

## LUDWIK STERNBACH

### Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law: 25. The Mānava-dharmaśāstra Stanzas in the Hitopadeśa\*

#### Abbreviations:

- Ap *Apastambiyadharmasūtram*. Ed. by G. Bühler. 3rd ed. BSS 44,40. Poona 1932
- Apar See Y
- B *Das Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* herausg. von E. Hultsch. AKM 16.2. Leipzig 1922
- BBh *Balambhaṭṭi on the Mitakṣarā on Śrī Viṇṇāneśvara on the Y.* Ed. by J. R. Gharpure. Coll. of Hindu Law Texts, Nos. 5—6. Bombay 1914
- BhB *The Bhojaprabandha of Ballala*. Ed. by V. L. Paṇṣīkar. 10th ed. Bombay 1932
- BhP *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Trad. et publié par M. Eugène Bur-  
nouf. Paris 1884—98
- BrDh *Bṛāhmadharma* in Pratnakamranandinī. Banaras
- Brh *Bṛhaspati Smṛti reconstructed* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. GOS 85. Baroda 1941
- C *Cāṇakya's aphorisms*
- CKr O. Kressler. *Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit*. Frankfurt a/M 1904
- CM E. Monseur. *Cāṇakya*. Recension de cinq recueils de stances morales... Paris 1887
- CNI *Cāṇakya-nīti-śataka*. MS in the India Office No. 1518, as quoted in CKr

\* The previous papers in the series *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law* appeared: Nos 1, 5, 10, 14, 23 in "Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute" Vols. 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34; Nos 2, 4, 8, 9 in "The Poona Orientalist" Vols. 8, 9, 10, 13; Nos 3, 6 in "The New Indian Antiquary" Vols. 6, 7; Nos 7, 11, 12, 13, 20, 21 in "The Bhāratiya Vidyā" Vols. 6, 7, 11, 12; Nos 17, 19, 24 in "The No. 15 in RO Vol. 17; No. 16 in the "Sarūpa-Bhārati"; Nos 71, 72, 76-7; No. 18 in Journal of the American Oriental Society" Vols. 71, 72, 76-7; No. 18 in Siddha-Bhārati I; No. 22 in "The P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume"

- CRB *Caṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* in the recension of Bhoja, as quoted in CKr
- CRC *Caṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstram*. Ed. by Pt. I. Candra Śāstri. 2nd ed. Calc. Or. Ser. 2
- CŚ *Cānakya-nīti-śāstra*
- CŚF *Caṇakya*m. Codice indiano edito dal Dre E. Bartoli. Napoli 1911 (MS. from Florence)
- CŚH *Caṇakyaśatakam*, as published in KSH 312. Also by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 3rd ed. (Kāvya-saṅgrahaḥ pañca-saptati-saṁskṛta-kāvyaṭmakah, vol. 2. 385. Also as published by Pt. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, 4th ed. Calcutta 1907
- CŚN *Caṇakya-nīti-vyavahāra-sara-saṅgraha*. Ed. by G. S. Sardesai. Poona Or. S. 71
- CŚW *Über 100 Sprüche des Caṇakya*. A. Weber. Monatsberichte d. k. preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. Berlin 1864
- CŚIB *Caṇakya-śloka*. MS. B as quoted in CM p. IV
- CV *Vṛddha-Caṇakya*
- CVA C; Agra ed., as quoted in CKr
- CVB C; Berlin MS., as quoted in IS
- CVF C; MS. of Hauvette-Besnault, as quoted in CM p. VI
- CVG C; MS. of Hauvette-Besnault, as quoted in CM p. VII
- CVGt C; Göttingen MS., No. Sanscr. 64
- CVK C; *Rajanīti* MS. No. 2411 in the Library of India Office, as quoted in CM, p. VIII
- CVN C; MS. in the Berlin Library, as quoted in CM p. VIII
- CVND C; *Caṇakya-nītidarpaṇaḥ bhārgava pustakālya*. Banaras. Also *Caṇakya-nīti-darpaṇaḥ*. Master maṇimālāyaḥ 166. Banaras 1946
- CVT MSS. from Tanjore (Hultzsch). (a) No. 5031; (b) 5117; (c) 5118; (d) 5119; (e) 5120; (f) 5121; (g) 5122, as quoted in CKr
- CVV C; Various printed editions of CV (*Cānakya-nīti-darpaṇa*), as quoted in CKr sub VB
- CVW C; MS. Walker 205 c, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- DBh *Dāyabhāgaḥ*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
- Dh *Dharmakośa*. Ed. by Lakṣmaṇaśāstri Jośī. Wai 1937—47
- DhNP *Dharmattvanirṇayaparīṣṭam*. ĀnSS 98
- DhSP *The Paraśara Dharma Samhita...* Ed... by Vāman Śāstri Islāmapurkar. BSS
- DhV Halāyudha's *Dharmaviveka* in KSG 1.381
- G *The Institutes of Gautama*. Ed. by A. F. Stenzler. Sanskr. Text Soc. 1876
- GMBh *Goutama-dharmasūtra* with Maskari Bhāṣya. Ed. by L. Śrinivasacharya. OLPSS 50. Mysore 1917



- GMH *Gautama; Mitakṣara, Haradatta.* ĀnSS, as quoted in Dh  
 GP *Garuḍa-purāṇa.* Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. 1st  
 ed. Calcutta 1890
- GR *Govindarājīyā.* Ed. by V. N. Mandlik. Bombay
- HAIS L. Sternbach, *Hitopadeśa and its Sources*, American Oriental Series
- Hār *Der Vyavahārādhyāya aus Hārīta's Dharmaśāstra nach Zitaten zusammengestellt* von J. Jolly. ABayA. Bd. 18, Abh. 2. 1888—9
- HC *Hitopadeśa...* Ed. by H. T. Colebrooke. Serampore 1804
- HH *The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrit Language* (A. Hamilton). London 1810
- HJ *Hitopadeśa.* The Sanskrit text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged by F. Johnson. 2nd ed. Hartford — London 1864
- HK *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa.* Ed. with a Sanskrit Commentary and Notes... by M. R. Kale. 5th ed. Bombay 1924
- HM The first book of the *Hitopadeśa*. Skt. text. Also Second, third and fourth books of *Hitopadeśa*. Skt. text. (both) ed. by M. Müller. London 1865
- HN Nārāyaṇa. *Hitopadeśa* nach d. nepalischen HS. Neu herausgeg. von H. Blatt. Berlin 1930
- HP *Hitopadeśa* by Nārāyaṇa. Ed. by P. Peterson. BSS 33
- HS *Hitopadeśas, id est Institutio salutaris.* Textum codd. mss. collatis... A. G. Schlegel et Ch. Lassen. (two volumes). Bonn ad Rhenum 1831
- IS *Indische Sprüche.* Skt. u. Deutsch herausg. von O. Böhtlingk. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg 1870—3
- JSAIL L. Sternbach, *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*. Cf. fn. marked \* (p. 427)
- K *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.* Ed. by R. Shama Shastri. 3rd ed. OLPSS 37/64. Mysore 1924
- Kāty *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddharaḥ or Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra.* Text (reconstructed), transl.... by P. V. Kane. Bombay 1933
- KN *Kāmadankīya-nītisāraḥ.* Ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra. Bibl. Ind. 4
- KSG *Kāvya-saṅgrahaḥ pañcasaptati-saṃskṛta-kāvya-tmakah.* Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. 3rd ed. Calcutta 1888
- KSH *Kāvya-saṅgraha. A Sanskrit Anthology...* by Dr. J. Haebertlin. Calcutta 1847
- MBh *Śrīmahābhāratam...* Ed. by P. Candra Roy. 3rd ed. Calcutta 1886—8
- Mit See Y

