
Buddhist Survival Khmer

A module for learning Buddhist (and animist) terms in the Khmer language

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(**Note:** This document was created using *Pages* on a Mac computer. *Pages* automatically creates the *Table of Contents* - replete with problems in capitalization that you will note below!)



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BACKGROUND



A colleague in Myanmar once related that those of us working in Cambodia were using the wrong terms. He had visited and urged us to call the place people wish to go after death *knee-pee-un* (*nirvana*) និព្វាន instead of *tahn.sue-ah* (heaven) ហោងស្នួតិ. He related that *tahn.sue-ah* ហោងស្នួតិ was just another level of existence, which still had temptations and pleasures like earth, whereas *knee-pee-un* (*nirvana*) និព្វាន was the ultimate in the afterlife realm. His insight and information challenged me to go to places I had not yet visited during my sojourn in Cambodia. I had lived in country for seven years, but had never darkened the doors of a *wat* (pagoda) វត្ត! I had been busy learning survival terms, medical terms, Christian terms, etc., and had not yet gotten around to learning very many Buddhist terms. I never thought of speaking with a monk and did not know the appropriate vocabulary. But I also found that many of my young Khmer friends did not know the correct vocabulary either! So my husband and I ventured into the realm of an even higher, more difficult-to-understand vocabulary, with even more Pali and Sanskrit words. Initially, we found very few materials to aid us in our journey; and it seemed that many Khmer folks even disagreed on some of the terminology.

Ethnographic Research and Resources

The material for this module was gained mostly through ethnographic research, interviewing a number of Cambodian monks, abbots, nuns, and lay people. This research will surely continue as long as we live in Cambodia. Answers to our questions varied widely, but at least we began to gain the necessary vocabulary for communicating about Buddhist concepts. And that is our hope for you and for this resource - that it might spark genuine dialogue between you and those who believe deeply along Buddhist lines.

Along this journey, however, we did discover a few written resources. They are as follows:

A Glossary of Pali and Buddhist Terms by Access to Insight

<http://www.accesstoinsight.org/glossary.html>

A Khmer Heritage Language Textbook for University Level by Frank Smith

(Text for SEASSI - Southeast Asian Studies Summer Institute at the University of Wisconsin)

Brah Ling by Ang Choulean

Calling the Souls: A Cambodian Ritual Text by Ashley Thompson

Good Questions, Good Answers by S. Dhammika and translated by Votano Sophan Seng

History, Buddhism, and New Religious Movements in Cambodia edited by John Marston and Elizabeth Guthrie

Khmer Mythology: Secrets of Angkor by Vittorio Roveda

SEALang Library - Khmer Dictionary. Center for Research in Computational Linguistics, Bangkok. <http://searc.th.net>

Talk in the Shade of the Bo Tree by Wan Patchsongkram, translated by Frances E. Hudgins

Note: The Khmer vocabulary in this resource has been recorded and the full curriculum includes a CD of this audio portion.

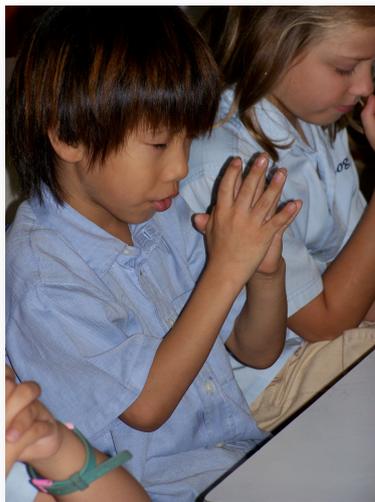
We have made every effort to proof the contents of this curriculum - written and audio. If you find any errors and corrections that need to be made, please contact wthigpen@mailcentral.biz. In addition, any helpful suggestions on improving this resource will be happily entertained.

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Buddhist Survival Khmer

CHAPTER ONE: THE AFTERLIFE

We shall begin with the beliefs the Khmer people hold regarding the afterlife, since this idea was the impetus for our search. Unfortunately, the “jury is still out” regarding THE defining way to reach the pinnacle of a sublime state according to Buddhists in Cambodia, and the views we heard were as wide-ranging as the number of people in the country. So, when you talk to a Cambodian about the afterlife, ask them what they believe. That will be your best place to start, rather than holding to a preconceived notion that everyone in the country believes the same. They definitely do not!



Our first day of interviews brought forth the most shocking road to nirvana we and our supervisors had ever heard. A group of us were granted entrance to speak with the highest monk in a local pagoda *wat* វត្ត (which shall remain nameless in order to protect the identity of the abbot). In the process of asking about the monkhood and the ceremony to become a monk, etc., the abbot was asked about the path to nirvana *knee-pee-un* គិញ្ញុន.

First of all, the abbot shared about the two kinds of monks - the city monks and the forest monks - or the monks who pursue knowledge in a pagoda and those who choose to be hermits in the forest. Other monks shared similar knowledge with us - that there were indeed two paths a monk could choose on his quest for nirvana. He could be a pagoda monk and

pursue knowledge and study Pali and Sanskrit. Or he could become an ascetic, living in the forest and absorbed in meditation. According to the abbot at this *wat*, the hermit would have to do four things: 1) go forth with his begging bag/bag for alms (*die-uh brow-saht* ដើរច្រៀសសត្វ),¹ 2) live under a tree (*bong koom m'lope die-um chuuh* បង្គំម្លប់ដើមឈើ), 3) wear old clothes that have been discarded (*bahng t'gol* ថ្នាំងំប្លោល), and finally 4) drink black cow urine mixed with herbs and fruit juices (*dhahm t'nahm dtuck nome go-oo poe-ah k'mowoo* ជាំប្រាំទឹកសោមគោពណ៌ខ្មៅ). If the hermit monk did those things, he would certainly have much power. We asked the abbot where he learned the information about black cow urine and he responded that he had read it in a book.

Unfortunately, when I inquired further about this powerful concoction at Wat Mohamontray, the monks told me to forget about it - that this was just magic mixed with Buddhism. They told me that there were some monks who did mix magic with Buddhist practices, some who could heal and tell fortunes, etc., but that they were certainly not practicing the purest form of Buddhism.

(So much for getting to nirvana the easy way - but I have yet to see a black cow in Cambodia from which I could obtain the heavenly elixir!)

