

SUBHĀṢITA-SAMGRAHA-S, A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER  
IN THE HISTORIES OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

1. *Subhāṣita-s. Sūkti-s, Sūtra-s, Lokokti-s.*

1. Whoever studies works of Sanskrit literature must be struck by the fact that most of them contain a countless number of moral and ethical verses. These verses preserved in metrical form, are mines of practical good sense.

1.1. Authors of many ancient Indian masterworks displayed a profound knowledge of human nature with all weaknesses and defects and have given sound moral advice with respect to various situations in which human beings were likely to wind up. These authors particularly believed that the present conduct of humans is a result of previous existence and therefore their present action will heavily bear on their future. Consequently these actions should be good, should be moral, and thus bring happiness in future life. In order to help the individuals to conduct themselves properly they gave them moral and ethical advice, moral and ethical guidance and instruction in practical wisdom; that gave rise to the didactic literature with its wise sayings, advisory sentences and sententious teachings, as well as to the composition of innumerable pithy epigrams of proverbial philosophy — miniature word-paintings which contain deep thoughts masterly incorporated in two verse measures. They are scattered throughout the entire Sanskrit literature. These epigrams, aphorisms, wise sayings, maxims, adages, however quaintly expressed, contain the essence of some moral truths or practical lesson; they are drawn from real life and give the fruit of philosophy grafted on

the stem of experience; they furnish an index to the spirit of a nation and reveal peculiar traits of their character, the wisdom of the wise in which experience of the ages is preserved. In India most of these wise sayings in poetical form, mostly composed *śloka-s* or *anuṣṭubh-s*, belonged to the mass of oral tradition; they were not assembled in any collections but floated freely in order to be quoted at any appropriate occasion by the Indian intellectuals. They contained not only beautiful thoughts but were also drawn and set down in beautiful language; they dealt with a variety of subjects and had as their object practical wisdom or a moral thought by entertaining examples as well as precepts; they carried both mood and suggestion, even if quoted out of the context; they were sentences well expressed in cultivated language, well and beautifully turned and eloquently said; they had often a tinge of poetry, the poetical skill being exhibited in the intricate play of words which created a slinght wit, humour, satire and sententious precepts; they arose laughter, scorn, compassion and other moods. Often these short pieces of excellent poetry written by known poets and containing universal truths became generally adopted as wise and pleasing expression of verity, so that ultimately their authorship was forgotten and they became authorless. These are the *subhāṣita-s* or *sūkti-s* — sayings, epigrams, didactic teachings.

1.2. According to Buddhist teachings *subhāṣita-s* are “well spoken words” which are filled with *dharmma* and not *adhamma*, which are spoken in a pleasant manner and not in a unpleasant manner and which speak the truth and not the untruth. (*Suttanipāta*; 3. *Mahāvagga* 450).

2. From these sententious precepts three other types of sayings must be discerned, viz. (1) quotations from literary Sanskrit works of authors known or unknown, being either narrative verses particularly beautifully constructed standing by itself in which the poet by means of a few strokes depicted a single phase of emotion or a single interesting situation within the limits of a finely finished form; (2) popular maxims or adages; and (3) proverbs.

2.1. The quotations from literary Sanskrit works, also “beautifully turned” and eloquently said (*subhāṣita-s* or *sūkti-s*) were often quoted at the king’s court or by Indian intellectuals. The use of such quotations in conversation proved that the person who cited them was knowledgeable of Sanskrit literature and an erudite.



2.2. The popular maxims or adages — *sūtra-s*, were short simple and unadorned sayings not constructed in poetical form, but containing some wise observations handed down from antiquity; they were usually attributed to a known personality, e.g. to Bṛhaspati, Cāṇakya, etc. and became known as *Bṛhaspatya-sūtra-s* or *Cāṇakya-sūtra-s*.

2.3. The proverbs — *lokokti-s* (also called *lokavākya*, *prā-cīnavākya*, etc.) were short sentences which expressed a well-known truth or common fact, ascertained by experience or observation and often repeated; they were also not constructed in poetical form.

3. To illustrate the different types of *subhāṣita-s*, *sūkti-s*, *sūtra-s* and *lokokti-s* an epigram, a *subhāṣita* containing a narrative quotation from unknown Sanskrit poet, a *sūtra* a short simple unadorned saying and a *lokokti* a proverb are quoted.

3.1. An epigram is for instance a quotation from the *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* (85) (also quoted in the *Sūktiratnaḥāra* (2.181.6 where it is attributed to Prātāparudra) and in the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* (2.137.6):

*Utsāho ripuvan mitram ālasyam mitravad ripuḥ /  
amṛtam viṣavad vidyā vanitā'mṛtavad viṣam //*

(Zeal, though it appears to be hostile, is like a friend; indolence though takes a form of a friend is an enemy; learning though it appears to be unpalatable like poison is nectar; (and) women, though they are poison, are pleasing like nectar).

3.2.1. A *subhāṣita* containing a descriptive verse (of the winter) by an anonymous author appears, for instance, in the Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (No. 1850) where it reads:

*saṃkocitakarayugalāḥ pragalitavṛnnāsikoddhrṣitakāyaḥ /  
nadyavataṛaṇaviṣaṇṇo likhita ivāvasthitaḥ pathikāḥ //*

("Both hands clenched,  
Running eyes and nose  
And shivering skin:  
As if in a painting,  
The traveller stands on the river-bank  
Despairing how to get across")

(J. Brough's translation in his *Poems from the Sanskrit*, The Penguin Classics L. 198; No. 202).

3.2.2. A *subhāṣita* containing a poetical verse standing by itself depicting a single emotion is, for instance, a verse in the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* (929 = 2.91.4) which we also find in the *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī* (14.12), the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍhāgāra* (277.19), the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍhāgāra* (106.22), the *Padyaracanā* (107.239), the *Rasikaṣivana* (976), the *Sāhityadapana* (ad 681; p. 285), in interpolations in the *Vetālapañca-vimśatikā* (3.22, ad 1.15 [p. 100] and ad 12.1 [p. 153]) and among the doubtful verses of Bhartṛhari's *Śataka's* (No. 770) reading:

*saṃgamavirahavitarke varamiha viraho na saṃgamam tasyāḥ /*  
*saṃgama ekā bhavati virāhe jaganti tvaṇmayāni syuḥ //*

("Pure logic may convince a lover's heart

That ampler blessing flow when we're apart.

When she is here, my lady is but one:

When she's away, in all things I see her alone")

(J. Brough's translation *op. cit.* No 122).

3.3. A short simple unadorned saying, a *sūtra*, is for instance a quotation from the *Cāṇakya-sūtra* (328): *aparādhānurūpo dandaḥ //* (Punishment must be proportionate to the offence).

3.4. A proverb for instance is the following saying from the *Laukikanyāyāñjalī*. A third Handful of popular maxims p. 21 (originally from the *Vedāntatattvaviveka*):

*ahṛdayavacasāmahṛdayamuttaram //*

(Heartless words get heartless answer).

4. Probably no other literature of the world can be compared with the Sanskrit literature, as far as the variety of subjects dealt in short epigrams is concerned. Sanskrit poets cultivated poetry to such an extent that every work, whether on love or hate, life or death, but even on law, philosophy, logic, medicine, horses or manure, etc., etc., was written in verse. The condensation of thought in a short verse was masterly performed and epigrams on different aspects of life are found in almost all poetical works. They were composed in verse because their shortness and condensed nature made it easier to

a common reader to commit them to memory. But the writers were not satisfied with the expression of their thoughts in short verses; they did not neglect real poetry and its rules; they even expressed their thoughts beautifully and eloquently in well rounded verses which often can be considered as *subhāṣita-s*.

5.1. *Subhāṣita-s* described above (para. 3.1) were usually construed in a four *pāda* verse — a *śloka* or an *anuṣṭubh* — where a thought, a truth, was condensed in four *pāda-s*. But not always. The four *pāda*-verse can also have another form: two *pāda-s*, or even one *pāda*, can proclaim a truth and two, or three *pāda-s*, give an illustration of the truth by an example or with an episode from Sanskrit literature, *Purāṇa-s*, *Itihāsa-s*, etc. So, for instance, Kṣemendra's *Cārucāryaśataka* and its imitation Dyā Dviveda's *Nītimañjarī*, Kusumadeva's *Drṣṭāntaśataka*, Guṇaṇi's *Upadeśaśataka* or the *Purāṇārthasaṃgraha* were construed.

5.2. We find an example of a four *pāda* verse containing one thought in para 3.1 above. To illustrate the second kind of *subhāṣita-s* one may quote a verse from the *Drṣṭāntaśataka* (60) also quoted in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (168.695) and the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (502.695) reading:

*asambhavadagunastutyā jāyate svātmanastrapā /*  
*karnīkārāṃ sugandhīti vadan ko nopahasyate //*  
 (No. 3630)

(Who praises merits which do not exist is ashamed afterwards of oneself; who will not be ridiculed who says that the *karnīkāra*-flower [*Pterospermum acerifolium* or *Carthartocarpus fistula*] has sweet smell), or a verse from the *Purāṇārthasaṃgraha*, *Rājanīti* (130) reading:

*abhiśaptaḥ puṇyakārye pravṛtto' pi na siddhibhāk /*  
*bhartrānugamanodyuktā reṇukā janamārikā //*

(An accursed person does not attain good results though he be engaged in good works. Reṇukā [daughter of king Prasenajit; mother of Paraśurāma] trying to accompany her husband [Jamad-agni] became the destroyer of the people).

6. The most famous and well-known *subhāṣita-s* and *sūkti-s* containing sententious sayings which belonged to the floating mass

of oral tradition were probably strung together like dispersed pearls on a necklace at the beginning of the Christian era; then they were also attributed *in majorem gloriam* to a well-known author; so probably the Cāṇakya's sayings and the Bhartṛhari's epigrams became known.

6.1. Cāṇakya was said to be the minister of king Candragupta Maurya who lived in the fourth century B.C. and Bhartṛhari, if he is the same as the author *Vākyapadītya*, in the seventh century A.D. As to the dating we only know with certainty that Cāṇakya's version of sayings, known as the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* version, was incorporated in the Tibetan Tanjur in the tenth century A.D. and that the collection of Bhartṛhari's epigrams reached the West by the end of the eleventh century A.D.

7. On the other hand, beginning from the tenth century A.D. many authors, understanding that *subhāṣita-s* developed literary ability and good taste, were teaching right behaviour cultured men and in order to save them from disappearance, had connected different wise sayings and/or descriptive verses of known to them contemporary or earlier poets and included them in collection of *subhāṣita-s* or *sūkti-s*, anthologies of Sanskrit poetry which were called *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* or collections of stray verses written by various authors. These collections were also called *sūkti-*, *-sudhā-*, *-sudhā-nandalahārī-*, *-ratnākāra-saṃgraha-s*, *-ratnasamdoha-s*, *-ratnabhāṇḍāgara-s*, *-sudhāratnabhāṇḍāgara-s*, *-ratnabhāra-s*, *-ratnasamuccaya-s*, *-kośa-s*, *-śloka-s*, *śloka-saṃgraha-s*, *-mañjārī-s*, *-muktāvalī-s*, *-nīvi-s*, *-saptaśatī-s*, *suradruma-s*, *-śataka-s*, *sārasamuccaya-s*, *sundara-s*, *-sahasraka-s*, *-hāravalī-s*, *-kaṇāmṛta-s*, *subhāṣitāvalī-s*, *subhāṣitārṇava-s*, etc.

7.1. A *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* called *kośa* is defined in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (565; p. 209), as follows:

*kośaḥ śloka-samūhas tu syād anyonyānapekṣakaḥ /  
vrajyākrameṇa racitaḥ sa evātimanoramah //*

(A *kośa* is a compilation of verses (*śloka-s*) independent one from another arranged according to divisions (*vrajyā-s*); this is particularly beautiful). We see therefore that a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is a collection of stray verses written by various authors and divided according to subject matters; how this division has to be performed depended on the compiler of the collection.

There exist hundreds of such *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, anthologies

of which only a few were edited. In Kṛṣṇamachariar's *History of Sanskrit Literature*<sup>1</sup> alone eighty-six *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are listed, but usually very little space is devoted in the histories of Sanskrit literature to this branch of learning.

## 2. Other Collections of subhāṣita-s and sūkti-s.

8. Since Indian authors were very fond of quoting wise sayings and moral teachings, they did not only cite them in the various anthologies of wise sayings but also have woven them into some of their literary works, in particular into the *kathā* literature. Most of the collections of fables have been written in order to teach young princes worldly wisdom and *nītiśāstra* — the science of proper conduct and are therefore full of *subhāṣita-s*. This gives rise to an unanswered yet question whether the intention of the authors of a great number of *kathā*-works was to compose tales illustrated by *nīti*-verses or to collect *nīti*-verses — *subhāṣita-s* and *sūkti-s* and compose *subhāṣita-* or *sūkti-saṃgraha-s* which in order to be made more readable were tied up together by interesting tales.

9. Also another branch of Sanskrit literature contains innumerable *subhāṣita-s* and *sūkti-s* but rather in the form of quotations from other literary works than moral sayings. These are the works on poetics, rhetorics and dramaturgy, the authors of which in order to illustrate the points of their teachings, *rasa-s*, etc. quote verses from various poetical works of authors, not only known to us, but often unknown authors and authors whose works became lost. The *Sāhityaśāstra-s* and the *Alaṃkāra-s* can often be considered as *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* composed of illustrative verses.

10. The *subhāṣita-s* and *sūkti-s* were often quoted also in modern *subhāṣita-* or *sūkti-saṃgraha-s*; even then they are important for a student of Sanskrit literature as examples of "well turned" Sanskrit poetry.

## 3. Different subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s.

11. *Subhāṣita-s* are found in the Sanskrit literature from the earliest times. Sententious verses occur already in the *R̥gveda* (e.g.

1. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.

IV.33.11; VII.32.9 or 104.12), in great number in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (e.g. VII.15), in the *gāthā-s* in the *Brāhmaṇa-s*, in the *Upaniṣad-s*, in the epics and in the *Dharmaśāstra-s*.

12.1. The oldest *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* known to exist in India are Prākṛit anthologies<sup>2</sup>. They are Hāla's *Sattasāi* and the *Vaijñālagga*.

12.2. The *Sattasāi* of Hāla, probably from the second century A.D. does not seem to be a work of a single writer, as was often adduced, but a compilation of different verses, mostly lyric verses, well selected by Hāla, who as a gifted compiler and redactor polished some of the verses himself and gave them the final poetical touch for the first time.

12.3. The *Vaijñālagga* was compiled at an unknown date by the Śvetāmbara Jaina Jayavallabha (called also Javallaham); it is composed of some 700 verses in *ārya* metre in Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī. It is divided into *vaijñā-s* (chapters) according to subject-matters. Although collected by a Jaina, this anthology does not contain only Jaina teachings; the verses are collected according to the three *puruṣārtha-s* (*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*), as implicitly stated by the compiler; however only one third of the verses are gnomic and relate to *puruṣārtha-s*; the rest is erotic in nature.

13. Before the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, containing verses of different authors became known in India, collections of *subhāṣita-s* said to be written by a single author were composed or brought together. These are the so-called collections of epigrams or aphorisms, or verses attributed in particular to Bhartṛhari, Cāṇakya, Śiḥṇa, Amaru and Amitagati<sup>3</sup>.

14.1. The first genuine Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, probably from the eleventh century A.D. is the Vidyākara's *Subhāṣita-ratnakōṣa*. It was edited in 1957 by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokale in the Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 42 and was translated with extensive notes and an Introduction by D. H. H. Ingalls in the Harvard Orien-

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2. Earlier collections of moral sayings are the didactic works of Amitagati (The *Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha* and *Dharmaparīkṣa*, end of 10th and beginning of the 11th century), Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* which expound the teachings of Jainism (see below paras 13 and 41). Cf. L. STERNBACH, *On some Non-Canonical subhāṣita-Collections in Jaina Literature* in: *Commemoration Volume: Mahāvīra and his Teachings*, Bombay.

3. Cf. para 41.

tal Series, vol. 44 in 1965. A fragment of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was published on the basis of a fragmentary palm-leaf MS. in 1912 in the *Bibliotheca Indica* No. 1309 by F. W. Thomas as the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*. F. W. Thomas wrote in the preface to his work that "it is not very likely that a second MS. will ever be found to make good the deficiencies", however the complete *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* (which incorporates the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*) was edited on the basis of two MSs., a palm-leaf code from the Ngor monastery in Central Tibet, a comparatively modern paper MS. of Khatmandu, as well as on the basis of F. W. Thomas *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*. The first MS. contains over 1000 verses, and the later 1728 verses and the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* 525 verses.

14.2. The *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* is divided into fifty sections — *vrajjā-s*, of which the first six are devoted to different deities; the seventh deals with the sun, a lesser deity; the eighth to thirteenth with different seasons; the fourteenth to twenty-sixth with various aspect of love; the twenty-seventh to thirty-first with description of day and night; the remaining *vrajjā-s* deal with miscellaneous items. Very little space is devoted in this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* to *nīti*. The *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa* in its printed text contains 1739 verses and quotes 223 authors and works.

15. Another text, containing also a part of the *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa*, or rather an imitation of the latter *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; is the *Prasanna-sāhitya-ratnākara* of Nandana from the fifteenth century A.D. It is also divided into *vrajjā-s* and, though incomplete, contains 1428 verses<sup>5</sup>.

16.1. The *Saduktikarnāmrta* or *Sūktikarnāmrta* of Śrīdhara-dāsa, son of Vaṭudāsa, is also an old *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; it was compiled in A.D. 1205 in Bengal; it contains many verses which we also find in the *Subhāṣita-ratnakoṣa*, as well as several verses of Bengali poets, since both — Śrīdharadāsa and his father Vaṭudāsa —, were in the service of Lakṣmaṇasena of Beṅgal. The *Sadukti-karnāmrta* was

4. Cf. V. RAGHAVAN, *A new Sanskrit Anthology*, in: *Islamic Review*, London, 65.1-2; 19-21 and reviews of the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* in *JRAS* 1959, 172 and 1966. 78, *JAS* (Calcutta) Yearbook 1959 (11.1) 80-1 and *JAS* (Calcutta) 7 (1965) 107; *ABORI* 38.309-12; *IJJ* 10.1; 74, *VIJ* 3.2; 19, *Critique* (1965) 222; *JAOS* 78.316; *Oriental Studies in India* by R. N. DANDEKAR, Delhi, 1964; 17 etc.

5. Cf. *HOS.* 42; pp. XXII-XXIII.

edited three times. The first edition by Mm. Pt. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (1912-21) is incomplete; only two fascicles appeared; this is a critical but unfinished edition. The second edition also by Mn. P. Rāmāvatara Śarmā with a critical introduction in English by Dr. Har Dutt Śarmā and in Sanskrit by Pt. Padma Singh Śarmā appeared in the Punjab Oriental Series<sup>6</sup>; it is not a critical edition; it is often faulty and its value is not great. It is based on one MS in Beṅgalī script, although some other MSs. could have been available to the editor; it does not contain a critical apparatus. A new and a more critical edition by S. C. Banerjee, containing however a number of errors, appeared in 1964<sup>7</sup> and was published in Calcutta<sup>8</sup>.

16.2. The *Saduktikanāmṛta* is divided into 5 *pravāha*-s (streams); each *pravāha* is sub-divided into *vici*-s (waves). Each vici contains five verses. Since there are 476 *pravāha*-s (95, 179, 54, 72 and 76) there should be 2380 verses, but several verses were omitted and therefore the actual number of verses in the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* amounts to 2370 and the number of authors quoted to 485.

17.1. Also from the thirteenth century dates the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa; it was edited with an introduction in Sanskrit by Embar Kṛṣṇamachārya in the Gaekwad Oriental Series<sup>9</sup> in 1938. The anthology was compiled by Jalhaṇa or Jahlāṇa, son of Lakmīdhara. Jalhaṇa worked in Southern India for the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa who came to the throne in 1247 A.D.

17.2. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* is divided into 133 *paddhati*-s and contains 2790 verses; it quotes 240 authors and works; among

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6. Vol. 15 Lahore 1933. Also see S. K. DE, *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature*, in: *Indian Studies Past and Present* 1.4; 639-41; R. MITRA, *Notices of Sanskrit MSs.*, Vol. III. No. 1180; TH. AUFRECHT in: *ZDMG* 36 (1882) p. 361, 599; R. PISCHEL, *Hofdichter des Laksmānasena*, Göttingen, 1893; MANMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI, *Pavanadūtam of Dhoyika*, JASB (1905), 41.71; and JASB (1906), pp. 157-76 and in: *IHQ* 3.188.

7. Cf. L. STERNBACH's review of the *Saduktikarnāmṛta* in *JAOS*, Vol. 90.2; pp. 352-357.

8. By Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.

9. GOS. 82. Also see *Descriptive Catalogue*, Madras, Govt. Oriental Library. XX, p. 1109; R. G. BHANDARAKAR's, *Report for 1887-91* (pp. I-LIV); P. PETERSON, *JBRAS* 17 (1889); pp. 57-71; P. K. GODE in: *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vol. I; p. 147 and 11; pp. 149 sqq.



the latter are also other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, such as the *Sūktiratnākara* or *Sūktisahasra*.

17.3. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* exists in two versions — a smaller and a bigger. The first sections (*paddhati-s*) of the anthology contain useful information about poets and poetry; the others deal with happiness, charity, fate, wickedness, wisdom, separation, union, misfortune, love, service to the king, politics, etc.

18.1. One of the best known *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*. It is said that it was compiled by Śārṅgadharma, son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava, the Rājaguru of Hammīra-bhūpati of Śākambharī in the year 1363 A.D. M. Winternitz drew attention to a *praśastī* (verses 2-6) where Śārṅgadharma was called the son of Dāmodara and the grandson of Rāghavadeva who lived at the court of Hammīra, the Cāhuvāṇa (Chauhan) king of Śākambharī. If by this is meant the Hammīra who reigned from 1262-1301 A.D., whose fame was sung in the Hammīrakāvya, and who was a great patron of scholars and authors, then the date 1363 is quite conceivable for his grandson<sup>10</sup>.

18.2. The *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* is divided into 163 sections (*paddhati-s*) today containing only 4689 verses. Originally the anthology contained probably 6300 verses, since in verse 56 (2.44) the total number of verses is given as amounting to 6300.

18.3. The *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* was edited only once in the Bombay Sanskrit Series by P. Peterson in 1888. It is not a critical edition though based on six MSs. Th. Aufrecht who edited 264 verses of the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*<sup>11</sup> mentioned six other MSs. on which (or on some of which) he based his work.

18.4. The *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* is unlike other Sanskrit anthologies; it does not contain merely a selection of verses about

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10. M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, fasc. 1 (translated by Miss H. Kohn), University of Calcutta, 1959, p. 176. Cf. A.D. Pusalkar, *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati and Brbat-Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*, in: Professor P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume, part III, p. 157, sqq.; F. HALL, *Vāsavadattā* (Bibl. Indica) Introduction, p. 48; Kr. op. cit. fn. 1, p. 386; SIR WOLESLEY HAIG in: *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 516. See also Indian Antiquary 8 (1879) pp. 55 sqq., where N. J. Kirtane considered that the date of Hammīra's reign was 1283 to 1301.

11. Th. AUFRECHT, *Über die Paddhati von Śārṅgadharma*, in: ZDMG, XXVII, pp. 1-120.

poets, poetry, women and love, *dharmā*, *artha*, *kāma*, etc.<sup>12</sup>, but deals with different subject matters which usually should not be included in anthologies of "beautiful verses"; we find there, in particular, practical advice, such as about different kinds of horses, gardening, omens and portents, or swords<sup>13</sup>.

18.5. H. D. Sharma and J. B. Chaudhuri<sup>14</sup> have analyzed the authorities quoted in the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*. According to H. D. Sharma 282 authors and according to J. B. Chaudhuri 271 authors and 31 works are quoted in this anthology. Several verses have double authorship and two verses have more than double authorship. Śārṅgadharma who himself was also a poet, but of no high standing, quotes often the names of poets and works; not seldom, however, he attributed some verse to "somebody".

19. Almost identical with the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* is the *Brhacchārṅgadharma-paddhati* (or *Brhat-Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*)<sup>15</sup>; this anthology can be considered as an inflated version of the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*. It is divided into 588 *prakaraṇa*-s (of which 473 occur also in the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*) and contains 7586 verses, of which ten are in Prākṛit. It is a comparatively late work (from the eighteenth century), since it contains extracts of the *Aśvadhātī-kāvya* written by Jagannātha Paṇḍita who was the court poet of kings Sarfoji of Tanjore. With the exception of 66 verses (13-56, 78, 91, 95, 145, 499, 790, 1479-80, 1540, 1852, 1917a, 1918, 2120, 2217, 2699, 2753, 290lab, 3484, 3748, 3806, 3959, 4101 and 4179) all the other verses occur also in the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*. In the additional verses names of authors are rarely mentioned. The greatest part (255) of the new verses occur after verse 1171.

20.1. Very interesting, though poorly edited at many places, is the South Indian anthology the *Sūktiratnabhāra* of Sūrya. This anthology is not even mentioned in most of the histories of Sanskrit

12. J. B. CHAUDHURI, *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* by Haribhāskara, Calcutta, 1941; pp. CXCII-CXCIV.

13. Cf. below para 86.

14. H. D. SHARMA, *An Analysis of Authorities quoted in the Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*, in: ABORI, Poona, 18 (1937), pp. 77-84.

