



International Journal of Sanskrit Research

अनन्ता

ISSN: 2394-7519

IJSR 2016; 2(3): 12-21

© 2016 IJSR

www.anantaajournal.com

Received: 11-03-2016

Accepted: 12-04-2016

Dr. Ujjwal Kumar

Assistant Professor, Department
of Pali, Savitribai Phule Pune
University, Pune- 411007,
Maharashtra, India

A Note on Pāli Nīti Literature

Dr. Ujjwal Kumar

The modern history of Indian literature is generally classified based on religions or languages. The classification based on religions consists of categories such as Brahmanical Literature, Buddhist Literature, Jain Literature and so on. Similarly, there are works based on the classification of a particular language, the works such as “A History of Sanskrit Literature”, “A History of Pāli Literature”, and “A History of Prakrit Literature” etc. It may be observed that in ancient times, there existed a classification of the then existing branches of knowledge or various genres. One such listing of the branches of knowledge is found in the *Lokañīti* (Ln 10-11) as follow:

*suti sammuti saṅkhyā ca, yogā nīti visesikā
gandhabbā gaṇikā ceva, dhanubedā ca pūraṇāṃ
tikicchā itihāsā ca, joti māyā ca chandatī
hetu mantā ca saddā ca, sippāṭṭhārasakā imell*

The Vedas, the Smṛti, the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga, the (worldly) Law, and the Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy; Music, Arithmetic, Archery, and the Purāṇas, and the science of Medicine, History, Astrology, Magic, Metre, Causation, Diplomacy and Grammar; these are the eighteen branches of knowledge.

2. Though we know that this classification is of late origin and not found in early Buddhist literature, its antiquity goes back to the *Milindapañha* (Mil). The Mil was the first text where this classification is used with one more addition, that is, *Buddhavacana* reaching the number of *sippa* up to nineteen. The account of the *sippa* given in the Mil illustrates the principal features of the systems of both Brahmanical and Buddhist education as they prevailed in their times. Some passages in the *Jātaka*-s, nevertheless, make individual mention of some subjects under scientific and technical education; however, it is not certain whether they would come under the eighteen *sippa*-s. The *Dummedha Jātaka* (Jā no. 50) mentions the number of *sippa*-s as eighteen. However, their names are not illustrated there. In Sanskrit literature the antiquity of the eighteen *sippa*-s goes back to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (III.6: 28-29):

*aṅgāni vedās catvāro,
mīmāṃsā nyāyavistaraḥ
purāṇaṃ dharmasāstraṃ ca,
vidyā hy etās caturdaśaṃ
āyurvedo dhanurvedo,
gāndharvaś caiva te trayāḥ
arthāsāstraṃ caturthaṃ tu,
vidyā hy aṣṭādaśaiva tāḥ ॥*

Correspondence

Dr. Ujjwal Kumar

Assistant Professor, Department
of Pali, Savitribai Phule Pune
University, Pune- 411007,
Maharashtra, India

Kavidappanāñīti (2-3), one of the late *nīti* texts under the Pāli Nīti Literature (PNL) faithfully transmits this *gāthā* as follow:

*aṅgāni vedā cattāro,
mīmaṃsā nyāyavittaroi
dhammasatthaṃ purāṇāñca,
vijjā hetā catuddasaṃ
āyubbedo dhanubbedo,
gandhabbo ceti te tayo
atthasatthaṃ catutthañca,
vijjā hy āṭṭharasa matān*

A brief description of the term *nīti* will not go beyond our topic. We do not know in what sense exactly Buddhist texts used this term among the list of eighteen *sippa*. Treckner (1908: 102-138) points out that “for *smṛti* and *nyāya*, substituted terms were *sammuti* (Sanskrit *sammati*, perhaps in the sense of ‘what is universally agreed on’) and *nīti*; the regular equivalents, *sati* and *ñāya*, being objectionable, because these are among the technical terms of Buddhism (*ñāyo*= *ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo*), and might have induced Milinda to suppose of Buddhist attainments previous to his conversion.” Even in the list of eighteen *sippa*-s, before and after the term *nīti*, Yoga and Viśeṣika are mentioned. Therefore, logically it is possible that the word *nīti* here indicates Nyāya School of philosophy. The Nyāya derives its name from *nyāya*, the rules of logical thinking or the means of determining the right meaning or the right thing (see Matilal 1978: 53). Gray (1886: 4) reports that in *Lokanītinissaya*, “the ancient collection known as the *Nītiśāstra* is referred to” as *nīti*.

The word *nīti*, common to both Sanskrit and Pāli, is derived from the root √nī and has various meanings. V. S. Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary gives the following meanings: 1. Guidance, direction, management; 2. Conduct, behaviour, course of action; 3. Propriety, decorum; 4. Policy, prudence, wisdom, right course; 5. Plan, contrivance, scheme; 6. Politics, political science, statesmanship, political wisdom; 7. Righteousness, moral conduct, morality, etc. The PED also gives the same meanings. In the Mil., *nīti* indicates a branch of study. In the ‘*Saddanīti*’, a famous Pāli grammar text, the word *nīti* signifies ‘policy or method’. The Pāli grammar *Padarūpasiddhi* derives the word *nīti* from the root √ni with the feminine suffix ‘*ti*’ according to the rule 599 ‘*Itthiyamatiyavo vā*’. Thus, one may articulate that the Sanskrit-Pāli word ‘*nīti*’ is equivalent to “conduct”. As applied to books, it is a general term for a treatise, which includes maxims, pithy sayings, and didactic stories. Treatises of this kind, intended as a guide in respect of matters of everyday life, help an individual to build his character and form good relations with his fellow men. They have therefore been popular in all ages, and have served as the most effective medium of instruction.

Out of the eighteen branches of knowledge mentioned above, the present paper is focused on *nīti* literature in general and PNL in particular. As far as the History of Pāli Literature is concerned, the *nīti* literature has scarcely been dealt with. There is no comprehensive study of this genre to date. It is therefore intended to take up a study of this very important and neglected theme in the History of Pāli Literature. The purpose of this study is to delineate the available PNL with a chronological or a historical perspective and see the stages of its development through the ages.

Previous Research on PNL

Western scholarship has noticed the importance of the PNL at an early stage of Pāli studies, particularly commenced and

developed in Burma. The very first scholar who noticed the place of PNL in Burmese society was E. Fowle. In 1858, Fowle published his book *Translation of a Burmese Version of the Niti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pali* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 17, 252-266. Subsequently he prepared a short English summary of one of the famous works of that genre, namely the *Lokanīti*, from the Burmese *nissaya* which was published in 1860. Fowle informs, “[Niti Kyan] a short code of ethics compiled from selections from various authors is one of several that I have translated from the Burmese language, which are themselves translations from Pāli.” Unfortunately, Fowle had not mentioned the sources of his translation and simply called it ‘*Niti Kyan*’, and thereby misled some later scholars to think that the *Niti Kyan* was a separate Burmese work based on the *Lokanīti*. Relied on Fowle’s work, Ludwik Sternbach (1963: 329-345), a great scholar who mainly devoted his academic writings to Indian *nīti* literature, was misguided and thought that the Pāli *Lokanīti* and the Burmese *Niti Kyan* were different works. In his article, “The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan and Their Sources”, Sternbach drew our attention to the similarity between the Pāli *Lokanīti* and the Burmese *Niti kyan*. As Bechert and Braun pointed out “The translation of the introductory verse (Fowle 1860: 253) and a comparison of Fowle’s translation with the printed Burmese version of the *Lokanīti* (Sternbach 1969a) clearly show that Fowle’s text was a *nissaya* of a *Lokanīti* manuscript representing a text only slightly different from the version which was printed later on.” However, the pioneering works of Fowle’s attracted many scholars later to devote their academic writings to the field of PNL.

