offer alms
ក្នុងព្រះវិហារ	ក្នុងព្រះវិហារ	in the vihāra,
សេចក្តីប្រមាថ	សេចក្តីប្រមាថ	I was careless
ផ្អែកផ្អៀងជាអាទី	ផ្អែកផ្អៀងជាអាទី	and slouched back,
ពុំកោតក្រែងឡើយ។	ពុំកោតក្រែងឡើយ។	not respectful at all,
៦១	៦១	61
ស្តោះទាំងទឹកមាត់	ស្តោះទាំងទឹកមាត់	spitting
គួរលេងឥតគិត	គួរលេងឥតគិត	thoughtlessly
មិនក្រែងព្រងើយ	មិនក្រែងព្រងើយ	and being unafraid to be negligent
នាឋានព្រះតថា	នាឋានព្រះតថា	in the place of the Tathā-
គតម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃអើយ	គតម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃអើយ	gata. O precious Master!
ប្រោសខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ហើយ	ប្រោសខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ហើយ	Save me, Master!
បាបនោះខ្ញុំលា។	បាបនោះខ្ញុំលា។	I take leave of these sins.
៦២	៦២	62
លាបាបទោសធ្ងន់	លាបាបទោសធ្ងន់	I take leave of this sin, a grave fault:
ឮលោកសូត្រមន្ត	ឮលោកសូត្រមន្ត	when hearing the monks recite protective texts
ថ្ងែងធម៌ទេសនា	ថ្ងែងធម៌ទេសនា	and preach the Dharma,
ខ្ញុំមិនមានស្តាប់	ខ្ញុំមិនបានស្តាប់	I did not really listen.
ស្នាញស្នប់ចង្កា	ស្នាញស្នប់ចង្កា	I rested my chin on my palm,
និយាយតែគ្នា	និយាយតែគ្នា	chatting with those around me,
គិតទៅឯទៀត។	គិតទៅឯទៀត។	thinking of other places.
៦៣	៦៣	63
លាបាបអបលក្ខណ៍	លាបាបអបលក្ខណ៍	I take leave of this wicked sin:
យកខ្មោចអារក្ស	យកខ្មោចអារក្ស	erecting a ceremonial hall for the
ដំកើងរោងរៀប	ដំកើងរោងរៀប	the ghost of a tutelary spirit,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

បង្កិនតែទ្រព្យ  
បង់ហើយបង់ទៀត  
អាសារបង់ម្យ៉ាត  
ធ្លាក់ដល់ចតុរា។  
៦៤

លាបាប១នេះ  
ខ្ញុំខឹងជឿលត្ថិះ  
អ្នកបាទរក្សា  
សីលគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ហើយមិត្តទ្រុស្តថា  
រាបស្មើក្រឡា  
ប្រើបរិសុមលា។  
៦៥

ខ្ញុំសូមសំណាក់  
ព្រះអង្គវរលក្ខណ៍  
រុងរឿងថ្លៃថ្នូរ  
សូមខ្ជាស់អត់ទោស  
ព្រោសប្រស់ករុណា  
ណែនាំអស់មហា  
ជនផងនានា។  
៦៦

វិសិលទាំង៥  
សូមចិត្តចង់ចាំ  
កុំភ្លេចឡើយណា  
ទាំងសិល៤  
សូមរក្សា  
អស់អញ្ញការវនា  
កុំភ្លេចរាល់ថ្ងៃ។  
៦៧

ដូចព្រះពុទ្ធផង  
ពិពោះកន្លង  
ខ្លឹមព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ  
សីលសារសីលសុទ្ធ  
ព្រះព្រហ្មប្រពៃ  
នាំសត្វក្រាស់ក្រៃ  
ដាក់ដល់និព្វាន។

បង្កិនតែទ្រព្យ  
បង់ហើយបង់ទៀត  
អាសារបង់ម្យ៉ាត  
ធ្លាក់ដល់ចតុរា។  
៦៤

លាបាប មួយនេះ  
ខ្ញុំខឹងជឿលត្ថិះ  
អ្នកបាទរក្សា  
សីលគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ហើយមិត្តទ្រុស្តថា  
រាបស្មើក្រឡា  
ប្រើបរិសុមលា។  
៦៥

ខ្ញុំសូមសំណាក់  
ព្រះអង្គវរលក្ខណ៍  
រុងរឿងថ្លៃថ្នូរ  
សូមខ្ជាស់អត់ទោស  
ព្រោសប្រស់ករុណា  
ណែនាំអស់មហា  
ជនផងនានា។  
៦៦

វិសិលទាំងប្រាំ  
សូមចិត្តចង់ចាំ  
កុំភ្លេចឡើយណា  
ទាំងសិលប្រាំបី  
សូមក្តីរក្សា  
អស់អញ្ញការវនា  
កុំភ្លេចរាល់ថ្ងៃ។  
៦៧

ដូចព្រះពុទ្ធផង  
ពិពោះកន្លង  
ខ្លឹមព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ  
សីលសារសីលសុទ្ធ  
ព្រះព្រហ្មប្រពៃ  
នាំសត្វក្រាស់ក្រៃ  
ដាក់ដល់និព្វាន។

ruining only one's wealth,  
losing it once and losing it again.  
This is worthless and beyond the pale,  
causing one to fall to the four lower realms.  
64

I take leave of this sin:  
I was angry and criticized  
those who protect  
the precepts and virtues of the Buddha  
and was a false friend who said  
these virtues were as flat as the flat  
of the earth—may I take leave.  
65

I humbly aspire to the lineage  
of the Lord, of excellent characteristics,  
resplendent and bright.  
May the Lord forgive my faults  
and save me with compassion.  
May he lead the throng  
of beings, one and all.  
66

As for the five precepts,  
may my mind remember them  
and never forget.  
The eight precepts, too—  
may they be guarded  
with my whole being, cultivated  
every day without a lapse.  
67

just like all of the buddhas,  
who, with the mellifluous  
pith of the precious Dharma,  
and the essence of the pure precepts,  
the excellent holy vows,  
lead the multitude of beings  
to reach Nibbāna.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៦៨  
សូមពឹងសម្ភារ  
តេជះបារមី  
ថ្ងៃជាប្រធាន  
សូមឲ្យយើងខ្ញុំ  
កើតនៅភិមាន  
កែវកបស្នឺឃ័ន  
តុសិតស្នឺឃ័ន។

៦៨  
សូមពឹងសម្ភារ  
តេជះបារមី  
ថ្ងៃជាប្រធាន  
សូមឲ្យអញខ្ញុំ  
កើតនៅភិមាន  
កែវកបស្នឺឃ័ន  
តុសិតស្នឺឃ័ន។

68  
May I rely on their accumulated merit,  
the power, and the perfections,  
ever precious and preeminent.  
Please allow me to  
take rebirth in flying palaces  
in the bejeweled heavenly  
realm of Tusita,

៦៩  
កបនូវភ្លេងភ្លាត់  
ល្ខើងល្ខើយស្រងាត់  
ស្រីផ្ការបរិពារ  
ជាសម្រាប់ដូច  
ទេវបុត្តទេវតា  
បំរើត្រៀបត្រា  
នៅស្នឺឃ័ន។

៦៩  
កបនូវភ្លេងភ្លាត់  
ល្ខើងល្ខើយស្រងាត់  
ស្រីផ្ការបរិពារ  
ជាសម្រាប់ដូច  
ទេវបុត្តទេវតា  
បម្រើត្រៀបត្រា  
នៅស្នឺឃ័ន។

69  
accompanied by music,  
so beautiful and lovely,  
with an attractive entourage  
provided, just like that  
of the major and minor gods,  
waiting on me all around  
in this heavenly realm.

៧០  
សូមព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ  
សូមឲ្យខ្ញុំបាន  
ផ្លាញមារក្រាស់ក្រៃ  
កុំបីមកជ្រែក  
ឲ្យចាលចាញ់ដៃ  
សូមឲ្យបានក្ស័យ  
កិលេសតណ្ហា។

៧០  
សូមព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ  
សូមឲ្យខ្ញុំបាន  
ផ្លាញមារក្រាស់ក្រៃ  
កុំបីមកជ្រែក  
ឲ្យចាលចាញ់ដៃ  
សូមឲ្យបានក្ស័យ  
កិលេសតណ្ហា។

70  
May the Wisdom-Filled Lord  
help me to  
defeat mighty Māra,  
prevent him from intruding,  
and smash him down.  
May I be able to destroy  
defilement and craving.

៧១  
ខ្ញុំសូមបានកាត់  
ឥសូរសម្បត្តិ  
ទាំងបុត្រភរិយា  
កាន់ឲ្យជាទាន  
សូមកាត់សង្សារ  
រួចចេញពីមហា  
ជំរៅក្រាស់ក្រៃ។

៧១  
ខ្ញុំសូមបានកាត់  
ឥសូរសម្បត្តិ  
ទាំងបុត្រភរិយា  
កាន់ឲ្យជាទាន  
សូមកាត់សង្សារ  
រួចចេញពីមហា  
ជម្រៅក្រាស់ក្រៃ។

71  
I pray to be able to forsake  
the riches of kingship  
and even my children and wife,  
so as to present them as gifts.  
May I cut off saṃsāra  
and escape from this vast  
and immensely deep pit.

៧២  
វិល្លាសំណូម  
តេជះខ្ញុំសូម  
បានដូចប្រាថ្នា

៧២  
វិល្លាសំណូម  
តេជះខ្ញុំសូម  
បានដូចប្រាថ្នា

72  
As for my absolutions and aspirations,  
by the force of my humble prayer,  
may they come true according to my wish.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

សូមបានមគ្គផល	សូមបានមគ្គផល	May I achieve the paths and the fruits
រួចដល់សួគ៌ា	រួចដល់សួគ៌ា	all the way until I reach the heavens
ហើយបានព្រះមហា	ហើយបានព្រះមហា	and finally attain great
និព្វានស្រេចហោង។	និព្វានស្រេចហោង។	Nibbāna at last.

**lā pāp «muoy sot khñuṃ lā»-k**

Taking leave of sins, beginning with “In addition, I take leave”

Khmer verse, fragment of 8 stanzas, likely composed in the 18th–20th centuries, closely related to **lā pāp «bhante bhagavā»-k**.

Leporello: **UB006** 64b–65a sakrāj khmèr thǵaiy traiy lāk

Summary: Fragment of a petition to take leave of the sins of killing and harming animals, as well as to take leave of various pains, illnesses, deformities, and the consequences of chewing betel.

<b>UB006</b>	Corrected edition	Translation
១	១	1
ម្យូសោតខ្ញុំមលា	ម្យូសោតខ្ញុំលា	In addition, I take leave
សាំម្លាប់មនា	សម្លាប់មច្ឆា	of killing fish
បាណានោះផង	បាណានោះផង	and other creatures.
រឿសិលទាំប្រាំ	រឿសិលទាំប្រាំ	As for the five precepts,
សូមឱ្យចាំចង	សូមឱ្យចាំចង	may I remember them
កុំភ្លេចលឿហោង	កុំភ្លេចឡើយហោង	and never forget,
កើតទោសពុំជា	កើតទោសពុំជា។	lest evil faults arise.
២	២	2
លាម្យូប្រើសត្វ	លាម្យូប្រើសត្វ	I take leave of abusing animals,
ខឹងខំវាយក្តាត់	ខឹងខំវាយក្តាត់	beating them in anger,
ពុំគិតមេត្តា	ពុំគិតមេត្តា	cruelly stabbing
បំប្រើចាក់ច្រំម	បំប្រើចាក់ច្រំម	and trampling on them,
វាយដុំខ្លួនវា	វាយដុំខ្លួនវា	pummeling their bodies,
ឥតមានគរុណា	ឥតមានគរុណា	without compassion,
តលតេចលឿហោង។	ដល់តិចឡើយហោង។	not even a shred.
២	៣	3
ម្យូសោតខ្ញុំមលា	ម្យូសោតខ្ញុំលា	In addition, I take leave
ទុក្ខសោករោគា	ទុក្ខសោករោគា	of all pain, strife, illness,



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្បាធិនោះផង	ព្យាធិនោះផង	and disease...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
XXXX	XXXX	...
៤	៤	4
លាម្បូរធ្មេញបាក់ តើរទៅញញាក់ កំនត្រឺងស៊ីស្លា លាមាត់កម្តើយ ក្រញើញតូចស្លា បើហនឹងស៊ីស្លា ក្រហមក្រក្រៃ ។ ៥	លាមួយធ្មេញបាក់ ដើរទៅញញាក់ កាន់គ្រឿងស៊ីស្លា លាមាត់កម្តើង ក្រញើងដូចស្លា បើនឹងស៊ីស្លា ក្រហមក្រក្រៃ ។ ៥	I take leave of missing teeth, walking with a jerking gait while clutching stuff for betel-chewing. I take leave of a protruding mouth, flushed like a monkey who chews betel, grotesquely red. 5
លាហត់ផ្តើកៗ ជើងដែលស្លឹក គួងជើងគួងត្បែង មុខខ្មៅតូចធ្លាក់ អាសូរចង្រៃ ចាន់ជើងចាន់ត្បែង ខ្ញុំមសំមលាហោង ៦	លាហត់ផ្តើកៗ ជើងដែលស្លឹក យូងជើងយូងដៃ មុខខ្មៅដូចធ្លាក់ អាសូរចង្រៃ ចាន់ជើងចាន់ដៃ ខ្ញុំសូមលាហោង ។ ៦	I take leave of exhaustion and paralysis, limbs bruised and numb, leprosy on the arms and legs, a dark face, as if fallen into miserable misfortune, and white spots on feet and hands— I humbly take leave of them. 6
មួយសោតខ្ញុំមលា ក្បាធិពោត្តា ក្អកហិតនោះផង ហូលហកជើងត្បែង សរសៃឈឺខ្នង រឿបាបហោង អញខ្ញុំមសំមលា ៧	មួយសោតខ្ញុំលា ព្យាធិពោតា ក្អកហិតនោះផង ហាលហកជើងដៃ សរសៃឈឺខ្នង រឿបាបនោះហោង អញខ្ញុំសូមលា ។ ៧	In addition, I take leave of illness and sickness, coughs and asthma, bloating and relapse in my limbs, pain in my tendons and back. As for all these sins, I humbly take leave. 7
លាក្បាលតម្កែក ត្រងើលចម្អែក គង់តែហរលា តើរងើលដោល តែលពោលលោះសា អញខ្ញុំមសំមលា កុំប្បីកើតឈឺ	លាក្បាលតម្កែក ត្រងើលចម្អែក គង់តែលលាង ដើរទៅងើលដោល ប៉ែលប៉ោលសោះសា អញខ្ញុំសូមលា កុំប្បីកើតឈឺ	I take leave of a bald pate, bizarrely smooth, with some hair fringing the forehead; and a swinging gait, swaying back and forth— I take leave of them. May they not arise.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៨	៨	8
លាបាបខ្លួនឯង	លាបាបខ្លួនឯង	I take leave of all my sins—
ក៏ងងឹកងងឹត	ក្លងក្លង	being crooked, bent,
ខ្លួនខ្វាក់ខ្លួនខ្លើយ	ខ្លួនខ្វាក់ខ្លើយ	crippled, blind,
លាទ្វាត្រជៀកថ្នង	លាទាំងត្រជៀកថ្នង	intersexual, and deaf.
ក្នុងអង្គស្រេចហើយ	ក្នុងអង្គស្រេចហើយ	May my body be whole
កុំឱ្យខ្លះល្បើ	កុំឱ្យខ្លះឡើយ	and not missing anything;
សំមជ្រាបព្រមតម្រង	សូមជ្រាបហ្មត់ហ្មង ។	such is my detailed petition.

**hau braliṅ-k**  
Calling the souls

FEMC title: hau braliṅ

Khmer verse, 94 stanzas in *kākagati*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries

Leporello: **UB017** 63b–64a (explicit missing); **UB031** 58b–62b, 70–77a hov braliṅ capp lvèṅ (middle missing); **UB055** 21a–38a; **UB068** 12b–17b, 17b–22b, 22b–23b kpuon hov braḥ liṅ (severe water damage; almost entirely illegible)

Khmer books: Preap Chanmara ព្រាប ចាន់ម៉ារ៉ា, “Bākṅ hau braliṅ nāg ពាក្យហៅព្រលឹងនាគ,” *Khmer Renaissance* 8 (2012–2013): 134–39; Khing Hoc Dy ឃីង ហុក ឌី, *kamṅat’ bidhī hau braliṅ kōṅ ភ្នំពេញ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār aṅgar បណ្ណាគារអង្គរ, 2004), 20–33; Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī hau braliṅ tām rapiep khmèr purāṅ ពិធីហៅព្រលឹង នាមរបៀបខ្មែរបុរាណ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2010), 10–28.

Edition and translation: Ashley Thompson, *Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text / Le rappel des âmes: texte rituel khmer* (Phnom Penh: Reyum, 2005) [Khmer and roman script edition, English and French translation].

Summary: Opens with an invocation to a range of Buddhist and Brahmanical deities, including minor deities and spirits from all directions, followed by an enticement for all of the invalid’s souls to return home from their wanderings in the forest, which is described as being filled with frightening wild beasts and malevolent spirits, and concluding with a petition to Buddhist and Brahmanical deities to offer their blessing and protection and a final pronouncement that the souls have returned home.

**sarasör prīṭhabī-k**

In praise of the earth

FEMC title: lpök prīṭhabī

Khmer verse, 42 stanzas in *kākagati*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB011** 72a–73b dhārm (ra)pā

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC d.122 (lpök prīṭhabī)

Summary: Paean in praise of virtues of the Earth, other deities and elements of the universe, our parents, and the Three Jewels, as well as specific instructions as to what texts to chant and what rituals to perform to repay our debts to each.

UB011	FEMC d.122	Standardized	Translation
១			
ឧកាសៈ បូពិភ្នើយ យើងខ្ញុំសូត្រស័សើរ ព្រះមហាប្រជ្ជតិរ ពិសេសពន្រាយ អ្នកតែធានា សត្វផងសំម្បាយ បក្សីទាំងឡាយ អំប្រែកឈើផង	១ នេះនឹងស្រឡា សសើរមហាប្រជ្ជតិរ ពិសេសពន្រាយ អ្នកតែធានា សត្វផងសំម្បាយ។ បាក្សីទាំងឡាយ អំប្រែកឈើផង។	១ នេះនឹងស្រដី សសើរប្រិថតិ ពិសេសពន្រាយ អ្នកតែធានា សត្វផងសំម្បាយ បក្សីទាំងឡាយ អំប្រែកឈើផង។	1 This shall express praise for the Earth, most wonderful and resplendent, who always supports all living beings, including birds, beasts, and trees.
២			
បរមីក្រៃក្រាស់ ទុំហុំជំណាស់ ឥតគេរំលង ពិសេសយោជហើយ ៨ម៉ឺនផង ឈាមម្តាយសោ តហោង	២ បរមីយក្រៃក្រាស់ ។ ទុំហុំមន្ទិលស ឥតឯរំលង ២សែនយោ ជហើយ ប្តីហើនផង ជ្ជាម្តាយសត្វហោង	២ បារមីក្រៃក្រាស់ ទុំហុំជំណាស់ ឥតឯរំលង ពីរសែនយោជន៍ហើយ ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនផង ជាម្តាយសត្វហោង	2 This thick mass of perfections, whose size is immense and cannot be overcome, measures two hundred and eighty thousand <i>yojanas</i> , and is the mother of all beings,
ធ្ងន់ឥតប្រមាណ	គុំឥត ប្រម៉ាន។	ធ្ងន់ឥតប្រមាណ ។	with a mass beyond measure.
៣			
គេតែតម្កើងថ្កល់ គេសង់មណ្ឌល គេនូវជាថាន	៣ អ្នកតែតម្កើងថ្កល់ គ្រូសង់មន្ទល នោះនូវជាស្ពាន	៣ អ្នកតែតម្កើងថ្កល់ គេសង់មណ្ឌល គេនៅជាស្ពាន	3 She always supports what people build as cities to live in as their homes,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ឥតឯយោទោ	ឥតឯយកទោស	ឥតឯយកទោស	without becoming angry
កុំម្រើកខ្លួនប្រាណ	កុំម្រើកខ្លួនប្រាន	កម្រើកខ្លួនប្រាណ	and moving her body,
ទោសនោះប្រម៉ាណ	ទោសនោះបុន្នាន	ទោសនោះបុន្នាន	no matter how many faults
ក្តីដោយគេធ្វើ	ក្តីត្បោធ្វើ	ក្តីដោយគេធ្វើ។	that people may incur.
៤	៤	៤	4
គេជីករន្តៅ	គេជីករន្តៅ	គេជីករណ្តៅ	People dig holes.
គេសង់ផ្ទះនៅ	គេសង់ផ្ទះនៅ	គេសង់ផ្ទះនៅ	They build homes to dwell in,
ហើយគេដើរលើ	ហើយគេ តើលើ	ហើយគេដើរលើ	and they walk upon her.
xxxx	ហ៊ឺគេធ្វើស្រែច	ហើយគេធ្វើស្រែ	They cultivate rice,
គេផ្លូវស្រែប្រើ	គេផ្លូវប្រែស្រី	គេផ្លូវប្រែស្រី	and plow the fields.
គេដុះនោមលើ	គេដុះនោមលើ	គេដុះនោមលើ	They shit and piss on her,
ឥតឯខេខឹង	ឥតឯខេខឹង	ឥតឯខេខឹង	but she does not grow angry.
៥	៥	៥	5
អ្នកឯណាសង្កុន	អ្នកណាសង្កុន	អ្នកណាសង្កុណ	Whoever should repay their debts to her,
អ្នកនោះបានបុណ្យ	អ្នកនោះបានបុន	អ្នកនោះបានបុណ្យ	that person gains merit,
xxxx	ទៅកើតត្រៃត្រឹង	ទៅកើតត្រៃត្រឹង	and shall be reborn in Trāyastriṃśa,
xxxx	ក្ស័យមានទ្វារ	វិមានទ្វារ	in a beautifully adorned palace,
xxxx	រេចណាស្រែចស្រីង	រេចនាស្រែចស្រីង	decorated with spires.
xxxx	អ្នកនោះរំលង	អ្នកនោះរំលង	That person shall cross over
ជាតិទៅបានត្រាស់	ច្នៃទៅបានត្រាស់។	ជាតិទៅបានត្រាស់។	birth to reach awakening.
៦	៦	៦	6
រឹងអ្នកកាច។	រឹងអ្នកកាច	រឹងអ្នកកាច	As for being a mean person,
xxxx	ប្រមាតក្តីម្តង	ប្រមាទកំណាច	careless and cruel,
កុំណាចក្រៃត្រាស់	នេះឯងក្រៃត្រាស់	នេះឯងក្រៃត្រាស់	this is a grievous [sin],
វាហិនវាហៃ	ហើយ វាហិនវាហៃ	វាហិនវាហៃ	ruinous indeed,
ខ្វិនខ្វែងទៅអស់	ខ្វិនខ្វែងទៅអស់	ក្ស័យក្ស័យទៅអស់	leading to the loss of all wealth;
បានបាបនោះត្រាស់	បានបាបនោះហួស។	បានបាបនោះត្រាស់	such a sin is grave,
ន់រក្ខត្រៃច្រៅ	ន រុករាមច្រៅ	នរកធំច្រៅ។	leading to hells vast and deep.
៧	៧	៧	7
រឺព្រះបន្ទូលថ្លែង	xxxx	ព្រះបន្ទូលថ្លែង	The Lord expressed it thus:
បីដូចអំបែង	xxxx	បីដូចអំបែង	It is like a roasting pot
ចាក់ទឹកក្តៅ	xxxx	ចាក់ទឹកក្តៅ	into which water is placed and heated,
វាវេញជ្រូតជ្រាប	វាវេញជ្រាបជ្រូត	វាវេញជ្រូតជ្រាប	being thoroughly soaked.
ស្លតទឹកនោះទៅ	ស្លតទឹកនោះទៅ	ស្លតទឹកនោះទៅ	Once the water completely evaporates,
អំបែងក្តៅ	អំបែងក្តៅ	អំបែងនោះក្តៅ	the pot remains hot

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

XXXX	ចំម្លេនូវព្រា	ចំណេរនៅន្ទាយ ។	for a long time to come.
៨	៨	៨	8
XXXX	នៃនិរ្ទិអប្បម្មារ	នេះនឹងឧបមា	In this simile,
XXXX	ភ្លើងគឺជារា	ភ្លើងគឺវេរា	fire is like all of our
XXXX	បាបឯងសំម្បាយ	បាបឯងសម្បាយ	vengeful sins.
XXXX	ទឹកនោះគឺទ្រា ពូ	ទឹកនោះគឺទ្រព្យ	The water is like all
XXXX	បរសទ្ធាប្បិរ	របស់ទាំងឡាយ	of our possessions.
XXXX	ប្រឹក្សិម្បែងព្រា	រឹករឹបែងព្រាយ	As for the broken pot,
គឺអង្គឯងហោង ។។	គឺអង្គឯងហោង។	គឺអង្គឯងហោង ។	it is like our body.
។។ ចប់ ។។ ០ ។។	៩	៩	
៩	អ្នកណាចង់បុន	អ្នកណាចង់បុណ្យ	Whoever seeks merit,
XXXX	អ្នកធ្វើសងគុន	អ្នកធ្វើសងគុណ	that person should repay debts
XXXX	អ្នកមានគុនផង	អ្នកមានគុណផង	to those of virtue,
XXXX	គុនអ្នកជាម្តាយ	គុណអ្នកជាម្តាយ	including the virtues of his mother
XXXX	ឪពុកឯងហោង។	ឪពុកឯងហោង	and his father,
XXXX	គុនញាតនោះផង	គុណញាតនោះផង	the virtues of his relatives,
XXXX	គុនគ្រូប្រាជ្ញាយ	គុណគ្រូប្រាជ្ញាយ ។	and of his master and preceptor,
១០	១០	១០	10
XXXX	ម្លូគុនទេព្តារ	ម្លូគុណទេព្តារ	as well as the virtues of the gods,
XXXX	ព្រះចាន្តរារ	ព្រះចន្ទតារា	such the Moon, the stars,
XXXX	នូវគុនព្រះព្យា	នូវគុណព្រះពាយ	the virtues of Wind,
XXXX	គុនព្រះអាទិត	គុណព្រះអាទិត្យ	the virtues of the Sun,
XXXX	ព្រះកិរុន សព្វស្ស	ព្រះពិរុណសព្វសាយ	of Rain that spreads everywhere,
XXXX	ព្រះភ្លើងឯងអ្ស	ព្រះភ្លើងឯងអាយ	of Fire that lies right here,
XXXX	គុនព្រះព្យាស្រព	គុណព្រះព្យាស្រពណ៍	and the virtues of Vaiśravaṇa.
១១	១១	១១	
XXXX	ប្រឹព្រះព្យាស្រព	រឹព្រះព្យាស្រពណ៍	As for Vaiśravaṇa,
XXXX	អ្នកផងស្តលស្តប	អ្នកផងស្តល់ស្តប	by him people become prosperous,
XXXX	អាត្មាទីទ្យ	អាត្មាទីទេ	here and there, one and all.
XXXX	អ្នកហោង ស្មើម្តាយ	អ្នកហោងស្មើម្តាយ	He is like our mother
XXXX	អពុកសព្វថ្ងៃ	ឪពុកសព្វថ្ងៃ	and father, day by day,
XXXX	គុនគាបប្រព្យ	គុណគាបប្រពៃ	with virtues fitting and excellent,
XXXX	ប្រសើរមហិមារា	ប្រសើរមហិមា ។	marvelous and superb.
១២	១២	១២	12
XXXX	គុនព្រះពុទ្ធា	គុណព្រះ buddho	The virtues of the Buddha,
XXXX	គុនព្រះធម្មា	គុណព្រះ dhammo	the virtues of the Dhamma

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XXXX	សំយោ គុន្តារ	<i>saṅgho</i> គណនា	and the Saṅgha are beyond count.
XXXX	ព្រះអង្គនាំសត្វ	ព្រះអង្គនាំសត្វ	The Lord leads beings,
XXXX	អណែកនាំ ២	អនេកនានា	who numbers are numberless,
XXXX	រុចគីចតុរា	រួចពីចតុរា	to escape from the four
XXXX	ប្បុរសោតហោង។	បាយបួនសោតហោង ។	lower realms of rebirth.
១៣	១៣	១៣	13
XXXX	នរវ្រកណា	នរវ្រកណា	Any person
XXXX	ឱដ្ឋហត្ថា	ឲ្យដ្ឋហត្ថា	who brings his palms together
XXXX	លើសិរិស្សាហោង	លើសិរិសាហោង	and raises them above his head
XXXX	ឱសូតសសើរ	ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	to chant praises
XXXX	សងគុនអ្នកហោង	សងគុណអ្នកហោង	to repay his debts to people of virtue,
XXXX	ធ្វើរត្សេត្តនាង	ធ្វើដោយគន្ធនង	should follow the path
XXXX	ពុទ្ធ វៃថ្កោ	<i>buddhasettho</i> ។	of the excellent Buddha.
១៤	១៤	១៤	14
XXXX	នរវ្រកផង	នរវ្រកផង	All people
XXXX	ទោសតិវយលហោង	ទោះដឹងយល់ហោង	who know and understand,
XXXX	ប្រសើរវោ	ប្រសើរ <i>varo</i>	who are great and excellent,
XXXX	ឱសូតសសើរ	ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
XXXX	សង្កនពុទ្ធា	សងគុណ <i>buddho</i>	to repay their debt to the Buddha,
XXXX	ព្យតតបិសោរ	ពី <i>itipi so</i>	from <i>itipi so</i>
XXXX	ទោវតល ភគវាតិ	ទៅដល់ <i>bhagavā ti</i> ។	to <i>bhagavā ti</i> .
១៥	១៥	១៥	15
XXXX	អ្នកផងទាំងៗ	អ្នកផងទាំងឡាយ	All the people
XXXX	ស្តាប់ធម្មអញ្ញិប្រាជ្ញ	ស្តាប់ធម៌អភិប្រាយ	should listen to the explication of the
			Dharma
XXXX	ត្សេបទបាឡិយ	ដោយបទបាលី	in accordance with the Pali phrases,
XXXX	និងសូតសសើរ	និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
XXXX	ត្សេព្រះកិម្ពិ	ដោយព្រះគម្ពិរ	following the sacred scriptures
XXXX	ត្សេបទបាឡិយ	ដោយបទបាលី	with their Pali phrases,
XXXX	ប្រសើរវៃថ្កោ	ប្រសើរ <i>settho</i> ។	most excellent,
១៦	១៦	១៦	16
XXXX	ពួតកាល្លោះណា	ពួងកាលនោះណា	and then, at that moment,
XXXX	តោយព្រះតាថា	ដោយព្រះតាថា	by using a single
XXXX	បាឡិយ ឯកោ	បាលី <i>eko</i>	Pali verse,
XXXX	ឱសូតសសើរ	ឲ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
XXXX	សង្កនធម្មម្មោ	សងគុណ <i>dhammo</i>	to repay their debts to the Dhamma,

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XXXX	ពី ស្វាខាតោ	ពី <i>svākkhāto</i>	from <i>svākkhāto</i>
XXXX	ទោតលវិញ្ញហ្សិតិ	ទោដល់ <i>vinñāhī ti</i> ។	to <i>vinñāhī ti</i> .
១៧	១៧	១៧	17
XXXX	ហើយអ្នកទាំងឡាយ	ហើយអ្នកទាំងឡាយ	Moreover, all people
XXXX	ឱ្យធ្វើសប្បាយ	ឱ្យធ្វើសប្បាយ	should generate joy
XXXX	ក្នុងចិត្តឯងក្តី	ក្នុងចិត្តឯងក្តី	within their hearts
XXXX	និងសូត្រសរសើរ	និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
XXXX	ត្រូវព្រះកម្ពីរ	ដោយព្រះគម្ពីរ	following the sacred scriptures
XXXX	ត្រូវបទបាធិ	ដោយបទបាធិ	with their Pali phrases,
XXXX	ប្រសើរសេដ្ឋា	ប្រសើរ <i>settho</i> ។	most excellent.
១៨	១៨	១៨	18
XXXX	នរណាផង	នរណាផង	All people
XXXX	ទោះតិចយល់ហោង	ទោះដឹងយល់ហោង	who know and understand,
XXXX	ប្រសើរវាវោ	ប្រសើរ <i>varo</i>	who are great and excellent,
XXXX	ឱ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	ឱ្យសូត្រសរសើរ	should chant praises
XXXX	រៀនសូត្រសរសើរ	គុណលោក <i>saṅgho</i>	to repay their debt to the Saṅgha,
XXXX	តិយសុប្បដិបទ្ធា	ពី <i>supatipanno</i>	from <i>supatipanno</i>
XXXX	ទោតលសារថីយ ។	ទោដល់ <i>sārathī</i> ។	to <i>sārathī</i> .
១៩	១៩	១៩	19
XXXX	អ្នកទាំងឡាយ	អ្នកផងទាំងឡាយ	All people
XXXX	ស្តាប់ទងនិយាយ	ស្តាប់ទងនិយាយ	should listen to the words spoken
XXXX	តោយព្រះកម្ពីរ	ដោយព្រះគម្ពីរ	in the sacred scriptures
XXXX	និងសូត្រសរសើរ	និងសូត្រសរសើរ	and chant praises
XXXX	ស្បព្រះបរម្យ	អស់ព្រះបារមី	of the Lord's perfections,
XXXX	កាលកើត មកក្តី	កាលកើតមកក្តី	from when he was born
XXXX	បានចូលនិព្វាន	បានចូលនិព្វាន ។	until he entered Nibbāna.
២០	២០	២០	20
XXXX	ហ្មែរអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	ហ្មែរអស់អ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	All you wise people!
XXXX	ឱ្យសូត្រព្រឹកល្ងាច	ឱ្យសូត្រព្រឹកល្ងាច	You should chant in the morning, in
			the evening,
XXXX	ថ្ងៃត្រង់កុំខាន	ថ្ងៃត្រង់កុំខាន	and at noon without fail,
XXXX	អាដចម្រើនអង្គ	អាដចម្រើនអង្គ	to cultivate your being,
XXXX	ទីទេសព្វប្រាណ	ទីទេសព្វប្រាណ	each one of you, every one,
XXXX	នោះនៃទេព្វបាន	នោះនៃទេព្វបាន	such that you can achieve
XXXX	សុខសួរសម្បត្តិ ។	សុខសួរសម្បត្តិ ។	the bliss of the heavenly treasures.
២១	២១	២១	21

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XXXX	គុនអ្នកជាម្តាយ	គុណអ្នកម្តាយ	As for their debts to their mothers,
XXXX	ព្រះពុទ្ធាហ្វឺ	ព្រះពុទ្ធាហ្វឺ	all buddhas
XXXX	តែងសងគុន ផ្លាត	តែងសងគុណថ្ងាត់	always repay them
XXXX	យកព្រះអគ្គិ ធម្ម	យកព្រះអភិធម្ម	using the Abhidhamma,
XXXX	ធម្មតែងនាំសត្វ	ធម៌តែងនាំសត្វ	the Dharma that leads beings,
XXXX	ប្រសើរពេកក្តីត	ប្រសើរពេកក្តីត	the Dharma that is excellent
XXXX	សង្ឃគុនមាតា ។	សងគុណមាតា	for repaying maternal debts.
២២	២២	២២	22
XXXX	ព្រះជនុ កសោតនៃ	ព្រះជនកសោតនៃ	As for their fathers,
XXXX	ព្រះគុនថ្វាថ្ងៃ	ព្រះគុណថ្វាថ្ងៃ	their virtues are most precious
XXXX	ប្រសើរមហិមា ។	ប្រសើរមហិមា	and immensely great,
XXXX	ឱ្យយកមហា	ឱ្យយកមហាជាតិ	so they use the <i>Mahājāti</i>
XXXX	ថ្វាតវេសន្តតិកា	វេស្សន្តរដីកា	of Vessantara and its <i>ṭikā</i> ,
XXXX	ព្រះពុទ្ធវេសនា	ព្រះពុទ្ធវេសនា	which the buddhas preach
XXXX	សងគុននោះហោង ។	សងគុណនោះហោង ។	to repay those debts.
២៣	២៣	២៣	23
XXXX	រឿលោក ជាគ្រូ	រឿលោកជាគ្រូ	As for our teachers,
XXXX	លោកហោងនាំផ្លូវ	លោកហោងនាំផ្លូវ	those who show us the way
XXXX	តើរត្សរគន្ធន៍	ដើរដោយគន្ធន៍	to walk the path,
XXXX	យកការវតា	យកការវតា	we can take the <i>Kāvata</i> [ <i>Ākāravattā</i> ]
XXXX	សង្ឃគុនលោកហោង	សងគុណលោកហោង	to repay our teachers
XXXX	បំបាត់ ជាបងផង	បំបាត់ជាបងផង	and destroy all sins
XXXX	ឥតបាបឆ្នោះណា។	អស់បាបនោះណា ។	to eradicate them completely.
២៤	២៤	២៤	24
XXXX	រឿស្រុកផង	រឿអស់អ្នកផង	For all people,
XXXX	ប្រតាពូនិសង្ឃ	ប្រជាបំនិសង្ឃ	the means to repay
XXXX	គុនញាតិកា	គុណញាតិកា	the virtues of their relatives
XXXX	ឱ្យយកធម្មបាស	ឱ្យយកធម្មបញ្ញាស	is to take one of the <i>jātakas</i>
XXXX	ផាដកឯណា	ជាតកឯណា	from the <i>Paññāsajātaka</i> .
XXXX	ធម្មនោះថ្ងៃថ្ងារ	ធម៌នោះថ្ងៃថ្ងារ	This Dharma is precious
XXXX	ប្រសើរពេកហោង ។	ប្រសើរពេកហោង ។	and extremely excellent.
២៥	២៥	២៥	25
XXXX	រឿព្រះប្រិថ្នព្យ	រឿព្រះប្រិថ្នព្យ	As for Earth,
XXXX	ព្រះភ្លើងឯ ឯក្តីយ	ព្រះភ្លើងឯឯក្តី	and Fire as well,
XXXX	នូវព្យាផ្ស	នូវព្រះពាយ័ផង	along with Wind
XXXX	ហើយ ភិរុន	ហើយព្រះពិរុណ	and Rain,



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XXXX	ព្រះព្រៃស្រព្វផង្គ	ព្រះព្រៃស្រព្វផង្គ	as well as Vaiśravaṇa—
XXXX	អ្នកស្មើរម្សិលហោងៗ	អ្នកស្មើម្តាយហោង	these are equal to our mother,
XXXX	បុត្រអ្នករក្សារ	ដ្បិតអ្នករក្សា ។	for they take care of us.
២៦	២៦	២៦	26
រឺខែផល្គុណ	តលខែថលគុន	ដល់ខែផល្គុន	The month of Phalguna,
ខែនោះមហាឆ្នង់	ខែនោះមហាឆ្នង់	ខែនោះមហាឆ្នង់	is a very important month,
XXXX	ប្រសើរពេកណា	ប្រសើរពេកណា	wonderful indeed.
XXXX	ខែនោះជា ថ្មន	ខែនោះជាឆ្នង់	This important month—
អាណាចពុំទាំរ	អាណាចពុំម្នា	អនុដពុំដា	our dear, our darling,
គួរតែ។ សាធា	គួរតែរស្មូនភ្នារ	គួរតែស្មូនភ្នា	we should take care of it,
ត្បិតតែខែឧត្តិ	បុត្រខែឧត្តិម ។	ដ្បិតខែឧត្តិម ។	since this month is special.
២៧	២៧	២៧	27
XXXX	ហើរជុនណា២	ហើយជនណាៗ	All people
XXXX	ឱ្យមានសាធា	ឱ្យមានសទ្ធា	should develop faith
XXXX	ប្រតាបពូនភ្នំម	ប្រដាប់ពូនភ្នំ	and build sand stupas
XXXX	នូវនាពេញប៉ោ	នូវនាពេញបូណ៌	during this full moon,
XXXX	ប្រសើរឧត្តម	ប្រសើរឧត្តម	so wonderful,
XXXX	កន្តាលទ្ធាទ្ធិម	កណ្តាលពារធំ	right in the middle and huge,
XXXX	សង្កន ប្រដូញ	សងគុណប្រិចពី ។	to repay their debts to the Earth.
២៨	២៨	២៨	28
XXXX	ឱ្យអាទិស្នាន	ឱ្យអធិស្នាន	They should make a prayer
XXXX	អគ្នេរនោះបាន	អាគ្នេយ៍នោះបាន	to the Southeast,
XXXX	ទៅព្រះភ្លើងខ្ចីយ	ទៅព្រះភ្លើងខ្ចី	so that it quickly reaches Fire,
XXXX	រឺព្រះអំម៉ុច	រឺព្រះអំណាច	whose might is complete
XXXX	បបូរហាថ្មីយ	បរិបូណ៌ហត្ថិ [តិថី]	like an elephant [ <i>or</i> on the full-moon day],
XXXX	កបនូវរក្សីយ	កបនូវរស្មី	endowed with radiance,
XXXX	ពន្លឺព្រោងព្រាយ ។	ពន្លឺព្រោងព្រាយ ។	shining with brilliant light.
២៩	២៩	២៩	29
XXXX	ឱ្យអធិស្នាន	ឱ្យអធិស្នាន	They should make a prayer
XXXX	និភ្នំប្រធាន	និភ្នំប្រធាន	to the Southwest
XXXX	សងគុនព្រះព្យ	សងគុណព្រះពាយ	to repay the virtues of Wind,
XXXX	ព្យាព្វសង្កន	ពាយព្យសងគុណ	and to the Northwest to repay the virtues
XXXX	ព្រះភិរុនសុព្វសា្យ	ព្រះពិរុណសព្វសាយ	of Rain, which extends everywhere,
XXXX	ស្រានព្យា	ភ្នំសានព្យា	and to the resplendent Northeast
XXXX	ព្រះព្រៃស្រព្វណា ។	ព្រះព្រៃស្រព្វណា ។	for Vaiśravaṇa.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៣០	៣០	៣០	30
XXXX	ព្រះពុទ្ធបុនទូល	ព្រះពុទ្ធបន្ទូល	The Buddha preached
XXXX	បើកព្រះមធ្វរ	បើកព្រះមធ្វរ	with words sweet
XXXX	ក្រឡី ទើស្នា	ក្រឡី ទើសនា	and melodious, explaining thus:
XXXX	ក្នុងមហាសង្គ្រាន	ក្នុងមហាសង្គ្រាន	“During the <i>Mahāsankrānta</i> ,
XXXX	បីថ្ងៃនោះណា	បីថ្ងៃនោះណា	which lasts three days,
XXXX	ឱ្យមានសាទ្វា	ឱ្យមានសទ្វា	have faith
XXXX	ប្រតា បំពូនភ្នំម	ប្រដាប់ពូនភ្នំ ។	and make sand stupas.
៣១	៣១	៣១	31
XXXX	រៀនសូត្រកាផង	រៀនអស់ការផង	Abstain from all work,
XXXX	សូត្រស្រាយចំណង	សូត្រស្រាយចំណង	and chant to release attachments
XXXX	វិភត្តចម្ព	វេរាត្តចធំ	and vengeful karma, both great and small.
XXXX	ធ្វើចិត្តខ្សែមឡា	ធ្វើចិត្តក្សែមក្សាន្ត	Make your heart peaceful,
XXXX	លុះរុបត្រង់ភ្នំម	លុះរុបត្រង់ភ្នំ	and once done, mark the completion of the stupas
XXXX	ធ្វើ របុន សន្សំម	ធ្វើបុណ្យសន្សំ	and perform good deeds to build up merit
XXXX	ចម្រើនអាត្មា	ចម្រើនអាត្មា ។	and cultivate your being.
៣២	៣២	៣២	32
ឱ្យរកស្រង់ព្រះ	ឱ្យរកស្រង់ព្រះ	ឱ្យរកស្រង់ព្រះ	You should bathe buddha images,
សូមតែតែជះ	សូមតែតែ តែជះ	សូមតែតែតែជះ	and search for venerable
ព្រះសង្ឃក្តីណា	ព្រះសង្ឃក្តីណា	ព្រះសង្ឃក្តីណា	monks of all ranks
ឱ្យរកគោរព	ឱ្យមានគោរព	ឱ្យរកគោរព	to pay respect to.
XXXX	ប្រនិបាតមេបា	ប្រណិបតន៍មេបា	Bow down to your ancestors,
អ្នកចាស់ ព្រឹទ្ធាចារ	អ្នកចាស់ព្រឹទ្ធា	អ្នកចាស់ព្រឹទ្ធា	and all your elders,
XXXX	ឱ្យមានជុនផង	ឱ្យមានជុនផង ។?	that they might live long.
៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	33
ឆ្នាំថ្មីមកដល់	សព្វថ្ងៃមកដល់	សព្វថ្ងៃមកដល់	These days you fret with
រើអំពល់	វេរាអំពល់	វេរាអំពល់	rancor and worries,
បីសាចរាជ្ជវក្ខតផង	XXXX	អស់រាជវក្ខតផង	from powerful ghosts.
ឱ្យសូត្រធម៌ព្រះ	XXXX	ឱ្យសូត្រធម៌ព្រះ	You should recite the Dharma...
XXXX	XXXX	XXXX	[missing]
XXXX	៣ សាចនោះផង	បីសាចនោះផង	...from all malevolent spirits
XXXX	សឹងល្អោះសោតសល	សឹងល្អោះសោតសព្វ ។	you might be liberated.
៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	34
XXXX	ហ្វែរជុនណា២	ហែរជុនណា២	All you people!

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

XXXX	ឱរកការវនា	ឱរកការវនា	You should strive to meditate
XXXX	ពេញចិត្តស្តបស្តល	ពេញចិត្តស្តល់ស្តប់	and make your heart satisfied
មហាមេត្រី	សូតមហាមេត្រី	សូត្រមហាមេត្រី	by chanting the <i>Mahāmetti</i> [ <i>Mahāmetrī</i> ],
ប្រសើរសាយសប់	ប្រសើរសាយសព	ប្រសើរសាយសព្វ	most excellent and extensive.
ទេព្តាចុះគ្រប់	ទេព្តាចុះគ្រុព្វ	ទេព្តាចុះគ្រប់	All the deities shall descend
ស្តាប់ធម៌នេះណា	ស្តាប់ធម្មនោះណា។	ស្តាប់ធម៌នេះណា។	to listen to this Dharma.
៣៥	៣៥	៣៥	35
រឺថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ	រឺព្រះអាទិត	រឺព្រះអាទិត្យ	As for the Sun,
អ្នកណាចូលចិត្ត	អ្នកណាចូលចិត	អ្នកណាចូលចិត្ត	whoever has understanding
ឱរកវនា	ប្រសើរថ្ងៃថ្នារ	ប្រសើរថ្ងៃថ្នា	and is most excellent
ចំសិលប្រាំបី	ឱរស្តបរិត	ឱរស្ត្រសុរិយបរិត្ត	should recite the <i>Suriya-paritta</i> ,
ខំឱឱសា	ពន្ធិកង្កណា	ពន្ធិកង្កណា	truly awesome,
អញ្ជុំការវនា	ស្នើកាលព្រះរា	ស្នើកាលព្រះរាហ៍	just like when Lord Rāhu
ពុំដាច់មួយថ្ងៃ	ប្រៀត ប្រៀនម្តង២	ប្រៀតប្រៀនម្តង។	eclipses [the Sun] from time to time.
៣៦	៣៦	៣៦	36
ឱព្រះពុទ្ធផង	ព្រះចាន្តរ៉ា	ព្រះចន្ទតារា	As for the Moon and the stars,
ប្រសើរកន្លង	ឱរមានសាទ្វា	ឱរមានសទ្វា	you should have faith
ពីសែសថ្នាថ្ងៃ	២នានិងសង	ធានានិងសង	and repay their protection
សឹងសាងសិលសុទ្ធ	ឱរសតចនបរិក	ឱរស្ត្រចន្ទបរិត្ត	by chanting the <i>Canda-paritta</i> ,
ស្រគត់ប្រពៃ	ពន្ធិកស្នែរស្នង	ពន្ធិកស្នែហ៍ស្នង	most eminent and lovely;
នាំសត្វទាំងឡាយ	កាលត្រាសម្តង២	កាលត្រាសម្តង។	when it rises from time to time,
ដាក់ដល់ផ្លូវសួរ	ចាប់បាននោះណា	ចាប់បាននោះណា។	it can be seized.
គឺព្រះមហានិគរ	៣៧	៣៧	37
និព្វានហោង ។។ ១៣៣	រឺឥន្ទ្រអ្នកងង(ផង)	រឺអស់អ្នកផង	All you people!
XXXX	ធ្វើហត្ថេយ្យកន្លង	ធ្វើដោយគន្លង	You should do according to the path
XXXX	ព្រះពុទ្ធវេទស្នារ	ព្រះពុទ្ធវេទសនា	preached by the Buddha.
XXXX	កំធ្វើប្រម៉ាត	កុំធ្វើប្រមាទ	Don't be careless,
XXXX	ឥន្ទ្រអ្នកនោះណា	អស់អ្នកនោះណា	for all such people
XXXX	បាបបានអាត្មា	បាបបានអាត្មា	are filled with sin
XXXX	នរកក្រាសក្រៀ ។	នរកក្រាសក្រៀ	and end up thick in the hells.
៣៨	៣៨	៣៨	38
XXXX	អ្នកណាប្រម៉ាត	អ្នកណាប្រមាទ	Anyone who is careless
XXXX	អ្នកនោះនឹងខាត	អ្នកនោះនឹងខាត	shall forfeit
XXXX	អាយុសុខិទ្ធិ	អាយុទីទៃ	his lifespan
XXXX	ហើយ វានឹងហិន ហោច	ហើយវាហិនហោច	and deteriorate.
XXXX	ត្រម៉ោចក្រាសក្រៀ	ត្រមោចក្រាសក្រៀ	He'll be all alone,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

XXXX	ទ្រាតបុនខ្លិនខ្សែយ	ទ្រព្យបុណ្យក្សិណក្ស័យ	his wealth and merit destroyed,
XXXX	ហែតកើតចង្រ្ក	ហេតុកើតចង្រ្ក	since he gave rise to inauspiciousness
	ជ្រាបជ្រួតតូច ត្រាប្ម ។	ជ្រាបជ្រួតដូចដាប់ ។	that soaked and perforated him.
៣៩	៣៩	៣៩	39
XXXX	រិបុននិងបាប	រិបុណ្យនិងបាប	Merit and sin,
XXXX	អំពើសុភាព	អំពើសុភាព	the quality of one's actions,
XXXX	នោះវាតែងតាម	នោះវាតែងតាម	always follow us,
XXXX	ប្រដូចស្រមោល	ប្រដូចស្រមោល	just like a shadow
XXXX	អន្ទោលដោយប្រាន	អន្ទោលដោយប្រាណ	that follows us through saṃsāra.
XXXX	ពុំដែលចៀសបាន	ពុំដែលចៀសបាន	One can never escape
XXXX	ត្រង់ក្តីយសលវល ។	ត្រង់ក្តីសលវល ។	one's own negligence.
៤០	៤០	៤០	40
XXXX	ឱ្យគិតឱ្យគ្រប់	ឱ្យគិតឱ្យគ្រប់	So you should think carefully
XXXX	រំម្លឹងឱ្យសព្វ	រំពឹងឱ្យសព្វ	and reflect completely
XXXX	ប្រាជ្ញាឱ្យយល់	ប្រាជ្ញាឱ្យយល់	to see with wisdom,
XXXX	ឱសាក្យាយាម	ឱស្សាហ៍ព្យាយាម	and then strive hard
XXXX	និង ក្តីយកុសល	និងក្តីកុសល	to make merit.
XXXX	កំធ្វើសលវល	កុំធ្វើសលវល	Don't be negligent
XXXX	និងក្តីយទុកសោក ។	និងក្តីទុក្ខសោក ។	with regards to suffering and sorrow.
៤១	៤១	៤១	41
XXXX	នរវត្តកណា	នរវត្តកណា	Any person
XXXX	និងនាំអាត្មា ។	និងនាំអាត្មា	who leads his own being
XXXX	ឱសាអធ្យោក ។	ឱស្សាហ៍អធ្យោគ	to strive and persevere
XXXX	យកធម្ម ជាផ្លូវ ។	យកធម្មជាផ្លូវ	to take up the Dharma as his path,
XXXX	ទៅកាន់បលោក ។	ទៅកាន់បលោក	shall reach the next world
XXXX	ចូលមហាបថមោក	ចូលមហាបថមោក្ខ	by entering the great liberation,
XXXX	គីនិពានហោង ។	គីនិពានហោង ។	namely Nibbāna.”
៤២	៤២	៤២	42
XXXX	នេះប្រែស្រាវ	នេះបានប្រែស្រាយ	This has been a translated explanation
XXXX	ត្បែងទងនិយាយ	ដោយទងនិយាយ	in the manner of speech,
XXXX	ទុកឱ្យសព្វប្រាន	ទុកឱ្យសព្វប្រាណ	established for all beings,
XXXX	ឱ្យមានគុណសាប	ឱ្យមានគុណសាប	that they might have appropriate virtues
XXXX	ត្បែងច្បាប់បុរាណ	ដោយច្បាប់បុរាណ	in accordance with the ancient laws
XXXX	ទុកជាប្រធាន	ទុកជាប្រធាន	as their main principle.
XXXX	ប បូរស្រេចហោង ។	បប្បិណ្ឌស្រេចហោង ។	It is now complete.

**sarasör braḥ pād sṭām-k**

In praise of the Buddha's right foot

FEMC title: sar-sör braḥ buddhapād

Khmer verse, 41 stanzas in *kākagati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB022** 56b–62a braḥ pād khān sṭām (lev<sup>o</sup>); **UB025** 48a–53a panlèr aṭṭhuttarasatamaṅgal; **UB041** 62a–62b buddhapād 5 ṭhān pad kākagati (short version); **UB044** 87a–88a buddhapād prām thān (short version), FEMC d.500

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC a.472 (sar-sör braḥ pād chven sṭām nūv braḥ caṅkūm kèv)

Khmer books: Som Suvanṇ *សោម សុវណ្ណ, Prajñam māghapūjā niṅ visākhapūjā ប្រជុំ មាយបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1966), 38–45.

Translation: Partial translation into French in François Bizot, “La figuration des pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge,” *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 25 (1971): 411–414.

Summary: A paean in praise of the 108 auspicious marks inscribed on the Buddha's right foot, beginning with symbolic offerings, followed by a description of the marks, continuing with an account of why and where the Buddha left five of his footprints in the world, and closing by describing the benefits of those who worship them from afar.

FEMC d.500	Som Suvanṇ 1966	Edition	Translation
១	១	១	1
ឧកាស បាទិយុតុលំ	ឧកាស បាទយុតុលំ	<i>ukāsa pādayugalam</i>	Permit me! To the pair of feet
នមាមីហំ	នមាមីហំ	<i>namāmi 'ham</i>	I bow down.
ខ្ញុំមអឱនអង្គ	ខ្ញុំសូមឱនអង្គ	ខ្ញុំសូមឱនអង្គ	I humbly bend my body,
ក្រូញក្រាបអណ្តិវាត្ថ	ក្រូញអភិវាទ	ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវាទ	bowing low in prostration
ព្រះបាទពុទ្ធពង្ស	ព្រះបាទពុទ្ធពង្ស	ព្រះបាទពុទ្ធពង្ស	to the feet of the Descendent of the Buddhas,
ទ្វារគ្រួវត្តរុង	ទាំងគ្រួវត្តរុង	ទាំងគ្រួវត្តរុង	to that pair, bejeweled and
រើងវិធានស្ស	រឿងបូទ្វិរុងរី	រឿងបូទ្វិរុងរី	brilliant with powerful radiance.
២	២	២	2
ខ្ញុំមយកកែសា	ខ្ញុំយកសិរសា	ខ្ញុំយកសិរសា	I raise my head
ថ្វាយតាងបូទ្វិម្លា	ថ្វាយតាងបទុមា	ថ្វាយតាងបទុមា	in place of lotus flowers;
ទសទ្វារគ្រួលី	ទសផ្កលី	ទសផ្កលី	this decade of digits

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

តាងទៀនសុវាង្គី នេត្រាទាំងពីរ ទុកតាងរក្សី ព្រះទិព្វព្រោងព្រាយ ៣	តាងទៀនសុវណ្ណា នេត្រាទាំងទី ទុកតាងរស្មី ប្រទីបព្រោងព្រាយ ។ ៣	តាងទៀនសុវណ្ណា នេត្រាទាំងទី ទុកតាងរស្មី ប្រទីបព្រោងព្រាយ ។ ៣	in place of golden candles; this couple of eyes in place of the rays of a lamp burning bright. 3
ខ្ញុំមួយកវាចា ចេងចេញពានា សសើព្រះលាហក្ខ លើកលើងទ្វារគូក ក្រអូបសពសា ត្នងចិត្តខ្ញុំម្យ៉ាង តាងរសគន្ធា ។ ៤	ខ្ញុំយកវាចា ចែងចេញពណ៌នា សរសើរព្រះលាយ លក្ខណ៍លើកតាងគូប ក្រអូបសពសាយ ដួងចិត្តខ្ញុំម្យ៉ាង តាងរសគន្ធា ។ ៤	ខ្ញុំយកវាចា ចែងចេញពណ៌នា សរសើរព្រះលាយ លក្ខណ៍លើកតាងគូប ក្រអូបសពសាយ ដួងចិត្តខ្ញុំម្យ៉ាង តាងរសគន្ធា ។ ៤	I take my speech to express, describe, and praise the Marked Lord, raised in place of incense, whose scent disperses wide, with my mental sphere offered in place of fragrant tastes. 4
យកសព្វសារពាង្គ ក្បត្តិទុកតាង ពានមារេច្ឆន្តី រាជ្យវត្ថុរុងរឿង ជ្រុលត្រើងបូជា ម្យ៉ាងព្រះបាទា ទ្វារគូរសោភ័ណ ៥	យកសព្វសព្វពាង្គ កាយគិតទុកតាង ពានមាសរេចនា រាយវត្ថុរុងរឿង ជ្រុលត្រើងបូជា ម្យ៉ាងព្រះបាទា ទាំងគូរសោភ័ណ ។ ៥	យកសព្វសព្វពាង្គ កាយគិតទុកតាង ពានមាសរេចនា រាយវត្ថុរុងរឿង ជ្រុលត្រើងបូជា ម្យ៉ាងព្រះបាទា ទាំងគូរសោភ័ណ ។ ៥	I take my whole body as a replacement for an ornamented gold jar, arrayed with resplendent jewels. I raise up offerings of worship to offer to his holy feet, that lovely pair. 5
ព្រះបាហ្សលាភ កើតកបកងចក្រ កែវក្បាម្យុពាន មានផ្លូវតែកតុម ស្នូសស្នូរាន ឆាត្រវត្តរៀរាល ទាលទិទ្ធិទស ៦	ព្រះបាទលាយលក្ខណ៍ កើតកបកងចក្រ កែវកាំមួយពាន់ មានភ្លៅដែកដុំ ស្នូស្នីសមសុវណ្ណ ឆ្នៃត្រវត្តសោភ័ណ ទាល់ទ្ធិទិសទស ។ ៦	ព្រះបាទលាយលក្ខណ៍ កើតកបកងចក្រ កែវកាំមួយពាន់ មានភ្លៅដែកដុំ ស្នូស្នីសមសុវណ្ណ ឆ្នៃត្រវត្តសោភ័ណ ទាល់ទ្ធិទិសទស ។ ៦	The feet of the Marked Lord, are born with wheels of a thousand jeweled spokes, with wrought iron axles; golden svastikas; beautiful jeweled parasols reaching all ten directions; 6
កង្វើមរស្មាត មានប្រាង្គប្រាសាដ ប្រសើរខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ កើតកែវទៀងទ្វារ បាណ្ឌវស្រេចស្រស់ សិរីវត្តទាំងស ស្មៅត្រព្វត្រព្រះខ័ន ។	កង្វើមរស្មាត មានប្រាង្គប្រាសាទ ប្រសើរខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ កើតកែវទៀងតាង បល្ល័ង្កស្រេចស្រស់ សិរីវត្តទាំងអស់ ស្មៅត្រព្វត្រព្រះខ័ន ។	កង្វើមរស្មាត មានប្រាង្គប្រាសាទ ប្រសើរខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ កើតកែវទៀងតាង បល្ល័ង្កស្រេចស្រស់ សិរីវត្តទាំងអស់ ស្មៅត្រព្វត្រព្រះខ័ន ។	beautiful gold bullhooks; towers and temples, great and lofty; resting on crystal beds in place of the unblemished throne, bejeweled throughout; white parasols; royal swords;

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៧	៧	៧	7
មានផ្លិតសារជាត្ត	មានផ្លិតតាលប័ត្រ	មានផ្លិតតាលបត្រ	palm-leaf fans;
សិង្ហតែប្បងពេជ	នូវផ្លិតមេរហ័តក៍	នូវផ្លិតមេរហ័តក៍	peacock-feather fans;
ល្វីដ្ឋិន្យស្ករាន	វីជនីសុវណ្ណ	វីជនីសុវណ្ណ	golden fans;
លំពែងពេជថ្វារ	លំពែងពេជ្រថ្វា	លំពែងពេជ្រថ្វា	adamantine pikes;
ធីតាត្រៃកាន	ធីតាដៃកាន់	ធីតាដៃកាន់	girls grasping
ពពិលសោកន	ពពិលសោក៍ណ	ពពិលសោក៍ណ	lovely candleholders;
មុតកែវសោក្យ	មកុដកែវមុនី ។	មកុដកែវសោក៍ ។	the lovely jewel crown;
៨	៨	៨	8
មានសងសង្វារ	មានសយសង្វារ	មានសយសង្វារ	ribbons
នេបកែវពពា	នេបកែវពពាឡ	នេបកែវពពាឡ	edged with mottled jewels;
កំម្រងមុន្យ	កម្រងកែវកី	កម្រងមណី	garlands of wish-fulfilling jewels;
ប្រាប្រាក់ប្រាម្យ	ត្រៃប្រាក់ត្រៃមាស	បាត្រប្រាក់បាត្រមាស	silver bowls and gold bowls,
ឱកាសព័ស្យ	ឱកាសពិសី	ឱកាសពិសី	brilliant and beautiful;
ប្រាកែវមុន្យ	បាត្រកែវរូចី	បាត្រកែវរូចី	bowls of lustrous jewels;
ឈូកឈរទ្រង់ផ្កា	ឈូកឈរទ្រង់ផ្កា ។	ឈូកឈរទ្រង់ផ្កា ។	erect lotuses with flowers;
៩	៩	៩	9
មានឱបុលខៀវស្សរ	ឧប្បលខៀវស	ឧប្បលខៀវស	blue and white waterlilies;
មានថ្មានម្យល្អរ	មានថាសមាសល្អ	មានថាសមាសល្អ	gorgeous gold trays;
ក្នុងប្រាក់សុវណ្ណ	ក្នុងប្រាក់សុវណ្ណ	ក្នុងប្រាក់សុវណ្ណ	gold and silver pitchers;
ក្នុងកែវប្រពៃ	ក្នុងកែវប្រពៃ	ក្នុងកែវប្រពៃ	lovely jeweled pitchers;
នោវព្រៃហេម្យ	នូវព្រៃហិមវា	នូវព្រៃហេមវា	the Himavant forest,
ទ្រង់ផលបូជា	ទ្រង់ផលបុប្ផា	ទ្រង់ផលបុប្ផា	endowed with fruits and flowers;
ចក្រវាលខែតខាន	ចក្រវាឡខេត្តខណ្ឌ ។	ចក្រវាឡខេត្តខណ្ឌ ។	the territory of the world-system;
១០	១០	១០	10
មានភ្នំមព្រះសុមេរ	មានភ្នំព្រះសុមេរ	មានភ្នំព្រះសុមេរ	Mount Sumeru;
ភ្នំអន្តរបៃហៃ	ភ្នំអណ្តាប់បៃហៃ	ភ្នំអណ្តាប់បៃហៃ	the surrounding mountains,
ឈ្មោះសត្វសោកន	ហៅសត្វបរិកណ្ណ	ហៅសត្វបរិកណ្ណ	called the Sattaparibhaṇḍa;
ប្រាម្មិលសង្កាត	ប្រាំពីរសង្កាត់	ប្រាំពីរសង្កាត់	the seven divisions,
ឈ្មោះសត្វបរិកន	ហៅសត្វសិទ្ធីនី	ឈ្មោះសត្វសិទ្ធីនី	called the Sattasīdandara,
តុះត្បាជួរជួរ	ដុះរៀងដោយជាន់	ដុះដោយជួរជាន់	arrayed in consecutive layers
ស្រមុជលធី	សមុទ្រលធី ។	សមុទ្រលធី ។	of ocean waters;
១១	១១	១១	11
ព្រះអាទិត្យព្រះចន្ទ	ព្រះអាទិត្យព្រះច័ន្ទ	ព្រះអាទិត្យព្រះចន្ទ	the Sun and the Moon,
រះរុងរឿងរាន	រះរុងរឿងរាន់	រះរុងរឿងរាន់	rising resplendently and rapidly;
ទាលទូទ្វីទ្វី	ឯកនកិ	ឯកនកិ	the single sky

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

កន្ទាលហ្វូងផ្កាយ ពុទ្ធារិយ័ន្ទ ធ្វើព្រះធិបតី ធ្វើបត្រចេតនា ១២	កណ្តាលហ្វូងផ្កាយ ពណ្តាយរស្មី ទ្វីបធំធំបតី ទ្វីបតូចពីរពាន់ ។ ១២	កណ្តាលហ្វូងផ្កាយ ពណ្តាយរស្មី ទ្វីបបួនធំបតី ទ្វីបតូចពីរពាន់ ។ ១២	amidst the host of stars, ever radiant their rays; the four great continents; the two thousand minor islands; 12
មានខ្យងស្នំសត្វ នៅស្តេចចក្រពាត អាមាត្យព្រឹកាន ទង្គិចជ័យត្រៃវតី ប្រណិបតន៍អភិវន្ត ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មសោភ័ណ ឥសូរព្រះនរាយណ៍ ១៣	មានខ្យងស្នំសត្វ មានស្តេចចក្រពត្តិ អាមាត្យព្រឹកាន ទង្គិចជ័យត្រៃវតី ប្រណិបតន៍អភិវន្ត ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មសោភ័ណ ឥសូរនារាយណ៍ ។ ១៣	មានខ្យងស្នំសត្វ មានស្តេចចក្រពត្តិ អាមាត្យព្រឹកាន ទង្គិចជ័យត្រៃវតី ប្រណិបតន៍អភិវន្ត ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្មសោភ័ណ ឥសូរនារាយណ៍ ។ ១៣	conch shells; wheel-turning monarchs; pairs of ministers grasping victory banners and jeweled parasols, bowing in reverence; Indra and Brahmā, magnificent; Īśvara and Nārāyaṇa; 13
មានសត្វគុដ្ឋារ នូវមហាសិលា ស្រះស្រង់សាប្យ ទ្វីប្រាំម្ភៃលក្ខត ស្រមុតជ្រៅឆ្ងាយ ធេងធំទូលាយ លោកសាគរ ១៤	មានសត្វគុដ្ឋារ នឹងមហាសេលា ស្រះស្រង់សប្បាយ ប្រាំពីរជាន់គត់ កំណត់ជ្រៅឆ្ងាយ ធេងធំទូលាយ លោកសាគរ ។ ១៤	មានសត្វគុដ្ឋារ នូវមហាសិលា ស្រះស្រង់សប្បាយ ប្រាំពីរជាន់គត់ កំណត់ជ្រៅឆ្ងាយ ធេងធំទូលាយ លោកសាគរ ។ ១៤	the seven rivers; the great mountains; the joyful bathing lakes in seven layers true; its limits deep and far, vast and extensive, the salty ocean; 14
ត្រីរុត្រចេញពាស ត្រីប្រាក់ត្រីមាស សុវន្តកច្ឆប្បា ក្រពើរនៅម្តុំមាត់ ចរតាមគុដ្ឋារ មានការកេត្រា សំពៅមាសប្រាក់ ១៥	ត្រីត្រាច់ពេញពាស ត្រីប្រាក់ត្រីមាស សុវណ្ណកច្ឆប្បា ក្រពើរត្រាមមករ ចរតាមជលសា មានការកេត្រា សំពៅមាសប្រាក់ ។ ១៥	ត្រីត្រាច់ពេញពាស ត្រីប្រាក់ត្រីមាស សុវណ្ណកច្ឆប្បា ក្រពើរត្រាមមករ ចរតាមជលសា មានការកេត្រា សំពៅមាសប្រាក់ ។ ១៥	fish stirring all around, fish both silver and gold; golden turtles; crocodiles; sharks; sea-monsters, wandering in the waters; cargo ships, vessels both gold and silver; 15
គ្រុឌរាជនាគា កេសរសិហា ក្សត្ររាជសិទ្ធិសិក្ខ តំរិះរោងវតី ឱបោសថសោភ័ត្ត មានសេះពាល្ល នៅភ្នំហេមរា ១៦	គ្រុឌរាជនាគា កេសរសិហា ព្យាគ្យរាជសិទ្ធិសិក្ខ ដំរិះរោងវតី ឱបោសថសោភ័ត្ត មានសេះពាលាហ័ក នៅភ្នំហេមរា ។ ១៦	គ្រុឌរាជនាគា កេសរសិហា ព្យាគ្យរាជសិទ្ធិសិក្ខ ដំរិះរោងវតី ឱបោសថសោភ័ត្ត មានសេះពាលាហ័ក នៅភ្នំហេមរា ។ ១៦	garuḍa kings; nāgas; maned lions; tiger kings, ever mighty; elephants in jeweled stables; Uposatha, the magnificent [elephant king]; the horse [king] Balāhaka; the Himavanta mountain



Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

១៦	១៦	១៦	16
XXXX	ឈ្មោះកែវកែលាស	ឈ្មោះកែវកែលាស	called Bejeweled Kailāsa;
XXXX	មានហោមហង្សមាស	មានហោមហង្សមាស	golden swans;
XXXX	ចក្រពាកកោញា	ចក្រពាកកោញា	geese; herons;
ឯកវណ្ណាត្ថ	ឯកវណ្ណាត	ឯកវណ្ណាត	Eravāṇa, the elephant king;
ជីវាកក្កិណារ	ជីវាកក្កិណារ	ជីវាកក្កិណារ	Jīvāka; <i>kinnaras</i> ;
ក្កិណារិចេតល្លា	ក្កិណារិមេខលា	ក្កិណារិមេខលា	<i>kinnarīs</i> ; Mekhalā;
សេសោមមុទ្ធិត	សេកសោមបណ្ឌិត ។	សេកសោមបណ្ឌិត ។	wise red parrots,
១៧	១៧	១៧	17
ករវិកសត្វារ	ករវិកសត្វា	ករវិកសត្វា	karavīka birds;
មយ្យរិមយ្យរា	មយ្យរិមយ្យរា	មយ្យរិមយ្យរា	peahens and peacocks,
ពុជពេនពិចិត្ត	ពងពេនពិចិត្ត	ពងពេនពិចិត្ត	beautifully presenting;
មានទ្វិស្តេចគ្នាត	មានទាំងស្តេចគ្នាត	មានទាំងស្តេចគ្នាត	vulture kings,
យោយាតវិជ័រិត	យោរយាតវិជ័ប្បទ្វី	យោរយាតវិជ័ប្បទ្វី	violent and forceful;
សព្វសតបាស្សី	មានសត្វព្រហ្មិត	មានសត្វព្រហ្មិត	aquatic birds,
រុទ្ធាលឆ្អិនឆ្អៅ	ក្រហមឆ្អិនឆ្អៅ ។	ក្រហមឆ្អិនឆ្អៅ ។	blazing red;
១៨	១៨	១៨	18
មានទ្វិសីងតោ	មានទាំងសិរីងតោ	មានទាំងសិរីងតោ	lions
XXXX	ឈរឈានមានគោ	ឈរឈានមានគោ	standing and walking; cattle,
ឌីសុព្ភរាជនិតនោវ	ឧសករាជនូវ	ឧសករាជនូវ	both bull kings and
មេគោសសុត	មេគោសសុទ្ធ	មេគោសសុទ្ធ	cows, pure white,
បានបុត្របៀមបោវ	មានបុត្របៀមបោវ	មានបុត្របៀមបោវ	with suckling calves;
នោវហ៊្យទេព្វហោវ	មានឋានទិព្វហោវ	មានឋានទិព្វហោវ	the divine realms called
ស្គរព្រាម្បជាន	ស្គគ៍ប្រាំមួយជាន់ ។	ស្គគ៍ប្រាំមួយជាន់ ។	the six-layered heavens;
១៩	១៩	១៩	19
ព្រំម្យាលោកស្គសព្វ	ព្រហ្មលោកស្គគ៍សព្វ	ព្រហ្មលោកស្គគ៍សព្វ	and the entire Brahmāloka heavens,
ព្រាម្បតន្តប	ប្រាំមួយដណ្តប់	ប្រាំមួយដណ្តប់	sixteen in all,
ក៏មានសុវាន	ពិមានសុវណ្ណ	ពិមានសុវណ្ណ	with golden mansions—
មានក្នុងព្រះបាទ	មានក្នុងព្រះបាទ	មានក្នុងព្រះបាទ	all this is on the feet
លោកនាដសោកន	លោកនាដសោក័ណ	លោកនាដសោក័ណ	of the Lord of the World, so lovely,
ប្រកដដាកស្សាន	ប្រាកដដាក់ស្សាន់	ប្រាកដដាក់ស្សាន់	manifest clearly as
១០០ ប្រាំម្យ	មួយរយប្រាំបី ។	មួយរយប្រាំបី ។	one hundred and eight.
២០	២០	២០	20
ព្រះត្រៀលោកនាដ	ព្រះត្រៃលោកនាដ	ព្រះត្រៃលោកនាដ	The Protector of the Triple Word
យាសយាដ ព្រះបាទ	យាដយាសព្រះបាទ	យាដយាសព្រះបាទ	stepped with his feet
តើតោតេនត្យ	ស្តេចលើផែនដី	ដើរដោយផែនដី	to move upon the earth,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ប្រោសសត្វសុះសញ្ញ ភូមិកុបប្បវិ ឈូកម្សុះឆ្នៀ ផែនតេនកស្សត្វា ២១	ប្រោសសត្វសុសសញ្ញ ភូមិកុបប្បវិ ឈូកមាសធុតពី ផែនផែនពសុជា ។ ២១	ប្រោសសត្វសុសសញ្ញ ភូមិកុបប្បវិ ឈូកមាសធុតពី ផែនផែនពសុជា ។ ២១	saving creatures in all lands, worlds, and cities, with golden lotuses sprouting from the surface of the earth 21
ទទួលព្រះបាទ ព្រះមន្ទីរនាដ្ឋ ពិតពុំឃ្លាតឃ្លា ពុំឱ្យគុណស្នាម ត្រេកត្រាមាត្រា ស្តេចគង់អាស្នា ទេពវិលវិលបាន ២២	ទទួលព្រះបាទ ព្រះមុនីនរោថ ពិតពុំឃ្លាតឃ្លា កុំឱ្យមានស្នាម ទៅតាមមាត្រា ស្តេចគង់អាស្នា ទើបអន្តរធាន ។ ២២	ទទួលព្រះបាទ ព្រះមុនីនរោថ ពិតពុំឃ្លាតឃ្លា កុំឱ្យមានស្នាម ទៅតាមមាត្រា ស្តេចគង់អាស្នា ទើបអន្តរធាន ។ ២២	to receive the feet of the Sage, Protector of Humans, truly without fail, not allowing footprints to follow in his path; only when he sat did the lotuses disappear. 22
មានកាលពុំស្រួល ឈូកពុំទទួល ព្រះបាទធ្វើជ័យជំនះ ព្រះអង្គយាត្រា ត្រេកត្រាមាត្រា នោរទ្វីទើព្វមាន វាយោផ្សាផ្សាត្រា ២៣	មានកាលពុំស្រួល ឈូកពុំទទួល ព្រះបាទធ្វើជ័យជំនះ ព្រះអង្គយាត្រា ដោយមាត្រាមាត្រា ទៅទីទើបមាន វាយោផ្សាផ្សាត្រា ។ ២៣	មានកាលពុំស្រួល ឈូកពុំទទួល ព្រះបាទធ្វើជ័យជំនះ ព្រះអង្គយាត្រា ដោយមាត្រាមាត្រា ទៅទីទើបមាន វាយោផ្សាផ្សាត្រា ។ ២៣	There were rough places where the lotuses did not receive his supreme feet; there the Lord walked on paths where the wind had just blown away 23
ផាត់ផងឆ្នួល នាំយកពុំទី ព្រះបាទចេញឆ្ងាយ បែបកផ្សាផ្សាត្រា ខ្សែចរត្រូវរាប រាបឱ្យរលាយ រលុបបាត់បង់ ។ ២៤	ផាត់ផងឆ្នួល នាំយកពុំទី ព្រះបាទចេញឆ្ងាយ បែបរត់ដោយផាត់ ខ្សែចរត្រូវរាប រាបឱ្យរលាយ រលុបបាត់បង់ ។ ២៤	ផាត់ផងឆ្នួល នាំយកពុំទី ព្រះបាទចេញឆ្ងាយ បែបរត់ដោយផាត់ ខ្សែចរត្រូវរាប រាបឱ្យរលាយ រលុបបាត់បង់ ។ ២៤	the powder and dust from beneath his feet; the wind then turned around to blow in crystal sands that scattered, faded, dissolved, and erased to nothing, 24
ស្តេចយាងបាទ្វា ចាកចេញកាលណា ស្នាមសោតពុំគង់ ពុំឱ្យសត្វផង កន្លងត្រូវត្រង់ ព្រះបាទព្រះអង្គ កើតក្នុងវិវា ២៥	ស្តេចយាងយាត្រា ចាកចេញកាលណា ស្នាមសោតពុំគង់ ពុំឱ្យសត្វផង កន្លងត្រូវត្រង់ ព្រះបាទព្រះអង្គ កើតកម្មវេក ។ ២៥	ស្តេចយាងយាត្រា ចាកចេញកាលណា ស្នាមសោតពុំគង់ ពុំឱ្យសត្វផង កន្លងត្រូវត្រង់ ព្រះបាទព្រះអង្គ កើតកម្មវេក ។ ២៥	so that in walking around at any time his footprints did not remain, to prevent all creatures who, in passing, might step on the feet of the Lord and give rise to evil karma. 25

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

២៥	២៥	២៥	25
ព្រះទស្សពលញ្ញាន ជិតចូលនិព្វាន មកមានមេតា ទេវាស្វរសព្វ គុន្ទព្វអាស្វរា គ្រុធយក្ខនាគា មនុស្សសត ប្រុស ស្រី	ព្រះទសពលញ្ញាណ ជិតចូលនិព្វាន ទ្រង់មានមេត្តា ទេញ្ញាស្នក៍សព្វ គន្ធព្វអសុរា គ្រុឌនាគទេញ្ញា មនុស្សសត្វប្រុសស្រី ។	ព្រះទសពលញ្ញាណ ជិតចូលនិព្វាន ទ្រង់មានមេត្តា ទេញ្ញាស្នក៍សព្វ គន្ធព្វអសុរា គ្រុឌនាគទេញ្ញា មនុស្សសត្វប្រុសស្រី ។	The Ten-Powered Lord, about to enter Nibbāna, was filled with goodwill for deities in all the heavens, gandharvas, titans, garuḍas, nāga, gods, humans, and animals, both male and female,
២៦	២៦	២៦	26
ទេព្វប្រោសប្រទាន ព្រះបាទប្រាសាទ ទុកឱ្យវន្ទី ប្ជាទនោវនា ចោមចុងគិរី សុវានមាលី ជាទីបរិសុទ្ធ	ទើបប្រោសប្រទាន ព្រះបាទប្រាសាទ ទុកឱ្យវន្ទី បាទមួយនៅនា ចមចុងគិរី សុវណ្ណមាលី ជាទីបរិសុទ្ធ ។	ទើបប្រោសប្រទាន ព្រះបាទប្រាសាទ ទុកឱ្យវន្ទី បាទមួយនៅនា ចមចុងគិរី សុវណ្ណមាលី ជាទីបរិសុទ្ធ ។	so, to save them, he bestowed five sites for his footprints to be worshipped. One pair of footprints is on the summit of the mountain of Suvannamālī, a pure place.
២៧	២៧	២៧	27
ព្រះបាទសោភ័យ ១បើត្ថនាទី សុវានាបរពត្ត បាតទន្ធវនា លង់ការប្រកដ លើភ្នំមសន្ទតសន្ទន គោត្តតាព្វ	ព្រះបាទសោភា មួយនិគ្យនៅនា សុវណ្ណបព័ត បាទមួយនៅនា លង្កាប្រាកដ លើភ្នំសន្ទត សុមនក្នុងគាប់ ។	ព្រះបាទសោភា មួយនិគ្យនៅនា សុវណ្ណបព័ត បាទមួយនៅនា លង្កាប្រាកដ លើភ្នំសន្ទត សុមនក្នុងគាប់ ។	Another beautiful pair of footprints remains on [Mount] Suvannapabbata. Another pair of footprints are on the real Laṅkā on the mountain called Sumanakūṭa, ever fitting.
២៨	២៨	២៨	28
ព្រះបាទសោភ័យ ១នូវខ្សែច ពាន គិរីស្រែចស្រាព្វ អ្នកនគរស្រុក យកទុកសម្រាព្វ ប្រុដ្ឋប្រៀបប្រតាព្វ គ្រឿងទុកបូរ ផ្កា	ព្រះបាទសោភ័ណ មួយនៅសច្ចព័ន្ធ គិរីស្រែចស្រាប់ អ្នកនគរស្រុក យោនយកសម្រាប់ រករៀបប្រដាប់ គ្រឿងគ្រប់បូជា ។	ព្រះបាទសោភ័ណ មួយនៅសច្ចព័ន្ធ គិរីស្រែចស្រាប់ អ្នកនគរស្រុក យោនយកសម្រាប់ រករៀបប្រដាប់ គ្រឿងគ្រប់បូជា ។	Another marvelous pair of footprints is on Saccabandha Mountain, all ready for the local people to take up materials and gather up objects as offerings for worship.
២៩	២៩	២៩	29
ព្រះបាទសោភ័យ ១បើត្ថនាទី បាទព្រះគុដ្ឋា	ព្រះបាទសោភី មួយនៅនទី នាមនម្មទា	ព្រះបាទសោភី មួយនៅនទី នាមនម្មទា	Another lovely pair of footprints exists at what is called Nammadā [River],

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ព្រះអង្គជាន់ទុក លើផុក កស្សុជា ទុកឱ្យ មេត្តា ក្រូញក្រាប អង្គីវាត្ត ៣០	ព្រះអង្គជាន់ទុក លើកក់ពសុជា ទុកឱ្យមច្ឆា ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវន្ត ។ ៣០	ព្រះអង្គជាន់ទុក លើកក់ពសុជា ទុកឱ្យមច្ឆា ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវន្ត ។ ៣០	[where] the Lord stepped into the mud of the earth so that the fish could bow down in reverence. 30
ព្រះទេស ពលញាន ប្រោសព្រះតិស្សុថាន ព្រះ ប្លាថថាន XXXX ឱ្យបាន៥ ពាន ព្រះវសាគ្រូព្វ ត្រាន ស្រេចស្តេចនិព្វាន។ ៣១	ព្រះទេសពលញាណ ប្រោសប្រតិស្ឋាន ព្រះបាទសោគីណ ទាំងប្រាំប្រាំបួន ឱ្យដល់ប្រាំពាន់ វស្សាគ្រប់គ្រាន់ ទើបស្តេចនិព្វាន ។ ៣១	ព្រះទេសពលញាណ ប្រោសប្រតិស្ឋាន ព្រះបាទសោគីណ ទាំងប្រាំប្រាំបួន ឱ្យដល់ប្រាំពាន់ វស្សាគ្រប់គ្រាន់ ទើបស្តេចនិព្វាន ។ ៣១	The Ten-Powered Lord saved [beings] by establishing these beautiful pairs of feet, five in all, supreme, to last for the complete five thousand years before going to Nibbāna. 31
ឱស្សយើងខ្ញុំម អភាពពេកពុំ ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាន ទានតែសាស្តារ ព្រះប្លាថថាន នោះសោតពុំបាន ទៅទៀតឱយ្យល ៣២	ឱអស់យើងខ្ញុំ អភ័ព្វពេកពុំ ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ ទានតែសាសនា ឯបាទាហាន នោះសោតពុំបាន ទៅទៀបឱយ្យល ។ ៣២	ឱអស់យើងខ្ញុំ អភ័ព្វពេកពុំ ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ ទានតែសាសនា ព្រះបាទប្រាំហាន នោះសោតពុំបាន ទៅទៀបឱយ្យល ។ ៣២	Alas, how all of us are so unfortunate in not being born on time for the Lord of Wisdom, but only on time for his dispensation! As for the five sites of his footprints, we cannot even go near to witness them. 32
ក្រូញក្រាបកក្ស បង្គំមញ្ញត្រា សូតសសើតល ព្រះប្លាថថាន សូមមានមង្គល សូមសុខសួស្តីសល លុះតលនិព្វាន ៣៣	ក្រូញក្រាបកកាយ បង្គំពិស្វាយ សូត្រសរសើរដល់ ព្រះបាទប្រាំហាន សូមមានមង្គល សូមសុខសួស្តីសល តេជះជោគជ័យ ។ ៣៣	ក្រូញក្រាបកកាយ បង្គំពិស្វាយ សូត្រសរសើរដល់ ព្រះបាទប្រាំហាន សូមមានមង្គល សូមសុខសួស្តីសល តេជះជោគជ័យ ។ ៣៣	We bend our bodies low, bowing down from afar, chanting in praise to the five sites of his footprints. May there be blessings, happiness, abundant fortune, power, success, and victory. 33
XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX XXXX	សូមឈ្នះលោកា ទោសោមោហា ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ គ្រោះកាចទុក្ខសោក ទាំងអោតាភ័យ សូមសុខសព្វថ្ងៃ រៀងរូបនិព្វាន ។	សូមឈ្នះលោកា ទោសោមោហា ឧបទ្រពចង្រៃ គ្រោះកាចទុក្ខសោក ទាំងអោតាភ័យ សូមសុខសព្វថ្ងៃ រៀងរូបនិព្វាន ។	May greed be defeated, so too hatred, delusion, calamity, misfortune, danger, pain, and sorrow, even illness and fear. May there be happiness every day until Nibbāna.

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

៣៤	៣៤	៣៤	34
អ្នកឯណាខិតខំសា រៀនលាមកលាតា ព្រះពុទ្ធជាបាន ចេះចាំជាក្នុងជ្រៀង ទាត់ ទៀងមែនមាន ក្បាយមប្រុងប្រាណ សូត្រសព្វវេលា ៣៥	អ្នកខិតខំសា រៀនលាយលក្ខណា ព្រះពុទ្ធជាបាន ចេះចាំជាក្នុងជ្រៀង ទាត់ ទៀងមែនមាន ព្យាយាមប្រុងប្រាណ សូត្រសព្វវេលា ។ ៣៥	អ្នកណាខិតខំសា រៀនលាយលក្ខណា ព្រះពុទ្ធជាបាន ចេះចាំជាក្នុងជ្រៀង ទាត់ ទៀងមែនមាន ព្យាយាមប្រុងប្រាណ សូត្រសព្វវេលា ។ ៣៥	Whoever strives to study the marks on the Buddha's feet successfully, who clearly memorizes them flawlessly and truly, and who endeavors with his body to chant them at all times, 35
អ្នកនោះស្មើបាន ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ កាលគង់ជរមាន នឹងបានលះលាក ចៀសចាកចតុរា បាយបាបវេរា កម្មកាចអាត្រក់ ។ ៣៦	អ្នកនោះស្មើបាន ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ កាលគង់ជរមាន នឹងបានលះលាក ចៀសចាកចតុរា បាយបាបវេរា កម្មកាចអាត្រក់ ។ ៣៦	អ្នកនោះស្មើបាន ទានព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ កាលគង់ជរមាន នឹងបានលះលាក ចៀសចាកចតុរា- បាយបាបវេរា កម្មកាចអាត្រក់ ។ ៣៦	that person is like one who gets to be in time for the Lord of Wisdom as if [the Buddha were] still alive; he gets to leave behind and depart from the four states of woe, rancor, and evil karma; 36
បាបមួយសែនកាល លោកព្រះតេជស្គាល ទិញទោសទុក ទោវងវេទនា នៅមហានរក សឹងសេពសោយសុខ សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ៣៧	បានមួយសែនកាល នឹងមិនដែលស្គាល ទុក្ខទោសលាមក ពុំរងវេទនា នៅមហានរក សឹងសេពសោយសុខ សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។ ៣៧	បានមួយសែនកាល នឹងមិនដែលស្គាល ទុក្ខទោសលាមក ពុំរងវេទនា នៅមហានរក សឹងសេពសោយសុខ សោយសម្បត្តិបុណ្យ ។ ៣៧	he, for one hundred thousand eons, shall never know suffering or vile faults, never enduring the torments of the Great Hell, instead always enjoying bliss and enjoying his attainments and merit; 37
បរិបូរណ៍រូបរាង សាសត្វសារពាង សារពើល្អលុន ល្អរលើមនុស្សផង ម៉តមង់ ត្រនុន ប្រទេសក្លរគន់ គួរគិតស្នេហា ៣៨	បរិបូរណ៍រូបរាង សាយសព្វសព្វតាំង សារពើល្អលុន ល្អរលើមនុស្សផង ហ្មត់ហ្មង់ទ្រទន់ ប្រទេសក្លរគន់ គួរគិតស្នេហាស្នាល ។ ៣៨	បរិបូរណ៍រូបរាង សាយសព្វសព្វតាំង សារពើល្អលុន ល្អរលើមនុស្សផង ហ្មត់ហ្មង់ត្រទន់ ប្រទេសក្លរគន់ គួរគិតស្នេហាស្នាល ។ ៣៨	his figure shall be complete; in his entire body every spot will be beautiful, more beautiful than all of humankind, stainless and supple, with [body] parts most agreeable, most charming and lovable; 38
ចិត្តសោតដឹងបុណ្យ ដឹងបាបដឹងគុណ ដឹងគួរដឹងការ	ចិត្តសោតដឹងបុណ្យ ដឹងបាបដឹងគុណ ដឹងគួរដឹងការ	ចិត្តសោតដឹងបុណ្យ ដឹងបាបដឹងគុណ ដឹងគួរដឹងការ	as for his heart, it shall know merit, know sin, know virtue, know duty, know work,

Appendix II-12 Khmer *kāgati* verse (-k)

តឹងកាកោះ	ដឹងការកេត្តិកោះ	ដឹងការកេត្តិកោះ	know how to protect one's inheritance,
តឹងតោះតឹងសារ	ដឹងដោះដឹងសារ	ដឹងដោះដឹងសារ	know how to make excuses,
xxxតឹងអារ	ដឹងសីលាចារ្យ	ដឹងសីលាចារ្យ	know ethical conduct,
តឹងអត្តបាលី	ដឹងអត្តបាលី ។	ដឹងអត្តបាលី ។	and know the meaning of the scriptures;
៣៩	៣៩	៣៩	39
កើតកបអំបូរ	កើតកបអម្បូរ	កើតកបអម្បូរ	[he'll be] born into a lineage
អំបាលត្រកូល	អម្បាលត្រកូល	អម្បាលត្រកូល	in which the entire clan
ជាស្តេចថ្លោថ្លែ	ត្រកាលជាតិ	ត្រកាលជាតិ	is of lofty birth,
ជាតិខត្តិយេ	ជាតិខត្តិយេស្សវ័	ជាតិខត្តិយេស្សវ័	in the ruling warrior caste,
វិសេសធិបតី	វិសេសធិបតី	វិសេសធិបតី	uniquely in control,
ធិបតីនិរទ្ធិ	ធិបតីនិរទ្ធិ	ធិបតីនិរទ្ធិ	lords among rulers, mighty
វិជ្ជាអនុភាប	បុទ្ធានុភាព ។	បុទ្ធានុភាព ។	and mightily powerful;
៤០	៤០	៤០	40
សព្វសិក្ខិតិ	សព្វសិក្ខិតិ	សព្វសិក្ខិតិ	[before him,] all rancorous enemies
ទុទ្ធាទិសទី	ទាំងទសទិសទី	ទាំងទសទិសទី	in the ten directions
ស្តេចម្សប្បម្បឿ			
សីមមក អញ្ញវាត្ត	ប្រុងប្រឹងប្រាណាប្រាប់	ប្រុងប្រឹងប្រាណាប្រាប់	shall prepare their bodies in subjugation,
ភនក្ខិតិក្ស	ក៏ន្តទាំងភិតភ័យ	ក៏ន្តទាំងភិតភ័យ	out of fear and fright,
ក្រែងក្រែងក្រែងក្រាប	ក្រែងក្រែងក្រែងក្រាប	ក្រែងក្រែងក្រែងក្រាប	cowardly crouching down,
រុញរុញរុញរុញ	រុញរុញរុញរុញ	រុញរុញរុញរុញ	fearfully submitting to
រុងរឿងរុងរឿង	រុងរឿងរុងរឿង ។	រុងរឿងរុងរឿង ។	his resplendent majesty;
៤១	៤១	៤១	41
xxxx	ប្រសប្រាជ្ញឆ្លៀវឆ្លាត	ប្រសប្រាជ្ញឆ្លៀវឆ្លាត	[and he shall be] wise with a sharp mind,
xxxx	ចេះសព្វសិល្បសាស្ត្រ	ចេះសព្វសិល្បសាស្ត្រ	skilled in all magical arts
xxxx	សារពើឥតឆ្ងល់	សារពើឥតឆ្ងល់	completely without doubt,
លុះលុះនិពាន	លុះលុះនិពាន	លុះលុះនិពាន	until he reaches Nibbāna—
គឺវបានត្បោល	សឹងបានដោយផល	សឹងបានដោយផល	all this is achieved by the fruit
សូតសសើរដល់	សូត្រសរសើរដល់	សូត្រសរសើរដល់	of chanting the praise of
ព្រះពុទ្ធច្បាចបហោង ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្បាចហោង ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្បាចហោង ។	the Buddha's feet.

**sarasör brah pād chven-k**  
In praise of the Buddha's left foot

Khmer verse, 28 stanzas in *kāgati*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB022** 62a–66a dharmm brah pād chven lèv° pèy°

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

Notebooks: Net Mam 2008

Translation: Partial translation into French in François Bizot, “La figuration des pieds du Bouddha au Cambodge,” *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 25 (1971), 417–419.

Summary: A paean in praise of the 108 auspicious marks inscribed on the Buddha’s left foot, including many marks, such as Brahmanist deities and texts, not specified for his right foot.

Net Mam 2008	UB022	Standardized	Translation
១	១	១	1
ឥតិបិសោកគវា	ខ្ញុំមថ្វ្យវន្ទារ	ខ្ញុំថ្វ្យយវន្ទារ	I offer my reverence
XXXX	ក្រូញក្រាបអង្គីវារ	ក្រូញក្រាបអភិវាទ	and bow down in respectful
XXXX	អង្គីវន្ទីទៅគ្រប់	អភិវន្ទទៅគ្រប់	prostration before the all of the
XXXX	ព្រះបាទខាងឆ្វេង	ព្រះបាទខាងឆ្វេង	sacred left feet,
XXXX	ទុកតែងសុះសព្វ	ទុកតែងសុសសព្វ	which are established around the world
XXXX	ព្រះអង្គជានីត្រៃព្វ	ព្រះអង្គជានីត្រៃព្វ	by the Lord stepping down
XXXX	ទាំង ៥ស្ថាននៃ ។	ទាំងប្រាំប៉ាននៃ ។	in five places.
២	២	២	2
ខ្ញុំនឹងពារនា	ហើយខ្ញុំមពារនា	ហើយខ្ញុំពណ៌នា	I shall describe
សរសើរព្រះបាទ	សរសើរដ្ឋិព្រះមហា	សរសើរព្រះមហា	and praise the great
XXXX	ពោធិ៍កុដ្តត្រៃ	ពោធិកតត្រៃ	Awakened One in the triple world,
XXXX	មានទ្វារកងចាក់	មានទាំងកងចក្រ	including the wheels and discs
XXXX	លាយលក្ខណ៍ក្នុងព្វ	លាយលក្ខណ៍ក្នុងព្វ	inscribed with marks that are on
XXXX	បាទាជាន់នៃ	បាទាជាន់នៃ	his footprints
XXXX	ទុកក្នុងកស្សីទ្វារ ។	ទុកក្នុងពសុធា ។	established in the earth.
៣	៣	៣	3
XXXX	ឱព្រះអង្គនូវ	ឱព្រះអង្គនៅ	When the Lord was alive,
XXXX	ពីរព្រាសសត្វទៅ	ពីព្រាសសត្វទៅ	he saved living beings.
ព្រះបូរម្មនាតសាស្តាចារ	ធម្មនាដ្ឋសាស្តារ	ធម្មនាថសាស្តា	The Teacher, Lord of the Dhamma,
ទស្សពលញ្ញាណ	ព្រះទស្សពលញ្ញាណ	ព្រះទសពលញ្ញាណ	the Ten-Powered Omniscient One,
កាលព្រះអង្គឈាន	គិតស្មានក្រៀមប្រាំ	គិតស្មានក្រៀមថា	reflecting on the future,
XXXX	ស័ត្វនូវក្រៀមជា	សត្វនៅក្រៀមជា	on living beings to come,
XXXX	រលង់រលត់ ។	រលង់រលត់ ។?	before he disappeared
៤	៤	៤	4
ចូលឧបរម្ម	ចូលព្រះបរម្ម	ចូលព្រះបរម	and entered the wonderful
XXXX	នគរកែវទ្ធិម	នគរកែវធំ	vast crystal city

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

និព្វានxxx	និព្វានចំហុត	និព្វានចំហុត	of the Nibbāna,
នោះព្រះអង្គមកជាន់	ទើព្វព្រះការនាដ្ឋ	ទើបព្រះភូរនាថ	the Lord of the Earth
ជាស្នាមព្រះបាទា	ប្រាទារជាន់ផ្គត់	បាទាជាន់ផ្គត់	established footprints
ទុកអោយប្រោសសត្វ	ទុក្ខឱ្យប្រោសសត្វ	ទុកឱ្យប្រោសសត្វ	for the sake of saving living beings,
ផងទាំងឡាយនោះ	គ្រប់មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។	គ្រប់មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។	including all humans,
៥	៥	៥	5
xxxxx	ឱ្យធូន៥០០០	ឱ្យចួនប្រាំពាន់	that they might last the full
xxxxx	វស្សាហ៍គ្រប់គ្រាន់	វស្សាគ្រប់គ្រាន់	five thousand years.
xxxxx	ស្រេចស្តេចទុក្ខត្រូវ	ស្រេចស្តេចទុក្ខត្រូវ	So the Lord traveled far
xxxxx	ព្រះបាទទាំងប្រាំ	ព្រះបាទទាំងប្រាំ	to establish five footprints.
xxxxx	ចូលប្រឹក្សា	ចូរចាំអ្នកអាយ	Please remember them, good people,
xxxxx	ធ្វើហេតុបុណ្យសព្វស្យា	ធ្វើបុណ្យសព្វសាយ	and make all kinds of merit,
xxxxx	សូត្រមន្តការនា ។	សូត្រមន្តការនា ។	chanting <i>paritta</i> and meditating.
៦	៦	៦	6
មានប្រាំស្ថានសីដ	ព្រះបាទ៥ស្ថាន	ព្រះបាទប្រាំឋាន	The five footprints
ដ៏មាននូវលាយល័ក្ខ	កងចក្រសោតមាន	កងចក្រសោតមាន	each have wheels and discs,
កងចក្រដូចគ្នា	លាយលក្ខដ្រះថ្លា	លាយលក្ខណ៍ដ្រះថ្លា	inscribed with marks clear and bright,
ត្រចាស់ត្រចង់	រក្សិយស្រឡះ	រស្មីស្រឡះ	with unobstructed radiance
ស្រលាសសោភា	ត្រចះសោភា	ត្រចះសោភា	shining beautifully,
xxxxx	តូចកែវសុវណ្ណាហ៍	ដូចកែវសុវណ្ណា	like crystal or like gold
xxxxx	ត្រចង់រៀងរុងរឿង ។	ត្រចង់រៀងរុងរឿង ។	that glimmers and gleams.
៧	៧	៧	7
xxxxx	ហើយខ្ញុំមជានិរ	ហើយខ្ញុំជានិរ	And I was supported [ <i>or</i> there are the
			slaves of the cities]
xxxxx	នូវដែនប្រថពីរ	នូវដែនប្រថពីរ	by the plane of this earth,
xxxxx	ពីរនាងមួយអង្គ	ពីរនាងមួយអង្គ	by one goddess
មានរូបនាងកង្កែង	ឈ្មោះនាងគង្កីដ	ឈ្មោះនាងគង្កីដ	named Nān Gañhīn,
xxxxx	នាំរៀងតល់ក្នុង	នាំរៀងតល់ក្នុង	who leads all upon
ព្រះធរនីក្រុង	ព្រះធរនីក្រុង	ព្រះធរណីក្រុង	this planet, the realm
ពាលីxxx	ពាលីរៀងខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ។	ពាលីខេត្តខណ្ឌ ។	of King Bālī.
៨	៨	៨	8
ភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុ	មានភ្នំមព្រះសុមេរុ	មានភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុ	There is Mount Sumeru,
xxxxx	ភ្នំមអន្តាមហៃរ	ភ្នំអណ្តាប់ហៃរ	and the surrounding mountains,
សត្វបរិក័ន្ត	ហៅវស្តបរិក័ន្ត	ហៅសត្តបរិក័ន្ត	called the Sattaparibhaṇḍa.
xxព្រះអាទិត្យ	មានព្រះអាទិត្យ	មានព្រះអាទិត្យ	There is the Sun,



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xxព្រះច័ន្ទ	គិតនៅព្រះចន្ទ	គិតនៅព្រះចន្ទ	as well as the Moon,
ដរាវហា	តើរតើតំស្បោជាន់	ដើរដើតដោយជាន់	and the wandering stars
xxxx	ជាទីបរិវារ។	ជាទីបរិវារ។	as its entourage.
៩	៩	៩	9
ទិសឱដរ	ឱតុរករោ	ឱតុរករោ	Uttarakuru,
អាម៉េគោនោ	អាហ្ម័រគោណ	អបរគោ-	Aparago-
យាន្តិជុំពូទិបា	យាន្តិជុំប្បា	យានិយ័ទិបា	yāniya, and other continents,
xxxx	ជុំពូរជុំប្បិយ	ជម្ពូជុំបតិ	Jambūdvīpa chief among them,
មានកិណ្ឌាស	ក្តីរុបុញ្ញាហ៍	គិរិបពូតា	with mounds and hills,
ភ្នំកែវភ្នំមាស	ភ្នំមម្សសុវណ្ណារ	ភ្នំមាសសុវណ្ណា	and mountains of gold,
ខេត្តខែម	ខែមខាត់ខែមថ្មី។	ខែមខាត់ខែមថ្មី	so beautifully polished, so fresh and new.
១០	១០	១០	10
ហែម:បូព៌	ឯព្រះហែមព្វាន	ព្រះហែមពាន	There is the Hīmavanta forest,
អាណោតស្រះx	អាណោតស្រះមាន	អនោតត្តស្រះមាន	Lake Anotatta,
ស្រង់រង់បោក្ករណី	ស្រង់បោក្ករណី	ស្រង់បោក្ករណី	the Pokkharāṇī Pond,
ទឹកxxថ្លា	ទឹកសោតជ្រះថ្លា	ទឹកសោតជ្រះថ្លា	whose waters are so clear
xxយល់ដី	ភ័ស្សទាយល់ត្រី	ពសុធាយល់ដី	the soil is visible beneath,
បូទុមxx	បូទុមរិកថ្មី	បទុមរិកថ្មី	with lotuses blooming fresh
xxធ្វើតាម។	ក្រអូបឆោតតាម។	ក្រអូបឆោតតាម។	with magnificent scents.
១១	១១	១១	11
មានព្រឹក្សាសាន	អរញព្រឹក្សា	អរញព្រឹក្សា	There are jungles and forests,
ផ្លែផ្ការយោនយាន	ត្រសុផ្លែផ្កា	ត្រសុផ្លែផ្កា	lush with fruits and flowers,
បក្សាបក្សី	យោនយានត្រសាយ	យោនយានត្រសាយ	drooping down and overgrown.
មានប៉ានទេវតា	មានស្ថានចក្រិន	មានប៉ានចក្រិន	There is the realm of Indra,
ចាតុមហារាជិការ	ទេវិនស្ន័ត្រ	ទេវិនស្ន័ត្រ	lord of the gods in the heavens,
ទាំងបួនទិសទី	ទេវតាស្ថានឆ្ង្យ	ទេវតាស្ថានឆ្ង្យ	the distant realm of the deities,
ប្រានត្រើយត្រើង្សា	នូវត្រើយត្រើង្សា។	នៅត្រើយត្រើង្សា។	in Trāyatrīṃśa Heaven.
១២	១២	១២	12
យាម្មនរតិ	យាម្មនរតិ	យាមនិម្មានរតិ	There are the heavens called Yāma,
xxxx	បរមិត្តស្សវត្តិ	បរមិត្តស្សវត្តិ	Nimmānaratī,
ដុះសិតស្នូហើយ	តុះសើដ្ឋស្នូការ	តុសិតស្នូតា	Paranimmitavasavattī,
កើតមានប្រានព្រហ្ម	ប្រានកើតស្ថានព្រម	ប្រានកើតប៉ានព្រហ្ម	and Tusita.
ទ្វីបតូចទ្វីបធំ	ទ្វីបទ្វីមតូចនា	ទ្វីបធំដូចនា-	There are even the Brahma heavens,
សំពៅកត្រា	វាត្រង់កេត្រា	វាត្រង់កេត្រា	and the great continents that are like a vessel for crossing

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XXXX	លឿនលឿនផ្កាផ្កាយ ។	លឿនលឿនផ្កាផ្កាយ ។	quickly with the winds
១៣	១៣	១៣	13
XXXX	ផ្កាតផង់ជរលឿ	ផ្កាតផង់ជរលឿ	that blow away the dust
XXXX	នាំយកពាជី	នាំយកពាជី	that causes annoyance
XXXX	សំរោវចេញឆ្ងាយ	សំរោវចេញឆ្ងាយ	and casts it far away,
បើកក្ដោងធ្វោះធ្វង	បើកក្ដោងធ្វោះធ្វង	បើកក្ដោងធ្វោះធ្វង	opening up the sails to swiftly cross
សមុទ្រជុលសា	រំលងជលសា	រំលងជលសា	across the sea,
XXXX	ស្រមុទ្រមធ្យម	សមុទ្រមធ្យម	the vast ocean,
XXXX	ធេងសាគរ	ធេងសាគរ ។	the expansive deep.
១៤	១៤	១៤	14
មេឆោមិញ	មានអណ្ដើកមារ	មានអណ្ដើកមាស	There are golden turtles,
អណ្ដើកមាសមាន	ឆ្មាមម្ករពេញពារ	ឆ្មាមមករពេញពាស	sharks, and sea monsters everywhere,
XXXX	មេញ្ជូរមេញ្ជូរ	មញ្ជូរមញ្ជូរ	with male and female fish,
មគ្គីក៏XXX	មានទ្វារប្លែកម្លូរពិន្ទង	មានទាំងប្លែកម្លូរពិន្ទង	along with whales,
ពិនទង	បង្កង់ប្លែកម្លូរ	បង្កង់ប្លែកម្លូរ	lobsters, dolphins,
XXXX	ពោជុននាគ្មារ	កុជង្គនាគា	snakes, and serpents,
នាគហែមហែលធ្វង	ហោះហើរហែលធ្វង	ហោះហើរហែលធ្វង	darting and gliding around.
១៥	១៥	១៥	15
លូនលើកគង្គារ	គង្គារនាទី	គង្គារនទី	There are rivers and streams,
ជួនសិមពាលី	ស្មានសិម្ពិលី	ឋានសិម្ពិលី	the realm of silk-cotton trees.
ចោមចុងរុក្ខា	ហោះហើររំមង	ហោះហើរចម្រង	Flying back and forth
គ្រុតុយត្រុតុ	គ្រុតុរាជបាក្សាហ៍	គ្រុតុរាជបាក្សា	are garuḍa kings and birds,
មនុស្សសត្វប្រុសស្រី	រុក្ខារគ្រប់គ្រង	រុក្ខាគ្រប់គ្រង	lording over the trees
XXXX	និករសោតហោង	និករសោតហោង	and all beings there.
មានជួនកំពាន់	មានស្មានកុំព្វាន្តី ។	មានឋានកុម្មុណ្ណ ។	There is the realm of the kumbhaṇḍas,
១៦	១៦	១៦	16
យក្សា	យក្សារយក្សិយ	យក្សាយក្សិ	of the male and female yakṣas,
XXXX	ក្សាគ្មារនុស្សិ	ព្យាគ្មានុសិហ៍	of tigers and lions,
ណាស់ណាន់កាន់	ប្រហស្សក្សិកាន់	ព្រះហស្សក្សិកាន់	whose claws clutch
ដំបង	តំប្បងធំៗ	ដំបងធំៗ	huge clubs.
Xក្នុងXX	មានក្នុងពីរពាន់	មានក្នុងពីរពាន់	There are two thousand hills,
Xតូចពីពាន់	ធ្វើបតូច២០០០	ធ្វើបតូចពីរពាន់	and two thousand islands
ខាងទ្វីបខេត្តខ័ណ្ឌ	ខាងទ្វីបខ្វែងខ្នាត់ ។	ខាងទ្វីបខ្វែងខ្នាត់ ។	interspersed with the continents.
១៧	១៧	១៧	17
សឹងកែវត្រងាយ	សឹងកែវត្រងាយ	សឹងកែវត្រងាយ	It is bedecked with jewels

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XXXX	ត្នាំត្បរឆើតឲ្យ	ដាំដាសឆើតឆាយ	spread everywhere beautifully,
XXXX	ឆ្មាត្នរឆ្មៅរុះរត្ត	ឆ្មាក់ឆ្មៅរុះរត្ត?	carved ornately and inlaid with gems. ??
មានគោហិរមាស	មានគោហិរម្យ	មានគុហាមាស	There are golden caves,
XXXX	ឱកាសពិចិត្ត	ឱកាសពិចិត្ត	resplendent and decorated
XXXX	រូបកែវត្នាតើត	រូបកែវដាំដើត	with images of jewels ??
XXXX	ត្បៅព័រព្នៅ ។	ដោយពណ័រចនា ។	in colorful decorations.
១៨	១៨	១៨	18
XXរាជសី	សើងតោររាជស៊ី	សិដ្ឋតោររាជសីហ៍	There are lions,
គុដ្ឋសីសីងចៀមចាមរី	គុដ្ឋសារច្បាប៊ី	គដសារចាមរី	big elephants, sheep,
តោតោអូតលា	តោតោតឱតលា	តោតោតឱដ្ឋលា	cattle, tuskless elephants, camels,
			donkeys,
សេះអាគីរីន្ត	សៃះអតិល្យវណ្ណ	សេះព្វរវណ	horses, and the elephant-king Airāvāṇa.
៤-ទាន់គុដ្ឋសា	៤ត្នាទាន់គុដ្ឋរ	៤ទន្តគុដ្ឋសា	There is the elephant-king Chaddanta, a
			great elephant,
ស-សុទ្ធសោកា	សរសុទ្ធសោការ	សសុទ្ធសោកា	pure white and beautiful,
ភ្នកខៀវខ្លឹមខាត់	មានភ្នកខៀវខ្លឹម ។	មានភ្នកខៀវខ្លឹម ។	with green tusks.
១៩	១៩	១៩	19
ដំរីស-សុត	តិរិទ្ធិបោសុទ្ធិ	ដំរីឧបោសថ	There is the elephant-king Uposatha,
ចុះប្រេងទ្រូមទ្រូត	ចុះប្រេងទ្រោមទ្រូត	ចុះប្រេងទ្រោមទ្រូឌ	wizened and in musth,
សង់កៀវខ្លាំងក្លាត់	រោហកូហាត្រឹកប្រថពី	រោទឹកក្រឹកប្រថពី	who roars shake the earth.
រមាសរមាំង	រម្យរម្យ	រមាសរមាំង	There are rhinoceros, stags,
មហិសសាខាខ្លាំង	មានម្លឹងសារសីយ	មានមហិសា-សី	male and female water buffalo,
XXXX	ខ្នារខ្នាងឈ្មោលញី	ខ្នារខ្នាងឈ្មោលញី	tiger chiefs, both male and female,
ច្រើនក្លាត់តាមប្រើស	ត្បៅហ្នូងប្រើសទ្រាយ ។	ដោយហ្នូងប្រើសទ្រាយ ។	and herds of various kinds of deer.
២០	២០	២០	20
មាសទៅមានបញ្ចមហា	ទើព្វមានបញ្ចមហា	ទើបមានបញ្ចមហា	There are also the five great
នាទីជ្រួសជ្រៅ	នាទីជ្រៅថ្នា ។	នាទីជ្រៅថ្នា	rivers, deep and clear,
XXXX	គង្គាររស្ស	គង្គាររស្ស	with waters everywhere,
ហូរហូសចុះទៅ	ហូរហូសចុះត្រង់	ហូរហូសចុះត្រង់	overflowing out and flowing straight
XXXX	កំពង់គុម្ពិស្យ	កំពង់គុម្ពិសាយ	to the ports of great depths,
សមុទ្រXXX	សមុទ្រជ្រៅឆ្ងាយ	សមុទ្រជ្រៅឆ្ងាយ	the vast and deep ocean,
XXជុលជី	សាគរជលជី	សាគរជលជី ។	the watery sea.
២១	២១	២១	21
ហង្សហើរអរហត្ត	ហង្សហើរពេនពាត្ត	ហង្សហើរពេនព័ទ្ធ	There are some swans meandering in
			flight,
ទុំលើបរិព័ទ្ធ	ទុំលើហាបរិព័ទ្ធ	ទុំលើព័ត	and some perching on peaks,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

សម្រាណាត្រ័យ ត្រ័យពារពាំ នាគុដ្ឋសី ករវិកមកមី	សម្រានត្រ័យ ត្រ័យសត្វទុំម លើហត្ថគីរី ករវិកមកមី	សម្រានត្រ័យ ត្រ័យសត្វទុំ លើហត្ថគីរី ករវិកមកមី	resting their bodies. There are great eagles perched on top of mountain peaks. There are <i>karavika</i> birds that come in flocks
ទំលើព្រឹក្សា ២២ មានប្ដានមហាចក្រ	ចុះទុំមព្រឹក្សា ។ ២២ មានស្ពានមហាចក្រ	ចុះទុំព្រឹក្សា ។ ២២ មានប្ដានមហាចក្រ	and perch in the trees. 22 There is the realm of the Great Universal Monarch,
វិទ្ធិសុទ្ធិស័ក្តិ គ្រប់គ្រងភាព ចក្រវត្តន៍ប្រាំពីរ	វិទ្ធិសិទ្ធិសក្តិ គ្រប់គ្រងភាព ចក្រវត្តន៍ស្រេចស្រាប	បុទ្ធិសិទ្ធិសក្តិ គ្រប់គ្រងភាព ចក្រវត្តន៍ស្រេចស្រាប	who, with force and magic might, rules over the cities, complete with the jewels of a Universal Monarch
សម្រាប់ក្សត្រា ។ ព្រះឥសូរព្រះន រាយXXX ២៣ Xក៏គ្លីនេស សិទ្ធិសាយវិសវីន្តរ រាជាXX មានបាយសីមាស នៃត្រកែវឱកាស ក្លិនក្លោះសែនគ្មាន នៃត្រក្លិនទុំរត្តន៍ ២២ ប្រដាប់ទិពទន់ ចម្រុះបាយមន្ត វិជ្ជXX មាសមានស្រះស្រង់ ត្នីទីXXX ភូមិភីភូមិ XXត្របX ។ ២៥ កែស្សបុផ្កា XXXX	សំរាប់ខ្យត្រា ព្រះឥសូរនា រាជស្ថានទេវីន ។ ២៣ ព្រះកត្តនេស វិទ្ធិសាយវេស រាជ្ជាព្រះឥន្ទ មានបាយសិមាស ជុដ្ឋតារហ្មារហ្មាន់ ឆាត់កែវសេនគ្មាន ឆាត់ទុំរត្តរា ។ ២២ សំរាប់ទិព្វតន្ត្រ ចាំហ្មីរបាយមន្ត វិច្ឆន្តិបកដ្ឋាយ មាលម្សស្រះស្រង់ កំពង់ទោលឆ្ងាយ ភូមិមរិយសរា ភូមិភីហត្របត្រង ២៥ កែស្សបុផ្កា ជុំមក្លិនបុទុំម្មារ	សម្រាប់ក្សត្រា ព្រះឥសូរនា- រាយណ៍ប្ដានទេវីន ។ ២៣ ព្រះវិញ្ញេស សិទ្ធិសាយវេស វិណាជព្រះឥន្ទ មានបាយសីមាស ជុដ្ឋទង់ណែនណាន់ ឆត្រកែវសែនត្នីន ឆត្រទង់រត្តរាយ ។ ២២ ប្រដាប់ទិព្វតន់ ចាមរបាយមន វិជ្ជនីបក់ដាយ មាលមាសស្រះស្រង់ កំពង់ទោលឆ្ងាយ ភមិរីសរាយ ភមរត្របត្រង ។ ២៥ កែសបុផ្កា ជុំក្លិនបុទុមា	that are appropriate to him. There is Śiva and Viṣṇu in the realm of the gods. 23 There is Ganeśa, of potent powers, King Vessavaṇa, and Lord Indra. There are golden <i>pāy sī</i> , banners flying all around, jeweled parasols, golden umbrellas, sunshades, and flags fringed with jewels. 24 There are precious divine objects, including fly-whisks, <i>pāy man</i> , fans waving in the air, golden garlands, bath pools with docks extending far, ?? female bees all around, and male bees gathering 25 the pollen of flowers, with fragrant lotuses,

Appendix II-12 Khmer kākagati verse (-k)

ក្រអូបជុំវង់ មានក្នុងគង្គា កែ-ណ-វីXX កែ-ណ-វីXX ដេរវាសវន្ត ២៦	ក្រឱបជុំវង់ មានក្នុងគង្គា កិណ្ណវិហាររុង កិណ្ណវិហាររុង រីរាណូសល្អ ។ ២៦	ក្រអូបជុំវង់ មានក្នុងគង្គា កិន្ទាហើររង់ កិន្ទាវិហាររុង ដេរវាសវន្ត ។ ២៦	whose scents waft all around, growing in the waters. There are <i>kinnara</i> flying and waiting for <i>kinnarī</i> to dance together energetically. 26
ឱម៉ាកោត្តវត្តិ XXXX ជាមហេសី សម្តេចអាសុរា នាងស្រីសុផ្កា មហេសីសត្រា XXXX ២៧	នាងឱម៉ាកោត វត្តិវត្តិមក ជាមហេសីតន្ត សម្តេចព្រះសុរា សក្តោទេវិន សត្រាគិតគង់ សុផ្កាមហេសី ។ ២៧	នាងឱម៉ាកត- វត្តិវត្តិមក ជាមហេសីតន្ត សម្តេចព្រះសុរា សក្តោទេវិន សត្រាគិតគង់ សុផ្កាមហេសី ។ ២៧	There is the goddess Umā Bhagavatī, who arrives as the precious consort of Lord Śiva. Sakka, king of the gods, known as Indra, has Sujātā as his consort, 27
រុងទេពកញ្ញា ចិតដោយXX កិមានXX មានប្តានអាស្រ័យ សន្តិមហាសី មានព្រិទ្ធាធម៌ ដណ្តើមមិត្តទា ២៨	នាងទេពកញ្ញា ស្នើតត្រាបរិញ្ញា កិមានចក្ខុយ មានស្នានអាស្រ័យ បន្តិមហាសី ពេជ្ជក្សាធម៌ តន្តើមបុកព្វា ។ ២៨	នាងទេពកញ្ញា ស្នើតដោយបរិវា វិមានចក្រី មានប្តានអាស្រ័យ បន្តិមហាសី ពិទ្ធាធម៌ ដណ្តើមបុកព្វា ។ ២៨	and with heavenly maidens surrounding him as his entourage in royal palaces. There is the realm of the hermitages, where the great ascetics dwell and the sorcerers compete against one another. 28
ផលាវិក-វ- មានក្នុងនគរ អភ័យចិត្រា ត្រៃភូមិត្រៃភេទ ត្រៃយុគត្រៃដារ មានលាយលក្ខណ៍ បរិបូរណ៍ចប់ហោង ។	ផល្លាវិកវ- មានក្នុងនគរ អាភ័យចិត្រា ត្រៃភូមិត្រៃភេទ ត្រៃយុគត្រៃតារ ក្នុងលាយលក្ខណ៍ បុប្ផរច្រើនចប់ ព្រះពុទ្ធ ប្តារហោង	ផលាលាវិកវ- មានក្នុងនគរ អភ័យចិត្រា ត្រៃភូមិត្រៃភេទ ត្រៃយុគត្រៃតា ក្នុងលាយលក្ខណ៍ បរិបូណ៌ចប់ហោង ។	Various fruits are mixed together within the city of Abhayacitrā. The Trai Bhūmi, the Trai Bhed, the Trai Yug, and the Trai Tā are all within the inscribed marks. This is now complete and finished.