So, I began to ask some monks at Wat Mohamontray about “ordinary folks” and their after-life. The monks were more than ready to tell me about heaven and hell and nirvana. I had heard from my colleague that Buddhists believe in a heaven of various levels and a hell of various levels. My new-found monk friends thought that there were levels in heaven and hell, but that the highest place and best place one could go after death would be nirvana *nee-pee-un* និព្វាន. In nirvana everything stops - no more suffering, no more reincarnation (if you believe in it). One monk explained to me that going to nirvana was the difference in being a seed and containing something that would perpetuate life versus being a ripe coconut, used for cooking oil. The oil could never again be replenished, just as the going to nirvana stopped the cycle forever. He shared that nirvana was equal to the *eye koke borome-ah-sock* ដំកន្តបរមសុខ, the one and only heavenly place, and there was none other like it. (However, I

¹ Note that the word *saht* សត្វ means “living creatures,” both animals and mankind.

have heard the term *borome-ah-sock* used many times for *heaven*. In addition, others I asked had never heard the term *eye koke*.)

The monk shared that heaven (*tahn sue-ah* ហ៊ានស្នើតិ), on the other hand, had six levels and was only for angels (*day-voe-dah* ទ្រីវិគា), not for human beings. People could not go to heaven, according to them. He was not certain how many levels were in hell, but shared about three different hells: 1) *tahn no-rue-uk* ហ៊ាននរក, 2) *tahn bright* ហ៊ានប្រេត or *ah-buy-yah-poom* អប្បាយភូមិ, and 3) *day-ray-chahn* តិវត្តាន. Of course, no one wanted to go to any of those places!

Vocabulary

nirvana	<i>nee-pee-un</i>	និព្វាន
heaven	<i>tahn sue-ah</i> (this is the spelling used in most dictionaries)	
		ហ៊ានស្នើតិ
	<i>s'tahn sue-ah</i> (but you do not really hear the <i>s</i> sound; this is the spelling in the Bible)	
		ស្នានស្នើតិ
	<i>s'tahn sue-ah-key-ah</i> (word used mostly in singing)	
		ស្នានស្នើតិ
	<i>tahn boe-rome-ah -sock</i>	ហ៊ានបរមសុខ

(S. Dammika states that “heaven is impermanent and when one’s life span there is finished, one could well be reborn again as a human.” Thus, for Buddhists “in the know,” *knee-pee-un* is the ultimate place/state of being.)

hell	<i>tahn-no-rue-uk</i>	ហ៊ាននរក
	<i>bung pleung</i>	បឹងភ្លើង

tahn bright ហ៊ានប្រេត

ah-buy-yah-poom អប្បាយភូមិ

awe-we-jay អវិថី

day-ray-chahn តិរច្ឆាន

The latter word is the worst place - reserved for those who are EXTREMELY horrible, the place for beasts. In colloquial language, people use this phrase for those who are worse than animals, who behave in a beastly manner:

ah-crock do-it saht day-ray-chan

អាក្រក់ដូចសត្វតិរច្ឆាន

(S. Dammika also states that “hell, likewise, is not a place but a state of existence where one has a subtle body and where the mind experiences mainly anxiety and distress.”)

to die/to cross the river/to cross over to the afterlife (colloquial term)

doll t'rah-ee ដល់ត្រើយ

to die (informal)

slahp ស្លាប់

baht toe-oo howey ប្រាត់ទៅហើយ

coe-ik ខ្លួប

to die (more formal)

toe-two-all moe-row-nahk-pee-up ទទួលមរណភាព

toe-two-all ah-nay-cha-kgahm ទទួលអនិច្ចកម្ម

jike tahn baht toe howey ចែកហ៊ាន ប្រាត់ទៅហើយ

banner of the deceased (used at a funeral ceremony)

tong poe-pul

ទង់ពពិល

This banner contains the name of the deceased. It is believed that this entity must be judged before being given another life.



In answer to the question, “What decides where we will be reborn?” S. Dhammika responded, “The most important factor, but not the only one, influencing where we will be reborn and what sort of life we shall have, is karma....The gentle, loving type of person tends to be reborn in a heaven[ly] realm or as a human being who has a predominance of pleasant experiences. The anxious, worried or extremely cruel type of person tends to be reborn in a hell[ish] realm or as a human being who has a predominance of painful experiences. The person who develops obsessive craving, fierce longings, and burning ambitions that can never be satisfied tends to be reborn as a hungry ghost or as a human being frustrated by longing and wanting.”

He further wrote, as other monks shared, that in order to escape this cycle, one must hold to the eight-fold path. Relying on one’s own strength of will to break bad habits and resolving to meditate, they believe one can become a person of such character. “The whole of the Buddhist life is a training to purify and free the mind,” according to S. Dhammika.

Khmer Funerals:

The Khmer have many ceremonies for their deceased. The first is held three days after the death. Then seven days later (because the spirit may be trying to find his/her home and/or just in case the person may not really be dead) another ceremony of remembrance is held. The body is then cremated or buried. After 100 days there is another ceremony for the deceased., then another at the 3 year mark. It would be a good exercise to dialogue with your friends as to why these intervals are chosen - especially the 100 days.

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CHAPTER TWO: THE MONKS

The first time I went alone to the *wat*, I decided that, as a woman, it might be best to stick to conversing with the nuns in order to do my research. But as I walked into Wat Mohamontray and asked where the nuns were, I found that a number of monks followed me out of curiosity and sat with us as I asked questions. The ladies greeted me, but the monks immediately took over to give answers and would even look right at me when I asked questions. They gladly took my pencil and notebook and wrote words in Khmer for me. I apologized for not knowing the correct and polite words, so they immediately began to teach me what to say to them. These young men were most approachable and most helpful. One even gave me his phone number.

(Note: But I may have an advantage in being grey-haired and nearly 50 years old! I also entered the *wat* wearing a dark, ankle-length skirt and a white shirt with sleeves. I wanted to dress like the older Khmer ladies who visit the *wat*. I did not wear a scarf across my shoulder, and I was told the scarf was worn only on holy days - *t'ngie-ee sul* ព្រៃស៊ីល.)