After Fowle, Richard Carnac Temple made and published a more exact translation of the *Lokanīti* from the Burmese *nissaya* in 1878 (The *Lokanīti*, Translated from the Burmese paraphrase. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLVII :III, 239-252). Temple (1878) rightly informs “There is probably no book so universally known to the Burmese as the *Lokanīti*, pronounced in Burmese as *Lawkanīdi*.” Temple had the earliest printed editions and a number of manuscripts at his disposal. Temple (1878: 239) notifies that “[this text] has been copied into hundreds of palm-leaf MSS with more or less accuracy ... the Government itself published an edition of it in Burmese and Pāli in an issue of 10,000 copies.” Temple was the first person who tried to establish the date of the text and identify the author of the work. On the basis of the account of general public Burmese *Sanyāa*-s or learned men, Temple (1878: 240) mentions that “... it was written originally (date unknown) in Sanskrit (? Pāli) by the Pōngnā (Brahman) Sānnēkyaw (Burmese name) and paraphrased into Burmese in 1196 Burmese Era (= 1826 A.D.) by the Hpōngyī U Pōk of the Mahā Oung Myē Bōng Sān Ok Kyoug (the Great Brick built Monastery in the Sacred Place) at Ava. U Pōk’s priestly name was Sēk-kān-da-bī, to which the king of Ava added the titles of *Thīri Thāddamma-daza*, *Mahā Damma-yāza Guru*, (= Sanskrit, *Śrī Saddharmadhūaja*, *Mahā Dharmarāja Guru*) ...” One of correspondents of Temple writes to him that the author was a priest “with no extraordinary knowledge of Pāli” who either collected the maxims from old books or what is more probable is that he collected some of them and added others of his own composition. Though Temple was not sure about the date and the compiler of the text, he firmly believed that Hpōngyī U Pōk had revised the text.

Emilio Teza's "Sul Lokanīti, Studi sulla gnomologia buddiana"

Emilio Teza, an Italian scholar, published his study of the *Lokanīti* in 1879, under the title "Sul Lokanīti, Studi sulla gnomologia buddiana" (*Memoriw dell* : Istituto Lombardo, 126-132). With the help of a single edition of the *Lokanīti*, printed in Rangoon in 1879, Teza then edited and translated eighteen stanzas from this work and traced the sources of several of them. Till that time it was confirmed that the *Lokanīti* was compiled from the different sources and the role of Sanskrit *subhāṣita*-s was already established for the compilation of the text. With this understanding Teza identified several stanzas.

James Gray's Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources

The great pioneering work for making the *nīti* literature of Burma known and accessible to the academic world was done by James Gray. For the first time, in 1883, he edited the Pāli text of the *Dhammanīti*, the longest and most interesting *nīti* work of Burmese Pāli tradition (*The Pāli text of the Dhammanīti: A Book of Proverbs and Maxims*. Pp. 45, Haṃsāvati Press, Rangoon, 1883), and then added the Burmese *nissaya* to the second edition of this text published in 1884 (*The Pāli text and Burmese Translation of the Dhammanīti: A Book of Maxims*. Pp. 165, Haṃsāvati Press, Rangon, 1884.). In the history of PNL 1886 was a remarkable year when Gray had published an English translation of four Burmese Pāli *nīti* works, viz. *Lokanīti* (Pp. 1-36), *Dhammanīti* (Pp. 37-118), *Rājanīti* (Pp. 119-141), and *Sutavaḍḍhananīti* (Pp. 142- 157) and he added a number of *subhāṣita*-s found in the Burmese literature under the heading of "Old Indian Sayings" (Pp. 161-174), as well as a table of corresponding stanzas (Pp. 175-178) in the four texts under the title, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; Or, The Nīti Literature of Burma*, Trübner & Co, London, 1886. Gray in his translation also tried to identify the original sources of Pāli *nīti gāthā*. Many times he succeeded but in some places he wrongly identified the original source of Pāli *gāthā*. The English translation of *Dhammanīti*, *Rājanīti* and *Sutavaḍḍhananīti* are the only English translations available till now.

Paolo Emilio Pavolini's "Cenni sulla Dhammanīti Pāli birman e sulle sue fonti"

After Gray's (1886) work, Paolo Emilio Pavolini, an Italian scholar produced a short study of the *Dhammanīti* in Italian language (Pavolini 1907: 609-616). In his article "Cenni sulla Dhammanīti Pāli birman e sulle sue fonti" [Commentaries on the Pāli and Burman Dhammanīti and its Sources (Google tr.)]. Pavolini identified some of the *gāthās* of the *Dhammanīti* and almost rightly established a theory that Pāli *nīti* works are a mere compilation of Sanskrit *nīti* verses.

Charles Duroiselle's Pāli Unseen

In the main stream of Pāli study the *Lokanīti* and the *Dhammanīti* were included for the first time in the text book for Matriculation students, prepared by Charles Duroiselle (1907). Under his editorship, fifty *gāthās* from the *Lokanīti* and thirty *gāthās* from the *Dhammanīti* were included in a text book namely *Pāli Unseen* (School Pāli Series III. Rangoon: British Burma Press. 1907).

Mabel Hayanes Bode's Pāli Literature of Burma

Mabel Hayanes Bode's (1909) *Pāli Literature of Burma* was another work where the reference to PNL is made. He makes this passing remark only in two sentences that are being reproduced here: "For a king's *ācariya*, he must be able to discourse on ethics and polity, pronounce moral maxims, and give advice. The *Rājanīti*, *Lokanīti*, and *Dhammanīti* represent this sort of literature modelled on Sanskrit originals" (Bode 1909: 51). This way Bode hints at the existence of the Pāli *nīti* works but does not provide further details.

Maung Tin's A Pāli Reader With Notes

The importance of PNL was once again recognized by a very famous Burmese scholar Maung Tin. Tin (1920: 43-52,72-83) includes the *Lokanīti* in his 2nd edition of *Pāli Reader* and brought the study of PNL in the mainstream of Pāli study. This text was used for the Anglo-Vernacular High School Final Examination. Highlighting the reason for including this text in the Pāli Reader, Tin says (1920: Preface),

"In place of the first five Chapters of *Dīpavaṃsa* (Chronicle of Ceylon) of the old course, the present reader includes *Lokanīti* (Worldly behavior)...*Lokanīti* is the only one which is not in the three *Piṭakas* but its high standard of morality and its pithy stanzas have won a great popularity in Burma. Indeed it had been included at the express wish of the Burman Buddhists."

Ludwik Sternbach "The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan.."

After Maung Tin, Ludwik Sternbach was the first westerner who notices the PNL. In his article (1963: 26, 329-345) "The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan and Their Sources", Sternbach carried forward the work of Gray, Pavolini, and Teza and tried to identify the sources of the *Lokanīti* verses. Unfortunately, in this pioneering work, Sternbach identified many *Lokanīti gāthā*-s wrongly and identified them as of Sanskrit origin while they were taken from Pāli sources. Since 1963, Sternbach has included the Pāli *Nīti* works in the scope of his studies of the *subhāṣita* literature (cf. in particular Sternbach 1963a, 1969a, 1973a, 1973b and 1974b) and brought out a major work of PNL in *Subhāṣita, Gnomonic and Didactic Literature* in 1974 in the famous monumental work *A History of Indian Literature* edited by Gonda.

Heinz Braun and Heinz Bechert Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma...