15. Published in Benares, *saṃvat* 1931 (= A.D. 1875). Cf. A. D. PUSALKAR, *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati and Brhat-Śārṅgadharma-paddhati*, in: P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume, III pp. 157-172.

literature. The *Sūktiratnaḥāra* is attributed to king Sūrya Kalingarāja, but this authorship is contested by Dr. V. Raghavan. In the form in which it is available today, it was probably compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>16</sup>.

20.2. The *Sūktiratnaḥāra* was edited only once by Sāmbaśiva Śātri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series<sup>17</sup> on the basis of a single MS. It is divided into four *parvan-s* and each *parvan* into 202 *pad-dhati-s*; it contains 2327 verses in all.

20.3. According to the editor of this anthology, the *Sūktiratnaḥāra* is “an ornament to the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series”; this is not an exaggeration, since it is very valuable, particularly due to the fact that it quotes authors and works not quoted in most of the other anthologies, e.g. verses from Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra*, *Nītidviṣaṣṭikā*, the *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, or such authors as Ravigupta<sup>18</sup>. It quotes eighty-one works and fifty-seven authors, but the ascriptions to some authors are often wrong<sup>19</sup>.

20.4. The *Sūktirathāra* is probably the oldest Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* which is divided into four main parts (*parvan-s*), of which each deals with one of the four *puruṣārtha-s* — objects or aims of existence — *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*<sup>20</sup>.

21.1. In 1968, Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Karnatak, Dharwar, published a Sans-

16. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, XIII, pp. 293-306. V. Raghavan also quotes A.S. Ramanatha Aiyar in *Summaries of Papers: III All-India Oriental Conference*, Madras 1924, pp. 115-119, as discussing the authorship of the *Sūktiratnaḥāra*. This reference seems to be wrong (could not be found in the Proceedings of the III All-India Oriental Conference). Cf. S. N. DASGUPTA-S. K. DE, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 414; V. RAGHAVAN, *op. cit.*, p. 305; L. STERNBACH, *On the Reconstruction of some Verses or their Parts of the Sūktiratnaḥāra* in: ABORI 53.

17. No. 141, Trivandrum, 1938.

18. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Quotations from the Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra*, JAOS 88, paras 4-5 and Nos. 1-31; the *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* critically edited by L. STERNBACH, Kāśī Sanskrit Series, No. 193; Introduction paras 6, 8, 12 and Appendices I and II; L. STERNBACH, *Ravigupta and His Gnostic Verses*, in: *Annals of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, vol. 48; pp. 137-160; L. STERNBACH, *An Additional Note on Sundarapāṇḍya’s Nītidviṣaṣṭikā*, in: *Journal of the Ganganātha Jbā Research Institute*; Vol. 25; pp. 333-365.

19. Cf. para 92 below.

20. Prior to it, Prakrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were divided according to the three *puruṣārtha-s*. Cf. paras 12.2, 20.4, 84.

krit anthology called *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* by Sāyaṇa<sup>21</sup>, which he placed in the fourteenth century A.D., since it contains an eulogy of Kampana who most likely died in 1355 A.D.

21.2. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy ends his "Introduction" with the following paragraph: "Among the later writers (*sic!*) who are indebted to this work very much, Sūryapaṇḍita, author of the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāra* (instead of *Sūktiratnabhāra*) (published in the Tri-vandrum Sanskrit Series) deserves first mention...". That is the only mention of the *Sūktiratnabhāra* in Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy's "Preface" and "Introduction".

21.3. It is quite possible that these two works, i.e. Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣitanidhi* and the *Sūktiratnabhāra* are one and the same work of which the *Sūktiratnabhāra* (but not its printed text) is original while the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is either a copy of the *Sūktiratnabhāra* with various additions and omissions or another version of the same text<sup>22</sup>. Both works are from the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>23</sup> and its author may well be Sāyaṇa, since it is unlikely that Sūrya Kālīngarāya i.e. the Asādhāraṇa Mantrin of king Kulaśekhara (subordinate of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarṇam Kulaśekhara I, who reigned between 1268 and 1308), could have been the real compiler of this anthology; it was possibly *in majorem gloriam* ascribed to him.

21.4. The arrangement of the two anthologies is identical, both are divided into four *parvan-s*, i.e. *dharma-*, *artha-*, *kāma-* and *mokṣa-parvan-s* (each devoted to one *puruṣārtha*) and each *parvan* into *paddhati-s*. The *paddhati-s* are almost identical (i.e. their titles and contents, although the order of the verses is different) and both include, with some exceptions, the same *subhāṣita-s*; particularly the contents of the two longest *parvan-s*, i.e. the *artha-parvan* and partly the *dharma-parvan* is similar.

21.5. That the text of the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* and the *Sūktiratnabhāra* are identical and that the compiler of the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-*

21. Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1968.

22. L. STERNBACH, *Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi and Sūryapaṇḍita's Sūktiratnabhāra*, in: *Journal of the Ganganātha Jhā Research Institute*, pp. 2 sqq.

23. Cf. *Sāyaṇa's Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi*, pp. 2 sqq.; S. N. DASGUPTA and S. K. DE, *A History of an Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I; p. 414; Dr. V. RAGHAVAN in: *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XIII; pp. 293-306.

*nidhi* did not choose independently the material from primary sources but from the *Sūktiratnabhāra* is particularly evident from the facts: 1. that if different readings occur in the primary source and in the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* the readings adopted in the latter anthology are identical with the text of the *Sūktiratnabhāra* and not with the text of the original source<sup>24</sup> and 2. that both contain several identical verses composed in six and not four *pāda*-s; that is rather rare occurrence, since, as the rule, *subhāṣita*-s are composed in four *pāda*-s<sup>25</sup>.

21.6. The *Sūktiratnabhāra* seems to be more complete and superior to the *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi*, in as much as it ascribes most of the verses to primary sources. This seems to show that the compiler of the *Sūktiratnabhāra* in most cases either extracted *subhāṣita*-s from the primary sources, or knew the primary sources by heart and quoted them knowing, or thinking of knowing, their origin. That was not the case with the compiler of the *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi* who did not quote the names of the sources from which the extract were made and either recopied the text of the *Sūktiratnabhāra* with the ascriptions contained therein or purposely omitted the source-material.

22. Probably older than the *Sūktiranabhāra* and the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is the *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. It was recently critically edited for the first time by L. Sternbach and published in the Kāśī Sanskrit Series No. 193. Most of the verses of this anthology are quoted in the *Sūktiratnabhāra* where they are often attributed to *Vyāsaśataka*. The edition is based on two MSs of unknown date, as primary sources, and the Ceylonese *Vyāsakāraya* and the *Sūktiratnabhāra* as ancillary sources. The anthology contains 98 stanzas in the text and 12 in the footnotes. None of the verses were attributed to any author. Almost all the verses are sententious saying. This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was also known in Ceylon and in Siām<sup>26</sup>.

23. The *Nītimañjarī* of Dyā Dviveda, son of Lakṣmīdhara and Lakṣmī, grandson of Atri of the house of Mukunda, is a collection of 166 current gnomic and didactic verses, moral maxims or

24. The readings of the *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* 4, 23, 57, 84, 85, 88, 91, 117, 118, 125, 127, (130), 132, 133, 138, 139, 142, 148, 167, 182, 188, 193, (195), 202, 205, 208, 210, 212, 217, 232 and 233 are identical with the readings of the readings of the *Sūktiratnabhāra*, while the primary sources have different readings.

25. Cf. above fn. 17.

26. Cf. paras 51.1 and 64.

proverbs illustrated by Vedic legends and Vedic texts. The moral teachings begin with some ethical maxims, then comes the commentary, the Vedic *ṛca-s* and finally the exegesis of these *ṛca-s*. Although every ethical maxim versified, commented upon and elucidated by the explanation of the Vedic passages is quite independent of another, the Vedic references embedded in them follow the order of the divisional system of the *R̥gveda*. Consequently, the verses are distributed among 8 *aṣṭaka-s* of the *R̥gveda*. The verses fall under the four *puruṣārtha-s*, of which 41 deal with *dharma*, 68 with *artha*, 58 with *kāma* and 1 with *mokṣa*. Dyā Dviveda used for the interpretation of the Vedic passages Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *R̥gveda* and therefore could not live before the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. He mentions also the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the *Hitopadeśa* and Kṣemendra's *Cārucārya*; the latter seems to be the model for his *Nītimañjarī*. Twenty-three didactic parts of the verses quoted in the *Nītimañjarī* are identical with the *Cārucārya* (or are clearly based on this work) and two with the *Hitopadeśa*. The author wanted to utilize as many well-known moral teachings he could for the purpose of illustrating them with Vedic examples, while reflecting upon the morals to be derived from the *ṛca-s* of the *R̥gveda* <sup>26 bis</sup>.

24. Of similar type is *Purāṇārthasaṃgraha*, a digest of knowledge of all branches of learning, as included in some *Purāṇa-s*, *Upapurāṇa-s*, *Itihāsa-s*, *Dharmaśāstra-s*, *Darśana-s*, etc., compiled by Venkaṭarāya, preserved in several South Indian MSs. The work is written in purāṇic style as a conversation between Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa. The work is South Indian of unknown date; it is divided into 30 chapters, of which only the eleventh dealing with *nīti* and *rājanīti* was edited by Dr. V. Raghavan in "Purāṇa" (V, 1 pp. 47-60 and VII, 2 pp. 370-89); it contains 136 verses; each saying is proclaimed in the first part of the verse and then illustrated with an episode

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26 bis. Edited with an Introduction, notes and appendices by Sitārām Jayarām Josī and published by Sāhgrām Śarma, Benares, 1933. See Introduction and Forward. Cf. A. B. KEITH, *The Nītimañjarī of Dyā Dviveda* in: JRAS (1900); pp. 127-135 and 796-8; F. KIELHORN, in: Indian Antiquary (1876; p. 116 sqq.) and in *Nachrichten von der kön. Ges. der Wiss., Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1891; pp. 182 sqq.; A. A. MACDONNELL, Introduction to the *Bṛhaddevata*, Vol. I; pp. xvii sqq; and E. SIEG, *Die Sagenstoffe des R̥gveda*, Stuttgart, 1902; pp. 37 sqq.

from the *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, etc.; the verses are often paraphrases of the original *subhāṣita-s*.

25.1. A very well-known *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is the Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. We do not know very much about the author of this anthology and the question of its dating gave rise to long discussions<sup>27</sup>. It is generally accepted, however, that this anthology, in the form in which it is available today, could not have been compiled earlier than in the fifteenth century A.D.<sup>28</sup>. If we accept that date, than the arguments adduced by S.N. Dasgupta and S.K. De in their *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Vol. I; p. 414) that Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* based his anthology on the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva must be wrong.

25.2. The *Subhāṣitāvalī* was edited in the Bombay Sanskrit Series, in 1886 by P. Peterson and Paṇḍita Durgāprasāda, son of Paṇḍita Vrajalāla on the basis of two MSs. This edition is superior to the edition of the same editor of the *Śārṅgadbhara-paddhati*; it contains a long preface of 139 pages and critical notes which are missing in the edition of the *Śārṅgadbhara-paddhati*<sup>29</sup>.

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27. S. K. DE, *On the date of the Subhāṣitāvalī*, JRAS 1927; pp. 471 sqq. Also S. K. DE, *Aspects of Sanskrit Literature*; pp. 150-156; A. B. KEITH, *The date of Subhāṣitāvalī*, BSOS 5.3; pp. 27 sqq.; S. K. DE, *Sarvānanda and Vallabhadeva*, BSOS 5.3; pp. 499 sqq.; (also S. K. DE, *Aspects...* op. cit. pp. 157-161). The discussion is based on the fact that the verse from the *Subhāṣitāvalī* has already been quoted by Sarvānanda in the commentary on the *Amarakośa* which he wrote in 1106 A.D. See also D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Date of the Subhāṣitāvalī* in: JRAS (1928) pp. 135 sqq.; SUBODH CH. BANERJEE, *On the date of the Tikāsarvasva by Sarvānandadeva*, JRAS (1928); p. 900. Also compare TH. AUFRECHT, *Epigramme aus Vallabhadevas Subhāṣitāvalī*, in: Indische Studien 16; pp. 209-210; TH. AUFRECHT, *Miszellen*, in: Indische Studien 17; p. 169; S. K. DE: in *Padyāvalī*; pp. CVIII sqq.; HARAPRASADA SASTRI, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSs.*, in: Asiatic Society of Bengal, VII, No. 543 C. CAPELLER, *Zu Vallabhadevas Subhāṣitāvalī*, in: Album Kern; pp. 239-244; P. PETERSON, *Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian with some Remarks on the Age of Sanskrit Classical Poetry*, JRAS (1891); pp. 311-36; TH. AUFRECHT, *Zwei Pāṇini zugehörte Strophen*: in ZDMG 14; pp. 581 sqq.; P. PETERSON, *On the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva*, in: Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide; pp. 341-465; L. STERNBACH, *De l'origine des vers cités dans le Nīti-paddhati du Subhāṣitāvalī de Vallabhadeva*, in: Mélanges Louis Renou; pp. 683-714. See also reviews of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* by A. BARTH in: Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature (1887), No. 22; pp. 421-431; and G. BÜHLER's: in Indian Antiquary, XV; pp. 240 sqq.

28. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, III. 1 op. cit. (fn. 10); pp. 179 sqq.

29. P. PETERSON promised to edit a second volume of the *Śārṅgadbhara-paddhati* but never finished it.

25.3. Vallabhadeva's *Subbhāṣitāvalī* is an extensive anthology on a large variety of topics usually found in most Sanskrit anthologies. It contains 3527 verses divided into 101 sections (*paddhati-s*). According to the analysis made by P. Peterson it quoted some 360 poets<sup>30</sup>.

25.4. In addition to stray verses, Vallabhadeva quoted parts of different works, such as Mañkha's *Srikanṭhacarita*, Sambhu's *Rājendrakarnapura*, and others.

26. From the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century dates the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kūmāra and disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, teacher and exponent of its doctrines. This anthology was critically edited by S. K. De and published in the Dacca University Oriental Publications Series No. 3 in Dacca in 1937. The *Padyāvalī* is rather a devotional work, than a *subbhāṣita-saṃgraha*, as far as its contents is concerned; it quotes also other poetical devotional works, such as 32 *stotra-s*, among which is also the *Ujjala-nīlamanī*; it contains 387 verses ascribed to 129 different authors, as well to Rūpa Gosvāmin himself. Most of the verses, due to their devotional character, were not quoted in other *subbhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. The *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin must have acquired wide fame, since some 36 verses were borrowed by Hari Kavi and included in his *Subbhāṣita-Hārāvalī*, an anthology from the middle of the seventeenth century<sup>31</sup>.

27.1. Probably from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century dates the anonymous *Subbhāṣita-muktāvalī*; it was published by R. N. Dandekar in the Journal of the University of Poona in 1962<sup>32</sup>. It was edited on the basis of two MSs. from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's collection: No. 819 of 1886-92 and No. 75 of 1871-72. The first of these MSs. dated *Samvat* 1680 which is equivalent to 1623 A.D. Therefore, this anthology as compiled must be prior to that date. It does not ascribe

30. They were mentioned in the *Subbhāṣitāvalī* itself.

31. Cf. Review of *Padyāvalī* by HAR DUTT SHARMA; in ABORI 17. 305-8.

32. *Subbhāṣita-muktāvalī* ed. by R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona (1962); P. K. GODE, *Date of the Subbhāṣita-muktāvalī*, IHQ 22. pp. 55-59; G. V. DEVASTHALI, *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakṛta MSs.*, Bombay University Library II; p. 77; L. STERNBACH, *On the Authorship of some Stanzas of the Subbhāṣita-muktāvalī*, in: Journal of the University of Poona, Humanities Section, No. 19; pp. 37-65.



the authorship of any of the stanzas included in it to any author or work

27.2. This anthology contains an introduction, the text divided into 32 *muktāmaṇi-s*; it also contains five appendices, of which the fourth is a copy of a short *kāvya*-work entitled *Navaratna*<sup>33</sup>. In all, it contains 624 verses including the appendices. This anthology is quite important since it contains many sayings not quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. Despite that, it was possible to identify a great number of its verses<sup>34</sup>.

28. Most of the other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were compiled in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Worth noting are in particular two *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* compiled by Harihari and/or Hārāvalī; the first is the author of the *Sūktimuktāvalī* and the second of the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*. They were not written by the same person although some scholars were of that opinion.

28.1. The *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Harihari was written by a Mithilā Brahmin in the first half of the seventeenth century. This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was published twice: in 1889 (second edition in 1910) in the *Kāvyamālā* Series No. 86 and in 1949 by Ramanathan Jhā in the Newspapers and Publications Ltd., Patna respectively. The latter edition is a critical one; it is based on five MSs. and the *Kāvyamālā* edition. The anthology contains 634 verses. Unlike other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, its verses are in principle not *subhāṣita-s* composed by different authors but *subhāṣita-s* composed by Harihari himself; only very few are known *subhāṣita-s* belonging to the floating mass of oral tradition. The work is divided into 12 *prakaraṇa-s* which deal with god and goddesses, upbringing of a child, advice to the young, staying abroad, eulogy of the king and treatment of royalty, *rājanīti*, six seasons, erotics and *nāyaka-s*, miscellanea and calm of mind. Being a one man *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Harihara stands nearer to the individual collections of *subhāṣita-s*, such as Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s* or Govardhana's *Āryāsaptāśati*, than to *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* de-

33. This must have been a very popular poem since it was also well-known in Ceylon and was included in several *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. See H. BECHERT, *Sanskrit Texte aus Ceylon*; 1. Teil, in: *Münchener Studien für Sprachwissenschaft...* München, 1962; pp. 25-7.

34. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.* (fn. 32).

scribed above. However, since this work is divided and composed in the form of other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and contains some *subhāṣita-s* from the floating mass of oral tradition, it is considered here as a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* proper.

28.2. The *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Śrī Harikavi (which was sometimes wrongly considered as identical with the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Harihara) is an anthology of verses par excellence, though it contains also some excellent verses composed by Harikavi himself<sup>35</sup>. Harikavi, the compiler of this anthology, was the son of Nārāyaṇa, originally a Deccani Brahmin who lived first in Surat, and then on the court of king Sambhāji. He composed his work in the second half of the seventeenth century; it is unlikely that he was contemporary to Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) or to Akbarīya Kālidāsa<sup>36</sup>. The work was unfortunately never published yet though it is one of the best and most interesting *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. It contain ascriptions of many verses to different poets, of which some are well known<sup>37</sup>. Harikavi probably used also the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. The anthology is preserved only in manuscripts (MS in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona No. 92 of 1883-89); the MS. is composed of several pieces, separately paginated; some parts of the MS. were written by different scribes and overlap each other, i.e. parts of the MS. are recopied twice. Particularly the latter parts of the MS, as well as its second part contain many errors and poor readings, while its first part is very well written and almost free of mistakes. The numbering of the verses is irregular and at many places verses are not numbered at all. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* occur also in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; they are usually ascribed there to the same poets.

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35. And his brother Cakrapāni

36. See P. K. GODE, *Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa a Court-poet of king Sambhāji and his Works*, in: ABORI, Poona, 16. 262-291. P. K. Gode identified Harikavi as the author of the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī*, the *Sambhurājacarita* and the *Haṭhayendracarita*; he also proved that Harikavi was also called Bhānubhaṭṭa. Cf. also P. PETERSON'S, *Second Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle for 1883-1884*, in: JBHRAS 17.44, 57-64; H. SHARMA, *The Subhāṣitahārāvalī*, IHQ (1934), pp. 478 sqq. Kr. (op. cit. fn. 1) p. 126, New Indian Antiquary 3 (1940), pp. 81-100 and review of the *Padyāvalī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin (op. cit. fn. 31) in: ABORI 17. 305-306. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *On the Subhāṣitahārāvalī and the Sūktisahasra* in: Journal of the Ganganātha Jhā Sanskrit Kendriya Vidyapeetha 28.3-4.

37. E.g. Bhartṛhari.  
MS. dated A.D. 1556, in: Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. XV. Pt. 2.

This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* requires a critical edition in the nearest future.

29. Also requiring a critical edition in the nearest future is the not yet edited *Śṛṅgārālāpa Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*; it is the largest anthology on love devoted to *śṛṅgāra* alone. The anthology is divided into 11 chapters and contains 1145 verses. Its only existing MS. is MS. No. 92 of 1883-84 in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The MS. was written by Yājñika Rāma in *samvat* 1612 (= A.D. 1556). It is probably an autograph copy and its compiler Rāma (Yājñika) was identical with the author Kulīna Rāma, since it dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. The anthology is well written and contains many verses not found in other anthologies. Its characteristic feature is the inclusion of extracts, sometimes long, from well known works, e.g. the *Meghadūta* (in chapter 8), *Kumārasambhava* (in chapters 7 and 8), Bhartṛhari's epigrams (Northern version) (in chapters 7 and 8), Rudraṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka*. The anthology usually does not contain ascriptions to poets, except occasionally before quoting the *subhāṣita-s*. Several verses of this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*. In the anthology the author underlines that men lose all interest in life without *śṛṅgāra* and that *śṛṅgāra* is holy, as well as the giver of pleasure and prosperity<sup>38</sup>.

30. Less interesting is also an unpublished MS. No. 361 of 1884 in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute containing an anthology of verses by Maṇirāma entitled *Sloka-saṃgraha*. It contains 1606 verse, many of which are ascribed to different authors and works (110 in number) including Maṇirāma himself. The anthology has a lacuna between verses 190 and 204 and 1454 and 1496. In the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute there is also another MS. containing the same text, viz. MS. No. 527 of 1887-91, of which the first three folia are lost; it ends at fol. 98a. Many of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted in this anthology are also quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the

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38. Cf. P. K. GODE, *A Big Anthology of Śṛṅgāra Verses by Rāma and its rare* pp. 81-88. Cf. P. K. GODE's, *Review of the Gāṇikā-vṛtta-saṃgraha* by L. STERNBACH, in: ABORI 35.245.

*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*. The anthology was compiled in the second half of the seventeenth century. Maṇirāma, the compiler of this anthology is probably identical with Maṇirāma Dikṣita, the author of the *Śṛṅgā-rasañjīvanī* and was the protégé of Mahārāja Anup Sīnghjī of Bikaner<sup>39</sup>. According to others he was a court poet of Rāja Toḍar Mal.

31. The *Budhabhūṣaṇa* is ascribed to king Śambhu or Sambhājī, son of Shivaji the Great. However king Sambhājī was not a man of letters and it is unlikely that he himself is its author; if so, he was certainly helped by some *paṇḍits*. The work was edited by H. D. Velankar and was published in the (Bhandarkar) Government Oriental Series, Class C., No. 2 in 1926; it contains 882 verses and is divided into three sections; the first (194 verses) contains *subhāṣita-s* quoted from several well-known authors; the second (630 verses) deals mostly with *artha* and contains quotations from *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra*, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, etc.; the third section deals with information useful to princes and therefore is called *miśrakanūti-prakaraṇa*.

32. Also from the seventeenth century date:

32.1. The *Padyaracana* of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Āṅkolakara, edited by Pt. Kedāranātha and W. L. Paṇaśīkar; it is an anthology of stray verses and has nothing to do with metres<sup>40</sup>; it is divided into 15 chapter and contains 769 verses. Many of the verses are ascribed to different poets, usually of later date, which occur also in several other *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*, but many of the *subhāṣita-s* were composed by the author himself (152 in number; usually attributed to Lakṣmaṇadasya). The anthology was written A.D. 1625 and 1650;

32.2. the *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, son of Gaurīpati Bhaṭṭa from Mithilā, edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri in *Prācyavāṇi-Mandira-Samskrta-grantha-mālā* (Sanskrit Text Series, Vol. II), Calcutta 1944. This edition does not reproduce the entire text; the editor refers carefully only to other sources<sup>41</sup>, particularly to *subhāṣita-*

39. Cf. P. K. GODE, *A Rare MS of the Śloka-samgraha Anthology by Maṇirāma and the Date of its Composition*, in: *Rājasthāna Bhārati*, Vol. I, 1; pp. 35-43.

40. The anthology was published in KM. 89, Bombay, 1908. See also P. K. GODE in *Journal of the Oriental Research*, Madras, 15 (1940), pp. 184-193.

41. He only quoted *in extenso* the verses not found in any printed sources.

*saṃgraha-s* in which the verses of this anthology also appear. The edition is based on two MSs., one belonging to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona (No. 151 of 1866-68) and the other belonging to the Calcutta College (No. 145 of the Kāvya Section). The anthology was described as a work on *rasa* which also bears the character of an anthology<sup>42</sup>; it seems however to be a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha par excellence*. The anthology is divided into ten chapters called *prabandha-s* and contains 1478 verse. (in some texts 1562). Many of the verses are ascribed to different poets, 148 in number and 947 verses are anonymons. Most of the verses<sup>43</sup> included in this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* are quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* (only about 70 are new verses, however some of them could be identified in primary sources). There exists also a complete edition of this anthology, but without indication as to its editor and place/date of publication. Also several verses (from the beginning of the anthology) were edited and translated by P. Regnaud<sup>44</sup>;

32.3. Composed somewhat on the lines of the *Rasikaṣivana* is the *Sabhyālamkāraṇa* of Govindajit. Govindaji (Sanskritized into Govindajit) of the Mevāḍa caste of Medapāṭa was the son of Caku from Girīpūra. This anthology was published in Calcutta in 1947 on the basis of a very poor MS, full of mistakes, from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 417 of 1884-87. The text needed many amendations. The anthology is divided into numerous sections called *marīci-s* (rays); it quotes 99 authors and works. Many of the verses, of which many are ascribed to 114 different poets; several of A.D. 1656, since it quotes the *Cimanīśataka* composed in A.D. 1656<sup>45</sup>.