Here's what I learned. If a young man or boy wants to become a monk, he must first become a novice (*sah-mah-nay* សាមាណេរ). The *sah-mah-nay* are not required to keep the 227 rules of full-fledged monks. They must be at least 20/21 years of age (we received differing an-

swers to this question) in order to become a *loke sawng* លោកសង្ឃ or a *pee-coke* ភិក្ខុ. During the ceremony to become a full-fledged monk, the *sah-mah-nay* is surrounded by a number of persons, one of whom is the *crew oh-bpah-chee-ah* គ្រូឧបាសម្ព័យ or mentor who will give advice/chant the 227 rules (*p'doll ahwat* ផ្តល់ឱ្យវិញ្ញាណ or *p'dahm knee-ut* ផ្តាំនាគ). During the ceremony, the *sah-mah-nay* សាមណេរ will *boo-ah* ប្តូស or become a full-fledged monk. There can be up to 21 monks present at this ceremony, some who speak and some who are just witnesses. One or two teachers (*nyat* ព្រះធម៌) chant the precepts (*sote toe-ah* សូត្រធម៌). At one point during the ceremony, the *sah-mah-nay* becomes a *knee-ut*, or a naga នាគ. The naga asks to be taught, *some sul* សីល, which his mentor does.

Vocabulary

novice monk	<i>sah-mah-nay/sah-moe-nay</i>	សាមណេរ
	<i>suh robah loke</i>	សិស្សរបស់លោក
	<i>loke nayn</i>	លោកណេន
full-fledged monk	<i>loke sawng</i>	លោកសង្ឃ
	<i>pee-coke</i>	ភិក្ខុ
	<i>pray-ah sawng</i>	ព្រះសង្ឃ
the monkhood	<i>pray-ah sawng</i>	ព្រះសង្ឃ

Khmer say that they depend on three things: the Buddha, the precepts/the law, and the monkhood:

- 1) *pray-ah put* ព្រះពុទ្ធ
- 2) *pray-ah toe-ah* ព្រះធម៌
- 3) *pray-ah sawng* ព្រះសង្ឃ

The monks chant the saying in the Pali form as,

“Put tayak, toe-ah meyek, sawng kayek”

ពុទ្ធ ធម្ម សង្ឃ

These three things are called The Triple Jewels/Gems:

pray-ah roe-at tah-nat try-ee ព្រះវត្តនត្រ័យ

the process of becoming a monk/to become a monk/to be ordained into the monkhood:

boo-ah បួស
sah-mah-nay boo-uh gee-ah pee-coke

សាមណេរបួសជានិក្ខ

twer pity nee-ik ធ្វើពិធីនាគ

bahm boo-ah nee-ik បំបួសនាគ

hermit /forest monk *tah-bah* តាបស

the two roads of monkhood:

1) the pagoda or studios monk

gon-teyek too-veyek គិដ្ឋធុរៈ

2) the hermit monk *wee-pah-so-nah too-reyek* វិបស្សនាធុរៈ

intense meditation *sah-mah-teek* សមាធិ

ordained monk who practices religious austerities:

loke tah-dawng លោកធុតដ្ឋ

mentor monk *crew oh-bpah-chee-aye* គ្រូឧប្បន្ទាយ

teacher monk *crew nyaht* គ្រូញតិ ឬ គ្រូសូត្រ

Terms of Address to a Monk

I (non-monk to a monk)

k'nyome go-row-nah ខ្ញុំកុវណា

go-nah កុវណា

k'nyome gah-ro-nah ខ្ញុំកុវណា

Yes (non-monk to a monk)

go-nah កុវណា

In colloquial language when speaking to a monk, a person calls him/herself *k'nyome g'nah*.
And to say “yes,” he/she usually says *g'nah*.

you (to monk - carries the connotation of *venerable*)

pray-ah die-cha-kgoon ព្រះតេជគុណ

die-cha-kgoon តេជគុណ

day-kgoon (more colloquial way of saying the word above)

you (to an older monk) *loke tah* លោកតា

you (to a young monk, younger than yourself)

loke p'own លោកប្អូន

Terms Used By a Monk

I (monk to non-monk) *ah-tah-mah* អត្តា

you (monk to non-monk) *n'yome* ញ៉ាម

yes *poe* ព័រ

Terms Used in Speaking to/about Monks

yes (the equivalent of *baht/jah* ប្រាម ឬ បាស):

go-nah

កុរុណា

classifier for monks

awng

អង្គ

monk (third person)

loke

លោក

loke sawng

លោកសង្ឃ

to give

broe-gkain

ប្រគេន

to eat

chahn

ឆាន់

food

jawng-hahn

ច្បង់

to invite

knee-moon

និមន្ត ឬ និមន្តន៍

(This word is also used in place of *ahn-juuhn* in polite speech to monks.)

to go

knee-moon toe-oo

និមន្តទៅ

to come

knee-moon moke

និមន្តមក

to walk

knee-moon

និមន្ត

to beg/receive alms

die-uh brow-saht

ដើរប្រោសសត្វ

(Note that when the monks beg and people give alms, they are “healing all living creatures.”)

to speak	<i>mee-un put-day-gah</i>	មានពុទ្ធដីកា
to be located at/to live	<i>kgong</i>	គង់
to sit	<i>kgong</i>	គង់
to go to the bathroom	<i>dah-took-saht</i>	ដោះទឹកសត្វ
to sleep	<i>sung</i>	ស្ងៀម
to be born	<i>guy-ut</i>	កើត
to cease to be a monk	<i>suck</i>	សឹក
to die	<i>sew-gkut</i>	សុគត
to preach	<i>tay saw-nah</i>	ទេសនា
a monk's robe	<i>jee-poe /jee-voe</i>	បីពរ ឬ បីវរ
gifts for monks	<i>s'lah dock</i>	ស្នាដក
to give food to the monks	<i>roe-ahp baht</i>	រាប់ច្បាត្រ
	<i>twer bon</i>	ធ្វើបុណ្យ
to give to the monks	<i>braw-kgain</i>	ប្រគេន
house of the monks	<i>codt</i>	កុដ្តិ



The “Calling of the Soul” in the Buddhist Monk’s Ordination

An integral part of the ordination ceremony of a Buddhist monk is “the calling of the soul.” (See Chapter 8.) During the ceremony, the postulate is called a naga *neyek* នីយិក, which is also a sacred name for the Buddha. This sacred serpent is often depicted with a human face. After the night-time calling of the soul, the *popil* is passed, and rice is prepared for the *neyek* នីយិក to sleep upon. Once the postulate becomes a full-fledged monk after the ceremony, he is no longer called a *neyek* នីយិក.

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CHAPTER THREE: THE RULES

Precepts. There are the five, the eight, and the ten for regular folks, the laity. For full-fledged monks, there are 227 - not precepts, but rules or laws. Who keeps them? Who knows them? You might want to ask your friends! Hardly any lay persons we interviewed could tell us all the precepts or the eight-fold path. And the majority of monks we interviewed could not tell us all the precepts for the laity or the eight-fold path. We had to speak with the abbots to get a full story!