## II-13 Khmer *brahmagīti* verse (-br)

**girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br** (4)  
**thvāy pāy piṇḍ-br** (1)  
**dhammasaṅveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br** (1)  
**dhammasaṅveg «oḥ o guor saṅveg-br»** (15)  
**namo namassakār-br** (1)  
**pacchimabuddhavadāna A-br** (4)  
**pacchimabuddhavadāna B-br** (2)  
**padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br** (7)  
**padum thvāy phkā «yön khñuṃ mān citt trek»-br** (1)  
**bāky prakās mun ārādhanā dhammadesanā-br** (1)  
**māravijāy paricched-br** (1)  
**sikkhāpad prāmpī-br** (3)  
**sira: on-br** (2)  
**akkharā 33-br** (1)  
**aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br** (2)  
**aṭṭhadisabuddhamāṅgal-br** (1)  
**ākāravattā ānisaṅs-br** (1)  
**ārādhanā dhammadesanā-br** (2)

### **girimānand samrāy «rī sūtr»-br**

The discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “As for this discourse”

FEMC title: lpök girimānandasūtr

Khmer verse, 137 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, composed by Sèm Sūr, late 1960s through early 1970s.

Leporello: **UB043** 21a–37a girimānand sūtr jā pad; **UB047** 93a–98b, 42b–49b cūl gīrīmānand/gīrīmānandasūtr (continued from 98b); **UB063** 41a–54b gīrīmānand/gīrīmānandasūtr; **UB065** 55b–66a gīrīmānand, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*

Khmer books: Sèm Sūr វិសម សូរ, *Prajum dhaṃ pad niñ dhammasaṅveg ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 48–63.

Summary: Provides a complete translation of the *Girimānanda-sutta* (**Girimānanda-sutta-CP**) into Khmer verse, including the frame narrative and the ten “perceptions” (*saññā*)

preached by the Buddha to Ānand for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.

**thvāy pāy piṇḍ-br**

The offering of balls of rice

Khmer verse, 21 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB003** 6a–8a dhārm sūtr thvāy pāy piṇḍ

Summary: Commences with a description of the symbols on the Buddha’s feet, follows with a description of the food and other offerings made on the occasion of *Bhjuṃ piṇḍ*, and closes with a dedication of merit to ancestors and an aspiration to achieve Nibbāna.

UB003	Standardized	Translation
១ យើងខ្ញុំនិងពានា ព្រះបាទានៃព្រះអង្គ លាវល័ក្ខកងចក្រទ្រង់ មូលដូចវង់អង្គចន្ទ្រា	១ យើងខ្ញុំនិងពណ៌នា ព្រះបាទានៃព្រះអង្គ លាយលក្ខណ៍កងចក្រទ្រង់ មូលដូចវង់អង្គចន្ទ្រា។	1 We shall describe the holy feet of the Lord, marked with patterns of wheels and discs round like the orb of the moon.
២ ព្រះបាទាទ្វាគ្នាគូ ដូចជំពូនិតសុវណ្ណា មានភ្នំសុមេរា មានបក្សាសត្វបរិក័ន ។	២ ព្រះបាទាទាំងគូ ដូចជម្ពូនិតសុវណ្ណ មានភ្នំព្រះសុមេរា មានបក្សាសត្វបរិកណ្ណា ។	2 The pair of holy feet are like an ever golden Jambudvīpa, complete with Mount Sumeru, birds, and the Seven Rings of Mountains.
៣ ហើយមានសត្វគង្គារ មានមច្ឆាហែលលូន	៣ ហើយមានសត្វគង្គារ មានមច្ឆាហែលលូន [or វីរណ្ណា]	3 There are the Seven Rivers, with fish swimming gracefully.
មានទ្វីបទាំង ៤ ជាន់ ធូនពីរពាន់ជាបរិវារ ។	មានទ្វីបទាំង ៤ ជាន់ ទ្វីបពីរពាន់ជាបរិវារ ។	There are the four continents, accompanied by two thousand islands.
៤ សមុទ្រ៤ខន្ធផង ច្រើនណាស់ហោងទ្វារស្ស	៤ សមុទ្របួនខណ្ឌផង ច្រើនណាស់ហោងទាំងអស់	4 There are the four oceans, each vast and extending out
អា នន្តចក្រវាឡា មានស្នូតស្នាសស្និត ។	អា- នន្តចក្រវាឡា មានស្នូតស្នាសស្និត ។	to the end of the endless world, above which lie the heavens.
៥	៥	5

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ហើយមានឆកាមា	ហើយមានឆកាមា	There are the six heavens of desire,
មានប្រាង្គប្រាសាទរតនវត្ត	មានប្រាង្គប្រាសាទរតនវត្ត	completed with palaces layered with jewels.
មានទ្វារពពិលពាត	មានទាំងពពិលព័ទ្ធ	There are twisted <i>babil</i> (candleholders),
វិលខ្លាន់ខ្លាប់វរកន្ធវ ។	វិលខ្លាន់ខ្លាប់វរកន្ធវ ។	curled and crowded together exquisitely.
៦	៦	6
ហើយមានទ្វារសត្វម្ករ	ហើយមានទាំងសត្វមករ	There are sea monsters,
ក្រពើបបែលល្ងាមផង	ក្រពើបបែលល្ងាមផង	crocodiles, skates, and sharks,
រៀលលិញលោតលេងលង	រៀលលិញលោតលេងលង	<i>riel</i> and <i>lin</i> fish frisking and frolicking,
លង		
ហែលត្រសងដោយហ្វូងវា ។	ហែលត្រសងដោយហ្វូងវា ។	swimming about in swarms and schools.
៧	៧	7
មានស្បែកត្រឡិកាស	មានស្បែកត្រឡិកាស	There are glistening white parasols,
មានទ្វារព្រះអាទិត្យណា	មានទាំងព្រះអាទិត្យណា	along with the sun
ហើយមានព្រះចន្ទ្រា	ហើយមានព្រះចន្ទ្រា	the moon,
កែវតារាកងឆាយ ។	កែវតារាកងឆាយ ។	the crystalline stars, and gleaming bracelets.
៨	៨	8
មានកន្ធវរាជសីហ៍	មានកន្ធវរាជសីហ៍	There are wasps and bumblebees,
ភ្លឺមាសថ្មីវត្តរៀងរាយ	ភ្លឺមាសថ្មីវត្តរៀងរាយ	fresh golden flowers and arrays of jewels,
ភ្លឺផ្នែកព្រាតព្រាយ	ភ្លឺផ្នែកព្រាតព្រាយ	with scintillating lights flashing everywhere,
ប្រុះយល់ព្រាយទិសទីផង ។	ប្រុះយល់ព្រាយទិសទីផង ។	shining out in all directions.
៩	៩	9
មានទ្វារសត្វគុជសា	មានទាំងសត្វគុជសា	There are bull elephants,
ល្អសោភាសោតជាច្បង	ល្អសោភាសោតជាច្បង	handsome and lovely above all,
មានស្រោមភ្នំកកន្ធវ	មានស្រោមភ្នំកកន្ធវ	with their wonderful tusks
សោតសឹងមាសឱកាសថ្លៃ ។	សោតសឹងមាសឱកាសថ្លៃ ។	adorned with fine glittering gold.
១០	១០	10
ឱកាសបុព្វត្រី	<i>ukāsa</i> បុព្វត្រី	Permit me, Venerables!
វិនិយយេងខ្ញុំនៃ	វិនិយយេងខ្ញុំនៃ	As per the Vinaya, we now
ថ្នាំថ្នាំយចង្ហាន់ខ្ញុំ	ថ្នាំថ្នាំយចង្ហាន់ខ្ញុំ	offer alms food,
នូវចង្ហាន់បិណ្ឌបាត ។	នូវចង្ហាន់បិណ្ឌបាត ។	fill alms bowls,
១១	១១	11
ចង្ហាន់ព្រះបិតបុរ	ចង្ហាន់ព្រះបិតបុរ	and offer food to the ancestors,
សំអាងផ្កូផ្កត់សំអាត	សំអាងផ្កូផ្កត់សំអាត	food most elegant and clean,
កងកៀនទៀនធូបស្អាត	កងកៀនទៀនធូបស្អាត	along with candles, lovely incense,



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ណ្ហារណាតាត់ទង់ម្ហូរស្នារ ។ ណ្ហារណាតត្រទង់ម្ហូរស្នា ។		bright lights, parasols, banners, betel nut and areca leaf
១២	១២	
ក្រនៀតសៀតសោតបូរ	ក្រនៀតសៀតសោតបូណ៍	that fills small bags,
ជាពិដោរស័តន្តា	ជាពិដោរសតន្តា	scents and perfumes,
ផ្កាក្លឹវត្នមាលា	ផ្កាក្លឹវត្នមាលា	blossoms, flowers, and garlands of jewels,
សមសោភារៀបខ្ចីឃ្នាត ។	សមសោភារៀបខ្ចីឃ្នាត ។	fitting and beautiful, all devotedly prepared,
១៣	១៣	13
មានក្លឹសក្លឹវកាយ	មានក្លឹសក្លឹវកាយ	along with umbrellas fitted with festoons,
គោមក្សរ្យព្រៀប	គោមព្យរាយព្រាយព្រោង	lamps hung all over, emitting brilliant light
ព្រោងព្រាត	ព្រាត	
ភ្លឺប្រះឆ្មុះស្មាងស្មាត	ភ្លឺប្រះឆ្មុះស្មាងស្មាត	that shines everywhere with radiance
ខំសំអាតសំអាងថ្វាយ ។	ខំសំអាតសំអាងថ្វាយ ។	all piously prepared as offerings,
១៤	១៤	14
មានចង្ហាន់រាប់បាទ	មានចង្ហាន់រាប់បាត្រ	along with food for the monks' bowls,
ដាក់ដោយខ្នាតរៀបខ្ជល់	ដាក់ដោយខ្នាតរៀប	appropriately measured and carefully arranged,
ខ្យ	ខ្ជល់ខ្យ	
ផ្លែឈើនំទ្វារ្យ	ផ្លែឈើនំទាំងឡាយ	with all sorts of fruits and cakes—
ខ្ញុំសូមថ្វាយទៅព្រះសង្ឃ ។	ខ្ញុំសូមថ្វាយទៅព្រះសង្ឃ ។	these we offer to the Sangha.
១៥	១៥	15
អទិន្នាទិយធម៌	adinnādi ធម៌	By following the precepts, such as by not stealing,
ខែងខំធ្វើរៀបបម្រុង	ខែងខំធ្វើរៀបបម្រុង	we strive to prepare everything
សព្វព្យញ្ជនាផ្ទង់	សព្វព្យញ្ជនាផ្ទង់	and make all aspects ready
ថ្វាយព្រះសង្ឃសូមកុសល ។	ថ្វាយព្រះសង្ឃសូមកុសល ។	to offer to the Sangha in the hope of gaining merit.
១៦	១៦	16
រឺយើងខ្ញុំនេះណា	រឺយើងខ្ញុំនេះណា	As for us,
ចិត្តចេតនា ខំផ្តិតផ្តល់	ចិត្តចេតនា ខំផ្តិតផ្តល់	we settle our intention and make the determination
រៀងជួយឲ្យបានផល	រៀងជួយឲ្យបានផល	to be of aid by achieving benefits
ឧទ្ទិសដល់ព្រះជីវី ។	ឧទ្ទិសដល់ព្រះជីវី ។	to dedicate to our [female?] ancestors.
១៧	១៧	17
សូមស្យាទៅវតា	សូមអស់ទាំងទេវតា	May all the gods
ស្ថិតស្ថានណាសព្វទិសទី	ស្ថិតស្ថានណាសព្វទិសទី	residing in all directions,
យើងសូមស្យាទេវិន	យើងសូមអស់ទេវិន្ទ	along with the chiefs of the gods
ជួរតំរៃតតម្រង់ផង ។	ជួយតម្រេកតម្រង់ផង ។	assist us with their joy and encouragement.
១៨	១៨	18
មួយសោតសូមកុសល	មួយសោតសូមកុសល	Moreover, may this merit
ឱ្យបានដល់បិតាហោង	ឲ្យបានដល់បិតាហោង	reach our ancestors,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ដែលខ្ញុំផ្គត់ផ្គង់	ដែលខ្ញុំផ្គត់ផ្គង់	as a result of us striving to perfect
រៀបបម្រុងប្រុងសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	រៀបបម្រុងប្រុងសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	and prepare each day.
១៩	១៩	19
ជំពូកមួយទៀតណា	ជំពូកមួយទៀតណា	Finally, may we
សូមសព្វានឹងម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	សូមសព្វានឹងម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	entreat the Precious Master
កុសលទាំងនេះនៃ	កុសលទាំងនេះនៃ	such that all this merit
សូមឱ្យបានដល់ញាតិដៅ។	សូមឱ្យបានដល់ញាតិដៅ។	might reach our relatives.
២០	២០	20
អញខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នា	អញខ្ញុំសូមប្រាថ្នា	We humbly make this aspiration
ដូចចិត្តខ្ញុំគិតក្បែរ	ដូចចិត្តខ្ញុំគិតក្បែរ	that it may come true as it is in our hearts,
សូមឱ្យខ្លួនបានទៅ	សូមឱ្យខ្លួនបានទៅ	and that we ourselves might be able
ដល់កោះកែវនិព្វានហោង	ដល់កោះកែវនិព្វានហោង ។	to reach the crystal island of Nibbāna.
២១	២១	21
ឥទន្តេនទានំ	<i>idan tena dānaṃ</i>	By this charity
ឥទន្តេនសីលំ	<i>idan tena sīlaṃ</i>	and by this morality,
អកសាវគញានំ	<i>aggasāvakañāṇaṃ</i>	may there be the condition
យាវនិព្វាន្តំបច្ចយោ ។ ័***	<i>yāva nibbānaṃ paccayo.</i>	for the knowledge of a great disciple, all the way until Nibbāna.

**dhammasañveg «ukāsa pabitr öy sappurus»-br**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “Permit me, O Venerables and good people!”

Khmer verse, 16 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB006** 65b–66b sakrāj khmèr thgāiy traiy lāk

Summary: Explanation concerning the fate of the body after death, including its abandonment among the beasts the forest and the lament of the corpse for its mother.

<b>UB006</b>	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
ឱកាស្ស បូពិភ្លើយ សព្វបរស	<i>ukāsa បូពិភ្លើយសប្បុរស</i>	Permit me, O Venerables and good people!
ចូលត្រង់ត្រាប់រង់សេចក្តីយ	<i>ចូរត្រង់ត្រាប់រង់សេចក្តី</i>	please listen close to what
នឹងថ្ងៃដដែលខ្ញុំខ្សែ	<i>នឹងថ្ងៃដដែលកែខ្ញុំ</i>	I shall explain about
តែលប្រល័យខ្សឹយដុន្តា	<i>ដែលប្រល័យក្សឹយដុន្តា ។</i>	the end of life.
២	២	2

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

កាលតើមតែលព្យាបាទរស គ្រប់ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា ទោះក្មេងចាស់ជរា សឹងតូចគ្នាណាអ្នកកៀ ៣	កាលដើមដែលពីនៅរស់ គ្រប់ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា ទោះក្មេងចាស់ជរា សឹងដូចគ្នាណាអ្នកអើយ ។ ៣	Even before they pass away, men and women differ not. Whether they be young or old, they are the same, O good people! 3
លុះស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច គេអសោចខ្លួនក្តើមហើយ XXXXX XXXXXX ៤	លុះស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោច គេអសោចខ្លួនខ្លើមហើយ XXXXX XXXXXX ៤	For once you die and become a corpse, others find you disgusting and loathsome. ... ... 4
គេពុំហ៊ានទុកនូវលើហផ្ទះ គេខ្លាចណាស់ក្រែងចង្រៃ គេសែងយកទៅព្រៃ កប់នៅរត្យឡីសាំម្យាន ៥	គេពុំហ៊ានទុកនៅលើផ្ទះ គេខ្លាចណាស់ក្រែងចង្រៃ គេសែងយកទៅព្រៃ កប់នៅដីទីស្នូសាន ។ ៥	They won't dare to keep you in their home, lest misfortune arise. They will haul you into the woods for burial in the charnel grounds. 5
លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់បានបីថ្ងៃ ភ្នាក់ស្មារតីតឹងអង្គប្រាណ ជាខ្លួនបែកចែកឋាន នឹងញាតិសន្តានខ្លួនទៅផង ៦	លុះខ្លួនស្លាប់បានបីថ្ងៃ ភ្នាក់ស្មារតីតឹងអង្គប្រាណ ជាខ្លួនបែកចែកឋាន នឹងញាតិសន្តានគ្មានទៅផង ។ ៦	Three days after your death, you'll wake up to your body, knowing that you've passed on and that your family won't be joining you. 6
ឮតែសត្វមិមមុម ទីទុយវាយ្យម្តីអីកង ខ្លែងស្រាកស្រែករុមពូង ស្វានស្វាផងយំទ្រហឹង ៧	ឮតែសត្វម្យៀមមុំ ទីទុយវាយ្យអីកង ខ្លែងស្រាកស្រែករំពង ស្វានស្វាផងយំទ្រហឹង ។ ៧	You'll only hear owls hooting, their cries resounding all around. Other birds will screech and scream, while wild dogs and monkeys howl and wail. 7
ស្រណោះអាឡោះក្ស ស្រែកហៅម្តាយ ស្ងាត់សូន ឈឹង ត្រហោករកទីពឹង ជាពុំនឹងពឹងអ្នកណា ៨	ស្រណោះអាឡោះកាយ ស្រែកហៅម្តាយស្ងាត់សូន្យ ឈឹង ទ្រហោករកទីពឹង ជាពុំនឹងពឹងនាក់ណា ។ ៨	You'll rue and regret your body's fate, screaming for your mother in desolate silence, wailing for a refuge, for shelter, for protection. 8
អាណាតអាណិតខ្លួន រូបកូតទាំងបួនហើយទូញថា ចោលកូននូវកុំព្រា ៩	អនាថអាណិតខ្លួន រូបកូតទាំងបួនហើយទូញថា ចោលកូននៅកុំព្រា ៩	You'll pity your body and its four elements, crying: “You abandoned me, Mother, and now I'm orphaned. I face this anguish all alone. 9

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

XXXXX	XXXXX	...
XXXXXX	XXXXXX	...
XXXXX	XXXXX	...
ចោលកន្លែងទីលំនៅ	ចោលកន្លែងទីលំនៅ។	... abandoned my abode.
១០	១០	10
កាលរស់ចេះស្នេហា	កាលរស់ចេះស្នេហា	While I lived, you loved me.
តល់ខ្លួនមរណានោះបង់ទៅ	ដល់ខ្លួនមរណានោះបង់ទៅ	But once I died, you threw me away.
មិនគួរឈឿលោកម៉ែឪ	មិនគួរឡើយលោកម៉ែឪ	It's not right, Mother,
កប់កូននៅជិតព្រៃអាយ	កប់កូននៅជិតព្រៃអាយ។	for you to bury me in these woods.
១១	១១	11
ទោះស្អប់កូនប៉ុន្មាន	ទោះស្អប់កូនប៉ុន្មាន	Even if you despise me,
គួរទុកកូននៅជិតម្តាយ	គួរទុកកូននៅជិតម្តាយ	you should keep me close, Mother,
គ្រាន់កូនបាននិយាយ	គ្រាន់កូនបាននិយាយ	close enough to
សមទឹកបាយម្តាយភោគ្តា	សុំទឹកបាយម្តាយភោគ្តា។	ask for food and drink.
១២	១២	12
ហេតុតែគ្មានអាណោះ	ហេតុតែគ្មានអាណោះ	But since you neither miss
មិនស្រណោះកូនឈឿណា	មិនស្រណោះកូនឡើយណា	nor pine for me,
ចោលកូននៅឯការ	ចោលកូននៅឯការ	you abandoned me
កន្តាលព្រៃណាតែម្នាក់ឯង	កន្តាលព្រៃណាតែម្នាក់ឯង។	in this forest, all alone.”
១៣	១៣	13
ស្រណោះអាណោះក្ស	ស្រណោះអាណោះកាយ	Wistful for your own body,
ស្រែកហៅម្តាយឮក្លែងៗ	ស្រែកហៅម្តាយឮក្លែងៗ	you'll wail for your mother.
ស្លាប់ប្រាសចាកកន្លែង	ស្លាប់ប្រាសចាកកន្លែង	Dead and far from home,
តែងលំបាកពន់ពេកក្រៃ	តែងលំបាកពន់ពេកក្រៃ។	you'll face the worst hardships.
១៤	១៤	14
កាលរស់នៅជាមនុស្ស	កាលរស់នៅជាមនុស្ស	While they are alive,
គ្រប់ស្រីប្រុសគ្មានភិតភ័យ	គ្រប់ស្រីប្រុសគ្មានភិតភ័យ	men and women feel no fear.
លុះតល់ពេលនឹងខ្សែយ	លុះដល់ពេលនឹងក្ស័យ	But when soon to pass away,
ទើបគិតភ័យភ្ញាក់អង្គប្រាណ	ទើបគិតភ័យភ្ញាក់អង្គប្រាណ។	they wake up to their body in terror.
១៥	១៥	15
លុះតល់ពេលខ្លួនស្លាប់	លុះដល់ពេលខ្លួនស្លាប់	For once you die,
គ្មានយកទ្រព្យទៅផងបាន	គ្មានយកទ្រព្យទៅផងបាន	you can't take anything with you,
តែរទ្រព្យញាតិសន្តាន	តែរទ្រព្យញាតិសន្តាន	save that which your family
ត្រូវតាក់មាត់ ឱកុសល	ត្រូវតាក់មាត់ ឱកុសល។	places in your mouth for merit.
១៦	១៦	16
អនិច្ចារ្យបក្សហឿ	អនិច្ចារ្យបកាយអើយ	How transient is this body!
មិនគួរឈឿមកខ្លាយខ្លួល	មិនគួរឡើយមកខ្លាយខ្លួល	It isn't something worth fussing over.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ខ្ញុំស្អាងរកតែហាផល	ខ្ញុំស្អាងរកតែផល	Try hard to cultivate and find the fruits,
គឺហត្ថ្យតាកតល់	គឺគេដាក់ដល់ថ្នល់	for they will place you on the road
ថ្នលនិពាននោះឯងហោង។	និពាននោះឯងហោង។	to Nibbāna itself.

**dhammasañveg «oh o guor sañveg»-br**

Stirring teachings, beginning with “Alas, what a shock, what a fright!”

FEMC title: lpök dhammasañveg

Khmer verse, 16 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, first appears in Ek Ñim’s 1933 collection (reprinted in 1969), but may have been first composed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB005** 51a–52b; **UB006** 58b–59b; **UB014** 70b–73a dha’mmasañvèk; **UB018** 43a–45b brah dha’rm dhammasañveg; **UB019** 2b–4b brah dha’rm dhammasañveg; **UB020** 20b–22b dhammasañveg; **UB023** 61a–62b dhammasañveg pad brahmagīti/ dhammasañveg; **UB036** 52a–53b dhammasañveg pad brahmagit; **UB038** 52b–54a dhammasañveg; **UB039** 81b–83b dhammasañveg jā pad brahmagit; **UB043** 68a–69b [traī lakkha(n)] sūtr muoy pèp diet; **UB044** 40b–42a [traī lakkha(n)] sūtr muoy pèp diet; **UB057** 125b–127b dha’rmm sañvèk(kh); **UB060** 39a–40a dhammasañveg; **UB065** 49b–50b dhammasañveg

Khmer books: Ek Ñim ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamnī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 19–20.

Summary: Explanation of the Three Marks of impermanence, suffering, and not-self, an exhortation to practice charity and not cling to wealth, and an articulation of the benefits that accrue to those who practice the Dharma, including the attainment of Nibbāna.

<b>UB006</b>	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
ឱសឱគួរសវេក	ឱ៖ឱគួរសធ្វើគ	Alas, what a shock, what a fright!
អាសូរពេករូបរាងកាយ	អាសូរពេករូបរាងកាយ	Pity the bodies
ប្រុសស្រីផងទាំងឡាយ	ប្រុសស្រីផងទាំងឡាយ	of men and women,
តែងបែកធ្លាយជាធម្មតា	តែងបែកធ្លាយជាធម្មតា។	always falling apart, as is their nature.
២	២	2
ក្មេងចាស់មិនកំម្ពត់	ក្មេងចាស់មិនកំណត់	Whether they be young or old,
តាមដេញបទ់បាឡីថា	តាមដោយបទបាឡីថា	they follow the Pali words

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

អនិច្ចំនឹងទុក្ខា	<i>aniccam</i> នឹង <i>dukkhā</i>	<i>aniccam, dukkhā,</i>
អន្តរាតិបីនេះមិញ	<i>anattā</i> បីនេះមិញ ។	and <i>anattā</i> —just these three.
ព	ព	3
អនិច្ចំថាមិនទៀង	<i>aniccam</i> ថាមិនទៀង	<i>Aniccam</i> means impermanent,
កើតហើយល្បឿងស្លាប់ទៅវិញ	កើតហើយល្បឿងស្លាប់ទៅវិញ	as once born, we slip toward death.
ទុក្ខំទុកពូរពេញ	<i>dukkham</i> ទុក្ខពោរពេញ	<i>Dukkham</i> means thoroughly painful,
ឥតស្រាក់ស្រាន គ្នាទំម្លេ	ឥតស្រាក់ស្រានគ្មានទំនេរ ។	without any rest or relief.
៤	៤	4
អនិច្ចំមិនមែនខ្លួន	<i>anattā</i> មិនមែនខ្លួន	<i>Anattā</i> means not-self,
មិនខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួនឥតខ្ចីមទេ	មិនខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួនឥតខ្ចីមទេ	without continuity or essence,
សូន្យសោះទាំងយើងគេ	សូន្យសោះទាំងយើងគេ	the complete erasure of self and other,
ប្រាតប្រាសចោលទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ	ប្រាតប្រាសចោលទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ	and the loss of all our belongings,
តិ	។	
៥	៥	5
មាតានឹងបិតា	មាតានឹងបិតា	our mother, our father,
បុត្រករិយានឹងខ្លាញ់ខ្លាត់	បុត្រករិយានឹងខ្លាញ់ខ្លាត់	our children, and our spouse—all shall be scattered
		away.
នេះឯងហៅវិបត្តិ	នេះឯងហៅវិបត្តិ	This is the real crisis
គ្រប់រូបសត្វក្នុងត្រៃលោក	គ្រប់រូបសត្វក្នុងត្រៃលោក ។	for the beings in the three worlds.
៦	៦	6
ដូចចេះគួរណៀយណាយ	ដូចចេះគួរនឿយណាយ	Hence you should tire
នឹងរូបកាយគ្រឿងស្នោកគ្រោក	នឹងរូបកាយគ្រឿងស្នោកគ្រោក	of the body, this foul mass,
ប្តាំចិត្តឱ្យជាប់ជោគ	នាំចិត្តឱ្យជាប់ជោគ	and lead your mind to greater fortunes,
នូវក្នុងលោកកើតសោកា	នៅក្នុងលោកកើតសោកា ។	for this world leads to sadness.
៧	៧	7
បើហាទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិមាន	បើទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិមាន	If you possess much wealth,
គួរធ្វើទានកុំរញ្ជា	គួរធ្វើទានកុំរញ្ជា	don't hesitate to give it away.
ព្រមទាំងសីលការវា	ព្រមទាំងសីលការវា	Take up the precepts and meditation
ទាន់ខ្លួនជានូវធ្វើបាន	ទាន់ខ្លួនជានៅធ្វើបាន ។	while you're still well enough to practice.
៨	៨	8
កុំធ្វេសកុំប្រុងដើយ	កុំធ្វេសកុំប្រុងដើយ	Don't be sloppy, negligent,
កុំកន្តើយ មិនដឹងប្រាន	កុំកន្តើយមិនដឹងប្រាណ	and or careless, forgetting yourself
ទាល់តែទៀបចាកស្ថាន	ទាល់តែទៀបចាកស្ថាន	until you are about to pass away—
នោះទើបបាននឹកស្តាយក្រោយ	នោះទើបបាននឹកស្តាយក្រោយ	these are the causes of regret.
	។	
៩	៩	9

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ស្លាប់ទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង កូនចៅឯងរៀបចំឱ្យ ដីឥតបន្តោយ តែបួនហាត់ សម្រាប់កប់ ១០	ស្លាប់ទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង កូនចៅតែងរៀបចំឱ្យ ប្រវែងដីបណ្តោយ តែបួនហត្ថសម្រាប់កប់ ។ ១០	Once you die, you'll be alone. Your children will prepare a stretch of earth, measuring just four cubits, in which to bury you. 10
បើគេដុតឯងរឹង ផ្ទាំង នោះមិញប្បកន្ទប់ កូនចៅគេខ្លើមស្អប់ មិនហានខ្ទប់ទុកលើផ្ទះ ១១	ប្រសិនបើដុតរិញ ផ្ទាំងនោះមិញមួយកញ្ចប់ កូនចៅគេខ្លើមស្អប់ មិនហានខ្ទប់ទុកលើផ្ទះ ។ ១១	If you are cremated, your remains will fill one box, but your children will detest them and won't dare keep them at home. 11
ដូចចេះកំប្រមាទ គួរសង្កេតរករៀនលះ ចិត្តបាបរបស់ខ្លួន ល្អហាអាក្រក់ទ្វាបុន្នាន ១២	ដូច្នេះកំប្រមាទ គួរសង្កេតរករៀនលះ ចិត្តបាបឱ្យស្រឡះ កម្មអាក្រក់ទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ។ ១២	So don't be careless, and instead be stirred. Let go of your sinful thoughts completely, along with whatever evil karma you have done. 12
បុណ្យបាបរបស់ខ្លួន លាក់បំពូនទុកមិនបាន ស្លាប់ទៅ ទៅតាមប្រាណ ល្អអាក្រក់ចាត់ដោយឡែក ១៣	បុណ្យបាបរបស់ខ្លួន លាក់បំពូនទុកមិនបាន ស្លាប់ទៅតាមប្រាណ ល្អអាក្រក់ចាត់ដោយឡែក ។ ១៣	Whatever your merits or demerits, you can't hide them away. Once you die, they'll follow your being, with good and bad quite distinct. 13
មនុស្សណាគ្មានទានសីល ការនាខ្ជិលជាអាណែក មនុស្សនោះចាត់ដោយបែក ពួកនរកជាដាច់ខាត ១៤	មនុស្សណាគ្មានទានសីល ការនាខ្ជិលជាអនេក មនុស្សនោះចាត់ដោយបែក ពួកនរកជាដាច់ខាត ។ ១៤	Those lacking generosity, ethics and cultivation, whose idleness is limitless, are subject to slide into the various hells without reprieve. 14
មនុស្សណាមានទានសីល មិនមានខ្ជិល នឹងសង្វាត ឱសាហ៍ ខុំឱហាត់ តាមដោយខ្នាតព្រះចមត្រៃ ១៥	មនុស្សណាមានសីលទាន មិនមានខ្ជិលប្រឹងសង្វាត ឱស្សាហ៍ខុំឱហាត់ តាមដោយខ្នាតព្រះចមត្រៃ ។ ១៥	Those with ethics and generosity, who are not lazy but instead work hard to persist and persevere, following the example of the Lord of the Three Worlds, 15
មនុស្សនោះដោះខ្លួនបាន រួចចាកស្ថានទុក្ខចង្រ្រៀម ស្ថានសុខប្រសើរថ្លៃ ហើយនឹងបានព្រះនិព្វាន ១៦	មនុស្សនោះដោះខ្លួនបាន រួចចាកស្ថានទុក្ខចង្រ្រៀម បានស្នូតប្រសើរថ្លៃ ហើយនឹងបានព្រះនិព្វាន ។ ១៦	such people liberate themselves from the realms of pain and woe, achieve the most wondrous heavens and finally reach Nibbāna, 16

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ជាស្ថានបំផុតសោក	ជាស្ថានបំផុតលោក	the realm beyond the worlds,
ទុក្ខភ័យសោកទ្ធាប្រមាទ	ទុក្ខភ័យរោគទាំងប៉ុន្មាន	where no pain, fear, or illness
ឥតមកប៉ះពាល់បាន	ឥតមកប៉ះពាល់បាន	can have any effect,
សុក្ខខេមខ្យានប្រសើរ	សុខក្សេមក្សាន្តប្រសើរហោង ។	where there's naught but bliss and peace.
ហោង។		

**namo namassakār-br**

*Namo* pays homage

Khmer verse, 10 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB042** 47a–48a namo namassakār

Summary: Explanation that connects the syllables of the Khmer alphabet, beginning with *namo buddhāya siddham* and continuing through the vowels, with the virtues of various objects of worship.

<b>UB042</b>	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
នមោ នមស្សការ	<i>namo</i> នមស្សការ	<i>Namo</i> pays homage
គុណមាតាបិតាថ្ងៃ	គុណមាតាបិតាថ្ងៃ	to the virtue of my precious parents.
ពុទ្ធ គុណធម៌វិស័យ	<i>bu</i> គុណធម៌វិស័យ	<i>Bu</i> is the virtue of the Dharma.
ទ្ធានោះនៃគុណញាតិផង	<i>ddhā</i> នោះនៃគុណញាតិផង ។	<i>Ddhā</i> is the virtue of my relatives.
២	២	2
ត្ថុយ គីគុណគ្រូ	ត្ថុ <i>ya</i> គីគុណគ្រូ	The syllable <i>ya</i> is the virtue of my teachers.
ព្រះសព្វញ្ញ្យថ្ងៃចែងចង	ព្រះសព្វញ្ញ្យថ្ងៃចែងចង	The precious Omniscient One devised these
ទុកឲ្យមនុស្សសត្វផង	ទុកឲ្យមនុស្សសត្វផង	for all humans and other beings
ថ្វាយបង្គំ ជាប្រក្រតី	ថ្វាយបង្គំជាប្រក្រតី ។	to pay homage to every day.
៣	៣	3
ត្ថុសិ ជាបរមត្ថ	ត្ថុ <i>si</i> ជាបរមត្ថ	The syllable <i>si</i> is the Paramattha[-piṭaka].
ទ្ធីលោកចាត់ជាវិន័យ	<i>ddham</i> លោកចាត់ជាវិន័យ	<i>Ddham</i> he established as the Vinaya[-piṭaka].
វិ អ អា ឥ ញ្ញ	<i>vi a ā i ī</i>	As for <i>a</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>i</i> , and <i>ī</i> ,
ទុកជានីយព្រះសូត្រតែផង	ទុកជានីយព្រះសូត្រតែផង ។	they stand for the Sūtra[-piṭaka].
៤	៤	4
ឱឱឌ៍ បរលោក	<i>o ao uv</i> បរលោក	<i>O</i> and <i>au</i> —the father ( <i>uv</i> ) of the next world
ចរចេញឲ្យឃើញស្តែង	ចរចេញឲ្យឃើញស្តែង	comes forth to make us see clearly.
ឌ៍ គីព្រះសម្តែង	<i>uv</i> គីព្រះសម្តែង	<i>Uv</i> is the Lord who preaches.



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ឱឱឯង បិតាធម៌	<i>o ao</i> ឯងបិតាធម៌ ។	<i>O</i> and <i>au</i> themselves are the father of the Dharma.
៥	៥	5
ឫឬ គឺ បារមី	<i>r r̄</i> គឺបារមី	<i>R</i> and <i>r̄</i> are the perfections
ព្រះជិនស្រីភ្នំខៀវស	ព្រះជិនស្រីភ្នំខៀវស	of the Glorious Victor, with blue and white light
ដឹកនាំសត្វនិករ	ដឹកនាំសត្វនិករ	leading the throng of living beings,
ធម៌ដាក់ដល់និព្វានថ្ងៃ	ធម៌ដាក់ដល់និព្វានថ្ងៃ ។	the Dharma that takes them to precious Nibbāna.
៦	៦	6
ពពួ គឺ ព្រះអង្គ	<i>l l̄</i> គឺព្រះអង្គ	<i>L</i> and <i>l̄</i> are for the when the Lord's
ព្រះទ័យផ្លូវព្រះញាណញៃ	ព្រះទ័យផ្លូវព្រះញាណញៃយ	mind reached omniscience.
ឯពួ កាល្លោះនៃ	<i>e ai</i> កាល្លោះនៃ	<i>E</i> and <i>ai</i> —are for when
ទ្រង់ព្រះទ័យធម៌ទេស្ឋា	ទ្រង់ព្រះទ័យធម៌ទេស្ឋា ។	the Lord's mind preached the Dharma.
៧	៧	7
ឱឱ ហោកម្រ	<i>o au</i> ហោកម្រ	<i>O</i> and <i>au</i> are known as rare
ក្នុងព្រះធម៌ព្រះគាថា	ក្នុងព្រះធម៌ព្រះគាថា	within the Dharma and the Gāthās.
ក្រមានអ្នកឯណា	ក្រមានអ្នកឯណា	Rare is the person who
ដឹងប្រស្នាក្នុងឱឱ	ដឹងប្រស្នាក្នុង <i>o au</i> ។	knows the riddle within <i>o</i> and <i>au</i> .
៨	៨	8
អំអាំ ជាគម្ពីរ	<i>aṃ āṃ</i> ជាគម្ពីរ	<i>Aṃ</i> and <i>āṃ</i> are the holy book
ព្រះវិន័យ តែងទុកនៅ	ព្រះវិន័យ តែងទុកនៅ	of the Vinaya that always remains.
អៈ នេះទុកជាផ្លូវ	<i>aḥ</i> នេះទុកជាផ្លូវ	<i>Aḥ</i> is established as the path,
តែងទៅមកសត្វសព្វគ្រប់	តែងទៅមកសត្វសព្វគ្រប់ ។	the coming and going of living beings.
៩	៩	9
ធម៌នេះថ្លៃឧត្តម	ធម៌នេះថ្លៃឧត្តម	This Dharma, precious and excellent,
ព្រះបរមសម្តែងទុក	ព្រះបរមសម្តែងទុក	was expounded by the Supreme One
ដំណាត់ទៅមុខ	ដំណាត់ទៅមុខ	so that in the future
ឲ្យអ្នកស្រុកថ្វាយបង្គំ ។	ឲ្យអ្នកស្រុកថ្វាយបង្គំ ។	people could bow down
១០	១០	10
នឹកគុណព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ	នឹកគុណព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ	and recall the virtues of the precious Dharma
រៀងរាល់ថ្ងៃឲ្យខិតខំ	រៀងរាល់ថ្ងៃឲ្យខិតខំ	every day, so to strive
ដល់ទីព្រះបរម	ដល់ទីព្រះបរម	to reach supreme
និព្វានជុំ ជាតិចប់ហោង	និព្វានជុំជាតិចប់ហោង ។	Nibbāna in every life.

**pacchimabuddhavaacana A-br**

The final words of the Buddha

Khmer verse, 7 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

Leporello: **UB018** 65b–66b pañtām brah bodhisatv; **UB019** 29a–30a pañtām brah bodhiñāṇ; **UB047** 84b–85b yo vo ānand/parinibbānakathā; **UB065** 20a pacchimabuddhavadāna;

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhara ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sei បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 27.

Summary: The Buddha’s final admonitions to Ānanda on his deathbed, closely related to **pacchimabuddhavadāna B-br**.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
yo vo អានន្ទអើយ	Yo vo — Ānanda!
នៃបាវើយមកអាយវ៉ា	Come here now, don't delay.
តថាគតនឹងមរណា	I will pass away,
ចាកចោលបាមិនខានឡើយ ។	leaving you here behind.
២	2
ចូរចានៅឲ្យសុខ	O friend, please be well.
កុំជាទុក្ខណាបាវើយ	Don't suffer needlessly,
តថាគតលាបាវើយ	for I must leave you—
កុំសោកឡើយណាអានន្ទ ។	don't be sad, Ānanda!
៣	3
អង្គអញតថាគត	My five aggregates
នឹងរំលត់អស់បញ្ចក្ខន្ធ	will break down and dissolve.
នៅចុះណាអានន្ទ	Stay, stay, Ānanda!
ខំភ្នែក្នុងក្នុងអង្គប្រាណ ។	Contemplate your body.
៤	4
ខ្លួនអ្នកនៅសព្វថ្ងៃ	Each day your body
មានឧបមេយ្យដូចជាចាន	is like a fragile plate
មិនស្ថិតស្ថេរប៉ុន្មាន	that won't survive long,
គង់នឹងបានវិនាសទៅ ។	bound to break to pieces.
៥	5
ហេតុនេះបាអានន្ទ	Please, dear Ānanda,
ចូរភ្នែក្នុងគិតឲ្យជ្រៅ	contemplate this deeply.
ឥតពិតថាគតទៅ	When I pass away,
អ្នកឯងនៅថែសាសនា ។	you must bear my teaching.
៦	6

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សាសនាតថាគតិ	Truly this teaching
ស្ថិតប្រាកដនឹងអ្នកណា	remains with anyone,
ដែលមានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា	clear and bright in heart,
ប្រព្រឹត្តត្រូវតាមលំអាន ។	who follows what I teach.
៧	7
គ្រានេះតថាគតិ	Now the Realized One
នឹងរំលត់ខន្ធនិព្វាន	will end in nirvāṇa.
ដោយជរាចូលរុករាន	Old age comes cruelly
ទន្ទ្រានមកផ្តាច់សង្ខារ ។	to crush and cut off life.

**pacchimabuddhavadāna B-br**  
The final words of the Buddha

FEMC title: lpök yo vo

Khmer verse, 27 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB034** 65a–68a yo vo ānand'/dhaṛmm yaṃnuoñ ānand; **UB049** 15b–18b (explicit missing)

Summary: A composite of most of **pacchimabuddhavadāna A-br** (stanzas 1–6) with a second, otherwise unknown text on the Buddha’s deathbed advice for Ānanda (stanzas 7–29).

**padum thvāy phkā «khñuṃ phguṃ amrām ṭap'»-br**  
Lotus flower offering, beginning with “I unite my ten fingers”

FEMC title: lpök padum

Khmer verse, 39 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, composed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, before 1684.

Leporello: **UB003** 8b–12b dhaṛm thvāy phkā; **UB009** 38b thvāy phkā padum camboḥ braḥ sammāsambuddh; **UB011** 65b–69b dhaṛm pūdaṃ/dhaṛm pūdaṃ thvāy phkā; **UB017** 59a–63b thvāy° phkā; **UB041** 59a–60a pūduṃ thvāy phkā (short version); **UB046** 39b–42a bidhī thvāy phkā pad braṃhmagit/bidhī thvāy phkā, with the incipit *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa* នាំជំនមោប្បបទ; **UB066** 36a–36b padum thvāy phkā (short version)

Long-format palm-leaf manuscripts: B.04.03.03 FEMC 95 (Vatt Vālukārām, Kampong

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

Cham province), FEMC 059 (Hun Sen Library, Royal University of Phnom Penh)

Summary: Paean in homage of the Buddha and an offering of flowers to him, followed by an extensive set of aspirations, including for extraordinary skills, beauty, wealth, and memory, as well as to be equal to the Brahmanist deities and to complete the path of the bodhisatta and reach buddhahood in the future.

Comparative edition

FEMC 059	FEMC 95	UB003	Edition
១	១	១	១
XXXXXX	ៗ ខ្ញុំផ្គុំ អំប្រាមដបបំ	ខ្ញុំបង្កីអំប្រាមទាំង ១០	ខ្ញុំផ្គុំអំប្រាមដប
XXXXXX	បបូរគ្រប នៅក្រចក ។	បបូរគ្រប់នូវក្រចក	បបូរណ៍គ្រប់នូវក្រចក
XXXXXX	ហាក់ដូច កលត្របក	ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក	ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក
XXXXXX	ឈូកមាសមេ ល្អពន្លា ។	កេសរដ្ឋាឈូកក្រពុំ ។	ឈូកមាសម័យល្អពន្លាយ ។
២	២	២	២
បូទុំមក្រពុំមរិក	បូទុំម ក្រពុំរិក	បូទុមក្រពុំរិក	បទុមក្រពុំរិក
មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ	មានចិត្តត្រេក កាច់មកថ្វាយ	មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ	មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ
XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	បទុមក្រពុំថ្វាយ
XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	ស្សង្កីជកាយកបកេសរ
៣	៣	៣	៣
បូទុំមក្រពុំមថ្វាយ	បូទុំម ក្រពុំថ្វាយ	បទុមក្រពុំថ្វាយ	តេជៈខ្ញុំថ្វាត់ថ្វាយ
បង្កើតកាយកបកេសរ ។	បង្កើតកាយ ក៏កេសសី ។	បង្កើតកាយកបកេសរ	ស្សង្កីជកាយកបបរ
លុតលើកទ្វារទោះករ	លុតលើកទ្វារទោះក៏	លុតលើកទ្វារទេសករ	លុតលើកទាំងទេសករ
ប្រណាមដោមដាក់សិរិសី	ប្រណាមដាក់ លើសិរិសា ។	ប្រណាមដោមដាក់សិរិសី ។	ប្រណាមដោមដាក់សិរិសី ។
៤	៤	៤	៤
ខ្ញុំមក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ	ខ្ញុំក្រាប ក្រោមព្រះបាទ	ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ	ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ
អញ្ជីវាទវរន្ទី ។	អញ្ជីវាទ វរន្ទី ។	អញ្ជីវាទវរន្ទីយ	អភិវាទវរន្ទីយ
ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី	ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយ ទៅព្រះស្រី	ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី	ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី
រត្នត្រៃស្រីខណ្ឌារ	រត្នដីត្រៃ ស្រីកាលលា ។	រត្នដូរត្រៃស្រីកាលា ។	រត្នដីត្រៃស្រីកាលា ។
៥	៥	៥	៥
រុងរឿងបាលីពេជ	រុងរឿង បាលីពេជ	រុងរឿងបាលីពេជ	រុងរឿងបល្ល័ង្កពេជ្រ
ពិចិត្តស្រេចចំរេនា	ពិចិត្តស្រេច ចំរេនា ។	ពិចិត្តរេនាត្នោ	ពិចិត្តរេនីចារេនា
ក្បូរក្បាច់អច្ឆណា	ក្បូរក្បាច់ អច្ឆណា	ក្បូរក្បាច់រេនា	ក្បូរក្បាច់រេនា
បបូរមូនដន្តបំហាត់ ។	បបូរគ្រប ដប់មូនហាត់ ។	បបូរមូនតន្តបំហាត់ ។	បបូរណ៍មូនដន្តបំហាត់ ។
៦	៦	៦	៦
ព្រះអង្គភគវា	ព្រះអង្គ ភគវា	ព្រះអង្គភគវា	ព្រះអង្គភគវា

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ស្តេចគង់នាបាល្លវ័ន្ត ។  
 ត្រាស់យល់កុំណើតសត្វ  
 សត្វអាម៉ែរនីកក្ស ។  
 ៧  
 រុងរឿងព្រះវិកស្សី  
 ឆរពាំពីព្រះព្រាងព្រាយ ។  
 ឆ្មុះឆ្មោះៗ សព្វស្យា  
 ស្យារវ័រវ័រវិលជុំម  
 ៨  
 ពោធិ៍ព្រឹកសារសាល  
 ភ្នំរន្ទាលៗទុំម ។  
 ស្លោមស្លឹកៗត្រសុំម  
 ត្រសាយទៅនៅមែកមាស ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះបាទព្រះលាម្យល័ក្ខ  
 កបកងចក្រដួងដេដាស ។  
 ស្នូស្នឹកិលាម្យលក្ខ  
 លើសកន្ទង់លែងកុព្វត្រៃ  
 ១០  
 ខ្ញុំទូលល្អងធូលី  
 ព្រះបាទស្រីសារពេជ ។  
 ថ្ងៃផងស្នូរសោតស្នូម្យ  
 សរសើរព្រះអង្គនីនាដ្ឋ  
 ១១  
 អាណែកកបកាលកើត  
 សូមកុំណើតសព្វៗជាតិ ។  
 សូមទាន់ពុទ្ធបាទ  
 បានបំរើឱ្យអស់ក្លី  
 ១២  
 ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន  
 កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមុនី ។  
 ដូចជោដិកសេដ្ឋី  
 មុះហិមាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន  
 ១៣  
 ខ្ញុំសូមកុំណាសត្វ  
 សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន ។

ស្តេចគង់នាបាល្លវ័ន្ត ។  
 ត្រាស់យល់ កុំណើតសត្វ  
 សត្វអាម៉ែរ នីកក្ស ។  
 ៧  
 រុងរឿង ព្រះវិកស្សី  
 ឆរពាំពី ព្រះព្រាងព្រាយ ។  
 ឆ្មុះឆ្មោះ ឆ្មុះសបស្យា៖  
 ស្យារវ័រវ័រ វិវាលជុំ ។  
 ៨  
 ពោធិ៍ ព្រឹកសារសាល  
 ភ្នំរន្ទា រន្ទាលទុំម ។  
 ស្លោមស្លឹក ស្លឹកត្រសុំម  
 ត្រសាយទៅ នៅមែកមាស ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះបាទ ព្រះលាម្យលក្ខ  
 កបកងចក្រដួងដេដាស ។  
 ស្នូស្រី x កិលាម្យលាះ  
 លើសកន្ទង់ ភូមិកុព្វត្រៃ ។  
 ១០  
 ខ្ញុំទូល ល្អងធូលី  
 ព្រះបាទស្រី សារពេជថ្ងៃ ។  
 ថ្ងៃផងធម្មសងស្នូម្យ  
 សរសើរព្រះ អង្គនីនាដ្ឋ ។  
 ១១  
 អាណែក កបកាលកើត  
 យកកុំណើត សព្វៗជាតិ ។  
 សូមទាន់ ពុទ្ធបាទ  
 បានបំរើ ឱ្យអស់ក្លី ។  
 ១២  
 ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន  
 កែវវត្ថុតន់ មាសមុនី ។  
 ដូចជោ ដិកសេដ្ឋី  
 មុះហិមាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។  
 ១៣  
 ខ្ញុំសូម កុំណាសត្វ  
 សូមចិត្តកាត់ អំណោយទាន ។

ស្តេចគង់នាបាល្លវ័ន្ត  
 ត្រាស់យល់កុំណើតសត្វ  
 សត្វអាម៉ែរនីកក្ស ។  
 ៧  
 រុងរឿងព្រះវិស្សី  
 ឆរពាំពីព្រះព្រាងព្រាត  
 ឆ្មុះឆ្មោះយល់សព្វសាយ  
 ស្យារវ័រវ័ររៀលជុំ [or ដុំ] ។  
 ៨  
 ពោធិ៍ព្រឹក្សាសាល  
 ភ្នំរន្ទាលរន្ទាលទុំ  
 ស្លោមស្លឹកស្លឹកត្រសុំ  
 ត្រសាយទៅនៅមែកមាស ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះបាទព្រះលាម្យល័ក្ខ  
 កល់កងចក្រដួលដេដាស  
 ស្នូត្រស្រីកិលាម្យលាស  
 លើសកន្ទង់ភូមិកុព្វត្រៃ  
 ១០  
 ខ្ញុំទូលល្អងធូលី  
 ព្រះបាទស្រីសារពេជ្ជ  
 ថ្ងៃផងសងស្នូមស្នូម្យ  
 សរសើរអង្គព្រះននាថ  
 ១១  
 អនេកកបកាលកើត  
 យកកុំណើតសព្វជាតិ ។  
 សូមទាន់ព្រះពុទ្ធបាទ  
 បានបំរើឱ្យស្បុក្តិ  
 ១២  
 ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន  
 កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមុនី  
 សូមដូចជោត្រិកសេដ្ឋីយ  
 មហិហាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។  
 ១៣  
 ខ្ញុំសូមកុំណាសត្វ  
 សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន ។

ស្តេចគង់នាបាល្លវ័ន្ត  
 ត្រាស់យល់កុំណើតសត្វ  
 សត្វអាម៉ែរនីកកាយ ។  
 ៧  
 រុងរឿងព្រះវិស្សី  
 ឆរពាំពីព្រះព្រាងព្រាយ  
 ឆ្មុះឆ្មោះៗ សព្វសាយ  
 សាយរវាយវាលជុំ ។  
 ៨  
 ពោធិ៍ព្រឹក្សាសាល  
 ភ្នំរន្ទាលៗ ទុំ  
 ស្លោមស្លឹកៗ ត្រសុំ  
 ត្រសាយទៅនៅមែកមាស ។  
 ៩  
 ព្រះបាទព្រះលាម្យលក្ខណ៍  
 កបកងចក្រដួចជួរដេដាស  
 ស្នូស្នឹកិលាម្យលាស [?]   
 លើសកន្ទង់ភូមិកុព្វត្រៃ ។  
 ១០  
 ខ្ញុំទូលល្អងធូលី  
 ព្រះបាទស្រីសព្វេជ្ជថ្ងៃ  
 ថ្ងៃផងសាសងស្នូម្យ  
 សរសើរព្រះអង្គននាថ ។  
 ១១  
 អនេកកប្បកាលកើត  
 ដោយកុំណើតសព្វៗ ជាតិ  
 សូមទាន់ព្រះពុទ្ធបាទ  
 បានបំរើឱ្យអស់ក្លី ។  
 ១២  
 ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន  
 កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមណី  
 ដូចជោតិកសេដ្ឋី  
 មហិហាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។  
 ១៣  
 ខ្ញុំសូមកុំណាសត្វ  
 សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សោះសាប់ពនប្រមាទ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ១៤ សូមដូចព្រះដីមេរ ចិត្តអត់គ្រឿងឆឺមង្គ ។ សូមចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសំឡាញ់ទ្វារប្រះស្រី ១៥ ទោះទោសអ្នកនឹងស្លាប់ ទល់ទុកឆាប់ឥតប្រណី ។ សូម ដោះរងដោះក្តី ជីវិតសត្វរស់រូបរា ១៦ ជីវិតខ្ញុំសូមផ្លូវ ដូចអ្សរព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ។ ខ្ញុំសូមរងធានា ជីវិតសត្វពុំនាក់គ្រប់ ១៧ សូមចេះសារពើការ ល្អត្រកាលភ្នែកស្យាសព្វ ។ សូមចេះ ចេះសព្វគ្រប់ ដូចជំនាញព្រះពិសន៍ការហោង ១៨ សូមចេះជាមត្រៀកេតៈ សិលសាសសិគ្គៈ ឥតទើសទាល់ ។	ស្មោះស្មាក់ អស់ចិត្តច្រាន់ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។ ១៤ សូមដូច ព្រះដីមេរ ចិត្តអត់គ្រឿងឆឺមង្គ ។ សូមចិត្ត ល្អកន្លង ៖ ជាសំឡាញ់ ទ្វារប្រះស្រី ។ ១៥ ទោះទោស នាក់ណានឹងស្លាប់ ទុលទុកខ្លាប អិត សូមដល់ រង្គោះក្តី ជីវិតសត្វពុំនាក់គ្រប់ ។ ១៦ យកជីវិតខ្ញុំផ្លូវ ដូចអំបូរ ព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ។ ខ្ញុំសូម រងធានា ជីវិតសត្វ ៖ ពុំនាក់គ្រប់ ។ ១៧ សូមចេះ សារពើការ ល្អត្រកាល ភ្នែកស្យាសព្វ ។ សូមចេះ ចេះសព្វគ្រប់ ដូចចំណាន ព្រះពើសការ ។ ។ ១៨ សូមចេះ ចប់ត្រៃកេទ សិលសាសសិគ្គៈ អិតទើសទាល់ ស ។	សៈសារពន់ប្រមាណ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។ ១៤ សូមដូចព្រះតិម្លៃ ចិត្តអត់បែរឥតឯហ្មង ។ ស្លូចចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសម្លេងទ្វារប្រះស្រី ។ ១៥ ទោះទោសអ្នកនឹងស្លាប់ ទល់ទុកខ្លាបឥតប្រណី ។ សូមវដោះរង្គោះក្តី ជីវិតសប្បុរសប្បា ។ ១៦ ជីវិតខ្ញុំសូមប្តូរ ដូចអម្បូរព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ។ ខ្ញុំសូមរងធានា ជីវិតសត្វពុំនាក់គ្រប់ ។ ១៧ សូមជាន់សារពើការ ល្អត្រកាលភ្នែកស្យាសព្វ ។ សូមសូម្បែសព្វ ដូចដូចនាងព្រះពិស្តុការ។ ១៨ សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃវេទ សិលសាសសេត្តឥតទើសទាល់ ។	សោះសាពន់ប្រមាណ ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។ ១៤ សូមដូចព្រះតេមិយ ចិត្តអត់គេឥតឯហ្មង សូមចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសម្លាញ់ទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។ ១៥ ទោះទោសអ្នកនឹងស្លាប់ ទល់ទុកខ្លាបឥតប្រណី សូមដោះរង្គោះក្តី ជីវិតសត្វរស់រូបរា ។ ១៦ ជីវិតខ្ញុំសូមផ្លូវ ដូចអំបូរព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ខ្ញុំសូមរងធានា ជីវិតសត្វពុំនាក់គ្រប់ ។ ១៧ សូមចេះសារពើការ ល្អត្រកាលភ្នែកសាយសព្វ សូមចេះ។សព្វគ្រប់ ដូចជំនាញព្រះពិស្តុការ ។ ១៨ សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃកេទ សិល្បសាស្ត្រសេដ្ឋឥតទើ សទាល់ សទាល់ ធុតឆាប់ជាអស្សារ ដូចព្រះបរមេសូរហោង។ ១៩ ខ្ញុំសូមមានប្រាជ្ញា ធ្វើប្រស្នាដោះសាសន៍ ។ ១៩ សីលចូលចិត្តអ្នកផង ក្រលួចកូចសព្វស្យា ២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំមនោវខ្មែង
សីលចូលចិត្តអ្នកផង ក្រលួចកូចសព្វស្យា ២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំមនោវខ្មែង	សីលចូរ ៖ អស់លោកផង ព្រឹហក្រលួច ផ្អែមពីរោះ ២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំខ្ញុំក្មេងតូច	សីលដូចចិត្តចង ព្រឹក្រលួចស្យាសព្វគ្រប់ ។ ២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង	សីលចូលចិត្តអ្នកផង ព្រឹក្រលួចកូចសព្វគ្រប់ ។ ២០ ពីកាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សូមត្រាសដឹងធម៌ស្យាសព្វ ។	សូមត្រាសដឹង ៖ ធម្មស្យាសព្វ ។	សូមត្រាសដឹងធម៌សព្វស្យា ។	សូមត្រាសដឹងធម៌សាយ សព្វ ។
ប្រាំពិល្លាម្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃប៊ីដករតមាត់ទេរ	ប្រាំពិល ម្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃបីដក រតមាត់ទេរ ។	ប្រាំម្ពិលម្នាំចេះចប់ ត្រៃបីដករតមាត់ហោង ។	ប្រាំពិលម្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃបីដករតមាត់ទេ ។
២១	២១	២១	២១
សម្លេងក្រាំងក្រឡី ពីពោះទៅទូរសព្វតែរ ។	សម្លេង ក្រាំងក្រឡី ពី ពីពោះទៅទូរសព្វតែរ ។	សម្លេងក្រាំងក្រឡី ពីពោះទៅទូរសព្វសាយ	សម្លេងក្រាំងក្រអៅ ពីពោះទៅទូរសព្វតែ
រន្ធតទ្រាំចិត្តគ្យ ដូចសម្លេងព្រះព្រមណារ	រន្ធត ទ្រាំចិត្តគ្យ ដូចសម្លេង មហារព្រមហោង ។	ឱរន្ធតទាំងចិត្ត គេដូចសម្លេងព្រះព្រហ្ម	រន្ធតទាំងចិត្តគេ ដូចសម្លេងព្រះព្រហ្ម ។
២២	២២	២២	២២
កាលខ្ញុំសម្តែងធម៌ ជាអស់ចារទ្រាំទេព្យា ។	កាលខ្ញុំ សម្តែងធម្ម ជាអស់ចា ទ្រាំទេវតា ។	កាលខ្ញុំសម្តែងធម៌ ជាអស្សាទ្រាំទេវតា	កាលខ្ញុំសម្តែងធម៌ ជាអស្សាទេព្យា
ចុះចាកពីសួគារ មូលមកឱ្យសាធុការ	ចុះចាកពីសួគារ ចូរមកឱ្យ សាធុកា ។	សូមចាកពីសួគា ចូលមកថ្វាយសាធុការ	ចុះចាកពីសួគា ចូលមកថ្វាយសាធុការ ។
២៣	២៣	២៣	២៣
សូមដូចព្រះសារិបុត្ត ប្រាជ្ញាមុតន្ទ្រត្រកាល ។	សូមដូច ព្រះសារិបុត្តិ ប្រាជ្ញាមុត ថ្វារត្រកាល ។	សូមដូចព្រះសារិបុត្រ ប្រាជ្ញាមុតជាត្រកូល	សូមដូចព្រះសារិបុត្រ ប្រាជ្ញាមុតស្រាសត្រកាល
វិទ្ធិបុនសំការ ដូចព្រះមោគ្គលានហោង ។	វិទ្ធិ បុនសំការ ដូចព្រះមោ គ្គលានហោង ។	បុទ្ធិមុនសំការ ដូចព្រះមោគ្គលានហោង ។	វិទ្ធិបុណ្យសម្ភារ ដូចព្រះមោគ្គលានហោង ។
២៤	២៤	២៤	២៤
ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី ព្រមព្រឹទ្ធិ ខ្ជាប់កន្លង ។	ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី ព្រមព្រឹទ្ធិ ខ្ជាប់កន្លង ។	ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី ព្រមព្រឹទ្ធិខ្ជាប់កន្លង	ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី ព្រមព្រឹទ្ធិខ្ជាប់កន្លង
ស្រគត់តន្ត្រិយផង ដូចព្រះមហាកាសព្វសោត ៖	ស្រគត់ តន្ត្រារផង ដូចព្រះមហា កាសព្វសោត ។	ស្រគត់តន្ត្រិយផង ដូចព្រះមហាកាសព្វសោត ។	ស្រគត់តន្ត្រិយផង ដូចព្រះមហាកស្សបសោត ។
២៥	២៥	២៥	២៥
សូមមានដៃកដេដ្ឋះ ជៀជៀនះឈ្នះចិត្តក្រោធ ។	សូមមាន ៖ ដៃជុំណាស់ មានដៃជះ ឈ្នះចិត្តក្រោធ ។	ខ្ញុំសូមមានគេដ្ឋះ ជៀជៀនះឈ្នះចិត្តក្រោធ ។	សូមមានគេដ្ឋះ ជៀជៀនះឈ្នះចិត្តក្រោធ
សត្រូវសល់សែនកោដ្ឋ ប្រាប់កុំវាឥតទើសទាល់	សត្រូវ មីសែនកោត អាជកុំវាម អិតទើសទាល់ ។	សត្រូវសល់សែនកោដ្ឋ ប្រាប់គម្រាបឥតទើសទាល់	សត្រូវសល់សែនកោដ្ឋ ប្រាប់គម្រាបឥតទាល់ទើស ។
២៦	២៦	២៦	២៦
សូមប្រាសលែងទុកក្ស ក្សាឱ្យខ្សែមខ្សាន ។	សូមមាន វិតនុភាព អាជកុំវាប សត្រូវផង ។	ខ្ញុំសូមមានអនុភាព អាចគម្រាបគម្រាលឡើយ	សូមមានអានុភាព អាចគម្រាបអាសូរឡើយ
ខ្ញុំសូមរូបរាងមាន ៖ ល្អរលើសលន់ដូចទេព្យា	ទ្រុះទ្រើស ជាឃ្នះឃ្នង ៖ បាក់បំបបំ ថ្វាយបង្គំម ។	ទ្រុះទ្រើសពុំឃ្នះឃ្នង បាក់បំបបំថ្វាយបង្គំ ។	ទោះកាចកុំឃ្នងឃ្នើស បាក់បំបបំថ្វាយបង្គំ ។
២៧	២៧	២៧	២៧

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

	xxx ខែ ង	សូមប្រោសលែងទុកភ័យ	សូមប្រោសលែងទុកភ័យ
	ទុកកែ ក្បាច់ខ្សែ ខ្សែមសោ	ដោយវិសេក្សានុសោត	ព្យាធិខែក្រក្រៀមក្រំ
	តសំម ។		
	សូមរូប ល្អឌីដម	សូមរូបរាងល្អឌីត្តម	សូមរូបល្អឌីត្តម
	ដូចរូបព្រះ មហាញ្ញ ។	ដូចរូបព្រះមហាកំព្យ ។	ដូចរូបព្រះមហាកថាយន៍ ។
២៨	២៨	២៨	២៨
ខ្ញុំសូមមានកុំលាំង	ខ្ញុំសូម មានកុំឡាំង	ខ្ញុំសូមមានកម្លាំង	ខ្ញុំសូមមានកម្លាំង
ខ្លះខែងខាំងទូទាំហ្វ្យា ។	ខ្លះខែងខាំង ទូទាំហ្វ្យាយ ។	ខ្លះខែងខាំងទូទាំហ្វ្យា	ខ្លះខែងខាំងទូទាំងឡាយ
ដូចនោះព្រះទ្រាយ	ដូចព្រះ ទ្រាយ	ដូចនូវព្រះពទ្រាយ	ដូចនូវព្រះនរាយណ៍
ថ្កើងរងរៀងក្រោវវិស្ស	រិចថ្កើង រិចរៀងនោះ បរិពារ	បូទ្ធីថ្កើងថ្ងៃវិសេស ។	វិទ្ធីថ្កើងក្រវិស័យ ។
	ស្រី ។		
២៩	២៩	២៩	២៩
វិទ្ធីបុនសំការ	ស្រីផ្កា ច្រើនក្រ្យក្រ	រុងរៀងនូវបរិពារ	រុងរៀងនូវបរិពារ
ស្រីស្រីងគារច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រ្យ ។	សល់សែនកោត កុំផែង ។	ស្រីស្រីផ្កាច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រ្យ	ស្រីស្រីផ្កាច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រ្យ
សល់សែនកោដ្ឋកុំប្យ	កុំរៀ គុងនោះហោង ៖	សល់សែនកោដ្ឋកម្រ	សល់សែនកោដ្ឋកម្រ
កុំវាសលើសគង្គារហោង ។	បំម្រើជា ប្រក្រដ្យ ។	កម្រាសគូតង់នៅហោង ។	កម្រាសលើសគង្គារហោង ។
៣០	៣០	៣០	៣០
បំរើជាប្រក្រដ្យ	នារី អិតឯត្ថង	បំរើជាប្រក្រតិ	បម្រើជាប្រក្រតិ
នំនារីឥតឯមង ។	ឆ្លោះឆ្លោះប្រះ ប្រាជ្ញារប្យប ។	នរណាអ្វីឥតឯត្ថង	នរណាអ្វីឥតឯត្ថង
ជាងដៅប្រះប្រាជ្ញផង	ទំលាប់ x សព្វសេចក្តី	ជាងដៅប្រះប្រាជ្ញផង	ជាងដៅប្រះប្រាជ្ញផង [?]
ច្បាប់ទម្លាប់បំបូរបាន	មានម្តែស្យ កបឥន្ទ្រិយ ។	ច្បាប់ទម្លាប់បំបូរបាន ។	ច្បាប់ទម្លាប់បំបូរណ៍បាន ។
៣១	៣១	៣១	៣១
ខ្ញុំសូមមានម្តែស្យ	XXXXX	ខ្ញុំសូមមានមហេស្សី	ខ្ញុំសូមមានមហេស្សី
ស្តុតស្តាម្យិកគ្នាសារសាន	XXXXXX	ស្តុតស្តាម្យិកាសាសាន	ស្តុតស្តាម្យិកគ្នាសារសាន្ត [?]
កើតកបកល្យយាន	XXXXX	កើតកប្បកល្យាណ	សុខកើតកប្បកល្យាណ
សរសូលសំមអស់ឥន្ទ្រិយ ។ ប្រែ	XXXXXX	ទ្រង់ទោមឡល្អបញ្ចង់	សសូលសមអស់ឥន្ទ្រិយ ។
របទ្រ្យ ។			[?]
៣២	៣២	៣២	៣២
កុំខេខឹងត្រគោះ	កុំខេ ខឹងត្រគោះ	ឥន្ទ្រិយក៏ខេខឹងត្រគោះ	កុំខេខឹងទ្រគោះ
កុំឈ្នះឈ្នោះនិងប្តីស្សី	កុំឈ្នោះឈ្នះ និងផ្តិសី ។	កុំឈ្នះឈ្នោះនិងប្តីស្សី	កុំឆ្នើយឈ្នោះនិងប្តីស្សី
សូមមូលមកមេត្រី	សូមមូលមិត្តមេត្រី	សូមមិត្តមេត្រី	សូមមូលមិត្តមេត្រី
និងបរិពារស្នេហា ។	និងបរិពារ ពេញស្នេហា ។	និងបរិពារ ពេញស្នេហា ។	និងបរិពារពេញស្នេហា ។
៣៣	៣៣	៣៣	៣៣
ត្រង់ខ្យត់ត្រង់ពិបាក	ត្រង់ខ្យត្រ ត្រីពិបាក	ត្រង់ខ្យត់ត្រង់ពិបាក	ត្រង់ខ្យត់ត្រង់ពិបាក
ត្រង់ព្រាតព្រាសខ្ញុំសូមលា	ត្រង់ប្រត់ប្រាស ខ្ញុំសូមលា ។	ត្រង់ព្រាត់ព្រាសខ្ញុំសូមលា	ត្រង់ព្រាត់ព្រាកខ្ញុំសូមលា
ត្រង់ទល់ទុកកុំព្រា	ត្រង់ទុល ៖ ទុកកុំព្រា	ត្រង់ទុលទុកកុំព្រា	ត្រង់ទល់ទុកកុំព្រា



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagiti verse (-br)

<p>នោះកុំព្រាយយល់ដល់ម្តង ។          ៣៤          សូមមានបុត្រត្រកាល          យស្សបរិពារធ្វើកន្លង          សម្បត្តិសម្បវរដង          ដូចព្រះឥន្ទ្រវរសព្វសោត ។</p>	<p>នុះកុំមាន ឃើញដល់ម្តង ។          ៣៤          សូមមាន បុត្រត្រកាល ៖          យុសសំការធ្វើកន្លង ។          សូមមាន សម្បត្តិផង          ដូចព្រះនេត្ត នៃនៃឥន្ទ្រវរ ។</p>	<p>នោះពុំត្រាពួងដល់ម្តង          ៣៤          សូមបានបុណ្យសំការ          យល់ត្រកាលធ្វើកន្លង។          សម្បត្តិសម្បវរដង          ដូចព្រះឥន្ទ្រវរសព្វសោត ។</p>	<p>នោះកុំព្រាយយល់ដល់ម្តង ។          ៣៤          សូមមានបុណ្យត្រកាល          យសបរិពារធ្វើកន្លង          សម្បត្តិសម្បវរដង          ដូចព្រះឥន្ទ្រវរសព្វសោត ។</p>
<p>៣៥          សូមបានសែបសំកុព្វ          គុបប្រសប់នឹងអ្នកមាន          សម្បត្តិសម្បវរបាន          ដូចខ្ញុំប្រថ្នារសព្វជាតិ ។</p>	<p>៣៥          សូមមាន សែពូសំកុព្វ ៖          បានប្រសព្វ និងនាក់មាន ។          ធម្មផហៈជាអស់ចា          ចង់មេត្រី សព្វសព្វជាតិ ។</p>	<p>៣៥          សូមបានសែបសម្ពុព ។          ប្រសព្វទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ្យ          និងអ្នកដូមានធម៌          សូមកបកើតជាអស្ចារ្យ ចង់មេត្រីសព្វ          ជាតិ ។</p>	<p>៣៥          សូមបានសេពនឹងអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ          ឥតចិត្តកាចកលបុស្សា          ចេះធម៌អាថ៌ប្រស្នា          ដូចមេត្រីសព្វជាតិហោង ។</p>
<p>៣៦          កុំប្តីហោរមានឃ្លាត          ឱ្យបានដូចចិត្តប្រថ្នា           សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ          ដូចខ្ញុំប្រថ្នារសព្វជាតិ ។</p>	<p>៣៦          សូមទាន់ ព្រះសិអា x          បាននមស្សការ ៖ ស្ងប់ចិត្ត          ហោង ។           បីបួរ ដូចបំណង          សូមបានទាន់ ពុទ្ធក្យាក ។</p>	<p>៣៦          សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ្យ          នមស្សការស្ងប់ចិត្តហោង           បីដូចបំណង          សូមទាន់ពុទ្ធលត់លើកក ។</p>	<p>៣៦          សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ្យ          ឆ្លើយប្រស្នាអស់អគ្គផង           បរិបូណ៌ដូចបំណង          សូមបានទាន់ពុទ្ធព្យាករណ៍          ។</p>
<p>៣៧          សូមទាន់ពុទ្ធបាទ          បានបរិវេរឱ្យអស់ក្លី          កើតកបដោយ          សំណាង ខ្ញុំមបានសាងពិព្រាងនៀរ ។          ៣៨          សូមជួបនឹងព្រះស្រី          អាមេត្រីត្រាស់ជាន់ក្រោយ          ដៃដះអញខ្ញុំមថ្ងា          បង្គំមក្យកបកែស្សរ          ៣៩          លុតលើកទ្វារទសករ          ប្រណិមដោមដាក់សិរិស្ស          ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រោមព្រះបាទ          អណ្តិវាតវរន្ទីរ ។          ៤០</p>	<p>៣៧          ដៃដះ អញខ្ញុំថ្វាយ          បង់កាច់ក្យ កបកេស្ស ។          រត្នរៀង បុស្សាក          កោមលមាស ៖ មានរាគ្សី ។          ៣៨          ទូទ្វារ ក៏ លីស្អាត ៖          អណ្តិវាទ វរន្ទីរ ។          លុតលើក សិរិសី ៖          ប្រណិមក្រាប ប្រនីបាទ ។          ៣៩          បូពិត រឿ សំណូម          យើងខ្ញុំសូម ប្រថ្នាជិត ។          សូមធុត ចំហុតថ្នាត់          បានរៀងរួច ដល់និព្វាន ។</p>	<p>៣៧          តេជះអញខ្ញុំថ្វាយ          បង្គំចំក្យកបកេសរ          បូករៀបបុស្សាក          កោមលមាសមានរស្មី ។          ៣៨          ទសទ្វារអង្គជូលី          អណ្តិវាទវរន្ទីរលត់          លើកលើសិរិសីសុត          ជុំប្រណិមប្រណិបត្តិ ។          ៣៩          បពិត្រសំណូម          នេះខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នាកាត់          សូមធុតចំហុតថ្នាត់          រៀងរួចដល់និព្វានហោង ។ ៤០</p>	<p>៣៧          តេជះអញខ្ញុំថ្វាយ          ស្ស្តីដកាយកបកេសរ          រិកោយបុស្សាករ          កោមលមាសមានរស្មី ។          ៣៨          ទសផ្កលីស្អាត          អណ្តិវាទវរន្ទីរ          លុតលើកលើសិរិសី          ផ្គុំប្រណិមក្រាបប្រណិបត្តិ ។          ៣៩          បូពិត្រសំណូម          នេះខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នាកាត់          សូមធុតចំហុតថ្នាត់          រៀងរួចដល់និព្វានហោង ។</p>

ខ្ញុំមសូមប្រថ្នារសុក  
ជាតទៅមុកប្រសើរដ្ឋសល់  
ខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នារយល់  
ឱ្យបានដល់នីពានហោង ។

Translation

១	ខ្ញុំផ្គុំអម្រាមដប់ បរិបូណ៌គ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក ឈូកមាសម័យល្អពន្លាយ ។	1	I unite my ten fingers complete with their nails, just like the petals of a golden lotus, beautiful and brilliant.
២	បទុមក្រពុំរីក មានចិត្តត្រេកកាច់មកថ្វាយ បទុមក្រពុំថ្វាយ ស្បង្កីជកាយកបកេសរ	2	These lotus buds burst into bloom— with a happy heart I offer them. These lotus buds I offer, lotuses complete with their stalks and pollen.
៣	តេជៈខ្ញុំថ្នាត់ថ្វាយ ស្បង្កីជកាយកបបរវរ លុតលើកទាំងទសករ ប្រណមដោមដាក់សិរសី ។	3	By grace of this offering of most excellent lotuses and their stalks, raised up with my ten fingers and carefully placed on my head,
៤	ខ្ញុំក្រាបក្រាមព្រះបាទ អភិវាទវរវន្ទីយ៍ ថ្នាត់ថ្វាយទៅព្រះស្រី វិគ្គដ៏ត្រៃស្រីកាលា ។	4	I prostrate myself beneath his feet in devoted veneration, an offering to the blessed Triple Jewel and blessed Kālā.
៥	រុងរឿងបល្ល័ង្កពេជ្រ ពិចិត្រវិចន័បាធា ក្បូរក្បាច់រចនា បរិបូណ៌បួនដណ្តប់ហត្ថ ។	5	How resplendent his adamantine throne, artfully inscribed with designs and ornamental carvings, fully fourteen cubits in height!
៦	ព្រះអង្គកតវា ស្តេចគង់នាបល្ល័ង្កវិគ្គ ត្រាស់យល់កំណើតសត្វ	6	The Lord, the Blessed One reposes on this jeweled throne witnessing the births of beings,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សត្វអមរនិករាយ ។

the multitudes of animals and angels.

៧

7

រុងរឿងព្រះរស្មី  
ឆពណ៌ពិប្រះព្រោងព្រាយ  
ឆ្លាស់ឆ្មុះៗ សព្វសាយ  
សាយវាយវាលជុំ ។

How dazzling his radiance,  
six-colored rays blazingly arrayed,  
illuminating and expanding everywhere,  
expanding and encircling all around!

៨

8

ពោធិព្រឹក្សាសាល  
ភ្លឺរន្ទាលៗ ទុំ  
ស្មោមស្វីកា ត្រសុំ  
ត្រសាយទៅនៅមែកមាស ។

The hardwood bodhi tree—  
how vivid and vibrant its radiant hue,  
with foliage lush and luxuriant  
throughout its golden boughs.

៩

9

ព្រះបាទព្រះលាយលក្ខណ៍  
កបកងចក្រដូចជួរដេរដាស  
ស្នូស្នឹកីលាយលាស់ [២]  
លើសកន្លង់ភូមិភពត្រៃ ។

His feet bear special markings,  
replete with wheels arranged in rows,  
and with symbols of prosperity proliferating  
far beyond the triple world.

១០

10

ខ្ញុំទូលល្អងធូលី  
ព្រះបាទស្រីសព្វេដ្ឋថ្ងៃ  
ថ្ងៃងសាសង់សូម៉ៃ  
សរសើរព្រះអង្គនរោថ ។

On my head I place the dust beneath  
the feet of the blessed Omniscient One,  
intoning utterances  
in praise of the Lord, the Refuge of Men.

១១

11

អនេកកប្បកាលកើត  
ដោយកំណើតសព្វៗ ជាតិ  
សូមទាន់ព្រះពុទ្ធប្បាទ  
បានបម្រើឲ្យអស់ក្លី ។

For the limitless eons in which I am born,  
for each birth in every life  
may I be present for the arising of Buddhas  
to serve them wholeheartedly.

១២

12

ខ្ញុំសូមមានទ្រព្យធន  
កែវវត្ថុតន់មាសមណី  
ដូចជោតិកសេដ្ឋី  
មហិមាឥតផ្ទឹមបាន ។

May I be rich with wealth,  
precious gems, gold, and wish-fulfilling jewels  
like Joṭikasetṭhī,  
mighty and beyond compare.

១៣

13

ខ្ញុំសូមករុណាសត្វ  
សូមចិត្តកាត់អំណោយទាន  
សោះសាពន់ប្រមាណ  
ដូចព្រះវេស្សន្តរហោង ។

May I be compassionate toward all creatures.  
May I make offerings resolutely and  
unreservedly from my whole being,  
just like Prince Vessantara.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

១៤	សូមដូចព្រះតេមិយ ចិត្តអត់គេឥតឯហ្មង សូមចិត្តល្អកន្លង ជាសម្មាញ្ញទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។	14	May I be like Prince Temiya, with a heart of forbearance and purity. May my heart be surpassingly good, beloved by men and women.
១៥	ទោះទោសអ្នកនឹងស្លាប់ ទល់ទុកខ្លាប់ឥតប្រណី សូមដោះរង្វោះភ្នំ ជីវិតសត្វរស់រូបា ។	15	Even if some commit crimes that would lead them to be killed or to face constant pain without mercy, may I liberate them from that judgment, such that those beings might live.
១៦	ជីវិតខ្ញុំសូមផ្លូវ ដូចអប្សរព្រះប្រាជ្ញា ខ្ញុំសូមរាជធានា ជីវិតសត្វពំនាក់គ្រប់ ។	16	May I exchange my life for those of others, just like those in the Buddha's lineage have resolved. May I guarantee the lives of living beings as a refuge to all.
១៧	សូមចេះសារពើការ ល្អត្រកាលភ្នែកសាយសព្វ សូមចេះៗ សព្វគ្រប់ ដូចជំនាញព្រះពិស្ណុការ ។	17	May I be skilled in every way, with extraordinary eyes extending everywhere. May I be skilled in everything completely, just like the craft of Lord Viśvakarman.
១៨	សូមចេះចប់ត្រៃកេទ សិល្បសាស្ត្រសេដ្ឋឥតទើសទាល់ ធុតឆាប់ជាអស្ចារ្យ ដូចព្រះបរមេសូរហោងៗ	18	May I know the entirety of the three Vedas and magical arts to perfection, with total ease and stunning efficaciousness, just like Lord Parameśvara.
១៩	ខ្ញុំសូមមានប្រាជ្ញា ឆ្លើយប្រស្នាដោះសាសន៍ សឹងចូលចិត្តអ្នកផង ព្រីត្រៃលួចក្នុងសព្វគ្រប់ ។	19	May I be filled with the wisdom to respond to riddles with answers that are admired by everyone and hair-raisingly mellifluous.
២០	ពីកាលខ្ញុំនៅក្មេង សូមត្រាស់ដឹងធម៌សាយសព្វ ប្រាំពិលឆ្នាំបានចប់ ត្រៃបិដករត់មាត់ទេ ។	20	When I am still young, may I awaken to the extensive Dharma, in seven years achieving fluency in the Tripitaka,
២១		21	

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សម្លេងក្រាងក្រអៅ  
ពីពោះទៅទូសពូតៃ  
រន្ធត់ទាំងចិត្តគេ  
ដូចសម្លេងព្រះព្រហ្ម ។

២២

កាលខ្ញុំសម្តែងធម៌  
ជាអស្ចារ្យទេព្វា  
ចុះចាកពីសួគ៌ា  
ចូលមកថ្វាយសាធុការ ។

២៣

សូមដូចព្រះសារីបុត្រ  
ប្រាជ្ញាមុតឆ្លាសត្រកាល  
វិទ្ធិបុណ្យសម្ភារ  
ដូចព្រះមោគ្គល្លានហោង ។

២៤

ខ្ញុំសូមមានស្មារតី  
ព្រតព្រឹទ្ធិខ្ជាប់កន្លង  
ស្រគត់ឥន្ទ្រិយផង  
ដូចព្រះមហាកស្សបសោត ។

២៥

សូមមានតេជតេជះ  
ជ័យជំនះឈ្នះចិត្តក្រោធ  
សត្រូវសល់សែនកោដិ  
ប្រាប់កម្រាបឥតទាល់ទើស ។

២៦

សូមមានអានុភាព  
អាចកម្រាបអាសូរទ្រើស  
ទោះកាចកុំឃ្នងឃ្នើស  
បាក់បែបថ្វាយបង្គំ ។

២៧

សូមប្រាសលែងទុក្ខភ័យ  
ព្យាធិខ្មែក្រៀមក្រំ  
សូមរូបល្អឧត្តម  
ដូចរូបព្រះមហាកថ្វាយន៍ ។

២៨

ខ្ញុំសូមមានកម្លាំង

with a voice rich and resonant,  
melodiously echoing all around,  
to enthrall others' hearts,  
like the voice of Lord Brahmā,  
22  
so that when I preach the Dharma  
it will astound the deities above,  
to entice them down from the heavens  
to come express their exultation.  
23  
May I be like Venerable Sāriputta,  
with wisdom sharp and clear,  
and with might and stores of merit,  
just like Venerable Moggallāna.  
24  
May I possess mindfulness  
my austerities developed and uninterrupted,  
my senses entirely pacified,  
just like Venerable Mahākassapa.  
25  
May I have the powerful might  
to win victory over angry minds.  
May the multitude of enemies that remain  
be crushed without resistance.  
26  
May I be filled with the potency  
to subdue all violent enemies.  
Wild and wicked though they be,  
may they cower in submission and bow low.  
27  
May I be free from pain, danger,  
sickness, fever, and despair.  
May my form be supremely beautiful,  
like that of Venerable Mahākaccāyana.  
28  
May I be filled with strength

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

<p>ខ្លះខែងខ្លាំងទូទាំងឡាយ ដូចនូវព្រះនរាយណ៍ វិទ្ធិម៉ឺងក្រែវិស័យ ។ ២៩</p> <p>រុងរឿងនូវបរិពារ ស្រីស្រីផ្ការច្រើនក្រាស់ក្រៃ សល់សែនកោដិកម្រៃ កម្រាស់លើសតង្គាហោង ។ ៣០</p> <p>បម្រើជាប្រក្រតី នរនារីតតឯគ្នា ជាងដៅប្រុសប្រាជ្ញផង [?] ច្បាប់ទម្លាប់បរិបូណ៌បាន ។ ៣១</p> <p>ខ្ញុំសូមមានមហេសី ស្ងួតស្ងាមីកក្កិសារសាន្ត [?] សុខកើតកប្បកល្យាណ សសូលសមអស់ឥន្ទ្រិយ ។ [?] ៣២</p> <p>កុំខឹងខឹងទ្រតោះ កុំធ្វើយល់ឃ្លោះនឹងប្តីសី សូមមូលមិត្តមេត្រី នឹងបរិពារពេញស្នេហា ។ ៣៣</p> <p>ត្រង់ខ្សត់ត្រង់ពិបាក ត្រង់ព្រាត់ព្រាកខ្ញុំសូមលា ត្រង់ទល់ទុក្ខកំព្រា នោះកុំត្រាយល់ដល់ម្តង ។ ៣៤</p> <p>សូមមានបុណ្យត្រកាល យសបរិពារម៉ឺងកន្ទួង សម្បត្តិសម្បូណ៌ផង ដូចព្រះឥន្ទសហស្សនេត្រា ។ ៣៥</p> <p>សូមបានសេពនឹងអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ ឥតចិត្តកាចកលបូស្សា</p>	<p>and overwhelming vigor, like mighty Lord Narāyaṇa, with a power beyond this sphere, 29</p> <p>resplendent with my retinue of amorous maidens numbering into the thousands and millions, vaster even than the Ganges, 30</p> <p>constantly serving me, faultless men and women, along with many wise men to complete all rules and customs. 31</p> <p>May I have a consort who is gentle and faithful, happy and endowed with charms perfectly appropriate in her whole being, 32</p> <p>who does not grow angry or irate, nor quarrels with her husband. May I be surrounded by caring friends and a loving entourage. 33</p> <p>As for poverty, difficulties, and separation, may I be free of them. As for the pain of bereavement, may I not face it even once. 34</p> <p>May my merit be excellent, with glory and a mighty retinue, with complete riches, just like Lord Indra, the Thousand-Eyed. 35</p> <p>May I be associated with the wise, have a heart free from cruelty and envy,</p>
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Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ចេះធម៌អាថ៌ប្រស្នា ជួបមេត្រីសព្វជាតិហោង ។ ៣៦	know the Dharma scriptures and their riddles, and meet with love in every life. 36
សូមទាន់ព្រះសិអាវ្យ ឆ្លើយប្រស្នាអស់អគ្គផង បរិបូណ៌ដូចបំណង សូមបានទាន់ពុទ្ធសាសនា ។ ៣៧	May I encounter the blessed Lord Ārya-[Maitreya], and answer the questions of the Agga[sāvakas], completely in accordance with my wish. May I receive a prophecy from the Buddha. 37
តេជះអញខ្ញុំថ្វាយ ស្បៀងកាយកបកេសរ រីករោយបុស្សាករ កោមលមាសមានរស្មី ។ ៣៨	By the power of my offering these lotuses, both stalk and pollen, with flowers bursting into bloom, gold lotuses infused with radiance, 38
ទស្សន៍លីស្អាត អភិវាទវរវន្តិ លុតលើកលើសិរសី ផ្គុំប្រណមក្រាបប្រណិបត្តិ ។ ៣៩	with these ten clean fingers in devoted veneration, raised up to my head, united, and prostrated to the ground, 39
បូព៌ាត្រូវសំណូម នេះខ្ញុំសូមប្រថ្នាគ្គាត់ សូមធុតចំហុតថ្វាត់ រៀងរួចដល់និព្វានហោង ។	O Lord, as for these boons for which I so fervently pray, may they immediately come true, from now on until I reach Nibbāna!

**padum thvāy phkā «yön khñuṃ mān citt trek»-br**  
Lotus flower offering, beginning with “Our hearts are filled with joy”

Khmer verse, 9 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB066** 35a–35b pūjā phkā camboḥ braḥ ratana:trāy

Summary: Joyful offering of flowers to the Buddha together with an aspiration to be free of suffering and death and eventually achieve Nibbāna.

<b>UB066</b>	Edition	Translation
១ យើងខ្ញុំមានចិត្តត្រេក	១ យើងខ្ញុំមានចិត្តត្រេក	1 Our hearts are filled with joy

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

អរពន់ពេកកើតជ្រះថ្លា នាំគ្នាបូជាផ្កា ថ្វាយសាស្ត្រា ដោយគោរព ២ ដើម្បីយកផល និងលោះលាខ្លួនចាកភព ចាកភ័យចាកឧបទ្រព ដោយសារម្លប់បុណ្យសាស្ត្រា ។	អរពន់ពេកកើតជ្រះថ្លា នាំគ្នាបូជាផ្កា ថ្វាយសាស្ត្រាដោយគោរព ។ ២ ដើម្បីយកផល និងលស់លាខ្លួនចាកភព ចាកភ័យចាកឧបទ្រព ដោយសារម្លប់បុណ្យសាស្ត្រា ។	and rejoice with clear faith as we gather together to offer flowers to the Teacher with respect  in order to gain the benefits and liberate ourselves from the world, from fear, and from calamities by means of the shade of the merit of the Teacher.
៣ ទើបយកនូវផ្កាលើ មកក្រងធ្វើក្នុងមលា មានពណ៌ក្លិនផ្សេងគ្នា សូមបូជាដល់ព្រះពុទ្ធ ៤ ព្រះធម៌និងព្រះសង្ឃ ប្រសើរអង្គ សីលបរិសុទ្ធ ត្រៃវិគ្គនេះខ្ពស់ផុត ហើយជាមុដលោកទាំងបី ។	៣ ទើបយកនូវផ្កាលើ មកក្រងធ្វើក្នុងមាលា មានពណ៌ក្លិនផ្សេងគ្នា សូមបូជាដល់ព្រះពុទ្ធ ។ ៤ ព្រះធម៌និងព្រះសង្ឃ ប្រសើរអង្គសីលបរិសុទ្ធ ត្រៃវិគ្គនេះខ្ពស់ផុត ហើយជាមុដលោកទាំងបី ។	3 Hence we take up their flowers and wreath them into garlands, with various colors and scents. We humbly offer them to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, those excellent ones, pure in precepts. These Three Jewels exceed all others and are the crown of the triple world.
៥ ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ទាំងអស់គ្នា តែកំព្រាទាំងប្រុសស្រី ព្រាត់ប្រាស់ក្នុងលោកិយ ព្រាត់ស្វាមីព្រាត់ភរិយា ៦ តែងជួបនឹងឈឺចាប់ នឹងកើតស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា មានក្តីទុក្ខក្តៅផ្សា រកអ្នកណាជួយពុំបាន ។	៥ ខ្ញុំម្ចាស់ទាំងអស់គ្នា តែកំព្រាទាំងប្រុសស្រី ព្រាត់ប្រាសក្នុងលោកិយ ព្រាត់ស្វាមីព្រាត់ភរិយា ។ ៦ តែងជួបនឹងឈឺចាប់ នឹងកើតស្លាប់ជាធម្មតា មានក្តីទុក្ខក្តៅផ្សា រកអ្នកណាជួយពុំបាន ។	5 We, servants of the Master, are but orphans, male or female, torn apart in this worldly realm, bereft of husband, bereft of wife. We always encounter pain and the natural course of birth and death. We bear the sting of suffering, and cannot find someone to help us.
៧ យើងខ្ញុំសូមបូជា ក្នុងមាលាល្អកល្យាណ ឆ្ពោះវិគ្គទាំងបីឋាន ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានផុតទោសទុក្ខ ៨ ផុតចាស់ផុតឈឺចាប់ ផុតក្តីស្លាប់តទៅមុខ	៧ យើងខ្ញុំសូមបូជា ក្នុងមាលាល្អកល្យាណ ឆ្ពោះវិគ្គទាំងបីឋាន ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានផុតទោសទុក្ខ ។ ៨ ផុតចាស់ផុតឈឺចាប់ ផុតក្តីស្លាប់តទៅមុខ	7 We humbly offer these garlands, most exquisite, to the Three Jewels, so that we might be free from fault and pain, 8 free from old age, free from suffering, and free from death in the future,



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានសោយសុខ	ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានសោយសុខ	and so that we might savor the bliss
ក្នុងសម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន	ក្នុងសម្បត្តិព្រះនិព្វាន ។	in the attainment of Nibbāna.
៩	៩	9
ពាក្យពោលប៉ង់ប្រាថ្នា	ពាក្យពោលប៉ង់ប្រាថ្នា	Regarding these words of prayer,
ធ្វើសច្ចាប្រណិធាន	ធ្វើសច្ចាប្រណិធាន	that we now make as our truthful aspiration,
សូមមគ្គផលនិព្វាន	សូមមគ្គផលនិព្វាន	may the paths, the fruits, and Nibbāna
ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានប្រាកដហោង ។	ឱ្យខ្ញុំបានប្រាកដហោង ។	be truly achieved by us.

**bāky prakās mun ārāadhanā dhammadesanā-br**

Announcement prior to inviting to preach the Dhamma

Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, first appears in Ek Nīṃ’s 1933 collection (reprinted in 1969).

Leporello: **UB036** 55b–56a *bāky prakās mun ārāadhanā dhaṛm*

Khmer books: Ek Nīṃ ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp’ sūtr oy manuss mān jamnī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឱ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 23.

Summary: Announcement to fellow laypeople, urging them listen carefully to receive boons, in anticipation of reciting **ārāadhanā dhammadesanā-br** to invite a monk to preach.

Standardized edition	Translation
១	1
<i>Ahaṃ</i> រឺខ្ញុំម្ចាស់	<i>Ahaṃ</i> — as for me, servant of the Master,
សូមប្រកាសប្រណិប័តន៍	I humbly announce with respect
ដល់អស់ពួកបរិស័ទ	to all of the faithful
ដែលលះកាត់ក្តីចំណង់ ។	who have cut off attachments
២	2
ហើយមកប្រជុំគ្នា	and have come to gather together here.
ព្រោះប្រាថ្នាយកកុសល	Since you have the aspiration to gain merit,
ហេតុនេះសូមតម្កល់	I hence request you to settle yourselves
សាងកុសលស្តាប់ទេសនា ។	and cultivate merit by listening to a sermon,
៣	3
ដើម្បីជាការបុណ្យ	as this is an act of merit

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

និងជាគុណច្រើនណាស់ណា	and is a great virtue,
អំណាចស្តាប់ទេសនា	that is, the power of listening to a sermon
ដោយជ្រះថ្លាក្នុងសន្តាន ។	with a clear faith within your mind.
៤	4
សូមតាំងចិត្តឲ្យស្អាត	Please make your mind clean,
ខ្ញុំអារាធនាថ្កាន	I shall entreat
និមន្តលោកនិទាន	and invite the Venerable to preach
ទេសន៍ទូន្មានយើងរាល់គ្នា ។	a sermon to chasten all of us.
៥	5
ពេលនេះសូមបរិស័ទ	At this time, I request the faithful
ដែលប្រណិប័តន៍គាល់ត្រៀបត្រា	who have respectfully gathered all around
កុំពោលពាក្យចរចា	to not speak, chat,
និយាយគ្នាបែរមុខក្រោយ ។	or talk with each other or turn around.
៦	6
សូមផ្គង់នូវបញ្ញា	Please attune to your wisdom,
ផ្សៀងសោតាស្តាប់កុំឆ្គោយ	focus with your ears and listen without lapse,
ទេបនឹងបានផលសោយ	so that you might enjoy the fruit
អានិសង្សប្រាំប្រការ ។	of the five kinds of benefits.

**māravijāy paricched-br**

The chapter on the defeat of Māra

Khmer verse, 45 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, composed by Ū Cuñ, likely in 1955 or before.

Leporello: **UB044** 91a–94b māravijāy paricched pad brahmagit

Khmer books: Ū Cuñ អ៊ូ ចុង, *Cpāp' gorab mātāpitā* ច្បាប់គោរពមាតាបិតា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1967 [originally published in 1955]).

Summary: Provides a third-person narrative of the Buddha's defeat of Māra under the bodhi tree (stanzas 1–37), plus a colophon expressing the aspiration of the author to be awakened as an arahant during the time of the future buddha Maitreya (stanzas 38–45).

**sikkhāpad prāmpī-br**

The eight precepts

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, first appears in Ek Ñim's 1933 collection (reprinted in

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

1969), but may have been first composed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB020** 39b–41a sil dāṃṇī° prāṃmpīy toy saṅkhèp; **UB036** 54a–55a sikkhāpad prāṃpī pad brahmagit; **UB060** 25a–26a sikkhāpad 8;

Khmer books: Ek Nīṃ ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp' sūtr oy manuss mān jamṇī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ, ed. Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 21–22.

Summary: Explanation of the eight precepts and the benefits obtained by keeping them, including the attainment of Nibbāna.

Standardized	Translation
១ ទី១ សីលបាណា.... លោករាល់គ្នាត្រូវចាំស្ងាត់ រៀបចំកសម្លាប់សត្វ ដោយខ្លួនឯងឬប្រើគេ ។	1 The first is the precept [beginning with] <i>pāṇā</i> ... All of you should remember it perfectly— abandon the killing of living beings, either by oneself or through another.
២ ទី២ អទិទ្នា.... ទ្រង់ហាមថាកុំផឹកដេ រំពៃលួចទ្រព្យគេ ដោយនូវកាយឬវាចា ។	2 The second [begins with] <i>adinnā</i> ... The Lord forbade: don't deviate by gazing upon and stealing others' property, whether by actions or by words.
៣ ទី៣ សីលកាមេ.... អស់យើងគេរាល់កាយា កុំត្រាច់ទៅប្រាថ្នា លួចកូនប្តីប្រពន្ធគេ។	3 The third is the precept [beginning with] <i>kāme</i> ... All of us, every last one, don't conduct yourself by wishing to steal the child, husband, or wife or another.
៤ ទី៤ សីលមុសា..... ទ្រង់ហាមថាកុំរៀបដៃ កុហកបញ្ឆោតគេ ឱ្យខូចខាតទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ ។	4 The fourth is the precept [beginning with] <i>musā</i> ... The Lord forbid: don't be crooked by lying to or cheating others such that they lose their property and wealth.
៥ ទី៥ សីលសុរា..... ទ្រង់ទេសនាហាមបញ្ញត្តិ	5 The fifth is the precept [beginning with] <i>surā</i> ... The Lord preached to expressly forbid

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

មិនឱ្យពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ	the Buddhist faithful
ផឹកមេរ័យនិងស្ករ ។	from drinking liquor and wine.
៦	6
ទី៦ វិកាល....	The sixth [begins with] <i>vikāla</i> ...
ហាមកុំអាលបរិភោគ	This forbids the consumption of food
ក្នុងពេលជ្រេសុរិយា	from afternoon
រហូតដល់អរុណារះ ។	until dawn.
៧	7
ទី៧ នច្ចតិ....	The seventh [begins with] <i>naccagī</i> ...
ព្រះមុនីទ្រង់ឱ្យលះ	The Sage had us let go of
ឱ្យរៀបចាកស្រឡះ	and completely avoid
ចេញពីគ្រឿងដែលជាល្បែង ។	any sort of entertainment.
៨	8
ទី៨ ឧប្ពា....	The eighth [begins with] <i>uccā</i> ...
ព្រះសាស្តាទ្រង់សំដែង	The Teacher preached
ហាមត្រង់ទីកន្លែង	to forbid any place
ដេកអង្គុយហួសប្រមាណ ។	for lying or sitting that is excessively lofty,
៩	9
គឺពួកទ្រនាប់នោះ	that is, any mattress or support—
ចូរចាំចុះគ្រប់ៗប្រាណ	remember this, all of you—
ត្រៃខ្ពស់ហួសប្រមាណ	any excessively high bed,
ប្រាំបីធ្នាប់ព្រះសុគត ។	higher than eight finger-widths, the Well-Gone One
១០	
ហាមមិនឱ្យអាស្រ័យ	forbade us from resting on
អស់យប់ថ្ងៃប្រាកដ	for the entirety of the day and night,
ឱ្យខំការនាបទ	so that we might strive to cultivate our practices
កម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សនា ។	of <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i> and <i>vipassanā</i> .
១១	11
ហេតុនេះលោកទាំងឡាយ	For this reason, all of you,
ស្តាប់បរិយាយព្រះសាសនា	listen to the exposition of the holy Teaching—
នេះហើយព្រះសាស្តា	this is exactly what the Teacher
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ថាដើមកុសល ។	explained as the root of the good.
១២	12
ប្រសិនបើលោកណា	Should any of you
បានរក្សានឹងបានផល	keep [these precepts] you shall reap fruits
ប្រសើរឥតធ្មីមដល់	that are excellent and incomparable,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

រួចចាកទុក្ខផងទាំងឡាយ ។	liberating yourself from all suffering
១៣	13
ហើយនឹងបានដល់ស្ថាន	and arriving at the realm
ព្រះនិព្វានប្រសើរសាយ	of Nibbāna, most wonderful,
ជាទីសុខសប្បាយ	the happy place,
ឥតមានទុក្ខដិតដល់ឡើយ ។	where suffering cannot follow.

**sira: on-br**

Bowing my head

Khmer verse, 11 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, first appears in Jāy M"ai 1942, but already considered old at that time.

Leperello: **UB038** 58a–59a sira: on; **UB065** 51a–51b sira: on

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhara ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ដ៏យ ម៉ែ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg* នានាធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 30.

Summary: Pays homage to the Buddha, recounts his passing away into Nibbāna on the full moon of the month of Visākha, and makes an aspiration to be born in time for the dispensation of Maitreya.

Standardized Edition and Translation

១	1
សិរៈឱនលំទោនកាយ	Bowing my head, bending my body,
ហត្ថាថ្វាយបង្គំផ្គុំដៃ	I offer my hands in a reverent prostration,
ចិត្តិស្មោះចំពោះត្រង់	with my heart faithful and devoted
អង្គព្រះមុនិន្ទពិនលោកា ។	to the Lord, Chief of Sages, Summit of the Worlds.
២	2
កាលទ្រង់គង់នៅឡើយ	When he still remained alive,
ព្រះគុណអើយតែងទេសនា	the virtuous one, he always preached,
ប្រោសសត្វមនុស្សទេវតា	saving beings, both gods and men,
រាល់វេលាពុំដែលខាន ។	at all times without fail.
៣	3
ឥឡូវព្រះសយម្ព	Now the Self-Arisen Lord

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

នឹងទ្រាំយូរគង់ពុំបាន	will not be able to remain long.
យាងចូលកាន់និព្វាន	He will enter Nibbāna,
ខានទូន្មានយើងរាល់គ្នា ។	ceasing to instruct all of us.
៤	4
សារីកព្រះជាម្ចាស់	The disciples of the Lord of Lords
គង់ច្រើនណាស់នៅគ្រឿងបត្រា	gather round in great numbers,
បាត់តែអង្គព្រះសាស្តា	for they will lose the Teacher
ពីគ្រានោះលុះឥឡូវ ។	from this moment forward.
៥	5
ព្រះគុណអើយសែនវិវេក	Oh, Lord of Virtues, how utterly lonely!
គួរសង្កេតពេកណាស់ក្នុង	How worthy of being stirred and shocked!
ព្រះរូបគង់ស្រងើរ	His body remains resplendent,
សត្វត្រូវពឹងយកនិស្ស័យ ។	as creatures take refuge and seek dependance.
៦	6
ពេញបូណ៌វិសាខា	On the full moon of the month of Visākha,
ថ្ងៃនេះណាព្រះម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	on this very day, the Precious Master
ប្រសូតចេញចាកផ្ទៃ	was born from the womb,
នឹងក្សត្រថ្ងៃចេញបព្វជ្ជា ។	as a precious prince, left to go forth,
៧	7
បានត្រាស់ពោធិញ្ញាណ	achieved the knowledge of awakening,
ចូលនិព្វានមានវេលា	and entered Nibbāna—all on the day
ពេញបូណ៌វិសាខា	of the full moon of Visākha
មានចរិតបួននេះឯង ។	were these four events.
៨	8
កាលស្តេចនិព្វានទៅ	Once the Buddha had entered Nibbāna,
សារីកនៅគិតកោតក្រែង	the disciples who remained, out of respect and awe,
រៀបធ្វើគ្រឿងតាក់តែង	prepared various offerings
រាល់វិសាខតែរៀងរាល់ ។	every Visākha day
៩	9
មកដល់ឥឡូវនេះ	up until the present.
យើងខ្ញុំនេះវន្ទាក្រាប	All of us gathered here bow down
នឹកដល់ព្រះទ្រង់ភាព	in memory of the Lord who embodies
ជាបុណ្យលាភពុទ្ធសាសនា ។	the merits and attainments of Buddhism.
១០	10
ខ្ញុំបានគោរពហើយ	Having offered my respect,
ព្រះគុណអើយខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នា	Lord of Virtues, I pray

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ទាន់ព្រះមេត្តេយ្យា	to be born in time for Metteyya,
ត្រាស់ឯក្រោយដោយប្រពៃ ។	who will marvelously awaken in the future.
១១	11
ពាក្យបំណងណាត់	As for my words of prayer,
កុំបីភ្នាក់ណាម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	may they not be forgotten, Precious Master.
សូមទាន់ព្រះមេត្តេយ្យ	May I be born in time for Metteyya
ត្រាន់អាស្រ័យទៅនិព្វាន ។	such that I might be able to reach Nibbāna.

**akkharā 33-br**

The thirty-three consonants

Khmer verse, 46 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB060** 33b–35b akkharā 33

Short-format palm-leaf: FEMC 1107 I.3 lpök akkharā sām sip pī (Vatt Bhūmi Thmī, Kampong Cham)

Summary: Pays homage to the virtues of one’s mother and father, followed by an exposition that connects each consonant of the alphabet to a part of the body, then explains which parts of the body are the virtues of the mother and which are the virtues of the father, and concludes with the benefits enjoyed by one who studies and memorizes this teaching, including birth as a handsome and mighty king.

<b>UB060</b>	Standardized	Translation
១ អហំតាំងស្មារតី ឱនសិរិសីថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះមេមាតាខ្ញុំ គុណឧត្តមក្រៃ ។	១ <i>aham</i> តាំងស្មារតី ឱនសិរិសីថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះមេមាតាខ្ញុំ គុណឧត្តមក្រៃ ។	1 <i>Aham</i> — I establish wakefulness, inclining my head and bowing down to my holy mother, whose virtues are supreme
២ នូវគុណព្រះបិតា គ្រូអាចារ្យអ្នកទាំងបី ព្រះគុណធួនមហាថ្ងៃ រកអ្វីប្រៀបធៀបពុំបាន ។	២ នូវគុណព្រះបិតា គ្រូអាចារ្យអ្នកទាំងបី ព្រះគុណធួនមហាថ្ងៃ រកអ្វីប្រៀបធៀបពុំបាន ។	2 and to the virtues of my holy father and my master. These three have holy virtues that are exceptionally precious; nothing can be compared to them.
៣ ខ្ញុំក្រអត់ជនធាន	៣ ខ្ញុំក្រអត់ជនធាន	3 I am poor and lacking in wealth,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ធ្វើបុណ្យកំដរច្រាន ខ្ញុំទាល់រកមិនបាន ធ្វើ-បុណ្យទានសងគុណអ្នក។	ធ្វើបុណ្យកំដរច្រាណ ខ្ញុំទាល់រកមិនបាន ធ្វើបុណ្យទានសងគុណអ្នក។	and make merit by accompanying your body. I cannot even find enough to make merit through charity to repay your virtues.
៤	៤	4
សព្វថ្ងៃមានតែចិត្ត ចិន្តាគិតឃើញជាន់ជាក់ រំលឹកនឹកគុណអ្នក ដែលលោកបង្កើតខ្ញុំមក ។	សព្វថ្ងៃមានតែចិត្ត ចិន្តាគិតឃើញជាន់ជាក់ រំលឹកនឹកគុណអ្នក ដែលលោកបង្កើតខ្ញុំមក ។	These days I have but my heart and my mind that can see clearly, recollecting your virtues that gave birth to me.
៥	៥	5
គ្រូបារមាចារ្យថ្ងៃ អត្តបាណ្ឌិឱវប្រែបក បង្ហាញបង្ហាត់មក ខ្ញុំចងចាំអស់ទាំងខ្លួន ។	គ្រូបារមាចារ្យថ្ងៃ អត្តបាលីឱវប្រែបក បង្ហាញបង្ហាត់មក ខ្ញុំចងចាំអស់ទាំងខ្លួន ។	The precious teachers translated the meaning of the Pali texts and explained and taught it to me. I have remembered it all within my body.
៦	៦	6
ព្រះគុណអម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំ ភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុជាជំរុំ ថោកថយជាងបីស្កន ប្រៀបនូវគុណមិនបានទេ ។	ព្រះគុណអម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំ ភ្នំព្រះសុមេរុជាជំរុំ ថោកថយជាងបីស្កន ប្រៀបនូវគុណមិនបានទេ ។	As for the holy virtues of my lords, even massive Mount Sumeru is worth less than a third. Nothing can be compared to their virtues.
៧	៧	7
ព្រះម៉ែនូវឪពុក ឆិបញ្ចុកបីបំបៅ បំបោសសព្វកាយនូវ អស់សត្រូវបៀនពុំបាន ។	ព្រះម៉ែនូវឪពុក ឆិបញ្ចុកបីបំបៅ បំបោសសព្វកាយនូវ អស់សត្រូវបៀនពុំបាន ។	My mother and father fed, cradled, and nursed me, defending my body from all enemies so that none could harm me.
៨	៨	8
ខ្ញុំមិនភ្លេចគុណថ្ងៃ នឹកសព្វថ្ងៃពុំដែលខាន រព្វកពេលថ្ការមាឡ ថ្កាយបង្កគុណថ្ការណោះ។	ខ្ញុំមិនភ្លេចគុណថ្ងៃ នឹកសព្វថ្ងៃពុំដែលខាន រព្វកពេលថ្ការម៉ាន ថ្កាយបង្កគុណថ្ការណោះ។	I cannot forget their precious virtues. I recall them each day without fail. Whenever I recollect them, in that very moment I venerate those virtues
៩	៩	9
នូវគុណអង្គអក្ខរា តែងសិក្សា៣០នោះ សាមបីមែនចំពោះ កើតរាល់រូបរាងខ្ញុំណា ។	នូវគុណអង្គអក្ខរា តែងសិក្សាសាមសិបនោះ សាមបីមែនចំពោះ កើតរាល់រូបរាងខ្ញុំណា ។	and the virtues embodied in the letters, which I constantly study, thirty- three in all, which truly gave birth to the entirety of my body.
១០	១០	10
កាយប្រែថាខ្លួន មោះមានមួនរាល់រូបា	kāye ប្រែថាខ្លួន មោះមានមួនរាល់រូបា	Kāye translates as “body.” In other words, the following exists in all bodies:



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កកើតជាភេសា	<i>ka</i> កើតជា <i>kesā</i>	<i>Ka</i> is born as <i>kesā</i> ,
សក់សោតណាកំណត់មាន ។	សក់សោតណាកំណត់មាន ។	that is, head hair, whose numbers are limited.
១១	១១	11
ឯរោម៤កោដិ	ឯរោមប្រាំបួនកោដិ	Body hairs number nine hundred million,
ឯសក់សោត៤លាន	ឯសក់សោតប្រាំបួនលាន	but head hairs number nine million.
រាល់គ្នាសឹងតែមាន	រាល់គ្នាសឹងតែមាន	Everyone has just this much,
លោកកំណត់ប៉ុណ្ណឹងមក ។	លោកកំណត់ប៉ុណ្ណឹងមក ។	as the masters decreed it so.
១២	១២	12
លោមាខពន្ធក	<i>lomā kha</i> ពន្ធក	<i>Lomā</i> is the sprout of <i>kha</i> ,
រោមស្បៀតសិកសព្វកាយា	រោមស្បៀតសិកសព្វកាយា	that is body hair, which penetrates the whole body.
គៈតាប់កើតនក្ខា	<i>ga</i> តាប់កើត <i>nakhā</i>	<i>Ga</i> is born as <i>nakhā</i> ,
ក្រចកណាទាំងម្ភៃ ។	ក្រចកណាទាំងម្ភៃ ។	namely the nails, twenty in all.
១៣	១៣	13
យឃើញមានទន្ធា	<i>gha</i> ឃើញមាន <i>dantā</i>	<i>Gha</i> is seen as <i>dantā</i> , or teeth.
ព្រះសាស្តាអម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	ព្រះសាស្តាអម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ	The Teacher, our precious master,
ទន្ធា៤០នៃ	<i>dantā</i> វៃសិបនៃ	had forty teeth,
យើងសព្វថ្ងៃពុំកំណត់ ។	យើងសព្វថ្ងៃពុំកំណត់ ។	but people these days are not consistent.
១៤	១៤	14
ខ្លះសាមសិបពីរឃើ	ខ្លះសាមសិបពីរឃើ	Some have thirty-two or thirty-three,
ខ្លះហិនហៃម្ភៃគត់	ខ្លះហិនហៃម្ភៃគត់	but some are lacking and have just twenty.
ហេតុនោះពុំកំណត់	ហេតុនោះពុំកំណត់	Thus it is not consistent
ឱប្រាកដនឹងគណនា ។	ឱប្រាកដនឹងគណនា ។	and there is no fixed number.
១៥	១៥	15
តចោងជាស្បែក	<i>taco ña</i> ជាស្បែក	<i>Taco</i> , or <i>ña</i> , is the skin
អង្គឯងឯករុអង្គារ	អង្គឯងឯករុអង្គារ	that wraps around our bodies.
ប្រមូលផ្លែពុទ្រា	ប្រមូលផ្លែពុទ្រា	Gathering up jujube fruits,
គិតៈគណនាត្រូវអារម្មណ៍ ។	គិតគណនាត្រូវអារម្មណ៍ ។	contemplate this aspect as an object.
១៦	១៦	16
មំសំចសាច់សំ	<i>mamsam ca</i> សាច់សំ	<i>Mamsam</i> , or <i>ca</i> , is the flesh,
៣០ ដុំពីងឯងព្វ	សាមសិបដុំពីងឯងព្វ	consisting of thirty groups of muscles.
នហារុនសរសៃ	<i>nahārū cha</i> សរសៃ	<i>Nahārū</i> , or <i>cha</i> , is the sinews,
ទង់ទាញក្រស្រាបរូបរិត ។	ទង់ទាញក្រស្រាបរូបរិត ។	pulled to and fro, wrapping all around.
១៧	១៧	17
រឺជអង្គអក្ខរ	<i>vja</i> អង្គអក្ខរ	As for the letter <i>ja</i> ,
អដ្ឋិណាគីត្តិដ៏ខិត	<i>atthi</i> ណាគីត្តិដ៏ខិត	or <i>atthi</i> , that is the bones, which number
បានបីរយកំណត់	បានបីរយកំណត់	in total three hundred

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ដោយសង្កាត់ដូច្នោះហោង ។	ដោយសង្កាត់ដូច្នោះហោង ។	when divided into pieces.
១៨	១៨	18
ឈអដ្ឋិមិញ្ចំ	<i>jha atthimiṅṅam</i>	<i>Jha</i> , or <i>atthimiṅṅam</i> ,
ខួរឆ្អឹងស្មឹងពីរឯងហោង	ខួរឆ្អឹងស្មឹងពីរឯងហោង	bone marrow and brain tissue.
វក្កញសោតហោង	<i>vakkam ṅa</i> សោតហោង	<i>Vakkam</i> , or <i>ṅa</i> ,
កើតជាទាចរាល់រូប៉ា ។	កើតជាទាចរាល់រូប៉ា ។	gives rise to everyone's kidney.
១៩	១៩	19
ហទយំ ហទយា	<i>hadayam hadayā</i>	<i>Hadayam</i> , or <i>hadayā</i> ,
ដកើតជាបេះដូងណា	<i>ta</i> កើតជាបេះដូងណា	that is, <i>ta</i> , gives birth to the heart.
យកនំបំអក្ខរា	<i>yakanam ṭha</i> អក្ខរា	<i>Yakanam</i> , or the letter <i>ṭha</i> ,
បង្កើតជាថ្លើមឯងហោង ។	បង្កើតជាថ្លើមឯងហោង ។	gives birth to the liver.
២០	២០	20
រឺថ្លើមអ្នកល្ងង់ខ្លៅ	រឺថ្លើមអ្នកល្ងង់ខ្លៅ	The livers of the ignorant
រឺងស៊ីងអាប់គ្មានប្រាជ្ញា	រឺងស៊ីងអាប់គ្មានប្រាជ្ញា	return to nothing, for they lack wisdom.
ថ្លើមដូចផ្លែភិកា	ថ្លើមដូចផ្លែភិកា	Their livers are like the <i>pikā</i> fruit,
គ្មានជំបារមូលវិស័យ ។	គ្មានជំបារមូលវិស័យ ។	not planar at all but rather a round lump.
២១	២១	21
រឺថ្លើមនៃអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	រឺថ្លើមនៃអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	But as for the livers of the wise,
ចេះអង្គអាចលោកឧបមេយ្យ	ចេះអង្គអាចលោកឧបមេយ្យ	of those with courage, the masters liken
ថ្លើមនោះដូចស្លឹកជ្រៃ	ថ្លើមនោះដូចស្លឹកជ្រៃ	those livers to lemongrass
ម្យុរាមថ្លៃនៃកបន្ទា។	ម្យុរាមថ្លៃនៃកបន្ទា។	or precious <i>mlū rām</i> , being divided and thorny.
២២	២២	22
ឧកិលោមកំ	<i>da kilomakam</i>	<i>Da</i> , or <i>kilomakam</i> ,
គឺរបាំងក្នុងកាយា	គឺរបាំងក្នុងកាយា	that is, the barrier within the body,
បង្ហាងអស់អាហារ	បង្ហាងអស់អាហារ	walling off the food and feces,
គឺក្រដាសសន្ទះខ្យល់ ។	គឺក្រដាសសន្ទះខ្យល់ ។	known as the membrane of the diaphragm.
២៣	២៣	23
រឺឈបិហកំ	<i>ṛdha pihakam</i>	As for <i>dha</i> , or <i>pihakam</i> ,
គួរអនិច្ចំ គឺតឱ្យយល់	គួរអនិច្ចំ គឺតឱ្យយល់	it should be clearly seen for its impermanence
អាសោច អាសាសល់	អាសោច អាសាសល់	as impure and without remaining essence,
គឺក្រពះមានជាថង់ ។	គឺក្រពះមានជាថង់ ។	that is, the bag of the stomach.
២៤	២៤	24
រឺណបប្ពាសំ	<i>ṛna papphāsam</i>	<i>Ṛa</i> , or <i>papphāsam</i> ,
សួតសាច់តាំងផ្ទាប់ដើមទ្រូង	សួតសាច់តាំងផ្ទាប់ដើមទ្រូង	is the lungs, adjacent to the chest wall.
អន្តតឯងហោង	<i>antam ta</i> ឯងហោង	<i>Antam</i> , or <i>ta</i> ,
គឺពោះរៀនធំវិស័យ	គឺពោះរៀនធំវិស័យ ។	is the large intestines.