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42. S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 291.

43. P. K. GODE, *Rasikaṣivana and its probable Date*, in: ABORI 12.396-9. P. K. Gode and H. D. Sharma expressed the opinion that the *Rasikaṣivana* must have been composed after 1650 A.D. (probably around 1660 A.D.). K. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIA, in his *Some further Light on the Date of Gadadgarabhatta and the Rasikaṣivana*, in: *Summaries of Papers of the XI All-India Oriental Conference*, Hyderabad, expressed the opinion that the work is much later viz. from the second quarter of the 18th century, since the author mentions Ghanasyāma, a minister of king Tukkāji Mahārāja of Tanjore who ruled from 1728 to 1735 A.D.

44. *Stances sanskrites inédites* par R. REGNAUD, in: *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyons*, Paris, 1884. Cf. P. K. GODE, *Rasikaṣivana of Gadadharabhatta and its probable Date*, in: ABORI, XII; pp. 396-9.

45. Cf. P. K. GODE, *Date of Sabhyālamkāraṇa an Anthology by Govindajit*, in: *New Indian Antiquary* IV. 11; pp. 366-369; and R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report 1887-91* pp. LXII-LXIII.

32.4. The *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta, son of Jagajīvana, grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha belonging to the Yājñika family was edited by J. B. Chaudhuri as No. 1 of the *Prācyavāṇi-Mandira-Samskr̥ta-grantha-mālā*; it is divided into six *tarāṅga-s*. The work contains 889 verses, of which many are ascribed to 114 different poets; several of these poets are probably contemporaneous to Veṇīdatta who himself wrote many of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted. According to Rajendralal Mitra this anthology was composed in 1701 and according to Th. Aufrecht in 1644<sup>46</sup>;

32.5. The *Sūktisundara* of Sundaradeva edited by J. B. Chaudhuri (in the *Samskr̥ta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha*, Vol. III) contains only 174 *subhāṣita-s*. Many of the verses included in this anthology praise Muḥammadan rulers, viz. Akbār, Shah Jahn, Nizamasāha, etc.; Sundaradeva must have been familiar with the conditions existing on the courts of some of these rulers. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* quoted in this anthology appear also in the *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta and in the *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*.

32.6. The *Anyoktimuktāvalī* of Haṃsavijayagaṇi edited by Pt. Kedarnātha and W. L. Ś. Paṇāśikara in the *Kāvyamālā* Series No. 88; this anthology is divided into eight chapters (*pariccheda-s*) and contains 1199 verses, mostly *anyokti-s*, often quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*<sup>47</sup>.

32.7. The *Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* of Hadibhāskara, son of Āpājīnanda (or Āyājibhaṭṭa) of the *Kāśyapa-gotra* and belonging to the family of Agnihotra, was edited by J. B. Chaudhuri as Vol. No. I of the *Samskr̥ta-koṣa-kāvya-saṃgraha*; it contains 301 verses; the majority of the verses are attributed to 45 different poets and 11 different works; it was compiled in 1673 A.D. Hāribhāskara-son, Jayarāma wrote a commentary to this anthology<sup>48</sup>.

32.8. Probably to this group of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* belongs also a little known work, the *Śrīsūktāvalī*; its date and author are not known. The work was edited by Dr. E. Bartoli in Naples in 1911 on the basis of a single MS. from the Biblioteca Centrale di Firenze

46. R. G. BHANDARAKAR, *Report 1887-91*; pp. LX-LXI.

47. Cf. GUÉRINOT, in: *Journal Asiatique*, s. 10, t. 14; pp. 47 sqq. No. 1106.

48. Cf. Introduction; TH. AUFRECHT, *Über die Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*, in: ZDMG 37; pp. 544-7 and R. G. BHANDARAKAR, *Report 1887-91*; p. LXII.

(col. 92)<sup>49</sup>; it is divided into fourteen *paddhati-s* plus a closing chapter; the twelfth *paddhati* is subdivided into six parts and the thirteenth *paddhati* is subdivided into two parts; the anthology contains 192 verses; none of them is attributed to a poet or work. The MS. on which the edition is based is full of mistakes; the edition is poor and contains many errors and shows that its editor was not well versed in the gnomic literature of India.

33. Of the later *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* the *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha and the *Vidyākarasahasraka* of Vidyākaramiśra should be mentioned in particular.

33.1. The *Padyatarāṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha, who lived on the court of king Mādhava, son of Jayasimha in the middle of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1753), exists in two versions; the longer in twelve *taraṅga-s* is found in four MSs. The shorter in ten *taraṅga-s* in two MSs.; all the MSs. of the longer version are incomplete; the shorter version is completely preserved in all the MSs. The shorter version was analysed by N. A. Gore and its analysis was published in the Poona Orientalist<sup>50</sup>. It shows that this anthology contains 489 verses; most of these verses occur also in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and are well known. Many of the verses are from the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantra*, Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s* and so-called Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings.

33.2. The *Vidyākarasahasraka* of Vidyākaramiśra was compiled in Mithilā in the middle of the nineteenth century; it contains 999 verses, most of which are attributed to known and unknown poets; the latter are usually from Mithilā. The anthology was edited by Umesha Mishra in the Allahabad University Publications, Sanskrit Series, Vol. II, in 1942; many readings of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted are corrupt.

34. During the second half of the nineteenth century and

49. *Śrī-sūktāvalī*, Codice Indiano edito dal Dr. Emilio Bartoli, Napoli, Tipografia della R. Università, Achille Cimmaruta, 1911. Cf. TH. AUFRECHT, *Florentine Sanskrit MSs*; P.-E. PAVOLINI, *Collana delle belle sentenze*: in: GSAI, 20.1-16.

50. *The Padyatarāṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha, an Analysis and an Index*, in: Poona Orientalist 9; pp. 45-56. Cf. N. A. GORE, *Two versions of the Padyatarāṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha*, in: *Dr. Kunban Rāja Commemoration Volume*, pp. 423-7 and P. K. GODE, *The Aśvamedha performed by Swai Jayasing of Amber*, in: Poona Orientalist II, pp. 160 sqq.

in the twentieth century India was inundated by modern *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*, many of which were edited as text-books of Sanskrit for the use in schools, as well as in order to preserve "ancient thoughts" and "ancient moral teachings".

35. The most complete and very carefully edited is the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya "Kāvyatīrtha" which was published in several editions; the eighth, and last edition, was published in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press in Bombay in 1952. It was based on the earlier work of the same compiler called *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* which was published in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, *saṃvat* 1985 (= A.D. 1927); it quotes the best *subhāṣita-s* from *subhāṣita-samgraha-s* published earlier, in particular from the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*, Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, and others, as well as from primary sources, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, dramas of Kālidāsa, the *Śiśupalavadha*, the *Amaruśataka*, Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s*, different dramas and many other works. The later editions of this anthology includes also most of the verses quoted by O. Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche* and not included in previous editions. Up to date it is the most complete modern *subhāṣita-samgraha*.

36. Another modern *subhāṣita-samgraha* is the three volume work of Otto Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* which in its second edition<sup>51</sup> contains 7613 *subhāṣita-s* critically edited in alphabetical order with variants and with a German translation of each verse<sup>52</sup>. Several supplements to this collection were published<sup>53</sup>.

37.1. Other most important modern *subhāṣita-samgraha-s* and works mainly containing a number of *subhāṣita-s*, *anyokti-s*, etc.,

51. This edition unfortunately omits the very useful notes of A. Schiefner which were printed in the first edition. Cf. para 46.2.1 below.

52. St. Petersburg, 1870-73.

53. *Erster und Zweiter Nachtrag zu meinen Indischen Sprüchen* von O. BÖHTLINGK, in: Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, XXI. 401-409 (= Mélanges Asiatiques, VII 659-672) and XXIII. 401-432 (= Mélanges Asiatiques VIII. 203-249); *Zur Kritik und Erklärung verschiedener Indischer Werke* von O. BÖHTLINGK, in: Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, XXI. 93-132; 200-242 and 370-409 (= Mélanges Asiatiques VII. 447-504; 527-589 and 615-659); AUGUST BLAU, *Index zu Otto Böhtlingks Indischen Sprüchen* (Zweite Auflage), in: ZDMG 52.255 sqq.; Pd. DURGA PRASADA, *Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche*, in: JBRRAS XVI, pp. 361 sqq.; L. STERNBACH, *Supplement to O. Böhtlingk's Indische Sprüche*, AKM. XXXVII. 1.



(though they are not always *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s par excellence*) are the following:

1. *Anyāpadeśamālā* of Śrīnivasachariar of Terizhandur<sup>54</sup> and published in Kumbakonam in 1932; it contains 127 *subhāṣita-s*;

2. *Anyoktimuktāvalī* of Somanātha, a poet and musician, being a collection of *Subhāṣita-s* in *anyapadeśa*-style, published on the basis of two MSs. by Dr. V. Raghavan in his *Malaymārutaḥ*, Vol. II, Tirupati 1971 (pages 49-78); the poem contains 102 verses mostly in *mālinī* metre;

3. *Anyoktīśataka* of Bhaṭṭa Vireśvara published in the *Kāvya-mālaguccha* V (pp. 101-119) quotes 105 *anyokti-s* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *sragdharā* metres;

4. *Anyoktyaṣṭakasamgraha*, collection of 123 *anyokti-s* in 17 *aṣṭaka-s* edited by D. Trivedi, in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Series No. 11, Bombay 1946. Most of the verses occur also in other collection of *anyokti-s* and *subhāṣita-s*;

5. *Anyoktistabaka* of Vaṃśīdhara Miśra, Surat 1955 quotes 104 *anyokti-s*. The edition is based on a MS. dated *saṃvat* 1727, but the work is probably earlier;

6. *Anyoktitarāṅgiṇī*, published in *Vārāṇasī*, is divided into two *śataka-s*; consequently it contains 200 *anyokti-s* plus a closing verse;

7. *Avaśiṣṭānyoktaya* contains 588 miscellaneous verses ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha published in the *Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha*, part 13, in Sanskrit Academy Series No. 2, Osmania University (pp. 121-190). Most of these verses belong to the floating mass of oral tradition, or are *subhāṣita-s* found also in other anthologies. Only a small amount of these verses were written by Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha; they are seldom found in his well-known works;

8. *Bahudarśana*, a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* used extensively by O. Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche* and published in Serampore in 1826;

9. *Dampatīśikṣānāmaka*, a short work in Bengālī with interwoven sanskrit wise sayings, published in 1840. Many of the wise sayings

54. L. STERNBACH, *Cāṇakya-nīti Text Tradition (Cāṇakya-nīti-śākhā-saṃpradayaḥ)*, Volumes I. 1; I. 2; II. 2; II. 3; Viśveśvaranand Indological Series, Volumes 27-29, Hoshiarpur 1963-1970.

are well-known and currently quoted; they were critically edited and included by O. Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche*;

10. *Ekadaśadvāranibadha upadeśaḥ* published by Dr. V. Raghavan in this *Malayamārutaḥ*, Vol. II, Tirupati, 1971 (pages 96-107) on the basis of one MS from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, containing a collection of 99 *subhāṣita-s* in *śloka*-metre and other metres collected by an anonymous Jain Sadhu. Many of the *subhāṣita-s* quoted there are well-known wise sayings;

11. *Kavitāmrtakūpa* of Gauramohana, "A choice Collection of Sanskrit Couplets" first published with translation in Bengālī by the Calcutta School-book Society's Press in Calcutta, 1828. For the second time published by Dr. V. Raghavan in the *Malayamārutaḥ*, Vol. I (pp. 34-46). In both edition this *subhāṣita-samgraha* contains 106 verses, most of which occur in primary sources, e.g. the *Hito-padeśa*, etc. Both editions have almost the same readings;

12. *Khaṇḍaprasāsti*, also called Hanumat's *Daśavatārahāṇḍa*, published in MS. form in Bombay, Śaka 1782 (=A.D. 1860), contains 283 *subhāṣita-s*; many of these *subhāṣita-s* are quoted in different *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*, where they are usually attributed to Hanumat (e.g. in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī*);

13. *Laukikanyāyaśloka*, a collection of 107 *subhāṣita-s*, arranged according to subject matters; this anthology was edited and translated into english by V. Krishnamacharya in the Adyar Pamphlet Series, No. 34; none of the *subhāṣita-s* occur in other *subhāṣita-samgraha-s*. New subjects are introduced in *śloka-s* which are not *subhāṣita-s*;

14. *Narābharāṇa* a collection of 301 *subhāṣita-s*, for the first time edited on the basis of one defective MS. by Dr. V. Raghavan in *Malayamārutaḥ* (pp. 47-83). Most of the verses are known *subhāṣita-s* and the defective and missing portions of the MS. can often be reconstructed on the basis of the texts of well-known *subhāṣita-s*<sup>54bis</sup>;

15. Nārōjīpaṇḍita's *Sūktimālikā*, a collection of 238 verses divided into 8 main chapters (*paddhati-s*) of which the *nīti*-, *sujjana*-, *durjana*-, *sāmānya*- and *anyokti-paddhati-s* are the most important. It was published seriatim in the *Journal of the Tanjore Saravatī Library* (12.1-

54 bis. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *On the Reconstruction of some Verses of the Narābharāṇa* in: Prof. K.A.S. Iyer Felicitation Volume, Lucknow.

15.3). None of the verses, written mostly in *śloka*-s, are attributed to any author. Many of the verses of this anthology do not occur in other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s. It is a one man anthology in the style of some South Indian *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s, but since it is composed in the form of other anthologies and contains some *subhāṣita*-s from the floating mass of oral tradition it belongs to this group of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s;

16. *Nītisaṃgraha*, a collection of 173 *subhāṣita*-s, published in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, *saṃvat* 1994 (= A.D. 1936); most of the *subhāṣita*-s are from Kṣemendra's works, in particular the *Cārucaryā*;

17. *Nītisastra*, a short collection of *subhāṣita*-s with a translation into Tamil, published in Madras in 1922;

18. *Nītisāstra* in Telugu, a short collection of Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-s printed in Telugu characters and published in Madras in 1868. Many of the verses are well-known *subhāṣita*-s;

19. *Padyamālā* by Śrīhariśaṅkaramiśra, published by Motilal Banarsidass in Vārāṇasī, *saṃvat* 2012 (= A.D. 1954), in which some chapters contain a few usually well-known *subhāṣita*-s;

20. *Padyasaṃgraha*, a short collection of 20 verses, published in Dr. John Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Calcutta, 1847 (pp. 529-32) and in Jīvanāṇḍa Vidyāsāgara's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1888 (pp. 393-401);

21. *Perunthogai* compiled by M. Raghavan Ayyangar of Ramnad and published in Madurai in 1935/36. This is one of the largest collections of verses mostly in Tamil (2214 verses). This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is divided into three sections: (1) invocations to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Buddha, Jīna, etc.; (2) *subhāṣita*-s on *dharma*; and (3) *subhāṣita*-s on *artha*. It contains not only quotations from different known and unknown literary works but also quotations from copper-plates, stone-inscriptions, introductory verses to the most important Tamil works, verses contained in commentaries and verses selected from manuscripts from the Madras Government Oriental Library, Madurai. The compiler provided also most of the verses quoted with brief notes and an index of verses, as well as an index of the contents of the verses;

22. *Prasaṅgābharāṇa*, a collection of 185 *subhāṣita*-s, published

in Bombay in 1860; another edition was published, probably also in Bombay but without editor and date. The *subhāṣita-s* are collected in several chapters; they are usually well known verses. (See also A. Weber in ZDMG 19.322);

23. *Sadācāraśāstra* in the Viśveśvaranand Institute Publications, No. 246, Hošiarpur 1963; contains the *Vidūranīti* of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar edition; extracts from the *Śukranīti*; extracts from all the versions of Cāṇakya's sayings (with the exception of the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* versions), as edited by L. Sternbach (55), extracts from Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s* and some *lokokti-s*;

24. *Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā*. This very popular in India collection of mostly well-known and currently quoted wise sayings was published very often. The best editions are: by P. T. Mātriprasāda Pāṇḍeya in Haridass Sanskrit Series No. 165 in alphabetical order; and by Gaṅgādhara Kṛṣṇa Draviḍa Ityetaiḥ, *śaka* 1868 (= A.D. 1946) and *śaka* 1879 (= A.D. 1957) and in Bombay in 1957; the latter quotes *subhāṣita-s* according subject-matters;

25. *Samskṛta-gadya-padya-samgraha* by Śrībrhaspatiśāstrī published in the Haridass Sanskrit Series No. 243; it contains a short section called *Sūkti-samgraha* of 29 verses and the *Subhāṣitāṇi* of 21 verses;

26. *Samskṛta Lokokti Prayoga* by Haṃsarāja Agravāla, published in Ludhyānān in *saṃvat* 2012 contains in its fourth part a *subhāṣita-samgraha* composed of 108 verses divided according to subject-matters;

27. *Samskṛtapāṭhopakāraka*, a Sanskrit textbook in Bengali characters, published in Calcutta in *śaka* 1761 (= A.D. 1839); it contains, among others, a number of well-known *subhāṣita-s*;

28. *Samskṛta-sūkti-samgraha*, compiled by Satyavratasiṃha and published in Lucknow, *saṃvat* 2019 (A.D. 1960/61); it is a modern *subhāṣita-samgraha* and contains verses mostly culled from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sanskrit dramas, etc.;

29. *Samskṛta-sūktiratnākara*, published by Rāmājī Upādhyāya in *Gāndhī Viśvaraparīṣad, Dhāṇa Sāgara* in 1959. It contains 1015 quotations from the whole Sanskrit literature under 40 titles, but only a small part of these quotations are *subhāṣita-s*;

30. *Samskṛta-sūkti-sāgara*, a comprehensive *subhāṣita-samgraha* compiled by Nārāyaṇasvāmi and published in Kāśī, *saṃvat* 2014;

it is divided into a great number of subject-matters of which each contains several *subhāṣita-s* quoted in alphabetical order; it does not contain a *pratīka-index* and therefore it is difficult to consult this work;

31. *Sarvasaṃgrahamāsikapustakapaikīm-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, published by Hempustaka Rāvajīśrīdhara Goṇḍhalekhar, Poona 1878, part I. composed of 598 verses plus 4 introductory verses;

32. *Śatakāvalī*, published in Beṅgalī characters in 1772. It contains a collection of verses from the *Amaruśataka*, *Sāntiśataka*, *Sūryaśataka* and Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, *Nītiśataka* and *Vairāgyaśataka*;

33. *Somanāthaśataka* of Somanātha, a poet-musician, being a collection of 111 *subhāṣita-s* mostly in *sragdharā* metre, full of *śleṣa-s* published by Dr. V. Raghavan in his Malayamārutah, Vol. I, Tirupati 1966 (pages 84-112);

34. *Śrīpadyāvalī*, a collection of 388 + 30 mostly well-known *subhāṣita-s* illustrating different metres, published in Mathurā in 1959. Most of the *subhāṣita-s* are ascribed to different poets or works;

35. *Subhāṣita* of Viṣṇuśāstri Cipaṭūṇākar, published in Poona 1915, composed of 614 verses;

36. *Subhāṣitakaustubha* compiled by Veṅkaṭādhvarin and published in Coimbatore in 1914; it contains 96 *subhāṣita-s*;

37. *Subhāṣitamāñjarī* compiled by S. Veṅkatarama Śāstrī and published in Kumbakonam, 1921; it is divided into two chapters of 100 *subhāṣita-s* each;

38. *Subhāṣita-ratnākara*, a Collection of Witty and Epigrammatic Sayings in Sanskrit, compiled and edited with Explanatory Notes by Kṛṣṇaśāstri Bhāṭavaḍekar and published in Bombay in 1872. It is divided into 230 chapters and deals, as most *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* with a variety of subject matters, usually included in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. The compiler of the anthology does not ascribe any verses to individual poets, but the editor noted, usually correctly in the *pratīka-index*, from which the *subhāṣita-s* were taken. He mentions 54 poets and works; among the latter he includes also some unknown at present *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, such as the *Prasaṅgaratnāvalī*, *Subhātarāṅga*, *Sphuṭaśloka*, *Sūktisaṃgraha*. O. Böhtlingk did not use this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in the second edition of his *Indische Sprüche* but included some verses quoted in this anthology in his Supplements;

39. *Subhāṣitaratna-karaṇḍakathā*, of Āryaśūra, published as an appendix to the *Jātakamālā*, of Āryaśūra (in No. 21 of the Baudha Samskrta Granthāvalī). The work was edited by A. C. Banerjee from a single Nepālī MS. It is divided into 28 chapters (*kathā-s*) containing 2 to 43 verses each; they preach the various *pāramita-s* (perfections). The work is ascribed to Āryaśūra but the editor of this anthology as well as P. L. Vaidya, the editor of the *Jātakamālā* (to which it was annexed) are of the opinion that the author of this anthology is not the famous Āryaśūra, the author of the *Jātakamālā*, but an author who lived later. This point of view is challenged by V. V. Mirashi who considers that the author of the *Jātakamālā* was also the author of this anthology (55 bis)<sup>55</sup>. This anthology belongs to the Buddhist literature and to Buddhist collections of moral sayings.

40. *Subhāṣitaratnamālā* compiled by K. G. Cipalūnakar in Poona 1912-1923. This very complete *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* was designed as text-book for students; several editions of this work appeared. Vol. I is divided into three parts of 100, 200, 300 verses, and Vol. II is divided into two parts of 400 and 700 verses;

41. *Subhāṣitaratnamālā* or a Garland of the Gems of Sanskrit poetry, being an anthology consisting of about 3000 verses under numerous subjects alphabetically and metrically arranged by N. Sundaram Aiyar, printed by A. Panchapagesa Aiyer, Tiruvadi, 1894, in Tamil characters;

42. *Subhāṣitaratnasamuccaya* compiled by K. R. Joglekar and V. G. Sant in Ahmedabad, 1922 (5th edition); it is divided into 4 parts: part I.1 containing, 50 *subhāṣita-s*; part I.2 containing also 50 *subhāṣita-s*; part II.1 containing 75 *subhāṣita-s* and part II.2 containing also 75 *subhāṣita-s*; most of the *subhāṣita-s* are well-known wise sayings;

43. *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha* by Puruṣottama Mayarāma Paṇḍya, published in Bombay in 1885; this anthology contains 273 mostly known wise sayings with Gujarātī explanations;

44. *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, a comprehensive anthology compiled by Rāvaji Śrīdhara Gondhalekar (Part I only), published in Poona in

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55. V. V. MIRASHI, *A Note on the Subhāṣitaratnakaraṇḍakathā of Āryaśūra*, in: ALB 25.304-7.

1878; contains 518 mostly well-known and popular *subhāṣita-s*;

45. *Subhāṣitasaptasatī*, compiled by Maṅgalaveda Śāstrī and published in Delhi in 1960. The work is divided into three *khaṇḍa-s* and each *khaṇḍa* into *adhyāya-s*. It contains quotations from the whole Sanskrit literature but only a small part of these quotations are *subhāṣita-s* proper;

46. *Subhāṣita-sāraḥ, prathamō bhāgaḥ*, being a collection of choice poems, composed of 101 *subhāṣita-s* collected by Ramkarma Sharma and published in Bombay, śaka 1832 (= A.D. 1910); most of the verses are well-known *subhāṣita-s*, e.g. from the *Hitopadeśa*;

47. *Subhāṣita-taraṅgiṇī*, a collection of occasional stanzas and literary addresses and speeches in Malayalam and in Sanskrit published in Calicut in 1908, in Malayalam script;

48. *Subhāṣita-vyākhyāna-saṃgraha*, published in MS. form, *saṃvat* 1969 (= A.D. 1911); jainistic; contains very few *subhāṣita-s*;

49. *Śūktimañjarī*, an anthology of "charming Sanskrit verses" compiled by Baldeva Upādhyāya and published in the Vidyābhavan Saṃskṛta Granthamālā No. 142, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Vārāṇasī, 1967; it contains 414, mostly well-known *subhāṣita-s* collected from the best *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, in particular the *Śārṅgadhara-pad-dhati*;

50. *Sūktimālā*, or Gems from Sanskrit Literature, compiled, edited and translated by Dr. A. Sharma and Vid. E. V. Vira Raghavacharya, Sanskrit Academy Series 5 of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1959; it is a selection of 200 well-known *subhāṣita-s* from various anthologies and primary sources;

51. *Sūktimauktikakamālīka* by Śrī Śiva Prakāśa, published in Matura, *saṃvat* 1977 (= A.D. 1920); contains 110 verses mostly composed by the author; they are often based on current *subhāṣita-s*;

52. *Sūktimuktāvalī*, compiled by some Pūrvācārya and published in MS. form by J. S. Javeri, Bombay 1922; not numbered; 94 pages; contains many current, but also many unknown *subhāṣita-s*, of which some are in Prakrit;

53. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Somaprabha, disciple of a Jaina Vijaya-simhācārya; it is a short *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* containing 99 verses;

54. *Sūktisaṃgraha* of Kavi Rākṣasa, edited by Śrī S. Śāstrī, published in the Haridass Sanskrit Series, No. 134 at the Nirṇaya Sāgara

Press in 1960; this short anthology is divided into five chapters composed of 26, 21, 21, 22 and 13 *subhāṣita-s* respectively;

55. *Sūktisaṃgraha*, edited by Bhauroṃdāna Jeṭhamala Saṭhiyār in Setiṣa Jaina Granthamālā; it contains 198 *subhāṣita-s*;

56. *Sūktiśataka*, published in two small volumes by Harihara Jhā in the Hāridās Sanskrit Series, No. 263; each volume contains 100 *subhāṣita-s*, usually well-known;

57. *Sūkti-sudhā*, edited by R. Ś. Pālivala, *Svādhyāta-saṃdala*, Pāraḍi, 1963; it contains 88 *subhāṣita-s*;

58. *Sūktisudhā (Śrīmatuḥ)*, published in Pondichéry, Śrī Aravindaśrama, in 1953; contains in two chapters *subhāṣita-s* arranged according to metres;

59. *Sūktisudhārnava* of Mallikārjuna, edited by N. Anantharaṅgachariar and published in Mysore in 1947, in Kanarese script;

60. A Collection of Telugu Proverbs, translated, illustrated and explained together with some Sanskrit proverbs; the text is printed in Devanāgarī and Telugu characters; it was published by Captain M. W. Carr, Madras Staff Corps, Madras, 1868. The Sanskrit, wise sayings, most of which are well-known *subhāṣita-s*, were reedited and quoted by O. Böhtlingk in his "Indische Sprüche".