Apart from these few writings on PNL, a major work was carried out by a German scholar Heinz Braun. For his Master's thesis, he edited the *Lokanīti* under the title *Bearbeitung des Pāli-Werkes Lokanīti*, Goöttingen, in 1972. This was the first critical edition of *Lokanīti*. In this edition Heinz Braun consulted more than thirty manuscripts and brought out the first critical edition of the *Lokanīti*. Subsequently in his Ph.D. thesis Heinz Braun once again concentrated on PNL and edited two other important texts, viz. the *Dhammanīti* and the *Mahārahanīti* (*Dhammanīti und Mahārahanīti, Zwei Texte der Spruchliteratur aus Birma*. Göttingen, 1975). Later on with Heinz Bechert, Braun published his dissertation from PTS in 1981 and also included one more important text, namely, the *Rājanīti*, under the title *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma: Dhammanīti, Lokanīti, Mahārahanīti, Rājanīti* (PNTB), Text Series No. 171, London: PTS, 1981. Till now this edition was the only critical edition that covered the four major works in the genre of PNL. In this work Braun and Bechert not only edited the four major texts of PNL but also identified the sources of most of Pāli *gāthā*-s. The main part of the volume (pp. 1-160) consists of critical editions of the *Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*,

Mahārahanīti and the *Rājanīti*, and notes thereon. The latter contains the critical apparatus, comments upon grammar and metre, and parallels to the verses in other texts, both Sanskrit and Prakrit, and especially a large corpus of Sanskrit verses attributed to Cāṇakya, which Sternbach had collected.

Khin Win Kyi's "Burmese Philosophy as Reflected..."

After Heinz Braun, Khin Win Kyi was the only scholar who did her Ph.D. on the works related to PNL. She submitted her Ph.D. thesis on the *Lokanīti* in 1986 to the Washington University under the title *Burmese Philosophy as Reflected in Caturāṅgabala's Lokanīti*. In her work, Kyi mainly focused on the social aspect of the *Lokanīti* in Burmese society.

The *Nīti*-literature of Pāli is not abundant. It was originally written in Pāli, from which some of the *Nīti*-works were afterwards translated into Burmese and other East Asian languages. Most of the Pāli *Nīti*-sayings are of Sanskrit origin and many of the maxims occurred originally in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*; particularly, the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings were incorporated into the Pāli *Nīti* Literature (hereafter PNL). One more thing to highlight here is that all most all the Pāli *Nīti* texts were composed in Burma alone. Though, the Theravāda countries like Sri Lanka, Thailand upheld their doctrinal thought in Pāli, and after the *Aṭṭhakathā* or *Ṭṭkā* period composed many secular literary activities in Pāli, we do not find any attempt to compose *Nīti* texts. In other words, we can say that the PNL totally flourished and developed in Burma. The endeavour of this paper is to provide a detailed outline of available Pāli *Nīti*-texts. For this purpose following texts are taken into consideration: *Lokanīti*, *Dhammanīti*, *Cāṇakyanīti*, *Mahārahanīti*, *Sutavaḍḍhanīti*, *Lokasāra*, *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa*, and *Rājanīti*. After the discussion of general introduction of available PNL, this paper discusses the subject matters of PNL.

1. Lokanīti (Ln)

1.1. The Ln is one of the well-regarded works in Burma. Today it is known more by its name than by its contents. It is most probable that it was prepared for a king's *ācariya* in order to enable them to discourse on ethics and polity, to pronounce moral maxims, and give advice. In Burmese tradition this text is considered as the base of all the *Nīti*-texts.

1.2. The authorship of the Ln has not been finalized so far by the earlier Pāli scholars who dealt with this text. The Ln itself gives no clue to its authorship. Therefore, the opinions about author and date of Ln are widely at variance, and the arguments so far proposed for dating the text are not quite convincing.

1.3. In Burma there are two traditions about the authorship of Ln. The first and foremost, without any substantial evidence, the main stream of Burmese tradition seems to attribute the authorship of Ln to Caturāṅgabala, a well-known Burmese scholar who lived in the middle part of the 14th century at the court of the Burmese kings Ngashishin (1343-1350) and Kyawswange or Thihathu (1350-1359) at Pinya (Bechert and Braun 1981: xlix). *Abhidhānappadīpkā-vaṇṇanā* or *ṭika* is composed by Caturāṅgabala, which is confirmed by *Piṭakat samuīn* (Piṭ-srn 452). The *Sāsanavamsa* of Paññāsāmi also narrated the life story of Caturāṅgabala and his authorship of the *Abhidhānappadīpkā-vaṇṇanā*. However, we have no reference to his presumed authorship of Ln. As Bechert and Braun (1981: xlix) pointed out that the "earliest reference to this tradition seemsto be found in the concluding verses of the

Ln pyui by Ū Rhañ Kale, a rendering of the Ln in Burmese verses which was composed in 1880 (published in Nan Nāvan Chve 1961, p. 321-346; for this passage, cf. p. 345; see also Sternbach 1963a, p. 331 and E Moñ 1947, pp. 136f.). The statement in the Mrammā evay cum kyam (EB III, p. 133) that Caturāṅgabala was the author of Ln seems to be based on this epilogue.

1.4. Temple (1878: 239) provides very interesting information about the author of the Ln. According to him, Burmese people believed that 'Sānnekgyaw', i.e. Cāṇakya was the author of Ln, which shows that the Burmese were aware of the fact that Ln was nothing but a version of the ancient Cāṇakya *Nīti* tradition. Though we do not have any evidence of Temple's remarks, however, it is interesting to note that the name of Cāṇakya was associated with the composition of *Nīti* literature in Burma. About the authorship of Ln, another information is given by M. H. Bode (1909: 95) in his famous book *Pāli Literature of Burma*. According to him, Cakkindābhisiri was the author of Ln. Bechert and Braun (1981: 1) point out that Bode was confused with the author of the *nissaya* of Ln. Actually Cakkindābhisiri wrote Ln *nissaya* and not the Ln. Out of the above mentioned three names, the more accepted name in Burma about the author of Ln is Caturāṅgabala. Two Burmese scholars, namely, Maung Tin (1920) and Sein Tu (1962) who worked on the Ln, unanimously acknowledge Caturāṅgabala as the author of Ln. Though we do not have any cross reference to check this Burmese belief, there is however no ground to deny this belief. In modern writing, there is no agreement about the authorship of Ln, the date of composition of this text is also not fixed. In most of the writings, this date varies from 14th century to 18th century.

1.5. Temple (1878: 239) who studied and translated the Ln into English for the first time, most probably from a Burmese translation, could not find out much about the history of this book, although he personally made enquiries to get information from the Burmese *sayā-s* (learned men). He reported that, according to one account, it was written originally at an unknown date in Sanskrit (or Pāli) by the Pōngnā (Brāhman) Sānnekgyaw (Burmese name) and paraphrased into Burmese in 1826 by the Hpōngyi U Pōk of the Mahā Oung Mye Bōng San Ok Kyoung (the Great Brick Built Monastery in the Sacred Place) at Ava. This U Pōk's name as priest was Sek-kān-da-bī, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thīri Thāddamma-daza, Mahā Dama-yāza Guru (Sri Saddharmadhaja, Mahā Dharmarāja Guru). According to another informant of Temple (1878: 239), "the author was a priest without very extraordinary knowledge of Pāli who either collected the maxims from old books or collected some of them and added others of his own composition. This opinion is corroborated by the unequal merit of the original Pāli verses and by the many grammatical and other errors observable in them even upon a superficial examination".

1.6. Gray (1886: ix-x) reports that Ln, Rn and Dhn were found in Sanskrit among the Manipurian Puññās, who, driven from their native abode by the vicissitudes of war, made a home for themselves in Burma. They were written in Bengali characters, but editions in Sanskritised Burmese were also procurable. The Sanskrit Ln of the Manipurian Puññās commences with the first introductory stanza of the *Hitopadeśa* (*siddhis sādhye satām astu*). This stanza was disregarded in the Burmese anthology most probably on account of the difficulty in its

adaption to Buddhist views. The Sanskrit Ln originally contained 109 verses, which, in the Burmese version, have been expanded to 167 gāthā-s.” Sternbach (1969a: 38) refutes Gray’s account of the origin of Ln among Manipurian Puṇṇās and says: “It is not clear from Gray’s account whether he really saw the Sanskritised Ln or only heard about its existence. Despite careful search, not only in Burma but also in India, I could not find a single text of the Sanskritised Ln...”.