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២៥	អន្តគុណិនៃ ថវិស័យនៃពោះផង ឱ្យទៅរៀនចាំចង ឱ្យហ្មត់ហ្មងមន្តវិជ្ជា ។	២៥	<i>antagunam</i> នៃ <i>tha</i> វិស័យនៃពោះផង ឱ្យទៅរៀនចាំចង ឱ្យហ្មត់ហ្មងមន្តវិជ្ជា ។	25	<i>Antagunam</i> (mesentary), or <i>tha</i> , is the realm of the abdomen, to be studied and remembered perfectly for magical knowledge.
២៦	ឧទរិយំអាហារថ្មី យើងសព្វថ្ងៃបរិភោគ គឺទអង្ក័អក្ខរៈ យើងខ្ញុំណាមានជន្មា ។	២៦	<i>udariyam</i> អាហារថ្មី យើងសព្វថ្ងៃបរិភោគ គឺ <i>da</i> អង្ក័អក្ខរៈ យើងខ្ញុំណាមានជន្មា ។	26	<i>Udariyam</i> is pre-digested food that we have eaten each day, or the letter <i>da</i> that gives us life.
២៧	ករិសំអាហារចាស់ ធំដាក់ច្បាស់មហិមា អសោចរងវេទនា មុខគួរឱ្យអនិច្ចាណាស់។	២៧	<i>karīsam</i> អាហារចាស់ <i>dha</i> ដាក់ច្បាស់មហិមា អសោចរងវេទនា មុខគួរឱ្យអនិច្ចាណាស់។	27	<i>Karīsam</i> is digested food, or <i>dha</i> , extremely massive, impure, and painful, worthy of seeing its transience.
២៨	បិត្តិនប្រមាត់ សំឡេងកាត់ទាំងចាស់ក្មេង សេម្មតិទឹកស្នេស្ន ប បង្កើតជាក់ចំពោះ ។	២៨	<i>pittam na</i> ប្រមាត់ សម្លេងកាត់ទាំងក្មេងចាស់ <i>semham</i> គឺទឹកស្នេស្ន <i>pa</i> បង្កើតជាក់ចំពោះ ។	28	<i>Pittam</i> , or <i>na</i> , is the gallbladder in common parlance, for both young and old. <i>Semham</i> is phlegm, which <i>pa</i> clearly gives birth to.
២៩	បុព្វោពិត្រពិ ផ បង្កើតមកបានជាខ្ទុះ ពលោហិតនោះ បង្កើតមកបានជាឈាម ។	២៩	<i>pubbo</i> ពិតពិ <i>pha</i> បង្កើតមកបានជាខ្ទុះ <i>ba lohitaṃ</i> នោះ បង្កើតមកបានជាឈាម ។	29	<i>Pubbo</i> certainly comes from <i>pha</i> , which gives birth to pus. <i>Ba</i> , or <i>lohitaṃ</i> , gives birth to blood.
៣០	សេទោជាញើសកាយ បើនឿយណាស់ហូររហាម កបង្កើតតាមដោយ វាយោក្តៅឬត្រជាក់។	៣០	<i>sedo</i> ជាញើសកាយ បើនឿយណាស់ហូររហាម <i>bha</i> បង្កើតតាមដោយ <i>vāyo</i> ក្តៅឬត្រជាក់ ។	30	<i>Sedo</i> is the sweat of the body. When we are exhausted, it flows forth. <i>Bha</i> gives birth to it according to the wind element being hot or cold.
៣១	មមេទោ - ខ្លាញ់ខាប់ ខាន់ទ្រនាប់គួរអនេក អស្សុយទឹកភ្នែក ហូរជោកជែកនេត្រទ្វេហា ។	៣១	<i>ma medo</i> ខ្លាញ់ខាប់ ខាន់ទ្រនាប់គួរអនេក <i>assu ya</i> ទឹកភ្នែក ហូរជោកជែកនេត្រទ្វេហា ។	31	<i>Ma</i> , or <i>medo</i> , is solid fat, divided into limitless small rings. <i>Assu</i> , or <i>ya</i> , is tears, flowing out copiously from each eye.
៣២		៣២		32	

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

រងជាខ្លាញ់រាវ	ra រងជាខ្លាញ់រាវ	Ra stands in for liquid fat,
ជ្រូតជ្រាបទាល់ហៅវសា	ជ្រូតជ្រាបទាល់ហៅ <i>vasā</i>	which is thoroughly soaked and called <i>vasā</i> .
ក្នុងបាឡីលោកថា	ក្នុងបាលីលោកថា	In the Pali texts, the masters say
លខឡេគឺទឹកមាត់ ។	<i>la khelo</i> គឺទឹកមាត់ ។	that <i>la</i> , or <i>khelo</i> , is saliva.
៣៣	៣៣	33
ដឹងរស់ដឹងពិសា	ដឹងរស់ដឹងពិសា	It knows tastes and flavors
ពីជីវ្ហាគឺអណ្តាត	ពី <i>jivhā</i> គឺអណ្តាត	from the <i>jivhā</i> , that is, the tongue.
ទឹកមាត់មានជាខ្លាត	ទឹកមាត់មានជាខ្លាត	Saliva is the means
គ្រាន់សំគាល់ជាសាបប្រែ	គ្រាន់សម្គាល់ជាសាបប្រែ ។	by which we recognize bland and salty.
៣៤	៣៤	34
វសិវ្ហាណិកា	<i>va singhānikā</i>	<i>Va</i> , or <i>singhānikā</i> ,
គួរអនិច្ចាណអ្នកថ្ងៃ	គួរអនិច្ចាណអ្នកថ្ងៃ	should be seen as impermanent, dear sir.
សម្បុរហូរសព្វថ្ងៃ	សម្បុរហូរសព្វថ្ងៃ	It is the mucus that flows every day
ពីច្រមុះទាំងសង្វាង ។	ពីច្រមុះទាំងសងខាង ។	from both nostrils of the nose.
៣៥	៣៥	35
លសិកាសទឹករាគ	<i>lasikā sa</i> ទឹករាគ	<i>Lasikā</i> , or <i>sa</i> , is the fluid of passion,
ឱ្យជំពាក់ដោយមោហា	ឱ្យជំពាក់ដោយមោហា	which is indebted to the ignorance
មោហាមកបិតបាំង	មោហាមកបិតបាំង	and delusion that clouds the vision
មិនឱ្យគិតឃើញខុសត្រូវ ។	មិនឱ្យគិតឃើញខុសត្រូវ ។	and prevents one from seeing right and wrong.
៣៦	៣៦	36
អក្សរហមុត្តំ	អក្សរ <i>ha muttam</i>	The letter <i>ha</i> , or <i>muttam</i> (urine)
ទឹកអសំសែនអសល់	ទឹកអសំសែនអស្រូវ	is the vile liquid
ហូរចេញជានិច្ចនៅ	ហូរចេញជានិច្ចនៅ	that always flows out,
ស្រោចស្រក់ទៅទាំងផល ។	ស្រោចស្រក់ទៅទាំងផល ។	drizzling and dripping over the earth.
៣៧	៣៧	37
វិឡមុត្តិកេ	<i>vī la matthake</i>	As for <i>la</i> , or <i>matthake</i> ,
អ្នកប្រាជ្ញប្រែថាលលាដ៍	អ្នកប្រាជ្ញប្រែថាលលាដ៍	the wise translate it as the skull,
មែនមានតែរាល់គ្នា	មែនមានតែរាល់គ្នា	which we all possess, whereas
មុត្តិកេអ្នកខ្លះ ។	<i>matthaluṅga</i> គឺខ្លះ ។	<i>matthaluṅga</i> is the brain.
៣៨	៣៨	38
នេះនឹងលើកអក្ខរ	នេះនឹងលើកអក្ខរ	What follows is the exposition of the letters
តែងសិក្សាឱ្យឃើញតួ	តែងសិក្សាឱ្យឃើញតួ	to be always studied, their forms to be seen
រំលែកចែកឱ្យគួរ	រំលែកចែកឱ្យគួរ	and divided appropriately into categories
ឱ្យគិតចុះកុំសង្ស័យ ។	ឱ្យគិតចុះកុំសង្ស័យ ។	for reflection, so that you won't doubt them.
៣៩	៣៩	39
អក្ខរទាំង២១	អក្ខរទាំងម្ភៃមួយ	Twenty-one letters

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

បិតាឱ្យមកខ្ញុំនៃ ពីកដល់ធូថ្ងៃ ចំណែកពីបិតាដែល ។	បិតាឱ្យមកខ្ញុំនៃ ពី ka ដល់ dha ថ្ងៃ ចំណែកពីបិតាដែល ។	were given to me by my father. From ka to precious dha are from my father's side.
៤០	៤០	40
រឺនត្តអក្សរ ដល់ ត្រឹមហាជាដំណែល ដំណើរមាតាដែល អ្នកប្រទានទុកឱ្យខ្ញុំ	រឺna ត្តអក្សរ ដល់ ត្រឹម ha ជាដំណែល ដំណើរមាតាដែល អ្នកប្រទានទុកឱ្យខ្ញុំ ។	As for the letters na to ha, these are the inheritance from my mother, which she bequeathed to me.
៤១	៤១	41
អក្ខរាព្វា អ្នកកិត្តិថ្ងៃមានយោបំ យោបល់គិតសន្សំ លើកបង្គំគុណទៅហោង ។	អក្ខរាសាមសិបបី អ្នកកិត្តិថ្ងៃមានយោបំ យោបល់គិតសន្សំ លើកបង្គំគុណទៅហោង ។	As for these thirty-three letters, a venerable monk with discretion and reflection should cultivate them and pay respect to their virtues.
៤២	៤២	42
ប្រសិនអ្នកនាងណា បានឧស្សាហ៍រៀនចាំចង គោរពតាមគន្លង ធម៌នេះហោងហោមហាថ្ងៃ ។	ប្រសិនអ្នកនាងណា បានឧស្សាហ៍រៀនចាំចង គោរពតាមគន្លង ធម៌នេះហោងហោមហាថ្ងៃ ។	Should any man or woman strive hard to learn, remember, and appropriately respect this Dharma, it is most precious,
៤៣	៤៣	43
ថ្ងៃងប្រាប់ពុំបានទេ ក្នុងគម្ពីរលោកស្រដី បើបានសូត្រសព្វថ្ងៃ ជាប្រក្រតិកុំឱ្យដាច់ ។	ថ្ងៃងប្រាប់ពុំបានទេ ក្នុងគម្ពីរលោកស្រដី បើបានសូត្រសព្វថ្ងៃ ជាប្រក្រតិកុំឱ្យដាច់ ។	precious beyond description. In the scriptures, the Master says that if one recites it daily, continuously without a lapse,
៤៤	៤៤	44
អ្នកនោះទៅឯភ្នែក ល្អឯងឯកស្រស់ស្រួលស្រេច នឹងបានកើតជាស្តេច មានអំណាច១០០ជាតិ ។	អ្នកនោះទៅឯភ្នែក ល្អឯងឯកស្រស់ស្រួលស្រេច នឹងបានកើតជាស្តេច មានអំណាចមួយរយជាតិ ។	then in the future one shall be superbly beautiful and filled with ease, born as a mighty king for one hundred lives,
៤៥	៤៥	45
កបទ្រង់កបកាយាៈ មាត់សោតណាទិព្វពុំឃ្លាត រូបល្អសស្អាតស្អាត គ្រប់ទាំងជាតិរយណា ។	កបទ្រង់កបកាយា មាត់សោតណាទិព្វពុំឃ្លាត រូបល្អសស្អាតស្អាត គ្រប់ទាំងជាតិមួយរយណា ។	and endowed with a body and speech that are divine, not straying from a lovely and attractive form for each of those one hundred lifetimes.
៤៦	៤៦	46
នេះនឹងចាត់ចែងចង លើកទំនងតាមសេចក្តី	នេះនឹងចាត់ចែងចង លើកទំនងតាមសេចក្តី	This expresses the exposition, poetically phrased to follow the meaning,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

អក្ខរាព្យាសិបបី                      អក្ខរាសាមសិបបី                      of the “Thirty-Three Letters,”  
 នឹងចែងចប់ម៉្លេះឯងហោង                      នឹងចែងចប់ម៉្លេះឯងហោង ។                      which concludes right here.

**aciraṃ vata yaṃ kāyo-gāthā samrāy-br**

Stanza beginning with “Soon, alas, this body,” translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, fragment of 49 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB006** 59b–60b; **UB020** 41b–47b.

Summary: Explanation of the suffering of birth, old age, sickness, and death, followed by an unpacking of the Pali stanza in question on the inevitability of death, then an exhortation to practice *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation, and concluding with a parable of a man being chased by four thieves, i.e. birth, old age, sickness, and death.

Edition

<b>UB006</b>	<b>UB020</b>	Standardized
១	១	១
XXXXX	ជាតិគឺរក្សំម្ពីត	<i>jāti</i> គឺកំណើត
XXXXXXX	បងកវកើតជារូប្បារ	បង្កើតជារូបា
XXXXX	មានទុក្ខជាភ្នាក់ផ្សារ	មានទុក្ខជាភ្នាក់ផារ
XXXXXXX	មានវេទនាជាអ្នកស្សោ ។១៧	មានវេទនាជាអ្នកសោយ ។
២	២	២
XXXXX	រល់រូបរលំនាមា	រលំរូបរលំនាមា
XXXXXXX	មានទុក្ខតាមដិតដោយ	មានទុក្ខតាមដិតដោយ
XXXXX	មិនមានអ្នកណាឱ្យ	មិនមានអ្នកណាឲ្យ
XXXXXXX	ខ្លួនយើងឱ្យពុំដទៃ ។១៨	ខ្លួនយើងឲ្យពុំដទៃ ។
៣	៣	៣
XXXXX	ទុក្ខំ ២ក្នុងប្រាន	<i>dukkham</i> ទុក្ខក្នុងប្រាណ
XXXXXXX	រូបមិនបានគិតសង្ស័យ	រូបមិនបានគិតសង្ស័យ
XXXXX	ស្សោទុក្ខតែរសព្វថ្ងៃ	សោយទុក្ខតែរសព្វថ្ងៃ
XXXXXXX	មិនមានភ្នែកគិតបំប្លែង ។១៩	មិនមានភ័យគិតបំប្លែង ។
៤	៤	៤
XXXXX	កងទុក្ខទាំងបួនបទ	កងទុក្ខទាំងបួនបទ
XXXXXXX	មានក្នុងអ្នកគិតភ្នែកគ្មាន	មានកំណត់គិតភ្នែកគ្មាន
XXXXX	ទុក្ខត្រូវត្រូវខ្លួន២	ទុក្ខត្រូវត្រូវខ្លួន ។
XXXXXXX	ទុក្ខប្រកាន់ជាភ្នាក់ផ្សារ ។២០	ទុក្ខប្រកាន់ជាភ្នាក់ផារ ។

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៥	៥	៥
XXXXXX	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រើនជ្រាបច្បាស	ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រើនជ្រាបច្បាស
XXXXXXXX	ថាករ មានជរា	ថាការ មាន jarā
XXXXXX	ដុំម្រូតទាំងស្បែក	តម្រូតទាំងអស់គ្នា
XXXXXXXX	រិទ្ធដររៀងមិនបាន ៗ១០	បូទ្ន jarā រាងមិនបាន ។
៦	៦	៦
XXXXXX	ជាទុក្ខនិងជរា	ជាទុក្ខនិង jarā
XXXXXXXX	ប្រជុំមគ្គុទៅក្នុងប្រាន	ប្រជុំគ្នាទៅក្នុងប្រាណ
XXXXXX	សត្វលោកគ្មានគិតអាន	សត្វលោកគ្មានគិតអាន
XXXXXXXX	ស្មានជរាថាមិនឥត ៗ១០	ស្មាន jarā ថាមិនអស់ ។
៧	៧	៧
XXXXXX	ជរាករជាទុក្ខ	jarā ក៏ជាទុក្ខ
XXXXXXXX	ពុំបានសុខក្នុងលោក្សី	ពុំបានសុខក្នុងលោកិយ៍
XXXXXX	កុំឱ្យថាមិនឥតស្ប	កុំឱ្យថាមិនអស់
XXXXXXXX	ព្រះជិនស្រីខ្លាចជរា ៗ១០	ព្រះជិនស្រីខ្លាច jarā ។
៨	៨	៨
XXXXXX	ជរាមានរិទ្ធិ	jarā វាមានបូទ្ន
XXXXXXXX	បញ្ចូលចិត្តទាំងស្បែក	បញ្ចូលចិត្តទាំងអស់គ្នា
XXXXXX	មិនឱ្យស្គាល់ជរា	មិនឱ្យស្គាល់ jarā
XXXXXXXX	គ្រាទុក្ខវាសម្លឹង ៗ១០	គ្រាទុក្ខវាសម្លឹង ។
៩	៩	៩
XXXXXX	ភ្នាក់បិទទុក្ខ	byādhi ភ្នាក់ទុក្ខ
XXXXXXXX	ព្យាដ្ឋីណាវាបង្កើត	byādhi ណាវាបង្កើត
XXXXXX	បង្កើតឱ្យច្រឡំ	បង្កើតឱ្យច្រឡំ
XXXXXXXX	ច្រឡំសង្ស័យរបស់ស្បជរា ៗ១០	ច្រឡំសង្ស័យរបស់ jarā ។
១០	១០	១០
XXXXXX	ប្រទះប្រទាញតោង	ប្រទះប្រទាញតោង
XXXXXXXX	ខ្នងទោរកោងព្រោះរោគ	ខ្នងទោរកោងព្រោះរោគ
XXXXXX	រោគរម្ងៃជុំអាត្មា	រោគរម្ងៃជុំអាត្មា
XXXXXXXX	គ្មានអ្នកណាបានឱ្យសុខ ៗ១០	គ្មានអ្នកណាបានទីសុខ ។
១១	១១	១១
XXXXXX	រោគលក្ខណ៍មិនបាន	រោគលក្ខណ៍មិនបាន
XXXXXXXX	រឿរោគប្រានប្រានព្រូងទុក្ខ	រឿរោគប្រាណាព្រូងទុក្ខ
XXXXXX	រោគាថែមគ្រប់មុខ	រោគាថែមគ្រប់មុខ
XXXXXXXX	ពុំបានសុខក្នុងកាយលើ ៗ១០	ពុំបានសុខក្នុងកាយឡើយ ។
១២	១២	១២

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XXXXX	ចោមកុម្មុរដ្ឋព្យាធ្វី	ចោមកពរត់ <i>byādhi</i>
XXXXXXX	ដល់ចុងទីគ្មានសលើ	ដល់ចុងទីគ្មានសល់ឡើយ
XXXXXX	ស្តេចខ្ពើមខ្ពស់ចោលហើ	ស្តេចខ្ពើមខ្ពស់ចោលហើយ
XXXXXXX	គិតបានស្បើយព្យាគ្យាធ្វី ៗ១២	គិតបានស្បើយពី <i>byādhi</i> ។
១៣	១៣	១៣
XXXXXX	មរណាបិទុក្ខំ	<i>marañam 'pi dukkham</i>
XXXXXXX	ទុក្ខនេះខ្លាំងសល់សែនឆ្លៀ	ទុក្ខនេះខ្លាំងសល់សែនទុំ
XXXXXX	មច្ចុរាជអាជ្ជយាយី	មច្ចុរាជអាចយាយី
XXXXXXX	ទុក្ខឡើយជាបំផុត ៗ១២	ទុក្ខាជាទីបំផុត ។
១៤	១៤	១៤
XXXXXX	ទុក្ខម្យ ព្រៀមខន្ធរេក	ទុក្ខមួយព្រួយខ្លួនបែក
XXXXXXX	គួរសង្វែកអង្គលំខុត្ត	គួរសង្វេកអង្គលំអុត
XXXXXX	ឥដ្ឋព្រមគុដ៍ចយុត	ឥតព្រមគង្គច្យុតិ
XXXXXXX	មិនមានផុតពីមរណ៍ ៗ១២	មិនមានផុតពី <i>marañam</i> ។
១៥	១៥	១៥
XXXXXX	អរហតកត្តកុញត្រៀ	អរហន្តកាត់កពត្រៃ
XXXXXXX	សុនិស្សន៍អនិច្ចំ	អសនិស្ស័យនីង <i>aniccam</i>
XXXXXX	ផុតស្រែចដៃចទុក្ខំ	ផុតស្រែចដាច់ <i>dukkham</i>
XXXXXXX	ព្រះអរហំទ្វាអនត្តា ៗ១២	ព្រះ <i>araham</i> ទាំង <i>anattā</i> ។
១៦	១៦	១៦
XXXXXX	មានជាតិជាបមានទុក្ខ	មាន <i>jāti</i> ជាបមានទុក្ខ
XXXXXXX	ពុំមានសុក្ខទុក្ខជរា	ពុំមានសុខទុក្ខ <i>jarā</i>
XXXXXX	ក្យាធ្វីទុក្ខរោគ្តា	<i>byādhi dukkha rogā</i>
XXXXXXX	ទុក្ខមរណគីរស្លាបហើ ៗ១២	<i>dukkha marañā</i> គឺស្លាបហើយ ។
១៧	១៧	១៧
XXXXXX	អច្ឆិរិត	<i>aciram vata</i>
XXXXXXX	យំកាយោឱកាយើយ	<i>yam kāyo</i> ឱកាយអើយ
XXXXXX	មិនយឿនយូរសោះលើ	មិនយឺនយូរសោះឡើយ
XXXXXXX	ក្យានេះហើរគុដ៍បែកធ្លា ៗ១២	កាយនេះហើយគង្គបែកធ្លាយ ។
១៨	១៨	១៨
XXXXXX	ដូចជាពពុសទឹក	ដូចជាពពុះទឹក
XXXXXXX	ប៉ោងលើងហើរករដ្ឋរា	ប៉ោងឡើងហើយបែកកត់រាយ
XXXXXX	កាយនេះប្រេសបែកធ្លា	កាយនេះប្រេបែកធ្លាយ
XXXXXXX	ដូចពពុសទឹកនោះណា ៗ១២	ដូចពពុះទឹកនោះណា ។
១៩	១៩	១៩
កាយោឱកាយើយ	ឱះឱកាយើយ	ឱះឱកាយអើយ



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មិនយូរឡើយរាល់កាយ៉ា ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា មិនយូរយារតែងបែកធ្លាយ ២០ បើប្រាសវិញាន ឯនាមក៏ប្រែក្លាយ ជាខ្មោចអាសោចត្វាយ អ្នកទ្វាប្បាគេវៈអា ២១ សាកសព្វគេស្អប់ខ្ពើម ក្លិនស្អុយរៈអើមកើតអនិច្ចា គេហោវអស់ភ្នំគ្នា សោចគង្គាខ្មោចចង្រ្រៀ ២២ ខ្លះកាប់ខ្លះដុតភ្លើងឌីស រូបយើងឥតនិស័យ ទៅវេកនូវក្នុងព្រៃ រាប់ខែច្យុតែរទៅមុក ២៣ XXXXX XXXXXXX XXXXX XXXXXXX ២៤ XXXXX XXXXXXX XXXXX XXXXXXX ២៥ XXXXX XXXXXXX XXXXX XXXXXXX ២៦ XXXXX XXXXXXX	មិនយឿនលឿរល់ក្បាវ ស្រ្តីប្រុសមិនខុះគ្នា មិនយូរយារគុដបែកធ្លាយៗ១០ ២០ កាលបើវិញ្ញាណប្រាស ប្រែហក្រលៈក្រលាបខ្យ ជាខ្មោចអាសោចក្យ អ្នកទ្វាប្បាគេវៈក្រាៗ១០ ២១ អាសុពគេវៈស្អប់ខ្ពើម ខ្លិនស្អុយឆ្អើមគួរអនិច្ចា គេហោវស្បុភ្នំគ្នា ស្រោចគង្គាខ្មោចចង្រ្រៀ ២២ បថវិអាទិ សែរសត្តិឥតវិស្ស ដេកខូលលើផែនដី រលខែរថ្ងៃតរទៅមុកៗ១០ ២៣ គេមិនយលថាកូន បូបដុឌុនម្តាយឌីពុក គេមិនហ៊ានដាក់ទុក នៅលើផ្ទះសុំម្សែងបានៗ១០ ២៤ គេយកចោលដោយដី នៅនាព្រៃព្រឹកសុំសាន គេមិនមានរាព័អាន ព្រោះថាប្រាននេះអប្បិៗ១០ ២៥ ឱៈឱគួរអាណិត អាណោចចិត្តជនប្រុសស្រី ខ្លះញាត់ក្នុងចេតិយ ខ្លះកប្បដ្ឋដូចដីវិញ្ញានៗ១០ ២៦ បដដុឌុនកូនប្រពន្ធ មានទ្រពជនទាំងប៉ុន្មាន	មិនយឺនឡើយរាល់កាយ ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា មិនយូរយារគង់បែកធ្លាយ ។ ២០ កាលបើវិញ្ញាណប្រាស ប្រែក្រឡាស់ក្រឡាក្លាយ ជាខ្មោចអាសោចីកាយ អ្នកទាំងឡាយគេរអា ។ ២១ អសុកគេស្អប់ខ្ពើម ក្លិនស្អុយឆ្អើមគួរអនិច្ចា គេហោវអស់ភ្នំគ្នា ស្រោចគង្គាខ្មោចចង្រ្រៀ ។ ២២ pathavim adhi- sessati ឥតវិស័យ ដេកដួលលើផែនដី រាល់ខែថ្ងៃតទៅមុខ ។ ២៣ គេមិនយល់ថាកូន បូបដំបូនម្តាយឌីពុក គេមិនហ៊ានដាក់ទុក នៅលើផ្ទះសម្បែងបាន ។ ២៤ គេយកចោលដោយដី នៅនាព្រៃព្រឹក្សស្នសាន គេមិនមានរាប់អាន ព្រោះថាប្រាណនេះអប្រិយ ។ ២៥ ឱៈឱគួរអាណិត អាណោចចិត្តជនប្រុសស្រី ខ្លះញាត់ក្នុងចេតិយ ខ្លះកប់ដីដូចតិវិញ្ញាន ។ ២៦ បដដូនកូនប្រពន្ធ មានទ្រព្យជនទាំងប៉ុន្មាន
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XXXXX	ចោលស្បរបស្សប្រាន	ចោលអស់របស់ប្រាណ
XXXXXXX ២៧	យកមិនបានទេវលោក្លើៗ១០៣	យកមិនបានទេលោកអើយ ។
XXXXX	តុច្ឆោអបៃត្ត	tuccho apeta-
XXXXXXX	វិញ្ញាណោឱកាយឃើ	vinñāno ឱកាយអើយ
XXXXX	បើវិញ្ញាណប្រាស្សចេញហើ	បើវិញ្ញាណប្រាសចេញហើយ
XXXXXXX ២៨	ក្បឺតតត្រឿនៅទេវទេវ ៗ១០៣	កាយឥតត្រឿនៅទេវទេវ ។
XXXXX	ដូចជាកំម្ពុតឈើ	ដូចជាកំណាត់ឈើ
XXXXXXX	ឥតអុំម្លើទស្សយើងគេរ	ឥតអំពើទោះយើងគេ
XXXXX	វ្យកាបចាកចោលដេហ	វាយកាប់ចាក់ចោលដេ
XXXXXXX ២៩	ឥតដឹងទេទាំងស្រីប្រុះៗ១០៣	ឥតដឹងទេទាំងស្រីប្រុស ។
XXXXX	ទិវត្តិវគ	nirattham 'va ka-
XXXXXXX	លីគ្វឱកាយឃើ	lingaram ឱកាយអើយ
XXXXX	មិនមានប្រយោជល្ប	មិនមានប្រយោជន៍ឡើយ
XXXXXXX ៣០	មនុស្សប្រុះស្រីគេវមិនត្រូវការៗ១០៣	មនុស្សប្រុសស្រីគេមិនត្រូវការ ។
ដូចអង្កត់ឌីស	ដូចជារកន្ទុយឱស្ស	ដូចជារកន្ទុយឱស
ទ្វាស្រីប្រុសស្រោះពេញស្រុក	មនុស្សស្រីប្រុះចោលអាសារ	មនុស្សស្រីប្រុសចោលអាសារ
ឥតមានគេរើសទុក	អាសោចឥតខ្ចីមសារ	អាសោចឥតខ្ចីមសារ
ទោះឈើហពុកគេដុតបាន	គ្មានអ្នកណារក្សាទុកថ្មី ៗ១០៣	គ្មានអ្នកណាគេទុកថ្មី ។
៣១	៣១	៣១
XXXXXXX	ឈើពុកគ្រាន់ទុកបាន	ឈើពុកគ្រាន់ទុកបាន
XXXXXXX	រឿត្រង់ប្រាននេះអប្បិ	រឿត្រង់ប្រាណនេះអប្បិ
XXXXX	គេរចោលដោយដី	គេរចោលដោយដី
XXXXXXX ៣២	ជុនប្រុះស្រីទ្វាបុន្នាន ៗ១០៣	ជុនប្រុសស្រីទាំងបុន្នាន ។
ពួកយើងពុំជឿសោះ	កោតយើងមិនជឿសោះ	ពួកយើងមិនជឿសោះ
គេស្លាប់នោះធ្វើក្បាន	ត្រង់ស្លាប់នោះគេជមិនបាន	ត្រង់ស្លាប់នោះគេជមិនបាន
ម្តេចឡើយពុំរាប់អាន	ម្តេចលើគ្មានគិតអាន	ម្តេចឡើយគ្មានគិតអាន
គ្មានដាច់បានទៀតអ្នកអើយ	ស្វែងរកឋានគ្រាន់លំហើ	ស្វែងរកឋានគ្រាន់លំហើយ ។
៣៣	៣៣	៣៣
ម្តេចឡើយមិនស្តាយជាតិ	ច្នៃសត្វកុំប្រមាត	ច្នៃសត្វកុំប្រមាត
កំប្រមាត់ណាអ្នកក្ស	ខំសំផ្កាតណារកាយឃើ	ខំសំផ្កាតណាអ្នកអើយ
ក្លឹយស្លាប់ទៀងណាស់ហើ	ក្លឹយស្លាប់ទៀងណាស់ហើ	ក្លឹយស្លាប់ទៀងណាស់ហើយ

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

មិនរើសថាក្មេងចាស់	មិនរើសលើថាខ្មែរចាស់។១២	មិនរើសឡើយថាក្មេងចាស់ ។
៣៤	៣៤	៣៤
កាយភ្លេចបុណ្ណិចទើពូ	ក្សត្រេចបុណ្ណិចតើហ	កាយភ្លេចបន្តិចដើរ
កាយស្ងើបបុណ្ណិចចាស់	ធ្វើរដ្ឋម្តើរឱ្យក្សត្រាស្ស	ធ្វើដំណើរឱ្យកាយចាស់
ក្សប្រើសបុណ្ណិចប្រាស	ក្សព្រើលបុណ្ណិចចាស្ស	កាយព្រើលបន្តិចប្រាស
តែចាសបុណ្ណិចចោល	តែរដលចាស្សបុណ្ណិចចោល។១៣	តែដល់ចាស់បន្តិចចោល ។
៣៥	៣៥	៣៥
ពុទ្ធៈឱសប្រោសប្រទាន	ពុទ្ធឱស្សប្រោសប្រទាន	ពុទ្ធឱសប្រោសប្រទាន
ទុកទូនមានជាវង្សល	ធម្មនេះមានជាបង្កើល	ធម៌នេះមានជាបង្កើល
ក្សបិត្តិតតកំរោល	ចិតកាចជាកំរោល	ចិត្តកាចជាកំរោល
ឱ្យលះចោលកុំទុកវា	គួរផ្ទោះចោលកុំទុកវា ។១៤	គួរលះចោលកុំទុកវា ។
៣៦	៣៦	៣៦
ទីពឹងនឹងប្រាន	ទីពឹងពុំនឹងប្រាន	ទីពឹងពុំនឹងប្រាណ
រៀនកម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សណា	រៀនកម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សណារ	រៀនកម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សនា
បរិកម្មចាំការវនា	បរិកម្មចាំមុការវនា	បរិកម្មចាំការវនា
ការអរិវិជ្ជាខ្លាចវាចូល	ការអរិវិជ្ជាខ្លាចវាចូល។១៥	ការអរិវិជ្ជាខ្លាចវាចូល ។
៣៧	៣៧	៣៧
សំរួមកាយ ឱ្យវានឹង	សំរួមក្សឱ្យវានឹង	សម្រួមកាយឱ្យវានឹង
ស្មារដ្ឋីប្រុងចិត្ត ឱ្យមូល	ស្មារដ្ឋីប្រុងចិត្តឱ្យមូល	ស្មារតីប្រុងចិត្តឱ្យមូល
ដំហើមដក ឱ្យស្រួល	ដង្ហើមដកឱ្យស្រួល	ដង្ហើមដកឱ្យស្រួល
ចាំទទួលសន្តិកា	ចាំមទទួលសិទ្ធិវ្យៃ ។១៦	ចាំទទួលសិទ្ធិវៃ ។
៣៨	៣៨	៣៨
ដៀបដួចបុរសមួយ	ព្រៀបដួចបុរសមួយ	ព្រៀបដួចបុរសមួយ
ទើពូនឹងស្គាល់ក្នុងកាយា	មានប្រានព្រៀបហ្នឹកតក្ស	មានប្រាណព្រៀបហើយភិតភ័យ
ស្គាល់ទុក្ខស្គាល់អនិច្ចារ	និងចោរបូនចង្រៀ	នឹងចោរបូនចង្រៀ
ស្គាល់អនត្តាមេនណាអ្នក	ដេញពីក្រោយតាមប្រកិត។១៧	ដេញពីក្រោយតាមប្រកិត ។
៣៩	៣៩	៣៩
ពុទ្ធៈឱសប្រោសអចិរិ	ប្រឹងរដ្ឋកិតកាន់កិ	ប្រឹងរត់កិតកាន់កាំដ
កំកាន់កាំដស្តាប់ ឱ្យជាក់	លុះដល់ប្រាំដមាត់ស្រមុត្ត	លុះដល់ប្រាំដមាត់សមុទ្រ
ភ្នំ អង្គព្រះត្រៀលក្នុងណ៍	ទឹកហូរខ្លាំងចំហុត	ទឹកហូរខ្លាំងចំហុត
ទ្វារត្រៀលលោក គោកត្រៀលល្ងៃ។	រកអ្វីឆ្លងពុំបានលើ ។១៨	រកអ្វីឆ្លងពុំបានឡើយ ។
៤០	៤០	៤០
XXXXXX	លុះឃើញសាកអាសុព្ព	លុះឃើញសាកអសុក
XXXXXX	អន្តរជិតបង្កើ	អណ្តែតមកជិតបង្កើយ
XXXXX	លោតឱប្បខ្មោចនោះហើ	លោតឱបខ្មោចនោះហើយ
XXXXXXX	ឱបហែលឆ្លងស្រមុត្ត ។១៩	អុំហែលឆ្លងសមុទ្រធំ ។

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២១	២១	២១
XXXXXX	លុះដល់ត្រើយហើរណារ	លុះដល់ត្រើយហើរណារ
XXXXXXXX	លៀងអាត្មាស្អាតរៀបចំម	លាងអាត្មាស្អាតរៀបចំ
XXXXXX	ចូលកាន់ឡើយស្រុកទ្វី	ចូលកាន់ទីស្រុកធំ
XXXXXXXX	គឺអមិត្តមហានិព្វាន ៗ១២	គឺអមតៈមហានិព្វាន ៗ
២២	២២	២២
XXXXXX	នឹងប្រែជាសេចក្តី	នឹងប្រែជាសេចក្តី
XXXXXXXX	តាមបាឡិយរឿងនិទាន	តាមបាឡិយរឿងនិទាន
XXXXXX	ចោរបួននោះមែនមាន	ចោរបួននោះមែនមាន
XXXXXXXX	គឺជាកើតនឹងជរា ៗ១២	គឺជាកើតនឹងជរា ៗ
២៣	២៣	២៣
XXXXXX	ក្សាធ្វើនឹងមរណ	ព្យាធ្វើនឹងមរណ
XXXXXXXX	បួននេះជាកប្រកត្តជារ	បួននេះជាកប្រាកដជា
XXXXXX	ចោរបួនដែលពានា	ចោរបួនដែលពណ៌នា
XXXXXXXX	ដេញបុរសជាស្សុចារ ៗ១២	ដេញបុរសជាអស្សា ៗ
២៤	២៤	២៤
XXXXXX	ស្រម្តីតជាអន្ទង់	សមុទ្រជាអន្ទង់
XXXXXXXX	នាំមសត្វផ្សំក្នុងសង្សារ	នាំសត្វផ្សំក្នុងសង្សារ
XXXXXX	ទឹកគូបគឺតណ្ហារ	ទឹកគូបគឺតណ្ហារ
XXXXXXXX	ដែលចង់សត្វវត្សរតនៅ ៗ១២	ដែលចង់សត្វវត្សរតនៅ ៗ
២៥	២៥	២៥
XXXXXX	អាសុគតិររៀងកាយ	អសុគតិររាងកាយ
XXXXXXXX	ដែលអន្តរាស្សទៅ	ដែលអន្តរាយវិនាសទៅ
XXXXXX	គ្មានខ្លឹមសារគង់នៅ	គ្មានខ្លឹមសារគង់នៅ
XXXXXXXX	ឱបិលថេរចេរកាល្លើយ	ឲ្យស្ថិតស្ថេរចិរកាលឡើយ ៗ
២៦	២៦	២៦
XXXXXX	កុំល្ងិតព្យាយាម	កុំលង់គឺព្យាយាម
XXXXXXXX	សុំអានតាមសម្តែងហើយ	សូមអានតាមសម្តែងហើយ
XXXXXX	ព្រះអរិយសំបិអុំម្ខាស្សើយ	ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃីអម្ខាសំអើយ
XXXXXXXX	លោកបរិសុតប្រសើរក្រៃ ៗ១២	លោកបរិសុទ្ធប្រសើរក្រៃ ៗ
២៧	២៧	២៧
XXXXXX	បរិសុតគឺវិញ្ញាណ	បរិសុទ្ធគឺវិញ្ញាណ
XXXXXXXX	ដែលកើតមានក្នុងកុល្លត្រៃ	ដែលកើតមានក្នុងភពត្រៃ
XXXXXX	ច្រើនជាតិអាសុំផ្លែ	ច្រើនជាតិអស្ត្រេយ្យ
XXXXXXXX	នឹងត្រាវាបំពុំបានឡើយ ៗ១២	នឹងត្រាវាបំពុំបានឡើយ ៗ
២៨	២៨	២៨

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XXXXX	នគរកែវអមិត្ត	នគរកែវអមតៈ
XXXXXX	នីពាន្តជាកប្រកត្តហើរ	និពានជាកំប្រាកដហើយ
XXXXX	ទុកសោករោគផងស្បើយ	ទុក្ខសោករោគផងស្បើយ
XXXXXX	លែងវិលកើតវិលស្លាប់ទៀត។ <del>១២</del>	លែងវិលកើតស្លាប់ទៀត ។
៤៩	៤៩	៤៩
XXXXX	ហែតនេះយើងរល់គ្នា	ហេតុនេះយើងរល់គ្នា
XXXXXX	ខុំមការនាប្រឹងxx	ខំការនាប្រឹងxx
XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
[remainder unknown]	[remainder unknown]	[remainder unknown]

Translation

១	1
<i>jāti</i> គឺកំណើត	<i>Jāti</i> means birth,
បង្កកើតជារូបា	the cause for the birth of bodies.
មានទុក្ខជាភ្នាក់ងារ	Suffering is its functionary,
មានវេទនាជាអ្នកសោយ ។	and misery its ruler.
២	2
រាល់រូបរាងនាមា	All that is mental or material
មានទុក្ខតាមជិតដោយ	has suffering stalking close.
មិនមានអ្នកណាឲ្យ	There is no one who creates it.
ខ្លួនយើងឲ្យពុំដទៃ ។	We ourselves create it, not another.
៣	3
<i>dukkham</i> ទុក្ខក្នុងប្រាណ	<i>Dukkham</i> is the suffering in the body.
រូបមិនបានគិតសង្ស័យ	The body cannot entertain doubt,
សោយទុក្ខតែសព្វថ្ងៃ	for it undergoes suffering every day
មិនមានភ័យគិតបំភាន់ ។	without fear or confusion.
៤	4
កងទុក្ខទាំងបួនបទ	The four kinds of suffering
មានកំណត់គិតគ្នាខ្លាំង	are limited—reflect on this.
ទុក្ខត្រួតត្រួតខ្លាំង ។	Suffering dominates all around, again and again,
ទុក្ខប្រកាន់ជាភ្នាក់ងារ ។	as suffering holds the rank of functionary.
៥	5
ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រង់ជ្រាបច្បាស់	The Buddha clearly stated

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ថាការៈមាន <i>jarā</i>	that the state of <i>jarā</i> [old age]
តម្រួតទាំងអស់គ្នា	dominates all of us.
ឫទ្ធិ <i>jarā</i> វាងមិនបាន ។	The force of aging cannot be evaded.
៦	6
ជាទុក្ខនិង <i>jarā</i>	The states of suffering and old age
ប្រជុំគ្នាទៅក្នុងប្រាណ	merge together in the body.
សត្វលោកគ្មានគិតអាន	Creatures in the world fail to reflect on this,
ស្មាន <i>jarā</i> ថាមិនអស់ ។	assuming that “old age” means “not yet dead.”
៧	7
<i>jarā</i> ក៏ជាទុក្ខ	Old age is indeed suffering,
ពុំបានសុខក្នុងលោកិយ៍	preventing happiness in the worldly realm.
កុំឲ្យថាមិនអស់	Don’t call it “not yet dead,”
ព្រះជិនស្រីខ្លាច <i>jarā</i> ។	for even the Glorious Victor feared old age.
៨	8
<i>jarā</i> វាមានឫទ្ធិ	Old age is mighty—
បញ្ចូលចិត្តទាំងអស់គ្នា	everyone must grasp this.
មិនឲ្យស្គាល់ <i>jarā</i>	Don’t just get to know old age
គ្រាន់តែសម្លឹង ។	when you’re in pain—then it’ll be hidden.
៩	9
<i>byādhi</i> ត្បិតទុក្ខា	<i>Byādhi</i> comes from suffering.
<i>byādhi</i> ណាវាបង្ខំ	Any illness oppresses
បង្ខំចេញច្រឡំ	and degrades us into confusion
ច្រឡោសផ្សំរបស់ <i>jarā</i> ។	and regression in our old age.
១០	10
ប្រទះប្រទាញតោង	It meets us, pulls us, and forces
ខ្នងទោរកោងព្រោះរោគា	our backs to hunch over—such is illness.
រោគរុំជុំអាត្មា	Illness strangles tight around us.
គ្មានអ្នកណាបានទីសុខ ។	No one can find a place of bliss.
១១	11
រោគលាក់មិនបាន	Illness cannot be hidden.
រីរោគប្រាណាព្រួយទុក្ខ	When the body is ill, the body dreads pain.
រោគាថែមគ្រប់មុខ	More illnesses arise, of every kind,
ពុំបានសុខក្នុងកាយឡើយ ។	and no happiness can be found in the body.
១២	12
ចោមកពរត់ <i>byādhi</i>	The Lord of the World ran from illness,
ដល់ចុងទីគ្មានសល់ឡើយ	but having reached the end, found nothing remaining.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ស្តេចខ្ពើមខ្ពស់ចោលហើយ គិតបានស្បើយពី <i>byādhi</i> ។	The King despised and discarded it, intending to be healed from illness.
១៣	13
<i>maraṇam 'pi dukkham</i> ទុក្ខនេះខ្លាំងសល់សែនធ្ងន់ មច្ចុរាជអាចយាយី ទុក្ខាជាទីបំផុត ។	<i>Maraṇam 'pi dukkham</i> — This suffering is vicious and twice as strong. The Lord of Death threatens with the most extreme suffering.
១៤	14
ទុក្ខមួយព្រួយខ្លួនបែក គួរសង្កេតអង្គលំអុត ឥតព្រមគង់ច្បតិ មិនមានផុតពី <i>maraṇam</i> ។	One kind of suffering is fearing the body will be destroyed, which ought to make you shudder and bow in humility. Even if you don't consent, you'll still be reborn. There is no escape from <i>maraṇam</i> .
១៥	15
អរហន្តកាត់កតព្រៃ អស់និស្ស័យនឹង <i>aniccam</i> ផុតស្រេចជាប់ <i>dukkham</i> ព្រះ <i>araham</i> ទាំង <i>anattā</i> ។	Arahants slice through the triple world, their affinity for <i>aniccam</i> exhausted. Free and cut off from <i>dukkham</i> , the arahants are through with <i>anattā</i> .
១៦	16
មាន <i>jāti</i> ជាប់មានទុក្ខ ពុំមានសុខទុក្ខ <i>jarā</i> <i>byādhi dukkha rogā</i> <i>dukkha maraṇā</i> គឺស្លាប់ហើយ ។	Once there is <i>jāti</i> , there is pain. There is no bliss, for painful is <i>jarā</i> and <i>byādhi</i> , painful is illness, painful is <i>maraṇam</i> , for death has come.
១៧	17
<i>aciraṃ vata</i> <i>yam kāyo</i> ឱកាយអើយ មិនយឺនយូរសោះឡើយ កាយនេះហើយគង់បែកធ្លាយ ។	<i>Aciraṃ vata</i> <i>yam kāyo</i> —alas how this body shall not last long at all. This body shall be destroyed,
១៨	18
ដូចជាពពុះទឹក ប៉ោងឡើងហើយបែករាត់រាយ កាយនេះប្រេះបែកធ្លាយ ដូចពពុះទឹកនោះណា ។	like a bubble that expands only to explode everywhere. This body cracks and breaks apart, just like that bubble.
១៩	19
ឱ៖ឱៗកាយអើយ មិនយឺនឡើយរាល់កាយា ស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា មិនយូរយារគង់បែកធ្លាយ ។	Alas, the body! No body can last for long. Men and women are not different, for before long they shall break apart.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

២០	កាលបើវិញ្ញាណប្រាស ប្រែក្រឡាស់ក្រឡាក្លាយ ជាខ្មោចអសោចីកាយ អ្នកទាំងឡាយគេរអា ។	20	When consciousness departs, then the body changes and transforms into a putrid corpse, which all soon grow weary of.
២១	អសុភគេស្អប់ខ្ពើម ក្លិនស្អុយធ្លើមគួរអនិច្ចា គេហៅអស់គ្នា ស្រោចគង្គាខ្មោចចង្រ្រ ។	21	The foulness they despise, as the vile stench makes them think of impermanence. The people gather together to wash the inauspicious corpse.
២២	<i>pathaviṃ adhi-</i> <i>sessati</i> ឥតវិស័យ ដេកដួលលើផែនដី រាល់ខែថ្ងៃតទៅមុខ ។	22	<i>Pathaviṃ adhi-</i> <i>sessati</i> —without a home, it shall lie down upon the earth, for every day and month to come.
២៣	គេមិនយល់ថាកូន ប្អូនប្អូនម្តាយឪពុក គេមិនហ៊ានដាក់ទុក នៅលើផ្ទះសម្បែងបាន ។	23	Most don't understand that your children, siblings, and parents won't dare keep your corpse in the house.
២៤	គេយកចោលដោយដី នៅនាព្រៃព្រឹក្សស្នសាន គេមិនមានរាប់អាន ព្រោះថាប្រាណនេះអប្រិយ ។	24	They'll take it to throw it away upon the earth deep in the forest, in the charnel woods. They won't show regard to it, for such a body is loathsome.
២៥	ឱ៖ឱគួរអាណិត អាណោចចិត្តជនប្រុសស្រី ខ្លះញាក់ក្នុងចេតិយ ខ្លះកប់ដីដូចតិវិច្ឆាន ។	25	Alas, how pitiable! How worthy of mercy in the hearts of people! Some corpses are stuffed into stupas. Others are buried in the dirt like animals.
២៦	បងប្អូនកូនប្រពន្ធ មានទ្រព្យធនទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ចោលអស់របស់ប្រាណ យកមិនបានទេលោកអើយ ។	26	No matter one's siblings, children, or wives, no matter what riches you have, all such belongings must be discarded, for you can't take them with you,
២៧			



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

*tuccho apeta-*  
*viññāṇo* ឱកាយអើយ  
បើវិញ្ញាណប្រាសចេញហើយ  
កាយឥតត្រៀមនៅទេទេ ។

២៨  
ដូចជាកំណាត់ឈើ  
ឥតអំពើទោះយើងគេ  
វាយកាប់ចាក់ចោលដេ  
ឥតដឹងទេទាំងស្រីប្រុស ។

២៩  
*nirattham 'va ka-*  
*lingaram* ឱកាយអើយ  
មិនមានប្រយោជន៍ឡើយ  
មនុស្សប្រុសស្រីគេមិនត្រូវការ ។

៣០  
ដូចជាកន្ទុយឧស  
មនុស្សស្រីប្រុសចោលអសារ  
អសោបីឥតខ្ចីមសារ  
គ្មានអ្នកណាគេទុកថ្វី ។

៣១  
ឈើពុកគ្រាន់ទុកបាន  
រឹត្រង់ប្រាណនេះអប្រិយ  
គេចោលដោយដី  
ជនប្រុសស្រីទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ។

៣២  
ពួកយើងមិនជឿសោះ  
ត្រង់ស្លាប់នោះគេចមិនបាន  
ម្តេចឡើយគ្មានគិតអាន  
ស្វែងរកឋានគ្រាន់លំហើយ ។

៣៣  
ច្នៃគួរកុំប្រមាទ  
ខំសង្វាតណាអ្នកអើយ  
ក្តីស្លាប់ទៀងណាស់ហើយ  
មិនរើសឡើយថាភ្លេងចាស់ ។

៣៤  
កាយភ្លេចបន្តិចដើរ

*Tuccho apeta-*  
*viññāṇo* — O this body!  
Once consciousness has departed,  
the body is without refuge and rests idle,  
28  
just like a log,  
without a care for us or others.  
Whether beaten, chopped, forsaken, or cursed,  
neither male nor female corpses are aware.

29  
*Nirattham 'va ka-*  
*lingaram* — O this body!  
It is of no use,  
for people no longer need it,  
30  
like the tail end of a charcoal log,  
which people discard as it is useless,  
dirty, and without importance.  
No one would bother to keep it around.

31  
Even rotten work might be kept,  
but this body is loathsome,  
and people will discard it upon the earth—  
so too for the bodies of all men and women.

32  
We tend not to believe it,  
but death is something we can't escape.  
Why don't we reflect on it,  
and seek out a place of relief?

33  
Hence you shouldn't be careless.  
Try hard to strive, O good people!  
Death is inevitable  
and isn't biased towards the young or the old.

34  
The body—if you forget about it for a bit, it continues,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ធ្វើដំណើរឱ្យកាយចាស់  
កាយព្រើលបន្តិចប្រាស  
តែដល់ចាស់បន្តិចចោល ។

៣៥

ពុទ្ធឱ្យសព្រាសប្រទាន  
ធម៌នេះមានជាបង្គោល  
ចិត្តកាចជាកំរោល  
គួរលះចោលកុំទុកវា ។

៣៦

ទីពឹងពំនឹងប្រាណ  
រៀនកម្មដ្ឋានវិបស្សនា  
បរិកម្មចាំការវេនា  
ការអវិជ្ជាខ្លាចវាចូល ។

៣៧

សង្រួមកាយឲ្យនឹង  
ស្មារតីប្រឹងចិត្តឲ្យមូល  
ដង្ហើមដកឲ្យស្រួល  
ចាំទទួលសិទ្ធិវៃ ។

៣៨

ប្រៀបដូចបុរសមួយ  
មានប្រាណព្រួយហើយភិតភ័យ  
នឹងចោរចូរចង្រៃ  
ដេញពីក្រោយតាមប្រាកដ ។

៣៩

ប្រឹងរត់ភិតកាន់កាំជំ  
លុះដល់ច្រាំងមាត់សមុទ្រ  
ទឹកហូរខ្លាំងចំហុត  
រកអ្វីឆ្លងពុំបានឡើយ ។

៤០

លុះឃើញសាកអសុភ  
អណ្តែតមកជិតបង្ហើយ  
លោតឱបខ្មោចនោះហើយ  
អុំហែលឆ្លងសមុទ្រធំ ។

៤១

លុះដល់ត្រើយហើយណា  
លាងអាត្មាស្អាតរៀបចំ

continuing the process that makes the body old.  
The body—if you overjoyed for a bit, it departs,  
but once it is a bit old, it is discarded.

35

The Buddha’s words save by offering  
this Dharma as your anchor.  
Cruel and violent thoughts  
should be forsaken; don’t hold on to them.

36

The places of refuge for your life  
are studying *kammattāhāna* and *vipassanā*,  
meditating on the preparatory exercises [*parikamma*],  
and warding off ignorance, lest it enter.

37

Calm your body and make it steady.  
Focus your awareness to concentrate the mind.  
Breathe in and out with ease,  
waiting to quickly win success.

38

[Your situation] is like this: there is a man  
who is worried in his body and filled with fear  
for the four terrible thieves,  
who chase and follow him close.

39

He tries to run, though shaking with fright.  
Once he arrives at the shore of the sea,  
the water flows far too swiftly,  
and he cannot find a means to cross.

40

When he catches sight of a foul corpse,  
floating right in front of him,  
he leaps to embrace it,  
rowing and swimming his way across the great ocean.

41

Once he arrives on the far shore,  
he cleanses himself and prepares

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ចូលកាន់ទីស្រុកធំ  
គឺអមតៈមហានិព្វាន ។

to enter the vast country  
that is deathless Nibbāna.

៤២

42

នឹងប្រែជាសេចក្តី  
តាមបាឡិយ្យនិទាន  
ចោរបួននោះមែនមាន  
គឺជាកើតនិងជរា ។

If we translate the meaning  
in accordance with the Pali narrative,  
the four thieves are indeed  
birth, old age,

៤៣

43

ព្យាធិនិងមរណា  
បួននេះជាកំប្រាកដជា  
ចោរបួនដែលពណ៌នា  
ដេញបុរសជាអស្ចារ្យ ។

illness, and death—  
these four exactly are  
the four thieves explained above,  
who chased the man so fearsomely.

៤៤

44

សមុទ្រជាអន្ទង់  
នាំសត្វផុតក្នុងសង្សារ  
ទឹកគូចគឺតណ្ហា  
ដែលចង់សត្វវត្សរ៍នៅ ។

The ocean is the great abyss,  
that leads creatures to sink in saṃsāra.  
The whirlpool current is craving,  
which binds creatures tightly in place.

៤៥

45

អសុគតិរាជកាយ  
ដែលអន្តរាយវិនាសទៅ  
គ្មានខ្លឹមសារគង់នៅ  
ឲ្យស្ថិតស្ថេរចិរិកាលឡើយ ។

The foul corpse is this very body,  
that will be completely destroyed,  
that has no abiding essence  
to endure for a long time.

៤៦

46

កុំលង់គឺព្យាយាម  
សូមអានតាមសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធហើយ  
ព្រះអរិយសង្ឃអម្ចាស់អើយ  
លោកបរិសុទ្ធប្រសើរក្រៃ ។

Don't drown, in other words, strive hard.  
Study in accordance with the Perfect Buddha  
and the Noble Sangha, our masters,  
who are pure and most excellent.

៤៧

47

បរិសុទ្ធគឺវិញ្ញាណ  
ដែលកើតមានក្នុងភពត្រៃ  
ច្រើនជាតិអសង្ខេបយូរ  
នឹងត្រូវរាប់ពុំបានឡើយ ។

“Pure” means that for this consciousness—  
which has arisen in the triple world  
across infinite lifetimes  
beyond count or concept—

៤៨

48

នគរកែវអមតៈ  
និព្វានជាកំប្រាកដហើយ  
ទុក្ខសោកវេទនាផងស្បើយ

the deathless crystal city  
of Nibbāna has clearly manifested,  
suffering, grief, and illness have been relieved,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

លែងវិលកើតស្លាប់ទៀត ។	and there is no further return to birth and death.
៤៩	49
ហេតុនេះយើងរាល់គ្នា	Hence we all should
ខំការនាប្រឹងXX	strive hard to meditate...
XXXXX	...
XXXXXX	...
[remainder unknown]	...

**aṭṭhadisabuddhamaṅgal-br**  
Eight-direction maṅḍala of the Buddha

Khmer verse, 10 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB042** 46a–47a braḥ buddhamaṅgal pūjā astādiṣ

Summary: Pays homage to the Buddha, described as sitting in the center of a maṅḍala and surround on eight sides by his leading disciples, and concludes with an account of the benefits enjoyed by someone who can recall and maintain this maṅḍala within his body.

<b>UB042</b>	Standardized	Translation
១ អរហំ តាំងស្មារតី ឱនសិរសីថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះពុទ្ធជាធំ គង់និយមជាគណ្ណាល ។	១ aham តាំងស្មារតី ឱនសិរសីថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះ buddho ជាធំ គង់និយមជាគណ្ណាល ។	1 Aham — I establish wakefulness and incline my head to bow down to the Buddha, the greatest, who sits in the center.
២ មានអង្គអរហន្តា គាលត្រៀបត្រាសព្វៗកាល ព្រះទ័យត្រេកត្រអាល ទ្រង់ប្រទានធម៌ទេស្នា	២ មានអង្គអរហន្តា គាល់ត្រៀបត្រាសព្វៗ កាល ព្រះទ័យត្រេកត្រអាល ទ្រង់ប្រទានធម៌ទេសនា ។	2 The arahants are always arrayed all around, joyfully offering Dharma preaching.
៣ ឯព្រះសារីបុត្តចាំ គង់ខាងស្តាំព្រះសាស្តា អានន្ទ គង់បច្ឆិមា គាល់ខាងក្រោយព្រះអង្គស្មោះ	៣ ឯព្រះសារីបុត្តចាំ គង់ខាងស្តាំព្រះសាស្តា អានន្ទ គង់បច្ឆិមា គាល់ខាងក្រោយព្រះអង្គស្មោះ ។	3 Sāriputta sits to the right of the Teacher. Ānand sits to the west, directly behind the Lord.
៤ ព្រះមោគ្គល្លានណ	៤ ព្រះមោគ្គល្លានណ	4 Moggallāna

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ឧត្តរា ឆ្វេងចំពោះ កោណ្ឌញ្ញថេរនោះ គង់ទិសបូព៌ចំពោះកក្រិ ៥	ឧត្តរា ឆ្វេងចំពោះ កោណ្ឌញ្ញថេរនោះ គង់ទិសបូព៌ចំពោះកក្រិ ។ ៥	sits to the north, on the left. Koṇḍañña Thera sits to the east, facing the Lord's face. 5
ព្រះកប្បាយនត្ថេរ គង់នៅឯពាយ័ព្យជាក់ ព្រះឧបាលីថេរៈ គង់និរតីខាងព្រះអង្គ ៦	ព្រះកប្បាយនថេរ គង់នៅឯពាយ័ព្យជាក់ ព្រះឧបាលីថេរៈ គង់និរតីខាងព្រះអង្គ ។ ៦	Kaccāyana Thera sits to the northwest. Upāli Thera sits on the southwest side of the Lord. 6
ព្រះមហាកាសបថេរ គង់នៅឯអាគ្នេយ៍ត្រង់ រាហុលបុត្រព្រះអង្គ គង់នៅត្រង់ទិសឦសាន ៧	ព្រះមហាកស្សបថេរ គង់នៅឯអាគ្នេយ៍ត្រង់ រាហុលបុត្រព្រះអង្គ គង់នៅត្រង់ទិសឦសាន ។ ៧	Mahākassapa Thera sits to the southeast. Rāhula, son of the Lord, sits to the northeast. 7
អ្នកណាបានដឹងយល់ ពុទ្ធមង្គលចាំឲ្យបាន រក្សាទុកក្នុងប្រាណ គ្រាន់សិក្សាថ្វាយបង្គំ ៨	អ្នកណាបានដឹងយល់ ពុទ្ធមង្គលចាំឲ្យបាន រក្សាទុកក្នុងប្រាណ គ្រាន់សិក្សាថ្វាយបង្គំ ។ ៨	Anyone who knows and understands this <i>Buddhamāṅgala</i> , and can recall it, maintain it in their body so as to study and pay respect to it, 8
គម្ពីរព្រះសម្តែងថា អ្នកឯណាមួយខិតខំ ប្រណិប័តន៍នឹកប្រណាម្យ ឲ្យគួរសមជាប្រក្រតី ៩	គម្ពីរព្រះសម្តែងថា អ្នកឯណាមួយខិតខំ ប្រណិប័តន៍នឹកប្រណាម្យ ឲ្យគួរសមជាប្រក្រតី ។ ៩	the scriptures say that such a person who strives to pay homage and bow in honor of it respectfully on a regular basis 9
ទុក្ខសោកវេទនាជាតិ ការឧត្តបាតវាសវាងវ័យ ភាន់កាំងភាគិតក៏យ ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបៀន ១០	ទុក្ខសោកវេទនាជាតិ ការឧត្តបាតវាសវាងវ័យ ភាន់កាំងភាគិតក៏យ ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបៀន ។ ១០	shall no longer have any pain, sadness, illness, or bad omens. Fear, distress, and danger shall no longer torment him. 10
សួស្តី ជ័យជំនះ មានតេជៈរក្សាប្រាណ ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបាន រៀងរួចដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន ។	សួស្តី ជ័យជំនះ មានតេជៈរក្សាប្រាណ ឥតអ្វីមកបៀតបាន រៀងរួចដល់ព្រះនិព្វាន ។	He shall have prosperity and victory, with powers protecting his body, such that none can afflict it, all the way until Nibbāna.

**ānisaṅs ākāravattā-br**

Benefits of the Ākāravattā

Khmer verse, 62 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, verse translation and reworking of a prose version of the *Ānisaṅs ākāravattā* by an otherwise unknown Hun, Kañ Mās province (today in Kampong Cham), 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB015** 86a–91b phal' ānisa'n(s) akāra(v)tāsūt

Summary: Opens with an homage to the Three Jewels, parents, and teachers, including a vow to be awakened as a buddha in the future, followed by an exposition of the benefits of the *Ākāravattā* (**Ākāravattā A-NP**, **Ākāravattā B-NP**, etc.), emphasizing its power to protect from danger, remove obstacles, aid in attaining aspirations, and remove sin, especially sins incurred by violating the five precepts. This is followed by an apology on behalf of the author and a request for corrections, and concludes with a short explanation of the author's name and the narrative of his life, including the circumstances of the text's compositions, and a final dedication of the merit of composition to his aspiration to be become a buddha.

UB015	Edition	Translation
១ ខ្ញុំតែងជាបទព្រំហ្មធម៌ថ្ងៃខ្ញុំ ក្រាបបង្គំមព្រះសាស្តា ព្រះទ័យទ្រង់ករុណា តែងសន្តោសប្រោសសត្វផង	១ ខ្ញុំតែងជាបទព្រំហ្ម ក្រាបបង្គំព្រះសាស្តា ព្រះទ័យទ្រង់ករុណា តែងសន្តោសប្រោសសត្វផង ។	1 I compose this in the <i>brahma[ḡīti]</i> meter, prostrating before the Teacher, whose heart is compassionate, ever kind in enlightening beings.
២ បង្គំមព្រះធម្មា អាជកាំញាដូចរំបង ព្យាពាតពីក្រៅហោង ពុំឱ្យមានទុក្ខទោសក៏យ ។	២ បង្គំព្រះធម្មា អាចការពារដូចរំបង ពាំងព័ទ្ធពីក្រៅហោង ពុំឱ្យមានទុក្ខទោសក៏យ ។	2 I bow to the Dharma capable of protecting like a wall, sealing us in from the outside to ward off pain, harm, and danger.
៣ បង្គំមព្រះសង្ឃសុទ្ធ លោកលំខិតក្នុងព្រះទ័យ ទ្រង់សីលល្អប្រពៃ ជាសារីកព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គ ។	៣ បង្គំព្រះសង្ឃសុទ្ធ លោកលំអុតក្នុងព្រះទ័យ ទ្រង់សីលល្អប្រពៃ ជាសារីកព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គ ។	3 I bow down to the Sangha, those monks modest in mind, who uphold the precepts perfectly, the disciples of Lord Buddha.
៤ តែជៈខ្ញុំរំព្រក វាលយប់ព្រឹកខំមជ្ឈង្គ ក្រូញក្រាបសូមអានិសង្ស ជាទីពឹងដល់និព្វាន	៤ តែជៈខ្ញុំរំព្រក វាលយប់ព្រឹកខំតម្រង្គ ក្រូញក្រាបសូមអានិសង្ស ជាទីពឹងដល់និព្វាន ។	4 By the power of my remembrance, earnestly focused each day and night, I humbly ask for the blessings ( <i>ānisaṃsa</i> ) to be my refuge till Nibbāna.

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

៥	៥	5
១ សោតខ្ញុំនេះណា សូមស័ប្បាប្រណិធាន ទេវតាជាពេជញ្ញាណ ដែលចិតនៅសព្វទិសា	មួយសោតខ្ញុំនេះណា សូមសប្បាប្រណិធាន ទេវតាជាពេជញ្ញាណ [ពេជ្រ] ដែលស្ថិតនៅសព្វទិសា ។	Moreover, may I now make this solemn prayer: “May the omniscient gods residing in all quarters
៦	៦	6
សូមជួយជាសាក្សី ស្តាប់សំដីខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នា ពាក្យពិតខ្ញុំស័ប្បា ឲ្យបានត្រូវជាព្រះពុទ្ធ	សូមជួយជាសាក្សី ស្តាប់សំដីខ្ញុំប្រាថ្នា ពាក្យពិតខ្ញុំសប្បា ឲ្យបានត្រឹមត្រូវជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ។	assist me as my witness, listening to my uttered wish the true words that I vow to be enlightened as a buddha.
៧	៧	7
ទ្វាគុណព្រះមាតា ព្រះបិតាជាចំហុត ឧបជ្ឈាយ៍តែងលំអុត គុណអាចារ្យគុណញាតិផង	ទាំងគុណព្រះមាតា ព្រះបិតាជាចំហុត ឧបជ្ឈាយ៍តែងលំអុត គុណអាចារ្យគុណញាតិផង ។	The virtues of my mother and of my father, ever precise, and of my preceptor, to whom I bow; and of teachers and relatives—
៨	៨	8
សូមលោកជួយប្រក់ដូ គ្នាដេញបំណង ប្រាថ្នាឲ្យបានសង គុណលោកលុះសំរេចផល	សូមលោកជួយប្រាកដ តាមដោយបទខ្ញុំបំណង ប្រាថ្នាឲ្យបានសង គុណលោកលុះសូរេចផល ។	may they help me truly as per my aspiration. I vow to repay my debts to them when I reach the fruit
៩	៩	9
ឲ្យបានស្រង់ស្រោចសត្វ ឲ្យខ្លាយខ្មាត់ពិក្ខុល ចៀសចាកចោលអកុសល សោយសេពសុខដូចប្រាថ្នា	ឲ្យបានស្រង់ស្រោចសត្វ ឲ្យខ្លាយខ្មាត់ពិក្ខុល ចៀសចាកចោលអកុសល សោយសេពសុខដូចប្រាថ្នា ។	and to save living beings so that they are far from worry, abandon and cast off evil acts, and enjoy bliss as they wish.”
១០	១០	10
ខ្ញុំនឹងគិតចាត់ចែង ចារសម្តែងតាមពុទ្ធជីកា ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ទេសនា អ្នកដែលបានសូត្រចំរើន]	ខ្ញុំនឹងគិតចាត់ចែង ចារសម្តែងតាមពុទ្ធជីកា ព្រះអង្គទ្រង់ទេសនា អ្នកដែលបានសូត្រចំរើន ។	I intend to arrange and express the Buddha’s words, when the Lord preached about the one who recites
១១	១១	11
អការវេតានេះ ខំមរើះគិតក្រវើន ផលានិសង្សច្រើន បំបាត់ទុក្ខទោសទាំងឡាយ	អការវេត្តានេះ ខំរើះគិតក្រវើន ផលានិសង្សច្រើន បំបាត់ទុក្ខទោសទាំងឡាយ ។	this <i>Ākāravatā</i> and strives to ponder it, to whom benefits will accrue to destroy all pain and sin.
១២	១២	12

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ព្រះអង្គមានពុទ្ធជីកា  
នឹងព្រះសារីបុត្រឆោធារាជ  
ដ្បិតធម៌នេះអ្នកគ្រូ  
ឈ្មោះអាការវត្តា ។

១៣

សូតនេះមិនគឺហត្ថ  
បិដកថ្ងៃទេអ្នកណា  
សឹងកើតពីប្រាជ្ញា  
អញ្ជាត់ថាគតនេះឯង ។

១៤

ហេតុប្រាជ្ញាប្រធាន  
ទុកស្មើហយានឥតកោតក្រែង  
ជ្រៅខ្ពស់ធំចិញ្ចែង  
តែងបំបាត់ទុកសោករោគ ។

១៥

ក្នុងសាស្ត្រអញនេះ  
អ្នកណារិះបានបរិភោគ  
ផ្អែមត្រូវថ្ងៃក្នុងលោក  
ជាវិសេសផ្តាច់កម្មញ្ញា ។

១៦

អតីតអនាគត  
បានរំលត់ក្បែររោគា  
បច្ចុប្បន្នឥតវេរា  
សែបសោយសុខគ្រប់ប្រការ ។

១៧

ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលទៀត  
ឥតចង្អៀតក្នុងកាយ  
ថាហ្មធម្មស្មៃនា  
បារិបុត្តថៃរឿ ។

១៨

ន័រ[បអ្នកឯណា]  
[បាន]ឧស្សាហ៍ធម៌នេះហើយ  
ល្អណាស់ណាអ្នកកើត  
អ្នកនោះពុំត្រូវទោសបាប ។

១៩

ស្មើបានជិះលើយាន

ព្រះអង្គមានពុទ្ធជីកា  
នឹងព្រះសារីបុត្រឆោធារាជ  
ដ្បិតធម៌នេះអ្នកអាយ  
ឈ្មោះអាការវត្តា ។

១៣

សូត្រនេះមិនគឺត្រៃ  
បិដកថ្ងៃទេអ្នកណា  
សឹងកើតពីប្រាជ្ញា  
អញ្ជាត់ថាគតនេះឯង ។

១៤

ហេតុប្រាជ្ញាប្រធាន  
ទុកស្មើហយានឥតកោតក្រែង  
ជ្រៅខ្ពស់ធំចិញ្ចែង  
តែងបំបាត់ទុកសោករោគ ។

១៥

ក្នុងសាសនាអញនេះ  
អ្នកណារិះបានបរិភោគ  
ផ្អែមត្រូវថ្ងៃក្នុងលោក  
ជាវិសេសផ្តាច់កម្មញ្ញា ។

១៦

អតីតអនាគត  
បានរំលត់ក៏យរោគា  
បច្ចុប្បន្នឥតវេរា  
សេពសោយសុខគ្រប់ប្រការ ។

១៧

ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូលទៀត  
ឥតចង្អៀតក្នុងកាយ  
ថាហ្មធម្មសេនា  
[បា]សារីបុត្តត្ថេរអើយ ។

១៨

[នរ]អ្នកឯណា  
បានឧស្សាហ៍ធម៌នេះហើយ  
ល្អណាស់ណាអ្នកកើត  
អ្នកនោះពុំត្រូវទោសបាប ។

១៩

ស្មើបានជិះលើយាន

The Lord Buddha said  
to the illustrious Sāriputta,  
“Since this Dharma, dear friend,  
called *Ākāravatā*,  
13  
this discourse is not in the precious Three  
Baskets, dear friend,  
it emerged from the wisdom  
of the Thus Come One,  
14  
as this wisdom is supreme,  
likened to a fearless ship,  
deep, lofty, great, and shining,  
ever destroying pain, sorrow, and illness.  
15  
In my teaching,  
whoever reflects on and consumes  
the sweetest taste, unique  
in this world, cuts off evil karma  
16  
from both past and future,  
extinguishing fear and disease,  
with a present freed from rancor,  
with all forms of well-being enjoyed.”  
17  
The Lord further declared  
without any avarice in his being,  
“O solidier in the Dharma!  
O dear Elder Sāriputta!  
18  
As for anyone who  
can be zealous with this Dharma,  
this is excellent, O friend!  
That person won’t be subject to fault and sin.  
19  
It is as if he rides a vehicle



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ដើរជាស្ពាននាដ៏រាប [ឈ្នះ]អកុសសុបាប បានបរិបូណ៌ដូចប្រាថ្នា ២០	ដើរជាស្ពានជាដរាប ឈ្នះអកុសសុបាប បានបរិបូណ៌ដូចប្រាថ្នា ។ ២០	or walks a bridge, forever vanquishing unwholesome acts and achieving abundance as wished. 20
ទោះបានសូតតែម្តង ទេវតាផងមករក្សា [ឧទ្ធារ (ជិតព័ត៌ដំ) ជាប្រក្រតីពុំដែលដាច់ ២១	ទោះបានសូតតែម្តង ទេវតាផងមករក្សា ជិតព័ទ្ធជុំឧទ្ធារ ជាប្រក្រតីពុំដែលដាច់ ។ ២១	Even if he only chants it once, the deities will all protect him, nobly guarding him at all times without fail. 21
កុំចាត់អ្វីចង្រ្រៃ ជួរសព្វថ្ងៃខំមបិបាច រក្សាដូចញាតិសែច ថែទាំមើលសត្រូវផង ២២	កំចាត់អស់ចង្រ្រៃ ជួយសព្វថ្ងៃខំបិបាច រក្សាដូចញាតិសាច់ ថែទាំមើលសត្រូវផង ។ ២២	All inauspicious things will be averted. They will watch over him every day, as if kept safe by relatives, taking care to watch for enemies. 22
រៀរតែភ្នំបូរាណ ឃាត់ពុំបានខ្លាំងកន្លង វាកុំវាគិតចង់ or សង ដូចស្រមោលជាបតាមប្រាន ២៣	រៀរតែកម្មបូរាណ ឃាត់ពុំបានខ្លាំងកន្លង វាកុំវាគិតចង់ ដូចស្រមោលជាបតាមប្រាណ ។ ២៣	This is true except for old karma, which is too strong to be stopped. It seeks revenge, like a shadow following the body. 23
ទោះ[អ្នក]កង់ណាX[ក] (ម្នាក់ or នឹក) បានរំលឹកពុំខាតខាន រៀនសូតត្រាលំអាន បានសរសេរដៃឯងក្តី ២៤	ទោះអ្នកឯណានឹក បានរំលឹកពុំខាតខាន រៀនសូតត្រាលំអាន បានសរសេរដៃឯងក្តី ២៤	Should anyone recall it, be able to recollect it without fail, study it in sequence, write it down in his own hand, 24
បើពុំចេះសរសេរ បានជួលគេកង់ប្រាជ្ញាឡើយ យកធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី ក្រាបប្រណិប័តន៍បានផល ២៥	បើពុំចេះសរសេរ បានជួលគេកង់ប្រាជ្ញា យកធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី ក្រាបប្រណិប័តន៍បានផល ។ ២៥	—or, if he doesn't know how to write, hire someone else to write the Pali— and take up the Dharma of the Victor, bowing to venerate it, receives fruits. 25
បើបីតិរិកចង់ស្តាប់ ឮសូរសំឡេងចិត្តនា គិតកាត់ចិត្តប្បស្សា ដាក់សិរិសាឱនបង្គំម ២៦	បើបីតិរិកចង់ស្តាប់ ឮសូរសព្វមានចេតនា គិតកាត់ចិត្តប្បស្សា ដាក់សិរិសាឱនបង្គំ ។ ២៦	If you rejoice, desire to listen to and hear the words with intention, then set aside jealousy, lower your head, bow down, 26
យកទៀនធូបភ្លឺយផ្កា	យកទៀនធូបភ្លឺផ្កា	take up candles, incense, and flowers,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagiti verse (-br)

អរិក្ខារគ្រឿងតូចទ្រុឌ រំលឹកដល់ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្ម គុណមាតាបិតាផង ២៧	អស់បរិក្ខារគ្រឿងតូចធំ រំលឹកដល់ឥន្ទ្រព្រហ្ម គុណមាតាបិតាផង ។ ២៧	all the major and minor implements, and recollect Indra, Brahma, and the virtues of mother and father, 27
ដ្បិតលោកមានគុណក្រៃ ឥតអប្បម្បែងថ្លៃកន្លង ឥឡូវខ្ញុំនេះហោង បានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ២៨	ដ្បិតលោកមានគុណក្រៃ ឥតឧបមេយ្យថ្លៃកន្លង ឥឡូវខ្ញុំនេះហោង បានស្តាប់ព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ ។ ២៨	since they have manifold virtues, peerless and extremely precious: “Now I have listened to this precious Dharma. 28
សូមផលនៃដូនត្រង់ កាត់ដីដីត្នាប័ថ្នយ តិចច្រើនសូមនិស្ស័យ ឲ្យលោកបានដូចបំណង ២៩	សូមផលនៃដូនត្រង់ កាត់តម្រង់តាមប័ថ្នយ តិចច្រើនសូមនិស្ស័យ ឲ្យលោកបានដូចបំណង ។ ២៩	May these fruits be given to you directly according to conditions, whether great or small, may I seek dependance, such that your aspirations may be achieved. 29
សព្វសត្វតូចទ្រុឌក្តី ចូរមេត្រីកុំគិតចង ទោសឡើយនឹងខ្ញុំហោង ចូរទទួលផលនេះណា ៣០	សព្វសត្វតូចធំក្តី ចូរមេត្រីកុំគិតចង ទោសឡើយនឹងខ្ញុំហោង ចូរទទួលផលនេះណា ។ ៣០	All beings, tiny or titanic, may they be my allies and seek no revenge for my own faults. May they receive these fruits.” 30
បើពុំបា[នX]ទេ [រឿង នោះ] ខំរិះរេហស៍សេហព្វា ទុកគ្រាន់នមស្សការ ក្រាបសំពះជាប្រក្រដ្បី ៣១	បើពុំXXទេ ខំរិះរេសរសេរចារ ទុកគ្រាន់នមស្សការ ក្រាបសំពះជាប្រក្រតី ។ ៣១	If not like this, strive to ponder, copy, and inscribe it, keeping it appropriate for veneration and regularly bowing in reverence. 31
អ្នកនោះនឹងស័ព្វា សំប្បវត្តិណាមិនក្រក្រី នឹងបានដូចសេចក្តី ប្រាថ្នាត្រីពិធីសំប្បវត្តី ៣២	អ្នកនោះនឹងសព្វា សម្បវត្តិណាមិនក្រក្រី នឹងបានដូចសេចក្តី ប្រាថ្នាត្រីពិធីសម្បវត្តី ។ ៣២	Such a person can wish for any treasures without difficulty. He will achieve them according to his wish for threefold treasures. 32
សំប្បរតសូរយស យល់ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ច្រើនពេកក្បក្តាត់ XXXXX [ច្ត ប្រម៉ាត] ប្រមូលមូលមានតែជះ ៣៣	សម្បរតសូរយស យល់ខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ច្រើនពេកក្តាត់ XXXXX ប្រមូលមូលមានតែជះ ។ ៣៣	Complete and supreme shall be his glory, He will be seen as extremely exalted... ... ...mightily assembled. 33
តែជ្ជាអាណុភាព បានបំរាមយកធម៌ព្រះ	តែជាអាណុភាព បានបម្រាបយកធម៌ព្រះ	His mighty power can subdue them to take up the Lord’s Dharma

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ព្រហ្មប្រាណបានសំពះ សព្វេ XXX[X៧].	ប្រូញប្រាណបានសំពះ សព្វេ XXX៣៧ ។	and wither away into submission, a vessel....
៣៤	៣៤	34
ឆ្នានឆ្នៀតពឹងកែវបី បានសុខឥតមានម៉ង់ ឥតមោះមកប្រឡង ប្រឡូកលឿយងយល	ឆ្នានឆ្នៀតពឹងកែវបី បានសុខឥតមានហ្នង ឥតមោះមកប្រឡង ប្រឡូកលឿយងយល ។	Shrewdly take refuge in the Three Jewels and achieve well-being without stain or struggle to compete, jostle, or feign to be seen clearly.
៣៥	៣៥	35
យោងអ្សញាត្តិសន្តាន សន្តោងបានថានមង្គល គាប់គួរឥតវិល វេរាមនឹងឲ្យកើតទុក្ខ	យោងអស់ញាតិសន្តាន សណ្តោងបានស្ថានមង្គល គាប់គួរឥតវិល [or វេរល់] វេរាមនឹងឲ្យកើតទុក្ខ ។	Assist all of one's kin, pulling them up to a fortunate place that is suitable, without any further wandering or confusion that might give rise to suffering.
៣៦	៣៦	36
ទោះទោ [XXXអា] បាយបាបណាទៅឯមុខ ចៀសចាកចេញពីទុក ទៅសេពសុខសោយសួគ៌ា	ទោះទោស[ចតុរា]- បាយបាបណាទៅឯមុខ ចៀសចាកចេញពីទុក្ខ ទៅសេពសុខសោយសួគ៌ា	Even if one's sins would lead to the four unfortunate destinies in the future, one will be freed from suffering and go to experience bliss in the heavens.
៣៧	៣៧	37
បើអ្នកឯណា ១ មានចិត្តព្រួយព្រោះក៏ម្មញ្ញវរ ធ្វើខុសខាត(ស័ន្ធា) ក៏ម្មវេរាបាបទាំង ៥	បើអ្នកឯណាមួយ មានចិត្តព្រួយព្រោះក៏ម្មញ្ញវរ ធ្វើខុសខាតសទ្ធា ក៏ម្មវេរាបាបទាំងប្រាំ ។	If any one person has a fearful heart due to evil karma, for having done wrong or lost faith with the five evil actions—
៣៨	៣៨	38
គឺបាណតិបាត ធ្វើប្រមាតឲ្យមានក៏ម្ម អទិន្នាញ្ញវរចង់ចាំ លួចទ្រព្យគេពុំបានឲ្យ	គឺ <i>pāṇātipāta</i> ធ្វើប្រមាទឲ្យមានក៏ម្ម <i>adinnā</i> ញ្ញវរចង់ចាំ លួចទ្រព្យគេពុំបានឲ្យ ។	to wit: killing animals, or carelessly creating karma; stealing, or weaving karma, taking from others what is not given;
៣៩	៣៩	39
កាមេសុមិច្ឆា ចិត្តប្រថុខុសមុខក្រោយ សូមចៀសចាកបណ្តោយ ឲ្យវិនាសបាត់សូន្យសោះ	<i>kāmesu micchā</i> ចិត្តប្រាថ្នាខុសមុខក្រោយ សូមចៀសចាកបណ្តោយ ឲ្យវិនាសបាត់សូន្យសោះ ។	sexual misconduct, or the mind's perverted desires (let go of them entirely, so that they can completely disappear);
៤០	៤០	40
គឺមុសាវាទា សូមលាក់លាក់ស្រណោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវចិត្តស្មានស្មោះ	គឺ <i>musāvāda</i> សូមលាក់លាក់ស្រណោះ ត្រឹមត្រូវចិត្តស្មានស្មោះ	false speech, (avoid it and don't pine for it; make one's mind right and honest,

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លារក៏ហក់មនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។ ៤១	លាកុហកមនុស្សទាំងឡាយ ។ ៤១	leaving behind lying to people); 41
សុរាមេរយៈ សូមទុំលាក់ចោលខ្នាត់ខ្នាយ រលីងក្នុងអង្គកាយ ឲ្យសប្បាយនឹងធម៌ថ្លៃថ្លៃ ៤២	surāmeraya សូមទម្លាក់ចោលខ្នាត់ខ្នាយ រលីងក្នុងអង្គកាយ ឲ្យសប្បាយនឹងធម៌ថ្លៃថ្លៃ ។ ៤២	taking intoxicants (please drop it and let it go completely from your being to be content with the precious Dharma)— 42
បើអ្នកណាបានស្តាប់ ខំត្រង់ត្រាប់ឥតសង្ស័យ យកធម៌ជាបង្ខំយ ជាទីបឹងពុំប្លាតឃ្លា ៤៣	បើអ្នកណាបានស្តាប់ ខំត្រង់ត្រាប់ឥតសង្ស័យ យកធម៌ជាបង្ខំយ ជាទីបឹងពុំប្លាតឃ្លា ។ ៤៣	if anyone listens and strives to listen without doubt, taking up the Dharma as one's dependent condition, as one's ever-present refuge, 43
នឹងបានចៀសចាកបាប ស្អុយឆ្កែឆ្កាបឲ្យវេទនា បបាត់អស់វេរា បានសួគ៌ាប្រាសលែងទុក្ខ ៤៤	នឹងបានចៀសចាកបាប ស្អុយឆ្កែឆ្កាបឲ្យវេទនា បបាត់អស់វេរា បានសួគ៌ាប្រាសលែងទុក្ខ ។ ៤៤	he will be freed from sin, from the fetid fetor that leads to despair. He will destroy all evil karma and achieve the heavens, freed from suffering. 44
សំផែងផលនេះណា សង្ខេបដោយទំនុក ជាផលខ្ញុំទៅមុខ ទុកគ្រាន់មើលពឹងត្រឡប់ចិត្ត ៤៥	សំផែងផលនេះណា សង្ខេបដោយទំនុក ជាផលខ្ញុំទៅមុខ ទុកគ្រាន់មើលពឹងត្រឡប់ចិត្ត ។ ៤៥	This explanation of the fruits has been abbreviated according to convention as a fruit for me in the future, set down as sufficient for seeking refuge and chastising the mind. 45
បើលោកអ្នកណាមើល កុំថាព្រើលសូមអាណិត ក្រែងខុសពុំសុចរិត ពុំសូវត្រូវតាមលំអាន ៤៦	បើលោកអ្នកណាមើល កុំថាព្រើលសូមអាណិត ក្រែងខុសពុំសុចរិត ពុំសូវត្រូវតាមលំអាន ។ ៤៦	If any of you should read this, don't call it immature; please take pity on me, since I fear I may be wrong, corrupt, or not so correct according to tradition. 46
ដ្បិតខ្ញុំប្រាជ្ញាតិច xxxx បុរាណ ពុំត្រឹមត្រូវដោយជាន គន្លងលោកអំពីមុន ៤៧	ដ្បិតខ្ញុំប្រាជ្ញាតិច xxxx បុរាណ ពុំត្រឹមត្រូវដោយជាន គន្លងលោកអំពីមុន ។ ៤៧	Since I have but little wisdom, ... tradition, not in accordance to custom, the way of the people of the past. 47
សូមលោកជួយជំរុញ ឲ្យត្រឹមត្រង់កុំxx [និ] យកផលទុកជាទុន [ជា]គុណលោកខ្ពស់សក្រាបក្រៃ	សូមលោកជួយតម្រង់ ឲ្យត្រឹមត្រង់កុំxx [រិះគន់] យកផលទុកជាទុន [ជា]គុណលោកខ្ពស់សក្រាបក្រៃ ។	Please help rectify it so it is correct; don't criticize it. Taking this fruit as a basis your virtues shall be extremely exalted, 48

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៤៨	៤៨	48
ក្រាវក្រែលឥតអប្បម៉ា ដូចកេត្រាត្រង់ជុលស្បែក យល់ច្បាស់ក្នុងធម៌ថ្ងៃ ថ្ងៃដ៏ថ្លៃធុរគុណលោកពុំបាន ៊	ក្រាស់ក្រែលឥតឧបមា ដូចកេត្រាត្រង់ជុលស្បែក យល់ច្បាស់ក្នុងធម៌ថ្ងៃ ថ្ងៃដ៏ថ្លៃធុរគុណលោកពុំបាន ។	massively large beyond compare, like a great ship crossing the waters, for you see clearly into the precious Dharma, and your virtues cannot be explained.
៤៩	៤៩	49
ឯនាមឈ្មោះខ្ញុំណា ក្នុងអក្ខរាវិរុទ្ធដ៏មាន អក្សរហក្សណ បំបែកហិរុកន៍ប្រកប	ឯនាមឈ្មោះខ្ញុំណា ក្នុងអក្ខរាវិរុទ្ធដ៏មាន អក្សរហ ក ល្យាណ បំបែក ហ រុក ន ប្រកប ។	As for my own name, in its original powerful letters: the lovely letter “h,” cleft by a “u” and finished with an “n,”
៥០	៥០	50
ប្រកដដោយអក្ខរា ប្រកបថាតាមរបប របៀបយើងប្រកប ឈ្មោះថាហ៊ុនកុំសង្ស័យ	ប្រាកដដោយអក្ខរា ប្រកបថាតាមរបប របៀបយើងប្រកប ឈ្មោះថាហ៊ុនកុំសង្ស័យ ។	manifest in script and spelled according to the method, the way we spell; my name is “Hun”—don’t doubt it.
៥១	៥១	51
កំណើតនៅស្រុកព្រៃចារ ញាតិការប្រសើរដ៏ក្រៃ ក្នុងខេត្តជើងព្រៃថ្ងៃ ជាកូនអ្នកស្រែមន្ត្រីយ	កំណើតនៅស្រុកព្រៃចារ ញាតិការប្រសើរក្រៃ ក្នុងខេត្តជើងព្រៃថ្ងៃ ជាកូនអ្នកស្រែមន្ត្រី ។	Born in Brai Cār district to an excellent family in precious Jōn Brai province, the child of a rural government official,
៥២	៥២	52
ខ្ញុំបានបូសសូត្ររៀន ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរឃ្នាតខ្លី សំសេន្ទាបាធិ ដោយប្រាជ្ញាល្អឆ្ងៃ	ខ្ញុំបានបូសសូត្ររៀន ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនាខ្មែរឃ្នាតខ្លី សរសេរតាមបាលី ដោយប្រាជ្ញាល្អឆ្ងៃ ។	I ordained and studied within the Buddhist religion, striving to quickly write according to Pali with my uneducated mind.
៥៣	៥៣	53
មកនៅវត្តព្រៃចារ ញាតិកាឥតឃ្នាតសោវ ត្រូវលោកប្រដៅ ឲ្យសូត្ររៀនតាមលំអាន	មកនៅវត្តព្រៃចារ ញាតិកាឥតឃ្នាតសោវ តាមគ្រូលោកប្រដៅ ឲ្យសូត្ររៀនតាមលំអាន ។	I came to stay in Brai Cār Monastery, where the laypeople were not disruptive, following what my teacher taught me to chant and study according to tradition.
៥៤	៥៤	54
ហេតុតែអកុសល វាមកផ្តល់ឲ្យព្រួយប្រាណ ប្រឹងប្រែងពុំបាន សឹកចាកចេញជាបាសក	ហេតុតែអកុសល វាមកផ្តល់ឲ្យព្រួយប្រាណ ប្រឹងប្រែងពុំបាន សឹកចាកចេញជាបាសក ។	Due only to my unwholesome states, which caused me to suffer inside, I struggled to change but could not contain them, so I disrobed and became a layman.
៥៥	៥៥	55

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

មករកទីទួលទាន គ្នាស្រែកឃ្លានគ្មានក៏ហែក មកនៅភូមិប្រក់ដូង ឈ្មោះភូមិអូរព្រៃក្រែង ៥៦	មករកទីទួលទាន តាមស្រែកឃ្លានគ្មានកុហក មកនៅភូមិប្រាកដ ឈ្មោះភូមិអូរព្រៃក្រែង ។ ៥៦	I began to make a living according to need, without deceit, settling in the great village named Ū Pradi. 56
វិទូនខ្ញុំនេះណា ឥតមាតាបិតាថ្ងៃ ពឹងពាក់នៅបាស្រ្រែង តែនឹងបងលំបាកក្រែង ៥៧	វិទូនខ្ញុំនេះណា ឥតមាតាបិតាថ្ងៃ ពឹងពាក់នៅប្រាស្រ្រែង តែនឹងបងក្រលំបាក ។ ៥៧	As for me, I am bereft of my precious parents. I now take shelter with my elder sibling; such are my difficulties. 57
កាលបូសនៅជាស្រីយិ [ច្រិតដំរុនគិត]បរិច្ចាគ [ផ្លូវដង] ប្រាជ្ញាខំគិតសាក សំសេរតែងជាបទព្រហ្ម ៥៨	កាលបូសនៅជាសង្ឃ ចិត្តតម្រង់គិតបរិច្ចាគ ប្រាជ្ញាខំគិតសាក សរសេរតែងជាបទព្រហ្ម ។ ៥៨	When I was still a monk, my mind was straight and generous. I tried to test my wits and compose this in the <i>brahmagīti</i> meter 58
ទុកតម្រះសាស្តា ព្រះសាស្តាគ្រាន់បង្គំម ព្រះគុណធ្ងន់ធ្ងន់ធំម តែងស្រេចស្រង់សត្វទាំងឡាយ ៥៩	ទុកតម្រះសាសនា ព្រះសាស្តាគ្រាន់បង្គំ ព្រះគុណធ្ងន់ធ្ងន់ធំ តែងស្រេចស្រង់សត្វទាំងឡាយ ។ ៥៩	for the continuation of the religion of the Teacher, as appropriate to worship him. His virtues are massive and manifold, always saving sentient beings. 59
ហេតុចិត្តខ្ញុំស្មោះស្មាន ចង់ខ្សែមខ្សានក្នុងអង្គកាយ [កុំឱ្យ]ឃ្នាឃ្នាតត្រូវ សូមប្រថ្នាជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ៦០	ហេតុចិត្តខ្ញុំស្មោះស្មាន ចង់ក្សេមក្សាន្តក្នុងអង្គកាយ កុំឱ្យឃ្នាឃ្នាតត្រូវ សូមប្រថ្នាជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ។ ៦០	Since my heart is true and seeks peace in my own being, may I not be distantly cleft from my wish to become a buddha. 60
ឱ្យបានដូចសព្វ ខ្ញុំប្រថ្នាខំក្រាបលុត សូមបានជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ទៅឯមុខតាមនិស្ស័យ ៦១	ឱ្យបានដូចសព្វ ខ្ញុំប្រថ្នាខំក្រាបលុត សូមបានជាព្រះពុទ្ធ ទៅឯមុខតាមនិស្ស័យ ។ ៦១	May I attain according to this vow that I pray earnestly, bowing low. May I become a buddha in the future according to my affinities 61
និស្សង្សជួយជូនទៅ ដូចសំពៅកេត្រាថ្ងៃ នាំសត្វអស់ខ្សែ [ដាក់]ដល់ត្រើយគីនិព្វាន ៦២	[អា]និសង្សជួយជូនទៅ ដូចសំពៅកេត្រាថ្ងៃ នាំសត្វអស់ខ្សែ ដាក់ដល់ត្រើយគីនិព្វាន ។ ៦២	for the benefits that ferry across, like a precious great vessel, that lead incalculable numbers of living beings to arrive at the far shore, that is, Nibbāna. 62
និដ្ឋិតចប់ស្រេច	<i>nīṭṭhitam</i> ចប់ស្រេច	<i>Finished</i> , completely ended:

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

បានសំរេចជាប្រធាន	បានសូរេចជាប្រធាន	this is concluded in the main.
ឈប់[ខាន]ពុំនិទាន	ឈប់ខានពុំនិទាន	It stops now; no more recounting.
ឯវំចូបតែបុណ្ណៈ	<i>evam</i> ចប់តែប៉ុណ្ណៈ ។	<i>Thus</i> it ends right here.

**ārāadhanā dhammadesanā-br**  
 Invitation to preach the Dhamma

Khmer verse, 22 stanzas in *brahmagīti*, composed by Suttantapriṅṅā Ind, first published in 1926 in KS, but may have been composed earlier.

Leporello: **UB009** 9a–10a pad brahm ārāadhanā dharmaṃ desanā; **UB036** 56a–58a bāky ārāadhanā dharmaṃ desanā pad brahmagit

Khmer books: Suttantapriṅṅā សុត្តន្តប្រឹដា Ind ឥន្ទ, “Ārāadhanā dhammakathik oy samtèn dharmaṃ អាវាធនាធម្មកថិកឱ្យសម្តែងធម៌,” *Kambuja Suriya កម្ពុជសុរិយា* 1 (1926–1927): 34–37.

Edition and French translation: San Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 69–78.

Summary: The Buddha being invited to preach the Dharma by Sahampati Brahmā, emphasizing the capacity of the Dharma to save living beings with the proper karmic affinities. After the Buddha assents, the text concludes with a summary of his preaching career and a direct invitation to a monk to likewise preach the Dharma for the assembled laypeople.

Standardized Edition and Translation

១	1
គ្រានោះសហម្បតិ	At that moment Sahampati
ព្រហ្មជាតិសូរលោកា	Brahmā, Lord of the Worlds,
ចូលគាល់ព្រះសាស្តា	went to pay respect to the Teacher,
លើកហត្ថាសីរោរាប ។	raised his hands to his head,
២	2
ហើយពោលពាក្យទូលថា	and humbly spoke these words:
សូមករុណាស្តេចទ្រង់ជ្រាប	“Please, Compassionate Lord, may you be informed that
ត្បិតសត្វអន់ទន់ទាប	since living beings are soft, weak,
ទុព្វលភាពបាបក្រៃក្រាស់	frail, and weighed down by sin,
៣	3

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

ទន្ទឹងព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ	they wait for the precious Dharma
ជានិស្ស័យបច្ច័យច្បាស់	as their clear refuge and reliance.
ឥឡូវទ្រង់បានត្រាស់	Now that you have awakened,
ត្រេកអរណាស់ពុំកន្តើយ ។	they rejoice and are not remiss.
៤	4
សត្វខ្លះក្រាស់ដោយកាម	Some creatures are laden with lust,
មិនយល់តាមត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ឡើយ	not understanding the Three Marks at all.
ឥឡូវយល់ខ្លះហើយ	But now there are some who can understand
ដោយអំណាចព្រះមានបុណ្យ ។	by means of the power of the Meritorious One.
៥	5
បើបានស្តាប់ទេសនា	If they could listen to your sermons,
បញ្ញាក្លាខ្លាំងលើសមុន	their wisdom would strengthen more and more.
សូមព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ	Please, Meritorious One,
ទ្រង់និមន្តត្រាស់ទេសនា ។	I humbly invite you to preach.
៦	6
ប្រោសសត្វបំបាត់សោក	Save living beings and destroy their sorrow,
ទាំងរាគពោគរូបតណ្ហា	the sickness of their passion, and their craving for the flesh,
ឯងឆ្លើប្រែជាជ្រះថ្លា	such that their darkness transforms into bright faith
កើតបញ្ញាកិរិយាយល់ ។	and gives rise to ever more abundant wisdom.
៧	7
ត្រៃលោកគោកត្រៃលក្ខណ៍	The three worlds are the barren land of the Three Marks.
សង្សារចក្រវិលមិនដល់	The wheel of cyclic existence whirls without end.
អវិជ្ជាជាបុលគល់	Ignorance is the root cause
ជាបច្ច័យនៃសង្ខារ ។	and supporting condition of mental formations.
៨	8
នាំសត្វឲ្យសោកសៅ	It pushes living beings into sorrow
លិចលង់នៅក្នុងសង្សារ	and drowns them in cyclic existence.
បញ្ចមារមោហន្ទការ	The Five Māras and blind delusion
រឹតរុំហុំជុំជាប់នៅ ។	envelop and enwrap them till they're stuck fast.
៩	9
ហេតុនេះសូមព្រះអង្គ	For these reasons, Lord, may you please
ប្រោសស្រោចស្រង់ដាក់សំពៅ	save, rescue, and place living beings on a boat
ចំឡង់សត្វឆ្ពោះទៅ	to ferry them across to
កាន់ត្រើយត្រាណានិពាន្ធនាយ ។	the far shore of yonder Nibbāna,
១០	10
ដូចកល់ប្រទីបធំ	which is like an immense light,



Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

សាយត្រស្តុក្ខីព្រាងព្រាយ បំភ្លឺសត្វទាំងឡាយ ឲ្យសប្បាយក្បាលកិរម្យ ។ ១១	radiating out with branches of shining rays to illuminate all living beings so that they may be well, peaceful, and joyous. 11
ព្រះសទ្ធម្មជាស្តរជ័យ ព្រះវិន័យជាវាងធំ ព្រះសូត្រជាខ្សែរុំ ព្រះអភិធម្មជាស្បែកដាស ។ ១២	The true Dhamma is the victory drum, the Vinaya the great shell, the Sutras the binding strings, the Abhidhamma the stretched skin. 12
អរិយសច្ចជាអន្ទង់ សំរាប់ទូងឲ្យឮច្បាស់ សត្វលោកងោកង្គយណាស់ ឮស្តរជាសំក្រោកឡើងបាន ។ ១៣	The Noble Truths are the mallet for beating the drum so all can hear it clearly. The living beings in the world are dazed and sleepy; when roused by hearing the drum, they can wake up. 13
បរិសទ្ធិ៤ជំពូក ដូចផ្កាឈូកក្នុងជលសារ ខ្លះផុសចាំស្រព្វបាន រះនឹងរីកដោយរស្មី ។ ១៤	The four kinds of assemblies are like lotus flowers in the water. Some will sprout up, waiting for the sun's orb to rise, and then bloom by means of its rays. 14
ព្រះធម៌ជាស្រព្វរស្មី រះឡើងចែងចាំងរស្មី បំភ្លឺលោកទាំងបី ឲ្យយល់ផ្លូវស្ថានសុខា ។ ១៥	The Dharma is the sunlight that rises and gleams with its radiance, illuminating the three worlds to make clear the path to the realm of bliss.” 15
សហម្បតិព្រហ្ម ឱនបង្គំអាណនា សម្តេចព្រះភគវា ដោយគាថាយ៉ាងនេះឯង ។ ១៦	Sahampati Brahmā bowed down to invite the Lord, the Blessed One, by means of these very verses. 16
ព្រះពុទ្ធច្រង់អនុកូល ព្រមទទួលនឹងសំដែង ដោយតុណ្ណិភាពថ្ងែង តាមការគុណករុណា ។ ១៧	The Buddha consented and expressed his approval with silence, in accordance with the qualities of his compassion. 17
ទើបក្រោកចាកទីនោះ កត្រាឆ្ពោះព្រៃមិគទាយ៍	Then he arose from that spot and headed toward the forest of the Deer Park,

Appendix II-13 Khmer brahmagīti verse (-br)

យាងចេញចរលីលា ពីទីនោះដោយព្រះបាទ ។	moving by walking from there by foot.
១៨	18
ញ៉ាំងសត្វចូលពុទ្ធចក្រ មានបញ្ជាវគ្គីយ៍ជាអាទី ឲ្យផឹកអម្រឹតជាតិ រសនិព្វានតាមធម្មតា ។	He caused living beings to enter the wheel of the buddhas, with the Group of Five as the first, by having them drink the ambrosial flavor that is the taste of Nibbāna, naturally.
១៩	19
ចាប់ផ្ដើមពីនោះឯង ទ្រង់សំដែងធម៌ទេសនា ធ្វើពុទ្ធកិច្ចា អស់វស្សាសែសិបប្រាំ ។	From that moment on, he preached sermons on the Dharma, performing the work of buddhas for forty-five monsoon seasons in all.
២០	20
ពុំថយពុំបន្ទុះ ប្រយោជន៍យូរអង្វែងឆ្នាំ សម្រេចបុណ្យកម្ម ដល់សព្វសត្វទាំងកតត្រ័យ ។	He never stepped back or relented. The benefits extended for many long years. He actualized meritorious actions for all the beings in the Three Worlds.
២១	21
ហេតុនេះឥឡូវនេះ យើងខ្ញុំនេះសាទរក្រៃ បពិត្រព្រះគុណថ្លៃ សូមនិមន្តប្រោសទេសនា ។	This is why right in this moment we are filled with such great joy. Venerable, precious Virtuous One! We humbly invite you to save us and preach.
២២	22
អនុគ្រោះពួកបរិស័ទ ដែលជាប់ខាតដោយមោហា ឲ្យកើតមានបញ្ញា ប្រាកដនាទីនេះហោង ។	Rescue those in the assemblies who are still caught in delusion, so that they might give rise to wisdom here in this place!

## II-14 Khmer *baṃnol* verse (-bn)

**kruṅ bālī pök braḥ netr-bn** (1)

**jäy dis-bn** (1)

**jäy bar thmī-bn** (1)

**jäy ratanatrai-bn** (1)

**jäy löṅ phdaḥ-bn** (1)

**dasajāti-bn** (1)

**yog-bn** (17)

### **kruṅ bālī pök braḥ netr-bn**

King Bālī opens the eyes of the Buddha

Khmer verse, 39 stanzas in *baṃnol*, with many stanzas in metrical decay, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB062** 72b–74a sūtr kruṅ bālī pök braḥ netr braḥ

Summary: Petition to Viṣṇu, Śiva, various seers, Viśvakarman, and other deities to come grant their blessings, followed by an enumeration of offerings, then an invitation to King Bālī to bless the construction of various buildings and architectural features within the monastery, and finally an invitation to him to open the eyes of the image and to bless all with the destruction of obstacles and the increase of prosperity.

### Diplomatic transcription from **UB062**

១

បពិត្រយើងខ្ញុំ លើកដៃបង្គំ ប្រណាម្យសិទ្ធិស័ក

ព្រះត្រាយាទ្រង់លក្ខណ៍

មហាម្តេសតសុរា

២

យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំ ព្រះតសីសេលាចារ

នូវព្រះពិស្សណាកា

អំពីត្រៃត្រីជ័យស្នូត៍ថាន

៣

សូមអ្នកនិមន្តចុះមកប៉ាន

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

តាក់តែងក្នុងថាន  
ផ្ទៃក្រោមភូមិភពមណ្ឌល

៤

អ្នកអាចបង្វែរការសិទ្ធិពល  
ដ៏ជាដ៏យមន្តល  
កុំឱ្យមានអំពល នៅចង្រៃ

៥

បង់បាត់ទុក្ខសោករោគភ័យ  
សូមព្រះសិទ្ធិជោគដ៏យ  
កម្មខុត្តបាទទាំងឡាយ

៦

យើងខ្ញុំរៀបកាថាយ  
ដំកល់សព្វសាយ  
បាយចំណីអាហារ

៧

ទៀនធូបលាដង្កា ម្លូស្លា  
បារី ស្វាធម៌ទឹកអប់បាយសិរច្ចណា  
មានទាំងប្រេងម្សៅ ប្រដាប់សំរាប់គ្រប់គ្រឿង

៨

មាសប្រាក់ដំកល់ដាក់រុងរឿង  
មានពំណខ្សែរល្បឿង  
ប្រាស់ប្រាសព្រោងព្រាយ បីរន្ទា

៩

ប្រដាប់ស្រេចដោយខ្នាត  
អញ្ជើញស្តេចសេះហៈនាត  
យាងយាត្រាត្រាច់មកខ្ចី

១០

គង់ចិត្តប្រសិទ្ធិ លើត្បូងសិរិសី  
ជាតិជាធិបតី  
មន្ត្រីលការផង សម្មាយ

១១

សូមស្រួលទទួលយកដង្ហាយ  
យើងខ្ញុំទាំងឡាយ  
រៀបធ្វើសារពើការផង

១២

កុំឱ្យមានចង្រៃសៅហ្មង

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

ទោសខ្លះធ្លំធ្លង់  
ពុំសព្វពុំគ្រប់ក្តីណា

១៣

សូមស្តេចអាចអត់ទោសា  
យើងខ្ញុំកុណា  
ទុកស្មើជាសត្វតេរព្រួន

១៤

សូមប្រោសអត់ទោសទាល់ប្រាណ  
ខ្ញុំសូមធ្វើការកុំឱ្យមាន  
ចង្រៃឧត្តបាទព្យាធិ

១៥

ក្រៅក្នុងកំឡុងតម្រូវ  
ទាំងអស់គ្នាខ្លី  
ឥតមានមន្ទីលសៅហ្មង

១៦

ខ្ញុំសូមធ្វើអស់ សារពើការផង  
XXXX  
XXXXXXX

១៧

តាំងចាប់ប្រដាប់ដើមជាអាទី  
កាបផ្កាពុះពាបសង្ហាត  
តាំងក៏ជាប្រោសាធមន្ទីមន្ទុលខ្ចាត់ខ្ចែង

១៨

ផ្លុំផ្លុំបីប្រមុំត្រៃឡែងកែង  
មាន១៣កំផែង  
កំពូលត្រៃសូតាងឃ្វាយ

១៩

ដីវាដងគ្នាលេចលាយ  
រាក់រុលរៀងរាយ  
ប្រកម្រៃមេលុំ នាគ្គា

២០

ទោះស្អាងសូន្យសាង ធ្វើជា  
ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបព្រះវិហារ  
អាស្ថាបាលាំងរាំផ្សំថ្មី

២១

ជាសាលាកុដី  
ព្រះដីចេតិយ

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

ចាស់ថ្មីរូសរើកំរាង

២២

ជា ព្រះសុបុបប្រេះព្រាង

ទោះរុំលុះបីរុំលាង

សួនសាងជាថ្មី

២៣

យកបុណ្យកុំបី

មានចង្រៃ

មន្ទិលទោសទូជន អាបអន់អស់កាជាមង្គល

២៤

ប្រសិទ្ធិពល

យើងខ្ញុំ នឹកដល់

ឱ្យស្តេចជួយកាជ្រុំជ្រែង

២៥

ទោះតាំងរៀសរាំងវាលវែង

បន្ទាយទព្វទែង

តទូកបូកកកេត្រា

២៦

កុំឱ្យមានចង្រៃយើងណា

សូមស្តេចព្រះសិទ្ធិ

គ្រប់ការសារពើ

២៧

XXXXXX

យើងខ្ញុំបានធ្វើ

XXគ្រប់ការជុំពួក

២៨

បាត់ស្រែច្រេះប្តូរតទូក

សិតសួនពូនបូក

បិតបះបញ្ចុះគ្រប់គ្នា

២៩

គូវាសដាក់ដាំព្រះនេត្រា

ឆ្នាក់ឆ្នេរចនា

ដែកដឹងវណ្ណា បន្ទាកឈៀកខ្ចិត

៣០

ទ្រូនាប់ដង្កាប់កាន់កិត

រុំលាយសួនសិត

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

សំរិតទុងដែងខ្លែងក្លាយ

៣០

កុំឱ្យមានចង្រៃអន្តរាយ

សូមសុខសប្បាយ

សួស្តី វិជ័យសព្វកាល

៣១

ទោះធ្វើការធ្ងន់ការស្រាល

អ្នកអាចបន្តាល

បន្ទូលបន្តិច យើងខ្ញុំជា

៣២

សុខសួស្តីភិរម្យអស់កិច្ចការ

កុំឱ្យមានចង្រៃយើងណា

ទោះពោលពុំនោលចែងចា

៣៣

រៀងសត្រូវរៀមរកគម្ពីរ គ្រប់ជាតិទោះលើកល្អិតល្អើក ដោមដាក់ហូលព្រៃ លិដលក្ខប្រសាទប្រសព្វគ្រប់ពរហាងរហៀង

ដើងទានក្តីរល្អីជារៀងរាល់

ឥតទល់ឥតទើសត្រង់ណា

៣៤

សារពើយើងធ្វើគ្រប់ការ

សូមស្តេចមេត្តា

ការអស់ចង្រៃអន្តរាយ

៣៥

កុំបីឱ្យដិតដល់កាយ

ជៀសចាកចេញឆ្ងាយ

រសាយនូវទុក្ខទោសា

៣៦

សូមមានដេដ្ឋះចេស្តា

មានលាភសព្វកាល

មហាប្រសើរម៉ឺងម៉ាត

៣៧

កើតយសរបស់ទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិមាន

មាសប្រាក់ធន់ធាន

ប្រកបនៅអាយុយឺនយូរ

៣៨

សូមសិតសិទ្ធិបរិបូណ៌

ដោយដេដ្ឋះព្រះឥសូ

ព្រះនរាយនៅព្រះពិស្ណុកា  
ពាស  
អ្នកអាចជួយដៃចេស្តា  
យើងខ្ញុំនេះណា  
ឆុតចាប់ប្រាកដក្តាត់ហោង។

**jăy dis-bn**

Victory blessings from the eight directions

FEMC title: jăy dis

Khmer verse, 16 stanzas in *bamnol*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 18a–19a jăy dis

Short-format palm-leaf manuscripts: FEMC 002'-PP.01.08.01

Khmer books: Nuon Samān នួន សំអាង, *Gihippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យរាវាសធម៌  
(Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnam beñ រោងពុម្ពភ្នំពេញ, 2547), 82–83.

Summary: Petition for victory blessings from the deities of the eight directions, along with Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and other deities and spirits of the earth, the waters, and the mountains, to increase prosperity and eliminate obstacles.

Nuon Samān 2547

Translation

១	1
<i>itipi so bhagavā</i>	Thus he is the Blessed One—
ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយវន្តា	I bow humbly
សម្តេចព្រះស្រីរតនត្រៃ	to the holy Three Jewels.
២	2
ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយបង្គំសូមដ៏យ	I bow to ask for boons,
សូមពរឫទ្ធិក្រៃពិដ៏យ	for magic might,
សូមដ៏យអំពីព្រះឥសូរ ។	for Lord Śiva’s blessings.
៣	3
សូមដ៏យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសឯបូព៌	Blessings from the gods in the East—
ហិចហើរមូលមក	fly here in flocks
ប្រសិទ្ធិលើតួរសិរី។	with glorious might above my head!



Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

<p>៤ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសអគ្នេយ៍ មូលមកទៀងទេ ប្រសិទ្ធិយោធាពលពាន់ ។</p>	<p>4 Blessings from the gods in the Southeast— gather solid with thousands of your soldiers!</p>
<p>៥ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសទក្សិណ មូលមករូសរាន់ ចម្រើននូវសុខសួស្តី ។</p>	<p>5 Blessings from the gods in the South— gather quickly to grant prosperity!</p>
<p>៦ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសនិរតី ជៀងជួយឥទ្ធិក្រៃ តេជៈតបៈចេស្តា ។</p>	<p>6 Blessings from the gods in the Southwest— Help us with the might of your great penance!</p>
<p>៧ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសបច្ឆិមា ជៀងជួយរក្សា ចម្រើននូវពរស្រេចស្រាប់ ។</p>	<p>7 Blessings from the gods in the West— Guard and protect us and grant us success!</p>
<p>៨ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសពាយ័ព្យ មូលមកអឹងអាប់ ចម្រើននូវសុខសាទរ ។</p>	<p>8 Blessings from the gods in the Northwest— Gather noisily and grant happiness and joy!</p>
<p>៩ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសឧត្តរ មូលមកកុះករ ចម្រើននូវលាភថ្កើងផ្ការ ។</p>	<p>9 Blessings from the gods in the North— Gather together and grant us lofty fortune!</p>
<p>១០ សូមជ័យអំពីទេវតា នៅទិសឦសាន្ត ចុះចាកអស់ទាំងភិមាន ចម្រើននូវសុខសប្បាយ ។</p>	<p>10 Blessings from the gods in the Northeast— Descend from your palaces and grant up happiness!</p>
<p>១១ សូមជ័យអំពីព្រះឥសូរ នូវព្រះនរាយណ៍ ឥន្ទព្រហ្មទាំងសម្ភាយ អស់ទេពនិករក្រាស់ក្រៃ ។</p>	<p>11 Blessings from Śiva, Viṣṇu, Indra, all Brahmā deities, and all of the throngs of gods,</p>
<p>១២ ទេពទាំងធរណី នូវបីប្រពៃ ទេពជលស័យ ទាំងព្រៃព្រះហេមព្វានហោង</p>	<p>12 from the gods of the earth, which support us, from the gods of the ocean, from the gods of the Himavant forest,</p>

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

១៣	13
អស់សត្វប្រវ័ត្តយង់ឃ្នង	from cruel and crazy creatures,
អស់ទេវតាផង	from all the deities
ទិសទាំងប្រាំបីផងណា ។	in the eight directions,
១៤	14
ទេពព្រឹក្សនូវអាវុត្តទេវតា	from tutelary deities and other spirits,
សន្តិកនោនា	abiding in various
គិរីមណ្ឌលព្រឹក្សព្រៃ	mountains and forests.
១៥	15
ទេពព្រឹក្សសូមអ្នកជួយជ័យ	May all of these spirits help us to victory,
ចម្រើនពរថ្ងៃ	grant us blessings
ពិជ័យនូវជ័យពលព្យូហ៍	of victory over arrays of troops,
១៦	16
អាចមកបង្គ្រាបសត្រូវ	crushing our enemies into submission,
ការពារអស់ម្រឹត្យវ	warding off death,
នូវឧបទ្រពទាំងសម្ភាយឲ្យវិនាសហោង ។	and destroying all calamities.