Who does keep the precepts? You have probably seen them - the ladies who look a bit masculine because their heads have been shaved. Some wear all white. Others wear white shirts and dark skirts or pants. These are the ones who follow the Buddhist precepts. If a woman decides to follow the five precepts, she does not have to shave her head. But those who wish to begin to follow the 8 precepts and the 10 precepts do shave their heads.

The 5 precepts are

- 1) Abstain from killing.
- 2) Abstain from stealing.
- 3) Do not behave improperly in the realm of sex.
- 4) Abstain from lying.
- 5) Abstain from using addictive drugs or intoxicants.

Those who hold to the 5 precepts are said to *gahn sul prahm* កាន់សីលប្រាំ.

For those more devoted, there are the 8 precepts. To the list above there is added the following:

- 6) Abstain from eating at unreasonable times (from 12 noon until dawn).
- 7) Abstain from entertainment (dancing, singing, music, movies, etc.) and decorating/beautifying the body (wearing garlands, perfumes, cosmetics, or fine clothes).
- 8) Abstain from sleeping on high or luxurious beds.

And precept number three is extended to abstaining from sex altogether.

Those who begin to follow the 8 precepts *t'wah-ee clue-un* ប្លាយខ្លួន, shave their heads, and begin to wear white shirts and dark/black skirts/pants. The women who follow the 8 precepts (*gahn sul prahm-bay* កាន់សីលប្រាំបី) are called *sey-ley-weyek* សីលវិ: or *doan-gee* ដួនដី. Men who follow the 8 precepts are called *sey-lah-wahn* សីលវិន្ត or *tah gee* តាដី or *tah ah-jah* តាអាចារ្យ (The latter is preferred when referring to men who hold to the precepts, although the second phrase is used in more colloquial terms. The first is very formal. There are not really men who shave their heads and are *tah gee*. If they did so, they would be monks. The men who hold to the 8 precepts and serve the monks are called *tah ah-jah*.)

Those who wear all white and *gahn sul dop* កាន់សីលដប់ (hold to the 10 precepts) add the following precept: (And precept number seven is separated into two precepts, for a total of 10.)

- 10) Abstain from handling gold, silver, or money.

When I asked the monks at Wat Mohahmontray how to get to nirvana, they told me we should hold to the precepts *gahn sul* កាន់សីល and to follow the eight-fold path in order to keep out the five desires. One of the monks could not tell me the eight-fold path, but another could tell me the points by chanting it.

Vocabulary

precepts *sul* សីល

to hold to the precepts *gahn* កាន់

to hold to the 5 precepts

gahn sul prahm កាន់សីលច្រាំ

to hold to the 8 precepts

gahn sul prahm-bay កាន់សីលច្រាំបី

to hold to the 10 precepts

gahn sul dop កាន់សីលដប់

the process of beginning to hold to the precepts/to offer one's self

t'wah-ee clue-un ប្លាយខ្លួន

(This process need not take place in a wat. A monk does not need to perform the ceremony. The devotee - usually a woman - has her head shaved, dons the clothing of a nun, and recites her vows to an image of the Buddha. She also recites her vows on each *t'ngie-ee sul* ថ្ងៃសីល.)

monk's rules (227) *seh-kah-bot* សិក្ខាបទ

Four noble truths: *ah-rey sike-jahk boo-un* អរិយសច្ចបួន

1) Suffering exists. Life is suffering.

កាលបើមានជីវិតគាំអោយមានទុក្ខ

2) Suffering is caused by desire/craving.

កាលបើមានទុក្ខបណ្តាលមកពីមានហេតុ

3) Suffering can be stopped by removing the cause - desire (and happiness can be attained - some say this is nirvana).

កាលដែលអាចបំបាត់ទុក្ខគឺដោយបំបាត់ហេតុ

4) Suffering can be ended by proper behavior (following the eight-fold path).

ដែលអាចបញ្ចប់ទុក្ខទៅបាន គឺដោយការប្រកាន់ភ្ជាប់នូវផ្លូវទាំងប្រាំបីយ៉ាង

Noble eight-fold path:

*ah-rayek mey-ik geyek braw-cob dowey awng
prahm bay/ah ray-yah-mey-ek braw-cob.....*

អរិយមគ្គប្រកបដោយអង្គប្រាំបី

1) Perfect/right understanding

ការយល់ឃើញត្រឹមត្រូវ

សម្មាទិដ្ឋិ

2) Perfect/right thought

ការត្រិះរិះត្រូវ

សម្មាសង្កប្បៈ

3) Perfect/right speech

ការនិយាយត្រូវ

សម្មាវាចា

4) Perfect/right action

ការប្រព្រឹត្តត្រឹមត្រូវ

សម្មាកម្មន្តៈ

5) Perfect/right livelihood

ការរស់នៅត្រឹមត្រូវ

សម្មាអាជីវៈ

6) Perfect/right effort

ការប្រឹងប្រែងត្រឹមត្រូវ

សម្មាវាយមៈ

7) Perfect/right mindfulness

ការរិះគិតពិចារណាត្រឹមត្រូវ

សម្មាសតិ

8) Perfect/right concentration

ការតំកល់ចិត្តអោយជឹងត្រូវ

សម្មាសមាធិ

Buddhist Survival Khmer

CHAPTER FOUR: THE *WAT* AND THE DEVOTEES

Nearly every Khmer person goes to a temple/*wat* at some time or other - especially at Khmer New Year and special holidays.

Vocabulary

temple/pagoda compound

wat

វត្ត



temple hall that houses a central Buddha image (It is usually tall and faces east.)

pray-ah vee-hee-ah

ព្រះវិហារ

monk's eating hall

sah-lah chahn

សាលាឆាន់

monk's dorm

kgot

កុំដី

ancient temple

brah-saht

ប្រាសាទ

stupa (Buddhist funeral monument)

jite-day

ចេតិយ

classifier for stupas

awng

អង្គ

naga

nee-ik

នាគ

place for travelers to stay at *wat*

sala choe tee-un

សាលាឆ្នោត

to go to the wat (colloquial)

toe-oo wat toe-oo vah

ទៅវត្តទៅវិវត្ត

people who go to the wat/the people who hold to Buddhism

put-tah-sah-sah-nuck/

put-sah-sah-nuck

ពុទ្ធសាសនិក

female who goes to the wat

oh-bah-sey-kah

ឧបាសិកា

male who goes to the wat

oh-bah-sok

ឧបាសិក

older man/former monk, experienced in Buddhist rituals

ah-jah

អាចារ្យ

Buddhist “nun”

doan gee

ជួនដី

yay gee

យាយដី

loke yay

លោកយាយ

suh-leh-weyek

សីលវិ:

(Usually an older female who holds to the 5/8/10 precepts. Those who follow the 10 precepts dress in all white and shave their heads. Those who follow the 5 precepts need not shave their heads. Women observing the 5 or 8 precepts can dress in a black skirt and white shirt. A hierarchy exists according to the number of precepts followed, seniority, and how many *vo-sah* វិស្សា or rainy season retreats the individual has “spent as a religious ascetic.” Wat

Mangalavan/*twah-ee bong-koom* ប្លាយបង្កំ in Phnom Penh has the largest number of nuns in residence.)

head monk/abbot *may sawng* មេសង្ឃ

Blessing: May you be reborn at the time of the Messiah *prayah say-ah-may-tray may-tray*.

some bon s'ron owey toe-un prayah say-ah-may-tray

សូមបង្កើតជីវិតអោយទាន់ព្រះសេដ្ឋីមេត្រី



Buddhist Survival Khmer

CHAPTER FIVE: THE BUDDHA

Vocabulary

Buddha *pray-ah put* ព្រះពុទ្ធ

(The word *Buddha* means “the enlightened one.”)

Siddhartha *seh-toe-ah* សិទ្ធក្ខ

Gautama *goe-dahm* គោត្តម

enlightenment *trah-dung* ត្រាស់ដឹង

bo/bodhi tree *boe/boe-teek* ពោធិ៍

the savior Buddha/Buddha to-come/messiah

pray-ah say-ah-may-tray ព្រះសិវអារ្យមេត្រី

the Emerald Buddha *pray-ah gow-oo moro-kot* ព្រះកែវមរកត

the 10 perfections of the Buddha

bah-row-may ប្រារមី

(In colloquial use, the word stands for *spiritual power*. Note that there are also *kru bar-o-may* គ្រូប្រារមី who are mediums for spirits who are thus called because of the power they possess. Bertrand writes that there are more than 10,000 *bar-o-may* ប្រារមី in Cambodia.)

Buddhist Survival Khmer

CHAPTER SIX: THE BELIEFS

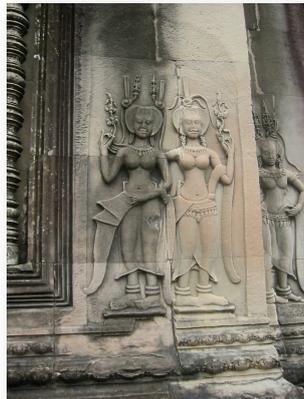
“Do good, get good. Do bad, get bad.” The ironclad rule in Buddhism is the rule of karma.

Vocabulary

religion *sah-sah-nah* សាសនា

philosophy *tay-ah-sah-nak veet-gee-uh/*

too-sah-nak veet-gee-uh វិស្សនវិទ្យា



to hold to a religion *gahn sah-sah-nah* កាន់សាសនា

Buddhism *pray-ah put-tah sah-sah-nah/*

pray-ah put sah-sah-nah ព្រះពុទ្ធសាសនា

Mahayana Buddhism *moe-hah-yee-un* មហាយាន

mow-hah knee-kah-ee មហានិកាយ

Theravada Buddhism	<i>huh-nah-yee-un</i>	ហិណយាន
	<i>tom-ah-yoot</i>	ធម្មយុត្តិ
Pali language	<i>pee-ah-sah bah-lay</i>	ភាសាប្រាជ្ញី
Sanskrit language	<i>pee-ah-sah sawng-sah-krit</i>	ភាសាសំស្ក្រឹត
merit	<i>bon</i>	បុណ្ណ / បុណ្យ
karma	<i>kahm</i>	កម្ម
bad karma	<i>kahm pee-uh</i>	កម្មពៀវ
good karma	<i>kahm ko-sol</i>	កម្មកុសល
sin	<i>bahp</i>	បាប
the desires of the flesh	<i>kahm-meyek</i>	កម្ម
to desire fleshly pleasures	<i>ton-nah-hah</i>	តណ្ហា
suffering	<i>took</i>	ទុក្ខ
to suffer	<i>guy-ut took vay-toe-knee-uh</i>	កើតទុក្ខវេទនា
	<i>took</i>	ទុក្ខ

Kinds of suffering: (These are written on funeral biers.)

physical suffering	<i>roop pahng</i>	រូបំ
general suffering	<i>took kahng</i>	ទុក្ខំ
absurdity/uncertainty	<i>ah-knee-jahng</i>	អនិច្ចំ
soul-less/not self	<i>ah-nah-tah</i>	អនត្តា
to be reincarnated	<i>jahp gee-it t'may</i>	ចាប់ជាតិថ្មី
to enter Nirvana	<i>jole knee-pee-un</i>	ចូលនិព្វាន
ritual sprinkling	<i>s'rau-ik dtuck</i>	ស្រោចទឹក
loving kindness/mercy	<i>may-tah</i>	មេត្តា
truth (Buddhist)	<i>sah-jahk</i>	សច្ចៈ
	<i>sah-jahk toe-ah</i>	សច្ចៈធម៌

(The word for *righteous* in Khmer - *such-ah-rut* សុចរិតិ comes from this word.)

have body/have suffering *mee-un roop mee-un took* មានរូប មានទុក្ខ

impermanence/not permanent

mun tee-ung toe-ah មិនទៀងទាត់

The 3 Gems/Refuges: *pray-ah roe-at tah-nat try-ee* ព្រះវត្តនត្រ័យ

1) Buddha *prayah put* ព្រះពុទ្ធ

2) Dharma/Precepts *prayah toe-ah* ព្រះធម៌

3) Sangha/Monkhood *prayah sawng* ព្រះសង្ឃ

Buddhist Proverbs

(From the Khmer Institute)

ធ្លឹងស្រែកស្បែកហៅ ។ ឬ (ឈាមស្រែកស្បែកហៅ)។

Bones scream, skin invites. or (blood screams, skin invites).

Interpretation: According to karmic principle, all evil deeds done in the past will be returned upon you in the present or future; thus, it is your past sins that cause your bones/blood to scream in pain and your skin to invite more suffering.

ធ្លឹងគំនិតពិតជាធ្លឹងគ្រប់យ៉ាង ធ្លឹងព្រេងសំណាងផុតទុក្ខ។

When your thoughts mature, you will then be mature in every way; when your fate matures, you will be lucky and beyond suffering.