1.7. On the basis of an imitation of verse 61 of the Ln on Pagan inscription which was erected in 1408 CE, Gerolamo Emilio Gerini (1904: 139f.) puts forth the date of compilation of Ln between the time of Buddhaghosa and the date of establishment of the inscription. He thought that the Ln was composed between 425 and 1400 CE. He saw the date a quo in the commentary to the *Dhammapada*- the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*- ascribed to Buddhaghosa, in which he could notice “strict analogies” between certain passages of the Ln and the *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*. Though, this argument is very strong and valid, Bechert and Braun (1981: 1), are not ready to accept this argument. They think that the author of the inscription could have modeled his text after the Sanskrit source of the verse in question and has not necessarily made use of the Ln collection. Whatever doubt put forth by Bechert and Braun, the same doubt one should also put on Bechert and Braun’s argument having applied the same theory.

1.8. Sternbach (1969a: 37), in response to Temple’s argument, articulates: “Temple probably refers to one of the translations of the Pāli Ln into Burmese, while the Pāli text was known in Burma much earlier. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Ln was composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century and that the two other nīti collections (Dhn and Rn) were compiled not much later.” Unfortunately, Sternbach does not give any argument against the support of his hypothesis. Later on, Sternbach (1973b, § 52.8) dated the text as composed quite possibly “in the beginning of the fourteenth century”, but without providing new evidence for this date.

1.9. According to an evaluation of the sources and parallels of the verses Bechert and Braun (1981: 1) assume that the author of Ln has taken material from the *Dhammanīti*. This observation provides us with a terminus post quem. Apart from the reference in the Arakanese chronicle quoted by Gray, there is, however, no reliable terminus ante quem earlier than the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, but it is hardly possible that a book which has obtained such popularity and fame at that time should not have been compiled at a considerably earlier time. In addition, the rather corrupt state of the textual tradition already in the earliest available manuscripts points at a considerable length of time between the composition of the work and the date of these manuscripts. An additional difficulty arises from the fact that the name Ln could not only refer to our text but was also used as a rather general term for a class of literary works, viz. for *Nīti* texts in verses. The Ln in Sanskrit which was studied by the Manipurian Puṇṇā-s of Burma and referred to by Gray (1886: ix); also quoted by Stenbach (1969a; 1973b, § 52.1; cf. also 1974a, pp. 4fn.), where the introduction of the Pāli text through Manipur is assumed. Under these circumstances, we cannot give a more accurate answer to the question about the date of Ln than to say that it was compiled in its present form probably between the second half of the 15th and the middle of the 18th century.

1.10. Ln is divided into seven distinct chapters (Pāli *kaṇḍa*) and consists 167 verses dealing with: (1) the wise man (*Pañḍitakaṇḍa* 1-40); (2) the good man (*Sujanakaṇḍa* 41-67); (3) the evil-doer (*Dujjanakaṇḍa* 68-78); (4) friendship (*Mittakaṇḍa* 79-93); (5) women (*Itthikaṇḍa* 94-111); (6) kings (*Rājakaṇḍa* 112-137); and miscellanea (*Missakakaṇḍa* 138-167). The author or compiler clearly states in the opening stanzas his object in undertaking this work and mentions the name of the text as Ln. In the very first stanza of Ln the author also indicates their sources and does not claim that this treatise is his own composition. Here the author starts his writing with the homage paid to the Three Gems and then he says that he will recite the “Lokanīti” concisely in Māgadhese extracted from various treatises, “*lokanītiṃ pavakkhāmi, nānāsatthasamuddhaṭaṃ māgadheneva saṅkhepaṃ, vanditvā ratanattayaṃ*” The author of the Ln has opened his work with the introductory stanza of his book on *Ratanattaya*, or the Three Gems (Refuges). Though, the Ln comes under the categories of secular literature the intention of the author to start with the veneration of Three Gems is only indicative to mark that this text is meant for Buddhist *upāsaka*-s and *upāsikā*-s. Every religion worthy of the name has certain articles of belief in which its followers have confidence. It is these articles which awaken the religious impulse of man and inspire him to lead the religious life; they give concrete shape as it were to abstract principles around which the followers of a religion rally. Thus, it may be said that it is these articles of belief which give rise to the institutional form of a religion, the organized form of a religion cannot exist without them, in fact no movement whatsoever can be operative and successful unless organized in the institutional form. Buddhism is no exception, and it is the Three Gems in which its followers show their confidence.

1.11. The Buddha, the Dhamma, and Saṅgha, known as *Ratanattaya* or the Triple Gem, form the Three Refuges. The Buddha is the one who has attained to full enlightenment after the fulfilling the Ten Perfections (*Dasa-Pāramitā*) during the period of four incalculable and hundred thousand *kappa*-s. The *Dhamma* is the doctrine preached by such an enlightened teacher (*Sammāsambuddha*). The *Saṅgha* is the ‘Order of the Nobel Ones’ who have practiced the teachings and realized the Nobel Truths (*Ariyasacca*) in varying degrees. For the same reasons the Order of such members is known as the Ariya-Saṅgha.

1.12. In the introductory verse itself the author of the text gives the title of his book “the Lokanīti”. The word Lokanīti is made up of two Pāli words, ‘*loka*’ and ‘*nīti*’. In Buddhist sense the meaning of the word *loka* is ‘world’, that is, ‘visible world of daily experience’ and the *Nīti* signifies ‘guide’. So, by choosing the title the author tries to express the whole aim and objective of his work- to be a guide in the visible world of daily experience. In other words, the author means that his work is to help and guide people in conducting themselves properly in the affairs of daily life.

1.13. After the introductory verse the very first chapter of the Ln namely *Pañḍitakaṇḍa* (Section on Wise Man), starts with highlighting the importance of *Nīti* in one’s own life: “The “Nīti,” in this world, is a man’s substance, his father, his mother, his teacher, his friend: a person, therefore, knowing the “Nīti”, is a wise man, both excellent and well-informed” (tr. by Gray: 1886), “*nītiloke purisassa sāro, mātā pitā ācariyo ca mitto tasmā hi nītiṃ puriso vijaññā, ñāṇī mahā hoti*

bahussutocau". Having highlighted the importance of Nīti in human life, the first chapter discusses many aspects of discourses connected to leading a good life. Here the importance of learning, different branches of learning, characteristic of wise man, characteristics of true friends, signs of good parents etc. are discussed in a very lucid and heart touching language.

1.14. In the second chapter of the Ln as per the name of the chapter "The Good Man", the author has gathered those *gāthā*-swich are concerned with the title of the chapter. To emphasize the value of being a good man and the value of being in company with good men, Lokanītikāra included the chapter "On the foolish and Bad Man" immediately following the one "On the Good Man". After that, chapter four is devoted to friendship. The author has very deliberately pointed out the true friends and given some astounding examples of a friend. The fifth chapter is devoted to women. The role of women in household life is discussed here in detail. But at the same time women are also portrayed with some derogatory remarks. For example we can see the verse number 104 of Ln which says that "All rivers are crooked; all forests are made of wood; all women, going into solitude, would do what is evil" (tr. by Gray 1886: 23). In chapter sixth "on the ruler", the author talks about what a good ruler or a good king is supposed to be. The seventh chapter, the last one in the book, speaks about diverse matters and is appropriately entitled as *pakkiṇṇaka*. There, the author tries to remind his readers of uselessness of prayers. He admonishes any of his readers who had a tendency to run into debt by including such weak person among those who were supposed to be the living dead. He also speaks about how careful we should be in talking about others or to strangers. Here we also find some prejudices the author holds and some of the superstitions too.