61. *Vairāgyapañcāśat* compiled by Kṛṣṇamācārya and published in Kumbakonam in 1939; it is a modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* containing 58 *subhāṣita-s*

37.2. From secondary sources the following *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were also studied; they are preserved in MSs. only; (some of them are quoted from secondary sources):

62. *Nayasāra*, an unpublished anthology. MS. RE No. 20066 in the Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry written on palm-leaves; contains 88 *subhāṣita-s*. The *Nayasāra* is contained in the last 23 fol. of the bundle which are marked independent serial numbers. Meanings in Tamil follow each verse. The MS. is complete. No authors names are found in the MS. The whole MS has 23 fol. 41.2 × 3.3 cms. 6-7 lines to a page; the MS is perforated by worms; it is written in Grantha and Tamil; medium writing; often erroneous; the MS. is dated 3 January 1790;

63. *Nītisāra*, an unpublished anthology. MS. RE No. 10862 in



the Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry written on palm-leaves; contains 80 *subhāṣita-s*. The *Nitisāra* forms the last portion of the MS. The folios are marked 1 to 41; one folio is missing in the middle. Meanings in Tamil follow each verse. The introductory verse contains the title. The verses are written in different metres. The whole MS. has 41 folios  $41 \times 3.5$  cms; 5 lines to a page. Second folio at the beginning and the seventh at the end are damaged; it is written in Grantha and Tamil; medium writing; often erroneous; no date;

64. *Nitisāra*, an unpublished anthology. MS. RE No. 15451 in the Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry written on palm-leaves; contains 55 *subhāṣita-s*. The *Nitisāra* is contained on the last 14 leaves of the bundle which are marked with independent serial numbers. It is different from the preceding MS, although the introductory verse is the same. Meanings in Tamil follow each verse. The whole MS. has 14 folios  $49 \times 3.2$  cms. 5 lines to a page. Folia 1 and 12-14 are broken (about 4 cms.) in the left end but the lost portions can be made up with the help of the Tamil meanings; it is written or rather scribbled in Grantha and Tamil; it is full of mistakes; no date.

65. *Subhātaraṅga* of Jagannātha Miśra, an unpublished anthology. MSs. in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 416 of 1884-87; 594 of 1891-95; 852 of 1895-1902; and 107 of 1919-24. The first of these MSs. contains only few interpolations; the other MSs. are somewhat different; the anthology is divided into 47 or more sections. Most of the verses are attributed to different poets<sup>56</sup>;

66. *Sārasūktāvalī*, an unpublished anthology dated *saṃvat* 1650. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (No. 1492 of 1886-92), compiled by Śrī Muniçandragani, written by Paṇḍit Śiva-haṃsa. Jainistic. Probably prototype of most Jainistic anthologies. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartr̥hari's epigrams, published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

67. *Subhāṣita*, Jaina, an unpublished anthology. MS in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 1423 of 1887-91. No name or title, since the first two folia are lost; other folia are numbered

56. Cf. P. K. GODE, New Indian Antiquary (1939) I; pp. 681-685.

from 3 to 37. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in Bhartṛhari's editions of epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi;

68. *Subhāṣita*, an unpublished anonymous anthology. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 91 of 1883-84; contains mostly wise sayings; similar to Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. 42 folia; fol. I missing; fol. 22-42 in *śāradā* script; fol. 23-42 in Devanāgarī. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

69. *Subhāṣita*, Jaina, an unpublished anthology. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 1425 of 1887-91, folia numbered 241-347 (complete); older than other Jain anthologies and is different from Jaina anthologies. Several verses of this anthology were epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

70. *Subhāṣita*, Jaina, an unpublished anthology. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, No. 1396 of 1884-87 (not complete, starts with folio 21); some 800 *subhāṣita*-s are lost. Usually does not quote poets. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams, published by D. D. Kosambi;

71. *Subhāṣitakhanda* of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa (in the MS. the author is given as Gaṇebhaṭṭa), an unpublished anthology. MS. in Rājāpur No 105. Jainistic. 22 folios (in reality 23 because folio 17 is numbered erroneously twice, minus 3 first folios which are missing. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams, published by D. D. Kosambi<sup>57</sup>;

72. *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* of Bhaṭṭaśrīkṛṣṇa, an unpublished anthology containing some 2000 verses. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 93 of 1883-84. Contains only the first 155 folia. How many are missing is not known. Divided into 7 sections. The verses are not attributed to any poets. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

73. *Subhāṣitārṇava*, an exhaustive *subhāṣita-samgraha* known to exist in MS. from the Asiatisches Museum der Kais. Akademie der

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57. Cf. N. A. GORE, *Subhāṣitakhanda of Gaṇeśabhaṭṭa*, in: *Principal Karmakar Commemoration Volume 33-6* and *idem, Subhāṣitasarvasva of Gopinātha*, in: *Summaries of Papers submitted to the XVI All-India Oriental Conference*, Allahabad 1951, p. 41.

Wissenschaften. Most of the *subhāṣita-s* of this MS. were published by O. Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche*. *Subhāṣita-s* quoted in this anthology are often corrupt and the readings are poor. Many *subhāṣita-s* of this anthology are not quoted in other sources and their origin is not known;

74. *Subhāṣitasāgara*, an unpublished Jaina anthology divided into 77 *adhikāra-s*. MS. in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 424 of 1899-1915. First two folia and the end beginning with fol. 49 missing. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi;

75. *Subhāṣitasavaskṛta(?)*-*ślokapārambhaḥ(?)* an anonymous anthology of 74 verses (MS. R. 41 in the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Lyon) which was partly edited by P. Regnaud in his *Stances Sanskrites inédites d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Lyon* in *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*; fasc. 2 (1884) p. 1-22. This anthology is preserved in a beautifully written modern paper manuscript. It contains a great number of verses written in different metres; many of these mostly descriptive verses are quite well known. P. Regnaud also edited another unnamed anthology containing 61 descriptive verses written in different metres (*idem*, fasc. 2 of 1885) and 187 mostly descriptive verses from a MS in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (*idem*, vol. VI); most of the latter verses are little known *anyokti-s*. (It was not possible to trace the latter MS);

76. *Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya*, an unpublished anthology. MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal (MS. No. 105666-13-c 7; contains usually *subhāṣita-s* of mediaeval poets. It is quoted in the editions of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, edited J. B. Chaudhuri, who announced that he is going to publish soon this important anthology. This *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is greatly influenced by the *Padyaveṇī* of Veṇīdatta and quotes some of Veṇīdatta's verses; therefore it must have been composed later than the *Padyaveṇī* i.e. probably by the end of the seventeenth century. The *Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya* contains 844 verses and quotes 151 poets of which as many as 34 are not known from any other anthologies published up to date nor other sources<sup>58</sup>;

58. Cf. paras 32.2; 32.3; 32.4; 32.5 and 32.7 and J. B. CHAUDHURI, *Some unknown or Less-known Sanskrit Poets discovered from the Sūbhāṣita-sara-samuccaya*, in: B. C. Law Volume II, Poona 1946; 145-158.

77. *Subhāṣitaśloka*, an unpublished anonymous anthology. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 324 A of 1881-82 (22 plus 38 fol.); uses Mahārāṣṭrian calligraphy, rarely ascribes any verses to poets, and if so done, the ascriptions are given before the verse is cited. Several verses of this anthology are quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

78. *Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keladi Basavappa Nāyaka, an unpublished voluminous anthology. MSs. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 288 of the later additions in the Library of the University in Bombay and at Śṛṅgari<sup>59</sup>; the latter is a palm-leaf MS. in Nandināgarī. The compiler intended probably to write this anthology in five sections; the first two MSs. contain sections I, II and IV; section III appears only in the last quoted MS; this section contains many erotic verses. Folia are separately numbered for each section; needs careful editing<sup>60</sup>. Several verses of this anthology were quoted in the edition of Bhartṛhari's epigrams published by D. D. Kosambi and in the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*;

79. *Subhāṣitāvalī*, an unpublished Jaina anonymous anthology. MS. in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute No. 1424 of 1887-91 dated *saṃvat* 1673;

80. *Sūktiratnāvalī* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, an unpublished anthology. MSs. in the India Office Library 1203, No. 4032 and in the Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass. No. 1457 (dated *saṃvat* 1754 = A.D. 1698). The latter MS. is ascribed to Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa. Vaidyanātha of the Tatsat family was the son of Rāmacandra or Rāmabhaṭṭa. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. Vaidyanātha Tatsat was also the author of a commentary on the *Kāvyaaprakāśa* of Mammata written in 1684<sup>61</sup>. He is probably identical with Vaidyanātha Payaguṇḍa. The anthology has two parts; the larger follows the same plan as the *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* to which it seems largely indebted for its material. The MS. however,

59. LEWIS RICE, *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSs. in Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1884; Nos. 2271-2.

60. Cf. P. K. GODE, in: *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, (1941); pp. 40-45.

61. P. K. GODE, *Date of the Sūktiratnāvalī of Vaidyanātha Tatsat*, in: *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. 2.2.; pp. 192-95.

as Dr. Eggeling in the I.O. Catalogue stated, is extremely incorrect, so as to be of little use. The anthology does not quote any authors or works <sup>62</sup>.

81. *Vidagdhajana-Vallabha*, an unpublished anthology preserved in three MSs. This anthology is different from the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. Its author, Vallabhadeva, son of Malhanadeva, was also a Kāśmīrian, similarly as Vallabhadeva, the author of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. The *Vidagdhajana* was probably compiled in the later part of the twelfth century A.D. or the earlier part of the thirteenth century. Several verses of this anthology appear also in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* but some of them are attributed to some authors in the *Vidagdhajana* while they are anonymously quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* or are attributed to different authors in the *Vidagdhajana* and to different ones in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* <sup>63</sup>.

82. Some authors of Histories of Sanskrit literature, and in particular M. Krishnamachariar <sup>64</sup> mention also, but usually without any description, the following *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*:

1. *Cātuḍbhara* composed of six *paddhati-s* and containing 915 verses <sup>65</sup>;
2. *Cāturatnākara* <sup>65</sup>;
3. *Cātuśloka* <sup>65</sup>;
4. *Kavīndracandrodaya* of Ācārya Kavīndra <sup>66</sup>, who lived on the court of Emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Prince Dāra; contains 361 verses and quoted the names of 69 poets. The verses eulogise the great scholar Kavīndrācārya; published by the Poona Oriental Book Agency, Poona;
5. *Padyamuktāvalī* of Ghāṣīrāma <sup>67</sup>;
6. *Padyamuktāvalī* of Govindabhaṭṭa <sup>68</sup>;
7. *Padyamṛtasarovara* <sup>69</sup>;
8. *Padyasaṃgraha* of Kavibhaṭṭa <sup>70</sup>;
9. *Padyāvalī* of Mukunda <sup>71</sup>;

62. Almost identical with the *Sūktiratnāvalī*, *op. cit.*

63. V. RAGHAVAN, *The Vidagdhajana-Vallabha*, in: Journal of the Kerala University Oriental MSs. Library, Trivandrum 12.1-2; 133.54.

64. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1.

65. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

66. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390 b.

67. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.

68. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.

69. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.

70. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.

71. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.

10. *Padyāvalī* of Vidyābhuṣaṇa <sup>72</sup>;
11. *Prastāvacintāmaṇi* of Candracūḍa <sup>73</sup>;
12. *Prastāvamuktāvalī* of Keśava-bhaṭṭa <sup>74</sup>;
13. *Prastāvaratnākara* of Harihara (or Hāridāsa who lived during the reign of Varavīrasahari; in 21 chapters on various topics) <sup>75</sup>;
14. *Prastāvasāra* of Lauhityavīrasena <sup>76</sup>;
15. *Prastāvasārasaṃgraha* of Rāmaśarma <sup>77</sup>;
16. *Prastāvatarāṅgiṇī* <sup>78</sup>;
17. *Rasacandra* of Ghāsīrīmakavī <sup>79</sup>;
18. *Rasakalpadruma* of Caturbhuja (seventeenth century) <sup>80</sup>;
19. *Rasapradīpa* of Bhaṭṭabhāskara <sup>81</sup>;
20. *Rasavilasa* of Sūktibhūdeva <sup>82</sup>;
21. *Sabhābhūṣaṇamañjarī* of Gautama <sup>83</sup>;
22. *Sārasaṃgraha* of Śambhudāsa <sup>84</sup>;
23. *Sārasaṃgrahasudhārṇava* of Bhaṭṭa Govindajit <sup>85</sup>;
24. *Subhāṣita*, an unpublished anonymous collection of *subhāṣita*-s, divided into eight chapters; authors of most of the verses are attributed to different poets;
25. *Subhāṣitakaustubha* of Venkaṭādhvari <sup>86</sup>;
26. *Subhāṣitamāñjarī* of Cakravati Venkaṭācārya of Kalyānapuram (?) <sup>87</sup>;
27. *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* of Mathurānātha <sup>88</sup>;
28. *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī* of Puruṣottama <sup>89</sup>;
29. *Subhāṣitapadāvalī*, anonymous <sup>90</sup>;
30. *Subhāṣitapadāvalī* of Śrīnīvasācārya <sup>91</sup>;
31. *Subhāṣitaprabandha* or *Bhojarta-subhāṣita*, followed by *Bhojaprabandhīyaḥ Sāralokasaṃgraha* <sup>92</sup>;

72. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 388.  
 73. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 74. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 75. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 387 and

389.

76. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 77. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 78. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 79. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1.  
 80. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1.  
 81. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1.  
 82. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1.

83. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390 a.  
 84. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389 and  
 390 a  
 85. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 86. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 87. KR., *op. cit.*, Fn. 1, p. 389 and  
 390.

88. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 89. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 90. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 91. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.  
 92. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

32. *Subhāṣitarāṅgasāra* of Jagannāthamīśra <sup>93</sup>;
33. *Subhāṣitaratnākara* of Kṛṣṇa <sup>94</sup>;
34. *Subhāṣitaratnākara* of Munidevācārya <sup>95</sup>;
35. *Subhāṣitaratnākara* of Umāpati, son of Nirmalanātha <sup>96</sup>;
36. *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Kṛṣṇa <sup>97</sup>; quotes verses without ascribing them to any poets;
37. *Subhāṣitaratnamālā* <sup>98</sup>;
38. *Subhāṣitaratnāvalī* of Umāmaheśvara-bhaṭṭa <sup>99</sup>;
39. *Subhāṣitārṇava* <sup>100</sup>;
- 40-41. *Subhāṣitāvalī* (two different anonymous anthologies of this name; one of them mentions many different poets) <sup>101</sup>;
42. *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Sakalakīrti <sup>102</sup>;
43. *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Śrīvara <sup>103</sup>, pupil of Jonarāja; mentions 380 poets;
44. *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Sumati (?) <sup>104</sup>;
45. *Subhāṣitasañcaya* <sup>105</sup>; quotes verses without ascribing them to any poets;
46. *Subhāṣitasamgraha* <sup>106</sup>; anonymous;
47. *Subhāṣitasamuccaya* <sup>107</sup>; mentions many different poets;
48. *Subhāṣitasarvasva* of Gopinātha <sup>108</sup>;
49. *Subhāṣitasudhānandalaharī* <sup>109</sup>;
50. *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi* of Śayamācārya <sup>110</sup> divided into 84 *paddhati*-s;
51. *Subhāṣitasuradruma* <sup>111</sup>, anonymous;
52. *Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Keladi Basavappa Naik <sup>112</sup>;
53. *Subhāṣitasuradruma* of Khanderaya Basavayatīndra <sup>113</sup>;
54. *Sūktāvalī* of Lakṣmaṇa <sup>114</sup>;

93. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

94. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

95. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

96. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

97. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

98. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

99. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

100. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

101. Cf. KUPPUSWAMIN SASTRI's, *Report for 1916-9*; p. 40 and KR. *op. cit.* fn. 1, pp. 389-390.

102. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

103. M. WINTERNITZ, *Geschichte der Indischen Literature* III, 159-160 and KR.,

*op. cit.*, fn. 1.

104. Mentioned in the *India Office Catalogue 1533*. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ, (*op. cit.*, fn. 95) p. 159.

105. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

106. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

107. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

108. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

109. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

110. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

111. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

112. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

113. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

114. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

55. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Mathurānātha <sup>115</sup>;
56. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Puruṣottama <sup>116</sup>;
57. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Viśvanātha, son of Vidyānīvāsa Bhaṭṭācārya <sup>117</sup>; quotes verses without ascribing them to any authors;
58. *Sūktiratnāvalī* of Hemavijaya <sup>118</sup>; mentioned in the *praśasti* on Vṛtti on Vijatapraśastikāvya;
59. *Sūktiratnāvalī* of Vaidyaratna <sup>119</sup>, son of Rāmabhaṭṭa; does not mention poets;
60. *Sūktiratnāvalī* of Vijayasenasūr <sup>120</sup>, containing 54 verses; written in 1591 A.D.;
61. *Sūktivāridhi* of Peddabhaṭṭa from Eleśvara <sup>121</sup>;
62. *Udbhaṭasāgara* <sup>122</sup>.

38.1. Among others, the "Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library" (Vol. V) <sup>123</sup> describes additionally the following not mentioned in other places *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*-s:

63. *Anyāyapañcaka* in Grantha writing containing five anonymous wise sayings;
64. *Aṣṭottaraśatanyāśloka* in Grantha writing; 120 wise sayings;
65. *Cātuśloka-maṇjarī* in Grantha writing, uncomplete, containing a collection of wise sayings culled from various anthologies;
66. *Guṇadoṣadarpaṇa* of Kṛṣṇasudhī in *devanāgarī*, copied in 1915;
67. *Kavikalpalatikā* in Grantha writing, containing the Sāmānya and the *Arthasaṅgraha* sections of an anonymous didactic poem;
68. *Nirvedatārāvalī* of Kauśika Raṅganātha in *devanāgarī* writing containing a group of verses which stresses the vanity of worldly wishes and the importance of devotion to Viṣṇu;
69. *Nītisāra*, an anonymous collection of didactic verses (4 MSs); also with Tamil gloss (8 MSs.) and with a Telugu gloss (3 MSs.);
70. *Prasaṅgaratnāvalī* of Potayārya in medium Telugu writing, containing verses from several source-books in ancient Hindu literature, as well as sententious sayings and biographical verses; divided into

115. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

116. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

117. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 390.

118. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 387.

119. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 387; cf.

Para 36 No. 68.

120. Printed in Bhawnagar (not available to me). Cf. KR. *op. cit.* fn. 1, p. 387.

121. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

122. KR., *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 389.

123. Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. V. The Adyar Library, 1951.



*paddhati-s*; probably from the middle of the fifteenth century. Many MSs. of this anthology are known to exist in Southern India;

71. *Prāśastitarāṅga* of Haribhāskara in *devanāgarī* writing; incomplete; deals mostly with the method of writing *prāśasti-s*;

72. *Subhyābharāṇa* of Rāmacandra in *devanāgarī* writing; divided into 9 *ullāsa-s*, some of them giving verses of a double-entendre; contains also the commentary of Govinda;

73. *Satpadyamuktāvalī* of Mukundapaṇḍita in *devanāgarī* writing, divided into 6 *pariccheda-s* and containing many verses quoted also in other well-known anthologies; it adds however also new verse of considerable poetic value. The author is the son of Tīmājīpaṇḍita of Puṇyastambha, a village situated on the banks of Godāvarī; compiled at Benares, probably quite recently, but fate unknown<sup>124</sup>;

74-118. Forty-five different *Subhāṣitāni-s*, anonymous, containing 50, 5, 300, 266 (incomplete), 5, 34, 180, 200, 250, 25, 15, 65, 12, 550, 600, 200, 12 (incomplete), 81, 40, 190, 620, 25, 100, 10, 60, 40, 400, 15, 300, 200, 15, 135, 120, 50, 10, 43, 20, 125, 8, 50, 80, 15, 750 and 103 sententious sayings respectively;

119-120. Two *Subhāṣitāni-s* with a Telugu gloss containing 208 and 38 sententious sayings respectively;

121-122. Two *Subhāṣitāni-s* with a gloss, containing 50 and 70 verses respectively;

123. *Subhāṣitapaddhati*, in Grantha Malayalam writing, an anonymous collection of wise sayings; incomplete;

124. *Subhāṣitasāra* in Grantha writing, anonymous, fairly recent;

125. *Sūktimāla* of Nārojiṇḍita in Grantha writing, containing wise sayings and devotional verses; the author is probably the son of Viśvanātha and Bhāvanī; fairly old and injured;

126. *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Somaprabha with a Tamil gloss in Grantha and Tamil writing, containing 99 wise sayings inculcating Jaina discipline. Also published in the *Kāvya-mālā-guccha* VII. 35 sqq. (2 MSs.). (See above);

127. *Vairāgyaraṅga* of Sunātha in Telugu writing, containing a didactic poem dealing with the nature of true renunciation (2 MSs.);

38.2. There are many other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* not yet published in other libraries throughout India;

124. Cf. H. G. NARAHARI, *Adyar Library Bulletin* (1946), pp. 51 sqq.

39. In addition some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* mention as their sources the following seven works which can also be considered as *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; these are unknown *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*;
128. *Prasaṅgaranāvalī*, quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnākara* (Bombay 1872);
129. *Sabhātaraṅga*, quoted in the same anthology;
130. *Samgraha* or *Samgrahṭṭuh*, quoted in the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*;
131. *Sphuṭaśloka*, quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnākara* (Bombay 1872);
132. *Sūktiratnākara*, quoted in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*;
133. *Sūktisahasra*, also quoted in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*; and
134. *Sūktisaṃgraha*, quoted in the *Subhāṣitaratnākara* (Bombay 1872) and probably different from that quoted above.

40.1. To these two-hundred forty eight anthologies mentioned above, of which only the best known were enumerated here, anthologies from special branches of Sanskrit literature or on special subjects should be added. These are anthologies from Vedic texts and *śāstra-s* (e.g. Vishva Banddhu's *Vedaśāstra-saṃgraha* [Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1966]); from *Purāṇa-s* (e.g. A.P. Karmarkar's *Purāṇa-kāvya-stotra-sudhā* [Thalekwaḍi, Belgaum 1955], or the same author's, and almost identical with the previsions one, *Purāṇic Words of Wisdom* [Bhāratīya Vidyā VII. 11-12 and VIII. 1-2]) and in several issues of the "Purāṇa"; or from inscriptions (e.g. B. C. Chhabra's *Abhilekhasaṃgraha* [Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1964], or dealing with special branches of learning, for instance *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* on medical science, such as Dr. P. M. Mehta's *Vaidya-kīya-subhāṣitāvalī* in *Vidyā Bhāvana Granthamālā*, No. 5 (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras, 1955), or on knowledge, as such, e.g. the *Vidyā Vinodaśataka*, ed. by Rāja Rāma Simha Deva Bahadur of Rāmpūra and containing 100 verses on pleasure of knowledge culled from various Sanskrit works, such as the *Hitopadeśa*, etc. These anthologies are not discussed here.

40.2. In addition collections of *lokokti-s* should also be mentioned, in particular the three volume work entitled *Laukikanyāyāñ-jalīḥ*, A Handful of Popular Maxims, which is a collection of 484 *lokokti-s* compiled in alphabetical order (for each volume), translated and interpreted by Col. G.A. Jacob and published by Tukārām Jāvajī, proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay 1925 (third edition).

40.3. To a complete other category belongs a two-volume work, entitled the *Sūktisudhātaraṅgiṇī*, being quotations culled from well-known writers and thinkers of the world and rendered into Sanskrit by M. P. Oka. This is a collection of *subhāṣita-s* composed by European authors and translated into Sanskrit; it was published in 1925.

40.4. Also the newly published *An Anthology of Indian Literatures* edited by K. Santaram, Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay 1969 should be added. Part I contains a selection from the Sanskrit literature and in particular in Part I, chapter VIII *subhāṣita-s* (pp. 108-114). However neither the text of the *subhāṣita-s* nor the sources are given there; the work contains only the English translation<sup>125</sup>.