"When your fate matures" refers to when all the merit you have accumulated returns to you. As opposed to the prior saying which refers to the result of wicked deeds, this one refers to the karmic benefits of doing good.

ជនអ្នកដេកចង់ក្រោកថាយប់យូរ អ្នកដើរគិតគូរថាយោជន៍ឆ្ងាយ ពាលាពុំចេះធម៌ទាំងឡាយ សង្សារវែងឆ្ងាយគឺនិព្វាន ។

Those who go to sleep in anticipation of waking say that the night is long; those who complain while walking say that a *yaoc* is far; the ignorant/delinquent will eventually understand the Dharma, as the cycle of rebirth is a long way from nirvana.

yaoc = roughly 16 kilometers

មិត្តល្អក្រុមមិនយូរ ។ ឬ (មិនក្រុមយូរ)។

One with a generous nature will not be poor for long.

Interpretation: Generosity enables you to accumulate merit so that in the future you will have good karma. Taken together with the prior saying, they advise a person to be generous but also do not squander money. Take the middle path between thrift and generosity. The proverb below further illuminates this concept.

ព្រះកើតពីដែក តែងតែទំលាក់លើដែកវិញ ។

Metal gives rise to rust, which will always eat the metal in return.

Reference to bad karma - i.e., an evil act will eventually return to harm the individual who instigated it.

ឆ្មាំឆ្មាំជាជាតិធ្ងន់ ចិត្តទេពអត់ធនធ្ងន់មហិមា អ្នកតាមឱវាទចាស់ព្រឡា
ហោធ្ងន់មួយសារលើសលែងក្រែ ។ ព្រះបន្ទូលព្រះពុទ្ធវិសេសលន់
ធ្ងន់ក្រែលែងធ្ងន់ផុតនិស្សយ៍ ។ ព្រោះជាកំពូលលើកពក្រែ រកអ្វីមកថ្លៃថ្លឹងពុំបាន ។

Boulders are heavy in nature, but the divinely patient nature is heavier; listen to advice of the elderly for it is even heavier still. The teaching of the Buddha is especially heavy, beyond imagination, because it transcends the world and is immeasurable.

ចង់បុណ្យបានចាប់ ចង់លាភ រែងចាត់ឥតឆានទៅ ។

Wanting merit, you sin; lusting after wealth, you inevitably lose your riches.

គុកនិងសោរគឺចោរបង្កើត ឱសថយ៉ាងធ្វើតកើតពីរោគ
ដំណេកកើតពីការងូយដោក មនុស្សក្នុងលោកកើតពីកម្ម ។

Prison and keys are something to which thieves gave birth; medicinal remedies are born from germs; sleep is born from feelings of sleepiness; people in the world are born from karma.

Karma is a principle in Buddhism that posits your present action dictates your future. That is, accumulating merit through good deeds will bring good fortune, accumulating sin through evil deeds will bring misfortune. Hence, your birth as a human being and the condition you are born into, whether good or bad, are determined by your karma (the merit/sin you have accumulated from past lives).

Proverbs from OMF:

ធ្វើបាបបានបាប ធ្វើបុណ្យបានបុណ្យ

"Do bad, get bad; do good, get good"

The 'iron law' of *karma*: people who do bad deeds will receive bad in return, people who do good will receive good. This may be quick in coming, or may carry over to a future existence. (e.g. A parent to a child:

កុំសាងបាបកម្មច្រើនពេក ["Do not pile up too much bad merit"]. "In a future life someone will torture you like you're torturing that insect")

មានរូបមានទុក្ខ

"Have a body, have suffering"

Suffering is bound up with us from birth to death: basic Buddhist doctrine.

ធ្វើបុណ្យ១០០សំពៅ បាបមួយចូលទៅរលាយបាត់អស់

"Make 100 ships' worth of merit, but just one sin can come in and wipe it all away"

Be careful not to transgress the *karmic* moral code as the seriousness of your wrong could undo a lot of the merit which you have built up.

ធ្វើបុណ្យក្នុងបាប

"Meritmaking while steeped in sin"

Used when someone bad uncharacteristically does something good in an attempt to impress, to win favour or to make up e.g. a gift to a temple fund or a new hospital. It doesn't outweigh all that has gone before and all that will come after. A feeble attempt to redress the balance of bad *karma*, doomed to fail.

អាណរក៍១០០ជាន់

"Destined for the depths of hell"

Used of someone extremely bad, if not evil. Their place in hell will be on the 100th level down.

សដួងតូចចាន មាយាទមិនច្នាស ដួងឆ្មៃក្រោមផ្ទះ (or ស្រីដួងចាន)

"You can be as white as the bottom of a bowl, but without character you are like a dog under a house"

You can try to appear good to others but without the moral fibre to back it up you will be discovered – like the grubby and lazy dog under the house. This can be used for women (esp. sex workers) who make themselves up to be pretty but do not have the corresponding beauty of spirit or morals.

Buddhist Survival Khmer

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE FESTIVALS/HOLY DAYS

The Buddhist holy days revolve around the lunar months and lunar new year, as well as the rice planting/harvesting cycle.

However, there are a number of festivals celebrated in Cambodia that cannot be found in neighboring Buddhist countries. These celebrations have more Hindu/Brahministic roots.



Vocabulary

to have a ceremony/make merit

twer bon ធ្វើបុណ្យ ឬ បុណ្ណ

twer bon tee-un ធ្វើបុណ្ណទាន

jahp p ah-ie-ee ចាប់បច្ច័យ

jahp koe-sol ចាប់កុសល

jahp meyek pol ចាប់មគ្គផល

(follow the 8-fold path)

to give an offering *dahk tee-un* ដាក់ទាន

ceremony for parents (living or dead)

bon pah-jie-ee boo-un បុណ្យបច្ចុយបួន

(Parents are given 4 things at this ceremony - clothing, etc.)

ceremony for building *wat*

bon p'kah បុណ្យផ្កា

(This ceremony is performed by the *wat*.)

happy ceremony for giving to monks

bon got-tun-ak-tee-un បុណ្យកបិណ្ណទាន

(A family gathers together to perform this ceremony. It is also called

bon kaw-tun បុណ្យកបិណ្ណ

bon kaw-tun-ah-tee-un បុណ្យកបិណ្ណទាន

Usually in November, this festival serves in the making of merit by supplying new robes and other materials to the monks and pagodas.

holy day *t'ngie-ee sul* ថ្ងៃសីល

Technically there are four *t'ngie-ee sul* ថ្ងៃសីល in each lunar month:

(However, the majority of Khmer sellers at Olympic Market told us they observe only two days per month and those of Chinese descent observe four days per month.)