2. Dhammanīti (Dhn)

2.1. Dhn is the longest of the *nīti* works in Pāli. This text played an encyclopedic role for their predecessors to compose other *nīti* texts in Pāli. Unfortunately, none of the Burmese accounts mentions the author of Dhn. Therefore the name of the author and the date of the compilation of the text are still not known with conformity. From the study of parallel verse groups in the Pāli *Nīti* works Bechert and Braun (1981: lvi) tentatively determine the date of its compilation and assume that Dhn was compiled earlier than Ln and Mhn. The authorship of Mhn is ascribed to Mahāsīlavamsa whose date was almost fixed around the fifteenth century CE. So if Mahārahanītikāra utilized the sources of Dhn then this text must have been composed before then fifteenth century CE. The lower date of this text is fixed by Bechert and Braun in between late fourteenth.

2.2. Gray (1886: 37 fn. 1) noted that Dhn was translated for the first time into Burmese by 'Tīpitakalīnkāra Mahādhamma (i.e. Tīpitakālamkārādhajamahādhammarājaguruthera mentioned in Sā alias Bā Karā Charā To) in 1784 CE at the order of King Bodawpaya. Outside Burma Dhn was not found in any Therevāda county except Thailand where this text was available in the Thai script and in the Thai translation. Dhn was translated in Thai language in early twentieth century. Bechert and Braun (1981: xxvi, lvii) reported the only traces of Dhn in non-Burmese tradition in two Siamese texts: Thammanīti [Dhammanīti] bap hang tham, 423 pp., Bangkok, Rongphim Thai press, 2464 AB/ 1921 CE. A Thai translation, based on the same textual tradition is found in the edition of

tripartite Lokanīti-traiphāk, ed. and tr. Sathira Koses (Phya Anuman Rajadhon) 192 pp., Bangkok, Rūam sān Publication, 1926, where the Pāli text is not added.

2.3. *Dhammanīti* is a compound word. Its derivation can be drawn as "dhammassa nīti". In Buddhist terminology, the word *dhamma* has various meanings. *Dhamma* is used in the sense of mental states (*cetasika*) (see Dhp 1 and 2), law (*niyāma*: utu, bija, *dhamma*, *citta*, *kamma*) (see Dhp 5, 24 and 144), the Buddha's teachings (Tīpitaka, see Dhp 20, 38, 60, 64, 82, 102, 182, 190, 194, 259, 297, 363 and 392), righteous means/practice (see Dhp 46, 84, 87, 167, 168, 169, 242 and 248), phenomena (see Dhp 109, 353, 273 and 279), path of virtue (*bodhipakkhiya Dhamma*) (see Dhp 44, 45, 79, 86, 164 and 364), *samatha* and *vpasānā* (*dvayesu dhamma*) (see Dhp 384), nine transcendental states (4 *magga*-s+4 *phala*-s+nirvāṇa) (see Dhp 115, 217, 261 and 393), truth (see Dhp 70, 176, 205 and 354) etc. Here in the Dhn the word *dhamma* signifies righteous means, way or practise. Meaning of *Nīti* as I have already shown in Sanskrit-Pāli is equivalent to "conduct". As applied to books, it is a general term for a treatise, which includes maxims, pithy sayings, and didactic stories. So we may articulate Dhn as a collection of "Maxims for Righteous Way of Life".

2.4. The Dhn consisting of 411 maxims, plus three introductory stanzas in 24 sections (*ācariyo* the preceptor 4-13; *sippaṃ* scholarship 14-27; *paññā* wisdom 28-57; *suttaṃ* knowledge 58-63; *kathā* conversation 64-74; *dhanam* wealth 75-80; *deso* residence 81-87; *nissayo* dependence 88-95; *mittaṃ* friendship 96-111; *dujjano* the bad man 112-140; *sujano* the good man 141-150; *balaṃ* the power 151-155; *itthī* women 156-172; *putto* sons 173-179; *dāso* servants 180-181; *gharāvāso* the wise man 182-195; *kato* what should be done 196-227; *akato* what should be avoided 228-248; *nātaboo* relatives 249-256; *alaṅkāro* ornamentation 257-265; *rājadharmo* king duties 266-287; *upasevako* ministrations 288-323; *dukādimissako* two's, three's etc. 324-334; *pakkiṇṇako* miscellaneous 335-414), comprises the longest of the *nīti* works in Pāli. It is very clear to note that the division of the chapters of the Dhn is not in a consisting manner. Some of the chapters consist of a large number of verses (for example the *pakkiṇṇako* section) and some consist of only few verses (for example *dāso*, *balaṃ* etc.). This indicates that Dhn was not composed in a much planned manner or it might be possible that various authors contributed to compose this text.

2.5. The Dhn is not as common as Ln but is better known than RN. Unlike Ln, it never became a handbook of study in Burma in government or monastic schools. It is much longer than the Ln and Rn and therefore was not so willingly copied by scribes; in addition, it did not have a reputation of being originated in India, though it was partly a translation from Sanskrit into Pāli. The Dhn contains a great number of maxims identical with those found in the Ln; at least 67 verses are common to both Dhn and Ln (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxix). But generally speaking, the Dhn is more loosely connected with Sanskrit sources than Rn and particularly Ln. The maxims of Dhn are in principle not straight translations from Sanskrit but paraphrases of Sanskrit maxims. It was possible to trace the origin of 127 maxims, i.e. 31% of Dhn verses to Sanskrit sources (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxx).

2.6. The Dhn starts with three introductory stanzas. In the first verse of Dhn the author pays his respect to the triple gems. The second and the third verses of Dhn establish the *mātikā* of the

text and, no doubt, these three verses are the composition of the author himself.

*ācariyo ca sippañca paññā sutam kathā dhanam
deso ca nissayo mittam dujjano sujano balaṃ Dhn 2
itthi putto ca dāso ca gharāvāso katakato
ñātabbo ca alaṅkāro rājadhammopasevako
dukādimissako ceva pakiṅṅako ti mātikāṃ Dhn 3*

Tabulation or condensed contents (are as follow): The Teacher, Art and Craft, (Worldly) Wisdom, Knowledge, Story Telling, Wealth, Habitation, Dependence, Friendship, The Bad Man, The Good Man, the Power; Women, Children, Servants, Residence, What should be done, What should not be done, Relatives, Ornamentation, Duties of King, Ministration, Things taken by two etc., and Miscellaneous.

2.6. The first chapter of Dhn is *ācariyo*, the Preceptor. There are 10 verses in this chapter. Here the importance of preceptor, the role of preceptor in one's life, the zeal of clever pupil to follow their preceptor etc. are dealt in detail. Following the first chapter, the second chapter discusses the various arts and crafts one should learn. Here a question mark has been raised for the people as to 'how an idle one can acquire knowledge' (alasassa kuto sippam). The importance of learning in one's life is highlighted here in the following manner:

*bodha putra sadā nityam mā khedācariyam garuṃ
sadese pūjito rājā budho sabbattha pūjito Dhn 18*
O dear one, always acquire knowledge; do not cause trouble to your venerable teacher; a king is honoured in his own country; a man of knowledge in every place.

2.7. In continuation of chapter two, *Sippam* the third chapter, rightly speaks about *paññā*, wisdom. The very first gāthā of this chapter says:

*susūsā sutavaḍḍhanī paññāya vaḍḍhanam sutam
paññāya attham jānāti nāto attho sukhāvahou*
Close attention to study augments knowledge; knowledge increases wisdom; by wisdom, we know the signification (of a thing); the knowledge of the signification brings happiness.