41. To the *par excellence subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* i.e. anthologies of verses of different authors collections of gnomic verses and wise sayings (*subhāṣita-s*) on different subject matters and often included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s par excellence*, written by one author should be mentioned; they contain detached gnomic verses on different aspects of human frailties, on world wisdom, etc. As mentioned before<sup>126</sup> the following works must be quoted here: the *Satakatrāyādi-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* of Bhartṛhari<sup>127</sup>, the *Cānakyaṇīti-śakta-saṃpradaya*<sup>128</sup>, the *Amaruśataka*<sup>129</sup>, the *Śānti-śataka* of Śilhaṇa<sup>130</sup>, and Amitagati's *Subhāṣitaratnasamdhoha*<sup>131</sup> as well as from the less known and famous

125. Not quoted are here numerous collections of *subhāṣita-s* in translations nor those quoted in Sanskrit Readers or Chrestomaties.

126. Cf. para 13.

127. *The Epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari Including the Three Centuries...* ed. by D. D. Kosambi. *Singhī Jaina Granthamālā*. 23. Bombay, 1948.

128. *Op. cit.*, fn. 49.

129. *Das Amaruśataka* von R. Simon. Kiel 1893; *The Text of the Amaruśataka* by S. K. De, in *Our Heritage* 2.1; pp. 9-75; *Amaruśataka with the commentary of Kokasambhava* by C. R. Devadhar in *Annals of the Bhandarkar, Oriental Research Institute, Poona*, 39.227-265 and 40.16-55; *Amaruśatakam*, third edition, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press; *Amaruśatakam*, edited and translated by Ch. R. Devadhar, *Poona Oriental Series*; *The Amaruśataka with the commentary of Rudramadevakumāra* in *Our Heritage* 2.2; pp. 265-316 and others.

130. *Das Śāntiśataka mit Einleitung, kritischem Apparat, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* von K. Schönfeld. Leipzig, 1910; in KSH pp. 410-429; in KSG II., pp. 278-332.

131. *Amitagati's Subhāṣitasamdhoha. Sanskrit und Deutsch* von R. Schmidt. Sonderabdruck aus Band LIX und LXI der ZDMG., Leipzig 1908; in KM. 82.

Someśvara's *Karṇāmṛta-prapā*<sup>132</sup>. Further the following works should be mentioned:

1. Appa Dīkṣitar's *Sunītikusumamālā* edited by Subramanian Śastriar, a short collection of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* with Tamil Translation, published in Kumbakonam in 1922;

2. Āmūru Vedavyāsa's *Nītiśataka*, a short poem of 100 verses on *nīti* representing the author's observations of nature and behaviour of good and bad persons. The *subhāṣita-s* are written in *anuṣṭubh-s* and are divided into 5 headings. The MS of which the two first folia are missing (resulting in a loss of 17 verses) was published by S. Ritti in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras (29.108-25); (first half of 19th century);

3. Appayya Dīkṣita's *Vairāgyaśataka*<sup>133</sup>, a short poem of 101 verses in *āryā* metre; (16th century);

4. Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha* where the narrative of Bhoja is intertwined with *subhāṣita-s* attributed to many poets, some of which are the most famous writers of India<sup>134</sup>;

5. Bhallaṭa's *Śataka*, a short poem of 108 verses in different metres<sup>135</sup>;

6. Bhavabhūti's *Guṇaratna*, a short poem of 13 verses in different metres, probably wrongly attributed to Bhavabhūti<sup>136</sup>;

7. Bhoja's *Cārucaryā*, a short poem of 135 verses mostly in *śloka* metre dealing with daily routine, good and right conduct and activity in one's daily occupation<sup>137</sup>;

8. Dakṣiṇāmurti's *Lokoktimuktāvalī*, a short poem of 94 verses in different metres, divided into six *paddhati-s* and containing wise sayings and devotional verses<sup>138</sup>;

9. Dhanadarāja's *Śatakatraya*, a collection of three *śataka-s* —

132. *Karṇāmṛta-prapā* of Someśvara, ed. by Munijinavijaya, *Rājasthān Purātana Granthamālā*, Jodhpur, 1963.

133. KM. I, 91-101.

134. *Bhojaprabandha* in *Nirṇaya Sāgara Press*, 1932; and ed. and transl. by J. Shastri, *Motilal Benarsidass*, Patna, 1955.

135. KM. IV, 169-188.

136. KSH., 523-525; KSG. I, 299-305; translated by J. Gray, AOS. 34.

137. Published for the first time on the basis of three MSs. by Dr. Raghavan in his *Malayamārutah*, Vol. II; pp. 79-95.

138. KM. XI, 78-94; translated in Italian by Carlo della Casa in: *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 102; pp. 1-28.

*śṛṅgāra*-, *nīti*- and *vairāgya* (103, 103 and 108 verses respectively) in different metres; imitating Bhartṛhari's three *śataka*-s; (15th century)<sup>139</sup>;  
 10. Ghaṭakarpara's *Nītisāra*, a short poem of 21 verses in different metres, mostly wise sayings from well-known primary sources, in particular the *Hitopadeśa*<sup>140</sup>;

11. Govardhana's *Āryāsaptaśatī*, a collection of erotic verses in *āryā* metre arranged in *vrājya*-s by initial letter<sup>141</sup>;

12. Gumāṇi's *Upadeśaśataka*, a short poem of 102 verses in *āryā* metre; each epigram is proclaimed in one part of the verse and illustrated with an episode well known from Sanskrit literature in the second part<sup>142</sup>;

13. Halāyudha's *Dharmaviveka*, a short poem of 20 verses in different metres<sup>143</sup>;

14. Jagannātha's *Bhāminīvilāsa*, a collection of stray gnostic verses in various metres in four parts (*prastāvika*, *śṛṅgāra-karūṇa* and *śānti*) dealing with ethics, erotics, eulogy to the deceased wife and glorification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu; in various versions the number of verses is different; the first part from 100 to 130 verses, the second from 101 to 184 verses; the third from 18 to 19 verses and the fourth from 31 to 46 verses; published several times (17th century)<sup>144</sup>;  
 15. Jalhaṇa's *Mugdhopadeśa*, a poem of 66 verses in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, containing warnings against snares of prostitutes. Jalhaṇa is a Kāśmīrian poet of the 12th century<sup>145</sup>;

16-17. Janārdhanabhaṭṭa's *Śṛṅgāraśataka* and *Vairāgyaśataka*, two poems of 101 verses each, written in different metres and imitating Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāra*- and *Vairāgya-śataka*-s<sup>146</sup>;

139. KM. XIII, 33-84.

140. KSH., 504-506; KSG. I, 374-380.

141. KM., 1; KSG. I, 1-276. Cf. also S. K. DE, *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature in Indian Studies Past and Present* I; p. 643-4.

142. KM. I, pp. 20-28; translated into Italian by O. Botto in: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXII, pp. 93-110.

143. KSH., 507-509; KSG. I, 381-388.

144. *Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha*. Sanskrit Academy Series No. 2. Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1958; *Bhāminīvilāsa*. Ed. and transl. by H. D. Sharma, Poona Oriental Series 50; *Bhāminīvilāsa* ed. by Pt. A. B. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Pt. N. B. Vidyāratna, Vacaspatya Press, Calcutta, 1936. Also see M. WINTERNITS, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* III, pp. 147-149.

145. KM. VIII, 125-135.

146. KM. XI, 157-172 and XIII, 131-144.

18. Kalya Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃha's *Kavikaumudī*, an anthology of *anyokti-s* in two *śataka-s* of 101 and 46 verses in different metres by Kalya Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃha, son of Ahobala-sudhī; (18th century) <sup>147</sup>;

19. Kṛṣṇavallabha's *Kāvyaabhūṣaṇaśataka*, a poem of 103 verses in different metres <sup>148</sup>;

20-25. Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryāśataka*, *Deśopadeśa*, *Darpadalana*, *Caturvargasamgraha* and *Sevyasevakopadeśa* <sup>149</sup>. The *Cārycaryāśataka* is a didactic poem of 101 verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre dealing with instruction in *dharma* and *artha* and teaching a householder to follow the daily routine; the first half of the verses proclaims a truth which is illustrated in the second half by quoting well-known Sanskrit poems <sup>150</sup>. The *Darpadalana* is a didactical and satirical poem in seven chapters (*vicāra-s*) containing 596 verses in different metres; deals with human pride or arrogance due to noble descent of birth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and austerities <sup>151</sup>. The *Deśopadeśa* is also a didactic poem in 8 chapters (*upadeśa-s*) containing 298 verses usually written in *śloka* metre <sup>152</sup>, dealing with unscrupulous and dishonest villain, miser, prostitutes, bawds, *viṭa-s* and those frequenting houses of prostitution, student of Gauḍa, old men marrying young girls and daily life <sup>153</sup>; the *Kalāvīlāsa* is a didactic poem of the greatest value among the works of Kṣemendra mentioned here as far as cultural history is

147. *Kavikaumudī* of Kalaya Lakṣmīnṛṣiṃha ed. and transl. by K. Krishnamoorthy, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1965.

148. KM. VI, 31-46.

149. Kṣemendra's other works are not mentioned here, since their character is different. However his *Samayamātrkā* which is an imitation of Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* (*Sambhālīmata*) might be mentioned here. These works could be considered as belonging to the Sanskrit didactic literature. They contain numerous *subhāṣita-s*. The *Kuṭṭanīmata* contains teachings addressed by a procuress to a prostitute as to how she should feign love for a young man and employ all possible tricks to extract money from him. The *Narmamāla* is a satire on the *kāyastha* administration before the time of king Ananta.

150. KM. II, 128-138 and in *Kṣemendralaghubukāvyaśamgraha*, Sanskrit Academy Series, No. 70, Osmania University, Hyderabad 1961; pp. 135-144. Stylistically similar to *Cārucaryāśataka* is the *Nītimāñjarī* of Dyā Dviveda who imitated Kṣemendra's work (15th century).

151. KM VI, 66-118 and in *Kṣemendralaghubukāvyaśamgraha*, (op. cit., fn. 150), pp. 145-206. Translated into German by R. Schmidt in ZDMG 69.1-51.

152. Only the last verses in the 5th-7th *upadeśa-s* and a great part of the 8th *upadeśa* are written in different metres.

153. Ed by M. K. Shāstrī in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies No. 40 and in *Kṣemendralaghubukāvyaśamgraha*, (op. cit., fn. 147). Third lesson translated by L. STERNBACH in: Poona Orientalist 25.8-19. See also Brahmavidyā, Vol. 31-32, pp. 171 sqq.

concerned; its main subject-matters are occupations of men and their morality on one side and hypocrisy on the other; it is divided into ten chapters (*sarga-s*) of different length; the verses are written in *āryā* metre<sup>154</sup>; the *Caturvargasaṃgraha* is a practical hand-book of morals dealing in four *pariccheda-s* with the four *puruṣārtha-s* (composed of 27, 25, 25 and 29 verses respectively). The verses are written in different metres and particularly the third *pariccheda* on *kāma* is beautiful<sup>155</sup>; finally the *Sevyasevakopadeśa* is also a didactic poem dealing with instructions for the servant and the master; it contains 61 verses of which the first 26 verses are written in *śloka*-metre, the twenty following verses in 11-*pāda upajāti* metre, and the rest in *vasanta-tilakā* and *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metres, with the exception of the last two verses<sup>156</sup> (11th century);

26. Kusumadeva's *Drṣṭāntaśataka* (or *Drṣṭāntakalikā*), a collection of 100 wise sayings taught in the first line and illustrated by examples in the second line; part of this work is also quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*<sup>157</sup>; (15th century or later);

27. Madhusūdana's *Anyāpadesāśataka*, a poem of 110 verses in different metres<sup>158</sup>;

28. *Mohamudgara*, a short poem of 17 to 18 religious gnomic verses in moric metre attributed, probably wrongly to Śaṅkara; the verses describe the voidness of the universe and blessing of mental peace and of knowledge of Viṣṇu; well-known in India and often published<sup>159</sup>;

29. Nāgarāja's *Bhāvaśataka*, a collection of 102 verses written in different metres. The verses are often erotic in character and contain riddles where a question is asked what a person would do in a certain

154. KM. I, pp. 34-79 and in *Kṣemendralaghukāvya-saṃgraha*, (*op. cit.*, fn. 150); 219-272; translated into German by R. Schmidt in *Zum 70 Geburtstag des Professor Ernst Mehliss in Eisleben Festgabe*. Eisleben 1914; pp. 1-33 (parts I-IV) and in WZKM 28.406-435 (parts V-X).

155. KM. V, pp. 85-101 and in *Kṣemendralaghukāvya-saṃgraha*, (*op. cit.*, fn. 150), 119-137.

156. KM. II, pp. 79-85 and in *Kṣemendralaghukāvya-saṃgraha*, (*op. cit.*, fn. 150), 207-15.

157. KSH., 217-226.

158. KM. IX, 64-79.

159. KSH., 263-8; KSG. I. 352-357; in *Neetisunkbulun* ed. and transl. by Muha Raj Kālee Krishen Bahadur. Serampore Press, 1831. Many edition of this work appeared in India etc. Cf. M. WINTERNITZ, (*op. cit.*, fn. 144), p. 149.

situation. The poem is published as written by Nāgarāja, son of Jālapa, one of the kings of the Tāka-dynasty but probably it was written only under his patronage and the real author of the poem was Bhāva<sup>160</sup>;

30. Narahari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, a poem of 115 verses in different metres influenced by Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*; probably from 12th century<sup>161</sup>;

31-35. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita's *Anyāpadeśaśataka*, *Kalividambana*, *Sabbhārañjanaśataka*, *Sāntivilāsa* and *Vairāgyaśataka*, five<sup>162</sup> poems containing gnomic verses and wise sayings of 99, 102, 95, 51 and 101 verses respectively; the first is in *śārdūlavikṛīḍita* metre, the second and third in *śloka* metres, the fourth in *mandākrāntā* metre and the last in *upagīti-āryā* metre; 17th century<sup>163</sup>;

36-40. *Pañcaratna*, *Ṣaḍratna*, *Saptaratna*, *Aṣṭaratna*, *Navaratna* and *Padyasaṃgraha* (see above) short poems of 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 20 gnomic verses in different metres, not ascribed to any author, with the exception of the last named which is attributed to Kavibhaṭṭa. The *Navaratna* was the most popular of the five poems and was incorporated in the Sanskrit literature of Ceylon<sup>164</sup>;

41-42. *Pūrvacātakāṣṭaka* and *Uttaracātakāṣṭaka*, two short poems of 8 lyric and gnomic verses each dedicated to the *cātaka* bird which does not drink any water other than the pure liquid of the cloud; of unknown author; often translated<sup>165</sup>;

43. Rāmacandra's *Rasikarañjana*, a lyric and gnomic poem of 130 verses written in different metres; the poem permits a two-fold interpretation, in which each verse may have an ascetic as well as an

160. A. KM. IV, pp. 46-64; cf. R. SCHMIDT, *Das alte und moderne Indien*, Bonn /Leipzig, 1919, p. 184.

161. KM. XII, 42-60.

162. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita is also known for having written several other short poems.

163. Printed in KM. VI, 143-158; V, 132-142; IV, 189-198; VI, 12-20; I, 91-99; in *Śrī Nīlakaṇṭhadīkṣitaviracitāni*, Trivandrum 1886; *Minor Poems of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita*, Srirangam, 1191, and lately in *Oeuvres Poétiques de Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita*, I, par P. S. Filliozat (with French translation) in: Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 36, Pondichéry, 1967.

164. KSH., 3-4; 4-5; 5-7; 8-9 and 1-3; KSG I. 277-79, 280-82; 284-88; 288-91; 292-98. See also H. BECHERT, *op. cit.*, (fn. 31), pp. 25-27. There is also a *Guṇaratna*, *Nītiratna*, *Yatipaṇcaka*, *Sādhanaṇcaka*, *Bhramaraśataka*, *Śṛṅgārasaśataka*, etc.

165. H. EWALD, in ZDMG (1842); pp. 366 sqq. with translation into German, KSH., 237-239, 240-241; KSG. I, 327-330, 331-334; translated into English by Prof. Cowell in JRAS (1891); pp. 599 sqq. translated into German by Hoefer in his *Indische Gedichte* II, pp. 161 sqq. Cf. S. ŚTASIAK, *Le cātaka* in: RO. 2.33-117.



erotic meaning; Rāmacandra was the son of Lakṣmaṇadatta who wrote in Ayodhyā in the sixteenth century (1524)<sup>166</sup>;

44-45. Śambhu's *Anyoktimuktālatā*, a poem of 108 *anyokti*-s written in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *mandākrāntā* metres; Śambhu lived in the court of king Harṣadeva of Kaśmīr and wrote also *Rājendrakaṛaṇapura*, a poem in which he eulogized king Harṣadeva; many verses of the latter poem are included in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*<sup>167</sup>;

46. Śaṅkara's *Śataślokī*, a gnomic poem of 101 verses written in *sragdharā* metre dealing with the teaching of Vedānta; whether this poem was really written by Śaṅkara is not certain<sup>168</sup>;

47. Somaprabhācarota's *Śṛṅgāra-vairāgya-taraṅgiṇī*, a poem of 46 verses resembling Rāmacandra's *Rasikarañjana* (see above No. 42). The verses written in different metres permit also a two-fold interpretation — erotic and ascetic<sup>169</sup>; (13th century);

48. Śrī-kuru-Nārayaṇa Kavi's *Sudarśanaśataka*, a gnomic poem of 101 verses in *sragdharā* metre<sup>170</sup>;

49. *Śṛṅgārañānanirṇaya*, a short poem of 32 verses being a dialogue between Śuka and Rambhā, partly erotic (words of Rambhā) and partly theosophical (words of Śuka)<sup>171</sup>;

50-51. *Vānarāṣṭaka* and *Vānaryaṣṭaka*, two anonymous didactic poems of 8 verses each, written in different metres, containing several *subhāṣita*-s known also from other sources<sup>172</sup>;

52. Vararuci's *Nītiratna*, a collection of 15 wise sayings, mostly borrowed from the *Hitopadeśa*, in different metres<sup>173</sup>;

53. Vedānta Deśika's (or Vedāntacārya's or Neṅkaṭanātha Deśika's) *Subhāṣitanīvi*, a kind of anthology of 144 verses in different

166. KM. IV, pp. 96-149 and ed. by R. Schmidt with double readings and German translation, Stuttgart, 1896. Cf. R. SCHMIDT, *Liebe und Ehe in Indien*, Berlin, 1904; pp. 32 sqq.

167. KM. II, 61-79; KM. I. 22-34.

168. In *Select Works of Śrī Śaṅkara*, Madras, 1911; pp. 85 sqq. and in other collected works of Śrī Śaṅkara.

169. KM. V, pp. 142-165.

170. KM. VIII, pp. 1-51.

171. Edited and translated by J. M. Grandjean, *Dialogue de Śuka et de Rambhā sur l'amour et science suprême* in: *Annals du Musée Guimet* 10.437 sqq.

172. KSH., 244-245, 242-243; KSG. I, 321-323, 324-326; translated by O. Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche*.

173. KSH., 502-503; KSG. I, 305-310; translated by O Böhtlingk in his *Indische Sprüche*.

metres symetrically divided into 12 *paddhati-s* of 12 verses each, dealing with pride, wretchedness, servitude, nobility, tranquillity, etc.; the author was a Vedānta scholar who probably lived between 1268 and 1376 A.D.<sup>174</sup>;

54. Vetālabhaṭṭa's *Nītipradīpa*, a short collection of 16 wise sayings in different metres<sup>175</sup>;

55. Vireśvara's *Anyoktiśataka*, a poem of 105 *anyokti-s* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (and occasionally *sragdharā*) metre<sup>176</sup>;

56. To this category belong also ten Tamil *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* composed by Avvai, a poetess from the twelfth century (?) and translated from Tamil into Sanskrit by Radhakrishna Śastriar of Pudukota. These ten *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* appeared in the Mandāramālā Series as well as under a single title *Nītidaśaprabandhī*, Kumbakonam 1894. The ten Tamil *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* translated into Sanskrit are: (1). *Atthisudi* (28 verses); (2). *Samyakamala* (46 verses); (3). *Balanīti* (61 verses); (4). *Vāgullāsaḥ* (31 verses); (5). *Nītyupākhyānam* (30 verses); (6). *Jayaśaktikaram* (58 verses); (7). *Tattvapadavī* (41 verses); (8). *Sanmārgapradarpanam* (41 verses); (9). *Nītipañcāśat* (9 verses); and (10). *Nītimārgapradīpikā* (102 verses); each of the ten volumes was published in Kumbakonam in 1894; and many others, not to mention the whole *kathā* literature (in particular the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā* in Śivadāsa's version, the *Śukasaptati*, the *Vikramacarita*, the *Mādhavānala-kāmakandalā-kathā*, the Amarasūri's *Ambaḍacaritra* and even the *Kathāsaritsāgara*), the whole *alamkāra* literature<sup>177</sup> and numerous collections of *anyokti-s*.

#### 4. Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s in Greater India.

42. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* influenced also the literature of *Greater India*. Some of the collections of gnostic verses were translated into the languages spoken in *Greater India*, or with the spreading of Pāli became known in countries South and East

174. KM. VIII, 151-164 and ed. by M. T. Narasimha Aiyangar, Śrī Vanivilāsa Series 10 (1908).

175. KSH., 526-528; KSG. I, 366-373.

176. KM. V, 107-119.

177. See above para 9.

of India, or even became known in Sanskrit in those countries where Sanskrit was used.

### A. Tibet

43. In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. some of the best known works in India, not necessarily of Buddhist character, were translated into Tibetan and were included in the Tanjur. In this way some Sanskrit gnomic poems which became lost in India were preserved in Tibet.

44.1. The Tibetans had a special liking for the gnomic (*nīti*) literature and in particular for collections of moral and ethical sayings. Thus, one of the best known in India collections of gnomic verses, the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, and in particular the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra* version, was preserved in Tibetan through a translation made in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

44.2. Since the first studies were made in the Tibetan Tanjur by A. Csoma de Körös in the first half of the nineteenth century, we know that eight works, containing collections of *subhāṣita-s*, were included in the Tanjur. These works are as follows<sup>178</sup>:

1. *Śes-rab brgya-pa shes-bya-baḥi rab-tu-byed-pa*; in Sanskrit *Prajñāśataka-nāma-prakarana* (according to P. Cordier<sup>179</sup> *śataka-prakarana nāma*) by A. Klu-sgrub (Nāgarjuna) and translated by Ser-vajñādeva, Dpal brtsegs. (No. 4328 [ño. 99 b<sup>4</sup>-103 a<sup>7</sup>] = No. 4501);

2. *Lugs-kyi bstan bsos śes-rab sdon-po shes-bya-ba*; in Sanskrit *Nitiśāstraprajñādaṇḍa-nāma* by Klu-sgrub (Nāgarjuna) and translated by Śilendrabodhi, Ye-śes sde. (No. 4329 [ño. 103 a<sup>7</sup>-113 a<sup>4</sup>]);

3. *Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos skye-bo gso-baḥi thigs-pa shes-bya-ba*; in Sanskrit *Nitiśāstrajantupoṣaṇabindu-nāma* (according to P. Cordier *Janapoṣaṇbindu nāma nitiśāstra*) by Klu-sgrub (Nāgarjuna) and translated by Śilendrabodhi, Ye-śes sde. (No. 4330 [ño. 113 a<sup>4</sup>-116 b<sup>4</sup>]);

178. Quoted from the *Complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. by Professors Hutuju Munetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura and Lect. Tōkan Tada, publ. by Tōhoku Imperial University aided by Saoito Gratitude Foundation Senadai, Japan 1934. Nos. 4328-4335. This catalogue refers to the Sde-dgo edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canons (Bkaḥ hgyur and Bstan-hgyur) in 4569 volumes owned by the Japanese Tōhoku Imperial University Library.

179. P. CORDIER, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 3me partie, pp. 481-3 (Mdo Hgrel-Sūtravṛtti), Vol. 123 (Tibetan 318).

4. *Tshigs-su bcad-paḥi mdsod ces-bya-ba*; in Sanskrit *Gāthākoṣanāma* (according to P. Cordier Āryakośa) by Ni-ma sbas-pa (Ravigupta) and translated by Jñānaśānti, Dpal-gyi lhun-po sde. (No. 4331 [no. 116 b<sup>5</sup>-122 a<sup>3</sup>]);

5. *Tshigs-su bcad-pa brgya-pa*; in Sanskrit *Śatagāthā* by Mchog sred (Vararuci) and translated by Vinyacandra, chos-kyi śes-rab. No. 4332 [no. 122 a<sup>3</sup>-126 a<sup>6</sup>];

6. *Dri-ma med-paḥi dris-lan rin-po-cheḥi phren-ba shes-bya-ba*; in Sanskrit *Vimalaprasānottararatnamālā-nāma* (according to P. Cordier *notata ... mālī*) by Don-yod ḥchar and translated by Kamalagupta, Rin-chen bzañ-po. (No. 4333 [no. 126 b<sup>6</sup>-127 b<sup>6</sup>] = No. 4499);

7. *Tsa-na-kaḥi rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos*; in Sanskrit *Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra* by Tsa-na-kaḥi (Cāṇakya) and translated by Prabhākaraśrīmitra, Rin-chen bzañ-po. (No. 4334 [no. 127 b<sup>6</sup>-137 b<sup>6</sup>]); and

8. *Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos*; in Sanskrit *Nītiśāstra* of Masurakṣa (or Masarakṣa or Masūrakṣa) and translated by Dharmaśrībhadrā, Śākya blo-gros. (No. 4335 [no. 137 b<sup>6</sup>-143 a<sup>7</sup>]).