- 1) the eighth day of the waxing moon
- 2) the 15th day of the waxing moon
- 3) the 8th day of the waning moon
- 4) the 15th day of the waning moon

The first day of the waxing moon is called *t'ngie-ee muy guy-ut* ថ្ងៃមួយកើត. The full moon is on the day of the 15th *guy-ut* កើត and is also called *t'ngie-ee payn baw-rah-may*

ថ្ងៃពេញបរមី. The waning of the moon is *roe-ik* រោជីត and the 15th is *t'ngie-ee kie dike* ថ្ងៃខែដាច់ or *t'ngie-ee dop-prahm roe-ik* ថ្ងៃដប់ប្រាំរោជីត.

Khmer New Year *jole ch'nahm t'may* ចូលឆ្នាំថ្មី

Celebration of Buddha's Enlightenment/Birth, etc. (Vesak Day)

bon vee-sack boe gee-uh បុណ្យវិសាខបូជា

Buddhist Lent/rainy season retreat for the monks

bon jole voe-sah បុណ្យចូលវិស្សា

During this time - the eighth lunar month and at the height of the rainy season - the monks seclude themselves and do not leave the temple (usually June-July). Very tall orange candles are sold in the markets during this time. They are sold in pairs for displaying in the temple and are quite costly. Those who wish to make merit may purchase and donate them to a *wat*.

During Buddhist Lent *bon voe-sah* បុណ្យវិស្សា, at 5 am and 5 pm each day someone rings a bell or beats a drum.

End of Buddhist Lent *bon jayñ voe-sah* បុណ្យចេញវិស្សា

This is the end of the time of seclusion for the monks. This festival occurs during the eleventh lunar month (usually October-November).



Non-Buddhist Festivals

Royal Plowing Ceremony *bon j'roe-ah prayah nay-ang-coil* បុណ្យប្រគំព្រះនង្គ័ល

Hungry Ghost Festival *bon p'joom bun* បុណ្យភ្នំបីណា

During this time (usually September/October), the spirits of the departed are in search of food and offerings. The festival lasts 15 days and devotees must go to seven pagodas. On the last day, the *bright/brate* ប្រេត (demons) visit earth.

Water Festival *bon ohm dtook* បុណ្យអំទឹក

Huge festival that takes place in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap, known mainly for the boat races. The spirit of the water is venerated at this time. During this time, a festival also takes place in the home:

bon awk ahm-boke បុណ្យអកអំបុក

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CHAPTER EIGHT: THE UNSEEN/SPIRITUAL REALM (BELIEFS IN THE ANIMISTIC REALM)

If you would like to see these aspects at work, peruse Wat Phnom and the numerous fortune tellers at their stalls.



Vocabulary

the tempter	<i>mee-ah</i>	មារ
monster (not a spirit)	<i>yeyek</i>	យក្ស ឬ យក្ខ
string tied around the wrist for protection (white)	<i>k'sigh-ee say-mah</i>	ខ្សែសីមា
string tied around the waist for protection	<i>k'sigh-ee gkey-ah-tah</i>	ខ្សែតាហ៊ា
	<i>k'sigh g'tah (spoken)</i>	

string around the neck for protection

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k'sigh-ee gaw sahck-sut ខ្សែកសក្តិសិទ្ធ

necklace worn for protection

bon-toung បណ្តែត

amulet

wat-two sahck-sut វត្តសក្តិសិទ្ធ

grung row-bee-un ព្រឿងរបៀង

magical words/incantations

mone មន្ត

magic

mone-ah-koom មន្តអាភម

written incantations/designs

yoe-ahan យ៉ៃ

These can be imprinted on cloth, tattooed on the body, or displayed above a doorway. Most are in Pali or Sanskrit.

incantation inscribed on cloth and wrapped around waist or neck

k'sigh gah-tah ខ្សែកហា

(In Khmer, the word *g'tah* means *word*.)

spirit venerated on the road to Kampong Som

yay mao យាយមៅ

spirit venerated at spirit houses in each village/ ancestor spirit (male)

neyek tah អ្នកតា

idol of a venerated spirit

roop neyck tah

រូបអ្នកតា

ghost/corpse

k'mow-ik

ខ្មោច

demon/family spirit/territorial spirit

ah-reyek

អារក្ស

demon

ah-sow-ik

អាសោច៍

Satan

ah-reyek sah-tahng

អារក្សសាតាំង

may bay-sike

មេបីសាច

evil spirit that seeks blood

bay-sike

បីសាច

spirit of woman who died in childbirth

pree-aye

ព្រាយ

female ghost that has only a head and entrails and emits a bad odor

ahp

អាប

fortune teller

kru-tee-aye

គ្រូទាយ

one who practices rituals to appease spirits/specialist in herbal medical and ritual formulas

kru k'my

គ្រូខ្មែរ

medium possessed by evil spirits

may-mot

មេមត់

medium possessed by evil spirits

roop ah-reyek

រូបអារក្ស

medium possessed by ancestor spirits

kru bah-roe-may

គ្រូប្រាមី

witch (female)

t'mope

ធូប

to cast a spell

twuh ahm-puuh

ធ្វើអំពើ

gay twuh

គេធ្វើ

angel (good)

day-voe-dah

ទេវតា

to possess (as in demonic possession)

jole roop

ចូលរូប

a sacred, magical cow *pray-ah go-oo*

ព្រះគោ

Leper King

s'dike gom-long

ស្តេចគម្លង់

(The Leper King statue is in the center of the inner courtyard of the National Museum. It is considered to be the center of the museum's powers - *ti room bah-rah-may* ទីរូមប្រាមី)

Yay Deb (Siem Reap) *yay tape*

យាយទេព

(A statue identical to the Leper King and located northwest of the king's residence. This spirit often receives offerings of "crucified chicken" - *mow-un ch'kong* មាត់ឆ្កែង. A replica of the shrine exists at the National Museum as well.)

The Calling of the Souls

According to Thompson's book *The Calling of the Souls*, the Khmer people believe that each of us has 19 "souls" *pro-lung* ព្រលឹង. They often have a ceremony to "call the souls" *how-oo pro-lung* ហើព្រលឹង or *ahn-tong pro-lung* អង្គព្រលឹង back to one who is in a state of ill health. There are a number of items associated with the ceremony, many of which are phallic in nature. One ritual object - a *popil* ពពិល - shaped like a fig leaf - is passed in the circle of those witnessing the ceremony of calling the soul back. It is always passed along with a candle. *Popil* ពពិល may be engraved with different images, mostly hermit monks, gods, spirits, such as *neang heng*, etc. At the end of the ceremony for calling the souls, the *ah-jah* blows the smoke of the candles towards the person for whom the ceremony was performed.