This chapter consists of thirty verses highlighting the role of knowledge in one's life. Likewise the Dhn deals with various topics pertaining to the day to day activities.

3. Mahārahanīti

3.1. The Mahārahanīti (Mhn) is attributed to Mahāsīlavamsa (1453-1518). In comparison to the *Lokanīti* and the *Dhammanīti*, this text is far less known which are always quoted in lists of Pāli nīti works. This work had not come to the notice of Gray (1886) and Sternbach. It seems that they were completely unaware of the existence of this text, though this text was along with its *nissaya* printed in Burma in 1915 (Mahā-Sīlavamsa, Mahārahanīti kyam, with nissaya of 'Oṅ mre bhuṃ cam 'ut kyoṅ charā to [Cakkindābhisiri], 163 pp., Rangoon, The Sun Press, 1915) and in 1929 (Arhaṅ Mahā-Sīlavamsa, Mahārahanīti pāth nissaya, ed. Ū Bha Raṅ, 112 pp., Rangoon, Haṃsāvātī piṭakat Press 1929, reprint Rangoon 1949).

The introduction of 1929 edition contains a note on the author; it was prepared by Friedgard Lottermoser from the Burmese text and quoted by Bechert and Braun (1981: lviii). According to that note "the *Thera* Mahāsīlavamsa was born near Toṅ tvaṅ krī in the year sakkarāj 830 (1468 CE) wrote the Mahārahanītipāṭha-nisaya, which was lost for over four hundred years and which exists in five old manuscripts." As for the title of *Mahārahanīti*, in stanza 3 the word *Lokanīti* (*tathā tathāgatovādā nugāyam lokānītiyam*) is found in a way to suggest that it was the original name of the book which was later replaced by the name *Mahārahanīti* derived from the first word of the work (*mahāmhārahaṃ sakyamuniṃ nīvaraṇā raṇā*). Bechert and Braun (1981: lviii) opine that this was probably done to avoid confusion of the text with the work now known as *Lokanīti*.

3.2. Till now we have only one critical edition of Mhn produced by Bechert and Braun. In that edition, the text of *Mahārahanīti* consist of 254 verses divided into five sections viz. *Pāṇḍitakathā* (4-80), *Sambhedakathā* (81-112), *Mittakathā* (113-163), *Nāyakakathā* (164-197), *Itthikathā* (198-254) followed by three introductory *gāthā*. It seems that Mahārahanītikāra utilises Dhn for the compilation of the text. 216 of the stanzas of Mhn are identical with or very similar to verses of Dhn. In many instances, verses are also grouped together in the same way in both texts, e.g. Dhn 14-15 = Mhn 10-11, Dhn 36-37 = Mhn 24-25, Dhn 38-43 = Mhn 34-39, Dhn 46-48 = Mhn 53-55, Dhn 123-128 = Mhn 129-134, Dhn 272-282 = Mhn 164-175 etc (Bechert and Braun lxviii). To conclude the relationship between Dhn and Mhn, Bechert and Braun (1981: lxviii) rightly observes: "The systematic arrangement of the verses in the Mhn shows considerable improvement compared with that in the Dhn, and since the author of Mhn has clearly improved the 'Pālization' of verses translated from the Sanskrit compared to the still much more 'Sanskritic' language as found in Dhn, we can safely assume that Mhn is the later work and that its author has heavily borrowed from Dhn".

3.3. First three verses of Mhn are introductory verses where the author pays homage to the Buddha and highlights the purpose of composing the text. Certainly, these three verses are the composition of the author of Mhn. The very first chapter of Mhn is *Pāṇḍitakathā*, story of wise, started with highlighting the importance of Nīti in one's life.

*nītidhā jantunaṃ sāro mittācariyā ca pītarā
nītimā subuddhi byatto sutvā atthadassimāṇ*

The "Nīti," in this -world, is a man's substance, his father, his mother, his teacher, his friend: a person, therefore, knowing the "Nīti," is a wise man, both excellent and well informed.

The first chapter consists of 77 verses in which the author tried to capture different aspects of wisdom. Here the importance of knowledge, the role of knowledge, the positions of knowledgeable people in society, different aspects of knowledge etc. are discussed in a very lucid manner.

The *Sambhedakathā*, a chapter on contamination or confusion of the Mhn, begins with the discussion of time utilized by wise men and the wicked person. It is said here that "the time of the wise passes in examining prose and poetry; that of the wicked in injuring others, in sleep and in quarrel" (Mhn 81). Here the roles of wicked persons, the manifestation of their nature, the

fruits of their wealth etc. are discussed. After the *Sambhedakathā*, chapter 3 of Mhn is *Mittakathā*. Though the name of this chapter indicates that it speaks about a friend, the subject matter of this chapter is mainly devoted to a foolish person, a wicked person, and the nature of identifying such persons. The fourth chapter of Mhn i.e. *Nāyakakathā*, the chapter of hero, mainly discuss the character and nature of righteous king. The fifth and the last chapter of Mhn is named as *Ithikathā*, the chapter on women, is a miscellaneous chapter and occupies subject matter of different aspects.

4. Rājanīti

4.1. The Rājanīti (Rn) is said to have been composed by the court Brahmins Anantāñña and Gaṇāmissa. The latter is mentioned in the inscription in Ava from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Bechert and Braun were informed by U Bo Kay, Archaeological Conservator in Pagan, that a Brahmin named Gaṇaimisra is mentioned in an inscription no. 1050 (Duroiselle 1921: 164) at the Hti-hlaing-shin Pagoda (Thī lhun rhañ bhurā) in Ava (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxī). This inscription is dated 872 B.E. i.e. 1510 CE and deals with the building of a palace at Ava by King Shwenankyawshin Narapati (1502-1527). Reading of the relevant passage is like *paṭiḥāpaka amaññ hi so asyhañ nhañ Gaṇaimisra hū so...pumñā nhañ pan laññ lha i*. So there is no doubt to accept Gaṇaimisra as the second co-author or redactor of the Rājanīti. Bechert and Braun inform that the name of this Brahmin is spelt as Gaṇāmissaka in all editions and manuscripts of the text with the only exception of one manuscript where the reading is Gaṇāmissaki which seems to be a misreading of Gaṇāmisso. About the first author of this text Anantañña we do not have any information. Therefore, on the basis of the Ava inscription, we may assume that this text was composed in the fifteenth century. As James Gray (1886: viii f) suggests, this text was originated from the tradition of the Manipuri Brahmins which is nothing but an imagination. Sternbach's theory that the work was composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century is rather close to the date suggested here.

The Rn deals only with a single theme: the right conduct of a king. This is one of the major points of difference with other Nīti texts, each of which treats different topics in individual chapters. There is one more peculiarity with this *Rājanīti*; it has only three verses in common with the other Pāli nīti works (Gray 1886: viii f). Therefore, we may regard it as a basically independent work or compilation. Finally, it is the only ancient Pāli nīti work of which the name of the compilers is definitely known to us.

The Rājanīti in Pāli was beyond any doubt the most popular of the nīti texts in Thailand as well as in Cambodia, and it seems that its Burmese origin has been completely forgotten there.

5. Cāṇakyanīti

5.1. Even though associated with the great Mauryan Empire, neither Cāṇakya nor Candragupta are acknowledged in Pāli literature till the period of *Vaṃsa* literature of Sri Lanka. It was the *Mahāvamsa* (V.16) where the two legendary figures of Indian history were mentioned first time, and the legend is given in some detail in the commentary thereto, the *Vaṃsathappakāsini* or *Mahāvamsa Tikā* (Malalasekera 1935: 180-194) composed in between early sixth to tenth centuries CE. In other words we can say that around tenth century Cāṇakya was noticed by Pāli scholars. This was the time when the texts related with Cāṇakya had been translated into Tibetan. Though we know that there are no cultural relations among the Tibet and Sri Lankan Buddhists in that period,

however, we must remember that this was the time when Cāṇakya was noticed in Buddhist country. In spite of that, Cāṇakya was noticed in Pāli around tenth century, but his work has been acknowledged very late.