44.3. Particularly the last two works, i.e. the *Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra* and the *Nītiśāstra* of Masurakṣa are *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s par excellence*, of which the last became lost in India. Also the *Gāthākoṣanāma* of Ravigupta and the *Śatagāthā* of Vararuci contain a great number of *subhāṣita-s*.

44.4. The Tibetan *Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra* was edited in Tibetan and retranslated into Sanskrit by Sunitikumar Pathak<sup>180</sup>; it is the *Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra* version of so-called Cāṇakya's sayings and is almost identical with the *Bṛhatsamhitā* of the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*<sup>181</sup>.

The text is divided into 8 *adhyāya-s* which contain respectively 23, 30, 31, 17, 26, 23, 31 and 72 wise sayings. This text must have been well known in Tibet and probably was used by other Tibetan

180. Viśva Bhārati Annals, Vol. VIII, Śantiniketan, 1958.

181. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition*, (op. cit., fn. 54), Vol. I, 2, pp. XXXVIII-LVIII; L. STERNBACH, *The Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra and the Bṛhaspati Samhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa* in: Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XLII; pp. 99-122; L. STERNBACH, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s in Old Javanese and Tibetan*, Vol. XLVIII; pp. 115-158; L. STERNBACH, *A new Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra Manuscript*, Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1958; L. STERNBACH, *An unknown Cāṇakya MS and the Garuḍa Purāṇa*, in: Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. I; pp. 181-200; L. STERNBACH, *A New Abridged Version of the Bṛhaspati-samhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa*, "Purāṇa", Varanasi, 1966.

compilers of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, since we find the sayings also in the *She-rab-dong-bu* and the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*.

44.5. The text of the *Nītiśāstra* of Masurakṣa was completely unknown in India until 1962. Only then was it for the first time edited in Tibetan with a retranslation into Sanskrit and a translation into English by Sunitikumar Pathak<sup>182</sup>.

44.6. Masurakṣa is an unknown author; he is mentioned only once in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* as the author of verse 2935 which is however a verse from the *Pañcatantra*<sup>183</sup>; Masurakṣa (or Ma-sūrākṣa) mentioned in the Tanjur is probably another person and was probably the compiler of a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* which must have been popular in India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.<sup>184</sup>.

45. In addition to the gnomic (*nīti*) works preserved in the Tanjur we find also two other Tibetan *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, undoubtedly at least in its greater part, of Sanskrit origin, viz. the *She-rab dong-bu* and the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*.

46.1. The *She-rab dong-bu* is a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in Tibetan; it contains 260 wise-sayings; in the colophon it is ascribed to Klu-sgrub or Lu-trub, i.e. to Nāgārjuna. M. Winternitz<sup>185</sup> considered that it was not likely that this anthology was the work of Nāgārjuna, while Campbell tried to prove that it was compiled or written by Nāgārjuna himself; if we accept Campbell's theory than the *She-rab dong-bu* was composed in the first century B.C. W.C. Campbell was of the opinion that this anthology was a metrical translation

182. Viśva-Bhārati Annals, Vol. X, Santiniketan.

183. *Pañcatantra*, *textus ornatior* 3.35 and *textus simplicior* 3.43 (or 3.40 [Kosegarten]).

184. The name of Masurākṣa (in the RAS. MS.; and the Nepalese MS.: *mathasurāṣa*) is also mentioned in the *Lankavatara-sūtra* (Bibl. Cataniensis, Vol. I, Otani University Press, 1923; Sagathakam, *śloka* 816) as a highly virtuous ṛṣi who along with Valmika (sic!), Kautilya and Aśvalāyāna will appear in the future. We also find the name of a king Masurakṣita of Pāla family in the Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism in India* (in German translation by A. Schiefner, chapter 31; 171 p. 225 and ch. 38; 195; p. 257) in the latter case along with Cānakya also of the Pāla family; he was also mentioned as a king in ch. 27 (154-5; p. 201) and ch. 33 (178; p. 234). Masurakṣita, as an *interim* ruler of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal in the ninth century A.D., is also mentioned in the Dpag bsam bjon bzab of Ye Śes dpal byor. In some stories Cānaka (Cānakya) was identified with Mohipāla (see: *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānātha*, transl. by Bh. Datta, Calcutta, p. 62). Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* also quotes Masurakṣita as a name of king. See also: L. STERNBACH's Review of the *Nītiśāstra* of Masūrākṣa in JAOS 82.3; pp. 407-411.

185. M. WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, (fn. 10), Vol. II.

from Sanskrit of an ethical work. It seems, however, that *She-rab dong-bu* was compiled in the form known to us sometimes in the eleventh century A.D. when most Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan and included in the Tanjur.

46.1.1. The *She-rab dong-bu* is a well known work in Tibet, though it was more likely better known by the educated classes by name only. It was largeley quoted by Tibetan authors. W.L. Campbell considered that later writers borrowed many sentiments and sometimes entire lines, inserting them in their own compositions. He particularly thought that Paṇḍit Śākya had done so when preparing his *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*. It is difficult to subscribe to this statement since it was possible to identify only three *subhāṣita-s* which occur in both works<sup>186</sup> and two of them are so called Cāṇakya's wise sayings; their common source was probably the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* prevalent in Tibet.

46.1.2. The *She-rab dong-bu* was first edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das<sup>187</sup> and then by W.L. Campbell<sup>188</sup> who gave on the right-hand side the Tibetan text and on the left-hand side the English translation.

46.1.3. The work deals mostly with ethics and general wisdom; it contains only few Buddhistic truths (e.g. 61, 100) and even in these places some Sanskrit words could have been changed by the translator in order to fit the text with his own faith; such a procedure was also extensively applied in the Tibetan *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra*. *She-rab dong-bu* followed the pattern of Sanskrit anthologies, as far as their contents were concerned and included, similarly as the main Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* did wise sayings from the *kathā*-works<sup>189</sup> and from the floating mass of oral tradition.

46.2. The *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* is also a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in Tibetan; it contains 457 wise sayings and is divided into 7 chapters dealing with the wise, the prominent people, the fools, the excellent

186. *She-rab dong-bu* 29, 111 and 133 = *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi* 323, 29, 43.

187. This edition was not available to me. According to Campbell it was printed in continous lines. Some stanzas of the *Prajñādaṇḍa* were also published in *Bhoṭa Prakāśa, Tibetan Chrestomathy*, University of Calcutta, 1939. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, op. cit., fn. 181.

188. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1919.

189. E.g. from the *Pañcatantra*, verse 45.

and the fools, wrong behaviour, normal behaviour, improper behaviour, duties of men and religious doctrines. The wise sayings included in this anthology are not always translations from Sanskrit but, perhaps with the exception of the last chapter, were influenced by Sanskrit sayings. Also the arrangement and division of this anthology in to the seven chapters mentioned above shows Indian influences<sup>190</sup>. This anthology contains however one noticeable characteristic: it deals to a negligible extent with women, a subject dealt extensively in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. It contains only isolated sayings with Buddhist leanings.

46.2.1. The *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* is ascribed to Paṇḍit Sākya (Saskya) Kun dgah rgyal-mis'han dpal-bzang-po; in Sanskrit Ānanda Dhvaja Śrī Bhadra who was born in 1181 A.D. and died at the age of seventy in 1251 A.D. It was partly published in 1855-56 with an English translation by Csoma de Körös<sup>191</sup>; there, it contained only 234 out of 457 *subhāṣita-s*. An other extract of this work was translated into French in 1858 by Ph. E. Foucaux; it contains a selection of 134 *subhāṣita-s*. 12 of these *subhāṣita-s* were translated in 1860 into German and published in the *Illustrierten Revalschen Almanach*. A. Schiefner published critically (with notes) 33 of *subhāṣita-s* and included them in the first edition only of Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche* in 1863-1865. Also G. Huth in his *History of Tibet Hor chos byung* published and translated 19 *subhāṣita-s*. The whole text with a German translation was published in 1925 by W.L. Campbell (who also published and translated the *She-rab dong-bu*) in the *Ost-Asiatische Zeitung*, N.F. 2 (pp. 31-65 and 159-185). The best critical edition (of the Tibetan and Mongolian text) with an English translation was published by J. E. Bosson as a thesis submitted in pratical fulfillment of the requierements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the United States and was produced by microfilm-xerography in 1967 by University Microfilms, A Xerox Com-

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190. For instance in verse 246 mentions tha Pāṇḍava-s. Several verses are translations or adaptations of verses from the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. See also A. Schiefner in the first edition of O. Böhlingk's *Indische Sprüche*.

191. JASB 24. p. 41 and 25, p. 257, reprinted in *Tibetan Studies: Being a reprint of the Articles contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* by A. Csomas de Körös; ed. by E. Denisson Ross, Calcutta, 1912. JASB Extra 1911.

pany, Ann Arbor<sup>192</sup>. J. E. Basson based his edition in the first place on the Tibetan and Mongolian text published by L. Ligeti in 1949<sup>193</sup>, as well as on some xylograph copies of the text. J. E. Bosson mentions that the entire text has recently been published in China in 1958 in Ch-eng-tu and another one in Lan-chou and a selection of 212 *subhāṣita-s* in Chinese translation also in 1958<sup>194</sup>.

46.2.2. There are many stories about the life of Paṇḍit Saskya<sup>195</sup>. We know that he made a long trip to China and resided in Middle Tibet (U Ts'ang) in the Saskya monastery in the province of Ts'ang "one hundred days distant" from Tashi Lhun-po. According to the introduction and the colophon, the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* was first compiled by Nāgārjuna but was written and edited by the Paṇḍita Saskya. Sometimes, in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., according to the legend, the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* was brought by Paṇḍit Saskya from China (*sic!*) but was lost by him when a boat overturned on a river. However when Paṇḍit Saskya returned to his monastery he found it in the library<sup>196</sup>.

46.2.3. Tibetan scholars consider that the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi*, called by them *Sa-skya legs-bcad* (in Lhassan: *Sakya Legsbe*) was not a work of one person but a compilation made by three scholars. They base this theory on the introduction where it is stated that the author of the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* took the best from various works of his predecessors. This argument is not convincing, since sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* had often such an introduction and for instance all the texts of the *Cānakya-nīti-śāstra* version have similar introductory stanzas.

192. Appeared also in book-form.

193. *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi Mongol; Partie première. Le Manuscrit tibéto-mongol en reproduction phototypique avec une introduction. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica VI*; Budapest, 1948.

194. See also PENTTI AALTO, *The Mannerheim Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script in Studia Orientalia XVII*. 7. Helsinki, 1952, pp. 3-9 and *Fragmente des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi in Quadratschrift* in: Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung, *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Band III, Heft 2, Berlin, 1955; pp. 279-290; JAMES E. BOSSOM, *A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment from the Mongolian 'Phags-pa Version of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* in: *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 2, June, 1961; L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.* (fn. 181).

195. See J. E. BOSSOM, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 sqq.

196. The Sa-skya Monastery was famous for a large library of books taken or transported from India; it contains even today a large collection of Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese books.



## B. Mongolia, Manchuria, Central Asia

47. Buddhist monks brought some Sanskrit works, particularly through Tibet, to Mongolia and Manchuria.

48.1. And so, the Tibetan *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* was translated into Mongolian and West Mongolian (Kalmuk) and became one of the most popular works in this part of the world, where great interest for gnomic and didactic literature was noticed<sup>197</sup>.

48.1.1. The first translation of the Mongolian *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* was attributed to Ch'os kyi od zer. Another translation from the fourteenth century by *Toyin Sonom gara*<sup>198</sup> exists in transcripts. Another translation called *Sayin üge tü erdeni-yin saṅg subhasida kelegdekü şastir*<sup>199</sup> (A treasure of gems of good consuel) was translated by dge slöng dambaidzamsan (dge sloṅ bstan pa'i rgyal mc'an) of the Urat on repeated advice of Sürüm that such a translation was essential. This translation was then elaborated by *Mergen lama-yin gegen*<sup>200</sup>. A further translation of the *Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi* and its comprehensive commentary by Noyirub (dños grub) from the *Chaghan funinggha*

197. B. LAUFER, *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur* in: Kemeli Szemle, Revue Orientale pour les études ouralo-altaïques VIII (1907), pp. 165-264; B. LAUFER, *Skizze ...* in: Keleti Szemle ... IX, pp. 1-53; L. LIGETI, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise*, 1928-31, Budapest, 1933; W. HEISSIG, *Die Pekinginger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1954, in Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. II; N. POPPE, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der alt-mongolischen Schriftsprache* in: Asia Major, vol. I; pp. 688 sqq. *Mongolische Volksdichtung*, F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1955; P. AALTO, *Altasiatica* in: Studia Orientalia 17.7 of 1952; *Verzeichniss der Orientalischen HSS I (Mongolische HSS; Blockdrucke, Landkarten)*, Wiesbaden, 1961.

198. VL'ADIMIROV, *Mongol'ski sbornik rasskasov iz Pañcatantra* in: Sbornik Muzea Antropologii, Etnografii pri Akademii Nauk SSSR, V. 2, Leningrad, 1925; p. 445. Vl'adimirov also mentions a mongolian translation which originated among the Kalmuks and which dated from the seventeenth century. The MS. was prepared on the basis of a translation made in the fourteenth century by an unknown author; it has preserved some archaisms in the orthography and vocabulary. N. Poppe (op. cit. fn. 197) also reported that the Asiatic Museum of the Soviet Academy has a tibeto-mongolian MS. of the of the *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi*; it is a copy from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. For more details see J. E. BOSSOM, (op. cit.), in the Introduction.

199. Or *Sayin üge-tü erden-yin saṅg subhaṣita kemegdekü şastir orusiba*. We find this work in a mongolian edition (xylograph of small size) from the eighteenth century (78 pages). L. LIGETI (op. cit., fn. 197) (p. 58) reported that it was still easy to find a copy of the same in Peking. Another translation of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, the *Sayin üge-tü...* by Sonom gara-a was also reported by L. Ligeti. He found among the Xarchin a MS. of the seventeenth of eighteenth century which preserved the archaism of a translation of the fourteenth century (see above).

200. *Yeke Nongbol ulus-un ündüsün-ü altām bobchi*. It is the closest translation to the Tibetan *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*.

*sumun* of Tsakhar was prepared at the end of the eighteenth century after the *Mergen blama-yin gegän* had been compiled. It was printed in Chaghan agula süme in the district of Tsakhar. The printing blocs were prepared and are preserved in Chaghan aghule-yin süme of the Chaqar köbege tü Chaghan-i qosighan, the white mountain monastery of the white-bordered flag of Tsakhar<sup>201</sup>. This text is also combined with a commentary entitled *Subbāṣīdi-yin tayilburi chindamani-yin tülkiğür kemegdekü*; the latter is the revised version of the Tibetan commentary of Rin chen bzan-po. This version was published in book form in Kalgan sometimes between 1930 and 1950. And in Ulaanbatar in Cyrillic script, as well as in Mukden in Mongolian script. There exist also a West Mongolian (Kalmuk) translation of the work<sup>202</sup>.

48.1.2. Based on the Mongolian *Subbāṣitaratna-nidhi* or directly on the Tibetan *Subbāṣita-ratna-nidhi* is the eastern Mongolian, Buryat work by Lama Irdini Maybzun Gallishev who lived among the Buryats in the second half of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century. He prepared his *Mirror of Wisdom*, published in Russian translation in 1966 in Ulan-Ude<sup>203</sup>. According to the introduction to this work Lāmā Irdini prepared his work composed of 979 *subbāṣita-s* on the basis of *subbāṣita-s* of Gunga-al-an in Tibetan, i.e. the *Sa-skyā kun dgah rgyaṅ-mis-han dpal-bzang-po* (*Subbāṣita-ratna-nidhi*). Many Sanskrit *subbāṣita-s* can be traced in this work, including some from the *Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa* and so-called Cāṇakya's sayings.

49. In addition to these works, being translations from Tibetan, we find in Mongolia and Manchuria collections of wise sayings which are either translations from Sanskrit or were influenced by Sanskrit *subbāṣita-s*. For instance some of the Mongolian and Manchurian sayings collected by Louis Rochet<sup>204</sup> definitely show that they are of Sans-

201. X. 40.

202. The text is found in the Sven Hedin collection in Stockholm. See AALTO, *A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature* (p. 102). For other texts of the Mongolian *Subbāṣitaratnanidhi* see J. E. BOSSON (op. cit.) Introduction 17-2.

203. *Zertsalo Mudrosti* by T. A. Dugar-Nimayev, *Buryatskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo*, Ulan Ude, 1966.

204. L. ROCHET, *Sentences, maximes et proverbes mantchoux et mongols*, Paris, 1875. See also E. TEZA, *Laghucāṇakyaṃ* in: *Annali delle Università Toscane*, Tomo XVI, Pisa 1878, *Appendice*, pp. 384-6; J. KOVALEVSKI, *Mongol'skaya Chrestomatiya*.

krit origin, e.g. the Manchurian saying (13) which states that the king who likes the same things as his subjects like, who hate the same thing as his subject hate, is like a father, mother to his subjects is certainly influenced by a *subhāṣita* found in the *Sūktiratnabhāra* (2.156) which is a quotation from the *Kauṭīliya-arthaśāstra* (1.19.34) or from the *Mahābhārata* (12.56); it appears also in the *Sukranītisāra* (4.4.204).

49.1. Some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* found also their way to Central Asia. We find, for instance, among the finds of the German Turfan Expedition to Eastern Turkestan some fragments of the Laghu-Cāṇakya version of the so-called Cāṇakya's wise sayings<sup>205</sup>.

### C. Dravidian Languages; Ceylon

50. Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, particularly of didactic and gnomic character, influenced the Tamil *nīti*-literature, in particular some of the eighteen main didactic works, viz. the *Nālaṭiyar* with its famous quatrains, the *Tiru-k-kural*, both divided according to the three *puruṣārtha-s*, the *Nānmaṇi-k-kaṭikai*, the *Innā-nārpātu*, the *Iniyavai nārpātu*, the *Tirikaṭukam*, the *Ācāra-k-kevai*, the *Corupaṇcemūlam*, the *Elāti*, the *Mutumoli-k-kaṇa* and to the lesser extent the *Palamoli*, the *Karnārpātu*, the *Kalavali nārpātu*, the *Kainnilai*, the *Tiṇaimoli aimpātu*, the *Tiṇaimālai nūrainpātu*, the *Aintiṇai aimpātu* and the *Aintinai elupātu*, as well as such works as the *Nīti-venpā*, *Nīti-neri-vilakkam*, *Nanṇeri*, *Nalvali* and *Aranericcāram*<sup>206</sup>. It is very likely that the Tamil *nīti*-literature as well as the South Indian Sanskrit literature influenced the *nīti*-literature of Ceylon. The Sinhalese *subhāṣita saṃgraha-s* such as the *Subhāṣitaya* by Alagiyavanna, the *Lōkōpakāraya* by Raṇasgallē Thera of 238 verses, the *Anurāgamālaya* of 65 verses (despite its title has no erotic content), the *Upāratnamālaya* of 65 verses, as well as, in particular the textbook of poetry prepared by Attaragama-Baṇḍara entitled *Vadankavipota*<sup>207</sup> contain some verses from, or influenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

205. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Some Cāṇakya's Epigrams in Central Asia* in VIJ IX. 2; pp. 338-346 and in: Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series No. 292.

206. Cf. H. S. DAVID, *The Tamil Book of Proverbs* in: *Tamil Culture* (Madras) 9.151-180. and 10.67-106; and F. M. WHITE, *Tamil Wisdom from the Tiru Kural in Asia* No. 1 (1967); 41-3.

207. Cf. C. E. GODAKUMBURA, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955; pp. 209-220.

51. In particular three Ceylonese *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* show a great affinity with Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*: viz. the *Vyāsakāraya*, the *Pratyayaśataka*, both known in Sanskrit, and the Sinhalese *Subhāṣitaya* of Aligayavanna.

51.1. The *Vyāsakāraya* is a Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* which until recently was unknown in India. Only recently the *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*<sup>208</sup> was published on the basis of two South Indian manuscripts and some ancillary sources, of which one was the Ceylonese *Vyāsakāraya*<sup>209</sup> which is almost identical with the Sanskrit *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; the latter was certainly the basis for the Ceylonese *Vyāsakāraya*.

51.2. There is not such a clear-cut in the case of the Ceylonese *Pratyayaśataka*, a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in Sanskrit, well known in Ceylon<sup>210</sup>, containing 102 wise sayings in *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *vasantatilakā*, *upajāti* and *śloka* metres. In the *Pratyayaśataka* the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* are seldom reproduced in their primary original form; if they are reproduced at all, they are reproduced in the vulgate text and in the most popular form; the majority of these *Subhāṣita-s* were borrowed from the classical sources of Sanskrit literature. In addition some *subhāṣita-s* are paraphrases of known *subhāṣita-s*; this paraphrase is usually correct as far the contents of the wise saying is concerned but not as far as its form; often some *subhāṣita* are composed of two to four different components taken from more than one Sanskrit *subhāṣita*; there are also many *subhāṣita-s* only influenced by thoughts which we also find in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. All the *subhāṣita-s* which are paraphrases, or combinations of several *subhāṣita-s*, or verses influenced by some *subhāṣita-s*, or, finally, verses containing thoughts similar to these known to exist among Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, may have existed in the form preserved in the *Pratyayaśataka*, but at present are unknown<sup>211</sup>.

208. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *On the Sanskrit Niti-Literature of Ceylon*. 1. *Vyāsakāraya*... in: *Brahmavidyā*, Vol. 31-32; pp. 636 sqq. See also above para, 21 and 3. *An additional Note on the Vyāsakāraya* in: *Brahmavidyā* 35.258.269.

209. Published by H. Bechert (*op. cit.*, fn. 31). See also L. STERNBACH, *On the Sanskrit Niti-Literature in Ceylon*. 2. *Pratyayaśataka* in: *Brahmavidyā*, Vol. 33, pp. 80 sqq.

210. Published by H. Bechert (*op. cit.*, fn. 33) in Sanskrit. Published in Sinhalese script by P. J. Karmadhara, Panadura Press, 1941. Translated by Arthur V. Perera in *Sanskrit Wisdom in English Verse*, Candy 1942.

211. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 209.

51.3. As far as form is concerned, the *Subhāṣitaya* of Aligayavanna, a Sinhalese *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* of 100 verses, is similar to the *Pratyayaśataka*. Also most of the *subhāṣitaya* included in the *Subhāṣitaya* are well-known Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*; some of these *subhāṣita-s* are also paraphrases of well-known wise sayings or were influenced by the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. Only the 17 verses of the first part of this anthology, which is Buddhistic in character, were probably not borrowed from the Indian literature.

51.4. In addition to these *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, the whole collection of so called Cāṇakya's wise sayings is prevalent in Ceylon; that is the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version<sup>212</sup>.

### D. Burma

52.1. Probably there must have existed in India, in the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth century a collection of wise sayings which was particularly well-known among the Manipurian *Puṇṇa-s*. This collection which was, as J. Gray reported<sup>213</sup>, written in Bengālī characters, but also known in Sanskritised Burmese, penetrated into Burma and became well known as the *Lokaṇīti*, one of the three best known in Burma collections of wise sayings; the two others are the *Dhammanīti* and the *Rājanīti*.

52.2. It is impossible to ascertain when collections of wise sayings were compiled. J. Gray found the earliest reference in Burmese literature to the *Lokaṇīti* and *Rājanīti* in the *Arākān rāzāwin* or the *Chronicles of Arākān* in connexion with Prince Kha Maung's visit to Pegu early in the seventeenth century but did not find any reference to the *Dhammanīti*.

52.3. G. E. Gerini in his *Siāmes Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions*<sup>214</sup> has shown that imitations of the *Lokaṇīti* occurred in a Burmese inscription at Pagan dating from 1408 or 1416 A.D. He thought that the *Lokaṇīti* was composed between 425 and 1400 A.D. He saw the date *a quo* in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*

212. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op cit.*, fn. 208., pp. 649-653.

213. J. GRAY, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti literature of Burma*, London, Trübner Oriental Series, 1886; pp. IX-X.

214. Journal of the Siam Society, Vol. I, p. 180.

— the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* — ascribed to Buddhagoṣa, in which he could notice “strict analogies” between certain passages of the *Lokanīti* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. On the other hand C. Temple<sup>215</sup> thought that the *Lokanīti* was not “of any great antiquity”.

52.4. J. Gray considered that it was unlikely that the *Lokanīti* and the two other *nīti*-works were compiled between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. He seems to be right when saying that the wars between the Môñ-s and Burmese led to intercommunication between the two races. J. Gray also stated that Hindū colonists, besides, had settled on the lower valleys of the Irrāwadi and Sittang rivers, and a religious struggle between Brahman and Buddhists resulted in evolving the erudition of the learned Puṇṇa-s. Their services were soon utilized by the Burmese kings in furtherance of the cause of literature, and it was through their invaluable assistance that the study of Sanskrit became a *sine qua non* in the royal monasteries. Being familiar with the Māgadhī language and the local vernaculars they were of great help to the Buddhist *rahan*-s in the interpretation of the Piṭagat. J. Gray was further of the opinion that it was reasonable to suppose that when the great task was completed attention was paid to secular literature, the outcome of which was the compilation of the *Lokanīti*, *Dhammanīti* and *Rājanīti*.