- Mn *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. See MnJh
- MnH Mn; Ed. by Graves Chamney Haughton. London 1825
- MnJ Mn; Ed. by J. Jolly. Trübner Or. Ser. London 1887
- MnJh Mn with the Manubhāṣya of Medhātithi. Ed. by G. Jhā. Bibl. Ind. 256
- MnK Mn with the Manvartha Muktāvali, Commentary by Kullūka. Ed. by Pt. G. Ś. Nene. Kashi SS 114
- MnL Mn; *Lois de Manou*, publiées... par A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps. Paris 1830
- MnM Mn with the Commentaries... Ed. by V. N. Mandlik. Bombay 1886
- MnN Mn with the Commentary... of Kullūka. 10th ed. by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya Kāvya-tīrtha. Nirṇaya Sagar Press. Bombay 1846
- MP *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*... Ed. by Rev. K. M. Banerjea. Bibl. Ind. 29
- MRP *Madanaratnapradīpa (Vyavaharavivekodyota)*. Ed. by P. V. Kane. Gaṅga Or. Ser.
- N *The Institutes of Nārada*... Ed. by J. Jolly. Bibl. Ind. 102
- NM *Nīti Mañjarī of Dyā Dviveka*. Ed. by S. J. Joshi. Banaras 1933
- NMS *Nāradyamanusamhitā*. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. TSS 97
- NPr *Nītiprakāśika*. Ed. by G. Oppert. Madras — London 1882
- NV *Nītivākyāmṛta by Somadevasūri*. Ed. by Pt. Pannālāla Soni. Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā 22
- OLPSS Oriental Library Publications. Sanskrit Series. Mysore
- P *Pañcatantra*
- PD *P of Durgasimha* by A. Venkatasubbiah. "Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik 6. 255 sqq
- PN P Nepali text as quoted in PS and PT
- PP P; *A Collection of Ancient Hindu Tales in the Recension, called Pañcākhyānaka*.. Ed. by J. Hertel. HOS 11—2
- PRE P reconstructed... by F. Edgerton. AOS 2—3
- PS *Das südliche P. Sanskrittext der Recension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Recension α*. Herausg. von J. Hertel. Abh. d. phil. Kl. d. k. sächs. Ak. d. Wiss. XXIV. 5
- PT *Über das Tantrākhyāyika, die Kāśmīrische Rezension des P...* von J. Hertel. Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. XXII. 5. Also *Tantrākhyāyika*... aus d. Skt. übersetzt... von J. Hertel I-II. Leipzig u. Berlin 1909



- PTem *The P... in its oldest Recension... entitled Tantrakhyayikā... by*  
 J. Hertel. HOS 14
- Pts *P (textus simplior). Ed. by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Büh-*  
 ler (II-V). BSS 1, 3, 4
- R *Rāmāyana. Bombay edition. Reprinted. Bombay (n. d)*
- RDhK *Rājadharmakaustubhaḥ. Ed. by K. K. Smṛtītīrtha. GOS 72*
- RRK *Rajanīti-ratnākara by Caṇḍeśvara. Bihar and Orissa Re-*  
 search Soc. Patna 1936
- Śa *Śaṅkha Saṁhitā*
- SC *Smṛticandrikā by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Ed. by J. R. Gharpure.*  
 Coll. of Hindu Law Texts 11
- SCM *Smṛticintāmaṇiḥ, India Office MSS. Library, as quoted in Dh*
- ŚP *The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara, a Skt. Anthology. Ed. by P. Pe-*  
 terson. BSS 37
- SRBh *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhaṇḍāgāra. Ed. by N. R. Kāvya-tīrtha.*  
 Bombay 1952
- SRK *Subhāṣita-ratnākara. Ed. by K. Ś. Bhāṭavaḍekar. Bom-*  
 bay 1872
- SS *Smṛtisāraḥ, India Office MSS. Library, as quoted in Dh*
- ŚŚ *Śukranītisāraḥ, śrīmat śukrācāryaviracitaḥ. 2nd ed. Calcutta 1890*
- Što *Die Śukasaptati, textus ornatior. Herausg. von R. Schmidt.*  
 Abh. d. Bay. Ak. d. Wiss. 21.2
- SV *The Sarasvatīvilāsa... Ed. by Dr. R. Shama Shastry.*  
 OLPSS 71
- U *Ujjvalā. Āpastamba Dharmasūtra with the Commentary Ujjvalā.*  
 Ed. by Pt. A. Ch. Śāstri... and Pt. A. R. Śāstri. KSS 93
- Vās *Aphorisms on the Sacred Law of the Āryas, as taught in the school*  
*of Vasiṣṭha (Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra). Ed. by A. A. Führer.*  
 BSS 23
- VBh *Vivādadabhaṅgaṇavaḥ. Govt. Or. Library Series, Mysore*
- VC *Vikrama's Adventures... Ed. in four Recensions (VCsr, VCmdr,*  
 VCbr, VCjr) by F. Edgerton. HOS 26—7
- VCa *Vivādadacandraḥ. Maithil Nibandha Mala. Patna, as quoted in Dh*
- VCi *Vivādadacintāmaṇiḥ, Venkatesvara Press. Bombay*
- Vet *Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatika in den Recensionen des Śivadasa u. eines*  
*Unbekannten mit kritischen Kommentar. Herausg. von H. Uhle.*  
 AKM 8.1
- Vi *The Institutes of iṣṇu (Viṣṇu-Smṛti)... Ed. by J. Jolly. Bibl. Ind. 9*
- VKK *Varṣa Kriyā Kaumudī by Govindānanda Kavikaṅkanācārya. Ed.*  
 by Pt. K. K. Smṛtibhūṣaṇa. Bibl. Ind. 149
- VRA *Viramitrodaya by Pt. Mitra Miśra, Vol. II, Ahnika Pra-*  
 kāśa. ChSS 1913

- VRK *Vivāda-ratnākara*... by Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura. Ed. by K. Smṛtitīrtha. Bibl. Ind. 103
- VRL *Viramitrodaya* by Pt. Mitra Miśra, Vol. XX. *Lakṣaṇa Prakāśa*. ChSS 1916
- VRR *Viramitrodaya* by Pt. Mitra Miśra, Vol. VI. *Rajanīti Prakāśa*. ChSS 1916
- VRV *Viramitrodaya* by Pt. Mitra Miśra, Vol. VII. *Vyavahāra Prakāśa*. ChSS 1932
- VS *Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī*. Ed. by P. Peterson. BSS 31
- VT *Vivadātandavam*. Lakṣmī Vilāsa Press. Baroda
- VV *Vivadārṇavasetuḥ*. Veṅkateśvara Press. Bombay
- VVy *Vivādavyavahāraḥ*, Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute, Poona, as quoted in Dh
- Vy *Vyāsa Smṛti*
- VyK *Vyavahāraśāstrakalpataruḥ*, *Prajñāpathasthala*. Wai, as quoted in Dh
- VyMā *Vyavahāramātrkā*, Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta
- VyN *Vyavahāranirṇaya of Varadarāja*. Ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. Adyar Library. Adyar 1942
- VyP *Vyavahāraprakāśaḥ*. Saraswati Mahal Library. Tanjore, as quoted in Dh
- VyS *Vyavahārārthasamuccaya*. Saraswati Mahal Library. Tanjore, as quoted in Dh
- VySau *Vyavahārasaukhyam*. Bhandarkar Or. Research Institute. Poona, as quoted in Dh
- VyU *Vyavahārodyotaḥ* *Prajñāpathasthala*. Wai, as quoted in Dh
- Y *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*... with the Commentary *Mitākṣara* (Mit) of Vijñāneśvara. Ed. by L. Ś. Paṇṣīkar. 4th ed. Bombay 1936. Also *The Yājñavalkya Smṛti with Viramitrodaya, the Commentary of Mitra Miśra and Mitākṣara*. Ed. by Pt. S. Khiste... and Pt. J. Ś. Hosīṅga... ChSS 62. Also *Apararārka-parā-bhidhaparādityaviracitatīkasameta* (Apar) *Yājñavalkyasmṛtiḥ*. Ed. by the Paṇḍits of the Ānandāśrama. ĀnSS 46
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