**jäy bar thmī-bn**  
New victory blessings

Khmer verse, 26 stanzas in *bannol*, mid 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 3a–4a jäy bar thmī

Summary: Petition for blessings of victory from the Three Jewels to be bestowed upon the sponsors of a particular ceremony, asking them to be freed from dangers, freed from their evil karma, fulfilled with abundant treasures, and to reach their aspirations on the Buddhist path, including Nibbāna.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB064**

១  
ជ័យជ័យ *itipi so bhagavā*  
ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយវន្តា  
បង្គំព្រះស្រីវតនត្រៃ  
២  
ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយបង្គំ ប្រណមសូមជ័យ ។  
សូមពរព្រៃ

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

ចំរើនដល់អ្នកដើមការ

៣

ទោះទាំងសម្តេច ឧកញ៉ា  
ចិន ចាម ខ្មែរ ឡាវ ភ្នំណា  
ក្មេងចាស់ ប្រុសស្រីទាំងឡាយ

៤

ដែលតាំងចិត្តនោះខ្វល់ខ្វាយ  
ឧស្សាហ៍ចែកចាយ  
ឲ្យទ្រព្យធនសាងជាមគ្គុផល

៥

ជាអង្គបុណ្យនោះថ្កើងថ្កល់  
នាំបានដល់  
ទីស្ថានបរមសុខនោះឯង ។

៦

XXXXXX  
XXXX  
ថ្ងាត់ថ្ងាយដល់ព្រះគម្ពីរ

៧

សូមផលកុសលតាក់តែង  
ឲ្យអ្នកនោះឯង  
បានផលអនេកច្រើនក្រៃ

៨

ប្រាសចាកអំពីទុក្ខភ័យ  
បាបនោះនៃ  
ឲ្យជ្រះស្រឡះហ្នឹង

៩

ទោះទាំងពិឃាតជីវិតសត្វផង  
បាបពៀរនោះហោង  
កុំបីបៀននិន្ទា ។

១០

ទោះទាំងកម្មបញ្ចវេក  
សូមឲ្យលោកជឿស  
បាបកម្មពៀរនោះហោង ។

១១

សូមឲ្យកើតកបទ្រព្យផង  
មាសប្រាក់កែវកង  
ពិទ្ធយស្ស័យវត្ថុកន្លីដ្ឋាន

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

១២

កើតទាំងទាសី ទាសា  
ដំរី អស្សុពា  
អនេកអនន្ត ច្រើនក្តាត់ ។

១៣

សូមឲ្យញោម.....បំពេញឈ្មោះម្ចាស់ដើមបុណ្យ.....បានមគ្គផល  
រៀងរួចបានដល់  
ទាន់អង្គនៃព្រះសិអាប្ប

១៤

ឲ្យបានស្តាប់ធម៌ទេសនា  
ពីព្រះឱស្ឋា  
ប្រោសសត្វនៅក្នុងកំពតត្រៃ ។

១៥

សូមឲ្យញោមមានប្រាជ្ញាវៃ  
ឧបមាដូច  
អង្គព្រះមហោសថហោង ។

១៦

សូមឲ្យរូបកាយហ្មត់ហ្មង  
ល្អល្អះពីរោះ  
ក្បែរក្បាយដូចសត្វបក្សា

១៧

តេជះដោយទាននេះណា  
ណែនាំមាតា  
បិតាឲ្យដល់ស្ងួតឋាន

១៨

ដល់ព្រះឥសីទ្រង់ញាណ  
ស្តេចចូលនិព្វាន  
ឲ្យបានដោយសារព្រះអង្គ

១៩

ដល់ឋាននិព្វានត្រេចត្រង់  
នាវាចម្នុង  
ឈ្មោះឋានបរមសុខា

២០

ឲ្យអស់ទាំងអ្នកដើមការ  
ចូរយកកម្មា  
ទាំងសង្កត់ត្រាប់ស្តាប់ពរ

២១

អាត្មាចែងចារស្មោះស

ឲ្យលោកត្រេកអរ

ទទួលសាធុប័ដង

២២

ឲ្យបានលាន់ពួកអ៊ីដកង

ទើបទេវតាផង

ចុះមកឲ្យសាធុការពរថ្មី

២៣

អាស្រ័យចែងចារប្រទាន

អស់មហាពរផង

ទាយកញ្ញាតិញ្ញោមទាំងឡាយ

២៤

បំណាច់ស្វះស្វែងមកពីឆ្ងាយ

លំបាកនឿយកាយ

លុយទឹកល្អាប់កក់ផង

២៥

នាំគ្នារួសរាន់ផ្ទះឆ្នុង

អូរបឹងស្ទឹងជ្រលង

ព្រោះចិត្តស្រឡាញ់កុសល

២៦

សូមឲ្យញ្ញោមបានមគ្គផល

រៀងរួចបានដល់

ឋាននិព្វាននោះឯងហោង ។

**jăy ratanatrai-bn**

Victory blessings of the Three Jewels

Khmer verse, 17 stanzas in *bamnol*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 10b–11a *jăy ratanatrai*

Khmer books: Nuon Samān នួន សំអ៊ាន, *Gihippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យរាវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnaṃ beñ រោងពុម្ពភ្នំពេញ, 2547), 92.

Summary: Petition to the Three Jewels and all deities to eliminate dangers that could arise in a home, including dangers from all manner of wild beasts and other natural phenomena, and concluding with an aspiration for well-being and success.

Diplomatic transcription of Nuon Saṃān 2547

១

សូមជ័យអំពីព្រះពុទ្ធ ទាំងប្រាំព្រះអង្គ  
ព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ  
ចម្រើននូវអាយុយិនហោង

២

ឲ្យអស់មហាជនផង  
ចូរស្តាប់ត្រាប់ត្រង់  
ឲ្យស្មើយអស់ពីទុក្ខភ័យ

៣

ឲ្យស្មើយសារពើចង្រៃ  
ទុក្ខសោករោគភ័យ  
កុំបីបៀតបៀនបានឡើយ

៤

ទោះផ្ទះទ្រុឌទ្រោមគ្រាំគ្រា  
សូមអស់ទេវតា  
មកជួយរក្សាជ្រោមជ្រែង ។

៥

ទោះភ្លើងឆេះជើងក្រានឯង  
មហាជ័យតាក់តែង  
រំងាប់បំបាត់ចង្រៃ

៦

កុកគូកយុំម្រាមពង្រួតនៃ  
ពស់ពិសពស់ព្រៃ  
ថ្នាំឆ្អឹងថ្នាំភ្លើង

៧

ត្រកូតអន្សោង កន្រ្ទង់ក្តី  
ពង្រួលអណ្តើកនៃ  
អម្រឹកបក្សិតរញ្ជាន

៨

រន្ទះបាញ់ប្រាសវិមាន  
ដោយសព្វទីឋាន  
នូវអស់មហាជននានា

៩

ជ័យឈ្នះរន្ទះវិញណា

រំងាប់ទោសា

នៃពិសកម្មភាពចង្រៃ

១០

ឲ្យមានសិរីសួស្តី ដោយគេជ:

ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌

រំងាប់ក្តៅក្រហាយបង្ក

១១

ឲ្យត្រជាក់ត្រចង់

ដូចអង្គអម្រិទ្ធិសុខំ

១២

ស្រោចស្រប់ស្តប់ស្តល់ឥន្ទ្រិយ័

រោគសោកអប្រិយ័

រលាយរលាយវិញហោង

១៣

បពិត្រអស់ទាំងទេវតា

ទាំងឆកាមា

នូវអស់ទាំងទីជិតឆ្ងាយ

១៤

យើងខ្ញុំសូត្រសូមសុខសាយ

ទុក្ខសោកទាំងសម្បាយ

រលាយរលាយវិញវៃ

១៥

ទេវិត្រៃអង្គឥន្ទកោសិ

ទាំងព្រហ្មព្រឹទ្ធកី

សូត្រសូមពរជ័យចេស្តា

១៦

*jāyantuvāraḥpunā*

*gaṇanānunā-*

*katā bhavantuko*

១៧

*vijjāsangho vanto*

*jāy jāy varo*

*siddhī bhavantu te ។*

**jāy lön phdah-bn**

Victory blessings for a new house

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

Khmer verse, 31 stanzas in *bannol*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 25b–26b jāy lön phdaḥ

Khmer books: Nuon Samān នួន សំអាង, *Gihippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យរាវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnaṃ beñ រោងព្រឹត្តិភ្នំពេញ, 2547), 85–87.

Summary: Petition to the Three Jewels and the power of the *Dibbamanta* to remove planetary misfortunes, ghosts, illness, tuberculosis, and wild beasts from a newly rebuilt home, rendering them inert (Pali: *ahosikamma*).

Nuon Samān 2547	Translation
១ <i>iṭṭhi so bhagavā</i> ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយវន្ទា បង្គំព្រះស្រីរតនត្រៃ ថ្នាក់ថ្នាយបង្គំ សូមពរឫទ្ធិក្រៃ	1 Thus he is the Blessed One—I bow in reverence to glorious Three Jewels, bowing my body and asking for mighty boons.
២ សូមជ័យរំដោះគ្រោះមហាជន ទោះមានគ្រោះថ្នាក់ទម្ងន់ ឈឺជាទុរន់ទុរាជ្យបក្ស័យជីវិត	2 I ask for victory to liberate the people from their planetary misfortunes, even if they face severe misfortunes, or are gravely ill and near death.
៣ សូមជ័យប្រពៃវិធីវិត ជ្រោមជ្រែងស្រសិទ្ធិ រំដោះគ្រោះនោះឲ្យបានស្បើយ	3 I ask for victory, perfect and secure, to protect and bless, and to release all of those planetary misfortunes.
៤ ជម្ងឺដែលឈឺយូរហើយ សុខជាកន្តើយ ដោយតេជៈព្រះទិព្វមន្ត	4 No matter whether they be chronically ill or carelessly well, may there be victory through power of the august <i>Dibbamanta</i> .
៥ ទោះគ្រោះថ្នាក់ជាទម្ងន់ បៀតបៀនមហាជន សូមជ័យកំចាត់កំបាយ	5 Whatever severe planetary misfortunes arise to menace the people, may there be victory blessings to eradicate them.
៦ ទោះខ្មោចអារក្សនូវអាយ បៀតបៀនក្នុងកាយ នៃមហាជនផង	6 Whatever ghosts or spirits there may be, menacing the people from within,



Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

៧	សូមជ័យប្រពៃបរមត្ថ បារមីកំចាត់ កំបាយអារក្សនោះចេញ	7	may there be victory blessings, perfect and ultimate, such that the perfections eliminate all those spirits.
៨	ទោះខ្មោចអម្បាលនោះមិញ សូមជ័យដាស់ចេញ ឲ្យវាស្ងួតស្ករត់ឆ្ងាយ	8	Whatever ghosts there may be, may victory blessings scare them off, such that they flee far in fear.
៩	ទោះបីព្រាយអាបទាំងឡាយ សូមជ័យកំបាយ កំចាត់ឲ្យវា ចេញទៅ	9	Whatever ghouls and apparitions there may be, may there be victory blessings to scatter them away.
១០	ទោះខ្មោចក្នុងផ្ទះលំនៅ បៀតបៀនកូនចៅ ឲ្យឈឺទម្ងន់ធ្ងន់ក្រៃ	10	Whatever ghosts there are in this home, menacing their descendants or causing them grave illness,
១១	សូមតេជៈជ័យព្រះរតនត្រៃ ជួយដេញកំបាយ ឲ្យវាបាក់បបម៉បម៉ាយ	11	may the power of the victory of the Three Jewels send them away, such that they are defeated into submission.
១២	ទោះខ្មោចលោកីយ៍ទាំងឡាយ សូមជ័យកំបាយ ឲ្យវាចៀសចេញ	12	Whatever worldly ghosts there may be, may the victory blessings send them away.
១៣	មួយនោះព្រះព្រៃស្រមណីមិញ ស្រក់ទឹកហូរចេញ ជាឈាមនៅក្នុងគ្រឹហា	13	Moreover, if Vaiśravaṇa should cause blood to flow within this house,
១៤	សូមជ័យធម៌ថ្លៃនានា រំងាប់ពោតាកយា ចម្រើនឲ្យសុខវិញហោង ។	14	may the victory blessings of the precious Dharma appease all illness and danger, and bring back well-being.
១៥	កុកលលកហើរមកលេងលេង ហើរទុំលើផ្ទះ សូមជ័យធម៌ថ្លៃជំរះ	15	Whatever egrets and doves fly overhead and perch on the roof, may the victory blessings of the precious Dharma

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

ចម្រើនឲ្យជ្រះឲ្យសុខវិញហោង	cleanse them completely and restore well-being.
១៦	16
ទោះបីមានក្តីសៅហ្មង	Whatever pollutants there may be,
មានរន្ធនាគផង	including holes for nāgas
ពីក្រោមលំនៅគ្រឹហា	beneath the house,
១៧	17
សូមព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃធានា	may the precious Dharma protect
រំងាប់កយា	and calm all dangers,
ចម្រើនឲ្យសុខសួស្តី	increasing joy and prosperity.
១៨	18
មួយទោះសរសរផ្ទះថ្មី	Should any of the pillars of this new house
ថ្នង់កាចអប្រិយ៍	be bent unfortunately in their joints,
សូមជ័យចម្រើនសុខា	may victory blessings increase well-being,
១៩	19
ឲ្យកើតទាសីទាសា	and give rise to male and female slaves,
មាសប្រាក់កស្កុកា	gold, silver, riches,
កែវកងពិទ្ធុរូស្សកាន្ត	jewels, bracelets, cat's eye gems, and sunstones.
២០	20
ទោះពស់អណ្តើកតិវិច្ឆាន	Whatever snakes, turtles, or other
ចិត្តវាហៅហ៊ាន	cunning beasts
ចូលមកក្នុងភូមិនេះណា	may enter into this village,
២១	21
សូមមហាជ័យព្រះសាស្តា	may the great victory blessings of the Teacher
រំងាប់ទុក្ខា	appease all suffering
ចម្រើនឲ្យបានសុខក្រៃ	and increase happiness.
២២	22
ម្ចាស់ផ្ទះរួតរះប្រពៃ	May the owner of this newly rebuilt house
កើតលាភសព្វថ្ងៃ	give rise to good fortune every day
ពុំមានខ្វះខាតឡើយណា	and not be wont for anything.
២៣	23
សូមជ័យនៃព្រះសាស្តា	May the victory blessings of the Teacher
ចម្រើនសុខា	increase the well-being
មហាជន ឲ្យសុខសប្បាយ	of the people so that they are happy.
២៤	24
ទោះឈឺជំងឺក្នុងកាយ	Whatever illnesses may lie within,
សូមឲ្យរលាយ	may they be melted away

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

រលត់ជាអហោសិកម្ម	and disappear so that they become inert ( <i>ahosikamma</i> ).
២៥	25
ទោះបីគ្រោះជោគគ្រោះជាំ	Whatever misfortunes of luck, of bruises,
គ្រោះខែគ្រោះឆ្នាំ	of the moon, of the year—
គ្រោះប្រាំពីរហោងណា	all seven kinds of misfortunes—
២៦	26
មហាជ័យនៃព្រះសាស្តា	may the great victory blessings of the Teacher
ចម្រើនសុខា	increase well-being
គ្រោះកាយរលាយហួត់ហួង	and completely erase those misfortunes in the body.
២៧	27
ទោះឈឺជំងឺកាយផង	Whatever illnesses may lie within,
សូមជ័យចម្លង	may victory blessings carry them away,
ឲ្យបានជាសះទៅហោង	such that they are healed completely.
២៨	28
មួយទោះឈឺរបេងផង	Whatever forms of tuberculosis
ធ្វើឲ្យសៅហ្មង	leading to pollution,
ក្អកក្អួតសង្រួងសង្រៀន	coughing, vomiting, and emaciation,
២៩	29
សូមពរទិព្វមន្តថ្វាថ្ងៃ	may the blessings of the precious <i>Dibbamanta</i>
ដេញខ្មោចចង្រ្ក	chase away the inauspicious ghosts
របេងឲ្យវាចេញទៅ	of tuberculosis completely,
៣០	30
ខ្មោចកាចកំណាចយោរយោ	not allowing such wicked and sadistic ghosts
កុំឲ្យវានៅ	to remain here
បៀតបៀនអស់មហាជនផង	and torment the people.
៣១	31
មហាជ័យនៃព្រះច្បាស់ច្បង	May the great victory blessings of the foremost Lord
ដោះគ្រោះអ្នកផង	liberate all from planetary misfortunes,
ឲ្យវិនាសជាអហោសិកម្មទៅហោង ។	such that they are eradicated and inert.

**dasajāti-bn**

Ten past births of the Buddha

Khmer verse, 115 stanzas in *bannol*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB022** 66a–75b braḥ dhaṛm doḥ jātti (cap' lëv° p"ai)

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

Summary: Begins with a brief homage to the Three Jewels, then briefly narrates each of ten final births of the Bodhisatta, from Temiya to Vessantara, closing with an exhortation to memorize and recall these ten lives.

Partial edition and translation

UB022	Standardized	Translation
១ ខ្ញុំមបង្គំមគុនព្រះពុទ្ធ ហារសេព្វប្រាំម្ភៃកុត្ត ជាត្តជាមុដ្ឋលើសិរិសារ ។	១ ខ្ញុំបង្គំគុណព្រះពុទ្ធ ហាសិបប្រាំមួយគត់ ជាតជាមកុដលើសិរិសារ ។	1 I bow to the virtues of the Buddha, numbering fifty-six exactly, which are like crowns above the head—
២ ទូរទ្វារត្រៃកុណលោក្ខា សល់សែនសំខ្សែ នឹងរាប់ពុំបានលឿនៗ	២ ទូទាំងត្រៃកតលោកា សល់សែនសំខេយ្យា នឹងរាប់ពុំបានឡើយនៃ ។	2 even the entire triple world, and uncountable worlds more, cannot fully account for them.
៣ ខ្ញុំមបង្គំមគុនព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ សាមសេបប្រាំម្ភៃន្ស ជាត្តជាអគ្រាទិព្វយាន	៣ ខ្ញុំបង្គំគុណព្រះធម៌ថ្លៃ សាមសិបប្រាំបីនៃ ជាតិជាអគ្រាទិព្វយាន ។	3 I bow to the virtues of the Dharma, numbering thirty-eight, which are like divine vessels,
៤ ចម្លងសត្វផងសព្វស្ថាន តល់ត្រើយនិព្វាន ឱ្យបានចៀសចាកទុក្ខា។	៤ ចម្លងសត្វផងសព្វស្ថាន ដល់ត្រើយនិព្វាន ឱ្យបានចៀសចាកទុក្ខា ។	4 ferrying over creatures from all places to the far shore of Nibbāna to be freed from suffering,
៥ ខ្ញុំមបង្គំមគុនព្រះសង្ឃា បួនទន្លប់ថ្លៃថ្នា ជាត្តជាស្រែបុណ្យមុននាយ។	៥ ខ្ញុំបង្គំគុណព្រះសង្ឃា បួនដណ្តប់ថ្លៃថ្នា ជាតិជាស្រែបុណ្យមុននាយ ។	5 I bow to the virtues of the Sangha, numbering fourteen, all precious, which are like ancient fields of merit.
៦ ខ្ញុំមសូមធម៌ជានិយា តម្លើតព្រៃនាយ ព្រះពោធិសត្វថ្លៃថ្នា។	៦ ខ្ញុំសូមធម៌ជានិយាយ ដំណើរព្រៃនាយ ព្រះពោធិសត្វថ្លៃថ្នា ។	6 I humbly speak of this Dharma that narrates the past lives of the precious Bodhisatta.
៧ ចងជាបទពុំនោលណារ តម្លើហកាលគ្រា ព្រះអង្គសាងព្រះបរម្យី។	៧ ចងជាបទពុំនោលណា ដំណើរកាលគ្រា ព្រះអង្គសាងព្រះបារមី ។	7 I compose it in the <i>bannol</i> meter to relate the tales of the Lord cultivating his perfections.
៨ ត្បោជាត្តអន្តាប់នោះនៃ	៨ ដោយជាតិអណ្តាប់នោះនៃ	8 It follows the succession of lives

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

មានក្នុងព្រះបាទឡាយ ទីឡែងឈ្មោះពុំតូចគ្នា ។ ៧	មានក្នុងព្រះបាលី ទីទេឈ្មោះពុំដូចគ្នា ។ ៧	in various Pali scriptures of different names 9
ហេតុនាមពោធិសត្វព្រង នាម បង្គំមអណ្តើប្រាជ្ញ រំលឹកព្រះនាមសាស្តា ។ ១០	ហេតុនាមពោធិសត្វ ព្រងនាយ បង្គំអភិប្រាយ រំលឹកព្រះនាមសាស្តា ។ ១០	in order to take up the names of the Bodhisatta in the past to venerate, explain, and recall the names of the Teacher. 10
រឿងទោះជាត្តនោះណា ឈ្មោះពុំតូចគ្នា នឹងប្រាប់ឱ្យដឹងតើមទង ។ ១១	រឿងទសជាតិនោះណា ឈ្មោះពុំដូចគ្នា នឹងប្រាប់ឱ្យដឹងដើមទង ។ ១១	As for these ten lives, the names are not the same, and so I'll inform you of their origins, 11
កាលពោធិសត្វច្បងច្បង សាងបរម្យុផង គ្នាត្បាតម្តើហ៍សោតស៍។ ១២	កាលពោធិសត្វច្បងច្បង សាងបារមីផង តាមដោយដំណើរសោតសម ។ ១២	connected to when the great Bodhisatta was cultivating all the perfections in accordance with the proper narrative. 12
ព្រះតែមេរជាត្តជាប្រថម កាលខ្យត្រឡឺតម ច្បុតយោនយកជាត្រី ។	ព្រះតេមិយ៍ជាតិជាប្រថម កាលក្សត្រឡឺតម ច្បុតចុះយោនយកជាតិ ។	Temiya is the first life, a life as a lofty prince. He descended from the heavens to be reborn...

**dharmaṃ yog-bn**

The Dharma of union

Khmer verse, 71 stanzas in *bannol*, translated from **dharmaṃ yog-y/ch** in 1869.

Leporello: **UB002** 55a–61a braḥ dharm yok; **UB003** 63b–68b dharmaṃ yok; **UB010** 43a–48b dharmaṃ yokkh; **UB011** 41b–45b, 47a–49b dharmaṃ y"ok/dharmaṃ yok; **UB012** 45a–50b [no title given, but last line of text reads *braḥ dhammipattimārayoggā*]; **UB017** 34b–40b dharmaṃ yok, with a final note: ច្បុបរិបូរ លេខខ្មែរនី បាលក្ខន្ធសុត្រ ១ ៗ៖ ១៖ ១ ៗ៖ ១ៗ៖; **UB021** 2b–9a; **UB035** 21b–29a braḥ dharmaṃ yok; **UB039** 20a–25b; **UB041** 18a–25a dharmaṃ y"ok, with the incipit *namatthu*; **UB046** 9b–16a dharmaṃ y"ok; **UB048** 84a, 82b–82a, 80b–80a pad y"ok [blue pen] (explicit missing); **UB048** 79a–73a pad yog/dharmaṃ yog; **UB051** 7b–12b braḥ dharmaṃ yok; **UB062** 50a–53a dharmaṃ y"ok, with the incipit *namattha namo tassa*; **UB065** 66b–69b abhisek, añjōñ braḥ dhātu; **UB067** 65a–70a

Khmer books: Lī Suvīr លី សុវីរ, *Bidhī dhvō puny buddhābhisek bī samāy purān* ពិធីធ្វើបុណ្យពុទ្ធាភិសេក

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

ពីសម័យបុរាណ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 2009), 11–14.

Summary: An opening homage to the Buddha, then an extensive ritual invitation to the relics, radiance, perfections, and Dharma of the Buddha to come inhabit the newly consecrated buddha image, followed by an enumeration of elaborate offerings, and closing with an aspiration to destroy obstacles and achieve boons, including birth during the time of Maitreya.

UB067	Standardized	Translation
១ យើងខ្ញុំមបង្គំមប្រណាំម ពុទ្ធបាទឧត្តម នៃព្រះបរមជិនស្រី	១ យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំប្រណាម ពុទ្ធបានឧត្តម នៃព្រះបរមជិនស្រី ។	1 We humbly bow in prayer before the excellent feet of the most perfect and glorious Victor,
២ ទេព្តាមនុស្សយក្ខកិរិ មូលមកកក្កិ បង្គំមបូជាសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	២ ទេព្តាមនុស្សយក្ខកិរិ មូលមកកក្កិ បង្គំបូជាសព្វថ្ងៃ ។	2 which deities, humans, ogres, and poets gather round in devotion to worship every day.
៣ បង្គំមព្រះប៊ូដក្ខត្រៃ នុព្វលោកធម្មថ្ងៃ ប៊ូតូចនូវកលនាវា ។	៣ បង្គំព្រះបិដកត្រៃ នព្វលោកធម៌ថ្ងៃ បីដូចនូវកលនាវា ។	3 We bow down to the holy Triple Basket, the precious nine supramundane states, likened to a ship.
៤ បង្គំមពុទ្ធសាស្តា ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា ទូន្មាននៃសត្វផងគ្រប់ ។	៤ បង្គំពុទ្ធខិស្តសាស្តា ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា ទូន្មាននៃសត្វផងគ្រប់ ។	4 We bow down to the mouth of the Teacher which expounds and preaches, guiding all living beings.
៥ តោរតែជះខ្ញុំមគួរពុ សូមជៀសឧបទ្រុប ចង្រ្រកុំប៊ូបៀតបាន ។	៥ ដោយតេជះខ្ញុំគោរព សូមជៀសឧបទ្រុព ចង្រ្រកុំប៊ូបៀតបាន ។	5 By the power of my respect, may I escape from all calamities and misfortunes—may they not harm me.
៦ យើងខ្ញុំមត្តាំចិត្តប្រនិព្វាន ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យទាន ចាំសីល មេតា ភាវនា ។	៦ យើងខ្ញុំតាំងចិត្តប្រធាន ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យទាន ចាំសីលមេត្តាភាវនា ។	6 We humbly make a vow to make merit, practice generosity, keep the precepts, and cultivate goodwill.
៧ អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា នៃព្រះសាស្តា ស្តេចគង់នៅស្ថានណាក្តី ។	៧ អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុថ្លៃថ្លា នៃព្រះសាស្តា ស្តេចគង់នៅស្ថានណាក្តី ។	7 We invite the holy precious relics of the Teacher, in whatever worlds they now reside.
៨	៨	8

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

សូមស្តេចនិមុនមកខ្ចីយ  
 ឆាប់២ វៃយ២  
 កំប្លីឱ្យនូវយូយា ។  
 ៩  
 ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបសោភា  
 ព្រោងព្រាញភ្លោះរថ្នាំ  
 ពេញនូវពណ៌រក្សិយ ។  
 ១០  
 ព្រះធាតុនៃព្រះជិនស្រី  
 នូវសព្វបូរី  
 នូវនៃកសកែវលុផ្កា ។  
 ១១  
 នូវក្នុងជំពូធិប្បា  
 ភូជននាគ្គា  
 នូវនាស្ថានសួគ៌ាភ្នំ  
 ១២  
 អញ្ជើញធាតុព្រះជិនស្រី  
 រូសរានឃ្មុតខ្ចី  
 ចូលមកក្នុងព្រះបត្តិម្នា ។  
 ១៣  
 ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំមសោភា  
 ខាងលើរនោះណា  
 ស្ថិតនៅត្រៀមសួរស្រី ។  
 ១៤  
 ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំពិស្ស  
 ខាងក្រោមនោះភ្នំ  
 ស្ថិតនូវកសកែវលុផ្កា ។  
 ១៥  
 ចង្កូមឆ្វេងលើសាស្តា  
 ទៅស្ថិតនូវនា  
 នគរគន្ធាបូរី ។  
 ១៦  
 ចង្កូមឆ្វេងក្រោមជិនស្រី  
 ល្អល្អៈពិស្ស  
 ស្ថិតនូវពិភពនាគ្គា ។  
 ១៧

សូមស្តេចនិមុនមកខ្ចីយ  
 ឆាប់២ វៃយ២  
 កំប្លីឱ្យនូវយូយា ។  
 ៩  
 ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបសោភា  
 ព្រោងព្រាញភ្លោះរថ្នាំ  
 រចនានូវពណ៌រស្មី ។  
 ១០  
 ព្រះធាតុនៃព្រះជិនស្រី  
 នៅសព្វបុរី  
 នៅនៃកោះកែវលុផ្កា ។  
 ១១  
 នៅក្នុងជម្ពូទីបា  
 នៃស្ថាននាគា  
 សួគ៌ាភូជននាគភ្នំ ។  
 ១២  
 អញ្ជើញព្រះធាតុជិនស្រី  
 រូសរានឃ្មុតខ្ចី  
 ចូលមកក្នុងព្រះបដិមា។  
 ១៣  
 ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំសោភា  
 ខាងលើនោះណា  
 ស្ថិតត្រៀមសួរស្រី ។  
 ១៤  
 ចង្កូមកែវស្តាំពិស្ស  
 ខាងក្រោមនោះភ្នំ  
 ស្ថិតនៅកោះកែវលុផ្កា ។  
 ១៥  
 ចង្កូមកែវឆ្វេងលើសាស្តា  
 ទៅស្ថិតនៅនា  
 នគរគន្ធាបូរី។  
 ១៦  
 ចង្កូមឆ្វេងក្រោមជិនស្រី  
 ល្អល្អៈពិស្ស  
 ស្ថិតនៅពិភពនាគា ។  
 ១៧

May they come here quickly,  
 swiftly, and rapidly;  
 may they not take long.  
 9  
 May they enter into the buddha image,  
 shining bright and resplendent,  
 ornamented with colors and rays.  
 10  
 The relics of the Glorious Victor—  
 in all cities,  
 on the isle of Lankā,  
 11  
 in Jambudvīpa,  
 in various realms,  
 in the heavens, or with serpents and nāgas—  
 12  
 we invite these relics of the Glorious Victor  
 to quickly  
 enter into the sacred image.  
 13  
 The beautiful jewel canine  
 on the top right side  
 resides in the glorious Trāyastriṃsa Heaven.  
 14  
 The precious jewel canine  
 on the bottom right side  
 resides on the isle of Lankā.  
 15  
 The Teacher's top left jewel canine  
 went to reside in  
 the kingdom of Gandhāra.  
 16  
 The Glorious Victor's bottom left canine,  
 so beautiful and precious,  
 resides in the realm of the nāgas.  
 17

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

អញ្ជើញមូលមកឆ្លាប់វា ចូលក្នុងបត្តិម៉ា វេញរន្ធព្រាណវង្សី ។ ១៨	អញ្ជើញចូលមកឆាប់វា ចូលក្នុងបដិមា រថនានូវពណ៌រស្មី ។ ១៨	We invite them to enter swiftly into the image, ornamented with colors and rays. 18
ធាតុតង់កុំម្បិតជិនស្រី ខាងស្តាំមតិស៊ី ស្ថិតនៅសឹងហុនធូប្បា ។ ១៩	ធាតុដងកាំបិតជិនស្រី ខាងស្តាំពិសី ស្ថិតនៅសឹងហុនទ្វីបា ។ ១៩	The clavicle relic of the Glorious Victor on the right, so precious, resides on the Sinhalese continent. 19
ធាតុតង់កុំម្បិតសាស្តា ខាងឆ្វេងនោះណា ស្ថិតនៅស្ថានព្រហ្មពណ្ណរាយ ។ ២០	ធាតុដងកាំបិតសាស្តា ខាងឆ្វេងនោះណា ស្ថិតនៅស្ថានព្រហ្មពណ្ណរាយ ។ ២០	The clavicle relic of the Teacher on the left side resides in the resplendent Brahmā realm. 20
ព្រះកែតខុណាលោមព្រា រក្សីភ្នំរន្ធា នូវបាតុឡីបុតបូរី ។ ២១	ព្រះកេសខុណាលោមព្រាយ រស្មីភ្នំឆ្ងាយ នៅបាតលីបុតបូរី ។ ២១	The head hair and the brilliant eyebrow tuft, whose rays shine far, are in the city of Pātaliputta. 21
ទូតិសាការជិនស្រី ព្រះនេត លោមក្តី ព្រះទានសេសិបនោះណា ។ ២២	ទូតិសាការជិនស្រី ព្រះនេត្រលោមក្តី ព្រះទន្លសេសិបនោះណា ។ ២២	The thirty-two marks of the Glorious Victor, the eyebrows, the forty teeth, 22
ព្រះធាតុនូវព្រះនខា អញ្ជើញឆាប់វា ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូប ឆាប់ខ្លី ។ ២៣	ព្រះធាតុនូវព្រះនខា អញ្ជើញឆាប់វា ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបឆាប់ខ្លី ។ ២៣	and the nail relics— we invite them quickly to enter into the buddha image at once. 23
ព្រះកែតមាលាជិនស្រី ព្រាងព្រាយរក្សី ល្អឯកឥតអ្វីអប្បមា ។ ២៤	ព្រះកេតុមាលាជិនស្រី ព្រាងព្រាយរស្មី ល្អឯកឥតអ្វីឧបមា ។ ២៤	The halo of the Glorious Victor, shining bright with rays, exceptionally beautiful beyond compare; 24
ព្រះក្បាមបរកា នោះណា រក្សីភ្នំរថា សំខៀវលឿងច្រាលល្អក្រៃ ។ ២៥	ព្រះព្យាមបការនោះណា រស្មីភ្នំថា សំខៀវឡើងច្រាលល្អក្រៃ ។ ២៥	the aureole, with bright clear rays of white, blue, yellow, brilliant red, 25
បាតុតង់ អណ្ណ ឯកប្រព្រ ឆពានវង្សី ឆ្លៀលឆ្លាតច្រវាតសោភា ។	បៃតង់អនេកប្រពៃ ឆព្វពណ្ណវង្សី ឆ្លៀលឆ្លាតច្រវាតសោះសា ។	green, and of unlimited colors, the six-fold radiance, extremely scintillating and bright,



Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

២៦	២៦	26
ភ្លឺប្រាលតាលតលរីហិរា ទ្វាទស្សា(ទី) ពិញ្ញាវពិពិត្រភ្លឺ ។	ភ្លឺប្រាលដាលដល់វេហាស៍ ទាំងទសទិសា ពិពណ៌ពិពិធរង្សី ។	blazing bright throughout the sky in all ten directions, with multicolored rays of many hues,
២៧	២៧	27
តូច ហែមគិរីស្នូរស្រី ព្យុនោះសោតនៃ តូចកលឥន្ទនូវថ្ងៃថ្កា ។	ដូចហិមគិរីស្នូរស្រី ព្យុនោះសោតនៃ ដូចកលឥន្ទនូវថ្ងៃថ្កា លា។	like the golden mount of the heavens, or, moreover, like a lovely rainbow—
២៨	២៨	28
អញ្ជើញភក្សិសាស្តា មូលមក ឆាប់រ៉ា ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបនេះនៃ ។	អញ្ជើញស្មីសាស្តា មូលមកឆាប់រ៉ា ចូលក្នុងពុទ្ធរូបនេះនៃ ។	we invite these rays of the Teacher to gather round quickly and enter into this buddha image.
២៩	២៩	29
ទោះទ្វាទស្សពលញានញែ ទស្សបរម្មិថ្ងៃ នូវទស្សបរម្មិ ។	ញែយុ ទសបារមីថ្ងៃ នូវទសបរមត្ថបរមី ។	All of the wisdom of the Ten-Powered Lord, the precious ten perfections, the ten supreme perfections,
៣០	៣០	30
នព្វលោកុត្តរធម៌ក្តី ធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី ទ្វាប្រាំម្ភិហ្មិនបួនព្រាន ។	នព្វលោកុត្តរធម៌ក្តី ធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី ទាំងប្រាំបីមុន៤ពាន់ ។	the nine supramundane states, the Teachings of the Glorious Victor, eight-four thousand in all,
៣១	៣១	31
ទ្វាគម្ពីញានសោភាន ជ្រៅវ លើសធន្ទ ស្រមុត្តនូវសាគីរា ។	ទាំងគម្ពីរញាណសោភីណ ជ្រៅលើសសិទ្ធន្ទ សមុទ្រនៅសាគរា ។	including the profound wisdom, so beautiful, deeper than the Sīdantara seas and the oceans,
៣២	៣២	32
ទាំងឈានញានញែថ្ងៃថ្កា ព្រោះព្រោងប្រាជ្ញា ឈ្លង យល់ស្តីធម៌សំម្បា ។	ទាំងឈានញាណញែយុថ្ងៃថ្កា ព្រោះព្រោងប្រាជ្ញា ឈ្លងយល់អស់អាថ៌សម្ភាយ ។	including the jhānas and his omniscience, his shining insight, which can comprehend all meanings everywhere,
៣៣	៣៣	33
ព្រះទ័យជ្រៅជ្រះទូលាយ ឈ្លងយល់សព្វសា ទូទៅលោក្តីលោក្តា ។	ព្រះទ័យជ្រៅជ្រះទូលាយ ឈ្លងយល់សព្វសាយ ទូទៅលោកិយលោកា ។	his mind which is deep and vast, comprehending all throughout the worldly worlds,
៣៤	៣៤	34
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ព្រះធម៌ទេស្ណា ព្រោះសត្វសំខ្យា	ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ព្រះធម៌ទេសនា ព្រាសសត្វសំខ្យា	which preaches the holy Teaching saving uncountable beings

Appendix II-14 Khmer bannol verse (-bn)

គ្របតែនភាពជាត្រឿ ។	គ្រប់ដែនភាពពត្រៃ ។	in every land and city in the triple world—
៣៥	៣៥	35
អញ្ជើញព្រះធម៌ជិន ស្រី	អញ្ជើញព្រះធម៌ជិនស្រី	we invite the Teaching of the Glorious Victor
មូលមកឆាប់ឱ្យ	ចូលមកឆាប់ឱ្យ	to enter quickly
ចូលក្នុងរូបព្រះបត្តិម្តី ។	ចូលក្នុងរូបព្រះបដិមា ។	into the body of the image,
៣៦	៣៦	36
ទ្វាស្សង់ផ្ចិតផ្ចង់វេច្ឆា	ទាំងស្សង់ផ្ចិតផ្ចង់រចនា	including the lower robe, carefully ornamented,
ជីព្វវត្តិណា	ចំពៅក្តីណា	the upper robe,
សយិជ្ជី ហង្សក្នុងវត្តពុទ្ធ ។	សង្ស័យដីហង្សក្នុងវត្តពុទ្ធ ។	the <i>saṅghāṭi</i> robe, the undershirt, and the belt,
៣៧	៣៧	37
រក្សិយភ្លឺរ ២ ល្អលុន	រស្មីល្បឿងរល្អលន់	whose yellow radiance is marvelous
បើរនឹងគួរគុន	បើរនឹងគួរគន់	and looks like
តូចនូវកលសុវណា ។	បីដូចនៅកែវសុវណ្ណា ។	a golden crystal,
៣៨	៣៨	38
ពុំនោះតូចផ្ការចំប្បារ	ពុំនោះដូចផ្កាចំប៉ា	or like a frangipani flower,
ពុំនោះសោតណា	ពុំនោះសោតណា	or, moreover,
តូចផ្កាទទឹមល្អក្រៃ ។	ដូចផ្កាទទឹមល្អក្រៃ ។	like a gorgeous pomegranate blossom.
៣៩	៣៩	39
ប្លាស្តិកនិសិតគ្របត្រៃ	បាំងផ្ចិតនិស្សិតគ្របត្រៃ	The image is covered with fans and wrapped
ចីវរ ថ្វាថ្វៃ	ចីវរថ្វាថ្វៃ	in the precious triple robe,
ផ្ចិតផ្ចង់អម្រុងថ្វាតថ្វាយ ។	ផ្ចិតផ្ចង់អំនរថ្វាតថ្វាយ ។	carefully and joyfully offered.
៤០	៤០	40
បាល្លាមាលមរុពុទ្រា	បល្ល័ង្កមាលមាសពណ្ណរាយ	Upon the resplendent golden throne,
រក្សិយព្រោងព្រា	រស្មីព្រោងព្រាយ	bright with radiance,
អញ្ជើញពុទ្ធរូបរុក្ខតថ្វាត ។	អញ្ជើញពុទ្ធរូបតង់ថ្វាត ។	we invite the buddha image to swiftly sit.
៤១	៤១	41
យើងខ្ញុំមអត្តិសេកពុទ្ធរត្ន	យើងខ្ញុំអភិសេកពុទ្ធរតន៍	We consecrate the jewel of the Buddha
ឱ្យបរិបូរវិសិត	ឱ្យបរិបូរវិសិត	to be complete and to remain
ជាម្ចាស់ក្នុងត្រៃលោក្តា ។	ជាម្ចាស់ក្រុងត្រៃលោកា ។	as the sovereign of the triple world.
៤២	៤២	42
ព្រះពុទ្ធកិសេក្ខ ពីមុនក្តីណា	ព្រះពុទ្ធពីមុនក្តីណា	The buddhas of the past,
សលសេនសំខំយ៉ា	សលសេនសំខ្យា	one hundred thousand uncountables strong,
ច្រើនក្រលើខ្សែស្រមុត ។	ច្រើនក្រលើសខ្សាច់សមុទ្រ ។	more numerous than the ocean's sand grains,
៤៣	៤៣	43
ទ្វាព្រះសិអាប្រកដ្ឋ	ទាំងព្រះសិអាប្រាកដ	along with the glorious Ārya Maitreya,
ជាអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធ	ជាអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធ	the buddha who will

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បានត្រូវទៅមុខក្តីណា ។ ៤៤	បានត្រាស់ទៅមុខក្តីណា ។ ៤៤	awaken in the future, 44
អរហន្តសលសែនសំខំយ៉ា ច្រើនក្រៀមុះហិមា នឹងរាប់គុណវាពុំបាន ។ ៤៥	អរហន្តសលសែនសំខ្សា ច្រើនក្រែមហិមា នឹងរាប់គុណវាពុំបាន ។ ៤៥	and the arhats, one hundred thousand uncountables strong, vast in numbers, impossible to put in figures, 45
មានបុរេបរម្មិច្ឆើត គ្មាន ប្រោះសត្វសព្វគ្មាន ឱ្យបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបី ។ ៤៦	មានបុណ្យបារមីច្រើតគ្មាន ប្រោះសត្វសព្វស្ថាន ឱ្យបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបី ។ ៤៦	with merit and perfections supreme, saving beings in all realms, so as to reach the three attainments— 47
សូមតែកតែដះបរម្មិយ ព្រះពុទ្ធនោះក្តី នូវសុភ័ក្ត្រអរហន្តា ។ ៤៧	សូមតែតេជះបារមី ព្រះពុទ្ធនោះក្តី នៅអស់អង្គអរហន្តា ។ ៤៧	may the power of the perfections of those buddhas and of all those arhats 47
ចូលមកក្នុងរូប្យតិម្ល៉ា ចំរើនចេស្តា ដៃយា នុភាពមង្គល ។ ៤៨	ចូលមកក្នុងបដិមា ចំរើនចេស្តា ជយានុភាពមង្គល ។ ៤៨	enter into the image, to increase its majesty, might, and fortune. 48
យើងខ្ញុំមសឹងខំខ្វាយខ្វល រូសរៀបតម្កល តម្កើងនូវគ្រឿងបូជា ។ ៤៩	យើងខ្ញុំសឹងខំខ្វាយខ្វល រូសរៀបតតម្កល តម្កើងនូវគ្រឿងបូជា ។ ៤៩	We strive to energetically prepare, complete, and raise up offerings for worship, 49
លាចនូវទៀនធូកភ្លឺផ្កា ប្រសើរថ្លៃថ្លា វន្តាគូរុប សព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៥០	លាជនូវទៀនធូបភ្លឺផ្កា ប្រសើរថ្លៃថ្លា វន្តាគោរពសព្វថ្ងៃ ។ ៥០	such as puffed rice, candles, incense, flowers, and blossoms, lovely and precious, for daily humble reverence. 50
គ្រប់គ្រឿងប្រតាបនេះនៃ ត្រកាលប្រពៃ យើងខ្ញុំមផ្សាព្រះបតិម្ល៉ា ។ ៥១	គ្រប់គ្រឿងប្រដាប់នោះនៃ ត្រកាលប្រពៃ យើងខ្ញុំថ្វាយព្រះបដិមា ។ ៥១	All of these offerings, marvelous and wonderful, we humbly offer to the sacred image. 51
ប្លាម៉ាប្រាមុនគ្រឿងបត្រា សែនគ្មានរេប្តា ណ្ហាលាព្រះទិព្វទ្វារ ។ ៥២	បាមរេប្តាមុនគ្រឿងបត្រា សែនគ្មានរេប្តា ណ្ហាលាប្រទិបទាំងឡាយ ។ ៥២	There are fly-whisks and fans all around, decorated umbrellas, and all manner of oil lamps and lights. 52
ផ្កានប្លាពិលើរេតិស្វាយ ឆាតទុន ពន្លា ៥៣	ផ្កានប្លាពិលើរេតិស្វាយ ឆត្រទុន ពន្លា ៥៣	Shading from above, the beautiful parasol and banners are resplendent, 53

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ទៀនឆ្លុះឧបភ្លឺព្រោងព្រា ។	ទៀនឆ្លុះឧបភ្លឺព្រោងព្រាត ។	with candles and incense shining bright.
៥៣	៥៣	53
បាយសីឆ្នែងស្តាំមរៀងរា	បាយសីឆ្នែងស្តាំជាអាទី	With <i>pāy sī</i> on both the left and the right,
យើងខ្ញុំមរៀបថ្ងា	យើងខ្ញុំរៀបស្អាត	we humbly prepare everything beautifully
អត្ថិសេកព្រះពុទ្ធបត្តិម៉ា ។	អតិសេកព្រះពុទ្ធបដិមា ។	to consecrate the holy buddha image,
៥៤	៥៤	54
មធូបយ៉ាសសោកា	មធូបយាសសោកា	along with beautiful milk-rice
រូសរៀបវេញ	រៀមរៀបវេញ	prepared and adorned,
តន្ត្រីស្អិតស្អាត ល្អក្រៃ ។	ដណ្តាំស្អិតស្អាតល្អក្រៃ ។	cooked perfectly and elegantly.
៥៥	៥៥	55
តាកគ្រឿងក្រអូបប្រពៃ	ដាក់គ្រឿងក្រអូបប្រពៃ	We offer lovely scented offerings,
សឹងមានតម្លៃ	សឹងមានតម្លៃ	expensive and
ជុំមក្រិនធឿតោអញ ។	ជុំខ្លិនពិដោរកាយ ។	fragrant, their scents wafting all around.
៥៦	៥៦	56
បង្កងមចំអាបទ្វា ហ្សា	បង្កើមចំអាបទាំងឡាយ	All kinds of sweets and desserts
តាកទុករៀងរា	ដាក់ទុករៀងរាយ	are placed in rows,
នូវបាយចំណីច្រើនក្រៃ ។	នូវបាយចំនីច្រើនក្រៃ ។	with vast amounts of rice and food
៥៧	៥៧	57
សព្វព្យញ្ញាណថ្លៃថ្លា	សព្វព្យញ្ញនៈថ្លាថ្លៃ	of every type, so precious,
ប្រសើរប្រពៃ	ប្រសើរប្រពៃ	delectable, and delicious,
មានឱដារស្សពិសារ ។	មានឱដារសពិសា ។	with exquisite flavors to savor.
៥៨	៥៨	58
ក្រចេះចូងចូនក្រស្នា គុន្ទា	ក្រចេះដួងចន្ទគុន្ទា	There are powdered scents and sandalwood,
សារពើបូជ្ជា	សារពើបូជ្ជា	so fragrant, and various offerings,
		such as creams and powders, with perfumes pervading
ប្រេងម្សៅក្រអូបខ្លួនខ្លាយ ។	ប្រេងម្សៅក្រអូបខ្លួនខ្លាយ ។	all.
៥៩	៥៩	59
		There are <i>slā dharm</i> , and all manner of fragrant
ស្មារធម្មទិកអប្បទ្វាហ្សា	ស្មារធម្មទិកអប្បទាំងឡាយ	liquids,
ទៀនឧបព្រោងព្រា	ទៀនឆ្លុះព្រោងព្រាយ	candles and incense shining bright,
គោមកែវវិញ្ញលល្អក្រៃ ។	គោមកែវវិញ្ញលល្អក្រៃ ។	glass lamps, and lovely festoons.
៦០	៦០	60
		There are scented liquids and fragrances, most
ទិកអប់ក្រអូបប្រពៃ	ទិកអប់ក្រអូបប្រពៃ	excellent,
បើនឹងអប្បម្យ	បើនឹងឧបមេយ្យ	comparable
អប្បម្យតូចកលគុណ្ណា ។	ឧបមាដូចកលគុណ្ណា ។	to the waters of
៦១	៦១	61

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មកពីព្យាភ័យ នាគា	មកពីពិភពនាគា	the realm of the Nāgas,
ពុំនោះអប្បម្មា	ពុំនោះឧបមា	or, moreover, comparable
តូចទឹកអណ្តូងស្រី ។	ដូចទឹកអណ្តូងស្រី ។	to the waters of the glorious heavens.
៦២	៦២	62
ឯស្សអាហារចំណី	ឯអស់អាហារចំនី	As for all of the foods and dishes,
ត្រកាលព្យាស្ស	ត្រកាលពិសី	they are delicious
ព្យាសាតូចទឹក កោដុនា ។	ពិសាដូចទិព្វកោដុនា ។	and delectable, like the food of the gods.
៦៣	៦៣	63
យើងខ្ញុំមលើកថ្វាយបូជា	យើងខ្ញុំលើកថ្វាយបូជា	We humbly raise up, offer, and worship
នៃព្រះបត្តិម្ល៉ា	នៃព្រះបដិមា	the august image,
ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្កើងផ្កាន ។	ព្រះពុទ្ធរូបថ្កើងផ្កាន ។	the buddha image, most lofty.
៦៤	៦៤	64
សូមបម្រើព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ	សូមបារមីព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ	May the perfections of the Wise Lord
អញ្ជើញមកផ្កាន	អញ្ជើញមកផ្កាន	be invited to come, inhabit,
មកស្ថិតនៅព្រះបដិមា ។	មកស្ថិតនៅព្រះបដិមា ។	and reside in the image.
៦៥	៦៥	65
យើងខ្ញុំមសូមជនចេស្តា	យើងខ្ញុំសូមបានចេស្តា	We humbly ask for might,
ស្ម័គ្រដៃយា	ស្ម័គ្រដៃយា	praise, and victory,
ជ័យ នេះឥរិយាប្បាណ ។	ជនៈឈ្នះមារទាំងឡាយ ។	to vanquish and defeat all Māras,
៦៦	៦៦	66
កំចាត់ទុកសោកទ្វារក្នុងកាយ	កំចាត់ទុកសោកក្នុងកាយ	to eliminate pain and sorrow in the body,
រោគក្សេមក្សាយ	រោគក័យសម្ពាយ	illness, and all danger—
កុំប្រមកបៀតបៀនបាន ។	កុំប្រមកបៀតបៀនបាន ។	may they not come to harm us.
៦៧	៦៧	67
សូមឱ្យមានបុណ្យថ្កើងផ្កាន	សូមឱ្យបានបុណ្យថ្កើងផ្កាន	May we attain merit and success
ពីព្រះប្រធាន	ពីព្រះប្រធាន	from the main image,
ជាទិដ្ឋជម្រកវេទនី ។	ជាទិដ្ឋជម្រកវេទនី ។	with fruits visible in the present life,
៦៨	៦៨	68
ឱ្យបានសំបុត្រស្រី	ឱ្យបានសម្បត្តិស្រី	and attain the glorious heavens hereafter.
ប្រថ្នាអ្វី ២	ប្រថ្នាអ្វីៗ	Whatever our aspirations,
ឱ្យបានតូចក្តីប្រថ្នា ។	ឱ្យបានដូចចិត្តប្រថ្នា ។	may we reach them according to our wish.
៦៩	៦៩	69
យើងខ្ញុំមសូមទានសាសនា	យើងខ្ញុំសូមទានសាសនា	We ask to be born in time for the dispensation
នៃព្រះកត្តវា	នៃព្រះកត្តវា	of the Blessed One
នាព្រះសិអាមេត្រី ។	នាព្រះសិអាមេត្រី ។	named Glorious Ārya Maitreya
៧០	៧០	70

Appendix II-14 Khmer bamnol verse (-bn)

សូមបានសំម្បាតទ្វាប៊ី  
ពីព្រះជិនស្រី  
ក៏ប៊ីឱ្យមានឃ្លាតឃ្លា ។  
៧១  
ព្រះធម្មបត្តិយោគា  
សង្ខេបវណ្ណនា  
និដ្ឋិតាច្ចុប្បហោន្ត ។  
។ ចប្បស្រេច  
ឱ្យបបូរហោង ។

ឱ្យបានសម្បត្តិទាំងបី  
ពីព្រះជិនស្រី  
ក៏ប៊ីឱ្យមានឃ្លាតឃ្លា ។  
៧១  
ព្រះធម្មបដិយោគា  
សង្ខេបវណ្ណនា  
និដ្ឋិតាច្ចុប្បហោង ។

to achieve the three attainments  
from the Glorious Victor  
and never be separated from them.  
71  
The *Dhammapatīyogā*  
succinctly expounded,  
is complete and finished.

## II-15 Khmer *maṇḍukagati* verse (-m)

**jăy kūn go-m** (2)  
**jăy bar 10-m** (1)  
**jăy bar puon-m** (1)

### jăy kūn go-m

Victory blessings of the calves

Khmer verse, 28 stanzas in *maṇḍugati/pantūl kāk*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB034** 53a–56a jaiy<sup>o</sup> kūn gor; **UB064** 31b–33a jăy bar kūn go samrāp' sūtr oy bar maṅgal kār

Summary: A petition, traditionally recited before wedding ceremonies, for various blessings from the Buddha and his Dharma, embodied in *kammatthāna* meditation and various cows and calves, aspiring for longevity and the splendor of the heavens.

### Comparative edition

<b>UB034</b>	<b>UB064</b>	Standardized
<p>១                      បុព្វិទ្ធករយើងខ្ញុំម                      ទោគរុប្រណាមត្រេកអរ                      ទីទួលព្រះព្រះ                      ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រែចហោង ។</p> <p>២                      សូមបានតូចចិត្ត                      ចិត្តរក្សាគិតប៉ុនប៉ង                      បានតូចបំផ្លាង                      បំផ្លាច់បំផ្លាមប្រថុរ ។</p> <p>៣                      សូមធុតបបូរ                      តូចព្រះបន្ទូលទេស្មារ                      តូចព្រះករុណារ                      ឱ្យព្រះមង្គលសួស្តីយ ។</p>	<p>១                      បពិត្រយើងខ្ញុំ                      ទសករុប្រណាមត្រេកអរ                      ទទួលបររ                      ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់សូរេចហោង ។</p> <p>២                      សូមបានដូចចិត្ត                      ចិត្តាគន់គិតប៉ុនប៉ង                      បានដូចបំណង                      បំណាច់ចិត្តយើងប្រាថ្នា ។</p> <p>៣                      សូមធុតបបូរ                      ដូចព្រះបន្ទូលទេសនា                      ដូចព្រះករុណា                      ឲ្យព្រះមង្គលសួស្តី ។</p>	<p>១                      បពិត្រយើងខ្ញុំ                      ទសករុប្រណាមត្រេកអរ                      ទទួលព្រះពរ                      ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រែចហោង ។</p> <p>២                      សូមបានដូចចិត្ត                      ចិត្តាគន់គិតប៉ុនប៉ង                      បានដូចបំណង                      បំណាច់ចិត្តយើងប្រាថ្នា ។</p> <p>៣                      សូមធុតបរិបូណ៌                      ដូចព្រះបន្ទូលទេសនា                      ដូចព្រះករុណា                      ឲ្យព្រះមង្គលសួស្តី ។</p>

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

៤  
 សូមរស្សនូវជារ  
 រុងឆ្នាំព្រះសាស្តារជារថ្មីយ  
 ព្រះសិអាមេត្រិយ  
 ព្រះបាទធម្មិករាជ ។  
 ៥  
 សូម្បាសទ្រង់រាជ  
 មានជ័យអំណាចសិលក្រៃ  
 ស្តេចផងដទៃ  
 ទាំងទិសប្រាំបីហោងណា ។  
 ៦  
 សឹងតែរកោតខ្លាច  
 នៃព្រះអំណាចចេស្តា  
 ពុំហ៊ានប្រថុរ  
 ប្រមាថព្រះអង្គលើនៃ ។  
 ៧  
 ផ្ទៃក្រោមបំបូរ  
 ស្តេចផងចុះចូលច្រើនក្រៃ  
 ផ្កាបព្រះហឫទ័យ  
 សូមឱ្យខ្លះថ្ងៃទ្រង់ធម្មិ ។  
 ៨  
 ដូចព្រះក្សត្រិយ  
 ទាំងសឹងមានរៀងរាល់  
 គលសោយព្រះធម្មិ  
 ឱ្យធ្វើឱណ្ណាលោមមិញ ។  
 ៩  
 វាតែងសម្លាប់  
 នោះធ្វើហឱ្យតាពាលចេញ  
 នោះទើបបានពេញ  
 វិន័យព្រះអង្គទេសនា ។  
 ១០  
 គឺគោម្លូក្ស  
 ពីរមុននោះនៃពុំថេរ  
 យកតែគោពីរ  
 កុសលឯក្រោយរក្សា ។  
 ១១

៤  
 សូមរស្សនៅជា  
 រុងឆ្នាំព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី  
 ព្រះសិអាមេត្រិ  
 ព្រះបាទធម្មិករាជ ។  
 ៥  
 សូម្បាសទ្រង់រាជ  
 មានជ័យអំណាចលើសក្រៃ  
 ស្តេចផងដទៃ  
 ទាំងទិសប្រាំបីហោងណា ។  
 ៦  
 សឹងតែកោតខ្លាច  
 នៃព្រះអំណាចចេស្តា  
 ពុំហ៊ានក្រោធ  
 ប្រមាថព្រះអង្គឡើយនៃ ។  
 ៧  
 ផ្ទៃក្រោមបំបូរ  
 ស្តេចផងចុះចូលច្រើនក្រៃ  
 គាប់ព្រះហឫទ័យ ។  
 សូមឱ្យម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃទ្រង់ធម្មិ ។  
 ៨  
 ដូចព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន  
 ទាំងបួនសឹងបានរៀងរាល់  
 ដល់សោយព្រះ  
 ឱ្យធ្វើឱណ្ណាលោមមិញ ។  
 ៩  
 វាតែងសម្លាប់  
 លោកាឱ្យគាប់ចោលចេញ  
 នោះទើបបានពេញ  
 វិន័យព្រះអង្គទេសនា ។  
 ១០  
 គឺគោម្លី  
 ពីរមុននោះពុំថេរ  
 យកតែគោពីរ  
 កុសលឯក្រោយរក្សា ។  
 ១១

៤  
 សូមរស្សនៅជា  
 រុងឆ្នាំព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី  
 ព្រះសិអាមេត្រិយ  
 ព្រះបាទធម្មិករាជ ។  
 ៥  
 សូម្បាសទ្រង់រាជ  
 មានជ័យអំណាចលើសក្រៃ  
 ស្តេចផងដទៃ  
 ទាំងទិសប្រាំបីហោងណា ។  
 ៦  
 សឹងតែកោតខ្លាច  
 នៃព្រះអំណាចចេស្តា  
 ពុំហ៊ានក្រោធ  
 ប្រមាថព្រះអង្គឡើយនៃ ។  
 ៧  
 ផ្ទៃក្រោមបំបូរណ៍  
 ស្តេចផងចុះចូលច្រើនក្រៃ  
 ផ្កាបព្រះហឫទ័យ  
 សូមឱ្យម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃទ្រង់ធម្មិ ។  
 ៨  
 ដូចព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន  
 ទាំងបួនសឹងមានរៀងរាល់  
 ដល់សោយព្រះធម្មិ  
 ឱ្យធ្វើឱណ្ណាលោមមិញ ។  
 ៩  
 វាតែងសម្លាប់  
 លោកាឱ្យគាប់ចោលចេញ  
 នោះទើបបានពេញ  
 វិន័យព្រះអង្គទេសនា ។  
 ១០  
 គឺគោម្លូក្ស  
 ពីរមុននោះនៃពុំថេរ  
 យកតែគោពីរ  
 កុសលឯក្រោយរក្សា ។  
 ១១



Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

គឺគោរម្ភាញ្ចី	គឺគោម្ពីពីរ	គឺគោទាំងពីរ
រក្សាចំណេររៀងទៅ	រក្សាចំណេររៀងទៅ	រក្សាចំណេររៀងទៅ
នឹងកើតកូនចៅ	នឹងកើតកូនចៅ	នឹងកើតកូនចៅ
ញាពេញទាំងព្រះធរណី ។	ពាសពេញទាំងព្រះធរណី ។	ពាសពេញទាំងព្រះធរណី ។
១២	១២	១២
កូនគោនោះណា	កូនគោនោះណា	កូនគោនោះណា
លោកកាត់ថ្ងៃវាឲ្យសព្វ	លោកកាត់ថ្ងៃវាឲ្យសម	លោកកាត់ថ្ងៃវាឲ្យសព្វ
ជាមាសទឹកដប់	ជាមាសទឹកដប់	ជាមាសទឹកដប់
តម្កើងសេនកូន ១៧	ប្រាំសែនតម្កើងកូនមួយ	ប្រាំសែនតម្កើងកូនមួយ ។
១៣	១៣	១៣
មានតែលោកអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	មានតែអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	មានតែអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ
នោះទើពលោកអាចឆ្លងយល	នោះទើបលោកអាចឆ្លងយល់	នោះទើបលោកអាចឆ្លងយល់
គោរគីកុសល	គឺគោកុសល	គឺគោកុសល
អង្គុយព្រះធម្មិការវនា ។	អង្គុយធម៌ការវនា ។	អង្គុយព្រះធម៌ការវនា ។
១៤	១៤	១៤
ធ្វើបុណ្យទាំងគ្រប់	ធ្វើបុណ្យទាំងគ្រប់គ្នា	ធ្វើបុណ្យទាំងគ្រប់
ធុត្តិប័ណ្ណបំណែងនៃ	ធុត្តិប័ណ្ណបំណែងនៃ	ធុត្តិប័ណ្ណបំណែងនៃ
គោរគីម្ភាញ្ចី	គឺគោម្ភាញ្ចី	គឺគោម្ភាញ្ចី
មានក្នុងលោកិយឲ្យយល ។	មានក្នុងលោកិយឲ្យយល់ ។	មានក្នុងលោកិយឲ្យយល់ ។
១៥	១៥	១៥
ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា	ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា	ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា
ត្រូវគោរពថាឲ្យយល	ត្រូវគោរពថាឲ្យយល	ដោយព្រះគោរពថាឲ្យយល់ [២]
រៀនពុំដែលដល់	រៀនពុំដែលដល់	រៀនពុំដែលដល់
ផ្លូវវិលនោះឯងលឿន ។	ផ្លូវវិលនោះឯងឡើយនៃ ។	ផ្លូវវិលនោះឯងឡើយនៃ ។
១៦	១៦	១៦
កុសលប្រពៃ	កុសលប្រពៃ	កុសលប្រពៃ
សេច្ចុខន្តីប្រកដ	សេច្ចុខន្តីប្រកដ	សេច្ចុខន្តីប្រកដ
ឱ្យចិត្តអំណត់	អោយចិត្តអំណត់	ឲ្យចិត្តអំណត់
ឱ្យធ្វើឲ្យលាមមផង ។	ធ្វើឲ្យលាមមផង ។	ឲ្យធ្វើឲ្យលាមមផង ។ [២]
១៧	១៧	១៧
ដល់សោយព្រះធម៌	ដល់សោយព្រះធម៌	ដល់សោយព្រះធម៌
ប្រសើររៀងរូងទៅវហោង	ដរាបរៀងទៅវហោង	ដរាបរៀងទៅវហោង
ឱ្យរក្សាគ្រង	ហើយរក្សាគ្រង	ហើយរក្សាគ្រង
កាន់សីលទាំងអង្គឯង ។	កាន់សីលទាំងប្រាំអង្គឯង	កាន់សីលទាំងប្រាំអង្គឯង
១៨	១៨	១៨
ឱ្យគិតជុំនឹង	ឱ្យគិតសញ្ជឹង	ឱ្យគិតសញ្ជឹង

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ហឿនឱ្យរំពឹងយល់ល្ងង់  
 ឱ្យសំអាតខ្លួនឯង  
 តូចកលព្រះស្ងួតនោះណា ។  
 ១៩  
 នោះទើពូនិងរៀន  
 ស្ស្ទាំក្នុងឋានភក្ខិរា  
 សីលធម៌គ្រប់គ្នា  
 រុងរឿងព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី ។  
 ២០  
 នឹងមានជន្មា  
 មួយម៉ឺនឆ្នាំណាប្រាកដ  
 ត្បិតអ្នកកុំប្លែង  
 តងហែព្រះអង្គមកហោង ។  
 ២១  
 លើកព្រះសាសនា  
 ខ្សែមខ្សានន៍គររយើងហោង  
 សំម្បូររាស្ត្រផង  
 សឹងនាំទៅសួរគារណារ ។  
 ២២  
 គង់លើប្រាសាទ  
 កែវភ្នំហព្រាងព្រាងរាជណារ  
 ក្បិរមានថ្ងៃថ្នា  
 ពីព្រាងប្រសើរសក្តិសម ។  
 ២៣  
 នឹងស្តាប់ភ្លើងធំម  
 សួរសាព្វរំដំលើយល្ងង់  
 ក្នុងស្ថាននោះឯង  
 រន្ធាងរាំងននមានមែ ។  
 ២៤  
 សឹងកែវពេជរត្ន  
 គ្រប់គ្រឿងនូវមុដប្រពៃ  
 កាញារស្រីថ្ងៃ  
 ល្អៗប្រសើរពេកពុន ។  
 ២៥  
 គង់គាល់បម្រើ  
 គ្រប់ស្សសារពើហាផងក្តី

ហើយឱ្យរំពឹងយល់ល្ងង់  
 ឱ្យសំអាតខ្លួនឯង  
 ដូចកលប្រសូតនោះណា  
 ១៩  
 ទោះទើបនឹងរៀន  
 អស់ទាំងកម្មដ្ឋានរក្សា  
 សីលធម៌គ្រប់គ្នា  
 រុងរឿងព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី  
 ២០  
 នឹងមានជន្មា  
 មួយម៉ឺនឆ្នាំណាប្រាកដ  
 ត្បិតអ្នកកុំប្លែង  
 ដង្ហែព្រះអង្គមកហោង ។  
 ២១  
 មកលើកព្រះសាសនា  
 ក្សេមក្សាន្តគង់រាល់យើងហោង ។  
 សម្បូររាស្ត្រផង  
 សឹងនាំទៅកាន់ស្ងួត  
 ២២  
 គង់លើប្រាសាទ  
 កែវភ្នំព្រាងរចនា  
 វិមានថ្ងៃថ្នា  
 ពីព្រាងប្រសើរសក្តិសម ។  
 ២៣  
 នឹងស្តាប់ភ្លើងធំ  
 សួរសំព្វរំដំលើយល្ងង់  
 ក្នុងស្ថាននោះឯងហើយ  
 រន្ធាងរាំងននមានមែ ។  
 ២៤  
 សឹងតែពេជ្ររតន៍  
 គ្រប់គ្រឿងនូវមុដដ៏ប្រពៃ  
 កញ្ញាស្រីថ្ងៃ  
 ប្រសើរសក្តិសម  
 ២៥  
 គង់គាល់បម្រើ  
 គ្រប់អស់សារពើផងក្តី

ហើយឱ្យរំពឹងយល់ល្ងង់  
 សំអាតខ្លួនឯង  
 ដូចកលព្រះស្ងួតនោះណា ។ [២]  
 ១៩  
 ទោះទើបនឹងរៀន  
 អស់ទាំងកម្មដ្ឋានរក្សា  
 សីលធម៌គ្រប់គ្នា  
 រុងរឿងព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី ។  
 ២០  
 នឹងមានជន្មា  
 មួយម៉ឺនឆ្នាំណាប្រាកដ  
 ត្បិតអ្នកកុំប្លែង  
 ដង្ហែព្រះអង្គមកហោង ។  
 ២១  
 មកលើកព្រះសាសនា  
 ក្សេមក្សាន្តគង់រាល់យើងហោង ។  
 សម្បូររាស្ត្រផង  
 សឹងនាំទៅកាន់ស្ងួត ។  
 ២២  
 គង់លើប្រាសាទ  
 កែវភ្នំព្រាងរចនា  
 វិមានថ្ងៃថ្នា  
 ពីព្រាងប្រសើរសក្តិសម ។  
 ២៣  
 នឹងស្តាប់ភ្លើងធំ  
 សួរសំព្វរំដំលើយល្ងង់  
 ក្នុងស្ថាននោះឯង  
 រន្ធាងរាំងននមានមែ ។  
 ២៤  
 សឹងតែពេជ្ររតន៍  
 គ្រប់គ្រឿងនូវមុដប្រពៃ  
 កញ្ញាស្រីថ្ងៃ  
 ល្អៗ ប្រសើរពេកពុន ។  
 ២៥  
 គង់គាល់បម្រើ  
 គ្រប់អស់សារពើផងក្តី

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ពុំព្រួយស្រឡាញ់ បានតូចបំផុតប្រាថ្នា ។	ពុំព្រួយស្រឡាញ់ តាមចិត្តបំណងប្រាថ្នា ។	ពុំព្រួយស្រឡាញ់ តាមចិត្តបំណងប្រាថ្នា ។
២៦	២៦	២៦
យើងចង់ទៅវិថាន	យើងចង់ទៅឋាន	យើងចង់ទៅឋាន
តុះសិត្តិក្សិមានធយណារ	តុះសិត្តិមានថ្លៃថ្នា	តុះសិត្តិមានថ្លៃថ្នា
បានតូចចិត្តារ	បានល្អ ។ ដូចជា	បានដូចចិត្តារ
គ្រប់សុំទ្រាំគ្នារយើងហោង ។	គ្រប់អស់ទាំងគ្នារយើងហោង ។	គ្រប់អស់ទាំងគ្នារយើងហោង ។
២៧	២៧	២៧
សុំទ្រាំទេវតារ	សូមអស់ទេវតា	សូមអស់ទេវតា
នូវតែកាំម្នារសោឡសផង	នៅឆកាមាសោះឡោះហោង	នៅឆកាមាសោឡសហោង
សុំទ្រាំព្រះឥន្ទព្រះព្រំមផង	ទាំងព្រះឥន្ទព្រះព្រហ្មផង	ទាំងឥន្ទព្រហ្មផង
ចុះមកឱ្យសារធុការ ។	ចុះឱ្យសាធុការ ។	ចុះមកឱ្យសាធុការ ។
២៨	២៨	២៨
ឱ្យសុខខ្សែមឱ្យសុខ	ឱ្យសុខក្សេមក្សាន	ឱ្យសុខក្សេមក្សាន
បំបួរត្បីទបានត្រកអរ	បរិបួរណ៍ត្បិតបានត្រកអរ	បរិបួរណ៍ដ្បិតបានត្រកអរ
ទំទូលព្រះពរ	ទទួលព្រះពរ	ទទួលព្រះពរ
ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រេចហោង ។	ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់សូមចប់សូរចហោង ។	ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រេចហោង ។

និព្វានបច្ចុយោហោនុ ។  
 ៦ ចប់ដ្បៃកូនគោរតែប៉ុនណោះឯងហោង ។

Translation

Standardized	Translation
១	1
បពិត្រយើងខ្ញុំ ទសករប្រណាមត្រេកអរ ទទួលព្រះពរ ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រេចហោង ។	Venerable! We humbly raise our hands in reverence, joyful to receive a blessing from the Lord, the Master.
២	2
សូមបានដូចចិត្ត ចិត្តាគន់គិតប៉ុនប៉ង បានដូចបំណង បំណាច់ចិត្តយើងប្រាថ្នា ។	May we attain according to our mind's thoughts and wishes, according to our fervent aspirations and prayers.
៣	3
សូមធុតបរិបូណ៌ ដូចព្រះបន្ទូលទេសនា	May they manifest swiftly and completely, just as the Lord has preached,

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ដូចព្រះករុណា	just as the Compassionate One
ឲ្យពរមង្គលសួស្តី ។	has bestowed blessings, fortune, and prosperity.
៤	4
សូមរស់នៅជា	May we live on
រង់ចាំព្រះសាសនាថ្មី	in waiting for the new dispensation
ព្រះសិរិអារ្យមេត្រីយ	of Śrī Ārya Maitreya,
ព្រះបាទធម្មិករាជា ។	the Righteous King.
៥	5
សូមម្ចាស់ទ្រង់រាជ្យ	May the Lord win the kingdom
មានជ័យអំណាចលើសក្រៃ	victoriously, with might far exceeding
ស្តេចផងដទៃ	all other kings
ទាំងទិសប្រាំបីហោងណា ។	throughout the eight directions,
៦	6
សឹងតែកោតខ្លាច	who will all fear
នៃព្រះអំណាចចេស្តា	his majestic might,
ពុំហ៊ានក្រោធា	not daring to anger
ប្រមាថព្រះអង្គឡើយនៃ ។	or neglect the Lord.
៧	7
ផ្ទៃក្រោមបរិបូណ៌	Throughout the plane of the earth
ស្តេចផងចុះចូលច្រើនក្រៃ	the kings shall come in droves
ផ្តាប់ព្រះហឫទ័យ	to please his heart
សូមឲ្យម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃទ្រង់ធម៌ ។	and entreat the Precious Master to achieve the Dharma,
៨	8
ដូចព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន	including the august <i>kammatthāna</i>
ទាំងបួនសឹងមានរៀងរាល់	in all four of its parts,
ដល់សោយព្រះធម៌	so as to relish the Dharma
ឲ្យធ្វើឧណ្ណាលោមមិញ ។?	and make his <i>uṇṇāloṃa</i> .
៩	9
វាតែងសម្លាប់	[His <i>uṇṇāloṃa</i> ] always smites
លោកោឲ្យចាប់ចោលចេញ	greed so that it may be swiftly excised,
នោះទើបបានពេញ	so as to fulfill
វិន័យព្រះអង្គទេសនា ។	the Vinaya preached by the Lord.
១០	10
គឺគោមួយកែ	[The Vinaya] consisted of twenty cows
ពីមុននោះនៃពុំថេរ	originally, though they did not last.
យកតែគោពីរ	Only two cows were selected

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

កុសលឯក្រោយរក្សា ។	as meritorious for the future to protect.
១១	11
គឺគោទាំងពីរ	These two cows,
រក្សាចំណេររៀងទៅ	protected for a long time,
នឹងកើតកូនចៅ	give birth to offspring
ពាសពេញទាំងព្រះធរណី ។	across the entire earth.
១២	12
កូនគោនោះណា	For these calves,
លោកកាត់ថ្លៃវាឲ្យសព្វ	the Master measures their price
ជាមាសទឹកដប់	in pure gold,
ប្រាំសែនតម្លឹងកូនមួយ ។	weighing 500,000 <i>taṃḷiṅ</i> each.
១៣	13
មានតែអ្នកប្រាជ្ញ	Only the wise
នោះទើបលោកអាចឈ្នួលយល់	can understand
គឺគោកុសល	how these meritorious cows
អង្គុយព្រះធម៌ការវេន ។	sit in meditation on the Dharma,
១៤	14
ធ្វើបុណ្យទាំងគ្រប់	making merit and performing all
ធុតង្គបីដណ្តប់នោះនៃ	of the thirteen <i>dhutaṅgas</i> .
គឺគោម្ភៃ	These twenty cows
មានក្នុងលោកិយឲ្យយល់ ។	are in the worldly realm to be beheld.
១៥	15
ព្រះពុទ្ធសេសនា	The Buddha preached
ដោយព្រះតាថាបរពល/ឲ្យយល់ <sup>[?] ១</sup>	with the <i>gāthā</i> for marching troops,
រៀនពុំដែលដល់	the study of which never ends,
ផ្លូវវិលនោះឯងឡើយនៃ ។	as the path doubles back on itself.
១៦	16
កុសលប្រពៃ	Excellent merit,
សច្ច៍ខន្តីប្រាកដ	truthfulness, and forbearance,
ឲ្យចិត្តអំណត់	making the heart patient,
ឲ្យធ្វើឧទ្យានលោមផង ។ <sup>[?] ២</sup>	and produce the <i>uṇṇāloṃa</i> ,
១៧	17
ដល់សោយព្រះធម៌	until one relishes the Dharma
ដរាបរៀងតទៅហោង	for all time to come,
ហើយរក្សាគ្រង	protecting and guarding it
កាន់សីលទាំងប្រាំអង្គឯង	by upholding the Five Precepts,

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

១៨	18
ឲ្យគិតដញ្ជឹង ហើយឲ្យរំពឹងយល់ល្បួង សំអាតខ្លួនឯង ដូចកលព្រះសូត្រនោះណា ។ [?]	to think, reflect, contemplate, and understand, purifying oneself, just as in the Sūtras.
១៩	19
ទោះទើបនឹងរៀន អស់ទាំងកម្មដ្ឋានរក្សា សីលធម៌គ្រប់គ្នា រង់ចាំព្រះសាសនាជាថ្មី ។	Even if you have newly studied all of the <i>kammatthāna</i> and protect all manner of virtues, awaiting the new dispensation,
២០	20
នឹងមានជន្ម មួយម៉ឺនឆ្នាំណាប្រាកដ ត្បិតអ្នកកំបាំងបាត់ ដង្ហែព្រះអង្គមកហោង ។	you shall win long life, reaching ten thousand years true, since hidden people will parade the Lord forth
២១	21
មកលើកព្រះសាសនា ក្សេមក្សាន្តគង់រាល់យើងហោង សម្បូររាស្ត្រផង សឹងនាំទៅកាន់សួគ៌ ។	and raise up the holy religion, lasting peace and bliss for us all, plentitude to the people, who are led to reach the heavens,
២២	22
គង់លើប្រាសាទ កែវភ្លឺព្រាងរចនា វិមានថ្លៃថ្លា ពីព្រេងប្រសើរសក្តិសម ។	sit in palaces, adorned with sparkling jewels, in precious floating mansions, from times of old most fitting and excellent,
២៣	23
នឹងស្តាប់ភ្លេងធំ សូរសព្ទរង្វើយល្បួង ក្នុងស្ថាននោះឯង រនាំងរាំងននមាសម័យ ។	where they shall listen to majestic music, with sounds resounding and melodious, in that place bedecked with screens and curtains fashioned of gold,
២៤	24
សឹងតែពេជ្ររតន៍ គ្រប់គ្រឿងនូវម្តុដប្រពៃ កញ្ញាស្រីថ្លៃ ល្អៗ ប្រសើរពេកពន់ ។	arrayed with diamonds and gems, complete with ornaments and splendid crowns, with elegant maidens, lovely and beautiful beyond compare,
២៥	25

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

គង់គាល់បម្រើ	who shall serve them
គ្រប់អស់សារពើផងក្តី	in all manner of things,
ពុំព្រួយស្រដី	so that they are not afraid to express
តាមចិត្តបំណងប្រាថ្នា ។	their wishes according to their hearts.
២៦	26
យើងចង់ទៅឋាន	We pray to go to the realm
តុសិតិមានថ្លៃថ្នា	of Tusita, with its lovely floating mansions,
បានដូចចិត្ត	in accordance with the wish
គ្រប់អស់ទាំងគ្នាយើងហោង ។	held by all of us together.
២៧	27
សូមអស់ទេវតា	May all of the gods
នៅឆកាមាសោឡសហោង	throughout the six sensual heavens and sixteen Brahma realms,
ទាំងឥន្ទព្រហ្មផង	including Indra and Brahma,
ចុះមកឲ្យសាធុការ ។	come to offer their benediction
២៨	28
ឲ្យសុខក្សេមក្សាន្ត	for perfect well-being
បរិបូណ៌ដ្បិតបានត្រេកអរ	and ease, since we have joyfully
ទទួលព្រះពរ	received the blessing
ព្រះអង្គជាម្ចាស់ស្រេចហោង ។	of the Lord, the Master.

**jăy bar 10-m**

Victory blessings of ten kinds

Khmer verse, 22 stanzas in *maṇḍugati/pandol kāk*, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 7b–8b jăy bar 10

Khmer books: Nuon Saṃān នួន សំអាន, *Gihippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យវាវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roñ bumb bhnaṃ beñ រោងពុម្ពភ្នំពេញ, 2547), 81–82.

Summary: The story of the sage Kassapa and the enumeration of his ten kinds of victory blessings, concluding with evasion from the four dangers and the swift realization of Nibbāna.

Comparative edition

**UB064**

Nuon Saṃān 2547

Edition

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

១  
 បែបបទឲ្យពរ  
 មង្គលបវរព្រាកដ  
 ឥសីសន្មត  
 នាមឈ្មោះកស្សបព្រះមុនី  
 ២  
 អ្នកស្ថិតនៅនា  
 ជើងភ្នំបព្វតាគិរី  
 សាងអាស្រមទី  
 ជារោងពិធីឲ្យពរ  
 ៣  
 ឈ្មោះស្រីវិជ័យ  
 សាវ័នវត្តិដំបវរ  
 មួយកើតជាគោ  
 មួយនោះកើតមកជាខ្លា  
 ៤  
 ឥសីប្រសំរស់  
 កើតឡើងជាមនុស្សទ្វេហា  
 គ្រប់គ្រឿងសោកា  
 សំពះសូមពរព្រះមុនី ។  
 ៥  
 ឥសីកស្សប  
 លោកឲ្យពរដប់ ពោធិ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ឯកពរពាលីប្រែថាពរមួយ  
 ៦  
 ឲ្យមានកម្លាំង  
 ស្មារតី ក្លាខ្លាំងកុំព្រួយ  
 ចែងចប់ពរមួយ  
 តាមដោយបន្ទូលព្រះមុនី ។  
 ៧  
 ទ្វិបសុខំ  
 បាលីតែងតាំងពរពីរ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ចម្រើនវុឌ្ឍិសុខសាន្ត  
 ៨

១  
 បែបបទឲ្យពរ  
 មង្គលបវរព្រាកដ  
 ឥសីកំណត់  
 នាមឈ្មោះកស្សបព្រះមុនី  
 ២  
 អ្នកស្ថិតនៅនាទី  
 ជើងភ្នំបព្វតាគិរី  
 សង់អាស្រមណ៍ទី  
 ជារោងពិធី ឲ្យពរ  
 ៣  
 ឈ្មោះស្រីពិជ័យ  
 សាវ័នវត្តិដំបវរ  
 មួយកើតជាគោ  
 មួយនោះកើតមកជាខ្លា  
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 ៥  
 ឥសីកស្សប  
 លោកឲ្យពរដប់ ពោធិ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ឯកពរពាលីប្រែថាពរមួយ  
 ៦  
 ឲ្យមានកម្លាំង  
 ស្មារតី ក្លាខ្លាំងកុំព្រួយ  
 ចែងចប់ពរមួយ  
 តាមដោយបន្ទូលព្រះមុនី ។  
 ៧  
 ទ្វិពរ  
 បាលីប្រែថាពរពីរ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ចម្រើនវុឌ្ឍិសុខសាន្ត  
 ៨

១  
 បែបបទឲ្យពរ  
 មង្គលបវរព្រាកដ  
 ឥសីសន្មត  
 នាមឈ្មោះកស្សបព្រះមុនី  
 ២  
 អ្នកស្ថិតនៅនា  
 ជើងភ្នំបព្វតាគិរី  
 សាងអាស្រមទី  
 ជារោងពិធីឲ្យពរ  
 ៣  
 ឈ្មោះស្រីវិជ័យ  
 ស្រីន្រ្ទវត្តិដំបវរ  
 មួយកើតជាគោ  
 មួយនោះកើតមកជាខ្លា  
 ៤  
 ឥសីប្រសំរស់  
 កើតឡើងជាមនុស្សទ្វេហា  
 គ្រប់គ្រឿងសោកា  
 សំពះសូមពរព្រះមុនី ។  
 ៥  
 ឥសីកស្សប  
 លោកឲ្យពរដប់ពោធិ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ekabarā បាលីប្រែថាពរមួយ  
 ៦  
 ឲ្យមានកម្លាំង  
 ស្មារតី ក្លាខ្លាំងកុំព្រួយ  
 ចែងចប់ពរមួយ  
 តាមដោយបន្ទូលព្រះមុនី ។  
 ៧  
 dvibarā  
 បាលីប្រែថាពរពីរ  
 តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
 ចម្រើនវុឌ្ឍិសុខសាន្ត  
 ៨



Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ធនធានរបស់  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់ ស្រែកឃ្លាន  
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មាន  
កុំឲ្យបៀតបានឡើយ ។  
៩

តេសពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋី  
សូមសុខសួស្តី  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន ។  
១០

ចតុពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋួន  
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន  
យសសិក្ខិសមសួនមួនមាំ ។  
១១

បញ្ចពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំ  
សារពើដំណាំ  
ដុះមិនបាច់ដាំឲ្យព្រួយ ។  
១២

ឆសពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំមួយ  
សុំឲ្យស្គាល់ព្រួយ  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យរក្សាសីល ។  
១៣

សត្តពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំពីរ  
ប្រកបនូវសីលសោភ័  
ផ្កាញ់អស់និគ្រន្តអន្តរត្ថិយ៍ ។  
១៤

អដ្ឋពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំបី  
គោសេះដំរី  
ក្របីធាត់ធំមាំមួន ។  
១៥

នវពរា

ធនធានរបស់  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់ ស្រែកឃ្លាន  
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មាន  
កុំឲ្យបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។  
៩

តតិពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋី  
សូមសុខសួស្តី  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន ។  
១០

ចតុពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋួន  
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន  
យសសិក្ខិសមសួនមួនមាំ ។  
១១

បញ្ចពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំ  
សារពើដំណាំ  
ដុះមិនបាច់ដាំឲ្យព្រួយ ។  
១២

ឆសពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំមួយ  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់ព្រួយ  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យសាសន៍សីល ។  
១៣

សត្តពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំពីរ  
ប្រកបនូវសីលសោភ័  
ផ្កាញ់អស់និគ្រន្តអន្តរត្ថិយ៍ ។  
១៤

អដ្ឋពរា  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំបី  
គោសេះដំរី  
ក្របីធាត់ធំមាំមួន ។  
១៥

នវពរា

ធនធានរបស់  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់ស្រែកឃ្លាន  
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មាន  
កុំឲ្យបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។  
៩

tatibarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋី  
សូមសុខសួស្តី  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យខ្ជាប់ខ្ជួន ។  
១០

catubarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរឋួន  
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន  
យសសិក្ខិសមសួនមួនមាំ ។  
១១

pañcabarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំ  
សារពើដំណាំ  
ដុះមិនបាច់ដាំឲ្យព្រួយ ។  
១២

chasabarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំមួយ  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់ព្រួយ  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យសាស្ត្រសីល្យ៍ ។  
១៣

sattabarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំពីរ  
ប្រកបនូវសីលសោភ័  
ផ្កាញ់អស់និគ្រន្តអន្តរត្ថិយ៍ ។  
១៤

atthabarā  
បាលីប្រថាពរព្រាំបី  
គោសេះដំរី  
ក្របីធាត់ធំមាំមួន ។  
១៥

navabarā

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

បាលីប្រថាពរព្រំបួន  
មូលមិត្តិម្មិម្មន  
នូវបុត្រភរិយាទាំងគ្រប់ ។

១៦

ទសពរ

បាលីប្រថាពរដប់

វិសម្បត្តិទ្រព្យ

ឥតខ្លះកន្លះឡើយនៃ ។

១៧

ទោះខ្ញុំកំដរ

មានហើយចិត្តល្អប្រពៃ

ទាំងគោក្របី

ដំរិសេសារពើហោង ។

១៨

ល្អទាំងក្រយោ

ល្អទាំងរាងរាត្រសប្បុរស

ព្រឹកលែងទៅហោង

ដល់ល្ងាចវិលមកចូលក្រោយ ។

១៩

ទាំងមនុស្សទាំងសត្វ

មិនដែលរៀសបាត់គេចចោល

មានតែទីចូល

ទីចេញនោះគ្មានឡើយនៃ ។

២០

ទោសបួនប្រការ

ដែលអ្នកប្រាជ្ញថាហោក័យ

ទាំងបួននោះនៃ

ឈ្មោះហោក័យទឹក ក័យភ្លើង

២១

ក័យស្តេចក័យចោរ

មិនដែលមានមក

XXXX

XXXXX

២២

ឥច្ឆិតំប្រថា

សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា រាល់ប្រាណ

បាលីប្រថាពរព្រំបួន

មូលមិត្តិម្មិម្មន

នូវបុត្រភរិយាទាំងគ្រប់ ។

១៦

ទសពរ

បាលីប្រថាពរដប់

ទ្រព្យរបស់កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់

ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មានកុំបីបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។

១៧

XXXX

XXXXXX

XXXX

XXXXXX

១៨

XXXX

XXXXXX

XXXX

XXXXXX

១៩

XXXX

XXXXXX

XXXX

XXXXXX

២០

ទោសបួនប្រការ

ដែលអ្នកប្រាជ្ញហៅថាក័យ

ទាំងបួននោះ

ឈ្មោះហោក័យទឹក ក័យភ្លើង

២១

ក័យខ្យល់ ក័យស្តេច និងចោរ

កុំឲ្យមានដល់មកយើង

មានតែទីផ្ទៃផ្ទៃរុងរឿង

ទីទុក្ខកុំបីបៀតបាន ។

២២

ឥច្ឆិតំប្រថា

សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា រាល់ប្រាណ

បាលីប្រថាពរព្រំបួន

មូលមិត្តិម្មិម្មន

នូវបុត្រភរិយាទាំងគ្រប់ ។

១៦

dasabarā

បាលីប្រថាពរដប់

ទ្រព្យរបស់កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់

ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មានកុំបីបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។

១៧

ទោះខ្ញុំកំដរ

មានហើយចិត្តល្អប្រពៃ

ទាំងគោក្របី

ដំរិសេសារពើហោង ។

១៨

ល្អទាំងក្រយោ

ល្អទាំងរាងរាត្រសប្បុរស

ព្រឹកលែងទៅហោង

ដល់ល្ងាចវិលមកក្រោយចូល ។

១៩

ទាំងមនុស្សទាំងសត្វ

មិនដែលចៀសបាត់គេចចោល

មានតែទីចូល

ទីចេញនោះគ្មានឡើយនៃ ។

២០

ទោសបួនប្រការ

ដែលអ្នកប្រាជ្ញថាហោក័យ

ទាំងបួននោះនៃ

ឈ្មោះហោក័យទឹក ក័យភ្លើង

២១

ក័យខ្យល់ ក័យស្តេចនិងចោរ

កុំឲ្យមានដល់មកយើង

មានតែទីផ្ទៃផ្ទៃរុងរឿង

ទីទុក្ខកុំបីបៀតបាន ។

២២

icchitam ប្រថា

សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា រាល់ប្រាណ

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ខិប្បំសូមឲ្យបាន

ខិប្បំសូមឲ្យបាន

*kippan* សូមឲ្យបាន

សម្រេច និព្វានទៀងទាត់ប្រាកដនេះឯងហោង ។ សម្រេច និព្វានទៀងប្រាកដហោង ។

សម្រេចនិព្វានទៀងប្រាកដហោង ។

Translation

១

បែបបទឲ្យបាន  
មង្គលបរវប្រាកដ  
ឥសីសន្មត  
នាមឈ្មោះកស្សបព្រះមុនី

1

This is the method for bestowing blessings  
to manifest the foremost fortune.  
The seer who authorized [this method]  
was named Kassapa, the holy sage.

២

អ្នកស្ថិតនៅនា  
ជើងភ្នំបញ្ចតាគិរី  
សាងអាស្រមទី  
ជារោងពិធីឲ្យបាន

2

He dwelt in  
the foothills of the mountains,  
where he built a hermitage,  
a ritual hall for bestowing blessings,

៣

ឈ្មោះស្រីវិជ័យ  
ស្រីន្ទ្រវតីដ៏បរវ  
មួយកើតជាគោ  
មួយនោះកើតមកជាខ្លា

3

known as Śrī Vijay  
Śrīndravatī, most excellent.  
There one being was born as a calf,  
and another as a tiger cub.

៤

ឥសីប្រសរស័  
កើតឡើងជាមនុស្សទ្វេហា  
គ្រប់គ្រឿងសោភា  
សំពះសូមពរព្រះមុនី ។

4

The seer nursed them back to life  
and they grew up into two human beings,  
complete with beautiful ornaments.  
They bowed and asked for a blessing from the sage.

៥

ឥសីកស្សប  
លោកឲ្យពរដប់ពោធិ៍  
តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
*ekabarā* បាលីប្រែថាពរមួយ

5

Kassapa, the seer,  
bestowed these ten blessings of awakening  
that were long established in him as a sage:  
*Ekabarā*, Pali for “the first blessing”—

៦

ឲ្យមានកម្លាំង  
ស្មារតី ភ្ញាក់ខ្លាំងកុំព្រួយ  
ចែងចប់ពរមួយ  
តាមដោយបន្ទូលព្រះមុនី ។

6

may you have vigor  
and strong mental presence, without fear.  
Here ends the first blessing  
in accordance with the words of the sage.

៧

7

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

*dvibarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរពីរ  
តាំងដើមព្រះមុនី  
ចម្រើនវុឌ្ឍិសុខសាន្ត

៨

ធនធានរបស់  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់ស្រែកឃ្លាន  
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មាន  
កុំឲ្យបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។

៩

*tatibarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរបី  
សូមសុខសួស្តី  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យខ្លាច់ខ្លួន ។

១០

*catubarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរបួន  
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន  
យសស័ក្តិសមសួនមួនមាំ ។

១១

*pañcabarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរប្រាំ  
សារពើដំណាំ  
ដុះមិនបាច់ដាំឲ្យព្រួយ ។

១២

*chasabarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរប្រាំមួយ  
កុំឲ្យស្គាល់ព្រួយ  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យសាស្ត្រសិល្ប៍ ។

១៣

*sattabarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរប្រាំពីរ  
ប្រកបនូវសីលសោកី  
ផ្កាញ់អស់និគ្រន្តអន្យតិរិយ ។

១៤

*atthabarā*  
បាលីប្រែថាពរប្រាំបី

*Dvibarā,*  
Pali for “the second blessing,”  
established by the sage—  
may your prosperity increase in bliss and peace.  
8  
As for your wealth and riches,  
may they never run out and may you never hunger or thirst.  
Whatever pain and fault might exist,  
may they never bother you.

9

*Tatibarā,*  
Pali for “the third blessing”—  
may you be happy and fortunate,  
endowed with merit that never leaves your being.

10

*Catubarā,*  
Pali for “the fourth blessing”—  
may you be surround by friends and dear ones,  
achieving deserved glory and rank that stands firm.

11

*Pañcabarā,*  
Pali for “the fifth blessing”—  
may all kinds of growable things  
grow without sowing them, so that you need not worry.

12

*Chasabarā,*  
Pali for “the sixth blessing”—  
may you know not fear  
and be endowed with merit, knowledge, and craft.

13

*Sattabarā,*  
Pali for “the seventh blessing”—  
may you be endowed with beautiful virtue,  
defeating all of the Jains and other heretics.

14

*Atthabarā,*  
Pali for “the eight blessing”—

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

គោសេនដំរី  
ក្របីជាត់ធំមាំមួន ។  
១៥

may you have cattle, horses, elephants,  
and buffalo that are plump, large, strong, and sturdy.  
15

navabarā  
បាលីប្រែថាពរព្រំបួន  
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន  
នូវបុត្រភរិយាទាំងគ្រប់ ។  
១៦

Navabarā,  
Pali for “the ninth blessing”—  
may you be surround by friends and dear ones,  
along with all of your children and wives.  
16

dasabarā  
បាលីប្រែថាពរដប់  
ទ្រព្យរបស់កុំឲ្យស្គាល់អស់  
ទុក្ខទោសប៉ុន្មានកុំបំបៀតបានឡើយនៃ ។  
១៧

Dasabarā,  
Pali for “the tenth blessing”—  
may your riches not be exhausted,  
and may pain and fault do you no harm.  
17

ទោះខ្ញុំកំដរ  
មានហើយចិត្តល្អប្រពៃ  
ទាំងគោក្របី  
ដំរីសេះសារពើហោង ។  
១៨

As for slaves and attendants,  
may you have them and may their hearts be excellent,  
along with all of your cattle, buffalo,  
elephants, and horses.  
18

ល្អទាំងក្រហៅ  
ល្អទាំងរាងរោតតហ្មង  
ព្រឹកលែងទៅហោង  
ដល់ល្ងាចវិលមកក្រោយចូល ។  
១៩

May they be beautiful in all their whorls,  
beautiful in their bodies without fault.  
Having roamed free in the morning,  
may they come back inside in the evening.  
19

ទាំងមនុស្សទាំងសត្វ  
មិនដែលចៀសបាត់គេចចោល  
មានតែទីចូល  
ទីចេញនោះគ្មានឡើយនៃ ។  
២០

May both humans and animals  
not escape or disappear,  
May they have only a way in,  
but not a way out.  
20

ទោសបួនប្រការ  
ដែលអ្នកប្រាជ្ញថាហៅក៏យ  
ទាំងបួននោះនៃ  
ឈ្មោះហៅក៏យទឹក ក៏យភ្លើង  
២១

As for the four kinds of faults  
that the wise call “dangers,”  
these four  
are called the danger of water, the danger of fire,  
21

ក៏យខ្យល់ ក៏យស្តេចនិងចោរ  
កុំឲ្យមានដល់មកយើង  
មានតែទីម្តងរុងរឿង

the danger of wind, and the danger of kings and criminals.  
May they never come to us,  
and may we instead meet only glory and renown,

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ទីទុក្ខកុំបីបៀតបាន ។	with pain never bothering us.
២២	22
<i>icchitam</i> ប្រែថា	<i>Ichchitam</i> (“what is wished for”) translates as
សេចក្តីប្រាថ្នារាល់ប្រាណ	“the aspiration” of all beings.
<i>khippam</i> សូមឲ្យបាន	<i>Khippam</i> (“swiftly”)—may you be able to
សម្រេចនិព្វានទៀងប្រាកដហោង ។	achieve Nibbāna, the real and true.

**jăy bar puon-m**

Victory blessings of four kinds

Khmer verse, 15 stanzas in *maṇḍugati/pandol kāk*, in an state of metrical decay, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB064** 39a–39b *jăy bar puon*

Summary: Story of the seer Cintāmaṇī and his blessings for his grandchild, including longevity, complexion, prosperity, and wealth, concluding with a petition to receive these same blessings from Cintāmaṇī and to destroy all obstacles.

<b>UB064</b>	Translation
១	1
ទើបព្រះសី	At that moment the seer
ចិត្តាមុន្នីដ៏បរវរ	Cintāmaṇī, most excellent,
ថ្វាថ្នៀងព្រះពរ	expressed these blessings
ចៅអ្នកពិសិកល្យាណ	to his dear lovely grandchild.
២	2
វេលាទៅស្រង់	[The seer] went to bathe
ជម្រះព្រះអង្គកាយា	and cleanse his [own] body.
ព្រះហស្តទាំងសង	With his two hands,
បោចបេះត្រកង់ផ្កា	he plucked an armful of flowers.
៣	3
ស្រង់ស្រេចហើយណា	After his bath,
ដងទឹកដាក់ក្នុងកន្ទីមាស	[the seer] placed water in an golden pot,
ទើបអ្នកលីលា	and then walked
ដើរដោយមគ្គាទុលទិរ	back on the path,
៤	4
នាំទឹកកន្ទីនាំផ្កា	carrying the water pot and the flowers

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

មកដល់អាស្រមឥសីសិលា	back to the hermitage of the virtuous seers.
មានព្រះពុទ្ធដីកា	He then spoke,
រូសរាយហៅចៅហ្វាយមកអាយ តានីង	calling out, “Come, grandchild. You grandfather will give you a
ឲ្យពរ	blessing.”
៥	5
ទើបព្រះឥសី	Then the seer
ចំរើននូវព្រះវុទ្ធិពរផង	gave these blessings of the Buddha:
សូមពរនេះផង	“May these blessings
បានដូចសេចក្តីប្រាថ្នា	be in accordance with your wishes.”
៦	6
អ្នកស្តាប់បន្ទូលហើយ	The listener received these words
អ្នកទទួលត្រេកអរ	and rejoiced
គ្លីតមានពរ	as a result of a blessing
ពីព្រះឥសីចេស្តា	from the majestic seer:
៧	7
<i>āyu vanṇam</i>	<i>“May longevity, complexion,</i>
<i>sukham balaṃ yāvā</i>	<i>well-being, vigor,</i>
<i>sirīmātā</i>	<i>glory, and</i>
<i>siddhī bhavantu te</i>	<i>success come to you!</i>
៨	8
ពរមួយតន់	The first blessing is
ចំរើននូវព្រះជន្មឯង	to increase your lifespan.
XXXX	...
XXXXXX	...
៩	9
ឯពរជាគំរប់ពីរ	The second blessing
ជម្រះនូវសម្បុរល្អក្រៃ	is to purify your complexion
ឲ្យល្អកបនឹងកូនចៅប្តីសី	to be beautiful, to have a spouse and offspring,
ឧត្តរាតចង្រៃឲ្យខ្មាយរលាយចេញទៅ	and to destroy all calamities and misfortunes.
១០	10
ពរជា គំរប់បី	The third blessing
ឧត្តមស្នូស្តី ត្រាណាត្រឺយ	is to have excellent prosperity as your refuge,
ក្សេមក្សាន្តចិត្ត ហើយ	to have peace in your heart, and
កបនូវសម្បត្តិសោតាណា	to be endowed with treasures.
១១	11
ពរជាគំរប់បួន	The fourth blessing
មូលមិត្តខ្លឹមខ្លួន ភរិយា	is to be surround with friends, dear ones, spouses,

Appendix II-15 Khmer mandukagati verse (-m)

ទាសី ទាសា	male and female slaves,
គោសេះ ជីវី ពលផង	cattle, horses, elephants, and soldiers,
១២	12
សឹងខ្លាច ចង្រៃ	all fearing misfortune
ឆាប់ៗ វៃៗ ដ៏កន្លង	and incredibly quick,
បំរើតត្តង	serving you without fault,
ពុំព្រួយអម្ចាស់ ដេរចៅថ្ងៃថ្នាំ	and unafraid that their master will curse them, my precious grandchild.”
១៣	13
XXXX	...
XXXXXX	...
វិនាសទុក្ខក៏យ	...destroying pain and danger,
ជំងឺរោគបានស្បើយ	and relieving illness and disease.
១៤	14
អស់ភោគអាហារ	May all kinds of food
ចូលមកសព្វកាលតតស្បើយ	arrive before you at all times,
បរិបូណ៌ចិត្តហើយ	fulfilling your heart
ដូចព្រះឥសិឲ្យពរ	just as the seer has offered his blessing.
១៥	15
យើងខ្ញុំបង្គំ	We humbly bow down
ទសករប្រណម្យត្រេកអរ	and raise your hands in joy
ទទួលពរ	to receive the blessing
ព្រះឥសិស្សអចហោង ។	of the seer.



## II-16 Khmer *bāky* 4 verse (-4)

- namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)
- mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)
- māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4** (1)
- visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy** (1)
- sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4** (2)
- aṭṭhamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4** (3)
- aṭṭhamīpūjā samrāy-4** (1)
- aṭṭhavīsatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4** (3)

### **namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas of the homage octet, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 14 stanzas in *bāky* 4 translation of **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā**, different from the translation in **Namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā/namo-aṭṭhaka-gāthā samrāy-4**, likely composed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB027** 35a–35b prè ghloñ 8 bāky

Summary: Khmer verse translation of eight-part homage to the Three Jewels, including their symbolic expression as the syllable *OM* (*arahant* + *uttaradhamma* + *mahāsangha* = *aum* = *om*).

<b>UB027</b>	Edition	Translation
១	១	1
នមោកិរិយា	<i>namo</i> កិរិយា	Homage is the act
ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ	ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ	of bowing down in offering
ឆ្ពោះអង្គបរម	ឆ្ពោះអង្គបរម	to the Supreme Lord,
អរហន្តសម្មា	អរហន្តសម្មា ។	the Arahant, the Rightly
២	២	2
សម្មុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់	សម្មុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់	Self-Awakened Buddha,
ស្វែងរកសីលា	ស្វែងរកសីលា	our Master, who sought
ទិគុណសេដ្ឋា	ទិគុណសេដ្ឋា	the innumerable excellent virtues
ប្រសើរអនេក ។	ប្រសើរអនេក ។	of ethics and the rest.
៣	៣	3
នមោសូមឱន	<i>namo</i> សូមឱន	Homage! I humbly bow

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

លំទោនចិត្តត្រេក	លំទោនចិត្តត្រេក	and bend my body with joy
ឆ្ពោះព្រះធម៌ឯក	ឆ្ពោះព្រះធម៌ឯក	to the unique Dharma,
ឧត្តមថ្លៃថ្លា។	ឧត្តមថ្លៃថ្លា។	most lofty and precious,
៤	៤	4
ដែលអង្គព្រះមុនិន្ទ	ដែលអង្គព្រះមុនិន្ទ	which the Lord of Sages
ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា	ទ្រង់ត្រាស់ទេសនា	preached
ពិរោះពិសា	ពិរោះពិសា	in mellifluous tones
ក្នុងទីនេះនៃ ។	ក្នុងទីនេះនៃ ។	in this place.
៥	៥	5
នមោសូមក្រាប	namo សូមក្រាប	Homage! I bow down
បង្គំសង្ឃថ្លៃ	បង្គំសង្ឃថ្លៃ	to the precious Sangha,
ដែលប្រសើរក្រៃ	ដែលប្រសើរក្រៃ	most lofty,
មានសីលទិដ្ឋា	មានសីលទិដ្ឋា	with correct precepts and views,
៦	៦	6
ស្អាតឥតមន្ទិល	ស្អាតឥតមន្ទិល	clean and faultless,
កង្វល់នានា	កង្វល់នានា	beyond all doubts,
មានព្រះនាមថា	មានព្រះនាមថា	known as the
អរិយប្រាកដ ។	អរិយប្រាកដ ។	Noble Sangha.
៧	៧	7
នមោសូមក្រូញ	namo សូមក្រូញ	Homage! I bow down
ក្រាបក្រោមបាទបទ	ក្រាបក្រោមបាទបទ	beneath the feet
ឆ្ពោះព្រះត្រៃរតន៍	ឆ្ពោះព្រះត្រៃរតន៍	of the Three Jewels,
ដែលប្រារព្ធជាៈ	ដែលប្រារព្ធជា	which together form
៨	៨	
គី ឌ. អ. ម.	គី u a ma	the three syllables of
បីត្ថុអក្ខរា	បីត្ថុអក្ខរា	U, A, and MA,
ជានាមរតនា	ជានាមរតនា	the names of the each
ទាំងនេះប្រពៃ ។	ទាំងនេះប្រពៃ ។	of the excellent jewels.
៩	៩	9
នមោបង្គំ	namo បង្គំ	Homage! I bow down
វត្ថុថ្លៃថ្លៃ	វត្ថុថ្លៃថ្លៃ	to the three
ទាំងបីនោះនៃ	ទាំងបីនោះនៃ	precious objects,
ល្អល្អៈសោភា	ល្អល្អៈសោភា	most lovely and beautiful,
១០	១០	10
ប្រព្រឹត្តិកន្លង	ប្រព្រឹត្តិកន្លង	This conduct passes beyond
លាមកធម្មា	លាមកធម្មា	all sullied phenomena,

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

ថោកទាបពុំជា	ថោកទាបពុំជា	escaping completely
ផុតអស់រលីង ។	ផុតអស់រលីង ។	from all things wicked and low.
១១	១១	11
ឧបទ្រពទាំងឡាយ	ឧបទ្រពទាំងឡាយ	All calamities
វិនាសបាត់ធេង	វិនាសបាត់ធេង	are eradicated
ដោយកំលាំងចៃដ	ដោយកំលាំងចៃដ	by the power of
ថ្ងៃដបទនមោ;	ថ្ងៃដបទ <i>namo</i> ។	intoning these phrases of homage.
១២	១២	12
សូមមានសួស្តី	សូមមានសួស្តី	May there be prosperity,
សិរីតេជោ	សិរីតេជោ	glory, and power
សព្វទិនទិវា	សព្វទិនទិវា	for all time by means of
ដោយបុណ្យសំពះ;	ដោយបុណ្យសំពះ ។	the merit of this respect.
១៣	១៣	13
មួយទៀតខ្ញុំសូម	មួយទៀតខ្ញុំសូម	Moreover, I humbly aspire
ឲ្យមានតេជះ	ឲ្យមានតេជះ	to achieve power and
ប្រវ្វឹតបៈ	ប្រវ្វឹតបៈ	ascetic might
ក្នុងចំណែកបុណ្យ;	ក្នុងចំណែកបុណ្យ ។	within this share of the merit
១៤	១៤	14
ដោយតេជះថ្វាយ	ដោយតេជះថ្វាយ	accrued from the power of offering
បង្គំនឹកគុណ	បង្គំនឹកគុណ	homage and recollecting the virtues
ព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ	ព្រះដ៏មានបុណ្យ	of the Meritorious Lord,
ព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ ។	ព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ ។	the Dharma, and the Sangha.

**mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas on the Great Nāga, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 21 stanzas in *bāky 4*, same as the Khmer portions of **Mahānāga-gāthā/ mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4**, translated from *Mahānāga-gāthā* into prose by Juon Nāt in 1933 and into verse by In Kheñ in 1945.

Leporello: **UB039** 46a–48a.

Khmer books: Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā nīn buddhābhisek មាយបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār yāy tā, tūp lekh 97 phsār ūr rssi បណ្ណាគារយាយតា តូបលេខ 97 ផ្សារអូប៊ុស្សី, 1989), 21–27. For the prose version, see Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, *Nāgopamādīkathā នាគោបមាទិកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique

ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 15–16.

Summary: See **Mahānāga-gāthā/mahānāga-gāthā samrāy-4**

**māghapūjā samrāy-4**

Stanzas for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 36 stanzas in *bāky 4*, translation of **Māghapūjā-gāthā**, late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB066** 12a–14b māghapūjā/māgh pad

Summary: An account of the spontaneous arrival of 1250 bhikkhus to listen to the Buddha preach the *Ovādapāṭimokkha*, the occasion celebrated by Māghapūjā, followed by a presentation of offerings and a prayer for the longevity of the dispensation of the Buddha.

**visākhapūjā-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas for Visākhapūjā, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 22 stanzas in *bāky 4*, translation of **Visākhapūjā-gāthā**, late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB066** 15b–17a, 20a visākhapūjā

Khmer books: Som Suvanṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṅ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាឃបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 viṭhī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារវិទ្យានិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស៊ីវ, 1966), 33–35.

Summary: An account of the birth, awakening, and passing away of the Buddha, the occasions celebrated by Visākhapūjā, followed by a presentation of offerings and an aspiration for the paths and fruits that lead to Nibbāna.

**sattamahāṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas on the seven great sites, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas in *bāky 4*, composed by Cāp Bin, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB041** 60a–60b sattamahāṭṭhān prè pad bāky 8; **UB066** 23a–23b sattamahāṭṭhān pad paṭyāvatt

Appendix II-16 Khmer bākya 4 verse (-4)

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niṅ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niṅ samvejanīyadhārm* ត្រៃវតីនីបូជានិង ត្រៃវតីនីប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 49–50.

Summary: Enumeration of the seven sites of pilgrimage near Gayā where the Buddha spent the first seven weeks after his awakening, concluding with an homage from afar.

Cāp Bin 1971	Translation
១	1
ទី១ បល្ល័ង្ក ដែលព្រះសាស្តា ចម្រើនអាណា បានស្សតិ	First is the throne where the Teacher sat mindfully watching the breath.
២	2
ទី២ វ្យាសាន ពីដើមពោធិ ហៅថាអនិមិ ស្សកចេតិយ ។	The second site, to the northeast, is known as the “Unblinking Cetiya.”
៣	3
ទី៣ គីទី ដែលព្រះជិនស្រី ព្រះអង្គឃ្នាតខ្លី ទ្រង់យាងចង្រ្កឹម	The third site is where the Victor quickly paced down the jeweled walkway.
៤	4
ទី៤ គីទី ដែលព្រះបរម ចម្រើនអភិធម្ម ជាធម៌បរមត្ថ ។	Fourth is where the Lord recited the highest truth of Abhidhamma.
៥	5
ទី៥ គីទី ដែលព្រះភក្រីត ទ្រង់គង់ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់ ក្រោមអដ្ឋបាល	Fifth is where the Blessed One sat in peace under the Goat-Herder tree.
៦	6
ទី៦ ទី វិសេសវិសាល	Most wonderful, clear and pure is

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

សម្រិតសម្រាល	the sixth site,
ក្បែរស្រះមុច្ឆុលិន្ទ ។	near Mucalinda's pond.
៧	7
ទី៧ គឺ	The seventh site
ទីព្រះមុនិន្ទ	is where the Great Sage
សង្រួមកាយន្ទ្រិយ៍	rested in peace
រាជាយតនា	in Rājāyatana.
៨	8
ទីទាំងប្រាំពីរ	All these seven
ដែលពោលនេះណា	sites recounted here
ជាទីថ្លៃថ្លា	are precious places
មានពិតប្រាកដ ។	that truly exist
៩	9
ក្នុងជម្ពូទ្វីប	in Jambudvīpa—
នេះជាកំណត់	they are designated
ប្រាជ្ញលោកសន្មត	by the wise
ហៅថាឋានធំ	as “great sites,”
១០	10
ព្រោះជាកន្លែង	since these sites
ដ៏ល្អឧត្តម	are unsurpassed,
ជាទីមនោរម្យ	the cause of joy
ដល់មនុស្សទេពតា ។	for men and gods.
១១	11
ជាទីសម្រាប់	They are sites for
អ្នកមានសទ្ធា	the faithful
នាំគ្នាវន្ទា	to go and bow
យកបុណ្យកុសល	to gain merit.
១២	12
ខ្ញុំសូមក្រាបថ្វាយ	I humbly bow
បង្គំឆ្ពោះដល់	in worship of
ឋានធំនិម្មល	these supreme great
នោះពីចម្ងាយ ។	sites from afar.

**aṭṭhamahaṭṭhāna-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas on the eight great sites, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 21 stanzas in *bāky* 4, composed by Cāp Bin, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

Leporello: **UB038** 59a–60b aṭṭhamahāthān; **UB041** 61a–62a aṭṭhamahāthān pre pad bāky 8; **UB066** 20b–22a thān dham/dharm pad panta bī māgh + visākh

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadharm ត្រៃវគ្គបូជា និង ត្រៃវគ្គប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 51–53.

Summary: Enumeration of the eight great pilgrimage sites associated with the life of the Buddha in India, concluding with an homage to them and an aspiration for blessings.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
ឋានធំទាំងឡាយ ៨កន្លែង ជាទីស្ងប់ស្ងួង នៃពពួកសត្វ ។	All the great sites, eight in total, still the hearts of living beings.
២	2
ទីឧស្សាន ជាស្ថានព្រៃស្ងាត់ គឺព្រៃវិវត៌៌ ដែលទ្រង់ប្រសូត្រ ។	First, the garden, the peaceful woods with jeweled sal trees, where he was born.
៣	3
ទី២ប្រសើរ ដែលទ្រង់ប្រសូត្រ ត្រាស់ក្រោមដើមពោ ធិព្រឹក្សឧត្តម ។	Second, the site where the Buddha awoke under the bodhi tree.
៤	4
ទី៣កន្លែង ដែលព្រះបរម សំដែងព្រះធម៌ ឈ្មោះធម្មចក្រ ។	Third, the site where the Supreme One preached the Dharma called the <i>Dhammacakka</i> .
៥	5
ប្រោសកិក្ខុ ៥អង្គ គឺពួកបញ្ចវគ្គ ធ្លាប់ឧបដ្ឋាក	He taught five monks, the Pañcavagga, who formerly

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse. (-4)

បំរើព្រះអង្គ ។	attended on him.
៦	6
ដោយហឫទ័យ មិនអាចលះបង់ ហើយយាងតម្រង់ ពីដើមជ្រៃទៅ ។	Having never forsook his friends, they walked as one from that place on.
៧	7
ទី៤ជាទី ដែលព្រះគង់នៅ ក្នុងស្ថានព្រៃជ្រៅ ឈ្មោះបាលិលេយ្យ ។	Fourth, the site where the Buddha stayed in the deep woods of Pālileyya.
៨	8
ទីនោះគ្មានមនុស្ស មានតែសត្វថ្លៃ សត្វដំរីព្រៃ បំរើព្រះអង្គ ។	There no one lived but beasts, such as the elephant who served the Lord.
៩	9
ទី៥ឈ្មោះ- តនៈបល្ល័ង្ក គឺទីទ្រង់ច្បាំង នាឡាគិរី ។	The fifth site is called the jeweled throne where the Lord tamed Nāḷāgiri.
១០	10
ពេលនោះមានមនុស្ស ស្រែកញ្ជក់ដាច់ ទៅមើលពិធី សង្កេតសម្ពុទ្ធ ។	People scattered out of the way and witnessed the Lord's victory.
១១	11
ទី៦ព្រះ សព្វញ្ញត្តិ ញ្ញាណជាមកុដ ធ្វើបដិហារ្យ ។	Sixth is where the Omniscient Lord once performed the twin miracle,
១២	12
ផ្តាញ់ពួកនិគ្រន្ត ក្រៅព្រះសាស្តា ឈ្មោះល្បីអស្ចារ្យ គ្មាននរណាដល់ ។	defeating the heathen Nigrantha, whose famed splendor, was unsurpassed.



Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

១៣	13
ទី៧កាល	Seventh, where the
ព្រះទសពល	Ten-Powered Lord
គង់មើលមណ្ឌល	sat on the stone
ជ្នីព្រះឥន្ទ្រា ។	seat of Indra.
១៤	14
ហើយទ្រង់សម្តែង	There he preached the
នូវព្រះធម្មា	august Dharma
ប្រាកដនាមថា	known as the
ធម៌អភិធម្ម ។	Abhidhamma.
១៥	15
សង់គុណមាតា	He paid his debt
ដែលជាគុណជំ	to his mother,
លើព្រះបរម-	to whom he was
សម្ពុទ្ធិ ។	greatly in debt.
១៦	16
ទី៨ព្រះ	The eighth is where
អរហំ	the Arahant
ផ្ទុំក្រោមដើមរាំង	laid down under
សាលព្រឹក្សទាំងគូរ ។	the two sal trees.
១៧	17
គឺពេលនោះហើយ	This was when the
ដែលព្រះសព្វញ្ញ	Omniscient One,
ព្រះអង្គជាគ្រូ	the Teacher,
យាងចូលនិព្វាន ។	entered Nibbāna.
១៨	18
ឋានធំ ៨	These eight great sites
កន្លែងនោះមាន	are places that
ប្រតិស្ថាន	are established
ក្នុងជម្ពូទ្វីបា ។	in Jambudvīpa,
១៩	19
ជាទីដែលមនុស្ស	places where humans
នឹងពូកទេវតា	and deities
ឱនអង្គនមស្ការ	bow in reverence
គោរពបូជា ។	and in worship.
២០	20

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

ខ្ញុំសូមឱនកាយ	I bow down in
បង្គំវន្តា	humble worship
ដល់ស្ថានធំៗ	of these great sites,
ប្រាំបីកន្លែង ។	eight in total—
២១	21
សូមសុខចំរើន	may happiness
កើតមានអង្វែង	always arise;
ទុក្ខទោសចំបែង	may pain, fault and
កុំកើតមានឡើយ ។	sorrow be gone.

**atṭhamīpūjā-gāthā samrāy-4**

Stanzas for Aṭṭhamīpūjā, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 15 stanzas in *bāky 4*, translation of **Aṭṭhamīpūjā-gāthā-NV**, late 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB066** 18a–18b, 20a visākhapūjā

Khmer books: Som Suvaṇṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṅ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាយបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ត័រ, 1966), 49–50.

Summary: An account of the cremation of the Buddha, the occasion celebrated by Aṭṭhamīpūjā, followed by an offering of respect to his relics from afar.