52.5. It is most probable that these *nīti*-works were prepared for a king's *ācārya* in order to enable him to discourse on ethics and polity, to pronounce moral sayings and give advice<sup>216</sup>. J. Gray thought that since these treatises were in use in the royal courts of India they could have been introduced in the court of Ava.

52.6. C. Temple who, independently of J. Gray's research, studied the *Lokanīti*, could not find out much about the history of this book, although he personally made enquiries from the Burmese *Sayā*-s. He reported that according to one account it was written originally at an unknown date in Sanskrit (or Pāli) by the Pōngnā (Brāhmaṇ) Sānnékyaw and paraphrased into Burmese in 1826 by the Hpōngyi U Pôk of the Mahā Oung Myē Bōng Sà Ok Kyoung at Ava. This

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215. *The Lokanīti translated from the Burmese Paraphrases* (JRASB, No. 11, 1978), pp. 239.

216. Cf. M. H. BODE, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, Prize Publ. Fund., Vol. 2, Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, p. 51.

U Pôk's name as priest was Sēk-kàn-da-bī, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thīri Thàddamma-daza, Mahā Dama-yāza Guru. According to another informant of C. Temple, the author was a priest without very extraordinary knowledge of Pāli who either collected the wise sayings from old books or collected some of them and added others of his own composition.

52.7. During my stay in Burma in 1961, I also made unsuccessful enquiries into the origin of the three *nīti*-collections. I contacted the International Institute for Advanced Buddhistic Studies, Kaba Aye, Rangoon and several Burmese *Sayā-s* in Rangoon, Mandalay, Pegu and Pagan but no one could give me any information about these three *nīti*-works, although many of them knew about the existence of the *Lokanīti*, more by name than by its contents; they only knew that it was a book of proverbs on common life.

52.8. It does not seem yet possible to know when these *nīti*-works were compiled. The date suggested by Gerini seems to be too early, since the analogies with Buddhaghoṣa's *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*<sup>217</sup> are more likely to be accidental and the moral sayings included in the *Lokanīti* are of a general and common nature. Temple's date of 1826 is certainly too late; it probably refers to one of the translations of the Pāli *Lokanīti* into Burmese, while the Pāli text was known in Burma much earlier. Therefore, it is quite possible that the *Lokanīti* was composed in the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>218</sup> and that the two other *nīti*-collections were compiled not much later.

53.1. The Pāli *Lokanīti* is known today in Burma more by its name than by its contents. Two different independent translations into English were made in 1886 from Pāli by J. Gray<sup>219</sup> and from Burmese in 1875 (published in 1878) by R. C. Temple<sup>220</sup>. Gray's translation contains 167 wise sayings while Temple's translation 164 wise sayings. This difference is due to the fact that C. Temple combined sometimes two wise sayings into one<sup>221</sup>. The *Lokanīti* is divided into seven distinct sec-

217. It is not certain whether Buddhaghoṣa really composed this commentary.

218. Imitations of some passages of the *Lokanīti* occurred in Burmese inscriptions at Pagan (cf. above).

219. Cf. fn. 215 above.

220. In JASB XLVII of 1878; pp. 239 sqq.

221. Also Gray's translation is much better and clearer than Temple's. Cf. E. TEZA (*op. cit.*, fn. 204), pp. 402 sqq. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan and their Sources* in the BSOS 26.2, pp. 329-45.

tions dealing with: (1) wise men (1-40); (2) good men (41-67); (3) the evil-doer (68-78); (4) friendship (79-93); (5) women (94-111); (6) kings (112-137); and (7) miscellanea (138-167); such a division of subject-matters is very common to Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*.

53.2. The origin of a great part of *Lokaṇīti* wise sayings can be traced to classical Sanskrit sources and, in particular, to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantra*, so-called Cāṇakya's wise sayings, the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, etc.

54.1. It was proved that the *Nīti-Kyan* is the Burmese translation of the Pāli *Lokaṇīti*<sup>222</sup>. In the *Nīti-Kyan* many verses (*gāthā-s*) are divided into two or four parts and therefore the number of wise sayings of the *Nīti-Kyan* is 211 instead of 167 found in the *Lokaṇīti*.

54.2. The *Nīti-Kyan* was translated in 1858 by E. Fowle<sup>223</sup> who wrote that this anthology was thought in the Burmese monasteries to the daily scholars and residents novices; it was always in use and was generally known as being one of the elementary books in Burma, since it contained moral popular teachings which could be applied in every day life.

55. In addition to this collection of *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin, there are other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* also greatly influenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. These are the Pāli *Rājanīti* and the Pāli *Dhammanīti*.

55.1. The Pāli *Rājanīti* is a typical Indian *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, dealing — as its title shows — with *rājanīti*; it contains 136 wise sayings. According to J. Gray it was based on the Indian *dharmaśāstra-s* and was compiled by the Brāhmaṇ-s Anantañāṇa and Gaṇāmissaka. It does not seem to be correct to state that the Pāli *Rājanīti* was based on Indian *dharmaśāstra-s*; it was rather based on Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, and in particular on one version of so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, viz. the *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha* version. The first 20 wise sayings dealing with king's officials, their duties and qualifications and the group of wise sayings 48-55 were, no doubt, borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from so-called Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings;

222. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 221.

223. JRAS XVII of 1860, pp. 252-266.



the latter group follows almost word for word the *Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha* version <sup>224</sup>.

55.2.1. The Pāli *Dhammanīti* is also a typical Indian *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; it contains 411 wise sayings (plus three introductory verses) and is divided into 24 sections dealing with the preceptor, scholarship, wisdom, knowledge, conversation, wealth, residence, dependence, friendship, the bad man, the good man, the powerful, women, sons, servants, the wise man, what should be done, what should be avoided, ornamentation, kings, ministration, two's three's, etc, miscellanea <sup>225</sup>.

55.2.2. The *Dhammanīti* contains a great number of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, of which many are identical with the Pāli *Lokaṇīti* but, generally speaking, the *Dhammanīti* is more losely connected with Sanskrit sources than the Pāli *Rājanīti* and particularly the Pāli *Lokaṇīti*. The wise sayings of the *Dhammanīti* are seldom straight translations of Sanskrit wise sayings; they are, rather paraphrases of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

55.2.3. The Pāli *Dhammanīti* is not as common in Burma as the *Lokaṇīti*, but is better known than the Pāli *Rājanīti*; it never became a handbook of study in Burma and, being much longer than the *Lokaṇīti* and *Rājanīti*, was not so willingly recopied by scribes; it also did not have the reputation of being originated in India, though it is, at least in part, a translation or paraphrase of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, particularly from the *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra*, other *kathā*-works, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, etc <sup>226</sup>.

56.1. Among other gnomic works of Burma the following should be mentioned: the *Suttavaḍḍhananīti* in Pāli and Burmese translation, containing 73 wise sayings chiefly from Buddhist sources, but also containg some *subhāṣita-s* from the Sanskrit *kathā* literature, the *Mahārāṣa-nīti* and the *Sihala-nīti* (for *Simbalanīti*). I was informed by the Manuscript Examiner of the International Institute for Advanced Buddhistic Studies in Rangoon that the two last named anthologies are

224. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India"*, Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1969, pp. 42-43.

225. 1-10; 11-24; 25-54; 55-60; 61-71; 72-77; 78-84; 85-92; 93-108; 109-137; 138-147; 148-152; 153-169; 170-176; 177-78; 179-192; 193-224; 225-253; 254-262; 263-284; 285-320; 321-331; 332-411.

226. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 221.

"a combination of the *Lokaṇīti*, the *Dhammanīti* and a collection of Cāṇakya's sayings". The MSs of the last two works were however not available for scrutiny<sup>227</sup>.

56.2. Another Pāli work containing a collection of wise sayings is the *Lokasāra*, a Pāli anthology of 55 wise sayings, probably from the fourteenth century; it is divided into three parts dealing with the general rules of ethics, kings and Brahman-s. It is more Buddhistic in character than the *Lokaṇīti*, *Rājanīti* and the *Dhammanīti*; however most of the *subhāṣita*-s included in the second and third parts of the work are influenced by Sanskrit wise sayings, but the wording of the Pāli *subhāṣita*-s is quite different from that of Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-s<sup>228</sup>.

57. We also find in Burma in Sanskrit with Burmese translation as well as also Pāli translation some so-called Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings, viz. the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version. There is the *Cāṇakya-nīti-Thaḍanīti*, originally published in Mandalay in 1900; the *Sanakya-nīti* (with the *Lokaṇīti*) ... Two most renown *nīti*, Rangoon (one edition without date and another from 1954); and the three-volume work entitled *Sanakya-nīti-kyan*, based on the original text in Thakkata (Sanskrit), Rangoon, 1957 which contains an explanation in Pāli and Burmese of forty verses for memorising the main Cāṇakya verses and a long explanation of each of the Cāṇakya's sayings. This work was prepared for the purpose of teaching ethics.

### E. Siām

58. The Sanskrit and Pāli literature, extremely rich in gnomic verses, contributed largely in forming the greater part of Siāmesse sayings. The Siāmesse, similarly as the Burmese, were greatly impressed by the profound thoughts of Sanskrit wise sayings; they discovered

227. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 224, paras 72-73.

228. *Lokasāra pyui*<sup>1</sup> (*Lokasāra pyo*) ed. by ū<sup>3</sup> Van. (M̐suvan)<sup>3</sup> with paraphrasing and notes; Rangoon, Kusulavati, 1955 (in Burmese); *Lokasāra*, with an introduction and notes by Yeo Wun Sin. Rangoon, The British Burma Press, 1902 (in Burmese and English). Cf. L. STERNBACH, *On the Influence of Sanskrit dharma and artha-śāstra-s upon the Nīti-literature of Burma*. 1. *The rājadharmā in the Lokasāra in: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Paṇḍit Cbaru Deva Śāstri*, Delhi.

229. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 224, paras, 74-75.

however a source nearer to them than India, viz. Burma and embodied the Pāli-Burmese *Lokaṇīti* into their literature. E. G. Gerini<sup>230</sup> reported the existence in Siām of several editions of the *Lokaṇīti* in Pāli, of which one (the *Sup'hāsit Lokaṇīti* Klam Klong, Bangkok 1904), comprising 408 wise sayings contains many wise sayings from other sources prevalent in Siām<sup>231</sup>. Another collection of the *Lokaṇīti* in Siāmesese verse was written by His Royal Highness Prince Dajadisorn in 1824; it was probably based on some old incomplete Siāmesese collection from the days of Ayud'hyā; the author admitted that this text was derived from a Pāli version which is not named beyond *Lokaṇīti*. This anthology of verses, together with older fragments, was recently published in a *Compendium of Worldly-wise verses in Siāmesese* named *Klön Lokaṇīti*.

59. In addition to this classical anthology containing Sanskrit wise sayings, we find in Siām several other collections of sayings; they are enclosed in *Sup'hasit-s* (from Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*) which included not only epigrams, moral teachings, rules of good conduct, but also proverbs.

59.1. The best known Siāmesese *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* is the *Sup'hasit* of P'hrah Ruāng (or Baññat P'hra Rūang). According to tradition P'hrah Rūang was one of the first kings of Sukhet'ai, probably Rāma K'ambeng; he lived in the second half of the thirteenth century A. D. E. G. Gerini<sup>232</sup> regarded this collection of wise sayings "as a genuine product of the period, as the ethical code of the re-born nation, embodying the outcome of the wisdom matured during the long centuries of servitude and tempered and made more poignant by the novel spirit of freedom that pervaded the age"<sup>233</sup>. On the other hand he thought that this collection of wise sayings was inspired by practical sense, but did not soar "to the sublime heights of the ethical treatises of the West" or the Buddhist literature in the East<sup>234</sup>.

230. *On. Siāmesese Proverbs*. Cf. fn. 214.

231. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 224, para 80.

232. *Op. cit.*, fn. 230.

233. *Op. cit.*, fn. 230, p. 6.

234. *Op. cit.*, fn. 230, p. 12.

59.1.1. The *Sup'hasit* of P'hrah Rūang exists in several editions<sup>235</sup>. Gerini translated the sayings in his work; they are 158 in number and show influence of Indian thinking, but are rather composed in form of *lokokti-s* than *subhāṣita-s*.

60. E. Lorgeou in *Bulletin de l'Athénée Oriental*<sup>236</sup> translated in his *Suphasit Siamois* a number of Siāmesese wise sayings; some of them were influenced by Indian thinking and are written in the style of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*; however some of these Siāmesese wise sayings are quite different and are not of Indian origin. According to E. Lorgeou their origin is obscure; they were collected in the beginning of the nineteenth century by a monk who lived in a monastery in Bangkok.

61. Gerini quoted also a number of Siāmesese *Sup'hasit-s*, the most important of which is the *Pū sön Lān* (*The grandfather's teaching to his grandchild*) and the *Lān sön Pū* (*The grandchild's teaching to his grandfather*); they are probably of Lāo origin but were well known in Siām. The National Library in Bangkok has registered in its catalogue these two works in *T'ai* verse and the *Pū sön Lān* also in Sanskrit verse (*sic!*). Unfortunately these two works, despite long search, could not be found in the Library when I visited Bangkok in 1961 and consequently could not be analyzed me. Since the *Pū sön Lān* was written in Sanskrit verse it may be surmised that it was also known in India and be of Indian origin. Probably then the same applies to *Lān sön Pū*. One text of *Pū sön Lān* in the National Library in Bangkok is a work of Xieng Mai literature; it is written on palm leaves.

62. L. Finot<sup>237</sup> mentioned also two additional anthologies of wise sayings existing in Siām, viz. the *Pip'hek sön büt* and the *Pāli Sön nön*<sup>238</sup>; they contain however teachings from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vibhiṣaṇa's to his family and Bālī's to Sugrīva). Particularly the latter one is well known in Siām. Though undoubtedly of Indian origin, these teachings are not *subhāṣita-s par excellence*.

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235. E. G. E. GERINI. Cf. fn. 215.

236. Cf. 1881; pp. 59-65, 123-135, 260-279; and of 1882; pp. 102-114; 187-205, 150-253.

237. *Recherches de la littérature laotienne*, BEFEO XVIII, 5.148.

238. Unfortunately I was not able to consult these treatises.

63. The Siānese proverbs and wise sayings which were collected by Gerini and Gühler<sup>239</sup> (Gerini collected 208<sup>240</sup> and Gühler 276) are, similarly as the P'hrah Rūang's wise sayings, short sentences and were probably of local origin, although some of the thoughts coincided with Western ideas<sup>241</sup>. Some of the wise sayings were of Indian origin; that can be seen from the fact that they often refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and heroes of these two epics, as well as mention Indian gods, in particular Garuḍa; it seems also that they were influenced by the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa* tales, but most of them were adapted to the local daily life.

64. In the twentieth century the Sanskrit *Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha* became also known in Siam as the *Vyākāraśataka*. It was probably brought from Ceylon during the reign of king Rāma III and printed<sup>242</sup> in Siānese characters with the help of a Brahmin Mukupusvāmi (?) and Luāng Phirivanahorn and then distributed at the cremation ceremony of Ammart Trī P'hra Turuparkpichorn<sup>243</sup>.

65. Also a collection of so-called Cāṇakya's sayings the "sanskrit *Cāṇakya-śataka*"<sup>244</sup> is known in Siām; it is registered in the catalogue of the National Library in Bangkok<sup>245</sup>, but could not be traced when I visited Bangkok in 1961<sup>246</sup>. Also under the auspices of the Royal Institute a translation of the *Cāṇakya-śataka* into Siānese was prepared by P'hrah P'hnic'hevarnakar and was published in 1922<sup>247</sup>; it is the text of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra* version.

239. W. GÜHLER, *Über Thai Sprichwörter* in: The Journal of the Siām Society 34, pp. 97-144; cf. J. KASEM SIBUNRUANG and ANN B. DARLING, *Siamese Proverbs* in: Thought and Word I, No. 2, pp. 46-9.

240. *Op. cit.*, fn. 214, pp. 69-105.

241. Cf. GERINI, *op. cit.*, (fn. 214), 13.18-23.

242. *Vyākāraśata*, Sanskrit Text in Siānese translation with a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajajanubhab, B.E. 2464 (A.D. 1920).

243. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 208 (No. 3) and in: Professor E. ŚLUZKIEWICZ *Felicitation Volume*, Warszawa (in print).

244. *Cāṇakya Satakama* (sic!).

245. Letter addressed to me on 15th February 1961, No. 483/2504.

246. Many editions of this version (*Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra*) are common as *Cāṇakya-śataka*, while the *Cāṇakya-sara-saṃgraha* (which is composed of three *śataka*-s) is unknown outside India and Nepāl.

247. Information from His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat.

*F. Campā, Kanbujadeśa, Laos*

66. In *Further India*, Hindū-s established two powerful colonial kingdoms — Campā and Kambujadeśa which comprised today's Cambodia, southern part of South Vietnam (old Cochinchina), part of Laos and the southern part of today's Thailand.

67. Only in today's Cambodia it was possible to find one edition of the *Lokanīti* in Pāli with a Cambodian translation. It is the *Lokanīti Pakarana* (for *prakarana*) by Ven. Ouk Chea. Vaciran-nanbhavongs, Member of the Commission du Tripiṭaka à l'Institut Bouddhique de Phnom Penh<sup>248</sup>. It is not a complete edition of the Pāli *Lokanīti*; it contains only 150 wise sayings, divided into 7 chapters of 36, 28, 11, 13, 18, 25 and 19 verses respectively; it omits particularly the wise sayings of the last chapter — miscellanea.

68. It was impossible to ascertain whether any other *subhāṣita-samgraha-s* of Sanskrit origin exist in this part of the world. The only additional information which was possible to secure, was to find a small publication of 26 pages in Pāli in Khmer characters with a Khmer translation entitled "*Rājanīti* (for *Rājanīti*), texte tiré de *Sastras* (for *śāstra-s*) sur feuilles de latanier ... Première édition. Phnom Penh. Editions de la Bibliothèque Royale, 1941"; it contains political wise sayings in Pāli based on Sanskrit sources.

69. Another publication is the *Sup'hasit ebāp srī*, Bāky kāby, Anāk Okña Suttant Prijā. Tén Īnd., of which the title page in French reads "Bons Conseils (pour les femmes) (Poésie) par Oknha Suttantrarije 'Ind' Douzième édition. Phnom Penh. Editions de l'Institut Bouddhique, 1951". The booklet contains 250 verses in Khmer, dealing in particular with the beauty and charm of women, modelled probably on Sanskrit *kāvya* works, in particular on the *Amaruśataka*.

70. L. Finot in his *Recherches de la littérature Laotienne*<sup>249</sup> referred to a Pāli *Lokanīti* which is known in Laos; it is composed of some 400 wise sayings<sup>250</sup>; although not mentioned in the catalogue

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248. Phnom Penh, Albert Portail, 1936

249. BEFEO 22.5.

250. Finot probably referred to the *Sup'hāsīt Lokanīti K'am Klong*, one of the editions of the *Lokanīti* current in Siām (Bangkok, 1904). Cf. para 58.

of the Royal Library in Luang Prabang it exists in the Vat That<sup>251</sup>.

71. L. Finot also referred to the *Pū sön Lān* and the *Lān sön Pū* manuals of "apophthegmatical love" held in the highest esteem "from Luang Prabang in the North to Ubon in the South" which were not only widely read but also learnt by heart<sup>252</sup>. The *Lān sön Pū* was known to exist in Luang Prabang in manuscript form<sup>253</sup>.

72. L. Finot referred further to the publication of a series of Lāo adages of Xieng Mai (*Sup'hasit Lāo Xien*) which however was not finished<sup>254</sup>.

73. In addition, among others, fifteen Lāo proverbs were recorded by Gerini<sup>255</sup>, eleven by W. Gühler<sup>256</sup>, fifteen by P. Lévy<sup>257</sup> and twenty by P. S. Nginn<sup>258</sup>; they are of peasant, earthy type of everyday wisdom and only seldom show Indian influences<sup>259</sup>. However the Laotian *Lokanīti* is certainly, as other *Lokanīti*-s, of Indian origin.

74. My other endeavours in Cambodia, Lāos and Vietnam in 1961 and then in 1967 and 1968 to find there other sources of gnomonic literature showing Indian influences were unsuccessful, particularly due to the lack of interest in this part of the world in the older literatures. I am convinced, however, that many other *subhāṣita*-s of Sanskrit origin exist also there.

### G. Java, Sumatra, Bali

75. The Hindū-s must have established political authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D. In Java there

251. In the list of the Lāo MSs. Finot later mentions under No. 328 *Lokanīti C* (*Liste des MSs. conservées dans les Pagodes de Louang Prabang* par Chao Chittarat, 1914).

252. BEFEO 17.5, p. 148; *op. cit.*, (fn. 237) 110.

253. L. Finot speaking about the *Lāo subhāṣita*-literature (BEFEO 17.5, p. 147-8) mentioned that the École Française de l'Extrême Orient has a MS. L. 70 which is composed of three distinct treatises: (1) *Kōn Suphasit*; (2) *Aṇacak Thammacak*, a code of offences and punishment; and (3) *Sattabardhamma*, duties of an official. He gave five examples of these sayings, but none seems to be of Indian origin.

254. I was not able to study any of the collections of maxims mentioned by L. Finot.

255. GERINI, *op. cit.*, (fn. 235), pp. 106-112.

256. W. GÜHLER, *op. cit.*, (fn. 214) p. 144.

257. *Proverbs* in France-Asie XII, pp. 1079-80.

258. *Proverbs* in France-Asie XII, pp. 1080-82.

259. As, for instance, No. 8 of the Laotian *Pū sön Lān*.

were several Hindū kingdoms; two of these called Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan by the Chinese, sent regular embassies to China in the fifth century A.D. The names of the kings of both these countries ended with “-varman”, showing Indian influence. The first great Hindū empire was founded by the Sailendra dynasty in the eighth century A.D. With the Hindū colonisation came also the Sanskrit literature, including Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. Particularly two *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* became very popular; viz. the *Sārasamuccaya* and the *Ślokaṅtara*; both are well preserved.

76.1. The Old Javanese *Sārasamuccaya* was well known in Java and Bali, as the book of moral precepts collected from different Sanskrit sources, mostly the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsana-*, *Ādi-*, *Udyoga-*, *Strī-*, *Sānti-* and *Aśvamedha-parvan-s*), the *Hitopadeśa*, the *Pañcatantra* and the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*. It was first noticed by Dr. Friedrich in 1849; and then by H. H. Juynboll who published 117 of the wise sayings included in this anthology; it contains 517 wise sayings and, as C. Hooykaas remarked<sup>260</sup>, is the “best source for Old Javanese literature hitherto known”. Almost all *subhāṣita-s* could have been identified in Sanskrit sources<sup>261</sup>; out of 517 wise sayings quoted in this anthology 320 were borrowed from, or were influenced by, the *Mahābhārata*, sixty wise sayings occur in various collections of so-called Cāṇakya’s sayings, 33 occur in the *Pañcatantra*; 30 in the *Garuḍapurāṇa*, 20 in the *Hitopadeśa*, 23 in the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*; also a number of wise sayings appear in various *smṛti-s* and in other works of Sanskrit literature, not to mention *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, such as the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhaṇḍāgāra*, the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, the *Sārṅgadharapaddati*, the *Sūktiratnaḥāra* and many others<sup>262</sup>.

76.2. The *Sārasamuccaya* was edited in the Śata-piṭaka-Series, No 24 in Delhi in 1962. Its collator is Vararuci who in the introduction stated that he collected “all the essentials of the *Mahābhārata*, the composition of His reverence Vyāsa” to whom he paid homage. In the explanation to the sixth verse Vararuci, referring to

260. G. HOYKAAS, *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra etc. in Old-Javanese* in Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. 15, pp. 18 sqq.

261. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s in Old-Javanese and Tibetan*, in Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona XLIII; pp. 115-158.

262. *Op. cit.* fn. 261; para 6. Obviously some *subhāṣita-s* occur in more than one primary source.



himself wrote: "henceforth he will say what is best in this Bhārata epic. It is designated *Sārasamuccaya*; *sāra* signifies essence and *samuccaya* is its accumulation". Therefore Raghu Vira who translated the whole work and wrote a preface to it remarked: "The *Sārasamuccaya* is the *Gītā* of the Balinese Hindū-s. As designed by its author Vararuci, it contains the essence of the high teaching and noble set forth in the *Mahābhārata*".

76.3. On the basis of the edition of the *Sārasamuccaya* in the Śata-piṭaka-Series and additional two *lontars* (which do not contain any important variants) Tjokorda Rai Sudharta published in mimeographed form the first 255 verses of the *Sārasamuccaya* in Sanskrit and Old Javanese transcriptions as well as the Indonesian translation of the Old Javanese text (Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat; Denpasar 1968). The whole *Sārasamuccaya* so edited and translated was expected to appear in printed form in 1972/73.

77.1. The existence of the Old Javanese *Ślokāntara* was known for a very long time<sup>263</sup>; it was however brought to light in a critical edition only in 1957; it was then published in the International Academy of Indian Culture and critically edited by Sharada Rani<sup>264</sup>.