In Burma, translation of Cāṇakya Nīti started in modern time. Sternbach (1969: 46) informs that an edition of Cāṇakyanīti namely *Cāṇakya-nīti-Thaḍa-nīti*, was published in the Hla Khin and Sons Press, Dat Nan Ward, Mandalay, 1939. This text of Cāṇakya version contains 110 verses in Sanskrit in Burmese characters. Probably this text is the first Sanskrit text published in Burmese character. After this edition, Cāṇakyanīti was made available in Pāli. The Cāṇakyanīti in Pāli is a unique text in the category of PNT. This text is a verbatim translation of Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra. In the entire text, there is not a single Buddhist element. Even the author has not paid salutation to the Buddha. The name of the composer of this Cāṇakyanīti-Pāli is known as Paṇḍita Thera who translated this text in 1955 into Pāli from original Sanskrit and produces a Burmese *nissaya* and Burmese translation thereupon (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxxv). Bechert and Braun opine that "the Pali-Cāṇakyanīti published in Burma does not seem to represent part of the traditional nīti literature in Pāli." Cāṇakyanīti is a rather recent adaptation of the Sanskrit Cāṇakyanītiśāstra version for Burmese readers by providing a Pāli translation. However, one cannot ignore the importance of Cāṇakya-compendium in the composition of Pāli Nīti literature. As we know that materials from Cāṇakya-compendium has been utilized extensively. Therefore, there is no harm to include this text among the traditional Pāli Nīti literature.

This version of Cāṇakya's compendia in Pāli is, as a rule, prefaced by two introductory stanzas beginning with the words "nānā satthodhdhatam vakkhe" which state that the author teaches worldly wisdom "selected from various śāstra-s", the knowledge of which enables a foolish to become wise "yassa viññāna-mattena, mūlho bhavati paṇḍito". These introductory stanzas already show that in this version the maxims are collected from various sources. The original compiler of Sanskrit Cāṇakya sayings chose the best known maxims, usually attributed to Cāṇakya, but added maxims that he liked himself or believed would be liked by the reader. As Sternbach points out many editions and manuscript belonging to this group are different. The only important exceptions to this rule are the compendia, which contains 108 maxims, which are known to exist under different titles. These texts are almost identical and form the classical text of Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version. As most of the Sanskrit versions contain 108 maxims with two introductory stanzas, comprising altogether 110 maxims, our Pāli edition also follows the same pattern.

6. Sutavaḍḍhanīti

Sutavaḍḍhanīti (Svn), 'Guide for the Advancement of Knowledge', is a comparatively recent collection of sententious verses borrowed from the Buddhist Pāli canon rather than from Sanskrit sources. This is a very small text, contains 73 verses, of which only three (Nos. Svn 7, Svn 52: cf. CN 1.15; Cv 1.16, CS 3.48, CN 25, CR 2.21 and Svn 60: cf. Cv 6.13, Cr 5.38), as far as could be ascertained, originated in Sanskrit sources, while the rest is indebted to the Pāli canon. This work was composed by the Kyoñ kok charā to Saddhammanandi (1098-1155 B.E./1736-1793 CE) of Chaunkauk in Upper Burma and therefore was known as Kyoñ kok nīti (Gray 1886: 142; Bechert and Braun 1981: lxxiii). This text is also known by its third alternative title as *Paṇḍitālaṅkāranīti* (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxxiii).

Till now a critical edition of this text is not available. Even I am not able to find any Burmese edition of this text. Neither Sternbach nor Bechert and Braun have quoted any edition of this text. This text is also not available on Chaṭṭha-saṅgāyana online Tipiṭaka version. Fortunately, Svn, the last of the four Nīti texts translated by James Gray (1886: 142-157) is available in English. In Gray's English translation of *Suttavaddhananīti* this text is not divided into any chapter. We can trace at least 18 parallel verses of *Suttavaddhananīti* in Pāli *Dhammanīti* and *Lokanīti* (Svn 36, 37= Dhn 14, 15, Svn 28= Dhn 75, Svn 7= Dhn 132, Svn 33= Dhn 135 Ln25, Svn 34= Dhn 150 Ln 26, Svn 60= Dhn 185, Svn 58= Dhn 202, Svn 57= Dhn 230, Svn 62-62= Dhn 266, 267, Svn 59= Dhn 369 Ln24, Svn 63= Dhn 397). One verse of this text very interesting to discuss here is the classification of the Buddha. In verse no. 27 of Svn it is said, "There are four kinds of 'Buddha-s', namely, the omniscient Buddha (*Sammāsambuddha*), the secondary Buddha (*Pacceka-Buddha*), the Buddha acquainted with the four truths (*Arahata*), and the Buddha who is full of learning: a man who is full of knowledge is also a Buddha" (Gray 1886: 148).

7. Lokaneyyappakarāṇa

Lokaneyyappakarāṇa, the book on the instruction in worldly matters (von Hinüber 1996: 195), fairly long text, mostly in prose but contains more than six hundred verses (*gāthā*). The term "Lokaneyya" is rather unclear and has not been explained in the text itself. However, at the beginning the author refers to the text as *subhāsitaṃ vākyam* i.e. "well-spoken sentences", thus suggesting that the *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa* falls in the genre of *Nīti*, or aphoristic literature (Jaini 2001: 139). The editor of this text Padmanabh S. Jaini (1986: xi) says: 'this text is conspicuously absent from Bechert and Braun's comprehensive work' on Pāli Nīti Text of Burma. The reason behind being unnoticed by Bechert and Braun is that, unlike the *Nīti* texts [namely *Dhammanīti*, *Lokanīti*, *Rājanīti*, etc.] the *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa*, is not merely a compilation of *nīti* verses; rather it is a work in which these verses have been integrated as a part of the narrative. In this respect the *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa*, may be said to imitate the style of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, the two classical Sanskrit *nīti* texts. Although Pāli literature abounds in didactic poetry, as well as narrative prose, the *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa*, would appear to be the sole Pāli work to have attempted a narrative, in which the prose merely serves as a context for presenting the *nīti* verses appropriate, however tenuously, to the occasion (Jaini 1986: xiii). In true nature of Pāli Nīti verses only 141 verses of *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa* out of 596 verses are considered. Jaini (1986: xiii) reports that 'no less than eighty-nine have been traced to different Pāli Nīti texts of Burma and have traced Sanskrit sources for twenty verses which did not find their way to Pāli Nīti texts.

The authorship of this text is not yet decided. Jaini articulates that this text was composed in northern Siam sometime during the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* period. Some cross references to compilations of Nīti verses may point to the 14th century (von Hinüber 1996: 196). Written primarily in prose the text contains 41 didactic stories based on and shaped like *Jātaka*-s, but also draw material from apocryphal *Suttanta*-s. *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa* also includes 596 verses (of these, forty-one verses are repetitions. Therefore, the total number of individual verses is only 555, of which 141 can be identified as *Nīti* verses) in a variety of metres. Despite being a fairly lengthy text *Lokaneyyappakarāṇa* has remained virtually unknown to the Pāli literature. Neither such as *Sāsanavaṃsa*

or *Gandhavaṃsa*, nor the modern catalogues of Pāli manuscripts from Southeast Asia mentions this text.