## I. Introduction

1. An analysis of the *Hitopadeśa* leads to the conclusion that this work is primarily an anthology of maxims and aphorisms, and only to a lesser degree a compendium of stories based on the *Pañcatantra* in which such aphorisms are interpolated.



N ā r ā y a ṇ a who is believed to be the author of the *Hitopadeśa*, often tried with success to interweave the tales, mostly borrowed from the *Pañcatantra*, with such maxims and aphorisms known to him as in his view have had some connexion with the respective stories themselves.

In this way N ā r ā y a ṇ a tried to compose a *subhaṣita-saṅgraha* containing mostly good counsels for the teaching of the sons of Sudarśana, the king of Pāṭaliputra<sup>1</sup>.

2. The main editions of the *Hitopadeśa* contain 786 stanzas from amongst which the origin of 557 stanzas has been traced in HAIS<sup>2</sup>.

The main sources for N ā r ā y a ṇ a were the *Pañcatantra*, various C ā ṇ a k y a compendia<sup>3</sup>, the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* and other *nīti* works, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, some Purāṇas (particularly the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*), some other *Kathā* works and finally the *Dharmaśāstras*, and in particular the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*.

3. There are 18 and one half stanzas in the *Hitopadeśa* which, either directly or indirectly, have been borrowed by N ā r ā y a ṇ a from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Some other stanzas contain similar thoughts expressed in different words and were probably inspired by the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. A few other stanzas have been borrowed from *Dharmaśāstras* other than the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, but only the 18 stanzas directly borrowed from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* comprise the subject matter of this paper.

4. N ā r ā y a ṇ a knew the *Pañcatantra* very well. As he stated himself, he extracted from it the material for the four books of his *Hitopadeśa*<sup>4</sup>. He also knew well some of the *nīti* literature, the *kathā* literature; unfortunately however he was poorly acquainted with the *dharma* literature, including even such a well-known work as the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. He had little training and probably never went through the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* itself. As most authors of his times, he knew by heart some of the maxims by Manu, possibly without knowing their origin; without referring to the original, he included them in the stories, where he assumed they belonged. His ignorance of their origin and context led him often to serious mistakes.

He quoted sometimes stanzas out of context, depriving them thus of their real meaning<sup>5</sup>. On other occasions, the memory of N ā r ā y a ṇ a failed him when he quoted some of the stanzas from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, without referring to the original. This occurred for instance in the case of tales III 7 b and III 8<sup>6</sup>, where he first quoted the second part of stanzas Mn 7.198,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HAIS par. 48—9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HAIS par. 48 and table VI.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. JSAIL 24.

<sup>4</sup> HJ Intr. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. par. 8, 9, 22, 29 below.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. HAIS table II.

then stanza Mn 7.199, and then the whole of stanza 7.198<sup>7</sup>. In another passage, Nārāyaṇa first quoted the first part of stanza Mn 7.195, then stanza Mn 7.192 and then went back to the second part of stanza Mn 7.195. Inserting stanza Mn 7.192 between the two parts of stanza Mn 7.195, Nārāyaṇa destroyed the logic and sequence of the latter stanza<sup>8</sup>. Not knowing the original from which he borrowed, i. e. the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, Nārāyaṇa quoted sometimes two stanzas leaving out one or more preceding or following stanzas by which he changed the sense of the original<sup>9</sup> or, without any apparent reason, the order of the stanzas<sup>10</sup>. Sometimes by selecting only one stanza from a group dealing with the same subject, Nārāyaṇa missed his own objective which was to include in his *Hitopadeśa* as many aphorisms as possible dealing with the same subject, and to create a perfect, *subhāṣita-saṅgraha*<sup>11</sup>.

Nārāyaṇa showed also poor judgment in choosing certain stanzas from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. He sometimes included in his work poorly worded<sup>12</sup>, or little known<sup>13</sup> stanzas from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, or exceptional rules<sup>14</sup>, or rules not well fitted to his text<sup>15</sup>, although he had a choice of stanzas from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* better suited to his story<sup>16</sup>.

Because of his inexperience in the *Dharmaśāstras* (which was obviously a handicap to a *subhāṣita-saṅgraha* author), Nārāyaṇa included in one and the same story two or more stanzas which from the legal point of view were incompatible<sup>17</sup>.

5. The list of mistakes committed by Nārāyaṇa in selecting stanzas from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* is certainly impressive. However, Nārāyaṇa cannot always be blamed for them. In a number of cases in the selection of a stanza from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* he followed blindly his master-work, the *Pañcatantra*, where the stanza had already been quoted mistakenly<sup>18</sup>. Sometimes a stanza originating from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* lost its specific meaning at the time when it was used by Nārāyaṇa<sup>19</sup>. It has

<sup>7</sup> Cf. par. 44 below.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. par. 50 below.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. par. 15, 32, 35, 50 below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. par. 35, 44 below.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. par. 16, 44, 45, 48, 51 below.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. par. 38 below.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. par. 9 below.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. par. 13 below.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. par. 9, 39 below.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. par. 13, 40 below.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. par. 26 below.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. par. 10, 15, 29 below.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. par. 9, 29 below.



to be added that we do not know the original text (the ur-text) of the *Hitopadeśa* nor do we know whether all the dubious stanzas were in fact included in the *Hitopadeśa* by Nārāyaṇa himself. It is possible, and particularly in cases when a stanza was quoted only in certain editions, that it was added later by a scribe or a "reviser" of the *Hitopadeśa*<sup>20</sup>.

6. The analysis of each stanza quoted below, shows that Nārāyaṇa was not always as careless as all that. On the contrary, at times, he appeared to know the meaning of the original stanza well and changed some of its words merely to apply the stanza more meaningfully to the text treated. And so for instance in the case of stanza HJ 2.8 he made some fortunate verbal changes so as to adjust the text to the requirements of the story<sup>21</sup>.

On occasions, he omitted, probably deliberately, a stanza similar to that already quoted, because it did not suit the line of his story<sup>22</sup>. In other cases he chose the less legalistic, less casuistic and most palatable rules<sup>22</sup>.

## II. Analysis of texts

### 1. STORY I.2 b OF THE OLD TIGER AND THE TRAVELLER

7. In the story I.2 (b) we find the following stanza:

*apadarthe*<sup>23</sup> *dhanam rakṣed*<sup>24</sup> *dārān*<sup>25</sup> *rakṣed*<sup>26</sup> *dhanair api*  
<sup>27</sup>*atmānam satatam*<sup>28</sup> *rakṣed*<sup>29</sup> *dārair api*<sup>30</sup> *dhanair api*<sup>31</sup>

"Let him preserve (his) wealth against misfortune; let him preserve (his) wife even (at the expense) of (his) wealth; (but) let him always preserve himself even (at the expense) of (his) wife and (his) wealth".