<b>UB066</b>	Translation
១	1
ថ្ងៃនេះជាថ្ងៃ	Today is the
គំរប់ប្រាំបី	eighth day
នៃថ្ងៃបុណ្ណៈ	after the full moon
មីខែវិសាខ ។	of Visākha,
២	2
ដែលពួកមល្លា	which is when the Malla kings,
មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា	with bright faith,
ធ្វើសក្ការៈ	paid respect
ថ្វាយព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។	to the Perfect Buddha—
៣	3

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

ទ្រង់ប្រសើរលើស	the most wondrous, exceeding
ទេព្វានាគគ្រុឌ	all deities, nāgas, and garuḍas,
ទ្រង់អ្នកអត់ធុត់	who practiced forbearance
ឆ្ពោះលោកធម៌ ។	with regards to worldly phenomena,
៤	4
រំលត់ខន្ធច	whose five aggregates had been extinguished,
លែងត្រាច់សញ្ជរ	never again to wander and roam
កាន់ផ្ទៃសាគរ	the ocean
សង្សារទៀតហើយ ។	of saṃsāra again,
៥	5
ក្នុងកាលកន្លង	who had finally, after an extremely
យូរឆ្ងាយល្ងើល្ងើយ	long period of time,
កើតស្ងាប់សឹងស្បើយ	found relief
ផុតអស់កាលសុះ ។	from the cycle of birth and death—
៦	6
ដោយទៀននិងធូប	by offering candles, incense,
ក្រអូបសាយសុះ	and fragrances
ពេញទីប៉ុណ្ណោះ	everywhere
នាគ្រានោះឯង ។	at that time.
៧	7
រីឯជើងថ្កូវ	As for the cremation ground,
ដែលរៀបតាក់តែង	it was prepared,
សោតសឹងសំដែង	and then a miracle
ប្លន្ទីបាដិហារៗ ។	occurred:
៨	8
បណ្តាលឆេះឯង	it ignited on its own.
ហៅពេញអស្ចារ្យ	This was truly wondrous,
បុណ្យព្រះឈ្នះមារ	the merit of the Lord who Vanquished Māra,
អម្ចាស់នៃយើង ។	our Master.
៩	9
ព្រះកាយទាំងមូល	His entire body,
កបលក្តីថ្កុំថ្កើង	replete with lofty marks,
ជាទីបន្ទើង	was the cause of praise
សាមសិបពីរថ្ងៃ ។	for thirty-two days.
១០	10
នៃព្រះមហេសី	The body of the Great Seer,

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

ចោមកពលោកត្រ័យ	Lord of the Three Worlds,
ឆេះឆួលសន្លែ	burned brightly
ដោយតេជោធាតុ។	from the power of the relics.
១១	11
កាលឥឡូវនេះ	Now at this moment,
មានដោតពុំឃ្នាត	it is greatly auspicious
ដល់មកព្រោងព្រាត	and blazing bright
ដូចកាលនោះពិត។	just like that time,
១២	12
ដែលលោកសន្មត	as the masters agreed,
តាមបទវិគិត	according to their reflections,
ពេញល្អវិចិត្រ	that it is beautiful,
ចម្បងមង្គល។	the font of fortune,
១៣	13
ទាំងនត្តត្តង	and a lucky pattern of stars,
ឧត្តមសោតសល់	extremely lofty,
ជួបចូលមកដល់	is also present
ជាមួយគ្នានេះ។	at this time.
១៤	14
យើងខ្ញុំសូមថ្លែង	We humbly
មង្គលប៉ុណ្ណោះ	express this good fortune,
តាំងចិត្តត្រេកត្រិះ	and joyfully reflect on it
អំពីចម្ងាយ។	from afar.
១៥	
មួយទៀតសូមតាំង	Moreover, we humbly arrange
វាចាចិត្តកាយ	our speech, minds, and bodies
គោរពថ្នាក់ថ្វាយ	in respectful offering
ព្រះធាតុទាំងអស់។	to all of the relics.

**aṭṭhavīsatibuddha-gāthā samrāy-4**

Pali stanzas on the twenty-eight buddhas, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 40 stanzas in *bāky 4*, translation of **aṭṭhavīsatibuddha-gāthā-NV**, put into verse by In Kheñ, 1945, based on a 1933 Khmer prose translation by Juon Nāt.

Leporello: **UB019** 75a–79b namassakār caṃboḥ braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg; **UB039** 48b–52a kār niñ sūtr namassakār caṃboḥ braḥ buddh 28 braḥ aṅg; **UB066** 28a–30b braḥ buddh 28

brah aṅg

Khmer books: Gaṇa:kammakār dhammavināy គណៈកម្មការធម្មវិន័យ, *Māghapūjā visākhapūjā niṅ buddhābhisek មាយបូជា វិសាខបូជា និង ពុទ្ធាភិសេក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār yāy tā, tūp lekh 97 phsār ūr r̥ssī បណ្ណាគារយាយតា តូបលេខ 97 ផ្សារអូប៊ុស្សី, 1989), 16–18. For the prose version, see Juon Nāt ជួន ណាត, *Nāgopamādikathā នាគោបមាទិកថា* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 2495), 17–18.

Edition and French translation: San Sarin, “Les textes liturgiques fondamentaux du bouddhisme cambodgien actuel” (École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1975), 180–184.

Summary: Enumeration and adoration of the twenty-eight buddhas of the past, along with the Dharma and Sangha proper to each, concluding with the final aspiration to achieve Nibbāna.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly pay respect
ព្រះបរមសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ	to the supreme perfect Buddha
មាននាមប្រាកដ	who has the true name
ព្រះតណ្ហក្ករ ។	of Taṇhāṅkara.
២	2
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly pay respect
ព្រះបរមបវរ	to the supreme, the eminent
ព្រះមេធាវ្ណ៍	Medhāṅkara,
ជាសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។	the perfect Buddha.
៣	3
សូមក្រាបបង្គំ	I humbly bow in respect
ប្រណម្យវន្តា	and lift my hands in reverence
នូវព្រះភគវា	to the Blessed One,
ព្រះសរណក្ករ ។	Saraṇāṅkara.
៤	4
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly offer my respect
ព្រះទីបង្គំ	to Dīpaṅkara,
មានញាណបវរ	possessed of supreme knowledge
បារមីពោរពេញ ។	and complete spiritual perfections.
៥	5

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ នូវព្រះកោណ្ឌញ្ញ ព្រះអង្គបំពេញ ធម៌ជាកុសល ។	I humbly offer my respect to Koṇḍañña, the Lord who fulfilled the wholesome Dharma.
៦	6
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ នូវព្រះទសពាល ព្រះនាមមង្គ័ល ជាសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។	I humbly pay respect to the Ten-Powered One by the holy name of Maṅgala, the perfect Buddha.
៧	7
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យគារវៈ ព្រះនាមសុមនៈ សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធ ។	I humbly bow and raise my hands in respect to the holy name of Sumana, the complete and perfect Buddha.
៨	8
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ព្រះបរមសុគត ព្រះនាមប្រាកដ ព្រះវេរតៈ ។	I humbly pay respect to the perfect Well-Gone One, by the true holy name of Revata.
៩	9
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ព្រះបរមពុទ្ធៈ មានញាណសោភៈ ព្រះនាមសោភិត ។	I humbly pay respect to the supreme Buddha, possessed of wondrous knowledge, by the holy name of Sobhita.
១០	10
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យប្រណីត ឆ្ពោះព្រះវិជិត អនោមទស្សី ។	I humbly bow and raise my hands in prayer to the Conqueror, Anomadassī.
១១	11
ខ្ញុំសូមក្រាបថ្វាយ ឱនកាយសិរសី ចំពោះព្រះមុនី ព្រះនាមបទុម ។	I humbly bow and lower my body and head before the holy Sage by the holy name of Paduma.
១២	12
ខ្ញុំសូមឱនកាយ	I humbly bend my body

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

ថ្វាត់ថ្វាយបង្គំ ចំពោះព្រះបរម ព្រះនាមនារទៈ ។ ១៣	and offer my respect to the Supreme One by the holy name of Nārada. 13
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ ព្រះបរមបទុមុត្តរៈ មានញ្ញាណសោភៈ វរពុទ្ធា ។ ១៤	I humbly offer my respect to the supreme Padumuttara possessed of wondrous knowledge, the excellent Buddha. 14
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ នូវព្រះភគវា ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមា សុមេធសម្ពុទ្ធ ។ ១៥	I humbly pay respect to the Blessed One by the holy name of Sumedha, the perfect Buddha. 15
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យក្រាបលុត ឆ្ពោះព្រះសម្ពុទ្ធ ព្រះនាមសុជាត ។ ១៦	I humbly bow down to my knees and raise my hands to the perfect Buddha by the holy name of Sujāta. 16
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ប្រណម្យអភិវាទ ឆ្ពោះព្រះមុនីនាថ បិយទស្សី ។ ១៧	I humbly raise my hands in reverence to the holy Lord of Sages, Piyadassī. 17
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ឆ្ពោះព្រះជិនស្រី អត្តទស្សី បារមីខ្ពង់ខ្ពស់ ។ ១៨	I humbly bow down before the Victor Atthadassī, of lofty perfections. 18
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ ឆ្ពោះព្រះទ្រង់យស ព្រះនាមចំពោះ ធម្មទស្សី ។ ១៩	I humbly bow down before the Honored One by the holy name of Dhammadassī. 19
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ លំទោនសិរសី	I humbly bend and lower my head

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

បង្គំជិនស្រី	and bow to the Victor,
ព្រះនាមសិទ្ធិគ្គ ។	by the holy name of Siddhattha.
២០	20
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly pay respect
នូវព្រះមុនីរតន៍	to the Jewel of Sages,
ព្រះនាមប្រាកដ	by the true holy name of Tissa,
តិស្សសាស្តា ។	the Teacher.
២១	21
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly pay respect
នូវព្រះសម្មា-	to the complete, perfect Buddha,
សម្ពុទ្ធនាមថា	by the name of Phussa,
ធុស្សមុនី ។	the Sage.
២២	22
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly pay respect
ប្រណម្យអញ្ជូលី	and raise my joined palms
ឆ្ពោះព្រះមុនី	before the Sage,
ព្រះនាមវិបស្សី ។	by the holy name of Vipassī.
២៣	23
សូមថ្វាយបង្គំ	I humbly offer my respect
បរមជិនស្រី	to the supreme Victor,
ព្រះនាមសិខី	by the holy name of Sikhī,
សព៌េជ្ជពុទ្ធា ។	the Omniscient Buddha.
២៤	24
ខ្ញុំសូមឱនកាយ	I humbly bend my body
ក្រាបថ្វាយវន្តា	down in prostrate offering
ឆ្ពោះព្រះកតវា	to the Blessed One
ព្រះនាមវេស្សភូ ។	by the holy name of Vessabhū.
២៥	25
សូមបង្គំលើក	I humbly bow
ហត្ថាទាំងគូ	and raise my two hands
ឆ្ពោះព្រះជាគ្រូ	before the Teacher,
នាមកកុសន្ទៈ ។	by the name of Kakusandha.
២៦	26
ខ្ញុំសូមបង្គំ	I humbly bow down
ប្រណម្យគារវៈ	and raise my hands in respect
ឆ្ពោះព្រះពុទ្ធៈ	before the Buddha



Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

កោណាគមនោ ។	Koṇāgamana.
២៧	27
ខ្ញុំសូមឱនកាយ វាចាទន់ទោរ បង្គំពុទ្ធោ ព្រះនាមកស្សបៈ ។	I humbly supplicate my body, speech and mind to respect the Buddha by the holy name of Kassapa.
២៨	28
ខ្ញុំសូមលំទោន បង្គោនសិរៈ ជាទីការវៈ ព្រះនាមគោតម ។	I humbly lower and bow my head in respect of the holy name of Gotama.
២៩	29
គម្រប់ម្តែប្រាំ បីព្រះបរម- សម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាធំ កំពូលលោកា ។	The complete twenty-eight supreme perfect Buddhas are the pinnacle of the universe.
៣០	30
ទូទាំងត្រៃភព ជាម្លប់សាខា មនុស្សសត្វទេវតា មារព្រហ្មទាំងឡាយ ។	Throughout the three worlds their branches offer shade. Humans, animals, gods, Māras, and Brāhmas
៣១	31
ដែលបានចូលជ្រក ក្រោមម្លប់ព្រះឆាយ បានសុខសប្បាយ គ្រប់រូបរាល់គ្នា ។	who have taken shelter under the shade, the holy shadow, all obtain happiness and well-being
៣២	32
បានទៅសោយសុខ ក្នុងឋានសួគ៌ា ឬឋានព្រហ្ម និងព្រះនិព្វាន ។	by going to savor the joy in the heavenly realms or in the Brahmā heavens and Nibbāna.
៣៣	33
ដោយបុណ្យបារមី នៃព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ ព្រះធម៌ប្រធាន ជាយាននាំសត្វ ។	Through the merit of the spiritual perfections of the Omniscient One; through the Dharma, the foremost vehicle to lead living beings;

Appendix II-16 Khmer bāky 4 verse (-4)

៣៤	34
តេជះយើងខ្ញុំ	and through the power of our offerings
ប្រណម្យថ្វាយថ្វាត់	of veneration
នូវព្រះពុទ្ធរតន៍	to all of the jewels of the buddhas,
គ្រប់ៗព្រះអង្គ ។	every single one,
៣៥	35
ព្រមទាំងព្រះធម៌	and to the Dharma
និងព្រះអរិយសង្ឃ	and the Noble Sangha
សាវ័កគ្រប់អង្គ	of disciples
ម្ភៃប្រាំបី ។	of those twenty-eight Lords;
៣៦	36
ខ្ញុំសូមអានុភាព	I invoke the power
ពីព្រះជិនស្រី	of the Victors,
ម្ភៃប្រាំបី	all twenty-eight
ព្រះអង្គនោះឯង ។	to be precise,
៣៧	37
ព្រមទាំងព្រះធម៌	and the Dharma
ព្រះអង្គសម្តែង	expounded by them,
ទាំងព្រះគម្ពីរ	and the venerable disciples
សង្ឃជាសាវ័ក ។	of their Sangha—
៣៨	38
សុមសុខចម្រើន	may well-being and prosperity
កើតឡើងតាមថ្នាក់	increase by levels
កុំឲ្យមានអាក់	and may it never decrease
រាងរាល់ជាតា ។	or disappear.
៣៩	39
សូមឲ្យខ្ញុំបាន	May I arrive
ដល់ឋានទេវតា	at the realm of the gods
ដូចក្តីប្រាថ្នា	according to my aspiration—
កុំបីឃ្លៀងឃ្លាត ។	don't let me fail.
៤០	40
មានព្រះនិព្វាន	May I attain Nibbāna
ជាអវសានជាតិ	in my final birth—
កុំឲ្យខ្ញុំឃ្លាត	don't let me fail.
<i>paccayo hontu</i> ។	May this be the condition [for the achievement of Nibbāna]).

## II-17 Khmer *bāky* 7 verse (-7)

- kumārabilāp-7** (1)  
**khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7** (5)  
**catussamvejaniyatthān-7** (2)  
**ṭāk' dan' sāsana-7** (1)  
**trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā rūp yōn min dien bit»-7** (4)  
**trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7** (17)  
**trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7** (1)  
**trailakkha(ṇ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7** (2)  
**dukkarakiriyā A-7** (5)  
**dukkarakiriyā B-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ chaddant-7** (2)  
**daṃnuoñ nān kesani juop niñ putr-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ bhariyā rapas' jān kèv-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7** (7)  
**daṃnuoñ madri-7** (2)  
**daṃnuoñ mtāy suvaṇṇasām-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ subhadra-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7** (1)  
**daṃnuoñ ānand-7** (2)  
**paṇṭām braḥ buddh-7** (1)  
**paṇṭām mahāmāyā-7** (1)  
**parinibbānakathā-7** (7)  
**baṇṇanā pañcakkhandh-7** (2)  
**bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7** (1)  
**bimbābilāp-7** (4)  
**bimbāviyog-7** (5)  
**braḥ aṅg kān' tiñ-7** (1)  
**braḥ aṅg ṭāk' braḥ janm saṅkhār-7** (1)  
**braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār-7** (3)  
**māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7** (1)  
**ralik guṇ mātāpitā-7** (2)  
**satthuppabbajjā-7** (4)  
**sādhāraṇadhārm-7** (2)  
**sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7** (2)  
**sukhumalakkhaṇa-7** (3)  
**saṃvegavatthu 8 y''āñ-7** (5)  
**anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7** (2)

**oḥ o brah mātāpitā-7** (1)

**kumārabilāp-7**  
Prince Jāli's lament

Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, perhaps composed by Yin Van' in 1965.

Leporello: **UB038** 57a–57b kumārabilāp

Khmer books: Yin Van' *យិន វ៉ន, Prajñā dharm pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 49.

Summary: A third-person account of the lament of Jāli—son of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Prince Vessantara—after being given, along with his sister Kṛṣṇā (Pali: Kaṇhā), by their father to the wicked brahmin Jūjaka.

Standardized	Translation
<p>១  ឱ៖ឱ! កុមារគួរសង្ខេត  កាលនោះបិតាឲ្យទានព្រាហ្មណ៍  ជូនជាកម្រាមក្រៃពន់ពេក  ដោយខ្លាចព្រាហ្មណ៍វាយឈឺខ្លាចផ្សា។</p>	<p>1  Alas, Prince Jāli, how he stirs our pity—  when his father gave him and his sister as gifts to the brahmin  Jūjaka, who was very violent—  since [Jāli] was afraid the brahmin would beat them painfully.</p>
<p>២  កុមារយំប្លែងអាសូរពេក  ទឹកភ្នែកហូរល្អែងរងខ្លាចផ្សា  ទ្រង់ព្រះកន្សែងពិលាបថា  ឱ៖ឱ! បិតាម្ចាស់កូនអើយ។</p>	<p>2  The prince wailed and wailed pitifully,  his tears flowing down, his pain unrelenting,  crying out in lament thus:  “O Father, our lord!</p>
<p>៣  ស្តេចពុំប្រណីខ្ញុំសោះឡើយ  កម្មអើយឲ្យរងវេទនា  ឃាត់ព្រាហ្មណ៍កុំទាន់អាលយាត្រា  ឲ្យស្បើយក្នុងប្រាណបានសុខា។</p>	<p>4  Do you, lord, have no compassion for us?  Oh what karma, to have to bear this suffering!  Stop the brahmin, don't go yet,  so that we can be relieved and find happiness,</p>
<p>៤  ត្រាន់យល់ព្រះកត្តាព្រះមាតា  លុះត្រាតែបានឲ្យជួបជុំ  ឱ! ព្រះគុណម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំអើយ  ម្តេចឡើយពុំទ្រង់ប្រោសមាតា។</p>	<p>5  even just to see our mother's face,  even if only just to be together again.  O virtuous one, our lord!  Why do not you save our mother?</p>

៥  
ឱ៖ឱ៖ ត្រីស្នាបាជាលី  
យាត់ព្រាហ្មណ៍ទំព្រះមាតា  
រសៀលសុរិយាម្តាយមកដល់  
កូនបានយល់មុខមាតា។

5  
O Kṛṣṇā, I, your brother Jāli,  
will stop the Brahmin until  
the early evening when Mother returns,  
so that you can see her face.

៦  
ឱ៖ នាងកណ្តាពៅបងអើយ  
ទុក្ខធំពុំស្បើយក្តៅក្នុងកាយ  
ស្ទើរប្រេះឱរវែងរាយមាយ  
ក្រហាយក្រហល់ឆ្ងល់ក្នុងចិត្ត។

6  
O little miss Kaṅhā, my little sister,  
how intense and unremitting this pain must be,  
nearly splitting our chests asunder,  
our hearts vexed and exasperated.”

**khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy-7**  
The corpse cries out in remorse

Khmer verse, 20 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB038** 72b–76a khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy; **UB043** 69b–71b khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy;  
**UB044**  
42b–44b khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy (longer than usual?); **UB060** 54b–55b; **UB065** 35b–37a  
khmoc yaṃ sṭāy kroy

Summary: A largely first-person lament of recently departed corpse who regrets his failure to live up to Buddhist ideals, presented in the form of him admonishing the living to practice charity, the precepts, and *kammaṭṭhāna* meditation.

**UB065**

Translation

១  
ខ្មោចយំស្តាយក្រោយដង្ហើយថា  
ឱ៖ ឱ៖ អនិច្ចាខ្លួនអញអើញ  
កាលពីនៅរស់ធ្វើព្រងើយ  
ទានក៏មិនឲ្យសីលមិនធ្វើ។  
២  
ឆោតអើយខ្ញុំឆោតឆោតអ្វីម៉្លេះ  
បើបានជាចេះឥតអំពើ  
ទានសីលជាយានគ្មានគិតធ្វើ  
នេះមកពីភ្លើងភ្លើងរូបកាយ ។  
៣

1  
The corpse cries out in remorse:  
“How pitiful am I now!  
In life I turned my back on  
generosity and ethics.  
2  
I was naïve, so naïve.  
But learning now is useless.  
I neglected the way of  
generosity and ethics.  
3

នឹកស្មានថាខ្លួនមិនទាន់ស្លាប់  
ខំប្រឹងគាស់កាប់ត្រែកសប្បាយ  
មិនដឹងថារូបនេះអន្តរាយ  
ចិត្តចេញចោលកាយកាយស្លូកស្លឹង ។  
៤

I regret that before death,  
though I worked hard in the fields  
I didn't think I'd be dead,  
my mind torn from that stiff corpse.  
4

សូម្បីខោអាវកូនចៅដាក់  
ប្រាប់ឲ្យស្លៀកពាក់អ្នកមិនដឹង  
ហេតុនេះបានអ្វីជាទីពឹង?  
នេះម្លឹងឯងហើយហៅថាខុស ។  
៥

Though my children may dress me,  
I know not which clothes they choose.  
I have no home, no refuge,  
all because of my mistakes.  
5

លោកអ្នកទាំងឡាយនៅឯក្រោយ  
ខ្ញុំប្រាប់ឲ្យហើយទាំងស្រីប្រុស  
កុំធ្វើដូចខ្ញុំយំស្តាយខុស  
ទានសីលធ្វើចុះមិនខុសឡើយ ។  
៦

O my brothers and sisters,  
you who have your bodies still—  
don't follow me down this path.  
Give and respect the precepts.  
6

ពីព្រោះទានសីលជាយានថ្នល់  
នាមឲ្យបានដល់ទីដែលស្បើយ  
ចាកទុក្ខផុតទោសដែលមានហើយ  
គឺស្នូតប្រាំមួយជាន់ជាដើម ។  
៧

Generosity and ethics  
are both the path and the vehicle  
to freedom from suffering,  
including the six-layered heavens.  
7

ហើយនាំឲ្យបានព្រះនិព្វាន  
ទីនោះឥតទុក្ខសុខគ្មានស្បើយ  
ព្រះពុទ្ធរយពាន់ពីជាន់ដើម  
តែងតែដឹកនាំសាវ័កទៅ ។  
៨

They can lead you to attain Nibbāna,  
that place free of suffering, of endless bliss,  
to which hundreds and thousands of buddhas since the earliest epoch  
have always led their disciples.  
8

ទុកតែសាសនាពាក្យឱវាទ  
ជាច្បាប់ក្បួនខ្នាតលោកតម្រូវ  
ទុកឲ្យពួកសត្វដែលជាប់នៅ  
សង្សារជ្រាលជ្រៅទៅមិនដល់ ។  
៩

They leave only their dispensation, their words of guidance,  
as the law, as the standard manual that they perfected,  
for those creatures who are stuck  
in the depths of saṃsāra, unable to escape.  
9

សំសារតម្រេកត្រែកសប្បាយ  
ទ្រព្យមិនចំណាយសាងមគ្គផល  
លះស្ងួតកំណាញ់កាត់បូសគល់  
កុសលសីលទានគ្មានគិតគូរ ។  
១០

There, in saṃsāra, they delight in sensuality.  
They don't use their wealth to cultivate the paths and fruits,  
and don't forsake their stinginess or cut out its roots.  
The merit of precepts and charity they don't bother to consider.  
10

កាលពីនៅរស់មិនស្លៀកពាក់

When alive, they didn't wear their clothes.

ខំអ៊ុតបត់ដាក់ក្នុងហិបទូ  
នឿយព្រួយលំបាកគ្មានគិតគូរ  
ចេះតែដេកទ្រាំសម្ងំអត់។

They worked to iron and fold them, and placed them in a box.  
They worked hard but didn't think,  
only knowing how to lay low, quietly putting up with poverty.

១១

11

នៅផ្ទះស្លៀកពាក់តែចាស់ៗ  
សុទ្ធតែបំណះបែបក្រខ្សត់  
ថ្មីៗខំប្រឹងអ៊ុតទុកបត់  
ឲ្យមានបត់ផ្គត់តតប្រយោជន៍។

While at home, they only wore old clothes,  
covered in patches in the manner of the poor.  
The new clothes they worked to iron and fold,  
but they folded them away in vain.

១២

12

នេះគឺស្រវឹងនឹងខ្លួនប្រាណ  
មិនស្មានថារូបនេះហិនហោច  
មិនដឹងថារូបនេះអសោច៍  
ស្លាប់ទៅជាខ្មោចពេញអប្បលក្ខណ៍។

This is called being drunk on the body,  
not thinking that this body is low and vile,  
not knowing that this body is foul,  
that it shall become a corpse, filled with impurities.

១៣

13

ខ្មោចអើយអើយខ្មោចអ្នកស្លាប់ទៅ  
ខោអាវអ្នកនៅកូនចៅដាក់  
ពីលើខ្លួនប្រាណរូបខ្មោចអ្នក  
ប្រាប់ឲ្យស្លៀកពាក់ស្លៀកម្តេចកើត។

Ghost, O ghost, now you have died.  
Your clothes were placed on you by your children,  
placed on top of your body,  
for if they asked you to put them on, how could you?

១៤

14

បើខ្លួនអ្នកឯងរឹងដូចឧស  
ខំប្រឹងអំពល់ស្លៀកដូចម្តេច  
រឹងខោអាវទោះច្រើនតិច  
អ្នកត្រូវធ្វើកិច្ចតាមខ្ញុំប្រាប់។

Since you are as stiff as a log,  
no matter how much you strive or fret, how could you put them on?  
As for those clothes, whether many or few,  
you must do according to what I instruct you.

១៥

15

គឺខោនិងអាវទាំងប៉ុន្មាន  
យកទៅមិនបានត្រូវវេរដាក់  
ត្រូវចែកជាទានទើបចំណាប់  
នេះហៅត្រូវច្បាប់ពុទ្ធសាសនា។

However many clothes you have,  
you can't take them with you, and transfer them to others.  
You must offer them as charity; only this is good.  
This is correct according to the laws of Buddhism.

១៦

16

កាលលោកនៅរស់ម្តេចមិនផ្តាប់  
លុះគាត់ស្លាប់បាត់បានវេរដារ  
មានភ្លេងលេងលាយធម៌មាតិកា  
ហែខ្មោចហែក្តារយកទៅដុត។

While you were alive, why weren't you satisfied?  
Now that you have died, they transfer the merit to you.  
There is music playing, mixed with the [Abhidhamma-]mātikā,  
as they process the corpse and coffin for cremation.

១៧

17

ខ្មោចអើយអ្នកដឹងដែរឬទេ?  
ញាតិកូនចៅហែយ៉ាងតក់ស្លុត

Ghost, O ghost, are you aware?  
Your family and children process you in fear.

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

ពុទ្ធជីកាប្រាប់ថារូបរលត់ ព្រលឹងចេញផុតឥតទីពឹង ។ ១៨	The Buddha’s words say that the body decays and that the souls float away, without a refuge. 18
បើអ្នកមានធានសីលការវិនា សោយសុខស្មគ្នាសូរទ្រហឹង បើអ្នកធ្វើបាបនរកយឹង សោយទុក្ខយ៉ាងហ្នឹងតែខ្លួនមួយ ។ ១៩	If you have performed charity, precepts, and meditation, you shall relish the bliss of heavens, filled with noise. If you have sinned, you’ll go to the silent alone, enduring only suffering, all by yourself. 19
សេចក្តីស្លាប់នេះមិនរើសមុខ ជីវិតផុយពុកសាច់រលួយ ព្រោះគ្មានសីលធម៌កំដរជួយ ទុក្ខព្រួយមានជាប់រាប់មិនអស់ ។ ២០	Death does not choose its victims. Life is flimsy, and the flesh rots and decay. Without ethics to accompany you, you’ll be filled with endless pain and misery. 20
ត្រូវខំការវិនាសិល ឲ្យជ្រះមន្ទិលក្នុងសន្តាន តោងហាត់ឲ្យស្អាតព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ទើបនឹងស្គាល់ឋាននិព្វានហោង ។	You must strive to meditate, keep the precepts, and eliminate the defilements in your mind. You must practice until you are fluent in the august <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i> ; only then will you know the realm of Nibbāna.”

**catussamvejaniyaṭṭhān-7**

Four places to be stirred by

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas in *bāky prāmbhīr*, composed by Cāp Bin in 1971.

Leporello: **UB041** 63a–63b *catussamvejaniyaṭṭhān pad bāky-7*; **UB044** 82a–84a *catussamvejaniyaṭṭhān pad bāk' 7*;

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadhārm* ត្រៃវិគីបូជានិង ត្រៃវិគីប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 47–49.

Summary: An account, presented as a conversation between Ānanda and the Buddha, of the four *samvega*-inducing places of pilgrimage associated with the Buddha’s birth, awakening, first sermon, and *parinibbāna*, closing with a summary of the benefits of worshipping such places from afar.

Standardized	Translation
១	1



ត្រាដែលព្រះពុទ្ធអង្គ  
ជិតទ្រង់និព្វានឆ្លងត្រៃកិព  
នោះព្រះអានន្ទបានគោរព  
ទូលព្រះចមកពដូច្នោះថា ។

២

បពិត្រសម្តេចព្រះចមត្រៃ  
សព្វថ្ងៃព្រះអង្គគង់ធរមាន៍  
ពួកកិក្ខុសង្ឃផងនានា  
នៅក្នុងត្រាមាច្រើនកន្លែង ។

៣

តែដល់រដូវចេញវស្សា  
តែងតែយាត្រាចេញស្វះស្វែង  
មកគាល់ព្រះអង្គជាតម្កែង  
គ្រប់ទីកន្លែងទាំងឆ្ងាយជិត ។

៤

ដែលជាឱកាសដ៏បរវរ  
ឲ្យសង្ឃស្មោះសរបានមូលចិត្ត  
បានជួបជុំគ្នាយ៉ាងជិតជិត  
និងបានប្រព្រឹត្ត ធម៌ត្រូវគ្នា ។

៥

លុះពេលព្រះអង្គនិព្វានទៅ  
សង្ឃនៅឯក្រោយនិងឃ្លាតឃ្លា  
មិនបានជួបចូលមូលជុំគ្នា  
ដូចជាពេលគង់ធរមាន៍នៅ ។

៦

ឯអង្គសម្តេចព្រះមានបុណ្យ  
ទ្រង់ឮអានន្ទ ពោលបោះកូរ  
ក៏ទ្រង់សម្តែងថ្លែងប្រាប់ផ្លូវ  
ឲ្យបរិស័ទទៅ ធ្វើទស្សនា ។

៧

ថាក្រោយតថាគតនិព្វាន  
បរិស័ទអ្នកមានសោមនស្សា  
គង់តែមានផ្លូវគួរយាត្រា  
ទៅធ្វើទស្សនា ៤កំណត់ ។

៨

១ គឺឧទ្យាន លុម្ពិនី

When the Lord Buddha  
was about to enter Nibbāna and pass beyond the Triple World,  
Ānanda respectfully  
asked the Lord of the Worlds thus:

2

“O Venerable Lord of the Triple World!  
These days the Lord remains alive,  
and all of the monks in the Sangha  
in each village across many places,

3

when the time to end the rains retreat comes,  
they always head to find  
and pay obeisance to the Lord, their master,  
from every place, near and far—

4

this is an excellent occasion  
for the faithful Sangha to gather together their minds  
and meet together intimately,  
practicing the Dharma in harmony.

5

When the Lord enters Nibbāna,  
the Sangha will be scattered far around,  
unable to meet together in unity  
as when the Lord is still alive.”

6

The Merit-Filled Lord  
heard Ānanda and replied  
by explaining the means  
for the faithful to make pilgrimages thus:

7

“After the Tathāgata enters Nibbāna,  
the faithful, those with joyful minds,  
will still have a road to tread  
to make pilgrimages to four places.

8

The first is the garden of Lumbinī,

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

ជាទីប្រសូត្រតថាគត	the birthplace of the Tathāgata.
២គឺដើមពោធិ៍ពិតប្រាកដ	The second is the true Bodhi Tree,
ទីតថាគត ត្រាស់ដឹងញ្ញាណ ។	the place where the Tathāgata attained awakening.
៩	9
ពាគីទីឋានល្អក្រៃលែង	The third is the marvelous place where
សំដែងធម្មចក្រជាធម្មយាន	he preached the wheel of the Dhamma as the vehicle of the Dhamma.
៤គឺទីចូលព្រះនិព្វាន	The fourth is the place where he entered Nibbāna,
នៅក្នុងឱឡានមល្លៈក្ស័ត្រ ។	in the garden of the Malla kings.
១០	10
ទីសំរេងៈនីយដ្ឋាន	These four places to be stirred by
៤នោះនាំបានចិត្តស្ងប់ស្ងាត់	lead the mind to peace,
ជ្រះថ្លាសង្វេគពន់ពេកក្លាត់	clear faith, and incomparable inspiration
ដល់ពុទ្ធបរិស័ទ ដែលទៅដល់ ។	for the faithful who go to them.
១១	11
បើពុទ្ធបរិស័ទទាំងឡាយណា	Should any of the faithful
មិនបានយាត្រាទៅឲ្យស្គាល់	not be able to make a pilgrimage
មិនបានទៅថ្វាយបង្គំផ្ទាល់	to pay obeisance in person
ព្រោះក្តីទញ្ច័យឬយ៉ាងណា ។	due to obstacles or other factors,
១២	12
គ្រាន់តែសទ្ធាជ្រះថ្លាពិត	they need only to have true clear faith
បានបញ្ជូនចិត្តសោមនស្សា	and send their mind with joy
ឲ្យទៅគោរពយ៉ាងថ្លៃថ្នូរ	to pay respect reverently
ពីឆ្ងាយទៅណាយ៉ាងចំរា ។	from afar, in perfect sincerity,
១៣	13
ឆ្ពោះសំរេងៈនីយដ្ឋាន	to the four places to be stirred by,
ទាំង៤ ជាឋានដ៏ឧត្តម	the most supreme places,
នោះអាចកើតផលប្រសើរសម	and thereby achieve excellent results
តាមចិត្តនឹកចំពន្ធកុណហោង ។	in accordance with their recollection of the virtues of the Buddha.”

**ṭāk' dañ' sāsanā-7**

Lowering the Buddhist flag

Khmer verse, 10 stanzas in *bāky prāṃbūr*, composed by Juon Nāt, 1945–1955.

Leporello: **UB038** 60b–61b pravatti baṅṅ dañ' sāsanā

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ន, *Prajñā dharm pad* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 52–53 (bravatti baṛṇ daṇ' sāsanā pad bākya 7).

Summary: A brief explanation of the Bodhisatta's acts of generosity behind each of the six colors of the Buddhist flag, followed by a salute to the flag and a description of the benefits of paying respect to it.

Standardized	Translation
<p>១ ពណ៌ខៀវកាលត្រៀមព្រះនេត្រា ឱ្យឥន្ទ្រាហ្មណ៍កាលនៅជាស្តេច នាមស្រីភិរាសចង់សម្រេច ឱ្យបានសព្វសាស្តាចារ្យ ។</p>	<p>1 The color blue is for when he plucked out his eyes in offering to the Brahmin Indra when he was a king named Śrī Bhirās, as he wished to succeed in reaching omniscience as the Teacher.</p>
<p>២ ពណ៌លឿងកាលអារសាច់ធ្វើមាស បិទលនអង្គព្រះពុទ្ធបដិមា ព្រះឥន្ទ្រជាជាងច្នៃរចនា ស្រែកសាធុការពេញផែនដី ។</p>	<p>2 The color yellow is for when he sawed off his flesh to make gilding to coat the body of a buddha image crafted by Indra, who exclaimed his benediction across the earth.</p>
<p>៣ ក្រហមជាពណ៌ឈាមបេះដូង ត្រៀមពីដើមទ្រូងដោយឃ្នាតខ្នី បិទពិសពស់ខាព្រះជនី គង់រស់ជីវិតស្មើយទៅ ។</p>	<p>3 Red is the color of the heart that he swiftly ripped out from his own chest to stop the venom of the snake that bit his mother so that she could survive and recover.</p>
<p>៤ ពណ៌សឱ្យទានដំរីស មង្គលបរវរមាសឆ្អិនឆ្អៅ ត្រូវរាស្ត្របណ្តេញមិនឱ្យនៅ ឱ្យទាំងកូនចៅកវិយា ។</p>	<p>4 The color white is for his gift of the white elephant, most auspicious, most precious and dear, which caused the people to chase him out of the kingdom together with his children and wife.</p>
<p>៥ ហង្សបាទលោហិតម៍សំ អារសាច់ខ្លួនតាំងដូរមាតា កាលយក្ខវាចាប់បរិភោគ្តា ជីវិតមាតារស់រឹងខ្នី ។</p>	<p>5 Orange is for the blood and flesh that he carved out from his body to take places with his mother, when an ogre had seized her to consume her, so that she might live.</p>
<p>៦ ផ្ទុកពណ៌វាយកាលជាទន្សាយ ឱ្យទានពុំស្តាយជីវិតក្តី</p>	<p>6 The shimmering array of colors is for when he was a rabbit and gave of his own life without regret,</p>

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

លោតចូលក្នុងភ្លើងពុំថាអ្វី  
ឱ្យជាចំណីឥន្ទ្រហ្មណា ។  
៧

leaping into the cooking fire, without uttering a word,  
to be food for the Brahmin Indra.  
7

កាលបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ជាកំពូលមក្នុងក្នុងលោកា  
ពណ៌ទាំង៦នោះសោតណា  
ក្លាយមកកើតជាពណ៌រឿង ។  
៨

When he was awakened as the Buddha,  
the summit and crown of the worlds,  
these six colors  
became his six-hued radiance.  
8

ពេលនេះក្នុងលោកគេសន្មត  
យកពណ៌នេះកត់ជាសេចក្តី  
«ហៅទង់សាសនាព្រះជិនស្រី»  
ពាសពេញផែនដីផ្ទៃពសុធា ។  
៩

At present, in the world they have agreed  
to take these colors to have the meaning  
of the “flag of the religion of the Glorious Victor”  
across the entire plane of the earth.  
9

យើងខ្ញុំរាល់គ្នាសូមគោរព  
វន្ទាចមកពទង់សាសនា  
ឱ្យបានមង្គលឈ្នះមារា  
សត្រូវនានាក្នុងភពបី ។  
១០

We all pay our respect  
and bow down to the Worlds’ Lord and the flag of his religion,  
to gain blessings and defeat Māra  
and other enemies in the triple world,  
10

ហើយឱ្យខ្ញុំបានប្រញាប់ដល់  
ដើរកាត់តាមផ្លូវទៅបូរី  
ជាឋានបរមសុខសួស្តី  
ដោយព្រះបារមីនិព្វានហោង។

and so that we might swiftly  
walk along the road to the city  
that is the realm of the highest bliss and blessings  
from his perfections, namely Nibbāna.

**trailakkha(៧) «aniccā rūp yōn min diēn bit»-7**

The Three Marks, beginning with “Pity our bodies, truly impermanent!”

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 31 stanzas in *bāky prāmbvī*, 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB005** 27b–29b trailakkha(៧) abhidhamm (explicit missing); **UB039** 40a–43b;  
**UB050** 57a–61b braḥ trai lākkh; **UB060** 36a–38a aniccā rūp;

Summary: A reflection on the impermanence of the body, the inevitability of aging and illness, the non-self nature of the body, the abandonment of the body in the forest, the loss of one’s belongings, the separation of the mind from the body at death, including its escape in the form of *bhavaṅgacitta* through one of the six sense doors, and closing with an exhortation to cultivate merit and practice the Buddhist path.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB060**

១

អនិច្ចារូបអើយមិនទៀងពិត  
មិនតាំងនៅនិរត្តបានយូរយា  
រូបយើងកើតមកទាំងអស់គ្នា  
តែងតែជរាគ្រាំគ្រាទៅ ។

២

ឱរូបយើងអើយប្រែទាំងគ្រប់  
ប្រែប្រួលគ្មានឈប់គ្មាននឹងនៅ  
កាលភ្នែចិញ្ចែងស្រស់ស្រងើវា  
ដល់រុបចាស់ទៅសៅហ្មងណាស់ ។

៣

គួរឱរាស្ត្ររូបរាងកាយ  
ស្បែកសាច់ទាំងឡាយ ដូចគេផ្លាស់  
ជ្រីវស្លិតស្រពោនយុលយាណាស់  
អនិច្ចារូបចាស់ទៅទន់ទៅ ។

៤

កំឡាំងក៏ខ្សោយថយចុះព្រម  
រូបរាងក៏ស្លុមសក់ក៏ស្ងួត  
ជរាចូលមកយកអស់ទៅ  
ឱរូបហ្មងសៅជាធម្មតា ។

៥

អនិច្ចារូបកាយមិនទៀងពិតៈ  
ជរារូបវិតឥតមេត្តា  
ពេតាយាយីជាធម្មតា  
រាល់រុបកាយទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។

៦

មិនបានសុខស្រួលយូរប៉ុន្មាន  
ពេតាបៀតបៀនរាល់ខែថ្ងៃ  
ឈឺស្លឹកស្រពន់ទន់ជើងដៃ  
ផ្តើសាច់សរសៃសព្វកាយ ។

៧

ដរាបដួលដាបដេកជាប់នៅ  
សញ្ចប់សុបសៅនឹងសង្វារៈ

ថមថយកំឡាំងអត់ទាំងអាហារ  
រូបរង់វេទនាពន់ប្រមាណ ។

៨

ទុក្ខខ្លីខ្លួនទាំងឡាយ ៥  
ទុក្ខនៅប្រចាំឥតស្រាកស្រាន្ត  
ឥតមាននណាជួយបាន  
ទុក្ខទាល់ចែកស្ថានបាត់បង់ទៅ ។

៩

អនត្តាសង្ខារគ្មានខ្លឹមសោះ  
សឹងស្រាយទាំងអស់គ្មានជាប់នៅ  
មិនមែនខ្លួនទេសសូន្យស្មើទៅ  
សូន្យទាំង-ម៉ែឱបុត្តកិរយា ។

១០

ទ្រព្យធន់ប៉ុន្មានទោះថែកថ្លៃ  
ធ្លាក់ចេញពីដៃអស់ហើយណា  
ជាអ្នកកំព្រាអង្គឯក្តា  
ឥតមាននណាជួយបាន។

១១

មាតាបិតាបុត្រភរិយា  
បងប្អូនមិត្តភ្ញារទាំងប៉ុន្មាន  
មកជួយខាខាំងរាំងពុំបាន  
ដៅពង្សសន្តានសឹងឃ្នាតឃ្នា ។

១២

ឥតអ្នកណាជួយជូនទៅ  
ក៏ដីតាមផ្លូវជួយគមពារ  
រូបយើងកើតមកទាំងអស់គ្នា  
សុទ្ធសឹងកំព្រាម្នាក់ឯងពិត ។

១៣

វត្តក្នុងលោកទាំងប៉ុន្មាន  
ដែលខ្លួនធ្លាប់បានធ្លាប់ស្គាលស្មិត  
ជាទីស្រឡាញ់ពេញគាប់ចិត្ត  
ផ្លូវផ្តាច់គុំនឹតទាំងប៉ុន្មាន ។

១៤

វត្តទាំងឡាយទាំងពួងនោះ  
មិនអាចដូរលោះដីវិតបាន  
ឬមួយក៏ដីទៅតាមប្រាណ

មិនបានទាំងអស់ក្នុងលោកនេះ។

១៥

វត្តមាននូវទាំងប៉ុន្មាន

យកទៅមិនបានសឹងរលេះ

រលួយសូន្យស្មើក្នុងលោកនេះ

សោតសឹងរលេះរហូតទៅ

១៦

សូម្បីតែលុយគេបង់មាត់

ឃើញជាក់ប្រាកដជាសល់នៅ

ឱរូបកាយយើងបែកធ្លាយទៅ

ចោលរូបទុកនៅលើផែនដី ។

១៧

រូបអើយបែកធ្លាយនៅខាងអាយ

ចិត្តមិនសោកស្តាយទេឬអ្វី

ចិត្តចុះចោលរូបព្រោះហេតុអី៖

ចិត្តមិនអាស្រ័យទេដឹងអើយ ។

១៨

រូបកាយចិត្តស្តាយពន់ពេកណាស់

រូបភ្នែងរូបចាស់កុំឆ្ងល់ឡើយ

ចិត្តស្តាយរូបណាស់ណារូបអើយ

រូបកើតមកហើយចង់តែនៅ ។

១៩

ឱរូបបានរហូតអស់កាលក៏ប្ប

ចិត្តគ្មានប្រញាប់ចុះចោលទៅ

រូបអាក្រក់ល្អសឬខ្មៅ

ចិត្តមិនចង់ទៅចោលរូបទេ ។

២០

ឱរូបកាយយើងដូចជាផ្ទះ

រូបភ្នែងរូបចាស់ទាំងយើងគេ

រូបបែកធ្លាយហើយចិត្តគ្នាន់ភ្នែ

រិះអះរកក្សជាធម្មតា ។

២១

ចិត្តអើយចិត្តចុះចោលរូបទៅ

ចិត្តចេញតាមផ្លូវច្រកណា

ចិត្តល្អអាក្រក់ល្អក៏ឬថ្នាំ

ឥតមាននៈ-ណាឃើញចិត្តសោះ ។

២២

គួរឲ្យសង្ឃឹយនឹងចិត្តពេក  
ចោលរូបឱ្យដេកឥស្រពណោះ  
ចិត្តដើរដោយដីឬចិត្តហោះ  
នណាសង្គ្រោះនាំចិត្តទៅ ។

២៣

កវង្គះចិត្តឥតរូបទេ  
តាមតែជាកគ្រាន់នឹងនៅ  
ទ្វារទាំង ៦ នេះជាផ្លូវ  
ចេញទៅតាមទ្វារណាក៏បាន ។

២៤

មានតែបុណ្យបាបនាំចិត្តទៅ  
ជាញាតិជាដៅពង្សសន្តាន  
និមិត្តណាហុចឱ្យបាន  
ហាក់ដូចខ្លួនទៅទាំងអស់ ។

២៥

បុណ្យបាបដែលបានសន្សំទុក  
ជាតិនេះជាតិមុខប្រសើរសាយ  
កម្មបាបនាំសត្វទៅអបាយ  
ឱ្យបានអន្តរាយដោយក៏យ ។

២៦

ផលបុណ្យយិតយោងយកទៅលើ  
រុះរើទ្រព្យធន់មានតម្លៃ  
យកមកប្រគល់ឱ្យរាល់ថ្ងៃ  
វិស័យហាក់ដូចមិត្តសំឡាញ់ ។

២៧

ហេតុនេះអ្នកអើយ: កុំប្រមាទ  
គួរខំឱ្យហាតលះកំណាញ់  
កំណើតចិត្តបាបឱ្យអស់ចេញ  
ខំប្រឹងបំពេញទាន់ទាំងពូជ ។

២៨

រក្សាសីល ៥ កម្មបទ ១០  
ឱ្យបាន-ចេះចប់គ្រប់ៗកង  
សីលទាំង ៨ ឱ្យហ្មត់ហ្មង  
នឹងការវិនាស ឱ្យបានខ្លះ ។

២៩



ថាបើអ្នកនាងស្រឡាញ់ខ្លួន  
គប្បីថែរដូវចិត្តឱ្យណាស់  
កម្មណាមិនល្អសំកាត់លះ  
ទើបជួបប្រទះសុខធ្វើជំពូន ។  
៣០  
សីលទានការនាជាកំឡាំង  
តែងញាំងដឹកនាំខ្លួនឱ្យបាន  
សោយសុខៈសម្បត្តិទិព្វកិមាស  
ដ៏រាបដល់ស្ថាននិព្វានហោង ។

**trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**

The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version A

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 10 stanzas in *bāky prāmbīr*, first appears in Ek Nṅim 1933 (reprinted 1969), but may have been first composed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB005** 49b–51a dhaṛm aniccā rūp; **UB006** 61a–61b; **UB014** 68b–70b dha'mmasañvèk; **UB016** 27a–28a; **UB016** 31a–32b; **UB018** 46a–48a braḥ dhaṛm saṅkhār min dien; **UB019** 5a–6b braḥ dhaṛm saṅkhār min dien; **UB020** 37b–39b braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) toy saṅkhèpp khlīy°; **UB025** 53a–54b; **UB036** 50b–51b braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) saṅkhep pad bāky prāmbīr; **UB038** 51a–52a braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ); **UB039** 80a–81b trai lakkha(ṅ)/ trai lakkha(ṅ) toy saṅkhep; **UB043** 66b–67b trai lakkha(ṅ) pad bāky prāmbīr; **UB044** 39a–40b trai lakkha(ṅ) dī 1; **UB057** 123b–125a; **UB060** 38a–39a aniccā saṅkhār; **UB065** 38b–39a braḥ trai lakkha(ṅ) saṅkhep;

Khmer books: Ek Nṅim ឯក ញឹម, *Girimāmanadasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp' sūtr oy manuss māt jamaññī* គិរិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ., ed. Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 17–18.

Summary: A reflection on the impermanence of the body and its fate of being discarded in the forest, followed by an exhortation to practice the Buddhist path.

<b>UB006</b>	Standardized	Translation
១ អនិច្ចារ សង្ខាររូបយើងអើយ នឹកគ្រប់ទៅហើយមិនទៀងទេ	១ អនិច្ចារសង្ខាររូបយើងអើយ គិតគ្រប់ទៅហើយមិនទៀងទេ	1 Impermanent is this life! We are born with bodily form that can't last.

កើតមកជាមនុស្សទោះយើងគេ  
ពុំទែលទុម្មេនិងកើតទុក្ខ

២

អនីត្តាសង្ខារសោះសួន  
ស្សរលីងបាត់គ្រប់មុខ  
ទ្វារម្យឌីវពុក  
ពុំមានសល់ទុកត្នូលោកអើយ

៣

ជាដូនជាតាម្តាយមីងមា  
ទ្វារបុត្រភិរិយាគ្មានសល់ល្បើ  
ទ្វារបរាជក្យសួនស្សហៀ  
លោកអើយស្តាប់ពាក្យនេះ ឱ្យបាន

៤

គេយកទៅចោលក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ  
ដែលមិនមានមនុស្សរៀងរាប់ អាន  
ជាព្រៃស្ងាត់ហ្វូស្កាន

៥

គេយកទៅមិនបានពេញហៅក្រ  
ដេកដោយទិស្ថានឥតគ្មានល្អហ  
រូបរាងក្យនេះក៏សួន

៦

វិរកម្មកាលខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ  
ព្រះពន្ធកូនចៅញាតិកៅ  
ក៏ជូនដល់ ព្រៃឆ្ងាយវិលវិញទេ  
នូវតែឯងឥតគ្នាក្នុងស្ថានស្ងាត់

៧

ចោលធ្មើនិងសាច់លើហ ផែនដី  
គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រីប្តីប្រពន្ធស្នេហា  
សួនសោះបោះបង់បាត់  
ទ្វារមកក៏ខ្ចាត់ខ្ចាយសួនឆឹង

៨

គិតទៅគួរឱ្យកើតស្មត់បិត្ត  
គួរតែរិះគិតរកទីពឹង  
គួរខំស្តាប់ធម៌ ហៀគិតប្រឹង

កើតមកជាមនុស្សទោះយើងគេ  
មិនដែលទំនេរសឹងកើតទុក្ខ ។

២

អនត្តាសង្ខារសោះសួន  
សួនអស់រលីងបាត់គ្រប់មុខ  
ទាំងយសទាំងស័ក្តិម្តាយឪពុក  
ពុំមានសល់ទុកទេលោកអើយ ។

៣

ដីដូនដីតាម្តាយមីងមា  
ទាំងបុត្រភិរិយាគ្មានសល់ឡើយ  
ទាំងរូបរាងកាយសួនអស់ហើយ  
លោកអើយស្តាប់ពាក្យនេះឱ្យបាន ។

៤

គេយកទៅចោលក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ  
ដែលគ្មានមនុស្សនៅលែងរាប់អាន  
ជាទីព្រៃស្ងាត់ហោស្កាន  
មានតែតិរច្ឆាននៅកំដរ ។

៥

ទ្រព្យធនដែលមានទាំងប៉ុន្មាន  
យកទៅមិនបានពេញហៅក្រ  
ដេកដោយទិស្ថានឥតមានល្អ  
រូបកាយនេះក៏សួនទទេ ។

៦

វេរកម្មកាលខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ  
ប្រពន្ធកូនចៅញាតិដៅគេ  
ជូនដល់ព្រៃឆ្ងាយវិលវិញទេ  
តែឯងឥតគេក្នុងស្ថានស្ងាត់ ។

៧

ចោលធ្មើនិងសាច់លើផែនដី  
គ្រប់រូបប្រុសស្រីប្តីប្រពន្ធស្នេហា  
រលត់សួនសោះបោះបង់បាត់  
ទាំងនាមក៏ខ្ចាត់ខ្ចាយសួនឆឹង ។

៨

គិតទៅគួរឱ្យកើតស្មត់បិត្ត  
គួរតែរិះគិតរកទីពឹង  
គួរខំស្តាប់ធម៌ហើយគិតប្រឹង

We'll never be free or get past  
the shadow cast by suffering.

2

Without self is this life! All is void,  
all is devoid of essence;  
fame, rank, even your parents—  
nothing remains for you to keep.

3

All those who were born before,  
all you call your family;  
your body too is empty—  
listen to these words I intone.

4

In the silence of the forest,  
with none to trust you'll be alone,  
with wild beasts who grunt and groan—  
there you'll be thrown away too.

5

Your wealth, the worst poverty;  
you can't take anything with you.  
You'll lie there like an old shoe—  
the body's truly empty.

6

Your merit gone in your wake,  
they will come take your carcass  
To the woods cloaked in darkness.  
You'll lie useless; they'll go home.

7

Thus beings are discarded,  
bones, flesh, and blood thrown away.  
Your body will soon decay;  
even your name will be destroyed.

8

Contemplate this and be stirred.  
Don't be deterred but instead  
seek refuge in what's well-said.

<p>ឱ្យទាន ឱ្យគិតវិក្សសីល ៩ ការនាកម្មដ្ឋានឱ្យបានខ្ជាប់ធម៌ នេះគួរគាប់កំបីខូចខេល់ ជើសុចរិត ១០ ត្រូវខំម សំន្សំមសុចរិតធម៌ ឱ្យច្រើនកោះកំរ ក្នុងក្សតិ និងពោលវាចាឱ្យសុចរិត តាមពុទ្ធសាសិតប្រកដ្ឋហោង។</p>	<p>ឱ្យទានហើយនិងវិក្សសីល ។ ៩ ការនាកម្មដ្ឋានឱ្យបានខ្ជាប់ ធម៌នេះគុយគាប់កុំបីខ្លួល ធ្វើចិត្តឱ្យល្អជ្រះមន្ទិល កុំបីខូចខិលធ្វើទុច្ចរិត ។ ១០ ត្រូវខំសន្សំសុចរិត ឱ្យច្រើនកុះករក្នុងកាយចិត្ត និងពោលវាចាឱ្យសុចរិត តាមពុទ្ធសាសិតប្រាកដហោង ។</p>	<p>Hear this and tread the right course. 9 Giving, precepts, and meditation— practice these Teachings with force. Clear your heart of all remorse; don't do what's coarse lazily. 10 Do deeds of body and mind with perfect kindness to reach all beings, and make your speech match the well-said words of the Buddha.</p>
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**trailakkha(្អ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» B-7**

The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version B

Khmer verse, 14 stanzas in *bāky prāmbhī*, late 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Very closely related to **trailakkha(្អ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**; stanzas 5–9 are nearly identical to stanzas 2–6 of **trailakkha(្អ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» A-7**.

Leporello: **UB034** 68a–69b aniccā saṅkhār

Summary: A reflection on the impermanence of the body and its fate of being discarded in the forest, followed by an exhortation to practice the Buddhist path.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB034**

១  
អនិច្ចាសផ្លារូបយើងអើ  
គិតគ្រប់ទៅវហើមិនទៀងទេរ  
កើមកក្នុងលោកមិនចិតថេរ  
ប្រុះស្រ្យយើងគ្រូរទ្ធាក្នុងព្យ  
២  
សំខារតុបតែងធ្វើហរូបឱ្យ  
លុះវិលារក្រ្យឆាប់វិហារៈ  
វិលកើតវិលស្លាប់ប្រញាប់ណារៈ  
លោក្តើយនេះច្បារជាអនិច្ចារ  
៣  
ទុក្ខារឱខ្លីនេះហើយលំម្បាក់

គ្មានស្បើយពីរអាគារ  
តាក់តែងមានខន្ត្រនេះកាលណា  
ពុំមានសុភ្លាវ១វេលា

៤

ទោះបីមានក្រវសឹងជារទុក  
គ្រប់កូមគ្រប់ស្រុកថាននាវា  
មិនតែរូបណាសឹងដូចគ្នា  
កើតនឹងមីននាវានេះហៅវាទុក

៥

អគ្គារសំផ្លារសោះសួនធើង  
សូរអូរលឹងបាតគ្រប់មុក  
ទ្វារឈ្មោះយុះសត្វម្យឌីពុក  
ពុំមានសលទុកទេអ្នកក្តីយ

៦

ដីតូនដីតារម្យមីនមា  
ទ្វារបុតកិរិយាគ្មានសលលើ  
ទ្វាររូបរាងក្យសួនអូរហើយ  
អ្នកក្តីយស្តាប់ពាក្យនេះឱ

៧

គ្រឿយក់ទៅវេចាលក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ  
ទិណារលែងនូវលេងរាប់អាន  
ជាទីព្រៃស្ងាត់រហោរថ្មាន  
មានតែរតេវិធាននូវកុំដរ

៨

ទ្រាពូជុនបើមានទ្វារបុត្តិន  
យកទៅវាពុំបានពេញហោរក្រវ  
ដេកដោយឡើយស្ងាត់គ្មានបានល្អ  
រូបក្យនេះក៏សួនទីទេ

៩

វេរកកាំកាលខ្លួនស្លាប់ទៅ  
ប្រពុនកូនចៅវិញត្ថដៅវេរ  
ជួនដលព្រៃត្រូវវិលវិញទេ  
តែរឯងឯកំងព្រៃស្ងប់ស្ងាត់

១០

មិនតែប៉ុន្មោះកូនប្រពុន  
ទោះមានទ្រាពូជុនអម្បាលម្នីន

នឹងក្សត្រាវេជ្ជនោះក៏គ្មាន  
បានកូនកាក់ទេគ្រប់ដំណាច់

១១

បុន្នោះសឹងចោលនៅវែងឆ្ងាយ  
គ្រប់រូបប្រុះស្រ្តីក៏ដឹងស្ងាត់  
ដល់គ្រឿងលើកខ្មោចខ្ញុំក៏ក្ស  
បានកាក់បដម៉ាត់ថារគាត់ឱ្យ

១២

នេះហ្សែហៅថា អគ្គារ  
មិនមានខ្លឹមសារកុំគិតឆ្កើយ  
បើអ្នកបានស្តាប់គិតឱ្យញឹក  
គួរណោះជុនឆ្លើបាទានសិល

១៣

ការនារក្សាបានឱ្យបានខ្លាញ់  
ធុរនេះគួរតាមអ្នកខ្លួន  
ធ្វើហតិធម៌ឱ្យស្អាតជ្រះមន្ត្រីល  
សព្វអ្សស្សរិលក្សសុចរិត្ត

១៤

ធុរនេះនឹងឆ្ងាប់អាត្មា  
ឱ្យស្បែកស្មុគ្រាបាទតូចិត្ត  
XXXXXXXX  
គ្នាពុទ្ធភាសក៏បាននិព្វាន ។។

**trailakkha(ṅ) «aniccā saṅkhār-7» C-7**

The Three Marks, beginning with “Impermanent is this life,” version C

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṅ

Khmer verse, 31 stanzas in *bāky prāmbvī*, late 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB049** 35b (explicit missing; scribe started, but then abandoned text); **UB065** 42a–42b, 44a–45a dharma braḥ trai lakkh(ṅ)

Summary: Begins by extolling the inevitability of impermanence, the aging of the body, sickness, and death, then describes the final recitation given to a dying person, followed by the response of relatives to one’s death. Then the text describes the rituals that take place immediately after death, beginning with the lay priest reciting the Abhidhamma to accompany the “journey of the individual” (*taṃṅnör puggal*), then the performance of *paṅsukūl* and *tār* rituals for the deceased for a few days, followed by the procession of the corpse to be

buried or cremated. Then the post-cremation process is described, including the washing of the bones, a brief repentance rite over the bones, their placement into an urn, and the conferment of the urn to the monastery. The text concludes with the dead complaining that the living no longer care for them and do not dare to keep their bones at home.

**UB065**

Translation

១  
អនិច្ចាសផ្លូវរូបយើងអើយ  
បានកើតឡើងហើយមិនទៀងទាត់  
តែងតែប្រទះក្តីវិបត្តិ  
ប្រែប្រួលប្រាសព្រាត់ជាប្រក្រតី ។

២  
ដើមឡើយអ្នកអើយក៏ក្រូចផុរផង  
សមរូបសមទ្រង់អង្គប្រុសស្រី  
ល្អល្អះអស់អង្គសាច់សខ្ចី  
រូបអើយមិនគួរប្រែប្រួលសោះ ។

៣  
ប្រែធ្មេញក៏បាក់ភ្នែកងងឹត  
សាច់ឈាមជ្រើស្ងួតសក់ក៏ស្កូវ  
ប្រែទាំងកម្លាំងមិនតាំងនៅ  
សាច់ឈាមក្រៀមទៅដល់រូបស្លាប់ ។

៤  
អនិច្ចាសផ្លូវមិនបានទៀង  
រាល់រូបទុក្ខទៀងតែងតាមជាប់  
គួរកុំបណ្តោយឲ្យអក់ពូ  
ទុក្ខឈឺទុក្ខស្លាប់ទាំងប្រុសស្រី ។

៥  
ទុក្ខនេះទុក្ខតាំងពីដួនតា  
មាតាបិតាទុក្ខធ្ងន់ក្រៃ  
ទុក្ខតាំងពីកើតចេញចាកផ្ទៃ  
ទុក្ខនេះធ្ងន់ក្រៃដល់មរណា ។

៦  
ទុក្ខព្រោះព្យាធិបៀតបៀនកាយ  
ជំងឺទាំងឡាយសព្វសារពើ  
តែងមូលប្រមូលធ្លាក់មកលើ  
នឹងរឹបរះពុំរួចឡើយ ។

1  
Impermanent is this life! Our bodies,  
once born, are merely transient,  
always facing the tide of ruin,  
having the nature of change and loss.

2  
Originally your face was lovely and clear,  
your body beautiful and handsome,  
your skin elegant and bright—  
oh, this body, how it shouldn't change!

3  
But your teeth change and fall out. Your eyes go blind.  
Your skin shrivels up and your hair goes white.  
Your energy changes and doesn't remain the same.  
Your flesh and blood dry up and your body dies.

4  
How impermanent is life! It is not stable.  
Pain stalks the body close;  
don't allow misfortune in.  
The pain of illness and death strikes all of us.

5  
This suffering extends to all our ancestors,  
with our parents bearing intense suffering.  
Suffering begins from the moment we leave the womb;  
it becomes most intense when arriving at death.

6  
There is suffering due to illness menacing our bodies.  
All kinds of sicknesses  
gather around and befall us,  
and we cannot wriggle our way out of them.

៧

ត្រូវឈឺក៏ឈឺឃាត់មិនស្តាប់  
ត្រូវស្លាប់ក៏ស្លាប់ឥតស្រណោះ  
មិនព្រមនឹងស្តាប់បង្គាប់សោះ  
តែងតែអាឡោះអាលីយពេក ។

៨

សរសៃឈាមសាច់ ផ្តាច់គ្មានសល់

ទឹកដីភ្លើងខ្យល់បួនចំណែក  
គួរឲ្យអាសូររូបពន់ពេក  
ឥតទីពឹងផ្អែកលើអ្នកណា ។

៩

រូបដេកស្ងួតស្អឹងដូចជាឧស  
ធាតុទាំងបួនប្រាសពីកាយ  
ព្រលឹងក៏ចេញចោលរូបា  
រូបអើយកំព្រាបាត់មាត់ឈឹង ។

១០

អាចារ្យឲ្យធម៌ថាពុទ្ធា  
រូបដេកជ្រងោក់គ្មានដឹង  
ឲ្យធម៌បីមាត់ស្ងាត់មាត់ឈឹង  
ព្រលឹងចេញទៅតែឯកា ។

១១

បងប្អូនកូនចៅយំទ្រហឹង  
គ្មានដឹងថាមាតាបិតា  
ចេញពួររូបទៅដល់ស្រុកណា  
ស្រុកស្រែចំការគ្មានដឹងឡើយ។

១២

បួយបាត់ពីរបាត់ស្ងាត់ទាំងអស់  
គ្មានដំណឹងសោះណាអ្នកអើយ  
គ្មានអ្នកណាមួយវិលមកឡើយ  
អ្នកអើយនេះហើយហៅចែកឋាន ។

១៣

ខន្ធត្រាំធ្លាប់ចាំថែរាងកាយ  
រត់គេចចេញឆ្ងាយពីខ្លួនប្រាណ  
គ្មានស្តាយស្រណោះព្រោះឃើញឋាន  
ចាស់ទ្រុឌទ្រោមគ្មានទីពឹងអ្វី ។

១៤

7

We are forced to be ill. We can't tell our illness to stop.  
If we must die, then we die. Death has no pity for us;  
it doesn't listen to our commands,  
even in our grief and pining.

8

Our fibers, flesh, and blood shall be destroyed, with nothing  
remaining of  
the four elements of water, earth, fire, and wind.  
You should reflect on your body, worthy of pity,  
for it cannot be a refuge for you.

9

The body will lie motionless, like a log.  
All four elements shall leave the body.  
The souls will depart from the body.  
Oh, how orphaned the body will be, in utter silence!

10

The *ācāry* will give you the Dharma to recite—*buddho*—  
as your body lays in isolation, unconscious.  
Having given this word three times, your mouth will fall silent.  
Your souls will depart, leaving the body all alone.

11

Your siblings and children will wail and cry,  
not aware that their parent  
has already left the body for another land,  
for other paddies and plantations—they don't know.

12

One departs, then a second, and all goes silent.  
There is no awareness at all, O good people!  
There is not one who returns back here.  
O good people! This is what we call “passing away.”

13

The five aggregates used to take care of the body,  
but now they've run far away  
and don't miss the body at all, for they can see that it is  
old and dilapidated, not worthy of taking refuge in.

14

ដូច្នោះយើងចេញចោលផ្ទះចាស់  
ទ្រុឌទ្រោម ខ្លាំងណាស់គ្មានតម្លៃ  
គួរចេញទៅរកកន្លែងថ្មី  
រូបប្រុសរូបស្រីសឹងផ្លាស់ឋាន ។

១៥

បងប្អូនកូនចៅមកជួបជុំ  
សោកយំសែន ស្តាយស្នើរគ្រប់ប្រាណ  
ម៉ែនៅក្មេងទេម្តេចចែកឋាន  
កូនពុំទាន់បានសងគុណថ្ងៃ ។

១៦

អាចារ្យយកក្បួនសូត្រព្រះធម្ម  
សូត្រព្រះធម៌អមខ្មោចតាយាយ  
សូត្រជូនបុគ្គលទៅឋាននាយ  
តែដេកព្រងើយគ្មានដឹងសោះ ។

១៧

អ្នកស្រុកជិតឆ្ងាយមកកុះករ  
នៅកំដរហុណ្ណពីរឬបីថ្ងៃ  
ធ្វើបុណ្យជូនម៉ែគ្មានស្តាយអី  
បង្សកូលរាល់ថ្ងៃដារបញ្ជូន ។

១៨

លុះថ្ងៃគំរប់បញ្ចប់បុណ្យ  
និមន្តព្រះសង្ឃគំរប់បួន  
សូត្រព្រះមាតិកានាំតាជូន  
នឹងជូនម៉ែឪហៃទៅវត្ត ។

១៩

ព្រះសង្ឃមួយអង្គសូត្រអភិធម្ម  
ហែនាំខាងមុខមណ្ឌសនៃ  
អាចារ្យការវនាកាន់ទង់ដើយ  
នាំសំដៅព្រៃទីបញ្ច ។

២០

ត្រូវកប់គេកប់ឬត្រូវដុត  
តាមចិត្តកូនចៅដែលត្រូវការ  
ឬតាមបណ្តាំពីមេបា  
ដែលមានវាចាផ្តាំទុកមក ។

២១

កូនចៅហៃអមក្តារមណ្ឌស

Thus we leave from our old house,  
which is run-down and worthless,  
to seek out out a new abode—  
this is the case for people who have passed away.

15

Your siblings and children will gather around,  
weeping and wailing, filled with regret.  
“Our mother was so young—why did she pass away?  
I didn’t even have the chance to repay my great debts to her.”

16

The *ācāry* takes up a manuscript and recites the [Abhi]dhamma,  
intoning the Dharma to accompany the corpse.  
He chants to accompany the individual to the next realm,  
but the corpse lies down idly, without awareness.

17

People from near and far crowd around  
to participate in the ritual for two or three days,  
making merit to offer to Mother, without any regrets,  
performing *pamsukūl* and *tār* each day for her.

18

On the last day of the ceremony,  
four monks are invited  
to recite the [Abhidhamma]-*mātikā*  
as they accompany Mother or Father to the monastery.

19

One monk chanting the Abhidhamma  
leads the procession from in front of the casket.  
The priest meditates while holding the flag of victory  
as they move toward the woods, the charnel grounds,

20

for burial or for cremation  
according to the wishes of the children,  
or according to the guidance of the ancestors  
who have made their instruction clear.

21

Your children process to accompany your casket,



មុខតែងក្រៀមក្រោះហើយយំសោក  
ម៉ែចែកឋានទៅលែងវិលមក  
រកកូនស្រីប្រុសដូចសព្វដង ។

២២

ដល់ព្រៃអ្នកភ្នកទាំងបួននាក់  
គេរៀបទុកដាក់តាមបំណង  
លុះធ្វើកិច្ចរួចស្រេចហើយហោង  
ញាតិកូនចៅផងវិលវិញទេ ។

២៣

ចោលខ្មោចឲ្យនៅតែឯក  
រងទុក្ខវេទនាកណ្តាលព្រៃ  
កូនចៅគ្មាននៅកំដរអី  
យកសត្វបក្សីធ្វើជាគ្នា ។

២៤

បើដុតរើសឆ្អឹងមួយកញ្ចប់  
មកបោះទឹកអប់សូមស្នារលា  
ទោះខុសប៉ុន្មានសូមមាតា  
អត់ទោសខុសឆ្អឹងឲ្យកូនផង ។

២៥

រួចហើយនាំគ្នាហែទៅវត្ត  
រើសឆ្អឹងដាក់កោដ្ឋទូលតម្រង់  
ដល់វត្តប្រគេនទៅព្រះសង្ឃ  
សូមធ្វើបាតុផងនឹងព្រះគុណ ។

២៦

ទុកដាក់លើកុដិបួចតិយ  
កូនចៅប្រុសស្រីក្រាបនិមន្ត  
ព្រះសង្ឃបង្សុកូល ៣-៤អង្គ  
បញ្ចប់បុណ្យផងថ្ងៃនោះណា ។

២៧

លោកអ្នកទាំងឡាយចូរស្តាប់ចុះ  
កូនចៅស្រីប្រុសយើងគ្រប់គ្នា  
ស្រឡាញ់តែរស់ម្តាយសុខជា  
លុះធ្វើមរណាបិបួនថ្ងៃ ។

២៨

គេដុតរើសឆ្អឹងមួយកញ្ចប់  
ប្រែជាខ្លឹមស្អប់ដាច់អាស័យ

their faces mournful and full of tears.

“Mother has passed away, and won’t return  
to visit her children like before.”

22

Once they arrive at the forest, the four *anak bhluk*  
prepare everything according to what has been requested.

When the rituals have been completed,  
your relatives and children simply return home,

23

leaving your corpse all alone  
to suffer in the middle of the forest.

Your children won’t accompany you,  
so only the birds will be by your side.

24

If you are cremated, your bones will fill one box.

They’ll cleanse them with perfumed water and profess repentance:

“Should I have made any mistakes, may you, Mother,  
forgive all of my faults and wrongdoings.”

25

They then process back to the temple, gathering the bones,  
placing them in an urn, and carrying them on their head.

Having arrived at the temple, they offer them to the monks, saying,

“Please take care of these remains, Venerable, and

26

place them in your *leek* dwelling or in a *cetiya*.”

Your children will bow to invite the  
three or four monks to perform the *pañsukūl* ritual

to complete the ceremony on that day.

27

All you good people, please listen—

all of your children and grandchildren

will only love you, their mother, while you are still alive and well.

Once you have been dead for three or four days,

28

and having cremated you, your bones filling one box,

they instead detest you, without any pity.

មិនទុកលើផ្ទះខ្លាចចង្រៃ  
កូនដាច់អាណ័យពីម៉ែឪ ។

២៩

មិនគួរអីខ្លាចម៉ែឪឯង  
ធ្លាប់បីបន្លែងរាល់វេលា  
លុះម្តាយរលត់អស់សង្ខារ  
កូនថាចង្រៃទុកមិនបាន ។

៣០

បើស្លាប់ស្រស់ៗនៅរូបខ្លាច  
ក្រែងមានអសោច៍ក្នុងភូមិឋាន  
ដុតហើយពីសង្ក័យតែមួយបាន  
កូនគ្មានទុកដាក់ថែរក្សា ។

៣១

ដាច់ចិត្តយកទៅទុកឯវត្ត  
ទោះបីក្រខ្យត់តាមវាសនា  
អាងវត្តព្រះសង្ឃសូត្រធម៌អាថ៌  
យឺតយោងមាតាទៅស្ថានសួគ៌ ។

They won't keep you at home, lest misfortune arise.  
Children cut off their feelings toward their parents completely.

29

“Why must you be afraid of your own mother?  
I used to hug and entertain you all the time.  
But once my life was extinguished,  
you said that I was inauspicious and couldn't be kept around.

30

When I had just died and become a corpse,  
you feared I would pollute the village.  
Once you cremated me and gathered a plate of my bones,  
you wouldn't hold on to and take care of them.

31

You cut off your attachments and went to leave them in the temple,  
no matter how poor your fortunes were.  
You relied on the monastery and the monks to chant the Dharma  
to help me reach the heavens.”

**dukkarakiriyā A-7**

The Bodhisatta's austerities

FEMC title: lpök dukkarakiriyā

Khmer verse, 18 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Jāy M"ai in 1942.

Leporello: **UB019** 18a–21a braḥ bodhiñāṇ dhvö dukkarakiriyā (first half), with final note បន្ត  
ទៅទំនួញព្រះនាងសិរិមហាមាយា; **UB027** 67a (incipit missing; last stanza only); **UB038** 23b–25b  
dukkarakiriyā; **UB047** 66a–68a braḥ aṅg dhvö dukkarakiriyā; **UB062** 74b pruḥ banlak  
(incipit missing);

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ែ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត*  
(Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1942), 12–14.

Summary: A third-person narrative account of the Bodhisatta's austerities, beginning with the yogic manipulation of breath and followed by the extreme reduction in food intake. The text then describes how Māra, having witnessed the emaciated Bodhisatta, informed his father Suddhodana about his son's fate. It closes with his mother Mahāmāyā seeing her dying son

from the heavens above, which flows into her lament in **damnuoñ mahāmāyā-7**.

Partial edition and translation

Jāy M'ai 1942	Translation
១ ដំណាលកាលអង្គព្រះនាយក ស្ដេចធ្វើទុក្ខរៈក្នុងព្រឹក្សា ក្នុងព្រៃឧវេល ស្រុកគយា នេរញ្ញារាមហារទី ។	1 When the Lord, the Leader, performed austerities in the forest in the Uruvela woods in the land of Gayā, near the Nerañjarā, the great river,
២ ជាស្ដីងជាន់ចាស់ពីបុរាណ ដែលបានសុសឈ្មោះសុសធរណី ពេលនោះសម្ដេចព្រះមុនី ស្វែងរកពិធីពោធិញ្ញាណ ។	2 a stream that flowed from ancient times, but now has nearly dried up. At that time, the Lord, the great sage, was seeking the way to reach awakened knowledge.
៣ ទ្រង់ចូលទៅរៀនក្នុងសំណាក់ តាបស់ពីនាក់ដែលបានឈាន ទ្រង់ឃើញថារកសារៈគ្មាន ទ្រង់ឈប់ស្នាទាននឹងគ្រូនោះ ។	3 He began by studying in the lineage of two ascetics that could enter trance. He saw that there was no pith to be found, and thus ceased studying from those two teachers.
៤ ហើយទើបទ្រង់តាំងប្រធានធំ ដោយទ្រង់មិនអីរុះ ទ្រង់តាំងព្យាយាមក្នុងទីនោះ មិនបាច់ពិគ្រោះអ្នកដទៃ ។	4 He then made a great vow to not move at all and strive on that very spot, without the aid of anyone else.
៥ ដំបូងទ្រង់ប្រើខ្យល់ចេញចូល ឲ្យមូលត្រកូលទៅតាមផ្ទៃ ព្យុះខ្យល់នោះជ្រួលរំជួលក្រៃ ក្សត្រិច្ចស្នើរក្សិយព្រះជន្មា ។	5 First he manipulated his inhalations and exhalations, forcing them to be concentrated in his abdomen, such that the force of the wind shook him violently. The precious prince nearly lost his life.
៦ ទើបទ្រង់បង្វែរអស្សាសៈ ព្រមទាំងបស្សាសៈវាតា ឲ្យបក់ទៅតាមព្រះសិរសា ដោយទ្រង់ប្រាថ្នាឆាប់បានត្រាស់ ។	6 Then he switched to forcing the breath of his inhalations and exhalations to blow into his head in a desire to swiftly reach awakening.

**dukkarakiriyā B-7**

The Bodhisatta’s austerities

Khmer verse, 18 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Jhīm Śum in 1941.

Leporello: **UB027** 62a–64b;

Khmer books: Jhīm Śum ឈឹម ស៊ឹម, *Gotamaprawatti វគ្គតមប្រវត្តិ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār sumanasuvat(thi) បណ្ណាគារសុមនសុវត្ថី, 1968), 10–13 [បទពាក្យ ៧ ដំណាលកាលព្រះអង្គធ្វើទុក្ខកិរិយា(គូរសូត្ររូស ៗ)].

Summary: A third-person narrative account of the Bodhisatta’s austerities, divided into four *brahmacārya* of restricting food, not washing the body, avoiding creating new karma, and rejecting all human interaction in the forest.

Partial edition and translation

Jhīm Śum 1941	Translation
១ ដំណាលកាលអង្គពុទ្ធស្តី បណ្ឌូលពុទ្ធរង្សីអង្គសារពេជ្ជ កាលទ្រង់ព្រះផ្នួសបួសស្រួច ហើយទ្រង់ចរត្រេចក្នុងព្រៃក្សា ។	1 This shall recount when the Lord, as a sprout of a buddha, as the pith of an Omniscient One in the lineage of the buddhas, after having ordained as a renunciant, wandered into the woods.
២ ទ្រង់កង់សំនីចំរើនធម៌ ព្រះទ័យស្មោះសរតតសង្កា ទ្រង់តាំងធ្វើទុក្ខកិរិយា កម្រនរណាធ្វើដូចបាន ។	2 There he sat silent in meditation, his mind firm and without doubt. He engaged in austerities that but few could perform.
៣ គឺទ្រង់តាំងប្រព្រឹត្តិព្រហ្មចារ្យ អង្គបួនប្រការប្រកបប្រាណ ប្រព្រឹត្តិឧក្រិដ្ឋឥតរំខាន ដូចនឹងនិទានមានតទៅ ។	3 He took up the practice of <i>brahmacāryas</i> , numbering four, each of which entailed severe penance, without being disturbed, as shall be described as follows.

**damnuoñ chaddant-7**  
Chaddanta’s lament

Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 48a–49b damṅuoñ stec ṭamrī sar; **UB019** 38a–39b damṅuoñ stec ṭamrī sar;

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṅveḅ nānā* ប្រជុំធម្មសង្កេតនានា (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 66 (២៧. ទំនួញ្ចទន្ត).

Summary: First-person lament of the Bodhisatta during his birth as the six-tusked elephant Chaddanta (from the *Chaddanta Jātaka*) upon being shot by a hunter.

Duk Āt 1998	Translation
<p>១ ឱសាឱសុកទ្រាគូស្នេហា ម្តេចចង់វេរាពុំស្រាកស្រាន្ត ប្រើព្រានកំណាចកាចសាមាន្យ បាញ់បង្អួចព្រាណបានវេទនា ។</p>	<p>1 Alas, Subhadrā, my love! Why do you sow such vengeful karma without relief, by having this wicked brute of a hunter shoot me through my body so painfully?</p>
<p>២ បើចង់បានភូកបងមិនថាអ្វី បាច់អីប្រើព្រានមកប្រហារ ឲ្យបងចុកចាប់សែនខ្លាចផ្សា វេទនាណាស់ណាសុកទ្រាអើយ ។</p>	<p>2 If you wanted my tusks, I wouldn't have hesitated. What need do you have for a hunter to slay me and cause me such horrific pain? How it hurts, O Subhadrā!</p>
<p>៣ ថ្វីនាងមិនគិតកាលកំសត់ ឯមេដំរីតមកកៀកកើយ បងឥតហោរហោរិនឹងប្អូនឡើយ ព្រោះព្រានព្រងើយឲ្យបាញ់បង ។</p>	<p>3 Do you not remember when you were miserable, and the chief of the elephants ran to console you? I was not cruel to you at all, so perhaps the hunter shot me out of carelessness.</p>
<p>៤ ណើយចុះបងផ្តាំនឹងនាយព្រាន ឲ្យស្រីនាងបានភូកបងហើយ នៅឲ្យសុខសាន្តព្រលឹងអើយ បងលាសិនហើយស្លាប់ឥឡូវ ។</p>	<p>4 So I shall admonish the hunter, telling him to give you my tusks. May you be happy and well, my dearest. I say goodbye, for now I shall die.</p>
<p>៥ ឱព្រានសន្តន្តរចរលីលា ៧ថ្ងៃចុះណាឲ្យដល់សំពៅ ហើយប្រាប់បណ្តាំការរក់ជ្រៅ ទុក្ខវេទនាសសត្រូវយើងគ្មានទេ ។</p>	<p>5 Hunter, walk from here for seven days to reach the boat, and give my words to her, the whole story. Pain, fault, or enemies—of these I have none.</p>
<p>៦ កែយើងឲ្យភូកដល់ប្អូនស្រី</p>	<p>6 Extract from me the tusks to give to her,</p>

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

ស្និតអាសយណាមាសមេ      as I can bear them being cut out, O my dearest,  
 ថ្វីបើបង់ស្លាប់មិនស្តាយទេ      for I have no regrets in death  
 ឲ្យតែបានត្រាស់ជាព្រះពុទ្ធឃោរាង ។      as long as I may awaken as a Buddha.

**damnuoñ nān kesinī juop niñ putr-7**  
 Queen Kesinī's lament upon meeting her son

Khmer verse, 5 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Yin Van' in 1965.

Leporello: **UB038** 55a–55b damnuoñ nān kesinī juop niñ putr;

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ន់, *Prajum dharm pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇḍāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 47 (ទំនួញនាងកេសនី ជួបនឹងបុត្រ).

Summary: The first-person lament of Queen Kesinī, wife of King Subhamitta, upon being reunited with her son, from whom she was separated after she was kidnapped. The narrative comes from the *Subhaamitta Jātaka* (*Sabbamitta Jātaka*/ *Sambhūmitta Jātaka*), one of the non-canonical jātakas in the *Paññāsajātaka* collection.

Yin Van' 1965	Translation
<p>១                      ឱ៖ឱ! មាសថ្ងៃកូនម្តាយអើយ                      កូនបាត់យូរហើយពុំឃើញមុខ                      ម្តាយនឹករលឹកទាំងថ្ងៃយប់                      មិនដែលជួបមុខកូនសោះឡើយ ។</p>	<p>1                      Alas, my precious son!                      You've been gone for long and I haven't seen your face.                      I, your mother, pine for you each day and night,                      never having the chance to see you.</p>
<p>២                      ឥឡូវស្រាប់តែឮមាត់កូន                      ប្រាប់នាមត្រកូលនឹងនាមឈ្មោះ                      ឪពុកនិងម្តាយយ៉ាងពីរោះ                      ម្តាយស្ទើរនឹងធ្លុះធ្លាក់ធ្លាយថ្លើម ។</p>	<p>2                      But now that I hear your voice,                      saying the family and given names                      of your mother and father beautifully,                      I stumble and fall part, my heart breaks open.</p>
<p>៣                      ឱ៖ឱ! កូនអើយសូមអ្នកប្រាប់                      កូនម្តាយចាំស្តាប់ណាកូនណា                      នេះគឺកម្មម្តាយហើយជីវិត                      នាមថាប្រាកដកេសនី ។</p>	<p>3                      O child, please speak to me.                      Your mother wants to listen to you.                      This is my karma, my precious,                      the karma of your mother, named Kesinī.</p>
<p>៤</p>	<p>4</p>

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākṽ 7 verse (-7)

កូនអើយមួយនឹកកូនប្រុសណាស់	Dear son, I have missed you so much,
តាំងពីព្រាត់ប្រាសកូនពិសី	ever since I was cleft from you, my dear.
មួយនឹកតែកូនសព្វថ្ងៃ	I pined for your every day,
ទិវាត្រឹមិនដែលដាច់ ។	morning and evening without cease.
៥	5
នេះកម្មមួយយើងទាំងអស់ប្រាណ	This is my karma and that of us all,
ដែលបានសាងពីខាងមុខ	which we have cultivated in the past,
បណ្តាលឱ្យចាកចេញពីស្រុក	and now leads us to be driven from our homeland
បានជាវេទទុក្ខគ្រប់ៗគ្រា ។	and endure this suffering together.

**daṃṃuoñ bhariyā rapas' jāñ kèṽ-7**  
The jeweler's wife's lament

Khmer verse, 7 stanzas in *bākṽ prāmbūr*, composed by Yin Van' in 1965.

Leporello: **UB038** 56a–56b daṃṃuoñ bhariyā rapas' jāñ kèṽ;

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ន់, *Prajum dharm pad ប្រជុំជម្រក* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṃṃāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ត័រ, 1965), 48 (ទំនួញភរិយារបស់ ជាងកែវ).

Summary: The first-person lament of the wife of the Bodhisatta from an unidentified *jātaka* narrative.

Yin Van' 1965	Translation
១	1
ឱ! ព្រះសាស្តាម្ចាស់ប្អូនអើយ	Oh Teacher, my master!
បងអើយធ្វើកម្មអ្វីម្ល៉េះណា	Why do you do such acts,
វាយដំប្រំបាក់គ្មានមេត្តា	hitting, striking, trampling, and kicking without mercy,
ឈាមដាបកាយអស់ទៅហើយ។	such that blood flows over my entire body?
២	2
ទោះបីខុសឆ្គងដូចម្តេចម្តា	No matter what wrongs I have committed,
គួរមានមេត្តាលោកខ្លះហើយ	you should show some mercy.
ជម្រះកខុសផ្លូវឱ្យហើយ	It is clear that I took a wrong turn,
ម្តេចឡើយមកធ្វើទាំងបំពារ ។	but why must you abuse me?
៣	3

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākṃ 7 verse (-7)

ឱ៖ឱ! ព្រះគុណម្ចាស់ខ្ញុំអើយ	Alas, my virtuous master!
ម្តេចឡើយមកបានក្តីវេទនា	Why must I suffer so,
មករងគ្រោះថ្នាក់រងកម្មពារ	and endure this misfortune, this vengeful karma?
វេទនាគួរឲ្យអាណិតណាស់ ។	My suffering deserves your pity.
៤	4
ខ្ញុំបានអង្វរព្រះស្វាមី	I humbly request you, noble husband,
ដោយក្តីមេត្តាព្រះគុណម្ចាស់	to have mercy, virtuous master.
មិនគួរនឹងមកធ្វើកម្មក្រាស់	You shouldn't do such grave deeds.
លំបាកចិត្តណាស់ព្រះគុណអើយ ។	How my heart suffers, O virtuous one!
៥	5
ទោះបីបើមានដូចម្តេចម្តាយ	No matter what has happened,
គួរនឹកកាលគ្រាយុរមកហើយ	you think of the distant past,
មិនឃើញសៅហ្មងត្រង់ណាឡើយ	where you'll see no blemishes at all.
គួរហើយតែមានមេត្តាខ្លះ ។	Thus you should have some pity for me.
៦	6
នេះចំជាដួចិត្តពាលពិត	Yours is indeed a vicious heart, wicked indeed,
វាយដំចង់រឹតព្រះគុណម្ចាស់	that you would strike and bind me, O virtuous one,
រងទុក្ខវេទនាជាខ្លាំងណាស់	such that I suffer so terribly.
គួរតែនឹកខ្មាស់មនុស្សទេវតា ។	You ought to be ashamed before gods and men.
៧	7
សូមទានព្រះគុណទ្រង់សន្តោស	Please, O virtuous one, find contentment,
អត់ទោសដល់ខ្ញុំព្រះករុណា	and forgive me, servant of your grace,
ដោយមានអនុគ្រោះចិត្តមេត្តា	with the benefit of your compassionate heart.
កុំបីមានពៀរតទៅមុខ ។	Don't carry this rancor into the future.

**daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā-7**  
Queen Mahāmāyā's lament

FEMC title: lpök daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā

Khmer verse, 14 stanzas in *bākṃ prāmbūr*, composed by Jāy M"ai in 1942.

Leporello: **UB018** 54a–56a braḥ nān sirimahāmāyā; **UB019** 21b–34f daṃnuoñ braḥ nān sirimahāmāyā; **UB027** 67a–68b; **UB038** 25b–27a daṃnuoñ nān sirimahāmāyā; **UB047** 68a–69b braḥ aṅg dhvö dukkharakiriya; **UB049** 3a–6a dukkhara:kiriya; **UB062** 74b–75b pruh banlak;



Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhara ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M<sup>a</sup>i ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 14–15.

Summary: A narrative account of a conversation between the Bodhisatta’s mother, Mahāmāyā, and the emaciated Bodhisatta after his practice of austerities. It follows directly from **dukkarakiriyā A-7** and focuses on the lament of Mahāmāyā upon seeing her son near death.

Standardized	Translation
១ ឱបុត្រពន្ធកមាសម្តាយអើយ កូនអើយអ្នកស្នមអ្វីម្ល៉េះណា ម្តាយស្តាយអ្នកពេកឥតឧបមា ឧបមេយ្យយ៉ាងណាក៏ពុំបាន ។	1 “O my darling, my dear son. You’ve become so thin and weak. Your mother feels such sorrow, sorrow that goes beyond compare.
២ កូនអើយកូនកើតប្រាំពីរថ្ងៃ ខ្លួនម្តាយក្សិណក្ស័យចាកចោលឋាន ទៅកើតតុសិតស្នគីរិមាន នាស្ថានទេវលោកលុះឥឡូវ ។	2 My son, only seven days after your birth did I live, only to be reborn in a palace in Tusita, where I now reside with the gods.
៣ ម្តាយដឹងដំណឹងដោយទេវតា បាប្រ់ថារូបកូនល្អពេកកូរ ទ្រង់ទ្រាយឆោមឆាយឥតអាស្រូវ ឥឡូវម្តេចស្នមអ្វីដល់ម្ល៉េះ ។	3 I heard from the gods that your body is magnificent, beautiful, and without fault. How it is you’re now so thin?
៤ ម្តាយមើលទៅអ្នកសព្វរាងកាយ កូនអើយម្តាយស្តាយស្មើរលេះ រលួយចិត្តថ្លើមក្នុងទីនេះ បើម្ល៉េះទៅហើយយ៉ាងណាទៅ ។	4 Witnessing you in this state, my sorrow pushes me to the brink. My heart nearly melts away. How can I go on living?
៥ ឱប្រុសម្តាយអើយម្តេចអភព ពីដើមអ្នកធ្លាប់មានលំនៅ មានស្រីជំទង់ចាំគល់ហៅ គ្មានទំនេរយប់ថ្ងៃណា ។	5 O my darling, what’s happened? Before you had a place to live. Women served your every need, and not one moment was empty.
៦ មិនសមបើកូនមកក្សិណក្ស័យ ក្នុងព្រៃម្នាក់ឯងណាប្រុសណា	6 It’s not fitting for you to die alone here in the forest.

គួរណាស់តែក្ស័យក្នុងប្រាង្គប្រា  
សាទព្រះបិតាណាកូនអើយ ។

៧

ស្គមអើយស្គមណាស់ឃើញតែឆ្អឹង  
ភ្នែកស្លក់ល្អក់ស្ទឹងអស់ទៅហើយ  
អ្នកឃើញម្តាយទេប្រុសម្តាយអើយ  
កូនអើយម្តេចឡើយមិនចរចា ។

៨

ម្តាយមកជួបមុខកូនពិសី  
ហេតុអ្វីមិនស្នើរកមាតា  
កូនអើយក្រោកឡើយណាបុស្រណា  
កុំនៅនិទ្រោដល់ណាទៀត ។

៩

នាកាលសម្តេចព្រះសាស្តា  
ឮព្រះវាចារមាតាហើយ  
ស្តេចប្រែព្រះអង្គពុំលង់ឡើយ  
ទ្រង់ឆ្លើយតបទៅដូច្នោះថា ។

១០

បពិត្រព្រះមេមានគុណធ្ងន់  
លើសលន់ឥតបីនឹងឧបមា  
ទូលបង្គំឃាត់ព្រះមាតា  
កុំសោយសោកាណាម្ចាស់អើយ ។

១១

ទូលបង្គំមិនស្លាប់ទេម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ  
ថ្មីបើវាវ័យយ៉ាងនេះហើយ  
ហេតុនេះសូមអ្នកស្រាកទុក្ខស្បើយ  
ម្ចាស់អើយសូមវិលទៅទេវលោក ។

១២

និទានប្រវត្តិព្រះសាស្តា  
ទុក្ខរកិរិយាច្រើនប្រយោគ  
រឿងមហាមាយាទ្រង់សោយសោក  
អាមោក្ខដល់បុត្រវត្តិពិសី ។

១៣

រឿងនេះអ្នកតែងបានស្រង់យក  
ចេញមកអំពីព្រះបាលី  
ព្រមទាំងសំស្ក្រឹតសព្វសេចក្តី

It is much better to perish within  
the towers of your father's palace.

7

How emaciated you are. There's nothing but bones.  
Your eyes are cloudy and cadaverous.  
Can you see your mother, my dear son?  
Why do you not respond?

8

I have come to see you face to face.  
Why don't you call for your mother?  
Stand up my child, my dear son.  
Don't lie there any longer."

9

When the Lord, the Teacher,  
heard the words of his mother,  
he was unable to move his body,  
but responded to her thus:

10

"Venerable! O holy mother of grave virtue,  
virtue that exceeds all comparisons!  
I humbly implore you, Mother,  
don't grieve for me, my master!

11

I, who bow to you, shall not die, my precious master,  
even if I have been like this a long while.  
Thus please be relieved of your sorrows,  
my master, and return to the heavens."

12

The account of the Teacher  
performing austerities has many lines  
concerning the story of Mahāmāyā lamenting  
her dear precious son.

13

This story the author has extracted  
from Pali texts  
along with some Sanskrit ones,

សប្បុរសប្រុសស្រីស្តាប់ឲ្យបាន ។	for good people to listen to and understand.
១៤	14
បញ្ចប់សេចក្តីខ្លីប៉ុណ្ណោះ	The summarized account ends here,
ឈប់ស្ទើរ៖បង្កង់រឿងនិទាន	abridging the narrative thus.
សប្បុរសអ្នកស្តាប់ទាំងប៉ុន្មាន	May the good people who are listening
សូមបានអនិសង្ឃ ច្រើនណាស់ហោង ។	receive great benefits.

**daṃnuoñ madrī-7**  
Madrī's lament

Khmer verse, 5 stanzas in *bāky prāmbhīr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 67a–68a daṃnuoñ braḥ nān medrī (first section); **UB038** 54b–55a daṃnuoñ nān medrī viyog niṅ putr;

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ន', *Prajum dhaīm pad ប្រជុំធម៌បទ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិចិត្រស្តីវ, 1965), 46–47.

Summary: The lament of Madrī (Pali: Maddī), the Bodhisatta Prince Vessantara's wife, upon her path home to her children being blocked by gods taking the form of wild beasts.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
ឱ៖ឱព្រះសុរិយាអើយព្រះសុរិយា	Alas, the sun! Alack, the sun!
ថ្ងៃណាកកាន់តែទៀបណាស់ទៅហើយ	The sun sinks lower and lower in the sky.
ជាលីគ្រិស្តាមាសម្តាយអើយ	Precious Jālī and Kṛṣṇā,
ម្ល៉េះហើយសមអ្នកមើលផ្លូវម្តាយ ។	you are probably waiting for me.
២	2
សព្វថ្ងៃម្តាយបេះផល្លាផល	Each day I gather fruit
ខាងក្បែរមណ្ឌលមិនដែលឆ្ងាយ	near our home, never going far,
ខ្លាចក្រែងគ្រិស្តាស្រីពៅម្តាយ	lest Kṛṣṇā, my little daughter,
ស្រែកទឹកឃ្មានបាយរកដោះបៅ ។	thirst for my breast.
៣	3
ថ្ងៃនេះបង្កើតជាអស្ចារ្យ	But this day is so strange,
ម្តាយរកផល្លាក្នុងព្រៃជ្រៅ	for as I look for fruit deep in the forest,
ពុំសូវមានផ្លែឆោមឆ្នៅ	there isn't much to find, my dears!

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākṽ 7 verse (-7)

កូលក្តៅក្នុងទ្រូងពុំមានស្បើយ ។	My heart burns without relief.
៤	4
ឱស្តេចខ្លាអើយអ្នកស្ថិតនៅ	O tigers, you who abide in
ព្រៃភ្នំក្រោមជួរជ្រោះជ្រៅ	the mountains and the deep jungles,
ម្ចាស់អើយបើកផ្លូវឲ្យខ្ញុំទៅ	please, my masters, let me go!
គឺខ្ញុំមកនេះចោលស្វាមី ។	I have come here with neither my husband
៥	5
បុត្រាបុត្រីទាំងទ្វេហា	nor my two children.
មានតែខ្លួនខ្ញុំគ្មាននរណា	There is only me, no one else.
សូមម្ចាស់ទាំងអស់បើកផ្លូវខ្ញុំ	Please, my masters, let me go
ឲ្យខ្ញុំបានទៅយល់ព្រះអង្គ ។	so I can return to the Prince.

**damnuoñ mtāy savaṇṇasām-7**  
Savaṇṇasāma's mother's lament

Khmer verse, 5 stanzas in *bākṽ prāmbṽr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 37a–38a damnuoñ mātā braḥ savaṇṇasām;

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṁveg nānā* ប្រជុំធម្មសង្ខេបនានា (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 69 (30. nān pāyikār bas' bruos bis).

Summary: The lament of the mother of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Savaṇṇasāma, after being blinded by the venom of a snake.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
ឱសាឱកូនសួនមាសម្តាយអើយ	“My golden one, my dear one
កូនអើយមកជួយម្តាយផងណា	my child, please come here quickly!
សត្វពស់ព្រៃសពិសខ្លាក៏នេត្រា	the snake's venom now blinds me
ឱសាឱអនិច្ចាខ្លួនអញអើយ ។	please have pity, my dear one!
២	2
ណាមួយអាណិតកូននៅក្មេង	“You are still so very young
កូនអើយម្តាយលែងមើលឃើញហើយ	my eyes are stung by venom
កូននៅក្មេងណាស់ណាកូនអើយ	child, what have I now become?
ម្តាយខ្លាក៏អស់ហើយមើលពុំឃើញ ។	o this loathsome fate of mine!
៣	3

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

ណាមួយព្រួយចិត្តអាណិតបុត្រ ឱកូនកំសត់សម្លាញ់ម្តាយ កូននៅក្មេងណាស់ណាកូនអើយ សុវណ្ណសាមកូនអើយជួយម្តាយផង ។	“My heart trembles for your sake for you I quake, child of mine! my young son, my child divine help me! I pine for you, son.”
៤	4
នាងយំនាងសែក្រលើដំបូល នាងស្រែកបង្កកហៅរកកូន ឱសាមកូនអើយអ្នកឆាប់មក ម្តាយទៅមិនរួចទេកូនអើយ ។	She screamed these words from a mound and shouted around for her son “Dearest Sama, you must run! I am undone, help me soon!
៥	5
ឱប្រុសម្តាយអើយអ្នកឆាប់មក កូនឮម្តាយកូកហៅកូនទេ ម្តាយដេរណាស់ភ្នែកឈឺផ្សា កូនអើយឆាប់ណាជួយម្តាយផង ។	“My dear Sama, you must run! hear me summon you, come soon! I am cold and need your boon under this moon, here I wait.”

**damnuoñ subhadrā-7**  
Subhadrā’s lament

Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 63b–65a damnuoñ brah nāñ sabbadrā;

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṅveg nānā* ប្រជុំធម្មសង្ខេបនានា (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 67 (២៨. ទំនួញនាងសុកទ្រា).

Summary: The lament of Subhadrā (Pali: Cullasubhaddā), formerly the junior wife of the Bodhisatta is his birth as the six-tusked elephant king Chaddanta and now reborn as the wife of a human king, upon seeing the tusks that the Bodhisatta cut off himself for her after being shot by the hunter Soṇuttara.

Duk Āt 1998	Translation
១ សុកទ្រាយើញភ្នែកកាលណា ឱវាចុកណែនសែនអូលក្តៅ ឱវាសែនទុក្ខមុខសោកសៅ ឱអ្នកប្រុសពៅប្តីសម្លាញ់ ។	1 When Subhadrā saw his tusks, her chest tightened and boiled with pain, She was filled with suffering and sadness, lamenting, “O my dear husband!

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

២	2
ប្អូននឹកអ្នកណាស់ម្ចាស់ប្តីអើយ	I miss you so much, my precious master.
ប្អូនមិនដឹងឡើយទេម្ចាស់បង	I didn't know that you would
មកផ្តាំដំណឹងឲ្យនួនល្អង	send me this message.
ប្អូនសូមក្ស័យផងណាម្ចាស់អើយ ។	May I die together with you!
៣	3
ប្អូនបានឃើញភ្នែកទុក្ខភ័យស្បើយ	I have seen your tusks and my pain is unrelenting.
ឱម្ចាស់ប្តីអើយប្អូនសូមទោស	Please, my dear husband, forgive me.
ប្អូនមិនដឹងប្តីពិតដូច្នោះ	I didn't know you were really my husband.
ខ្លួនប្អូនសូមទោសនឹងបងហើយ ។	Please accept my apology.
៤	4
ពេលនេះប្អូនសូមក្ស័យជាមួយ	Now I shall die together with you,
លំបាកទុក្ខព្រួយជាមួយគ្នា	facing this awful suffering as one.
សូមផ្សងសព្វជាតិនានា	I vow to meet you in every life,
ប្អូនសូមជួបគ្នាលុះអវសាន ។	from now on until the very end.”
៥	5
នាងអត់ដង្ហើមក្ស័យជន្ម	She stopped breathing and died
ឲ្យបានជួបគ្នាជានិរន្តរ៍	so as to always meet with him,
ជួបអង្គសាស្តាព្រះភគវង្ស	to meet the Teacher, the Blessed One,
ឲ្យទាន់សាសនាព្រះពុទ្ធហោង ។	in time for his dispensation as the Buddha.

**daṃnuoñ suvaṇṇasām-7**

Suvaṇṇasāma's lament

Khmer verse, 6 stanzas in *bāky prāmbōr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 62a–63b daṃnuoñ braḥ suvaṇṇasām;

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṅveg nānā* ប្រជុំធម្មសង្ខេបនានា (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 68.

Summary: A lament of the Bodhisatta in his birth as Suvaṇṇasāma upon being shot and realizing he can no long serve his blind parents.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
តើអ្នកណាមួយមកបាញ់ខ្ញុំ	Who shot me with this arrow,

ខ្ញុំដើរតម្រង់ទៅជងទឹក ដៃកន្ត្រៃតក្កមជាមួយអំរិក លាន់ស្នូរតត្រឹកតាមមាត់ ។	fired from a bow, poisoned too, which through the dark forest flew down where I drew water low?
២	2
ចុះរឿងហេតុអ្វីមកបាញ់ខ្ញុំ លោកអើយធ្វើកម្មអ្វីម៉្លេះណា មកបាញ់ខ្លួនប្រាណអង្គអត្តា ឈាមជាបកាយាអស់ទៅហើយ ។	Why have you come and shot me? My destiny, is it so, to be pierced by this arrow? The blood soaks slowly through me.
៣	3
បើស្លាប់ខ្ញុំហើយគ្មាននរណា បំរើមាតាបិតាឡើយ ស្លាប់ដល់បីនាក់ព្រះគុណអើយ ថ្ងៃនេះឯងហើយត្រូវមរណា ។	Without me there is no one to serve the ones who bore me; not only one, but now three meet death with me here today.
៤	4
ឱព្រះមេមានគុណធ្ងន់ កូនបានក្តីទុក្ខយ៉ាងនេះហើយ មកជួយកូនផងព្រះគុណអើយ ស្លាប់ឥឡូវហើយណាព្រះមេ ។	Mother to whom I owe life, oh how this strife comes my way! Mother, come help me today, passing away before you.
៥	5
ធ្វើម្តេចបានឃើញនៅមុខម៉ែ កូនសូមលាម៉ែថ្ងៃនេះហើយ កូនច្បាស់ជាស្លាប់មិនខានឡើយ ឱព្រះមេអើយមកជួយកូនផង ។	How can I see your sweet face? Here in this place, I leave you. Mother, come to help me through— like drops of dew, I vanish...
៦	6
កូនសូមឱទ្ធិសដល់ទេវតា សូមប្រាប់មាតាបិតាផង បិតាប្រាប់បាញ់ខ្ញុំឈឺកន្ទួន សូមទេវតាផងប្រាប់ជំណើស ។	O may the gods hear my plea— they have shot me... I vanish. Tell my parents... I anguish. A humble wish... please tell them....

**damnuoñ ānand-7**

Ānanda's lament

Khmer verse, 39 stanzas in *bāky prāmbv̄r*, composed by Jāy M'ai in 1942.

Leporello: **UB038** 36b–40a damnuoñ ānand; **UB047** 88b–93a braḥ aṅ suor aṃbī kā sṭāy/saṃnuor ānand

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1942), 22–26.

Summary: An account of a conversation between the Buddha and Ānanda, with the latter mourning his teacher’s impending passing away and the former admonishing him and all Buddhists to worship him through their practice of the Dharma.

**paṇṭām braḥ buddh-7**  
The Buddha’s admonitions

Khmer verse, 12 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB047** 87a–88a paṇṭām braḥ buddh hiep parinibbān/paṇṭām braḥ buddh;

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajum dhammasaṅveg nānā ប្រជុំធម្មសង្កេតនានា* (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 42–43.

Summary: An account of the Buddha’s admonitions to Ānanda just prior to entering Nibbāna, exhorting him to remember and pass on the Dharma and to worship the Tathāgata through practice.

**paṇṭām mahāmāyā-7**  
Queen Mahāmāyā’s admonitions

Khmer verse, 11 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, late 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB047** 55a–55b paṇṭām nān mahāmāyā devī camboḥ nān gotamī/daṃnuoñ mahāmāyā

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1942), 82–83 [only found in later reprints of; បណ្ណានុវត្តន៍មហាមាយាទេវី ចំពោះនាងគោតមី (បទពាក្យកាព្យបូរណ)].

Summary: The Bodhisatta’s mother’s deathbed advice to her younger sister, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, to look after the Buddha-to-be as if he were her own son.

Jāy M"ai 1942

Translation



ហែនាងគោតមីស្រីប្អូនអើយ  
ប្អូនអើយចូរចាំបណ្តាំណា  
បងសូមផ្តល់ផ្តាំលើកនិដ្ឋា  
ចូរប្អូនមេត្តាត្រាប្រណី ។  
២

“Dear Lady Gotamī, younger sister!  
Please remember these admonitions  
that I shall give to you.  
Please, younger sister, be kind and forgiving.  
2

បងបានចម្អងព្រះអយ្យបុត្រ  
កំណត់បានត្រឹម៧ថ្ងៃ  
ប្រាំពីរទិវាណាប្អូនស្រី  
ត្រូវក្តីមរណៈមកស្តាក់កាត់ ។  
៣

I gave birth to a beloved son,  
but after only seven days—  
seven days, younger sister—  
death came and blocked my path.  
3

ស្រីអើយកូននេះអស្ចារ្យណាស់  
ពួកហោរាសាស្ត្របានថ្វាយថ្វាត់  
នាមថាសិទ្ធត្ថតាមបញ្ញត្តិ  
អ្នកញ៉ាំងពួកសត្វឱ្យចំរើន ។  
៤

“Sister, this child is remarkable indeed;  
wise sages came to pay respect to him.  
His name is Siddhattha, meaning  
“the one who shall lead beings to success.”  
4

អយ្យបុត្រយើងនេះនឹងបានត្រាស់  
ដឹងសព្វគ្រប់សាសន៍ដោយក្រអើន  
ដល់ជាទីពឹងដល់គេច្រើន  
ចំរើនសុខសព្វមនុស្សទេព្តា ។  
៥

Our beloved son will be awakened,  
knowing all paths to salvation by his own effort.  
Many will come to ask for his help,  
and he shall grant happiness to humans and gods alike.  
5

ប្អូនអើយសូមប្អូននាងតាំងចិត្ត  
អណិតក្នុងនេះដោយករុណា  
បំបៅបីពរសព្វប្រការ  
ធ្វើដោយហត្ថារបស់ខ្លួន ។  
៦

Younger sister! Please be determined  
and have compassion for this child.  
Let him suckle at your breast,  
and care for him with your own hands.  
6

ស្រីកុំបណ្តោយឱ្យទាសា  
ទាសីឈ្មោះណាក្រៅពីស្អូន  
ធ្វើដោយដៃឯងយ៉ាងមាំមួន  
ទើបឈ្មោះថាស្អូនមេត្រីពិត ។  
៧

Sister, don't lost your fortitude  
and call servants to care for him.  
Raise him with your own strong arms;  
only this is called true kindness.”  
7

ផ្តាំស្រេចនាងមហាមាយា  
នាងក៏មរណាអស់ជីវិត  
ទៅកាន់ទេវលោកឋានតុសិត  
វិចិត្រដោយបុទ្ធីអនេកា ។  
៨

Having finished giving her admonitions,  
she passed away, her life finished.  
She was reborn in the Tusita heaven,  
resplendent and with innumerable powers.  
8

ន័យខ្លះថានាងមហាមាយា

Some say that Queen Māyā was born

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākṃ 7 verse (-7)

ទៅកើតនៅនាត្រៃត្រីជ័រ	in the blissful Trāyastriṃśa heaven,
បានឮដំណឹងដោយទេពតា	and could hear news from the gods
ប្រាប់ថាអយ្យបុត្រល្អពេកក្រៃ ។	about the exceptional beauty of her son,
៩	9
បានជាក្នុងពេលព្រះមហាក្សត្រ	such that when the Bodhisatta, the Prince,
ទ្រង់តាច្រវែងក្នុងដងព្រៃ	was wandering in the forest,
តាំងហាបធានមាន ៤ ឆ័យ	staying for four reasons
ក្នុងព្រៃឧរុវេលក្រុងគយា ។	in the Uruvela woods near in the city of Gayā,
១០	10
ព្រះកាយស្គមណាស់នៅតែឆ្អឹង	his body growing emaciated till his bones poked through,
ព្រះនេត្រល្អក់ស្ទឹងហួសពណ៌នា	his eyes bleary, wide-open beyond description,
ទ្រង់ដួលក្រាបចុះលើពហុជា	his body collapsing upon the earth,
សោយទុក្ខវេទនាស្ទើរក្ស័យជន្ម។	enduring terrible suffering but still alive,
១១	11
ពេលនោះសិរិមហាមាយា	the beautiful Queen Maya at the time
ចុះចាកសួតាំងមកគយគន់	could then descend from the heavens to see
ទតសព្វរូបរាងព្រះកតវន្ត	the body of the Blessed One,
ដូចខ្ញុំនិពន្ធរួចមកហើយ ។	as I have described before.

**parinibbānakathā-7**

The story of the Buddha’s Parinibbāna

FEMC title: lpök parinibbānakathā

Khmer verse, 11 stanzas in *bākṃ prāmbūr*, composed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB018** 56b–58b nibbānasūtr; **UB019** 30b–32b bodhiñāṇ yān cūl nibbān; **UB027** 69a–70b; **UB047** 85b–86b braḥ buddh yān cūl nibbān/parinibbān; **UB057** 152a–154a; **UB062** 75b–76b nibbānasūtr; **UB065** 20b–21a parinibbānakathā;

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim seṅ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេង, 1942), 31–32.

Summary: An account of the Buddha’s entry into Nibbāna, including Ānanda’s encounter with a group of laypeople who have not yet been informed of the passing of the Blessed One.

Jāy M"ai 1942

Translation

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

១	1
ដំណាលកាលអង្គព្រះទ្រង់ញាណ យាងចូលនិពានមានកំរិត ក្រោមដើមរាំងភ្នំព្រៃជុំជិត បរិស័ទមូលមិត្តពេញត្រៀបត្រា ។	The Lord Buddha, wisdom-filled, at last entered Nibbāna in a grove of sal trees, with followers all around.
២	2
នាថ្ងៃអង្គារ១៥កើត ក្នុងខ្មែតវិសាខមាសា ឆ្នាំម្សាញ់បញ្ចស័កយាមអង្គារ វេលាព្រឹកព្រាងស្វាងរស្មី ។	On the fifteenth waxing day of the month of Visākha, fifth cycle of the snake year, Tuesday morning in the bright sun.
៣	3
ថេរវនុថេរៈទាំងចាស់ក្មេង លើកលែងតែព្រះអរហន្តថ្ងៃ ពេលនោះយោបំយំពេកក្រៃ ស្តាយព្រះជិនស្រីគ្រប់ៗគ្នា ។	Monks young and old all were there, save the precious Arahant. Together they cried and wailed in lament for the Victor.
៤	4
ខ្លះស្តាយធ្លាប់ស្តាប់ច្បាប់ឱវាទ ខ្លះស្តាយបិណ្ឌបាត្រតាមធម្មតា ខ្លះស្តាយធ្លាប់ស្តាប់ធម៌ទេសនា គ្រប់គ្នាទាំងអស់គ្មានសេសសល់ ។	Some recalled words of guidance. Others recalled the alms rounds. Still more recalled sermons preached. No one could but feel sorrow.
៥	5
ក្នុងព្រៃសារវន្តលាន់រំពង គកកងទាំងអស់សព្វសាកល ផ្ការាំងជម្រុះជ្រុះជាផល ថ្វាយដល់ព្រះមុនិន្ទពិន្ទលោកា ។	The sal tree woods echoed with thunder and howling roars. Sal blossoms fell like rain, blessing the Lord of the World.
៦	6
លុះដល់ត្រាត្រាយព្រះអានន្ទ និមន្តបិណ្ឌបាត្រតាមធម្មតា អ្នកស្រុកស្រីប្រុសទាំងអស់គ្នា វន្ទាបង្គំយំសួរសព្វ ។	A while later, Ananda went out for his daily alms. Men and women from the town bowed low to him and asked,
៧	7
បពិត្រលោកម្ចាស់ឈ្មោះអានន្ទ ចុះអង្គអរហន្តព្រះចមកព បាត់អង្គសាស្តាទាំងថ្ងៃយប់ ចមកពតើស្តេចយាងទៅណា ។	“Venerable Ananda! The Arahant, our great Lord, has not been seen, night or day. Where has the Lord Buddha gone?”
៨	8



<p>១ រូបសត្វស្រីប្រុសមិនខុសគ្នា ផ្សេងតែនាមដោយនិយម គ្រប់សព្វកាសាសព្វនិយម ទាំងតូចទាំងធំលើពសុភា។</p> <p>២ មានខន្ធមានធាតុមានឥន្ទ្រី ចែកទឹកនៃផ្សេងនានា ក្នុងរូបសព្វសត្វរាល់គ្នា តាមបរមត្តាអត្តខត្តម។</p> <p>៣ ខន្ធមាន៤ផ្នែកចែកផ្សេងគ្នា ដូចនឹងពណ៌នាចំពោះចំ ទី ១ គឺរូបទាំងតូចធំ ប្រជុំធាតុ៤ហៅរូបក្ខន្ធវ។</p> <p>៤ ទឹកដីភ្លើងខ្យល់ច្របល់គ្នា កកើតបានជារូបជាក់ស្អាត មាន ៤២ ជាកំណាត់ ឧបាទានប្រកាន់ជា <i>mayham</i> ម។</p> <p>៥ ធាតុដី ២០ នៃរូបា <i>kesā</i> រហូត <i>karīsam</i> ធាតុទឹក ១២ គឺ <i>pittam</i> <i>semham pubbo lohitaṃ</i> ឈាម ។</p> <p>៦ រហូតមត្តំ ជាកំណត់ មានមកតាមបទធម្មនិយាម ភ្លើង៤ប្រការក៏ឆេះភ្លាម ដុតរោលសាច់ឈាមក្រៀមក្រញូង</p>	<p>1 Women and men are the same In body if not in name, whatever their tongue or town great or small upon the earth.</p> <p>2 The aggregates, the elements, and the senses can divide each thing inside the bodies of all beings in ultimate highest truth.</p> <p>3 Of the aggregates there are five, which I'll describe here clearly. The first is form, both great or small. Four elements make up this aggregate:</p> <p>4 water earth, fire, and wind. They combine together to make form, with forty-two possible things to get attached to as “mine.”</p> <p>5 Twenty things are made of earth, from head hairs to feces. Twenty-two are of water, such as bile, phlegm, pus, and blood,</p> <p>6 with urine as the last, as explained in the Dharma. The four kinds of fire combust immediately, painfully burning all of our flesh and blood.</p>
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**bicāraṇā pañcakkhandh-7**  
Reflection on the five aggregates

Khmer verse, 16 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Cāp Bin in 1971.

Leporello: **UB044** 98a–100a pad *bīraṇcāraṇā pañcakkhandh*

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិន, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃវគ្គនិបូជនិង ត្រៃវគ្គនិប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 72–74.

Summary: A technical description of the function of each of the five aggregates of form, sensation, perception, mental formations, and consciousness.

**bimbābilāp-7**

Bimbā’s lament

FEMC title: lpök bimbābilāp

Khmer verse, 48 stanzas in *bākya prāmbūr*, composed by Jāy M"ai in 1942

Leporello: **UB019** 24a–28b braḥ nāñ bimbā bilāp; **UB038** 31b–36a bimbābilāp; **UB047** 75a–80b braḥ aṅg drañ pros nāñ bimbā/pros nāñ bimbā; **UB049** 6a–15b bimbābhlilāb; **UB065** 18a–19b bimbāviyog bākya prāmbūr;

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nāñādharmmasaiveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេដ, 1942), 16–21.

Summary: A narrative account of Princess Yasodharā Bimbā’s lament upon the Buddha’s return to his father’s palace, including the Buddha’s sermon to her on impermanence.