77.2. The *Ślokāntara* contains 83 sayings which are followed by an Old Javanese prose-explanation which, as its editor stated, "though usually close to the original stanza, is at times quite prolix. This style of exposition is still to be seen in India, where the religious preachers and *purāṇic* narrators explain the Sanskrit *śloka*-s and further elaborate them by their own explanations"<sup>265</sup>.

77.3. The *Ślokāntara* does not correspond "to the *nīti* text of Sanskrit literature", as Shara Rani suggested; it is somewhat an unusual text of a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* because of the preponderance of purely *dharmaśāstra* verses; such verses are sometimes included in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, but never occupy as much as one-fourth of the

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263. The MS. of the *Ślokāntara* was mentioned by H. H. Juynboll in his *Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits Bibliotheek* II, Leiden, 1911, pp. 200 sqq.

264. *Dvipāntara-Piṭaka*, Vol. 2. International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi. The edition is divided into three parts: the first contains the text in transcription; the second the English translation; and the third the text with extensive notes. It also contains a preface and an Index of "new and notable words".

265. Introduction, p. 5.

whole *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, as is the case of the *Ślokāntara*. Otherwise, however, it can be considered as a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. If we do not count some twenty verses, which are *dharmaśāstra* verses, half of the rest, i.e. 27 verses are of Cāṇakya origin or were influenced by the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings.

77.4. The importance of the *Ślokāntara*, similarly as the importance of the *Sārasamuccaya*, is enhanced by the preservation of "lost" texts; the *Ślokāntara* contains the same "lost" *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* verse which we find in the *Sārasamuccaya*<sup>267</sup>, as well as an additional "lost" *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* verse<sup>267</sup>.

78.1. Less popular, but also important is the Old Javanese *Nitiśāstra* of Nītisāra<sup>268</sup>, composed, according to Dr. Poerbatjaraka the editor of this Old Javanese work, in the last years of Mahapahit<sup>269</sup>; it contains 120 verses in fifteen chapters.

78.2. Dr. C. Hooykaas was of the opinion that the Old Javanese *Nitiśāstra* gave the impression of being purely Indian in origin. The garb, however, in which the maxims have been clad, though also of Indian origin, did not favour exact translation; its metres must at times have driven the poet to some abbreviations, at other times to enlargements and additions. He also very rightly concluded that it was doubtful whether it would be possible to detect one definite treatise as a source; the Javanese may only have rearranged the contents of the work, but also may have omitted from or/and added to it; the work may also have been an anthology from the very beginning. U. N. Ghoshal characterised it as "a collection of wise sayings, moral precepts and so forth of the *Cāṇakya-nīti-class*"<sup>270</sup>.

78.3. It seems that it would have been better to characterise

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266. *Ślokāntara* 1 = *Sārasamuccaya* 136.

267. *Ślokāntara*, verse 30. The first "lost" *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* verse appears in V.N. Mandlik's edition of the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* after VIII. 82 (p. 929), the second appears also exclusively in V.N. Mandlik's edition after VIII. 102 (p. 934); both verses are often quoted in *nibandhas* (cf. L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 261, paras 14 and 19).

268. *Nitiśāstra*. Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling uitgegeven door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, *Bibliotheca Javanica*, No. 4. Bandoeng, 1933.

269. Cf. U. N. GHOSHAL, *Progress of Greater India Research during the last twenty-five years* in: *Journal of the Greater India Society*, IX, 2, p. 124; C. HOOPYKAAS, *Bibliotheca Javanica* in: *Djāwā*, 20, 1940, pp. 42-46.

270. Cf. U. N. GHOSHAL, *op. cit.*, (fn. 269).

this work as an Old Javanese *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, since many of those sayings which could be identified are found exclusively in some Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and not in primary sources. This anthology might have been, as Dr. C. Hooykaas suggested, a work rearranged by a Javanese compiler with omissions or additions; it must be added, however, that it is far from a purely Sanskritized text; the wise sayings are, generally speaking, not translations of the Sanskrit text into Old Javanese but a paraphrase of the Sanskrit saying.

78.4. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* included in this anthology are so-called Cāṇakya's sayings; many other *subhāṣita-s* originated in the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Hitopadeśa* and other Sanskrit sources.

79.1. Also the *Pañcatantra* with many of its *subhāṣita-s* became very popular in Java, Bali and Madura; it was known there as *Tantri Kāmandaka*; it is quite different from most of the versions of the *Pañcatantra*; it seems to be nearest to the *Pañcatantra* of Durgasiṃha<sup>271</sup>. We find in this part of the world at least twelve different recensions of the *Pañcatantra* of which the oldest three are written in a sort of Old Javanese, several in Middle Javanese and Balinese, two in New Javanese and two others in Madurese<sup>272</sup>.

79.2. The best text of the Old Javanese *Tantri Kāmandaka* was edited and translated by C. Hooykaas<sup>273</sup>. The Old Javanese text, written in prose with some added verses, which are mostly *subhāṣita-s*, contains only 83 such verses<sup>274</sup>, not all of which can be found in the different texts of the *Pañcatantra*; most of those verses which could not be traced to the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* could be found in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhartṛhari's *śataka-s*, or among wise sayings attributed to Cāṇakya.

80. Also the *Udyogaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which con-

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271. Published by A. Venkatasubbiah in: Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik 6.255 sqq.

272. Cf. C. HOOPYKAAS, *Tantri Kamandaka. Een Oudjavaansche Pañtjatantra-Bewerking in tekst en vertaling uitgegeven door ... Bibliotheca Javanica*, No. 2. Bandoeng, 1931; pp. 14 sqq.; H. B. SARKAR, *India's Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 237 sqq.; L. STERNBACH, *op. cit.*, fn. 261.

273. *Tantri Kamandaka*, *op. cit.*, fn. 272.

274. The *Pañcatantra* in different various text contains from 341 to 1134 verses.

tains a great number of wise sayings, was known in Old Javanese.

81. Probably many more *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* of Sanskrit origin exist in *Greater India*, but with so many works still buried in the various lands of South Asia and difficulties in getting the needed information, it is impossible to ascertain the existence of other treasures of Sanskrit literature which spread over *Greater India*.

##### 5. Different Groups of Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s.

82. The Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* can be divided into three groups:

(a) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* composed virtually only of sententious sayings;

(b) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* composed virtually only of quotations from literary works, particularly "beautifully turned" and eloquently said, as well as dealing with the description of nature, different moods, suggestions or *anyokti-s*; and

(c) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* mixed, i. e. including both types of *subhāṣita-s*. To the first group of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* belongs, for instance, the *Sūktiratnaḥara* of Sūrya Kāliṅgarāja, to the second the *Subhāṣita-karnāmrta* of Śrīdharadāsa, and to the third, for instance, the *Subhāṣitavalī* of Vallabhadeva and most of other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*.

83. The sententious sayings were mostly construed in *śloka-s* or *anuṣṭubh-s*, while the descriptive and other "beautifully turned" verses in longer metres, since the latter are better suited to this type of poetry; therefore the first group of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is mostly composed of verses in *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre, and the second group of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* of verses written in *āryā*, *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *vasantatilakā*, *śikharinī* and other longer metres.

##### 6. Contents of Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s.

84. The contents and the plan of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is stereotyped. Despite that, the *subhāṣita-s* dealing even with the same subject (they are mostly didactic, devotional, erotic and descriptive) show a great variety of approach, of form and of rendering, but at the same time a considerable amount of material is common to many

*subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, since their compilers drew upon similar sources. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* deal in particular with general rules of proper behaviour for intercourse among men, with general reflections on wordly wisdom and duty, women, love, fate, fame, human efforts, richness and poverty, flattery of kings, etc. Many of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* begin or end with a chapter on poets and poetry or with a praise of different gods. The *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, for instance, begins with a chapter on Buddha, Bodhisattva, Lokeśvara and Bodhisattva Mañjuḥṣa which gives the impression that it must be of buddhistic character; however the next chapters deal with Śiva, Śiva's household and Viṣṇu and the rest does not show any Buddhistic influences. Other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are divided according to the three or four *puruṣārtha-s* and deal with *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and in some instances also with *mokṣa*. The first Prakrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, the *Sūktiratnabāra* and the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-nidhi* are so divided. The division of Bhartṛhari's epigrams is similar; these the anthologies are divided into three parts — *vairāgya*, *nīti* and *śrṅgāra*.

85. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* which contain mostly quotations from the Sanskrit literature contain a series of epigrams where the limitations of the isolated verses are compensated by delimiting the subject; lyric style and lyric content match perfectly to preserve for us the beauty of a trifling momentary incident; in these *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* *nīti* is particularly poorly represented, while *śrṅgāra* occupies the major place.

86. Only one *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, i.e. the *Śārṅgaddharapaddhati* is quite different from the other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* as far as its contents is concerned; it contains also "useful" information *śloka-s* which can under no circumstances be considered as poetical, didactic, or "well turned" verses; some of these verses deal for instance with gardening, manure, swords, archery etc. Such a verse is for instance *Śārṅgaddharapaddhati* 2255 where we read:

*uṣṇam jalam kṣipet tatra mātṛā nāstīha kasyacit /*  
*pakṣaikaṃ sthāpīte bhāṇḍe koṣṇasthāne maṇiṣiṇā //*  
*kunapastu bhaved eva tarūṇām puṣṭikārakah //*

(into the ingredients consisting of the flesh, fat, etc. of fish hogs and other animals, one should add hot water to the extent required; this should be kept in a vessel for a fortnight in a lukewarm place

by the wise; this becomes the manure *kunapa* which richly nourishes the plants). It is clear that this verse was composed neither for the development of literary ability, nor for teaching right behaviour cultured, men but was composed in order to teach all kind of useful information, the more so as we find quite a number of verses of that sort in this *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; it was composed as an encyclopaedic work for every day use of wordly life.

87. We can assume that not all *subhāṣita-s* included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* were originally put there by the compiler of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, particularly, if it is preserved in one MS. only. It is known that the scribes liked to add to the text wise sayings which were similar to those quoted before; if, for instance, the original *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* quoted two or three verses dealing with wealth, its good and bad sides, the scribes was likely to add other *subhāṣita-s* from the floating mass of oral tradition dealing with the same subject, since many similar *subhāṣita-s* must have been known to him. That, in particular, was also noted the *kathā*-literature where different texts and, particularly, different younger versions of a particular *kathā*-work became swollen by various *subhāṣita-s* dealing with the same subject, due to interpolations made by scribes or compilers of younger versions.

#### 7. Importance of Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s; Advantages and Disadvantages.

88.1. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, which form a valuable, but at the same time appreciated and sunk into oblivion branch of Sanskrit literature are particularly important *primo* from the point of view of the history of Sanskrit literature, and *secundo* from the point of view of the light which they throw on the Indian way of life and thought. In particular, the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* preserve ancient thoughts and moral teachings, as well as preserve smaller and less known Sanskrit poets whose works are lost. Many of the Sanskrit poets would not have been known to us even by name, if they and their stray verses would not be quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. Also some parts of literary works of already known authors, which otherwise would not have been known to us, are often preserved in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*. We also find there sometimes some passages from well-known works not preserved in the available to

us MSs. And so, we find for instance "lost" passages of the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* in the Old Javanese *Ślokāntara* and *Sārasamuccaya*. *Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are also important for chronological reasons, since they are mostly dated and in this way provide information as to the date *ad quem* poets, named by them, lived (e.g. a poet named in an anthology from the thirteenth century A.D. must have lived before that date or be contemporaneous with the author of the anthology).

88.2. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* have also an enormous poetical and educative value, even if they belong to a comparatively late period and even if the verses quoted in them are anonymous, since they contain many fine specimens of poetical composition and help in the proper understanding and appreciation of real Sanskrit poetry. They rescue for us information which otherwise would be lost for ever, they teach us what was considered as right behaviour among cultured people of India and as such constituted a code of good conduct applied in ancient India. They are like sparks and, on account of the terseness of their diction and their striking, but easily comprehensive imagery, they drive home the ancient truths, which have become almost banal, with a fresh impact<sup>275</sup>. They teach us also the development of literary ability and good taste among cultured people of India; they depict vividly the spirit of an age, the task and ability during various periods, country life, life in the village, different occupations of men and women, their habits and manners, their activities, or such details like the use of perfumes and cosmetics, eating betel, travelling, etc. sometimes better and with deeper insight than the quotations from the *kāvya-s* and epics. The individual approach of the minor and less pretentious poets are miniature embroideries on the canvas of daily life; they are often more original and less stereotyped in style and presentation than the elaborate verses of the *mahākavi-s*; they do not only preserve the floating mass of oral tradition, the current wise sayings, but also the excellent poetry, real gems of poetical expression, with minute descriptions of everything what was worth noting and describing, including the exquisite sometimes description of nature and its phe-

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275. R. N. Dandekar in the Introduction to his *Subhāṣita-muktāvalī*, University of Poona (1962), p. 5.

nomena — of the sun and the moon, of the dawn and of the evening, of the day and of the night, of the sea, of the lake, of the mountain and of the river, of the wind and of the storm and of the rain, and of the lightening and of the sundrer, etc., etc. *Subhāṣita-s* included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are storehouses of information written in beautiful language, about the life of the common people of India between the eleventh and nineteenth century, about their customs and habits, their joys and their worries, their love-life, etc. This information, easily available in these collections, which often would be lost to posterity, can only be found there, since the other sources of Indian literature describe rather the life of kings, Brahman-s and nobles.

89.1. On the one hand they teach us care-free and passionate life and on the other self-control and self-abnegation. This is beautifully expressed in a *subhāṣita* of Bhartṛhari (85) when he says that one should either live a sensual life or live like a hermit<sup>276</sup>. This verse and those written in the same style give a quintessence of the variety of approach to the life in general and to the variety of *subhāṣita-s* in particular.

89.2. A characteristic feature to the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* is namely the variety of moods and description of different aspects of life, as well as the expression of conflicting views, sometimes in glaring extremes, while the truth always lies between the extremes. Often both sides of a subject, as well as the middle, are described vividly and convincingly. And so we find, for instance on one occasion the description of women in laudatory terms and on the other in deprecatory terms. And so we read:

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276. kim iha babubhir uktair yuktiśūnyaib pralāpair  
dvayam iha puruṣāṇām sarvadā sevānyam /  
abhinavamadalīlālasam sunderīṇam

stanabharaparikhinṇam yauvanam vā vanam vā //  
No. 85 of Bhartṛhari's Epigrams; also quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāsitāvalī* (3453), *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (252.52), *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (59.59) and in O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (1771), or  
āvāsah kriyatām gāṅge pāpavārini vārini /  
stanamadhye taruṇyā vā manohārini hārini //  
No. 5382, No. 135 of Bhartṛhari's Epigrams; also quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣita-valī* (3425), *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (159.293), *Subhāṣita-sudhā-bhāṇḍāgāra* (490.300), *Subhāṣitahāravalī* (1471); *Sṛṅgārālāpa* (App. 5.19) and in O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (1040). Similarly also Nos. 88 and 84 of Bhartṛhari's Epigrams.



*prajanārtham mahābhāgāḥ pūjārthā gr̥hādīptayaḥ /  
striyaḥ śriyaśca geheṣu na viśeṣo' sti kaścana //* <sup>277</sup>

(There is no difference whatsoever between the Goddess of good Fortune and women who (are destined) to bear children, who secure many blessings, who are worthy of reverence and who brighten the household),  
on the other hand we read:

*anṛtam sāhasam māyā mūrkhavatvam atilubdbatā /  
āsaucatvaṃ nirdayatvaṃ strīṇāṃ doṣāḥ svabhāvajāḥ //* <sup>278</sup>

(Falsehood, hastiness, deceit, senselessness, covetousness, uncleanness and cruelty are the inborn faults of women),  
because women:

*sammohayanti madayanti viḍambayanti  
nirbhartsayanti ramayanti viṣād ayanti /  
etaḥ praviśya sadayaṃ hṛdayaṃ narāṇāṃ  
kiṃ nāma vāmanayanā na samācaranti //* <sup>279</sup>

(What do not the fair-eyed women do after they crept into the tender heart of men? they befool, they enchant, they mock, they threaten, they delight and they drive into despair).

89.3. For each occasion we do find among *subhāṣita-s* appropriate verses of different poets (but sometimes even of the same poet) who composed conflicting verses for conflicting occasions <sup>280</sup>.

277. *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* 9.26. Similarly also *Mahābhārata*, Bhandarkar edition, 5.38.11 and 13.46.14.

278. *Cānakya-nīti Śakhā-Sampradaya*, (No. 60), *Hitopadeśa* (1.210), *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā* in *Sivādāsa-s* Version (3.6), *Mādhavānalakathā* 125, *Pañcatantra*, *textus ornatior* (1.143), *textus simplicior* 1.195), *Bhartrhari's Epigrams* (No. 368), *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (348.1), *Subhāṣita-sudhā-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (226.1), *Subhāṣita-ratnākāra* (113.1), *Subhāṣitārṇava* (219), *Samayocitapadyaratnamālikā* (1 a 90), and in O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (328). See also L. STERNBACH, *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law*, II, p. 243.

279. *Prabandhacandrodaya* (1.27), *Bhartrhari's Epigrams* (No. 336), *Vikramacarita*, *Jainistic Recension* (II.11), *Sukasaptati*, *textus ornatior* (200.5-8), *Pañcatantra*, *textus simplicior* (Kosegarten) (1.210), *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (350.69), *Subhāṣita-sudhāratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (229.69), *Subhāṣitaratnākāra* (114.10), *Subhāṣitārṇava* (114), *Subhāṣitāvalī* (MS. BORI 1424 of 1887-91) (394), *Subhāṣitasāgara* (MS. BORI 424 of 1899-1915) (44.5), *Jain Anthologies* (MSs. BORI 1396 of 1884-87 and 1423 of 1887-91) (1392 and 257 respectively), *Śārasūktāvalī* (MS BORI 1492 of 1886-92) (1377) and in O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* (6893).

280. Cf. D. B. DISKALKAR, *Subhāṣita-s in Inscriptions*, JOIB, 11, 3, p. 239 sqq.

90.1. A large majority of verses included in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, are anonymous but often are ascribed to poets or poems, epics, *Purāṇa-s*, etc. The ascriptions are usually given at the end of the verse and rarely before verse. The ascriptions give only the name of the poet or work, but nothing else. However not all ascriptions are clear. We often find an ascription saying *ete* and the name of the poet or work; how many verses before such an ascription belong to the poet or work quoted, is not known. It must be considered that it is more than two, because for one verse the name of the poet or work is only used, and for two verses the *dualis* is used: *etau* and the name of the poet or work. Usually the ascriptions are reliable and as such are very useful for the reconstruction of the critical text of the said work. Particularly the reconstruction of non-uniform texts, such as the *Pūrāṇa-s* can be greatly facilitated by the use of texts contained in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and specifically attributed to a given *Purāṇa*, the more so as we usually can date and place the text of the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* and thus know in what form it was current at certain time and, possibly, at a certain place<sup>281</sup>.

90.2. All the quotations in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are useful from the reconstruction of primary sources, if they are so ascribed in at least two *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; (see para 95 below); they can be used as ancillary sources.

90.3. If quotations in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are ascribed to a certain work and are written in the style, language and spirit of the said work and are not found in any of the MSs. of that work they should also be taken into consideration in the reconstruction of that work, as possibly forming originally part of it; they could have been "lost" or purposely omitted from the text by some scribes<sup>282</sup>. We find for instance in the *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāra* some verses attributed to the *Kauṭīliya-arthaśāstra*<sup>283</sup> which we do not find in any texts of

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281. L. STERNBACH, *Puranic Texts in Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; 1. the *Khaḍgalakṣa-nādhyaṃya* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*; 2. *Markaṇḍeya-purāṇa* in the *Saṃgaddhāra-paddhati*, in *Purāṇa* 13.2; 102-32.

282. It must be however realised that the ascriptions to a given work might be wrong. Cf. para 91 below.

283. This *arthaśāstra* as preserved to our days is known only in one version and variants are usually unimportant, but sometimes new variants occur in this anthology; they might be very useful for the reconstruction of a critical text.

this *arthaśāstra*; it is possible that they originally belonged to this work, since they are written in the style and language of this treaty and are construed in its spirit<sup>284</sup>, or are a variant<sup>285</sup> of another work (i.e. *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* in a very different form than the usually accepted text of this *dharmaśāstra*)<sup>286</sup>.

91. The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* do not give us always the names of the poets of the individual verses; often they say only that "somebody" is their author; sometimes they say that the verse was taken from a specific work, to Vyāsa, what does not mean necessarily that it was taken from the *Mahābhārata*, or give only the epithet or by-name of a poet. The ascription of authorship of a verse to an individual poet or work is not always reliable; we very often notice that in one *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* a given verse is ascribed to one poet and in another *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* to another poet. Some verses quoted in different *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are even sometimes ascribed to six completely different authors. Sometimes these authors are entirely different, but sometimes only some letters of probably the same name were changed, e.g. Solloka, or Solhoka, or Sohloka, or even Sonhoka or Dohnoka and sometimes we have to wonder whether the verse was, for instance, ascribed to Silhaṇa or Bilhaṇa, or whether Silhaṇa was the same person as Bilhaṇa.

92. With regard to ascriptions to works and not to individual poets, some *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* often mix up best well-known works, e.g. the *Mahābhārata*, with the *Rāmayaṇa*, or the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* and even sometimes with so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, thus proving that, particularly in these cases the compiler of the particular su-

284. Cf. L. STERNBACH, *Some Unknown Stanzas attributed to Kauṭilya* in: *University of Rajasthan, Studies in Hindi and Sanskrit* (1967-68); pp. 1-5.

285. Or paraphrase.

286. In the *Sūktiranabhāra* the two verses of the chapter entitled *mantradeśa* read:  
*jadāndhabadhirān mūkāms tairyagyonān vayo'dhikān /*  
*strīmleccbhavyādhitavyaṅgān mantrakāle'varodhayet //*  
*nistambhe nirgavākṣe ca nirbhūtyantarasaṃśraye /*  
*prāsādāgre hy arāṇye vā mantrayed avibhāvitaḥ //*

The first verse could be also considered as a *varia lectio* of *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* 7. 149 reading:

*jadamūkāndhabadhirāms tiryagyonān vayo'tigān /*  
*strīmleccbhavyādhitavyaṅgān mantrakāle'pasārayet //*  
 and the second as a *varia lectio* or paraphrase of *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* 7.147 reading:  
*giriṣṭhām samārūhya prāsādam va rahogataḥ /*  
*arāṇye niṣśālāke vā mantrayed avibhāvitaḥ //*

*bhāṣita-saṃgraha* did quote the verse from his memory alone, memory as so often, in this case also let him down; he could have also been misled by tradition.

93. Sometimes also different scribes of the same work added different ascriptions to the same verse; therefore we find, for instance, that in one MS. of the same *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* (e.g. in the *Padyāvali* of Rūpa Gosvāmin or in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa*) a verse is ascribed to one author, while in another MS. of the same anthology the verse is ascribed to another author.

94. Wrong ascriptions to different authors, mostly in modern *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, are due to the carelessness of the compilers. Sometimes the first *pāda* is identical in several *subhāṣita-s* while the next *pāda-s* are not; if the compiler did not take enough care to check the whole verse with the original he often made mistakes in ascribing a particular verse to a poet or work<sup>287</sup>.

95. Despite these shortcomings the ascriptions of verses quoted in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* to different poets are of great value and we can assume with a great degree of certainty that if a verse was ascribed in more than one *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* to a particular author<sup>288</sup> and if it was not ascribed in another *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* to a different author, it was really composed by this poet. The experiments of Th. Aufrecht in his *Beiträge zur Kenntniss indischer Dichter*<sup>289</sup> and F. W. Thomas's in his Introduction to the *Kaṇḍavanasamuccaya*<sup>290</sup> in which both scholars give a list of poets quoted in different *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* have proved to be very useful for our closer acquaintance with the literature of ancient and medieval India which would have been completely lost to us if it would not have been preserved in the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, and in the *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* of Greater India.

287. Many such examples could be quoted, e.g. in the *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍagāra*.

288. If two *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* are independent anthologies. For instance, if a verse is ascribed to the same author in the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-bhāṇḍagāra* and the *Sārṅga-dhara-paddhati* we still are not certain whether this verse was really composed by the given author, because the *Subhāṣita-sudhā-bhāṇḍagāra* quotes uncritically the ascriptions found in the *Sārṅgadharapaddhati*.

289. ZDMG 36.361-383 and 509-559.

290. *Bibliotheca Indica*, New Series, No. 1309, pp. 16-123.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ABORI. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- AKM. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
- AOS. American Oriental Series published by the American Oriental Society.
- BEFEO. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.
- BORI. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- BSOS. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
- IHQ. Indian Historical Quarterly.
- JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JASB. See JRASB.
- JBBRAS. }  
JBRAS. } Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JOIB. Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
- JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
- JRASB. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal Branch.
- KM. Kāvya-mālā Series, published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay. (If followed by Roman numerals denotes Kāvya-mālā-guccha Series).
- Kr. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937.
- KSG. *Kāvya-saṃgrahaḥ pañcasaptati-saṃskṛta-kāvyaṭmakah*. Edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. Third edition. Volumes I-III. Calcutta, Sarasvatī Press, 1888.
- KSH. *Kāvya-saṃgrahaḥ. A Sanskrit Anthology, being a Collection of the Best Smaller Poems in the Sanskrit Language*. By Dr. J. Haeberlin. Calcutta, 1947.
- RAS. Royal Asiatic Society.
- RO. Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Warszawa.
- WZKM. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
- ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.