<sup>20</sup> Cf. par. 23, 41 below. Very few such cases were noted, as far as the stanzas borrowed from the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* are concerned.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. par. 30 below.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. par. 19 below.

<sup>23</sup> *apadartham* HP, HN, HK, P in HS, VCsr (VJENd in VCsr as above), GŚ in VCjr, Śto, BhB, DhV, CSH, CŚN, CVF, CFG, CVK, Mn (all editions), VRR; *apadarthe* A in HP, Pp in HS; *apadarthe* B in HP.

<sup>24</sup> *rakṣyam* Ś in VCjr; *rakṣet* HP 3.122, HK 3.126, BhB, CSH, CŚW, CRC.

<sup>25</sup> *dāram* HH (corrupt); *dārā* Ś in VCjr, MBh (Bhandarkar edition 5.37,17), VRR.

<sup>26</sup> *rakṣya* Ś in VCjr, VRR; *rakṣet* DhV, CRC, MnJh (notes) wrongly.

<sup>27</sup> *atmā tu sarvato rakṣya* (*rakṣyo* CRC) Ś in VCjr, CRC; *atmā tu sarvatha* MBh (Bhandarkar edition 5.37,17).

<sup>28</sup> *sarvato* M<sub>9</sub>K in MnJ, VRV; *sarvada* G in MnJ (also quoted in MnJh); *tu tathā* Nd in MnJ (also quoted in MnJh).

<sup>29</sup> *rakṣet* CŚW wrongly.

<sup>30</sup> *danair api* KRB in Śto; *rakṣet putradara* HN; *paśva darai* IS 958.

<sup>31</sup> *apiti* RRK (*contra metrum*).

This stanza is found in the *Hitopadeśa* (HJ 1.43, HS 1.36, HM 1.41, HP 1.31, HN 1.31, HK 1.42, HH 12.15—6, HC 17.1—2) and Mn (7.213; also quoted in VRR 413.2—3, RRK 15. 11 cd and Dh 3.1978). It is also found in MBh (1.160,27; 5.36,18; cf. MBh Bhandarkar ed. 12.136, 173 βγ), in Cāṇakya's compendia (CŚH 29, CŚW 8, CŚN 12, CŚP 7, CVND 1.6, CVV 1.6, CV in IS (958) 1.6, CVA 1.6, CVF 1.6, CVG 1.6, CVGt 1.6, CVK 1.6, CVN 1.6, CVT(d) 195, CVW 1.7, CRC 2.1, CRB 2.1, CNI 94). Moreover we find this aphorism in the *kathā* and *kāvya* literature (Pts 1.356; 3. 86; VCsr 12.1; VCjr 20.1; Śto 321.12—3, Vet 19.16 and DhV 14).

HJ 1.43 α is also found in HP 3.122 α and HK 3.126 α; it forms there a part of another aphorism also found in the same form in HP 3.122 (HK 3.126), BhB 198 and CV in IS (959) 1.7<sup>32</sup>.

The main editions of the *Hitopadeśa* contain minor variants. The main editions of Mn are identical. Some MSS. of Mn and quotations of Mn found in digests contain minor variants<sup>33</sup>.

The HP, HN and HK editions and the P MS. of HS are identical with Mn<sup>34</sup>.

8. In the *Hitopadeśa* this stanza forms part of story I.2(b)<sup>35</sup>, while in Mn it is contained in the chapter dealing with *nīti*, viz. the king. Although the king is not mentioned *expressis verbis*, it is evident from the foregoing and following stanzas that Mn meant that the king should preserve money, and not necessarily all men, against misfortune, since *kośa* is the basis of the elements of State<sup>36</sup>. However Medhātithi, commenting on Mn 7.213, states that although this rule is laid down in the *Rāja-dharma-prakaraṇa*, it should be applicable to all persons since it serves a useful purpose.

In the *Hitopadeśa* this stanza clearly does not apply to kings, but is quoted by Nārāyaṇa in order to illustrate the saying of Hiranyaka that the protection of dependants<sup>37</sup> (wife is here taken as a *pars pro toto* for dependants) is not approved at the cost of one's life.

9. Nārāyaṇa was fully justified for quoting stanza Mn 7.215 out of context and for attributing to it universal application since, as Medhātithi had already pointed out, this stanza applied to all men; but Nārāyaṇa chose a stanza which has no direct bearing on the maxim under consideration; no corresponding stanza is found in other Dharma- or Arthasāstras.

<sup>32</sup> HJ 1.43 is quoted in IS 958, while HP 3.122 is quoted in IS 959.

<sup>33</sup> MBh is identical with H. The CŚ and CV groups, P, VCsr, VCjr, Śto, Vet and other sources are identical with some editions of H. Some changes are noted in MSS.

<sup>34</sup> M in MnJ is identical with HJ.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. HAIS table ad I.2.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* 3.184 sqq.

<sup>37</sup> Wife was taken in this stanza as a *pars pro toto* (for dependents). Cf. Medhātithi on wives ad Mn 7. 213.



10. This stanza is also found in the *kathā* literature, in particular in P, and therefore it is possible that Nārāyaṇa may have made his choice not directly from Mn.

2. STORY I.4a OF THE BLIND VULTURE, THE CAT AND THE BIRDS

11. In the story I.4(a) we find the following stanza:

*trṇāni bhūmir udakam* <sup>38</sup>*vāc caturthī ca sūnṛtā*<sup>39</sup>

<sup>40</sup>*etany api satām gehe nocchidyante*<sup>41</sup> *kadācana*<sup>42</sup>

"Grass, place (to sit on), water and, fourthly, a kind word; these (things) are never missing in the house of good men"

This stanza is found in H (HJ 1.61, HS 1.53, HM 1.59, HP 1.45, HN 1.47, HK 1.60, HH 15.23—4, HC 21.14—5) and Mn (MnJh 3.91; other editions, viz. MnJ, MnN, MnH, MnK, MnL, MnM 3.101; also quoted in Mit *ad* Y 1.107, VRĀ 441.7—8)<sup>43</sup>. It is also found in MBh 3.2, 53; 5.35, 34; PP 1.131, Pts 1.171 and NV 32.13<sup>44</sup>.

The main editions of H are identical<sup>45</sup>. Also the main editions of Mn are identical. The texts of H and Mn are identical. MBh, PP, Pts differ from H and Mn in γ. (P is probably a variant of MBh)<sup>46</sup>.

12. In H this stanza forms part of story I. 4(a). (A corresponding story is found in P 3.4<sup>47</sup>). It is there one of the first six stanzas recited by a cat wishing to win confidence. These stanzas are introduced there as deriving from *dharmaśāstra* works. In the corresponding story in P other stanzas are quoted<sup>48</sup>. The stanzas quoted in H are congruous and deal with hospitality to be given to a guest. Chapters on hospitality are also found in the main Smṛtis<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> *vācā caiva tu NV.*

<sup>39</sup> *ṭhī sū<sup>0</sup> (ca om.) IS 2589; sūnatā IS 2589.*

<sup>40</sup> *satām etāni harmyeṣu PP, Pts, ŚP; satām etāni geheṣu MBh; daridrair api dātavyam samāsannasya cārthinaḥ NV.*

<sup>41</sup> *'cchidyanti N in HP; 'chidyanta IS 2589.*

<sup>42</sup> *kadādāna MBh 5.35, 34, MBh 3.2, 53 (printing error).*

<sup>43</sup> *Cf. Hār. in VRĀ 449; Pr in VRĀ 440; DhSP in VRĀ 442—3; Yama in VRĀ 443.*

<sup>44</sup> This stanza is ascribed to a *guru*; it contains variants in β, while γδ are different. It is probably a different stanza.