Partial Standardized Edition and Translation

១	1
នាកាលព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធជាម្ចាស់	After the Lord Buddha, our Master,
បានត្រាស់ហើយស្តេចមកសម្តែង	reached awakening, he traveled to preach
ព្រះធម៌ទេសនានៅនាវិល្លង	and expound the Dharma in the court
ប្រាសាទកន្លែងព្រះបិតា ។	of his father, King Suddhodana,
២	2
ព្រះបាទសុទ្ធាទន័ទតបរិស័ទ្ធ	who looked out at the faithful
ឃើញបាត់តែនាងពិម្ពារ	and saw that only the Princess Bimbā was missing.
មិនឃើញនាងមកស្តាប់ទេសនា	Noticing her absence at the sermon,
រាជាទ្រង់ត្រាស់ប្រើទាសី ។	the king dispatched a servant
៣	3

Appendix II-17 Khmer bākya 7 verse (-7)

ឲ្យទៅអញ្ជើញព្រះពិម្ពា	who invited the august Bimbā
ឲ្យទ្រង់លឺលាមកឆាប់ខ្ចី	to quickly come over, saying
ថាភ្និតស្តា ជាស្វាមី	“Your husband, the prince,
ចត្រឹមកកង់ នៅប្រសាទ ។	has arrived back at the palace
៤	4
របស់ព្រះបិតាឯណោះ	of his father.
សូមនាងយាងចុះដោយខ្លឹម្បាត	Please, my lady, come quickly!
ប្រញាប់ប្រញាល់ណានាងនាថ	Hurry, please hurry, your majesty!
ភ្និតញាតិជួបជុំ ចាំតែនាង ។	Everyone has come except for you.”

**bimbāviyog-7**

Bimbā’s abandonment

Khmer verse, 24 stanzas in *bākya prāmbhīr*, composed by Jāy M<sup>ai</sup> in 1942.

Leporello: **UB018** 59a–61b bimbāviyog; **UB019** 15a–17b braḥ nān bimbā viyog; **UB038** 20b–23b bimbāviyog; **UB047** 63a–65b bimbāviyog;

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhār ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M<sup>ai</sup> ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim sen បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 9–11.

Summary: A narrative account of the lament of Princess Yasodharā Bimbā upon realizing that the Bodhisatta has abandoned her.

**braḥ aṅg kān' tñ-7**

The Lord practices strictly

Khmer verse, 12 stanzas in *bākya prāmbhīr*, composed by Jhīm Śum in 1941.

Leporello: **UB027** 65a–66b braḥ aṅg kān' tñ (largely illegible due to water damage);

Khmer books: Jhīm Śum ឈឹម ស៊ឹម, *Gotamapravatti គោតមប្រវត្តិ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār sumanasuvat(thi) បណ្ណាគារសុមនសុវត្ថី, 1968), 13–16 ( តួរសូត្រជាបទវែងៗ ).

Summary: An account of the Bodhisatta’s ascetic practices, up to the time when he accepts the rice-milk from Sujātā.

**braḥ aṅg tāk' braḥ janm saṅkhār-7**

The Lord limits his lifespan

Khmer verse, 33 stanzas in *bākṃ prāmbṃr*, mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB047** 80b–84b braḥ aṅg ṭāk' braḥ janm saṅkhār/braḥ janm saṅkhār

Khmer books: Duk Āt ឌុក អាត, *Prajuṃ dhammasaṅveg nānā* ប្រជុំធម្មសង្កេតនានា (Battambang បាត់ដំបង, 1998), 44–47.

Summary: An account of the Buddha's decision to pass away into Nibbāna, including his conversation with Māra, his exhortation of his disciples, and a grieving Ananda's unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Buddha to live longer.

**braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār-7**

The Lord defeats Māra

FEMC title: lpök phcāñ' mār

Khmer verse, 43 stanzas in *bākṃ prāmbṃr*, composed by Yin Van' in 1965.

Leporello: **UB038** 27a–31b braḥ aṅg phcāñ mār; **UB047** 70a–75a kāl braḥ aṅg draṅ phcāñ mā/aṅg phcāñ' mār; **UB062** 61b–64b braḥ aṅg phcāñ' mār;

Khmer books: Yin Van' យិន វ៉ាន់, *Prajuṃ dhaṛm pad* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṅṅāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារវិទ្យាវិទ្យាល័យ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស្ទ័រ, 1965), 15–20; Sèm Sūr ផែម សួរ, *Prajuṃ dhaṛm pad nin dhammasaṅveg* ប្រជុំធម៌បទ និង ធម្មសង្កេត (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 197X), 18–22.

Summary: A narrative account of the Buddha's defeat of Māra's armies under the bodhi tree.

**māghapūjā-gāthā samrāy-7**

Pali verses for Māghapūjā, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 8 stanzas in *bākṃ* 7, translation of **Māghapūjā-gāthā**, late 19<sup>th</sup> through mid 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB027** 35a–35b prè ghloñ 7 bākṃ



Khmer books: Som Suvanṇ សោម សុវណ្ណ, *Prajum māghapūjā niṅ visākhapūjā* ប្រជុំ មាយបូជា និង វិសាខបូជា (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār khmèr niyam lekh 55 vithī p"āsdār បណ្ណាគារខ្មែរនិយមលេខ ៥៥ វិថីប៉ាស៊ែរ, 1966), 21–23.

Summary: An account of the spontaneous arrival of 1250 bhikkhus to listen to the Buddha preach the *Ovādapāṭimokkha*, the occasion celebrated by Māghapūjā.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB027**

១

ព្រះមានព្រះភាគអង្គឯណា  
ទ្រង់ព្រះនាមថាព្រះគោតម  
កំចាត់កិលេសទាំងតូចធំ  
មិនឲ្យរូបរុំសន្តាននៅ ។

២

ទ្រង់ត្រាស់សឹងឯងដោយប្រពៃ  
ឥតគ្រឿងទៃប្រៀនប្រដៅ  
ទ្រង់មានចរិយាឥតហួងសៅ  
ករុណាឆ្ពោះទៅសត្វគ្រប់គ្នា

៣

នឹងបញ្ញាកុណាចាក់ដុះឆ្ងាយ  
ជ្រៅឆ្ងាយទូលាយអនន្តា  
ព្រះជាគ្រូក្នុងលោកា  
ឥតមានគ្រូណាប្រៀបផ្ទឹមបាន

៤

ទ្រង់គង់ក្នុងវត្តព្រះវេឡុវ័ន  
ជាទីកលន្ទនិវាបស្ថាន  
ជិតក្រុងរាជគ្រឹសដែនបុរាណ  
ដែលប្រាកដមានក្នុងមគធ

៥

កិក្ខុអរហន្តដ៏ពណ្ណរាយ  
ពាន់ពីររយបាយហាសិបថា ។  
ចូលទៅគង់គាល់នៅត្រៀបត្រា  
កបដោយឃ្លានដ៏ឧត្តម

៦

ហើយទើបព្រះអង្គទ្រង់សន្និបាត  
សំដែងឱវាទបាតិមោក្ខសម

ចំពោះភិក្ខុសង្ឃដ៏ឧត្តម  
ដែលមកជួបជុំនៅពេលនោះ ។

៧

ជាសាសនានៃព្រះពុទ្ធម្ចាស់  
ត្រង់អង្គតែងត្រាស់ឥតមានមោះ  
យ៉ាងសង្ខេបខ្លីល្មមពីពោះ  
ដោយតាថានេះតែបីបទ ។

៨

ក្នុងថ្ងៃពេញបូណ៌មីមាយា  
កបនក្ខត្តាល្អប្រាកដ  
XXXXXXXX  
សន្មតថាចប់បរិបូណ៌ហោង ។

**raṃḷk guṇ māṭāpitā-7**

Recollection of the virtues of parents

Khmer verse, 8 stanzas in *bākṃ prāṃbṃr*, 19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. An older version, beginning with *ahaṃ namo sīro rāṃp*, also exists, though not in this corpus.

Leporello: **UB038** 77b–79b raṃḷk guṇ māṭāpitā; **UB065** 34b–35a sūm raṃḷk māṭāpitā ṭel mān guṇ dhñan'

Khmer books: Nuon Saṃān នួន សំអាំង, *Gihippatipatti gharāvāsadharm* គិហិប្បតិបត្តិ យរាវាសធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Roṃ bumb bhnaṃ beñ រោងពុម្ពភ្នំពេញ, 2547), 62–63.

Summary: An account of the virtues of one’s parents, directly addressed to them. Concludes with a transference of merit to help repay one’s debts to them.

Standardized	Translation
១	1
បពិត្រមាតានិងបិតា	Noble mother and father!
កូននឹកខ្លោចផ្សាពេកអម្បាយ	I burn in longing for you.
តាំងពីកូនកើតមានរូបកាយ	Ever since I took this birth,
លោកតែងខ្វល់ខ្វាយថែរក្សា ។	you’ve toiled hard to care for me.
២	2
ឱ! លោកម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃវិសេសលន់	O my masters, how precious!
លោករងទុក្ខធ្ងន់ពន់ពេកណា	You’ve borne so much suffering,
ព្រោះលោកខំបីចាប់ស្នូនភ្លា	cradling and caring for me—

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

ពុំអាចពណ៌នាឲ្យអស់បាន ។	I cannot describe it all.
៣	3
ហេតុនេះកូនសូមផ្គង់អញ្ជូលី លើកហត្ថទាំងពីរបន្ទង់ប្រាណ បង្គំបាទាព្រះក្សេមក្សាន្ត ទោសខុសប៉ុន្មានសូមប្រណី ។	So I humbly join my palms, raising them and bowing low to your feet, my peaceful lords— forgive my faults and failings.
៤	4
ម្ចាស់អើយកាលកូនទ្រហោយំ លោកស្ទុះមកថ្មមត្រកងបី ច្រៀងបំពេរកូនដោយប្រិមប្រិយ៍ ដោយចិត្តមេត្រីផ្អែកកូនណា ។	While you ate, I cried and screamed. You rushed over and held me, gently singing lullabies with affection till I slept.
៥	5
ទឹកមាត់ទឹកមូត្រលាមកផង ទាំងគ្រឿងសៅហ្មងផងនានា លោកចាប់លោកកាន់លោកស្រវា លាងដោយហត្ថាឥតជិនឆ្គង់ ។	Spit and piss and even shit, Any nasty thing around, you'd pick up with your own hands and clean up without disgust.
៦	6
បពិត្រមាតាមានគុណធ្ងន់ បិតាមានគុណវិសេសលន់ កូនសូមគោរពព្រះគុណធ្ងន់ សូមព្រះសោភ័ណបានក្សេមក្សាន្ត ។	Mother of massive virtue, Father of awesome virtue— I honor these great debts. May you be well, lovely lords.
៧	7
ហេតុនេះកូនសូមឧទ្ទិសផល តម្កល់ចេតនាដោយក្លាហាន ទានសីលការវិន័យកូនបាន សាងធ្វើប៉ុន្មានជូនទៅលោក ។	So I transfer this merit, settling my vow to practice giving, ethics, and meditation— all this I offer to you.
៨	8
សូមលោកទទួលដោយសោមនស្ស ចិត្តកូនត្រង់ស្មោះជូនទៅលោក ដូចខ្ញុំបានពោលពាក្យសច្ចៈ សូមជូនទៅអ្នកគ្រានេះហោង ។	May you receive joyfully what I've offered sincerely In these words of truth— I offer this to you now.

**satthuppabbajjā-7**

The going forth of the Teacher

Khmer verse, 49 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Jāy M'ai in 1942.

Appendix II-17 Khmer bāky 7 verse (-7)

Leporello: **UB018** 31a–32a braḥ bodhisatv ceñ sāñ pubbajā; **UB019** 10b–14b braḥ bodhisatv yāñ dau pabbajjā; **UB038** 62a–70a braḥ bodhisatv yāñ sāñ phnuos; **UB047** 56a–61b braḥ bodhisatt yā ceñ sāñ phnuos;

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṅveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គិម សេដ, 1942), 3–8. (សត្តប្បដ្ឋា)

Summary: A narrative account of the Buddha's renunciation of his family in the palace, his pursuit of asceticism, along with a description of the five daily duties of buddhas and a sermon by the Buddha admonishing Ānanda and others to practice.

**sādhāraṇadhaṛm-7**

Dharmas common to all

FEMC title: lpök trai lakkhaṇ

Khmer verse, 12 stanzas, *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Cāp Bin in 1971.

Leporello: **UB026** 47a–48a sādhāraṇadhaṛm prè pad bāky (7); **UB044** 95a–96a sādhāraṇadhaṛm pad bāky 7

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិស, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ saṃvejanīyadhaṛm ត្រៃវគ្គបូជា និង ត្រៃវគ្គប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 66–67.

Summary: An explanation of how the Three Marks of impermanence, suffering, and non-self are common to all living beings, and how ignorance prevents them from seeing otherwise.

**sāmaññalakkhaṇa-7**

Ordinary marks

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Cāp Bin in 1971.

Leporello: **UB019** 35b–37b braḥ dhaṛm sāmaññalakkhaṇa.; **UB044** 96b–98a pad bīraṇcāraṇā pañcakkhandh

Khmer books: Cāp Bin ចាប់ ពិស, *Trairāta(n) pūjā niñ trairāta(n) praṇām, buddhapravatti niñ samvejanīyadharm* ត្រៃវគ្គនីបូជានិង ត្រៃវគ្គនីប្រណាម, ពុទ្ធប្រវត្តិ និង សំវេជនីយធម៌ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1971), 70–72.

Summary: An explanation of the Three Marks of impermanence, suffering, and non-self and how they are inevitable for all beings.

**sukhumalakkhaṇa-7**

Subtle marks

Khmer verse, 13 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Jāy M"ai in 1942.

Leporello: **UB016** 29a–30b; **UB019** 33a–35a braḥ dhaṛm sukhumalakkhaṇa.; **UB038** 48b–50a aniccā dī 1, dukkhā dī 2, anattā dī 3;

Notebooks:

Khmer books: Braḥ Vināyadhar ព្រះវិន័យធរ Jāy M"ai ជ័យ ម៉ៃ, *Nānādhammasaṇveg នានាធម្មសង្កេត* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1942), 37–38.

Summary: An explanation of the nature of each of the Three Marks of impermanence, suffering, and non-self.

**samvegavatthu 8 y"āñ-7**

Eight things to be stirred by

FEMC title: lpök samvegavatthu

Khmer verse, 107 stanzas in *bāky prāmbūr*, composed by Mahā Ḷuc in 1935.

Leporello: **UB006** 62a–63a, up to ខំថ្លែងតាមបទព្រះបាទឡី (incipit and explicit missing); **UB014** 73a–97a (incipit missing); **UB038** 70b–72b trailakkha(ṇ) aniccā (incipit and explicit missing); **UB057** 128a–151b; **UB061** 8 dhaṛm braḥ trāy lakkha(ṇ) (incipit and explicit missing);

Khmer books: Braḥ Mahā ព្រះមហា Ḷuc ឡុច, *Braḥ trailakkha(ṇ) niñ saṇvegavatthu ព្រះត្រៃលក្ខណ៍ និង សង្កេតវត្ថុ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Rājapaṇṇālāy kambujā រាជបណ្ណាល័យកម្ពុជា, 2478).

Summary: A detailed explanation of eight *saṃvega*-inducing subjects, namely the suffering of birth, old age, illness, death, the lower realms (*apāya*), the past, the future, and desire (*pariyetthika*), concluding with an exhortation to seek Nibbāna.

**anattalakkhaṇa samrāy-7**

The Discourse on the Mark of Not-Self, translated into Khmer

Khmer verse, 55 stanzas in *bāky prāmbhī*, composed by Sèm Sūr in 1972.

Leporello: **UB043** 60b–66b anattalakkhaṇasūtr prè jā kāby/anattalakkhaṇasūtr; **UB060** 29a–33a anattalakkhaṇa:sūtr prè, with the incipit *namo tassa*

Khmer books: Sèm Sūr វិសេម សូរ, *Prajum dhaṛm kāvatār niṇ sūtr brah dhāmm* ប្រជុំធម៌កាវតារ និង សូត្រ ព្រះជំម្ព (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ, 1972), 57–64.

Summary: Provides a complete translation of the *Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta* (**Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta-CP**) into Khmer verse.

**oḥ o brah mātāpitā-7**

O my august parents!

Khmer verse, 12 stanzas in *bāky* 7, 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Leporello: **UB065** 37b–38a pad brahm smūt

Summary: A description of the debts a child owes to his parents, directly addressed to them, beginning from in the womb to continuing throughout childhood.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB065**

១

ឱៈ! ឱ! ព្រះមាតាបិតា  
មានធម៌កុណាសង្គ្រោះកូន  
តាំងពីកូនមកនៅជ្រកពូន  
លាក់ខ្លួនសម្ងំក្នុងផ្ទៃម្តាយ ។

២

លុះខែមួយពីរអ្នកដឹងច្បាស់  
អ្នកត្រេកអរណាស់ចិត្តរីករាយ  
កាលដឹងថាកូនក្នុងផ្ទៃម្តាយ

អ្នកតែងខ្វល់ខ្វាយមិនឲ្យឃ្នង ។

៣

ទោះទាំងបរិភោគបាយចំណី  
អាហារហើរព្រៃហើយក្តៅផង  
ពុំហ៊ានបរិភោគឲ្យរំលង  
ខ្លាចក្រែងកូនរងទុក្ខក្នុងផ្ទះ ។

៤

ណាមួយចិត្តអ្នកនឹករំពឹង  
ចង់ដឹងថាកូនប្រុសឬស្រី  
ដែលទើបនឹងមកកំណើតថ្មី  
កូនប្រុសឬស្រីខ្មៅឬស ។

៥

អ្នកម្តាយមានធម៌ព្រហ្មវិហារ  
មេត្តាករុណាដាប់ចិត្តនៅ  
ស្រឡាញ់រាល់ខែតែខាងក្រៅ  
លុះដល់គំរប់គ្រប់មាសា

៦

ជិតថ្ងៃប្រសូតស្រឡាតមុខ  
កើតទុក្ខចំបែងក្នុងឱរា  
ការក្រែងមានគ្រោះកាចឬជា  
បន់ស្រន់ទេវតាឲ្យជួយផង ។

៧

នឹកដល់គុណមាតាបិតា  
គុណដូនគុនតាជួយគ្រប់គ្រង  
ការពារបិសាចឲ្យរំលង  
ប្រសូតបុត្រផងផុតទុក្ខភ័យ ។

៨

លុះថ្ងៃគំរប់គ្រប់មាសា  
ប្រសូតបុត្រាចេញចាកផ្ទះ  
ទោះសោះខ្មៅ ប្រុសឬស្រី  
អ្នកថ្នាក់ថ្មមបីរាល់វេលា ។

៩

ពីខែមួយលុះដល់ខែ១០  
ពកូនគ្មានឈប់ផ្ទុះឱរា  
លុះដល់កូនកើតឃើញរូបា  
មាតាថ្នាក់ថ្មមដោយមេត្រី ។

១០

ស្រឡាញ់រូបកូនស្មើជីវិត  
គ្មានគិតនឿយហត់ថាយប់ថ្ងៃ  
ពេលបរិភោគបាយចំណី  
ដៃម្ខាងម្ខាស់ថ្ងៃអ្នកបីកូន ។

១១

ដៃមួយអ្នកហូបនូវអាហារ  
លំបាកវេទនាស្តមទាំងខ្លួន  
ចិត្តម្តាយគ្មានខ្ជិលនឹងរូបកូន  
ថែថ្ងន់ថ្ងមបីបំបៅដោះ ។

១២

ពេលណាដែលកូនក្តៅរងា  
ទ្រង់ម្តាយខ្លោចផ្សាមុខក្រៀមក្រោះ  
រត់រកពេទ្យឬជួយដោះ  
បាយអស់ទ្រព្យធនឲ្យកូនជា ។



## II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

**khvān' nāg-r** (2)

**girimānand samrāy sūtr neḥ-br/7** (15)

**dharm rapā-k/4r** (1)

**lpök kammatṭhān-br/bn** (1)

**sakarāj khè thnai trailakkha(ṇ)-k/4r** (2)

**sakarāj salpāt-4r** (2)

**hai me namo-k/r4** (1)

**anak mtāy saṅsār-k/4r** (2)

### **khvān' nāg-r**

Calling the souls of the ordinand

FEMC title: **khvān' nāg**

Khmer prose, 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB015** 54a–58b, 59–66b khvā'n nāggapakaraṇ saṅkhèp; **UB035** 53a–67b khvān nāg pakaraṇ

Khmer books: Preap Chanmara ព្រាម ចាន់ម៉ារ៉ា, “Bāky hau bralīn nāg ពាក្យហៅព្រលឹងនាគ,” *KhmeRenaissance* 8 (2012–2013): 134–39.

Summary: After an opening invocation to the Buddha, the text narrates how a nāga king, taking a human form by day, ordains as a monk. Once he falls asleep, however, the nāga returns to his serpentine body. A novice staying in the same residence, sees this transformation and is frightened. The Buddha finds out about it and forbids further *bhikkhu* ordination of nāgas. The nāga king accepts this injunction but requests that future ordinands be known by the name *nāga*, to which the Buddha assents.

The text then gives an account of the vast, incomparable debt (*guṇa*) children owe their mothers, accrued since the time of gestation and early childhood, and the importance of ordaining to repay this debt. This is followed by instructions for the ritual of passing the candleholder (*babil*) nineteen times around the ordinand, accompanied by the calling of the souls (*bralīn*). His souls are called back to his body from the mountains and the forests. The ordinand is then admonished to practice sincerely according to the Vinaya so as to save his relatives from the miserable fates of the four lower realms. The text concludes with a blessing to the ordinand, wishing that he remain in robes for 100 years, be free from all illness, conquer sensual desire, and eventually reach omniscience as a buddha who can ferry over living beings

to the great city of Nibbāna.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB035**

°ៗ° namo នមស្សកាខ្ញុំព្រះកូណារលើកហ័ត្តារ ទ្វារ្យដាក់លើសិរសារ អាគារភាពក្រាបបង្គំមប្រណិម្ម សំអ្ដេចស្រ្យសារពេជ្ជសព្វ  
ញារ ដរជាបរិមុត្រូវ ទេវដារឥន្ទ្រម្មយក្ខន្តបុប្ផបុណ្យមនុស្សាមមរិករ គៀគរបមូល បន្ទូលទៅកាន្ត អំប្រិតប្រិយ ស្រ្យមហានីគ  
រនិព្វាន ដរជ្ជារប្រាសបរិមសុត្តខ្សែមខ្សាន ប្រែប្រាសនិកសលៃដងជាតិដរមរនារ ខប់ដព្រះអង្គផ្កាញបញ្ចជវិត្តម្មារ ស្រេចស្ដេចយកបដម្ម  
បញ្ជារ គម្ពីរបញ្ជាហាសន់បញ្ជា ជីវនបញ្ជា តិខ័ន្ធបញ្ជា និព្វេជបញ្ជា មកជុំរុះកាត្តបដ រាគ្គទោស្សតណ្ណារ បានសម្មាភិសេកសព្វហា  
ជញ្ជានស្រេចបានប្រោស បញ្ជាវគីកិក្ខុទ្វារ ៥ ឆ្នាំឆ្ពោះទៅរាជ្ជគ្រឹះមហា

នីគរបរិវាជ្ជស្ថាន បានមកគុដក្នុងព្រះជេត្តពុទ្ធ មហារិហារ ព្រះអាទិ៍ថបិទិកសៃថ្យសាដង្វាយពុទ្ធនឹងសាវត្ថី ស្រ្យមហានីគរ គោចរ  
យកព្រះបិទិទ្វា សង្វាតសន្តោះប្រោស្សសត្វទ្វារ្យ ខូលខ្យាអនុញាត ព្រះដីស្សថៃរ បង្វែរឧប្បជ្ឈាតែដបំបូស្សព្រះកិក្ខុសយី ក្នុងព្រះ  
សាស្តារ ឱរិសារសូតរៀនគ្នាព្រះវិទ្យា អាស្រ្យយកបិទិទ្វា ពុំឱរិយ្យៀងឃ្នាតសព្វទេវារនារគារស្មោះ មានស្ដេចនាគរាជ្ជ១ អង្គគុ  
ដនោប្រាបាដាល ត្រាហាលម្ពីម្មារ យាត្រារកាលារខ្លួនជាមនុបកុម្មីស ស្មោះចូលមកសូមក្នុងសិទ្ធិនឹងព្រះដីស្សថៃរ ពុំបានព្យា  
រណារកបំបូសស្ដេចនាគ ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្តជាកិក្ខុ ហើរទើព្វធ្វើហ័សណិដ សីដក្នុងកុដ្ឋិយ លុកដារសុក្ខសាប្យ ក្យាដានាគដូចប្រក្រវដ្យ  
នេនឃ្នាតខ្នីយ ទៅនិមុនឆ្នាន់ថ្ងៃត្រង់យុលពុំគុដក្រិត គិតស្ថាន ដារនាគដីទ្យ ភិតភ្លែត្រូវលោរអើងដរុពដ ទ្វារត្តស្ថាន ឯស្ដេចនាគ  
ក៏ប្រែប្រាសជាកិក្ខុវិញ ទើព្វជាបទៅដល់ព្រះស្រោតទិព្វថ្ងៃ នៃអង្គសំអ្ដេចព្រះទុស្សពុល្លញ្ញានមានព្រះពុទ្ធដ្យការ ត្រោះហោរព្រះ  
ដីស្សថៃរ នូវកិក្ខុស្ដេចនាគនោះចូលទៅ ទើព្វព្រះអង្គប្រញាប់ ជុំព្រោះនឹងព្រះដីស្សថៃរ ថ្នាំព្យាថ្ងៃនេះតំទៅ កុំឱរិព្រះដីស្សថៃរ បំបូស  
ស្សទេវដារសុវារក្ខន្ធបុប្ផបុណ្យ ទៅសត្វតេរន្តាន ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្តជាកិក្ខុ ហើរព្រះអង្គអនុញ្ញាត តែរបព្វផ្កាសិល១០ នៅ  
សិល៨ សិល៥ ថ្នាំវិក្យាស្ថាន ក៏បានមគ់ដល់ដល់ដូចប្រដ្ឋានារកាល្លោះ ឯស្ដេចនាគរាជនោះស្តាប់ព្រះពុទ្ធដីការ ព្រះមហាកូណារទិ  
គុនអង្គអន់ ក្នុងបិតខំមិត្តក្រាបទូល ព្រះពុទ្ធដីការព្រះដរមានបុន ថា bhantebhaggavā បពិត្តព្រះតំមានបុនដដ្ឋារអំម្មោះវិសៃ  
ប្រសើរ្យ បំម្ពាចខំអំម្មោះ កាត់រាជសំម្បាត្ត បុតកិរិយា

បើកទៅទៀតខ្ញុំ សំសេរុលង្វៀតទ្រុំម

យាយាត្រារឡើងមកសូមក្នុងស្នូលក្នុងព្រះសាស្តារ ប្រដ្ឋានសូតរៀនព្រះកាម្មដ្ឋាន ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្ត ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្ត ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្ត ឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្ត  
មុខឧប្បសំម្បាត្តយាត ពុំឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្ត ហើរខ្ញុំថ្ងៃបង្គំមសូមព្វ បរិមុត្តល បើកុលបុតឯណារ នឹងប្រដ្ឋាចូលមកសូមក្នុងសិទ្ធិ ប្រដ្ឋាចូលមក  
ស្រ្យ សំណែរក្លី សូមឱរិយកនាម្មដ្ឋាននាគ ។ ព្វដរកាល្លោះសំអ្ដេចព្រះសារពេជ្ជពុទ្ធអង្គ ទ្រង់ព្រះកូណារមេតារស្ដេចនាគ ទើបព្រះអង្គអនុ  
ញ្ញាត ឱរិព្រះពរនោះជុំព្រោះនឹងព្រះដីស្សថៃរ ថាបើកុលបុតឯណារសាទ្រាប្រដ្ឋាននឹងប្រដ្ឋានសំម្បាត្ត ព្រះសាស្តារឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្តទើព្វបានមគ្គ  
ផលកុសលដូចសេចក្ដីយប្រដ្ឋាន បើពុំថានាគ កុំឱរិឧប្បសំម្បាត្តផលលើស្ដេចនាគទីទូល ព្រះពរក្រាបបង្គំមលារ យាយាត្រារទៅកាន្ត  
ទទ្ធាបារដាលវិញ ។

វាគ្គដប្បតដហោដ ។

ឥល្លុដ្ឋះអាច្ឆានឹងសំអ្ដែងក្នុងកាំម្ពី ព្រះអព្ពិធម្មន្តានិទានបានកុសលផលបុនទ្វារ្យ ដីដគុនមាតារបិសារ កាលយើងយាយាត្រារ  
មកចាប់ប្រដ្ឋានន្ទី ចូលទៅដោរសូរ៉ោបិដារ ធ្លាក់ទៅក្នុងឱទរមាតា អប្បម៉ារ ប្បដូចប្រដ្ឋានស្រក់អំព្យពោមទ្រា ក្យាដាល្លា ខានតុត្រ/ត | ផ្គុ  
មជាបញ្ចសាខារ អំណិស៥ ខែហ័ផ្សា ក្យាបែកជ្រកម្រាម្មដើងដ្យ មានសំស្របង្កើតឆ្នើប្រដ្ឋានផ្គុបមុត្តទៅខ្នងបំដរុដ្ឋានការនារថ្នា  
dukkhamaniccamanattāra អង្គុយលើហ័ទងសុត្តលើហ័អាហាចាស់ ទូលអាហារថ្មី ដំម្រងស្នាដ្យ ទូលទុកវេទនារ កាល្លោះបើរមាតារ  
ព្យាសារ បរិភោគអាហារប្រែហើរជុរល្លើដ សីដញ្ញារស្សប្រាសនុត ខំមុអតស្មើរមនា ដូចព្វានរក្សេលាដ្ឋស្សកអំព្យអង្គុយលើផ្សារប៉ម៉ាន

គិតសូមឱ្យបានគុណជឿវិត រូបរុសមាតាប្រដៅឱ្យបានកូនប្រុះ ឱ្យប្តីសំប្តីក្រោះសាស្ត្រា សងគុណមាតាបិតា ជឿទុក្ខមាតាឆ្លុះពុនប្រម៉ាន ក្រាបកុំប្រែប្រួលជឿ ជ្រៅរលើសជុលជឿ មហាស្រមុជជ្រៅប្រកដ្ឋ លើក្នុងមព្រះសូមែររោររាជ ពុំអាជនឹងគុណបាន មាតាវិញ្ញាណភារពុំខ្មាន នឹងដើរពុំបាន នឹងដេកពុំលុកពុំសុត្ត ក្នុងក្បាវ បីដាវជាទុកក្នុងចិត្ត លុះមហារ ១០ ខែហ៍គ្រប់ប័ប្បពុំយូរ ខ្យលកាំម្មវិជ្ជាវត្ត បក់បង្វលក្បាលចុះប្រសូតចេញមកដូចគ្រូធ្លាក់ អំព្យកុំពូលក្នុងមស្រែកយុំមុនពុទ្ធិកញ្ញាវិញ្ញា យកទឹកមកស្រោចលាងស្រោចតាក់ផេ/ដេកក្នុងអង្រើង ម្សបក់ប្រលីងប្បបម្មជ្ជមវិញ្ញា បញ្ជាក់ប្បចំណីនឹងតេកពុំលុកប្រឡាក់សឹងតែរលុក អាគ្រក់ស្ប្រានពុំបានឱ្យស្រមោចវាលើហ៍ ធ្វើការអំប្រស្សអម្រ ក៏ខានពុំខ្មានក្នុងចិត្ត គិតតែរកូន សព្វទិនទេវា ប្រដៅឱ្យបានប្រយោជ មាតាបិតាឥឡូវជុន្មារចៅ បានមីក្សេឡាប័ប្បបានឧប្បសម្បត្ត ទើពូមហាឧបាសក្ខ ឧបាសិការសាធាក្នុងព្រះសាស្ត្រា ប្រដាបប្រដាវ ត្រូវចើរីជីព័សយិក្តិយ ឃ្នាតខ្នើយ រុន្តាប័ប្បិខារជាអ្នកបួសប្រព្រៃ ស្រេចលើរន្សៃ ប័ប្បលស្សញាតិការ ប្រដាប់ប្បប្រលីង ប្បស្សចំណីអាហារ មានផ្ការុំយោលដេរជ្ជរពេញ ណារជាវត្តទ្រាំ ៧ ជាន់រូបកុំប្រាង្គ គ្មានកិណារកិណាររៀររាជហិណ្ឌូ ផ្ទេរនៅទៀនជូកឈ្លារលា ក្រសួរជួងចំនូ គុន្តរុស្សឈ្មោះទេស រុវិសៃ ល្បមល្បាព្រំលាពូចៅវនាគ្គបន្ទោរបង់នៅវត្តនក្ស ទៅជាគ្រហិរាវ ។

បន្តិល្អ័ពិល ។

លុះបានព្យលារខចទៀនព័ពិលបន្តិល ព្យស្តាំមទៅឆ្នេង ជាទាតិណាត្នាដំរាំកាំម្តិយសេយ្យសាសអញ្ញិក្ស/ក្សាន ១៩ ជុំមុំមុតលុត ទៀន បក់ផែងទៅលើហ៍ន្តាគ្គ យកកុំញ្ជានឆុះបាតិចស្រេចយកខ្មៅវារ្យចិញ្ចើមប្បដង ដូងខ្នើយល្បនឹងប្បប្រលីង ឱ្យនាគប្តីរកោគ្គ បំប្បាត់ចង្រ្ក នៅសារពើរផងទ្រាំហ្សា ឱ្យសុត្តសាប្បា ចំម្រើនក្នុងព្រះសាស្ត្រាទៅឯមុត ទើពូម្សឱវពុតញាតិការហៅប្រលីងថា ។

១ ឱប្រលីងឱវពុតទៅស្ប្រាស្តីងបិដប្បទុន្តរក្រែងត្រាមបំបែលកុំដែលផ្សោត ក្រពតក្រពើរ វាធ្វើឱ្យខ្មិនខ្សែយ ព្រះលីង្កើកុំទៅលេងព្រៃក្នុង ពូតែរសំមេងមៀមម្ម ឱវពុតទីទ្រូងខ្មោចទោចឱវពុត មុកគូរឱវពុតខ្មោចលុះថ្ងៃរល្ងាច ពូតែរសំមេងពៅព្រៃរាជ្ជស្សិតរៀសីងតោរគោរម្តីណា ខ្មាហ៍មរ្ស សាហោវមុះហិមារតែងនឹងព្វាជារមនុស្សផងទ្រាំហ្សា ខ្មោចព្រាមាយារនៅសារពើហ៍ ប្បសាចសុះល្ងាចប្រល្អ សឹងតែរបង្កក គ្នា ខ្លះធ្វើរជ្ជាដេកទីទ្រូង ខ្លះយំមខ្លះទុមដោយមែកឈើ ខ្លះធ្វើរជ្ជាសំយ៉ាកសក់ ផ្លូតទឹកកូនខ្លះភ្នែកក្រនួនលានអន្តាតព្វាក់កន្តាល ទ្រូងខ្លះកុំបុតត្បូងកុំបុតផ្លើងត្បែរ អាឈៃល្ងងលោមធ្វើហ៍កល់ ប្រលីងឱវពុតវិលវុលសល់វិល វិលមកចូលក្នុងអង្គប្រាន ស្រក់ស្រួលទីទ្រូ លយកជឿព័ស្សង សយិក្តិយវណ្ណៈ ផ្តុននៃផ្តិតបាត នូវគ្រឿងបរិក្ខារប្រដាប់ សំម្រាបសយិ ដរមានព្វារនុះវល្លងល្បឿងខ្នើយ មានរក្សិយ គួរស្នែហារ នៃអ្នកបួសជ្ជាសយិ ព្រះលីង្កើកុំបង់ស្មានលំនូវទៅព្រៃ ព្រះលីង្កើកុំអាឈៃស្សញាតិកាសន្តាន ព្រែងលានមិតសំម្តើញ ចូលកាត់ចិតឱវដេច កំនឹកកុំគិតអំព្យជារខ្នុតណ្ណារ កុំឱវអាវជ្ជារវាចងទងទាក់ទាក់រុតវិត្ត ព្វាន្តព្វាត់ក្នុងប្រានចូលយកផ្នួសជាញាតិការ សន្តាន បីជាមាតា យកប្រាជ្ញារជាប្រខាន់ពេជកាត់ឱវដេចប្បសុគុលឱវស្រលាះ ចូលជុំរះនឹងចប្បកែវឱវស្ស សៃបនីងរុសពុទ្ធគ្រិតឱវបង់ បរិខារ ជាគ្រហិរាវ ចៅមានប្រាជ្ញារឈ្លាស បួសសំម្នាក់ព្រះសាស្ត្រា សូមអនុមោទនាជាកុសល់ ឱវបានមគផលមានដៃដួះឈ្មោះ មា មាយារ ចូលអ្នកប្រដៅ ស្រលេញនៃរូបអង្គ នូវគ្រឿងគុន្តរុស្ស កុំឱវខុសនឹងសិក្ខារវិន្យ ក្រែងត្រូវអាបត្តិសយាឱវសែស្ស កុំប្រហែស្សឱវ ខុះគ្រិត កុំគិតកាន់ទិដ្ឋិមានៈ ឱវលះលែងលោញ្ហារទោសោមាហិរា ក្តីកុំហឹង ត្បទនឹងទ្រូងព្រះកិនិស្សក្រម្ម កុំសំនឹងសំលេញគ្នា លេង បៀរបានស្តារភាសទាត់ស្ស ជុកបាញ់ជុលមនុជុកកញ្ជារផឹកស្រាជុកអាភៀន រៀនលេងឈើត្រង់ ឱវបង់គ្រិតវិន្យ មិនគួរបើនឹងធ្វើ ឱវ កើតអាបត្តិ ឱវប្រយាត់អាត្មា ឱវខំមុខិសាប្រនិបាត់ ព្រះឧប្បជ្ឈារអាចារ្យ មមស្សការព្រះវិន្យកុំខ្នើល ឯសិល្ប២២៧ ដូចព្រះខ័ន្តពេជ មានរក្សិជ្រះថ្លារ ប្រព្រៃកុំដេកដល់ថ្ងៃឱវដេចត្រង់ កុំដំបូចសើចលេងនឹងសិការ ដូចនៅជាគ្រហិរាវ ឱវកាន់ប្រាស្សប្បាព្រះវិហារ ក្រាលអាស្តារ ខចព្រះទិដ្ឋដម្តល់ទឹកធ្វើវេលប្រនិប័ត្តិឧប្បជ្ឈារចារ្យ បើមានកាអ្វីឱវជួយធ្វើត្នាកុំល្ងាំ បើព្រះឧប្បជ្ឈាររក្សេដភ្នំ ឱវទូ លព្រះពុទ្ធដីការ ខំឱវសារត្រិតឱវរសុតស្រគុតតន្ត្រិយ ឱវផ្តុំមឃុំឱវមូលចូលទៅយកបនិបាត សង្វាតសន្តោះព្រោះស័ត្វ ឱវប្រយាត រក្សារអាត្មារភារនារ ព្រះកាំម្មបាននឹងបានន្ទាមាតាបីដាវ ញាតិការទ្រាំ ៧ សន្តាន ទាន្តបរម្យ ជាឱវតែងនឹងចំម្រើនបរិសុត ជាសន្តោះ ទើពូនឹងបានព្រោះមាតាបិតាញាតិកាទ្រាំហ្សា រុលងអាប្បកុម្មស្នាន ឱវបានសំម្បត់សូរសំម្បត់នីព្វាន ប្រដៅបានកាំម៉ាវចរ ឱវទៀង ផ្ទៀងអក្សរអត្តវា ទីយះរសៈលើងចុះ កុំឱវឃ្នាតឃ្នើងឱវទៀងប្រកដ្ឋបទព្រះបាទ្យកុំស្រដៀ ឱវលើសលុះខុះស្សសយិហត្តគ្មារៈទ្រាំហ្សា

ឱរសាស្តាតព្យាយាមចម្រើនព្រះទិព្វមុន ប្រនិបាត់កុំជិនឆ្លុនគ្រូវបារច្ឆារ នមស្សការព្រះកម្មច្បាន វិបស្សណារ ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យសារធុកាឱ្យ  
ពរ៨ប្រការ ឱ្យមានជ័យ ពរ១ នៃអ្នកបួសឱ្យយិនយូរខ្សែមឱ្យមាន អ្នកបួសឱ្យបាន១០០ព្រះវសារ ពរ២ឱ្យអ្នកប្រថ្នា ឱ្យសុភ័ស្តុសព្វ  
ប្រការ ព័រ ៣ កុំឱ្យមានមារមាយារ ឯណារមកបៀតបៀន ពរ ៤ កុំមានពេគ្តារ ឱ្យប្រាសចាកផ្ការាមិឆ្មារ វមិទ្ធក្នុងឥន្ទ្រលោកបលើក ពរ ៥  
ឱ្យមានជ័យជំនះជ្ជាប្រធាន ពរ ៦ ឱ្យឈ្នះនៃកិលេ៖តណ្ណារ ព័រ ៧ អ្នកប្រថ្នាឱ្យបានលុះអរហ័ត្តជាពុទ្ធកូម ព័រ ៨ នេះសូមឱ្យសម្រេច  
ត្រូវនៃ សារពេជ្ជតាញានឱ្យបាននាំសត្វតាត្នដល់ អម្រិតបូរ្យស្រ្យមហានីគរនិព្វាន គឺដរជ្ជាស្នាន បរុម្មសុភ័ស្តុសព្វវេចហោជ្ជ ។

**girimānand samrāy «sūtr neh»-br/7**

Discourse to Girimānanda, translated into Khmer, beginning with “This discourse”

FEMC title: lpök girimānand sūtr

Khmer verse, 10 stanzas in *brahmagāti*, 74 stanzas in *bāky prāmbār*, composed by Ek N̄im in 1933.

Leporello: **UB004** 2b–19a girimānandasūtr prè; **UB014** 67b–68b dha'mmasaṅvèk (incipit missing; last three stanzas only); **UB020** 23a–37b dhaṛm sañ ṭap'/braḥ gīrīmānand summrāy° prè; **UB023** 62b–70b gīrīmānandasūtr prè pad brahmagit/bāky kāby thleñ sec kṭī girimānandasūtr; **UB025** 37b–47b girimānand prè kāby (explicit missing); **UB027** 28b–34a girimānand samrāy saññā [ṭap'] saṅkhèp; **UB038** 8b–19b saññā 10/girimānand prè (incipit missing); **UB039** 64b–80a girimānandasūtr prè jā saṅvāk' pad brahmagit / bāky kāby thleñ sec kṭī girimānandasūtr; **UB043** 37a–47b gīrīmānand sūtr 1 pèp diet/girimānandasūtr; **UB044** 28b–39a girimānand sūtr jā pad/girimānand; **UB050** 38a–57a girimānand prè; **UB057** 106b-123a; **UB060** 18b–25a saññā 10/girimānand prè/saññā 10; **UB063** 32a–39b girimānandasūtr prè/girimānand bāky kāby; **UB065** 27a–33b girimānandasūtr prè;

Khmer books: Ek N̄im ឯក ញឹម, *Girimānandasūtr prè jā bāky kāby samrāp' sūtr oy manuss mān jamñī* គឺ វិមានន្ទសូត្រ ប្រែជាពាក្យកាព្យ សម្រាប់សូត្រឲ្យមនុស្សមានជម្ងឺ., ed. Cāp Bin ចាប ពិន (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1969), 1–16.

Summary: Provides a complete translation of the *Girimānanda-sutta* (**Girimānanda-sutta-CP**) into Khmer verse, including the frame narrative and the ten “perceptions” (*saññā*) preached by the Buddha to Ānanda for the latter to preach in turn to the sick monk Girimānanda.

**dhaṛm rapā-k/4r**

The Dharma of repentance

Khmer mixed verse, *kāmagati* and *bāky 4 rāy*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB011** 75b–79b dharma (ra)pā

Summary: Provides a litany of repentance and prayers for absolution.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB011**

ហៃអស់ទេវតា  
អ្នកមកជួយជា  
មណ្ឌលសាក្យក្សិ  
ជ្រុំជ្រងក្រអើន  
ចំរើនស្នូស្តី  
បំពេញបរមី  
មកយើងសព្វថ្ងៃ

ត្បិតយើងនេះណា  
មានចិត្តឱស្សា  
សំលពិព្យាយាម  
កាត់សិរិសា  
វន្ទាប្រក្រដៀ  
សំពះព្រះស្រី  
រត្នដរត្រៃ

ព្រះពុទ្ធកក្សារ  
ព្រះធម៌ធានា  
ព្រះសង្ឃសាទ័រ  
ព្រះឥន្ទឱ្យដៃ  
ព្រហ្មថ្ងៃឱ្យពរ  
អស់ទេពូនីក៍  
XXXX

អ័រឱ្យស្នូស្តី  
បំពេញបរមី  
មកយើងសព្វថ្ងៃ  
ពុំដែលនឹងដាច់  
នឹងភ្លេចឡើយនៃ  
គុណព្រះម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ  
ប្រពៃពេកហោង ។។ ១៣៣

១ ។។ ឧកាស្ស បូពិភ្លើយ  
 ព្រះអង្គជាមុត  
 ស្តេចទ្រង់កូរណា  
 ព្រះប្រាសអស់សត្វ  
 គ្រាន់គ្រប់ ធ្លុះធ្លង់  
 រូសរួចរំលង  
 កម័ក្ខប័បង  
 ព្រះអើយ ខ្ញុំលា  
 ក្រែងមានបាបពៀរ  
 ពុំណឿនោះណា  
 ក្រែងមួយខ្ញុំស្តោះ  
 ចោលកញ្ចក់ស្វារ  
 នូវ ពូជរស្មាន  
 ព្រះវិហារស្មាន  
 ដែលខ្ញុំអង្គុយប្លែកប្លៀង  
 បញ្ចៀងខ្លួនប្រាណ  
 បង់បាញ់ជុំទាញ  
 ពុំមានកោតខ្លាច  
 នោះហោងទោសធ្ងន់  
 ទោសនោះពេកពន  
 ធ្ងន់ឥតប្រម៉ាណ  
 សូមព្រះអត់ទោស  
 ព្រះប្រាសខ្ញុំនៃ  
 សូមព្រះម្ចាះថ្ងៃ  
 ព្រះប្រាសខ្ញុំហោង ។។ ០\*\*\*

១ ។។ ហៃអស់អ្នកប្រាជ  
 យើងសូត្រព្រឹកល្ងាច  
 សព្វថ្ងៃពុំខាន  
 ចំរើនអញ្ច  
 ទីទៃសព្វប្រាណ  
 នោះនៃទីពូបាន  
 សំបុត្តិស្នាម  
 ន័ររួកឯណា។

មានចិត្តឧស្សា  
អ្នកនោះបានផល  
កុសល់ច្រើនក្រៃ  
សោយសម្បត្តិវិថ្វ  
សុខស្នូតព្រះមហា  
នគរ និព្វានហោង ។។ ៧៣

។។ ឧកាសៈ បូពិភ្លើយ  
យើងខ្ញុំសូមលា  
លាដេព្រះដីវី  
នៅព្រះអាទិត្យ  
កុំនឹតសឹងស្រាល  
ហេតុចិត្តអនុញ្ញាល  
ដេក្លៀងក្លើងផ្កុរ  
រន្ទះនៅខ្យល់  
អំពល់នៅវាធាតុ  
អាកាសប្រដូពី  
ដំណើអំពី  
សម្លាប់ក្តាមខ្យង  
លើកធុកបំពាក់ភ្លើងព្រៃ  
ស្លាប់អណ្តើកត្រសៃ  
ប្រឡែប្រលូតត្រគូត  
អន្សងចាក់ជង់ប្រយង់ខ្នាត  
កាលកេលើកអង្គប់  
កន្ទុបបំបាញ់បង់សំណាញ់  
សម្លាប់សត្វបំប្លាត់ទ្រព្យគេ  
លួចប្រពន់លន់ប្រម៉ាត  
ស្រដៀរមោសាវាត  
នូវអស់បង់បួន  
ប្រុះស្រី តូចធំ  
រឿវបាទោះណា  
ស្រេចនូវប្រការ  
ទាំងអំប្បាលណោះឯងហោង។។ ៧៣

១។។ បពិតស្រីមផង  
អាចារ្យលោកបន្ថែ  
ពុត្តិកា ពិតពី

ព្រះបច្ច័ក្កពោធិ  
តែងប្រោសសត្វផង  
រឹងអទ្ធិបាយ  
ពីសែសពទ្រាយ  
ពីរស់ៗតត្តង  
អស់ញាតិកា  
ឱបាសក់ផង  
ចម្អុតកន្លឹង  
លេងជាតិណា  
កុំម្នីខ្ញុំកើត  
ទៅយកជាតិជា  
ជាប្រែតនូវនា  
ទល់ទុក្ខវេទនា ។  
នូវពូជវស្មាននោះឡើយហោង ។។

០៣ ។។  
ព្រះស្អាងក្រាស់ក្រៃ  
បួនអស់ផ្លែយ  
សែនកាល់សោតមាន  
លុះចាកពីបាក់មកបាន  
លុះចូលនិព្វាន  
សំប្រេចជន្មមារ  
  
ខ្ញុំសូមព្រះគុន  
ប្រសើលើសលន់  
ជ្រុំជ្រងជួយរ៉ាំ  
ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យរស់  
យូរទៅហោង  
វេរាបានមកទាន់ហើយ

ញ៉ាំអស់ជើងដៃ  
សីសែពង្សពោះ  
ហត់តតឯស្បើយ  
ខ្ញុំនឹងរកក្ស  
ជាកចាស់ហើយ  
ពុំដែលប្រហែសឡើយ  
ជាខ្លះវិញណា



ប្រាសខ្លួនដែកទៅ  
ពុំគិតក្រែក្រវ  
ក្នុងរូបមោរនា  
កុំម៉ាងក្លោះៗ  
ខ្សោះៗ ច្នោះៗណា  
កុំប្រានដូច ស្វា  
ជ្រាលជ្រៅអប្រិយ

ត្រចៀកសោតដូង  
ភ្នំធំភ្លេចស្មារដៀ  
ភ្នែកសោតងងឹត  
ឯងឥតយល់អ្វី  
រឹមរាមរកស៊ី  
មើល មិនយលឡើយ

រឺធ្មេញសោតបាក់  
ទឹកមាត់ស្រស្រាក  
ស្រស្រាកទៅហើយ  
នឹងស៊ីចំណី  
ពុំពិសាឡើយ  
តែឃ្មាន(ទៅ ~~crossed out~~) ហូបហើយ ។  
លេវទៅទាំងមូល

រឹសក់នោះមិញណា  
បីដូចគេយក  
ផ្កាស្បូវភ្នំមកទរទូរ  
រឹបយើងទាំងឡាយនេះហើយ  
កើតមកសល់រីលំ  
ប្រែខ្លះច្នោះណា  
មុខមាត់ស្នូមស្នុប  
កន្ទ្របច័រចារ  
កែងកោងាយាត្រា  
ចុះប្រាណមកវិញ  
ពីកាលខ្លួនខ្មែរ  
តំលេងប្រឡែង  
ប្រចាក់ប្រដេញ  
លេងដោសំម្លាញ់

ពុំដែលនឿយហត់  
 នឹងពាក្យសន្តិមិត  
 នឹងមិតស្នេហា  
 វិចិត្តអស់ខាះ  
 សឹងតែស្អប់អញ្ច  
 រូបយើងទាំងឡាយ  
 នេះហើយ កើតមក  
 ឥតខ្ចីមឥតស្រាយ  
 ឥតកោះឥតត្រើយ  
 ឥតទីពឹងពុំអ្នក  
 ជានឹងលំហើយ  
 អាសាសពូហើយ  
 ទន្ទឹងតែត្រើយ  
 ព្រះអម្រឹត្តិយូវ  
 កាលនោះឯងហោង ៗៗ ០៣៣ ៗៗ ០ ៗៗ

**Ipök kammaṭṭhān-br/bn**

Poem on *kammaṭṭhāna*

Khmer verse, 336 stanzas in *brahmagāthi*, translated by a certain Mahāsaṅgharāja Sugandhādhipatī from an unknown Siamese original in 1714.

Leporello: **UB006** 34b–58b

Long-format palm leaf: FEMC d.120, FEMC d.795

Summary: After an account of the poem’s translation and the motivations of the translator, the text describes the gestation and birth of human beings, an account of the loathsomeness of the body, including its many worms, the inevitability of growing old, and the horror and unpredictability of death. It then presents a scene in which a father passes away after admonishing his son to ordain as a monk. This is followed by an account of funeral rites, including the disposal of the corpse in the forest, the attempts by the ghost to visit the village, and the villagers’ use of rice flour to detect the presence of the departed in their midst.

The text then describes the suffering in the hells incurred by various sins, including boasting about one’s status, being avaricious, drinking intoxicants, and violating the precept against sexual misconduct. The text continues by imploring everyone to memorize its contents and to correct any mistakes they encounter therein, along with an account of the benefits of studying this text and the Dharma in general. Then comes a series of exhortations to perform meritorious acts, including making and worshipping buddha images and stupas, cleaning

temples, and sponsoring manuscripts of the Jātakas. The poem concludes with a simile of the Dharma illuminating the Three Worlds, just like the Sun and Moon illuminate the sky, and an assurance that those who study, copy, and practice this text will be reborn in the heavens.

Comparative edition of stanzas 1–61

FEMC d.120	UB006	FEMC d.795	Edition
៧ នៃបទព្រមគិត ៗ			
១ ខ្ញុំមង្គុំអំប្រាមតប បរិបូរគ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាកតូចកលត្របក កែសសរផ្កាឈូកក្រព្នំមៗ	១ ខ្ញុំមង្គុំអំប្រាមដៃដប់ បរិបូរគ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាកដូចកលត្របក កែសរផ្កាឈូកក្រព្នំ ៗ	១ ខ្ញុំមង្គុំអំប្រាមតប បរិបូរគ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាកតូចកលត្របក កែសរផ្កាឈូកក្រព្នំមៗ	១ ខ្ញុំអំប្រាមដប់ បរិបូណ៌គ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាកដូចកលត្របក កែសរផ្កាឈូកក្រព្នំ ៗ
២ តោមតាកនាតលក្ខែក ត្រង់លង្វែកនាប្រជុំ ចិញ្ចើមថ្ងាបង្គំម ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធក្សែ ២ ៗ	២ ដមដាក់នាដល់ក្លែក ត្រង់លង្វែកនាប្រជុំ ចិញ្ចើមថ្ងាបង្គំម ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធ ក្សែប្រាំម្នី ៗ	២ តោមតាកនាតលក្ខែក ត្រង់លង្វែកនាប្រជុំ ចិញ្ចើមថ្ងាបង្គំម ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធក្សែប្រាំម្នី ៗ	២ ដោមដាក់នាដល់ក្លែក ត្រង់លង្វែកនាប្រជុំ ចិញ្ចើមថ្ងាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធក្សែប្រាំបី ៗ
៣ ៗ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម ព្រះធម៌ទ្ធិមព្រះជិនស្រី បរិបូរបាន ៨	៣ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម ទៅព្រះធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី យបរិបូរបានប្រាំម្នី ហើនបួនពាន លើ	៣ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម ទៅព្រះធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី បរិបូរបានប្រាំម្នី	៣ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី បរិបូណ៌បានប្រាំបី ម៉ឺនបួនពាន់កងញោយ
មេនបួនពានព្រះធម្មខាន ៗ	កងញោញាន ៗ	ហើនបួនពានហោងញោញាន	ញោណ ៗ
៤ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម	៤ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម	៤ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាបង្គំម	៤ ហើយខ្ញុំថ្ងាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះសង្ឃសម្មារកាណ [or ភាន/បិណ្ឌ?]
ព្រះសយិសំមការកុព កន	ទៅព្រះសង្ឃសំមការកាន	ទៅព្រះសំយសំមការកាន	សូត្ររៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន or ធម៌ គ្រប់គ្រាន់
សូត្ររៀនធម៌គ្រប់គ្រាន់ ផ្អែមពិរោះពុនពេកក្រៃ ៗ	សូត្ររៀនព្រះក័មដ្ឋាន ផ្អែមពិរោះ ពន់ពេកក្រៃ ៗ	សូត្ររៀនព្រះក័មថាន ធម៌ពិរោះពុនពេកក្រៃ ៗ	ផ្អែមពិរោះពន់ពេកក្រៃ ៗ
៥ ៗ ហេតុតែតែដះខ្ញុំម ថ្ងាបង្គំមព្រះរត្នត្រៃ សម្មចាតស្សុទ្ធក្សែ ចង្រៀក្សាធិអន្តរ ៗ	៥ ហេតុតែតែដះខ្ញុំម ថ្ងាបង្គំមទៅព្រះស្រី សារពេជ មានបំរើ សមឈ្នះក្សា ធិអន្តរ ៗ	៥ ហេតុតែតែដះខ្ញុំម ថ្ងា បង្គំម ទៅព្រះស្រី សារពេជ្ជមានបរមី សូមឈ្នះក្សាធិអន្តរ ៗ	៥ ហេតុតែតែដះខ្ញុំ ថ្ងាយបង្គំទៅព្រះស្រី សព្វព្រះមានបរមី សូមឈ្នះព្យាធិអន្តរ ៗ

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

៦	៦	៦	៦
បុត្តខ្ញុំនៅស្រែងស្រាល ស្រាវស្រាយបុប្ផបរិយា កាព្វព្យាស្រុកសៀមនា ឈ្មោះកម្មដ្ឋានប្រសើរជា ។ ៧	ត្បិតខ្ញុំមនុវចង់ស្រាល ស្រេចអស់អារបទបាឡី រៀនកាបព្យាសៀមខ្មែរ ឈ្មោះកម្មដ្ឋានប្រសើរជា ។ ៧	ត្បិតខ្មែម..... ល ស្រេចស្សអារបទបាឡី រៀនកាបព្យាសៀមនា ឈ្មោះកាំម្មដ្ឋាន ប្រសើរជា ។ ៧	ដ្បិតខ្ញុំនូវចង់ស្រាលស្រេច អស់អាចបទបាលី រៀនកាព្វព្យាសៀមខ្មែរ ឈ្មោះកម្មដ្ឋានប្រសើរជា ។ ៧
បុទូពាកនៃផ្កាល្បើក សៀមគេលើកជាកាព្វក្សារ ទើព្វខ្ញុំមនុវចង់ប្រែជា បទកាព្វខ្មែរ ឱ្យមហាជន ។ ៨	ត្បិតពាកនេះជាលក្សើក សៀមគេលើកជាកាព្វក្សារ ទើព្វខ្ញុំមនុវចង់ប្រែជា បទកាបខ្មែរ ឱ្យមហាជន ។ ៨	ត្បិតពាកនេះជាល្បើក សៀមគេលើកជាកាបក្សារ ទើព្វខ្ញុំមនុវចង់ប្រែជា បទកាបខ្មែរឱ្យមហាជន ។ ។ ៨	ដ្បិតពាកនេះជាល្បើក or ថាល្បើក សៀមគេលើកជាកាព្វក្សារ ទើបខ្ញុំមនុវចង់ប្រែជា បទកាព្វខ្មែរឱ្យមហាជន ។ ៨
បានតិវបានស្តាប់ជាក់ ពេញចិត្តជាក់ភ្នែកមើលគុន លើកទុកទៅជាបុន ឯក្រៀកុម្មីប្រហែស ។ ៩	បានតិវបានស្តាប់ជាក់ ពេញចិត្តជាក់ភ្នែកមើលគុន លើកទុកទៅជាបុន ឯក្រៀកុម្មីប្រហែស ។ ៩	បានតិវបានស្តាប់ ពេញចិត្តតាកភ្នែក មើលគុន លើកទុកទៅជាបុន ឯក្រៀកុម្មីប្រហែស ។ ៩	បានដឹងបានស្តាប់ជាក់ ពេញចិត្តជាក់ភ្នែកមើលគុន លើកទុកទៅជាបុណ្យ ឯក្រៀកុម្មីប្រហែស ។ ៩
អ្នកណាគ្រូនិងបាន ស្តាប់កម្មដ្ឋានធម៌ព្យាសេស្ស ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តែងស្តេចទេស ស្នាស្នើតស្នើព្រះអង្គអញ ។ ១០	អ្នកផងគ្រូនិងបាន ស្តាប់កម្មដ្ឋាន ជមពិសេស ព្រះពុទ្ធជងស្តេចទេស ស្នាស្នើតស្នើ ព្រះអង្គអញ ។ ១០	អ្នកផងគ្រូនិងបាន ស្តាប់កម្មដ្ឋាន ធម៌ព្យាសេស្ស ព្រះពុទ្ធជងស្តេចទេស ស្នាស្នើតស្នើព្រះអង្គអញ ។ ១០	អ្នកផងគ្រូនិងបាន ស្តាប់កម្មដ្ឋានជមពិសេស ព្រះពុទ្ធជងស្តេចទេសនា ស្នាស្នើតស្នើព្រះអង្គអញ ។ ១០
ធម៌នៃព្រះពោធិ៍	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	ធម៌នៃព្រះពោធិ៍ សករាជ ១៦៣៥ [i.e. ឯក-៨- ត្រី-បញ្ច]
សាក្ករាជឯកត្រៀបាញ ខែផល្គុនឆ្នាំម្សាញ ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៥ កើតគត។ ១១	XXXXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXXXX	ខែផល្គុនម្សាញ ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៤ កើតគត ១១
។ កិរកាលនោះឯងណា ឈ្មោះចៅពញាវង្សសន្ត គាត់ឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ សៀមមកឱ្យមហាសង្ឃត្រាច ។ ១២	កិចកាលនោះឯងណា ទើព្វចៅពញាវង្សសន្ត លោកឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ សៀមមកឱ្យ មហាឱ្យត្រា ។ ១២	កិរកាលនោះឯង..... ទើព្វចៅពញាវង្សសន្ត គាត់ ឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ សៀមឱ្យមកមហាឱ្យត្រា ។ ១២	កិរកាលនោះឯងណា ទើបចៅពញាវង្សសន្ត លោកឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ សៀមមកឱ្យមហាសង្ឃរាជ ។ ១២
ព្រះ សុគតនិទ្ទិស	ព្រះសោគនិទ្ទិស	ព្រះសោតនិទ្ទិស បប្រ លើកចេញព្យា ពាកសៀមប្រា	ព្រះសុគតនិទ្ទិស
ប្រែចេញព្យាពាកសៀមប្រាជ	ប្រែចេញព្យាពាកសៀមប្រាជ	ប្រែចេញព្យាពាកសៀមប្រាជ	ប្រែចេញព្យាពាកសៀមប្រាជ

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

លើកទុកទៅជាកាដ	លើកទុកទៅជាកាដ	លើកទុកទៅជាកាដ	លើកទុកទៅជាកាដន៍
តែងរងសត្វពុំឱ្យធ្លាក់ ។ ១៣	តែងរងស័ត្វ ពុំឱ្យធ្លាក់ ។ ១៣	ត្រង់រងសត្វពុំឱ្យធ្លាក់ ០ ១៣	តែងរងសត្វពុំឱ្យធ្លាក់ ។ [or ត្រង់រង] ១៣
ទៅចតុរាប្ប នរកន្យាឥតពុំអ្នក ឱ្យបានទៅជឿជាក់ យកកុំម្នីតនូវសួរន្យ ។ ១៤	ទៅចតុរាប្បនរកនាយ ឥតពុំអ្នកឱ្យបានទៅ ជឿជាក់យកកុំម្នីត ទៅសួរន្យ ។ ១៤	ចុះទៅចតុរាប្ប នរកន្យាឥតពុំអ្នក ឱ្យបានទៅជឿជាក់ យកកុំម្នីតនូវសួរន្យ ០ ១៤	ចុះទៅចតុរាប្ប នរកនាយឥតពុំអ្នក ឱ្យបានទៅជឿជាក់ យកកុំណើតនៅស្នាក់នាយ ។ ១៤
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្នាថា កុំម្នីតណាសត្វទ្វាហ្យា កាលនូវក្នុងផ្ទៃម្យ	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្នាថា កុំម្នីតស័ត្វផងទាំងហ្យា អស់អាលនូវក្នុង ផ្ទៃម្យ មានមេកប្រម ដូចមេក	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្នាថា កុំម្នីតសត្វផងទាំងហ្យា កាលនូវក្នុងផ្ទៃម្យ	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្នាថា កុំណើតសត្វផងទាំងឡាយ កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃម្យ
មានមែក ៥ តូចមែកឈើហ ។ ១៥	ឈើហ។ ១៥	មានមែកប្រាំមតូចមែកឈើ ០ ១៥	មានមែកប្រាំដូចមែកឈើ ។ ១៥
តុស្សជើងតុះត្រែក្បាល តិក្កុរងឆ្ងាលប្រែមុកទៅ ឯលើហក្តាបត្រែនូវ ក្នុងឪទ្ធកម្មនុះនៃ ។ ១៦	តុះជើងតុះត្រែក្បាល ដេករង្វាលប្រែរុះអើ ប្រែផ្កាបមកឯលើ និកនូវ ក្នុងឪទ្ធកម្មនុះ ។ ១៦	តុះជើងតុះត្រែក្បាល គីករង្វាលនូវរៀបអើហ ប្រែមុកទៅឯលើ នូវក្នុងផ្ទៃនៃឱ្យទេ ០ ១៦	ដុះជើងដុះដៃក្បាល ដេករង្វាលប្រែរុះអើ ប្រែមុខទៅឯលើ និកនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃឧទេ ។ ១៦
លុះបានគ្របតបខែ ប្រុងប្រាសប្រែចម្រើនព្វ ទើព្វចាកព្យឌីទេ	លុះគ្រប់បានដប់ខែ បុណ្យមកប្រែចម្រើនព្វ ទើព្វចេញចាកឌីទេ	លុះគ្របបានតបខែ មុនមកប្រែចម្រើនព្វ ទើព្វចេញចាកឌីទេ	លុះគ្រប់បានដប់ខែ បុណ្យមកប្រែចម្រើនព្វ ទើបចេញចាកឌីទេ មកជាមនុស្សផងទាំងឡាយ ។
មកជាមនុស្សត្វទ្វាហ្យា ។ ១៧	មកជាមនុស្ស ផងទ្វាហ្យា ។ ១៧	មកជាមនុស្សផងទ្វាហ្យា ០ ១៧	។ ១៧
មិនបន់តែយើងឯង និងរង្វើននូវធ្វើបអ្យ ផ្ទៃក្រោមយើងសំម្បាយ សឹងតែកើតព្យាតណ្ណា ។ ១៨	មិនបន់តែយើងឯង និងរង្វើននូវធ្វើបអ្យ ផ្ទៃក្រោមយើងសំម្បាយ សឹងបង្កើតព្យាតណ្ណា ។ ១៨	មិនបន់តែយើងឯង និងរង្វើននូវធ្វើបអ្យ ផ្ទៃក្រោមយើងសំម្បាយ ស្លឹបង្កើតព្យាតណ្ណា ០ ១៨	មិនប៉ុន្តែយើងឯង និងរង្វើននៅធ្វើបអ្យ ផ្ទៃក្រោមយើងសំម្បាយ សឹងបង្កើតព្យាតណ្ណា ។ ១៨
កាម្មនៃរៀនរូសត្វ សត្វនូវនាណាការ សឹងកើតមានទុកខារ ទុកគ្រប់ខ្លួនក្នុងសង្សារ ។ ១៩	កម្មនេះរៀនរឹងក្តាត នូវសព្វស័ត្វ ទោហមនុស្សា សឹងកើតមានទុក្ខ ទុក្ខគ្រប់ខ្លួន ក្នុងសង្សារ ។ ១៩	កាម្មរងរឹងក្តាត ទ្វីសព្វសត្វនូវលោកា សឹងកើតមានទុក្ខ ទុក្ខគ្រប់ខ្លួនក្នុងសង្សារ ។។ ១៩	កាមរងរឹងក្តាត ទាំងសព្វសត្វនៅលោកា សឹងកើតមានទុក្ខា ទុក្ខគ្រប់ខ្លួនក្នុងសង្សារ ។ ១៩

ស្រ្តីប្រុសណាចិត្តក្លា បើរើផែកស្រាចិត្តអនុពាល មើលខ្លួនស្នើរគុជស្សា តម្បីចង្វើរោងសោះសារ ។ ២០	ស្រ្តីប្រុសណាចិត្តក្លា បើរើផែកស្រា ចិត្តអនុពាល មើលខ្លួនស្នើរគុជសា តម្បីចុះប្រេងសោះសារ ។ ២០	ស្រ្តីប្រុសណាចិត្តក្លា បើរើផែកស្រាចិត្តអនុពាល មើលខ្លួនស្នើរហុក្សសារ តម្បីចុះប្រេងសោះសោះ ០ ២០	ស្រ្តីប្រុសណាចិត្តក្លា បើរើផែកស្រាចិត្តអនុពាល មើលខ្លួនស្នើរគុជសារ ដំរីចុះប្រេងសោះសារ ។ ២០
សង្សារមានច្រើនលុន ប្រែរដ្ឋាគុនជាទោសណា តូចកលតណ្ហារហោង ក្នុងផ្ទៃក្រោមនូវសុក្កល ។ ២១	ឈ្មោះស្រាច្រើនពេកពន់ ប្រើជាគុន ជាទោះណា ដូចកលរតៈតណ្ហា ក្នុងផ្ទៃក្រោម ពុំត្រាស្កល់។ ២១	ឈ្មោះស្រាច្រើនពេកពុន ប្រែជាគុន ជាទោសា តូចកល រតតណ្ហា ក្នុងផ្ទៃក្រោម ពុំត្រាស្កល់ ០ ២១	ឈ្មោះស្រាច្រើនពេកពន់ ប្រែជាគុណជាទោសណា ដូចកលរតតណ្ហា ក្នុងផ្ទៃក្រោមពុំត្រាស្កល់ ២១
ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះទេស្ឋវី យើងកិតណារក្នុងមុន្ទល នៃមានអាការកល សាមសិបសង់នូវក្នុងខ្លួន ។ ២២	ព្រះអង្គសេចទេស្ឋា យើងកើតណាក្នុងបណ្តាល នេះមានអាការកល សាមសិបសង់ នូវក្នុងខ្លួន។ ២២	ព្រះអង្គស្តេចទេស្ឋា យើងកើតនាក្នុងមុន្ទល នេះមានអាការកល សាមលិបសង់នូវក្នុងខ្លួន ០ ២២	ព្រះអង្គស្តេចទេស្ឋា យើងកើតនាក្នុងមណ្ឌល នេះមានអាការកល សាមសិបសង់នៅក្នុងខ្លួន ។ ២២
មានសកកន្លះកោត មមើសសោត ៨ មើន តុះពេញទាំខ្លួនយើង មានអន្តាតចេះស្រត្សី ។ ២៣	មានសកកន្លះកោដ មមើសសោតបានប្រាំម្ភៃ មើនតុះពេញទាំខ្លួន មានអន្តាតចេះស្រត្សី។ ២៣	មានស្លកប្រាំម្ភៃលាន រោមសោតមានប្រាំម្ភៃកោដ ត្រាពូស្សីនោះសោត សឹងតុះពេញស្សីខ្លួន ០ ២៣	មានសកកន្លះកោដ មមើសសោតមានប្រាំបួន មើនដុះពេញទាំខ្លួន មានអណ្តាតចេះស្រដី ។ ២៣
ត្រចៀកច្រមុះស្រាប់ យលកុំនាបនូវស្រ្តី ទ្រង់អង្គតូចក្សិណារី រូបឆោមសោតយលសោកា ។ ២៤	ត្រចៀកច្រមុះស្រាប់ យល់ គំម្លាប់គំនូវស្រ្តី ទ្រង់អង្គជាកិណារី រូបឆោមឆាយយលសោកា ។ ២៤	មានអន្តាតចេះស្រត្សី ត្រចៀកន្សៃ ច្រមុះស្រាពូ យលល្អទ្រង់ចម្លាប់ រូបឆោមឆាយយលសោកា ០ ២៤	ត្រចៀកច្រមុះស្រាប់ យល់គំនាប់គំនូវស្រ្តី ទ្រង់អង្គដូចជាកិណារី រូបឆោមឆាយយល់សោកា ។ ២៤
មានត្រែមានហាតក្សាម មានចំអាមទេព្វកើតមកតាមប្រាប ណា មានមាតមាននេត្រាហា យលព្រៀញតូចអំប្រើត្សី ។ ២៥	មានដៃមានហាតក្សាម មានដៃមានហាតក្សាម កើតមកតាមប្រាបណា មានមាតមាននេត្រា យល់ព្រៀញ តូចអំប្រើត្សី យ ។ ២៥	មានត្រែ មានហាតក្សាម មានដៃមានហាតក្សាម កើតមកតាមប្រាបណា មានមាតមាននេត្រា យលព្រៀសព្រាតូចអំប្រើត្សី ២៥	មានដៃមានហាតក្សាម មានដៃមានហាតក្សាម កើតមានតាមប្រាបណា មានមាតមាននេត្រា យល់ព្រៀសព្រាយដូចអំប្រើត្សី ត្សី ។ ២៥
មានអំប្រាមត្រែស្រាប់ ក្រចកចាប់ស្រាបស្រសស្រ្តី សោកាតូចមុលី មើលបញ្ចង់បញ្ជើកាម ។	មានប្រាមម្លកែស្រាប់ ក្រចកចាប់ប្រាមស្រសស្រ្តី សោកាដូចមុលី មើលបញ្ចង់បញ្ជើចិត ។	មានប្រាមម្លក្សស្រាពូ ក្រចកចាប់យលស្រសស្រ្តី សោកាតូចមុលី មើលបញ្ចង់បញ្ជើចិត ០	មានប្រាមម្លកែស្រាប់ ក្រចកចាប់ប្រាមស្រសស្រ្តី សោកាដូចមុលី មើលបញ្ចង់បញ្ជើកាំ ។

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

២៦	២៦	២៦	២៦
មានធ្មេញសាមសើប២	មានធ្មេញសាមសើបពីរ សឹងសត់ស្រីលល្អហ	មានធ្មេញសាមសើប្តី ពីរ	មានធ្មេញសាមសើបពីរ
សរសុត្តស្រីលយុដល្អជាម្ម	ខ្មៅញាប់	សឹងសុត្តស្រីលខ្មៅស្អំញាញ	សឹងសុត្តស្រីលល្អជា??
មានស្បែកសំបូររុត្តា	មានស្បែកសម្បូរស្រាប់	មានស្បែកសំបូរស្រាពូ	មានស្បែកសម្បូរដាំ??
និងស្រត្យជាអ្វីលើរ ។	និងស្រដៀងអ្វីលើរ ។	និងស្រត្យថាអ្វីលើរ ។	និងស្រដីជាអ្វីឡើយ ។
២៧	២៧	២៧	២៧
មានសេចសាមសើមតោម្ម	មានសាច់កៅសើបដម	មានសេចកៅសើបតម	មានសាច់កៅសើបដុំ
ក្តៅតង្គីមត្រជាកហ្ស៊ី	ក្តៅតង្គីមត្រជាកហ្ស៊ី	ក្តៅតង្គីមត្រជាកហ្ស៊ី	ក្តៅដង្គីត្រជាកហើយ???
អ្នកប្រាជ្ញលោកត្រាសឆ្លើ	ព្រះអង្គថ្ងៃទុកឱ្យ	ព្រះអង្គថ្ងៃទុកឱ្យ	អ្នកប្រាជ្ញលោកត្រាសឆ្លើយ
ថ្ងៃដីតង្គីច្បាស ចិត្តគិតគុន ។	មិនដឹងច្បាប់ចិត្តគិតគុន។	បានតឹងច្បាប់ចិត្តគិតគុន ។	ថ្ងៃដីដឹងច្បាសចិត្តគិតគុន ។
២៨	២៨	២៨	២៨
សស្ស្រូមប្រាម្បូនរូ	សសែដំមានប្រាម្បូនរយ	សស្ស្រូមប្រាម្បូនរូ	សសែដំប្រាំបួនរយ
តូចក្បួនចងខ្សែយុន	ដូចក្បួនចងខ្សែយុន	តោក្បួនចងខ្សែយុន	ដោយក្បួនចងខ្សែយុន??
អាចារ្យលោកមានបុន	អាចារ្យលោកគិតគុន។	អាចារ្យលោកគិតគុន	អាចារ្យលោកគិតគុន
សស្ស្រូតូចប្រាម្មពិលពាន ។	សស្ស្រូតូចប្រាមពិលពាន	សស្ស្រូប្រាម្បូនពាន ។	សសែតូចប្រាំពិលពាន ។
២៩	២៩	២៩	២៩
បំមាត់ថ្លើមស្លូតផង	បំមាត់ថ្លើមស្លូតផង	បំមាត់ថ្លើមស្លូតផង	ប្រមាត់ថ្លើមស្លូតផង
បែះតូងហោងពានប្រវាន	បែះដូងហោងពានប្រវាន	បែះតូងហោងពានប្រវាន	បែះដូងហោងពានប្រវាន???
ខ្មេញខាបខ្មាញរវាន	ខ្មាញខាបរវាន	ជានខ្មាញខាបខ្មាញរវាន	ខ្មាញខាបខ្មាញរវាន???
មានក្រឡាំរពុនពេញហៀរ ។	ស្រលាងទាចពងពោះហៀរ។	មានស្រលាងពងពោះហៀរ ។	មានស្រលាងពងពោះហើយ
៣០	៣០	៣០	៣០
ព្រះពុទ្ធថានៅមាន	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា	ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា
ច្រើនហ្នាសពុនពេកក្រៀហៀ	នឹងគន្ធាពុំបានលើរ	នឹងគុននាពុំបានលើរ	នឹងគណនាពុំបានឡើយ
នោះអំម្បាលនោះលោកឆ្លើ	អំម្បាលនោះលោកឆ្លើយ	អំម្បាលនោះលោកឆ្លើ	អំម្បាលនោះលោកឆ្លើយ
តែហបុន្តាលឱ្យយើងស្តាប់ ។	តែកន្តាលឱ្យយើងស្តាប់។	តែកន្តាលឱ្យយើងស្តាប់ ។ ។	តែបណ្តាលឱ្យយើងស្តាប់ ។
៣១	៣១	៣១	៣១
មានក្បាជឿច្រើនជុំម្នាក់	មានក្បាជឿច្រើនជុំពួក	មានភាទច្រើនជុំពួក	មានភាគច្រើនជុំពួក
បំមមូលមកក្នុងខ្លួនយើង	បំមូលមកក្នុងខ្លួនស្រាប់	បំមូលមកក្នុងខ្លួនស្រាប្ប	ប្រមូលមកក្នុងខ្លួនស្រាប់
សស្ស្រូមម្សេយើង	ចាប់សសែយកមករាប់	មម្សៀស្ស សស្ស្រូរពូ	ចាប់សសែមករាប់
រាប់សឹងក្បាជឿបិនទ្វារ	សឹងយើងសឹងក្បាជឿបិណ្ឌ។	យើងសឹងកាជឿបិណ្ឌ ។ ។	សឹងយើងសឹងព្យាជឿពិណ្ឌ
៣២	៣២	៣២	៣២
តង្គីវច្រើនជុំម្នាក់	តង្គីវច្រើនជុំពួក	តង្គីវច្រើន ជុំម្នាក់	តង្គីវច្រើនជុំពួក
វាលោវលូកស៊ីខ្លួនណាវ	វាសឹងវលូកស៊ីខ្លួនណា	វាសឹងវលូកស៊ីខ្លួនណា	វាលោវលូកស៊ីខ្លួនណា

ស្លាបហៀកើតវិញជា  
ធ្វើរលំនូវក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៣៣  
វាធ្វើផ្ទះសំបែង  
វាតាក់តែងសេចក្រាសស្តើង  
វានូវវាស៊ីយើង  
ទ្វាយប្រថ្នំពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នាហ ។  
៣៤  
វាជ្រោមធ្វើយើងហ្នាស  
យើងឈើហ ក្រាសក្រែពេកណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះមក្ខា  
បុត្រវាបៀតក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៣៥  
តង់រូងប្រាំមួយរង  
ធ្វើអំប្បងក្បាលកង្រើង  
វាធ្វើវាអំប្បង  
ធ្វើញភ្នែកយើងពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នាហ ។  
៣៦  
វាធ្វើឈើហធ្វើប្រ  
ធ្វើមកទៀតសេចក្រែងណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះពាលា  
សំបុត្រមកបៀតមាយាយី ។  
៣៧  
មានឈាមស្រសើបនាល  
ព្រះឈ្មោះមារថាមានពី  
នោះទៅច្រើនឥតស្បី  
ក្នុងខ្លួនយើងមនុស្សទ្វាហ្យា ។  
៣៨  
មានធ្វើពានកុំណាត្ត  
រឹងក្តាងក្តាតសិនបាកធ្យា  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចព្រះ  
ទេពសំបុត្រឱ្យយើងតឹង ។  
៣៩  
XXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX

ស្លាបហៀកើតវិញជា  
វាធ្វើហលំនូវ ក្នុងខ្លួនយើង។  
៣៣  
វាធ្វើផ្ទះសំបែង  
វាតាក់តែងសាច់ក្រាសស្តើង  
វានូវវាស៊ីយើង  
ទ្វាយពុំប្រថ្នំពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា ។  
៣៤  
វាជ្រោមស៊ីយើងណាស់  
យើងឈើ ក្រាសក្រែពេកណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះមក្ខា  
ត្បិតវាបៀតក្នុងខ្លួនយើង។  
៣៥  
តង់រូងប្រាំមួយរង  
អំប្បង ក្បាលកង្រើង  
វាស៊ីវាសម្លឹង  
ធ្វើសាច់យើង ពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា ។  
៣៦  
វាស៊ីឈើធ្វើប្រ  
ស៊ីមកទៀតធ្វើភ្នែកណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះពាលា  
សិនមកបៀតមាយាយី។  
៣៧  
មានឈាមសាមសិបនាល  
ព្រះឈ្មោះមារ ជាមានពី  
នោះ នូវច្រើនឥតស្បី  
ក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ផងទ្វាហ្យា។  
៣៨  
មានធ្វើប្រាំមួយរង  
រឹងក្តាងក្តាត បាកធ្យា  
អស់សត្វផងសំបាយ  
នូវសសៃសាច់ស្លូតផង ។  
៣៩  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា  
ឱ្យអស់មហាជន់ ទ្រង់រង  
ឱ្យដឹងបុណ្យបាបផង

ស្លាបហៀកើតវិញជា  
ធ្វើរលំនូវក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ០២៣  
៣៣  
វាធ្វើផ្ទះសំបែង  
វាតាក់តែងសេចក្រាសស្តើង  
វានូវវាធ្វើហោង  
ទ្វាយប្រថ្នំពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា ០ ៣ ។  
៣៤  
វាជ្រោមធ្វើហោងហ្នា  
យើងឈើហក្រាសក្រែពេកណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះមក្ខា  
ត្បិតវាបៀតក្នុងខ្លួនហោង ។០ ។០៣  
៣៥  
តង់រូងប្រាំមួយរង  
ធ្វើអំប្បងក្បាលកង្រើង  
វាធ្វើវាអំប្បង ។  
ធ្វើសេចយើងពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នាហ ០  
៣៦  
វាធ្វើឈើហធ្វើប្រ  
ធ្វើមកទៀតធ្វើញភ្នែកណា  
តង់រូងឈ្មោះពាលា  
សំបុត្រមកបៀតមាយាយី ០។។  
៣៧  
មានឈ្មោះសៃហសើបនាល  
ព្រះឈ្មោះមារថាមានពី  
នោះទៅច្រើនស្បី  
ក្នុងខ្លួនយើងផងទ្វាហ្យា ០ ។  
៣៨  
ធ្វើប្រាំមួយរង  
រឹងក្តាងក្តាតបែកធ្យា  
ស្រសត្វទ្វាសំបាយ  
នូវសសៃសេចស្លូតផង ០  
៣៩  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា  
ឱ្យស្រមហាជនត្រង់រង  
ឱ្យតឹងបាបបុនផង

ស្លាបហើយកើតវិញជា  
ទីលំនៅក្នុងក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៣៣  
វាធ្វើផ្ទះសំបែង  
វាតាក់តែងសាច់ក្រាសស្តើង  
វានៅវាស៊ីយើង  
ទាំងយប់ថ្ងៃពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា  
៣៤  
វាជ្រោមធ្វើយើងណាស់  
យើងឈើក្រាសក្រែពេកណា  
ដង្កូវឈ្មោះមក្ខា  
ត្បិតវាបៀតក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៣៥  
ដង្កូវប្រាំមួយរង  
ធ្វើអំប្បងក្បាលកង្រើង  
វាធ្វើវាអំប្បង  
ធ្វើសាច់យើងពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា ។  
៣៦  
វាធ្វើឈើធ្វើប្រ  
ធ្វើមកទៀតធ្វើញភ្នែកណា  
ដង្កូវឈ្មោះពាលា  
សិនមកបៀតមាយាយី ។  
៣៧  
មានឈាមសៃសិបនាល  
ព្រះឈ្មោះមារថាមានពី  
នោះទៅច្រើនអស់ក្តី  
ក្នុងខ្លួនយើងទាំងឡាយ ។  
៣៨  
ធ្វើប្រាំមួយរង  
រឹងក្តាងក្តាតបាកធ្យា  
អស់សត្វទាំងសំបាយ  
នូវសសៃសាច់ស្លូតផង ។  
៣៩  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្នា  
ឱ្យអស់មហាជនត្រង់រង  
ឱ្យដឹងបុណ្យផង



Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

xxxxxx ២០ មានខ្យល់បកចេញចូល ខ្សិនបំបូលបកវិលវល ខ្សិនឱ្យត្រជាក់ស្ងួល	ឱ្យដឹងឈ្ងៀងកំបីឆ្ងល់។ ២០ មានខ្យល់បកចេញចូល បក់បំបូលបកវិលវល xxត្រជាក់សល់	ឱ្យគិតឈ្ងង់ កំបីឆ្ងល់ ០ ២០ មានខ្យល់បកចេញចូល ខ្សិនបំបូលបកវិលវល ឱ្យខ្លួនទ្រជាក់សល	ឲ្យគិតឈ្ងង់កំបីឆ្ងល់ ។ ២០ មានខ្យល់បកចេញចូល ក្សិណប្រមូលបកវិលវល ឲ្យខ្លួនត្រជាក់សល់ ក្សិណឲ្យក្តៅអស់ខ្លួនប្រាណ ។
ខ្សិនឱ្យក្តៅវត្សខ្លួនប្រាន ។ ២១ សង្សារលោកពោលមរ	ខ្សិនឱ្យក្តៅអស់ខ្លួនប្រាន។ ២១ សង្សារលោកពោលមក	ខ្សិនឱ្យក្តៅវត្សខ្លួនប្រាន ។។ ០ ២១ សង្សារលោកពោលម៉ហ	។ ២១ សង្សារលោកពោលមក យល់កម្រពន់ប្រមាន or ប្រែ
យល់កម្រប្រែសាម្មា តាកទុកជាកម្មដ្ឋាន ពោលឱ្យគួរតែខ្លាចក្រែង ។ ២២ គួរតែឱ្យសំបុត្រ ព្រះពុទ្ធរូប នូវបរសុត និងព្រឹកល្ងាច ម្រាមតែទៀនធុកលាច ប្រណាំមថ្វាឱ្យនិរន្តរ ។ ២៣ កើតមកក្នុងតណ្ហា វេទនាជាវាមរ តូចចាកសត្វសាគរ រូសពោលនូវនិងសង្សារ ។ ២៤ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត យកកម្រិតក្នុងកុព្រៃ សង្សារនេះសព្វថ្ងៃ និងតិចថាននាខ្លួនតល ។ ២៥ សឹងកើតក្របានសុក បានតែទុកមកឱ្យយល ប្រែប្រួលរមជ្ជលចូល	យល់កម្រហាត្រ សាមាន ដាក់ទុកជាកម្មដ្ឋាន លោកពោលទុក ឱ្យគួរខ្លាច។ ២២ គួរសំពះព្រះពុទ្ធរូប បរិសុទ្ធនោះឯងព្រឹកល្ងាច ម្រាមដៃទៀនធុបអប់ ប្រណាំមថ្វា ជាប្រក្រើរ។ ២៣ កើតមកក្នុងតណ្ហា គួរវេទនាជាវាមរណះ ដូចចាកសត្វសាគរ វិលវលនិងក្តីអាឡៃយ។ ២៤ ក្រសត្វនិង កើត យកកម្រិត ក្នុងកុព្រៃ សង្សារនេះសព្វថ្ងៃ មិនដឹងស្មាននាខ្លួនដល់។ ២៥ សឹងកើតក្របានសុខ មានតែមកឱ្យយល់ ប្រែប្រួលរមជ្ជលសល់ ពុំដែលវេលចេញគ្រប	យល់កម្រពនប្រមាន តាក់ទុកជាកម្មដ្ឋាន លោកពោលទុកឱ្យគួរខ្លាច ០ ២២ គួរសំពះព្រះពុទ្ធរូប បរិសុទ្ធសព្វព្រឹកល្ងាច ម្រាមតែទៀនធុបលាច ប្រណាំមថ្វាជានិរន្តរ ០ ២៣ កើតមកក្នុងតណ្ហា ទ្រើទូនាជាវាមរ តូចសត្វចាកសាគរ វិលវលនិងក្តីអល្ស ០ ២៤ ក្រហស្តនិងបានកើត យកកម្រិតក្នុងកុព្រៃ សង្សារនេះសព្វថ្ងៃ មិនដឹងស្មាននាខ្លួនតល ០ ២៥ សឹងកើតក្របានសុក មានតែទុកមកឱ្យយល ប្រែប្រួលរមជ្ជលចល ពុំដែលវេរចេញគ្របមនុស្ស	សាមាឡ ដាក់ទុកជាកម្មដ្ឋាន លោកពោលទុកគួរឲ្យខ្លាច ។ ២២ គួរសំពះព្រះពុទ្ធរូប បរិសុទ្ធសព្វព្រឹកល្ងាច ម្រាមដៃទៀនធុបលាដ ប្រណាំមថ្វាយជានិរន្តរ ២៣ កើតមកក្នុងតណ្ហា វេទនាជាវាមរ ដូចសត្វចាកសាគរ វិលវលនិងក្តីអាឡៃយ ។ ២៤ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត យកកម្រិតក្នុងកុព្រៃ សង្សារនេះសព្វថ្ងៃ មិនដឹងស្មាននាខ្លួនដល់ ។ ២៥ សឹងកើតក្របានសុខ មានតែទុកមកឲ្យយល់ ប្រែប្រួលរមជ្ជលចល ពុំដែលវេរចេញគ្របមនុស្ស ។ ២៦ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត
ពុំតែលវេរចេញគ្របមនុស្ស ។ ២៦ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត	មនុស្ស។ ២៦ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត	ពុំតែលវេរចេញគ្របមនុស្ស ០ ២៦ ក្រសត្វ និងបានកើត	។ ២៦ ក្រសត្វនិងបានកើត

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

យកកុំផ្លែតមកជាប្រុស  
មនុស្សលោកច្រើនធ្វើខុស  
ច្រើនធ្វើជាពុំគ្រប់អាត្មា ។  
៤៧

មានតែទុក្ខារខ្លាំ  
អន្តិច្ចំអន្តតារ  
រេងរុងនូវរីរា  
ឱ្យមិនទៀងនាខ្លួនផ្តល់ ។  
៤៨

សង្សារជាពុំនាក់  
ធម៌ត្រូវចក្ខុជាភុសល  
ចំប្រើនមកជាផល  
ក្នុងជាតិរេងតែរេងធ្វើហបុន ។  
៤៩

កុំយល់តែរសំម្បាត  
ប្រាកម្យរត្ន ពុំជាគុន  
កុំមុខឱ្យធ្វើបុន  
ទើពូនិងបានជាទ្រាបខ្លួន ។  
៥០

យើងផងតូចមន្យស្លាប  
គេរដ្ឋារដ្ឋាបត្សេតែរដ្ឋន  
ហើមពូរព្រះទ្រាំខ្លួន

សឹងតែរស្នូយក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៥១

សង្សារកុំប្រលោម  
ជារូបឆោមល្អប្តូរលើផ្ទៃ  
ស្អិតស្អាងខ្លួននោះលែង  
ខ្សិនតែហចាកជារាមរ ។  
៥២

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាបពិបាក  
ក្អកក្អាតលាតចរហើកខ្ល  
ជំមស្នូយតង្វីវូយ  
យល់មិនទៀងក្នុងស្រ្តី ។  
៥៣

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាបហាមាត

យកកុំផ្លែតមកជាប្រុះ  
មនុស្សលោកច្រើនធ្វើហខ្លះ  
ច្រើនធ្វើហបានគ្រប់អាត្មា ។  
៤៧

មានបន់តែទុខំ  
អនិច្ចំអនត្តា  
រំពឹងរូបគ្រប់គ្នា  
តែងមិនទៀង នាខ្លួនយើង ។  
៤៨ [no linking rhyme]

សង្សារពុំនាក់  
ជំមលោកដាក់ជាភុសល  
ចំប្រើនមកតែផល  
ក្នុងជាតិនេះឱ្យធ្វើហបុន ។  
៤៩

កុំយល់តែសម្បត្តិ  
ប្រាកមាសរត្ន នោះឱ្យទុក  
គ្រាន់បាននឹងធ្វើហបុណ្យ  
ទើពូបានទ្រាព្យ័ខ្លួនឯង ។  
៥០

យើងផងតែងនឹងស្លាប  
តេកផ្កាផ្កាបត្សេតែរដ្ឋន  
ហើមពូរព្រះទ្រាំខ្លួន  
និងតែហស្នូយ ក្នុងខ្លួន  
យើង ។  
៥១

សង្សារកុំប្រលោម  
ជារូបឆោមល្អប្តូរលើផ្ទៃ  
ស្អិតស្អាងមើលខ្លួនយើង  
ខ្សិនពិបាក ជារាមរណៈ ។  
៥២

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ពិបាក  
ខ្លួនរលាក ត្បូរទឹកសពរ  
ជុំស្នូយតង្វីវូរ  
យល់មិនទៀង ក្នុងស្រ្តីយ ។  
៥៣

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ហាមាត

យក កុំផ្លែតមកជាប្រុស  
មនុស្សលោកច្រើនធ្វើខុស  
ច្រើនធ្វើហបាពត្រេតអាត្មា ០  
៤៧

មានបុនតែទុក្ខិ  
អនិច្ចំអនត្តា  
រំពឹងរូបគ្រេតគ្នា  
តែមិនទៀងនាខ្លួនយើង ០  
៤៨

សង្សារជាច្រើន  
ធ្វើហបាពត្រេតអាត្មា ០  
មានបុនច្រើនមីតផល  
ក្នុងជាតិនេះឱ្យ ធ្វើហបុន ០  
៤៩

កុំយល់តែសំម្បាត្រ  
ប្រាកម្យរត្នពុំជាគុន  
កុំទុកឱ្យធ្វើហបុន  
ទើពូនិងបានជាទ្រាពូខ្លួន ០  
៥០

យើងផងតែងនឹងស្លាប  
គេរដ្ឋារដ្ឋាពូត្សេតែរដ្ឋន  
ហើមពូរស្ស័ទ្រាំខ្លួន

សឹងតែរស្នូយក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ០  
៥១

សង្សារកុំប្រលោម  
ជារូបឆោមល្អប្តូរលើផ្ទៃ  
ស្អិតស្អាងមើលខ្លួនយើង  
ខ្សិនពិបាកជារាមរ ០  
៥២

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ពិបាក  
ខ្លួនរលាកត្បូរទឹកសពរ  
ជុំស្នូយតង្វីវូរ  
យល់មិនទៀងក្នុងស្រ្តី ០  
៥៣

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ហាមាត

យកកុំលើតមកជាប្រុស  
មនុស្សលោកច្រើនធ្វើខុស  
ច្រើនធ្វើបាបគ្រប់អាត្មា ។  
៤៧

មានប៉ុន្តែ dukkham  
aniccam anattā  
រេងរុងនៅរេរា  
ឱ្យមិនទៀងនាខ្លួនផ្តល់ ។?  
៤៨

សង្សារជាពុំនាក់  
ធម៌ត្រជាក់ជាភុសល  
ចំប្រើនមកជាផល  
ក្នុងជាតិនេះឱ្យធ្វើហបុណ្យ ។  
៤៩

កុំយល់តែសម្បត្តិ  
ប្រាកមាសរត្នពុំជាគុណ  
កុំទុកឱ្យធ្វើហបុណ្យ  
ទើបនឹងបានជាទ្រាពូខ្លួន ។  
៥០

យើងផងតែងនឹងស្លាប  
ដេកផ្ការដ្ឋាបដោយតែរដ្ឋន  
ហើមពូរអស់ទាំងខ្លួន

សឹងតែរស្នូយក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៥១

សង្សារកុំប្រលោម  
ជារូបឆោមល្អប្តូរលើផ្ទៃ  
ស្អិតស្អាងមើលខ្លួនយើង  
ក្ស័ណពិបាកជារាមរ ។  
៥២

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ពិបាក  
ខ្លួនរលាកដ្បិតពិសពរ  
ជុំស្នូយដង្ហើវូរ  
យល់មិនទៀងក្នុងស្រ្តីយ ។  
៥៣

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ហាមាត

ធូញស្មើញខ្នាតយលអប្រៀ ក្អែកស្មើត្ថជាខ្មោចឱ្យ ក្អែកគ្នាតបើកស្របរោម ។ ៥៤	ធូញមិនចិត ស្មើញអប្រៀ។ ក្អែកស្មើត ជាខ្មោចខ្ចី ក្អែកគ្នាតបើក អស់រូបរោម។ ៥៤	បើតមិនជិតស្មើញអប្រៀ ក្អែកស្មើតជាខ្មោចខ្ចីយ ក្អែកគ្នាតបើកស្របរោម៖ ០ ៥៤	ធូញស្មើញខ្នាតយល់ អប្រៀយ ក្អែកស្មើតជាខ្មោចខ្ចី ក្អែកគ្នាតបើកអស់រូបរោម ។ ៥៤
XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX ៥៥	ស្បែកនោះជាសសរខ្មៅ មានតង់កូរ រុយបែងរោម ឈាមហូរធ្លាក់ទៅក្រោម គួរតែខ្លើមពេកក្តាតណា។ ៥៥	ស្បែកពោងតោរសំហាខ្មៅ មានតង់កូររុយបែងរោម ឈាមហូរធ្លាក់ទៅក្រោម គួរប្រើខ្លើមក្តាតពេកណា ០ ៥៥	ស្បែកប៉ោងជាសសខ្មៅ មានតង់កូររុយបែងរោម ឈាមហូរធ្លាក់ទៅក្រោម គួរប្រើខ្លើមពេកក្តាតណា ។ ៥៥
XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX ៥៦	ខ្លះស្លាបឯងឯកោ នឹងរិះរកគេជាគ្នា រូបហ្សឺរូអនិច្ចារ ឥតទីពឹង ពុំនាក់ឡើយ។ ៥៦	ស្លាបទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង គួរតែស្វែងឥតគ្នា រូបហ្សឺរូអនិច្ចា ឥតទីពឹងពុំនាក់លើ ០ ៥៦	ស្លាប់ទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង គួរតែស្វែងឥតគ្នា រូបអើយគួរអនិច្ចា ឥតទីពឹងពុំនាក់ឡើយ ។ ៥៦
XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX ៥៧	មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រសា សំពត់ ខ្មាយខ្នាតទៅហើរ អាក្រក់ក្រៀមជាត្រើយ គេយង់យល់ អស់រូបរោម ៥៧	មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រសា សំពត់ក្តាតក្បាទៅហើរ អាក្រក់ក្រៀមជាត្រើយ គេយង់យល់ស្របរោម ០ ៥៧	មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រសាយ សំពត់ខ្មាយខ្នាតទៅហើយ អាក្រក់ក្រៃជាត្រើយ គេយង់យល់អស់រូបរោម ។ ៥៧
មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ ប្រវែល គ្មានកន្ទេលនឹងក្រាលក្រោម គេរខ្លើមរក្ខតអាច តិកនូវត្បិតតូចត្រៃឆ្មារ ។ ៥៨	ដេកនូវដ្បដូចត្រៃឆ្មារ រូបមនុស្សអាក្រក់ពេក  ឆ្កេះស្អុយភ្លៀក ដូចត្រៃឆ្មារ ៥៨	មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រវែល គ្មានកន្ទេលនឹងក្រាលក្រោម គេរខ្លើមរក្ខតអាចនោម តិកនូវត្បិតតូចត្រៃឆ្មារ ០ ៥៨	មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ដដែល គ្មានកន្ទេលនឹងក្រាលក្រោម គេរខ្លើមដូចអាចន៍នោម ដេកនៅដីដូចត្រៃឆ្មារ ។ ៥៨
ខ្លះស្លាបត្រីចរលើក ក្បាលលិចទឹកជើងលើងណា ខ្លះនូវស្រែចម្ការ ស្លាបមិនទៀងក្នុងលោក្សី ។ ៥៩	ខ្លះស្លាបត្រីយវាចើក នូវក្នុងទឹក ដូចមេនា។ ខ្លះនូវស្រែចម្ការ ស្លាបមិនទៀង ក្នុងលោក្សីយ ៥៩	ខ្លះស្លាបត្រីវាចើក នូវក្នុងទឹកតូចមេនា ខ្លះនូវស្រែចម្ការ ស្លាបលំម្អាកនូវលោក្សី ០ ៥៩	ខ្លះស្លាប់ត្រីវាចើក នៅក្នុងទឹកដូចមេនា ខ្លះនៅស្រែចម្ការ ស្លាប់លំបាកនៅលោក្សីយ ។ ៥៩
XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX XXXXXX	រូបមនុស្សអាក្រក់ពេក ឆ្កេះស្អុយភ្លៀក ដូចខ្មោចខ្ចី យ។ ត្រចៀកច្រមោះក្តី	រូបមនុស្សអាក្រក់ពេក ឆ្កេះស្អុយប្លែកតូចខ្មោចខ្ចី ត្រចៀកច្រនោះម្មច្រមុះក្តី	រូបមនុស្សអាក្រក់ពេក ឆ្កេះស្អុយប្លែកដូចខ្មោចខ្ចី ត្រចៀកច្រមុះក្តី សោតសឹងស្អុយពីនោះណា ។
XXXXXX	សោតសឹងស្អុយ ពីនោះណា	សោត សឹងស្អុយព្យណោះណា ០	។

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

	Added section: អ្នកផងគូរអនិច្ចា រូបអាត្មា ឯងសព្វថ្ងៃ។		
៦០	៦០	៦០	៦០
XXXXXX	មានភ្នែកនោះព័ពឹក	មានភ្នែកនោះពុពឹក	មានភ្នែកនោះពពឹក
XXXXXX	ហឿរហួរទឹកពីអង្កា	ហោរហួរទឹកពីអង្កា	ហៃហួរទឹកពីអង្កា
XXXXXX	ពិញ្ញាពិបាតណា	ពិញ្ញាពិបាតនា	ពិញ្ញាពិបាតណា
XXXXXXXX	ពុំដែលដាច់ ជាប្រិក្សី។	ពុំដែលតេចជាប្រក្រតី ។០ ។	ពុំដែលដាច់ជាប្រក្រតី ។
៦១	៦១	៦១	៦១
XXXXXX	ទោះរស់ទោះស្លាប់ទៅ	នោះរុសទោះស្លាពទៅ	ទោះរស់ទោះស្លាប់ទៅ
XXXXXXXX	ឥតបើនូវពុំនាក់នៃ	ឥតបើនូវពុំនាក់នៃ	ឥតបើនៅពុំនាក់នៃ
XXXXXX	មានតែកែវទាំងប្រាំ	មានតែកែវទាំងប្រាំ	មានតែកែវទាំងប្រាំ
XXXXXXXX	ជាពុំនាក់ រូបនេះណា។	ជាពុំនាក់រូបនេះណា ០ ០	ជាពុំនាក់រូបនេះបាន ។

Translation

១	ខ្ញុំផ្គុំអម្រាមដប់ បរិបូណ៌គ្រប់នូវក្រចក ហាក់ដូចកលត្របក កេសរផ្កាឈូកក្រពុំ។	1 I unite my ten fingers complete with their nails, just like the petals and pollen of a lotus bud,
២	ដោមដាក់នាដល់ភ្នែក ត្រង់លង្វែកនាប្រជុំ ចិញ្ចើមថ្ពាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះពុទ្ធម្ភៃប្រាំបី។	2 raising them to my eyes, right in the space between my two eyebrows, in offering to the twenty-eight Buddhas;
៣	ហើយខ្ញុំថ្វាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះធម៌ព្រះជិនស្រី បរិបូណ៌បានប្រាំបី ម៉ឺនបួនពាន់កងព្រៃយុញ្ញាណ។	3 and also in offering to the Dharma of the Victors, complete in its eighty-four thousand wheels of wisdom;
៤	ហើយខ្ញុំថ្វាយបង្គំ ទៅព្រះសង្ឃសម្មាសាណា [or ភាសា/បឋមរ ?] សូត្ររៀនព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន or ធម៌គ្រប់គ្រាន់ ផ្អែមពិរោះពន់ពេកក្រៃ។	4 and also in offering to the Saṅgha, who strive to accumulate merit, reciting the holy Kammaṭṭhāna, marvelously melodious.
៥		5

ហេតុតែតែជះខ្ញុំ  
ថ្វាយបង្គំទៅព្រះស្រី  
សព៌េជ្ជមានបារមី  
សូមឈ្នះព្យាធិអន្តរាយ ។

Through but the grace of my  
offering to the Victor,  
the Omniscient One, replete with the Perfections,  
may I conquer sickness and disaster.

៦

6

ដ្បិតខ្ញុំនូវចង់ស្រាលស្រេច  
អស់អាថ៌បទបាលី  
រៀនកាព្យពីសៀមខ្ចី  
ឈ្មោះកម្មដ្ឋានប្រសើរជា ។

Since I want to be at complete ease  
with all of the sacred scriptures,  
I assiduously studied this poem from Siam,  
titled *Kammatthāna*, most excellent.

៧

7

ដ្បិតពាក្យនេះជាល្ខើក or ថាល្ខើក  
សៀមគេលើកជាកាព្យ  
ទើបខ្ញុំនឹងប្រែជា  
បទកាព្យខ្មែរឲ្យមហាជន ។

Since these words are in chanted verse—  
the Siamese having composed it as a poem—  
I thus will translate it  
into Khmer verse, so that the masses

៨

8

បានដឹងបានស្តាប់ជាក់  
ពេញចិត្តដាក់ភ្នែកមើលគន់  
លើកទុកទៅជាបុណ្យ  
ឯក្រោយកុំបីប្រហែស ។

might know, clearly listen,  
and be delighted to set their eyes upon it.  
I write this down to make merit  
for the future—don't be careless.

៩

9

អ្នកផងក្រនឹងបាន  
ស្តាប់កម្មដ្ឋានធំមិសេស  
ព្រះពុទ្ធជាដ៏ស្តេចទេសនា  
ស្នាស្នើតស្នងព្រះអង្គអញ ។

It is rare for people  
to listen to the *Kammatthāna*, this extraordinary Dharma,  
which the Buddha himself preached  
as a replacement for his own being.

១០

10

ធម៌នេះពិរោះពេក  
សករាជ ១៦៣៥ [i.e. ឯក-៩-ត្រី-បញ្ច]  
ខែផល្គុនម្សាញ់  
ថ្ងៃអាទិត្យ ៤ កើតគត់

This Dharma, lovely to hear,  
in 1635 of the Śaka era [1713 C.E.],  
month of Phalguna, year of the snake,  
Sunday, on exactly the fifth waning day,

១១

11

កិរកាឈ្មោះឯងណា  
ទើបចៅពញារវ័ង្សាសន្និគ  
លោកឱ្យយកសំបុត្រ  
សៀមមកឱ្យមហាសង្ឃរាជ ។

back at that precise date,  
Cau Baññā Vaisā Sanmat  
had this Siamese text  
taken to the great Saṅgharāja

១២

12

ព្រះសុគន្ធាធិបតី

Sugandhādhipatī

ប្រែចេញពីពាក្យសៀមប្រាជ្ញ  
លើកទុកទៅជាកាជន៍  
តែងរងសត្វពុំឲ្យធ្លាក់ ។ [or ត្រង់រង]

to translate from the words of the Siamese scholar,  
making this text a container  
to continuously support living beings so they might not fall  
13

ចុះទៅចតុកបាយ  
នរកនាយឥតពំនាក់  
ឲ្យបានទៅជឿជាក់  
យកកំណើតនៅស្នាក់នាយ ។

down into the four realms  
or yonder hells, without a refuge,  
but instead surely go  
to take rebirth in the distant heavens.

១៤  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្នាថា  
កំណើតសត្វផងទាំងឡាយ  
កាលនៅក្នុងផ្ទៃម្តាយ  
មានមែកប្រាំដូចមែកឈើ ។

14  
The Buddha taught about  
the origin of all living beings.  
When they are inside their mother's womb,  
they consist of five limbs, just like the limbs of a tree.

១៥  
ដុះជើងដុះដៃក្បាល  
ដេករងាលប្រែរុះរើ  
ប្រែមុខទៅឯលើ  
និរុត្តននៅក្នុងផ្ទៃម្តាយ ។

15  
They each sprout legs, arms, and a head,  
lie prone but move to and fro,  
and then turn their faces upwards  
as they remain in the womb.

១៦  
លុះគ្រប់បានដប់ខែ  
បុណ្យមកប្រែប្រួលម្រើនពរ  
ទើបចេញចាកខ្មែរ  
មកជាមនុស្សផងទាំងឡាយ ។

16  
At the completion of ten months,  
their merit comes to transform them and offer a blessing,  
and then they exit from the womb  
and become human beings.

១៧  
មិនប៉ុន្តែយើងឯង  
នឹងរង្វេងនៅទ្វីបអាយ  
ផ្ទៃក្រោមយើងសម្បាយ  
សឹងបង្កើតពីតណ្ហា ។

17  
It is not only us  
that wander confused in this world, here below—  
across the plane of the earth we are all  
born out of craving,

១៨  
កាមាវចារឹងក្តាត់  
ទាំងសព្វសត្វនៅលោកា  
សឹងកើតមានទុក្ខា  
ទុក្ខគ្រប់ខ្លួនក្នុងសង្សារ ។

18  
the sensual desire that ever constricts  
all creatures throughout the worlds,  
creatures who are born into suffering,  
the anguish of every being in saṃsāra.

១៩  
ស្រីប្រុសណាចិត្តក្លា  
បើផឹកស្រាចិត្តអនុពាល

19  
Men and women of reckless temperment,  
should they drink liquor, their minds turn foolish,

មើលខ្លួនស្មើគ្នាជសារ  
ដំរីចុះប្រុងសោះសា ។

thinking themselves a pachyderm's peer,  
like a mighty bull elephant in musth.

២០

20

ឈ្មោះស្រាច្រើនពេកពន់  
ប្រែជាគុណជាទោសណា  
ដូចកលរាគតណ្ហា  
ក្នុងផ្ទៃក្រោមពុំត្រាស្តល់

The names of liquor are excessively numerous,  
and translate into virtues and faults,  
just like desire and craving,  
never finding sufficiency on the entire plane of the earth.

២១

21

ព្រះអង្គស្តេចទេស្ឋា  
យើងកើតនាក្នុងមណ្ឌល  
នេះមានអាការកល  
សាមសិបសងនៅក្នុងខ្លួន ។

The Lord preached that  
we who are born into this world  
have parts that number  
thirty-two inside our bodies.

២២

22

មានសក់កន្លះកោដិ  
មមីសសោតមានប្រាំបួន  
ម៉ឺនដុះពេញទាំងខ្លួន  
មានអណ្តាតចេះស្រដី ។

These include five million head hairs,  
ninety thousand body hairs  
sprouting all over our bodies,  
a tongue that can speak,

២៣

23

ត្រចៀកច្រមុះស្រាប់  
យល់គំនាប់គំនូរស្រី  
ទ្រង់អង្គដូចជាកិន្ធរី  
រូបឆោមឆាយយល់សោកា ។

ears, and a nose, whose  
appearance is pleasing on women,  
making their body just like a kinnarī,  
with a lovely form of gorgeous appearance,

២៤

24

មានដៃមានហត្ថព្យាម  
កើតមានតាមប្រដាប់ណា  
មានមាត់មាននេត្រ  
យល់ព្រើសព្រាយដូចអម្រឹគក្តី ។

hands, forearms, and the complete arm span,  
arising in their proper order;  
a mouth and eyes,  
which shine brilliantly, just like on a female beast;

២៥

25

មានម្រាមមួយកែស្រាប់  
ក្រចកចាប់ម្រាមស្រស់ស្រី  
សោកាដូចមូលី  
មើលបញ្ចង្គបញ្ជីកាំ ។

fingers and toes, twenty in total,  
each complete with a nail on beautiful women,  
as lovely as a bamboo shade,  
radiant and flashing with rays.

២៦

26

មានធ្មេញសាមសិបពីរ  
សឹងសុទ្ធស្រលិល្អដាំ??  
មានស្បែកសម្បុរដាំ??

thirty-two teeth  
all glistening black and dark, ??  
with skin of marvelous complexion ??

នឹងស្រដីជាអ្វីឡើយ ។

beyond what can be said with words;

២៧

27

មានសាច់កៅសិបដុំ

ninety groups of muscles,

ក្តៅដង្ហិត្រជាក់ហើយ???

hot when bunched together, and then cool;

អ្នកប្រាជ្ញលោកត្វាស់ឆ្លើយ

the wise offer a response,

ថ្ងែងដឹងច្បាស់ចិត្តគិតគន់ ។

expressing clear knowledge through thinking in the mind;

២៨

28

សរសៃធំប្រាំបួនរយ

nine hundred large vessels,

ដោយក្បួនចងខ្សែយន្ត??

which according to the manuals are set in motion with fibers,

អាចារ្យលោកគិតគន់

so masters think and reflect;

សរសៃតូចប្រាំពិលរោង ។

seven thousand small vessels;

២៩

29

ប្រមាត់ថ្លើមសួតផង

gallbladder, liver, lungs,

បេះដូងហោងពានប្រវាស់???

and the beating heart;

ខ្លាញ់ខាប់ខ្លាញ់រាវខាន់???

solid fat and liquid fat,

មានស្រលាំងពុលពោះហើយ ។?

and the shock of the belly. [?]

៣០

30

ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្ឋា

The Buddha preached that

នឹងគណនាពុំបានឡើយ

it is beyond calculation.

អម្បាលនោះលោកឆ្លើយ

All this the Lord responded

តែបណ្តាលឲ្យយើងស្តាប់ ។

and asked for us to listen.

៣១

31

មានភាគច្រើនចំពូក

Much of the many things

ប្រមូលមកក្នុងខ្លួនស្រាប់

that are assembled with our bodies

ចាប់សរសៃមករាប់

can be massaged and enumerated,

សឹងយើងសឹងព្យាធិពិទ្ធា ។???

whether ours or part of an illness.

៣២

32

ដង្កូវច្រើនចំពូក

Many kinds of worms

វាលោលូកស៊ីខ្លួនណា

reach in and protrude to eat our bodies.

ស្លាប់ហើយកេតវិញជា

They die, but are born again,

ទីលំនៅក្នុងក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។

making their home inside of us.

៣៣

33

វាធ្វើផ្ទះសម្បែង

They set up a domicile,

វាតាក់តែងសាច់ក្រាស់ស្តើង

made from flesh thick and thin.

វានៅវាស៊ីយើង

They abide there and consume us

ទាំងយប់ថ្ងៃពុំឃ្លាតឃ្លា

night and day without fail.



៣៤  
វាជ្រោមឆើយើងណាស់  
យើងឈឺគ្រាន់ត្រៃពេកណា  
ដង្កូវឈ្មោះមុក្ខា  
ត្បូងវាបៀតក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។

34  
They burrow and feast on us,  
causing so much unbearable pain.  
One kind of worm is named *mukkhā*,  
since it torments us inside our bodies.

៣៥  
ដង្កូវប្រាំរយកែង  
ឆើមែងក្បាលកង្រើង  
វាឆើមែង  
ឆ្អឹងសាច់យើងពុំឃ្នាតឃ្នា ។

35  
Worms, five hundred strong,  
painfully feast upon our disheveled hair.  
They eat and eradicate  
our flesh and bones without end.

៣៦  
វាឆើយើងប្រាប់  
ឆើមកទៀតធ្មេញភ្នែកណា  
ដង្កូវឈ្មោះបាលា  
សឹងមកបៀតបៀនយាយី ។

36  
They feed on us, causing throbbing pains,  
eventually eating our teeth and eyes.  
These worms are called *bālā*,  
which come to pester and harass us.

៣៧  
មានឈាមសែសិបនាលី  
ព្រះឈ្នះមារាមានពី  
នោះទៅច្រើនអស់ក្តី  
ក្នុងខ្លួនផងទាំងឡាយ ។

37  
There are forty *nāli* of blood;  
the Vanquisher of Māra explained that there is that much  
or even more  
within all of our bodies.

៣៨  
ឆ្អឹងបីរយកំណាត់  
រឹងក្តឹងក្តាត់បាក់ធ្លាក់ធ្លាយ  
អស់សត្វទាំងសម្បាយ  
នូវសរសៃសាច់ស្បូតផង ។

38  
Three hundred pieces of bone,  
stiff and brittle, prone to breaks and fractures  
within all creatures,  
along with vessels, flesh, and lungs.

៣៩  
ព្រះពុទ្ធស្តេចទេស្ឋា  
ឲ្យអស់មហាជនត្រង់រង  
ឲ្យដឹងបានបុណ្យផង  
ឲ្យគិតឈ្វេងកុំបីឆ្ងល់ ។

39  
The Buddha preached  
for all of the people to listen  
so as to understand and achieve merit,  
to think and reflect, going beyond doubts.

៤០  
មានខ្យល់បកចេញចូល  
ក្សិណប្រមូលបកវិលវល់  
ឲ្យខ្លួនត្រជាក់សល់  
ក្សិណឲ្យក្តៅអស់ខ្លួនប្រាណ ។

40  
There is the breath that flows in and out.  
Once it is full, it flows out again,  
leaving our bodies cool,  
or sometimes making us warm throughout our bodies.

៤១

41

សង្សារលោកពោលមក  
យល់កម្រពន់ប្រមាន or ប្រែសាមាន្យ  
ដាក់ទុកជាកម្មដ្ឋាន  
លោកពោលទុកគួរឲ្យខ្លាច ។

This state of saṃsāra was explained by the Lord;  
to understand it is extremely difficult,  
so it was established as a meditation subject,  
expressed by the Lord in fearful terms.

៤២  
គួរសំពះព្រះពុទ្ធរូប  
បរិសុទ្ធសព្វត្រឹកល្ងាច  
ម្រាមដៃទៀនធូបលាជ  
ប្រណម្យថ្វាយជានិរន្តរ

42  
One should venerate a buddha image  
that is pure each morning and evening,  
with one's hands, candles, incense, and puffed rice,  
bowing down in reverence for all times.

៤៣  
កើតមកក្នុងតណ្ហា  
វេទនាជរាមរ  
ដូចសត្វចាកសាគរ  
វិលវល់នឹងក្តីអាល័យ ។

43  
We are born in craving,  
in pain, old age, and death,  
like creatures removed from the ocean,  
swirling around in longing.

៤៤  
ក្រសត្វនឹងបានកើត  
យកកំណើតក្នុងភពត្រៃ  
សង្សារនេះសព្វថ្ងៃ  
មិនដឹងស្ថានណាខ្លួនដល់ ។

44  
Rare is the being who can achieve  
rebirth within the three worlds.  
Within the present state of saṃsāra,  
we don't know where we'll end up.