However, some of the Khmer people we interviewed stated that they have 12 souls. They have a phrase they use when someone is afraid, to call their 12 souls and make sure they are all present: *pro-lung too-it pro-lung tome pee dun dop sop grope mao ving owey ah mao*

ព្រលឹងតូច ព្រលឹងធំ ពីរដងប្រាប់សព្វគ្រប់ មកវិញអោយអស់មក!

Other Khmer people we talked to stated that the whole number of souls is 14 - *boo-un dun dop sop grope* they say: បួនដងប្រាប់សព្វគ្រប់. We will continue our research on this subject.

You might find it a fun project to ask your neighbors and friends how many souls they have and see what you find out about their beliefs.

Entering the Shade

Young girls may have this ceremony as a rite of passage when they enter puberty. In Khmer the ceremony is called *jole m'lope* ចូលម្លប់. It is believed that a spirit called the *may m'lope* មែម្លប់ is present during the ceremony. The spirit being is represented by a basket of un-husked rice and is spoken to as if it were a person.

Ceremony for the Prayah Poom

If a village has had many problems, the people will sometimes hold a *bon* បុណ្យ for the *prayah poom* ព្រះភ្នំមី. Ang Choulean calls this the “consecrating of the navel of the village.”

The center of spiritual power in the village is referred to as the navel / *p'chit* / ផ្ចិត.



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CHAPTER NINE: ALTARS, SPIRIT HOUSES, AND FENG SHUI

We also interviewed various sellers in the markets, especially Olympic Market, about their offerings and altars. One day that we were doing research, was a *t'ngie-ee sul* ត្បែងស៊ីល, which



the sellers shared that for the Khmer came twice a month and for the Chinese came four times per month. The colorful offerings of fruits, candies, tea/water, etc. at many shops were most often prepared by one of the children or workers or even the shop owner themselves. For practicality sake, many did not have spirit houses or altars because they did not want to start a fire in the marketplace. One owner shared that she had an altar at home, but often did not have time to tend to it, as she was busy with her work and family. Still others had huge altars, some down on the ground, some high up in the stall and kept from their wares. Many were dusty and old, but some were well-kept, cleaned and replenished often. No two were alike. The sellers shared that when the incense/candles had burned down, the food offered could be eaten by anyone.

At one corner of the market, we found a octagonal mirror-like plaque above a stall. The owners shared with us that this was an item used in feng shui *hong soy* ហុងស៊ីយ៉ូ and was to be placed at intersections for good luck. They shared that the octagonal plaques could be purchased at O'Russey Market. One had only to look for the images of angels *devoda* ដេវ៉ូដា being sold. The same lady who did not have any offerings or altar at her stall also shared that she did not believe in *hong soy*, but that other people did.

Vocabulary

feng shui	<i>hong soy</i>	ហុងស៊ុយ
altar	<i>ah-sah-nak</i>	អាសនៈ
altar of those who practice magic	<i>buy-say</i>	ប្រាយសី
spirit house	<i>k'tome neyek tah</i>	ខ្នងអ្នកតា
	<i>ree-un day-vo-dah</i>	រាងទេវតា
altar (small, usually on the floor of a store/stall):	<i>joom nee-ung hahng/tope</i>	ជំនាន់ហាង តូប
altar (small, usually on the floor of a house):	<i>joom nee-ung p'tayah</i>	ជំនាន់ផ្ទះ
joss sticks/incense	<i>tube (don't pronounce the b sound)</i>	តូប
ancestor	<i>jee doan jee tah</i>	ជីដូនជីតា
	<i>jee loo-ut jee lee-ah</i>	ជីលួតជីលោ



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CHAPTER TEN: BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN TERMS COMPARED

Khmer Buddhist Term	English Term	Khmer Christian Term
បន់ស្រន់	to pray	អធិស្ឋាន
ឧទិស្ឋ	to dedicate	ប្បាយ
សូត្រធម៌	recite the Word/law	អានព្រះគម្ពីរ
សំដែងធម្មទេសនា	to preach	អធិប្បាយ
សីល	rule/commandment	ក្រិតវិន័យ ឬ បញ្ញត្តិ
សែន	make an offering	ដាក់ដង្ហាយ យញ្ញបូជា
ធម៌មួយមេ	story/chapter	រឿង ជំពូក
អ្នកកាន់សីល	adherent	សិស្សព្រះយេស៊ូ
សាធុ	Amen	អាមែន
សមាធិ	meditate	សព្វីដំគិត រំពឹងគិត
សច្ចៈធម៌	the truth	សេចក្តីពិត

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CONCLUSION

Who are Buddhists and what do they believe? In talking with scores of Khmer people, one finds different strata of understanding of the Buddhist religion, just as one would expect to find in any predominant belief system in any country. There are those who fully understand and hold to the ideals of their religion. These devotees are few and far between. They are looked upon as examples to follow, but lay people seldom take up the same type of lifestyle or beliefs. The laity find that life much too difficult. On the other hand, there are those who have very little understanding, but say they are Buddhists; and these are the majority. Then there are those who know some, who have a bit of education in the religion, but do not really practice the precepts.

Those who actually practice the Buddhist precepts are very rare in Cambodia. Those who go to the *wat* at least once a year are in the majority. But if to be Buddhist means to hold to the precepts, then the majority of Cambodians are not truly Buddhist. (We would never refer to an American who goes to church once a year at Christmas as a Christian - and neither would he/she. So why do nearly all Cambodians call themselves Buddhists?) The majority do not practice even the five precepts nor know them. They do not know the eight-fold path and do not care to follow it until they are very old and have no other hope in life. Young people never *t'wayee clue-un* - that is something only old people do. Young men may become monks for a brief season - for the honor of their families - but as a general rule, they do not become long-term monks because of reasons of devotion.

This research and compilation was done in order to promote dialogue, to help in understanding what the Khmer people really believe - as individuals - and to assist those wanting to start the process of evangelism. There is no need to teach the Khmer people what Buddhists believe. Each person has his/her own belief system already. It is up to each of us to speak to that individual belief system and teach each one we meet the Truth in light of those beliefs. Hopefully, we can also use some of those beliefs as bridges to awaken hearts to their present hopelessness apart from a Savior.