<sup>45</sup> Only one minor variant was noted in N in HP, but HN is identical with HJ.

<sup>46</sup> ŚP 642 quoted also this stanza. γ reads there *satām etāni harmyeṣu*. Th. A u f r e c h t (ZDMG 27.209) ascribes this stanza to Mn and H wrongly, since this text is a variant of P. On the other hand SRBh 163.444 which has in γ the text identical to that found in Mn and H, ascribes it to P.

<sup>47</sup> In PP and Pts. *Cf. RO 17.220—39.*

<sup>48</sup> *Cf. RO 17.226.*

<sup>49</sup> Mn 3.94—118; Y 1.104—13; Vi 67.28—46; Āp 2.4, 11, 13—20; 6.5—9; G 5.25—45; Vās 8.4—15; Dakṣa 3.5—8, B 2.5, 11—8; 6.36—7 and others.

In Mn one of the stanzas dealing with guests is identical with HJ 1.61. This stanza is not quoted in other Smṛtis but its contents are identical with Āp (2.2, 4, 14); Y (1.107), partly G (5.35—6) and *Baudhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* (2.9, 21—3)<sup>50</sup>.

It is an important stanza relating to hospitality. As Mit (*ad* Y 1.107) explains, it means that if the host is so poor that he cannot find food in his house, he should honour the guest with grass (bedding<sup>51</sup>), place (space for sitting, sleeping and moving about<sup>51</sup>), water and kind words (in the form of conversation<sup>51</sup>).

13. This is an exceptional rule to be found in the Smṛtis. A more general rule is found in Mn 3.89<sup>52</sup> which states that the main responsibility of the host is to give the guest food, a seat and water. Only if the host is so poor as not to be able to afford food to the guest, he should give him only a seat (grass, room), water and a kind word.

If Nārāyaṇa had been better acquainted with the Dharmaśāstras, he would have included before HJ 1.61, the better known and general rule of the Smṛtis<sup>53</sup> viz. Mn 3.89; and had he wanted to combine both concepts, i. e. the general concept (each host) with the specific concept (host too poor to afford food) he would have chosen Y 1.107.

\* \* \*

14. In the same story I. 4(a) we find another stanza recited by a cat in wishing to win confidence, which is also found in Mn. This stanza reads in H:

*eka eva suhṛd<sup>54</sup> dharmo nidhane'py anyatyāi yāḥ*  
*śarīreṇa samam nāśam sarvaṃ<sup>55</sup> anyat tu<sup>57</sup> gacchati*

“Dharma is the only friend that follows (men) after death; everything else perishes together with the body”.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. MBh quoted in VRĀ 441, 448, Vās, Śaṅkha-Likhita, Parāśara, Hārīta, Yama, Praccheta and Viṣṇudharmottara, all quoted in VRĀ 412—3, 419, 440—3, 448.

<sup>51</sup> Medhātithi.

<sup>52</sup> MnJ, MnN, MnH, MnK, MnL, MnM 3.99. Cf. Y 1.107, Vās 4.12, Vi 67.45, G 5.32—4, Āp 2.2, 4, 13—6.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of the Dharmaśāstra* 2.2, 752 sqq.

<sup>54</sup> śatām PN.

<sup>55</sup> sarvaṃ HK.

<sup>56</sup> atra PS.

<sup>57</sup> anyatra Pp in HS, HP (Edd. in HP as above) HN, NA in PS; hi PS (HO in PS as above); anyad dhi P in HS, PN, PT, PTem, PRE, Mn (and all editions and most digests quoting Mn, with the exception of VyK which reads as in the text quoted above).



This stanza is found in H (HJ 1.67, HS 1.59, HM 1.64, HP 1.49, HN 1.50, HK 1.66, HH 16, 16—7, HC 22.12—3) and Mn 8.17 (also quoted in VyK 15<sup>58</sup>, VyP<sup>58</sup>, VyS 8<sup>58</sup>, VySau 11<sup>58</sup>, Hemādri, Vrata 14, *Nrsinhaprasāda Saṃskara* 17a, *Kṛtyakalpataru* 11a and VyN 17; the latter wrongly ascribes this stanza to Kāty where it cannot be found). It is also found in P (PN 3.30, PS 3.37, PT 3.47, PTem 3.61, PRE 3.50) and in BrDh 2.14,10.

The main editions of H are almost identical, only one minor variant is found in the HN and the HK editions respectively; some minor variants are also found in some MSS. of H; one of them which contains a minor variant in ḍ, viz. the P MS, in HS, is identical with PN, PT, PTem, PRE and NA MSS. in PS. This MS is identical with all the Mn editions and with all digests which quote the Mn stanza.

15. Stanza HJ 1.67 was one of those recited by the cat to gain confidence, similarly as in P in the tale of the cat acting as judge between the partridge and the hare; it is the only one quoted in both P and H<sup>59</sup>. It seems most likely that Nārāyaṇa, who plagiarized quite excessively P, borrowed this stanza not directly from Mn, but through P. It is not understandable why when quoting Mn 8.17, he did not quote the preceding stanza in P<sup>60</sup> also found in Mn 8.15<sup>61</sup>.

16. Nārāyaṇa revealed once more that he was not well acquainted with the Smṛtis. Had he known the Smṛtis better, he would have certainly included another stanza from Mn very closely connected with the stanza quoted above, viz. Mn 4. 241<sup>62</sup>.

### 3. STORY I.6 a OF THE OLD MAN AND HIS YOUNG WIFE

17. The story I.6 (a) of the old man and his young wife contains three stanzas also found in Mn. The most important of them is HJ 1.128 which reads:

<sup>58</sup> According to Dh 1.36.

<sup>59</sup> HJ 1.61 is also quoted in PP 1.131 and Pts 1.171 (see above); HJ 1.64 is also quoted in PD 305.85; and HJ 1.70 is also quoted in PN 1.45 and PS 2.49.

<sup>60</sup> PN 3.30, PS 3.37, PT 3.47, PTem 3.61, PRE 3.50.

<sup>61</sup> *Dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ tasmād dharmo na hantavyo mā no dharmo hato vadhāt* (also found in MBh 3.313,28 and Brāhmadharma 2.14,9).

<sup>62</sup> Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces; but *dharmo* follows (the soul).

*pita rakṣati kaumāre bhartā rakṣati yauvane*<sup>63</sup>

<sup>64</sup>*putrāś ca sthāvire*<sup>65</sup> *bhāve*<sup>66</sup> *na* <sup>67</sup>*strī svātantryam arhati*<sup>68</sup>

"The father protects (her) in maidenhood; the husband protects (her) in youth; (her) sons in old age. A woman is never fit to be free<sup>69</sup>".