៤៥  
សឹងកើតក្របានសុខ  
មានតែទុក្ខមកឲ្យយល់  
ប្រែប្រួលរំជួលចល  
ពុំដែលវេរចេញគ្រប់មនុស្ស ។

45  
Should we be reborn, it is rare to find happiness,  
for we tend to meet only with suffering.  
Changing, morphing, shaking, moving—  
humans never escape from these.

៤៦  
ក្រសត្វនឹងបានកើត  
យកកំណើតមកជាប្រុស  
មនុស្សលោកច្រើនធ្វើខុស  
ច្រើនធ្វើបាបគ្រប់អាត្មា ។

46  
Rare is the being who can achieve  
rebirth as a human male.  
Within the human world, many make mistakes  
and nearly all commit sins.

៤៧  
មានប៉ុន្តែ dukkham  
aniccam anattā  
វែងរុងនៅវេរា  
ឲ្យមិនទៀងនាខ្លួនផ្តល់ ។?

47  
There is only suffering,  
impermanence, and non-self,  
as we always bear the effects of vengeful karma,  
ensuring the transience within our bodies.

៤៨  
សង្សារជាពំនាក់

48  
Within saṃsāra, your refuge is

ធម៌ត្រជាក់ជាកុសល  
ចម្រើនមគ្គជាផល  
ក្នុងជាតិនេះឲ្យធ្វើបុណ្យ ។  
៤៨

the cool Dharma, full of merit.  
Cultivate the paths into the fruits  
within this very life by doing good.  
49

កុំយល់តែសម្បត្តិ  
ប្រាក់មាសរត្នតម្កល់ជាគុណ  
កុំទុកឲ្យធ្វើបុណ្យ  
ទើបនឹងបានជាទ្រព្យខ្លួន ។  
៥០

Don't think only of treasure.  
Silver, gold, and jewels are not virtuous.  
Don't hold on to them; give them away to make merit,  
for only then are they really yours.  
50

យើងផងតែងនឹងស្លាប់  
ដេកផ្លូវផ្តាច់ដោយតែជួន  
ហើមពូរអស់ទាំងខ្លួន  
សឹងតែស្អុយក្នុងខ្លួនយើង ។  
៥១

We all shall pass away,  
lying face down or face up, as the case may be,  
with our whole body's ligaments swollen,  
and the internal organs emitting a foul stench.  
51

សង្សារកុំប្រលោម  
ថារូបគោមល្អដល់ម៉្លឹង  
ស្អិតស្អាងមើលខ្លួនយើង  
ក្សណពិបាកជរាមរ ។  
៥២

Within saṃsāra, don't comfort yourself  
by thinking that your body is lovely and beautiful,  
preening and cleaning yourself,  
for in an instant you might face old age and death.  
52

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ពិបាក  
ខ្លួនរលាកជ្រុតពិសពរ  
ជុំស្អុយដង្កូវវរ  
យល់មិនទៀងក្នុងឥន្ទ្រិយ ។  
៥៣

Some people die in difficulty,  
their bodies blistered due to evil venom,  
rank and foul, writhing with worms—  
such is the impermanence of the body.  
53

មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ហាមាត់  
ធ្មេញស្មាញខ្ចាត់យល់អប្រិយ  
ភ្នែកស្លើតជាខ្មោចខ្នី  
ភ្នែកត្នាតចឹកអស់រូបគោម ។  
៥៤

Some people die with their mouths open,  
teeth bared and scattered, a fearsome sight,  
eyes rolled back, having immediately become a corpse,  
with crows and vultures pecking apart the loveliness of the body.  
54

ស្បែកប៉ោងដាសសខ្មៅ  
មានដង្កូវរុយបែងរោម  
ឈាមហូរធ្លាក់ទៅក្រោម  
គួរបីខ្លើមពេកក្តាត់ណា ។  
៥៥

The skin swells and stretches, black and white,  
with maggots and flies laying eggs in the hair  
and blood oozing down the body—  
how loathsome and disgusting indeed!  
55

ស្លាប់ទៅតែម្នាក់ឯង  
គួរតែស្វែងឥតគ្នា

Once dead, you'll be alone.  
How scary that will be, without anyone around you!

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

រូបអើយគួរអនិច្ចា ឥតទីពឹងពំនាក់ឡើយ ។ ៥៦	This body—you should reflect on its impermanence; it provides no shelter or refuge. 56
មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់រសាយ សំពត់ខ្នុយខ្នាត់ទៅហើយ អាក្រក់ក្រៃជាត្រើយ គេយង់យល់អស់រូបទោម ។ ៥៧	Some people die with their clothing slipped off, their skirts scattered here and there. How awful, that in the end, they see the body as such, devoid of beauty. 57
មនុស្សខ្លះស្លាប់ដដែល គ្មានកន្ទេលនឹងក្រាលក្រោម គេខ្លើមដូចអាចន៍នោម ដេកនៅដីដូចឆ្កែឆ្មា ។ ៥៨	Some people die just as they are, without even a mat spread beneath them. The living detest them like shit and piss, laying on the earth like a dead dog or cat. 58
ខ្លះស្លាប់ត្រីវាចឹក នៅក្នុងទឹកដូចមច្ឆា ខ្លះនៅស្រែចម្ការ ស្លាប់លំបាកនៅលោកិយ ។ ៥៩	Some people die with fish nibbling on them in the water, as if they too were a fish. Some people die in the middle of fields and farms. Dying is not easy in the worldly realm. 59
រូបមនុស្សអាក្រក់ពេក ឆ្អុះស្អុយប្លែកដូចខ្មោចខ្នី ត្រចៀកច្រមុះក្តី សោតសឹងស្អុយពីនោះណា ។ ៦០	The bodies of humans are ugly, foul, putrid, and eldritch, like corpses. Ears and noses, too, become rank and rancid. 60
មានភ្នែកនោះពពឹក ហៃហូរទឹកពីអង្គា ពីទ្វារពីបាតណា ពុំដែលដាច់ជាប្រក្រតី ។ ៦១	Particles are lodged in eyes and liquids flow from limbs, from all openings and extremities, without ever stopping—such is the body's nature. 61
ទោះរស់ទោះស្លាប់ទៅ ឥតបើនៅពំនាក់នៃ មានតែកែវទាំងបី ជាពំនាក់រូបនេះបាន ។	Whether alive or dead, the body is no real refuge. There is only the Three Jewels that can be a refuge for this body.

**sakarāj khè thnai trailakkha(៣)-k/4r**  
The year, the month, the day, and the Three Marks

Khmer mixed verse, *kāḅagati* and *bāky 4 rāy*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB006** 63a–64b sakrāj khmèr thǵaiy traiy lāk; **UB011** 73b–75a dhaǻrm (ra)pā

Summary: Provides an account of the passing of the days and months within each year and the urgency of practicing the Dharma.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB006**

ៗ ប្តីថ្ងៃអាទិត  
អ្នកផងចោលចិត  
ឱ្យខំមការនា  
កំតែចម្បងថ្ងៃ  
ឱ្យព្រះពុទ្ធផង  
ប្រសើរដ្ឋកន្លង  
ប្រសើរដ្ឋថ្ងៃ  
ខំមសាងសិលព្រះព្រៀ  
នាំសត្វច្រើនព្រៀ  
តាកតលជ្ជលនិពាននុះឯងហោងៗ

ៗ ឧកាសបូពិតតើ  
ខំមនឹងថ្ងៃថ្ងៃ  
សម្តែងចរា  
ក្នុងកិចសាស្តា  
ព្រះអង្គម្ខោះថ្ងៃ  
មានសត្វម្ស្និ  
មានក្បាលនោះប្តី  
ជើងសោតប្រាំប្តី  
ស្លាបតប់ព្យ  
មានរូបប្តីរូបហាសិបបុន  
ឱ្យតឹងក្នុងខ្លួនក្នុងកិចសាស្តា  
ទើព្វស្បុកក្នុងនោះឯងណា  
ទើព្វពេញ បរិបូរនោះឯងហោងៗ

ៗ ឧកាសបូពិតតើ  
ខំមនឹងថ្ងៃថ្ងៃ  
សម្តែងចរា  
ក្នុងកិចសាស្តា

ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្លែង  
រឿងសត្វទំនោះ  
ត្រាចតោរចំម្តោះ  
គឺហត្ថានោះឯងនៃ

រឿងក្នុងម្លូង  
មានបុត្រវ័ទ្ធិប្តី  
ជើងសោតប្រាំបី  
គឺហឧបោសគ្គ  
ស្លាបតប់ពីរ  
គឺហខែប្រកដ្ឋ  
ឯរោមកំម្ពត់  
ជុំខ្លួនខ្ញុំមនៃ  
ខ្ញុំមនីងចែងព្យ  
ឱ្យជាព្រះហរនៃ  
រឿងច្បងនោះឯងនៃ  
ប្តីរូបហាសិបបួននោះឯងហោង។

ៗឧកាសបូព្តិត  
អ្នកផងទ្រាំហ្សា  
ស្តាប់ខ្ញុំមហយា  
តម្កើរស្សស្នា  
បានពីរពានព្យ  
អ្នកផងទ្រាំហ្សា  
មិនស្ងប់គិតគុណ  
មាត្រាប្តីតា  
គុណធួនណា  
កំបាមគ្យ  
តើរដើកតែស្រា  
លាត់សំម្ពត់ដរដេរ  
កំបាមគំផ្ស  
កាត្រូវមិនធ្វើហ  
នេះហើរសាស្តា  
ពីរពានព្រះវស្សា  
បាខំមធ្វើហបួន  
ស្បែកកត់ត្រឹក  
បាធ្វើហជាគ្រួន

បើរតល់ធ្វើហបុន  
បាតាឃើញ  
បើរុតអន្លើត  
តើរលាត់សងឃើញ  
ស្រែកហោរថាអ្វី  
អាភ្នើស្រ្រី  
អ័ន្ធនៃនះវា  
ត្រៀមស្រែបស្រួលហោរទៅ

រឿងយំមកុបាល  
គ្នាពេកកន្ទាល  
ជាអ្នកដើរទ្រូត  
ទ្រូតឥតបន្តិ  
យកទូរ្យវ័ន្យ  
សម្តេចយំម្នាដ  
អ្នកមានអម្ពាច  
គ្រូមិនតឹងខ្លាច  
គ្រូអ្នកផ្តេចការ  
នំណាមានបាប  
គ្រូសឹងមកចាប់  
វ័ន្យតមគ្រូគ្រា  
ខ្លះខ្លះអ្នកនិព្វា  
ទូលទុកវេទនា  
ណាណាអ្នកកៀ  
តូចបោះឱ្យខំមខំហាត់  
ឱ្យខំមសង្វាត  
ធ្វើហបុណឱ្យទាន  
ទើពនឹងបានឆ្លងតល  
ស្មាននិពានទៅហោងៗ ។

Diplomatic transcription of **UB011**

ឧកាសៈបូពិភីយ  
យើងខ្ញុំចាចែង  
សម្តែង កាលគ្រា  
កាលកិច្ចព្រះសាសនា  
ព្រះអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ

ឱ្យដឹងនោះនៃ  
ព្រះអង្គឱត្តម  
មានសត្វ១[page] ធំ  
ក្បាលនោះបី  
ដើងសោតប្រាំបី  
ស្លាបពីដង្កប់  
មានរោមនោះបីរយប្លាយ  
ហើយហាសីបបួន  
ឱ្យដឹងក្នុងខ្លួន  
ក្នុងកិច្ចព្រះសាសនា  
អស់កិកនោះណា  
សឹងពេញបរិបូណ៌ ចប់ ៗ១ ០ ៗ១

ឯក្បាលនោះគឺព្រះវស្សា  
ដើងសោតណា  
គឺព្រះឧបោសុទ្ធ  
កន្ទុយវង់គត់  
គឺវស្សាដូរទ្រាំបីថ្ងៃ  
គឺរោមប្រពៃ  
យាមនុស្សសោតនៃ  
គឺអង្គឯងហោង ៗ១ ចប់ ៗ១

០ ៗ១  
ahambhante  
bhikkhude  
រាល់អង្គទីទៃ  
និមន្តចូលស្តាប់  
សាស័បសូម៉ៃ  
កាលអង្គម្ចាស់ថ្ងៃ  
ស្តេចគង់ធម្មា

ទ្រង់បន្ទូលប្រោស  
ហូរពីព្រះឱស  
ជាកិច្ចបណ្តា  
ទុក្ខឱ្យព្រះអានន្ទ  
អារហន្តថ្ងៃយថ្នា  
ដឹងក្នុងសាសនា  
ស្រាយរូបបាភី



កាលជួបអាណន្ត  
ផ្អែកសំអាហារ  
ស្រ្យង់សេចក្តី  
បូពិតសត្វធំ  
ឱក្តីពេកក្រៃ  
មានក្បាលនោះបី  
ជាផ្លូវសូរិយ៉ា

រឿបសត្វនោះ  
ស្តេចឱ្យចំពោះ  
ទេស្តាប្រាណាប្រៃ  
៣៦៤  
ដាក់ឱ្យឆ្លុនថែរ  
ជាថ្ងៃគ្រប់ខែ  
គ្រប់ឆ្នាំមួយហោង

រឿខែដន្តប្រប់  
បានជាមិនគ្រប់  
ខាតថ្ងៃប្រាំមួយ  
ត្បិតតែកោ  
បីច្នេះឯងហោង  
កុំម្យ៉ាសង្ស័យបាត្តិណា  
ក្នុងព្រះសាសនា  
ខែប្រាំមួយនោះណា  
កោបីច្នេះឯងហោង ។។ ចប់ ។។ ៊

**sakarāj salpāt-4r**  
The year and repentance

Khmer mixed verse in *bāky 4 rāy* (with the some sections possibly in *kākagati*), 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB011** 84b–88b dhaṛm (ra)pā; **UB046** 59a–61a sakrāj sālpāt/dhaṛm sālpāt

Summary: Provides a litany of repentance and prayers for absolution.

Diplomatic transcription of **UB011**

១១១ ឧកាសាបូពិឆ្លើយ  
 យើងខ្ញុំសូមលាវ  
 លាអស់ជាតិដៅ  
 ដំបៅពេត្តា  
 យើងខ្ញុំសូមលាវ  
 លាវពាក្យត្រគោះ  
 បញ្ចុះរូសរឹង  
 លាវពាក្យលំរៀង  
 បញ្ចៀងនានា  
 លាវពាក្យមាយាវ  
 លំគេញបាញ់បោះ  
 ចិត្តមិនអាសូរត្រង់ខ្លួនលំបាក  
 លាទាំងបួសបម  
 កមហើយរម័ស  
 លាវខ្លួនពីបាក់  
 រកស៊ីមិនបាន  
 លាវចិត្តរុរាន  
 បំរាពានចិត្តគេ  
 ចិត្តគិតប៉ៅឡៃ  
 ទ្រីព្យគេក្នុងខ្លួន  
 ក្រឡេកក្រលួន  
 ខ្លួនមានជុំពាក់  
 លាវពាក់ចៃចូរ  
 ដង្ហូរពីពាក់  
 លាវខ្លួនលាខ្វាក់  
 លាជើងដៃបាក់  
 លាគីរលាថ្នង  
 លាចិត្តមិនត្រង់  
 ថ្នងហើយវង្វេង  
 លាបាបខ្លួនឯង  
 ផឹកស្រាវង្វេង  
 ដេពោលដំរាយ  
 លាដេព្រះពាយ  
 ពាយងាយព្រះភីរុណ  
 ប្រម៉ាតអំប្លាដ៏មានគុណ  
 ជាគ្រូវបាធាយ

ប្រម៉ាតអ្នកម្តាយ  
 ពាយងាយលោកឪពុក  
 យកបាបៗមកទុក  
 ក្នុងអង្គអគ្គា  
 ជេមេជេបា  
 ជេមាន់ជេទា  
 ជេគោក្របីយ  
 ជេទាំងស្រែក្នី  
 ជេភ្លៀងជេផ្កុរ  
 ពាក្យឈ្មោះ  
 បាបនោះពុំលេង  
 លាជេត្រីកេរ  
 ពីងពាក់ដោយស្រែ  
 ក្រពើធ្លាមផង  
 លាជេអណ្តើក  
 លាជេអន្សង  
 ជេនាគ្យម្តុរផង  
 ជេខ្យងជេក្តាម  
 ជេត្រីក្នុងរាម  
 ជេក្តាមក្នុងទ្រង់  
 លាជាអន្ទង់  
 ពុំគង់នានា  
 លាជេចង្វារ  
 លាត្រីប្រាម[page 91]  
 ជេក្តិតក្រឹមផង  
 លាជេបង្កកង  
 ខ្នងកោងជាមេ  
 លាជេជំរុំ  
 លាជេជ្រូលព្រៃ  
 ជេក្តាន់រំមាំង  
 អាសាច់ច្រកឃ្នាំង  
 ធ្វើជាអាហារ  
 ខ្ញុំសូមៗលាជា  
 លាពៀររួចហើយ  
 ខ្ញុំសូមឱ្យនាប់  
 បានដល់ត្រឹម

បានដល់បានផ្លូវស្នូត  
 ដឹកនាំព័រមយូរ  
 អស់ញាតិការ  
 ខ្លាំងលំព្រះឥន្ទ្រ  
 ខ្លាំងលំទេវតា  
 អស់ញាតិកា  
 កូរណាឱ្យទាន  
 ឱ្យគោរវទេវ  
 ឱ្យសេដ្ឋី  
 ឱ្យទាំងទេព្វី  
 ស្រីព្រះស្នំម  
 លើកដៃបង្គំម  
 គុណព្រៃឯបូកាណា ។  
 អស់ញាតិទូន្មាន  
 អស់ទាំងសង្ឃផង  
 ឱសង្ឃនូវវត្តនេះហើយ  
 ចេះគ្រប់មិនចេះគ្រប់  
 មិនចេះស្តារវត្ត  
 មិនចេះក្រិតក្រៃ  
 ចំរើនសាសនា  
 រៀនទាំងស្រីញី  
 រៀនទាំងផឹកស្រា  
 សង្កិនអ្នកម្តាយ  
 ជាព្រះកន្លោង  
 ឆោងចាប់កុំពីរ  
 មាត់តែងបាឡី  
 ចិត្តនឹកទៅស្រី  
 សង្ឃទៅមក  
 បង់ទាំងដីសរ  
 បង់ទាំងក្តារខៀន  
 មិនបានសូត្ររៀន  
 នឹងត្រូវបាឡាយ  
 រត់ទៅប្រញាយ  
 ពួនដោយដំបូក  
 វាកើតជា។[page 92] ជ្រូក  
 កើតជាម៉ាំង

បាបអ្វីមកបាំង  
 ស្ងៀតដោយបង្កស្បែង  
 បាបត្រូវដល់ត្រូវ  
 បាបត្រូវដល់ម្តាយ  
 បាបញ្ញាតិទាំងឡាយ  
 ត្រូវដល់ឪពុក  
 ខ្លួនអៀរធ្វើទុក  
 កាចកាំព្រះសាសនា  
 កើតជា រមាស់  
 តែងស៊ីបន្ទុះ  
 វាកើតជាខ្លា  
 តែងស៊ីសាច់ទៅ  
 ត្រូវជេប្រដៅ  
 មិនយកចិត្តចង  
 រៀបបាបព្យាបាទ  
 ធ្ងន់ទៅនឹងភ្នំ  
 ជ្រកទៅនានា  
 វាទៅក្រុងចិន  
 ដងទឹកឱ្យវា  
 វាទៅក្រុងឈ្មោះ  
 ដងទឹក(in white, hard to read: ប្រាំង??) ប្រកអាង  
 ខ្លួនអ្នកចេះជាង  
 ចេះជាអ្នកប្រាជ  
 រឹងថ្ងៃល្ងាច  
 កាន់គោមចង្កៀង  
 ត្រូវជេបង្កើម  
 ប្រសើរខ្ពង់  
 ត្បិតត្រូវបាណ្ឌយ  
 ត្រូវជេបត្រូវវាយ  
 លើសទាំងអ្នកម្តាយ  
 ត្រូវពោលឱ្យស្តាប់  
 សូត្រធម៌ឱ្យគ្រប់  
 គុនព្រះបុរាណ  
 អស់ញាតិទូន្មាន  
 អស់ទាំងសង្ឃផង  
 ឱសង្ឃនេះហើយ

ស្បែកឆ្មៃមៀត  
ស្នូរចោលបង្ហើត  
ខួបធម៌ជា  
ដៃឡន៍ណាហោមាន  
បំរើវត្តស្នាន  
សត្រាបាឡី  
បើមើលសត្រា

ចាសចុនចាសដើម  
សង្ឃអៀតរស្មើម  
ន័រកូនោះណា  
បើកមើលកុំពី  
ប្រសើរពេកណា  
ន្នាអ្នកម្តាយពី  
ឱ្យបានដល់ស្នាន

ផ្លូវស្នូតផ្លូវតាប់  
ផ្លូវគួរ ផ្លូវទៅន័រកូ  
ស្នានមានស្នានប្រាក់  
ស្នានអ្នកម្តាយអញ្ជើយ  
ចាប់ដោយរំកាយ  
ឃ្លៀងភ្លើសអញ្ជើរម្ម  
ចូលថ្វាយបង្គំម  
លើរគ្រូបិតមាស  
មើលទឹកអញ្ជើកាស(or កាស but looks like កាស)  
លើកឡើងអញ្ជើសែក  
ព្រះគុណអ្នកម្តាយ  
អញ្ជើយប៉នមេកប៉នភ្នំ  
ខ្ញុំមហាវលំ  
ខ្ញុំមហាវល្យ  
ព្រះគុណអ្នកម្តាយអញ្ជើយ  
ប៉នភ្នំព្រះសូម៉ៃ  
ខ្ញុំចូលលាជា(or ផា)  
លាពៀររួចហើយ  
ឈាមម្តាយមួយដំណក់  
ស្រក់ដល់ព្រះធន្យ  
ខ្លួនដូចញីខ្លួនដូចញីក

ខ្លួនដូចគេបុកខ្លួនខ្លី  
 នានាស័សៃ  
 អ្នកម្តាយអញ្ជើយ  
 ទាំងប្រាំបួនដណ្តាប់  
 ម្តាយទៅសព្វទាំងយុទ្ធទាំងថ្ងៃ  
 ស្រវ៉ាហុចដៃចាប់ខ្សែស្បៀង  
 អស់ញាតិអស់ព្រៀង  
 មកជួយជ្រុំជ្រង  
 បង្កើត(តិ is whited out) បា(something crossed out) ឯង  
 បានកើតមកហើយ  
 កុំបាដើលេង  
 អាសូរអ្នកម្តាយឯង  
 ម្តាយស្ងួតទឹកក្តៅ  
 ហតប័បបរអ្នកមេតា  
 ត្រេកអរពន្លឹកស្នែហារ  
 សង្កិន ម្តាយ(ម្តាយ crossed out) វ៉ា  
 ជាព្រះកន្លោង  
 ឱខ្លួនអញ្ជើយ  
 បំណាច់អ្នកម្តាយ  
 បង្កើតមកហើយ  
 កុំឱវង្វេងជាតិ  
 ឱខ្ញុំសង្ឃឹម  
 ឱបានដល់ស្ថាន  
 ផ្លូវស្នូតនោះជាស្ថាន  
 ទៀងប្រកដ្ឋហោង ៗៗ ០\*\* [page 94]

Diplomatic transcription from UB046:

ឧកាស: បូពិភ្លើយ  
 យើងខ្ញុំសូមលាវ  
 លាអស់ជាតិដៅ  
 ដំបៅពាគ្តាវ  
 យើងខ្ញុំសូមលាវ  
 លាពាក្យត្រគោះ  
 មជ្ជះរុះរើង  
 លាពាក្យលំអៀង  
 ពុំទៀងនានា

លារពាក្យមាយា  
 លំរគញបាញ់ប្បប្ប  
 ចិតមិនអាស្ស័យ  
 ត្រង់ខ្លួនពីបាក់  
 លារទាំងបួសបម  
 កមហើយវលាក់  
 លាទាំងពីបាក់  
 វិស្សមិនបាន ។  
 លារចិតរុករាណ  
 បំពានចិតគេរ  
 ចិតគិតបោឡៃ  
 ទ្រព្យគេក្នុងខ្លួន  
 ក្រឡែកក្រលោន  
 ខ្លួនមានចំពាក់  
 លារពាក្យចែរចូរ  
 ដង្ហែរពរភ្នាក់  
 លារខ្លួនលាខ្នាក់  
 លារជើងដៃបាក់  
 ក្រចកគោកងរ ។  
 លារគរលាថ្នង  
 លារបាបមិនត្រង់  
 ថ្នងហើយវង្វេង  
 ផឹកស្រាខ្លួនឯង  
 ជេរពោលដំរាយ  
 លារជេរព្រះពាយ  
 ពាយងាយព្រះកិរុណ  
 ប្រមាត់អ្នកមានគុណ  
 ជាគ្រូបាធាយ ។  
 ប្រមាត់អ្នកម្តាយ  
 ពាយងាយលោកឪពុក  
 យកបាបមកទុក្ខ  
 ក្នុងអង្គអាត្មា  
 ជេរមេរជេរបារ  
 ជេរមាត់ជេរទារ  
 ជេរគោក្របី  
 ជេរទាំងស្រែភ្នំរ



ទាំងភ្នំភ្នំភ្នំផ្កា  
 ពាកធុករយរ  
 បាបនោះពុំឡើង ។  
 លាវជេរត្រីដែរ  
 ពឹងពាក់ដោយស្រែរ  
 ក្រពើរម្លាមផង  
 លាវជេរអណ្តើក  
 លាវជេរអណ្តូង  
 ជេរនាគរាជហោង  
 ជេរខ្នងជេរក្តាំម ។  
 ជេរត្រីក្នុងរាម  
 ជេរក្តាំមក្នុងរណ  
 លាវជេរអន្ទង់  
 ពុំគង់នា  
 លាវជេរត្រីប្រា  
 ជេរក្តិតរមាំង  
 អារសាច់ប្រកឃ្លាំង  
 ខ្លួនជាអាហារ ។  
 ខ្ញុំចូលាវងារ  
 លាវពៀររួចហើយ  
 ចាប់បានដល់ត្រើយ  
 ដឹកនាំពាំយោរ  
 អស់ញាតិការ  
 នាំដល់ព្រះឥន្ទ  
 នាំដល់ទេវតា  
 អស់ញាតិការ  
 គួរនាឱ្យទាន  
 sampaccay"ohontu ។

**hai me namo-k/r4**

O! I pay homage

Khmer mixed verse, *kāḅagati* and *bāky 4 rāy*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB011** 82b–84b dhaṛm (ra)pā

Summary: Describes, using specific toponyms and *kammatthāna* technical terms, what paths a person could take in the moments immediately after death, including the path to Nibbāna.

UB011	Edition	Translation
<p>ហៃមេនោមោ ពុទ្ធវៈៗរោ អង្គពោធិសត្វ ព្រះប្រាំព្រះអង្គ កាលមួយទៀងទាត់ ហើយព្រះនាំសត្វ ឆ្លងទៅនិព្វាន</p>	<p>ហៃ <i>me namo</i> <i>buddhavarō</i> អង្គពោធិសត្វ ព្រះប្រាំព្រះអង្គ កាលមួយទៀងទាត់ ហើយព្រះនាំសត្វ ឆ្លងទៅនិព្វាន ។</p>	<p>O! I pay homage to the excellent buddhas, the bodhisattvas, all five Lords, for one true kalpa, who lead beings to cross over to Nibbāna.</p>
<p>ន័រអ្នកផង ចង់ដឹងទម្ងន់ ទាក់ទងវាចា លុះអស់ជីវិត កាយកម្មវេរា នោះឯងអត្តា ពុំដឹងសូនសោះ</p>	<p>នរអ្នកផង ចង់ដឹងទម្ងន់ ទាក់ទងវាចា លុះអស់ជីវិត កាយកម្មវេរា នោះឯងអត្តា ពុំដឹងសូនសោះ ។</p>	<p>Any person who wishes to know the way of speaking: when his life is exhausted, and done are his actions and karma, he shall not in himself be aware, but completely unconscious.</p>
<p>រឿបរបស់ រូបរបស់ទៅក៏ មានតែនឹងស្លាប់ កាយកម្មវេរា សូត្រកុសាលី ដោយនាដំណើរ</p>	<p>រឿបរបស់ រូបរបស់ទៅក៏ មានតែនឹងស្លាប់ កាយកម្មវេរា សូត្រ <i>kusalā</i> ដោយនាដំណើរ</p>	<p>As for his body and belongings, even if he strives to live, it surely will die, along with his actions and karma. The monks will chant “<i>kusalā...</i>” to guide the way.</p>
<p>សង្ឃសូត្រជូនទៅ ចម្លងខ្សាច់ជ្រៅ ដល់ផ្លូវសេកសៃ ដល់ជួរសំប៉ាន មានជ្រៃក្រអែ ផ្លូវទៅអាត្មេ ន័រកូទេហោង</p>	<p>សង្ឃសូត្រជូនទៅ ចម្លងខ្សាច់ជ្រៅ ដល់ផ្លូវសេកសៃ ដល់ជួរសំប៉ាន មានជ្រៃក្រអែ ផ្លូវទៅអាត្មេ នរកទេហោង</p>	<p>The monks will chant to accompany him to cross the deep sand to arrive at Sek Sè, and then arrive at the sampan rock, where there is a <i>kra'è</i> fig tree. The road to the Southeast goes only to the hells.</p>
<p>ផ្លូវទៅឯសាន សូរទេព្តីមាន</p>	<p>ផ្លូវទៅឯសាន សួគ៌ទេព្តីមាន</p>	<p>The road to the Northeast leads to the palaces of the heavens,</p>

ហោរាឋានត្រៃកុព្វ  
 ជួបនឹងត្រៃលោក  
 ផ្លូវបែកប្រសព្វ  
 ឯជើងត្រៃកុព្វ ។  
 ហោរស្ទឹងអរុណ

ហោរាឋានត្រៃកត  
 ជួបនឹងត្រៃលោក  
 ផ្លូវបែកប្រសប់  
 ឯជើងត្រៃកត  
 ហោរស្ទឹងអរុណ

called the place of the Three Realms,  
 where one meets the Three Worlds.  
 The road divides skillfully,  
 and to the north of the Three Realms  
 is called the Aruṇa river.

ផ្លូវនន្ទទេវី  
 ក្រោមដើមព្រះជ្រៃ  
 បែកទៅឯសាន  
 ស្រះទេពនិមិត្ត  
 ឆ្វេងព្រៃហិម្មពាន  
 ចម្ងាយមេនមាន។  
 ៦០សិបយោជន៍ហោង

ផ្លូវនន្ទទេវី  
 ក្រោមដើមព្រះជ្រៃ  
 បែកទៅឯសាន  
 ស្រះទេពនិមិត្ត  
 ឆ្វេងព្រៃហិមពាន  
 ចម្ងាយមេនមាន  
 ហុកសិបយោជន៍ហោង

The road of Nandadevī,  
 beneath the fig tree,  
 splits off to the Northeast,  
 with the divinely created lake,  
 to the left and the Himavant forest,  
 truly far away,  
 at sixty *yojanas*.

ផ្លូវច្រកកណ្តាល  
 ដើរចេញឆ្លងវាល  
 ឈ្មោះកៅដាវ  
 មានភ្នំនោះបី  
 ក្រៃក្រែមហិមា  
 ផ្លូវស្នូត្រីស្សា  
 យាមាតុសិត

ផ្លូវច្រកកណ្តាល  
 ដើរចេញឆ្លងវាល  
 ឈ្មោះ កៅតា  
 មានភ្នំនោះបី  
 ក្រៃក្រែមហិមា  
 ផ្លូវស្នូត្រីស្សា  
 យាមាតុសិត

The middle road leads out  
 and takes one across the universe;  
 it is called “Kāvatā.”  
 There are three mountains,  
 astoundingly massive,  
 and the road to the Trāyastriṃsa,  
 Yāma, and Tusita heavens.

មានផ្លូវមួយធំ(or ចំ)  
 ដើរទៅលើភ្នំ  
 ឈ្មោះបរមនាថាន  
 មានដើមឈើមួយ  
 ផ្លែដូចកញ្ញា  
 នារីថ្លៃថ្លា  
 សិលាប័តិ  
 ផ្លូវរំងកន្តៃ  
 រែមានរស្មៃចត្តកៃ  
 គេនូវចាំផ្លូវ  
 មានស្រះមួយធំ  
 ដើរទៅលើភ្នំ  
 វិរោសត្តិ [page 89] កោ  
 ចំពោធិសត្វ  
 ផ្លូវលក្ខណ

មានផ្លូវមួយចំ  
 ដើរទៅលើភ្នំ  
 ឈ្មោះបរមនាថាន  
 មានដើមឈើមួយ  
 ផ្លែដូចកញ្ញា  
 នារីថ្លៃថ្លា  
 សិលាប័តិ  
 ផ្លូវរំងកន្តៃ  
 រែមានរស្មៃចត្តកៃ  
 គេនៅចាំផ្លូវ  
 មានស្រះមួយធំ  
 ដើរដល់លើភ្នំ  
 viro satthiko  
 ចំពោធិសត្វ  
 ផ្លូវលក្ខណ

There is one road that leads directly  
 to the summit of the mountain,  
 called the realm of the Paramanātha.  
 There is a tree there,  
 with fruits like maidens,  
 like lovely ladies,  
 and with stones of bliss.  
 There is the road of the *kanthè* sal tree,  
 with the mines of the Lord of the Geckos,  
 who waits on the road,  
 and there is a large lake.  
 Walking up to the mountain is the  
*hero, caravan leader,*  
 for the bodhisattvas,  
 the road of the marks.

Appendix II-18 Khmer miscellaneous (-r, -br/7, br/bn, k/4r, 4r)

ឥន្ទករោ	<i>indakaro</i>	<i>indakaro</i> [?]
សិណោសារិគត់	<i>sinosārigata</i>	<i>sinosārigata</i> [?]
ដើរចេញពីនោះ	ដើរចេញពីនោះ	Walking away from there,
ឆ្លងស្ពានសិលា	ឆ្លងស្ពានសិលា	crossing a stone bridge,
ជាទីព្រះមហា	ជាទីព្រះមហា	is the place of the great
ឥសីសិលសុទ្ធ	ឥសីសិលសុទ្ធ	ascetic, of virtue pure.
ដើរពីនោះឆ្លង	ដើរពីនោះឆ្លង	Walking further from there and crossing
ស្ពានស្រមុត្រ	ស្ពានសមុទ្រ	the bridge across the ocean
ជលទ្ធិស្រែចស្រុក	ជលទ្ធិស្រែចស្រុក	waters, one arrives at the land
ឈ្មោះមទ្ទករោ	ឈ្មោះ <i>maddhakaro</i>	called Maddhakaro,
ផ្លូវសម្ពុទ្ធោ	ផ្លូវ <i>sambuddho</i>	the path of the perfect buddhas,
មានអង្គព្រះគោ	មានអង្គព្រះគោ	where there the Lord, August Cow,
នូវក្នុងគ្រឹះហិរ	នៅក្នុងគ្រឹះហា	inside the abode,
បើកទ្វារចូលទៅ	បើកទ្វារចូលទៅ	opening the gate and entering,
ឱ្យបានដល់ទីស្ថាន	ឱ្យបានដល់ស្ថាន	to reach the place,
លំនៅឧត្តម	លំនៅឧត្តម	the excellent home.
បើអ្នកឯណាបាន	បើអ្នកឯណាបាន	If one is able to
ស្តារសិលសន្សំម	ស្តារសិលសន្សំម	cultivate virtue and merit
បានឆ្លងរួចដល់	បានឆ្លងរួចដល់	one can travel across to reach
បរមនាថាន	បរមនាថាន	the Paramanāthaḥāna,
		The explanation of the road to the
ប្រាប់ពីផ្លូវស្នេហា	ប្រាប់ពីផ្លូវស្នេហា	heavens,
ងើកបស្រួលបួល	ងើកបស្រួលបួល	increasingly easy and pleasant,
ស្រេចទៅប្រការ	ស្រេចនូវប្រការ	is complete in all
ទាំងអម្បាលណោះឯងហោង ។។។	ទាំងអម្បាលណោះឯងហោង ។	
om		parts, just like this.

**anak mtāy saṅsār-k/4r**

My dear mother

Khmer mixed verse, *kāḡagati* and *bāky 4 rāy*, 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Leporello: **UB006** 65a–65b sakrāj khmèr thḡaiy traiy lāk; **UB011** 81b–82b dhaṛm (ra)pā

Summary: Describes one’s debt (*guṇa*) to one’s mother, and a prayer to repay it through the dedication of various acts of merit to her.

UB006	UB011	Edition	Translation
អ្នកម្តាយសង្សារ កូនសង្ឃវិហារ	២៣ ៗ១ ០ ៗ១ បូពិតសង្សារ កូនសង្ឃព្រះវិហារ	អ្នកម្តាយសង្សារ កូនសង្ឃវិហារ ។	My dear mother, I have built a vihāra,
ប៉ិនបោះសីមា សំបុកជាតិម្តាយវ៉ា កំឡីម្តាយព្រាត ឈាមម្តាយជាត្រោះ ស្រុកម្តាយជាវត្ត កំឡីព្រាត ព្យាទ្រូងកូនទៅ	បញ្ចុះសែម៉ា កើតជាតិកាលណា កុំឱ្យម្តាយព្រាត ឈាមម្តាយជាត្រក សុខម្តាយជាវត្ត កុំឱ្យម្តាយព្រាត ព្យាទ្រូងកូនទៅ	បញ្ចុះសីមា កើតជាតិកាលណា កុំឱ្យម្តាយព្រាត ឈាមម្តាយជាត្រក សុកម្តាយជាវត្ត កុំឱ្យម្តាយព្រាត ព្យាទ្រូងកូនទៅ ។	and buried the sīmā stones. In whatever life you are born, may you not be separated. My mother's blood like a puddle. Her placenta is to be respected. May you not be separated from my chest.
ព្យាទ្រូងកូនតូច ស្រែកយំមក្រលួច សូមទាននោះបៅ	ពិកាលខ្លួនតូច ស្រែកយំទ្រូច សូមទាន ដោះបៅ អ្នកម្តាយលើកឡើង ច្រូងដាក់លើភ្នៅ សូមទានដោះបៅ ប្តែមហើយពិសារ	ពិកាលខ្លួនតូច ស្រែកយំទ្រូច សូមទានដោះបៅ? សុំ អ្នកម្តាយលើកឡើង ច្រូងដាក់លើភ្នៅ សូមទានដោះបៅ ប្តែមហើយពិសារ	When I was young, I cried and nagged, always asking to drink your milk. You lifted me up, and sat me on your lap, as I asked to drink your milk, sweet and delicious.
កូននេះកូនណា កូនបាសំម្លាញ់ ខ្ញុំមសូមតាក់តល ថ្មលនគរទៅហោងៗ ចបសក្រាដ្ឋ	កូននេះកូនណា កូនញាតិកា កូនបាសំម្លាញ់ សូមអញនៅផង សូមឱ្យដូចបំណង ដាក់ដល់ផ្លូវសួរ គឺព្រះមហានិគរនិព្វាន ហោង ៗ១ ២៣ ៗ១ ០ ៗ១	កូននេះកូនណា កូនញាតិកា កូនបាសំម្លាញ់ សូមអញនៅផង? ឱ្យដូចបំណង ដាក់ដល់ផ្លូវសួរ គឺមហានិព្វានហោង ។	Where for me, or for another, as the child of a relative, my dear child, may I be with you, just as my wish to reach the road to the heavens, that is, great Nibbāna.

### Appendix III

Uṇhissavijaya (Long verse version)  
Victory of the cranial protuberance

FEMC title: Uṇhisavijayya; Uṇhissavijaya

Pali verse, likely composed in Thailand or possibly Cambodia or Laos, 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC C.51

Thai books: CP = *Braḥ mahādibamanī(r)* พระมหาทิพมนตร์ (Thonburi นครหลวงกรุงเทพธนบุรี: Bim(b) pēn anusara(ṇ) nāi nān braḥ rājadān blōn śab nān chavīvaṇṇa praḥkaapsānīsukh pa.ma., ca.ja. ṇa jhāpanasthān vāt makuṭakṣātriyārām rājavaravihār พิมพ์เป็นอนุสรณ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ นางฉวีวรรณ ประกอบสันติสุข บ.ม.,จ.ช. ณ ฌาปนสถานวัดมกุฏกษัตริยารามราชวรวิหาร, 2516), 24–31; SA = Damrong Rajanubhab สมเด็จพระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ พระองค์เจ้าดิศอรุณกร กรมพระยาดำรงราชานุภาพ, *Mahādibaman(t)* มหาทิพมนตร์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: bim(b) nāi nān braḥ rājadān blōn śab āṃmāty do braḥyā arḡani(dhi)niyam (samuy ābharaṇasīri) ca ma, ca ja, ra ja ba. พิมพ์ในงานพระราชทานเพลิงศพ อำมาตย์โท พระยาอรรคนิธิ์นิยม (สมุย อารณศิริ) จ ม, จ ช, ร จ พ., 2471), 28–36.

Khmer books (only for those passages that overlap with the medium-length mixed prose and verse version, **Uṇhissavijaya-NM**): PDR = *Prajum dhaīm raṃtoḥ groḥ dāmñi 12 chnām* ប្រជុំធម៌វង្សៈគ្រោះទាំង ១២ ង្គាំ (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Ācānd អាច័ន្ទ, 2000), 10–13; PS = Kèv Ūc កែវ អូច, *Parittasamodhān pālī* ប្រតិសមោធានបាលី (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1997), 302–6; BK = Ek Nīim ឯក ញឹម and Ras' Kèv រស់ កែវ, *Bhāṇavāra kiccavatt brik liāc* ភាណវរ កិច្ចវត្តត្រីកណ្ឌច (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Paṇṇāgār gim señ បណ្ណាគារ គឹម សេង, 1965), 40–44.

### Edition

dī nī<sub>2</sub> cāk sāmteṇ braḥ uṇhisavijaiy taa<sub>1</sub> pai lao<sub>1</sub> / tām tē<sub>1</sub> dān<sub>1</sub> caḥ prot

uṇhissavijaya-suttaṃ<sup>1</sup>

namo<sup>2</sup> tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa

vanditvā sirasā buddhaṃ  
saddhammagāṇuttamaṃ

<sup>1</sup> CP: uṇhisavijaiy sūtr; SA: uṇhisavijaiy.

<sup>2</sup> From *namo* until *atthi* there are no parallels in the text of BK and PDR; the edition here is based only on CP and SA.

### Appendix III

uṇhissavijayaṃ<sup>3</sup> nāma  
sattānaṃ āyuvaddhanaṃ  
vakkhāmi pavaraṃ ganthaṃ  
sambuddhen'eva desitaṃ.

ekasmiṃ samaye nātho  
tāvatiṃse surālaye  
pārichattakamūlamhi  
paṇḍukambalanāmake.

viharitvā padesesi  
abhidhammakathaṃ varaṃ  
sattappakaraṇaṃ nāma  
dhammasaṅgaṇī<sup>4</sup>-ādikaṃ  
sirimāyāpamukhānaṃ  
devānaṃ hitasampadaṃ.

devaputto tadā eko  
nāmena supatiṭṭhito  
tāvatiṃse nibbatto so  
devehi parivārito.

dibbasukhaṃ anubhoti  
vimāne kanakepi ca  
ajānitvā tadā devo  
parikkhīṇāyum attano.

devaputto tadā eko  
ākāsacārīnāmako<sup>5</sup>  
parikkhīṇāyukaṃ tassa  
ñatvā vacanam abravi:

“mārisa sattame dine  
devalokā ito cuto  
aviciniraye jāto  
anubhosi dukkhaṃ bahuṃ.

cavitvā tato ṭhānā  
uppanno jātisattasu—  
kaṅkho giṃjho kummo ceva  
sunakho sūkaropi ca

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<sup>3</sup> CP and SA: uṇhisavijayaṃ.

<sup>4</sup> CP and SA: dhammasaṅgaṇī.

<sup>5</sup> CP and SA ākāsacārīnāmako; for the reading *ākāsacārīnāmako* I am following FEMC C.51, folio *cu verso*, line 1.

### Appendix III

jaccandho badhiro c'āpi—  
sattagatīsu jāyasi.  
bahudukkhaṃ anubhosi  
ekekāyapi jātiyā.”

iti vatvāna so devo  
antaradhāyi tāvade.

vacanaṃ tassa sutvāna  
kampitahadayo va so  
atidukkho mahāsoko  
cintesi hadaye iti:

“evarūpo upaddavo  
bhavissati idh'eva me.  
kiṃ meva saraṇaṃ hoti?  
kiṃ me tāṇaṃ parāyanaṃ?”

attano nimittaṃ disvā  
saṃkilissanti vatthakā  
dibbapupphā milāyanti  
sedā muñcanti kacchato  
āsanā api uṇhanti  
sarīraṃ duvaṇṇaṃ tadā.

pañca pubbanimittāni  
devānaṃ cutidhammatā:  
dibbapupphā milāyanti  
saṃkilissanti vatthakā  
kacchato sedā muñcanti  
api uṇhanti āsanā  
kāyo dubbaṇṇako hoti—  
nimittāni bhavissare.

vimānā s'otarivāna<sup>6</sup>  
sakkassa santikaṃ gato.  
vanditvā sādaraṃ sakkam  
vacanaṃ etad abravi:

“devarāja tuvaṃ seṭṭho.  
tāṇaṃ me patisaraṇaṃ.  
ito va sattame dine  
cuto ito bhavāmi'haṃ.

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<sup>6</sup> CP and SA: sottarivāna. Emended to *s'otarivāna*.



### Appendix III

avīciniraye<sup>7</sup> jāto  
dukkhaṃ anubhavāmi’haṃ.  
bahūvassasahassāni  
cīraṃ dukkhena jhāyisaṃ.

nirayato tato cuto  
jātomhi sattajātisū—  
kaṅkho gijjho kummo ceva  
sunakho sūkaropi ca

jaccandho badhiro c’eva—  
jāto sattasu mānuse  
bahudukkhaṃ anubhomi  
ekakāyapi jātiyā.

natthi me saraṇaṃ deva  
natthi tāṇaṃ parāyanaṃ.  
deva devagaṇasetṭha<sup>8</sup>  
devarāja sujampati

tvaṃ hi seṭṭho lokasmiṃ  
tvaṃ hi devo mahiddhiko  
tiloke maṅgalaṃ seṭṭho  
lokapāpaṃ pavāhaṇo.”

tassa taṃ vacanaṃ sutvā  
devarājā tad abravi:  
“nāhaṃ seṭṭho tilokasmiṃ  
nāhaṃ devo mahiddhiko.

loke na maṅgalaṃ seṭṭho  
lokapāpaṃ pavāhaṇo  
lokanāthaṃ ṭhapetvāna  
nāññaṃ passāmi maṅgalaṃ.

sabbakāruṇiko nātho  
sabbalokahitesino  
anāthassa sadā nātho  
so me nātho anuttaro.

devānañca hitatthāya  
desayanto narāsabho  
abhidhammaṃ pavattento.

<sup>7</sup> CP and SA: aviciniraye. Emended to *avīciniraye*.

<sup>8</sup> CP and SA: deva devagaṇā seṭṭha. Emended to *deva devagaṇasetṭha*.

### Appendix III

so me nātho anuttaro

so ca seṭṭho tilokasmiṃ  
so ca devo mahiddhiko  
tiloke maṅgalaṃ seṭṭho  
lokapāpaṃ pavāhaṇo.”

sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā  
so ca devo sasādaro  
gahetvā dīpadhūpāni  
sakkena gacchatī tadā.

narāsabho ṭhito yena  
tena gantvāna sādaraṃ  
dīpadhūpāni pūjetvā  
vanditvāva<sup>9</sup> nisīdati.

tadā devānamindo taṃ  
gāthāya ajjhabhāsi so:  
“eso sattadivasamhi  
devo bhante ito cuto  
gaṭīsu sattasu jāto  
patanto nirayaṃ bhusaṃ.  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ pubbe  
sattagaṭīsu jāyate?”

sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā  
sambuddho dīpaduttamo  
tassa pañhaṃ pabyākāsi:  
“tena pāpaṃ katampi ca  
pubbe sakka kir’eso ca  
jāto nesādajetṭhako.  
kataṃ pāṇātipātampi  
abhiṇhaṃ akarī tadā.  
tena kammavipākena  
kaṅko<sup>10</sup> gijjho pi jāyate.”

“so jāto puna kummo pi  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ siyā?”

“pubbe so sakka mānuse  
pakkhi-aṇḍaṃ viyojitaṃ.  
tena kammavipākena

<sup>9</sup> CP and SA: vanditvāva. Emended to *vanditvāna*.

<sup>10</sup> CP and SA: kaṅkho. Emended to *kaṅko*.

### Appendix III

tasmā kummo bhavissati.”

“sūkarō puna so jāto  
kiṃ pāpaṃ pakataṃ pure?”

“so hi pubbe manusso pi  
addho jāto mahaddhano.  
samaṇānaṃ yadā disvā  
yācakānaṃ akkosati.  
vatvā anādaraṃ vācaṃ  
dānaṃ na deti so tadā  
tasmā ten’āpi kammaena  
so jāto sūkarō bhavē.”

“sunakho pana so jāto  
pubbe kammaṃpi kiṃ kataṃ?”

“jāto sakka manussesu  
garahitvā agāravo  
samaṇe brāhmaṇe c’āpi  
duvācaṃ bhāsayī tadā.  
buddhadhammassa saṅghassa  
ajānitvā guṇaṃ tadā  
tasmā pi tena kammaena  
sunakho so bhavissati.”

“bhante so badhiro jāto  
pubbe pāpaṃ pi kiṃ kataṃ?”

“eso daḷidde va kule pi jāto  
manussaloke pi apuññabhāvo.  
aññe manussā pi<sup>11</sup> tadā pasannā  
suṇanti dhammaṃ sugatassa vācaṃ.  
eso daḷiddo pavisaṃ pi ṭhānaṃ  
tadā nisinno pi ca ekamante  
suṇāti dhammaṃ viya no suṇāti  
samphappalāpampi katheti vācaṃ  
hāpeti dhammaṃ va niratthakaṃ pi<sup>12</sup>  
teneva so badhirajātikova.”

“jaccandho puna so jāto  
pubbe pāpaṃ pi kiṃ kataṃ?  
bhante pucchāmi taṃ tuyhaṃ.

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<sup>11</sup> CP: manussāpi; SA: nanussāpi

<sup>12</sup> CP and SA: pi.

### Appendix III

taṃ me akkhāhi pucchito.”

“devinda eso na karoti puññaṃ.  
pubbe va jāto pi manussaloke.  
disvāpi so brāhmaṇayācakānaṃ  
na passate so viya tuṇhibhūto.  
gehaṃ pavitṭho pi nisīdi channe  
jaccandhajāto pi ca manusse.”

tadā sakkopi devindo  
sambuddham pi ca yācito:  
“devaputtānukampāya  
desetu dhammuttamaṃ.  
kena taṃ paleti<sup>13</sup> bhante  
kena so idha tiṭṭhati  
upajjati ca taṃ āyuṃ  
kiṃ bhantetisucīrakoti

sathā anuttaro loka  
sambuddho dipaduttamo  
sakkassa vacanaṃ sutvā  
gāthāyo ajjhabhāsi

atthi<sup>14</sup> uṇhissavijayo<sup>15</sup>  
dhammo loka anuttaro.  
sabbasattahitathāya<sup>16</sup>  
taṃ tvaṃ gaṇhāhi<sup>17</sup> devate.

parivajjo—<sup>18</sup> rājadaṇḍe  
amanussaggipāvake<sup>19</sup>  
byagghe nāge vise bhūte—<sup>20</sup>  
akālamaraṇena vā<sup>21</sup>

sabbasmā maraṇā mutto

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<sup>13</sup> The unattested verb form *pālati*, found in the text of CP and SA, presents a problem. It could possibly be amended to *palāyati*, though I have chosen the alternative form *paleti*.

<sup>14</sup> BK: atī; PDR, CP, and SA: atthi.

<sup>15</sup> BK and PDR: uṇhassavijayo; CP and SA: uṇhisavijayo. Emended to *uṇhissavijayo* following Skilling and Uebe's citations of the text's title.

<sup>16</sup> BK and PDR: sabbasattahitāya; CP and SA: sabbasattahitathāya.

<sup>17</sup> BK and PDR: taṇhāhi; CP and SA gaṇhāhi.

<sup>18</sup> BK and PDR: parivaje; CP and SA parivajjo.

<sup>19</sup> BK and PDR: anussanāmake; CP and SA: amanussaggipāvake.

<sup>20</sup> BK and PDR: bhujage; CP and SA: vise bhūte. BK and PDR's reading is not metrical; emendation to *bhujāṅgame* is better, but CP and SA's reading may be more likely.

<sup>21</sup> BK and PDR: akālamaraṇena ca; CP and SA: akālamaraṇena vā.

### Appendix III

thapetvā kālamāritaṃ.<sup>22</sup>  
tass'eva ānubhāvena<sup>23</sup>  
hotu devo<sup>24</sup> sukhī sadā.

suddhasīlaṃ<sup>25</sup> samādānaṃ  
dhammaṃ sucariṃ care.  
tass'eva ānubhāvena<sup>26</sup>  
hotu devo<sup>27</sup> sukhī sadā.

likkhitam cintitam pūjam  
dhāraṇam vācanaṃ guruṃ<sup>28</sup>  
paresam desanam sutvā  
tass'āyu pavaḍḍhati.

sakkatvā buddharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
hitaṃ devamanussānaṃ  
buddhatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe dukkhā vūpasamentu te.

sakkatvā dhammaratanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
parilāh'ūpasamanaṃ<sup>29</sup>  
dhammatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe bhayā vūpasamentu te.

sakkatvā saṅgharatanaṃ  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varaṃ  
āhuneyyaṃ pāhuneyyaṃ  
saṅghatejena sotthinā  
nassant'upaddavā  
sabbe rogā vūpasamentu te.

bhesajjaṃ devamanussānaṃ

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<sup>22</sup> BK and PDR: kālamaraṇam; CP and SA: kalamāritaṃ.

<sup>23</sup> BK and PDR: tassānubhāvena; CP and SA tasseva ānubhāvena.

<sup>24</sup> BK and PDR: devo ca; CP and SA: devo.

<sup>25</sup> BK and PDR: nibuddhasīla; CP and SA: suddhasīlaṃ.

<sup>26</sup> BK: tassānubhāvena; PDR: tassānuvena; CP and SA: tass'eva ānubhāvena.

<sup>27</sup> BK and PDR: devo ca; CP and SA: devo.

<sup>28</sup> BK and PDR: garuṃ; CP and SA: guruṃ.

<sup>29</sup> BK, PDR, and CP: parilāhūpasamanaṃ; SA parilāhūpasamanaṃ.

### Appendix III

kaṭukaṃ tittakaṃ rasaṃ<sup>30</sup>  
ambilaṃ lavaṇaṅc'eva<sup>31</sup>  
sabbabyādhim<sup>32</sup> vināseti.<sup>33</sup>

ekadvitidinaṃ vā'pi<sup>34</sup>  
pañcasattadinaṃ<sup>35</sup> tathā  
yāva dukkhā na samenti<sup>36</sup>  
jīvadānaṃ karontu te.

jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ  
jīvadānānubhāvena  
hotu devo sukhī sadā.<sup>37</sup>

jīvadānaṅca yo datvā<sup>38</sup>  
osathaṃ uttamaṃ varam  
sarīradukkhaṃ<sup>39</sup> nāseti.  
bhesajjaṃ dānamuttaṃ.

tasmā kareyya kalyāṇaṃ  
nicayaṃ<sup>40</sup> samparāyikaṃ  
puññāni paralokasmiṃ  
patiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ.<sup>41</sup>

iminā jīvadānena  
tumhākaṃ kiṃ bhavissati?  
dīghāyukā sadā hontu<sup>42</sup>  
sukhitā hontu sabbadā.

<sup>30</sup> BK: loṇikaṃ tittakaṃ khārikaṃ kaṭukaṃ; PDR: lojokaṃ [missing *akkhara* here] tittakaṃ khārikaṃ; CP and SA: kaṭukaṃ tittikaṃ rasaṃ. CP and SA are much better metrically, but *tittikaṃ* has been emended to *tittakaṃ*.

<sup>31</sup> BK and PDR: kaṭukaṃ ambilaṃ rasaṃ sevanaṅc'eva; CP and SA: ambilaṃ lavaṇaṅc'eva.

<sup>32</sup> BK: sabbabyādhi; PDR: sabbabyādhim; CP and SA: sabbabyādhi. PDR's reading is required for the proposed emendation to *vināseti*.

<sup>33</sup> BK and PDR: vinassantu; CP and SA: vinassati. I propose emending to *vināseti* to allow *sabbabyādhim* to stand in the accusative with *bhesajjaṃ* in the nominative.

<sup>34</sup> BK and PDR: ekadvitidinaṃ; CP and SA: ekadvitidinaṃ vāpi.

<sup>35</sup> BK and PDR: catupañcachasattadinaṃ; CP and SA: pañcasattadinaṃ. It seems at some point the redactors of BK and PDR's textual tradition were uncomfortable not having all of the cardinal numbers from one to seven in the list!

<sup>36</sup> BK and PDR: vinassantu; CP and SA: na samenti.

<sup>37</sup> BK and PDR: hotu devo ca sukhī sadā; CP and SA: hotu devo sukhī sadā.

<sup>38</sup> BK: jīvadānaṅca yo datvā; PDR: jakavidānaṅca yo datvā; CP and SA: jīvadānāni datvāna. The readings of BK, PDR, and CP are all acceptable, but I find BK's use of the relative pronoun clarifying in this context.

<sup>39</sup> BK and PDR: sarīradukkhaṃ; CP and SA: sarīraṃ dukkhaṃ.

<sup>40</sup> BK and PDR: nicayaṃ; CP and SA: niccayaṃ.

<sup>41</sup> BK and PDR: patiṭṭhā honti pāṇinaṃ; CP and SA: patiṭṭhā sabbapāṇinaṃ.

<sup>42</sup> BK and PDR: dīghāyukā hontu; CP and SA: dīghāyukā sadā hontu.

### Appendix III

jīvadānaṃ dadantassa  
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ.  
dīghāyukā sadā hontu<sup>43</sup>  
sukhitā hontu sabbadā.<sup>44</sup>

yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ  
jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ<sup>45</sup>  
sīlavantesu tādisu<sup>46</sup>  
nānādānaṃ varaṃ datvā<sup>47</sup>

evaṃ mahiddhikā<sup>48</sup> esā  
yadidaṃ puññasampadā  
tasmā dhīrā pasamsanti  
paṇḍitā katapuññataṃ.

sukho<sup>49</sup> vipāko puññānaṃ  
abhippāyo samijjhati  
khippañca pariyosāne  
nibbānaṃ samadhigacchati  
yo bhājanasahassāni  
pūrāni<sup>50</sup> varabhojanaṃ  
dadeyyo sa parimāṇānaṃ<sup>51</sup>  
ekapattam pi nālabhe  
buddhuppādo<sup>52</sup> sārīputto<sup>53</sup>  
ye caññe aggasāvakā  
pattapūrānubhāvena  
mātāpitā pamuñcare.”

sakko dhammaṃ pi sutvāna  
saddhiṃ tena sasādaraṃ  
supatīṭṭhitadevo pi

<sup>43</sup> BK and PDR: dīghāyukā hontu; CP and SA: dīghāyukā sadā hontu.

<sup>44</sup> BK and PDR: sukhitā hontu sabbadā. CP and SA: sīlavantesu tādisu. The pada arrangement of BK and PDR is preferable here.

<sup>45</sup> BK and PDR: jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ / yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ; CP and SA: yo so dadāti sakkaccaṃ / jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ. CP and SA's order is preferable.

<sup>46</sup> The placement of this pada follows BK and PDR, not CP and SA.

<sup>47</sup> BK, PDR, CP, and SA all have an additional *jīvadānaṃ mahapphalaṃ* here, which I have eliminated to better fit the pada structure.

<sup>48</sup> BK: mahiddhikā; PDR, CP and SA: mahiddhiyā.

<sup>49</sup> From *sukho* until the end of the text there are no parallels in BK and PDR, and so the edition here is based solely on CP and SA.

<sup>50</sup> CP and SA: purāni. Emended to *pūrāni*, though perhaps *pūrāni* is more correct here.

<sup>51</sup> CP and SA have *saparimāṇānaṃ* in compound.

<sup>52</sup> CP: buddhappādo; SA: buddhuppādo.

<sup>53</sup> CP and SA: sārīputto. Emended to *sārīputto*.

### Appendix III

pasanno buddhasāsane.

dhanadhaññañ ca hiraññaṃ  
vatthādikaṃ alaṅkāraṃ  
attanā pi tulaṃ katvā  
buddhādikaṃ gaṇasaṃghaṃ  
mahādānaṃ adāsi so  
vaḍḍhako tassa āyu ca.

so dve buddhantare kappe  
puna āyumu pi labbhate.  
buddhadhammassa saṅghassa  
ānubhāvena tena ca

bhesajjasīladānassa  
ānubhāvena tena ca  
sabbe c’upaddavā tassa  
vinassanti asesato.

sakko devānamindo pi  
saddhiṃ devaputtena<sup>54</sup> ca  
sambuddham pi ca āpucchi  
sakaṭṭhānaṃ gato tadā.

desanāpariyosāne  
sātthikā dhammadesanā  
sotāpattiphalādīni  
pāpuṇiṃsu bahū janāti.

iti uṇhissavijayasammatam<sup>55</sup> niṭṭhitam.

iti dibbamantakaṃ ca mahājayanāmaṃ tathā  
atthi-uṇhissavijayā mahāpaññā sadā hont’ūti.

braḥ uṇhissavijaiy nī<sub>2</sub> / mī<sub>1</sub>ō<sub>1</sub> braḥ buddha cau<sub>2</sub> deśanā nai tāvatimṣā / prot supatiṭṭhitadevatā yāñ ayū<sub>1</sub>  
ce<sub>8</sub>t vāñ caḥ tāy / tai<sub>2</sub> fāñ dhaṃmadeśanā āyu nān<sub>2</sub> yīñ khīn<sub>2</sub> pái lau<sub>1</sub> / tarāp dau<sub>1</sub> kāmhnat āyu lè.

### Translation

Henceforth is the performance of the Victory of the Cranial Protuberance, if it is pleasing to you.

The Discourse on the Victory of the Cranial Protuberance

<sup>54</sup> CP: devaputte; SA: devaputtena.

<sup>55</sup> CP and SA: uṇhissavijayasammatam.



### Appendix III

Homage to the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Rightly Self-Awakened One!

Having saluted with my head the Buddha,  
the true Dhamma, and the lofty Sangha,  
I shall declare this superb text,  
just as preached by the Self-Awakened One  
for increasing the lifespan of living beings,  
named the “Victory of the Cranial Protuberance.”

At one time the Protector dwelt in  
the heavenly realm of the Thirty-Three Deities,  
At the root of an Indian Coral Tree,  
on that which is named Orange Blanket.<sup>56</sup>

He expounded the excellent discourse  
on the Abhidhamma  
named the Seven-Fold Exposition,<sup>57</sup>  
beginning with the Enumeration of Phenomena,<sup>58</sup>  
for the benefit and fortune of the deities,  
Sirimāyā<sup>59</sup> foremost among them.

A junior deity,  
Well-Established by name,  
reborn into the heaven of the Thirty-Three Deities,  
experienced divine bliss

with an entourage of deities  
in a golden flying palace,  
unaware of the  
exhaustion of his own lifespan.

A junior deity  
named Sky-Wanderer,<sup>60</sup>  
Having become aware of [Well-Established’s]  
exhaustion of his lifespan, spoke these words:

“Lord, in seven days,  
fallen from the realm of the deities,  
born into Uninterrupted Hell,  
you will experience much anguish.

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<sup>56</sup> i.e. on Sakka’s throne.

<sup>57</sup> A typical name for the seven books of the Abhidhamma in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand.

<sup>58</sup> The first of these seven books, the *Dhammasaṅgāṇī*.

<sup>59</sup> The Buddha’s mother, also known as Māyā, Mahāmāyā, or Sirimahāmāyā.

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps so named since he appears and disappears quickly in the narrative.

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Having passed away from that level,  
you will appear among the births of creatures,  
As a heron, a vulture, a tortoise,  
a dog, a pig,

as one blind from birth, and as one who is deaf,  
born in the destinies of creatures.  
You will experience much anguish  
in each birth.”

Having spoke thus,  
the deity [i.e. Sky-Wanderer] instantly disappeared.

Having listened to his words,  
he,<sup>61</sup> with a quaking heart,  
extreme anguish, and great sorrow,  
thought in his heart:

“Even here such a calamity  
will come to me.  
What is my only refuge?  
What is my safeguard, my last resort?”

Having seen this image of himself,  
his raiments soiled,  
His divine flowers withered,  
beads of sweat leaked from his armpit,  
His seats grew hot,  
and his body discolored.

These five portents  
are the natural law of passing away for  
deities: their flowers wither,  
their raiments soil,  
beads of sweat leak from their armpits,  
their seats grow hot,  
and their bodies become discolored—  
these will be the signs.

Having descended from his flying palace,  
he went into the presence of Sakka.  
Having saluted Sakka reverently,  
he spoke these words:

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<sup>61</sup> i.e. Well-Established.

### Appendix III

“King of the Deities, you are the best.  
You are my safeguard and refuge.  
In only seven days hence,  
I will have passed away from here.

Born into Uninterrupted Hell,  
I will experience anguish,  
burning with suffering  
for the duration of many thousands of years.

Passing away from hell,  
I will be born among the destinies of creatures,  
as a heron, a vulture, a tortoise,  
a dog, a pig,

as one blind from birth, and as one who is deaf.  
Born among creatures and among humankind,  
I will experience much anguish  
in each birth.

Deity, I have no refuge,  
no safeguard, no last resort.  
Deity, Best among the Assembly of Deities,  
King of the Deities, Lord of the Well-Born—

you are the best in the world.  
You are indeed an awesomely powerful deity.  
You are the best blessing in the triple world.  
You are the remover of the sin of the world.”

Having heard his words,  
the King of the Deities spoke thus:  
“I am not the best in the triple world.  
I am not an awesomely powerful deity.

There is no best blessing in the world  
or remover of the sin of the world,  
save for the Protector of the World—  
I do not see any other blessing.

The Protector has compassion for all  
and seeks benefit for the whole world.  
He is always the Protector for the unprotected.  
He is my unsurpassed Protector.

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The Bull among Men is preaching  
for the sake and benefit of the deities,  
setting the Abhidhamma into motion.  
He is my unsurpassed Protector.

He is the best in the triple world.  
He is an awesomely powerful deity.  
He is the best blessing in the triple world.  
He is the remover of the sin of the world.”

Having heard Sakka’s words,  
the deity, filled with reverence,  
took up candles and incense  
and went together with Sakka

to where the Bull among Men was.  
Having arrived there, he reverently  
worshipped him with candles and incense,  
saluted him, and sat down.

Then the Lord of the Deities  
addressed him in verse:  
“This deity, venerable sir, will pass away  
in seven days hence.  
Born among the destinies of creatures,  
he will frequently fall into hell.  
What sin has he done in the past that  
he will be born among the destinies of creatures?”

Having heard Sakka’s words,  
the Self-Awakened One, Best of Bipeds,  
gave this explanation in response to his question:  
“He indeed has sinned.  
Long ago in the past, Sakka,  
he was born as a chief among fishermen.  
He slew breathing beings.  
He did this often.  
By the ripening of this action,  
he will be born as a heron and as a vulture.”

“He is then to be born as a tortoise.  
What sin must he have committed?”

“In a prior human birth, Sakka,

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he separated birds from their eggs.  
By the ripening of this action,  
he will be born as a tortoise.”

“He is then to be born as a pig.  
What sin did he commit in the past?”

“In the past as as human,  
he was born rich and with great wealth.  
Whenever he saw mendicants  
or beggars, he reviled them.  
Having spoken irreverent words,  
he would not offer donations.  
Therefore by this action  
he will be born as a pig.”

“He is then to be born as a dog.  
What deed did he do in the past?”

“He was born among humans, Sakka,  
criticizing and not respecting  
mendicants and priests,  
speaking bad words  
without being aware of the virtue  
of the Buddha’s Dhamma and the  
Sangha. Therefore by this action  
he will become a dog.”

“Venerable sir, he will be reborn as one who is deaf.  
What sin did he commit in the past?”

“He was born into a poor family  
in the human realm, in a meritless state.  
When other faithful people listened  
to the Dhamma, the words of the Well-Gone One,  
the poor man entered the place, sat down to one side,  
and seemed to listen to the Dhamma but in fact  
did not listen, and instead talked nonsense  
and spurned the Teaching as without value.  
By this he become one born deaf.”

“He will be reborn as one who is blind from birth.  
What sin did he commit in the past?  
Venerable sir, I ask this to you.  
I am asking you; please respond to this.

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“Lord of the Deities, he did not make merit  
when he was born in the human realm in the past.  
Though having seen priests and beggars,  
he remained silent as if not seeing them.  
He entered his house and sat down while hidden.  
He will be born blind from birth among humankind.”

Then Sakka, Lord of the Deities,  
implored the the Self-Awakened One:  
“May he preach the supreme Dhamma  
out of compassion for this junior deity.

How can he escape this, venerable sir?  
How may he remain here?  
What may come about, venerable sir,  
that is ‘long-lasting’ for his lifespan?”

The Teacher, Unsurpassed in the World,  
the Self-Awakened One, Best of Bipeds,  
Having heard Sakka’s words,  
addressed these verses to him:

“There is a ‘Victory of the Cranial Protuberance,’  
a Dhamma unsurpassed in the world.  
Deity, learn this  
for the sake and benefit of all creatures.

It is the avoidance—in the case of  
capital punishment, non-humans, flames, fires,  
tigers, serpents, poisons, or spirits—  
of untimely death,

or the liberation from all death,  
save for timely death.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

May you practice the accepted pure ethical conduct  
and the well-practiced Dhamma.  
By its power alone,  
may the deity always be happy.

Having written down, thought about, worshipped,  
memorized, recited, and respected [it],

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and having listened to others' instructions [on it],  
one's lifespan increases.

Having honored the jewel of the Buddha,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
beneficial to deities and humans—  
by the blessing and power of the Buddha,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

Having honored the jewel of the Dhamma,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
appeasing fever—  
by the blessing and power of the Dhamma,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

Having honored the jewel of the Sangha,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
worthy of offerings and hospitality—  
by the blessing and power of the Sangha,  
may all calamities disappear  
and may your anguish be allayed.

The medicine of humans and gods,  
which tastes pungent, bitter,  
sour, or salty,  
eradicates all illness.

For one, two, or three days,  
or for five or seven days,  
as long as the anguish does not relent,  
may everyone make a gift of life.

For the one who gives the gift of life, there is longevity,  
complexion, happiness, and strength.  
By the power of the gift of life,  
may the deity always be happy.

For one having given a gift of life,  
the supreme and excellent remedy,  
the supreme medicine,  
bodily anguish is destroyed.

Therefore one should do what is virtuous,

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accumulating for the future  
the merits in the world to come  
which are established for breathing beings.

By this gift of life,  
what arises for you all?  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

To those who give the gift of life, there is  
longevity, complexion, happiness, and strength.  
May they ever be long-lived,  
may they always be happy.

One who gives respectfully  
the fruitful gift of life,  
giving various excellent gifts  
to those who possess ethical conduct,

this indeed is a great power,  
that is to say, the attainment of merit.  
Hence the wise ones, the learned ones  
praise meritoriousness.

Happy is the ripening of merits.  
[One's] aspiration is fulfilled  
quickly and in the end  
one achieves Nibbāna.  
One who gives a thousand vessels  
full of excellent food  
does not receive even  
one share of this measure.  
[There is the] arising of the Buddha, Sāriputta,  
and other lofty disciples;  
by the power of [offering] a full almsbowl (*pattapūra*),  
parents are liberated.”

Sakka and the deity Well-Established,  
having reverently listened to this Dhamma,  
were faithful in the dispensation of the Buddha.

Having set aside a measure equal to his own [weight] in  
wealth, grain, gold, and ornaments such as clothing,  
[Well-Established] made a great gift  
to the Sangha led by the Buddha



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and his lifespan was increased.

He received a lifespan lasting for two eons  
in between the arising of buddhas.

By the power of  
the Buddha's Dhamma and Sangha,

and by the power of  
ethical conduct and giving that are like medicine,  
all of his calamities  
disappeared without remainder.

Sakka, Lord of the Deities,  
together with the junior deity,  
asked for permission from the Self-Awakened One  
and returned to his own abode.

At the conclusion of the instruction,  
the meaningful preaching of the Dhamma,  
many people attained the fruits  
of stream-entry and the rest [of the stages leading to arhatship].

Here ends the authorized "Victory of the Cranial Protuberance."

This is the end of *Dibbamanta, Mahājaya*,<sup>62</sup>  
and "There is a 'Victory of the Cranial Protuberance'" (*atthi uṇhissavijayo*).  
May great wisdom always arise [for you].

This august "Victory of the Cranial Protuberance" was preached by Lord Buddha in the heaven of the Thirty-Three Deities to the deity Well-Established, who had only eight more days to live. After listening to the preaching of the Dhamma, his lifespan increased all the way to its maximum extent.

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<sup>62</sup> References to two other non-canonical Pali paritta texts included in CP and SA and recited before this text.

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lāy lākṣa(n) braḥ buddhapād pīōn<sub>2</sub> khvā  
 (“The symbols on the Buddha’s right foot” ลายลักษณ์พระพุทธรบาทเบื้องขวา)

Thai *kāby śurāṅganān(g)* 28, 34 stanzas, composed in Thailand, 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Thai print and web sources:

A = บังคมลายลักษณ์พระพุทธรบาท, in Braḥ Grū Vimala’ārthavādī พระครูวิมลวรรณ วาที, *Hññi sī svat buddhaman(t) bidhī chpāp sampūra(n)* หนังสือสวดพุทธมนต์พิธี ฉบับสมบูรณ์ (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Vāt phai<sub>1</sub> lieñ<sub>2</sub> วัดไผ่เลี้ยง, 2538), 557–559.

B = คำนมัสการลายลักษณ์พระพุทธรบาท, oral tradition of วัดท่าซุง Vāt Dā<sub>1</sub> Jui, Uthai Thani province, transcribed by Braḥ Jāyavāḍha(n) Ajito พระชัยวัฒน์ อชิโต in 1994, and posted to the monastery’s website in 2008 (<http://www.watthasung.com/wat/viewthread.php?tid=654>).

C = บทสวดลายลักษณ์พระพุทธรบาท เบื้องขวา, oral tradition of Hlvañ Pū<sub>1</sub> Biśtū Dhammacārī หลวงปู่พิศดู ธมฺมจารี วัดเทพธารถอง (b. 1923), Vāt Debadhār Daan วัดเทพธารถอง, Chanthapuri province, transcribed from a recording in 2011 ([https://swhappinessss.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post\\_20.html](https://swhappinessss.blogspot.com/2011/04/blog-post_20.html)).

### Comparative Edition

A	B	C	Edition
๑	๑	๑	๑
ข้าพเจ้าขอบังคม	ข้าพระพุทธเจ้าขอบังคม	กราบไหว้บังคม	กราบไหว้บังคม
พระพุทธรบาทบรม	พระพุทธรบาทบรม	พระพุทธรบาทบรม	พระพุทธรบาทบรม
ทั้งคูเรื่อรอง	ทั้งคูเรื่อรอง	ทั้งคูเรื่อรอง	ทั้งคูเรื่อรอง
สืบนีวสะพรั่ง	สืบนีวของลูก	สืบนีวส้าง	สืบนีวสะพรั่ง
ต่างรูปเทียนทอง	ต่างรูปเทียนทอง	ถวายเป็นเทียนทอง	ต่างรูปเทียนทอง
นัยเนตรทั้งสอง	นัยเนตรทั้งสอง	ดวงเนตรทั้งสอง	นัยเนตรทั้งสอง
ต่างประทีปเทียนถวายเป็น	ต่างประทีปทุลถวายเป็น	ต่างประทีปเทียนถวายเป็น	ต่างประทีปทุลถวายเป็น
๒	๒	๒	๒
ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ	ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ	ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ	ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ
ต่างดอกประทุมเมศ	ต่างดอกปทุมเมศ	ต่างดอกประทุมเมศ	ต่างดอกปทุมเมศ
บัวทองพรรณราย	บัวทองพรรณราย	บัวทองพรรณราย	บัวทองพรรณราย
วาทาเพราะพรัอง	วาทาเพราะพรัอง	วาทาเพราะพรัอง	วาทาเพราะพรัอง

Appendix III

ต่างห้องพินฉวย	ต่างห้องกลองฉวย	ต่างห้องกลองฉวย	ต่างห้องกลองฉวย
ดวงใจข้าหมาย	ดวงฤทัยมั่นหมาย	ดวงใจข้าหมาย	ดวงใจข้าหมาย
ต่างรสสุคนธา	ต่างรสสุคนธา	ต่างรสสุคนธา	ต่างรสสุคนธา
๓	๓	๓	๓
พระบาททศพล	พระบาททศพล	พระบาททศพล	พระบาททศพล
ทั้งคู่เลิศล้ำ	ทั้งคู่เลิศล้ำ	ทั้งคู่เลิศล้ำ	ทั้งคู่เลิศล้ำ
ปรากฏจรณา	ปรากฏจรณา	ปรากฏจรณา	ปรากฏจรณา
ข้าไหว้ล้นลักษณะ	มีกัจจกรแก้ว	มีกัจจกรแก้ว	มีกัจจกรแก้ว
มีวงกัจจกร	เพริศแพรวทอตา	เพริศแพรวทอตา	เพริศแพรวทอตา
งามนัยทั้งสอง	กนกกำโสภา	กนกกำโสภา	กนกกำโสภา
กำแก้วทอง	ดวงดมเพลิงทอง	ดอกปทุมบัวทอง	ดวงดมเพลิงทอง
๔	๔	๔	๔
ทั้งสองคู่กัน	มงคลงามสรรพ	มงคลงามสรรพ	มงคลงามสรรพ
งามเลิศเจิดจ้านท์	ร้อยแปดประดับ	ร้อยแปดประดับ	ร้อยแปดประดับ
สารพันนานา	บาทหงส์ทั้งสอง	บาทหงส์ทั้งสอง	บาทหงส์ทั้งสอง
มีทั้งฉัตรแก้ว	ทั่วทั้งไตรภพ	มีทั้งไตรภพ	ทั่วทั้งไตรภพ
พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว	มีครบทุกช่อง	มีครบทุกช่อง	มีครบทุกช่อง
ภาคทองพรรณราย	ลายลักษณะเรียงรอง	ลายลักษณะเรียงรอง	ลายลักษณะเรียงรอง
มีนางชูแหวน	ทุกห้องเจิดจ้านท์	ผุดผ่องเจิดจ้านท์	ทุกห้องเจิดจ้านท์
๕	๕	๕	๕
อ่อนแอ้นเอววัล	มีทั้งฉัตรแก้ว	มีทั้งหอกแก้ว	มีทั้งฉัตรแก้ว
มีสัตตะบัวบัน	พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว	พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว	พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว
สอดสร้อยสังวาล	หอกทองไพพรรณ	หอกทองไพพรรณ	หอกทองไพพรรณ
มีปราสาทพิชนี	มีนางชูแหวน	มีนางชูแหวน	มีนางชูแหวน
โบกปิดบาทแก้ว	อ่อนแอ้นเอววัลย์	อ่อนแอ้นเอววัลย์	อ่อนแอ้นเอววัลย์
เรื่องรองดวงแก้วมณี	มือถือบุษบัน	มือชูบุษบัน	มือถือบุษบัน
XXXX	สอดสร้อยสังวาลย์	สอดสร้อยสังวาลย์	สอดสร้อยสังวาลย์
๖	๖	๖	๖
รัศมีขาวผ่อง	มีปราสาทราชวัง	ปราสาทราชวัง	ปราสาทราชวัง
กองเงินกองทอง	แทนทิพย์เตียงตั้ง	แทนทิพย์เตียงตั้ง	แทนทิพย์เตียงตั้ง
กองแก้วแววไว	เกยแก้วสุริยกาญจน์	เกยแก้วแกมกาญจน์	เกยแก้วแกมกาญจน์
มีจักรพรรดิตรา	เจ็ดฉายพรายแพรว	ฉัตรธงพรายแพรว	เจ็ดฉายพรายแพรว
เสนาเกรียงไกร	เขนยเกยแก้ว	ล้วนแก้วประพาฬ	ล้วนแก้วประพาฬ
ถือธงไสว	พัดใบตาลโบกแล้ว	พัดโบกใบตาล	พัดโบกใบตาล
ดูงามเยี่ยรง	พัดหางยุงทอง	พัดหางยุงทอง	พัดหางยุงทอง
	๗	๗	๗
	มีมงกุฎรัตน์	มีมงกุฎรัตน์	มีมงกุฎรัตน์
	พัชนีโบกปิด	พัชนีโบกปิด	พัชนีโบกปิด
	บาตรแก้วแววว่อง	อาสน์แก้วแววว่อง	บาตรแก้วแววว่อง

Appendix III

	ดวงแก้วมณี	แสงแก้วมณี	ดวงแก้วมณี
	รัศมีชาวผ่อง	รัศมีชาวผ่อง	รัศมีชาวผ่อง
	กระออมเงินกระออมทอง	ออมเงินออมทอง	กระออมเงินกระออมทอง
	กระออมแก้วแววไว	ออมแก้วแววไว	กระออมแก้วแววไว
๑๒	๘	๘	๘
	ยังมีเถาดทอง	มีทั้งเถาดทอง	ยังมีเถาดทอง
	เถาดเงินเรื่องรอง	เถาดเงินเรื่องรอง	เถาดเงินเรื่องรอง
	เถาดแก้วประไพ	เถาดแก้วประไพ	เถาดแก้วประไพ
มีวิมานพระอิศวร	มีวิมานพระอิศวร	มีวิมานพระอิศวร	มีวิมานพระอิศวร
พระนารายณ์เกรียงไกร	พระนารายณ์เลิศไกร	พระนารายณ์เลิศไกร	พระนารายณ์เลิศไกร
เทวาไสว	เทวาไสว	เทวาไสว	เทวาไสว
ข้าเฝ้าวันทา	ข้าเฝ้าวันทา	ข้าเฝ้าวันทา	ข้าเฝ้าวันทา
๑๓	๙	๙	๙
มีป่าหิมพานต์	มีป่าหิมพานต์	มีป่าหิมพานต์	มีป่าหิมพานต์
ต้นพฤกษาศาสตร์	ต้นพฤกษาศาสตร์	ต้นพฤกษาศาสตร์	ต้นพฤกษาศาสตร์
ตระการรจนา	ตระการรจนา	งอกงามหนักหนา	งอกงามหนักหนา
มีลูกแก้วอ่อน	มีผลแก้วอ่อน	ทรงผลแก้วอ่อน	ทรงผลแก้วอ่อน
แชมซ้อนนุปลา	แชมซ้อนนุปลา	ชั้นซ้อนนุปลา	ชั้นซ้อนนุปลา
ครุฑธิดาขอสุรา	ครุฑธิดาขบึกษา	มีแมลงภูทอง ชมข่อมาลา	ครุฑธิดาขบึกษา
อยู่ป่าฉิมพลี	อยู่ป่าฉิมพลี	นกการเวกบึกษา อยู่พิมานฉิมพลี	อยู่ป่าฉิมพลี
๑๔	๑๐	๑๐	๑๐
มีทั้งไถแก้ว	มีพญาไถแก้ว	มีพญาไถแก้ว	มีพญาไถแก้ว
การเวกเสียงแจ้ว	นกกระเรียนเลิศแล้ว	นกกระเรียนเลิศแล้ว	นกกระเรียนเลิศแล้ว
กระเรียนเลิศแล้วกินรากินรี	กินรากินรี	กินรากินรี	กินรากินรี
ร้องกรองมาลา	คาบพวงมาลา	ขูพวงมาลา	คาบพวงมาลา
ตระการงามดี	ร้ายร่างามดี	ร้ายร่างามดี	ร้ายร่างามดี
สัตวานโนรี	การเวกโนรี	สัตวามโนรี	การเวกโนรี
แขกเต้าเขาขัน	แขกเต้าเขาขัน	แขกเต้าเขาขัน	แขกเต้าเขาขัน
๑๕	๑๑	๑๑	๑๑
มีทั้งมยุราช	หงษ์เหิรสุกณา	หงส์ห่านมยุรา	หงส์ห่านมยุรา
ไกรทองย่องยาดร	ภุมรีภุมรา	ทรายทองรจนา	ภุมรีภุมรา
เจรจาพรายพรรณ	งามดาสารพัน	ทั้งคู่พรายพรรณ	งามดาสารพัน
มีพญานกกระทา	มีพญานกกระทา	มีพญานกกระทา	มีพญานกกระทา
วิจิตรแดงฉันท	วิจิตรแดงฉันท	วิจิตรแดงฉันท	วิจิตรแดงฉันท
หงส์ทองผายผัน	ยุงทองลาววัลย์	ยุงทองพรายพรรณ	ยุงทองพรายพรรณ
ยุงทองพรายพราย	สีสันเจ็ดฉาย	ดุงามโสภา	ดุงามโสภา
๑๖	๑๒	๑๒	๑๒
งามเลิศเจ็ดฉาย	มีพญาไกรสร	มีพญาไกรสร	มีพญาไกรสร
ข้างแก้วกฤษ	ข้างแก้วกฤษ	ข้างแก้วกฤษ	ข้างแก้วกฤษ

Appendix III

ม้าแก้วพรณราย	ม้าแก้วพรศพราย	ม้าแก้วพรศพราย	ม้าแก้วพรศพราย
สิงโตยางเยื้อง	ราชสีห์ยางเยื้อง	มีช้างอุโบสถ	มีช้างอุโบสถ
เสือเหลืองเรียงราย	เสือเหลืองเรียงราย	ฉันทันต์คชา	ฉันทันต์คชา
	นาคราชผันผาย	ม้าลาหกา	ม้าลาหกา
		มโนมัยพรณราย	มโนมัยพรณราย
		๑๓	๑๓
		สิงโตเยื้องย่าง	สิงโตเยื้องย่าง
		ดงามเรีองรอง	ดงามเรีองรอง
		เสือเหลืองเยื้องกาย	เสือเหลืองเรียงราย
		ราชสีห์สีลาศ	ราชสีห์สีลาศ
		XXXX	งามเลิศเจ็ดฉาย
ราชสีห์ผันผาย		ครุฑิราชผาดผาย	นาคราชผันผาย
นางโคคลาโคไล	นางโคคลาโคไล	นางโคคลาโคไล	นางโคคลาโคไล
๑๗	๑๓	๑๔	๑๔
ให้ลูกกินนม	ให้ลูกกินนม	ให้ลูกกินนม	ให้ลูกกินนม
กล้องแกล้งนำชม	เคล้าเคลียนำชม	กล้องแกล้งนำชม	กล้องแกล้งนำชม
ชาวผ่องประไพ	ละเมียดละไม	ชาวผ่องประไพ	ชาวผ่องประไพ
มีเจ็ดสระสี	มีจักรพรรตรา	มีจักรพรรตรา	มีจักรพรรตรา
ชลธีหั่งไหล	เสนาเกรียงไกร	เสนาเกรียงไกร	เสนาเกรียงไกร
บัวบานไสว	ถือธงทิวไสว	ถือธงไสว	ถือธงทิวไสว
ดงามเบญจพรณ	ดงามยรรยง	ดงามยรรยง	ดงามยรรยง
๗	๑๔	๑๕	๑๕
มีฉ้อฉกา	มีฉ้อฉกามา	มีฉกามา	มีฉกามา
มาหกชั้นฟ้า	สิบหกชั้นฟ้า	สิบหกชั้นฟ้า	สิบหกชั้นฟ้า
พระอินทร์จ่านงค์	พระอินทร์จ่านง	พระอินทร์จ่านงค์	พระอินทร์จ่านง
แสนสาวชาวสวรรค์	แสนสาวชาวสวรรค์	แสนสาวชาวสวรรค์	แสนสาวชาวสวรรค์
เทวีญล่อมองค์	เทวีญล่อมองค์	เทวีญทุกองค์	เทวีญล่อมองค์
เข้าเฝ้าเป็นกง	เข้าเฝ้าเป็นวง	นั่งเฝ้าเป็นวง	นั่งเฝ้าเป็นวง
ยังแท่นทิพย์วิมาน	ยังแท่นทิพย์วิมาน	ในทิพย์วิมาน	ยังแท่นทิพย์วิมาน
๘	๑๕	๑๖	๑๖
มีพรหมโสฬส	มีพรหมโสฬส	มีพรหมโสฬส	มีพรหมโสฬส
สิบหกชั้นปรากฏ	สิบหกชั้นปรากฏ	สิบหกชั้นปรากฏ	สิบหกชั้นปรากฏ
ย้อมแก้วแกมกัน	ล้วนแก้วแกมกาญจน์	ล้วนแก้วแกมกาญจน์	ล้วนแก้วแกมกาญจน์
ลดมุขทุกชั้น	ประดับมุขทุกชั้น	ประดับมุขทุกชั้น	ประดับมุขทุกชั้น
เบิกบานสิงหาร	โบกบันสิงห์หาญ	โบกบันสิงห์หาญ	โบกบันสิงห์หาญ
พระพรหมชมฉมาน	พระพรหมชมฉมาน	พระพรหมชมฉมาน	พระพรหมชมฉมาน
ทุกชั้นพรหมา	ทุกชั้นพรหมา	ทุกชั้นพรหมา	ทุกชั้นพรหมา
๙	๑๖	๑๗	๑๗
มีพระอาทิตย์	มีทั้งพระอาทิตย์	มีพระอาทิตย์	มีพระอาทิตย์

Appendix III

พระจันทร์เรื่องฤทธิ์	พระจันทร์เรื่องฤทธิ์	พระจันทร์เรื่องฤทธิ์	พระจันทร์เรื่องฤทธิ์
ชักรถไคลคลา	ชักรถไคลคลา	ชักรถไคลคลา	ชักรถไคลคลา
เวียนรอบราศี	เวียนรอบราศี	เวียนรอบปรางศรี	เวียนรอบราศี
รัศมีรุ่งฟ้า	รัศมีรุ่งฟ้า	รัศมีรุ่งฟ้า	รัศมีรุ่งฟ้า
ดวงดาวดารา	ดวงดาวดารา	ดวงดาวดารา	ดวงดาวดารา
ประดับในเมืองสวรรค์	ประดับเมืองสวรรค์	ล้อมรอบพระจันทร์	ประดับเมืองสวรรค์
๑๐	๑๗	๑๘	๑๘
มีทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสิ้น	ทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสิ้น	ทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสิ้น	ทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสิ้น
ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี	ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี	ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี	ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี
นับได้สองพัน	นับได้สองพัน	นับได้สองพัน	นับได้สองพัน
มีจักรวาล	มีจักรวาลเวียน	มีจักรจรวัดเจริญ	มีจักรวาลเวียน
XXเวียนหัน	ทิศเพ็ญอนันต์	ทิศเทียบเจ็ดชั้น	ทิศเพ็ญอนันต์
เขาพระสุเมรุเจ็ดชั้น	เขาพระสุเมรุเรื่องฉันท	เขาพระสุเมรุนั้น	เขาพระสุเมรุเจ็ดชั้น
หลักโลกโลกา	หลักโลกโลกา	หลักโลกโลกา	หลักโลกโลกา
๑๑	๑๘	๑๙	๑๙
มีเขาสัตตภัณฑ์	มีเขาสัตตภัณฑ์	มีเขาสัตตบรรพ	มีเขาสัตตภัณฑ์
ล้อมรอบเจ็ดชั้น	ล้อมรอบเจ็ดชั้น	ล้อมรอบเจ็ดชั้น	ล้อมรอบเจ็ดชั้น
เขาแก้วเมรุผา	เขาแก้วนานา	เขาแก้วเมรุผา	เขาแก้วนานา
มีสีหันท	มีสีหันท	มีสีหันท	มีสีหันท
อยู่หว่างบรรพดา	อยู่หว่างบรรพดา	อยู่หว่างบรรพดา	อยู่หว่างบรรพดา
มีเจ็ดคงคา	มีเจ็ดคงคา	มีเจ็ดคงคา	มีเจ็ดคงคา
สายสินธุ์แสงใส	สายสินธุ์แสงใส	อุกกาแสงใส	สายสินธุ์แสงใส
๑๒	๑๙	๒๐	๒๐
มีเขาไกรลาส	มีเขาไกรลาส	มีเขาไกรลาส	มีเขาไกรลาส
เงินยวงเตียรดาษ	เงินยวงเตียรดาษ	เงินยวงเตียรดาษ	เงินยวงเตียรดาษ
ขาวผ่องประไพ	ขาวผ่องประไพ	ขาวผ่องประไพ	ขาวผ่องประไพ
	มีเจ็ดสระศรี	มีเจ็ดสระศรี	มีเจ็ดสระศรี
	ชลธีหลังไหล	ชลธีหลังไหล	ชลธีหลังไหล
	บัวบานไสว	สายสินธุ์แสงใส	บัวบานไสว
	ดงามเบญจพรรณ	บัวบานเบญจพรรณ	ดงามเบญจพรรณ
๑๘	๒๐	๒๑	๒๑
มีห่าสมุทรไทย	มีมหาสมุทรไทย	มีมหาสมุทรไทย	มีมหาสมุทรไทย
ลึกล้ำกว้างใหญ่	ลึกล้ำกว้างใหญ่	ลึกล้ำกว้างใหญ่	ลึกล้ำกว้างใหญ่
มัจฉาอนันต์	มัจฉาอนันต์	มัจฉาอนันต์	มัจฉาอนันต์
ปลาเงินปลาทอง	ปลาเงินปลาทอง	ปลาเงินปลาทอง	ปลาเงินปลาทอง
ลอยล่องตามกัน	ลอยล่องตามกัน	ลอยล่องตามกัน	ลอยล่องตามกัน
มังกรผายผัน	มังกรผายผัน	มังกรผายผัน	มังกรผายผัน
จรเข้เหรา	จรเข้เหรา	จรเข้เหรา	จรเข้เหรา
๑๙	๒๑	๒๒	๒๒

Appendix III

มีหิ้งเต้าทอง	มีหิ้งเต้าทอง	เต้าเงินเต้าทอง	มีหิ้งเต้าทอง
ปลาตะเพียนลอยล่อง	ตำหุดลอยล่อง	ตำหุดลอยล่อง	ตำหุดลอยล่อง
ในท้องคองคา	ในท้องคองคา	ในท้องคองคา	ในท้องคองคา
XXXX	มีสำเภาแก้ว	มีสำเภาแก้ว	มีสำเภาแก้ว
สี่สำเภาแก้วจรณา	พรายแพรวทอตา	พรายแพรวทอตา	พรายแพรวทอตา
สำเภาเงินโสภา	สำเภาเงินโสภา	สำเภาเงินโสภา	สำเภาเงินโสภา
สำเภาทองบรรจง	สำเภาทองบรรจง	สำเภาทองบรรจง	สำเภาทองบรรจง
๒๐	๒๒	๒๓	๒๓
มีลั่นไทรภพ	มีลั่นไทรภพ	มีในไทรภพ	มีลั่นไทรภพ
พรรณนามาจบ	พรรณนามาจบ	พรรณนามาจบ	พรรณนามาจบ
ลายลักษณะพระองค์	ลายลักษณะพระองค์	ลายลักษณะพระองค์	ลายลักษณะพระองค์
มีลั่นทุกสิ่ง	มีลั่นทุกสิ่ง	มีลั่นทุกสิ่ง	มีลั่นทุกสิ่ง
งามยิ่งเยียรยง	งามยิ่งยรรยง	งามยิ่งยรรยง พระศรีสรรเพชญ์	งามยิ่งยรรยง
ในพื้นที่บางทงส์	ในพื้นที่บางทงส์	ในพื้นที่บางทงส์	ในพื้นที่บางทงส์
พระพุทธรูปบาทา	พุทธรูปบาทา	พุทธรูปบาทา	พุทธรูปบาทา
๒๑	๒๓	๒๔	๒๔
พระศรีสรรเพชญ์	พระศรีสรรเพชญ์	XXXX	พระศรีสรรเพชญ์
พระเจ้าทันเสด็จ	พระพุทธรูปเจ้าเสด็จ	มีดอกบัวทอง	พระพุทธรูปเจ้าเสด็จ
โปรดโลกโลกา	โปรดโลกโลกา	ทั้งสองโสภา	โปรดโลกโลกา
มีดอกบัวทอง	มีดอกบัวทอง	พระพุทธรูปเจ้าเสด็จ	มีดอกบัวทอง
ทั้งสองโสภา	ทั้งสองโสภา	โปรดทั่วโลกา	ทั้งสองโสภา
ผุดจากพสุธา	ผุดจากพสุธา	ผุดจากพสุธา	ผุดจากพสุธา
รองรับบาทา	รองรับบาททงส์	รองรับบาทมालย์	รองรับบาทมालย์
๒๒		๒๕	๒๕
ทุกอย่างพระบาท		พระเจ้าเสด็จคลาด	ทุกอย่างพระบาท
ดอกบัวประทุมชาติ		ดอกดวงประทุมมาศ	ดอกบัวประทุมชาติ
มิได้คลาดจากสถานที่ใดไม่สบาย		เคลื่อนคลาดจากสถานที่ไหนไม่สบาย	มิได้คลาดทุกสถานที่ใดไม่สบาย
ลมพระพายพัดพาน		พระพายพัดผ่าน	พระพายพัดพาน
หอบเอาสุมามาลย์		มีมาลาบาน	หอบเอาสุมามาลย์
นมัสการพระองค์		นมัสการพระองค์	นมัสการพระองค์
๒๓	๒๔	๒๖	๒๖
หอบเอาทรายแก้ว	หอบเอาทรายแก้ว	พัดเอาทรายแก้ว	พัดเอาทรายแก้ว
อันงามเลิศแล้ว	นวลละอองผ่องแผ้ว	นวลละอองผ่องแผ้ว	นวลละอองผ่องแผ้ว
มาไปรบปรายลง	มาไปรบปรายลง	มาไปรบปรายลง	มาไปรบปรายลง
ให้ทางราบรื่น	ให้ทางราบรื่น	ให้ทางราบรื่น	ให้ทางราบรื่น
รองพื้นที่บางทงส์	ในพื้นที่บางทงส์	รองพื้นที่บางทงส์	รองพื้นที่บางทงส์
พระเจ้าเสด็จทรง	พระพุทธรูปเจ้าเสด็จลง	พระเสด็จย่างลง	พระเสด็จย่างลง
โปรดสัตว์ให้สบาย	โปรดโลกหญิงชาย	ดำเนินสบาย	โปรดโลกหญิงชาย

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๒๔	๒๕	๒๖	๒๗
พระเจ้าเสด็จไคลคลาด	ยามเยื้องยุรยาตร	พระเจ้าย่างคลาด	ยามเยื้องยุรยาตร
ดอกบัวประทุมชาติ	ปวงดอกปทุมมาศ	บัวทองรองบาท	ปวงดอกปทุมมาศ
จึงอันตรธานหาย	อันตรธานหาย	มาบันดาลหาย	อันตรธานหาย
จึงให้ปรากฏ	จึงได้ประจักษ์	มิให้ปรากฏ	มิให้ปรากฏ
แก่หมู่หญิงชาย	ลายลักษณะทั้งหลาย	แก่คนทั้งหลาย	แก่คนทั้งหลาย
อย่าเหยียบย่ำทำลาย	เหยียบย่ำทำลาย	เหยียบย่ำทำลาย	เหยียบย่ำทำลาย
จักเป็นโทษโทษา	จะเป็นโทษนักหนา	จะเป็นโทษา	จะเป็นโทษา
๒๕	๒๖	๒๗	๒๘
พระศรีศาสดาจารย์	พระศาสดาเจ้า	สมเด็จพระศาสดาจารย์	พระศรีศาสดาจารย์
เสด็จเข้านิพพาน	เสด็จเข้านิพพาน	เสด็จเข้านิพพาน	เสด็จเข้านิพพาน
ลับแล้วแลนา	สิ้นแล้วดับหา	ลับแล้วล่วงมา	สิ้นแล้วดับหา
ยังแต่รอยบาทหงส์	ยังแต่รอยบาทหงส์	ไว้รอยบาทหงส์	ยังแต่รอยบาทหงส์
อันทรงประดิษฐานไว้เนิ่นา	อันทรงพระกรุณา	ขององค์พระศาสดา	อันทรงพระกรุณา
บรรจบครบห้า	บรรจบครบห้า	บรรจบครบห้า	บรรจบครบห้า
ประดิษฐานอันมี	ประดิษฐานโดยมี	ประดิษฐานโดยมี	ประดิษฐานโดยมี
๒๖	๒๗	๒๘	๒๙
พระพุทธรูปหนึ่งปรากฏ	พระบาทหนึ่งปรากฏ	พระบาทหนึ่งปรากฏ	พระบาทหนึ่งปรากฏ
อยู่ยังบรรพต	อยู่เหนือบรรพต	อยู่เขาบบรรพต	อยู่เขาบบรรพต
สุวรรณโมลี	สุวรรณโมลี	ชื่อสุวรรณคีรี	สุวรรณโมลี
XXXX	พระบาทสองนั้น	พระบาทสองนั้นไซ้	พระบาทสองนั้นไซ้
XXXX	อยู่สุวรรณคีรี	อยู่ในกรุงศรี	อยู่ในกรุงศรี
พระพุทธรูปสองเรื่องศรี	ใกล้สระบุรี	ประเทศธานี	ประเทศธานี
อยู่อยุธยานคร	ศรีพระนคร	อโยธยานคร	อโยธยานคร
๒๗	๒๘	๒๙	๓๐
พระพุทธรูปสามนั้นโสด	พระบาทสามนั้นโสด	พระบาทสามนั้นโสด	พระบาทสามนั้นโสด
อยู่บนยอดเขาบรมโกฏี	อยู่เขาสมนภู	อยู่เขาบรมโกฏี	อยู่เขาบรมโกฏี
เกาะแก้วลังกา	ลังกาบวร	ลังกาบวร	ลังกาบวร
พระพุทธรูปสี่	พระบาทสี่ทิศพล	พระบาทสี่ทิศพล	พระบาทสี่ทิศพล
ศรีทิศพลอยู่บนสิงขร	อยู่บนสิงขร	อยู่บนสิงขร	อยู่บนสิงขร
ใกล้กรุงนคร ฝ่ายเบื้องอุดร	ฝ่ายเบื้องอุดร	เหนือเมืองนคร	เหนือเมืองนคร
นพรัตน์บุรี	โยนกันบุรี	นพรัตน์บุรี	นพรัตน์บุรี
๒๘	๒๙	๓๐	๓๑
พระพุทธรูปห้าประดิษฐาน	พระบาทห้าประดิษฐาน	พระบาทห้าประดิษฐาน	พระบาทห้าประดิษฐาน
อยู่ริมชลธาร	อยู่ริมชลธาร	อยู่แทบชลธาร	อยู่ริมชลธาร
แม่น้ำนที ตรงเมืองลังกา	นันทานที	แม่น้ำนที	แม่น้ำนที
เป็นที่วันทา	เป็นที่วันทา	เป็นที่วันทา	เป็นที่วันทา
นาคาธิบดี	นาคาธิบดี	นาคาธิบดี	นาคาธิบดี
ฝูงปลาอุกมกัร	มัจฉากุมกัร	มัจฉากุมกัร	มัจฉากุมกัร



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มาไหว้หมิ่นพัน	เข้าไหว้แน่นอนันต์		เข้าไหว้แน่นอนันต์
๒๙	๓๐		๓๒
พระพุทธบาททั้งห้าแห่ง	พระบาทห้าแห่ง		พระบาทห้าแห่ง
พระเจ้าท่านสำแดง	พระพุทธเจ้าสำแดง		พระพุทธเจ้าสำแดง
อย่างเหยียบไฉน	อย่างเหยียบไฉน		อย่างเหยียบไฉน
เป็นที่วันทา	เป็นที่วันทา		เป็นที่วันทา
นาคาทุกชั้น	เทวาทุกชั้น	นาคาสบสันต์	เทวาทุกชั้น
มนุษย์คนธรรมดา	มนุษย์คนธรรมดา	มนุษย์คนธรรมดา	มนุษย์คนธรรมดา
ครุฑธิดาขอสรา	ครุฑธิดาขอสรา	อสุรีขอสรา	ครุฑธิดาขอสรา
๓๐	๓๑	๓๒	๓๓
ลายลักษณ์เลิศไฉน	ลายลักษณ์เลิศไฉน	ลายลักษณ์เลิศไฉน	ลายลักษณ์เลิศไฉน
พระเจ้าสั่งสอนไว้	บูชาเข้าไว้		บูชาเข้าไว้
หญิงชายถ้วนหน้า	หญิงชายถ้วนหน้า		หญิงชายถ้วนหน้า
เข้าค่าไถ่ขัน	เข้าค่าไถ่ขัน		เข้าค่าไถ่ขัน
ทุกวันเวลา	ทุกวันเวลา		ทุกวันเวลา
อุดสาห์ภาวนา	อุดสาห์ภาวนา		อุดสาห์ภาวนา
เป็นนิจันรินด์	เป็นนิจันรินด์		เป็นนิจันรินด์
๓๑	๓๒		๓๔
ใครว่าลายลักษณ์	ใครว่าลายลักษณ์		ใครว่าลายลักษณ์
ไฉนมากนัก	ไฉนมากนัก	ไฉนมากนัก	ไฉนมากนัก
แปดหมื่นสี่พัน	แปดหมื่นสี่พัน	แปดหมื่นสี่พัน	แปดหมื่นสี่พัน
ดังได้พบองค์	เหมือนได้พบองค์	เหมือนพบพระองค์	เหมือนได้พบองค์
พระผู้ทรงธรรม	พระผู้ทรงธรรม	ผู้ทรงวินัยธรรม	พระผู้ทรงธรรม
ดังพรรณนามานัน	พรรณนามานัน	จำไวใหม่ัน	ดังพรรณนามานัน
จบแล้วบริบูรณ์ฯ	หวังเข้านิพพาน	อย่าได้อุเบกขา	จบแล้วบริบูรณ์ ฯ
๓๒		๓๓	
sirasā namāmi		อุดสาห์ถือเอา	
pañca pādavaṇaṃ jaṭhanaṃ		ลายลักษณ์ทรงธรรม	
ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato		เลิศล้ำพรรษา	
ahaṃ vandāmi dhātuyo		อย่าได้ประมาท	
ahaṃ vandāmi sabbaso		พลังพลาดวาจา	
nibbānapaccayo hoti		ให้ว่าพุทธะ	
icchevammaccantanamassaneyyaṃ		ธรรมะต่อไป	
namassamāno ratanattayaṃ yaṃ		๓๔	
puññābhisandaṃ vipulaṃ alattthaṃ		สังขังเป็นบุญ	
tassānubhāvena hatantarāyo.		อย่าคิดให้วัน	
āmantayāmi vo bhikkhave		เคลือบเคลงสงสัย	
paṭivedayāmi vo bhikkhave		ในภพโลกีย์	
khayavayadhammā sabbe saṅkhārā		ไม่มีที่ไหน	

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appamādena sampādehāti.

จะได้แคล้วภัย

ความตายมรณา

๓๕

ให้คิดทุกขัง

ให้คิดอนิจจัง

ให้คิดอนัตตา

ธรรมะอะอุ

สี่สิ่งพรหมา

ให้คิดกายา

เป็นพระกัมมัญฐาน

๓๖

XXXX

สมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้า

เสด็จเข้านิพพาน

XXXX

ยังพระศรีอารีย์

XXXX

อยู่ชั้นดุสิตา

ยังครองศาสนา

๓๗

แทนองค์พระศาสดา

มีพระวินัยธรรม

สรรเพชญ์มณี

รักษาศาสนา

ถ้วนห้าพันปี

ค่าพระชินสีห์

ให้ไว้แก่เรา

๓๘

arahaṃ sugato buddho bhagavā

ahaṃ vandāmi dūrato

ahaṃ vandāmi dhātuyo

ahaṃ vandāmi sabbaso

laṅkābrahmayo

sādhū arahaṃ bhante

buddharakkhito yāvajīvaṃ

buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi

sādhū arahaṃ bhante

dhammarakkhito yāvajīvaṃ

dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi

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sādhu arahaṃ bhante  
saṅgharakkhito yāvajīvaṃ  
saṅghṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi

### Translation

๑	1
กราบไหว้บังคม	I bow down in homage
พระพุทธบาทบรม	to the excellent feet of the Buddha,
ทั้งคู่เรืองรอง	the glorious pair,
สิบนิ้วสะพรั่ง	with my ten fingers as a blossom
ต่างรูปเทียนทอง	in place of incense and golden candles;
นัยเนตรทั้งสอง	with my two eyes
ต่างประทีปทูลถวาย	in place of offered lamps;
๒	2
ผมเผ้าเกล้าเกศ	with the hair on my head
ต่างดอกปทุมเมศ	in place of lordly lotuses,
บัวทองพรรณราย	golden and shining;
วาจาเพราะพร้อง	with lovely words,
ต่างฆ้องกลองถวาย	in place of gongs and drums;
ดวงใจข้าหมาย	with my mental sphere's intention,
ต่างรสสุคนธา	in place of fragrant tastes.
๓	3
พระบาททศพล	The feet of the Ten-Powered Lord.
ทั้งคู่เลิศล้ำ	the most exceptional pair,
ปรากฏอรุณา	are replete with ornamentations,
มีกงจักรแก้ว	including crystal wheels,
เพชรแพรวทอตา	glittering and glistening,
กงกำโสภา	with resplendent spokes,
ดวงดุมเพลาทอง	round hubs, and axles made of gold.
๔	4
มงคลงามสรรพ	All manner of beautiful auspicious symbols,
ร้อยแปดประดับ	108 in all, adorn
บาททั้งสอง	the soles of his two feet:
ทั่วทั้งไตรภพ	there is the whole three worlds
มีครบทุกช่อง	and every nook therein,
ลายลักษณ์เรืองรอง	adorned with magnificent marks,
ทุกห้องเจ็ดฉันท	most pure and lovely;

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๕	5
มีทั้งฉัตรแก้ว	there are crystal parasols;
พระขรรค์เลิศแล้ว	excellent swords;
หอกทองไพพรรณ	golden, multicolored spears;
มีนางชูแว่น	there are maidens lifting mirrors,
อ่อนแอ้นเอนวรัลย์	with lithe forms, thin as vines,
มือถือบุษบัน	with hands clutching flowers
สอดสร้อยสังวาลย์	wreathed into girdling garlands;
๖	6
ปราสาทราชวัง	there are royal palaces;
แท่นทิพย์เตียงตั้ง	divine beds
เกยแก้วแกมกาญจน์	bedecked with sunstone gems,
เจิดฉายพรายแพรว	resplendent and shining,
ล้วนแก้วประพาฬ	with crystal pillows;
พัดโบกใบดาด	palm frond fans
พัดหางยูงทอง	and golden peacock-tail fans;
๗	7
มีมงกุฎรัตน์	there are jeweled crowns;
พัดณีโบกพัด	fans for fanning,
บาตรแก้วแววว่อง	shining crystal bowls;
ดวงแก้วมณี	wish-fulfilling gems,
รัศมีขาวฟ่อง	with translucent white radiance;
กระออมเงินกระออมทอง	silver vases; golden vases;
กระออมแก้วแววไว	shimmering crystal vases;
๘	8
ยังมีถาดทอง	there are golden trays;
ถาดเงินเรืองรอง	splendid silver trays;
ถาดแก้วประไพ	lovely crystal trays;
มีวิมานพระอิศวร	flying palaces; Śiva;
พระนารายณ์เลิศไกร	Viṣṇu, the great;
เทวาไสว	and abundant deities
เข้าเฝ้าวันทา	in attendance and worship;
๙	9
มีป่าหิมพานต์	there is the Himavant forest,
ต้นพฤกษาสาร	with trees and hardwoods,
งอกงามหนักหนา	thick and lush,
ทรงผลแก่อ่อน	with fruits ripe and unripe,
ซับซ้อนบุปผา	interspersed with flowers;
ครุฑธิดาชบัษษา	the lord of the Garuḍas

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อยู่ป่าจิมพลี	in the Chimbali woods;
๑๐	10
มีพญาไก่แก้ว	there is the lord of the crystal chickens;
นกกระเรียนเลิศแล้ว	amazing cranes;
กัณฐากินรี	kinnaras and kinnarīs,
คาบพวงมาลา	clutching flower garlands in their beaks,
ร่ายรำงามดี	dancing beautifully;
การะเวกโนรี	kāravik birds; lorikeets;
แขกเต้าเขาขัน	and parakeets, cawing away;
๑๑	11
หงส์ห่านมยุรา	swans; geese; and peacocks;
ภุมรีภุมรา	male and female bees,
งามดาสารพัน	lovely to the eye in every way;
มีพญานกกระตีด	there are lords of munia birds,
วิจิตรแดงฉันท	elegant and delightfully red;
ยุงทองพรายพรรณ	and golden peacocks resplendent,
ดูงามโสภกา	most beautiful to behold;
๑๒	12
มีพญาไกรสร	there are kings of lions;
ช้างแก้วกฤษร	crystal elephants;
ม้าแก้วเพชรพราย	crystal horses, brilliant;
มีช้างอุโบสถ	lord of elephants, Uposatha;
ฉันทันต์คชา	lord of elephants, Chaddanda;
ม้าลาหกา	lord of horses, Balāhaka,
มโนมัยพรรณราย	exquisite equine;
๑๓	13
สิงโตเยื้องย่าง	royal lions, strutting stately,
ดูงามเรืองรอง	most beautiful and brilliant;
เสือเหลืองเรียงราย	resplendent yellow tigers;
ราชสีห์ลีลาศ	kings of felines, in majestic leisure,
งามเลิศเจิดฉาย	with magnificent grace;
นาคราชพันผาย	twining nāga kings;
นางโคคลาไคล	grazing cows,
๑๔	14
ให้ลูกกินนม	with calves suckling their udders,
กล้องแก่งนำชม	charmingly snuggled,
ขาวผ่องประไพ	pure white;
มีจักรพรรตรา	there are universal monarchs,
เสนาเกรียงไกร	with brave soldiers,

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ถือธงทิวไสว ดูงามยรรยง ๑๕ มีฉกามา สิบหกชั้นฟ้า พระอินทร์จ่านง แสนสาวชาวสวรรค์ เทวีล้อมองค์ นั่งเฝ้าเป็นวง ยังแท่นทิพย์วิมาน ๑๖ มีพรหมโสฬส สิบหกชั้นปรากฏ ล้วนแก้วแกมกาญจน์ ประดับมุกทุกชั้น โอบกั้นสิงห์หาญ พระพรหมขมฌาน ทุกชั้นพรหมา ๑๗ มีพระอาทิตย์ พระจันทร์เรืองฤทธิ์ ขักรถไคลคลา เวียนรอบราศี รัศมีรุ่งฟ้า ดวงดาวดารา ประดับเมืองสวรรค์ ๑๘ ทวีปใหญ่ทั้งสี่ ทวีปน้อยนั้นมี นับได้สองพัน มีจักรวาลเวียน พิศเพียนอนันต์ เขาพระสุเมรุเจดจัน หลักโลกโลกา ๑๙ มีเขาสัตตภันฑ์ ล้อมรอบเจ็ดชั้น เขาแก้วนานา มีสีทันดร	holding banners in rows everywhere, beautiful and majestic; 15 there are the six sensual heavens; the sixteen Brahmā heavens; Lord Indra, with his hundred thousands heavenly maidens, deities surrounding and waiting on him, encircling the divine throne of his palace; 16 there are the Brahmā heavens, the sixteen levels true, adorned with gold and jewels, decorated on every level, flanked by brave lions, with gods enjoying meditative trance on every level of the Brahmā heavens; 17 there is the Sun and the shining moon, advancing by chariot, circling around the ecliptic, with light illuminating the sky; the host of stars adorning the heavens; 18 the four great continents; and the minor islands, numbering two thousand; the Cakravāḷa mountains all around, seemingly infinite; blazing Mount Sumeru, the pillar of the worlds; 19 there are the Sattabhaṇḍa mountains, encircling in seven ranges, various jeweled mountains, with Sīdantara
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อยู่หว่างบรรพดา	in between the mountains;
มีเจ็ดคงคา	there are seven waters,
สายสินธุ์แสงใส	ivers flowing bright;
๒๐	20
มีเขาไกรลาส	there are the Kailāśa mountains,
เงินยวงเดี่ยรดาษ	covered in pure silver,
ขาวผ่องประไพ	white and shining pure;
มีเจ็ดสระศรี	there are the seven glorious lakes,
ชลธีหั่งไหล	flowing with water,
บัวบานไสว	with lotuses blooming everywhere
ดูงามเบญจพรรณ	in a beautiful spectrum of colors;
๒๑	21
มีมหาสมุทรไท้	there are the great oceans,
ลึกล้ำกว้างใหญ่	deep and wide;
มีจลอนันต์	with limitless fish,
ปลาเงินปลาทอง	golden and silver,
ลอยล่องตามกัน	swimming together;
มังกรผายผัน	sea serpents slithering;
จระเข้เหรา	crocodiles; and heras;
๒๒	22
มีหั่งเต้าทอง	there are golden turtles,
ด้าผุดลอยล่อง	bobbing up and down as they float
ในท้องคงคา	on the surface of the waters;
มีสำเภาแก้ว	there are crystal vessels,
พรายแพรวทอตา	resplendent and glittering;
สำเภาเงินโสภา	beautiful silver vessels;
สำเภาทองบรรจง	and shining gold vessels.
๒๓	23
มีสิ้นไตรภพ	What is there exhausts the three worlds
พรรณนามาจบ	to explain in full
ลายลักษณ์พระองค์	the marks of the Lord,
มีสิ้นทุกสิ่ง	for there is every single thing
งามยิ่งยรรยง	that is beautiful and lofty
ในพื้นบาทหงส์	in the soles of his feet,
พุทธบาทบาทา	the feet of the Buddha.
๒๔	24
พระศรีสรรเพชญ์	When the Glorious Omniscient One,
พระพุทธเจ้าเสด็จ	the Lord Buddha, walked
โปรดโลกโลกา	to save beings in the worlds,

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มีดอกบัวทอง ทั้งสองโสภ ผุดจากพสุธา รองรับบาทมालย์ ๒๕	there were golden lotuses, a beautiful pair, that emerged from the earth, to receive his flowery feet. 25
ทุกย่างพระบาท ดอกบัวประทุมชาติ มิได้คลาดทุกสถาน ที่ใดไม่สบาย พระพายพัดพาน หอบเอาสูมามาลย์ นมัสการพระองค์ ๒๖	For each of step of his feet all golden lotuses appeared, never skipping a place. In areas that were rough, the wind blew and showered flowers in praise of the Lord, 26
พัดเอาทรายแก้ว นวลละอองผงแฉ้ว มาโปรยปรายลง ให้ทางราบรื่น รองพื้นบาทหงส์ พระเสด็จย่างลง โปรดโลกหญิงชาย ๒๗	along with with crystal sands, fine powder, and dust, which were strewn down to make the path smooth and joyful beneath the soles of the feet of the Lord walked to save all beings. 27
ยามเยื้องยุรยาตร ปวงดอกปทุมมาศ อันตรธานหาย มิให้ปรากฏ แก่คนทั้งหลาย เหยียบย่ำทำลาย จะเป็นโทษา ๒๘	Once he had stepped away, the golden lotuses would disappear, so as to not remain for people to to trample on, which would be sinful. 28
พระศรีศาสดาจารย์ เสด็จเข้านิพพาน สิ้นแล้วดิณหา ยังแต่รอยบาทหงส์ อันทรงพระกรุณา บรรจบครบห้า ประดิษฐานโดยมี ๒๙	The Teacher, the Lord, entered Nibbāna, all craving exhausted, but footprints remained that exuded compassion; in total five pairs were established, including: 29
พระบาทหนึ่งปรากฏ อยู่เขาบรพ	one pair of footprints appeared on top of the mountain of



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สุวรรณโมลี	Suvarṇamolī;
พระบาทสองนั้นไชร์	a second pair of footprints
อยู่ในกรุงศรี	in the glorious city,
ประเทศธานี	the capital
อโยธยานคร	of the kingdom of Ayutthaya;
๓๐	30
พระบาทสามนั้นโสด	a third pair of footprints
อยู่เขามบรมโกฏี	on Paramakūṭa [Sumanakūṭa?]
ลังกาवर	in lovely Laṅkā;
พระบาทสี่ทศพล	a fourth pair of the Ten-Powered Lord
อยู่บนสิงขร	on top of the peak
เหนือเมืองนคร	to the north of
นพรัตน์บุรี	Nabarāta(na)purī.
๓๑	31
พระบาทห้าประดิษฐาน	the fifth pair of footprints are established
อยุริมชลธาร	on the edge of the waters
แม่น้ำนที	of a river,
เป็นที่วันทา	the place of worship
นาคาธิบดี	for the lords of the nāgas,
มัจจากุมภีร์	fish, and crocodiles,
เข้าไหว้แน่นอนนันต์	who bow to it without end.
๓๒	32
พระบาทห้าแห่ง	The five footprint sites
พระพุทธเจ้าสำแดง	that the Lord Buddha made appear
ย่างเหยียบไว้วัน	by stepping on them
เป็นที่วันทา	are places for worship
เทวาทุกชั้น	by all levels of deities,
มนุษย์คนธรรพ์	humans, gandharvas,
ครุฑธรรพ์	garuḍa lords, and titans.
๓๓	33
ลายลักษณ์เลิศไฉไล	The marks that exceed the triple world
บูชาเข้าไว้	are worshipped
หญิงชายถ้วนหน้า	by women and men of all stripes,
เข้าค่ำไค้ขัน	morning and evening, by the rooster's call.
ทุกวันเวลา	All day, all the time,
อุตสาห์ภาวนา	they strive to cultivate
เป็นนิจันรันดร	continuously and without end.
๓๔	34
ใครว่าลายลักษณ์	Whoever recites the marks

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ได้บุญมากนัก	receives merit measuring
แปดหมื่นสี่พัน	eighty-four thousand strong,
เหมือนได้พบองค์	as if having met the Buddha,
พระผู้ทรงธรรม	the Lord endowed with the Dharma,
ดังพรรณนามานี้	as explained herein
จบแล้วบริบูรณ์ ฯ	completely.