Although called a "pakaraṇa" the *Lokaneyya*, with a *nidāna, atitavatthu* and a *samodhāna*, reads like an "apocryphal" *Jātaka* and, indeed, is modeled upon the *Mahāummaggajātaka* (*Jātaka* 546). Like the latter it is divided into several *Pañha*-s (questions), through which the Bodhisatta, Dhanañjaya, imparts worldly wisdom to the King and at the same time defeats his rivals at the court.

8. Lokasāra

The *Lokasāra* is a short Pāli *nīti*-collection of sayings. This text comprises only 55 verses, divided into three parts. The first part deals with general instructions and contains the first 22 verses. The second part deals with instructions for kings and contains 25 verses (23 to 47). The last part of the text, i.e. the third part deals with *Brahmaṇ*-s and contains 8 verses only (37 to 55). The title of the Book "*Lokasāra*" is formed by two Pāli words: *loka* (the world) and *sāra* (the essence); it means therefore "The essence of worldly wisdom." In its wider sense, it means 'worldly maxims.'

About the importance of the work Sternbach (1974: 613) in his "The Rājadharmā in the Lokasāra" says, "*The work is well known in Burma and was used as a text-book in the Burmese Anglo-Vernacular schools.*" Till now the name of the author and the time of compilation of this text is not known. Sternbach (1974: 613) presumes that the name of the author was Kandaw Mingyaung who was the tutor of the uncle of the king Narapati, brother of the king Minrekyaung Swa, one of the kings of Ava who flourished probably in the middle of the fifteenth century. Sternbach reached to this conclusion on the basis of the compilation of other *nīti* texts. He articulates that the *Lokanīti*, the *Dhammanīti* and the Pāli *Rājanīti* were probably composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Therefore, as Sternbach believes, it is more possible that the *Lokasāra* is also composed in the fifteenth century or not much later.

Apart from these important texts, we do find some modern compilation under the PNL. One such text is *Gihivinayasaṅgahanīti*. U Budh alias Cakkindābhisiri composed this work in Pāli verse along with his own *nissaya* in 1192 B.E./ 1830 CE (Bechert and Braun 1981: lxvi). The *Gihivinayasaṅgahanīti laṅkā* and the *Gihivinayasaṅgahanīti chuṃ ma cā* were composed by the same author. Other such texts available in Burma are *Kavidappaṇanīti*, *Nītimañjari*, *Suttantānīti*, *Sūrasatīnīti*, *Naradakkhadīpanī*, *Caturārakkhadīpanī*.

9. References

1. Bechert, Heinz and Braun, Heinz. *Pāli Nīti Texts of Burma: Dhammanīti, Lokanīti, Mahārahanīti, Rājanīti*. (Eds.). Text Series London: PTS. 1981, 171.
2. Bode, Mabel Haynes. *The Pāli Literature of Burma*. London: Royal Asiatic Society. 1909.
3. Duroiselle, C[harles]. *Pāli Unseens*. (Ed.). School Pāli Series III. Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1907.
4. Fowle, E. Translation of a Burmese Version of the Niti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pali. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. 1860; 17: 252-266.
5. Gerini, Gerolamo Emilio. On Siamese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions. *The Journal of Siam Society*. 1904; I:11-168. Bangkok.

6. Gray, James. *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; Or, The Nīti Literature of Burma*. London: Trübner & Co, 1886.
7. Jaini P. [admanabh] S[hrivarma]. *Lokaneyyappakaranaṃ*. (Ed.). London: PTS, 1986.
8. Some Nīti verses of the Lokaneyya-pakarana in *Collected Paper on Buddhist Studies*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 2001.
9. Kyi, Khin Win. *Burmese Philosophy as Reflected in Caturangbala's Lokaniti* [Ph.D. thesis]. Saint Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1986.
10. Malalasekera G.[unapala] P[iyasena]. *Vamsatthappakāsini: Commentary on the Mahāvamsa*. (ed.). 1935, I-II. London: PTS.
11. *The Pāli literature of Ceylon*. Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1958.
12. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. London: PTS. (1st Pub. 1937-1938) 1974, 1, 2.
13. Matilal, Bimal Krishna. *Nyaya-Vaiśeṣika*. fasc. 2, A History of Indian Literature, edited by Jan Gonda, 1977, VI.
14. Pavolini, Paolo Emilio. Cenni sulla Dhammanīti pali birmana e sulle sue fonti [Commentaries on the Pali and Berman Dhammanīti and its sources]. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*. 1907; (1):609-616.
15. Sternbach, Ludwik. Indian Tales Interpreted from the Point of View of the Smṛtis: Pañcatantra 1.13. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1948; 68(2):84-91.
16. Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadeśa (I). *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1956; 76(2):115-130.
17. Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadeśa (IV). *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1957; 77(3):166-183.
18. Mānava-dharmaśāstra verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1959; 79(4):233-254.
19. The Tibetan Cāṇakya-Rāja-Nīti-Śāstram. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. 1961; 42(1/4):99-122
20. *Cāṇakya-Rāja-Nīti: Maxims on Rāja-Nīti*. (Ed.). Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1963.
21. Mahābhārata Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1963a; 83(1):30-67.
22. The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan and Their Sources. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. 1963b; 26:329-345.
23. Note on the Origin of Some Vikramacarita Stanzas. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1964; 84(4):411-416.
24. *The Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s as Treasuries of Cāṇakya's Saying*. Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 1966.
25. The Cāṇakya's Collections and Nārāyaṇa's Hitopadeśa; An Additional Comment. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1967; 87(3):306-308.
26. On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon: The Vyāsakārya and Cāṇakya's Aphorisms. *The Adyar Library Bulletin Dr. V. Raghavan Felicitation*. 1967-68, 31-32, 636-663.
27. Quotations from the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, I. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1968a; 88(3):495-520.
28. Quotations from the Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra, II. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1968b; 88(4):717-727.
29. *The Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. ed. Kashi Sanskrit Series 193. Varanasi : Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan, 1969.
30. *The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms Over Greater India*. Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 1969a.
31. On the Sanskrit Nīti Literature of Ceylon: Pratyayaśataka. *The Adyar Library Bulletin*. 1969b; 33:80-116.
32. Similar Thoughts in the Mahābhārata, the Literature of Greater India and in the Christian. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1971; 91(3):438-442.
33. Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s, a forgotten chapter in the history of Sanskrit Literature. *Indologica Taurinensia*. 1973; 1:196-254.
34. Vyāsa in Subhāṣita-Saṃgraha-s. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. 1974; 55(1/4):107-175.
35. On the Influence of Sanskrit Dharma and Artha-Śāstra-s upon the Nīti Literature of Burma: The Rājadharmā in the Lokasāra. *Charudeva Shastri Felicitation* 1974a, 612-628.
36. *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*. In J. Gonda (Ed.), A History of Indian Literature. Wiesbaden, 1974b, 4.
37. On the Influence of Sanskrit Gnostic Literature on the Gnostic Literature of Old Java and Bali. *Torino: Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia*, 1979.
38. Indian Wisdom and Its Spread beyond India. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 1981; 101(1):97-131.
39. Temple, Richard Carnak. The Lokanīti, Translated from the Burmese paraphrase. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 1878; XLVII (III): 239-252.
40. Teza, Emilio. Sul Lokaniti, Studi sulla gnomologia buddiana. *Memoriw dell: Istituto Lombardo*, 1879, 126-132.
41. Tin, Maung. Lokanīti. In *A Pāli Reader With Notes*. 2nd ed., 43-52, 72-83. Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1920.
42. Tu, Sein. *Lokanīti: The Guide To Life*. Yangon: INWA Publishing House, 1962.
43. Trenckner, V. *Critical and Philological Notes to the First Chapter (Bāhirakathā of the Milinda-Pañha)*. Revised and edited, together with an index of words and subjects by Dines Andersen. JPTS: London, 1908, 102-138.
44. von Hinüber, Oskar. *A Handbook of Pāli Literature*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997.