This stanza is found in H (HJ 1.128, HS 1.113, HM 1.119, HP 1.91, HN 1.92, HK 1.122, HH 24.26—7, HC 33.17—8) and Mn (9.3; also quoted in DhSP 2.1; 38.2; 355.6, SC 2.240,16, U 2.14,2, VRV 406, DhNP 2.50, BBh *Vyavahāra Prakāśa* 195.33 αβγ, BBh *Vivāha Prakāśa* 342.24—5, 211.17, VRK 1191, VyK 128, VyP 406, SCM 27, VV 281, VBh 2.53, VyS 120; VT 821, *Nṛsimhaprasāda Saṁskāra* 66 b, *Saṁskāraratnamālā* 674)<sup>70</sup>. It is also found in other Smṛtis, such as B 2.2,3,45, GMH 28.1, Vās 5.3. N 13.31, NMS 13.31 and in MBh 13.20,21 (also quoted in Dh 2.1031), 13.46,14, R 2.39, 33 (2.29, 18), GP 1.115,63, *Padma Purāṇa Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa* 54.23<sup>71</sup> and in some C compendia (CŚF 58, CRB 8.68, CNI 154).

The main editions of H and its various MSS. contain minor variants. The main editions of Mn and the digests quoting Mn contain two variants in γ but some MSS. of Mn are sometimes almost identical with the texts of H. Of all the Smṛtis, only the text of Vās is identical with the text of H. Also MBh (13.46, 14) and the CŚ group<sup>72</sup> are identical with the texts of H. Other sources contain minor variants.

18. This stanza is introduced by Nārāyaṇa to illustrate the idea conveyed in the story of the young wife and the old husband that women are never fit to be independent since they are always fickle and disloyal to their husbands; therefore, they should always be protected by someone i.e. by their fathers until they are married, by their husbands during marriage and

<sup>63</sup> *yauvane* IS.

<sup>64</sup> *putrās (putras) tu* N in HP, HN, P in HS, GP, MBh in Dh, CŚF, B, N, RNd in MnJ, GMH, U, VRV, VyP, VyS, DhSP 2.1,355, DhNP, VRK, SRBh; *putrāś ca* Vās (FH in Vās as above); *putraḥ sthāvira bhāve tu na*<sup>0</sup> DhSP 2.1, 38; *putrā rakṣanti vārdhake* R in Dh; *rakṣanti vārdhake putrā* NMS; *rakṣanti stha*<sup>0</sup> HS, HK, Mn (all editions), SC, SCM, BBh, VBh, VyS.  
<sup>65</sup> *sthāvire* HM, HC, U, CŚF; MBh 13.10,21; SRBh; *sthāviri* GMH, B (ed in B as above; *sthāvire co* in B, B in KSS 2.3,46; B in AnSS 2.2,52).  
<sup>66</sup> *kale* Pp in HS, GP, MBh 13.20, 21, CŚF; *putrā* HK, Mn (all editions and most digests quoting Mn; differently GMH, DhNP, U, VRV, VRK, VyP, VyS).  
<sup>67</sup> *svātantryam kvacit striyaḥ* Saṁskāraratnamālā; *nāsti strīṇāṁ svātantrata*

MBh 13.20,21.

<sup>68</sup> *arhati* B (BS in B as above), G, Vās.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. JSAIL 22.12—5.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. JSAIL 22.7—11.

<sup>71</sup> See also SRBh 166.575 ascribed to GP and compare Vi 25.13, *Smṛtyantara* in Apar 109, N in *Vivadaratnakara* 411 and *Mahānirvāṇatantra* 8.106.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. JSAIL 24.



by their sons during widowhood. This idea is also conveyed in Mn 5.146 (in other editions 5.148). While in Mn 9.3 the fickleness and disloyalty of women is highlighted, in Mn 5.146 the idea of independence of women in their own houses is highlighted. The first idea is more pertinent to the story of the young wife and the old husband.

19. Independently of how far Nārāyaṇa was unacquainted with the Smṛtis, it is difficult to assume that he did not know both the stanzas i. e. Mn 9.3 and Mn 5.146, since the latter was also very well-known. He must have failed to include the latter rule deliberately, since the idea behind that rule did not suit his purpose. Similar rules of N 13.31 and Y 1.85—6 which are too legalistic, too elaborate and too casuistic are equally not included, although Nārāyaṇa, the compiler, should have included them.

It is also conceivable that Nārāyaṇa knew only rule Mn 9.3 and the omission of other similar rules from Mn and other sources was due to his ignorance.

\* \* \*

20. The second legal rule in the story I.6 (a) reads:

*mātrā svasrā duhitṛā vā<sup>73</sup> na<sup>75</sup> viviktāsano bhavet<sup>76</sup>*

*<sup>77</sup>balavān indriya-grāmo <sup>78</sup>vidvāmsam api karṣati*

"One should not sit in a sequestered place with (his) mother, sister, or daughter; the assemblage of sense-organs (is) powerful and overpowers even a wise man"<sup>79</sup>.

This stanza is found only in two main editions of H, viz. HJ 1.129 and HH 25.1—2 (it is also quoted *ad* HS 1.113 and in Mn (2.215). It is also found in GP 1.114,6 Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brahmaparvan 4.184, CRC 7.9, BhP 9.19,17 and ŚS 3.18 α<sup>80</sup>.

All the main editions of H are identical with the exception of one minor variant in HH; all editions of Mn are also identical. The text of H is identical with the text of Mn, with the exception of MnN which contains the same minor variant that is found in HH. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* is identical with H. GP and BhP contain only one minor variant each. ŚS differs in γδ and contains some variants in β<sup>81</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> ca ŚP.

<sup>74</sup> nātyantaikāntikam vaset ŚS; naikaśayyāsano SRBh.

<sup>75</sup> no HH, MnN (var.).

<sup>76</sup> vaset GP (cf. fn. 73); viśat IS 4809.

<sup>77</sup> balavān indriyaḥ grāmaṁ IS 4809; yathā sambandhamahūyadabhāṣyaśvāsya vai striyam ŚS.

<sup>78</sup> vidvāmsam api BhP; paṇḍito'py atra muhyati VS.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. JSAIL 22.12—5.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Āp 1.2, 7, 3; 7.11; 1, 1, 3; 16; B 1.2, 3, 23; 33; MBh 13.48, 37—8; also quoted in VS 2780, ŚP 654, SRBh 15.14,45 (ascribed to ŚP).

<sup>81</sup> ŚP, VS and SRBh contain minor variants.



21. This stanza (Mn 2.215) is borrowed by Nārāyaṇa from the second book of Mn which deals with studentship and cannot be read separately from the two preceding stanzas. These stanzas say that the very nature of women is to seduce men and therefore wise men should never be unguarded in the company of women, since the latter are capable of leading astray every man, be it a fool, or a sage and of making him a slave of desires and passion. Then Mn continues with the stanza in question (Mn 2.215). Medhātithi commenting on these three stanzas makes it clear that they are referring to students.

MBh (13.48,37—8) also mentions the same idea but repeats only the first two stanzas and omits Mn 2.215. BhP does not quote Mn 2.215 without an introduction. It first states that men are slaves of desires and then quotes Mn 2.94 according to which desire is never extinguished by the enjoyment of desired objects, but is growing stronger. In this connexion BhP continues with the idea contained in Mn 2.215.

22. Nārāyaṇa probably not understanding Mn 2.215 well, borrowed this stanza out of context and without introduction included it in the story of the young wife and the old husband; this makes the aphorism partly understandable, the more so as the stanza in its proper framework has a special meaning, viz. it refers clearly to students and their duty to remain chaste during the period of apprenticeship<sup>82</sup>.

23. It is however possible that Nārāyaṇa himself did not make this mistake and that stanza Mn 2.215 was added later by a scribe. This may be deduced from the fact that neither HN, nor HP, nor even most of the H editions contain this stanza. It is only found in the HJ and HH editions which are known to have the greatest number of stanzas, possibly added at a later date<sup>83</sup>.