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Supin kumār  
 (“[The Tale of the] Dream Boy” សុបិនកុមារ)

Khmer *kākagati*, *baṅnol*, and *brahmagīti* meters, 287 stanzas, composed in Cambodia, 17th–18th centuries, probably on the basis of a Siamese original.

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC d.298; FEMC d.314; FEMC d.492; FEMC d.507

Khmer books: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, *Rōñ supin kumār រឿងសុបិនកុមារ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនបណ្ឌិត្យ, 1959);

Thai books: Khun Ādeśagatī ขุนอาเทศคดี, Jvan Bejr kèṅ<sub>2</sub> ขวน เพชรแก้ว, and Vijier ṇa Nagar วิเชียร ณ นคร, *Supin sāṅnvan kau; vaṅnakaṅm khaaṅ kavī jāw mōñṅ nagaṅ śrī dhaṅmarāj* **สุบินสำนวนเก่า: วรรณกรรมของกวีชาวเมืองนครศรีธรรมราช** (Nakhon Si Thammarat นครศรีธรรมราช: Vidyālay grū nagaṅ śrī dhaṅmarāj วิทยาลัยครุศรีธรรมราช, 2520); Kram śilpākar กรมศิลป์ากร, *Samut mālāy lèḥ supin klan svat สมุดมาลัย และ สุบินกลอนสวด* (Bangkok กรุงเทพฯ: Kram śilpākar กรมศิลป์ากร, 2555).

Institut bouddhique 1959	Translation
បទកាកគតិ	<i>Crow's Gait Meter</i>
១	1
ប្រណម្យដុលី	I raise cupped hands
ដាក់លើសិរសី	above my head
ក្រាបក្រោមបាទា	to bow to the
ព្រះបាទសម្តេច	feet of the great
សព្វេដ្ឋសាស្តា	All wise Teacher.
ថ្វាយវរវន្តា	I bow in praise
ដល់ព្រះភូបាល។	to the Earth's Chief.
២	2
ព្រះអង្គត្រាស់ត្រាច់	The Lord woke up,
សាងសង្ហារស្រេច	built up merit,
ផ្តាច់វដ្តសង្សារ	stopped saṃsāra,
លើសលែងត្រៃភព	topped the three worlds
សាយសព្វពិស្តារ	so vast and wide,
ស្តេចផ្តាញ់ក្រុងមារ	trounced Māra and

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រួចដល់និព្វាន។	reached Nibbāna.
៣	3
បង្គំព្រះធម៌	I bow to the
ពិសេសមានអាថ៌	Dharma, so deep,
ជ្រៅពន់ប្រមាណ	marked with meaning,
អាចតែងត្រង់រង	purifying
សត្វផងសព្វស្ថាន	beasts all around
ជាខ្ចីមប្រធាន	the choice pith of
ត្រៃពិធនសម្បត្តិ។	threefold treasures.
៤	4
បង្គំព្រះសង្ឃ	I bow to the
ប្រសើរសឹងទ្រង់	supreme Sangha,
សីលសុទ្ធប្រតិបត្តិ	trained in pure vows,
ជាស្រូវស្រែបុណ្យ	field of merit,
មានគុណភាពក្តត់	of prime virtue,
ជាយាននាំសត្វ	our vehicle
វរលោកុត្តរា។	to the beyond.
៥	5
ដោយតេជៈខ្ញុំ	By the power
ថ្លាត់ថ្លាយបង្គំ	of my reverent
ប្រណម្យវន្ទា	prostrate praises
ដល់ព្រះស្រីវិគ្គ	to the glorious
ទាំងបីថ្លៃថ្លា	bright Triple Jewel,
ត្រេកត្រង់សទ្ធា	with joyful faith
មនោសុច្ឆរិត។	and a pure mind,
៦	6
សូមមានស្នេហា	may I receive
សុខសិរីវិទ្ធី	joy, power, and
មង្គលពិពិធន	myriad blessings.
សូមទេពទិសទស	May gods all round
សោឡុសព្រហ្មស្ថិត	and high above
ចំរើនវិជ្ជាវិទ្ធី	grant magic might
បរិបូណ៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត។	and perfect peace.
៧	7
បពិត្រសង្ឃផង	Noble Sangha,
ចូរអ្នកស្តាប់ហោង	please listen to

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ដំណើរនិទាន  
សុបិនកុមារ  
និយាយមែនមាន  
ពិតពីបុរាណ  
ដោយព្រះគាថា។

the story of  
Supin Kumār,  
a true tale told  
in the past by  
the Protector.

៨  
អស់សង្ឃនូវថែរ  
កិក្ខុសាមណេរ  
គួរត្រេកសទ្ធា  
បានបួសចំរើន  
មាតាបិតា  
ជាច្បាប់អាត្មា  
អស់សាមណេរផង។

8  
You elders, monks  
and novices  
should rejoice in  
the boon monkhood  
gives your parents.  
This code's for me,  
for novices.

៩  
ដោយឮជាអាទី  
មុនមាននេសាទ  
មួយនោះជាច្បង  
ជាធំក្រៃលែង  
អស់ថ្មើរព្រៃផង  
នៅស្រុកមួយហោង  
ទៀបសាវត្ថី។

9  
I heard there once  
was a hunter  
who was the best,  
the foremost of  
all the woodsmen  
in one region  
near Savatthī.

១០  
ចៅម្យ៉ឹងម្ចាស់ស្រុក  
មកដម្កល់ទុក  
នេសាទតិរិយ  
ឲ្យតែងបាញ់សត្វ  
សព្វម្រឹគបក្សី  
ចិញ្ចឹមជីវី  
ជីវិតសព្វថ្ងៃ។

10  
The local chief  
empowered the  
heathen hunter  
to keep slaying  
all birds and beasts  
to nourish his  
everyday life.

១១  
នេសាទនោះណា  
មានកូនពុំដា  
មួយមែនល្អក្រៃ  
នាមហៅសុបិន  
កុមារប្រុសថ្ងៃ  
បដិសន្ធិព្វ

11  
The hunter had  
a dear child named  
Supin Kumār,  
truly lovely,  
a darling son,  
who was reborn

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ក្នុងផ្ទៃមាតា។	in his wife's womb.
១២	12
កាលនាងទ្រង់គក់	When still pregnant,
នោះកើតញាប់ញ័រ	she shook and shook
ប្រាកដមហិមា	violently while
នាងនោះយយ់សប្តិ	having a dream
ដូចកល់អាត្មា	in which she seemed
ចេញពីផ្ទះណា	to leave her house
ចូលទៅក្នុងព្រៃ។	for the forest
១៣	13
នឹងទៅកាប់អុស	to chop firewood
លក់ជាអម្រស់	and sell it to
អាត្មាសព្វថ្ងៃ	earn a living.
ដើរទៅម្នាក់ឯង	She walked alone,
វង្វែងផ្លូវព្រៃ	lost in the woods.
នាងភិតខ្លាចក្រែ	The scared girl cried
ស្រែកយំរកប្តី។	for her husband.
១៤	14
ចេញពីព្រៃធំ	Leaving the woods,
នាងគិតបារម្ភ	the pregnant girl
ក្រែងក្ស័យជីវិត	feared for her life.
ក្ស័ណនាងបានយល់	Then she saw the
សមុទ្រជលធំ	vast ocean and
ស្រែកយំរកប្តី	cried for her man
ពុំយល់ឡើយណា។	she could not find.
១៥	15
យល់ទឹកសមុទ្រ	Eying the sea,
ញ័រអង្គរន្ទត់	her body shook.
គគក់ឧរា	She beat her chest.
អង្គុយម្នាក់ឯង	Sitting alone
ហើយស្រែកយំថា	she cried for help.
ឱអ្នកឯណា	“Oh someone please
បង្ហាញផ្លូវផង។	show me the way!
១៦	16
អ្នកជួយខ្ញុំភ័រ	Please help me soon.
បង្ហាញមាត់	Show me the path

Appendix III

ក្នុងគ្រានេះម្តង  
ឲ្យខ្ញុំបានដល់  
យល់ប្តីខ្ញុំហោង  
កុំឲ្យសៅហ្មង  
ក្នុងចិត្តខ្ញុំណា។  
១៧

at once so that  
I can see my  
husband again.  
May I not be  
filled with sorrow!"  
17

កាលនោះសោតមាន  
តាបសមួយប្រាណ  
សីលសមព្រឹទ្ធ  
មានប្បទ្ធិតបៈ  
តេជៈមហិមា  
ស្ថិតស្ថាននៅនា  
ហិមពាន្តព្រឹក្សព្រៃ។  
១៨

Back then there was  
an ascetic,  
restrained by vows,  
replete with great  
magic powers,  
in the forests  
of Himavant.  
18

តាបសឥសី  
លោកមានវិទ្ធិ  
កន្លងលើសក្រែ  
ហៀរហោះផ្សងមក  
ដោយអាកាសស័យន៍  
កាន់កែវភ្នំថ្លៃ  
មួយមានរស្មី។  
១៩

The hermit sage  
with magic might  
magnificent,  
soared in the sky,  
supine in space,  
clutching a jewel,  
radiant and bright.  
19

ដាក់លើបាតដៃ  
នាងស្រេចហើយវៃ  
តាបសស្រដី  
ប្រាប់ផ្លូវនាងស្មោះ  
ឲ្យនាងទៅខ្ចី  
ហើយតាបសលី-  
លាទៅវិញហោង។  
២០

He placed it in  
the woman's palm  
and explained to  
her the way for  
a prompt return.  
Then the rule-bound  
ascetic left.  
20

នាងបានកែវហើយ  
ក្សិណពុំលង់ឡើយ  
នាងវិលវិញផ្តង  
មកដល់យល់ប្តី  
ដូចចិត្តប៉ុនបី  
នាងភ្ញាក់ឡើងហោង

With this crystal  
it did not take  
long for her to  
go see her man,  
just as she wished.  
She then awoke

Appendix III

នាហៀបព្រឹកនោះ។

at the woods' edge.

២១

21

នាងស្តុះម្លីម្នា

She rushed to find

រកបេះក្លីផ្កា

flowers to pick.

នាងទៅចំពោះ

She gave them to

អ្នកចាស់ចេះទាយ

a seer to

ទំនាយសប្តិរោះ

divine her dream.

ហើយនាងប្រាប់ស្មោះ

She told him true

ដំណើរនោះណា។

of her ordeal.

២២

22

អ្នកចាស់សោតទាយ

The augur claimed,

ថាដោយទំនាយ

“Predictions say

សប្តិរោះយល់មហា

such dreams are rare

ពិសេសក្រៃលែង

in the extreme,

នឹងសប្តិផងណា

second to none.

នាងមានគភ៌ប្រា-

Your fetus is

កដថ្ងៃនោះហោង។

truly sublime.

២៣

23

កុំនាងបារម្ភ

Don't fret, my girl,

កូននាងឧត្តម

your son's supreme

ប្រុសថ្ងៃកន្លង

and rare indeed.

ហើយនាងនឹងបាន

He will be a

ជាពិទ្ធិកំហោង

refuge for you

អស់ទាំងញាតិផង

and all your kin

សឹងលុះប្រាថ្នា។

as per your wish.”

២៤

24

នាងស្តាប់ទំនាយ

Hearing his words,

អ្នកចាស់សោតទាយ

she filled with joy.

នាងអរក្តាត់ណា

She gave the man

យកផ្កាស្វាម្លូ

flowers, betel,

បូជាហើយលា

and areca.

ទៅផ្ទះអាត្មា

She returned home

នៅសុខសប្បាយ។

In good spirits.

២៥

25

នាងមានគភ៌គ្រប់

The pregnant girl,

ទសមាសគំរប់

after ten months,



Appendix III

ប្រសូត្រូវងាយ  
កូនប្រុសប្រាកដ  
ដូចកលទំនាយ  
រុងរឿងពណ្តាយ  
យល់ថ្ងៃកត្រកាល។

gave birth with ease  
to a male child,  
as predicted.  
He shined and gleamed  
miraculously.

២៦

26

ឱរសតូចនោះ  
នាងឯងឱរសឃ្លោះ  
សុបិនកុមារ  
ដូចមាសឱរស  
បុត្រថ្លៃសង្សារ  
ស្រឡាញ់សព្វកាល  
ពុំឱ្យឃ្នងឡើយ។

She herself named  
the little babe  
“Supin Kumār.”  
Just like pure gold,  
her darling son  
was always loved,  
not cause for grief.

២៧

27

លុះចំរើនធំ  
រូបសោមខ្ពង់ម  
ប្រាំពីរឆ្នាំហើយ  
ឥតអ្នកឯណា  
គេនឹងស្មើឡើយ  
ដឹងក្តីគ្រប់ហើយ  
អាពុកស្លាប់បង្គំ។

As he grew up  
he grew handsome;  
at seven there  
was not one child  
equal to him.  
He mind matured,  
when his dad passed.

២៨

28

នេសាទស្លាប់ទៅ  
កើតជាប្រេតនៅ  
ទល់ទុក្ខលុះលង្ក  
ហេតុពុំដឹងគុណ  
ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះសង្ឃ  
ព្រះធម៌ពុំចង់  
ឱ្យទានចាំសីល។

The man became  
a hungry ghost  
suffering for long,  
since he knew not  
the Three Jewels and  
did not care for  
gifts or precepts.

២៩

29

មានតែបាញ់សត្វ  
រកបោះបង្កាត់  
នោះពុំដែលខ្ចិល  
មានតែកំណាញ់  
ខេរខឹងមមិរ  
រឺទាននឹងសីល

He but slew beasts,  
he stalked, he sliced,  
never at rest,  
by turns stingy,  
angry, sleepy.  
He knew not of

Appendix III

ពុំស្គាល់ឡើយណា។

gifts or precepts.

៣០

30

ហេតុនោះទើបទៅ

Thus he was born

កើតជាប្រេតនៅ

a hungry ghost,

ទល់ទុក្ខវេទនា

bearing suffering

ពុំដែលនឹងបាន

without any

អាហារកោក្កា

food to feed on

ដ្បិតតែអាត្មា

only because

ធ្វើខុសធ្លាប់ធ្លង។

of his grave wrongs.

៣១

31

សុបិនកុមារ

Supin Kumār,

កូនស្អូនសង្សារ

the lovely child,

ប្រសេរកន្លង

preeminent,

នៅតែនឹងម្តាយ

had but his mom.

កំព្រាឯងហោង

He was orphaned,

ឥតប្អូនឥតបង

without siblings

គ្រាន់នឹងជួយថែ។

to care for him.

៣២

32

ដើរទៅម្នាក់ឯង

He walked alone

ហើយតែងទៅលេង

And often played

នឹងអស់សាមណេរ

with novices.

តែងទៅបំរើ

He always served

កិក្ខុនូវថែរ

monks and elders

តាមដោយសាមណេរ

with novices

ប្រណិប័តន៍ជាបុណ្យ។

to build merit.

៣៣

33

ចិត្តបង្អស់សង្វាត

With fervent faith

ទទួលប្រកបាត្រ

he held their bowls,

ដងទឹកដំស្ងួត

drew their water,

ទឹកស្រង់ទឹកឆាន់

to brush, bathe, drink,

នោះពុំដែលឆ្គង់

without disgust.

បំរើអរហន្ត

He served the saints

ពុំដែលឲ្យឆ្គង់។

without error.

៣៤

34

ចូកស្មៅចូកដី

Turf and earth hauled,

បោសផងឆ្ងលី

he swept away

Appendix III

សម្រាមលើផង  
ព្រឹកល្ងាចសព្វថ្ងៃ  
ឲ្យជ្រះម៉ែដ្ឋម៉ង  
អស់អារាមផង  
ចិត្តចង់សង្វាត។  
៣៥

the dust and duff  
morning and night  
to make the wat  
immaculate  
with fervent faith.  
35

បើមកពីផ្ទះ  
ទៅក្រាបសំពះ  
នៅទៀបព្រះបាទ  
អ្នកតែងបូជា  
ផ្កាភ្លឺសំអាត  
ពុំដែលប្រមាថ  
ឲ្យឆ្គងហុប្វីយ។  
៣៦

Coming from home,  
he first would bow  
at the Lord's feet.  
He always gave  
lovely flowers,  
ever careful  
to not displease.  
36

សុបិនកុមារ  
អស្ចារ្យត្រកាល  
នឹងក្មេងដទៃ  
មិនយល់ជាក្មេង  
ប្រាំពីរឆ្នាំនៃ  
បំរើសព្វថ្ងៃ  
ដោយវត្តប្រតិបត្តិ។  
៣៧

Supin Kumār  
was marvelous,  
unlike others.  
He did not look  
seven years old,  
serving daily  
with reverence.  
37

លុះបានគំរប់  
ប្រាំមួយដណ្តប់  
ឆ្នាំហើយប្រវត្តិ  
ចិត្តនឹកចង់បួស  
សំណាក់ពុទ្ធវត្ត  
ហេតុបទចិត្តកាត់  
ស្រឡាញ់ផ្លូវស្រែក្រៅ។  
៣៨

When he reached the  
age of fifteen,  
he aspired to  
ordain in the  
Buddhist refuge,  
since his heart clung  
to naught but robes.  
38

សុបិនកុមារ  
មានចិត្តត្រកាល  
នាកាលមួយថ្ងៃ  
ចូលទៅសំណាក់  
អស់សង្ឃផងពួ  
អារាមនោះនៃ

Supin Kumār,  
with his rare heart,  
one day went to  
the refuge place  
of the Sangha  
in that temple

Appendix III

ថ្វាយវរវន្ទា។  
៣៩  
បពិត្រសូមទាន  
ព្រះអង្គស្តេចមាន  
ហឫទ័យករុណា  
បំបួសខ្ញុំថ្វាត់  
ដោយចិត្តសទ្ធា  
សំណាក់សាសនា  
សព្វពុទ្ធសញ្ញាណ។

to pay respect.  
39  
“O Venerable!  
Holy One, with  
all your mercy,  
ordain me now,  
with faith, in the  
Omniscient One’s  
teaching’s refuge.

៤០  
អរហន្តឆ្លើយស្នង  
ថាអើគាប់ហោង  
គឺមោះបាមាន  
មាតាបិតា  
នៅជាប្រធាន  
យើងពុំអាចហ៊ាន  
បំបួសបាឡើយ។

40  
The saint replied,  
“That’s very well,  
but you still have  
your parents as  
your guardians.  
I do not dare  
to ordain you.

៤១  
បើបាទៅលា  
មាតាបិតា  
អនុញ្ញាតហើយ  
នោះយើងបំបួស  
យើងមិនគិតឡើយ  
ឥតក៏ដឹងហើយ  
ត្រង់នោះឯងណា។

41  
If you take leave  
of your parents  
and get consent,  
I’ll ordain you.  
I have not thought  
about how your  
case might work out.”

៤២  
សុបិនឆ្លើយស្នង  
បពិត្រគាប់ហោង  
នៅតែមាតា  
រីឯបិតា  
ខ្ញុំស្លាប់ហើយណា  
នោះខ្ញុំទៅលា  
ឱ្យបានដឹងជាក់។

42  
Supin replied,  
“Yes, Venerable,  
there’s only my  
mother, for my  
father has passed.  
I will go ask  
to know for sure.”

៤៣  
សុបិនកុមារ  
លីលាត្រូវអាណ

43  
Supin Kumār  
walked back carefree

Appendix III

ទៅដល់សំណាក់  
មាតាហើយក្រាប  
បាទជើងថាអ្នក  
ខ្ញុំក្រាបលាអ្នក  
ទៅបួសដោយក្សាន្ត។  
៤៤

to his mother's  
refuge and bowed  
down to her feet.  
“I take leave to  
ordain in peace.  
44

អ្នកមេអាសូរ  
អ្នកមេអនុកូល  
អនុញ្ញាតឱ្យទាន  
ខ្ញុំបួសសំណាក់  
សាសនាពុទ្ធសាសនា  
កុំឱ្យខ្ញុំខាន  
បំណងសត្វ។  
៤៥

Pity me, mom,  
allow me, mom,  
grant permission  
to ordain in  
Buddhist refuge.  
Don't make me fail  
my faithful wish.”  
45

កាលនោះម្តាយស្តាប់  
ពាក្យកូនថ្ងៃដ៏ប្រាប់  
ដូច្នោះហើយណា  
ពុំអាចដើម្បី  
អនុញ្ញាតករុណា  
ក្នុងទ្រូងអូលផ្សា  
ទឹកភ្នែកហូរផង។  
បទព្រហ្មគីត  
៤៦

After she heard  
her son's words thus  
expressed to her,  
she could not give  
kind permission,  
chest choked in pain  
tears flowing down.  
*Brahma's Song Meter*  
46

ក្សិណនោះឯមាតា  
ឈឺអូលផ្សាពេកកន្លង  
នាងយំខំឃាត់ផង  
ពុំឱ្យកូនទៅបួសឡើយ។  
៤៧

Thus then his mother  
was filled with wrenching pain.  
She cried to prevent  
her son from ordaining.  
47

នាងសោកៗសង្រួត  
ឈឺកន្លងឥតឯស្បើយ  
ឱនឱបកូនវត្តហើយ  
ញ័ររន្ធត់អស់អង្គ។  
៤៨

She wailed in despair.  
Her pain knew no relief.  
Hugging her dear son,  
her whole body convulsed.  
48

នាងទូញៗគន់គិត  
គិតអាណិតហើយថប់ថា  
ឱកូនវត្តកំព្រា

She wailed, and thinking of  
mercy choked out these words:  
“My dear orphaned son!

Appendix III

មានតែបាបងសព្វថ្ងៃ។

I have only you left.

៤៩

49

តាំងពីបាកើតមក

From your day of birth,

ជាពន្ធកថ្វីមហូប្បទ័យ

you have been my darling.

បរិបូណ៌ជាប្រុសថ្ងៃ

You are my son true,

ម្តាយពេញចិត្តពេញស្នេហា។

my pride, my love complete.

៥០

50

សព្វថ្ងៃម្តាយកក់ក្តៅ

Now I find comfort

បានបារនៅនៃបឱរ

with you close to my chest.

ពុំដែលឱ្យឃ្នាតឃ្នា

You have never left

ចាកចេញឆ្ងាយពីម្តាយឡើយ។

or gone far from your mom.

៥១

51

ម្តាយដេកម្តាយធ្លាប់ឱប

Lain down, I'd hold you

ជួមគ្រសោបជិតទ្រូងហើយ

cradling you to my chest.

ចេញចូលលេងលហើយ

Your play relieved me

លំហែទុក្ខក្នុងហឫទ័យ។

and cooled my heart's anguish.

៥២

52

ម្តាយថើបៗកេសី

I'd kiss your forehead,

អស់តន្ត្រីយស្នូនមាសថ្ងៃ

your body, my darling.

ពុំឲ្យមានមោះមែ

so you'd be flawless.

ម្តាយរក្សាបាសព្វកាល។

I'd care for you always.

៥៣

53

មាសដេកមាសដើរលេង

When you'd nap or play

ម្តាយបន្លែងគ្រប់ប្រការ

I'd charm in every way

ពុំដែលឲ្យរង្គាល

that you might remain

រង្សៀសចិត្តបារឡើយហោង។

calm and free from anger.

៥៤

54

ឱបុត្រវត្តព្រលឹង

My dear beloved,

ម្តាយទីពឹងបាជាត្រើយ

I'm always your refuge.

ពំនាក់ចិត្តម្តាយហើយ

When you come to me

ម្តាយនឹងសួនឲ្យអស់ចិត្ត។

I make you satisfied.

៥៥

55

ម្តាយពុំឲ្យមានម័ង

I'll thwart your sadness.

ពុំឲ្យផ្គងនឹងគំនិត

I'll stave off wrong thinking.

រក្សាសួនស្នេហ៍ស្និទ្ធិ

I'll care for you, love,

នៅនៃបន្ទីរជិតឱរ។

held tight against my chest.

Appendix III

៥៦  
សព្វថ្ងៃម្តាយត្រអាល  
ឥតរង្ស៊ីសចិត្តឡើយណា  
ក្សេមក្សាន្តសោមនស្សា  
ឥតឯគិតដល់តិចឡើយ។

56  
These days I rejoice,  
without a trace of loss,  
peaceful, well, happy,  
not a care in the world.

៥៧  
ឱកូនមាសព្រលឹង  
ម្តាយរំពឹងក្នុងចិត្តហើយ  
បានបាលេងលំហើយ  
លំហែទុក្ខទោមនស្សា។

57  
My son, my darling  
I take refuge in you.  
Your play delights me,  
relieving my sorrow.

៥៨  
បើបាទៅបួសបាត់  
ដូចកូនសត្វព្រាត់មេវា  
សមម្តាយនឹងសោកផ្សា  
នៅកំព្រាតែម្នាក់ឯង។

58  
If you go ordain,  
like a foal from his dam,  
I will weep and wail  
all alone once again.

៥៩  
ឱអញមានវេក  
បាបអំពីបុរាណព្រេង  
ទើបឥឡូវនេះឯង  
កូនសង្សារពុំនៅឡើយ។

59  
What fate must I have,  
what sin from distant past,  
that in the present  
my darling is no more?

៦០  
សមអញបានពង្រាត់  
សង្សារសត្វនោះដឹងអើយ  
ទល់ទុក្ខពុំត្រាស្បើយ  
ជាវេកព្យាបាទនៃក្រៃ។

60  
Perhaps I'll cut off  
this round of birth and death.  
My pain is constant.  
What a fierce fate to face!

៦១  
ឥឡូវកូនសម្លាញ់  
នឹងប្រាសចេញពីហឫទ័យ  
ឱអញជាទុក្ខក្រៃ  
នៅត្រមោចតែម្នាក់ឯង។

61  
Now my darling son  
moves away from my heart,  
leaving me in pain,  
deserted and alone.

៦២  
ឱអញជាទុក្ខក្រៃ  
រាល់ខែថ្ងៃសឹងចំបែង  
សោះសូន្យដាច់សង្វែង  
ពីនេះទៅគ្រប់វេលា។

62  
Oh what pain I face!  
Each day I'll be lonely,  
empty and apart,  
from now till forever,

៦៣

63

Appendix III

ដូចសត្វជៀបកប្បាស  
សោតព្រាត់ប្រាសកូនពុំដា  
ចាកចេញពីឱរា  
រងវេកពុំត្រាស្បើយ។

like a small sparrow  
who, bereaved of her young  
that flew from her breast,  
suffers endless sorrow.

៦៤

64

នឹងស្រែកនឹងស្ទុះស្ទុះ  
នឹងបំរះទៅមកហើយ  
សមសោកាពុំស្បើយ  
ជាទុក្ខទៀងអស់កាលហោង។

She cries, she swoops down,  
she struggles, she thrashes,  
yet meets but sadness,  
constant pain for all time.

៦៥

65

ឥឡូវកូនកំព្រា  
នឹងឃ្នាតឃ្នាទៅជាម្តង  
ឲ្យម្តាយតែងសៅហ្មង  
ទល់ទុក្ខទាល់ជីវិតក្ស័យ។

Now my orphaned babe  
abandons me for good,  
making me suffer  
this pain till my life ends.

៦៦

66

កូនអើយម្តាយស្រឡាញ់  
បទបាពេញចិត្តម្តាយក្រៃ  
ម្តេចបាដាច់អាល័យ  
ទៅបួសវិញឥឡូវហើយ។

My child, I love you,  
for you fulfill my heart.  
Why must you leave me  
and ordain as a monk?

៦៧

67

បើបួសនោះម្តាយស្ងាត់  
សូន្យសោះបាត់ពុំយល់ត្រើយ  
ស្នូនស្នប់ចិត្តឥតស្បើយ  
ទល់ទុក្ខនៅសព្វរាត្រី។

If you go, I'll be  
still, silent, lost, listless.  
My heart will dry up,  
bearing pain every night.

៦៨

68

សព្វថ្ងៃម្តាយពេញចិត្ត  
ពេញគំនិតពេញហឫទ័យ  
ពេញរូបរស់ឥន្ទ្រិយ  
បទម្តាយបានយល់មុខបា។

These days I'm fulfilled,  
full my mind, full my heart.  
My senses are full,  
for I can see your face.

៦៩

69

បើឥតនឹងបាទៅ  
សមម្តាយនៅឯងឯកា  
កូនអើយម្តាយដា  
រំងាប់ចិត្តពីនេះហោង។

If I'm without you,  
then I shall be alone.  
My child, I'll be cold,  
My heart hushed from now on.

៧០

70

សូរក្ស័យជីវិតទៅ

I'd rather pass on



Appendix III

ជានឹងនៅរស់មានម៉ង  
ប្រាសកូនស្លូតគ្រង  
ស្លាប់ទៅវិញប្រសើរក្រៃ។

than live long in sorrow.  
If you must leave me,  
I would prefer to die.

៧១

71

គួរតែធ្វើពិស  
នោះឲ្យអស់ជីវិតក្លៀយ  
គួរចងសុវត្ថិវៃ  
ឲ្យក្សិណក្លៀយជីវិតឆាប់។

I should eat poison  
that would make my life end.  
I should noose my neck  
that I might die quickly.

៧២

72

បើប្រាសនឹងកូនហើយ  
រស់ថ្វីឡើយឲ្យអក៏ពូ  
សូរស្លាប់ទៅគាប់  
នឹងរស់នៅឥតការ។

Once you forsake me,  
what's the use in living?  
I'd prefer to die  
than live without purpose.

៧៣

73

ធម្មតាកើតជាមនុស្ស  
ប្រាសកូនប្រុសថ្វីមសង្សារ  
រស់ថ្វីនៅឥតការ  
នាំខ្លាចផ្សាក្នុងហឫទ័យ។

It's all too human:  
when our dear son leaves us  
and makes life pointless,  
we suffer in our heats.

៧៤

74

ម្តាយយល់តែមុខបា  
បុត្រពុំដាក់ព្រាភ្នែក  
បាស្មើថ្វីមហឫទ័យ  
ស្មើភ្នែកនៃម្តាយហោងណា។

I see but your face,  
my darling, my orphan.  
You match my own heart  
and equal my own eyes.

៧៥

75

ឱកូនវត្ថុសង្សារ  
ម្តាយត្រអាលៗបា  
កើតចេញពីឱរា  
ជាសម្លាញ់ម្តាយតែមួយ។

My dear beloved son!  
How I rejoiced when you  
emerged from my heart.  
You were my only love.

៧៦

76

ម្តាយឈឺអស់តន្ត្រីយ  
ដូចអគ្គីនេះឈូលជ្រួយ  
សាច់សួតថ្វីមរលួយ  
រលត់ទៅឥតឲ្យរណា។

All my senses burn,  
like flames of fire well-stoked.  
Flesh, lungs, and liver  
melt away and vanish.

៧៧

77

ម្តាយអូលអន់ផ្សាខ្លាច  
ដូចគេបោចក្នុងឱរា

I choke in anguish  
as if my chest was torn,

Appendix III

អាឡោះអាល័យបា  
បុត្រពុំដឹងសង្សារថ្ងៃ។  
៧៨

wrenched apart from you,  
my darling, my beloved.  
78

ឱកូនវត្តស្នេហា  
ម្តាយកំព្រាឯងសព្វថ្ងៃ  
ស្រណោះអាឡោះក្រៃ  
កុំបាចេញទៅបួសឡើយ។  
៧៩

My child, my dear love,  
now I'll be the orphan.  
I will long for you.  
Don't leave me to ordain!  
79

សព្វថ្ងៃម្តាយកក់ក្តៅ  
បានបាទៅជិតកៀកកើយ  
បើបាទៅបួសហើយ  
ទុក្ខម្តាយធ្ងន់ពន់ប្រមាណ។  
៨០

Now I find comfort  
with you close to cuddle.  
If you go ordain,  
my pain will be immense.  
80

អាពុកបាប្រាសទៅ  
ម្តាយឈឺក្តៅឥតស្រាកស្រាន្ត  
កូនអើយម្តាយបានក្សាន្ត  
ដ្បិតយល់មុខបាសព្វថ្ងៃ។  
៨១

When your dad passed on,  
I burned in endless pain.  
My child, now I'm well,  
seeing your face each day.  
81

បើបាទៅបួសហើយ  
ទុក្ខពុំស្បើយក្នុងហឫទ័យ  
រឹតរត់ព្រួតធ្ងន់ក្រៃ  
សមម្តាយក្ស័យជីវិតហោង។  
៨២

If you go ordain  
the constant pain in me  
will only get worse  
and I could do but die.  
82

ចូរបាអាសូរម្តាយ  
ឲ្យរសាយទុក្ខនេះម្តង  
ឲ្យម្តាយរស់នៅផង  
ជាកំដរស្នូនឯងនែ។  
៨៣

Pity your mother,  
that this pain be allayed,  
that I too can live  
along with you, my dear.  
83

ម្តាយថប់ៗ គន់គិត  
គិតអាណិតបាឯងក្រៃ  
ស្នូនអើយម្តាយអាល័យ  
អាឡោះបាថ្ងៃពុំបាន។  
៨៤

I choke, choked on thoughts,  
thoughts of pity for you.  
My dear, I am torn  
apart, my pain unsaid.  
84

បើបាទៅបួសហើយ  
កុំមកឡើយឲ្យយល់ស្មាន  
កុំបាមករាប់អាន

If you go ordain,  
don't ever come back here.  
Don't be friendly as

Appendix III

អញជាម្តាយបាឡើយហោង។	if I was your mother.
៨៥	85
ទោះជាទោះឈឺប៉ុន្តែ	Whether I be well,
ទោះស្លាប់បាត់អំពុទហោង	or sick, or even dead,
កុំគិតម្តាយប៉ុនល្អង-	don't think I'm one bit
ជួលឡើយពីនេះទៅ។	your mother from now on.”
៨៦	86
នាងយំនាងសង្រេង	She wailed in sorrow,
ឈឺកន្ទេងខ្លោចផ្សាក្តៅ	burning in fierce anguish.
គក់ទ្រូងៗ ក្រំនៅ	She beat her chest as
ពុំល្អៃល្អើយទុក្ខនោះណា។	her pain knew no relief.
បទកាកគតិ	<i>Crow's Gait Meter</i>
៨៧	87
សុបិនកុមារ	Supin Kumār
ស្តាប់ម្តាយសង្សារ	heard his mother
ទូញដូច្នោះហើយ	lament like this
គន់គិតអាណិត	and felt pity
ម្តាយឥតឯស្បើយ	for her anguish.
តែចិត្តឯងហើយ	But in his heart
មានសទ្ធាខ្លាំង។	his faith was strong.
៨៨	88
នឹងចង់បានបូស	He would ordain
បំពេញសីលផ្លូវ	to train himself
ពេកឯងត្រឡាង	with fervent zeal.
ថាហែអ្នកមេ	He said, “Mother,
កុំអ្នកសោកខ្លាំង	don't grieve too much.
កុំអ្នកឃាត់ខ្លាំង	Please don't stop me.
អាសូរខ្ញុំផង។	Pity me too.”
៨៩	89
សុបិនរន្ទា	Supin bowed to
ម្តាយហើយលីលា	his mom and left
វិលវិលមកផ្លូវ	to return to
បានដល់សំណាក់	the refuge place
គ្រូអាចារ្យហោង	of his teacher,
ទៀនធូបផ្កាផង	offering candles,
ចូលថ្វាយបូជា។	incense, flowers.

Appendix III

៩០  
 សំពះសូមផ្លូវ  
 អាចារ្យបំបួស  
 ដោយចិត្តសទ្ធា  
 បានជាសាមណេរ  
 បរិបូណ៌ហើយណា  
 នៅក្នុងសាសនា  
 ពុទ្ធវិញ្ញាណវិញ។

៩១  
 ទំនុកបំរុង  
 អស់គម្ពីរសង្ឃ  
 អរហន្តនោះផង  
 ដោយពុទ្ធវចនា  
 មហាគាប់កន្លង  
 រៀនសូត្រធម៌ផង  
 តាមគ្រូប្រដៅ។

៩២  
 លំដាប់នោះណា  
 ព្រះយមរាជា  
 ត្រាស់បន្ទូលហៅ  
 យម្ភុបាលទាំងបួន  
 ហើយប្រើសំដៅ  
 ថាព្រះស្តេចទៅ  
 មើលមនុស្សលោកនាយ។

៩៣  
 ចូរព្រះស្តេចមើល  
 សព្វដោយដំណើរ  
 មនុស្សផងទាំងឡាយ  
 នៅស្រុកតូចធំ  
 និគមស្រុកនាយ  
 ក្នុងក្រៅបន្ទាយ  
 ឲ្យគ្រប់ហោងណា។

៩៤  
 ទោះអ្នកណាខ្ជិល  
 ពុំរក្សាសីល  
 ចំរើនកវនា

90  
 Supin asked and  
 he was ordained  
 with faithful heart.  
 Now he was a  
 novice monk in  
 the religion  
 of the Buddha.

91  
 Supported by  
 the Sangha chiefs  
 and worthy saints,  
 the Buddha's words,  
 most excellent,  
 to read and chant,  
 Supin was taught.

92  
 Now at that time,  
 the Lord Yama  
 gave orders to  
 his four guardians,  
 commanding them  
 thus: "Go survey  
 the human realm.

93  
 Go everywhere  
 in your travels:  
 all the people  
 in every land,  
 all towns, within  
 and without walls,  
 in every place;

94  
 the indolent,  
 who keep not rules  
 nor meditate,

Appendix III

ពុំដែលធ្វើបុណ្យ  
ឲ្យទានឡើយណា  
មានតែបូស្សា  
កំណាញ់តិរិយ។

៩៥

ព្រះស្តេចចាប់ចង  
ជាក់ដំវាយផង  
ឲ្យអស់សេចក្តី  
ទោះតូចទោះធំ  
ទោះប្រុសទោះស្រី  
កុំមានប្រណី  
វាដល់តិចឡើយ។

៩៦

សរសេរត្រាឈ្មោះ  
អស់អ្នកបាបនោះ  
ដាក់ស្បែកឆ្កែហើយ  
ព្រះស្តេចនាំមក  
កុំឲ្យយូរឡើយ  
ចោលវាឲ្យហើយ  
ក្នុងភ្លើងនរក។

៩៧

ទោះអ្នកឯណា  
ចាំសីលការវនា  
បំរើម្តាយអាពុក  
ធ្វើបុណ្យឲ្យទាន  
តាមដោយទំនុក  
បំរុងចង់សុខ  
សម្បត្តិនិព្វាន។

៩៨

ដាំពោធិ៍បោសប្រាស  
ចូកស្មៅជម្រះ  
អាភមវត្តស្ថាន  
បំរើព្រះពុទ្ធ  
ព្រះធម៌សង្ឃបាទ  
បំបួសខ្លួនប្រាណ  
កូនចៅករិយា។

who never make  
offerings at all,  
those envious,  
stingy, heathen.

95

Seize them, bind them,  
Kick them, strike them,  
till they confess.  
Though small or great,  
male or female,  
have no mercy  
for them at all.

96

Write down the names  
of those sinners  
upon dog skin.  
Bring them forward.  
Don't wait too long.  
Dump them quickly  
in hells' fires.

97

Those who keep rules,  
who meditate,  
serve their parents,  
who make offerings,  
who thus ensure  
that they'll win joy,  
Nibbāna's prize,

98

who plant Bo trees,  
sweep, groom, and clean  
the temple grounds,  
serve the Buddha,  
Dharma, Sangha,  
ordain themselves  
their kids, their wife—

Appendix III

៩៩  
រឺអ្នកទាំងនោះ  
តែងនឹងបានឆ្ពោះ  
សម្បត្តិសួគ៌ា  
ព្រះស្តែងសរសេរ  
ឈ្មោះអ្នកនោះណា  
នឹងមាសដំត្រា  
យកគ្នាប្រណិប័តន៍។

99  
all such people  
are destined to  
win heaven's prize.  
Write down the names  
of those people  
and stamp your seal  
to pay respect.”

១០០  
ក្សិណនោះយមុបាល  
ស្តាប់ព្រះឱង្ការ  
ព្រះយមរាជថ្វាត់  
ក្រាបលាហើយជ្រែក  
ប្រើថពីឡើងស្តាត់  
ដើរមើលរង្វាត់  
សព្វជួរព្រៃផង។

100  
Yama's guardians,  
having heard his  
royal edict,  
bowed and went off  
to cramp and check  
lands far and wide,  
even the woods.

១០១  
នេះនឹងនិយាយ  
ដំណើរពិម្ពាយ  
សុបិនឯងហោង  
ដោះឡើងពីព្រឹក  
ចូលព្រៃជាម្តង  
គាប់ថ្ងៃមួយហោង  
ចេញចរយាត្រា។

101  
Now, going back  
to the tale of  
Supin's mother,  
she rose at dawn,  
to head for the  
forest that day,  
leaving by foot.

១០២  
កាប់អុសបានស្រេច  
នាងចង់ជាបាច់  
ទូលលើសិរសា  
ត្រឡប់វិលមក  
ដើរដោយមាត់  
នោះមានព្រឹក្សា  
មានម្លប់សប្បាយ។

102  
The firewood cut  
and tied, she placed  
it on her head  
to go back home  
along the path  
replete with trees  
and pleasing shade.

១០៣  
ដាក់អុសអង្គុយ  
ម្នាក់ឯងងងឹយ  
គាប់បាត់ក្រហាយ

103  
The wood set down,  
she sat, sleepy  
and exhausted,

Appendix III

ល្អិតាត្រជាក់  
ត្រសៀកសព្វកាយ  
ប្រះខ្លួនដេកងាយ  
លង់លក់ទៅហោង។

១០៤

នាងដេកលក់ទៅ  
យម្ពុបាលសំដៅ  
យល់នាងជាម្តង  
ថាគ្នាយើងអើយ  
ចាប់ស្រីនេះចង  
យើងនាំទៅផ្តង  
ថ្វាយព្រះយមរាជ។

១០៥

ចាប់នាងចងខ្ជាប់  
ឆក់ឆ្នួលក្រឡាប់  
កើតដោយអំណាច  
នាំនាងយកទៅ  
ថ្វាយព្រះយមរាជ  
ស្តេចមានអំណាច  
តែងដឹងមនុស្សផង។

១០៦

យម្ពុបាលក្រាបទូល  
ព្រះយមឥសូរ  
ប្រសើរកន្លង  
យើងខ្ញុំទៅរក  
ឃើញស្រីមួយហោង  
កាចក្រែកន្លង  
ខ្ញុំចង់មកថ្វាយ។  
បទពំនោល

១០៧

កានោះព្រះយមពណ្តារាយ  
លើសលែងសព្វសាយ  
ស្តេចឆ្ពោះព្រះនេត្រយល់ជាក់។

១០៨

ស្តេចបើកព្រះឱស្ឋប្រើអ្នក  
ស្មេរមួយប្រត្យក្ស

wearily but cooled  
by a light breeze.  
She then lay down  
and fell asleep.

104

As she slumbered,  
the guardians soon  
caught sight of her  
and said, “We should  
seize and bind her.  
We’ll take her to  
give to Yama.

105

They seized, they bound,  
they threw her down  
with all their might.  
They took her to  
give to Yama,  
the mighty king,  
who knows humans.

106

His guardians told  
their Lord Yama,  
the most supreme,  
“We went out, sought,  
and found this cruel  
woman to bind  
and give to you.”

*Declamation Meter*

107

Then the dazzling Yama,  
higher than all,  
saw clear with his own eyes.

108

The king commanded the  
diligent scribe

Appendix III

ដណ្តឹងឲ្យជាក់ក្តាត់ណា។	to give a clear report.
១០៩	109
អ្នកស្មេរគំរាមសោះសា	The scribe roughly menaced,
ដាល់តប់ហើយថា	struck her, and said,
ពះវាស្រីបាបអប្បលក្ខណ៍។	“Damn you wicked woman!
១១០	110
ហង់ប្រាប់ដោយពិតកុំលាក់	Tell the truth, bitch, don’t hide
បុណ្យបាបឲ្យជាក់	merit or sin.
ហង់លាក់ហើយត្រូវទោសធ្ងន់។	Lie and you’ll be punished.”
១១១	111
នាងនោះភិតខ្លាចពេកពន់	She felt such dread and fright
ឈឺខ្លួនទ្រោមអន់	that, in pain, she
ញ័រដូចគេវាយត្រីណា។	shook like a beaten fish.
១១២	112
ហេតុបទឃាត់កូនកំព្រា	Since she stopped her poor son
ពុំឲ្យបូសជា	from ordaining
កុសលផលបុណ្យនោះឯង។	and earning those good boons,
១១៣	113
បាបនោះមកបំផ្លាញផ្លែ	this sin confused her such
ពុំឲ្យគិតក្រែង	that she disdained
ជាបុណ្យផ្លែស្មារតី។	merit and lost her mind.
១១៤	114
ឈឺហើយខ្លួនរលាមស្រដី	Coughing up blood she said,
ថាខ្ញុំជាស្រី	“I’m a woman
ពុំដឹងពុំស្គាល់បុណ្យបាប។	who knows not good from bad.
១១៥	115
ពីក្មេងរៀនរាប់ដរាប	When I was young I did
ម្តេចហៅបុណ្យបាប	not learn ‘merit’
នោះខ្ញុំពុំស្គាល់ឡើយណា។	or ‘sin’—I know nothing.”
១១៦	116
អ្នកស្មេរខេរខឹងមហិមា	The seething scribe then struck
តប់ហើយលាន់ថា	her and shouted:
ពីរដងបីដងពុំឮ។	“Again! I can’t hear you!”
១១៧	117
ពាក្យនោះនឹងប្រាប់ថាធ្វើ	“What I said was: ‘to make
បុណ្យបាបអំពើ	merit’ or ‘to



Appendix III

នោះខ្ញុំពុំបានដឹងឡើយ។	sin’—I don’t understand!”
១១៨	118
អ្នកស្មេរកត់ពាក្យស្រេចហើយ	The scribe wrote down her words
ចូលទៅទូលធ្វើយ	and reported
ដោយពាក្យដំណើរនោះណា។	to him what had happened.
១១៩	119
ក្ស័ណៈនោះព្រះយមរាជា	Then King Yamarājā
ត្រាស់បន្ទូលថា	gave this command:
យកវាចេញទៅឲ្យឆាប់។	“Take her away quickly!
១២០	120
ចាប់ចងដាក់ជ្រួលឲ្យខ្ជាប់	Bind her in iron fetters
លើកបោះឲ្យឆាប់	and cast her now
ក្នុងភ្លើងនរកនោះណា។	in the fires of the hells.”
១២១	121
យមុបាលបង្គំក្រាបលា	The guardians bowed and left.
ឆក់ខ្លាំងមហិមា	They captured her
ដោយព្រះបង្គាប់ដ៏ថ្កុំថ្កើង។	as per the high decree.
១២២	122
បណ្តើរនាងទៅយល់ភ្លើង	Soon she could see the flames
នរកនេះឡើង	of the hells rise
ពន្លឺកពន្លឺអស្ចារ្យ។	with brilliant blazing light.
១២៣	123
នេះក្លូចក្រលួចបីប្រហារ	Swirling flames surged like death,
រស្មីភ្លឺច្រាល	red and radiant.
សន្លឹកសន្លាប់សព្វខ្យល់។	The winds thundered and roared.
១២៤	124
ផ្សែងផ្សព្វបីត្រឡប់អីពួសល់	Fierce fumes and excess smoke
ហាក់នឹងដូចដល់	seem to reach her
រងលំរើកមហិមា។	as if from blazing coals,
១២៥	125
ដូចនឹងនេះខ្លោចអាត្មា	to burn her to a crisp,
ក្តៅក្តាត់ពេកណា	with searing heat
សន្លោសន្លៅភ្លឺច្រាល។	and blazing blood-red light.
១២៦	126
នាងនោះដណ្តឹងយមុបាល	She asked the king’s guardians,
ថាអ្នកអ្វីច្រាល	“What’s that red hue?”

Appendix III

យល់ដូចចីវកូនអញ។	It is like my son's robes.
១២៧	127
អ្នកស្តាប់ខ្ញុំប្រាប់អ្នកវិញ	Please hear me now tell you
ដ្បិតកូនប្រុសអញ	that my own son
បានបួសសំណាក់សាសនា។	ordained in the Teaching.”
១២៨	128
យម្តុបាលក្រៅក្រោធសោះសា	The guardians grew angry.
ទះមាត់ហើយថា	They slapped her mouth
ពះវាស្រីបាបអប្រិយ។	and yelled, “You wicked wench!
១២៩	129
កាលដើមហង់មិនស្រដី	Why not say that at first?
លុះយល់អគ្គី	Now seeing fire
មិនថាជាត្រៃកូនឯង។	You claim it's your son's robe.”
១៣០	130
យម្តុបាលពុំស្តាប់ពុំក្រែង	They feared not, unaware.
នាងយំក្លែងៗ	She sobbed and bawled,
ហៅរកកូនពុំឃើញឡើយ។	crying for child unseen.
១៣១	131
ថាឱកូនវត្តម្តាយអើយ	“My precious, my dear child!
ម្តេចអ្នកព្រងើយ	Why not act now?
អ្នកមកជួយម្តាយឆាប់វា។	Come to help me quickly!
១៣២	132
ម្តាយមានទុក្ខធ្ងន់ឈឺផ្សា	I suffer fierce anguish
ម្នាក់ឯងកំព្រា	alone, bereaved.
អ្នកមកជួយម្តាយឆាប់ៗ។	Come to help me quickly!
១៣៣	133
ឱកូនមានរូបបិច័ណ្ណ	Oh my beautiful child!
អ្នកមកឆាប់ៗ	Come here quickly
ដោះម្តាយឲ្យរួចនេះឥឡូវ។	and liberate me now.
១៣៤	134
បាបម្តាយក្រាស់ឯងពេកកូរ	My sin is so severe.
កូនអើយនេះឥឡូវ	Oh my son, now
ម្តាយឥតពុំនាក់ឡើយហោង។	I am without refuge!
១៣៥	135
ម្តាយមានតែអ្នកជាម្តង	Only you still remain;
អ្នកយកម្តាយផង	please come help me.

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អាសូរម្តាយឈឺចាប់ពើង។	Pity me in my pain.”
១៣៦	136
យម្ពុបាលចោលនាងក្នុងភ្លើង	They threw her in the fires.
ឈូកមាសផុសឡើង	A gold lotus
ប្រមាណប៉ុនកងរាជរថ។	rose large as royal wheels.
១៣៧	137
តេជះផលផ្លូវប្រាកដ	The power of monkhood
ទទួលជើងផ្តុំ	received her feet.
ឥតបរិវន្តត់ឡើយណា។	She had nothing to fear.
១៣៨	138
នាងបិតលើសុវណ្ណបទុមា	She stood on the lotus
តេជះសីលា	by the might of
សុបិនបានបួសសាមណេរ។	Supin’s novice precepts.
១៣៩	139
ទៅគ្របឱបម្តាយបំបែរ	Grasping her with their arms,
យម្ពុបាលខឹងខ្មៅ	the vexed guardians
ក៏កើចកន្ត្រាក់ធ្លាក់ទៅ។	yanked her away to fall.
១៤០	140
បោះចុះទៅក្នុងរណ្តៅ	They threw her into the
ភ្លើងមួយនោះជ្រៅ	deep pit of flames
ទំហំមួយពាន់យោជន៍បាន។	one thousand leagues in all.
១៤១	141
តេជះផលអានិសង្ឃមាន	But by the benefits
កូនបួសប្រធាន	of having him
សំណាក់ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសនា។	in the Buddhist refuge,
១៤២	142
មានឈូកមាសមួយសោភា	a lovely gold lotus
ផុសទ្រុបាទា	rose to her feet
នាងនោះអណ្តែតខ្ពស់ឡើង។	so that she floated high.
១៤៣	143
យម្ពុបាលសោតចាប់បានជើង	The guardians grasped her legs
ចោលនាងក្នុងភ្លើង	and threw her in
ទំហំមួយម៉ឺនយោជន៍យល់។	the thousand-league fire hole.
១៤៤	144
តេជះកូនបួសជាផល	The fruit of her monk-son,
ផលនោះមកផ្តល់	arrived to her

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កណ្តាលនៃភ្លើងអវិចី។	right there in Avīci.
១៤៥	145
មានល្អិតមាសមួយរីកខ្ចី	A gold lotus bloomed quick
ផុសឡើងអំពី	and blossomed from
មហានរកធំនោះ។	that great city below,
១៤៦	146
ទ្រទ្រង់បាទានាងនោះ	raising her two feet high
ខ្ពស់ពីភ្លើងស្មោះ	above the flames,
ឥតក្តៅក្រហាយឡើយណា។	away from the fierce heat.
១៤៧	147
តេជៈហេតុផលសីលា	The vow-born fruit of his
សុបិនបួសជា	ordination
ផលនោះជួយរក្សាម្តាយ។	protected his mother.
១៤៨	148
ខ្លះដែកធ្លាក់បែកខ្ចាត់ខ្ចាយ	The iron cauldron was smashed,
ភ្នក់ភ្លើងបីរលាយ	the fire was tamed
រលំរលត់ទៅហោង។	and soon was extinguished.
១៤៩	149
យមុបាលកិតខ្លាចកន្លង	The guardians recoiled,
លុតជើងដៃផង	laid down their limbs
បង្គំប្រណម្យហើយថា។	in obeisance and said,
១៥០	150
ឱអស្ចារ្យក្រែមហិមា	“Oh what wonders that we
ពុំដែលឆ្លុះណា	never have seen!
អ្នកនាងនេះមានបុណ្យក្រៃ។	She has merit indeed.”
១៥១	151
យមុបាលកិតញ្ជ័រជើងដៃ	They then trembled in fear,
ក្រ្តញ្ញក្រាបទីទៃ	crouched here and there,
រត់ពួនជ្រមុនក្រាបនៅ។	to hide and huddle low.
១៥២	152
ខ្លះសោតនាំនាងចូលទៅ	Some went to present her
ថ្វាយព្រះយមនៅ	to King Yama,
ក៏ទូលសំដែងថ្លែងថា។	explaining to him thus:
១៥៣	153
បពិត្រក្រាបទូលរាជា	“Your highness, let me say
អ្នកនេះឯងណា	that this person

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មានបុណ្យប្រសើរកន្លង។	has wonderful merit.
១៥៤	154
បើដោយអស់ប្រការផង	Since in all ways she is
ប្លែកក្រៃពេកហោង	so truly rare,
យើងនាំមកថ្វាយកុណា។	we brought her here to you.”
១៥៥	155
នោះទើបព្រះយមរាជា	Then King Yamarājā
ត្រេកត្រាស់ទៅថា	joyfully asked,
នេះធ្វើអំពើបុណ្យអ្វី។	“What merit has she made?”
១៥៦	156
នាងទូលថ្លែងអស់សេចក្តី	She humbly told her tale:
បពិត្រធិបតី	“Your Highness, you
ព្រះអង្គតែងដឹងលោកា។	who ever know the world,
១៥៧	157
កូនប្រុសខ្ញុំបានបូសជា	my son has ordained as
សាមណេរហើយណា	a novice monk
សំណាក់ក្នុងពុទ្ធសាសន៍ថ្ងៃ។	in the Buddhist refuge.”
១៥៨	158
ព្រះយមស្តាប់ហើយអរក្រៃ	Yama heard and was pleased.
ព្រីព្រួចហុប្បទ័យ	His heart tingled
បន្ទូលឲ្យសាធុការ។	and he gave his blessing:
១៥៩	159
សាធុនាងមានសម្ភារ	Woman of much merit!
នាងទៅព្យាបាល	Go take care of
រក្សាកូននាងហោងណា។	and watch over your child.”
១៦០	160
បទខ្ញុំឃាត់កូនកំព្រា	She thought, “By stopping him
ពុំឱ្យបូសជា	from ordaining
សំណាក់ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះសង្ឃ។	in the Buddhist refuge,
១៦១	161
វេរានោះតាមមកត្រង់	this fate followed me till
ឲ្យអញលិចលង់	I was submerged
ក្នុងភ្លើងនរកមហិមា។	in the flames of the hells.
១៦២	162
មួយសោតបើអ្នកឯណា	One whose refuge is the
សំណាក់សាសនា	dispensation of the

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ព្រះពុទ្ធព្រះធម៌ព្រះសង្ឃ។	Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha,
១៦៣	163
អ្នកនោះបានចរត្រាប់ត្រង់	will walk straight up the path
ផ្លូវស្ងួតបីកម្ពុជ	to the heavens,
កន្លងលែងផ្លូវអកុសល។	beyond evil pathways.
១៦៤	164
អ្នកណាបានសេពបានយល់	One who seeks and sees but
អ្នកមានធម៌សល់	men of Dharma
អ្នកនោះប្រពៃពេកហោង។	is certainly supreme.
១៦៥	165
អ្នកណាបានសេពនៅផង	One who seeks out only
អ្នកពាលធ្លាក់ផង	mistaken fools
អ្នកនោះត្រូវទោសធ្ងន់ក្រៃ។	is bound for punishment.
១៦៦	166
លិចលង់ផងទៅនៅពួ	He'll be plunged down into
នរកនេះនៃ	the hells below,
ដូចអញបានយល់នេះឯង។	just as I have witnessed.”
១៦៧	167
នាងគិតរំពឹងយល់ឈ្ងន់	She thus reflected on
យល់មានពៀរព្រៃផង	her own old sins,
ភិតញ័ររន្ធត់ពងពោះ។	shaking in fear, guts tied.
១៦៨	168
នាងភ្ញាក់ដោះឡើងពីនោះ	She awoke and arose,
ទូលអុសទៅស្មោះ	picked up the wood,
ក៏ចូលអារាមវិហារ។	and went to the temple.
១៦៩	169
នាងយល់អ្នកសុបិនកុមារ	She saw Supin Kumār,
កូនស្នូនសង្សារ	her darling child,
ក៏រត់ទៅឱបបាទា។	and ran to hold his feet.
១៧០	170
អ្នកសុបិនដណ្តឹងម្តាយថា	Supin Kumār asked her,
អ្នកមកពីណា	“Whence do you come
រលះរលាំងភិតភ័យ។	that you scamper in fear?”
១៧១	171
នាងថាហែកូនមាសថ្ងៃ	She replied, “My dear son!
ម្តាយចូលក្នុងព្រៃ	There in the woods

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កាប់អុសដូចកាលសព្វដង។	I chopped wood like before.
១៧២	172
បានអុសវិលវីងមកផ្គង	Once I had the firewood,
ម្តាយនឿយឈឺខ្លង	wear and sore,
ម្តាយប្រះខ្លួនដេកលង់លក់។	I lay down and dozed off.
១៧៣	173
ក្រោមដើមឈើមួយស្រណុក	Then neath that pleasant tree
យម្តុបាលធ្វើទុក្ខ	Yama's guardians
ក៏ចាប់ម្តាយនាំយកទៅ។	hurt me, seized me, took me
១៧៤	174
ដល់ព្រះយមរាជចមរោ	to the august Yama.
ចាប់ម្តាយបោះទៅ	Then they cast me
នាក្នុងរណ្តៅភ្លើងធំ។	into the pit of flames.
១៧៥	175
តែដង្ហែសអ្នកឱក្ខម	By your monkhood's power,
ទុក្ខទោសទុរតម	the profound pain
រលូតរលួតមកហោង។	loosened and slipped away.”
១៧៦	176
នាងទូញយំហើយថាផង	She wailed and wept and cried,
ឱកូនម្តាយហោង	“O my dear child,
អ្នកជាពំនឹងម្តាយណា។	you are my true refuge!”
បទកាកគតិ	<i>Crow's Gait Meter</i>
១៧៧	177
សុបិនសាមណេរ	The novice monk
ស្តាប់ម្តាយដំណាល	heard his mother
ម្តាយប្រាប់នោះផង	tell her story.
ថាឱតែដង្ហែស	He thought, “The might
ផ្លូវអញកន្លង	of my monkhood
ដោះម្តាយរួចហោង	freed my mother
អំពីទុក្ខភ័យ។	from pain and fear.
១៧៨	178
ហេតុផលានិសង្ស	This benefit
អញបានបូសទ្រង់	of ordaining
សីលសុទ្ធផ្លាថ្ងៃ	with pure precepts
បំរើប្រណិប័តន៍	and serving my
អាចារ្យប្រពៃ	esteemed teachers—

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ផលនោះឯងនៃ  
បំពេញឲ្យយល់។  
១៧៩  
សីលអើយមានគុណ  
គុណនោះមហាឆ្នង់  
ឥតឯផ្ទឹមដល់  
នឹងថ្លែងនឹងថ្លឹង  
ដញ្ជឹងគិតយល់  
អាចឱ្យបានដល់  
សម្បត្តិនិព្វាន។

this was the fruit  
made visible.  
179  
Precepts, how great!  
What great virtue,  
incomparable,  
unsaid, unweighed!  
Weigh this and see  
how it can bring  
Nibbāna's prize.”

១៨០  
ហើយអ្នកលោកម្តាយ  
នូវពាក្យអភិប្រាយ  
ឲ្យបានស្រាកស្រាន្ត  
ថាហែអ្នកមេ  
ចូរអ្នកកុំមាន  
ហឫទ័យស្រេកឃ្មាន  
ពីថ្ងៃនេះទៅ។

180  
He soothed his mom  
with this advice  
for her own peace:  
“My dear mother,  
please don't crave or  
thirst in your heart  
from this day on.

១៨១  
អញនឹងរក្សា  
អ្នកមេហោងណា  
លែងតែអ្នកនៅ  
នៅផ្ទះឲ្យស្ងៀម  
ដូចអញប្រដៅ  
កុំអ្នកចេញទៅ  
ព្រៃដូចសព្វដង។

181  
I will protect  
you, mother, if  
only you stay  
at home in peace  
as I instruct.  
Don't go to the  
woods like before.”

១៨២  
នាងស្តាប់ពាក្យកូន  
ស្រដ៏តម្បូន-  
មានលោមញ្ជោះហោង  
ក្នុងចិត្តត្រេកអរ  
សារទក់នឹង  
ថាហែទង់វង់  
ពន្ធកម្ពុយអើយ។

182  
Hearing her son's  
words of soothing  
admonition,  
her heart filled with  
rapture and joy.  
She said, “Tender  
darling of mine!

១៨៣  
ម្តាយនេះនៅនិត្យ

183  
I will stay close.



Appendix III

លុះអស់ជីវិត  
ម្តាយឯងកូនអើយ  
ស្លាប់នៅបាតជើង  
អ្នកឯងជាត្រ័យ  
ពីនេះទៅហើយ  
អ្នកប្រោសម្តាយផង។  
១៨៤

When my life ends,  
dear son, I'll die  
before your feet.  
You're my refuge  
from now till then.  
Please rescue me!"  
184

ស្រេចហើយនាងទៅ  
ដល់នាវានៅ  
ផ្ទះនាងនោះហោង  
ប្រដាប់ស្វាម្ម  
ទៀនធូបក្នុងផង  
ប្រយោជន៍ប៉ុនប៉ង  
ទទួលព្រលឹង។  
១៨៥

She then returned  
back to her house,  
gathered betel, areca leaf,  
candles, incense,  
flowers to make  
prayers for blessings  
to greet his souls.  
185

លុះព្រឹកព្រហាម  
នាងទៅអារាម  
ផ្សិតកូនមកវឹង  
រណ្តាប់ចងដៃ  
ជញ្ជាត់ព្រលឹង  
ហើយគិតរំពឹង  
ឲ្យបួសវិញឆាប់។  
១៨៦

At dawn she went  
to the temple  
to disrobe him.  
She bound his wrist  
and snatched his souls,  
to prepare for  
ordination.  
186

នាងទៅព្រមាន  
អស់ញាតិសន្តាន  
ព្រាងលានប្រញាប់  
ឲ្យមកជួបជុំ  
ជំនុំស្រេចស្រាប់  
ហើយរៀបប្រដាប់  
អស់ភោជន៍អាហារ។  
១៨៧

She went to tell  
her relatives  
and neighbors to  
join together  
as a group to  
prepare gifts and  
offering of food.  
187

ខ្លះបានចង្កាន់  
ផ្លែឈើរូសរាន់  
ផ្សេងៗត្រកាល  
ខ្លះបានបង្កើម  
ផងគ្រប់ប្រការ

Some gathered food  
and fruit quickly  
Of many sorts.  
Some made desserts  
of various kinds.

Appendix III

ខ្លះបានបណ្តា  
ក៏ស្តុការស្រេចស្រស់។  
១៨៨

Some brought  
other objects.  
188

ខ្លះកាន់ស្វាម្ម  
ខ្លះកាន់តាំងយូ  
រំកាយភ្លើងភ្លស់  
ខ្លះកាន់ចាមរ  
ឈរដោយចន្លោះ  
ផ្កាភ្លឺស្រេចស្រស់  
ទាំងប្រុសទាំងស្រី។  
១៨៩

Some held betel,  
some umbrellas  
and parasols;  
some held fly whisks  
and stood in rows  
with fresh flowers,  
men and women.  
189

នាងនាំកូនទៅ  
ដល់នាល់នៅ  
ព្រះវិហារកុដី  
ចូលទៅបំបួស  
ផ្លូវកូនជាថ្មី  
ដូចកាលប្រក្រតី  
មុននោះឯងណា។  
១៩០

She led her son  
to the site of  
the monastery  
to re-ordain  
her son anew  
just like he was  
each day before.  
190

ហើយទើបនាងធ្វើ  
ធ្វើបុណ្យបំណង  
ចំឡង់សទ្ធា  
រាប់បាត្រអង្កាស  
ផ្លែឈើសោភា  
គ្រប់អស់គ្នា  
មេបាព្រៀងលាន។  
១៩១

She then confirmed  
the merit made,  
pledging her faith,  
filling monks' bowls  
with lovely fruit,  
together with  
kin and neighbors.  
191

សឹងតែសទ្ធា  
ត្រេកសោមនស្សា  
ឥតឯប្រមាណ  
ធ្វើស្រេចហើយណា  
វិលវិលមកស្ថាន  
បរិបូណ៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត  
ឥតឯអំពល់។  
១៩២

By faith alone  
her mind rejoiced  
beyond measure.  
When all was done  
she returned home,  
in peace and ease,  
without worry.

សុបិនសាមណេរ

192  
Novice Supin,

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មានចិត្តពុំដែល  
ខ្ជិលនឹងកុសល  
ចិត្តចង់សង្វាត  
បំពេញមគ្គផល  
ប្រាថ្នាឲ្យដល់  
សម្បត្តិនិព្វាន។  
១៩៣

never failed to  
do wholesome deeds.  
He was set on  
the path and fruit  
wishing to win  
Nibbāna's prize.  
193

ចូលទៅសំណាក់  
គ្រូអាចារ្យអ្នក  
បំពេញសីលទាន  
ដល់ឧបសម្ព័ន្ធ  
ប្រតិបត្តិមែនមាន  
ចូលរៀនកម្មដ្ឋាន  
បរិបូណ៌ចែងចប់។  
១៩៤

He went to his  
teacher's refuge  
to complete his  
ordination.  
He practiced well  
and fully learned  
meditation.  
194

ទ្រង់ព្រះវិន័យ  
ប្រសើរលើសក្រៃ  
ប្រពៃសាយសព្វ  
ហើយអ្នកបានរៀន  
អស់ទាំងព្រះអ-  
ភិធម្មសោតចប់  
ដូចចិត្តចិត្តា។  
១៩៥

He kept the rule  
extremely well  
in every way  
and he studied  
even all the  
higher teachings  
as his heart wished.  
195

អ្នកតែងសង្វាត  
យកបិណ្ឌបាត  
ចិញ្ចឹមមាតា  
ឧស្សាហ៍អស់អញ  
លំគេញអាត្មា  
ពុំឲ្យមាតា  
ជាទុក្ខតិចឡើយ។  
១៩៦

He always strove  
to give his alms  
to his mother.  
With great effort  
and discipline,  
he never let  
his mom suffer.  
196

ចំណេររលង់ទៅ  
អ្នកចូលទៅនៅ  
ក្នុងព្រៃធំហើយ  
ចំរើនកម្មដ្ឋាន  
ឲ្យបានដល់ត្រើយ

After a while  
he went into  
the great forest  
to meditate.  
to reach the shore,

Appendix III

មគ្គផលបង្កើយ បង្កើអស់ទុក្ខផង។ ១៩៧	the path and fruit, the end of pain. 197
ឯក្រោយនោះណា រឺឯមាតា អ្នកសោតក្តៅហោង នាងមានជម្ងឺ ពន់ពេកកន្លង ពុំអាចទប់ហោង ក្តីមោះសោតសល់។ ១៩៨	Some time later Supin's mother grew gravely ill, stricken with a severe illness which, uncontrolled, would lead to death. 198
រីកាលនោះណា នាងអស់ជន្ម បានទៅកើតដល់ ពិភពសួគ៌ឋាន វិមានមណ្ឌល សួគ៌ឋានយោជន៍យល់ សន្ទោព្រាងព្រាយ។ ១៩៩	So at that time her life ended. She was reborn in the heavens, divine mansions, those distant realms of radiant light, 199
ពិចិត្រសីដ៏មាស រុងរឿងដាំដាស ពិទ្ធុរុទិទាយ ឆ្លុះឆ្លាស់ត្រីសួល ក្បាប់ក្បួនគោងឃ្លាយ រស្មីព្រាងព្រាយ នៅត្រៃត្រីធីរា។ ២០០	adorned with gold, gleaming inlaid cat's sage and light-red gems, sparkling with radiance with fantastic ornamentation and brilliant rays of light in Indra's realm. 200
មានទេពអប្សរ ស្រីសួគ៌បរវរ មួយពាន់សោតណា តែងជាសម្រាប់ បំរើអាត្មា ច្រៀងរាំថ្វាយជា ប្រក្រតីឥតខាន។ ២០១	Apsarases, heavenly nymphs, one thousand strong were there always to serve, dance, sing in offering each day always. 201
នាងល្អលើសក្រៃ	She exceeded

Appendix III

ស្រីស្ងួតទីវៃ  
 ឥតឯផ្ទឹមបាន  
 សោយសុខភិរម្យ  
 បរិបូណ៌ក្សេមក្សាន្ត  
 ដូរ្យដង្ហែមាស  
 បំរើសព្វកាល។  
 ២០២

all heavens' nymphs,  
 incomparable,  
 savoring joy  
 and perfect peace,  
 music playing  
 for her always.  
 202

នេសាទនោះណា  
 គាត់ជាបិតា  
 សុបិនកុមារ  
 ទៅកើតជាប្រេត  
 នៅអត់អាហារ  
 ហេតុចិត្តអន្ទពាល  
 ពុំដែលឲ្យទាន។  
 ២០៣

Now the hunter,  
 the father of  
 Supin Kumār,  
 a hungry ghost,  
 had had no food,  
 since he lacked sense  
 and charity.  
 203

កាលថ្ងៃឆ្នងផ្លូវ  
 អ្នកសុបិនបួស  
 នោះឯងប្រេតបាន  
 អាហារភោគ  
 ឆ្អែតពន់ប្រមាណ  
 ហើយសោតប្រេតបាន  
 បរិភោគកាលនោះ។  
 ២០៤

After Supin's  
 ordination  
 the hungry ghost  
 received food and  
 was satisfied.  
 The hungry ghost  
 could eat at last.  
 204

ប្រេតដើររៀងទៅ  
 ឆ្ពោះត្រង់លំនៅ  
 អ្នកសុបិននោះ  
 ស្រែកហៅរកកូន  
 ពាក្យពុំពិរោះ  
 ហើយមានខ្លួននោះ  
 អាគ្រក់ពេកក្រៃ។  
 ២០៥

He then wandered  
 to the dwelling  
 of Supin and  
 called out for him  
 with rasping words.  
 His own body  
 was most awful.  
 205

សុបិនមហាថេរ  
 ឮពាក្យប្រហែល  
 អាពុកហៅវៃ  
 បើកទ្វារចេញមក  
 ឃើញហើយភិតភ័យ

The Great Elder  
 heard those words which  
 were like his dad's.  
 He went outside,  
 saw him and shook

Appendix III

ខ្លាចញ្ញើរជើងដៃ	in fear and fright
ដណ្តឹងទៅថា។	He questioned him:
បទពុំនោល	<i>Narration Meter</i>
២០៦	206
អ្នកមកពីឋានឯណា	“What realm have you come from
មកមានអាត្មា	That your body
អាក្រក់នឹងថ្ងៃដំបុន។	Is so awful beyond words?
២០៧	207
ពីអញមកនៅនាឋាន	“In my own realm
នេះពុំដែលមាន	It has never been
នឹងយល់ដូច្នោះឡើយណា។	That I have seen something like this.
២០៨	208
បិសាចឬយក្សអសុរា	“Are you a goblin, an ogre or a demon,
ឬជាទេវតា	Or are you a god,
រក្សាក្នុងព្រៃនេះឯង។	The protector of this forest?
២០៩	209
មកធ្វើអំពើលង់លេង	“Have you come to playfully haunt,
ឬមានពៀរព្រេង	Or have you an ancient curse?
អ្នកប្រាប់ដោយពិតហោងណា។	Tell me the truth!”
២១០	210
ក្សិណប្រេតឆ្នើយស្នងរឹងថា	Then the hungry ghost replied,
អញជាបិតា	“I was your father,
កាលជាទេសាទមុនឡើយ។	When I was a fisherman before this.
២១១	211
អញមកកើតជាប្រេតហើយ	“I have now been born as a hungry ghost,
ទល់ទុក្ខពុំស្បើយ	Enduring suffering without relief,
វេរានូវពៀរពន្លឹក។	So great was my sin and cruelty.
២១២	212
តែងចាំរក្សាបីអធិក	“I now wait here for an immense time.
សព្វថ្ងៃចិញ្ចឹក	These days I feed on
តែខ្នុះនិងឈាមឯងហោង។	Only pus and blood.
២១៣	213
សូមអ្នកប្រោសអាពុកផង	“Please save me
ឲ្យរួចនេះម្តង	From this at once,
អំពីជាប្រេតនេះណា។	From being a hungry ghost!
២១៤	214

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អាពុកមានអ្នកឯងជា ពំនាក់អាត្មា អ្នកជួយអាពុកចាប់ហោង។ ២១៥	I only have you As my refuge. Please help your father quickly! 215
កាលថ្ងៃមួយអ្នកបានឆ្លង ផ្លូវអ្នកឯងហោង អាពុកបានបរិភោគបាយ។ ២១៦	“The day that you dedicate Your ordination I was able to eat. 216
អ្នករៀនសូត្រមន្តស្វាធារាយ ធម៌ផងទាំងឡាយ ចំរើនមេត្តាការវនា។ ២១៧	“When you studied and recited mantras And the Dharma, Generating loving kindness through meditation, 217
អាពុកបានជួរអាត្មា រសាយទុក្ខា បានដើរឡើងមកនេះឯង។ ២១៨	“I had some relief And my suffering dissipated enough That I was able to wander here.” 218
ប្រេតបាប្រុងដោយអំពើព្រៃង ហើយស្រែកយំឯង ក៏ក្រាបនៅក្រោមបាទា។ ២១៩	The hungry ghost told of his ancient fate, And broke into tears. He bowed before his son's feet. 219
លើកហត្ថដាក់លើសិរសា ហើយទូញយំថា អម្ចាស់អាពុកថ្ងៃអើយ។ ២២០	Raising his hands above his head, he cried in lamentation, “O my master! 220
អាពុកជាទុក្ខឥតស្បើយ ទោសខ្លួនឯងហើយ នឹងថាអីបាឡើយណា។ ២២១	“I suffer without relief. It is my own fault, And has nothing to do with you.” 221
ព្រះមហាថេរអ្នកមេត្តា ឆ្លើយស្នងបិតា ថាអ្នកវិលវិលទៅថ្នាក់។ ២២២	The Great Elder, full of loving kindness, Replied, “Return to your usual place.” 222
ប្រេតសោតក្រាបលាប្រណិប័តន៍ ចុះទៅវិញថ្នាក់ កំឡុងលំនៅអាត្មា។ ២២៣	The hungry ghost bowed in farewell, And returned back To his own abode. 223

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ព្រះមហាថេរអ្នកលីលា ស្រែកហៅយោសនា ចង្ហាន់ឧបាសកឆាប់ៗ ២២៤	The Great Elder set forth Shouting his announcement To call for food from the laypeople. 224
គេមកជួយជុំរណ្តាប់ គ្រឿងគ្រប់ស្រេចស្រាប់ ប្រដាប់នាព្រឹកនោះឯង។ ២២៥	They came and prepared ritual objects Of all kinds On that very morning. 225
ហើយឲ្យនិមន្តកម្តែង សង្ឃផងសឹងតែង ចំរើនមេត្តាការពារ។ ២២៦	They invited the venerable Sangha to come And generate loving kindness through meditation. 226
មកថ្វាយចង្ហាន់បូជា ស្រេចហើយលីលា ចំរើនព្រះធម៌ជាសុខ។ ២២៧	After the food offering Was completed, The monks recited the Dharma for wellbeing. 227
អ្នកប្រូចទឹកទឹកស្នេហាទក់ ជូនទៅអាពុក ឲ្យរួចពីទុក្ខភ័យហោង។ ២២៨	They poured the water libation For the sake of his father, That he be free from suffering and fear. 228
តេជៈផលអានិសង្សផង ប្រេតរួចចេញផ្ទះ បានឡើងទៅកើតស្នូក៍នាយ។ ២២៩	By the power of that merit, The hungry ghost was freed And rose to be reborn in the heavens, 229
ក្នុងស្ថានពិមានពណ្តកាយ រស្មីព្រាងព្រាយ ប្រដាប់នូវមាសរចនា។ ២៣០	In the realm of shining mansions, Which exude rays of brilliant light From their gold decorations. 230
ស្ថិតនៅក្នុងត្រៃត្រីដំរា មានទេពកញ្ញា មួយពាន់សោតជាបរិពារ។ ២៣១	In the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, There were heavenly nymphs, One thousand in number as his entourage. 231
សោយសុខទាំងបួនប្រការ ដោយបុណ្យសម្ភារ ជាទេវបុត្រនិមល។ ២៣២	He enjoyed the four kinds of bliss As a result of his wealth of merit, And was a flawless god. 232



Appendix III

ប្រាសាទរូក្ខមណ្ឌល ដប់ពីរយោជន៍យល់ កំពស់កំពូលគាងឃ្លាយ។	Palaces like jeweled mandalas Of a height of 12 yojanas, With carved ornamentation at the spires.
២៣៣	233
រស្មីភ្លឺផ្ទៃកយល់ឆ្ងាយ ឆ្លាស់ឆ្លុះសព្វសាយ ប្រដូចនូវផ្កាយពេហាណរី។	With mysterious radiance that could be seen from afar, Resplendent in all directions Like the constellation Taurus.
២៣៤	234
សឹងទេពអប្សរប្រិមប្រិយ ច្រៀងរាំប្រក្រតី នៅគាល់បំរើសព្វថ្ងៃ។	Complete with lovely heavenly angels, Who always sang and danced In service every day.
២៣៥	235
ដូរដង្រើទិព្វប្រពៃ សូរសព្វល្អឆ្លងក្រៃ ពីពោះមុខគួរឲ្យស្តាប់។	The finest divine music With the most melodic sounds Was too sweet not to be listened to.
២៣៦	236
គ្រឿងធូមពស្រ្តាករណ៍ស្រាប់ ប្រុងប្រៀបសម្រាប់ ប្រដាប់ដោយវត្ថុរចនា។	With matching garments All prepared for him Decorated with jewels and patterns.
២៣៧	237
ទេវបុត្រទ្រង់រូបសោភា លើសលែងទេវតា ប្រដូចតន្រ្តាឯងហោង។	He had a most beautiful body Exceeding that of all the other heavenly beings. He was like Indra himself.
២៣៨	238
រុងរឿងរស្មីកន្លង លែងបរិពារផង ឥតឯនឹងធូមឡើយណា។	He was magnificently radiant. Except for his entourage, Nothing could match him.
២៣៩	239
អស់នាងស្រីទេពកញ្ញា ត្រេកសោមនស្សា បំរើទទួលកំណាន់។	All of the heavenly maidens Were joyous and happy To serve and receive him as their favorite.
២៤០	240
នាងខ្លះទទួលព្រះខាន់ នាងខ្លះសោតកាន់ ទទួលព្រះស្រីស្រេចស្រស់។	Some of them received the dry areca leaves. Others held the fresh mashed areca leaves.
២៤១	241

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នាងខ្លះទទួលព្រះព័ស្ត្រ	Some held clothing
នាងមួយល្អស្រស់	And one beautiful maiden
ទទួលនូវគ្រឿងព្រះពាយ។	Received the garments for the wind.
២២២	242
នាងខ្លះសោតដើរកែក្រោយ	Some of them walked behind
ទ្រង់គ្រឿងជរដោយ	With embroidered long shirts
ករកាន់នូវគ្រឿងទិព្វសោយ។	The hands holding heavenly food
២២៣	243
នាងខ្លះដើរហែដោយក្រោយ	Some walked in a parade behind
ល្អមុខគួរឲ្យ	With beautiful faces making
ស្រឡាញ់ស្រឡះអស់អង្គ។	Their whole bodies desirable.
២២៤	244
នាងមួយមុខល្អផ្លូវផង	One pure-faced maiden
កាន់ផ្លិតមាសផ្លង	Held a golden fan,
ត្រូវត្រវាសបក់បោស។	Waving it back and forth to create a breeze.
២២៥	245
នាងមួយមុខមាត់ល្អស្រស់	One maiden had a lovely face and mouth,
ស័ក្តិសមកំពស់	Deserving of the highest power.
ករកាន់នូវកុណ្ណិមាស។	Her hands held a golden water pot.
២២៦	246
នាងមួយសម្បុរដូចមាស	One woman of golden complexion
ចូលថ្វាយអភិកាស	Entered to offer her blazing light
តម្រេកតម្រាស់ហឫទ័យ។	Her heart resounding in joy.
២២៧	247
សឹងទេពអប្សរថ្វាយថ្ងៃ	Still other heavenly nymphs
ទ្រង់គ្រឿងបីប្រពៃ	Wore beautiful garments
ឥតនឹងថ្លែងបានសោះឡើយ។	Which cannot be spoken of.
២២៨	248
ទេវបុត្រសោយសុខផ្តើងហើយ	The god enjoyed this tremendous bliss,
គិតថាអញអើយ	And thought, “Oh me,
អញបានសម្បត្តិនេះថ្ងៃ។	“I have received this precious treasure
២២៩	249
មិនគឺនឹងអ្នកដទៃ	“From none other than
បទកូនវត្តថ្ងៃ	The deeds of my dear son,
អញឯងអ្នកបួសជូនមក។	Who ordained as a monk in offering.
២៣០	250

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ទោះនឹងគន់គិតវិវេក	“Even if I think and reflect carefully,
យកប្រឹច្ចតិមក	And consider the Earth,
នឹងផ្ទឹមពុំបានសោះស្បើយ។	It cannot be compared.
២៥១	251
យកទឹកសមុទ្រមកហើយ	“If I take the waters of the ocean,
ប្តឹងពុំបានឡើយ	It cannot be weighed against him.
ទោះបីនូវយកព្រះសុមេរុ។	And even I take Mount Sumeru
២៥២	252
ប្តឹងគុណអ្នកសុបិនមហាថេរ	“Compared with the virtue of Supin, the novice monk,
ពុំប្រហែលដែរ	It is not even close
ពុំដូចពុំស្មើផងគ្នា។	They are not alike and cannot equal it.
២៥៣	253
គុណនេះឥតឯគណនា	“This immeasurable virtue
ជូនឲ្យមាតា	He gave to his mother
បិតាក៏បានសួគ៌ស្ថិត។	And father so they could be reborn in the heavens.
២៥៤	254
ទើបអញគន់គិតក្នុងចិត្ត	“Now I reflect in my heart
គួរអញអាណិត	And know I should have compassion
ទៅឲ្យកូនអញយល់ហោង។	And go to let my son see me.”
២៥៥	255
ក្សិណនោះទេវបុត្រហោះផ្សង	Then the god took flight
អស់បរិវារផង	Together with his entourage
ក៏ចូលទៅដល់កូននោះ។	And arrived at his son.
២៥៦	256
រស្មីរុងរឿងឆ្ងាស់ឆ្មុះ	He was resplendent and radiant,
ភ្លឺព្រោងព្រាយប្រុះ	Glowing with brightness
ដោយបុណ្យវិទ្ធីសម្ភារ។	From the accumulated power of merit.
២៥៧	257
ព្រះមហាថេរអ្នកលីលា	The Great Elder was walking
ឬមានប្រការ	And declared
អ្នកមកអំពីឋានណា។	“Where have you come from?”
២៥៨	258
ទេវបុត្រឆ្លើយស្នងវិញថា	The god replied,
អញជាបិតា	“I was your father when
អ្នកឯងកាលជាទេសាទ។	I was a fisherman.
២៥៩	259

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ហេតុផលផ្លូវអ្នកសង្ឃាត  
បួសក្នុងពុទ្ធបាទ  
ក៏រំដោះបន្ទោះអាទិសង្ឃ។

“As a result of your ordination as a diligent man  
Ordained in the Buddha's lineage,  
The bowstring of benefits was released.

២៦០

260

ជូនមកដល់អញត្រាប់ត្រង់  
ស្ងួតឋានភិមង្គលី  
ពិមានប្រាសាទបីពន្លឹក។

“And came to me, leading me  
To the auspicious heavenly realms  
Of immense mansions and palaces.

២៦១

261

នេះទើបមកគិតរលឹក  
គុណអ្នកបីអធិក  
ពន្លឹកពន្លឹកស្តារ។

“There I took rebirth in a womb, thinking of  
Your exceeding virtue,  
Vast, brilliant and complete.

២៦២

262

តេជៈព្រះសីលាចារ  
អ្នកមានសម្មារ  
ប្រកបនូវបុណ្យប្រតិបត្តិ។

“Powerful teacher of virtue,  
You have authority  
Complete with merit and practice.

២៦៣

263

អ្នកឲ្យអញបានសម្បត្តិ  
ទិព្វទៀងធុតក្តាត់  
ប្រាកដឥតធ្លិមឡើយណា។

“You allowed me to receive treasures  
Of heavenly permanence and effectiveness  
True and without compare.”

២៦៤

264

ទេវបុត្រថ្លង់ដោយប្រការ  
នោះឯងហើយណា  
ក៏លាភូនចេញជាម្តង។

The god expressed these points  
And  
Took leave of his son

២៦៥

265

ដល់ពិភពត្រៃត្រីស្សីផ្តង  
សោយសុខនេះផង  
បានដូចកំណត់ស្ងួត។

To return the world of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three  
Dwelling in happiness  
As per the limit of the heavens.

២៦៦

266

ហេតុនោះទើបព្រះទេសនា  
ដោយព្រះភាថា  
សរសើរនូវគុណផ្លូវស្រែក។

For this reason the Lord preached  
By these verses  
Celebrating the great virtue of ordination:

២៦៧

267

អ្នកឯណាបានបូសប្រពៃ  
គុណនោះធ្ងន់ក្រៃ  
ហៅកតញ្ញកតវេទី។

“Whoever ordains well,  
His virtue is very great  
And he is called a “grateful one.”

២៦៨

268

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ជូនទៅព្រះជនកជនី  
ឲ្យបានស្នូស្នី  
សម្បត្តិសម្បូណ៍ប្រាកដៗ  
បទកាកគតិ

In giving this virtue to his parents  
These become prosperous  
And enjoy the fullness of true wealth.”  
*Crow's Gait Meter*

២៦៩

269

សម្តេចភគវា  
ស្តែងស្តេចទេសនា  
គាថាបួនបទ  
ថាហែកិក្ខុអើយ  
ចូរគ្នាយើងផ្គត់  
ស្លាប់ធម៌កំណត់  
ផលផ្លូវនោះណាៗ

The Lord, the Blessed One  
Preached  
These four lines of verse, then said:  
“O monks!  
Please focus  
And listen to the Dharma  
concerning the fruits of ordination.

២៧០

270

នរសប្បុរស  
សន្ទាស្រេចស្រស់  
បំបួសទាសា  
បានជាសាមណេរ  
ជាបួនប្រការ  
មួយសោតបានជា  
នាកិក្ខុនោះនៃ។

“A good man  
Of living faith  
Who ordains his slave  
As a novice  
Receives four kinds of fruits.  
And should he ordain him as  
A monk

២៧១

271

បានផលចំហុត  
ប្រាំបីប្រាកដ  
ប្រសើរទៀងក្រៃ  
រឺអ្នកដ៏ជា  
ស្វាមីនោះនៃ  
បានសោយផលថ្ងៃ  
ប្រពៃពេកហោង។

“He will receive fruits of  
exactly eight,  
Of excellent quality.  
As for the one  
Who is his master,  
He receives precious fruits  
Of the highest goodness.

២៧២

272

នរអ្នកណា  
មានចិត្តជ្រះថ្លា  
ប្រាថ្នាប៉ុនប៉ង  
បំបួសកូនប្រុស  
សប្បុរសស្នេហ៍ស្នង  
ជាសាមណេរហោង  
បានផលប្រាំបី។

“A man  
With bright faith,  
Aspiration and prayers,  
Ordains his son,  
His dear beloved one,  
As a novice  
Receives eight fruits.

Appendix III

២៧៣  
បានជាភិក្ខុថ្ងៃ  
សីលសមប្រពៃ  
លើសសាមណេរខ្ចី  
ផលនេះចំរើន  
ឡើងច្រើនជាថ្មី  
បើនឹងស្រដី  
សោឡសក៏ល្អហោង។

273  
“If he ordains him as a venerable monk,  
With wonderful precepts  
Beyond that of the novice,  
This fruit grows  
And gets much larger again.  
If one was to speak of it,  
It would take sixteen eons.

២៧៤  
ជនីជនក  
នឹងបានសោយសុខ  
បរិបូណ៌កន្លង  
នឹងបានរំដោះ  
លែងទុក្ខនោះផង  
បានដូចបំណង  
សទ្ធាខ្លាំងខ្លា។

274  
“His parents  
Will dwell in happiness  
And complete fulfillment  
And will be liberated  
From suffering  
Just as they wished  
In their strong faith.

២៧៥  
អ្នកណាមានចិត្ត  
សទ្ធាខ្លាំងពិត  
បំបួសភរិយា  
បានផលប្រាំបី  
ដណ្តប់សោតណា  
ប្រាកដកប្បា  
ជាសាមណេរី។

275  
“Whoever has a heart  
Of strong true faith  
And ordains his wife  
Receives fruits of  
eighteen  
True eons,  
If she becomes a novice nun.

២៧៦  
បានឧបសម្ព័ន្ធ  
ផលនោះឡើងថ្លាត់  
ជាភិក្ខុនី  
បានសាមសិបក៏ល្អ  
ផលនោះឯងខ្ចី  
រឺអ្នកជាប្តី  
សោយផលនោះហោង។

276  
“If she completes the full nun ordination  
This fruit increases.  
If she becomes a nun,  
Then for thirty eons  
This fruit is received.  
As for her husband,  
He enjoys this fruit.

២៧៧  
ទោះអ្នកឯណា  
បំបួសអាត្មា  
សទ្ធាកន្លង

277  
“Anyone who  
Ordains himself  
With great faith

Appendix III

បួសជាសាមណេរ  
បានសាមសិបសង  
ជាកិក្ខុហោង  
ហុកសិបសែនក៏ល្បី។  
២៧៨

As a novice  
Receives thirty in return.  
If he ordains as a monk,  
Then sixty great eons.  
278

អ្នកនោះបានសោយ  
សម្បត្តិទិព្វដោយ  
នេះឥតទើសទាល់  
បរិបូណ៌ប្រាកដ  
បរិសុទ្ធអស់ផល  
ប្រសើរលើសសល់  
សុខសួស្តីក្សេមក្សាន្ត។  
២៧៩

“That person enjoys  
The heavenly treasures  
Without impediment,  
Truly complete,  
Pure until the end of the fruit,  
The fruit which is supremely excellent  
Wellbeing, prosperity, joy and peace.  
279

ហើយសោតអ្នកនោះ  
តែងនឹងបានឆ្ពោះ  
ត្រាស់ជាពុទ្ធសញ្ញាណ  
លើសត្រៃត្រីង្ស៊ីកព  
សាយសព្វទីស្ថាន  
ជាខ្លឹមប្រធាន  
និព្វានហោងណា។  
២៨០

“Moreover, that person  
Always moves towards  
Awakening to the insight of the Buddha,  
Far above the Heaven of the Thirty-Three  
And all other places,  
The highest essence,  
Nirvana.”  
280

សម្តេចមុនី  
សពេជ្ជជិនស្រី  
ស្តែងស្តេចពណ៌នា  
នៃអ្នកបានបួស  
សំណាក់សាសនា  
ដោយពុទ្ធវចនា  
ជាបរិយោសាន។  
២៨១

The Lord, the Sage,  
The Omniscient Victor,  
Thus described  
About those who ordain  
In the house of the Teaching  
By these awakened sayings  
In closing.  
281

ព្រះអង្គបន្ទូល  
ព្រះឱស្ឋមធ្វរ  
ពិសេសទ្រង់ញាណ  
ជាពំនាក់ហោង  
សត្វផងសព្វឋាន  
ធម៌ដម្បុនាន  
បរិបូណ៌កន្លង។

The Lord spoke  
These eloquent words,  
Uniquely imbued with knowledge,  
Which are the refuge  
Of living beings in all realms,  
The dharma admonitions,  
Completely perfected.

Appendix III

២៨២

នេះគឺដំណាល  
សុបិនកុមារ  
ប្រសើរកន្លង  
ជាអានិសង្ស  
អ្នកបានបូសផង  
តាមដោយគន្លង  
ធម៌ព្រះពុទ្ធវិថ្វា

282

This is the story of  
Supin Kumar,  
The most excellent.  
It is a recounting of the merits  
Of those who ordain  
And follow the path  
of the Buddha's precious Dharma,

២៨៣

ធ្វើដោយឱវាទ  
ប្រតិបត្តិពុំឃ្លាត  
នឹងព្រះវិន័យ  
ចំរើនមេត្តា  
ការនាសព្វថ្ងៃ  
ចូលទៅក្នុងព្រៃ  
បំពេញកម្មដ្ឋាន។

283

And who act according to the Buddha's advice,  
Who practice not removed  
From the holy discipline,  
Who generate loving kindness  
In meditation every day  
And enter into the forest  
To fulfill their contemplation.

២៨៤

សាធុសម្មាយ  
ចូរស្តាប់អភិប្រាយ  
ជាបរិយោសាន  
រួមរសអាថ៌ធម៌  
ជាច្បាប់សព្វប្រាណ  
តែងទុកទូន្មាន  
អាត្មាសព្វថ្ងៃ។

284

Sages and common people,  
Please listen to these words  
In closing,  
Along with the future Buddha's Dharma  
The law which all beings  
Always keep as an admonition  
For themselves every day:

២៨៥

ហែភិក្ខុសាមណេរ  
ចូចាំដំណែល  
នេះឯងប្រពៃ  
បានបូសជាសង្ឃ  
ទ្រទ្រង់ធម៌ថ្លៃ  
បានបរិបូណ៌ក្រៃ  
សម្បត្តិនិព្វាន។

285

All you monks and novices!  
Please remember the legacy  
Of greatness  
As one who has ordained as a monk,  
And observes the precious Dharma  
To the fullest extent,  
The treasure of Nirvana.

២៨៦

គួរតែសទ្ធា  
គួរតែឧស្សាហ៍  
សន្សំឲ្យបាន

286

You must be faithful,  
You must make effort  
And accumulate merit.



Appendix III

គួរតែរៀនសូត្រ	You must study
ធម៌ជាប្រធាន	The Dharma as your guide
នាំខ្លួនឲ្យបាន	Which leads you to
និព្វានឯងហោង។	Nirvana.
២៨៧	287
រឿងសុបិននេះ	This story of Supin,
អ្នកប្រាជ្ញត្រិះរិះ	Those who are wise and who reflect
ទុកជាច្បាប់ផង	Keep it as a moral law
គួរចាំគួរចាប់	To remember, to accept,
គួរស្តាប់គួររង	To listen and to carry.
ធម៌នេះឯងហោង	This Dharma
បរិបូណ៌ចែងចប់។	Is now complete!
«រឿងសុបិនកុមារចប់តែប៉ុណ្ណោះ»	<i>Here ends the story of Supin Kumar</i>

Appendix III

[Prologue to] *Dum Dāv*  
 (“[The Tale of the] *Dum* and *Dāv*” ទុំទាវ)

Khmer *bāky* meters, first 29 stanzas of 1044 stanza text, composed by Padumattther Som in 1915 on the basis of earlier Khmer texts.

Long-format palm-leaf: FEMC d.869

Khmer books: Som សោម, *Dum dāv ទុំទាវ* (Phnom Penh ភ្នំពេញ: Institut bouddhique ពុទ្ធសាសនា បណ្ឌិត្យ, 2514), 1–4.

Previous translation: George Chigas, *Tum Teav: A Translation and Analysis of a Cambodian Literary Classic* (Phnom Penh: Documentation Center of Cambodia, 2005), 33–36.

Institut bouddhique 2514	Edition	Translation
១ នេះនឹងថ្វាថ្ងៃនៃតែងចរចា ល្បើកល្បងល្បងល្បងកាយកាព្យ តាំងតែដំណាលកាលមុនជា និទានយូរយារឃ្លាឃ្លាតឆ្ងាយ ។	១ នេះនឹងថ្វាថ្ងៃនៃតែងចរចា ល្បើកល្បងល្បងល្បងកាយកាព្យ តាំងតែដំណាលកាលមុនជា និទានយូរយារឃ្លាឃ្លាតឆ្ងាយ ។	1 Now I shall express, expound, and explain a yarn woven into enchanting verse, extending back to bygone ages past, a tale from long ago now strewn afar.
២ មិនទៀងល្បើងល្បើងក្នុងកំហុសឃ្លាត សង្វាតផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់បទបរិយាយ យើងកែជាថ្មីផែនដីអាយ ស្រង់ស្រាយតទុកទៅមុខទៀត ។	២ មិនទៀងល្បើងល្បើងក្នុងកំហុសឃ្លាត សង្វាតផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់បទបរិយាយ យើងកែជាថ្មីផែនដីអាយ ស្រង់ស្រាយតទុកទៅមុខទៀត ។	2 Indefinite, imperfect, incorrect, this scattered story did I strive to emend. Amended now afresh so local lands may now rescue this tale for times to come.
៣ ខិតខំសន្សំកែគិតហួស ក្រែងហួសកិរៈស្ម័គ្រប្រឹងធ្វើត កុំមានវេហារថាចោលម្សៀត បែរបៀតត្រូវកាលដំណាលកេរ្តិ៍ ។	៣ ខិតខំសន្សំកែគិតហួស ក្រែងហួសកិរៈស្ម័គ្រប្រឹងធ្វើត កុំមានវេហារថាចោលម្សៀត បែរបៀតត្រូវកាលដំណាលកេរ្តិ៍ ។	3 I tried to retain, remove, and replace, but oral lore I struggled to conserve, lest my diction should waste the very pith; I matched it to the bequeathed yarn’s own time.
៤ នាមាណម៍តាំងជាថ្មី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយគន់គិតគ្នើរ គិតគ្នាន់ក្នុងអង្គផ្ទង់កាយ គិតយកមកផ្ទេរផ្ទៀងទៀងទុក ។	៤ នាមាណម៍តាំងជាថ្មី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយគន់គិតគ្នើរ គិតគ្នាន់ក្នុងអង្គផ្ទង់កាយ គិតយកមកផ្ទេរផ្ទៀងទៀងទុក ។	4 My appellation I appoint anew in worldly realms, and after careful thought and contemplation in my own being, shall be confirmed and verily conveyed
៥ ឲ្យអស់មហាជនជាតិប្រុសស្រី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយដឹងទៅមុខ	៥ ឲ្យអស់មហាជនជាតិប្រុសស្រី ក្នុងដែនលោកិយដឹងទៅមុខ	5 to the public, born male or born female, in this earthly domain, to know henceforth;

Appendix III

គ្រាន់ជាលំហែកែអដ្ឋក  
វិតក្កកាលណាក្លារិករាយ ។

៦

យើងនឹងថ្ងៃនាមតាមបញ្ញា  
ដើមថាតាមឈ្មោះចំពោះងាយ  
តួ ស រាប់រៀបរៀបនិយាយ  
ទើបទាយប្រកបរាប់រៀងទៅ ។

៧

ទាញយារ ស សព្វប្រកប ម  
បាំងឈើលើ ស ទើបបានត្រូវ  
ឈ្មោះដើមដូចនឹងពីម៉ែឪ  
ឥឡូវនាមបែកចែកដោយគុណ ។

៨

ចូលមកសំណាក់សំណាងមាន  
ព្រះគុណឲ្យទានទុកជាទុន  
ជាទីគ្រាន់បានប្រាណរស់ជន្ម  
ដោយបុណ្យរត័ន្ត្រៃសព្វថ្ងៃពីង ។

៩

ចូលមកសំណាក់បួសគង់នៅ  
ទីវត្តកំព្រៅស្មោះសរភ្លឺង  
កាត់សង្សារវដ្តវាសវាងនឹង  
នឿយព្រួយព្រោះប្រឹងប្រាថ្នាផល ។

១០

នាមនោះចំពោះឧបជ្ឈាយ័ចារ្យ  
ដូចផ្កាក្រអូបជុំប្រាសខ្យល់  
ព្រះបទុមត្រូវបែរបានផល  
កំណត់កុសលសាងសីលទាន ។

១១

ស្តេចសង្ឃមេត្តាត្រាប្រណី  
សម្រេចលើដីលោកិយគ្មាន  
នាយកខាងសង្ឃក្នុងក្រុងមាន  
សង្ឃផងស្រែកឃ្លានមានបញ្ញា ។

១២

ចូលទៅដែនក្រុងផ្ទះស្មោះស្ម័គ្រ  
ប្រាថ្នាពីងពាក់តាមប្រាថ្នា  
រៀនសូត្របាលីអត្ថបញ្ញា  
ចិត្តផ្តាប់ផ្តុនបុណ្យបារមី ។

១៣

ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទានឲ្យមានឈ្មោះ

គ្រាន់ជាលំហែកែអដ្ឋក  
វិតក្កកាលណាក្លារិករាយ ។

៦

យើងនឹងថ្ងៃនាមតាមបញ្ញា  
ដើមថាតាមឈ្មោះចំពោះងាយ  
តួ ស រាប់រៀបរៀបនិយាយ  
ទើបទាយប្រកបរាប់រៀងទៅ ។

៧

ទាញយារ ស សព្វប្រកប ម  
បាំងឈើលើ ស ទើបបានត្រូវ  
ឈ្មោះដើមដូចនឹងពីម៉ែឪ  
ឥឡូវនាមបែកចែកដោយគុណ ។

៨

ចូលមកសំណាក់សំណាងមាន  
ព្រះគុណឲ្យទានទុកជាទុន  
ជាទីគ្រាន់បានប្រាណរស់ជន្ម  
ដោយបុណ្យរត័ន្ត្រៃសព្វថ្ងៃពីង ។

៩

ចូលមកសំណាក់បួសគង់នៅ  
ទីវត្តកំព្រៅស្មោះសរភ្លឺង  
កាត់សង្សារវដ្តវាសវាងនឹង  
នឿយព្រួយព្រោះប្រឹងប្រាថ្នាផល ។

១០

នាមនោះចំពោះឧបជ្ឈាយ័ចារ្យ  
ដូចផ្កាក្រអូបជុំប្រាសខ្យល់  
ព្រះបទុមត្រូវបែរបានផល  
កំណត់កុសលសាងសីលទាន ។

១១

ស្តេចសង្ឃមេត្តាត្រាប្រណី  
សម្រេចលើដីលោកិយគ្មាន  
នាយកខាងសង្ឃក្នុងក្រុងមាន  
សង្ឃផងស្រែកឃ្លានមានបញ្ញា ។

១២

ចូលទៅដែនក្រុងផ្ទះស្មោះស្ម័គ្រ  
ប្រាថ្នាពីងពាក់តាមប្រាថ្នា  
រៀនសូត្របាលីអត្ថបញ្ញា  
ចិត្តផ្តាប់ផ្តុនបុណ្យបារមី ។

១៣

ទ្រង់ប្រោសប្រទានឲ្យមានឈ្មោះ

for the weary, merely a mirthful rest,  
to relish and rejoice in times of worry.

6

I will recount my name as a riddle  
beginning with my simple moniker:  
the letter S described just as we speak.

The letters after it are foretold by

7

pulling down an A, the S chased by an M,  
and with an E to flank the S it's done.

This was the name given by my parents,  
though now, by grace, my epithets expand.

8

After I came into his lineage  
my master kindly gave me a stipend,  
enough to nurture my own breath of life  
by grace of the refuge of the Three Jewels.

9

Under him I went forth, remained in robes  
at warm and welcoming Kambräu Temple,  
transcending transmigration's long detours  
and bearing angst and anguish for the goal.

10

The name given by my own preceptor,  
still fresh its scent though weather to the wind,  
Brah Padumatther, the Elder Lotus, came to fruit  
through merit made through deed and charity.

11

The sangha patriarch, compassionate,  
excelled by none in this dusty domain,  
the head monk in the capital, always  
was flanked by monks thirsting after wisdom.

12

I came to the city in devotion,  
praying for the refuge of his insight,  
to study scriptural exegesis,  
and to propitiate the patriarch,

13

who kindly then bestowed this name

Appendix III

ចំពោះជាបានដូចសេចក្តី  
ប្រាថ្នាការងារបុគ្គលិកអ្វី  
ប្រណីប្រោសប្រាណាប្រទានមក ។  
១៤  
តាំងព្រះឧបជ្ឈាយ៍ងារព្រះស-  
ង្ឃវង្សគង្គនឹងពឹងពន្ធក  
ពន្ធលោកិយនិស្ស័យជ្រក  
ចូលមកកាលណាបោះត្រាឲ្យ ។  
១៥  
កាន់ដើរកសិទៅឆ្ងាយជិត  
មិនមានភ័យភិតនឹងបីបោយ  
ប្រកាន់តែករេទិដើរដោយ  
គ្មានកាតព្វោះឆ្ងាយឲ្យលើកដី ។  
១៦  
យើងលើកកាព្យកាលពុទ្ធសាសនា  
ពីរពាន់វស្សាផ្សំសិរី  
បួនរយហាសិបប្រាំបី  
ថ្ងៃចន្ទដប់បួនរាប់នូវខែ ។  
១៧  
កន្លងបានបួនជូនកទ្របទ  
មួយកើតកំណត់វស្សន្ត  
ឆ្នាំចោះសប្តស័កមិនហូរហៃ  
សល់ទៅទៀតឯមុខមិនថ្លែង ។  
១៨  
ទុកឲ្យអ្នកក្រោយទោះលោកណា  
មែនមានប្រាជ្ញាចេះតុបតែង  
គិតចុះសល់ទុកមិនសម្តែង  
ចេះអ្វីតែឯងក្រែងគេថា ។  
១៩  
ចាចែងសម្តែងរិះរៀបរាប់  
ទុកជាសណ្តាប់ក្នុងសាសនា  
សូមលើកករេផ្ទាំងនមស្តារ  
ដល់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធស្ស ។  
២០  
នូវគុណព្រះធម៌ធំទូលាយ  
ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនប្រាំបួនពាន់ខ្ពស់  
ជ្រៅច្រើនក្រវើនត្រាប់ប្រោសប្រោះ  
សត្វមនុស្សដាក់ដល់ថ្នល់និព្វាន ។  
២១

ចំពោះជាបានដូចសេចក្តី  
ប្រាថ្នាការងារបុគ្គលិកអ្វី  
ប្រណីប្រោសប្រាណាប្រទានមក ។  
១៤  
តាំងព្រះឧបជ្ឈាយ៍ងារព្រះស-  
ង្ឃវង្សគង្គនឹងពឹងពន្ធក  
ពន្ធលោកិយនិស្ស័យជ្រក  
ចូលមកកាលណាបោះត្រាឲ្យ ។  
១៥  
កាន់ដើរកសិទៅឆ្ងាយជិត  
មិនមានភ័យភិតនឹងបីបោយ  
ប្រកាន់តែករេទិដើរដោយ  
គ្មានកាតព្វោះឆ្ងាយឲ្យលើកដី ។  
១៦  
យើងលើកកាព្យកាលពុទ្ធសាសនា  
ពីរពាន់វស្សាផ្សំសិរី  
បួនរយហាសិបប្រាំបី  
ថ្ងៃចន្ទដប់បីរាប់នូវខែ ។  
១៧  
កន្លងបានបួនជូនកទ្របទ  
មួយកើតកំណត់វស្សន្ត  
ឆ្នាំចោះសប្តស័កមិនហូរហៃ  
សល់ទៅទៀតឯមុខមិនថ្លែង ។  
១៨  
ទុកឲ្យអ្នកក្រោយទោះលោកណា  
មែនមានប្រាជ្ញាចេះតុបតែង  
គិតចុះសល់ទុកមិនសម្តែង  
ចេះអ្វីតែឯងក្រែងគេថា ។  
១៩  
ចាចែងសម្តែងរិះរៀបរាប់  
ទុកជាសណ្តាប់ក្នុងសាសនា  
សូមលើកករេផ្ទាំងនមស្តារ  
ដល់ព្រះសម្មាសម្ពុទ្ធស្ស ។  
២០  
នូវគុណព្រះធម៌ធំទូលាយ  
ប្រាំបីម៉ឺនប្រាំបួនពាន់ខ្ពស់  
ជ្រៅច្រើនក្រវើនត្រាប់ប្រោសប្រោះ  
សត្វមនុស្សដាក់ដល់ថ្នល់និព្វាន ។  
២១

on me just as I did attest above.  
Whatever thought I had or work I sought  
he would out of compassion grant.  
14  
He made me the ranked preceptor Braḥ Sai-  
ghavans, and I relied on his favor,  
his light, and shelter of affinity.  
When I came, he stamped his seal for me.  
15  
Embarking out for alms, afar or near at hand,  
I feared not *thây* civil servants nor *boy* lackeys,  
who charge us with their crimes and *chercher* claims of land  
without a proper *carte*, for wont of embankments.  
16  
I now produce this poem during the Buddha's age,  
today two thousand years plus another  
nine more, added upon to four hundred fifty,  
on a Monday, the thirteenth day of September,  
17  
four days since the first waxing day of Bhadrpad,  
marking the end of the monastic rains retreat,  
year of the hare, seven of ten—not all at once!  
Now what remains ahead from here is not to fool,  
18  
but rather for those to come, for anyone  
quite clever in the art of ornamentation,  
for posterity's sake, not to show off,  
lest I be exposed as teacherless.  
19  
This story I explain, express, expound  
to establish it orally within our religion.  
I humbly raise my palms in reverence  
to the Perfectly Awakened Buddha;  
20  
to the immense virtues of the Dharma,  
eighty-four thousand strong, so vast and deep,  
which rouse, revive, and rescue living creatures  
that they might tread the path toward Nibbāna;  
21

Appendix III

<p>នូវគុណព្រះសង្ឃអង្គសាវ័ក លោកក៏យង្គើលភ្នាក់មិនស្រេចឃ្លាន ចាកសង្ឃារវដ្តប្រាកដមាន ទុកដាក់ធ្វើទានមានសង្ឃស- ។ ២២</p>	<p>នូវគុណព្រះសង្ឃអង្គសាវ័ក លោកក៏យង្គើលភ្នាក់មិនស្រេចឃ្លាន ចាកសង្ឃារវដ្តប្រាកដមាន ទុកដាក់ធ្វើទានមានសង្ឃស- ។ ២២</p>	<p>to the virtues of the Sangha disciples, who, beyond fear and fright, no longer crave; who have truly transcended transmigration; who receive requisites with a common 22</p>
<p>ម្មតិបិតជូនថែក្នុងសាសនា ប្រៀបដូចកេត្រារិះរៀបចំ រករៀនគន្ថជុះជាក់ឧត្តម ប្រឹងខំក្រែងខុសថ្លោះវិន័យ ។ ២៣</p>	<p>ម្មតិបិតជូនថែក្នុងសាសនា ប្រៀបដូចកេត្រារិះរៀបចំ រករៀនគន្ថជុះជាក់ឧត្តម ប្រឹងខំក្រែងខុសថ្លោះវិន័យ ។ ២៣</p>	<p>agreement to make the dispensation last; who can be likened to a well-sealed ship; who, peerless in their scriptural knowledge, strive to not stray from Vinaya strictures. 23</p>
<p>សូមគុណព្រះឧបជ្ឈាយាចារ្យ មាតាបិតានូវព្រះព្រះព្រះព្រះព្រះ ស្រពស្រង្គីរួចរស់រូបទីវៃ ឥតអ្វីប្រៀបធ្វើមត្រឹមស្មើបាន ។ ២៤</p>	<p>សូមគុណព្រះឧបជ្ឈាយាចារ្យ មាតាបិតានូវព្រះព្រះព្រះព្រះព្រះព្រះ ស្រពស្រង្គីរួចរស់រូបទីវៃ ឥតអ្វីប្រៀបធ្វើមត្រឹមស្មើបាន ។ ២៤</p>	<p>I pray to the virtues of preceptors, of my parents and of Vaiśravaṇa, saving the lives of various creatures, to whom no one can be compared; 24</p>
<p>នូវគុណព្រះកម្មវាចា អនុស្សាវនាបង្កើតប្រាណ គុណព្រះវិន័យព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ជាតំប្រានផុតទុក្ខសុខសួគ៌ ។ ២៥</p>	<p>នូវគុណព្រះកម្មវាចា អនុស្សាវនាបង្កើតប្រាណ គុណព្រះវិន័យព្រះកម្មដ្ឋាន ជាតំប្រានផុតទុក្ខសុខសួគ៌ ។ ២៥</p>	<p>the virtues of the <i>kammavācā</i> liturgies, whose proclamation can engender life; the Vinaya and the <i>kammaṭṭhāna</i>, blowing across pain's depths toward divine bliss; 25</p>
<p>គុណព្រះអគ្គិវារីប្ញទ្ធិ ព្រះអាទិត្យធរណីព្រះចន្ទ្រា ព្រះពាយតាកាទេពទេវា បិតគុកគុហាសោឡសស្ថាន ។ ២៦</p>	<p>គុណព្រះអគ្គិវារីប្ញទ្ធិ ព្រះអាទិត្យធរណីព្រះចន្ទ្រា ព្រះពាយតាកាទេពទេវា បិតគុកគុហាសោឡសស្ថាន ។ ២៦</p>	<p>the virtues of Water and mighty Fire, of Sun, of Earth, and of the holy Moon, of holy Wind, great Stars, and deities secluded in the sixteen Brahmā realms; 26</p>
<p>ព្រះកាលព្រះយមរាជា ចតុលោហិតាបិតសម្រាន្ត គង់ចាតុម្មហារាជស្មោះស្មាន កំសាន្តគង់នៅតារតិស្សី ។ ២៧</p>	<p>ព្រះកាលព្រះយមរាជា ចតុលោហិតាបិតសម្រាន្ត គង់ចាតុម្មហារាជស្មោះស្មាន កំសាន្តគង់នៅតារតិស្សី ។ ២៧</p>	<p>the Lord of Death, august Yamarāja, the Four World Protectors, ever peaceful among the Four Great Kings, devoted to easing the Heaven of the Thirty-Three, 27</p>
<p>ព្រះឥន្ទ្រាទ្រង់គង់សោយរាជ្យ វិទ្ធិអំណាចមានចេស្តា ទាំងសោឡសសួគ៌ទេវតា ព្រះវិស្សកម្មាប្រតិស្ថាន ។ ២៨</p>	<p>ព្រះឥន្ទ្រាទ្រង់គង់សោយរាជ្យ វិទ្ធិអំណាចមានចេស្តា ទាំងសោឡសសួគ៌ទេវតា ព្រះវិស្សកម្មាប្រតិស្ថាន ។ ២៨</p>	<p>where the god Indra reigns in royal repose and wields his might in perfect majesty; and the devas of the sixteen heavens, all fashioned by the lord Vissakamma. 28</p>
<p>សូមសុំតេជះលោកទាំងគ្រប់ ជាម្លប់គ្រាន់ជ្រកកោនសម្រាន្ត សម្រេចចៀសទុក្ខសុខក្នុងប្រាណ ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្តគិតប្រាថ្នា ។</p>	<p>សូមសុំតេជះលោកទាំងគ្រប់ ជាម្លប់គ្រាន់ជ្រកកោនសម្រាន្ត សម្រេចចៀសទុក្ខសុខក្នុងប្រាណ ឲ្យបានដូចចិត្តគិតប្រាថ្នា ។</p>	<p>May the glory of all these mighty ones, whose shade and shelter is silent and serene, grant me freedom from life's vicissitudes according to my heart's aspiration.</p>

Appendix III

២៩

ទោះទាំងភោគព្យាធិអ្វី  
កុំបីឲ្យមានក្នុងកាយា  
សូមជ្រះស្រឡះអង្គរុបា  
ភ្លឺថ្លាត្រចង់ដូចរង្វីខែ ។

២៩

ទោះទាំងភោគព្យាធិអ្វី  
កុំបីឲ្យមានក្នុងកាយា  
សូមជ្រះស្រឡះអង្គរុបា  
ភ្លឺថ្លាត្រចង់ដូចរង្វីខែ ។

29

Whatever sicknesses may come to me,  
may they never cause me illness inside.  
May my body be clear and unclouded,  
ever lustrous like the round of the moon.

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