24. The third legal rule in the story I.6 (a) reads:  
*pānam durjana-saṁsargaḥ patyā ca viraho 'tanam*<sup>84</sup>  
<sup>85</sup>*svapnaś cā'nya-grhe vāso* <sup>86</sup>*nārīṇām dūṣanāni śat*

<sup>82</sup> Similar rules are found in the various Smṛtis. Cf. G 2.16, Āp 1.2, 7, 3; 8—11; 16; B 1.2, 3, 23.

<sup>83</sup> It may be also argued that this stanza lost its specific meaning and could be applied to women in general. That may be deduced from ŚS which incorporates the rule in the chapter dealing with morality, as well as from MBh and BhP. Cf. JSAIL 22.15.

<sup>84</sup> *virahe'tanam* MnJh (notes); k, kh, gh in Apar.  
<sup>85</sup> *svapnam-anya*<sup>0</sup> HP, P in HS, HC, SRBh; *svapno'nya grhe vāsaś ca strīṇāṁ* Apar, BBh; *grha* VRK) *vāsaś ca nārī saṁdū*<sup>0</sup> (*nārīṇām* G in MnJ, MnJh notes, VRK, SCM, VV) Mn (all editions), Apar, BBh, SC, SCM, VRK, VyN, VyK, VyS, VV, VBh.  
<sup>86</sup> *strīṇām vai* B in HP, K in MnJ (also quoted in Jh); *strīṇām saṁdū*<sup>0</sup> Pp in HS, VV; *strīṇām dr*<sup>0</sup> SCM.



“Drinking, close contact with wicked people<sup>87</sup>, separation from husband, gadding about, (too much) sleeping and dwelling in another (man’s) house are the six causes of ruin to women”<sup>88</sup>.

This stanza is found in (HJ 1.122, HS 1.108, HM 1.114, HP 1.86, HN 1.88, HK 1.115, HH 24.12—3, HC 33.5—6) and in Mn (9.13; also quoted in Apar 108.9—10, BBh 3.211, 29, SC 2.241, 33, VRK 1253, VyN 389.19—20, VyK 134, VyS 120, 121, VV 287, VBh 18, SCM 27<sup>89</sup>).

The main editions of H and its various MSS. contain some minor variants, particularly in γ. The main editions of Mn and the digests quoting Mn contain some changes in γ and some minor variants.

**25.** This stanza cannot be interpreted without the preceding stanza in H which, although not taken verbatim from the Smṛtis, contains elements included in the Smṛtis and deals with the same subjects. This stanza is well-known and is often quoted in classical Sanskrit literature. For instance, it is quoted in the *Sukasaptati* (*textus ornatio* 328.10—3) and in K o k k o k a ’ s *Ratirahasya* (4.22).

VRK after quoting the first stanza borrowed by N ā r ā y a ṇ a from Mn adds that what is mentioned in that stanza is only presented by way of a few examples of what leads to the ruin of women’s character. This comment is pertinent, as we find in other Smṛtis examples of women being led to ruin; such examples are particularly enumerated in Vi, Brh, ŚŚ, Śa, Vy and Hār<sup>90</sup>.

**26.** The two stanzas found in H do not exclude but rather complete each other. Thus, in both stanzas we find the idea of separation of a wife from her husband (HJ 1.122) and the husband setting out for journeys (HJ 1.121); association with bad people (HJ 1.122) and association with wanton women (HJ 1.121); a woman residing in other man’s house (HJ 1.122) and a woman living in foreign countries (HJ 1.121). (Causes of corrupting of women listed in HJ 1.121, completing the list of causes given in HJ 1.122 and Mn 9.13, have no legal implications, but are only suggestions for women or their guardians that their actions might hurt their reputation, or may offer opportunities of unchastity). In a work like the *Hitopadeśa*, where stanzas are but loosely assembled and where the question of homogeneity does not arise, mutual exclusion of stanzas does not arise either. However in those portions of a Dharmaśāstra which form a kind of a legal code, such incongruity would be inadmissible. A more careful writer and one better acquainted with the Dharmaśāstras would have refrained probably from selecting these particular stanzas.

<sup>87</sup> viz. other unfaithful wives (N ā r ā y a ṇ a *ad* Mn); adulterers (R ā g h ā v ā n a n d a *ad* Mn).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. JSAIL 22.16—8.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Vi 25.3; 9.10—2; Brh 25.9—11; ŚŚ 3.19—20, Śa and Vy in Apar 108; Hār in VRK 1256; Dh 2.1048; SRBh 166.576.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. fns. 87—8.

## 4. STORY II.1 OF THE BULL, THE TWO JACKALS AND THE LION

27. In the first frame-story of the second book of H (story II.1) we find the following stanza:

*alabddham*<sup>91</sup> *caiva lipseta*<sup>92</sup> *labddham*<sup>93</sup> *rakṣed avekṣayā*<sup>94</sup>  
<sup>95</sup>*rakṣitam vardhayet samyag*<sup>96</sup> *vrddham*<sup>97</sup> *tīrtheṣu*<sup>98</sup> *nikṣipet*<sup>99</sup>

"Let him strive to gain (what he has not yet) gained; let him preserve with care what he has gained; let him increase what he has preserved; let him spend on *tīrthas* what he has increased".

This stanza is found in H (HJ 2.8, HS 2.7, HM 2.8, HP 2.8, HN 2.8, HK 2.8, HH 41.1—2, HC 54.11—2) and Mn (7.99; also quoted in DhSP 1.1; 472.11, VRR 131.20—1, RRK 7.15—6). It is also found in P (PS 1.2, v.1., PTEM 1.2, PRE 1.2) and in SRBh 163.468.

The main editions of H contain several minor variants, while the main editions of Mn are identical but some MSS. of Mn and digests quoting the Mn stanza contain some minor variants.

The various *Pañcatantra* versions contain some unimportant variants. A comparison of the H, P and Mn texts shows that there are some differences between the H text on the one side and the P and Mn texts on the other, though some differences are noted between the Mn and P texts (particularly PTEM and PRE texts). In any case the texts of Mn and P are closer to each other than the texts of Mn and H.

28. This stanza is a well-known *nīti* stanza which in all Dharma- and Nīti-śāstras refers to the king and particularly to his duties<sup>100</sup>. The same idea as in Mn 7.99 is also conveyed in Y 1.317, KN 1.18, 11.55, 13.57, K 9.2—3 and partly Vās 16.6. However the maxim may very well apply to all men, perhaps with the exception of the fourth *pada* which in Mn applies to the kings rather than to ordinary men, since it says that one should strive for more and more

<sup>91</sup> *artham* PTEM, PRE; *īhed dharmena* PS.

<sup>92</sup> *labdho'pi parirakṣitum* A in HP (cf. fn. 94).

<sup>93</sup> *rakṣet prayatnataḥ* PRE, Mn (all editions), RRK; *rakṣeta yatnataḥ* G in Mn (also quoted in MnJh); *rakṣec ca yatnataḥ* MR in MnJ, DhSP, VRR; *yatnena palayet* PS (cf. fn. 94).

<sup>94</sup> *apekṣayā* HS (Pp in HS as above), N in HP, HN, HH, Nd in MnJ (also quoted in MnJh); *avekṣayā* IS 630; *apākṣayāt* IS 630; *avakṣayāt* HM, HN; *ca paripālayet* C in HP; *labdho'pi parirakṣitum* A in HP (cf. fn. 92).

<sup>95</sup> *pālitaṁ vardhayen nityam* PS.

<sup>96</sup> *samyag* HS, HM, HN, HK, SRBh (better); *yen nityam* HP (PN, Edd. in HP as above); *yec caiva* Mn (all editions), DhSP, VRR, RRK; *yec cainam* PTEM.

<sup>97</sup> *vrddhim* B in PS.

<sup>98</sup> *pātreṣu* PS, PTEM, PRE, Mn (all editions), DhSP, VRR, RRK (cf. fn. 99).

<sup>99</sup> *nikṣipet* edd., Pp in HS, HH, MnK, Calcutta edition of Mn as quoted in MnL; *nirṣipet* MnH (notes), DhSP, RRK; *vinyaset* BC in PS; *tīrthe vi-*

<sup>100</sup> Cf. in Mn the preceding and following stanzas.



money and preserve what was gained. Further, one should not spend all that he gets and finally what was increased he should bestow upon visits to *tīrthas* (H), or upon worthy persons (P and Mn).

29. This stanza again was included in H out of context. Nārāyaṇa probably borrows it not from Mn, but from P where it applies to men in general and not to kings. This stanza at the time of the composition of P and H had certainly a general meaning<sup>101</sup>; that seems particularly evident from 8 according to which the king ought to bestow money upon worthy persons (*pātra*).

30. In applying this stanza to story II.1, containing several stanzas on the subject of increased riches, Nārāyaṇa showed a good deal of initiative by changing in 8 the word *pātreṣu* (found not only in Mn but also in P) to *tīrtheṣu*. In this way, he made it clear that this stanza applied to men in general. This meant that while spending money on worthy persons (*pātra*) was the king's obligation, there was no such obligation binding ordinary men. The word *pātra* did not mean a holy person (on whom an ordinary person should spend money), but rather a capable or competent person<sup>102</sup> who, according to the Smṛtis, ought to be supported and patronized by kings.

5. STORY II.3 b OF THE DEER, THE JACKAL AND THE CROW

31. In the story II.3 (b) we find the following stanza:

<sup>103</sup>*ākārair iṅgitair*<sup>104</sup> *gatyā ceṣṭayā bhāṣaṇeṇa*<sup>105</sup> *ca*<sup>106</sup>  
*netra-vaktra-vikāreṇa*<sup>107</sup> *lakṣyate*<sup>108</sup> 'ntargataṁ manaḥ<sup>109</sup>

"By external appearances, by motions, by the gait, by gestures and by speech; by changes in the eye or the face, the inward thought is discovered". This stanza is found in H (HJ 2.47, HS ad 2.46, HM 2.50, HK 2.50, HH 47.15—6, HC 63.5—6, 106.3—4<sup>110</sup>) and Mn (8.26; also quoted in DhSP 3.1;

<sup>101</sup> Cf. also KN 13.57 which may also apply to men in general.

<sup>102</sup> An adept in, e.g. an actor, a king's counsellor, or a minister.

<sup>103</sup> *ākareṇe iṅgitair* Apar, SV, VyK.

<sup>104</sup> *iṅgitair* N ↓ PL<sub>1</sub>PrMBh in PP.

<sup>105</sup> *bhāṣitena* ↓ PL<sub>1</sub>Pr in PP, Mn (all editions), SC, DhSP, GMBh, Apar,

k, ch in VyN (VyN as above), VyMā, VyK, SCM, VySau, VRV 71, VVy, VyS, VyP, GR, SV, GP; *harsitaja* GMBh.

<sup>106</sup> *tu* GP.

<sup>107</sup> *cak(t)ra-vikāraiś ca* A in PP; *vikāraiś ca* Pts, Vet, Mn (all editions), VyMā, GMBh, SCM, VySau, VVy, VyS, VyP, GR, Apar, VyN, GMBh, SC, DhSP, VyK, VRV; *vikāreṇa* BDce in Vet; *vikāraiś tu* a in Vet; *vikārabhyām* A in Vet, GP, SV, CRC.

<sup>108</sup> *grhyate* PP, A in Vet (d in Vet as above), Mn (all editions), VyMā, SCM, VySau, VVy, VyS, DhSP, Apar, SC, SV, VyN, VyP, GMBh, NV; *jñāyate* A in PP, Vet, G in MnJ (also quoted in MnJh), VRV, SV, CRC; *śaya*<sup>0</sup> GR.

<sup>109</sup> *nṛṇām* CRC.

<sup>110</sup> Not found in HP and HN.

55.12, SC 49.17, GMBh 186.12—3, GMH 11.23, Apar 620.21—2, SV 104.8—9, VRV 71.13—4, VyMā 313, VyN 70.2—4 (wrongly ascribed to N), VyS 24, VyP 21.31, VyK 32, VySau 31, VVy 10, GR in Dh, SCM 41.42, NV 10.27, 117.10—1 (wrongly ascribed to Vallabhadeva), VS 2803, SRBh 147.226). It is also found in P (PP 1.21, Pts 1.44), Vet (1.8), C compendia (CVT (b) 27.8, CVT(g) 57, CRC 2.55, CRB 2.62) and GP (1.109,52).

The main editions of H are identical. The main editions of Mn are also identical but some variants are noted in different MSS. of Mn and in digests quoting Mn. Some of these digests, e.g. SV, contain a text identical with that of H. That proves that both versions were well-known.

The text of H contains three distinct minor variants as compared with Mn; the same variants partly occur in P.

32. This stanza refers to false witnesses and contains a thought expressed in various Smṛtis not in the same words as in Mn. We find it in Y 2.13—5, N 1.193—6, N *Parīṣiṣṭa* 10—1, Brh 5.43a, Kāty 386, Śaṅkha Likhita in VRV 124.13 and R in Vyavahāradatta 51.

In these Smṛtis as well as in the various digests, Mn 8.26 is not quoted without the preceding stanza 8.25, since both these stanzas form a unit. Mn 8.25 states that the king should discover the internal disposition of men by external marks, such as voices, colour, motions, eyes and gestures; in the following stanza Mn states that by external appearances, by hints, gait etc. their inward thought is revealed.

Medhātithi states in his commentary to Mn 8.26 that this stanza is a supporting stanza of the preceding one and is therefore not repeated in it.

Here again Nārāyaṇa has proved that he was not well acquainted with Mn. He should not have quoted Mn 8.26 without the preceding stanza, particularly since Mn 8.26 was only an explicatory and supporting stanza of Mn 8.25.

33. It is possible that Nārāyaṇa borrowed this stanza not from the original text but through P where it is also quoted without the preceding stanza from Mn<sup>111</sup>. This explanation, however, does not justify his choice.

#### 6. STORY II.3 c OF THE DEER, THE JACKAL AND THE CROW (Continuation)

34. In the story II 3 (c) we find the following two stanzas:

*yasya prasāde prajñāste*<sup>112</sup> *vijayaś ca parākrame*  
*mṛtyuś ca vasati*<sup>113</sup> *krodhe sarva-tejomayo hi saḥ*<sup>114</sup>

<sup>111</sup> PP and Pts quote also the preceding stanza of HJ, while other editions of P mention only HJ 2.46. Cf. JSAIL 20.47.  
<sup>112</sup> *padmā'ste* HJ, HK, HN, HP, HC, Pp in HS, DhSP, SRBh, SRK; *padmāsti* HH; *padmā śrīr* HS, Mn (all editions), VRR.  
<sup>113</sup> *oyuh samvasati* R in MnJ (also quoted in MnJh).  
<sup>114</sup> *oyoh nrpah* HH.